LANDSCAPE IN THE THOUGHT OF SU SHIH (1036-1101)

by

ANDREW LEE MARCH

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

1964

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Date May 15 1964

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Date: May 1, 1964

We have carefully read the dissertation entitled
Landscape in the Thought of Su Shih (1036 - 1101)

submitted by
Andrew Lee March
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and recommend its acceptance. In support of this recommendation we present the following joint statement of evaluation to be filed with the dissertation.

This is an unusual, and unusually valuable, dissertation. Its central theme, landscape, is clearly and demonstrably geographic, and Mr. March effectively relates his treatment to the relevant body of disciplinary literature and argument. But the dissertation also deals, at a high level of effectiveness and sophistication, with important concepts in literature and the arts, philosophy, and psychology, and rests as well on an understanding of Chinese intellectual history. The skill with which Mr. March has woven modern psychological concepts into his analysis may warrant particular mention; he has produced a genuinely new approach, not only to the study of landscape or to the thought of Su Shih as an important figure, but to a host of similar problems in what has been referred to elsewhere as "idealist analysis", a matter common to many disciplines, including geography.

Su Shih is a particularly suitable subject for such an investigation, and Mr. March's work substantially increases our understanding not only of Su but of the China which he importantly represents and helped to influence, and, on a wider scale, of the role of landscape in human thought and action. The materials from Su's works which are included in the dissertation have been skillfully selected and competently translated, many of them by Mr. March himself in the face of numerous linguistic problems. In whatever discipline, the dissertation is valuable as a significant new contribution, resting upon important and well presented material and making use of a well-developed and in many respects a pioneering approach. Both its information and its analysis will be of benefit to scholars in the China field and in the other fields which it touches. As a dissertation in geography, it represents an important step forward in idealist analysis and thus helps to widen the horizons of the discipline.

DISSERTATION READING COMMITTEE: Woods Bowley

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my appreciation to my advisor, Rhoads Murphey, for his tolerant and patient help during the preparation of this dissertation and before; to Hellmut Wilhelm, for his understanding criticisms and his suggestions as to how to limit and balance the subject; to Chang Kun, for several years' instruction in Chinese and for going over with me most of the translations from Su Shih; to Richard Morrill, for comments and discussion on many of the ideas in this study; to John Marks (Director of The Mental Health Research Institute, Steilacoom, Washington) for reading certain sections and commenting on them from the viewpoint of psychology; and to my wife and a number of other friends who have given me stimulating criticisms and encouragement.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Biographical references are to Herbert A. Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898) ("Giles"); or, for people not included in Giles, to Fang I et al., Great Biographical Dictionary of China (方毅:中國人名大辭典) (Hong Kong:泰興書局, 1931) ("JMTT").

Translations are my own unless otherwise ascribed. "Trans. adj." ("translatum adjutante. . .") means that in making my translation I have been helped by someone else's translation as indicated.

The following abbreviations refer to the original texts of Su Shih's writings:

Ch'en: 陳邇冬:蘇軾詩選. Peking: 人民文学出版社, 1957.

Hu: 胡雲翼:宋詞三百首. Hong Kong:香港上海印書館, 1957.

SPPY: 東坡七集四部備要 Vol. 77 Shanghai: 中華書局, n.d. chi 集, hou chi 後集, hsü chi 續集, ying chao chi 應詔集.

TPCL: 東坡志林十二卷:叢書集成初編 Shanghai?:商務印書館, 1939.

TPTP:東坡題跋:叢書集成初編 Shanghai?: 商務印書館, 1936.

TPYF: 東坡樂府箋 上下 Preface (1957) and notes by 龍榆生. Shanghai: 商務印書館, 1958 (first edition 1936).

I. INTRODUCTION

It has very often been said that the goal of most Chinese artists and philosophers has been to achieve an "identification of the life of man with the life of nature".[1] "In China the purpose of landscape painting has been to express the identification of the painter with nature".[2] Perhaps it can be said that Su Shih identified himself with nature; but what this might mean is not immediately clear. What, concretely, is the "nature" that he identified with? By what process does such an identification take place, and what are the intermediate steps? Can we still speak of such an identification if we conceive, as is usual today,[3] of the self as having its origin in social relations? What is it that actually happens to the self, and if it is changed, is the change reflected again in attitudes toward or relations with society?

Often, this involvement of Chinese thinkers with the natural world has been interpreted as mere escapism. Thus a new interest in nature in the third and fourth centuries A.D. is considered to be part of a general

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1. Laurence Binyon, The Flight of the Dragon (New York: Grove Press, 1961), p. 16.

2. Holmes Welch, The Parting of the Way: Laotze and the Taoist Movement (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 159. Cf. also Fung Yu-Lan, A Short History of Chinese Philosophy (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 6; Derk Bodde, "Harmony and Conflict in Chinese Philosophy", in Arthur F. Wright, ed., Studies in Chinese Thought (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 54ff.; Y. P. Mei, "Man and Nature in Chinese Philosophy" in H. Frenz and G. L. Anderson, eds., Indiana University Conference on Oriental-Western Literary Relations (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), pp. 151-160, especially p. 158; and many others.

3. For example, in Anselm Strauss, ed., The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 217; Kimball Young, Social Psychology, 3rd edition (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956), pp. 118 and 123, and Theodore M. Newcomb; Social Psychology (New York: Dryden Press, 1950), p. 316.

attitude of pleasure-seeking and social disengagement among intellectuals;[4] and, in discussing Su Shih's own time, one author writes of a flight to nature of souls exhausted by a hopeless struggle against the forces of social and political decline.[5] Like the statements about the sage's identification with nature, such explanations as these are too vague and too general to be satisfying.

Su Shih (1036-1101), an unusually versatile and gifted man of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1126), was profoundly rooted in the Chinese traditional civilization, yet at the same time capable of reevaluating and contributing to it. He was intensely interested in natural landscapes, and deeply involved in his society. As an official, he had a strong conception of social role and duty, a highly developed social self. His relations to the non-social, natural landscape grew out of a general inclination in Chinese thought to regard the natural world as essentially like the human world, rather than as opposite to it; thus the natural world could give him information about himself just as human relations could. But, influenced in part by Buddhist and Taoist ideas, Su Shih found in the natural world no evidence of selves, his own or any other; on the contrary, the natural landscape appeared as artist and work of art together, an entire spontaneity and absence of attachment which seemed to him to argue

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4. Nagasawa Kikuya, Geschichte der Chinesischen Literatur (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1960), p. 149; Etienne Balazs, "Entre Révolte Nihiliste et Evasion Mystique: Les Courants Intellectuels en Chine au IIIe Siècle de notre Ere", Etudes Asiatiques, Vol. 2 (1948), p. 34; Murakami Yoshimi, "Hermit Life (In-itsu) of Tung Chin Period", The Shirin of the Journal of History, Vol. 39 (1956), pp. 21-39 (461-499), English Summary.

5. W. Eichhorn, "Überblick der gesellschaftlichen Lage der nördlichen Sung-Dynastie", Sinica, Vol. 13 (1938), p. 18. Osvald Siren says that Su Shih found refuge from adversity in his intimacy with nature (Chinese Painting, Vol. II (New York: Ronald,), p. 12).

that man's true nature, too, is artistic and without self. He would not reject either the social world or the natural world, and his writings reflect a continuing tension between them. The ideal solution which he saw, but was not always able to practice in the political circumstances of his later years, was to be a responsible official, as if the social self were real, but at the same time to retain the spontaneity and detachment he found in the landscape experience, as if the social self were unreal.

In times of rapid change it is not surprising that previously accepted interpretations of the relations between the natural world, society, and the self are no longer felt to be fully relevant or convincing. The Northern Sung was such a period, and so is the present century in much of the world. Today we return again and again to this basic triangle of self, group, world, believing that we cannot well understand any of them without understanding how it stands with the other two. And we need to understand them, because the relations among them seem disturbed and imperfect-- the self often seems alienated from the group, the group from the world, the world from the self. Why should it annoy us to find sandwich wrappings and beer cans in the woods? Why do some people fight to preserve wilderness areas or whooping cranes? Is it hate of man, or love for "unspoiled nature"? How should we behave toward the wildernesses we may find on other planets, and why do we want to go there in the first place?

There is much to be gained from studying the understanding of some of the relations among the three corners of this triangle achieved by a man like Su Shih against the background of one of the world's richest civilizations; his problems resemble ours enough to be germane, yet are unlike enough to give us an indispensible perspective on him, and through him, on ourselves as well. But we cannot do this by noting such generalities as

that the sage identifies with the universe, and the artist with his landscape; or that Chinese intellectuals turned to nature to escape society--so do we as tourists in our state parks. We must be willing to examine the details of the actual behavior (including thought and art) of real people like Su Shih, with whatever sources we have, and with all the concreteness of which we are capable; we cannot look at our own situation from outside unless we can make the outside vantage-point a genuine and humanly plausible one in itself. Otherwise we risk simply projecting our concerns as phantasies on a screen of our own making.

Method and relation to geography.

Geography may be the study of, not the earth's surface, but man. "The geographical conception is in the last analysis a kind of philosophy of man considered as the principal inhabitant of the planet."[6] Therefore the end-point of a geographic study may be statements about man, not about the external world. The reason that such a study can belong to geography lies in the aspect of man that it focuses upon: its emphasis is on man not as one who lives in groups, like sociology; not as one who lives in states, like political science; not as one who expresses himself in art, like aesthetics; not as one who produces and consumes things of value, like economics; not as an organism subject to malfunction and disease, like medicine;--although it may draw upon all of these and more, still its own goal and end-point are man as he lives, singly and in groups, upon the planet. In terms of the triangle of society, self, (physical) world, a

6. Andre Cholley, Guide de l'Etudiant en Géographie (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1942), p. 121; quoted and translated in Richard Hartshorne, Perspective on the Nature of Geography (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1959), p. 44.

study such as this one is properly geographic in that it is concerned with some of the relations between the world and the other two. The general approach of geography to man is further subdivided in the various branches of geography, each one having its more special outlook on the world as man's home. Thus, for example, the world may be seen, as a whole or in its parts, as economic resources connected by transport routes; as a patchwork of political sovereignties; as a breeding ground for diseases; as an inspiration and raw material for works of art; or, as in this thesis, as a field for the discovery and exploration of the self.[7]

Implicit in this conception of geography is the assumption that man and his natural environment can be thought of separately, and as Toynbee says, "To draw the vulgar distinction between Man and his environment is scientifically inadmissible;"[8] and, "I admit that I have misrepresented Reality in drawing my distinctions between . . . environment and Man . . ." "But," as he adds, "the price of restoring to Reality its true undifferentiated unity is to renounce the possibility of thinking about it . . ."[9] Artificial it is to separate them, but useful too as long as no one is fooled. In the light of this "undifferentiated unity," the question of whether or not the environment is "real" also appears as irrelevant. If we are real, the environment is real too; and what would it mean to claim that

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7. For approaches to geography from a psychological viewpoint see, for example, Willy Hellpach, Geopsyche: Die Menschenseele unterm Einfluss von Wetter und Klima, Boden und Landschaft (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1935), passim; and Maximilien Sorre, Géographie Psychologique, Book 6, Chapter 3 (separate volume) of Henri Piéron, ed., Traité de Psychologie Appliquée (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), passim.

8. Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, Vol. XII, Reconsiderations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 148.

9. Ibid., pp. 258-259.

neither we nor it are real? something is there.

Somewhat the same may be said of the concept of self. Watts argues convincingly that it is a social fiction,[10] and Su Shih seems to arrive at the same conclusion.[11] But in human experience the self often appears as an entity having real existence, and to use the concept opens up fruitful lines of thought. It would be more accurate to consider the self as a pattern of relations between individual and society, and individual and the natural world; but it is convenient to treat it as a real thing, and again, if no one is fooled, no harm need be done.

Harold and Margaret Sprout have done a beautiful job of summing up and criticizing the various ideas geographers and others have had of the relationships between man and his natural environment.[12] In their terms, the methodological framework of this thesis is "cognitive behaviorism," which they define as "the hypothesis . . . that a person reacts to his milieu as he apperceives it--i.e., as he perceives and interprets it in the light of his previous knowledge."[13] This approach, they say, "is well established in the theory and practice of historiography," and they find it also in geographic writings by Lucien Febvre, H. J. Mackinder, K.G.T. Clark,

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10. Alan W. Watts, Psychotherapy East and West (New York: Pantheon Books (Mentor), 1963), passim, especially chapter 2. See also Percival M. Symonds, The Ego and the Self (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), p. 16.

11. See below, chapters III, IV, and V.

12. Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout, Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics (Princeton: Center of International Studies, Princeton University, copyright 1956), passim.

13. Ibid., p. 58. See also Robert K. Merton, "The Self-fulfilling Prophecy," Antioch Review, Vol. 8 (1948), pp. 193-210.

and William Kirk.[14]

The Sprouts consider that "the cognitive behavioral approach to man-milieu relationships is relevant and useful. But no more than environmental possibilism [of which they also approve] does it provide a comprehensive frame of reference."[15] On the one hand, there is much evidence that the ideas people have of the world do often correspond closely with the real world (people who consider themselves insular generally live on islands); on the other hand, unperceived things in the real world may have to be taken into account in explaining what actually happens. The limits of both "environmental possibilism" and "cognitive behaviorism", taken separately, are made clear in an illustration the Sprouts have given earlier:

> A man enters an unlighted street in total darkness. Techniques of behavioral analysis may be helpful in explaining how he happens to be there (i.e., his motivation and purposes), how he conceives the layout of the street to be (i.e., his cognition of the milieu), and how he gropes his way forward in the darkness (i.e., his decisions and implementing actions). But there is an open manhole in his path. He does not know it is there. He cannot perceive it in the darkness. It forms no part of the apperceived milieu to which his decisions are oriented. Nevertheless, that manhole is a strategic factor in his milieu, for he will fall into it if he continues his present course. The unperceived factor sets limits in the results, or consequences, of the man's decisions and implementing actions. These limits operate irrespective of his cognition of them in advance. Indeed his ignorance of the unperceived factor makes it all the more strategic, since his ignorance excludes the possibility of his taking adaptive counter-action.[16]

The Sprouts are writing specifically from the point of view of international politics; they are interested in the techniques of explaining what has

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14. Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout, Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics (Princeton: Center of International Studies, Princeton University, copyright 1956), pp. 59-63.

15. Ibid., p. 71.

16. Ibid., p. 46.

happened or predicting what is likely to happen in this context. Therefore they cannot ignore either the real milieu (including the open manhole) nor the man's erroneous conception of the milieu: what happens will grow out of both these worlds as they interact. The "cognitive behaviorist" study of the man's idea and the "environmental possibilist" study of the real milieu must supplement each other.

Neither political scientists nor geographers can study all the internal and external conditions necessary for complete explanations of human events. Behind any convincing general explanation of why more people live in a particular plain than in the adjacent mountains there must be many less ambitious special studies of crops, settlement types, climates, military geography, distributions of soils and vegetations, birth and death rates, reasons for past migrations, etc. Without these, the general statements remain at the level of hypotheses or guesses. And one of the more specialized approaches that, whether implicit or explicit, must underlie any general explanation in human geography is that of cognitive behaviorism: its contribution is the analysis of what the people involved think of their milieu. Thus the cognitive behaviorist approach, as the Sprouts make clear, must at the very least be part of any complete explanation of human events.

But there is another aspect of what the Sprouts call cognitive behaviorism which they neglect, perhaps because they do not think it relevant to their context of international politics. The purpose of studying man-milieu relationships need not be to explain or predict human events at all: it can also be to increase self-knowledge--i.e., by sympathetic imaginative participation in a wide range of human situations to expand one's understanding of how people (oneself as well as others) can and do feel, think,

and act. This is the position of R.G. Collingwood, whom the Sprouts cite as an example of a cognitive behaviorist, stating that "many, perhaps most, historians would agree in principle" with the passage they give. Collingwood writes about history, but to him history is "the science of human affairs",[17] an umbrella broad enought to cover the subject-matter of all the social sciences, including human geography. Collingwood argues eloquently that "all history is the history of thought"; "you are thinking historically . . . when you say about anything, 'I see what the person who made this (wrote this, used this, designed this &c.) was thinking.'"[18] And farther on he writes,

> If what the historian knows is past thoughts, and if he knows them by re-thinking them himself, it follows that the knowledge he achieves by historical inquiry is not knowledge of his situation as opposed to knowledge of himself, it is a knowledge of his situation which is at the same time knowledge of himself. In re-thinking what somebody else thought, he thinks it himself. In knowing that somebody else thought it, he knows that he himself is able to think it. And finding out what he is able to do is finding out what kind of a man he is. If he is able to understand, by re-thinking them, the thoughts of a great many different kinds of people, it follows that he must be a great many kinds of man. He must be, in fact, a microcosm of all the history he can know. Thus his own self-knowledge is at the same time his knowledge of the world of human affairs.[19]

It is obvious that man-milieu relationships may be studied in this way, as history of thought and for the general purpose of "self-knowledge", just like the examples of historical subject-matters that Collingwood gives elsewhere: politics, warfare, economic activity, morals, art, science, religion, philosophy, and so forth.[20]

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17. R. G. Collingwood, An Autobiography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 115.

18. Ibid., p. 110.

19. Ibid., pp. 114-115.

20. R. G. Collingwood, The Idea of History, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 309ff.

And in fact many geographers have, in one way or another, practiced or defended this approach, though not so clearly and consciously as Collingwood. Alexander von Humboldt's Kosmos contains a lengthy section (in Book II-A) on the poetic description of nature and on landscape painting, which he takes to show the reflection of the outside world in the minds of men, and considers intrinsically a valid part of his "physical description of the world;" he also thinks these topics important as means of arousing interest in the study of "nature," i.e., the external world. Carl Sauer touches on Collingwood's approach when he writes, "One might say that he [the historical geographer] needs the ability to see the land with the eyes of its former occupants, from the standpoint of their needs and capacities . . . It is . . . a rewarding experience to know that one has succeeded in penetrating a culture that is removed in time or alien in content from ours;"[21] however, Sauer's main overt emphasis is not here. G. R. Lowther[22] compares "Positivist" and "Idealist" methodology, which correspond roughly with the Sprouts' and Collingwood's approaches, respectively; but he considers Idealism "esoteric," and while he (like the Sprouts) finds the two methodologies complementary, his sympathies seem to lie with the goals of Positivist thought. He refers to R. H. Brown's Historical Geography of the United States and Mirror for Americans among other examples of an Idealist approach to historical geography. David

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21. Carl O. Sauer, "Foreward to Historical Geography," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 31 (1941), p. 10.

22. G. R. Lowther, "Idealist History and Historical Geography", The Canadian Geographer, No. 14 (1959), pp. 31-36.

Lowenthal in his "Geography, Experience, and Imagination",[23] while he says he is not discussing ". . . the meaning or methods of geography, but rather . . . the theory of geographical knowledge",[24] still by the very fact of his writing such a paper clearly considers that the study of geographical knowledge, or thought about the earth, is within the province of geographers. And Richard Hartshorne is referring to something very much like Collingwood's view when he writes, of the "common-sense justification of geography", "Geography as a chorographic (or chorologic) study has always found its justification in the widespread desire of many people to know what other parts of the world are like, just as history finds ample justification in the common desire to know what happened and what things were like in past times."[25] What other places or other times are "like", a deliberately vague phrase, suggests a sharing of the experiences or a "re-thinking the thoughts" of people at those places and times.

Thus it seems reasonable to distinguish at least two possible purposes for studying man-milieu relationships: one (the one which interests the Sprouts), to arrive at explanations (or, which is essentially the same thing, predictions) of human events, where what people think they are doing and the milieu they think they are in is only part of the story; and another (like Collingwood's view of history), to increase self-knowledge and hence knowledge of man in general by re-thinking past thoughts, where the possibilities of the milieu and their connection with what actually happens

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23. David Lowenthal, "Geography, Experience, and Imagination: Towards a Geographical Epistemology", Annals of the American Association of Geographers, Vol. 51 (1961), pp. 241-260.

24. Ibid., p. 241, note 2.

25. Richard Hartshorne, "The Nature of Geography: A Critical Survey of Current Thought in the Light of the Past", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 29 (1939), p. 130.

are only of secondary importance. The Sprouts' goal may perhaps someday be partially attained by the application of formulas programmed on computers which will deliver answers within acceptable limits of probability, without anyone's having to re-think the thoughts involved. There is nothing wrong with this in itself; but it does not have nor can it ever have primary relevance to the "science of human affairs" as Collingwood means it. At most, it could be an aid in reconstructing past thoughts and in plotting the limits of human freedom, just as, on the other side, cognitive behaviorism is an aid in explaining human events but is not in itself sufficient to do so completely.

This thesis, then, is intended in the spirit of an idealist geography, like Collingwood's history, and thus its subject matter is ultimately human thought. What makes it geography is that, within the "science of human affairs", this thought is about man in respect to an aspect of his living upon this planet, or an aspect of the world as man's home.

This aspect is suggested by the word "landscape" as used in terms of "landscape painting" and "landscape poetry".[26]

As Toynbee says, man and environment really form an undifferentiated whole, but must be separated if thinking is to progress. Similarly, Sorre points out that the environment in man's experience is whole, but it must be studied in parts if we are to advance our knowledge of the relations

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26. According to the unabridged Oxford International Dictionary, "landscape" was originally a painters' term, and its first meaning is " a picture representing inland scenery, as dist. from a sea picture, a portrait, etc." Other meanings include "inland natural scenery" and "a prospect of inland scenery, such as can be taken in at a glance from one point of view; a piece of country scenery."

between man and environment.[27] "Landscape", in the very limited sense in which it is used in this thesis, is a part of man's environment, and like other similar terms (such as "resource", "boundary", "route"), it makes sense only if it is understood as a human interpretation of environment, and is considered in its relations to man. This kind of "landscape" means simply the parts of the actual, known world which are relatively unsocialized: where the surface of the earth appears relatively unmodified by man, and where occupance, especially by men in groups, is relatively sparse. The most prominent, the dominating objects in such areas are natural objects--rocks, trees, hills, streams. Their strongest contrast is with the densely socialized space of cities, and it seems that cities have been a prerequisite for the emergence of "landscape" as a distinct category of human experience.[28]

This limited and specific meaning of "landscape" is not, of course, the one that geographers have usually attached to the word.[29] Unfortunately

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27. Maximilien Sorre, Géographie psychologique, Book 6, chapter 3 (separate volume) of Henri Piéron, ed., Traité de Psychologie Appliquée (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), p. 2.

28. Cf. Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, A History of East Asian Civilization, Vol. 1, East Asia: The Great Tradition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), p. 224. Northern Sung cities are discussed briefly below.

29. Richard Hartshorne, in "The Nature of Geography: A Critical Survey of Current Thought in the Light of the Past", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 29 (1939), chapter 5 ("'Landschaft' and 'Landscape'"), summarizes the use of the term "landscape" in geography, especially in Germany and the United States. He would probably not condone my usage. He eliminates, as far as geography is concerned, the meaning "view of an area as seen in perspective", and also says, "Presumably most geographers will likewise have little or no use for any concepts based on our psychic sensations of area." (p. 160). If this were so, too bad for geography!

there seems to be no other convenient term referring to "relatively un-socialized parts of the world." "Nature" is a possibility, but it has too many other meanings.[30] Other expressions which might do, like "non-socialized physical universe as apperceived by man" are too long and dull. "Landscape", at any rate, is clear enough so that the reader need never be in doubt about what is meant.

So this thesis is a study of the non-socialized "landscapes" of 11th-century China as Su Shih experienced them. As his experience was rich and subtle, and he writes very well, it is worth while to try to follow his thoughts, arranging them so that they become intelligible and plausible to us in the 20th century, and can be part of our own experience.

But first it will be helpful to take a closer look at Northern Sung China and at Su Shih's life, and to become acquainted with some of the background to Sung thought on landscapes.

China in the Northern Sung Dynasty

The life of Su Shih (1036-1101) lies in the second half of the Northern Sung dynasty (960-1126), a period in which many characteristics of Chinese culture took the form they were to retain until 1911. Although the roots of these go back at least several centuries, they were developed, selected, strengthened, and integrated in the Northern Sung to produce a civilization that looks more like the China of 900 years later than that of 400 years earlier. Su Shih, like the rest of his generation, had to take these new conditions into account in working out his conception of the relations

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30. See A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas, Vol. 1, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1935), pp. 447-456, where, without claim to completeness, sixty-six senses of the word "nature" are distinguished.

between himself, society, and the natural world, and the ideas of earlier thinkers were only partly relevant. His own thinking, on the other hand, had continuing relevance through the rest of the history of dynastic China. He is a central figure in a key period of one of the world's principal civilizations.

Su Shih traveled much, but in China of the 11th century he was almost never far from unsocialized landscapes. Even two centuries later Marco Polo in his account of his travels refers again and again to the forests and the many kinds of wild animals in every part of China.[31] China's population was only about one seventh of what it is now (it probably exceeded 100,000,000 by the beginning of the 12th century[32]); and it must have been even more markedly concentrated in flat lowlands than at present, because many of the food crops (such as maize, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and Irish potatoes) which made possible the support of dense populations on sloping and infertile terrain had not yet come to China.[33] Early-ripening strains of rice, first introduced from Champa in the Indo-Chinese peninsula during the reign of Chen-tsung (998-1022), were just beginning their long diffusion and development which in later centuries were also to be associated with the bringing under cultivation of hilly and other

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31. Ronald Latham, trans., The Travels of Marco Polo (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958), chapters 4 and 5.

32. Ping-ti Ho, Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), Harvard East Asian Studies No. 4, p. 172.

33. Ibid., pp. 169ff.

marginal land.[34] The neglect of uplands and slopes for farming[35] meant that a short walk would take a man away from society among woods and streams where, at most, he might meet a solitary woodcutter, fisherman, or hermit.

Thus it would not be true to describe 11th-century China in the same terms Cressey uses for 20th-century China:

> . . . The landscape everywhere reflects the intensity of man's occupance . . . . Everywhere there are human beings. In this old, old land, one can scarcely find a spot unmodified by man and his activities.[36]

At the same time, Northern Sung China was by no means only a collection of farming villages set in a wilderness. This period saw the beginning of the massive population growth which, with interruptions, has reached right up to the present.[37] Even more important in the short run were the transformation and the growth of cities, and the increasing urbanization of parts of the society. The populations of a number of cities probably passed the million mark,[38] and the gentry class (see below, p. 20)

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34. Ibid., pp. 170ff.

35. "There is evidence that the dry hills and mountains of the Yangtze region and north China were still largely virgin about 1700" (Ibid., p. 184). See also Pierre Gourou, "Notes on China's Unused Uplands", Pacific Affairs, Vol. 21 (1948), pp. 227-238.

36. George B. Cressey, Asia's Lands and Peoples (New York: McGraw-Hill, second edition 1951), p. 34.

37. Ping-ti-Ho, Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953 (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press, 1959), Harvard East Asian Studies No. 4, p. 176: ". . . in terms of food supply, China's population could probably increase, and apparently did begin to increase substantially, from 1000 onward."

38. Edward A. Kracke, Civil Service in Early Sung China (960-1067) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, Vol. 13, p. 13.

typically lived in cities rather than on their lands. There was also a burgeoning of private commerce, domestic and foreign, centered in the cities. Cities began to take on the aspect they were to retain into the 20th century, with varied business and government activities, and all kinds of entertainment, including restaurants, brothels, theaters, and tea shops. Most of the cities of the new kind were in the Yangtze valley and along the southeast coast, and there was a general shift in the center of gravity of the civilization toward the south; in the middle of the Northern Sung, degree-holders and officials from the South began to outnumber those from the North.[39] The amount of money coined increased greatly, and paper money began to be widely used. Merchants were less looked down upon than they had been in earlier periods.[40]

There was a broad development of literature in the Northern Sung. The leading writers favored the use of "old-style" prose (ku-wen), which stylistically was a rejection of the highly mannered writing which had been prevalent since the third century, and a preference for the simpler (although still not vernacular) prose of earlier times; but the ku-wen movement went

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39. James T.C. Liu, Reform in Sung China: Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and his New Policies (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 37. On other aspects of the cultural development of the South in this period, see P' an Kuang-tan, "The Distribution, Migrations, and Inheritance of Chinese Painters" (潘光旦：中国畫家的籍分佈，移植，與遺傳), 人文月刊, Vol. 1 (1930), pp. 1-15; Vol. 2 (1931), pp. 17-31; and Ho Yu-sen, "The Geographical Distribution of Schools of Thought in the Northern and Southern Sung Dynasties" (何佑森：兩宋學風的地理分佈), 新亞學報, Vol. 1 (1955), pp. 331-379,

40. See Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, A History of East Asian Civilization, Vol. 1, East Asia: The Great Tradition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), pp. 221-225 for an excellent summary of Sung society and economy.

beyond style (see below, p.34). Along with Ou-yang Hsiu,[41] Wang An-shih,[42] and his own father Su Hsün[43], and brother Su Ch'e[44], Su Shih was one of the best known practicioners of this style, although he wrote in other styles as well. Old-style prose became dominant in this period, and remained so until the end of dynastic China. The poets of Northern Sung continued to write in traditional forms, but also used the tz'u (詞 "lyric", i.e., words to music) in new ways with a variety of verse patterns and subjects. Su Shih is famous both for his poems in older styles and for his major contribution to the development of the tz'u. Early in the dynasty the government had four encyclopedias compiled, and later several histories of lasting importance were written. Printing, of earlier origins, began to make written works more widely available, although hand copies continued to be cheaper.[45]

Painting, especially landscape painting, is sometimes considered the outstanding artistic achievement of the Sung dynasty, which has been called "the age of full maturity of Chinese painting."[46] Calligraphy is said to be inferior to painting in Sung, but it too is marked by a break in style,

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41. 1007-1072. A leading statesman and literatus (Giles 1592).

42. 1021-1086. Known especially for his radical attempts at reform, which dominated China's politics for many years (Giles 2134).

43. 1009-1066 (Giles 1780).

44. 1039-1112 (Giles 1773).

45. R. H. van Gulik, Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Serie Orientale 19, 1958), p. 219.

46. James Cahill, Chinese Painting (Lausanne, Skira, 1960), p. 32.

in the direction of more individuality and grace and away from strength and austerity.[47] Su Shih was a painter of bamboos, water, trees, and rocks[48], and one of the best calligraphers of the time; he also wrote critical notes on painting and calligraphy. Music, another of his interests, is said to have reached its highest development in the Sung dynasty.[49]

The foundations of the Neo-Confucian philosophy were laid in the 11th century, although it was not until the following century, in the synthesis of Chu Hsi[50], that it received the final cast which made it the dominant Confucian orthodoxy for the duration of imperial China. But Chou Tun-yi[51], Chang Tsai[52], the Ch'eng brothers[53], and Shao Yung[54], had already indicated the main lines of the system that aimed at embracing and harmonizing cosmology, social philosophy, and ethics; and it is against the background of Neo-Confucianism that Su Shih's much less systematic and complete philosophy stands out as an alternative in his time and later.

The Sung dynasty as a whole was marked by new interests in the material world. All kinds of phenomena were studied, catalogued, collected,

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47. Yang Yu-hsun, La Calligraphie Chinoise depuis les Han (Paris: Guethner, 1937), pp. 73f; Wu Yin-ming, "A Preliminary Discussion of Northern Sung Thought on Painting" (吳因明：北宋繪畫思想初論), 新亞書院學術年刊, Vol. 3 (1961) p. 3.

48. See ch. II below.

49. John Hazedel Levis, Foundations of Chinese Musical Art (Peiping: Vetch, 1936), p. 200.

50. 1130-1200 (Giles 446).

51. 1017-1073 (Giles 425).

52. 1020-1076 (Giles 117).

53. Ch'eng Hao, 1032-1085 (Giles 278), and Ch'eng I, 1033-1107 (Giles 280).

54. 1011-1077 (Giles 1683).

theorized about. Needham says, "Whenever one follows up any specific piece of scientific or technological history in Chinese literature, it is always at the Sung dynasty that one finds the major focal point. This is as true for the applied as for the pure sciences."[55] He goes on to give examples from engineering, architecture, chemistry, medicine, biology, and mathematics. Collectors busied themselves with paintings, calligraphies, old bronzes, jade carvings, weapons, toys, musical instruments, rocks, inks, and ink-stones.[56] Su Shih too was something of a collector, though he was wary of overdoing it, and he also had some knowledge of hydraulic engineering and medicines. Silk, lacquer, and porcelain were produced in larger quantities and better qualities than ever before.[57]

This great efflorescence of thought and activity in so many areas came mainly from members of a class which in the Northern Sung was maturing into the form that it would retain until 1911: the scholar-gentry. Now no longer were aristocratic lineage and control over large land-holdings and numerous retainers the principal prerequisites for social influence, as they had been at least until the mid T'ang dynasty (618-906). The new class derived its influence from education and talent, although it was still generally a class of landlords in contrast to the roughly one half of the population that were tenant farmers. The most respected path to honor and

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55. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol: 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 134.

56. Herbert Franke, Kulturgeschictliches über die chinesische Tusche (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen, Neue Folge, Heft 54, 1962), pp. 19, 23.

57. Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, A History of East Asian Civilization, Vol. 1, East Asia: The Great Tradition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), pp. 212, 226.

influence was that of the scholar bureaucrat, who studied for the government examinations and was given office, in theory at least, on the basis of his ability and performance.[58] Carried largely by this class, the civilization reached a new degree of unity: "The community of culture (Kulturgemeinschaft) became under the Sung for the first time an absolutely binding one."[59] New conceptions of the accomplishments, duties, and ideas of the perfect scholar-gentleman developed at the same time, and old questions about the balance between service to the state and secluded private life appeared in a new light. Su Shih's ideas about the scholar-gentleman, and his conduct of his own life, were seminal for his own and later times.

Early in the dynasty the government had a surplus of revenues, but expenditures rose as the size of the army and the bureaucracy increased, and by the mid 11th century there were deficits. Morale deteriorated among the underpaid bureaucrats. In the course of the century there were several attempts at reform, culminating in the efforts of Wang An-shih radically to overhaul finances, tax and corvee systems, and the bureaucracy. From the 1030's on there was factional strife among the officials, which reached a climax when Wang was in power (1069-1076) and in the alternating control of the government by pro- and anti-Wang cliques after his time. Su Shih was an official most of his life, and as a prominent opponent of Wang's measures, was deeply involved in these struggles.

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58. Ibid., pp. 220-224.

59. Otto Franke, Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches, Vol. 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1948), p. 116.

Su Shih (1036-1101)[60]

Su Shih was born in Mei-shan, on the west bank of the Min River in what is now Szechuan province. His account of Mei-chou (which included three hsien besides Mei-shan, and had a total population of 192,348[61]) tells something of his own character and his ties with the ku-wen movement, as well as describing local ways:

> The manners of my chou are close to antiquity in three ways: the gentlemen value classical studies, and consider family connections important; the people honor government officers and fear the law; and the farmers practise mutual aid in cultivation. These seem to be ways carried over from the Three Dynasties and Han and T'ang[62], which other areas have not attained to. At the beginning of the (present) dynasty, officials were selected on the basis of (their mastery of) the phonetic rules (in composition); and before the T'ien-sheng period (1023-1031), scholars still continued the poor literary style of the Five Dynasties[63]. Only the gentlemen of my chou went deeply into the classics and studied antiquity, and took the Western Han style of writing as their model. In those days the whole country referred to them as hopelessly out-of-date. Even the clerks and lower local officials carried around writing brushes and classical books, and their discourse and behavior were worthy of note . . . . The people are all intelligent, gifted, and knowledgeable. They devote themselves to farming and work hard. They are easy to govern, but hard to cow . . . .[64]

Su Shih's father Su Hsün developed enthusiasm for learning only in his twenty-seventh year, around the time of Su Shih's birth. He never passed the examinations, but his writings were highly thought of by the

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60. Su Shih's biography (Sung-Shih ch. 338), and the tomb inscription by his brother from which it is largely derived, are given in the SPPY edition of his works. Lin Yutang's biography, The Gay Genius: The Life and Times of Su Tungpo (New York: John Day, 1947), is very helpful.

61. Sung-shih, ch. 89.

62. The Three Dynasties--Hsia, Shang, Chou-- are the time when the sage kings are supposed to have established perfect institutions in China; the traditional dates are 2205 B.C. - 256 B.C. Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) and T'ang (618-906) were the two other most prestigious dynasties up to the Sung.

63. The Five Dynasties (907-958) were a period of disunion between the T'ang and Sung dynasties.

64. 眉州遠景樓記 SPPY chi 32.229a.

influential Ou-yang Hsiu and Han Ch'i[65], and he eventually was given a post at the capital. Su Shih's mother was an educated lady, and taught him when his father was away pursuing his career. Su Shih also went to a school conducted by a Taoist in Mei-shan. With his younger brother, Su Ch'e, he maintained very close ties throughout his life, though after their official careers began they were able to be together only rarely.

In 1057 Su Shih passed the chin-shih examinations with distinction; but in that same year his mother died, and he was out of office for the two-year mourning period. After that he held a series of posts in the capital (K'ai-feng) and in the provinces, interrupted by another two-year mourning period when his father died in 1066. In 1069 Wang An-shih came to power at a time when Su Shih was serving at the capital, and as Su's tomb inscription says, "When Su Shih and Wang An-shih discussed anything, they generally disagreed." Su attacked Wang's policies, and was finally accused of slandering the emperor, but the case against him could not be maintained, and he requested a post away from the capital. Again he served in several places in the provinces, including Hang-chou, until he was again impeached for writings (especially poems) critical of the government and was demoted to a low office without functions at Huang-chou, a small out-of-the-way place on the middle Yangtze. The four years he spent here (1080-1084) were a critical period in his life. He read Buddhist and Taoist works, farmed, and wrote poetry. It was here that he took the additional name Tung-p'o (東坡) "East Slope" after the place where his farmstead was.

The emperor Shen-tsung (r. 1068-1085), however, apparently still had a high personal opinion of Su, and in the last year of his reign he granted

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65. 1008-1075. A minister, and a prominent opponent of the reforms of Wang An-shih (Giles 610).

Su's request to retire to a farm at Ch'ang-chou.[66] Then Shen-tsung died, and in the first part of Che-tsung's reign (r. 1086-1100) the Empress Dowager, grandmother of the young emperor, was regent. During the regency, Wang An-shih's faction was out of favor, and Su held a succession of high offices in the capital and the provinces. Returning to Hang-chou as governor (1089-1091), he carried out a number of water-conservancy projects, including the landscaping and beautifying of Hang-chou's famous West Lake. In 1093 the Empress Dowager died, and the political tide turned again. In the following year Su Shih was banished to the far South, first to Hui-chou on the East River in present Kuangtung province, then to Hainan where he lived in quite miserable circumstances. In 1100 Che-tsung died, and Su Shih was pardoned. He travelled north again, but fell sick and died the following summer at Ch'ang-chou.

Background of the Sung Conception of Landscape.

Since most writers in the Sung (as in other periods) had great love and respect for the past, what is new in their conceptions of landscape is not usually expressed as a rejection of older conceptions. They preferred to feel an intellectual kinship with men of earlier times, and to cast what was most original in their thought in venerable phrases which may once have meant something quite different. The following discussion brings out a few outstanding traits of earlier periods' treatment of landscape and landscape objects, especially as expressed in poetry. These traits were formally retained from period to period until the Sung and after, and they became themselves something like the natural objects in which writers of successive generations found new meanings and new relations to

66. In present Kiang-su province.

man. The Sung dynasty in this respect, as in many others, was a time when traditional forms were not abandoned, but recombined as elements of a new and broader understanding.

In the Book of Songs, dating from the early centuries of the first millennium B.C., landscape images appear in simple juxtaposition with human situations. Natural things are not interesting in themselves, but are read as omens, as echoes of man's doings, or (perhaps even more often) as ironic contrasts with human sorrow.[67] "The lotus is in the pool and the pine-tree on the hill. Nature goes its accustomed way, only man changes; such is the burden of many songs."[68] Landscape does not emerge as a separate entity, but reflects and gives weight to human conditions:

> Zip, zip the valley wind!
> Nothing but wind and rain.
> In days of peril, in days of dread
> It was always 'I and you.'
> Now in time of peace, of happiness,
> You have cast me aside . . . .[69]
>
> 'Fair, fair,' cry the ospreys
> On the island in the river.
> Lovely is this noble lady,
> Fit bride for our lord . . . .[70]

And as examples of ironic or callous contrast:

> Tall grows that pear-tree,
> Its fruit so fair to see.
> The king's business never ends;
> Day in, day out it claims us . . . .
> (Waley's note to the second line: "'The tree flowers in its season; but the soldiers cannot lead a natural existence' (earliest commentator) . . . .")[71]

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67. Arthur Waley, trans., The Book of Songs (New York: Grove Press Evergreen Books, 1960), Introduction.

68. Ibid., p. 15.

69. Ibid., p. 102.

70. Ibid., p. 81.

71. Ibid., p. 149.

'Kio' sings the oriole
As it lights on the thorn-bush.
Who went with Duke Mu to the grave?
Yen-hsi of the clan Tzu-chü . . . .[72]

In the Ch'u Tz'u (a collection written at various times--the following examples are from the Nine Songs, perhaps dating from the second century B.C.[73]) landscapes are described very richly and sensuously, with colors, smells, tastes, sounds, and textures. Especially if any distance is involved, the landscape is magical and inhabited by fairies, and people travel in it by supernatural means.

He bathes among orchids, washes his hair in the scented streams;
Adorns his embroidered coat with flowers from the sunset tree . . . .
In a chariot drawn by dragons, wearing regal garments,
He wanders over the boundless plains of Heaven.
In a shining glory this spirit has descended.
Suddenly he soars high among the clouds,
Seeing the whole province of Ch'i and even beyond,
Spreading over the Four Seas in the interminable distance . . . .

My tears flow in endless streams:
In sorrow and sadness I dream of my lord,
Who sails with oars of cinnamon and sweeps of cassia,
Breaking through ice and the heaped-up snow . . . .[74]

There seems to be a spirit on the mountain
Clad in creeping fig, girdled with ivy,
Smiling with drooping lids and shining teeth;
She longs for me, makes enticing gestures.[75]

T'ao Ch'ien[76] had something of a Horatian view of landscape. In his

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72. Ibid., p. 311.

73. James R. Hightower, Topics in Chinese Literature (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies Vol. 3, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, revised ed., 1962), p. 23.

74. Robert Payne, ed., The White Pony: An Anthology of Chinese Poetry (New York: New American Library, Mentor Books, 1960), p. 82.

75. Ibid., p. 87.

76. 365-427 (Giles 1892).

poems he dwells on the immediate scene and the familiar object; the heart of the landscape lies in his gardens and fields, while untended and distant scenes are only backdrops or frames. His interest is in the quiet rural life, in its contrast to the struggle for fame and advancement in the centers of administration.

Returning to Live in the Country, I

In my youth I was out of tune with the common folk:
My nature is to love hills and mountains.
In my folly I fell into the world's dust,
And so went on for thirty years.
The caged bird longs for its old woodland;
The pond-reared fish yearns for its native stream.
I have opened up a waste plot of the south moor,
And keeping my simplicity returned to garden and field.
A homestead of some ten acres,
A thatched cottage with eight or nine rooms;
Elms and willows shading the hinder eaves;
Peach and plum trees ranking before the hall.
Dim, dim is the distant hamlet;
Lagging, lagging hangs the smoke of the market-town;
A dog barks in the deep lane;
A cock crows on the top of the mulberry tree.
My door and courtyard have no dust and turmoil;
In the bare rooms there is leisure and to spare.
Too long a captive in a cage,
I have now come back to Nature.[77]

Natural things are still not meaningful in themselves, but only because they are the setting of a good life. They are conceived negatively, as the opposite of the city life that T'ao Yüan-ming disdains and shuns: landscape is what is non-urban, non-political, non-public. In this spirit, K'ung Chih-kuei[78] in the 5th century can write of the treachery of a man who

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77. A. R. Davis, ed., The Penguin Book of Chinese Verse: Verse Translations by Robert Kotewall and Norman L. Smith (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962), pp. 8-9.

78. A writer of the Ch'i dynasty (479-501); (JMTT 45.2).

left the mountains to return to a political career.[79] For Hsieh Ling Yün[80], similarly, the landscape is a counterweight to the noisy, dusty, and busy cities; the human heart is more in tune with mountains and streams, which are also an icon of the Buddha.[81]

It is in the T'ang dynasty (618-906) that the possibility of the landscape's having a truly independent meaning and being, quite apart from man, begins to be deeply felt. But this realization seems to have been uncertain, perhaps even a little frightening, and most T'ang writers were unable or unwilling to face the direct experience of an unclothed landscape, in which they glimpsed an inhuman, self-sufficient validity. T'ang poetry is famous for its suggestiveness, its quality of only hinting at the main point, and leaving much up to the reader; and this new conception of landscape is often presented indirectly or through a screen of one kind or another.[82] The landscape retains its old meaning as a place where certain human events transpire; but now the landscape itself has swelled into the space between people, compelling attention as an object in its own right, but almost never faced directly and alone. The naked confrontation of poet and landscape is almost always relieved by another person who is not quite there, but has just left, is about to come, has left a trace, can be heard at a distance but not seen, etc. The poets are unwilling to risk themselves

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79. Georges Margouliès, ed. and trans. Anthologie Raisonée de la Littérature Chinoise (Paris: Payot, 1948), pp. 242-244.

80. 385-433 (Giles 739).

81. Richard Mather, "The Landscape Buddhism of the 5th-century Poet Hsieh Ling-yün", Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 18 (1958), pp. 67-79.

82. Charles Wivell in conversation pointed out to me this screen effect in the poetry of Wang Wei (699-759), an official and one of the most famous poets of the T'ang dynasty (Giles 2241).

wholly in the landscape experience, but still need at least a hint that another person is aware of them. They seem suspended between society and landscape, but with both experiences retaining their separate quality so that there is consummation in neither.

> An empty hill, and no one in sight
> But I hear the echo of voices.
> The slanting sun at evening penetrates the deep woods
> And shines reflected on the blue lichens.[83]

> The evening sun crosses the western passes,
> And all the ravines are suddenly dipped in darkness.
> The moon among the pines gives birth to the cool of the evening,
> And wind and stream fill the ear with their music.
> The woodcutters have returned home almost to a man,
> And clouds of birds settle quietly in their roosts.
> It is already past the time appointed for your coming.
> My lonely lute waits for you among the creepers.[84]

> Under the pines I ask the boy;
> He says his master has gone gathering herbs
> And that he can only (tell you that) he is somewhere on the hills.
> The mists are thick and he would not know where to find him.[85]

Sometimes the social ghost is reduced to the absolute minimum of "no one", but he is still mentioned:

> Sitting alone in the quiet bamboo grove,
> I play my flute and chant my poems.
> None is aware that I am deep in this forest,
> Only the bright moon comes to shine on me.[86]

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83. Wang Wei, translated in Soame Jenyns, A Further Selection from the Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty (London: John Murray, 1944), p. 74.

84. Meng Hao-jan, translated in Soame Jenyns, Selections from the Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty (London: John Murray, 1940, 1952), p. 33. Meng Hao-jan (689-740) failed his examinations and became a poet and recluse (Giles 1518).

85. Chia Tao, translated Ibid., p. 104. Chia Tao (777-841) was a Buddhist priest, official, and poet (Giles 327).

86. Wang Wei, translated in Ch'en Shou-yi, Chinese Literature; A Historical Introduction (New York: Ronald, 1961), p. 241.

Stock pastoral figures--the hermit, the fisherman on the water, the woodcutter in the hills--had been used before, but in the T'ang poems they are part of the screen between the poet and the landscape: they seem able to accept the reality of landscape in a way the poet cannot, and the poet likes to imagine what the experience is like.

> The fisherman at night sleeps near the western Precipice,
> At dawn he draws clear water from the Hsiang and burns the bamboos of Ch'u.
> Mists disperse and the sun rises but no man comes,
> Only (is heard) the squeaking of his oars among the green hills and waters.
> Turning round I see the horizon as if it merged with the flood.
> Over the precipice the aimless clouds chase each other across the sky.[87]

The author of the above poem, Liu Tsung-yüan, was an innovator in simple, real descriptive writing about landscape, in prose and poetry,[88] and, at least in some of these writings, he seems a step closer than many of the other T'ang writers to direct acceptance of landscape in itself. A consequence of this, and a reason why the others hung back from it, appears in his "Discourse on Heaven."[89] Man is described as a kind of infection in nature, attacking and disrupting it by digging, ploughing, cutting trees, and so on. Liu ascribes this idea to Han Yü[90], and agrees with it, differing only by denying that nature can wilfully reward, punish, or otherwise

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87. Liu Tsung-yüan, translated in Soame Jenyns, Selections from the Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty (London: John Murray, 1940, 1952), p. 25. Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819) was one of the early leaders in the ku-wen (old-style prose) movement (Giles 1361).

88. E. Edwards, "Liu Tsung-yüan and the Earliest Chinese Essays on Scenery", Asia Major, n.s. Vol. 1 (1949), pp. 147-157.

89. Translated in Georges Margouliès, ed. and trans., Anthologie Raisonnée de la Littérature Chinoise (Paris: Payot, 1948), pp. 401-402.

90. 768-824. The founder of the ku-wen movement in the T'ang dynasty (Giles 632).

act upon man. Liu did conceive sympathetically of landscape as having validity and meaning apart from man, but this apparently involved seeing man, from the landscape's viewpoint, as a destructive vermin, rather than as himself like or part of the landscape.

Most of these same traits are found also in the works of Li Yü[91], but particularly striking is his use of landscape space, which Hoffmann has elucidated.[92] An unbounded space is created in his poems by various devices, such as a view from a tower, layers of mountains one behind the other, mists, or the word "beyond, outside" (外); and the emotion expressed in the poem is projected into this indefinitely large space which so becomes a resonance chamber infinitely enlarging, strengthening, and generalizing it. Particularly effective is music which stops, leaving a sudden awareness of the vast landscape which does not stop:

> The sounding of the phoenix-painted flutes breaks off,
> Waters and clouds move idly on.[93]

Hoffmann notes: ". . . The instruments have ceased sounding, but the tones of their marvellous music still reverberate in the hearts of the listeners . . . The water, flowing on away, symbolically carries the feeling-space into depth: just as far as the waters of the Great River flow away and lose themselves in infinity, that lost and immense, too, is the feeling remaining in the listeners' hearts after the instruments fall silent, that endlessly far, too, soul and feeling flow off and lose themselves in the universe. . .

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91. 937-978. Poet, and last king of the Southern T'ang dynasty (937-975) until its liquidation by the Sung (Giles 1236).

92. Alfred Hoffmann, Die Lieder des Li Yü, 937-978, Herrschers der Südlichen T'ang-Dynastie, als Einführung in die Kunst der chinesischen Lieddichtung aus dem Urtext vollständig übertragen und erläutert (Köln: Greven, 1950), passim, especially p. 246 s.v. "Raum", and the references given there.

93. Ibid., p. 27.

The direct juxtaposition of these impressions causes conceptual space, by the 'leap' of man's soul into the spatial universe of nature, to be expanded into boundlessness, and the effect of such a verse becomes almost magical . . . ."[94] Landscapes in Li Yü are empty, meaningless, idle, unless they can be thought of as appropriate to the emotion felt by man, and the expansion of feeling into boundless space carries with it a connotation of lostness, loneliness, and meaninglessness.[95]

In general, the idea of "landscape" has rarely been expressed in Chinese as an abstract concept. Typical terms are "mountains (hills) and waters" (山水), "river and hill" (江山), "hills, streams, herbs, trees" (山川草木)---that is, incomplete and suggestive lists of landscape's most typical concrete elements. But these terms were not proper nouns; they did not necessarily refer to any particular landscape. Thus while landscape could not readily be discussed without reference to its very concrete elements, these elements themselves had little individuality and were largely interchangeable.[96]

The most commonly mentioned components of landscape are hills and water. As we have seen, the hills in 11th century China were even less capable than now of supporting dense populations under the usual systems of cultivation, and hence were largely unsocialized.[97] We shall return later to

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94. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

95. Ibid., p. 243 s.v. "lou"; p. 245 s.v. "Musik", "müssig", and "Natur", with the references to the poems and the notes on them.

96. Michael Sullivan, in The Birth of Landscape Painting in China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 4ff., shows that landscape pictures were not intended to describe particular objects, but an ideal or norm.

97. Mining, carried on in the hills, did not sort well with the primary interest of the government in developed areas of cultivation, and was normally discouraged. See Owen Lattimore, Inner Asian Frontiers of China (New York: American Geographical Society, second ed. 1951), pp. 43-44.

certain aspects of water's importance. Hills and water are both more typical of South China than of North China, which has less rainfall, fewer rivers, and greater expanses of plain. It was South China especially that provided an intimate intermingling of socialized with non-socialized places; the great new cities with their expanded functions were never far from almost unpopulated wooded hills. To Su Shih, the city of Hangchou was the ideal of this happy juxtaposition of an elegant and varied urban society, where one could also carry out official responsibilities, with fine natural landscapes. Dust, characteristic of the dry North which had been the traditional citadel of political power in China, was commonly used by Su Shih and others before him as a symbol of the worldly vexations and cares of public life. The increasing importance of the South in the nation's life, to which we have already referred, must therefore have facilitated the development of the Sung dynasty's new attitude toward landscape.

As in every period, writers in the Sung drew on the earlier conceptions of landscape discussed above (and others as well), frequently adopting them without change. But some writers, like Su Shih, also recombined and re-interpreted their predecessors' phrases and devices to express new ideas of landscape. In general, before the Sung, landscape had appeared as meaningful only with reference to social man; in itself it was of no interest or significance. Landscape was the ground, man the figure; landscape was non-being, man was being. But in the Sung, it became possible to accept the landscape as something in itself, not just background, echo, or resonance-chamber for man. One could see the landscape directly, without a screen, as whole and real, and accept the consequences of this for one's idea of man. In the landscape looked at for itself, one could see something of what the universe fundamentally is, and what man is: there was

no figure/ground polarity, and man's nature belonged as much to the non-being of ground as to the being of figure.[98]

This broadening of the idea of man to include positively the non-human landscape was part of a more general expansion of the conception of the ideal gentlemanly personality which was associated with the old-style prose movement. Originating with Han Yü in the T'ang dynasty, this movement took on a new character in the early Sung. Han Yü had written that the true Tao (Way: way of life plus social organization, in this Confucian sense) had been passed from the ancient sage kings to Confucius and to Mencius, but since then its transmission had been broken off, while Buddhism, Taoism, and other heterodox Taos arose and corrupted China.[99] He was concerned that Buddhism should be forcibly suppressed. To Ou-yang Hsiu in the 11th century, the answer to the problem was not simply to abolish Buddhism. He argued that Buddhism should be treated as a doctor treats a disease[100]: rather than attacking it directly, the defenders of Confucianism should look to the health and vitality of their own doctrine and its application to the body politic, and Buddhism would disappear of

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98. To Wordsworth and other Romanticists, similarly, "scenery provided the best evidence of what the universe fundamentally is..." Joseph Warren Beach, The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry (New York: Pageant, 1956 -- reproduction of 1936 text), p. 42.

To Su Shih, the sea was still "ground" in this sense, and was not part of the landscape experience that he accepted. On non-being as part of man's nature, see Norman O. Brown, Life Against Death: the Psychoanalytical Meaning of History (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1959) passim; and Paul Tillich, The Courage To Be (New Haven: Yale University Press, paperback, 1959), passim.

99. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson, compilers, Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 426ff.

100. Cf also below, chapter V, on the body politic as a patient.

its own accord.[101] Buddhism, that is to say, had definite social and ideological functions, and the needs it met would still exist even if it were forcibly abolished; the correct approach was to expand and renovate Confucianism and so make Buddhism superfluous. Although he was referring particularly to social institutions, Ou-yang Hsiu himself, together with many younger men like Su Shih, applied the idea of an enlarged Confucianism to the ideal Confucian personality as well. In writing history, he drew on a broader variety of sources than had been used before;[102] and he was a great arbiter of literature.[103] One aspect of this expansion, then, was that non-socialized landscapes could be seen as a positive part of the world of a responsible Confucian gentleman, and the conceptions and interpretations attached to these landscapes were no longer merely background to or denial of the 'real' life of organized society, but were an admissible complement to it. And Su Shih is the originator of the conception that only the educated Confucian gentleman is capable of the artistic expression of a true understanding of landscape.[104]

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101. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson, compilers, Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 441ff.

102. Ibid., p. 493.

103. Ch'en Shou-yi, Chinese Literature: A Historical Introduction (New York: Ronald, 1961), p. 359.

104. Hellmut Wilhelm, "Confucianism", Encyclopedia of World Art, Vol. III (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), col. 781-782. Ku Teng, "Su Tung P'o als Kunstkritiker", Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. 8 (n.f.) (1932), pp. 104ff; idem, "Chinesische Malkunsttheorie in der T'ang- und Sungzeit", Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. 11 (n.f.) (1935), pp. 37ff.

Some of these ideas and tendencies can be seen in Su Shih's Red Cliff fu.[105] Here the view of natural things as counterpart or contrast to human situations, dating back to the Book of Songs, is applied to the moon and the river: in their changefulness they are counterparts of man's short life and fickle fortunes; but the contrast between man's fate and the endurance through the ages of the river and the moon is shown to be false--man is exactly as permanent, and exactly as changeful, as they. In the same fu can be found some of the sensuousness of the Ch'u Tz'u (with an allusion to the Nine Songs), used here however to create a feeling of immediacy in the present experience. The motif of the magical spirit-journey, and music over the water, make a "feeling-space", but now it is no mere echo-chamber for man's emotions, nor are placelessness and drifting associated with lostness, loneliness, or meaninglessness in the whole impression of the poem. There is a pastoral figure, too, the boatwoman, but she has no special insight into the landscape, being in fact less capable of understanding it than is the poet.

This brief summary will, I hope, suffice for our purposes as an introduction to Su Shih's world, and other background information can be supplied where relevant to the examination of his own thought about landscape.

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105. This is too long to cite in full here, but part is given on p. 63 below. It is translated in full in many places, e.g. in Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark, The Prose Poetry of Su Tung-p'o (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1935), and Georges Margouliès, ed. and trans., Anthologie Raisonnée de la Littérature Chinoise (Paris: Payot, 1948).

II. THE SELF AND THE LANDSCAPE

For Su Shih, as for many Chinese thinkers, an underlying assumption that man and nature are essentially made of the same stuff and act in the same way[1] made it seem reasonable to turn to the natural world for an understanding of man, and to man for an understanding of the natural world. Several of the ways in which this basic idea was specifically worked out--ways of interpreting the relation between the landscape and man's self--are echoed in Su Shih's writings and are strands of the tradition from which he wove his own original conceptions. Such are the interpretations of the landscape on the model of personal relations or social organization; the attribution to landscape of human moods which then retroact on man; the view of landscape as a biological body; and the presentation of landscapes in painting and poetry as seen from a perspective wider than a single point in space and time.

Landscapes can be read in the same manner as human behavior ordinarily is interpreted in social contact. "If we see two people embrace, we imagine them to be in love because we are acquainted with such feelings in ourselves. In other words, our everyday reasoning about our fellows is anthropomorphic and based on identification."[2] This, according to Money-Kyrle,

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1. The 64 hexagrams of the Book of Changes symbolized universal principles and relationships, equally applicable to human and to natural situations. See Fung Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 379-395, esp. p. 390ff; and Hellmut Wilhelm, Die Wandlung: Acht Vorträge zum I-Ging (Peking: Vetch, 1944), passim. Su Shih was a student of the Book of Changes. Cf. also Chow Yih-ching, La Philosophie Morale dans la Neo-confucianisme (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), p. 78: "La sagesse chinoise est tout entière orientée vers l'observation de la nature dans le désir de régler ses attitudes, sa conduite humaine, sur le rythme du cosmos. C'est ce rythme, cette mobilité des choses qui, avant tout, a frappé les Chinois."

2. R. E. Money-Kyrle, Man's Picture of his World: A Psychoanalytic Study (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1961), p. 17.

is the essence of psychoanalytic reasoning, and it can be used with other things besides people. It is most reliable when applied to things most like ourselves: thus it works best with respect to people, less well for animals, not at all with inanimate things (which Money-Kyrle calls animism). In all cases it may be in error because the motive to be inferred may be beyond our experience, or because we may too quick to impute our own motives to the other person or thing.[3]

Su Shih only rarely ascribes social roles or social organization to natural things, as in the following examples:

Notice of Ink Gentleman Hall

> When people are respected, they are called "sir" (公); when they are revered, they are referred to as "the gentleman" (君). Below this they are called "you" (爾汝). There are many men even of high quality for whom people put on a face of awe while rejecting them in their hearts, and they step forward and say "sir, the gentleman", but step back and say "you". But Wang Tzu-yu[4] called the bamboo a Gentleman, and everyone follows him and does likewise, using no other term. Now Yü-k'o[5], in addition, can depict the Gentleman's form in ink; and he made a hall to house the Gentleman, and asked me to write a piece in praise of the Gentleman's virtue. So Yü-k'o is faithful and generous to the Gentleman. Yü-k'o is a man who is proper and quiet but cultured, very wise but loyal. Not a few cultured and accomplished men do all in their power (?) day and night to strike up a friendship with him. But it is only to the Gentleman that he is thus generous. And the Gentleman is rude and contrary, without sound, color, scent, or flavor to please the ear, eye, nose, or mouth--thus if Yü-k'o is so generous to the Gentleman, it must be because he somehow reveres it.
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> The social world's ability to blow hot and cold on a man is not so forceful as the way snow and frost, wind and rain cut into

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3. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

4. That is, Wang Cheng-chih of the Chin dynasty (265-317), who said of the bamboo, "How is it possible to do without this gentleman for a single day?" (JMTT 152.4).

5. That is, Wen T'ung (d. 1079), an artist and official especially renowned for his paintings of bamboos (JMTT 55.2).

one's flesh, but there are few who do not find there cause for delight or misery, and lose their grip on themselves. But from the point of view of plants, the changes of seasons are great—and the Gentleman alone ignores them. Even if it were not for Yü-k'o, who in the world would not revere it? But only Yü-k'o can understand the Gentleman's depths, and know why it is to be revered. In dignity and decorum, talk and laughter, wielding his brush with vigor and rapidity, he captures all the Gentleman's virtues: young and strong, or withered and old in its form, spread or folded or lying flat in its posture. Maltreated by wind and snow, it showsits constancy; ...-ed by cliffs and rocks, it displays its integrity. Successful, it flourishes but is not haughty; unsuccessful, it is meager and distressed, but not humiliated. In a crowd, it does not lean on others; standing alone, it is not afraid. Yü-k'o has really caught the ways of the Gentleman, and plumbed its nature. Although I am not such that I can know the Gentleman, I should like to follow Yü-k'o and seek the images of all the Gentleman's friends and relatives, and keep them at my house, which will be a second home for the Gentleman.[6]

. . . . . .

from Chalet of Cranes

...The Book of Changes says, "the crane cries in the shade and her young answer her"; the Book of Poetry says, "When a crane cries at the Nine Swamps, its voice is heard in the wild". In other words, the crane is a thing pure and remote, leisurely and uninhibited, high beyond the dust and dirt--that is why the people in the Changes and Poetry use it as an image of saints and sages, and why virtuous men not in public life make pets of cranes and take pleasure in them....[7]

Su Shih's contemporary Kuo Hsi[8] saw the landscape, at least for the purposes of composition in painting, as organized like society:

A great mountain is so stately that it becomes the master of multitudinous others arranged about in order. It becomes the great master of the hills and slopes, forests and valleys, far and near, small and large. Its appearance is that of an emperor sitting majestically in all his glory, accepting the service of and giving audience to his subjects, without sign of arrogance or haughtiness.

A tall pine tree is so stately that it becomes a leader amongst the other trees. It stretches out accordingly over vines and creepers, grass and trees, a leader for those who are unable to

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6. 墨君堂記 SPPY chi 31.222b-223a

7. 放鶴亭記 SPPY chi 32.230a

8. c. 1020-1090. One of the outstanding landscapists of the time, and author of a treatise on landscape painting, but not a "gentleman painter" (JMTT 1054.3).

> support themselves. Its state is like that of a prince who wins the approval of his age and receives the services of lesser people, without sign of anxiety or vexation.[9]

Su Shih has a mere hint of a hierarchy embracing both landscapes and society at the end of his "Pavillion of Joyous Rain":

> A three-day rain: and to whom is credit due for it?
> The people say, the Prefect. But the Prefect does not claim it, referring it to the Emperor. The Emperor says, Not so, and he refers it to the Creator. The Creator will not take credit for it, and passes it on to the Great Void. The Great Void is too immense to be comprehended in a name that I could use to name my Pavillion.[10]

In other moods Su Shih comes very close to finding socially derived human qualities in landscape things; but even in the following poem, note that the moon does <u>not</u> know, and the wind does <u>not</u> pity--he merely entertains for a moment the thought that they might be able to do so. Again, the word "either" (亦) in the next-last line only hints delicately at a quasi-human companionship between the poet and the fish.

Mid-Autumn Moon

> The moon, as diligently as in past years,
> Pours out its light to the east of the ancient city.
> The man, worn and sorry from past years,
> Lies sick by the dilapidated window.
> It cunningly searches him out with wavering light
> Lissome enough to pass between the muntins.
> Surely the moon does not know I am sick?
> It just sees the song-hall's emptiness.
> Resting on my pillow, three sighs;
> Leaning on my stick, I rise to follow after.
> The wind has no compassion on me,
> Blows me down out of the jade moon palace.
> The silvery dew goes into my lungs and liver,
> My nocturnal groan sounds like the autumn insects.

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9. Sakanishi Shio, trans., <u>An Essay on Landscape Painting, by Kuo Hsi</u> (London; John Murray, 1935), p. 37. This essay, moreover, is written in parallel prose (駢文) rather than in the ku-wen that Su Shih preferred. Cf above, p. 17 .

10. 喜雨亭記 SPPY chi 31.22la; trans. adj. Georges Margouliès, <u>Le Kou Wên Chinois</u> (Paris: Geuthner, 1925), p. 281.

> The extravagant Li Pai[11] mood slips away,
> Turning to a Meng Chiao[12] meagerness:
> I wonder how many years are left to me;
> I shall not meet with many more fine moons.
> The cold fish are not sleeping either,
> Dimpling the water with their mouths all night.[13]

In the context, there is clearly no more need to take these hints of pathetic fallacy or personification literally than there is to take Li Pai literally when he speaks of lassoing the sun to hold it back from setting.[14]

The pathetic fallacy, and especially the projection of social organization into landscape, play a very minor role in Su Shih's thought; in fact, he seems explicitly to repudiate such ideas. In his "Postface to Poems on an excursion to Hot Springs", he remarks that a certain hot spring was implicated in the love affair between the Emperor Ming-huang and Yang Kuei-fei, traditionally seen as a disaster for the T'ang dynasty; and that other hot springs are remote, and frequented only by animals and high-minded recluses; but why should the springs care one way or the other?

> The springs certainly know nothing of glory or shame. Arbitrarily to ascribe human ideas to them, may serve as a warning against deciding on a tool without regard for the place where it is to be used.[15]

That landscape can give rise to human moods is also a common conception in Su Shih's time. Kuo Hsi says,

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11. c. 705-c.762. Famous poet and wine-drinker of the T'ang dynasty (Giles 1181). The first part of Su Shih's poem does recall the mood of some of Li Pai's poetry.

12. 751-814. Poor and unsuccessful as an official; his poetry is often bitter and pessimistic (JMTT 553.4).

13. 中秋月三首 (first) SPPY chi 9.91a.

14. Georges Margoulièes, ed. and trans., Anthologie Raisonée de la Littérature Chinoise (Paris: Payot, 1948), p. 361.

15. 書遊湯泉詩後 SPPY chi 23.175b.

> The spring mountain is wrapped in an unbroken stretch of dreamy haze and mist, and men are joyful; the summer mountain is rich with shady foliage, and men are peaceful; the autumn mountain is serene and calm, with leaves falling, and men are solemn; the winter mountain is heavy with storm clouds and withdrawn, and men are forlorn. The sight of such pictured mountains arouses in man exactly corresponding moods. It is as if he were actually in those mountains. . . .[16]

And Fan Chung-yen writes,

> . . .When the rain falls long without stopping, the sky is somber for months on end, the dark wind howls with rage making the troubled waves leap in the air, when the brightness of sun and stars is hidden, mountains and hills are indistinct, travelers and merchants suspend their journeys, boats' masts crumble and their oars break, when it is dark as soon as evening comes, tigers roar and monkeys scream,--going up on this pavillion at such a time, those who are distant from their native country and cherish it in their hearts, who suffer slanders and fear injustice, fill their eyes with this spectacle of desolation, and feel their emotions raised to an extreme, and are filled with pain. (He then describes the spring view from the pavillion similarly as provoking joy.)[17]

Rarely in Su Shih is there any such simple separation of the observer from the landscape; his characteristic expression does not take the form "The gray sky makes me sad." With him, the self and the landscape are both in the experience, but the self is not set off against the rest, as it is in the two above examples. Here is a poem characteristic of Su Shih's approach:

> The rain's dark seems at first like night,
> Then the wind shifts and it clears.
> Slant sun through thin clouds shines on bright hills,
> On the brook road the grass is fine, sand is soft, horse's
> hoofs are light.

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16. Sakanishi Shio, trans., An Essay on Landscape Painting, by Kui Hsi (London: John Murray, 1935), p. 38.

17. Trans. in Georges Margouliès, ed. and trans., Anthologie Raisonée de la Littérature Chinoise (Paris: Payot, 1948), p. 362. Fan Chung-yen (989-1052) was a prominent statesman and writer (Giles 535).

> The morning wine has worn off; still drowsy,
> I dream yet of the immortals' village.
> What place is Blue Bridge, to look for Yün-ying?
> There is only the feelingful water, flowing, along with me.[18]

From the last line, it might be argued either that his mood echoes the scene, or that he is projecting his feelings. But the poem as a whole so intermingles material landscape and human emotions (rain, night, sleep, wine, death, immortality, the flow of time) that neither has priority or emerges as cause or effect. It is a whole experience into which each part, natural or human, fits without prejudice.

Another way in which intuition of the essential sameness of man and nature can be stated is to regard landscape as a biological body like man's. This idea has old roots in the Chinese tradition, being furthest developed by the Taoists. Man is a microcosm: his head is round like the sky, his feet square like the earth; his 365 bones correspond to the 365 days of the year, his veins correspond to the rivers, and so on.[19] Here is one of the traditions on how the world was made from a body:

> Long ago when P'an Ku died, his head became the Four Peaks, his eyes became the sun and the moon, his fat became the rivers and the seas, his hair and beard became the grasses and trees. In Ch'in and Han times it was popularly said that P'an Ku's head was the Eastern Peak, his stomach the Central Peak, his left arm the Southern Peak, his right arm the Northern Peak, his feet the Western Peak. Scholars of old say that P'an Ku's tears are the rivers, his breath the wind, his voice the thunder, the pupils of his eyes the lightening.[20]

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18. 南歌子 TPYF 1.57b. In the 9th century P'ei Hang, after failing his examinations, met a fairy called Yün-ying (cloud flower) at Blue Bridge (at Lan-t'ien, southeast of Sian in Shensi), and having performed certain tasks, married her and became an immortal (Giles 1629; JMTT 1382.2).

19. Henri Maspero, Le Taoïsme (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1950), pp. 108f; Marcel Granet, La Pensée Chinoise (Paris: Albin Michel, 1934) p. 377.

20. Trans. in HenriMaspero, Le Taoïsme (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1950), p. 109.

Kuo Hsi, who had studied Taoism in his youth, said:

> Water-courses are the arteries of a mountain; grass and trees its hair, mist and haze its complexion. Therefore with water a mountain becomes alive; with grass and trees beautiful; with mist and haze charming and elegant. .....
> Stones are the bones of heaven and earth. Bones are valuable when they are buried deep and do not appear on the surface. Water is the blood of heaven and earth. Blood is valuable when it circulates and not when it congeals.[21]

The closest thing to this that I have found in Su Shih is the following mysterious quatrain:

> The rocks at the western mountain foot bare their horns and teeth.
> A little spring with muffled murmur runs on golden sand.
> It is intolerable that earth flesh should bury mountain bone,
> Not loosing the green dragon to bathe in Wu-wa Pool.[22]

More typical of Su Shih are these two poems:

> Waters are eyes that glance bright,
> Hills are brows that range blue.
> If you ask whither travellers are going,
> --Where charming brows and eyes abide. . . .[23]
>
> * * * * * * * * * * *
>
> The light of water sparkles on a sunny day;
> And misty mountains lend excitement to the rain.
> I like to compare West Lake to 'Miss West,'
> Pretty in a gay dress, and pretty in simple /dress/ again.[24]

He preferred to see landscape as young live woman than as old dead giant.

The literal conception of landscape as body is rare in Su Shih. It is another way of carrying the social self into the landscape with little change; the landscape is reduced to another person, however gigantic or strange, and the relation of the self to the landscape is merely another

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21. Sakanishi Shio, trans., An Essay on Landscape Painting, by Kuo Hsi (London: John Murray, 1935), p. 44f.

22. 佛日山榮長老方丈 (no.3) SPPY chi 5.64a

23. 卜算子 Hu, p. 27, translated in Ch'u Ta-kao, trans., Chinese Lyrics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. 26.

24. 飲湖上初晴後雨 SPPY chi. 4.60a; translated in Lin Yutang, The Gay Genius (New York: John Day, 1947), p. 142. Miss West was a famous beauty of ancient times.

aspect of social experience. But the underlying idea that man's body is not really different from the stuff of landscape helped prepare the ground for Su Shih's own insight as to how man's behavior, too, could be identical in principle with the behavior of the landscape (see esp. ch. 4 below).

In these three ways of conceiving landscape so as to bring it into a personal relation with man--considering it as society, as portraying and causing human emotions, and as a biological body--the "I" in the experience, the self, remains virtually unchanged. The self that is appropriate to these views is still the social self, in the sense that its attributes come very largely from opinions and expectations of oneself imputed to other people; and landscape is a weaker version of society because it does not appear to respond to the observer as society does, judging, blaming, or admiring. The landscape seen in these ways does nothing to alter the idea that the self is social and unique.

One important aspect of the self is spatial. "Our feelings about ourselves come first of all from our orientation in space as we feel ourselves seated in a certain room, striding along over a certain road, or hurtling through space in a plane."[25] In its sharpest focus, the self can perhaps be conceived of as a "mathematical point", an "unextended centre".[26] This point may be thought of by different people as lying in various parts of the body: behind the eyes, in the abdomen and lower thorax, in motions of the head or between head and throat, in the face, in the heart, in the

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25. Percival M. Symonds, The Ego and the Self (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), p. 79f.

26. H. Taine, quoted in Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Ego-Involvements: Social Attitudes and Identifications (New York: Wiley, 1947), p. 166.

hands, etc.[27] But the self need not be felt at a point; it can also seem to occupy a volume of space. To the extent that the self concept coincides with the image one has of one's body, the self shares the body's location. But the body image does not have sharply defined boundaries; it merges with its surroundings in receding zones, and the sense of self goes with extensions of the body such as clothes, tools, possessions, persons, objects, and even ideas and ideals--all of these can be thought of as extensions of original body parts and body functions.[28]

Symonds discusses the terms "self" and "ego" and points out some of the confusion that has prevailed in their usage.[29] He continues to use the terms, however, because he believes ". . . that there are two concepts with regard to the self which correspond to the self as subject and as object which need to be kept distinct and which therefore require two different terms. Ego henceforth will be used to refer to that phase of personality which determines adjustments to the outside world in the interest of satisfying inner needs in those situations where choice and decision are involved. Or, to define the ego differently, it is an active process for developing and executing a plan of action for attaining satisfaction in response to inner drives. The self, on the other hand, refers to the body and mind and to bodily and mental processes as they are observed and reacted to by the individual."[30] Ego is the subjective self, the "I"; self is the

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27. E. L. Horowitz, "Spatial Localization of the Self," Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 6 (1935), pp. 379-387.

28. Paul Schilder, The Image and Appearance of the Human Body (New York: International University Press, 1950), passim; Percival M. Symonds, The Ego and the Self (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), pp. 64ff.

29. Percival M. Symonds, The Ego and the Self (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), pp. 3ff.

30. Ibid., p. 4.

objective self, the "me". My own usage in this thesis is not entirely consistent with Symonds's, but reflects Su Shih's ideas (in turn influenced by Buddhism) and his uses of the word "I, self" (我). But Symonds's distinction is worth bearing in mind, and it is clear that when we speak of loss or unreality of the self, we are referring more to his "ego" than to his "self"; and we are emphasizing especially its social side--the belief, born of the expectations of other people, that one has a continuing identity that is unique, localized in space and time, predictable, and responsible.

The process of expansion of the objective self from some point or small area in the body to, potentially, the outermost limits of perception and imagination (which happens to some degree in every normal person) can leave the self extended, but virtually unchanged in its nature, particularly when the extension takes place into the landscape, as we have seen. A philosophical statement of this position was written by Su Shih's contemporary, the Neo-Confucian philosopher Chang Tsai:

> By expanding one's mind one is able to embody (體) the things of the whole world. If things are not thus all embodied, there will be something that remains external to the mind. The minds of ordinary men are confined within the limits of hearing and seeing, whereas the sage, by completely developing his nature, prevents his mind from being restricted to hearing and seeing. As he views the world, there is in it no one thing that is not his own self. . . .[31]

"In this way," adds Fung Yu-lan, "he [the sage] reaches a stage in which the entire universe is regarded by him as simply one supremely great ego. . . . If, through spiritual cultivation, man can but realize this fact, he can then gain the state of union with Heaven."[32] The self is

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31. Trans. by Derk Bodde, in Fung Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol. II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 491.

32. Ibid., p. 492.

extended, but its center (which Symonds would call the ego) remains. The other possibility--extension of self with disappearance of the centered ego, and hence a real change in the nature of the self--is realized in the treatment of space in the tradition of landscape painting of which Su Shih was part.

This tradition treats perspective in a way which seems to lead the viewer's self beyond the limits of his body and into the painted scene, with the implication that real landscape too can be seen in the same way. Effects of depth and distance are not achieved, as often in Western art since the 15th century, by a scientific perspective which takes the position of the observer as immovably fixed opposite a vanishing-point toward which converge lines understood to be parallel to each other and perpendicular to the picture plane. Before the Five Dynasties period (907-960), space in Chinese painting was generally represented in separate, fairly small cells, and larger spaces were suggested by juxtaposing the cells without much control over their over-all perspective. But by at least a century before Su Shih, landscape space was being unified over large areas and volumes, still without the use of scientific perspective. The difference can most clearly be seen in buildings, with their straight vertical and horizontal lines in parallel perspective. The strict parallel perspective was reserved for buildings, however; Kuo Jo-Hsü[33] writes: "In painting (pictures of) the timbers of houses, the proportions are calculated faultlessly, the brush-strokes are of uniform thickness, there is depth going into space, and all the slant (lines) go in one direction."[34]

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33. Fl. 1070. Author of a work on painters and painting (JMTT 1050.2).

34. Trans. adj. Alexander Coburn Soper, trans., Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951), p. 12.

In scientific perspective, the landscape is seen from one point. If the viewer accepts the convention, and sees three-dimensional space in such a painting at all, the structure of that space requires him to feel his self to be located in a small space within his body, not far from his eyes. He may have some feeling of moving into the picture, but always through a radially defined space which refers everything back to the original point. The landscape space is entirely dominated by the viewer, and his consciousness is the single thing in the situation that is different from everything else and to which everything else yields. What does not yield to the structure of this space is not accepted into the landscape experience--one cannot see the other side of the mountain, or what happens in the valleys (cf. Shen Kua below).

In Chinese landscape painting since the Five Dynasties and the Sung, the mind of the artist or viewer does not have this kind of overt preeminince. Landscapes are painted in such a way that they could not possibly, in reality, be seen so by a man from one place at one time. The structure of the space is not subordinated to the single mind looking out from a point in the body, and the viewer is not made to feel unique among the landscape objects.

This spatial quality is also closely related to scale; as the perspicacious Shen Kua observed:

> /He first discusses how it is not the size of the animal, but mainly the amount of reduction in scale, that determines whether the hairs are shown in animal paintings./ . . . Furthermore, when Li T'ang paints things like pavillions and towers on mountains, he paints the eaves from underneath. His idea is that he is looking up from below, like a person on level ground who looks into the eaves of a pagoda and sees the rafters and beams. This theory is wrong. As a rule, the method of landscape (paintings) is merely to look on the big as small, as when a person looks at an artificial (miniature) mountain. If they are painted in the manner of real mountains, looking up from below, only one line of hills ought to be shown;

> how could one see range after range? At the same time, one would not see the things that go on in the valleys. Again it is like (a painting of) a house: one would not see what is happening in the inner courtyard or in the alley behind. If one stands to the east, then the west of the (painted) mountain ought to be in the far distance; if one stands to the west, then it is the east of the mountain that would have to be in the far distance. How could a painting be made like that? --Thus Mr. Li does not know the method of looking on the big as small, in which there is naturally a marvellous principle of the relations of height and depth that is certainly not a matter of lifting up the corners of buildings.[35]

It was commonplace to admire how landscape paintings could get 'a thousand li in a square inch'[36]; this miniaturization, which occurs in all landscape painting, in China worked as a substitute for a formal linear perspective. A miniature model of a landscape does appear very nearly in parallel perspective, because its dimensions are of the order of magnitude of the interpupillary distance. One is also aware of the proportion of one's body size to the size of such a landscape, and it seems possible to go anywhere in it by a glance or a step; it is somehow included in oneself.[37] Shen Kua, at least, thought that landscape paintings should have this same spatial structure, and not the one observable in real life-sized landscapes. But Chinese landscape painting did have an aerial perspective quite like that of Western painting, using haze and tint to indicate distance; textures and the sizes of people and objects were also varied with distance. Thus

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35. Trans. adj. Michael Sullivan, An Introduction to Chinese Art (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), p. 143. Shen Kua (1030-1093) was an official and writer of broad interests, who knew Su Shih (Giles 1691).

36. Michael Sullivan, The Birth of Landscape Painting in China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 117.

37. Cf. Rolf Stein, "Jardins en miniature d'Extrême-Orient", Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise de l'Extrême Orient, Vol. 42 (1942), pp. 1-104, passim, esp. p. 40. Su Shih owned some sort of miniature stone mountain (ibid., p. 31 note 2).

there is no doubt that the conventions of painting demanded that the viewer imagine himself to be looking at a real, not a miniaturized landscape. But his own position is not fixed at any point.

The effect of this treatment of perspective is reinforced by other devices. The ground plane, which in strict scientific perspective is thought of as horizontal and at right angles to the picture plane, is normally tilted toward the observer in Chinese landscape paintings--as if the landscape were seen obliquely from a little above. This makes things high up or far off appear larger and clearer. But the angle from which each individual thing in the picture is shown is usually close to horizontal, as if the observer were standing on the ground at or near its level. Thus as the eye moves upward from the bottom of the painting, the effect is like travelling forward into the scene through the air, and coming to rest wherever the eye happens to stop. This is particularly noticeable in vertical hanging scrolls. Horizontal scrolls have a slightly different organization of space. They are not looked at all at once, but are unrolled to the left and rolled up on the right to expose one section at a time, making a continuous landscape panorama. But it is not a panorama in the sense of a 360° view from one point; rather the viewer must be thought of as moving effortlessly past a series of linked scenes which are given an artistic development in time as well as space in a manner reminiscent of poetry, music, or cinema. In both types of scrolls, there are frequently kiosks, observation points, roads, bridges, and boat-landings, often with small figures using them. Kuo Hsi writes:

> A man on the mountain gives a clue to a path; a pavilion on the mountain gives a clue to an excellent view; . . . . ferries and bridges indicate human activities; fishing boats and tackles indicate the purposes of men.[38]

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38. Sakanishi Shio, trans., An Essay on Landscape Painting, by Kuo Hsi (London: John Murray, 1935), p. 36f.

In this way too, the viewpoint of the observer is carried into the painted landscape.

By all these means, in Chinese landscape painting, the artist expresses and the viewer is invited to share in an expansion of the mind beyond the small body and the present instant of time; the self is felt to exist in a broader kind of space and time than is defined by points and instants. Landscape is a particularly apt subject because its space is not full of the geometric straight lines, right angles, and flat planes that make up the city with its buildings, streets, walls, and market squares; instead, it is rather like the space experienced by a blind man, much less external and abstract than is visual space. The figures in painted landscapes experience them in ways other than just visual; and, incidentally, in most of Su Shih's writings on landscape there is some non-visual experience--sounds, the feel of wind or cold, fatigue from walking, or the taste of water.

As a subject for painting, moreover, landscape has no obvious sharp boundaries to separate one part from another; there is no outline of characteristic shape surrounding and marking off the subject of the painting, as there is in pictures of people, animals, or buildings. Su Shih distinguishes landscape painting from other kinds:

> Often in talking about painting I have said, that human figures, birds, buildings, and utensils all have their constant form, whereas mountains, stones, bamboos, trees, waves, clouds and mist have no constant form but a constant principle. The loss of constant form is understood by everybody, but when the constant principle is wanting, there are even among connoisseurs some who do not understand it.[39]

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39. 淨因院畫記 SPPY chi 31.223a; translated in Osvald Siren, The Chinese on the Art of Painting: Translations and Comments (Peiping: Vetch, 1936), p. 61f.

And he puts landscapes in a "superior class":

> Paintings representing human figures are divine; paintings representing flowers, bamboos, birds and fishes are marvellous, paintings of palaces and utensils are works of skill. Landscapes belong to a superior class, but it is difficult to make them pure, strong, original and to represent their endless transformations.[40]

Since landscape has no clear boundaries or set outlines ("constant form"), the self's expansion into and identification with landscape has no limit or edge to stop at, but can go beyond the painted picture or actual scene and embrace remembered and imagined landscape experiences as well. Just as the image of the body has no surface dividing it from its surroundings, so the spread of the landscape image has no stopping place until it includes the whole world. And the self can ride on this image; it is one path to the sage's identification with the whole universe.

Unfortunately I have not seen any of Su Shih's landscape paintings--few seem to have survived. Titles of some of his paintings are "Broken Hills and Dwarf Bamboos", "Old Tree on a Level Shore", "Myriad Bamboo-stems in Rainy Mist", and "Chasm and Pine".[41] But the following poem by him on a landscape painting illustrates some of the points discussed above:

> Over the melancholy river thousands of peaks are folded.
> The deep emerald of the empty sky is like the clouds and mist.
> How far away is the mist? How far the clouds?
> We know nothing but that the peaks remain
> When the mist vanishes and the clouds disperse.
> The valley is darkened by the rich leaves on the cliffs.
> Out of the valley there come down a hundred streams--
> They ring round the wood, twining the rocks together,
> And after incessantly being lost and coming to light again,
> Finally flow into a single torrent at the gorge.

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40. 跋蕭傳正燕公山水 TPTP 5.96b; translated ibid., p. 60.

41. Chu Chu-yü, ed., A Biographical Dictionary of T'ang and Sung Painters (朱鑄禹：唐宋畫家人名辭典) (Peking: 中國古典藝術出版社, 1958), p. 395.

Then the water is quiet; the mountains stand apart.
At the foot of a broken hill covered with trees,
A peasant wineshop looks out over a tiny bridge.
A wanderer is slowly pacing among the stately trees,
A little fishing boat is bobbing on the river,
Which has swallowed up the whole sky. . . .
For I have the greatest desire to go there
And buy two acres of land. . . .[42]

Some of Su Shih's straight landscape poetry is like landscape painting in that it too has not the strong upyielding self which dominates all else from a single point in space and time.

Crossing at Seven Li Shallows

A boat, light as a leaf
Two oars frighten wild geese.
Water reflects the clear sky, the limpid waves are calm.
Fish wriggle in the weedy mirror
Herons dot misty foreshores.
Across the sandy brook, swift
The frost brook, cold
The moon brook, bright.

Layer upon layer, like a painting
Bend after bend, like a screen.
Remember empty old Yen Ling long ago.
'Lord', 'Minister'--a dream
Now, of old: vain fames.
Only, the far hills are long
The cloudy hills tumbled
The dawn hills green.[43]

It can be deduced that the poet is crossing the stream in a boat, but his position and viewpoint are not emphasized. There is no "I"--he is one part among others in the whole experience. The scene has no distinct boun-

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42. 書王定國所藏烟江疊嶂圖 Ch'en, p. 212, translated in Robert Payne, ed., The White Pony (New York: New American Library, Mentor Books, 1960), 273f; I have slightly modified the translation.

43. 過七里瀨 TPYF 1.2a. Yen Ling is Yen Kuang (first century A.D.), who in youth was a friend of the future emperor Kuang Wu (r. 25-57). Later he preferred a quiet and retired life to the position offered him by Kuang Wu, and used to fish near Seven Li Shallows. (Giles 2468).

daries ("layer upon layer . . . bend after bend" "far hills" "cloudy hills"). And just as near and far are blurred, so are present and past. The self is led to experience a space and time containing concrete things but boundless, and not rearranged to conform to the perspective of its own immediate location.

These special qualities of space and time, and their meaning for the idea of the self, are among the most important aspects of the landscape experience in Su Shih.

III. TIME AND PLACE

Twentieth-century readers will not need to be reminded that the Newtonian conception of abstract time as absolute and uniform, independent of matter or other contingencies, is no longer tenable. Instead of one absolute time, there are many times which are relative to the scale of the process being timed, to cultural predispositions, and to the biology and psychology of the organism experiencing the time. Similarly, there is no absolute, uniform, empty space. Traditional China, too, for the most part thought of space and time not as absolute continuums which could theoretically exist without things or events, but as an ensemble of concrete sites, occasions, and shifting potentialities. Space and time in the full social and historical sense existed only when and where the Chinese civilization was.[1]

Pure absolute time is absent in Su Shih's landscape, and so is the kind of cumulative historical time in which the present moment is significant not so much in itself as because it is heir to the past and womb of the future. The landscape experience is wholly present. All its parts, even memories and fantasies, are, as experience, real and immediate, and their meaning does not lie in chronological before-and-after or historical cause and effect. It is not felt to be determined by past precept or shaped by plans and resolutions for the future. Its time is relaxed, not disciplined, and its events occur spontaneously.

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1. Some modern ideas of time are summarized in L. von Bertalanffy, "An Essay on the Relativity of Categories," Philosophy of Science, Vol. 22 (1955), pp. 243-263. On time and space in Chinese thought, see Marcel Granet, La Pensée Chinoise (Paris: Albin Michel, 1934), pp. 87ff; and Hellmut Wilhelm, "Der Zeitbegriff im Buch der Wandlungen," Eranos-Jahrbuch, Vol. 20 (1951), pp. 321-348. Wilhelm points out that an abstract conception of time did exist in ancient China, though not in the Book of Changes--ibid., p. 336.

A clear example of the lack of a metered, cumulative time in landscape is the Rip-van-Winklesque tale of Wang Chih to which Su Shih alludes in a poem.[2] Wang Chih, who lived at Ch'ü-chou in Chekiang province in the mid Chin dynasty, "went into the mountains to cut wood, and entered a stone cavern where there were two young men playing (a game like) checkers (or playing music and singing). Chih put down his ax and watched. They gave him a thing like a datestone to eat, and he was no longer hungry or thirsty. The young men said, 'You have been here a long time; better go back.' Chih picked up his ax and saw that the handle had all rotted away. He hurried home; several hundred years had passed, and none of his relatives or friends were left. He went back to the mountains and got the Tao. From time to time someone saw him, and so that mountain was called Rotten Ax Handle Mountain."[3]

The story has an archaic and naive flavor from the point of view of Su Shih's thought, but it contains several strands of the tradition from which he wove his own conception of time in the landscape: the displacement in the landscape of historical, social time by legend; the association of leisurely pursuits with landscape time; and the achievement of long life or immortality in the landscape.

Wang Chih starts out from a definite social place at a specific historical time to cut wood, a job which, while rustic and individual, is connected with his life in society. He goes to a vague place in the mountains, stays an indefinite period (various versions say several tens, a hundred, or several hundred years, and his return to his village is not

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2. 蒲庭芳 TPYF 2.35.

3. JMTT 147.3.

dated by dynasty as his departure is); and while he watches the young men only his ax handle, symbol of his tie to society, is affected by the passage of historical time. In his final return to the mountain, he has passed completely out of history and into legend; there are no more historical events for him, he is merely seen from time to time.

The legendary quality of past events in the landscape context appears also in this poem by Su Shih:

On the Red Cliff

The waves of the mighty River flowing eastward
Have swept away the brilliant figures of a thousand generations.
West of the old fortress,
So people say, is Lord Chou's Red Cliff of the time of the Three States.
The tumbling rocks thrust into the air;
The roaring surges dash upon the shore,
Rolling into a thousand drifts of snow.
The River and the mountains make a vivid picture--
What a host of heroes once were!

It reminds me of the young Lord then,
When the fair Younger Ch'iao newly married him,
Whose valorous features were shown forth;
With a feather fan and a silken cap,
Amid talking and laughing, he put his enemy's ships to ashes and smoke.
While my thoughts wander in the country of old,
Romantic persons might smile at my early grey hair.
Ah! life is but like a dream;
With a cup of wine, let me yet pour a libation to the moon on the River.[4]

The old battle is not seen as history with a plot or a lesson; Su Shih does not care in the poem what its causes or purposes or effects were.

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4. 赤壁懷古 TPYF 2.9b; translated in Ch'u Ta-kao, trans., Chinese Lyrics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. 24. Lord Chou is Chou Yü (174-218), a young general of Wu state of the Three Kingdoms (222-265), who burnt the river fleet of Ts'ao in 208 by a strategem (Giles 428).

It does not even matter that he is not sure if this is really the site of the battle: "West of the old fortress, so people say . . ."; elsewhere he says he does not know whether the battle took place here--and in fact it did not.[5] The legendary assumption is enough for the poem.

This is not to say that Su Shih did not have a very strong feeling for historical time; it is evident from this poem and other writings that he did (see also chapter V below). Part of the power of the landscape's timelessness lies in its contrast with historical time, and for this contrast to exist, historical time too must be felt as very real. The perpetual now of the landscape can thus collapse history's chronological scaffolding of dynasties, reigns, and years, and for a moment make past events part of present, immediately felt experience.

Leisure

The game of the young men, or their music, and Wang Chih's leaning on his ax handle to observe, are typical of the leisurely quality of landscape time. Time is filled by these concrete activities, not empty or nonexistent; but they are wholly focused in the present, not growing out of the past or reaching into the future; they are non-historical. They are also pleasant and not work--in all respects the opposite of Wang Chih's original purpose of cutting wood to carry down the mountain to his village.

Immortality

On his first trip to the mountain, Wang Chih's life is prolonged, and when he goes again, he "gets the Tao", presumably becoming immortal. Su Shih often associates Taoist ideas of immortality with landscape settings, as in the following pieces:

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5. TPCL 54; Hu pp. 34-35, note 36.

> ...Now Ts'ao Ts'an[6] was a high and honored official of the Han, and Mr. Ko[7] was his teacher; thus Ko was an eminent person. But the histories do not record his death. Was he not a Perfect Man of old, who got the Tao and did not die? Chiao-hsi[8] on the east borders on the sea; to the south it reaches to Chiu-hsien Mountain; in the north it goes to Lao Mountain. In this area there are many noble hermits. If they are heard of, they are not seen; if they are seen, they cannot be made to come. For all I know, Mr. Ko comes and goes as one of them. But I am not worthy to have sight of him.[9]
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> Le-t'ien[10] built a thatched hut on Lu-shan[11] in order to refine the elixir. He had almost accomplished it when his stove and cauldron failed, and the next day a letter arrived appointing him Governor of Chung-chou.[12] By this we can know the impossibility of living in the (social) world and at the same time being free of wordly affairs. . . .[13]

The tendency is to locate immortality in the landscape, and death in history and society (cf. also the poem on p. 42 above, and chapter V below). But the search for immortality, just as much as anxiety about death, is actually incompatible with a landscape time in which only present immediate experience is real. The Taoist pursuit of temporal immortality, whether by alchemy or breath control, diet, and meditation, bespeaks an effort to

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6. d. B.C. 190. An official of the Ch'in dynasty (B.C. 221-207) who became chief minister in the early Han period (Giles 2012).

7. An expert in Taoism in the early Han who advised Ts'ao Ts'an when Ts'ao was minister of Ch'i state, approximately the present Shantung (JMTT 1377.2).

8. The present Chiao-hsien, Shantung province.

9. 蓋公堂記 SPPY chi 32.228a.

10. That is, Pai Chü-i (772-846), an official and one of the outstanding poets of the T'ang dynasty (Giles 1654).

11. Lu-shan is a famous mountain in northern Kiangsi province.

12. In present Szechuan province.

13. 樂天燒丹 TPCL 1.9.

influence the future unrolling of events (i.e., to postpone or eliminate death), and hence presupposes a cumulative time system foreign to the landscape experience. It is only by contrast to historical time that the timelessness of the landscape seems to resemble chronological eternity; thus the idea of immortality in landscape is a product of the civilized historical state. Su Shih felt this contradiction, but did not resolve it directly. Historically, he was dubious about immortality:

> Ever since I reached the age of understanding, I have heard about what people call Taoists, who have the art of prolonging their years, such as Ch'ao Pao-i, Hsü Teng, and Chang Yüan-meng, who all lived to be nearly a hundred. But in the end they died and were no different from ordinary people. When I came to Huang-chou I heard that there was a particularly wonderful man called Chu Yüan-ching; very many high officials honored him as their teacher. But finally he too got sick, and died of a stroke and spasms. But he really was an alchemist. He left behind some medicines, and the medicines and gold (?) were all taken over by the government. I do not know if there really are no different (wonderful) men in the world, or if there are, but no one sees them; anyhow, these I have mentioned were not such. I wonder if what was anciently recorded of wondrous men is true or false. Probably they were not so very different from these, and interested people have made up the rest.[14]

But Taoism need not be the attempt to achieve immortality. By the end of the 11th century, Taoist alchemy was no longer "an experimentation with chemicals, blow-pipes, furnace, etc. (though these survived in the popular alchemy of itinerant quacks), but a system of mental and physical re-education."[15] And of Wu Fu-ku[16], a Taoist friend of many years for whom he had great admiration, Su Shih writes:

> As soon as Wu Fu-ku saw me, he announced to me the way of enlightenment. He considers long life and immortality as irrelevancies, and breathing exercises and medicines as rubbish.

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14. 延年術 TPCL 3.45.

15. Arthur Waley, "Notes on Chinese Alchemy", Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Vol. 6 pt. 1 (1930), p. 15.

16. JMTT 322.2.

> Although I have not been able to carry them out, I still like to discuss his ideas. And an essay I wrote on "An Inquiry into Nourishing Life" comes from him.[17]

The Taoism that Su Shih himself sporadically practiced was equivocal in respect to immortality, and did consist mostly of breathing exercises, medicines, and meditation. By its discipline, and its concern for the future, it was in opposition to the landscape experience.

Water and Time

Above all else in the landscape, Su Shih was fascinated by water, and his writings are full of water in all shapes and forms. The image of moving water is another expression of the contradiction between the eternal present in which landscape is felt to exist, and the change and mortality of historical human life. This irony is the main point of "Red Cliff", quoted above. But in the last lines, regret about the past appears as incompatible with the rest of the experience and is abandoned for the immediacy of dream, wine, moon, and river.

There is the same irony in this poem:

> Last year I visited New Hall
> After spring wind had melted off the snow;
> In the pond, half a punt-pole of water;
> Along the pond, a thousand feet of willows.
> And lovely ladies like blooms of peach and plum:
> Butterflies came into their gowns' sleeves.
> Where is that landscape now?
> Wastes and frontiers separate our stars.
> The years and months cannot be grasped by thought,
> Speedy as a boat loose upon a current.
> Pomp and circumstance truly are a dream,
> Flourishing and failing go their quiet way.
> Only the same old moon
> Still shines on a cup of wine. It must
> Feel sorry for the man who sits
> So steady in the boat, not knowing it leaks.[18]

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17. 答湖州吳秀才書 SPPY hou chi 14.367a.

18. 和鮮于子駿' . . . (first poem) SPPY chi 9.90b.

From the viewpoint of human history the current's timelessness is eternity, and the steadiness and claim to pity of the man in the boat are his thinking he can share that eternity, i.e., be immortal. And the moon shining on the wine-cup seems to argue that time does not pass, man's life remains the same. But the boat has a leak, so will not last as long as the current and the moon. The word "leak" (漏) is also used in terms for the water-clock (漏壺, 刻漏, 更漏)[19] which marks the passage of time by a small constant flow of water, and so, like the "sands of time" in the hourglass, is a powerful image of the measure of human life.

The irony is resolved in Su Shih's famous prose-poem about the same Red Cliff referred to above. Again the scene is of drifting in a frail boat and drinking wine, and Su's companion, recalling the battle, is sad at the brevity of human life in comparison with the river and the moon.

> . . . "But," I asked him, "do you understand the water and the moon? The former passes by, but has never gone. The latter waxes and wanes, but does not really increase or diminish. For, if we regard this question as one of impermanence, then the universe cannot last for a twinkling of an eye. If, on the other hand, we consider it from the aspect of permanence, then you and I, together with all matter, are imperishable. Why then this yearning? ..."[20]

Man's life is also like a river flowing eastwards across China to the Eastern Sea, where P'eng-lai, the island of the immortals, is located. Eulogizing a Taoist, Su Shih writes,

> ...He is a riverful of vernal water flowing east,
> A mighty stream, emptying straight into the wide sea,
> Never flagging till it runs up onto P'eng-lai.[21]

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19. Joseph Needham, in Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), pp. 313ff, discusses the workings, history, and nomenclature of Chinese water-clocks.

20. 赤壁賦 SPPY chi 19.152b-153a; translated in Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark, The Prose Poetry of Su Tung-p'o (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1935), p. 128.

21. 靖都謝道士真贊 SPPY hsü chi 10.798a.

Su Shih felt a personal connection with the Yangtze River, since he was from near O-mei Mountain, a source region of the Yangtze (Great River), and was born into the world of public life through the Yangtze Gorges.

> Eight-some paces below Lin-kao House [where he stayed for a time] is the Great River. Half of it is meltwater from the snows of O-mei, and I use it for cooking, drinking, and washing. What need to go back to my native place? . . .[22]
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>
> My home is where the River's water has its source,
> In my official wanderings I have followed it right down
> to the sea. . . .[23]

A conceit resting on this image was that the west-running brook, a freak of nature in China where most of the great rivers flow east, was evidence that man can recover his youth.

> ....Who says man's life never grows young again?
> Even the water running before the door can go west....[24]
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> ********
>
> Watching the Tide at Ch'ien-t'ang (The Hang-chou bore)
>
> The riverbanks are as unclear as my fortunes;
> White-headed, I have long resembled the green waves.
> The creator knows too how easily a man ages,
> --The river water he has taught to run back west.[25]

Landscape Space

As we have seen in chapter 2, space as well as time takes on a special character in the landscape experience. The very immediacy of the experience tends to make places anonymous, or interchangeable; moreover, since the landscape is not felt to be bounded by the present scene, it does not matter where the individual body makes its contact with the landscape experience. The moon, a symbol of the timelessness of landscape (cf. the poems on p. 40

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22. 臨皋閑題 TPCL 4.56-57.
23. 遊金山寺 SPPY chi 3.51b.
24. 浣溪沙 TPYF 2.3b.
25. 八月十五日看潮 SPPY chi 5.64a-b.

"Mid-Autumn Moon" and "Red Cliff", p. 63, and p.62 "Last year..."), also stood for its placelessness:

> All I can wish is that we may have long life,
> That a thousand miles apart we may share her (the moon's) beauty.[26]

Landscape has space and time qualities like those experienced in dreams and drunkenness, states which are often associated with the landscape (cf. poems on p. 42, etc.). The themes of wine, drifting on water, boundlessness, and the blurring of time and place in the immediacy of experience all come together in this poem:

> Drunk, abob in a light boat
> wafted into the thick of the flowers,
> fooled by the sensory world,
> I hadn't meant to stop in here.
>
> Far misty water
> thousand miles' slanted evening sunlight
> numberless hills
> riot of red like rain.
> I don't remember how I came.[27]

This is not the geometric mappable space in which historical society exists. The self is no longer the social self: completely merged with the landscape (the word "I" is not used in the original poem), it too is indifferent to social and political dimensions of place, and like the Cat That Walked By Himself, all places are alike to it.

Water, as in this poem, is a favorite expression of the place as well as the time qualities of landscape, and it again can carry a touch of irony in the contrast between landscape, to which places are always indifferent and interchangeable, and social man, who may long for a settled home or otherwise care very much where he is. Just as man drifts in a boat on the

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26. 水調歌頭 TPYF 1.40a; translated in A.R. Davis, ed., The Penguin Book of Chinese Verse: Verse Translations by Robert Kotewall and Norman L. Smith (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962), p. 42.

27. 點絳脣 TPYF 3.47b-48a.

river of time, so he drifts helplessly from place to place in a boat, or like the duckweed (萍), a floating plant without roots in the ground:

> .....When will this life's floating and drifting cease?[28]
>
> ********
>
> .....Man's life goes everywhere like duckweed drifting...[29]

As an official, Su Shih did live in many places, and after he left his birthplace, never stayed anywhere more than a few years. Almost to the day of his death, he was undecided about where he would finally settle down. Though at times he longed for particular places, and felt special local attachments--

> Three years, and never a day that I do not think of returning (to his birthplace).
> In dreams I go back home, then I awake and it is not so....[30]
>
> ********
>
> ....I didn't show any special favor to the people of Ch'ien-t'ang, but the people there remember me to this day; and I for my part generally dream four or five times a year of going to West Lake. This is about the same as what is commonly called a predestined affinity. Once at Hang-chou I made an excursion to Shou-hsing Monastery. When I went in the gate, I was aware that I had been there before, and I could say where the halls, temples, hills, and rocks were behind the monastery. Hence in my poems I often refer to having been there in a former life. . . . .[31]

--still in principle he believed that, as in the landscape experience, it should not matter in what place he happened to be. Particular places are the type and the sum of particular things, and Su Shih did not believe in attachments to particular things.

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28. 醉落魄：離京口作 TPYF 1.6b.
29. 醉落魄：席上呈楊元素 TPYF 1.28b.
30. 華陰寄子由 SPPY chi 2.47a.
31. 答陳師仲書 SPPY chi 30.216b-217a.

> There is nothing that is not worth attending to in some respect; and if a thing is worth attending to, it can give pleasure. There is no need for things to be rare or exceptional, luxurious or perfect. Common rice wine can make one drunk, and ordinary fruits and vegetables can fill one's hunger. Reasoning so, where can I go that I would not find something to take pleasure in? ..... /He argues that if external contingencies are seen in their true light, our pleasure and pain need not depend on them. He tells of transfer from a fine gay place to a poor dull one, and describes how even here he found much to delight him. He built a terrace which his brother named "Elevation",/ ...to show that I find delight wherever I go, as I move outside of /attachments to particular/ things.[32]

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> When I was staying at Chia-yu Temple in Hui-chou[33], once I was walking below Pine Wind Pavillion. My feet were tired, and had no strength; I longed to go to bed. I stopped to rest, looked up at the Pavillion which appeared still above the tree-tops, and said to myself, "How shall I ever get there?" After a time I exclaimed, "Why can't I rest right here?" Then I felt like a hooked fish who is suddenly able to get free. If a person has this insight, then even if two armies are joining in battle, drums sounding like thunder, where to go forward is to die at the hands of the enemy, to go back is to die in the hands of the law--even at a time like this, there is nothing to prevent him from deeply resting.[34]

And just as it is with leisure that one lives in landscape time, so also it is with leisure that one feels the interchangeability of places.

> ....What need to go back to my native place?
> River and hill, wind and moon, in their original nature have no permanent owner: their owner is the man of leisure....[35]

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> On the twelth night of the tenth moon of the sixth year of Yuanfeng /1083/, I had undressed and was going to bed, when the moonlight entered my door, and I got up, happy of heart. There was no one to share this happiness with me, so I walked over to the Chengtien Temple to look for Huaimin. He, too, had not yet gone to bed, and we paced about in the garden. It looked like a transparent pool with the shadows of water

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32. 超然臺記 SPPY chi 32.227; translated in Georges Margouliès, ed. and trans., Anthologie Raisonnée de la Littérature Chinoise (Paris: Payot, 1948), pp. 405-407.

33. Near the present Hui-yang Hsien, Kuangtung province.

34. 記游松風亭 TPTP p. 129.2.

35. 臨皋閑題 TPCL 4.56-57.

grass in it, but they were really the shadows of bamboos and pine trees cast by the moonlight. Isn't there a moon every night? And aren't there bamboos and pine trees everywhere? But there are few carefree [lit., leisurely 閒] people like the two of us.[36]

Water, place, and self

We have already seen evidence of how important water is in Su Shih's expression of landscape space and time. But water is not only an image of space and time on which man is pictured as floating or riding; it is also a direct image of man's spirit, and a man's presence at a place.

Su Shih saw water nearly everywhere he looked, and in all shapes and forms.

The space between heaven and earth
Is mostly occupied by water.
Man comes and man goes
Like a pelican in a river.
Going with the flow,
He sails like a cloud, speeds like a bird;
The water abets him,
A thousand li are like a foot.
But wading against the current,
When it rises above his knees, he stops;
The water opposes him,
A foot is like a thousand li. . . .[37]

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This mountain is set in the air.
Milky water fills its stomach,
And where it finds a fissure, comes to view,
Always with its own same taste and smell.
Sometimes it is shallow, sometimes deep,
Square or round, depending on what holds it.
Sometimes it sounds and makes mist;
Sometimes it forms a broken thread.
In places it cries in empty caverns,
Zitherns and lutes amid chinking girdle-stones.
In places it runs in clefts of green rock,
With the writhing gait of dragons and phoenixes . . . .[38]

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36. 記承天夜游 TPTP 6.123b-124a; translated in Lin Yutang, The Gay Genius (New York: John Day, 1947), p. 232.

37. 何公橋銘 SPPY hsü chi 10.800a.

38. 焦千之求惠山泉記 SPPY chi 3.2

> When I first arrived at the South Sea and saw a complete circle of water on the horizon, I felt disheartened and sighed, 'When shall I be able to get off this island?' But then I thought: the universe itself is surrounded by water. The Nine Continents are situated in the Great Ing Ocean, and China is situated in the Lesser Ocean. There is not a time in our life when we are not living upon an island . . . .[39]

Underground, there are mysterious watercourses interconnected at great distances:

> In the Yü-kung[40], the Chi River enters the (Yellow) River, and flows out again as the Ying. South of the (Yellow) River is called Ying-yang, north of it is called Ying Marsh. The T'o and the Ch'ien are originally rivers of Liang-chou, which also turn up in Ching-chou. Water travels underground, and can vanish only to appear again thousands of li away. Even rivers and seas cannot interrupt its flow. . . .[41]

Underground water, which can go anywhere but is invisible until it comes to the surface, can be a symbol or an actual embodiment of a man's spirit after his ties to a specific place and time are cut by his death.

> ...Mencius said: 'I am skilled at cultivating my immense ch'i.' (breath, spirit, force,... energy). This ch'i abides in the midst of ordinary life, while filling the space between heaven and earth . . . In the sky it forms the stars and constellations, on earth it forms rivers and mountains; hidden, it forms demons and spirits, revealed, it again forms men . . . . /He praises Han Yü, whose temple inscription this is, in general and in respect to the people of Ch'ao-chou. The people here still revere him and sacrifice to his spirit./

> Someone said: 'This man was ten thousand li from his country, in exile at Ch'ao-chou. He was here less than a year before he went back. If he has consciousness after his death, it is certain that he has no special regard for Ch'ao-chou.' I say, not so. His spirit is in the world as water is in the ground--there is nowhere one can go where it is not. What is special about the people of Ch'ao-chou is their deep faith, and that they always

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39. Translated in Lin Yutang, The Gay Genius (New York: John Day, 1947), p. 374. I did not locate the Chinese text.

40. The Yü-kung ("Tribute of Yü") is part of the Book of Documents, dating probably from the early 1st millennium B.C. The power of the word in Su Shih's thought is striking--he argues that because rivers have the same name in this ancient geography book, they must be identical, having underground connections.

41. 瓊州惠通井記 SPPY hou chi 15.369a.

think of him and offer him sacrifices with a respectful sorrow. Your argument is as if one were to dig a well and having found water were to say, 'Here is the only place that there is water.' How could that be right? . . . .[42]

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Inscription for Six One Spring

When Ou-yang Wen-chung (=Ou-yang Hsiu) was getting old he called himself the Six One Retired Gentleman. When I was given the vice-magistracy (?) of Ch'ien-t'ang[43], I saw him south of Ju-yin. He said, "Hui-ch'in, a monk of West Lake, is a very lettered man, and good at poetry. Once I wrote 'Pleasure in the Mountains' in three parts as a present for him. When you have leisure from the affairs of the people, and are looking in vain for company among the mountains and lakes, then go and spend some time with Ch'in!"

Three days after I had arrived at my post I visited Ch'in below Ku-shan [an island in West Lake]. He clapped his hands and discussed people and things, and said, "He (Ou-yang Hsiu) is a man of heaven (has attained the Tao). People see him when he temporarily dwells among them, but they do not know that he mounts the clouds and rides the wind, crosses the Five Peaks and bestrides the wide sea. People in these parts are sorry that he never comes. But he has the ends of the earth at his beck and call; there is nowhere he does not reach. No one is fit to own the beauties of river and mountain, but their rare and lovely, elegant and refined spirit (ch'i) is something that those who can write commonly make use of. Thus I say that West Lake is, as it were, just an object of Ou-yang Hsiu's writing table." Although Ch'in's words were magical and strange, still the principle is quite true.

The next year Ou-yang Hsiu died, and I wept for him at Ch'in's dwelling. After another eighteen years, I was made governor of Ch'ien-t'ang. Ch'in too had long since undergone his metamorphosis. I visited his old place, and his disciple Erh Chung was there. He had made portraits of Ou-yang Hsiu and Ch'in and served them as if they were alive. Below the dwelling there had previously been no spring, but a few months before I arrived a spring started behind the lecture hall at the foot of Ku-shan. It welled up and ran over, very clear and sweet. On its site the cliff had been cut away and stones set up to make a building. Erh-chung said to me, "The Teacher heard you were coming, and sent out the spring to ease your fatigue. Is it proper for you to make no answer?" Then I pondered deeply the meaning of the things Ch'in had said long before, and I named it Six One Spring, and wrote this inscription for it:

"The spring emerged thousands of li from him, and eighteen years after his death, and yet it is named Six One. Is this not almost nonsensical? I say: the beneficent influence of a Noble Man surely does not just reach to five generations and then stop. In the

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42. 潮州韓文公廟碑 SPPY hou chi 15.37la-b; translated in Georges Margoulies, trans., Le Kou Wen Chinois (Paris: Geuthner, 1925), pp. 287-292. Ch'ao-chou: the present Ch'ao-an Hsien in Kuangtung province, where Han Yü was exiled briefly.

43. Ch'ien-t'ang is Hang-chou.

> proper hands, it should be able to extend to a hundred generations. I will try to climb Ku-shan with my sons, and look out over Wu and Yüeh[44], sing 'Pleasure in the Mountains', and drink this water. Then the transmitted presence of his noble personality will also perhaps be manifested to them in this spring."[45]

After their death Han Yü and Ou-yang Hsiu are no longer bound to a particular place and time. Han Yü's spirit is present where people pray to it with the right attitude, as when a well is dug to the ubiquitous groundwater; Ou-yang Hsiu can send up a spring eighteen years after his death and far away, to greet the right person. Their spirits are potentially everywhere, but the concentration of their presence at a particular place and time is a social matter, a response to particular living people. Therefore: a self that is present at a particular place and time is a social self. But landscape, as Su Shih saw it, makes it seem awkward and unreasonable to give a single self the focal position in space and time, and, as in scientific perspective, to relate all other things back to it. The social self, taken into the landscape experience, feels its own separate identity and validity denied by that experience, and is cast adrift in a space and time without social or historical landmarks. If the social self is still retained intact, the situation appears as an ironic comment on the instability and transitoriness of human life. But if the social self is abandoned, together with the claim to a special, unique identity among the other things in the world, this lost feeling is as terrifying as actual death, since death, in the experience of living people, is the same thing: the disappearance of a unique separate self from historical society.

Inside the body too, water represents a part of the human personality, and, as underground, follows mysterious hidden courses. The following excerpts are from two of Su Shih's essays on the Taoist theories of "nourishing

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44. Wu and Yüeh, i.e., Northern Chekiang and southern Kiangsu.
45. 六一泉銘 SPPY chi 20.157a-b.

life" (養生). The terminology is that of alchemy, but the elements are used to symbolize physiological processes and to dramatize psychological conflict in a technique roughly parallel to psychoanalysis. It wil help the reader if he fixes in mind the equivalence of dragon, mercury, water; and of tiger, lead, fire.

Discourse on Dragon and Tiger (Lead and Mercury)

All the reasons for men's living and dying proceed from (the trigrams) k'an (☵ water) and li (☲ fire). When k'an and li are joined, there is necessarily life; when they are separated, there is necessarily death. Li is the mind (heart); k'an is the kidneys (and the testicles). What the mind approves of is always right (正 upright, orthodox). Even in Chieh (the wicked last emperor of the Hsia dynasty) and Chih (a notorious ancient bandit) this is so; the reason they behave as they do is simply that they make light of what is within themselves, and emphasize externals, and thus regularly do things of which the mind would not approve. When the kidneys are strong and overflow, then one has thoughts of desire. Even in Yao (ancient sage emperor) and Yen (a favorite disciple of Confucius) this is so; the reason they behave as they do is simply that they emphasize what is within themselves, and make light of externals, and thus regularly do the things of which the mind approves. Seen in this light, the mind's nature is law-abiding and right, and the kidneys' nature is lewd and wrong (slanted, heterodox); these are certainly the properties of fire and water.

. . . . The dragon is water; it is semen and blood. It issues from the kidneys and is stored in the liver. Its sign is k'an. The tiger is fire. It is lead, and breath (ch'i), and strength. It issues from the mind (heart) and the lungs control it. Its sign is li. When the mind is moved, then the breath acts with it; when the kidneys overflow, then the semen and blood flow with them--and they are like fire's smoke and flame, which never returns again to the firewood.

In people who do not study the Tao, the dragon always comes out with the water, hence the dragon flies and the mercury is light; and the tiger always comes out with the fire, hence the tiger runs away, and the lead is withered. This is the usual way of living men; those who follow it die, but those who do its opposite are immortal. Hence the True Man's words: "Acting in accordance, is man; acting in opposition, is Tao". And again:

"The art of reversing the Five Elements:
The dragon comes out of the fire.
Acting contrary to the Five Elements:
The tiger is born into the midst of the water."

. . . . /He describes the manipulation of breath and saliva, and the meditation, whereby this result can be obtained./

Now li (the fire trigram in the Book of Changes) is li (attached): to show itself in attachment to things is the nature of fire. My eyes

are drawn by color, my ears by sound, my mouth by taste, my nose by fragrance, and at once the fire follows along and attaches to the object. But if I am still, and not drawn by anything external, the fire has nothing to attach itself to. Then where will it go? it will necessarily tend to associate with its consort, water.

K'an (the water trigram) is hsien (pit): to receive things when they come is the nature of water, so of course it will receive its own mate. When water and fire are united, then the fire will not blaze up, and the water will rise of its own accord. Then you have 'the dragon coming out of the fire'. When the dragon comes out of the fire, then the dragon does not fly, and the mercury does not dry up. . . . [More on technique.]

This theory is curious yet comprehensible, marvellous yet simple, and deserves complete credence. But I have a great sorrow. All my life I have again and again expressed my ambition to practice this, but I have always gone wide of the mark and not been able to accomplish it. I think this Tao cannot be accomplished unless one spoils one's body following it, violently purifies one's mind to receive it, and spends one's whole life keeping it. . . . [He tells of his recent very arduous efforts to practice it.] I did not go for walks in the country, and except for seeing Taoists, I received no guests and did not drink with anyone. It was all to no avail--I greatly fear that with my fickle nature I cannot follow out these prescriptions to the end. . . .[46]

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On Nuturing Life (Continued)

. . .What is meant by 'lead'? all breath (ch'i) is called lead. It may run or hurry, inhale or exhale, grasp or strike--everything that moves is lead. The breath is expelled and taken in by the lungs: the lungs are metal and the white tiger, and so are called 'lead' and 'tiger'. What is meant by 'mercury'? all water is called mercury. Spit, tears, pus, blood, semen, sweat, excreta--everything wet is mercury. It is housed and stored in the liver: the liver is wood and the green dragon, and so is called 'mercury' and 'dragon'. . . . When the mind is not in charge, and the kidneys govern, sounds and colors entice from without, and wicked lust arises within, the jen-kuei hero (?) flows down and becomes a man or turns to corruption--this is the mercury dragon coming out of the water. Liking, anger, grief, and joy are all things that come from the mind (heart). Liking is followed by grasping and taking; anger, by fighting and hitting; grief, by beating the breast and leaping; joy, by tapping the time and dancing. The mind (heart) moves inside, and the breath (ch'i) responds to it outside. This is the lead tiger coming out of the fire. When the mercury dragon comes out of the water, and the lead tiger comes out of the fire, once they are out, can they ever be made to return? Thus I say these are both the ways of death. . . .[47]

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46. 龍虎鉛汞論 SPPY hsü chi 8.767a-b; trans. adj. Arthur Waley, "Notes on Chinese Alchemy", Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Vol. 6 pt. 1 (1930), p. 15.

47. 續養生論 SPPY hou chi 9333b-334a.

Physiology and psychology are organized around water and fire (= ch'i), which are thus the primary embodiments of the self. Both naturally tend to escape from the body, drawn by sensual attractions and pushed by desire (water) or as bodily gestures expressing emotions by which the mind is moved (fire).. Most men let this happen, and this is why they die. In a good man fire is dominant, and his conduct is right; in an evil man water is dominant, and his conduct is evil, i.e., anti-social. But both die. The accomplished Taoist resists death by allowing neither emotions nor sensual attractions to lure the fire and water out of his body. He turns his whole attention inward and forces the two elements to cancel each other's outgoing tendencies: such is the road to immortality.

This effort strengthens the essentially social self, turns it inward, and strongly localizes it in the space of the body and the time of man's life. It is the opposite of the landscape experience, in which the self is felt to move outward without limit until it includes the whole world and is no longer a unique center in space and time. In the landscape, water and ch'i (=fire) circulate without impediment--water issues freely from the ground "where it finds a fissure", and ch'i, filling the space between heaven and earth, can assume any form. If man's self, embodied in water and fire, is allowed similarly to flow out, undisciplined, it is merely part of the universal circulation of water and fire--like the spirits of Han Yü and Ou-yang Hsiu after their death. As has been argued above, this experience is like death as far as the social self is concerned; from the Taoist point of view, it was like biological death too, since it negated the only concept of time in which a living person can find his own death or immortality meaningful: the accumulating time of historical society. So the landscape on the one hand is the locus of the pursuit of immortality,

and on the other hand suggests the abandonment of the idea of immortality.

When Su Shih tells of his failure to master these Taoist practices, he says that his nature is too "fickle" to carry them out--literally, "easy flowing". Many of the contradictions on his thought bear some relation to his hesitation between the two fundamental gestures of outflow and bottling up. But the broad lessons of the landscape experience were placelessness, associated with detachment, and timelessness, associated with spontaneity; and detachment and spontaneity in Su Shih's thought are the modes of selflessness, since the usual self cannot exist without its ties to place and moment. They are also the characteristics of true artistic activity, which can and should be a prototype for all human behavior.

IV. LANDSCAPE, ART, AND CONDUCT

The outward motion of the sense of self in the landscape experience, and the reverse movement of holding in and bottling up which was the method of the Taoist pursuit of immortality, were far from being pure abstractions or philosophical speculations in Su Shih's thinking. As we have seen, they are expressed very concretely, particularly in images of water. But more than that, they appear to Su Shih as quite literal descriptions of actual human conduct, and are embodied in behavior. Experiencing landscape, a human being tends to lose his distinct identity or social self and to feel that he is the same as the landscape. But this is not a static or formal sameness: it is his behavior that is not essentially different from the behavior of landscape things, or of the landscape as a whole; what difference there is is like the difference between spring-blooming plums and fall-blooming chrysanthemums, between water which runs down and mist which rises up. Things in the landscape seem to respond to the immediate situation--the season, the topography, their own stage of growth--without plan or forethought, memory or regret, each according to its own nature. To Su Shih this behavior of landscape things appeared above all as artistic, and art was the corresponding mode of human activity, the human way of acting out the felt kinship with the landscape. Art first of all is the fine arts, principally painting, literature, calligraphy, and music; but if an artist is truly successful, all his behavior, whether in landscape or in society, is art and is exactly the same as the activity of the landscape. Su Shih very often describes artistic creation in landscape terms:

P r e f a c e t o t h e F i r s t S o u t h e r n
J o u r n e y c o l l e c t i o n

The excellence of writers of old was not that they could write,

but that they could not help writing. Hills and streams have mists, plants have flowers and fruit, which when full and ripe appear outside--even if they wished not to have them, could they help it? Ever since my youth I have heard my father discuss literature. He holds that it is a thing made by ancient sages when they had something that they could not stop themselves from writing. Hence although my brother Ch'e and I write a great deal, we have never ventured to write with premeditation.

In the year chi-hai (1059) we accompanied (our father, Su Hsün) on a trip in the mid-Yangtze valley. We had nothing to do on the boat, and checkers and wine-drinking were not things that the ladies could enjoy. The elegance and beauty of landscapes, the simpleness and rusticity of customs, the mementos of sages and noble men, and all that our ears and eyes encountered, evoked various responses in us which we expressed in our verses. This book includes works of our father, and essays of my brother Ch'e, a hundred pieces in all. It is called the Southern Journey Collection. Its purpose is to record matters of one time to reflect on in later times. But these writings came from the midst of talk and laughter, and were not laboriously put together.[1]

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Critique of My Own Writing

My writing is like a ten-thousand-gallon spring. It can issue from the ground anywhere at all. On smooth ground it rushes swiftly on and covers a thousand li in a single day without difficulty. When it twists and turns among mountains and rocks, it fits its form to the things it meets. It is beyond knowledge. All that can be known is, it always goes where it must go, always stops where it cannot help stopping--nothing else. More than that even I cannot know.[2]

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At Kuo Hsiang-cheng's House when I was Drunk, I Painted Bamboos and Rocks upon the Wall....

My empty guts get wine, and tips of sprouts appear,
Liver and lungs fork and branch, bearing bamboos and rocks;
Lushly they will be made, cannot be turned back,
I spit them at the snow white walls, sir, of your house.
My whole life I have loved poems, long loved paintings too;
I have met many angry words for scribbling and daubing on walls . . . .[3]

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1. 南行前集敘 SPPY chi 24.179a.
2. 自評文 TPTP 1.15b.
3. 郭祥正家醉畫竹石壁上....Ch'en pp. 187-8.

Art is the antithesis of activity carefully planned beforehand. The true artist creates "unconsciously", "naively", "uncontrollably"; he is ". . . neither a servant of nature, nor her master, but . . . himself a part of nature."[4] Art issues from the artist's body just as mists from hills and rivers, flowers and fruit from plants, water from springs, bamboo from the ground: when a certain fullness is reached, it emerges spontaneously and irresistably. The vivid images in which Su Shih expresses this free outflow which is artistic activity are in strong contrast with his equally graphic Taoist conception of bottling up body air and fire inside, so as to escape death. And true art has the same implication as has the landscape experience of the death-like disappearance of the individual, separate social self.

This implication is present in the very spontaneity and irresistibility of art. The artist does not plan, choose, or discipline his art, nor weigh its consequences, any more than a tree or a stream does; it is an activity which completely bypasses and denies his sense of a unique "I" which might control and rationalize it. Art, like the landscape experience, is associated with dreams, drunkenness, and other states which dissolve the ties of the self to a point in space, time, and society. Many of Su Shih's poems already quoted indicate the relation of wine to art, and he has some poems which came to him in dreams. Of an inscription he says that he "let the brush write it, without revision; it is almost a thing made by heaven (nature), not constructed by intention."[5] In Buddhist contexts Su Shih is explicit about the absence of self in art, as when he

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4. Teng Ku, "Chinesische Malkunsttheorie in der T'ang- und Sungzeit", Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. 11 (n.f.) (1935), p. 44.

5. 思無邪齋 SPPY hsü chi 10.798a.

praises the calligraphy in which a sutra is written: "The mind forgot the hand and the hand forgot the brush; the brush wrote spontaneously on the paper, the self did not make it write."[6] And in a "Postface to Sutras Written Out by Jo-k'uei", he says:

> The Buddhist monk Huai-ch'u showed me two sutras written in the hand of Jo-k'uei. There are several chapters to a sutra, several hymns to a chapter, several verses to a hymn, several characters to a verse, several brush-strokes to a character. There is an unlimited number of brush-strokes, yet they are everywhere the same [just as all things are equal in the impartial and universal view of the Buddha]. They have no high and low, light and heavy, great and small. And how can they all be the same? Because the self is forgotten. If the self is not forgotten, there are already two phenomena present in a single stroke, let alone many strokes. They are like grains of sand by the sea: no one polishes them, but they are naturally uniform, with no difference of coarse and fine. They are like raindrops in the air: no one scatters them, but they disperse naturally, having no difference of sparse or dense. . . .[7]

The brush-strokes have no individuality; they are as alike as grains of sand or raindrops. The calligrapher whose art they are had no self to plan and arrange them any more than the landscape has a self to polish the sand or scatter the rain. Just as things happen in the landscape art comes spontaneously and naturally, so long as the human ego does not intervene.

It is to be expected that true works of art, like this calligraphy, will resemble natural things, since they arise from the same kind of activity.

> In Praise of Wen Yü-k'o's [Wen T'ung's] "Flying White" [a style of calligraphy written with a dry brush so as to leave flecks of bare paper within the strokes]
>
> Alas! Is it because Yü-k'o [=Wen T'ung] so loved beauty and rarity, or is it that "having no employment (in government) he acquired many arts?" [Analects 9:6, after Legge]. First I saw his poems and prose, then I got to see his (calligraphy in the) running, draft, seal, and chancery (styles). I thought this was

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6. 摩訶般若心經贊 SPPY hsü chi 10.796b.
7. 書若逵所書經後 SPPY hou chi 19.389a-b.

> all, but a year after he died I also saw his "flying white". What manifold beauties, as it shows all aspects of the myriad things! It moves in the air, like a thin cloud before the moon. It flutters, like a pennon curling in the long wind. It is supple, like floating gossamer wound round willow catkins. It is slender and graceful, like the stems of the floating-heart dancing in running water. Standing far apart, the strokes are distant but still relate to each other; standing near together, they are close but still do not crowd. His skill reached such heights as this, and I did not know it until now. So my knowledge of Yü-k'o was certainly very slight, and what I did not know about him must be beyond reckoning. Alas![8]

The likeness is not necessarily formal, but one of "constant principle" (cf. above, p.52), as is obvious in calligraphy but equally true in painting: Su Shih says that people who discuss painting on the basis of formal likeness are childish.[9]

Conversely, things in landscapes resemble human art: "layer upon layer, like a painting" (see p.54 above); elsewhere Su Shih describes some stones with markings like a particualr manner of painting water, and again tells of a man who found characters formed by moss growing on a sheer cliff in the mountains.[10] Moreover, one should not form attachments to art objects any more than to places or landscape things:

> . . . When seeing beautiful things, although occasionally, as before, I try to add them to my collection, I do not sorrow when others take them away. I compare them with clouds that pass before my eyes, or the songs of birds that are heard by my ear. Such things are enjoyed when met with, but one hardly thinks of them when they are gone. Therefore these two (viz., autographs and paintings) always gladden me, and they cannot cause me sorrow. . . .[11]

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8. 文與可飛白贊 SPPY chi 20.159a.

9. Teng Ku, "Su Tung Po als Kunstkritiker", Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. 8 (n.f.) (1932), p. 104.

10. 送范景仁遊洛中 SPPY chi 8.81b; 雪浪齋銘 SPPY hou chi 8.327a.

11. 寶繪堂記 SPPY chi 32.228b-229a; translated in R.H. Van Gulik, Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Serie Orientale 19, 1958), p. 509.

And art criticism--writing in prose and poetry about art objects--is itself an art[12], just like writing about landscape things themselves.

According to R. G. Collingwood, art is language, and a language is a conscious system of bodily gesture expressing emotion. Speech, for example, is a system not of sounds, but of gestures of the vocal organs; painting is not the lines and the colors, but the movements of the artist's hand and (one might add) eye. "Every kind of language is in this way a specialized form of bodily gesture, and in this sense it may be said that the dance is the mother of all languages." The hearer of speech (and the argument is the same for any form of language or art) is a speaker too, ". . . and is accustomed to make his emotions known to himself by speaking to himself. . . . The hearer, therefore, conscious that he is being addressed by another person like himself (without that original consciousness the so-called communication of emotion by language could never take place), takes what he hears exactly as if it were speech of his own: he speaks to himself with the words that he hears addressed to him, and thus constructs in himself the idea which those words express.[13]

We have seen that Su Shih was not often inclined to look at landscape as a dismembered giant, as composed of analogues to human parts (like Kuo Hsi's "water is the blood", etc.), or as a person or people with whom his relation was the same as with people in society. To him, the true parallel between landscape and the human body lay in art. His power of imagination

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12. Keng Ku, "Chinesische Malkunsttheorie in der T'ang- und Sungzeit", Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. 11 (n.f.) (1935), p. 44: "Su hat die Kunstkritik als Kunst entdeckt."

13. R.G. Collingwood, The Principles of Art (New York: Oxford University Press, Galaxy ed. 1958), pp. 235, 243-4, 250. Cf. also the quotation from Money-Kyrle at the beginning of chapter II above.

was great enough to see the landscape as (in Collingwood's words) "like himself" (or, it is equally valid to say, himself as like the landscape) without the necessity of finding exact counterparts for his arms, legs, hair, teeth, and so on. Therefore he could "construct in himself" the ideas which the bodily gestures of the landscape expressed. When we watch a dancer, in Collingwood's theory, we imaginatively take the dance as if our own body were performing it; by thus acting out the expression, we can recreate the idea or emotion which is expressed, because we are aware of being like the dancer. If we saw a dancer with one leg, or with a hundred arms, we could still do the same thing with a slightly greater effort of the imagination, although the idea expressed would be different. From this it is only a step to seeing the movement of a tree in the wind as a dance, and the blooming of flowers as a painting: what emotion or idea would I feel if I (had branches instead of arms and) moved like that in response to the wind? Landscape gesture is art, and quite literally speaks the same language as man in his true nature as artist.

In Su Shih this is the most important way in which the expansion of the sense of self in the landscape comes about, and identities with individual landscape things are formed. These two movements overlap and need not be sharply distinguished, any more than the landscape needs boundaries, since their relation depends on the size of the landscape unit which is seen as behaving artistically, from the raindrop to the whole world landscape. And the process works two ways: one can say both that Su Shih was enabled by the combination of Chinese landscape, Chinese tradition, and his own temperament, to consider himself and the landscape as essentially alike, and hence could see the gestures of landscape as art; and that since the gestures of the landscape appeared artistic to him, therefore the

landscape seemed to have the same nature as artistic man.

Many of the quotations from Su Shih already given will confirm this interpretation. Here is another particularly clear illustration having to do with music and dance:

> . . .Since the Ch'in united the empire [in 221 B.C.] and extinguished the Rites and Music, the shao [music of the legendary sage-king Shun] has not been performed for 1313 years. If the instruments were preserved and the performers dead, the shao would be a mystery; so much the more when instruments and performers are both gone and have not been handed down. But although the shao is lost, there is something that is not lost and is still preserved, for it is always with sun and moon, heat and cold, dark and light, wind and rain between heaven and earth. Nowadays . . . people's ears have never heard earth's music, still less can they hear heaven's (natural) music. But if a person can hear natural music, then everything that has shape and sound will be his feathers and tail, shield and ax, pipes and stone chimes, gourds and strings [i.e., all the paraphernalia of music and dance].
>
> Once . . . I climbed up on Shao Rock, below Shun Peak, and looked out at Ts'ang-wu Mountain in the far distance, and the Chiu-i range.[14] I attended to the spitting and swallowing of rivers and mountains, the swaying of the trees and grasses, the cries of the birds and animals, the breathing of all the apertures: and all these doings were harmonious song. There was no numbered measure, yet an even rhythm formed of itself. Is this not the shao in all its perfection? Heaven established the limits to set the world in order. If man is in harmony, the ch'i answers; if the ch'i answers, music is made. And then "the nine melodies of the shao, the coming of the phoenix, the dancing of the hundred beasts" all are already gloriously spread before him. (New Year's Day, 1101)[15]

It may occur to the Western reader that if nature is a work of art, then there must be an Artist.

> If theologians are correct,
> A Plan implies an Architect. (W.H. Auden)[16]

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14. This landscape is on the borders of the modern provinces of Kuangtung and Hunan.

15. 九成臺銘 SPPY hou chi 8.327b.

16. Cf. also R.E. Money-Kyrle, Man's Picture of his World: A Psychoanalytic Study (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1961), pp. 118-119, where it is suggested that the appreciation of nature carries with it an anthropomorphic idea of a creator and a sense of gratitude to and identification with him.

That this conception is also possible in the Chinese tradition is shown by the following passage. After describing a tastefully appointed landscape, Liu Tsung-yüan wrote:

> . . . All these plants, now sparse, now dense, leaning here, upright there, seem to have been distributed by a conscious being. I have long wondered whether or not the world has a creator; coming here, I am inclined to think that there really was one. . . .[17]

But Su Shih, although he occasionally uses the term "creator" (造物者) does not, I think, have this conception. The existence of a great conscious ego, resembling the self of man but infinitely wiser and more powerful, who plans and arranges things in the world, and of whose ideas and emotions the landscape is an artistic expression, is foreign to Su Shih's experience of landscape. This is clear from the "Postface" quoted on p. 79 above. Just as one reconstructs in oneself the idea or emotion which a human dancer seems to express, so one does with the artistic behavior of landscape; but the very ideas expressed preclude their being attributed to any divine self analogous to the human self, which is primarily derived from society. On the contrary, one thing that the gestures of the landscape express is selflessness, the absence of any controlling, planning ego, whether within the landscape or outside of it--they are utterly spontaneous, that is, both unpremeditated and autogenous. If man, seeing and hearing landscape things, truly reconstructs in himself the ideas they express, it is only at the price of abandoning his own social self with its strong focus in space and time. Otherwise he cannot fully understand the language of the landscape.

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17. Translated in Georges Margoulièes, ed. and trans., Anthologie Raisonée de la Littérature Chinoise (Paris: Payot, 1948), pp. 361-362.

The conception of landscape as a continuous spontaneous work of art, and of man's true nature as artistic in the same way, went far beyond the landscape itself, and tended toward a monopoly of all areas of experience. Art, derived from landscape, was for Su Shih the quintessence of true human behavior, and in his thinking the lessons learned from the landscape experience through art became a standard for all human conduct. The idea of learning to be a sage by imitating nature was not new; what is new in Su Shih is the idea that what man has that is most like landscape is art, and that art is the core of true human behavior and extends to and colors all one does.

> When bamboo first comes up, it is just a little sprout, but the joints and leaves are all there, and (all bamboos, from the smallest to the largest?) have them from their birth. The painters of today do them joint by joint, compound them leaf by leaf--how can that be bamboo? Therefore when you paint bamboo you must first get the finished bamboo in your brain; holding the brush, look intently (at the paper), and as you see the thing you want to paint, then at once go straight after it with a fast brush to overtake what you see, as the hawk pounces when the rabbit starts--hesitate a moment, and it is gone. This is how Yü-k'o (=Wen T'ung) taught me. I cannot do it, but I know in my mind that it is right. To know that it is right but not to be able to do it means that my inside and outside are not at one, the mind and the hand do not respond to each other, because of insufficient practice. So a person who sees something within himself, but does not get a firm grasp on it, when he is still and looks in himself it is clear, but when he comes to the actual event he all at once loses it. And not only bamboos! . . . .[18]

Painting is not planned and methodical, nor is it random and accidental. The image of the bamboo is not fabricated by the rules of composition and carefully set down bit by bit; it rises complete in the mind's eye, and must be instantly transfered to the paper by a hand which is skillful enough not to obtrude itself upon the image or damage it. Art is spontaneous, not calculating. "And not only bamboos!"

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18. 文與可畫篔簹谷偃竹記 SPPY chi 32.23la-b.

The sage too is spontaneous, not calculating. His actions are like art and landscape, where all is immediate and there is no forethought or afterthought. He has no need thoughtfully to apply preconceived standards of right and wrong: his reaction to good and evil is immediate and sensual.

Notice of 'Hall of Thought'

> Chang Chih-fu of Chien-an[19] built a house west of the public office building and named it "Thought". He said, "I will pass my mornings and evenings here, and in everything I do, I will always think before I act. You write me a notice on it."
>
> Alas! I am the man in the empire most wanting in premeditative thought. When something comes up, I speak; there is no time for thought. If I think before I speak, I miss my chance; if I think after I have spoken, it is too late. And so all my life I do not know what I think. Words arise in my mind, and rush into my mouth. If I spit them out I offend other people, if I swallow them back I offend myself; and thinking it better to offend other people, in the end I spit them out. The Gentleman reacts to good just as he loves a lovely color, toward evil just as he hates a hateful smell. How could it be that when he is confronted with a matter he thinks, calculating and deliberating its good and evil aspects, and only then rejects or espouses it? Hence if one, in a situation where righteousness is called for, thinks of advantage, the righteousness must come to nothing; in a situation where war is called for, if one thinks of life, the war will not be strongly fought. Our failure and success, gain and loss, death and life, misfortune and good luck are matters of fate /and should be left to fate./
>
> When I was young I met a hermit who said, "Infants are close to the Tao--they have little thought and few desires." I said, "Then thought is on a par with desire?" He said, "It is worse than desire." In the courtyard were two jars for storing water. The hermit pointed to them and said, "This one has a tiny leak, from that one a quart is taken every day and thrown away. Which will be empty first?" I said, "It would have to be the one with a tiny leak." The way premeditative thought steals from a man is in small amounts but unceasingly. What the hermit said made sense to me, and I have practiced it. Besides, the joys of not thinking are indescribable: one is empty yet enlightened, one yet universal, tranquil yet not slack, at rest without settling down in retirement, intoxicated without drinking wine, asleep without shutting an eye.
>
> Is it not preposterous to use all this as a Notice for the Hall of Thought? Nonetheless, all I have said has its place. "All things develop together, but do not harm one another; their ways run along together, but do not infringe upon each other."[20]

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19. Approximately the modern Chien-ou, Fukien.

20. The Mean, 30.3.

> With Chih-fu's nobility of character, what he means by "thought" is surely not the vulgar kind of bustling premeditative thought. The Book of Changes says, "Without thought, without action." I should like to learn this. The Book of Poetry says, "Thought without wrong." Chih-fu has this. 1/24/1079.[21]

Su Shih, for all his "alas!", is proud that he speaks out his mind without prudence or forethought: so acts the Gentleman (elsewhere he says the same of the Sage). "Thought" in the sense of anxious planning is the very opposite of spontaneity. The Taoist ideas of "nurturing life", as well as the metaphor of the water-clock, are implicit in the image of human life as a jug of water and death as its emptying. The hermit gives another choice besides thought: with desire, you lose water in larger quantities, but only intermittently, and you live longer. The third possibility (what the infant does without trying) is to keep in all the water in the Dragon-and-Tiger manner, which, as we have seen, Su Shih found he could not manage; but even the sages of old did write literature, if only when they could not hold in what they had to say ("Preface...", p. 76 above). Therefore by his rejection of thought, Su Shih implicitly chooses desire, which is equated with his own social conduct, with the behavior of the Gentleman or Sage, and with art as well. All these are expressed as being like spitting--emitting in irregular bursts--and are very much like the anti-social behavior of the depraved emperor and the notorious bandit in whom the mind (organ of thought as well as organ of right moral sense) is subordinate to the kidneys (organ of desire) in the essays on the Dragon and the Tiger (above, p. 72): "When the mind is not in charge, and the kidneys govern, sounds and colors entice from without, and wicked lust arises within . . .", except that they are seen as admirable instead of wicked. If one could

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21. 思堂記 SPPY chi 32.230b.

not arrange to bottle up everything and live forever, the next best was to accept death and release the vital liquid at intervals, in "quarts" of frank speech, art, and sex[22]--one had the advantages of joy, longer life than with thought, and the spontaneous virtue of being true to one's own nature (not "offending" oneself), even at the price of being wicked from the viewpoint of society. The model and training ground for this course of life was above all the landscape experience, taken artistically.

The aptness of the image of artistic activity as "quarts" of water emitted discontinuously and spontaneously from the body reservoir of man's life, as opposed to the slow steady leak of thought and the bottling up of the Taoist, is strengthened by the characteristics of the arts as Su Shih practiced them. They are closer to each other, both in spirit and in practice, than has generally been true in the West, and especially after the example of Su Shih with his poetry, prose, painting, and calligraphy, it was common for an educated man to do well at several of them. Poetry had always been strongly influenced by music, and in the 11th century the tz'u in particular still remained close to its origins as lyric (words to music); Su Shih wrote and adapted many poems specifically intended for singing. The internal motion or development in time of music, calligraphy, and literature occurs also in painting, especially in the horizontal hand-scroll--all share the moving or expanded viewpoint, the absence of a single focus implying a centered self, which we have discussed in painting. Literature, painting, and calligraphy are also linked by the

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22. Su Shih also associated celibacy (the holding in of semen) with longevity. See Lin Yutang, The Gay Genius (New York: John Day, 1947) p. 362.

use of the same brush, ink, and paper or silk for all three. And above all, the arts are decanted from a common source in man, as is also virtue in the following piece:

In Praise of an Ink-Bamboo Screen

Painted by Wen Yü-k'o (=Wen T'ung)

> Yü-k'o's prose is the lees of his virtue. Yü-k'o's poetry is an iota of his prose. What his poetry cannot exhaust overflows and is calligraphy, changes and is painting. Both are left over from the poetry. But fewer people love his prose and poetry (than love his painting and calligraphy). Is there anyone to love his virtue as much as his painting? Alas![23]

The arts that Su Shih practiced are essentially spontaneous performances of artistic feats, closer, for example, to acting and singing, and farther from play-writing and composing, than are their Western equivalents. This is clearest in calligraphy and music: in the first, there is a given repertory of characters and even of styles, and the calligrapher's art and originality lie in the brilliant performance and interpretation of them. In music, there is of course a repertory of melodies which the musician renders and interprets; but beyond the melodies too there are certain definite melodic forms or movements which form a repertory for the composition of melodies.[24] Similarly, in painting there was a vocabulary of subjects, symbols, and techniques in being by Su Shih's time, and the greatness of a painting often lay in the arrangement and interpretation of these, rather than in originality of subject or style.[25] In poetry there was a great number of incidents, symbols, and whole phrases which had their

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23. 文與可畫墨竹屏風贊 SPPY chi 20.158.

24. John Hazedel Levis, Foundations of Chinese Musical Art (Peiping: Vetch, 1936), p. 50.

25. Michael Sullivan, The Birth of Landscape Painting in China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 163ff.

origins in earlier poems and in the whole written tradition, and poetry often tended to be rearranging these in set poetic forms, while seeking to restore their immediacy by referring them to new and personal situations. To be sure, art everywhere is more or less like this; in poetry, for example, the words are mostly given to the poet by his cultural tradition, and his art is to combine and interpret them, and refer them to new situations. But in China, the size of the meaningful unit taken from his tradition by the artist and used without being further broken down, was larger than generally in the West; the poet was prone to use more allusions, and take not just words but phrases and whole verses ready-made. This performing quality of the arts makes them suitable for spontaneous emissions of expression, more than for the slow and prolonged creative processes of thought. A highly educated man like Su Shih had at his disposal vast repertories of meaningful units, large and small, which he could rapidly combine into new art when he felt like it. He did not have the problem of some modern artists of feeling that he must virtually create his own language anew, with much pain and toil, out of the smallest possible units available in his tradition.

Accordingly, each single work of art was brief, created all at once, rather than planned out ahead and painstakingly brought to completion. There are no large structures in Su Shih's art--no symphonies, no cathedrals, no Paradise Losts. His very conception of art excluded the long planning and discipline necessary for such things. Each work of art was a quantum of expression, a "quart" of water; it could not contain more, or take longer to create or appreciate, than what could be felt as a single, immediate experience in the present. No detached and prolonged intellectual effort could be required to perceive its unity of structure or its purport.

The interposition of art as the means by which man may imitate landscape had great consequences not only for the quality of that imitation as reflected in the conduct of life, but also in the conception of art itself. For Su Shih, the meaning and function of art lay in this relation to man and nature. For one who wished to be a sage, the practice of art was research and training at the same time that it was spontaneous pleasure; for one who was already a sage, his whole life was art anyway, and he had no special reason to practice the arts in the narrower sense since they were no different from everything he did. It is said that Su Shih was the first to insist that art was not to be subordinated to moral teaching.[26] It is true that Su Shih did not consider art, in the traditional Confucian way, as simply the vehicle of the (Confucian) Tao[27]; "Literature," he wrote, "is for telling one's mind."[28]

But neither did he consider art (the arts) as autonomous or as a special realm of experience without ethical significance; art was a manner of living which in the sage became co-extensive with the whole of life. A strong preoccupation with the arts is, in a true artist, an effort to

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26. Teng Ku, "Chinesische Malkunsttheorie in der T'ang- und Sungzeit", Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. 11 (n.f.) (1935), pp. 44-45.

27. Han Yü considered art the vehicle of the Tao (see, for example, Y.P. Mei, "Man and Nature in Chinese Literature", in H. Frenz and G.L. Anderson, ed., Indiana University Conference on Oriental-Western Literary Relations (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), pp. 165ff). His early Sung successor in the ku-wen movement, Hu Yüan (993-1059; Giles 827) considered literature no longer the mere servant, but an integral part of the Tao, together with "substance" and "function" (Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson, compilers, Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 439-440); the Neo-Confucian Chou Tun-yi held the more old-fashioned view that literature was only the vehicle, and that beauty of expression was just an ornament to make doctrine more pleasing and acceptable (Chow Yih-ching, La Philosophie Morale dans la Néo-Confucianisme (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), p. 135.

28. "文以述志"：送人序 SPPY hsü chi 8.763a.

break out of the neurosis of inadequate understanding of life. When the neurosis is cured, there is no more reason to practice or not to practice the arts than there is to do or not to do anything else.

> In his earlier years Yü-k'o /Wen T'ung/ painted his bamboos whenever he found some pure white silk or good paper. He grasped the brush quickly, brushing and splashing with it freely. He simply could not help (doing) it. All the people who came to his house grabbed some pictures which they carried away. Yü-k'o did not care about them.
>
> In later years when he saw people placing brushes and inkstone on the table he recoiled and went away. And those who came to ask for pictures waited until the end of the year, but did not obtain anything. When someone asked Yü-k'o his reasons for this (change of attitude) he replied: "In former years I studied Tao but could not reach it; I found no peace of mind and could not accomplish it. Therefore I simply went on painting ink-bamboos expressing through them my restlessness. It was like an illness /lit., it was an illness/. Now this illness is cured, nothing more is to be done." . . . .[29]

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For Szu Ts'ung, a Monk of Ch'ien-t'ang, /Hang-chou/, on his Return to Ku-shan

> . . . The Ch'ien-t'ang monk Szu-Ts'ung at the age of seven played the lute well. At twelve he gave up the lute and studied calligraphy. After he became skilled in calligraphy, in ten years he gave it up and studied poetry; in his poems there are fine passages. Then he read the Hua-yen Sutra, and (became immersed in the study of Buddhism?) . . . . I have heard that when one's thoughts are trained so they are reaching close to the Tao, the (Buddhist texts and doctrines?) are only way-stations; and this is even more true of calligraphy, poetry, and lute. No matter how hard he tries, no student of the Tao achieves it if he starts from nothing. . . . If Ts'ung does achieve it, his lute-playing and calligraphy, and above all his poetry, will have had something to do with it. Like water, Ts'ung will be able to reflect all things in one, and his calligraphy and poetry will become still more marvellous. I will watch them, and take them as indications of how profoundly Ts'ung achieves the Tao.[30]

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29. 跋文與可墨竹李通叔卷 TPTP 5.94b; translated in Osvald Siren, The Chinese on the Art of Painting (Peiping, Vetch, 1936), pp. 54-55.

30. 送錢唐僧思聰歸孤山敘 SPPY hou chi 9.331a

Thus art is the mode of human activity corresponding to the landscape experience, and the prototype for all human conduct. Its characteristics are those of the landscape experience: principally spontaneity and selflessness. But one could not be in society, let alone an official as Su Shih was for most of his life, without a continuing self, a self that looked ahead, that willy-nilly had its place, that was held responsible for past and future acts. This self was the one exposed to the leaks in the boat and the water jug, the dripping of the water-clock, and the anxiety about death. History and society, the great tradition of Chinese civilization, created the conditions in which a distinct landscape experience was possible, but at the same time negated it.

V. SOCIETY AND LANDSCAPE

The self which to Su Shih seemed incongruous with the landscape experience was derived from society, that is, from concrete day-to-day encounters with people organized in various groups, as interpreted in Chinese culture. To facilitate its functioning, society generally insists on the assumption that its individual members have unique selves which continue in time, which are at least fairly predictable, and can plan and remember and be held responsible.[1] Some such self concept is present already in the family, and it is strengthened as the individual extends his social relations beyond the family. The extreme form of the social self, requiring the utmost in continuity, predictability, and responsibility, was in Su Shih's China the political self, the self vis-a-vis the state. By his career as an official, Su Shih was continually exposed to these maximum demands upon his conception of himself, and the qualities of the landscape which contradicted the idea of self were made to stand out in strong relief in his thinking. Both the selflessness of landscape and the strong selfhood of the state were whole interpretations of human behavior, and not susceptible to compromise if both were taken literally and in full seriousness.

From a story told in his biography and in his tomb inscription, one can get an idea of how the young Su Shih acquired his sense of a political self. His mother was reading aloud from the Eastern Han history, and came to the biography of Fan P'ang.[2] Fan P'ang was to be arrested for clique

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1. Cf. Percival M. Symonds, The Ego and the Self (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), p. 23: "The ego is primarily concerned with the future. It is one aspect of personality which is concerned with planning action and anticipating the effects of action." Also ibid., p. 73: "Every individual, to a certain extent, identifies himself as a unique individual. This depends in part on his recognition through memory of his own continuity in time and, in part, on the fact that other persons recognize him today as the same individual he was yesterday."

2. JMTT 713.4.

activity; rather than risk implicating others, he gave himself up voluntarily, rejected opportunities to escape, and was executed. Fan's mother heartily approved, saying that if he had a good name, how could he expect long life as well? Su Shih's mother sighed deeply, and Su said, "If I do as P'ang did, would you permit it?" His mother answered, "If you can be Fan P'ang, can I not be Fan P'ang's mother?" Such attitudes as these prepared the ground for Su Shih's long and conscientious service as a government official.

A Sung official considerably older than Su Shih, Fan Chung-yen[3], was a man in whom the social self was so overriding that he consciously refused to impair it by accepting the landscape experience. His essay on Yüeh-yang Pavillion, part of which has been quoted on page 42 above, shows that he saw the possibility of an attenuation of the social self in the landscape, and some of his themes are like Su Shih's: limitless distance, wine, spontaneity. In his conclusion, Fan Chun-yen too speaks of detachment from external things, but then unlike Su Shih he says that this applies only to landscape, not society:

> . . . Alas! I have studied why the hearts of virtuous men of old were different from these two (states of mind) /induced by contemplation of the landscape in two different aspects--see p. 42 above/: the reason is that their joy was not brought on by (exterior) objects, nor their sorrow by their own (fate). When they held high (office) at the court, they were anxious for the people; when they were in banishment far among the rivers and lakes, they were anxious for their prince. Thus in favor they had cares, in disgrace they had them as well. When, then, were they joyous? Without hesitation, the answer is: they were the first in the empire to be sorrowful, the last in the empire to be joyous. Oh! were it not for such men, whom should I take as my model?[4]

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3. 989-1052 (Giles 535).

4. Translated in Georges Margouliès, ed. and trans., Anthologie Raisonnée de la Littérature Chinoise (Paris: Payot, 1948), p. 362f.

Fan Chung-yen had had a great shock when he learned, around the age of twenty-one, that the family in which he had been brought up was not his at all; toward the end of his life he was also much taken up with family matters, seeking to ensure the continuing stability and coherence of the Fan clan.[5] His unusually strong sense of political identity, I think, had something to do with his disappointing family experience.

The state attitude toward landscape things was that they were to be managed (as for example in flood control) or treated diplomatically; like human citizens, they were endowed with a continuing self, and were expected to be predictible and responsible. The following prayer and essay will give an idea of Su Shih's official relations with landscape:

> Alas for my people!
> How have they offended heaven?
> Between flood and drought
> For two years now.
>
> Heaven has not relented:
> A hundred days and no rain.
> No snow to settle the dust,
> The wheatfields are bare earth.
>
> The Son of Heaven bids me
> Pray to mountains and streams.
> It has come to my ears that this mountain
> Is a magic dragon's lair.
>
> Bowing, I knock my head on the ground,
> Making bold to beg just a spoonful.
> If we get over a foot of snow,
> There will be grateful sacrifice of flesh and wine.[6]

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5. Johanna Fischer, "Fan Chung-yen (989-1052): Das Lebensbild eines chinesischen Staatsmannes", Oriens Extremus, Vol. 2 (1955), pp. 39-85 and 142-156; Denis Twitchett, "The Fan Clan's Charitable Estate; 1050-1760", in D.S. Nivison and A.F. Wright, eds., Confucianism in Action (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp.

6. 祈雪雾猪泉文 SPPY hsü chi 12.837b.

Account of Yü Spring

Ch'ang Mountain is twenty li south of Tung-wu. It is not very big or high, but if you look down from it at the city, the city appears to be at its foot, so that it seems as if you can count the parapets, towers, and kiosks; and if you look at the mountain from the city, the mountain seems right above the wall, so that sleeping, eating, and in all daily business you go nowhere that you do not see the mountain. It is certainly appropriate that its spirit should be nourished by these people. Tung-wu is near the sea, and very windy; the watercourses dry up, hence droughts are frequent. Prayers are made to this mountain, and are always answered. Because it can be trusted and relied upon, the people consider it to have constant virtue, and so it is named Ch'ang (constant) Mountain.

In Hsi-ning (1075) in the spring and summer there was drought, and I prayed to the mountain repeatedly (?); the prayers were always answered immediately. So I restored its temple. Fifteen paces southwest of the temple gate a spring comes bubbling up, turning and twisting like a wheel; clear and cool, smooth and sweet, it runs the same in winter and summer. The overflow reaches to the foot of the mountain. I think that the reason why this mountain can keep its virtue constant, giving off clouds to make rain, and so inspiring confidence in these people, lies in this spring. But it had no name, and was not carefully maintained, and the farmers considered it insignificant. So I had stones cut and a well built, seven feet deep and two thirds as wide, with a pavillion above it; I named it Yü Spring. "Yü" in olden times meant to cry out and beg for rain. Nowadays too the people cry out much about what they must do without, and groan over their afflictions. But is there any official who can hear and pity them, and give them what they beg for, with the trustworthiness and reliability of Ch'ang Mountain and Yü Spring? For this reason I am ashamed in front of the spirit. So I made a poem of crying out and gave it to the people of Tung-wu for them to sing in sacrificing to the spirit, and as an exhortation to their officials. . . .[7]

Here and elsewhere, it appears that Su Shih believed quite seriously in the efficacy of such prayers. But he also writes,

. . . The yü sacrifice [for rain] is only the expression of the former kings' love of the people. Heaven's response to the sovereign of men depends on his virtue, not on his words. If the sovereign develops his virtue, so that he has in himself nothing to be ashamed of, what need is there of prayers besides? But in the dry season the sages could not bear to sit quiet and watch the people's helplessness, so they performed the yü for them. . . .[8]

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7. 雩泉記 SPPY chi 32.227a-b. Tung-wu: present Chu-ch'eng, Shantung.
8. 問雩用何以為正 SPPY hsü chi 9.782b.

So whether or not the prayers did any good, the main point of attributing administrative selves to landscape things and trying to make them responsible citizens was to raise the morale of the people and to urge on officials. As we have seen (Chapter II above), Su Shih unofficially was little inclined to treat landscape things as social persons.

To the political form of the social self, space had quite a different structure from what it had in the landscape experience. The lesson of landscape space was that the self is everywhere, and hence nowhere--it does not exist. But the social self, especially in respect to the state, must be somewhere in both space and time, and is placed, besides, in a schematic hierarchy including the natural world as well as society, and patterned after the family, where the social self is first born.

In the Rationalist school of Neo-Confucianism, whose beginnings can be traced to Su Shih's political opponent Ch'eng Yi, much importance was attached to the following passage from the Great Learning:

> The ancients who wished clearly to exemplify illustrious virtue throughout the world, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their own persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their minds. Wishing to rectify their minds, they first sought for absolute sincerity in their thoughts. Wishing for absolute sincerity in their thoughts, they first extended their knowledge. This extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things.
>
> Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts became sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their minds were then rectified. Their minds being rectified, their persons became cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the world was at peace.[9]

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9. Fung Yu-lan, A. History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 362; on the importance of this passage to the Neo-Confucians, see ibid., Vol. II (1953), p. 529, note 1.

The ancients were concerned first with the world (or "empire"), treated as an extension of society; their persons, with mind, thoughts, knowledge, were only means. They were precisely located in the middle of a series of concentric identities, none of which was in contradiction to another. The whole theory rested on the faith that nothing would turn up in the investigation of things which would lead a person to do anything contrary to family, state, or world (empire). Since the argument begins and ends with the world, it has the effect of a command not to discover anything that might hinder the development of a strong social and political self. Everything hinges on the "extension of knowledge" by the "investigation of things."

> It was asked whether the investigation of things required an investigation of them one by one, or whether one might simply investigate a single thing, and thereby come to a complete understanding of the Principles of all? The reply [of Ch'eng Yi] was: How can one expect to comprehend them all at once? Not even Master Yen [a favorite disciple of Confucius] would have dared to claim that by merely investigating a single thing one could comprehend the Principles of all. What is necessary is today to investigate one thing, and tomorrow to investigate another. Only after this has been practiced over a long period can one reach a free and automatic comprehension of all.[10]

The solution to the problem is already contained in the method. "Today, tomorrow, long period"--it is a planned, methodical accumulation of knowledge over a long period of time, and hence already assumes the existence of a continuing, planning self. Like the joy of Fan Chung-yen's sages, spontaneity ("free and automatic comprehension") is indefinitely postponed. This is the opposite of the way Su Shih describes getting knowledge in the landscape:

> Someone said, the Recluse Lung-mien[11] painted the picture "Mountain Home" in such a way that later people going to the mountain could let their legs carry them where they would, they would

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10. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 529-530.

11. That is, Li Kung-lin (c.1040-1106), a gentleman-painter of horses, landscapes, and Buddhist subjects (JMTT 377.3).

> naturally find out the roads and paths, as if they were seeing something they had dreamed, or remembered from a previous life. Without asking, they would know the names of the springs, rocks, grasses, and trees on the mountain; when they met fishermen, woodcutters, and hermits on the mountain, they would recognize them without being told their names. Is this not because (Li Kung-lin) made strenuous efforts of memory, and did not forget (these details when he painted the picture)?
>
> I said, Not so. When people paint the sun, it often looks like a cookie, but this does not mean they have forgotten the sun. When you are drunk, you do not drink through your nose; in dreams, you do not grasp things with your toes: what comes naturally to you, you remember spontaneously, without effort. When the Recluse was on the mountain, he did not dwell upon any one thing, hence his spirit was linked to all things and his knowledge was that of all the artisans. . . .[12]

And even speaking of the Confucian Way, Su Shih insists that knowledge is less important than spontaneous delight:

> . . . "When we have intelligence resulting from sincerity, this condition is to be ascribed to nature; when we have sincerity resulting from intelligence, this condition is to be ascribed to instruction. But given the sincerity, and there shall be the intelligence; given the intelligence, and there shall be the sincerity."[13]
>
> Now, what is sincerity? It means delighting in it (the Way). To delight in it is to have natural trust, hence it is called sincerity. Now, what is intelligence? It means knowing it (the Way). To know it is to be wise, hence it is called intelligence. Sages are those who, before they have knowledge of it, already delight in it. . . . The Master says: "To know it is not so good as to love it; to love it is not so good as to delight in it." Knowing it, and delighting in it: this is the difference between the (mere) virtuous man and the sage. . . .[14]

Elsewhere he criticizes Han Yü in the same vein, as one who "knew how to be fond of the name (of the Way of the Sages), but was unable to have joy in its substance".[15] This emphasis on joy is part of the widening of the Confucian Tao and the Confucian personality in the Sung ku-wen movement.[16]

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12. TPTP 95-96.

13. The Mean, 21; translated in James Legge, The Chinese Classics, Vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), pp. 414-415.

14. 中庸論 上 SPPY ying chao chi 6.627.

15. 韓愈論 SPPY ying chao chi 10.644.

16. Cf. p. 34 above.

The hierarchical aspect of the self's position and identity in society and the natural world, and its derivation from the original social self formed in the family, is exemplified in this passage from Chang Tsai's "Western Inscription", one of the key statements of the Neo-Confucians:

> Heaven is my father and earth is my mother, and even such a small creature as I finds an intimate place in their midst.
>
> Therefore that which extends throughout the universe I regard as my body and that which directs the universe I consider as my nature.
>
> All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions.
>
> The great ruler (the emperor) is the eldest son of my parents (Heaven and earth), and the great ministers are his stewards. Respect the aged--this is the way to treat them as elders should be treated. . . .
>
> Do nothing shameful even in the recesses of your own house and thus bring no dishonor to them [Heaven and earth]. . . .[17]

This attitude may be compared with Su Shih's in a poem about Lu Ao[18], who fled from the first emperor of Ch'in to Mt. Lu in present Shantung province and subsequently got the Tao:

> Heaven is full of bureaucrats,
> What good to fly up there?
> He is still here on this mountain;
> Though you meet him, you won't know him.[19]

The contrast is in Lu Ao's anonymity (refusal of a continuing social self) and his removal from social hierarchy in favor of seeking the Tao in the landscape.

Like the landscape, the state could be seen as a human body, the "body politic". Officials with strong state-oriented social identities then have the role of foods or medicines, or physicians: for in this image, the body is always a sick one.

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17. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson, compilers, Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 424-425.

18. JMTT 1593.4.

19. 廬山五詠：鷹敖洞 SPPY chi 6.73b.

> China's troubles with the barbarians are like when a man has diseased hands and feet. If he will not stand the discomforts of medicine and the injury of acupuncture, one day the disease will spread into the marrow of his bones--then, I may say, his discomfort will not stop at medicine, nor his injury at acupuncture. . . .[20]
>
> * * * * * * * * * * *
>
> . . . .I have also heard that Your Majesty thinks it would be all right to try this new law in three provinces. I think that this new law is comparable to a physician with poisonous medicine who uses men's life and death to try his unproved prescriptions. Are not the people of the three provinces Your Majesty's helpless children? How can you yet try out poisonous medicine on them? . . . .[21]

The recurring note of disease in the image of the state as a body underlines the association of death with the state which we have observed before, and whose roots are in the quality of time in which the state, and the state-oriented political self, exist.

The state has its being in historical time, and history exists in the framework of the state--neither is possible without the other. Sorokin and Merton[22] show that all time systems grow out of the need for co-ordination of activities of human groups. Small groups in small areas can use local events as clocks, since information can reach everyone relatively fast and most of the socially important events (such as the ripening of crops) happen at the same time throughout the area, and because much of the co-ordinated activity is ad hoc, in response to floods, epidemics, invasions, etc. But in larger groups which contain greater differences in culture and occupation and are spread over larger areas, there is a need for a more general standard of time, comprehensible to everyone and equally

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20. 休兵久矣而國用益困 SPPY hsü chi 9.780a-b.

21. 論時政狀 SPPY hsü chi 9.785b-786a.

22. Pitirim A. Sorokin and Robert K. Merton, "Social Time: A Methodological and Functional Analysis", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 42 (1937), pp. 615-629.

valid everywhere. Hence, with the rise of urban civilizations, astronomical time was invented. Astronomical time is the time in which history occurs, and history, too, is inseparable from large groups in large areas organized into civilized states. The civilization and the state live in this time, accumulating historical events in written records; and an official who identifies himself with the state must also live in this time. Perhaps the difference between very-small-group and large-group time will be clearer if one recalls the vagueness of the places in time that events in one's parents' or grandparents' lives seemed to have before one knew of history and the calendar.

The Chinese civilization was highly aware of historical, astronomical time, and its state nature[23], and Su Shih felt that control of the calendar was an important attribute of government. When he was at Hang-chou, Korean envoys presented him with papers which were dated only in cyclical characters (of a 60-year repeating cycle). Su Shih would not receive them, saying, "Korea's position in respect to our dynasty is that of a vassal, and yet you do not accept our calendar. How could I presume to receive them?" And the envoys changed the dating to Hsi-ning, the current dynastic reign-period.[24]

This historical time was the very antithesis of the timelessness experienced in landscape, the non-socialized area which was not even local, but placeless. And one reason for the association of sickness and death with the state is the fact that death is a thing which happens to historical

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23. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambrdige University Press, 1959), pp. 186ff; Hellmut Wilhelm, Gesellschaft und Staat in China (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1960), p. 48.

24. The story is told in his tomb inscription.

personages in historical time, not to non-historical people in landscape time. In China especially, the study of history is strongly biographical, i.e., it is the study of people who have died. And history as studied in the state context was far from the immediate experience, in the landscape, of quasi-legendary past events. History was a guide to planned, reasoned, unspontaneous action; the deeds and fortunes of the men whose biographies made up history were to be taken, not as direct experience, but as examples of conduct to seek or shun.

> If there was once someone who succeeded by doing this, I must do likewise; if there was once someone who failed by doing that, I must do the opposite. . . .[25]

This is a far cry from loving good like a lovely color and hating evil like a hateful smell: it is the very "thought" which Su Shih disowned and distrusted (Cf. p. 86 above).

The highly developed social self which finds its identity in the great tradition of the civilized state sees itself too as a historical personage who will die, and is interested in the special kind of historical immortality which is the preservation of name and reputation in future ages. When Su Shih shows concern with posthumous fame, it is almost invariably in respect to those of his writings which he considered to belong to the great tradition--his commentaries on the Book of Changes and the Book of History, and his Analysis of the Analects, rather than the less formal occasional pieces (poems, notices, letters, etc.) on landscape and many other subjects, for which he is chiefly remembered and admired today. For example:

> . . . We anchored for the night out in the ocean. The sea and the sky met, and the sky was filled by the Milky Way. I got up, and sat looking to the four quarters, and sighed deeply. How unlucky

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25. 國學秋試策問 SPPY chi 22.169a-b.

> to get into this position! I came out safe at Hsü-wen [i.e., crossing from Hainan to the mainland] and now I am in danger again! --My youngest son Kuo was snoring away beside me; I called him but he did not answer. I had with me my commentaries on the Book of History, the Book of Changes, and the Analects, and there are no other copies in the world. I held them and exclaimed, "If heaven does not want these to be lost (?), we shall get safely ashore again!"--and so we did. (7/4/1100 at Ho-p'u)[26]

It is not surprising that the spontaneity of art and wine and of the sages' immediate virtue often have an anti-social cast: these things are an abrogation of the continuing, responsible self which society required. In Chang Tsai's Western Inscription there is the oxymoron: "The great Yü [a legendary sage-king] hated pleasant wine . . . ."[27] And Su Shih points out the incompatibility of wine and government:

> ...Then we have had Edicts prohibiting the use of wine,--the greatest curse, as 'twas said, of the curses which afflict mankind. Yet there have been those who attained immortality thereby, and made themselves heroes for ever.
>
> Ah! 'tis but the prince, who, though pure as the crane itself, dares not indulge a passion for wine. An he do so, it may cost him his throne. But for the recluse of the hillside, what odds if he perish in his cups? . . . .[28]

Su Shih spits his paintings at people's walls, and says he has "met many angry words for scribbling and daubing on walls" (above, p. 77). He spits out his words as they come to him, even though they offend people (p. 86 above). Elsewhere he writes,

> . . . By nature I am not careful of what I say. It does not matter who I am talking to, I always completely purge my insides. If there is something more that I have not said, it is like having something stuck in my gullet--I simply have to spit it out. But

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26. 記過合浦 TPCL 1.1. The same episode is told in slightly different words in TPTP 132.2.

27. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson, compilers, Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 525.

28. 放鶴亭記 SPPY chi 32.230a; translated in Herbert A. Giles, Gems of Chinese Literature (London: Quaritch, 1884), p. 192.

> some people remember my rudeness and hold it against me. For this reason it is particularly hard for me to get along with close and calculating people. . . .[29]

As has been mentioned before, this kind of action resembles the anti-social behavior of the water-and-kidney-dominated wicked king and notorious bandit in the Dragon and Tiger theory. Su Shih several times got into serious trouble through poems critical of the government. The first time this happened, he was banished to Huang-chou, where he made an honest attempt to brain-wash himself and to discover the continuing ego which could be held accountable for his wrong behavior.

> . . . When I had more or less solved the problem of living quarters, and had some scant provision of food and clothing, I closed the door and made a clean start. I summoned my faculties and humbly reflected, seeking a way of renewing myself. I looked back on all my utterances and activities: they had all missed the Tao, not only the things by which I had given offense at present, and I did not know where to begin reforming. I sought them out methodically, and some I regretted unendurably. So I sighed deeply, and said, "My Tao is not equal to controlling my energies (ch'i); my nature is not equal to mastering my habits. I am not digging at the roots, but merely pruning among the branches. Even if I reform now, I will surely act the same again later. Why not restore my sincerity by becoming a Buddhist monk, and seek a complete purification?" I found a monastery south of the town, called An-kuo Temple, with fine woods and tall bamboos, ponds and pavillions. Every day or two I went there and burned incense and sat in silence, investigating myself deeply. And I forgot the difference between myself and things; my person and my mind ceased to exist. I sought for how my guilt was first born, but could not find it out. My whole consciousness was pure and clean, and the pollution fell away of itself. Inside and out, I was free of any dependence or attachment. Surreptitiously, I delighted in this . . . .[30]

The guilty self he was trying to pin down turned out to be a social fiction--when there was no attachment, then there was nothing to be attached. But his delight in this discovery was surreptitious, i.e., asocial, because the very fact of his disgrace showed that society took the existence of

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29. 密州通判廳題名記 SPPY hsü chi 12.827b-828a.

30. 黃州安國寺記 SPPY chi 33.233b-234a.

his guilty and responsible ego as axiomatic. It has been pointed out that (as would be suggested by this essay) Buddhist and Taoist influences in his writing became prominent after this banishment to Huang-chou[31]; and the following story attests in particular to his familiarity with Ch'an (Zen) ideas on the nature of the self:

> . . . Recently...Chu Yen studied Ch'an for a long time. Suddenly in the Surangama Sutra he seemed to grasp something. He asked the teaching monk I-chiang (River of Righteousness), "After the body dies, where does the mind reside?" Chiang said, "Before the body dies, where does the mind reside?" . . . .[32]

Another thing that is lost (or at least diluted), in the landscape is social class; as the sense of self is weakened or eliminated, the hierarchy to which it belonged becomes irrelevant. Man too participates in a kind of democracy of all things. And sometimes it was the solitary woodcutter, fisherman, or hermit, without education, wealth, or social standing and living entirely in the landscape, who seemed in the end to be wiser than the ambitious official.[33]

> Foggy water curls and winds round the brook road
> Layered blue hills
> Make a ring where the brook runs east.
> On a white moonlit sandy shore a long-legged heron roosts.
> And this is a place where no dust comes.
>
> An old man of the stream looks, says privately to himself,
> "What is your little reason
> For wanting so much to be a bureaucrat?
> You have plenty of wine and land.
> Go on home, enjoy your share of leisure!"[34]

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31. Peking University, A History of Chinese Literature, Vol. 2 (中国文學史) (Peking: 人民文学出版社, 1959), p. 396.

32. 朱炎學禪 TPCL 3.27.

33. Cf. p. 30 above. Su Shih's attitude toward these traditional pastoral figures shares the ambiguity of his whole view of the Taoism that is oriented toward physical immortality, where social intercourse is broken off and liquids are retained in the body. Cf. also Chapter III, pp. (59ff) above, and chapter VI below.

34. 蝶戀花 TPYF 2.39a.

An ignorant, drunken old peasant could in reality be a true sage, but he might be hard to spot:

> Shuai Tzu-lien[35] was a farmer of Heng-shan; he was ignorant, uncouth, and stubborn, and was generally known as Ox Shuai. In his old age he joined South Peak Monastery and became a Taoist. Seven li southwest of the monastery is Tzu-hsü Pavillion, a shrine of the former Wei Fu-jen.[36] None of the Taoists would live there because of its desolation and solitude. Only Tzu-lien liked it; he simply sat erect and silent (?), and no one saw him do anything. Sometimes when he was drunk he would lie among the mountains and woods, and even if a great storm came he would not be aware of it; tigers and wolves would pass in front of him, and they too would not molest him.
>
> The former (official) Wang Hu[37] was sent to be magistrate of Ch'ang-sha, and he received an imperial command to conduct prayers to the South Peak. He visited the shrine of Wei Fu-jen, and there was Tzu-lien, too drunk to stand up. He looked straight at the magistrate and said, "Country Taoists love wine, but cannot always get it. Will you excuse me, Sir?" The magistrate observed what an unusual man he was, and had him carried back with him. He stayed more than a month, withdrawn and not speaking, and was sent back to the mountain again. (The magistrate) said, "An old man like me cannot fathom the hidden light and inner splendor of the honored teacher." . . . .
>
> /Ox Shuai predicts the day of his death, and afterwards his grave is reopened and his corpse is gone, showing that he had achieved the Tao/
>
> The Recluse of East Slope (Su Shih) says: If a gentleman harbors something within himself, even some small knack, he is not quick to make it known; so with a sage, this is even more true--you surely will not find out what he is. It is hard to find anyone who can recognize a sage. If Mr. Wang had not had the Tao, he would not have been able to know how extraordinary Ox Shuai was. . . . .[38]

A man's true quality is not revealed in his social self; true sages are classless or even anonymous, loath to reveal themselves, and hard to find out (cf. Wen T'ung on p. 80 above, and Lu Ao, p. 101). Indeed, it is a natural question why good men bothered at all with an official career, when the advantages of leisure, wine, song, and landscape were so clear.

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35. JMTT 1010.4. "South Peak" is Heng-shan in present Hunan province.

36. A lady Taoist of the Chin dynasty (265-317) (JMTT 1733.3).

37. d. 1008. An official of the early Sung dynasty (Giles 2182).

38. 李子廉傳 SPPY hou chi 16.383a-b.

The night is clear and taintless,
The moonbeams glitter silver white.
Let me pour my wine to the full,
And floating fame and unstable gains
No more trouble my spirit and mind.
For, ah! they are but horses past a peep-hole,
Sparkles out of a flint,
And persons in a dream.

Though I have in me beautiful thoughts,
To whom can I impart them?
I shall happily enjoy my endowments from Nature,
And, when I return home,
Become an idler,
With a lute,
A bottle of wine,
By a rivulet decked with clouds.[39]

The sages of antiquity, the men who began history and civilization, did so reluctantly; like the true artist, they could not help it.

> The sages had no intention of gaining empire. They were like rivers and seas, into which all the valleys lead. They were like the unicorn and phoenix, around which the birds and beasts congregate. Even if they wished to refuse, how could they? . . . . These three sages /Yü, T'ang, and Wu/ tried to decline, but could not get rid of it; tried to escape, but could not avoid it.[40]

That Su Shih himself had a strong commitment to public life and the social hierarchy is shown by the fact that he spent two thirds of his life in office, and in his belief that only the scholar-gentleman was capable of painting with true artistry. When he was young, with his strong Confucian education and his father's long efforts to get office, he probably never seriously considered any other course of life than taking a degree and being an official. Kracke says that if a man was qualified, it was considered to be his duty to take office; and in the early Sung, there were no longer satisfactory careers for educated men in Buddhist or Taoist hierarchies, since organized Buddhism and Taoism no longer had important

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39. TPYF 3.46a-b; translated in Ch'u Ta-kao, Chinese Lyrics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. 25.

40. 儒者可與守成論 SPPY hsü chi 8.764.

educated followings. More than before or since, culture was identified with office-holders.[41] Like the sages, Su Shih felt that he could not avoid the duty of public service; and in any case he was too gregarious to be a hermit. Later, and especially after his Huang-chou banishment, he may have really wanted to retire from office; it is hard to know how seriously he meant his requests to resign, and statements like this:

> . . . I am a farmer by my origins, and have little desire to be a hermit. Although I am an official, my diet (?) is like a peasant's. But I have wanted to retire for the last ten years, earnestly begging for it without ceasing, and the best I have got is provincial assignments. If things go well for a gentleman, and he is lucky, he can rise to the rank of minister as easily as turning over his hand; but it is retiring that has always been the hard thing . . . .[42]

In any case Su Shih did have a theoretical ideal of a way of being an official or an emperor which did not negate the landscape experience and all that was associated with it. This is suggested in his conception of the three sages, and also in the piece on the music of Shun (above, p. 83): the true state music of the sage king Shun is really the spontaneous, timeless art of the landscape. Su Shih believed that it was possible to govern with just this artistic spontaneity and leisureliness. Once the Emperor Shen-tsung asked Su Shih's advice, and after proper demur, Su Shih answered, "Your humble servant is of the opinion that you seek to govern too precipitately, giving ear to too many people's counsel and advancing men too suddenly. I wish you would wait quietly for things to come up,

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41. Edward A. Kracke, Civil Service in Early Sung China (960-1067) Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series Vol. 13 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 22-23.

42. 跋李伯時堤圖 TPTP 5.99a-b.

and then deal with them."[43] In an ideal situation, an administrator has nothing at all to do; the people's affairs run themselves smoothly and harmoniously, and the official occupies himself with leisurely activities. So, for example, the prefect of Mei-chou, in Su Shih's account, was loved and trusted by the people (who were themselves intelligent and hard-working) and "because he had nothing to do, . . . he built Yüan-ching Tower, and went up in it every day to while away his time with guests and colleagues."[44]

The ideal official (not as in Fan Chung-yen's conception) should be as detached from politics and administration as he is from everything else. In the following essay, Su Shih says that the best officials act the social role of official, but without the social self:

Inscription for the Lotus Clepsydra at Hsü-chou [without the preface]

> What people have faith in is their hands and feet, their eyes and ears. The eyes tell many and few, the hands know heavy and light. Yet no one takes measurements with his hands or makes calculations with his eyes; for this people always depend on measuring instruments and scales. Is this not mistrusting oneself and trusting instead to things? The reason is, people feel that because (these instruments) are without purposefulness and without self, they get at the truth about all things. Thus though heaven and earth are cold or hot, sun and moon are bright or dim, and the K'un-Lun range stretches over more than 387,000 li, they cannot escape the three-foot indicator-rod and the five-quart vase [of the water-clock]; though with a clap of thunder day is darkened by wind, rain, and snow, still [the clock's] rate has a measure which is not speeded or slowed. If every official, like the vase filling with water, would not exceed his capacity; like the water that floats the indicator-rod, would not depart from the level; and, like the rise and fall of the rod, would show the ups and downs of the times, and fall without counting it shame, rise without counting it glory--then the people would follow his lead and submit to him in their hearts, and trust their life and death to him.[45]

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43. In Su Shih's tomb inscription.

44. 眉州遠景樓記 SPPY chi 32.229a.

45. 徐州蓮華漏銘 SPPY chi 20.156b.

As I have argued above, I think that Su Shih's ideas of man as a vessel endangered by the loss of water (or a boat threatened by a leak) is connected with the water-clock and the time it measures. But here the water-clock is used neither to regret the brevity of human life, nor to suggest that officials be prompt and punctilious, but to urge that officials be, like it, without purposefulness and without the social self to which shame and glory would be relevant.

The trouble was that this conception of the official and his administration was not shared by the men who held power during most of Su Shih's political life. It was a time of violent reform and counter-reform, strife of parties and cliques, and feuds among the officials. In particular, Wang An-shih and his followers saw that there were problems in China which would only grow worse if the type of government favored by Su Shih were practiced. Wang's New Laws demanded that officials take initiative in changing social and economic conditions, rather than "waiting quietly for things to come up, and then dealing with them". Sun Chüeh (Hsin-lao)[46], genial magistrate of Wu-hsing, was an official of the old leisurely type; Su Shih writes of him: "At this time [c. 1071] the court was in the process of changing the laws, and messengers were going in all directions. They thought that Hsin-lao ought to be writing reports and going to appointments day and night, and should not be easy and self-sufficient as before. But Hsin-lao enjoyed guests more than ever, and amused himself writing poetry and drinking wine. And in his spare time he collected lost things. . . ."[47]

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46. JMTT 770.3.

47. 墨妙亭記 SPPY chi 31.223a-b.

Su Shih himself, whose ideal of detachment by no means meant passivity or indifference in government, was in trouble several times and banished twice as a result of his carrying this attitude of artistic spontaneity and frankness into his public life.

VI. CONCLUSION

With the increased centralization and the heightened cultural unity which came about in the Northern Sung as local aristocratic domains and private governments were eliminated, as the Buddhist and Taoist organizations declined, and as the prestige of military careers fell, the educated man who wished fully to participate in society found fewer and fewer alternatives to civil service. He was confronted with an autocratic (although quite benevolent) imperial power to which he was expected to give his entire allegiance, and he was supposed to stand as a single individual vis-a-vis the state since groups of like-minded officials were condemned as parties or cliques.[1] His relation to the state was quite unequal, for while the state exacted the maximum of responsibility and predictability from him, he could remonstrate (at some risk), but in the last resort had to accept the acts of the state no matter how capricious or unjust they sometimes seemed. He was frequently moved from place to place, and his own actions were unpredictably evaluated. In this situation, a number of people in the eleventh century sought to develop some ideological or institutional alternative which could provide a more stable, continuing, and rational sense of identity for the educated man.

One solution was seen, by Fan Chung-yen and others,[2] in the family taken as an organism with ritual geneological continuity, some common

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1. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson, compilers, Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 446.

2. Su Shih writes of a continuing family establishment of this kind in his "Essay for the Pavillion at the Estate of the Changs of Ling-pi" 靈壁張氏園亭記, SPPY chi 32.230b-231a.

property, and other new functions, which could provide educated men with an alternative object of loyalty as well as a livelihood apart from the state. Again, as Buddhist and Taoist scholarship waned, the possibility of a complete monopoly of learning by the state was averted by the rise of private academies in which study and discussion were not directed toward passing the civil-service examinations. And Neo-Confucian philosophy can be seen, from one angle, as an elaborate rationalization and cosmological, ethical, and psychological justification for the position of the educated man opposite the autocratic state; while at the same time it softened the confrontation (as by approving of strong clan organization) and rose above it. Perhaps even the great rise of collecting in Sung China can be seen as a search for a supplementary identity.

It is in this context, I think, that Su Shih's version of the landscape experience should be understood. His own particular bent of mind, the events of his life, the Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist traditions, and the actual landscapes of 11th-century China, made it possible for him to interpret the relation of man and landscape differently from the more family- or state-oriented literati, and the more speculative Neo-Confucian philosophers. Although he never made a complete philosophical system, and his work contains a number of contradictions, still his overall conception is clear enough. In the asocial context of the landscape experience, ordinary thought and behavior in terms of the social categories of time and space seemed inappropriate; instead, the landscape spoke to Su Shih of spontaneity (a mode of action outside time) and detachment (which had its prototype in the interchangeability of non-socialized places). But social time and place were essential attributes of the social self, and without them the social self appeared to be a conventional fiction whose effects could be harmful

if one really believed in it. On the other hand, society, as embodied in its extreme form of the state, insisted that its version of the self was quite real, and showed by its treatment of officials that it took this self very seriously. The answer to this dilemma seemed to Su Shih to lie in art, the one form of behavior which need deny neither the landscape experience or the social experience. The non-human landscape behaved artistically, that is, with the spontaneity and detachment of selflessness; and this is the way that the human sage, living in society, ought also to behave. The conception of the spontaneous, unattached scholar-official, facing high rank and banishment with the same equanimity, practicing art and scholarship with skill and understanding but not obsessively, who delights in landscape but is not driven to be a hermit, had great influence in China in the Sung and later dynasties and it stems in fair part from the example of Su Shih.[3] It is clear that his view of ideal human conduct, incorporating both the world of man and the world of landscape, is far from being simple escapism.

However, this conception of Su Shih's, as presented here, is not so all embracing as it might at first appear. For one thing, I have necessarily been selective, considering the meanings of water, for instance, at some length because it is a strong unifying theme, while giving less attention to other elements of his landscapes such as wind, flowers, or stars. And a full understanding of the political side of Su Shih's thought about landscape would require a more detailed separate study of the relations between the

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3. Su Shih's works have appeared in many editions, from Sung right up to the present; he has been widely anthologized, and has an important place in any history of Chinese literature and art. See Ling Yutang, The Gay Genius (New York: John Day, 1947), Bibliography; Ku Teng, "Su Tung Po als Kunstkritiker", Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. 8 (n.f.) (1932), p. 104.

state and the landscape involving matters like official sacrifices to mountains and the political meanings of places (capital, provinces, places of banishment).

Moreover, Su Shih's world-view itself (as seen from the twentieth century) seems to have two important limitations which make it only relatively valid; both are revealed by unassimilated Taoist elements in his thought. First, his world-view was immediately concerned with the mode of life of only the tiny fraction of the population which constituted the scholar-gentry; with few exceptions, only these people could be officials, and only they were capable, in Su Shih's eyes, of true understanding of landscape and practice of art, and hence of achieving the ideal personality of the sage. Ignorant rustics like Shuai Tzu-lien could be sages, but only in the traditional Taoist sense of living apart from society and achieving physical immortality, a sagehood which Su Shih found impracticable and unacceptable for himself.

Second, the rhythm which Su Shih found in landscape and in the best of human art and behavior--quietness until a point of fullness is reached, then a brief burst of spontaneous creativity, expressed above all as the emission of liquid from the body--powerfully suggests the rhythm of male sexuality culminating in orgasm; to the extent that this image influenced Su Shih, his thought is true only for men. The parallel female rhythm of creativity--conception, gestation, and childbirth--fits a view of art or other behavior as involving longer time-spans, larger and individually more important works of art, painful separation from the creator, and more attachment to the creature both before and after separation. This type of imagery (quite familiar to us today) is strong in Su Shih's discussions of Taoist practices for achieving immortality, where fire and water (male

and female) can be made to mate within one's body, and so be held in instead of escaping outside[4]; although it is not clear from Su Shih alone, the purpose of these exercises is in fact to produce within one's abdomen the embryo of a light, immortal body, which grows until it replaces the mortal one.[5] But the female rhythm, so far as I have found, is entirely absent in his thought on artistic and ethical behavior.

It is clear that an experience of landscape like Su Shih's cannot be understood in isolation from other kinds of experience, such as artistic and social, which in turn are compounded of the interaction of the individual personality and the historical situation. Above all, a conception of landscape, to become explicit and positive, needs a new and sharp contrast between the human and non-human worlds such as was arising in Su Shih's time with the increasing urbanization of society; needs a function, some reason why it is chosen for emphasis and elaboration, such as was supplied by the growing pressures on the educated man for conformity and single-minded dedication to the state in the Northern Sung dynasty; and needs the possibility of frequent contact with diversified and relatively unsocialized landscapes concerning which much has already been thought and expressed. Su Shih, within the limits of his class and sex, was able to make an original and creative synthesis of these conditions as they existed in the Northern Sung Dynasty.

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4. See pp. 72ff. above.

5. Henri Maspero, Le Taoïsme (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1950), pp. 18, 115.

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