Corrections. Category 2.

Errata

(c.t. = correct to)

p. 8, l. 22 (1 December 385) Move to stand after "Fei River."

p. 20, l. 5 "In the year 406" c.t. "Sometime between 402 and 404."

p. 22, l. 10 Index figure 104 should be 103a.

p. 27, l. 12 "Governor" c.t. "Inspector."

1.7 "Executive Gentleman of the Household Bodyguard" c.t.

"Executive Gentleman of the Household of the General of

the Guardian Army."

p. 33, l. 17 "Paternal uncle" c.t. "Cousin."

1.18 "Senior Officer in the Bodyguard" c.t. "Chief of Staff to

the General of the Guardian Army."

p. 47, l. 7 "Ling-yün now ..." c.t. "Before the end of 418 Ling-yün

found himself ..."

p. 52, l. 10-11 Should read: "this surname was derived from a maternal

uncle of King Hsüan of Chou (reg.827-781 B.C.) who was

given a fief at Hsieh."

p. 60 n.38 & 39 References to CS in these notes should be reversed.

p. 68 n.64 "When the state was established" c.t. "When the (Chin) state

was abolished."

n.65 "Governor" c.t. "Inner Officer."

p. 71, l. 70 "Senior Officer of Established Severity" c.t. "Senior

Officer to the General for Establishing Severity."

p. 72, l. 73 "This is an error ...A-to." Delete.

p. 79, l. 104 This should be 103a. Below this add: 104. CS, LXV, p. 6b.

p. 97 n.203 "as 419" c.t. "as 419 or a little earlier."

p. 104 n.221 "Army of Established Authority, under the command of Meng

Yang" c.t. "The General/Establishing Authority, Meng

Ch'ang."

p. 108, l. 21 "Administrator of the Garrison Army" c.t. "Administrator to

the General of the Pacification Army."

p. 109, l. 1-4 Should read: "In 415 he was made Eagle-Soaring General.

Later he was promoted to Marshal of the Left to the

Commander-in-Chief, in which capacity he supported Yu's

plan for the attack on the North."

1.5-6 "General of Established Authority" c.t. "General for

Establishing Authority."

1.8 "Garrison Army" c.t. "Pacification Army."

p.112 "paternal Uncle" c.t. "cousin."

p.134, l. 19 "Some were glad...again" c.t. "Some were glad to seek public

office in the capital."

1.22 "The affairs...accord" c.t. "The affair was occasionally by

external causes; the impetus did not come from themselves."

p.135, l. 9 "I walked through cold and summer heat" ADD: "and submitted

to their changes."

1.12 "outskirts of the city" c.t. "remote city."

1.16 "they thrust their oars into the river" c.t. "the steering-

oar is held in the water."

p.140 n.6 "none of the army commanders" c.t. "none of the soldiers."

p.169, l. 24-25 "holding advancement in contempt" c.t. "Leaving the world."

1.32 "upstream" Delete.

p.170 l. 3 "their principles!" c.t. "his principles."

p.170, l. 7-15 Should read: "At that time I had excused myself from office,

on a plea of sickness, and had retired to the Eastern

Mountains. I had heard of his fame and admired him from

afar. He did not seek the company of men but felt called
Errata (2)

to the mountains. The dharma-master's coming to stay with me and my laborious service have been roughly described in my former poem, so I shall not repeat the account here.

p.172, l.20 "For...remember," c.t. "I recall our past life."
p.173 n.31 "Chū...ploughing." c.t. "Chū and Ni ploughed together."
p.180, l.16-17 "We were like...face" c.t. "We lived together by the towering cliffs."
p.200 n.47 "Prince Kung of T'ai-yüan" c.t. "Wang Kung(d.398) of T'ai-yüan."
p.204 n.60 "To the...residence." c.t. "in the van."
p.228, l.13-14 "prominent officials" Delete "prominent."
p.238, l.3 "the Governor" c.t. "Grand Warden."
p.240, l.17 "latifundiae" c.t. "latifundia."
p.242, l.7 "Governor" c.t. "Grand Warden."
p.246 n.4 "style unknown." Delete.
p.259 n.43 Delete whole note and substitute: "See note 71 to chapter III"
p.262 n.50 Final paragraph of note should read: "When (Liu) Shao, Prince of Lu-ling, took up his appointment at Hsün-yang (443) he appointed Chang-yü to the post of Personally Appointed Administrator to the Adjutant of the South. He was to be in charge of the records. On his journey he came to a plank bridge, and buffeted by a violent wind met his death by drowning. (ibid, p.37b-38a6) 'Adjutant of the South' was a title held by Liu Shao in his capacity as Inspector of Chiang-chou."

p.264 n.56 "Extra-officiary General of Established Authority" c.t. "Extra-officiary Gentleman in Attendance on the General for Establishing Authority (i.e., Meng Ch'ang)."
p.265 n.63 Delete. Substitute. The jih che 者 者 foretold the weather. See Tz'u hai, sub 者 者.
p.268 n.80 "As far as Lin-hai" ADD: "He was accompanied by several hundred men."
p.80 n.80 "Governor of Lin-hai" c.t. "Grand Warden of Lin-hai."
p.272 n.87 "Again we find one Wang Tzü-shang..." c.t. "Again we find Liu Tzü-shang, second son of Hsiao-wu ti and at that time Inspector of Yang-chou, complaining that..."

n.87 "popular customs...accepted" c.t. "popular custom has neglected and not honoured them."
p.276, l.8 "but have...people" c.t. "my affairs were remote from men."
p.288, l.3 "Whatever the reasons...arrest." c.t. "Whatever the reasons, Yi-k'ang now ordered one Cheng Wang-sheng 鄭望生 to place Ling-yün under arrest."
p.290, l.8 "It was...season." c.t. "It was then the first moon of the last season."
p.291, l.14 "I listen...gorge." c.t. "I listen to the evening torrent rushing through the gorge."

1.33 "a General...Ch'in" c.t. "Governor of Ch'in-ch'ün."
p.301, l.5 "the wind" c.t. "the pure wind."

1.7-8 "They expect...all" c.t. "They fix their gaze beyond wordly limits, but yet linger."
p.324 n.92 "sent it up" c.t. "recited it." : "Since the memorial was sent to the emperor," c.t. "Since the emperor greatly admired it."
p.325 n.99 "treaties" c.t. "treatises."
Errata (3)

p.325 n.102 "Shih ch'ang t'an...trace." c.t. "Shih ch'ang t'an 釋常談
an anonymous work of the Sung period reprinted in the
Pai ch'uan hsueh hai and other collectanea."

p.326 n.103 "Chia K'ung-lu...do both." c.t. "(Chia) K'ung-lu had a name
for his merits and aided his age. One cannot compare him
with them."

p.331, 1.19 "and Sun Ch'o of the T'ai-yüan period (376-397)" c.t. "and
Sun Ch'o of T'ai-yüan."

p.337, 1.10-11 "If our spirits...from now" c.t. "If after death our
spirits are conscious."

"is truly representative","is not truly representative" :
"I believe...case" c.t. "I believe that this is not the
case."

p.349 "Mount Heng" c.t. "Heng Range." Opening line should read:
"To the north I see the start of the Heng range."

p.372 n.44 "who took service" c.t. "who declined to take service."

p.373 Notes 50 & 51 are in wrong order. Reverse.

p.378 n.80 "Administrator and Counsellor" c.t. "Administrative
Counsellor."

p.388, 1.5-8 Should read "In the spring, it is warm/In autumn its power
decides. The cold comes and warmth departs/The chill goes
and heat comes again."

p.426 "Fang Hui has...commentary here." Delete.

p.427, 1.13 "Yen" c.t. "Shan."

p.430 last line, "President of the...Chancery" c.t. "Vice-President
of the Imperial Chancellery."

p.433 n.9 "P'u Chiang" c.t. "She Chiang"

p.437, 12 "metal and ecru" c.t. "metal and white."

p.439 n.3 "ecru" c.t. "white." Delete second sentence.

p.452 n.10 "Yen" c.t. "Shan."

p.464 n.6 "P'u Chiang" c.t. "She Chiang."

p.470 n.2 "None of them seems..." c.t. "Only Fang Tung-shu 方東樹
seems..."

p.482 n.6 "ao-ao" c.t. "yu-yu."

p.483, 16 "I feel...one" c.t. "I feel my face is smiling through its
sorrow."

p.484, 1.7 "both mistakenly" Delete.

p.497 n.2 "as always." Delete.

p.505 n.1 "Tuan-an" c.t. "Jui-an."

p.508 n.10 & n.11 "Yen" c.t. "Shan."

p.515 n.11 "Minister of Instruction" c.t. "Minister of Works."

p.520 n.11 "I finished...them." Should read: "I finished marrying off my
sons and daughters in the chien-wu period (25-56 A.D.) and
my care for family matters is at an end. I have no more
concern with them. It is just as if I were dead." Thereupon
he gave rein to his wishes and with his friend Ch'ing
Ch'ing of Pei-hai he wandered over the Five Peaks and the
famous mountains. To this day nobody knows what became of
them."

p.561 Last line. c.t. "On Sunny Slope vainly I dry my hair."

p.597 n.9 "The bright moon...jewel." c.t. "The bright moon shines
brilliantly."

p.598, 1.5 "Enjoying the moon," c.t. "Making the most of the moonlight."
Errata (4)

p. 602, 1.14 "Yeh Hsiao-hsueh quotes..." c.t. "Yeh and Huang Chieh quote the Hsün-yang ch'i 蕭陽紀 (apud Ching tien shih wen)...."

p. 619 n. 2 Should read: "Huang Chieh asserts that these lines are based on YFSC, XXXVI, p.9b, Shan tsai hsing: "The moon is setting, Orion lies across the sky, The Northern Dipper lies athwart."

p. 636, 1.3 "His verse... self-accusations." c.t. "His sorrows were numerous."

p. 641, 1.2 "Fang yü chi yao" c.t. "Tu shih fang yü chi yao"

p. 644 Last line "illusions" c.t. "troubles."

p. 686, 1.6 "In my own petty way... instruction." c.t. "I should be ashamed if there were no increase of riches and teaching."

1.13 "So carrying out... project," c.t. "May these trees grow and attain perfection."

Family tree, p. 691 Ranks and titles occurring in the text.
"Councillor of the Army of the Centre to the Crown Prince" c.t. "Counsellor to the General of the Central Army"
"General of the Garrison Army" c.t. "General of the Pacification Army"
"General of the Flying Hawk Army" c.t. "Eagle-Soaring General."
"General of Established Authority" c.t. "General for Establishing Authority."
"Senior Officer of Established Severity," c.t. "Senior Officer to the General for Establishing Severity."
"General of Established Severity" c.t. "General for Establishing Severity."
"Senior Officer in the Bodyguard," c.t. "Chief of Staff to the General of the Guardian Army."
ADD: "Extra-officiary Gentleman in Attendance on the General for Establishing Authority. 军威將軍員外散騎侍郎"
First Reader

Second Reader

Third Reader
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Thesis

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF HSIEH LING-YUN
DUKE OF K'ANG-LO
385 - 433 A.D.

Submitted by

John David Frodsham
(M.A., Cambridge, 1956)

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1962
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Preface

Hsieh Ling-yun (385-433) is a figure of considerable importance in the history of the Six Dynasties period. As poet, Buddhist philosopher and translator he exercised an important influence over the thought and culture of his time. As a member of one of the leading families of that era his life provides us with an excellent insight into the social and governmental mechanism of mediaeval China.

This thesis is an attempt to construct the first adequate biography of Hsieh Ling-yun, to interpret his system of thought and to place his work in historical perspective. The first volume consists of Hsieh's biography, reconstructed from a multiplicity of sources, along with an excursion into literary history which attempts to place his work in its proper cultural context. The second volume consists essentially of an annotated translation of his most important poetic works. Finally, material which could not conveniently be placed in the notes has been relegated to the Appendices.

In view of Ling-yun's obvious importance both in the field of literature and that of Buddhist theology it is surprising that so little attention has been paid to him. One may safely discount the inevitable short article on his verse which duly appears in every history of Chinese literature, whether written in China or Japan. None of these is anything more than a dutiful and peremptory bow in the direction
of an established - but largely ignored - literary idol. The filiation of these texts, each of which gives the impression of having been copied from its predecessor, would be an unrewarding task indeed. In fact only two Chinese writers may be said to have made a positive contribution to the subject. One of these is T'ang Yung-t'ung who has a brief but rewarding account of Hsieh in his History of Mediaeval Chinese Buddhism (Han Wei Liang Chin Nan Pei Ch'ao Fo chiao shih, pp.436-440). The other is Yeh Hsiao-hsueh, whose Selections from the Verse of Hsieh Ling-yun (Hsieh Ling-yun shih hsuan, Shanghai, 1937) contains more than the rudiments of a serious study of Hsieh. Apart from these we are left with two articles by Chang Ping-ch'uan and Hsü Wen-yu, full details of which are given in the bibliography. A couple of nien-p'u (Biographical chronologies) by Ho Li-ch'üan and Yeh Ying complete this sorry picture.

Most serious work on Ling-yun has been carried out in Japan, though here again it has been restricted to short articles, no full length study having as of this date appeared. Finally, a recent visit to Formosa and Hong-kong has shown me that no work on Ling-yun is being carried out there.

Western literature on the subject is naturally
almost non-existent. Apart from a short article by Professor R. Mather ("The Landscape Buddhism of Hsieh Ling-yun", JAS, XVIII (Nov. 1958), 1, pp.67-79) and a few pages in Derk Bodde's translation of Feng Yu-lan's History of Chinese Philosophy, nothing has been done.

Such a meagre harvest of secondary sources has in the long run helped, rather than hindered me in my task. But it has also meant that the work has been an unconscionable time in writing. I can only hope that my critics will not have to apply to me the words of Confucius: "Desirous of lessening his faults he has not yet succeeded", (Lun yu, XIV, 26). This thesis was begun in Cambridge, England, in 1955, where I was a Bachelor Scholar of Emmanuel College. It was laid aside during the years 1956-58 and resumed again only thanks to the generosity of the Australian National University, Canberra, where I held a Scholarship in the Department of Far Eastern History under Professor C.P. Fitzgerald from June 1958 until January 1960. Its picturesque and mountain-girdled site provided the most suitable of settings for the study of such a writer as Ling-yun. There I was aided by people too numerous to mention. Among these let me cite only Dr. Gerrit Mulder, whose profound scholarship unravelled many a problem for me; Dr. E.S. Crawcour, who provided much assistance with Japanese texts, and Dr. Wang Ling 王鈞, who was unfailingly
helpful.

Finally, I have benefited during the past seven years, from the advice and example of Dr. Arthur Waley. To him I owe a scholastic debt that can hardly be repaid.

J.D. FRODSHAM.

University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, November, 1962.
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>Asia Major</td>
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<td>AMS</td>
<td>Army Map Service 1:250,000</td>
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<td>ASEA</td>
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<td>YKC</td>
<td>Yen K'o-chün</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
YMSC  Yu ming shan chih
YSCH  Yen shih chia hsün
YWLC  Yi wen lei chü
The system of romanization adopted in this work is a slightly modified form of the Wade-Giles system. In general hyphens have been used only between compound names and year-periods. Capitals are employed only for personal names and place names.

The translations of the poems in the second volume of this work have been paginated according to their order in the Hsieh K'ang-lo chi chu of Huang Chieh (2nd edition, Peking, 1958). The upper left-hand corner of each poem translated carries a reference to this edition. Thus, Hsieh, p.19, will refer to the poem which begins on that page and ends on p.23.
CORRIGENDUM

The poem from Hsieh, p. 53, was inadvertently omitted during the page-numbering. It will be found at the end of the section containing the Poems, after Hsieh, p. 118.

- xiv -
"The immeasurable height
Of woods decaying, never to be decayed,
The stationary blasts of waterfalls,
And in the narrow rent at every turn
Winds thwarting winds, bewildered and forlorn,
The torrents shooting from the clear blue sky,
The rocks that muttered close upon our ears,
Black drizzling crags that spake by the way-side
As if a voice were in them, the sick sight
And giddy prospect of the raving stream,
The unfettered clouds and region of the Heavens,
Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light—
Were all like workings of one mind, the features
Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree;
Characters of the great Apocalypse,
The types and symbols of Eternity,
Of first, and last, and midst, and without end."

Chapter I

The Formative Years

Hsieh Ling-yün, Duke of K'ang-lo was born in 385 A.D. as a scion of one of the most powerful families of the whole Six Dynasties period.

The Hsieh, who had originally come from the county of Yang-chia in the commandery of Ch'en in Ho-nan province, had probably settled in South China after the fall of the Western Chin in 317 A.D. By the end of the fourth century they had become perhaps the most influential family in the kingdom, rivalled only by the Wangs of Lin-yi county, in Lang-yeh commandery, Shantung. Not that their rise to such a position had been a sudden one. Ling-yün could boast of a distinguished lineage, for he had many famous forebears to his credit. The earliest of them was one Hsieh K'un (280-322) whose avowed Taoist principles had nevertheless not prevented him from becoming governor of Yü-chang. His biography tells us that he was fond of Lao-tzu and the Yi-ching. He could sing and was a skilled lutenist. He was also something of an eccentric. A girl from a neighbouring family to whom he made amorous advances promptly knocked out two of his teeth with a weaving shuttle! Later he was reputed to have got the better of a predatory demon
that haunted an old pavilion in Yu-chang where he was Grand Warden. He seems to have anticipated his descendant, Ling-yun, in his feeling for nature. The 5th century compilation Shih shuo hsin yu relates how the famous painter Ku K'ai-chih (circa 345 – circa 406) once painted a picture of K'un as he imagined him, setting him amid a picturesque landscape of crags and rocks. When asked why he had done this Ku quoted a remark of K'un's to the effect that others might surpass him in court ceremonial but that he was unequalled in his understanding of mountains. Therefore, Ku concluded, "this gentleman must be put in a setting of hills and gorges."

K'un's son Shang (308-357) also had a brilliant official career, attaining to some of the highest posts in the government. Since he died without issue his line was continued by Ling-yun's great-grandfather, Yi, eldest son of Pu. It was with this generation that the Hsieh family really began to leave their mark on the empire. Yi had four younger brothers, two of whom, Wan and An, rose to considerable distinction. Wan's fame did not long survive him. He is remembered today, if at all, merely as one of the most minor of poets of the period. But with Hsieh An (320-385) we come to one of the most gifted statesmen in Chinese history.

An's success was all the more remarkable since he had spent his early years in retirement in the hills of Kuei-chi in the company of a coterie of poets, chief among whom was the
renowned calligrapher Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之 (321-379). An's biography says: "He lived in seclusion in Kuei-chi and was forever in the company of Wang Hsi-chih, Hsu Hsun of Kao-yang and the monk Chih Tun. They would go out hunting and fishing in the country or else stay at home composing poems or writing. He had no worldly ambitions." It was not until An had reached forty, in fact that he was finally persuaded - or perhaps bullied - into taking a government post.

"An was married to the elder sister of Liu T'an. When she saw how rich and honoured the family was, with An alone living in retirement, she exclaimed: 'No real man would behave in this way!' An held his nose and said: 'I was afraid I would not be able to avoid this.' When Wan was cashiered it was then that An, for the first time, had the idea of taking office, He was already over forty."

He had not been in office for many years before he found himself cast in the role of saviour of the fast-declining Chin dynasty. At that time the virtual ruler of the country was Huan Wen 桓溫 (312-373). The Huan were a family of parvenus who had been called in by Ho Ch'ung 霍�s (292-346) to aid him in his suppression of the Yu Yi 宇彝 clan, who had held highest power at court from the second to the fifth decade of the fourth century. When Yu Yi died in 345 Huan Wen succeeded to all his offices after transferring the two leading members of the family elsewhere. This marked
the beginning of a long reign for the Huan. In 354, having overcome the court party led by Yin Hao (d.356) which had tried to oppose him, Wen invaded the North and attacked Yen and Ch'in. In 356 he recaptured Lo-yang, a city lost to China forty-five years before. His popularity was at its zenith. But no southern government could hold the north against the pressure of the foreign nomads. Huan Wen, having failed to persuade the government to move the capital up to Lo-yang, then abandoned the north, just as Liu Yu was to do over half a century later, and so left it wide open to the advance of the Tibetan, Fu Chien (357-385). Meanwhile, as Huan Wen sought to consolidate his power by stamping out his old enemies the Yu and the Yin, a new faction was being formed against him by the rising clan of the Hsieh. Hsieh An, Hsieh Wan, Hsieh Shang and Hsieh Yi had all made their careers by service in Huan Wen's army. Now they were to turn on Huan himself. In January 372 Huan had tested his strength by deposing Ssu-ma Yi, known as Fei-ti, and appointing a nonentity, Ssu-ma Yu in his stead. When Yu, or Chien-wen-ti, conveniently died a few months later, he was succeeded by his third son, Yao, then only a ten-year old boy. Huan now decided that the time had come for him to overthrow the dynasty he had supported for so long. He was foiled in this attempt only by the wit of Hsieh An. The account is picturesque enough to bear quoting. "After the death of the Emperor (19 August 372) Huan Wen hastened to the
Imperial Tombs and halted at Hsin-t'ing (Lao-lao-t'ing 林羅亭 just outside Nanking), deploying a great number of troops. It was his purpose to overthrow the House of Chin. He called for An and Wang T'an-chih intending to punish them. T'an was terrified and asked An what he planned to do. An who was extraordinarily calm and unmoved said: 'Whether the Chin dynasty stands or falls all hangs on this single act.' When they saw Wen, T'an-chih broke out into such a sweat that he soaked his clothes and held his insignia of office upside down. An went casually up to the mat, sat down and said to Wen in a self-assured tone: 'I have heard that an enlightened feudal prince has his neighbours for guards. Why do you have to wall yourself in with troops?' Wen laughed and said: 'Simply because I could not do anything else.' Then they both laughed and talked for the rest of the day. Up to that time T'an-chih had enjoyed a reputation equal to that of Hsieh An. After this people realized that he was An's inferior." This success firmly established An's reputation. Hence when Wen died only a few months later, An took over the helm. It was thanks only to his skilful piloting that the foundering Chin dynasty was able to weather the storms of the next few decades. At that time it must have seemed very doubtful whether the southern Chinese could hold out very much longer against the growing pressure from the north. Fu Chien, who since 376 had wielded complete control over all the northern provinces, now united into
the state of Ch'in had begun to make lengthy preparations for a coming assault on the south. He had built up a centralized government based on the Chinese model, and an impressive army, which had already been steeled in the hard-fought campaigns of 370-376. In the spring of 378 four great armies under the command of Fu P'i, a son of Fu Chien, were sent to attack the strategic strongpoint of Hsiang-yang. After a heroic defence the city fell on April 71, 379. Fu Chien's armies now took Shun-yang in Hupei (modern Kuang-hua) and moved on, almost imperceptibly towards Chien-k'ang. Finally, in 383 the expected onslaught began. Fu Chien, backed now by a carefully mobilized army of close on a million men, closed in on Chien-k'ang. The long years of waiting and careful preparation would seem to have borne fruit.

But at his juncture the Hsieh clan came forward to save China. There is little doubt that had Fu's campaign succeeded the whole history of China would have been radically altered, the flame of Chinese culture being snuffed out, as it almost was in the north. Yet this was not to be. Fu's army, impressive though it was, had one fatal weakness. It was heavily infiltrated with Chinese pressed into service from the subject population of the occupied North. These men, as Hsieh An was quick to realize, could have had no stomach for a fight in which victory would only mean an extension of their own servitude. Even so this does not diminish
the extraordinary feat in which the Imperial forces, under the able generalship of Hsieh Hsuan (343-388), Ling-yun's grandfather, cut to pieces an army many times their size at the Fei River in November 383. For the next couple of centuries the South was to be free of any serious menace from the North. The Hsieh had saved more than just the dynasty.

An received the news with a sang-froid which has become legendary. "When Hsuan and the others had beaten Chien, a courier with a letter arrived at (An's) house. An was at that moment playing chess with a guest. He glanced at the letter and then, when he had finished it, threw it under the couch and went on playing without betraying any sign of pleasure. When the guest asked him what the news was he said laconically: 'Only that my boys have just defeated those bandits.' When the game was over he went into the house but so great was his joy that he did not notice the nails in his pattens breaking. Such was his self-control."

This victory marked the zenith of the Hsieh family fortunes. In the third month of 384 Hsieh An became Grand Protector, the highest ministerial office and an honour attained by very few. Flushed with success he immediately went ahead with plans for turning the tables on his enemies. He would liberate the north and so fulfil the south's long-cherished dream. In the following month he sent up a memorial requesting that Hsieh
Hsuan should be appointed Commander of the Vanguard and sent to attack the shattered realm of Ch'in. Hsuan's forces met with little resistance at first, taking P'eng-ch'eng 彭城 (present-day T'ung-shan 銅山, Kiangsu) and most of Ho-nan without difficulty under the able leadership of Liu Lao-chih 劉牢之. The campaign was going ahead well when Mu-jung Ch'iu 慕容垂 (r. 386-396), first emperor of the Later Yen 後燕 dynasty (384-409), decided to intervene. He too was anxious to snatch what he could from the ruins of Ch'in. On the day keng-shen of the fourth month (8 May) of 385 the Northern campaign came to a disastrous end when Liu Lao-chih's troops, worn out after a forced march of two hundred li, ran up against Ch'ui's forces at Wu-ch'iao-tse 武亳澤, north of Lin-chang 臨漳 in Honan, and were completely routed.

This reverse gave the opposing faction led by Ssu-ma Tao-tzu 司馬道子, Prince of Kuei-chi, the chance they had been waiting for. An was too old and too wise to wish to embroil himself in a court vendetta. Instead he withdrew to Pu-ch'iu 步丘 (Shao-po-tai 郊伯埭, Kiangsu), leaving Tao-tzu in command of the government. A few months later An died (12 October 385). He was then sixty-six. Hsieh Hsuan also withdrew from the court. After being enfeoffed with the dukedom of K'ang-lo 康樂 as a reward for his services at the Fei River 他 took up a post as Commander of the Garrison at P'eng-ch'eng 彭城 (1 December 385). There he remained until the first month of 387 when, after sending up two memorials asking permission
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to retire on grounds of health, he was finally permitted to leave office. He was then made Inner Officer of Kuei-chi, a virtual sinecure since this was his home district. He died in office there in the first month of 388 at the early age of forty-six.\textsuperscript{41}

Ling-yun had been born three years before, in 385, the very year of An's death. About his mother we know nothing except that she came from the Liu family and was a niece of the calligrapher Wang Hsien-chih (344-388), the youngest and most brilliant son of his even greater father, Wang Hsi-chih.\textsuperscript{42} With such an array of talents on both sides of the family it is hardly surprising that Ling-yun turned out precocious. His paternal grandfather, Hsuan, was delighted at his brilliance, all the more gratifying since his father, Huan, had apparently been something of a dullard, by the Hsieh standards at least.\textsuperscript{43}

"When Ling-yun's father was born he turned out to be quite ungifted. He became a Secretary of the Imperial Library and died young. Ling-yun (however) was a clever boy. Hsuan was surprised at this and used to say to his friends: 'As for my begetting Huan - that was easy enough. But however could Huan have begotten Ling-yun?'"\textsuperscript{44}

Huan must have died soon after Ling-yun was born, for the boy was temporarily adopted into the family of one Tu Ming-shih in Hang-chou.\textsuperscript{45} The choice of such a family was significant
of the general religious tendencies of the Hsieh, for the Tu were well-known for their associations with the Taoist Sect of the Way of the Heavenly Master. The esoteric significance that this sect attached to calligraphy, coupled with Ling-yün's inherited genius in this field, drove him on to a perfection in this art which was to make him one of the most remarkable calligraphers of his time. An example of his calligraphy is traditionally reputed to survive on a rock-face outside Yung-chia. He would seem to have modelled himself on the style of his uncle, Wang Hsien-chih, and to have excelled at the square and the draft styles. A gift for calligraphy ran in the Hsieh family. Hsieh Shang, Hsieh Wan and Hsieh An had all been noted calligraphers, though the latter far outshone the others. An himself had excelled at the running style, though both his square style and his draft style had been renowned. It was An who had encouraged Hsien-chih in his early efforts. With such a wealth of examples to model himself on it would seem obvious that Ling-yün must have made rapid progress.

He lived with the Tu family, in the exquisite surroundings of Hang-chou, until he was fifteen. Then in 399 A.D. a Taoist-inspired rebellion, one of the many of its type which have periodically devastated China, broke out in Chekiang and the neighbouring provinces. The leader, the "magician" Sun En, had raised a formidable peasant army whose fanatical fury and elusive
tactics made it the despair of the imperial generals. Sun En had his base somewhere among the scattered islands that dot the coast of Southeast China. He would descend on a province from the sea, put the gentry to the sword, force or persuade the local peasantry to join him and then plunder the countryside until the arrival of superior forces led to his strategic withdrawal out to sea. In 399 Sun's forces launched a heavy attack upon Chekiang and part of Kiangsu. Fighting was especially heavy around Kuei-chi, where most of the Hsieh family estates lay. At that time the Inner Officer of Kuei-chi was Wang Ning-chih, eldest son of Hsi-chih. He was an excellent calligrapher but a very inadequate governor. He refused to prepare to meet Sun's advance, asserting that he was adequately guarded by "spirit - soldiers" called up by his Taoist arts. Such preparations as were made he left to his wife, Hsieh Tao-yun. As might have been expected of a daughter of Yi and a niece of An she was a woman of rare character. Her poetry and her calligraphy were renowned; nor was she less well-known for her knowledge of "Mysterious Learning" (hsüan-hsüeh).

When Sun's final onslaught came Wang and all his sons were killed. Tao-yun then rushed into the fight herself, sword in hand, killing several of the enemy before being captured. Sun, a man not noticeably distinguished by clemency, was apparently so
taken with her courage that he released both her and her baby grandson, without harming them. She then lived on as a widow in Kuei-chi for many years. Other members of the Hsieh family however were not so fortunate. Hsieh Ming-hui 明慧, Hsieh Ch'ung 冲 and Hsieh Miao 萌 all died in this assault.

It must surely have been these events that made Ling-yün's family decide to bring him back to the capital. With Sun En's forces perilously close to taking Hang-chou they must have felt that the Hsieh could certainly not risk losing yet another member. So Ling-yün came home to the safety of the family town-house in Wu-yi street 烏衣巷, the most fashionable quarter of Chien-k'ang, near the Red Sparrow Bridge 朱雀橋, where the Wangs of Lang-yeh had also lived since the beginning of the century. Here Ling-yün soon came under the sway of his brilliant uncle Hun 混 (d.412), whose influence was to have a marked effect on his future. Hun was a grandson of Hsieh An and the youngest son of Yen 淮. He was rich, a talented poet and writer and extraordinarily good-looking. He was married to the Princess of Chin-ling 晋陵, daughter of Emperor Hsiao-wu 孝武 of Chin (377-396). By nature he was haughty and unapproachable, consorting only with the most talented members of his own clan. It was into this esoteric inner-circle that Ling-yün was drawn to become one of the most brilliant members of Hun's literary salon.
Shortly after Ling-yun's arrival in Chien-k'ang, however, Sun En descended upon Chekiang once again. This time too, he took a heavy toll of the Hsiehs. Among those who died was Hun's father, Yen. He had been awarded the title of Duke of Wan-ts'ai in recognition of his brilliant services at the battle of the Fei River. At this time he was Governor of Kuei-chi, a post he had been given because of his reputation as a military man. Unfortunately age and success seem to have gone to his head. He was convinced that a man who had defeated Fu Chien could have nothing to fear from a mere bandit like Sun En. In this he was to be proved sadly mistaken. On 7 July 400, Sun En arrived in Kuei-chi. Yen, who had not bothered to make adequate preparations to meet him, rode out to battle with casual assurance only to see his forces promptly put to rout. In the resulting confusion Yen was treacherously murdered by Chang Meng, one of Sun En's officers, greedy for plunder. With him died his two eldest sons, Chao and Chun. Some time later Chang Meng was captured and handed over to Hsieh Hun who cut out his liver and ate of it raw, thus putting into practice, in an extreme form, the principle of revenge as set forth by Confucius. Hun's unexpected succession to the title and estate of his father set the seal on his success. It must have been about this time, after the prescribed period of mourning was over that Ling-yun got to know him well. Hun himself enjoyed quite a reputation as one of the foremost poets of the time. His
work, indeed had brought about something of a literary revolution. His literary salon, open only to the most brilliant younger members of his own family, was a forcing-ground for poets. He presided over it as critic and tutor; it was probably under the pressure of his criticisms that Ling-yün soon developed into a considerable poet. After a drinking-party Hun once dashed off a series of poems criticising the work of all his protégés. Ling-yün came in for his share of the strictures: "K'ang-lo is proud of his wit. And to tell the truth he has the rime-sense of a great poet. Now if only he would add a little craftsmanship to this - then he would split his uncut stone into jewels." Ling-yün would seem to have taken this criticism too much to heart. His later verse suffers from an excess of artistry which comes near to robbing it of all spontaneity.

Of the other five members of the group - all much of an age with Ling-yün - three were the sons of Hsieh Chung 和 two the sons of Hsieh Ssu 恩, a grandson of Wan. Hsieh Chan 憲 (384-421) was the eldest of Chung’s sons. He had been something of a prodigy having written a very creditable poem, the Tzu shih ying tsan 紫石英讚, when he was only six, and was considered as good a poet as Ling-yün. His biography tells us that "he once wrote a poem entitled ‘Rejoicing because the Rain has Stopped.’" Ling-yün wrote it out and Hun chanted it. Wang Hung, who was judging it, considered the three of them were unsurpassable." His brother
Hui 莅 (390-426) rivalled Hun in his good-looks. He was a natural politician, a born intriguer whose undoubted talent for making himself agreeable - he was a witty conversationalist - was set off by a marked astuteness. He was destined for a brilliant career and a dramatically unpleasant end. We shall hear more of him later. Hsieh Chiao 晁 (396-426), the youngest of the three brothers, has come down to us as a model of filial piety. He nursed his mother, who suffered from a chronic disease, for over ten years with assiduous care. Nor was he any the less lacking in that other cardinal virtue, fraternal piety. He was eventually to allow his sense of duty to his brother Hui to involve him in high treason.

The other two members of the group were Hsieh Yao 耀 (d. 427) and his brilliant younger brother Hung-wei 弘微 (392-433). Yao was so completely overshadowed by his younger brother that we know very little of him, beyond the fact that he is said to have been over-critical of others. Of Hung-wei however we know a great deal. He had originally borne the personal name Mi 美 but had to discontinue this as it infringed a family taboo. Hence he is known by his "style". His character was in marked contrast to most of the group. He was quiet, modest, self-effacing and submissive, the very ideal of all the Confucian virtues. At the age of ten (Chinese) he had fallen heir to the estate of his cousin Hsieh Chun and inherited his title of Marquis of Chien-ch'ang 景昌. Yet, though he came from a relatively poor branch of the
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family, he had refused to accept either the estate or the title, contenting himself with merely the books from the library. Hun is said to have been especially fond of him, and to have been amused to see that he invariably got the better of his cousins in arguments simply by using the plainest of language. Certainly the verses in which Hun passed judgement on him contain nothing unfavourable. It is hardly surprising that Hung-wei was destined to be the only member of his generation in the entire clan to have a successful official career. His essentially conformist nature was enough to steer him through safely where Ling-yün and his other impetuous cousins were wrecked. Ling-yün's character, even at that time, already gave promise of those dangerous qualities that were eventually to bring about his downfall. He was apparently a brilliant talker, though too much given to destructive criticism of others, as the following anecdote shows.

"Ling-yün was fond of criticizing others. Hun objected to this and wanted to break him of it but could see no way of doing so. He remarked to Chan: 'If you can't do it, then nobody can.' So when they went off for an outing with Hui, Yao, Hung-wei and the others, he arranged things so that Chan and Ling-yün shared a carriage. When Ling-yün started off with his criticisms Chan said to him: 'Your father died young. People are already comparing you to him.' Ling-yün made no reply. From then on his criticisms were ended."
Chan's thrust was doubly barbed of course, in that it also implied that Ling-yün was thought to share his father's stupidity!

In all other respects however, Ling-yün seems to have been very much the ideal "young man about town" of the time. He is described as being "extravagant and gay by nature. His chariots and clothes were beautiful. He brought about changes in many of the old fashions in clothes and appurtenances and everyone followed his example. Everyone sang his praises."

Ling-yün's wealth and aristocratic position combined with his undoubted genius and a somewhat histrionic love of display to make him one of the most picturesque figures of his era. In these respects he is also very much of his age. Fastidiousness and eccentricity, both qualities conspicuous in Ling-yün, were carefully cultivated by the aristocracy of the Six Dynasties. Gorgeously robed and exquisitely perfumed, their deer-tailed fly whisks waving languidly as they converse together in the cryptic repartee of "Philosophical Wit", they make their brief, improbable appearance on our stage before proceeding imperturbedly to their often violent ends. The Hsiehs are very much in evidence in this procession. Even models of sobriety like An and the virtuous Hung-wei display themselves as noted gourmets, Hung-wei so much so that Sung Wen-ti himself did not scorn the pleasures of his table. Nor was Ling-yün immune from this particular weakness.
In his case it betrayed itself in the form of a pronounced liking for sea-food, for he comments *en connoisseur* on the quality of the delicacies he encountered on his travels. Yet on the whole the Hsieh clan's excesses were harmless enough. Hsieh Hsüan as a youth may have worn a purple scent-satchet dangling from his girdle—much to his father's disgust. Hsieh Ching-jen may have refused to soil the floor by spitting on it, preferring the robes of his sycophantic attendants. But these were minor frailities and cannot bear comparison with the truly monstrous extravagances, worthy of Imperial Rome, of other wealthy families of the time, as recorded in the *Shih shuo hsin yü*.

In eccentricity however Ling-yün stands second to none, though admittedly this was in an era before the advent of that arch-eccentric, the Zen monk. As a young man Ling-yün had become the butt of a popular song for his foppishness:

"Four men to put his gown to rights. Another three to set him on his mat!"

was the half-derisory, half-admiring comment of the populace of Chien-k'ang on Ling-yü'n's platoons of personal attendants. But Ling-yün was not a man to be caught in a formula. In a few years the young fop who now graces our pages, too languid almost to move, will transform himself into the most capricious of anchorites. We shall catch sight of him from time to time, wearing a wide-brimmed peasant's hat, *his* feet shod in his famous climbing boots,
scaling a rock-face, trudging up a mountain, or cutting a path through the forest with a gang of ruffians at his back. We will see him again in the Pavilion of the Thousand Autumns, sprawled naked on the floor as he carouses with his drunken companions, to the wonder of the peasantry and the scandal of the pious local magistrate.

This dash of the extravagant, the unpredictable, has left the image of Ling-yün indelibly stamped on the Chinese mind. Even today the countryside of Chekiang and Kiangsi abounds in places named to commemorate some real or imagined association with him. In Yung-chia, for example, where he played the part of a very indifferent magistrate for barely a year (422-423) there are at least half-a-dozen sites which still bear his name. "Duke Hsieh's Pavilion", "Duke Hsieh's Pool" and the like still testify to his brief sojourn there. And as late as the eighteenth century, if we are to believe Yuan Mei (1716-1798), the towns-people still maintained that certain scratches on the rocks outside the city were made by the renowned removable studs of Ling-yün's climbing boots!

It must not be forgotten that Ling-yün was now in the possession of a considerable fortune which allowed him to indulge in anything that took his fancy; for he had inherited both his grandfather's title, Duke of K'ang-lo, and his wealth. As a Duke of a State he enjoyed the revenues from three thousand
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households. It is not at all certain when he came into this title. However, since in a memorial written when he was enfeoffed as Duke he refers to himself as "small and feeble", we may conclude that he was only a boy at the time.

In the year 405, Ling-yun took up his first official appointment. He had been appointed Extra-Officiary Junior Chamberlain some time previously but had not taken up the post. Now he became Itinerant Administrator to the Grand Marshal, Prince Te-wen of Lang-yeh. The following year he took a step which was to be fraught with the gravest consequences for him, when he accepted the post of Administrator in the Redaction Office in the service of Liu Yi (d. 412).

To understand the full importance of this we must retrace our steps a little. During the Sun En rebellion one Liu Yu (363-422), a commander in the army of the general Liu Lao-chih, had consistently distinguished himself in action. His brilliant defence of Hai-yen, Chekiang, had proved perhaps the most serious setback En's forces had suffered. Yu's rise to power was further aided by Huan Hsüan's abortive attempt to overthrow the Chin and found a dynasty of his own. In June 401, when Sun En appeared in the Yangtze with a huge army and a fleet of a thousand ships, Yu was sent to repulse his attack on the capital. Huan Hsüan, a powerful military commander bitterly opposed to Ssu-ma Tao-tzu and his clique, saw
in this his chance to overthrow the emperor on the classical pretext of protecting him. In March 402 Huan entered the capital in triumph, thanks to the support of Liu Lao-chih. In October of the following year Huan had himself appointed Prince of Ch'u and took to himself the post of Prime Minister. Faced with the inevitable, Emperor An abdicated (December 20, 403) and was banished to Hsun-yang. In January 404 Huan ascended the throne as first emperor of the short-lived dynasty of Ch'u.

It was then that Liu Yu saw his opportunity. Huan Hsüan's star had began to wane even before he made himself emperor. Corruption and factionalism among his supporters, coupled with the growing discontent among the gentry, who were plagued now by Sun En's successor, Lu Hsun (d. 411), soon led to the realization that Huan was not the man to solve the problems of the time. In their dilemma they turned to Liu Yu, now renowned as the soldier who had saved Chien-k'ang from the rebels while the politicians were squabbling over their spoils. Yu at that time was still engaged in a hard but successful campaign against Lu Hsun. Along with another Chin general, Ho Wu-chi (d. 410), he decided the time had come to overthrow Huan. "When Liu Yu and Ho Wu-chi were going back to Ching-k'ou on the same boat they made a secret plot to restore the House of Chin. Liu Mai had a younger brother Yi, whose family lived in Ching-k'ou, and he
also discussed with Wu-chi how best to attack Hsüan. Wu-chi said: 'Hsüan is strong. Do you think we can plot against him?' Yi said: 'Naturally there are both strong and weak things in the world. But, once they have lost the Way, even the powerful are easily weakened. All we have to worry about is the difficulty of finding a leader.' Wu-chi said: 'The marshes of the empire abound with heroes!' Yi replied: 'The only one I can see is Liu Hsia-p'ei' (i.e. Liu Yü, Grand Warden of Hsia-p'ei 胥). Wu-chi laughed but made no reply. He went back and told Yü of this and from that time on they took Yi into their plot.'

When the revolt began Yi played a distinguished part in the fighting. He was speedily made Inspector of Ching-chou and General Commanding the Army. He went on to inflict a decisive defeat on Huan Hsüan in 404 and then fought stubbornly against Huan Ch'ien, destroying his forces at Chiang-ling in the first month of 405. He emerged from these campaigns on an equal footing with Liu Yü. In May 405 he became Military Governor-General of Five Commanderies and Inspector of Yü-chou. He was also enfeoffed as Duke of Nan-p'ing.

It must have been shortly after this that Ling-yün entered his service and accompanied him to Ku-shu (modern Tang-t'u, Anhui). His decision to do so is important in view of later events. As early as 405 it must have become apparent that Liu Yü, as the man who had restored the Chin dynasty, would
henceforth wield a great deal of power. From that time on, in fact, the dynasty would exist only through the courtesy of Yu.

It was now that Hsieh Hun, who was linked to the ruling house by marriage, saw his chance to oppose Yu by playing off Liu Yi against him. Yu was first and foremost a soldier, rough, blunt and quite uncultured, schooled in the camp and not in the court. Yi however was far more polished, took an interest in the arts and was generally more acceptable to the gentry. A faction headed by Hun and backed up by Hsieh Fang-ming, Ch'ih Seng-shih and Ts'ai K'uo speedily formed itself around him. Under the circumstances it would seem that Ling-yun's entry into Yi's service must be seen as part of the same manoeuvre. It would clearly have been of great advantage to Hun to have one of the leading members of his own family in a position of intimacy and trust with Liu Yi. Nor would the compliment have been lost on Yi.

During the following two years Yi, with the backing of Hun's faction, grew steadily more resentful of Yu's pre-eminence. Ssu-ma Kuang's comment on this gives the gist of the situation: "Yi was obstinate by nature. He insisted that he had done as much as Yu in restoring the rightful dynasty and boasted a great deal about this. Although he had ceded authority to Yu he had not submitted to him in his heart. Even when he reached high office he was always fretting over his unrealised ambitions. Each time
Yu gave way to him, Yi would grow more haughty and wayward. 'I am only sorry I never met with Liu (Pang) and Hsiang (Yu), to have fought for the Central Plain with them!' he used to say."

In 407 matters were brought to a head by the death of Wang Mi (360-407) who as Director of Instruction, Registrar of the Department of State Affairs and Inspector of Yang-chou was the most powerful man in the government. Yi and his faction, determined to prevent Yu from succeeding to the authority once held by Wang Mi, made an open move to foil his ambitions. Hsieh Hun was to succeed to the all-important post in Yang-chou while Meng Ch'ang was to be given cabinet rank. Yu was to console himself with the governorship of Tan-t'u. But Yu was hardly the man to let the reins of power slip idly from his hands once he had grasped them. Encouraged by Liu Mu-chih, an officer of his who was later to rise to high rank, he now took steps to secure his position. He did this so successfully that, by the first month of 408, he had entered the government as President of the Imperial Chancellery and Registrar of State Affairs. He had also gained not only the coveted Inspectorship of Yang-chou - surely a blow to Hsieh Hun's pride - but also sundry other offices.

Yu's success was a severe setback to the opposing faction. He now felt confident enough of his position to undertake a campaign against Southern Yen, a petty state which had been founded by a branch of the Mu-jung family in 398. The
punitive expedition left Chien-k'ang in 409 and by the second month of the following year had stormed Kuang-ku, the capital, put its inhabitants to the sword and captured its ruler, Mu-jung Ch'ao. But while Yü was sacking one capital his own was being gravely threatened. During his absence Lu Hsün, Sun En's successor, who was still harassing the south, decided to make an all-out assault on Chien-k'ang. In 410 he moved up from Kuang-chou and headed down the Yangtze towards the capital. Ho Wu-chi attempted to stop him but was defeated and killed at Yu-chang (modern Nan-ch'ang, Kiangsi). Yü, who had by now got back to Chien-k'ang, wrote to Liu Yi, warning him not to set out against Lu Hsün and his able lieutenant Hsü Tao-fu. It is difficult to assess just what Yü's intention was in sending this missive. Yi had been seriously ill and it is possible that Yü, mistaking illness for cowardice, wanted to sting him into an action which, as Yü must have known, would result in disaster. Be that as it may, Yi rose unhesitatingly to the bait. Convinced now that Yü wanted to deprive him of the martial glory which would be rightfully his once he had defeated Hsün, he set out in a fury from Ku-shu, ran headlong into Hsün's army and was cut to pieces at Sang-lo-chou (June 24, 410). He and his staff - among them Ling-yun we presume - barely escaped with their lives. The rest of his troops, over twenty thousand men in all, fled or were captured.
For the moment Yi's disgrace must have been forgotten in the general panic. As Yi crept shamefacedly back to report to Yu the capital was in an uproar. Only Yu and his campaign-weary army now stood between Hsun and victory. Yu however seemed confident of the outcome of the struggle. He took up his position at Shih-t'ou, the naval base just outside the capital, where he was soon joined by the crestfallen Yi. From here Ling-yun, who was still on Yi's staff, must have watched the campaign develop. Yu's strategy was to play for time while he got together a fleet large enough to enable him to counter-attack. But the situation was critical. One really resolute move by Hsun might have led to the storming of Chien-k'ang. As it was, a premature advance by one of Yu's generals, Hsu Ch'ih-t'e, nearly brought disaster. Yu was forced to fall back, leaving Hsun and his army of close on a hundred thousand men to plunder the countryside almost up to the walls of Chien-k'ang. Finally in the seventh month Hsun withdrew to Hsun-yang (modern Chiu-chiang, North Kiangsi), obviously unwilling to risk a decisive assault. Yu sent five of his generals after him to harry his forces and went on with his meticulous preparations for a counter-attack. Finally, on 26 November 410, he set out in pursuit of Hsun. Yi, still smarting from his defeat, was not allowed to accompany him. Instead he had the mortification of hearing of Yu's final victory while virtually a prisoner in the capital.
Yi's position had now become intolerable. On his own request he was made Governor of Chiang-chou and in the fourth month of 411 took up residence at Yu-chäng. A year later he was given various other offices of importance and now moved his headquarters to Chiang-ling, Hupei. Here he arrived in the ninth month of 412. Ling-yün, by now Executive Gentleman of the Household Bodyguard, was still on his personal staff. In the course of his duties he may have been sent to Hsün-yang, where Yi had left a friend of his, one Chao Hui, in command. It must have been about now that he took the opportunity of visiting Mount Lu, a famed Buddhist centre, which was in the neighbourhood. Out of this chance visit grew a religious conviction which was to influence his whole life. The centre at Mount Lu had been founded by Hui-yüan (334-416), a figure of the utmost importance in the history of Chinese Buddhism. He was the most gifted disciple of the great Tao-an (312-385), who had been the first master to realize the fundamental difference between the foreign doctrine of Buddhism and traditional Chinese thought. Until the advent of Tao-an, Chinese Buddhism had not been recognized as a completely new creed but had been amalgamated with the main currents of contemporary Chinese thought. Tao-an's work was carried on by Hui-yüan, who combined this awareness of the fundamental otherness of Buddhist thought with a fervent desire to make it accessible to
the cultured Chinese gentry. It was Hui-yuan's great achievement to have succeeded in evolving, at his centre on Mt. Lu, a devotional creed which was acceptable to Chinese laymen even though founded entirely on purely Buddhist and non-Chinese practices. It was Hui-yuan too, who was largely responsible for the independence to which the Buddhist church attained during this period. In the field of doctrine his stress on iconography, on the dharmakāya (the Buddha's Transcendental Body of the Doctrine), and above all on the importance of dhyāna (Buddhist yoga), were to have a marked effect on the course of later Buddhist thought in China. In intellectual stature he towered above his contemporaries. Only that other great master, Kumārajīva, was his equal, if one is justified in comparing two such essentially dissimilar minds. It is hardly surprising then that he had so marked an effect on Ling-yün who, as he tells us himself, had idolized him from his youth. Ling-yün's essentially poetic intelligence could never have become acclimatized to the intellectualized Buddhism of the capital and the south-east. Hui-yuan's creed, with its typically Chinese insistence on the concrete image, must have given him a foothold in Buddhist doctrine which he might otherwise never have found.

Hui-yuan had come south to Kiangsi as long ago as 378 when Fu P'i had laid seige to Hsiang-yang. Around 380 he came to settle on Mt. Lu, a mountain already renowned in both Taoist and Buddhist tradition. Here he founded the Dragon Spring Retreat.
where he lived with his followers for some years until Huan Yi
桓伊 (d. 392), then Governor of Chiang-chou 江州, was persuaded
to build a new and larger monastery for him on the eastern side of
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Mt. Lu. This was the Eastern Grove Monastery 東林寺, destined to become one of the most influential centres of southern
Chinese Buddhism. Its tranquil beauty must have made a great
impression on Ling-yün when he first laid eyes on it after his long
trudge up the mountain.

"The retreat which Yuan had founded made the most of the
beauty of the mountain. It stood back from the foot of Incense
Burner Peak and was girdled by Waterfall Gorge. Around it were
heaps of boulders among which pines grew thickly. Clear springs
encircled its steps and white clouds filled its rooms. Within
the monastery (Hui-yüan) had planted another grove for meditation.
Among its trees the mist hung like rime while the stone courtyard
was covered with moss. Wherever eye could see or foot could tread,
all was of such spiritual purity it struck one with awe."

In these picturesque surroundings Hui-yüan lived,
surrounded by a group of monks and lay-followers who had come to
this tranquil oasis to escape the rigours of an official career
with all its pitfalls. Among these upāsakas we may count men as
diverse as the prominent Confucian scholar Chou Hsü-chih 周續之
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(377-423) and the great painter, calligrapher and ch'ing-t'ān
adept, Tsung Ping 宗炳 (375-443). In September 402 Hui-yuan assembled his followers - traditionally said to be 123 in number - before an image of the Buddha Amitabha where they made a vow to be reborn in the Western Paradise (Sukhāvati). This, according to traditional sources, marked the founding of the White Lotus Society 向蓮社, popularly supposed to have been the progenitor of the Pure Land Sect 淨土社. Actually, the statement that this ceremony marked the founding of the Lotus Society is not found until the middle of T'ang, and as such is very dubious indeed. Moreover there is no direct filiation between Hui-yuan and the later patriarchs of the Pure Land Sect.

Some commentators believe that Ling-yun was actually present on this occasion, basing themselves on Ling-yun's preface to his own Dirge for Hui-yuan 慧遠譜 in which he says: "In the years when my mind was set on study I hoped to be among the least of his disciples. But alas! my earnest desires had not been fulfilled when he left this world for ever." Since fifteen is the age, according to the Analects, when the mind is set on study it has been thought that Hsieh meant to say he met Hui-yuan then. But surely all that can be proved from this is that he had heard of Hui-yuan at that age. It would seem far more likely that he did not actually meet Hui-yuan until some ten years later. Hui-yuan's biography records the event succinctly enough: "Hsieh Ling-yun of Ch'en commandery, confident in his talents, was arrogant towards the vulgar herd and esteemed but few. But
as soon as he set eyes on (Hui-yüan) his heart submitted to him reverently."

It would seem almost certain that Ling-yün was admitted to membership of this devotional cult. The few sources which insist that he was excluded "because his heart was impure" all date from Sung and must give way before the T'ang traditions which state that he was accepted. In the first place, as Mather points out, it would seem likely that the Sung sources themselves suffer from the change in attitude arising from the reduced power of the Buddhist church after the persecution of 845 "which put the Buddhist in some measure on the defensive against charges hurled at their antecedents." So Mather concludes - and here one is in complete agreement with him - "Since it was known that Hsieh had been executed, Hui-yüan is said to have foreseen his end and so excluded him."

Here we may add that all the evidence points to Hsieh's having been accepted as a member of the cult. His was a well-known Buddhist family, among the most important in the country, and it would have been, to say the least, impolitic to refuse a scion of such a house. Furthermore Hui-yüan was not a man to let moral considerations betray him, to use a Zen term, into "making distinctions". Had he not himself declared, when rebuked for being on friendly terms with the bandit Lu Hsün, that Buddhism neither chose nor rejected anyone? Under the circumstances Ling-yün's
summary rejection by Hui-yüan would have been construed almost as an insult. Furthermore, it is scarcely likely that a man felt to be unworthy to enter the cult would yet have been chosen - as Ling-yūn was - to write not only the inscription for the Buddha image set up by Hui-yüan, but also the latter's own commemorative stele.

But, while Ling-yūn was visiting the tranquil fastness of Mount Lu, events were building up to a climax back in Chiang-ling. Yū's leniency towards Liu Yi had been a calculated risk. Given enough rope, Yū must have thought, Yi would certainly hang himself. He had not misjudged his man. Scarcely had Yi arrived in Chiang-ling in the autumn of 412 than he began making preparations for a full-scale revolt. He dismissed all the local magistrates of the province whose sympathies he felt unsure of, replacing them with members of his own party. He had the backing of most of the military and civil officers of Yū-chou, as well as a force of over ten thousand troops in Chiang-chou. With such support he might well prove himself capable of ousting Yū, provided he had not over-estimated the strength of opposition to him among the gentry. Unfortunately for the conspirators Yi was a sick man. By late autumn, in fact, his health had so deteriorated that his own faction began to be afraid that he might die suddenly and leave them leaderless. They were then incautious enough to urge him to request permission to have his younger cousin Liu Fan
(d. 412), Inspector of Yu-chou, deputise for him. Yu now decided that the time had come for him to strike at the conspiracy. He pretended to agree to the request. But when, on 1 November 412, Liu Fan came to court from Kuang-ling, he found himself greeted, not with the jade tablet of office but with the silken cord of execution. An imperial mandate, sponsored by Yu, accused Liu Yi of plotting treason with Liu Fan and Hsieh Hun. Both the latter were allowed to commit suicide. Three days later Yu led his armies in a surprise attack on Chiang-ling. Wang Chen-o, his aide-de-camp, asked and was granted permission to go ahead with a hundred ships in a surprise attack. On 11 December Chen-o arrived at Yu-chang-k'ou, twenty li from Chiang-ling. Under the pretext of being Liu Fan, he came within five or six li of the city before a general of Yi's saw through the ruse, and raised the alarm. But by then it was too late, and Chen-o's troops had stormed in through the open gates of the city.

Hsieh Ch'un, Ling-yun's paternal uncle, was also serving on Yi's staff as Senior Officer in the Bodyguard. He was on his way back from making a report to Yi, who was confined to his quarters with sickness, when he heard the uproar as Chen-o's troops rushed into the city. His adjutants, who were driving with him, lost their heads at this unexpected turn of events and wanted to escape. Ch'un was furious with them. "I am an officer," he shouted, "Where could I go to if I did run away?" So saying
he turned his horses round and rode back to headquarters at a gallop.

The fighting went on all day. By four-o-clock most effective resistance had ceased, except at headquarters where Yi's Bodyguard, in whose ranks were Ling-yun and his uncle, was putting up a stubborn defence. About now, Chen-o sent a messenger under a flag of truce to show Yi a proclamation and pardon, written in Yu's own hand, inviting him to surrender. Yi promptly burnt them without so much as looking at them, and ordered his men to fight on to the death.

Even now there was still considerable confusion among Yi's troops, most of whom were unaware why they were fighting at all. However, as the day wore on, they were warned by shouts from the attackers that they had better surrender quickly, for Yu was coming in person to deal with them. This news did nothing to improve morale. As night fell the small force holding the headquarters must have realized that the situation was hopeless. The news that Yi's most capable general, Chao Ts'ai 趙葵, had been beheaded made it clear that they could not expect to be relieved by a counter-attack in the enemy's rear. As darkness came on Chen-o ordered his troops to fall back, unwilling to risk having them wound each other in the confusion of hand-to-hand fighting at night. He invested the building on three sides only, leaving an opening on the south side in the hope that Yi would
attempt to break out that way. But Yi was too old a campaigner to fall for such a ruse. Instead he led the remnants of his bodyguard, some three hundred in all, in a desperate sortie through the North gate. Ling-"yun must have been captured unscathed. Hsieh Ch'un was not so lucky. He stuck close to Liu Yi and his commander Mao Hsiao-chih. But the city was burning fiercely now and there was no hope of getting away under cover of darkness. So Ch'un, though urged to escape, stayed behind to cover Yi's retreat, only to fall himself.

Yi fled till he reached the Niu-mu-fo monastery, twenty li to the north of Chiang-ling, where he attempted to seek asylum. But, by a stroke of irony, he himself had once killed a monk of this monastery for having given shelter to one of the Huan family. Recognizing him now, the monks refused to admit him. On this, realizing that all was lost, he hanged himself.

So ended the last serious attempt to challenge Liu Yu's position. The Hsieh had paid dearly for having thrown in their hand with the wrong party. Two of them, Hun and Ch'un, were dead; a third, Ling-"yun, was now being held prisoner to await Liu Yu's arrival. Ling-"yun must have spent the next three weeks wondering what his fate was likely to be. If Yu should prove vindictive he might very well find himself shortened by a
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head. After all, it was not as if he had merely been one of the rank and file. His uncle Hun had led the plot against Yu. He himself had served Yi for many years, and occupied an important position on his staff. All in all, his future could not have looked less promising.

On 31 December Yu made his triumphal entry into Chiang-ling. Ch'ih Seng-shih, as one of the ringleaders of the conspiracy, was executed without delay. But Yu was not sure what to do with the rest of Yi's adherents. In his dilemma he turned for advice to one of Yi's own staff, a former Administrative Counsellor by the name of Shen Yung, who advised him that the most effective means of disposing of his enemies was to make them his friends. "Forget old differences," was his counsel, "Be twice as generous as Yi was; give his followers the ranks they deserve; promote men of talent. You need do nothing more." Yu followed his advice. As a result of this Ling-yün found himself, not on the execution ground nor even languishing in disgrace, but instead appointed as Administrator to the Commander-in-Chief. Three months later, on 16 April, he entered the capital again, this time as a member of Yu's party. Shortly after this he was given the post of Assistant-Director of the Imperial Library.

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ocurred which must have raised great excitement in Buddhist circles.
After an absence of fourteen years the monk Fa-hsien 法顯 arrived in Chien-k'ang, bearing with him a treasure trove of Buddhist lore from India. The story that roused the greatest interest was his report of a gigantic image of the Buddha that he had seen in a cave south of Nagarahāra (modern Jelālābād) in North Afghanistan. The account in Fa-hsien's biography says:

"Half a yojana (about 9 miles) to the south of the city of Nagarahāra is a stone cave on a broad mountain. On the south-west face the Buddha left his image. When you look at it from a distance of ten paces or more it looks like the actual form of the Buddha. The golden colours, the thirty-two marks and the eighty signs (laksana-anuvyanjanā) shine forth with a brilliant light. But the nearer one goes the fainter they become, as if it were really He. Kings from all quarters have sent skilful artists to copy it but none of them has been able to equal it. The people of that country have a tradition which says; 'A thousand Buddhas are all to leave their images in this spot!'"

This account is further expanded by a passage in Hui-yuan's biography. "Hui-yuan heard that in India there was a shadow left by the Buddha long ago, when he converted the Nagas (the dragon-king Gopāla) in the stone cave of an old rṣi (hermit) south of the city of Nagarahāra, in the kingdom of Kushāna in the north of India."

Several hundred years later, in 630 A.D., Hsuan-tsang also
visited the cave and saw this image, which, judging from his experience, would seem to have been a vision, suggested perhaps by the configurations of the rocks, rather than an actual painting. "Tripitaka made a vow that he would not go away till he had seen Buddha's "shadow". The whole cave then became full of light and he saw the Buddha's "shadow" gleaming on the wall. His body and clothes were orange-coloured. The upper part of the image was perfectly clear, but below it was not very distinct. On either side and behind appeared Bodhisattvas, saints and monks, visible in every detail."

Reports of this "shadow" had been current in south China for some time. Tao-an himself would seem to have known of it, though it is not clear how he obtained the information. Hui-yüan shared his master's interests in iconography. Images were used as objects for meditation at the centre on Mount Lu, and contemplation of the manifested body of the Buddha (nirmanakaya), a practice known as buddhanusmrti-samādhi, was especially popular. Among the monks at Mount Lu in the year 411 was Buddhabhadra, (d.429) who not only came from a noble Buddhist family in Nagarahāra itself but was also the translator of the Kuan fo san mei (hai) ching, a sūtra devoted to the practice of the contemplation of Buddha. The presence of this monk in his community must have quickened Hui-yüan's interest in this form of buddhanusmrti-samādhi. Now, under the stimulus of Fa-hsien's report, he decided to set up
a similar "shadow" at Mount Lu. His biography mentions this briefly: "(Hui-yuan) was forever thinking of (this shadow) with joy and wanting to set eyes on it. It so happened that there was a monk from the Western regions who described its radiant characteristics. Hui-yuan then built a shrine with its back against the mountain and over-looking a stream. With careful calculations a painter made a copy of the image in pale hues. The colour seemed to have been applied on the air itself and, when one looked from afar, it was tenuous as mist. The radiant characteristics were now brilliant, now veiled, as if seen through obscurity."

The image, which seems to have been painted on silk in shades of green, was hung in a chapel consecrated on May 27, 412. Hsieh Ling-yun was one of those who were invited to write inscriptions for it. The resulting Inscription on the Buddha-Shadow is one of the earliest surviving pieces we have from his hand, as well as being a good example of early Buddhist metaphysical verse.

Some time after this Ling-yun committed some minor offence which resulted in his dismissal from office. Presumably this was towards the end of 415, since a passing reference in a poem of his cousin Hsieh Chan written in that year would seem to imply that he was still in office at that time. In the September of 416 he was saddened by the death of Hui-yuan at the age of eighty-three. He wrote a formal Dirge for him, which is still preserved, recording his grief at this bereavement.
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But this sense of personal loss was soon driven into the background by the events that now swept him along with them. Less than a week after Hui-yuan's death the capital was in a furor as Liu Ю set out on yet another campaign against the North. His objective this time was the state of Later Ch'in, which had been founded in 384, on the break-up of Fu Chien's dynasty, by Yao Ch'ang (r. 386-394). Since the capital of this state was at Ch'ang-an the campaign would present more problems than the earlier one against Southern Yen, though the rewards would be correspondingly greater. Yao Ch'ang had been succeeded by his son, Yao Hsing (r. 394-416). Just before the latter's death bitter fighting had broken out over the succession and, though the eldest son, Hung, did succeed to the throne, he soon found himself having to cope with a full-scale rebellion. When news of this reached Chien-k'ang, Liu Ю decided to seize this opportunity to revenge the humiliations that the Chin had suffered in the past. Now was his opportunity to regain the north, or at least the most important region of it. As early as the second month of 416 he announced that he was going to invade Ch'in. But meanwhile other vultures were gathering around the dying kingdom. In the fourth month the petty state of West Ch'in made a raid on Shang-kuei (modern T'ien-shui, Kansu) and carried off over five thousand families into slavery. Two months later the Hsiung-nu massed for an attack, though Ch'in was still strong.
enough to beat them off. Finally, a much more formidable enemy, the Hsia 夏 dynasty of Ho-lien Po-po 荒連部勒 (381-425) came on the scene. If any of the spoils were to be left for Yü he would have to hurry.

By the ninth month Yü had arrived at P'eng-ch'eng. His two senior generals Wang Chen-o and T'an Tao-chi were meanwhile winning victory after victory over the demoralized Ch'in troops, who, in most cases, offered no resistance at all. On the 21 November T'an captured Lo-yang. This was an event of some importance since it was just sixty years since Huan Wen's troops had performed the same feat. The king of West Ch'in, Ch'i-fu Chih-p'an /init=Chih-p'an/ (r. 412-428) now offered to ally himself with the Chin forces. Yü accepted his offer, dubbed him Duke of Ho-nan and made him General for the Pacification of the West. In the first month of 417 Yü left P'eng-ch'eng only to find his way hindered by King Ssu 仇 of Wei 魏 (r. 409-423), who was allied to Ch'in by marriage and now refused Yü's troops passage through his kingdom. Ssu's troops were defeated only after a severe struggle which so delayed Yü's forces that they did not reach Lo-yang till the fourth month. In the eighth month Ch'in was badly beaten at Ch'ing-ni 青泥 (Lan-t'ien 蓮田 Shensi), by a far smaller Chin force under Shen T'ien-tzu 派田子, and the entrance to the Wu Pass 武關 lay open. Meanwhile Wang Chen-o was pushing up the River Wei 薛 towards Ch'ang-an, where
he soon crushed the last of the Ch'in resistance, took King Hung prisoner and then plundered the city. In the ninth month he was joined by Yu who promptly seized the famous South-pointing Carriage, the Drum Mileometers and other national treasures, and sent them back to Chien-k'ang along with King Hung, who was later publicly executed there. China's century-long humiliation was temporarily revenged.

Meanwhile, Hsieh Ling-yun had been left in the capital as Administrative Councillor to Yu's singularly untalented younger brother Liu Tao-lien, who was deputizing as Governor. Since Tao-lien was both covetous and uncouth this would hardly have been a pleasant post and Lin-yun must have been glad to be transferred to the posts of Vice-President of the Imperial Secretariat and Councillor to the Central Army of the Crown Prince. As a Buddhist scholar he must have been excited by the capture of Ch'ang-an, a city renowned as the centre of Northern Buddhism. Here the great Kumārajīva had lived and from this place scores of translations of sūtras had come forth. Liu Yu's attack temporarily put an end to all scholarly activity in the city but compensated for this by bringing about a mass exodus of monks to the south, the third since the fall of the Han. The intellectual ferment produced by the mingling of these two schools of Buddhism was to prove a potent draught. From it came a transformation of Southern Buddhism which eventually resulted
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in the rise of distinct Chinese schools of thought.

Liu Yu had originally intended to spend the winter of 417 recuperating in Ch'ang-an after the hardships of the campaign. But the death of his old friend Liu Mu-chih on 27 November, back in Chien-k'ang, brought about a hasty change in his plans. With Mu-chih no longer there to look after his interests Yu was well aware that his position was far from secure. As it was, there were already signs of growing unrest in the capital, where Hsu Hsien-chih (364-426), backed up by Hsieh Hui, was anxious to replace Mu-chih. In Hui's support of Hsu we see the formation of a faction which was to cause a great deal of trouble after Yu's death. Under the threat of these political manoeuvres Yu had no alternative but to abandon Ch'ang-an and make for home. He left behind him a garrison under the command of his son Yi-chen (407-424), then only ten years old. In an attempt to counter-balance the loss of so many troops from the city, Yu entrusted the defence to his two most brilliant generals, Wang Chen-o and Shen T'ien-tzu, author of the brilliant victory at Ch'iag-ni. Certainly, any general who wanted to defend Ch'ang-an from the menacing forces of Ho-lien Po-po would have to be of quite exceptional talent. Unfortunately Wang Chen-o and Shen T'ien-tzu were jealous of each other, and even the growing danger from Ho-lien's advancing forces did not stop them from forming factions. By the first month of 418 Shen T'ien-tzu's
troops had been pushed back by numerically superior forces. A 
rumour then went round that Chen-o wanted to send Yi-chen home 
under escort and seize Ch'ang-an for himself. T'ien-tzu seized 
this chance to have Chen-o and seven of his brothers murdered 
by a kinsman of his, only to be executed in his turn by Wang 
Hsiu , an ally of Chen-o's. On 18 March Liu Yu arrived 
back at P'eng-ch'eng where he was soon joined by Ling-yûn, who now 
presented him with a congratulatory fu poem extolling his military 
exploits. This fu, the Record of the Punitive Expedition makes dull enough reading now. But Shen Yo thought it 
worth preserving in entirety in Ling-yûn's biography; so doubtless 
Liu Yu, uncultured as he was, may well have felt flattered by it. 
Yu however, had more important things on his mind than Ling-yûn's 
admittedly talented verses. He had just learnt of the situation 
at Ch'ang-an and now found himself caught between two fires. If 
he pressed on to Chien-k'ang he would almost certainly lose the 
north. If he went back to relieve Ch'ang-an he might well 
forfeit all he had built up at home. It may have been the news 
of two slashing defeats inflicted on Ho-lien Po-po's son, Kuei , by the Chin forces, that persuaded him that the situation at 
Ch'ang-an was not as black as it had been painted. With this 
in mind he pressed on towards Chien-k'ang where, in the sixth 
month, he became Prime Minister and Duke of Sung.

But though he had gained the south, he had lost the north.
Barely four months after this the end came for the Ch'ang-an garrison. Wang Hsiu, in his attempts to keep order, ran foul of Liu Yi-chen's attendants, who persuaded the boy to have him killed. This bloody, internecine feud completely demoralized the Imperial troops, who had by now been forced back into the confines of Ch'ang-an itself. Ho-lien Kuei, after an unsuccessful night attack on the city, fell back on Hsien-yang (Shensi) and so cut the supply road to Ch'ang-an.

Meanwhile Liu Yu did not seem to have realised the seriousness of the situation. He was now back at P'eng-ch'eng, this time accompanied by Ling-yun, who had just taken up the post of Executive Gentleman in the Household of the Prime Minister. On 24 October, 418 he was present at a farewell banquet given to K'ung Ching, President of the Imperial Chancellery and an old friend of Yu's, in the Hsi-ma Tower. He wrote a valedictory poem for the occasion, as did his cousin Hsieh Chan who was with him there. The ornate and graceful compliments paid to Yu in these verses may be more than merely courtly rhetoric: but one cannot help wondering just what his sentiments were on this occasion since it must have been obvious that very soon Yu was going to overthrow the Chin. One wonders how Ling-yun, as a former adherent of Yi's and a member of a house that had done the state some service, managed to reconcile himself to this situation.
But there were graver matters on hand than farewell banquets. By now Yu had woken up to the fact that the situation in Ch'ang-an was desperate. He therefore sent K'uai En, his General Upholding the State, to Ch'ang-an with instructions to order Yi-chen to return to the capital. He then created his Marshal of the Left, Chu Ling-shih, Military Governor-General of the Territory within the Passes and told him that Yi-chen must leave Ch'ang-an at full speed, with only the lightest of baggage, and not slow down till he was out of the passes. Yu knew only too well what Hun cavalry could do to an army burdened with impedimenta.

In the eleventh month Chu Ling-shih arrived at Ch'ang-an and delivered his commission. Yet in spite of everything Yi-chen set out with his baggage wagons groaning with loot, and so covered only ten li a day. Ho-lien Kuei set off in pursuit of them with thirty thousand men, harasssed their rear for days, and finally cut them to pieces at Ch'ing-ni, just outside the passes, the scene, ironically enough, of an earlier victory. Yi-chen was the only one to escape: Ho-lien built a tower with the heads of the others. Once again the Chin had let the North slip from their grasp. The Hsia and the Toba Wei now came forward to snatch all that Yu had fought for.

At this juncture Yu must have remembered how Huan Wen
before him had lost the north and with it the chance of over-
throwing the dynasty. Encouraged now by a favourable prognosti-
cation from the Apocrypha, he determined to act when the time was
ripe. Even so, after having waited nearly twenty years, he would not act precipitately. For the next twelve months or
so he was content to wait.

Ling-yün now found himself involved in a scandal of some
proportions. He was acting as Captain of the Left Guard to Liu
Yu's heir, the (DucaI) Crown Prince Yi-fu 遼符 (406-424), a
post he must have taken up soon after the banquet in P' eng-ch'eng.
A month or so later he learnt that one of his retainers, a certain
Kuei Hsing 柍與 had seduced his favourite concubine. In a fury,
Ling-yün killed him and threw the corpse into the Yangtze. Word
of this reached the Vice-President of the Censorate, Wang Huai-chih
王淮之 (388-433) who, evidently out of friendship to Ling-yün,
did not report it. This eventually came to the notice of Wang
Hung 汪 𣬸 (370-432), one of the Wangs of Lang-yeh, who had a
reputation for being rather too censorious. In his capacity
as Major-Domo to the Department of State Affairs he felt it his
duty to send up a memorial denouncing both Ling-yün and Huai-chih.
"When Kuei Hsing, a Strong Man in the service of Hsieh Ling-yün,
Duke of K'ang-lo, Captain of the Left Guard of the Crown Prince,
debauched Hsieh's favourite concubine, he killed Hsing on the
banks of the River and threw his corpse into the great stream."
The affair was noised about the capital and heard of far and near. Grave charges should be laid against him that he may observe with respect the moral standards of the dynasty. In my opinion, Hsieh Ling-yun, Captain of the Left Guard of the Crown Prince and Duke of the County of K'ang-lo, has received extraordinary favours and repeatedly enjoyed honours and dignities. It is long since he heard of the Rites and knew what was forbidden. Yet he has proved incapable of keeping the doors of his women's apartments shut and so has come to his disgraceful business. He has paid no heed to the regulations but has angrily taken the law into his own hands. If he is not brought to justice for this then the laws and penalties will go unregarded. I ask that Ling-yun be dismissed from his office now that this affair has come to light."

The memorial then goes on to lay charges of complicity in this affair against Wang Huai-chih. Both Ling-yun and Huai-chih were dismissed as a result of this. Huai-chih was replaced in his office by Ts'ai K'uo, who had been one of the foremost members of Hsieh Hun's clique. It looks very much as though Liu Yu, still following Shen Yung's advice, was ridding himself of enemies by making them his friends.

It is difficult to assess Wang Hung's motives in acting as he did. Certainly he was a typical Confucian in many ways, though he was also interested in Buddhism. As such he may simply
have felt it his duty to denounce the culprits. But there may well have been a political motive behind his action. He had once been a friend of Hsieh Hun and he may have felt that he had not as yet quite lived down this stigma. It may in fact have been for this reason that Hsieh Hui had persuaded Yu not to let him succeed to Liu Mu-chih's office on the latter's death. Perhaps, by a display of zeal against Ling-y"n and Huai-chih, he was hoping to display his loyalty. Certainly he afterwards rose to high office. Only three years later he was thought important enough to be summoned to the capital to be told of the plot to depose Liu Yi-fu. But whether or not we are to look upon his memorial as a move in an intrigue whose outlines we can only guess at is an open question. We may add that Ling-y"n seems to have borne Wang Hung no malice for his part in the matter; for some two years later we find them conducting an amiable correspondence with each other on a point of Buddhist doctrine.

For the next eighteen months or so Ling-y"n was out of office and we hear nothing of him. During this period the bones of Hui-y"n, which in accordance with his wishes had been left on the open mountainside under a pine-tree, were gathered together by his disciples and buried with due ceremony in a tomb cut into the solid rock of the West Peak of Mount Lu. This work was carried out at the expense of Juan K'an 阮侃 , Grand Warden of Hsün-yang 阮侃 , (modern Chiu-chiang 九江 , N. Kiangsi) a city close by. It seems likely, in view of his veneration for Hui-y"n, that Ling-y"n would
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have been present at this ceremony which took place in March 420. In any case, an epitaph he had written for Hui-yuan a couple of years before was placed above the tomb while a stele by Tsung Ping was set at the entrance to the monastery.

In the meantime Liu Yu, conscious of his advancing years, was making final preparations to overthrow the Chin. On 28 January 419 he had the imbecilic Emperor An strangled and replaced by Ssu-ma Te-wen 司馬德文, Prince of Lang-ye 郎邪. At the end of the year Liu Yi-fu was given the title of Royal Crown Prince 興 while Yu's consort was henceforth to be known as Empress. At last, in the spring of 420, Liu Yu decided to show his hand. In the course of a banquet given to his courtiers he made a speech hinting that the time had come for him to seize the throne. Only his President of the Secretariat, Fu Liang 傅亮 (374–426), appeared to understand his intentions. He immediately offered to undertake the delicate mission of persuading Emperor Kung to abdicate. In this he was quite successful. Emperor Kung, now degraded to Prince of Ling-ling 寧陵, was sent off to a fief just outside the capital where, the following winter, he met his death at the hands of Yu's assassins. So ended the Chin after a reign of over a century and a half (265–420). From now on Ling-yun would be serving a new master.
1. His biographies in SS, LXVII, p.41b, and NS, XIX, p.20b both agree that he died in the tenth year of Yuan-chia, aged forty-nine. Ling-yun may well have been a name associated with the Sect of the Way of the Heavenly Master, 天師道. I have come across only one other example of this name, borne by a contemporary of Ling-yun's, namely K'ung Ling-yun, a younger son of K'ung Ch'ing. See NS, XXVII, p.3a2. Since the K'ungs were a family associated with this sect (cf. Ch'en Yin-k'o (1), pp.453-454) while Hsieh himself was brought up by one of its adepts this name may well have been as much a mark of membership of this sect as a name ending in 國. Ch'en Yin-k'o (ibid., p. 445) has remarked that the character 天 in Ling-yun's name is due to his association with Tu Ming-shih. (See below, note 45). Properly speaking, Hsieh had no style 天 . But his title, Duke of K'ang-lo (see below, note 38), is cited as though it were a style.

LTMJ, p.23, queries his date of birth. This may perhaps be due to the confusion caused by the fact that he addresses Hsieh Chan, apparently born in 387, as "elder cousin". But see below note 70. I see no valid reason, however, for doubting both SS and NS on this matter.
2. This is modern T'ai-k'ang 太康, Honan. Note the irregular reading of 夏 as "chia\(^3\)" in this place name (GYPD), vol. IV, p. 4139a). Note that another branch of the Hsieh clan had settled in Shan-yin 山陰 county, Kuei-chi, at some earlier date. Cf., for example, CS LXXXII, p. 9a, biography of Hsieh Shen 沈, the historian, who came from this branch. For a study of the surname Hsieh, see the Hsing-hsi 姓譜 of Ch'en Shih-yüan 陳士元 (TSCC, no. 3307, VIII, p. 255). This work quotes a work called the Shih-pen 世本 as saying that this surname was derived from a secondary wife of a maternal uncle of King Hsüan 宣 of Chou (reg. 827-781 B.C.).

3. HTS, CXIX, p. 11b6 (T) Biography of Liu Ch'ung 柳沖 says:
"After the crossing of the River they became refugee clans. Of these, the Wang, the Hsieh, the Yuan and the Hsiao were the greatest." The Hsieh were the Hsieh of Yang-chia; the Wang were the Wang of Lang-yeh (for the pronunciation of 夏, also written 萬 in this place name see K'ang hsi ta tzu tien). The last two were the Yuan of Yang-chia and the Hsiao 湧 of Nan Lan-ling. It is to be remarked that other branches of these families enjoyed less prestige. Though these great mediaeval clans had fallen from power by T'ang, they were surprisingly tenacious of life throughout the Six Dynasties.

4. Style Yu-yü 幼輿 . Biography in CS, XLIX, pp. 10b-12a. For
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4. Style Yu-yü 幼. Biography in CS, XLIX, pp.10b-12a. For
the passages cited see *ibid.*, p.10a-b.

5. *SSHY*, V, sect. XXI, p.187. For the anecdote Ku is referring to see *ibid.*, IV, sect. IX, p.134. "Emperor Ming (r. 313-315) asked Hsieh K'un how he thought he compared with Yu Liang (289-340). He replied: 'When it comes to wearing ceremonial dress in the hall of the ancestral temple or dealing with official business I am not as good as Liang. But in any gorge or on any hill I would surpass him.'"

This epigram is not only a good specimen of "Philosophical wit" 但可多求但可多求 but is also an example of the type of philosophical judgement made fashionable by Kuo T'ai (128-169) and Hsu Shao (150-195).

6. Biography in *CS*, LXXIX, p.1a. He attained the ranks of Military Governor-General of Yu-chou and Yang-chou as well as Governor-General of four other provinces and Assistant Secretary to the Department of State Affairs.


11. Modern Shao-hsing Chekiang. Note that the character in the place-name, often erroneously read K'uai, (cf. E. Zürcher, Conquest, and A.F. Wright's "Hui-chiao's 'Lives of Eminent Monks'', passim) is correctly read Kuei. See Karlgren (4), series 321: Gwoyeu Tsyrdem, vol. 3, p.1388. For an explanation of the reading see TH, which gives however the spurious reading Kuai. This may be based on TCTC,p.3510 (18), where Hu San-hsing reads Kuai (Kung wai 外), Chavannes, Mem. Hist, vol. 1, pp.162-163, n.4, reads as Kuei.


13. Ibid., p.3b14.

14. For Hsun see chapter V below, note 7. Chih Tun, style Tao-lin 道林 (314-366), originally surnamed Kuan 謚. Biographical sources are KSC, IV, p.348b-349c: SSHY, passim. The latter contains 82 passages dealing with Chih Tun, most of which do not occur in KSC. Chih Tun is the best representative of the new type of gentlemen-monk, accustomed to consorting with aristocratic families and equally at home in Philosophical Wit, Mysterious Learning, polite arts or secular literature. He is known both as a specialist on Chuang-tzu and as the founder of a particular method of exegesis known as the "Matter as Such" 孔色 school. Chih Tun has been well discussed by several writers. Easily the best is

15. CS, LXXIX, p.3a.


17. TCTC, pp.3066-3067.

18. Ibid., pp.3153-56.


20. CS, IX, p.3b9.

21. CS, LXXIX, p.3aff. This account is based on two sources, the Chin An-ti chi 静安帝記 and the Sung Ming-ti wen chang chih 宋明帝文章志 quoted in the commentary to SSHY, III, sect. VI, p.97. See Yeh Hsiao-hsueh (1), p.196, n.27. TCTC, p.3261 gives the date of these events as the day hsin-ssu of the second month of 373 (2 April).

22. For Wang T'an-chih 王垣之 (330-375) see CS, LXXV, pp.4a-7a.

24. During the years 370-376 Fu Chien's armies had conquered Former Yen 前燕, (370 A.D.), a kingdom comprising the whole of the north-east of China, and Former Liang 前凉 (376 A.D.), a state in Ssu-ch'uan ruled by the Chang family. See TCTC, pp.3223-3241: pp.3272-3276.

25. TCTC, pp.3288-3289.

26. For the size of Fu Chien's army see TCTC, pp.3308-3309. See also Li Chi-p'ing, Fei shui chih chan, pp.12-27 for an account of the raising of this army and its advance towards the River Fei 漱水, an affluent of the Huai in Northern Anhui.

27. Lei Hai-tsung, "Periodisation in Chinese and World History", Chinese Social and Political Science Review (1937), XX, p.461, considers this battle one of the most decisive in Chinese history since it allowed the development of a purely Chinese culture to continue unchecked.

28. See Li Chi-p'ing, op.cit., pp.31-37.

29. Style Yu-tu 幼度. Biography in CS, LXXIX, p.7a. In 378, on the recommendation of An, he was appointed Inspector of Yen-chou and General of Established Military Might. He was then given command of an army based on Ching-k'ou
(modern Tan-t'u Kiangsu), which distinguished itself in preliminary skirmishes against Fu Chien's advancing troops. See TCTC, pp.3283-3305. These encounters must have given him a good idea of his opponents' shortcomings. The winning move at the battle of the Fei River, that of persuading Fu's troops to allow him to cross the ford, could only have been conceived by someone shrewdly aware of the lack of cohesion in the enemy forces. See TCTC, pp.3309-3313.

30. Fu Chien's army is said to have numbered a million men. See Li Chi-p'ing, op. cit., pp.26-34, for an account of the battle and the subsequent débacle.

31. CS, LXXIX, p.4a.

32. He attained this post in the third month of 384 (CS, IX, p. 7a10). The following table illustrates Hsieh An's rise to power from 373 A.D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Post Held</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>(a) Major-Domo to the Dept. of State Affairs. (b) Head of the Civil Service Office. (c) General of the Army of Protection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>(a), (b), (c), (d) President of the Grand Imperial Secretariat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Post Held</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>375</td>
<td>(a), (b), (c), (d), (e) Inspector of Yang-chou.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376</td>
<td>(a), (b), (c), (f) Registrar to the Dept. of State Affairs. (g) Director of the Grand Imperial Secretariat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377</td>
<td>(e), (f), (g), (h) Minister of Instruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>(e), (f), (g).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379</td>
<td>(e), (f), (g).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>380</td>
<td>(e), (f), (g). Was offered (h) but refused. (i) General of the Guard. (j) K'ai fu yi t'ung san ssu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381</td>
<td>(e), (f), (g), (i).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382</td>
<td>(e), (f), (g), (i).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>383</td>
<td>(e), (f), (g), (i).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>384</td>
<td>(e), (f), (g), (i), (k) Grand Protector.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This faction was led by An's own son-in-law, Wang Kuo-pao (王國寶, d. 397) and the latter's nephew Wang Hsü (王紱, d. 397), along with Ssu-ma Tao-tzu (司馬道子, Prince of Kuei-chi, d. 402) and his son Yuan-hsien (元賢, d. 402). They were opposed by a rival clique which gradually gained in strength over the following decade. This was headed by Huan Hsüan (桓玄, 369-404) a son of Huan Wen. It developed at Chiang-ling (Hupei), centre of the Huan estates, and numbered among its adherents men like Wang Mi (王谧), Wang Kung (王恭) and Yin Chung-k'an (殷仲堪). (TCTC, pp. 3394: 3400.14: 3408: 3419.6). In 396 Emperor Hsiao-wu was murdered and replaced by Emperor An (安帝), an imbecile too simple to talk or fend for himself in any way. (TCTC, p.3432). Rivalry developed between Wang Kuo-pao and Ssu-ma Tao-tzu (TCTC, p.3433-34) which made it possible for the Huan junta to force the execution of both Wang Kuo-pao and Wang Hsü (TCTC, pp.3450-52). In 399, Huan, now governor of Chiang-chou, turned on his ally Yin Chung-k'an, killed him and seized his province. By 401 when Sun En attacked the capital Huan had become the most powerful man in the empire.
33. TCTC, pp.3333-3336.


35. TCTC, pp.3343-3344: CS, LXXXIV, p.4b.

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38. CS, LXXIX, p.9a7. K'ang-lo was a district twenty li east of modern Wan-tsai county, Kiangsi. The reading lo is attested by Hu San-hsing, commentary to TCTC, p.3735.7. The Shih pa hsien chuan, ap. Fo tsu t'ung chi 佛祖統記, p.270a (TT, XLIX, no. 2035) says: "His grandfather Hsuan served the House of Chin with distinction. Ling-yun was the grandson of the Princess of K'ang-lo. He inherited from her the title of Duke of K'ang-lo." This source seems rather dubious. Yet, if we accept it, we must conclude that after Hsuan's death in 388 his wife managed the estate either until she died or until Ling-yun was old enough to inherit the title.

39. CS, IX, p.8a3-4.

40. CS, LXXIX, pp.9a-10a.

41. Ibid., p.10b1: TCTC, pp.3373: 3382.

42. Wang Hsien-chih, style Tzu-ching 子敬, posthumous title Hsien 悫 (biography in CS, LXXX pp.7a-b), was the youngest son of Hsi-chih and a great favourite of Hsieh An. His biography says: "He was skilled in the draft script and the plain style and good at (vermilion and green) painting. At
the age of seven or eight he began to study calligraphy. Hsi-chih tried surreptitiously to guide his brush from behind but found he could not manage to do so. He sighed and said: 'This boy will be famous in years to come.' Once he painted characters a chang 丈 square on a wall. Hsi-chih thought them very well done. Once Huan wen told him to paint a fan for him. His brush slipped so he made a picture from (the error). There were crows, piebald horses and cows on it. It was really marvellous .... Hsieh An loved and respected him and asked him to take a post as Senior Scribe.... He died suddenly while in office."

Hsien-chih's skill as a calligrapher was universally acknowledged. Chang Huai-kuan 張懷瓘, Shu tuan 書斷 ap. Fa shu yao lu, VIII, p.124b. places him in the highest class as does Wang Seng-ch'ien 王僧虔 (d. 485). Lun shu 論書, Nan Ch'i shu, XXXIII, p.9b. See also the Chin Wang Hsien-chih ya t'ou wan t'ieh chuan, for examples of his work.

43. SS, LXVII, p.1a and NS, XIX, p.16b both use the term 不恎 in describing him. This is generally a polite way of saying "imbecile". Cf. TCTC, p.3432 where the term is applied to Emperor An 安 of Chin, who could neither speak nor attend to his simplest bodily needs. Tu Yu 杜預 (f1. circa 265 A.D.) glosses this expression as "What we generally call 'a simpleton.'" (TCTC, loc. cit.) However SS, LVI, p.2b5 is more lenient, referring to him only
as "untalented" 未才. See the following note.

44. SS,LXVII, p.1a. NS,XIX, p.16b has a different version. "His father Huan turned out to be stupid from birth. He attained the rank of Secretary of the Imperial Library and died young. Ling-yün was brilliant. Hsüan was very surprised at this and used to say to his friends: "If I begot Huan how is it that he is not up to my standard?"

Cf. also SS,LVI, p.2b5-6, biography of Hsieh Chan. "Ling-yün's father Huan had no talents but was able to become a Secretary of the Imperial Library. He died young."

45. Shih p'in chu, p.18. (Hsieh Ling-yün) says: "Tu Ming-shih of Ch'ien-t'ang (modern Hang-chou) dreamt one night that a man came from the south-east and entered his house. That night Ling-yün was born in Kuei-chi. Ten days later Hsieh Hsüan (sic) died. Since descendants were hard to come by the family sent Ling-yün to Tu for his upbringing. He went back to the capital when he was fifteen. From this he got his (pet) name of K'o-erh - Little Guest." "Hsüan" in the above passage is clearly a mistake for "Huan" since we know that Hsuan did not die until 388 A.D.

For Ling-yün's pet-name see SS,LVIII, p.4a7, biography of Hsieh Hung-wei: "Ling-yün's pet-name was K'o-erh."
46. For the Sect of the Way of the Heavenly Master see Ch'en Yin-k'ō (1). Ch'en mentions the Tu family of Wu commandery as being Taoist Magicians of this sect. (ibid., p.453, sec.9). Tu Tzu-kung of Ch'ien-t'ang is mentioned in Sun En's biography (CS, C, p.16a) as having taught his secret arts to Sun T'ai, instigator of the great rebellion that ravaged China at this period. See below, note 54.

47. For the importance that this sect attached to calligraphy see Ch'en Yin-k'ō (1), pp.462-466. A general account of the calligraphy of Taoist spells is found in de Groot, (1), vol.VI, pp.1295 ff. He makes the point that a well-written spell would have more magic power than an indifferently written one. (ibid., p.1296).

See Chapter IV below, p.225, for a discussion of Ling-yün as a calligrapher and painter.

48. Waley, (6), p.145. "On a cliff there was an inscription in archaic writing supposed to have been carved by him Ling-yün."

49. Chang Huai-kuan, Shu tuan, ap. Fa shu yao lu, VIII, p.131a, says: "... he modelled himself on Hsien, the lesser Wang. Both his square and his draft style were superb."


52. See note 42 above.


54. See Ch'en Yin-k'o (1), passim, for the connections between the ideology of this rebellion and the Sect of the Way of the Heavenly Master. The movement had begun with the Taoist Master, Sun T'ai who had been introduced to Emperor Hsiao-wu (373-397) by Wang Ya and had found favour on the strength of his claims to possess an elixir of life (CS, C, p.16b2). He had subsequently become General Upholding
the State and Grand Warden of Hsin-an (near modern Chun-an, Chekiang). Here he built up a formidable peasant army based on very much the same sort of principles, part religious, part military, that have characterised all Chinese peasant movements from the Yellow Turbans to the T'ai-pings. In 393 Sun was about to attack Wang Kung Ying, one of Huan Hsuan's junta (see above, note 36), when Ssu-ma Tao-tzu had him executed, along with his sons. His nephew, Sun En, then fled to safety and harassed the coast until 399 when he launched his first full-scale attack on Chekiang.

55. Sun En, style Ling-hsiu (d. 402). Biography in CS,C, pp.16a-19b. His base was somewhere on the Chusan archipelago.

56. TCTC pp.3497-3499.

57. Biography in CS LXXX, p.6a. As a calligrapher he excelled at the square and draft styles (ibid., p.6a5). For his behaviour during Sun En's attack see TCTC,p.3497.

58. Biography in CS,XCVI, pp.5b-6a.

59. See ibid. for instances of her poetical talents (a verse contest with Hsieh Lang describing snow); and her knowledge of hsüan-hsüeh (a discussion with Wang Hsien-chih
and a guest). For her calligraphy see the Shu p' in of Li Ssu-
chen 李嗣真 (fl. 690 A.D.) ap. Fa shu yao lu,III, p.48a,
which ranks her with Hsieh Ling-yun and Sung Wen-ti (r. 424-454),
among others, in the lower section of the middle grade 甲品下 .
This puts her one grade below Hsieh An who appears in the middle
section of the middle grade 甲品中 (ibid., p.47b).

60. CS, XCVI, p.6a.

61. Sun En may have felt a special grievance towards the Hsieh since
it had been Hsieh Yu 謝幼, Inner Officer of Kuei-chi, who
had betrayed Sun T'ai's plans to the government (CS, C, p.16b9),
while Hsieh Yen 謝安 had been largely responsible for organizing
resistance against him. Sun En was so anxious to lay hold of
Hsieh Fang-ming 謝方明 that he put a price on his head, forc­
ing him to flee to the capital (SS, LIII, p.20b9-21a3), while
his family lost everything they had. (Ibid., p.20b9).

62. SSHY, III, sect. VI, p.93, quoting the Tan-yang chi 丹陽記 ,
says of Wu-yi street: "Since the (dynasty) on the left bank
of the River had first been established all the Wangs of Lang-yeh
had lived here."

63. Hsieh Yen, style Yuan-tu 玉邃 . Biography in CS, LXXIX,
pp.5b6 ff.
54. Hsieh Hun, style Shu-yuan 朱藻. His biography in CS, LXXIX, p.6b, says: "When young he was praised for his good looks and was a skilful writer. When Hsiao-wu-ti was looking for a husband for the Princess of Chin-ling he remarked to Wang Hsun 王珣 (350-401): 'If the husband of the Princess resembles Liu Chen-ch'ang (Liu T'an 刘惔, circa 350-385) or Wang Tzu-ching (Wang Hsien-chih) then he will do... Even if he is not very talented, as long as he comes from a good family he will look after other peoples' affairs most admirably.

Hsun replied: 'Although Hsieh Hun is not up to Liu Chen-ch'ang's standard he is in no way inferior to Wang Tzu-ching.'

'If that is so then he will do', said the Emperor. Shortly after this the emperor passed away. Yuan Sung 汉 wanted to give Hun his daughter in marriage but Hsun said: 'You must not touch the Forbidden Meat, sir!' [This was a jocular allusion to the story that when Emperor Yuan 元 (r.318-323) first took up residence in Chien-yeh after the fall of Western Chin, meat was so scarce that only the Emperor himself was allowed to eat it. J.D.F.] ...Hun in the end wedded the Princess and inherited his father's rank."

When Huan Hsuan 晏 wanted to turn the estate of Hsieh An (at Shih-ning) into a military camp Hun remarked to him: 'The
Hsieh Hun, style Shu-yuan 墨原. His biography in CS, LXXIX, p. 6b, says: "When young he was praised for his good looks and was a skilful writer. When Hsiao-wu-ti was looking for a husband for the Princess of Chin-ling he remarked to Wang Hsun 王愷 (350-401): 'If the husband of the Princess resembles Liu Chen-ch'ang (Liu T'an 劉坦, circa 450-485) or Wang Tzu-ching (Wang Hsien-chih) then he will do... Even if he is not very talented, as long as he comes from a good family he will look after other peoples' affairs most admirably. Hsun replied: 'Although Hsieh Hun is not up to Liu Chen-ch'ang's standard he is in no way inferior to Wang Tzu-ching.'

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When Huan Hsuan wanted to turn the estate of Hsieh An (at Shih-ning) into a military camp Hun remarked to him: 'The
goodness of the Prince of Shao was such that his benevolence extended even to a sweet pear-tree (Song, XVI). Was Wen-ching's (An's) virtue such that it could not protect even an estate of five mou? On hearing this Hsuan was ashamed and gave up the idea. He held successively the ranks of President of the Department of the Grand Imperial Secretariat, Secondary Director of the Army and Left Vice-President of the Department of State Affairs. He was executed for belonging to Liu Yi's party. When the state was established and Sung received the succession, Hsieh Hui said to Liu Yu: 'When, in response to Heaven, you received the Mandate and ascended the sacrificial mound, did you not daily regret that Hsieh Yi-shou (the familiar style of Hun) was not there to offer up the jade seal and ribbons?'

Liu also sighed and said: 'I regret very much that later ages could not see his behaviour.'"

65. CS, X, p. 2b4, Annals of An-ti, 4th year of Lung-an (400 A.D.). "In the fifth month, on the day chi-mao (7 July) the Governor of Kuei-chi, Hsieh Yen, was defeated and killed by Sun En."

TCTC, p. 3510 says: "Hsieh Yen was given the governorship of Kuei-chi because of his qualifications and his reputation. Yet he was able neither to restore order nor to make preparations for war. His generals all warned him that the bandits were on the coast not far away .... yet Yen paid no attention to them."
'Fu Chien had an army a million strong,' he said. 'Yet he was brought to his death in Huai-nan. Sun En is a petty bandit. We shall defeat him, kill him and drive (his forces) into the sea. How will he be able to come out again? If he should make a sortie this will be because Heaven wants to destroy him.'

After En had sacked Chieh-k'ou, taken Yu-yao, conquered Shang-yu and advanced as far as Hsing-p'u, Yen sent his Administrator Liu Hsuan-chih who attacked him and defeated him. En withdrew but attacked again a few days later, sacking Hsing-p'u. The government forces lost what they had gained. En followed up this victory by a direct advance. On the day chima (7 July, 400 A.D.) he came to Kuei-chi. Yen had eaten nothing (that day) saying that he had to wipe out those bandits before he had anything to eat (Tso, Ch'eng II; Legge, CC,V, p.345a). Then he went out to battle on horseback. His troops were routed and he himself was killed by Chang Meng his Commander of the Army in the Field."

CS, LXXIX, p.6b (biography of Hsieh Yen) says: "Chang Meng struck Yen's horse from behind with an axe. Yen fell on the field and was killed along with his two sons Chao and Chun. He killed them for their jewels. Liu Yu, in winning a victory at Tso Li, captured Meng alive and brought him to Yen's youngest son, Hun, who cut out his liver and ate it raw." TPYL, 376 makes it clear that the officer was one of Sun's men.
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67. See below, chapter VI, "Hsieh Ling-yün's Position as a Writer," for a discussion of this.

68. SS, LVIII, p.3b7-8.


70. SS, VLI, p.1a. Hsieh Chan, style Hsüan-yüan 孫遠 (or according to NS, XIX, p.5a), Chan 椽, style T'ung-yüan 通遠. Biography in SS, LVI, pp.1a ff; NS, XIX, pp.5a-6b. Supposedly Ling-yün's younger cousin since the biographies both allege that he died in 421, aged thirty-five. This would mean that he was born in 387 and was two years younger than Ling-yün. But Ling-yün refers to him as "elder cousin" (See WH, XXV, p.13b Answering Ling-yün from An-ch'eng, translated Appendix V below, introductory note) while Chan himself says: "When I compare our years I am a day or so older" (loc.cit., line 14). Hence the biographies are mistaken. Chan was an orphan who had been
brought up by an aunt née Liu, an elder sister of Liu Liu (biography in CS, LXI, p.11b). When Liu was made governor of Wu commandery, Chan left his post and went with him, becoming his Senior Officer of Established Severity (SS, LVI, p.1a-b). Later he attained a post in Liu Yu's court in P'eng-ch'eng. He was alarmed by the ambitions of his younger brother Hui, and foretold that he would be the ruin of their house. In 415 Chan became Grand Warden of An-ch'eng in Honan (see below, Appendix V, for his poem Answering Ling-yun from An-ch'eng). In October of 418 we find him present at the farewell banquet given to K'ung Ching (see below, Appendix V). Some time later he became Grand Warden of Yu-chang, dying in office there in 421.

The Ssu k'u, XLV, pp.13-14 carried the story that Fan Yeh entrusted the composition of the Monographs of the Hou Han Shu to Chan, adding that when Fan was put to death for a state offence Hsieh suppressed his own work in order to conceal his connexion with the historian. This story is dutifully repeated by Wylie in his Notes, p.17. However, as Bielenstein has noted in his Restoration of the Han Dynasty, vol. I, p.15, the whole story is clearly impossible since Chan died in 421 when Fan Yeh was only twenty-three. Could this legend have originated through some confusion between Hsieh Chan and some other Hsieh - of much
earlier date - who had in fact worked on the Hou Han Shu, namely Hsieh Shen or Hsieh Ch'eng?

71. Hsieh Hui, style Hsuan-ming, biography in SS, XLIV, pp.1-21b; NS, XIX, pp.1-5a. He early attracted the attention of Liu Yu by his efficiency and by 412 had become Registrar to the Commander-in-Chief. He was aided in his career by being endowed with extraordinary good looks in an age which set high store by such an attribute (cf. Wang Yao (1), pp.21-25). NS, XIX, p.1b4 says: "Hui was good-looking and excelled at witty conversation (cf. Song LV). His eyes were bright and his hair black as ink.... (Line 9) "At that time Hsieh Hun was the handsomest man in the South. He and Hui were once together in the presence of Wu-ti. The Emperor looked at them and said: 'Fancy have two "men of jade" at the same time!'"

72. Hsieh Chiao, style Hsuan-ching. Biography in SS, LVI, p.3a; NS, XIX, p.6b. His sick mother was née Kuo.

73. Biography in SS, LVIII, p.4a6. Familiar style A-to. Ibid., p.4a6 gives this style as To. This is an error since Hsieh Hun's poem (ibid., p.4a1) refers to him as A-to. Also SS, LVIII, p.5b3. Hung-wei's elder brother Yao became successively Vice-President of the Tribunal of Censors and Senior Officer of Daring Cavalry to Yi-k'ang, Prince of P'eng-ch'eng.
He died in the fourth year of yuan-chia." He was bitterly mourned by Hung-wei. We know nothing of his character except that he is said, like Ling-yun, to have been fond of criticizing others. (ibid., p.6a3).

This is the extent of our knowledge to be gained from these sources. However, the Wen kuan tz'u lin, CLII, carries two sets of poems by Ling-yun addressed to one Hsieh Hung-yuan. The preface to the first poem says: "My younger cousin Hung-yuan became Administrator in the Office of Redactions to the General of Daring Cavalry. On the tenth day of the tenth month of the eleventh year of Yi-hsi, when he went off to the headquarters at Chiang-ling, I presented him with these poems." (Ting Fu-pao (1), vol. 1, p.632). Now, since Hung-yuan is clearly a style and there are only two cousins of Ling-yun's with styles we do not know, namely Hui-lien and Yao, we are forced to choose between these two. Hui-lien was certainly a younger cousin. But since the poem was written in 415, when he was only 18, he would if anything seem too young to hold such a responsible position as Administrator in the Office of Redactions to the General of Daring Cavalry.

Now we do not know Yao's exact age. But we do know that he was Hung-wei's elder brother; and since Hung-wei was born in 392, Yao could have been born any time between 386 and 391 to make him Ling-yun's younger cousin. More important still is the
evidence of the style Hung-yüan. All the Hsieh family tended
to observe the custom of using either the same character, or at
least the same radical in members of the same generation who
were sons of the same father. Thus the sons of Hsieh Chung
all had styles whose first component was Hsüan 宣. Now Hung-wei
語 微 was the style of Hsieh Mi 密 (see following note).
Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that his brother Yao would
also have a style beginning with 微 . Furthermore, the component
元 "the eldest" balances very nicely with 微 "the youngest".
We know, moreover, that Yao was one of the original group of
friends around Hsieh Hun. What could be more natural than that
Ling-yün should maintain his friendship with him afterwards?
On the whole, then, I am inclined to favour Yao, rather than
Hui-lien, as being the Hung-yüan of our poem.

In that case we can now add to our scanty store of information
about Yao by saying that he went off to join the staff of Ssu-ma
Tao-lin 司馬道麟 in Chiang-ling 江陵 on 28 November
415 in the capacity of Administrator in the Redaction Office of
the General of Daring Cavalry.

Furthermore we know from another poem of Ling-yün's with
the title, "Presented to my younger cousin Hung-yüan when he
became Officer in the Merits Office of the Central Army, Stationed
in the Capital," (Ting Fu-pao, (1), vol. I, p.633), that Yao
must at some time have held this post too.
74. Hsieh Hung-wei, biography in SS, LVIII, pp.2b-7b. We may note that he was almost certainly a Buddhist since he associated with Ling-yun's friend, the monk Hui-lin.

75. SS, LVI, pp.2b-3a; NS, XIX, pp.6a-b.

76. SS, LXVII, p.1b.

77. This fly-whick is mentioned repeatedly in the literature of the period. It was the special mark of the ch'ing t'an adept. See Hou Wai-lu, Chung kuo ssu hsiang t'ung shih, pp.66 ff; Wang Yit'ung (1), pp.93-95.

78. NS, XX, p.3b8. "Hung-wei could provide such delicacies that the Emperor himself was forever wanting to dine with him."

79. TPYL, 942.2; YKC, Ch'uan Sung Wen, XXXII, p.4a. See chapter II below, note 74.

80. CS, LXXIX, p.7a13. "When Hsuan was a youth he liked to wear a purple gauze scent-satchet at his girdle. An detested it, yet did not wish to hurt his feelings. So he won it off him in a gambling game and then burnt it. Thereupon he wore one no more." SSHY, VI, sec.27, p.228, has a slightly different version.

81. NS, XIX, p.8b4. "Ching-jen was austere and pure by nature and his dwelling-place was clean and beautiful. Whenever he wanted to spit he would do so onto his attendants' robes. When
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76. SS, LXVII, p.1b.

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81. NS, XIX, p.8b4. "Ching-jen was austere and pure by nature and his dwelling-place was clean and beautiful. Whenever he wanted to spit he would do so onto his attendants' robes. When
he had done with his official business he would spend one whole day in bathing. Each time he wanted to spit his attendants would vie with each other to be spat on."

82. SSHY, VI, sect. XXX, p. 231 ff.
83. SS, XXX (Wu hsing chih), p. 7b.
84. See below, chapter II, note 79.
85. Ibid., notes 77 and 78.
86. SS, LXVII, p. 38b1. See chapter V below.
87. NS, XIX, p. 19b2. See chapter V below.
90. SS, LXVII, p. 1a5. The term "Duke of a State" (TF, "duc de principauté") is rather misleading in this context. The rank of was not established until the period 581-601 when Sui Wen-ti bestowed this rank on deserving ministers (cf. Morohashi, TKWJ, p. 2350, no. 4798.188). Here the term can only stand for "Duke of a County, founder of a State" (cf. TF,
vo. I, p.43), a title which did exist under Chin (cf. T'ung Tien, XXVII, p.209a). This was a rank of the first class.

91. Yi wen lei chu", LI, (YKC, Ch'üan Sung Wen, XXXII, p.1a-b) has a "Memorial written when Hsieh (Ling-yun) was enfeoffed as Marquis (sic) of K'ang-lo" 謝封康樂侯表. As Ho, p.39, points out, since this memorial contains the lines:

"Surely Your Servant who is small and feeble ought not to disgrace (this rank) by accepting it", it could have been written only when Ling-yun was still a boy, and could not refer to the time when he was degraded from Duke to Marquis in 420.

92. SS, LXVII, p.1a6. TCTC, p.3581 says: "In the third month, on the day chia wu, the Emperor arrived in Chien-k'ang." TCTC, p.3582: "On the day keng-tzu (3 May 405) Te-wen, Prince of Lang-yeh, was made Grand Marshal." Hence Ling-yun's appointment cannot have taken place before May 405.


94. Ssu-ma Te-wen (386-421) later became Emperor Kung of Chin (r. 419-420), last ruler of the dynasty.
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94. Ssu-ma Te-wen (386-421) later became Emperor Kung 興 of Chin (r. 419-420), last ruler of the dynasty.
95. SS,LXVII, p.1b2. Liu Yi, style Hsi-lo 瑾樂 . Biography in CS,LXXXV, pp.1a-5a. A man from P'ei 市 in P'eng-ch'eng 彭城 (modern Suchow) and hence no relative of Liu Yu's.

96. Liu Yu, style Te-yu 德與, later became first emperor of the Sung dynasty (420-479). See SS, I - III.

97. SS, I, pp.2a-3b.


100. TCTC, p.3555.21.

101. TCTC, pp.3554-3535.

102. Lu Hsun, style Yu-hsien 于先 . Biography in CS,C, p.18a5-19b. He had married the younger sister of Sun En and so succeeded to the leadership after Sun's death in 402. Lu had been made Grand Warden of Yung-chia 永嘉 (Wenchou, Chekiang) by Huan Hsüan, but his assumption of this office did not put a check to his piratical behaviour. (TCTC, p.3541.13).


105. TCTC, p.3558.

106. TCTC, pp.3570 and 3578.

107. CS, LXXXV, p.2b2-3.

108. TCTC, p.3649. See also CS, LXXXV, p.4b5, which quotes two lines of a poem of his.

109. See chapter II below, note 71.

110. No biography in the dynastic histories. TCTC, p.3649, describes him as a nephew of Ch'ih Ch'ao 建 超 (336-377), Huan Wen's famous and much-feared collaborator. (Note that Zürcher, Conquest, passim reads 建 for Hsi, confusing it with 建). TCTC, loc. cit., describes him as Governor of the Superior Prefecture of Tan-yang 蘭陽 in 412 and then as having become Constable of the Southern Man at the request of Liu Yi. He was executed at Chiang-ling after its capture. (TCTC, p.3655).

111. See note 214 below.

112. TCTC, p.3649.

Since he died in the twelfth month of 407 and the day of his death is not given he may actually have died in 408, by the Western calendar. See SS I, p.19b5 and TCTC, pp.3604-3605. Zürcher, Conquest, pp.213-214 examines his Buddhist interest and describes him as "one of the most prominent upasakas of his time" (ibid., p.213).

114. TCTC, p.3604.

115. Liu Mu-chih, style Tao-ho 道和. Biography in SS, XLII pp.1a-5b (6a-11a deals with his descendants). He came from a poor family and was Liu Yu's confidant and adviser from the early days. For his advice to Yu on this occasion see SS, XLII, p.2a-b and TCTC, p.3604. When Yu left on the expedition to Ch'ang-an Mu-chih remained in Chien-k'ang where he worked himself to death in an effort to cope with his duties. See TCTC, pp.3688-3689. He was posthumously ennobled as Duke of Nan-k'ang 南康 (SS, XLII, p.7b).


117. CS, CXXVII, p.2b12-14: Moule, Rulers, p.48.

118. TCTC, pp.3626-3627: CS, CXXVIII, pp.6b-7a.

119. TCTC, p.3629.
120. Letter in CS, LXXV, p.2b8.

121. Ibid., p.2b10. "Yi was furiously angry. 'Just because I once yielded the honours to Liu Yu,' he exclaimed, throwing the letter to the ground, 'you now say I am not up to his standard.' Thereupon he set out from Ku-shu with a naval force of 20,000 men." See also TCTC, p.3631.

122. Ibid., p.2b12-3a; TCTC, p.3632.

123. TCTC, p.3634.

124. Ibid., p.3635.

125. Ibid., pp.3635-3642.

126. CS, LXXV, p.3b6, TCTC, p.3646.11.

127. TCTC, p.3651.13

128. SS, LXVII, p.1b3.

129. See T'ang, History, p.437.

130. Zürcher, Conquest, p.207, notes that "the strong association between Buddhist monasteries and mountains - especially 'sacred mountains' - is a typically Chinese phenomenon." He adds that
Hui-yuan's choice of Mount Lu was due to its magical atmosphere and, in particular, to its association with a mountain-spirit, now re-baptized as the Parthian missionary An Shih-kao 安世高 (floruit, 148-168).

131. For Hui-yuan see T'ang (1), pp.341-373; Zürcher, Conquest, pp. 204-253; Liebenthal (2), passim; Leon Hurvitz (1), passim; Inoue Ichii 井上 智為, "Rozan-bunka to Eon" 瀧上文化已. Shien 史真, IX, (1934), pp.1-34; Tsukamoto Zenryū, Shina Bukkyōshi kenkyū 支那佛學史研究 pp.630 ff.

132. Shih Tao-an, biography in KSC,VI, p.351c ff. Excellent studies are found in T'ang (1), pp.187-228 and 242-251; Zürcher, Conquest, pp.184-204 et passim. See also A.E. Link (1), (2) and (3). Tao-an was first interested in scriptures of the most archaic period of Chinese Buddhism (second century A.D.). This was due to his interest in trance (dhyāna), for these scriptures gave details of exercises for the practice of dhyāna. After he moved to Hsiang-yang in 365 A.D. he became interested in the exegesis of the Prajñāparamitā, a scripture very popular in the south because of its fancied resemblance to Taoist philosophy. His own doctrine of Fundamental Non-being 本無, may itself owe something to Taoism. (see Zürcher, op. cit., p.191), in spite of his having rejected the ko-yi 格義 method of interpretation. An extraordinary scholar, teacher and organizer, he is noted not
only for his bibliographical knowledge of Buddhist texts and his meticulous commentaries on them but also for his literary talents. Finally we may note that his stress on iconography and the devotional aspects of Buddhism profoundly affected his pupil Hui-yuan.

133. See Zürcher, Conquest, pp.219-229.

134. Hsieh Ling-yün, "Dirge for Hui-yüan", 慧遠法師詠, KHMC, XXIII, p.267a. "In the years when my mind was set on study I hoped to be among the least of his disciples." See p.30 below.

135. The eleventh-century work the Lu shan chi (I, p.1027c19) states that this was built in 384. Zürcher, Conquest, p.209 believes that "in view of the dates of Huan Yi (who was governor of Ching-chou from 384 till his death circa 392) there may be some truth in this very late tradition...."

136. KSC,VI, p.358b.

137. Chou Hsu-chih, style Tao-tsu 道祖. Biography in SS,XCIII, pp.6b-8a; NS,LXXV, pp.9b-10b; Lu shan chi,III, p.1040a. A noted Confucian scholar who specialised in the Shih ching and other classics of this school (SS,XCIII, p.8a).

138. Tsung Ping, style Shao-wen 松。 See below, chapter VI, "Hsieh Ling-yün's Position as a Writer", note 118.
139. *KSC*, VI, pp.358c-359a. Translation of the text of the oath is in Zürcher, *Conquest*, pp.244-245. Zürcher (op. cit., p.219) points out that "there is no direct relation, in the sense of a 'filiation of masters', between Hui-yüan and the later patriarchs of the Pure Land sect." For the date see *KSC*, loc. cit., which gives it as "the year corresponding with the constellation she-t'í, in autumn, the seventh month whose first day is Wu-ch'én, on the twenty-eighth day yi-wei." (11 September 402). This must be a year with the sign yin (year of the tiger) i.e. 390 or 402. As T'ang points out (History, p.342) it must be 402 here. See also Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), p.200, note 49.

140. See Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), p.155. Yeh also points out that what we know of the ages of the supposed 123 participants in the Lotus Society would not allow of their all being there and that all accounts are open to suspicion (ibid., p.201, note 53).

141. 'Dirge for Hui-yüan' *KHC*, XXIII, p.267a. The reference is to *LY*, II, IV. "when I was fifteen my mind was set on study."


143. This question is well discussed in Mather (1), pp.69-70. The following sources, all T'ang, list Ling-yün as a member of the White Lotus sect: (a) Ching t'u lun (*TT*, XLVII, No.1963), p.83b;
(b) Nien fo san mei pao wang lun (TT,XLVII, no. 1967), p.140b; (c) Wang sheng hsi fang ching t'u jui ying chuan (TT,LI, no. 2070), p.104a. But the following Sung accounts all carry the story of his rejection by Hui-yüan: (a) Kao chien chui pi (Shuo fu,XLIV, pp.10b-11a) says (p.10b): "So Master Yüan considered that (Hsieh) Ling-yün's heart was impure (lit., 'mixed') and stopped him (from joining the sect)." And again (p.11a): "Although these two gentlemen (Hsieh and T'ao Yüan-ming) did not enter the Pure Land Sect yet they were always coming and going on the mountain (Mt. Lu)." Seng Ch'i-yi says in his Poem on the Hall of the Reflected (Buddha) Image of Master Yüan: "Governor T'ao was often drunk, so could not be summoned. Duke Hsieh's heart was wild so there was no way by which he could enter." (b) The Tung lin ying t'ang liu shih (11th century) ap. Fo ts'u t'ung chi (TT,XLIX, no. 2035), p.271a-b says: "In the case of Hsieh Ling-yün (Hui-yüan) felt that his mind was impure (lit., 'mixed') and did not accept him. And in fact (Hsieh) did meet his death by execution. (Hui-yüan) knew his capacities and foretold his end." (c) The Lu shan chi (TT,LI, no. 2095), p.1039b says: "Hsieh Ling-yün of Ch'en commandery was talented yet arrogant, esteeming but few. But as soon as he set eyes on (Hui-yüan) his heart submitted reverently. He dug out two lakes, east and west, and set white lotuses in them. He sought to enter the Pure Land Sect but the
Master stopped him because his heart was impure.

Very little value can be attached to these accounts. For one thing they are all much later than the versions which assert that Hsieh was a member of the sect. Secondly they are obviously derivative from each other. I suggest that versions (a) and (b) both stem from (c). This is obvious from the wording, in particular the phrase 其心雜. Even if we accept the earliest date possible for (c), namely the tenth century, it is still much later than the T'ang accounts, the earliest of which, the Ching t'u lun, goes back to the seventh century.

144. Mather (1), p.70.

145. KSC, VI, p.359b9. "Among the monks there were some who rebuked Hui-yüan, saying, 'Lu Hsun is a state criminal; would it not be suspect if you have such friendly relations with him?' Yuan replied: 'I hold that inside the Buddhist doctrine our feelings do neither choose nor reject (anybody in particular) - should that not be realized by those who know (about these relations)? There is no need to be afraid.'" (Zürcher, Conquest, p.246).

146. TCTC, p.3651.13.

147. Ibid., p.3651.13.


149. Hsieh Ch'un, style Ching-mao 景懋. Biography in SS, LII,
p.9a2-9.

150. TCTC, p.3653.

151. Ibid., p.3653.

152. SS,LII, p.9a7 "When Yi's troops were defeated they all fled. By that time it was pitch-dark. Marshall Mao Hsiu-chih said to Ch'un: 'You have but to come with me.' But Ch'un would not listen to him and was killed while helping these two men (i.e. Mao and Liu Yi. See TCTC, p.3653) escape from the fire."

153. TCTC, p.3653. The incident referred to had evidently occurred in the first month of 405 when Huan Wei had fled from Chiang-ling. See TCTC, p.3578.

154. TCTC, p.3653.

155. SS,II, p.2b; TCTC, p.3655.17.

156. TCTC, p.3655.


158. TCTC, p.3718.9.

159. SS,LXVII, p.1b4.

160. The date of Fa-hsien's return is controversial. Liebenthal (5), believes that he arrived in Shantung in 412 and met Hsieh Ling-yün
in Chekiang in the autumn of 413. He notes that the date of the erection of the Lu-shan shrine (inaugurated 27 May 412), is useful in determining the date of his return. T'ang, History, p.384 sets the date of his arrival in Chien-k'ang as the autumn of 413, noting that no reliable date can be obtained from any source whatsoever.

161. See Przyluski (1), pp.565-568; Lamotte, (1), pp.551-553; Zürcher, Conquest, pp.224-225; Waley (3), pp.27-28; Mather (1), pp.76-78. The account in the Fo shuo kuan fo san mei(hai) ching, IV, 5, p.28a13 says: "The Buddha came to the kingdom of Na-kan-ssu-lo ना कन-सू-लो (Nagarahāra) on the mountain of the Old Rsi 古仙 , in the flowery forest of Shan-fu 蘇蔚 (jambu), by the side of the pool of the poisonous dragon, north of the spring of blue lotus-flowers, in the cave of the Raksa, south of Mount A-na-ssu 阿那悉 . At this time there were five Raksa in this cave. They changed themselves into female dragons and mated with the venemous dragon. The dragon brought down hail-storms and the Raksa behaved riotously. Famine and plagues were rife for four years. The king was fearful and besought the spirits, but in vain." After the conversion of the dragons the dragon-king begged the Buddha to stay with him. The Buddha then promised to remain in the cave for fifteen hundred years. "The Buddha Sakyamuni शाक्यमुनि rose up and his body entered the stone. His face had the appearance of a shining mirror. The dragons
all saw the Buddha in the stone with his light shining from out
of it." (Translated from *Fo shuo kuan fo san mei(hai) ching*, loc.
cit. and Przyluski (1) loc. cit.).


165. Zürcher, *Conquest*, p.224. "It is not clear how Tao-an knew
about the relic, as no scripture describing it can have been
accessible to him, but he is known to have assembled oral
information on the Western Region - no doubt mainly from
itinerant monks and foreign missionaries - and thus it may have
been included in his lost *Hsi-yü chih* 師域志."  

166. *KSC*, II, p.334b3 claims (p.334b27) that he was born at Kapilavastu
and later (p.334c17) that he came from Nagarahāra 婁羅城.
Cf. the Inscription on the Buddha-Shadow *KHMC*, XV, p.199b, "....
the image, which he had copied and repainted in shades of green".

167. Partially translated by Przyluski (1).


169. Cf. the Inscription on the Buddha-Shadow *KHMC*, XV, p.199b, "....
Also Hui-yuan, Hymn no. IV, (in his biography, KSC, VI, p.358b) "Its movement faintly (appears on) the light (plain) silk."

170. Hui-yuan's Fo ying ming 佛景金名 KHMC XV, p.198b dates the commencement of the work as the fifth month of the eighth year of yi-hsi and its completion as the third day of the ninth month of the same year.

171. See translation, below, Appendixes.

172. WH XXV, p.27b, 'Answering Ling-yün from An-ch'eng', translated below. See note to line 14 of this poem.

173. Hsieh Ling-yün's Dirge for Hui-yuan, 慧遠法師誦 KHMC XXIII, p.267a-b, gives Hui-yuan's date of death as 417, i.e., thirteenth year of yi-hsi, eighth month, sixth day (September 2). However, Hui-yuan's biography in KSC, VI, p.361a gives it as the twelfth year of yi-hsi. Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, in his Shih shih yin nien lu I, p.4b, discusses various versions of Hui-yuan's birth and death dates and finally decides that he died in 416 aged eighty-three. I have adopted Ch'en's decision. Ho Li-ch'üan (1), p.48, (followed by Mather (1), p.69) gives the date of death as 417 but does not state his reasons for preferring this year. Zürcher, Conquest, gives the date variously as 417 (p.204) and 416 (p.240).
174. KHMC, XXIII p.267a.

175. Yu set off in the eighth month (TCTC, p.3689).


177. TCTC, p.3684.


179. Ibid, pp.3686.8

180. Ibid, p.3687.11.

181. Ibid., p.3687.12.

182. Ibid., p.3691.18.

183. Ibid., p.3694.

184. Ibid., p.3695.25.

185. Ibid., pp.3701-3702.

186. Ibid., pp.3703-3704.

187. Ibid., p.3707.15.
88. Ibid., p.3708.


90. TCTC, pp.3709-3711. Yu thought for a time of moving the capital back to Lo-yang but was dissuaded by Wang Chung-te 王仲德, (ibid., p.3711).

91. Liu Tao-lien 劉道憲, biography in SS LI, pp.1a ff. NS, XIII, pp.1a ff. a younger brother of Liu Yu, he had begun by holding a minor post under Hsieh Yen and risen rapidly to high office. His rise was not due to his own talents, for of these he had none. He was also covetous, vulgar and uncouth, (SS, LI, p.3a2-4). Yu himself had no confidence at all in his talents. See TCTC, p.3730.18 which relates how the Empress, Tao-lien's mother, tried in vain to have him given the governorship of Yang-chou, then held by Yi-chen, a ten year-old! (See also TCTC, p.3673.4).

In 415, fifth month, he became Military Governor-General of seven provinces, Inspector of Ching-chou and General of Light Cavalry (TCTC, p.3678.17). Since he was quite incompetent his Senior Officer, Hsieh Fang-ming, did all the work (ibid.).
188. Ibid., p.3708.


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SS, LXVII, p. 1b6; NS, XIX, p. 17a2. There were four Vice-Presidents of the Grand Imperial Secretariat. See CS, XXIV, pp. 7b-8a; LTCKP, II, p. 42; T'ung chih, LII, pp. 657c-658a.

Tsukamoto Zenryū would ascribe the dates 350-409 A.D. to Kumārajīva. See Joron Kenkyū, pp. 130-146, for an excellent biography. See also KSC, II, pp. 330a-331a; T'ang, History, pp. 278-340 and Sakainō Kōyō (1), pp. 341-417. The history of Ch'ang-an as a centre of Buddhist studies goes back to the Western Chin when Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu, active circa 266-308) established himself there. From his arrival in Ch'ang-an until the time he was forced to flee from the city in 304 A.D., Dharmarakṣa translated the extraordinary total of 154 (159?) works. Among these was the first complete version of the Saddharmapundarīkāsūtra (TT, no. 263) the Scripture of the Lotus of the True Doctrine, one of the most venerated sūtras in Chinese Buddhism. In addition Dharmarakṣa made a complete translation of the Vimilakīrtinirdesāsūtra (TT, no. 274), a work with which Ling-yün must have been completely familiar. After Dharmarakṣa's death Ch'ang-an grew steadily in importance as a Buddhist centre. Under Fu Chien it became the capital of the most powerful state in East Asia. Since it was more or less contemporary with the great efflorescence of Buddhism in North-west India under the Kuśānas and in the Gupta empire the period was marked by a renewed influx of
Buddhist missionaries from Central Asia and India. Translation activities were now for the first time sponsored by the court. From about 380 onwards a great number of foreign missionaries arrived in Ch'ang-an where they worked in a translation team under the great Tao-an and the polyglot Chu Fo-nien (biography in KSC, I, p.329a). Nearly all translations of this period were the work of this monk from Liang-chou. Not even the break-up of Fu Chien's kingdom after the battle of the Fei River (383 A.D.) disturbed the activities of the Ch'ang-an school. Their work was continued by Kumārajīva who arrived in Ch'ang-an in 402 A.D. Kumārajīva's activities as a translator are too well known to merit attention here. Suffice it to say that his great contribution to Chinese Buddhism lay in the introduction of Mahāyāna scholastic literature, especially that of the Mādhyamika school. (See Jōron Kenkyū, pp.130-146). Hui-yüan himself had been keenly interested in problems raised by this literature - notably that of the dharmakāya - and had corresponded with Kumārajīva. (Zürcher, Conquest, pp.226-229).


195. See below, chapter II.

197. TCTC, p.3713-3716.3. Ibid., p.3716.3 says: "Chen-o said to Wang Hsiu: 'Sir, I have a ten-year old boy (i.e., Yi-chen) attached to my staff. We must put our heads together and do our utmost. For if the troops we possess refuse to advance, how can we hope to subdue these barbarians!' When the messenger returned he reported this to T'ien-tzu. T'ien-tzu and Chen-o had long been plotting against each other. This incident made their fear of each other even greater. Shortly afterwards Chen-o and T'ien-tzu went north together to oppose the Hsia troops. A lying rumour went round the camp that Chen-o wanted all the southerners killed so that he could send Yi-chen home with a few score men and then rebel, relying on his position within the passes. On the day hsin-hai (7 March 418) T'ien-tzu asked Chen-o to come to the camp of Fu Hung-chih for a conference. T'ien-tzu asked for a private conversation and then had his kinsman Shen Ching-jen behead Chen-o in the tent. He then falsely gave out that he had received orders from the Commander-in-Chief to execute him. Hung-chih fled to tell Yi-chen who climbed the Heng Gate-tower along with Wang Hsiu, both wearing armour, to investigate these disturbances. After a while T'ien-tzu came along with a few score men and said that Chen-o had attempted to stage a revolt. Hsiu arrested him, rated him for taking the law into his own hands and beheaded him."
198. Text of this fu in SS, LXVII, pp.1b-14a. For the date of Yu's arrival in P'eng-ch'eng (first month, day jen-hsu) see SS, II, p.23a. Yeh Hsiao-hsueh (1), p.155, believes that Ling-yün did not arrive in P'eng-ch'eng until autumn. To arrive at this conclusion he has to go against the evidence of the Record of the Expedition, which says (loc. cit., p.2b7): "I was ordered to travel over plain and swamp (Song CLXIII.1). I undertook the office only to supply the need. (Tso, Ch'eng II, 4; Legge, CC V, p.345b). .... I set off in the second month of winter. My way lay through nine principalities. My road was more than a thousand li long."

From this one would gather that Ling-yün left the capital about December-January 418 and arrived in P'eng-ch'eng shortly before Liu Yu. But Yeh alters "second month of winter" to "second month of autumn" (op. cit., p.202, note 55) and would have Ling-yün arrive there just before the banquet held for K'ung Ching 卑 on 24 October 418. See below, note 204.

199. TCTC, p.3716.3.

200. TCTC, p.3718.9. "In the sixth month Commander-in-Chief, Yu, first received the mandate (conferring on him the ranks of) Prime Minister and Duke of Sung as well as the Nine Imperial Favours ."
201. **TCTC, p.3720.15.** "Liu Yi-chen was young and had been given unprincipled attendants, whom Wang Hsiu was forever repressing. The attendants all hated him and slandered him to Yi-chen. 'Wang Chen-o wanted to rebel' they would say, 'and because of this Shen T'ien-tzu killed him. Hsiu killed T'ien-tzu, so he must also have wanted to rebel.' Yi-chen believed them and sent Liu Ch'i, one of his attendants, with an escort to kill Hsiu."

202. **Hsien-yang had been captured by Ho-lien Po-po. TCTC, p.3720.15.**

203. **SS,LXVII, p.14a6.** Yeh, p.156 and p.202, note 56, would put Ling-yün's promotion to this post, along with that of Captain of the Left Guard of the Crown Prince, as 419. But see note 210 below for my discussion of this.

204. See below, volume II, Hsieh, p.23, 'On the Ninth Day of the Ninth Month I Attend the Assembly of the Duke of Sung..." where the dating of this poem is discussed.

205. **WH,XX, p.26a, SPTK ed.**

206. **TCTC, p.3720.15.**

207. **Ibid., p.3720.15.**

208. **Ibid., p.3721.**

209. **CS,IX, p.10b8, "Formerly Emperor Chien-wen saw that the Apocrypha**
said: 'The line of the Chin will come to an end with brilliant light (¶ 𒂜𒄽).' When the Emperor (Hsiao-wu) was in the womb Empress Li 甲 sleep that a spirit said to her: 'You will give birth to a boy and give him the style of Ch'ang-ming 𒂜𒆠.' When she gave birth to him the east was just growing light. (Text has 𒈖𒈺 for 𒂜𒆠, cf. TCTC, p.3723.19, commentary). So she gave him this as his name. When Emperor Chien-wen learnt of this later, he wept." Cf. CS, IX, p.3b9, which gives his personal name as Yao 𢇊 and his style as Ch'ang-ming. CS, X, p.8b6, says: "Formerly the Apocrypha said: 'After Ch'ang-ming there will be two emperors.' Liu Yü was going to succeed to the throne. So he secretly sent Wang Shao-chih 𢇊 to strangle the emperor and set Emperor Kung on the throne that (the prophecy about) the two emperors might be fulfilled."

210. CS, LXXIX, p.10b5, is our only source for the date of Ling-yün's tenure of this post: "Hsieh Ling-yün was Captain of the Left Guard of the Crown Prince to the Heir-Apparent of Liu Yü during the year-period yung-hsi 永熙, (sic)." Ho Li-ch'üan (1), p.49 attempts to interpret yung-hsi - a non-existent period - as a combination of yung-ch'u and yuan-hsi. This is absurd. Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), p.202, note 57, would emend yung-hsi to yuan-hsi 永熙, (419-420) and thus have Ling-yün take this post
sometime after 11 February 419. But in his memorial impeaching Ling-yün, Wang Hung is referred to as Major-Domo to the Department of State Affairs, an office he held from the sixth month of 418 until later in the year, when he was transferred to another post. (SS, XLII, p.15a3). We must therefore conclude that yung-hsi is a mistake for yi-hsi (405-419).


212. SS, XLII, pp.14a-b. It is interesting to see that there is a discrepancy between Wang Hung's account which describes Kuei
Hsing as a "Strong Man" 力人 - a term equivalent to slave - and the account in Ling-yun's biography, which calls him a Retainer 門生, a rank one degree above that of slave since Retainers were eligible for office. NESKY, p.470, has a note pointing out this discrepancy, quoting the biography of Hsu Chan-chih 徐湛之 (SS,LXXI, p.3b3) to prove that Retainers were often men of some standing and were quite different from serfs or slaves. While, on the face of it, Wang Hung's description of Kuei Hsing is the more likely to be correct since it was written shortly after the affair in question, it would seem strange that so much fuss was made about the killing of a mere slave. I hazard the opinion that Shen Yo also noticed this and hence altered the term to "Retainer". It would, after all, be a much more serious crime to have killed a Retainer, who might come of a family of no social account yet wealthy enough to exert influence, than merely to have disposed of a treacherous slave.

213. SS,LVII, p.2b7, biography of Ts'ai K'uo 窮儒. "When Hsieh Ling-yun, Captain of the Left Guard of the Crown Prince, killed a man out of hand, the Vice-President of the Censorate, Wang Huai-chih, was accused of not having reported the matter and was dismissed from office."

214. Ts'ai K'uo (379-426) style Tzu-tu 突度. Biography in SS,LVII, pp.1a-6b. His great-grandfather Mo 促(281-356) was notorious
as a persecutor of Buddhists (KHMC, VI, p.126c7). Ts'ai K'uo himself was a strict Confucian whose mourning rites for his mother were exemplary. (SS, LVII, p.2b). Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), p.157, points out that since Ts'ai K'uo had been one of the leading figures in Hsieh Hun's clique, his being given the Vice-Presidency of the Censorate looks like an attempt to win over a potential enemy.


216. TCTC, p.3766.

217. KSC, VI, p.361b: Lu shan ch'i I, p.29a25. Nothing further is known of Juan K'an beyond this reference.

218. KSC, VI, p.361b. This Epitaph must be clearly distinguished from the Dirge. Hui-yüan's biography in KSC, VI, p.361b says: "Hsieh Ling-yün wrote an Epitaph for him which extolled in the form of an inscription the virtue of the departed." The biography of Chang Yeh in Tung lin shih pa hsien chuan, ap. Fo tsu t'ung chi, p.268a says: "When Hui-yüan died Hsieh Ling-yün composed an inscription for him and Chang Yeh wrote the preface." The Lu shan chi, I, p.1040b, says: "When Hui-yüan died and was buried in the West Peak, Hsieh Ling-yün wrote an inscription for him and (Chang) Yeh wrote the preface to it." It seems to have been generally accepted that this Epitaph in the form of an inscription was lost. It is not included in YKC
and Ho Li-ch'uan (1), p.48, says specifically that this work was not transmitted. The Lu shan chih, vol. XIII, XI, pp.6b-7a says: "This work is mentioned in the Lu shan chi of Ch'en Shun-yu but there is no means of telling when it was first set up (sic). Nowadays (i.e., circa 1930), this Epitaph is within the pagoda of Hui-yuan. The tablet says: 'Epitaph for Inscription on the pagoda of Master Yuan.' The heading says it is an Epitaph for Inscription on the pagoda of Master Yuan, founder of the sect. The text records that in the eighth year of cheng-te (1513 A.D.) of the great Ming dynasty, the year kuei-yu, summer, the sixth month, at the new moon, the abbot of that period, the monk Tz'u-li, respectfully offered it to the High Commissioner, the Provincial Superintendent of Education in Kiangsi." Wu Tsung-tz'u does not cite the text of this inscription but goes on to say that it is full of errors and cannot be genuine since Hsieh K'ang-lo's works do not contain any such text. He then remarks that since several collections of inscriptions do not contain this text it is clearly a forgery. Now Wu does not, unfortunately list the text of this inscription, contenting himself with describing it simply as an "Epitaph inscribed for Master Hui-yuan, composed by Hsieh Ling-yun with a preface by Chang Yeh." This is regrettable, for Tung lin shih pa hsien chuan (loc. cit.), p.270a, carried what purports to be the text of a threnody for Hui-yuan by Hsieh Ling-yun, which is dated the second month of
the second year of yuan-hsi (March 420 A.D.). The Tung lin shih pa hsien chuan (loc. cit.) does not ascribe the lengthy preface to this work to Chang Yeh, but there would seem every reason to believe that it is by him. While the writer has little doubt that we have here the lost inscription and preface, he realizes that only a careful examination of the rimes and language of the text could determine its genuineness. Wang Li (1), passim, has pointed out that Ling-yun's rimes show certain dialectical divergences from the norm. These might go unnoticed by the forger, in which case it should be possible to detect the genuineness or otherwise of the work. The writer should add that he drew the attention of Professor Richard Mather to this work who, after due consideration, "hazarded the opinion it was genuine". (Communication of January 1959). Clearly the date (March 420 A.D.) must refer to the cutting of the inscription and not to its actual writing, since Chang Yeh died in 418 (Lu shan chi p.1040b). The delay between the writing of the inscription and the cutting of it need not surprise us in view of the time involved in constructing Hui-yuan's tomb.

219. TCTC, p.3724. An had to be followed by another emperor that the prophecy about there being two emperors after Hsiao-wu might be fulfilled. See note 209 above.
221. Fu Liang, style Chi-yu 孫友 (biography in SS, XLIII, pp.10a-17b; NS XV, pp.18b-20b) was a man from Ling-chou in Pei-ti (Ning-hsia). His father, Yuan 玉男, who reached the rank of Grand Warden of An-ch'eng 安城 (Honan), was noted for his scholarship. Liang early gave signs of having inherited his father's abilities in this direction, far surpassing his elder brother Ti 唐 (d. 421). While serving one of the Huan family in a minor capacity he attracted the attention of Huan Hsuan 胡玄 through his literary gifts and was given the post of Secretary in the Imperial Library. After Huan's downfall (404) Liang became Administrator to the Army of Established Authority, under the command of Meng Yang 梁陽, who was then Governor of Tan-yang 塔陽.

In 405 he became Extra-officiary Junior Chamberlain. He then took service with Liu Yi, becoming Administrator in the Redaction Office of the Directing Army and, in 411, a Junior Chamberlain. Liu Yu was subsequently so impressed with his abilities that he offered to make him Governor of the Commandery of Tung-yang 東陽 (Chekiang), but he declined. In 415 we find him accompanying Liu Yu on his expedition against Ssu-ma Hsiu-chih 司馬休之 as Executive Gentleman of the Household of the Commander-in-Chief. In 417 he again accompanied Liu Yu in his attack on the north, and after the establishment of the Sung
duchy was duly rewarded with the posts of President of the Chancellery and President of the Secretariat at Yu's court. In the spring of 420 he was first given an opportunity to show his real mettle. Liu Yu, in the course of a banquet for his courtiers, made a speech, the veiled meaning of which was apparently clear only to Liang. Yu had been hinting to his court that the time had come for him to seize the throne. "In the evening, when the guests had departed, the President of the Secretariat, Liang, was making his way home outside (the palace) when he (suddenly) understood (what Yu had been hinting at). Since the palace gates were closed Liang knocked at a (side) door and asked for an audience. The Prince (Liu Yu) immediately opened the gates and gave him audience. When Liang went in, all he said was: 'I must return to the capital for a short time'. The Prince understood his meaning and he had no need to say more. He (Yu) asked bluntly: 'How many men will you need for an escort?' Liang replied: 'A few score will do'. He took his leave almost at once. When Liang left it was already dark and he noticed a comet low in the sky. He slapped his thigh and said with a sigh: 'I never used to believe in heavenly signs but now I am beginning to give them credit.' (TCTC, p.3732). The fourth month found Liang in Chien-k'ang, charged with the delicate mission of persuading Emperor Kung of Chin to abdicate.
He was successful in this: "In the sixth month, the day Jen-hsü (5 July 420) the Prince arrived in Chien-k'ang. Fu Liang advised Emperor Kung of Chin that he should abdicate in favour of Sung and, what is more, drafted the rescript (of abdication) for the Emperor and had him write it out. The Emperor took up the brush with a will, saying to his attendants: 'Chin had already lost the Empire in the days of Huan Hsuan. It was given a new lease of life for almost twenty years by Liu Yu. Today's business really gladdens my heart'. And thereupon he wrote the rescript out on red paper." (TCTC, p.3734.6).

22. TCTC, p.3735. Ibid., p.3740, relates that after making a futile attempt to poison the deposed emperor Kung, in the ninth month of 421 Yu finally sent Ch'ü Tan-chih 謠淡之 and Ch'ü Shu-tu 謠叔度 to murder him. "When they handed the poison to emperor Kung he would not drink it, saying: 'The Buddha has taught us that suicides cannot take on human form again.' Thereupon they smothered him with a padded quilt." (SS, LII, p.19b).
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Chapter II

Exile by the Sea

The new dynasty opened inauspiciously enough for Ling-yün. In the general redistributions of titles and fiefs that followed Wu-ti's accession he found his own rank reduced to that of Marquis with an income from only five hundred households. This was not however an indignity for which he had been specially singled out. It was customary for a new dynasty to award titles of nobility to those who had helped to establish it. This meant that, in order to keep the number of titles down to a reasonable figure, the nobility created by the previous dynasty had to be drastically thinned out. Ling-yün had been a Duke of a County, a rank slightly below that of Duke of a Commandery. Now he was degraded to a Marquis of a County. He must have expected this however and could not have been unduly perturbed at his loss of rank. Huan Hsüan's short-lived Ch'u dynasty had treated him much more harshly, reducing his income from three thousand to one hundred households even though leaving him with a nominal ducal title. Moreover, as compensation for his fall, he now found himself given the rank of Officer of Irregular Cavalry in Constant Attendance on the Emperor and reinstated in his post as Captain of the Left Guard of the Crown Prince.

But, though Ling-yün had come down in the world, his cousin Hui had risen with surprising swiftness. Along with Fu Liang and Hsü Hsien-chih (364-426) he had become one of
Emperor Wu's most trusted henchmen. Hui had served Liu Yu assiduously for many years. Since he had saved Yu's life in the campaign against Ssu-ma Hsiu-chih (gerebatur 415) he had found advancement open to him. He had been President of the Chancellery at the court of the Dukedom of Sung and later, when Emperor Wu came to the throne, he had held this post at the Imperial Court. In return for his aid in establishing the dynasty he had been enfeoffed as Duke of Wu-ch'ang county. With a family background such as he possessed, backed by his own good looks, intelligence and an undoubted flair for making himself agreeable, it must have seemed obvious that Hui was destined to climb very high indeed.

Fu Liang we have already met in connection with the deposition of Emperor Kung. He had now been made Duke of the County of Chien-ch'eng for his pains as well as becoming General Intendant of the Household of the Crown Prince.

The most remarkable of the three however was Hsu Hsien-chih. He came from a comparatively poor family, though his father had risen to be Magistrate of Shang-yu county, Chekiang. As a young man he had worked in the same office as Liu Yu, with whom he had become very friendly. Later he became Administrator of the Garrison Army under Yu. At this time he was a great friend of Hsieh Hun's, a role he decided to drop later when he realized it was not likely to prove profitable. During the next few years he held a succession
of military posts. In 415 he was made General of the Flying Hawk Army and in this capacity supported Liu Yu's plan for the attack on the north, for which he was duly rewarded by being appointed Grand Marshal to the Commander-in-Chief. After the death of Liu Mu-chih in 417 he became Head of the Civil Service Office, General of Established Authority and Governor of the Superior Prefecture of Tan-yang. On Emperor Wu's accession he was made General of the Garrison Army and enfeoffed as Duke of the County of Nan-ch'ang.

Hsien-chih was a commoner, rough, uncultured yet thoroughly capable, who had fought his way up from the bottom. In this, very likely, lay the secret of his appeal to Yu. He was apparently an adept at concealing his emotions, a quality much prized at the time, and this innate caution and secrecy, though allied with no remarkable talents, must have helped him a great deal in his rise to power. Yu must have felt sure that Hsu's practical commonsense, Fu Liang's quickness of wit and Hsieh Hui's diplomatic tact and social connections would keep the dynasty intact after he himself had gone.

By now Liu Yu's health was giving serious cause for alarm. The effects of a quarter of a century's hard campaigning were beginning to take their toll at last. In the third month of 422 he was stricken by an illness grave enough to set the court thinking
seriously about the succession.

The prospects certainly looked gloomy. The Heir-Apparent, Liu Yi-fu, eldest son of Yu by his wife née Chang, was hardly the man to inspire confidence in a dynasty but newly-established. At sixteen Yi-fu was a lout of a lad, distinguished only by his strength, horsemanship and skill with a bow, qualities scarcely likely to endear him to a court as languidly over-refined as it was ruthless. It must have been apparent to all that Yi-fu, though he might have done passably well sprawled under a commander's tent, would sit very awkwardly indeed on the Dragon Throne. Yi-fu had clearly reverted to his father's peasant stock. Stubborn even at the best, stupidly violent at the worst, his combination of obstinacy and dull-wittedness boded nothing but ill for his ministers. Coupled with this went a natural depravity, already apparent even at sixteen, that made it abundantly clear that here was a man neither competent enough to rule the empire himself nor malleable enough to let himself be guided into government.

It was clear then, even to a court inured to emperors of uncertain capacity, that Yi-fu would have to be disposed of as speedily as possible if the dynasty was to survive. A fool was tolerable enough - An-ti, imbecile that he was, had reigned for over twenty years (397-419): but a self-willed fool was quite
intolerable. Yi-fu's deposition and subsequent murder could have been predicted with some certainty even as Liu Yu lay dying.

But the problem was not so simple that it could be solved by the mere removal of one piece from the board. Next in succession to Yi-fu stood Yi-chen (407-424), Prince of Lu-ling, whom we have already met as unwitting author of the tragi-comedy played out at Ch'ang-an five years before. A year younger than his brother, handsome, intelligent and well-endowed with literary talent, he would appear at first glance to possess in abundance all those qualities which the court would find acceptable in an emperor. But unfortunately he too was young and headstrong. Precocious enough to see through the pretensions of the junta then in power at court he was not yet sufficiently mature to gauge the dangers he was running in not dissembling his feelings. Even so, he might have come through unscathed had he been hard-headed enough to secure the backing of a faction capable of wielding some authority. This he could certainly have found had he bothered to look for it since the welter of conflicting interests at court was forever forcing one group or other into opposition. The Wangs of Lang-yeh, at present excluded from power, would have been only too ready to leap to his defence had he troubled to call them, as they were to stand by Emperor Wen only four years later. But Yi-chen's conceit was equalled only by his impracticality. Instead of seeking protection
in a firm alliance with men of position he chose to link his fortunes
with a motley trio led by Hsieh Ling-yün himself flanked by the poet
Yen Yen-chih 顏延之 (384-456) and the Buddhist monk Hui-lin
慧林. Together they formed a quartet vociferously opposed to
Hsu Hsien-chih.

Vociferously - but not effectively: for it could hardly
have been supposed that these four stood any chance at all in the
deadly cut-and-thrust of the political game. Yi-chen's friendship
with Ling-yün is understandable. Not only were they related -
Yi-chen had married a daughter of Hsieh Ching-jen 謝景仁, 14
Ling-yün's paternal uncle - but the older man's flamboyant genius
must have proved a heady draught for a clever yet impressionable
boy. Ling-yün, for his part, must have seen in this intimacy with
a prince so close to the throne a chance of regaining all his house
had lost during three decades of slow attrition. Let Yi-chen once
attain the throne and Ling-yün would rise with him. Yet this is not
to doubt, as some have done, the sincerity of Ling-yün's feelings
for Yi-chen. The grief displayed in the poems and elegies that
flowed from Ling-yün's brush for many years after Yi-chen's death
15 can hardly have been spurious. Nor from what we know of Ling-yün's
nature, which was impressionistic, incautious, romantically
extravagant, self-willed and generous, can we believe that only
cold-blooded opportunism led him to cultivate Yi-chen's friendship.
The other two members of this quartet would seem to have attracted Yi-chen by their talents alone. Yen Yen-chih is a poet whose reputation has worn badly. Almost unread since the T'ang dynasty, he was at one time considered Ling-yün's equal. He figures almost as prominently in the sixth-century anthology, the *Wen hsüan* as Ling-yün himself. Yen-chih had a very different background from his more enduring contemporary. He had grown up as a poor orphan and at thirty was still unmarried and jobless. Only when his elder sister married Liu Hsien-chih, a son of Liu Mu-chih, Yü's lieutenant, did he find himself launched on an official career under the protection of the Liu family itself. He became Itinerant Administrator to the Rear General Liu Liu, Inner Officer of Wu, and then took up the same post in the Central Army of Liu Yi-fu himself in 416. His chance came when he was sent to Lo-yang in 418 to offer Liu Yü the Duchy of Sung as a reward for his successful northern campaign. On the journey he composed two poems of congratulation which proved to be the making of him. Before long he had become first Secretary of the Office of Rites in the Department of State Affairs and Vice-President of the Grand Secretariat of the Crown Prince. It was while holding this position that he became involved in the quarrel with Hsu's faction. As a man Yen Yen-chih is hardly impressive. Yi-chen's association with him could only have been based on an admiration for his poetical talents.
Hui-lin, the last member of the foursome, had originally borne the surname of Liu 駱。 He has acquired a bad reputation in Buddhist circles because of his attacks on the community in which he was brought up, as well as for his onslaught on certain cherished tenets of Buddhism. Our principal, biographical source the Kao seng chuan 高僧傳 is hopelessly biased against him for these reasons, never missing an attempt to score him off. To gain a fairer impression of him we must rely on Shen Yo's brief biography in the Sung shu and on what we can gather from Hui-lin's own masterpiece the Pai hei lun (Discourse between Black and White) which he wrote around the year 431. Liebenthal has given as judicious an appreciation of him as any: "In the Buddhist records Hui-lin is treated as a traitor. But that mishap, which may easily befall anybody who does not share the opinions of a majority, would not be sufficient to stamp him as a bad character in our eyes. His idea of what Buddhism should be appeals to the modern mind as sober. 'To love living creatures and abstain from killing them; to emphasize universal sacrifice; to quiet the unrest of one's heart; to cease striving for the glitter of fame; to follow the Saint of the Mahāyāna and heed only the needs of others and their salvation, this is greatness....'"

This makes an impression favourable enough to dispel any bias left by the author of the Kao seng chuan. In fact, it
would seem obvious that a man who could associate on equal terms with Hsieh Ling-yün and Yi-chen and who later on was to make a deep impression on Sung Wen-ti was not the fool that Hui-chiao would have us believe. Hui-lin himself seems to have been an amiable person with a marked sense of humour and a fund of amusing stories. Since he was also a specialist in philosophical Taoism this not very monkish behaviour is hardly surprising.

On 26 June 422 Emperor Wu died. Ling-yün wrote a threnody for him whose conventional lamentations may well have been tempered by a genuine feeling of regret at his patron's death. He could have had no illusions as to the dangers to which he was likely to be subjected now his only protector was gone. Perhaps by this time he had realized just how grave the perils were to which they were now exposed. Yi-chen had lacked the experience to see that his only chance of survival lay in ingratiating himself with Hsu's faction. Instead, with the recklessness of his years, he seems to have set out to antagonize them. In doing so he sadly over-estimated his own ability while under-estimating the strength of the forces that were massing against him. Certainly Yi-chen had talked much too freely. "On the day I realize my ambitions," he had once said, "I shall make Ling-yün and Yen-chih my chief ministers and make Hui-lin Governor-General of West Yu Province."

Remarks like this were certain to turn Hsu's party squarely
against him. On one occasion at least Hsü was sufficiently worried about Yi-chen’s intimacy with Ling-yun and Yen-chih to send one Fan Yen along to warn him about it. On this occasion Yi-chen, perhaps realizing that he had gone too far, replied with an airy disclaimer, "Ling-yun is empty while Yen-chih is narrow," he remarked. "Emperor Wen of Wei said: 'Rare talents establish themselves through moral integrity.' My basic nature and feelings never allow mere intellectual delights to make me forget these words. For this reason I am doing no more than whiling away my leisure-hours in their company." This specious reply could hardly have convinced his enemies that he had suffered a change of heart. Hsü and his associates must have realised that to depose Yi-fu, now duly enthroned as Emperor Shao, without first disposing of Yi-chen, would be courting disaster. Even while Liu Yu lay dying Hsieh Hui had advised him against putting Yi-chen on the throne in Yi-fu’s stead, on the grounds that he had more talents than virtue and was no ruler of men. Nothing Yi-chen had done since then had reassured them as to his intentions. It was therefore apparent that Yi-chen would have to be removed, even though there was still considerable doubt as to who should take his place in the line of succession. But this was a question to be settled at leisure once Yi-chen was safely out of the way. Meanwhile the first thing to do was obviously to break up the clique he had formed and so isolate him from his supporters: remove the base and the pinnacle would topple to the
Hsu lost no time in putting his resolution into action. Less than two months after Kao-tsu's death the axe fell. Ling-yun, Yen-chih and Hui-lin all found themselves thrust into exile, and hurried from the capital. Yi-chen was powerless to intervene.

Ling-yun himself was to be sent to Yung-chia (modern Wen-chou), a town in a distant corner of Chekiang, as Grand Warden. That this appointment is to be construed as banishment, and not the routine filling of a vacant post, is evident from the fact that he was not given the customary compensatory post of General. This deliberate slight was a sure mark of his disgrace. Yet the hapless Yen-chih, who lacked Hsieh's powerful family connections, fared even harder. He was packed off to Shih-an in Kwangsi (modern Kuei-lin), a place on the very frontiers of the empire. Yen was not taken seriously as a potential threat to the government. He was probably looked upon as a mere nuisance and his banishment gave rise to some witticism at his expense even on the part of Hsieh Hui. Of Hui-lin, who as a monk could be given no official posting, we hear nothing. We may presume that he was simply ordered to take himself off to some monastery well away from the capital. When we hear of him next he is writing to Yung-chia to express his disagreement with certain points in Ling-yun's views on the nature of Enlightenment.
On 19 August 422 Ling-yün set out from the capital. His friends came with him as far as Mount Fang, some fifty li from Chien-k'ang, where he took a sad farewell of them. It is clear from a poem Ling-yün wrote on this occasion that Yi-chen was not numbered among those who saw him off, for it was almost certainly no longer possible for them to be seen together. It was with a heavy heart that he left his companions and turned his back on the capital:

"When I was to cast off the moorings and meet the flowing tide,
Through thinking of my old friends I could not bring myself to set off."

It is now that we obtain our first steady look at Ling-yün. Until this date we have glimpsed him only through the dark glass of the histories or guessed at the man himself through the guarded conventionalities of his own most formal works. But now, in the series of poems he wrote while on his way to Yung-chia and during his sojourn there, Ling-yün speaks out for the first time with an unmistakeably personal accent wrung from him by his suffering. It is impossible for us to say whether earlier lyric verse of his, now lost, would have given us a similar insight into him. But it seems likely that these early poems would have lacked those accents of sincerity and anguish - ever the hallmark of great verse - which have made the Yung-chia poems so justly renowned.
There is a heavy "odour of mortality" about the poems he wrote at this period which is anything but a mere poetical convention. Chinese verse has admittedly suffered from an excess of melancholy ever since the Ch'ü Yuan legend gained ground. The poet in exile slips naturally into the role—often many sizes too large for him—of the banished victim of calumny and malice, patches his threadbare verse with a tissue of allusions to the Ch'u Tz'u and drowns himself in a puddle of self-pitying tears. But it is far otherwise with Ling-yün. He too was conscious of the patness with which the Ch'u Yuan theme would fit his case and uses Ch'u Tz'u quotations freely enough: yet he never allows the analogy to gain control of him and so gives his verse dramatic power without ever falling into mere histrionics.

Certainly he had cause enough for melancholy. Consider for a moment his situation. He was now thirty-eight years old, well on into late middle-age by the standards of the day; yet he had accomplished virtually nothing beyond the establishment of a literary reputation. Real power had persistently eluded him; it had always hung tantalizingly just beyond his reach. Moreover, he had known the mortification of seeing his cousin Hui succeed dazzlingly where he himself had failed and worse still, had been sent into exile and humiliation by this very boyhood companion of his. Finally, as a crowning defeat, with the downfall of the Prince of Lu-ling he had
not only lost all hopes of a brilliant worldly career but had been
torn away from his closest friend. It is this theme of friendship
lost that runs like a motif through so many of these and later
poems. The downfall and subsequent murder of Yi-chen is the turning
point of Ling-yün's life. Here, if not earlier still, the gay
roisterer, the dashing man-about-town died for ever. Furthermore,
he was now a sick man suffering as far as we can guess from
pulmonary tuberculosis - concomitant of so much despairing genius -
and plagued by ulcers on his legs.

"Blackened and worn I excuse myself to the pure and
boundless wilds,
Exhausted and ill I stand shamed before those whose
principles were firm." 42

His sufferings had left their stamp on him indelibly:

"When I rub the mirror I see my black hair streaked
now with white,
When I finger my belt, how slackly hang the clothes
that fitted me so well." 43

Life had turned on this once spoilt child of fortune and rent him
savagely, shocking him into an awareness of himself which might
otherwise have been denied him and bringing to maturity, as if by
way of compensation, a genius which might otherwise have remained
no more than a talent. The note of anger and despair which rings
out through all Ling-yün's finest verse can be traced directly to
the anguish of this exile. It was this dark night of the soul that
drove him to find consolation in the deeper study of Buddhism: and
this Buddhism, coloured by his early immersion in the pure source
of an esoteric Taoist cult, drove him ultimately to turn defeat into victory by wresting spiritual truth and consolation from the very mountains and wilds to which he had been exiled.

He did not make directly for Yung-chia but instead turned his steps towards his grandfather's old estate at Shih-ning, in Kuei-chi, which he could not have visited for many years. The area had never fully recovered from the devastation wrought by Sun En twenty years before, and he must have found the estate neglected and dilapidated when he arrived there, sometime in late August or early September.

The Shih-ning estate lay fifty li west of modern Shang-yü, among the Kuei-chi mountains. It had been founded by Ling-yün's great-grandfather An, who was buried there, along with Hsieh Hsuan and Hsieh Huan. It had then been extended and developed by Hsuan during his year of office (387-388) in Kuei-chi. Since then some thirty-four years had elapsed during which very little could have been done to improve it. Thanks to Ling-yün's long prose-poem (fu) written during his later sojourn there (423-426), the Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains, we have a minutely detailed description of the whole estate. Here we need only note that it was virtually a large island ringed by two rivers and encircled by hills and was large enough to contain two lakes and
several landscape gardens. Ling-yün stayed here for a few days sizing up the possibilities of the place, -- an indication that even now he was beginning to contemplate withdrawing from official life altogether -- but was unable to do more than have a few repairs carried out and order a house to be built against his return. Then, with a promise to be back one day, he set off for Yung-chia.

Even today, as the crow flies, Yung-chia is well over three hundred miles from Nanking and close on a hundred and fifty from Kuei-chi. But Ling-yün could hardly push his way through the wilds of Chekiang -- an area settled comparatively recently and so largely undeveloped -- to reach Yung-chia. Instead his route took him westwards across country for twenty miles or so until he came to the P'ū-yang River istributary where he hired a boat, sailing downstream until he reached the Fu-ch'un river富春江, a few miles below Hang-chou, at the confluence known as the Yu-p'u Deep . He then made his way up the Fu-ch'un 富春 , pushing on with difficulty against the rush of the stream which here runs with great force:

"By night we crossed the Yu-p'u Deep,
At dawn we came abreast of Fu-ch'un,
Mount Ting was far off in clouds and mists,
The Red Pavilion was no place for a boat to stop.
We pushed upstream against the furious rush of water,
When we came into shore we were hindered by the rocks strewn everywhere."50

The boat forged its way slowly up-river, passing through
Seven League Shallows 七里瀬 where he wrote another poem, and on up the Lan river 蘭江 to Lan-ch'i 蘭溪 where the Chin-hua river 金華江 swings eastwards to Chin-hua 金華. Here the stream becomes unnavigable, so leaving the boat, he would strike out southwards for Li-shui 麓永, with close on a hundred miles of mountainous country to cross. At Li-shui he may have found the Ou river 歐江 already navigable and could have taken a boat from there down to Yung-chia. But it is more likely, since it was August and the rivers would be low, that he would have had to make his way a hundred miles downstream to Ch'ing-t'ien 興田 where he could finally embark again for Yung-chia.

He finally arrived at his destination on 13 October 422. The rigours of the journey had proved too much for him in his weakened state. They combined with the emotional shock brought on by his exile to bring on a serious recrudescence of his illness. All through that winter he lay on his bed and looked at the mountains while the river lapped at his door and the sea-breeze blew through the house. It was now, in this time of enforced withdrawal and contemplation, that he first began to understand the full meaning of the Tao which spoke through every rock and tree, mountain and lake around him.

"I lay on my sick-bed and watched the empty forest, With my pillow and quilt I was blind to the changing of the season. Then I opened the windows and looked out for a while, And stood listening intently to the sound of the waves."54
During this period of sickness and convalescence he was far from idle, even if he did neglect his official business entirely.

"No litigation in the deserted yamen,
Into the empty courtyard come the sparrows.
Lying sick, I have a great deal of happy leisure,
Brush and ink I am forever plying."55

It was now he began to write a major philosophical work, The Discussion of Essentials, on the topic of Instantaneous Enlightenment, the most important Buddhist theological problem of the day. His choice of such a subject may have been partly influenced by his own recent experiences: one might well conclude from a study of his verse at the time that he had himself experienced some form of mystic enlightenment. But we are on surer ground when we claim that he had undoubtedly been influenced by the doctrines of Chu Tao-sheng (ca. 360-434), whose friendship he must have enjoyed at one time or another.

The question as to whether truth is to be arrived at gradually, through the slow accumulation of learning or instantly, in one startling flash of insight, is one that has vexed Chinese philosophers of all schools for centuries. More often than not it is not only two methods of access to the truth which are under discussion, but two versions of the truth itself. This conflict between what Paul Demiéville has called subitisme and gradualisme has attained importance nowhere more markedly than in China. In
thus boldly embarking on what may have appeared to be merely a knotty point of Buddhist theology Ling-yün was in fact making an important contribution to the main stream of Chinese philosophical thought.

Buddhist believers in gradual enlightenment insisted that Nirvāṇa was achieved only after passing through several progressive stages (bhumi) of spiritual advancement. Ling-yün argues that though this is what the Buddha himself had preached, he had only done so because of the nature of his audience, since "the foreigners (of India) ... have a facility for acquiring learning but difficulty in mirroring truth." The Chinese on the other hand, Ling-yün argues, "have a facility for mirroring (i.e., intuitively comprehending) truth, but difficulty in acquiring learning." Hence, if the Buddha had preached to the Chinese, he would - since he varied his teachings to suit his audience - have stressed the fact that enlightenment was instantaneous. Learning can only help to bring one to a condition in which enlightenment is possible. The final state of wu 菩 or "non-being" can only be reached by a dialectic leap from being, like a spark flashing between two arcs.

Instruction then can do no more than increase faith which, in its turn, will help one attain a state in which the lightning-stroke of satori is more likely to descend on one. Study of the
Buddhist scriptures can lead at best to but a partial and intellectual understanding of Truth. Truth itself can only be experienced: for this abyss between being and non-being - "the state of mirror-like voidness" - can be crossed by no bridges built by faith or intellect.

Such a viewpoint has remarkable similarities with that of the Ch' an (Zen) sect, which also lays great stress upon the impossibility of attaining satori by faith, study or works. For this reason Hu Shih has asserted that Tao-sheng - and hence Ling-yun - may be called the founder of Ch' an, since "the war-cry of Sudden Enlightenment was destined ... to sweep away earlier forms of Buddhism." This viewpoint, which can be traced back to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Yang Wen-hui, is also held by T' ang Yung-t'ung, who goes as far as to trace a rather tenuous line of disciples from Tao-sheng to Hui-hao, a patriarch of the Lankavatara School. This view however has not been without its opponents. Nevertheless, whether or not there exists a historical connection between Tao-sheng and Ch' an Buddhism, it cannot be denied that in his brilliant exposition of his master's thought, Ling-yun made an important contribution to a perennial philosophical problem.

It must not be thought however that Ling-yun was exclusively preoccupied with the study of Buddhism at this time. In The Discussion of Essentials he makes great play with Confucian doctrine,
evoking it to counter-balance the preachings of the Buddha himself. And in fact, as we know from one of his Yung-chia poems, he summoned several local scholars to expound the Confucian classics to him:

"Time is fleeting and the years are passing by,
And since I came here my government has been far from perfect.
Hence, to satisfy my mind,
I summon you scholars to expound the classics to me." 67

Certainly Ling-yun's government of Yung-chia had been "far from perfect". The winter had been spent in study and contemplation; with the coming of spring he was on his feet again. Yet he seems to have still refused to pay any attention to the tedious demands of his office, preferring instead to spend his time in roaming about the countryside. He began by taking an occasional short trip to a tower by the city lake or to a summer house in the southern suburbs where he could write verse and brood about his absent friends. The two he missed most were undoubtedly Yi-chen and his own younger cousin Hsieh Hui-lien (397-433), who has yet to make his appearance on our stage. Ling-yun had met Hui-lien several years before and been so impressed by the manifest poetic genius of this child prodigy that he had roundly reproved his father Hsieh Fang-ming (381-427) for not treating him as he deserved. Over the years a deep friendship had grown up between the two. Hui-lien was said to be the only person whom Ling-
yun had been known to praise. There would seem to have been some psychic rapport between Ling-yun and his talented kinsman, for we are told that Hui-lien's mere presence was enough to inspire Ling-yun to the finest of verse. Hence the story that while Ling-yun had been pondering over a poem one day in the West Hall at Yung-chia without being able to hit on what he wanted, he fell asleep and had a vision of Hui-lien which gave him inspiration for two of his finest lines:

"On the pool spring flowers are growing, The willows in the garden have changed into singing birds."

But the end of spring his health had improved so much that he was able to go wandering off among the mountains for which the province is justly famous, or journeying to the coast a few miles away to look for the sea-food of which he was so fond. Not that Yung-chia came up to his expectations in this respect, for we find him writing disparagingly to Hui-lien, his cousin, that "Its rock-oysters are not as good as those from the county of Yin (Ning-po) nor its clams up to those from Pei-hai 北海."  

However, we do catch an occasional glimpse of him venturing out on those salt and unfamiliar waves in search of delicacies for his table:
"I hoist the sail to go and gather rock-flowers, I haul up the matting to go and collect window shells. The vast sea is shoreless, My empty boat skims over it."

More often than not though he headed for the mountains where he would be quite at home, travelling on foot if he had not far to go, otherwise on horseback. It was presumably at this time that he evolved his famous climbing boots with the removable studs, the front ones being taken out while he was climbing a mountain and the back ones being removed as he was coming down again. These were a variant of the wooden clogs so fashionable among the aristocracy of the day, which were at first worn because limbs swollen and hypersensitive from a surfeit of drugs and elixirs could not bear any constriction at all. Later they caught on and became fashionable, especially after Emperor Wu of Sung had shown his preference for them. With his feet thrust into these outlandish pattens, a wide-brimmed peasant's hat on his head, a knapsack on his back and a staff in his hand, Ling-yün must have looked more like an indigent pilgrim on his way to a Buddhist shrine than a respectable provincial governor, as he tramped his way through the wilds of Chekiang.

Unfortunately, such sightseeing trips were hardly
compatible with his official duties, as Shen Yo, ever the zealous courtier, is at pains to point out: "When he went out as Governor he had not achieved his ambitions; so he thereupon gave vent to his feelings by wandering about the district. He would be away for weeks at a time and was no longer interested in hearing the people's suits."  

Shen Yo rather overstates the case here. Ling-yün may have been impatient of the trivialities of country law-suits and disputes, but he showed considerable enthusiasm when it came to hydraulic schemes and land development. At that time the newly-settled territories of South China were still mostly uncultivated, since it required considerable labour and skill to clear the land of vegetation and drain it adequately. Ling-yün, who seems to have felt a Buddhist-inspired compassion for the people in their "dearth and famine", seems to have exerted his considerable organizing abilities to the full in establishing a drainage and flood-control scheme for the district around Pai-shih Yen, some ten miles outside Yung-chia.

"A thousand acres were girdled with far-reaching dikes, Ten thousand li were drained by the long river. The streams of the district formed little canals, Every four villages were joined by small embankments."

The experience he gained here must have stood him in good stead when it came to organizing his own estate after his departure from Yung-chia.
He must have shown some interest in general agricultural problem too, for in the early summer of 423 we find him busy supervising the planting of mulberry trees outside the city walls.

"When the floating light rushed on in the fortunate month, I used my moments of leisure to plant mulberries. Spaced out like a balustrade they stretch from close to the walls, The long rows reach as far as the open grounds." 85

In spite of his enthusiasm for his agricultural projects, however, Ling-yun's absences from his office must have caused some concern at court, since they would obviously appear to be a calculated defiance of those who had banished him. By this time Hsu Hsien-chih and his faction were already preparing to depose Emperor Shao and murder the prince of Lu-ling. Under these circumstances Ling-yun's direct provocation of those in power must have appeared rash, to say the least. It must have been with consternation then that his friends learnt, in the autumn of 423, that he intended to resign from his post.

Such a step was fraught with dangers. Ling-yun was by now a figure of national repute. His refusal to stay in office could be interpreted only as criticism of the government and, indirectly, of the dynasty. His friends and relatives were only too well aware of this. Hsieh Hui himself, who could not have wanted his kinsman's
blood on his hands, immediately wrote to him, as did Hsieh Yao and Hung-wei, attempting to dissuade him from taking such a step. But it was all in vain. In the late autumn of that year Ling-yün sent up his resignation and left Yung-chia for ever.

It would be wrong to assume however, that his action was motivated solely by his animosity to the government. In fact, his decision was as much ethical as purely political. During his months of contemplative idleness in Yung-chia his thoughts had been given a chance to settle themselves. He had now decided to renounce the world forever after twenty years of fruitless striving and scheming in its dusty toils: "Henceforth, where the world is concerned, I will always embrace the Uncarved Block."

His decision was due to several considerations. Firstly, he must have been sickened by the sordid intrigues and murderous rivalries of the court. The serene beauty of the Chekiang countryside had touched a well-spring of religious feeling in him, awakening him to the realization that his life had slipped by in futile worldly pursuits.

"It seems but yesterday that I was false to my purpose, Yet since then the year-star has twice revolved." Secondly, his recent serious illness and his perilous fall from favour had made him realize the precariousness of the life he had
been leading. His early Taoist training under Tu Ming-shih now reasserted itself, driving him to a fresh interest in the subtle techniques for prolonging life by the judicious use of yoga, elixirs and other regimens. The simple, untroubled life he had lived in Yung-chia must have gone so far towards restoring his health that he could write optimistically:

"I am beginning to believe that by the arts of An-ch'i
I shall be able to complete the term of years
in which I may nourish my life." 89

His retirement from office was a sine qua non of these techniques. Not only would this lessen the danger of his perishing by the executioner's sword it would also enable him to live peacefully among the mountains, the only place where he could find the herbs and alchemical materials necessary for his elixirs. Taoism at this epoch was a religion which promised not merely an immortality of the soul but an immortality of the body. This was to be achieved through a strict regime of alchemical practices, drug taking, yoga breath-control, dieting - especially abstention from cereals - and special sexual techniques. This would eventually lead to the development of an immortal and ethereal body within the mortal one, the latter being sloughed off like the skin of a snake while the adept, now transformed into a hsien, rose from the earth and was borne away on the wind. Such a transformation of the body required many
years and could be achieved only by those with unlimited leisure and considerable wealth at their disposal. Ling-yun must have felt that he could therefore only hope to devote himself to these arts if he retired from office.

To the above reasons for his resignation we must add one more - his compunction at what he felt was his betrayal of the house of Chin by taking office under the Sung. This feeling of remorse, which emerges more and more clearly from his verse as the years go by, may well have originated while in Yung-chia. Was it here, one wonders, that he was first assailed by the voices of a conscience he had been able to stifle among the tumult of the court?

Thanks doubtless to his illness and to Hsieh Hui's conciliatory efforts, his resignation was accepted without further incident. The late autumn of 423 found him on his way to the Shih-ning estate, where he planned to end his days in peace. A poem of his, the Fu of the Homeward Road 衔途賦 expresses his feelings at this time.

"In days gone by many literary men wrote fu-poems about journeys. Some were glad to see their own country again. Others were fearful because they were going into exile. Some on their way to court from their states and fiefs. Others were on their way to the wars. The affairs (of the world) came upon them from without.
Their joy did not end of its own accord. Although we may guess that they had high talents yet, if we look into their hearts (we find) that they were not happy. Now after due consideration I decided to retire and take myself off to my grassy marsh. As I was journeying along the road I wrote this fu-poem to express what I felt; 'I have received the spiritual blessings of a hundred ages. I have met with the rich favours of a thousand years. It was not that the King's highway was difficult to travel. I could only plead that my steps were apt to stray from the road. I walked through cold and summer heat. I looked at the mulberry and catalpa trees in the distance. I took off my official hair-pins and belt when I reached the outskirts of the city. I shall put on my clothes of coarse cloth again in the deserted valley. Truly I was going home just at the time I had wished. I shall hold to my former intentions of thinking (only) of pleasure. Now my boatmen tell me they are ready; they thrust their oars into the river. I watch the crows as we wait for a wind, I look at the sun and scrutinize the heavens. The sea lies behind us as we head up river. We go up on the tide, flanked by mountains.

Sadly they (my friends) saw me off on my way back, Grieving I told them I was returning home, The season was the very end of compassionate autumn, The heavens were high and all Nature falling into decay, Mounting above the clouds the wild-geese were flying, Whelmed beneath the frost the plants were dying, I depart from the antique shores of the shadowy waste, I leave the fragrant flowers nodding in the sunshine.
Their joy did not end of its own accord. Although we may guess that they had high talents yet, if we look into their hearts (we find) that they were not happy. Now after due consideration I decided to retire and take myself off to my grassy marsh. As I was journeying along the road I wrote this fu-poem to express what I felt; *I have received the spiritual blessings of a hundred ages. I have met with the rich favours of a hundred years. It was not that the King’s highway was difficult to travel. I could only plead that my steps were apt to stray from the road. I walked through cold and summer heat. I looked at the mulberry and catalpa trees in the distance. I took off my official hair-pins and belt when I reached the outskirts of the city. I shall put on my clothes of coarse cloth again in the deserted valley. Truly I was going home just at the time I had wished. I shall hold to my former intentions of thinking (only) of pleasure. Now my boatmen tell me they are ready; they thrust their oars into the river. I watch the crows as we wait for a wind; I look at the sun and scrutinize the heavens. The sea lies behind us as we head up river. We go up on the tide, flanked by mountains.

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In the wind-tossed forest (the leaves) are fluttering down,
The moon-mirroring water is full of brilliant light.
I set out from the winding shores of Ch'ing-t'ien, And halt at the empty pavilion at Pai-an.
Winding and slow the road, and strange in form, Mountains flanking it and backing it, in ever-changing shapes.
I halted my boat and tarried there awhile, Searching for the trace left by the Pink Clouds.
I floated upon clear deeps for hundreds of leagues, Gazing on lonely rocks a thousand cubits high.
From of old until now they have long endured, Unchanging while (all around) passed through maturity into decay.'"

This fragment is sufficient to indicate incidentally, that he was still anxious to keep on good term with the House of Sung, even if it meant flattering Emperor Shao, whom he must surely have despised.

In another poem written at this time, On First Leaving my Commandery, he rejoices that he is "returning from the stream to the quiet pool," and goes on to add that one of the reasons he could leave his post, in addition to his sickness and lack of talent, was that he had now married off his son. This is the only glimpse we have into Hsieh Ling-yün's domestic life, apart from his murder of Kuei-hsing, and as such is of special interest. The son in question would be the boy Feng , who is mentioned briefly in Ling-yün's biography as having died prematurely. No mention of him occurs elsewhere in any other source. The fact
that Feng, like Ling-yun himself, was an only child and that both Ling-yun's father, Huan, and his son died prematurely may well indicate a recessive strain in this particular branch of the family. This would explain not only Huan's marked stupidity but also Ling-yun's own constant ill-health and his tendency to hysteria, a trait evident from his early exhibitionism and his persistent failure later to stand firm under difficult circumstances. His genius too, is essentially visionary and mystical. He sees his cousin Hui-lien in the Hall of Archery at Yung-chia: Hsieh Hui appears before him, bearing his head in his hands, streaming with blood; a creature stirs menacingly in his rice-bowl. Stories like these, whether apocryphal or not, lend verisimilitude to the character that we glimpse from the poems. For Ling-yun's verse is nothing if not mystic. The landscape, bathed in the light of his imagination, is transfigured, and becomes a script of hidden import, hieroglyph of the Great Way. The next few years, spent in the quiet of his estate at Shih-ning, were but to strengthen these traits which had first emerged clearly at Yung-chia.
NOTES


2. TCTC, p. 3735.7. "It was decreed that the titles conferred by the House of Chin should be altered in accordance with the change in its fortunes. Only the five dukedoms of Shih-hsing, Lu-ling, Shih-an, Ch'ang-sha and K'ang-lo had been set up and these titles were now reduced to dukedoms of counties and marquisates of counties." See NS, 1, p. 24a.

Hu San-hsing comments (loc. cit.): Shih-hsing, Lu-ling, Shih-an and Ch'ang-sha had all been dukedoms of commanderies. Only Kang-lo had been a dukedom of a county. According to the Nan shih (NS, 1, p. 24a) the Duke of the Commandery of Shih-hsing was degraded to Duke of the County of Hua-jung; the Duke of Lu-ling was degraded to Duke of the County of Ch'ai-sang; the Duke of Shih-an was degraded to Marquis of the County of Li-p'u while the Duke of Ch'ang-sha was degraded to Marquis of the County of Li-ling."

Five new Dukes were created at this time while other noble titles and fiefs were distributed to those who had aided in the establishment of the new dynasty. See SS, XLIII pp. 2b ff; NS, 1, pp. 24a-b for Wu-ti's edict on this.

3. Chang Ping-ch'üan (1) p. 17a (p. 49) believes that this degradation
in rank must have made him very unhappy.

4. CS, CXIX, p. 9a5.

"L'expression san-k'i-tch'ang-che se traduit mot en mot par: officiers constamment à la disposition de l'empereur ... les cavaliers sans emploi déterminé (san-k'i) montaient à cheval à côté du char impérial ... Les officiers constamment à la disposition de l'empereur à l'intérieur du Palais pouraient entrer dans le palais impérial et en sortir .... Sous la dynastie des Wei, pendant la période huang-tch'ou (220–226), les titres de cavalier sans emploi déterminé et d'officier constamment à la disposition de l'empereur à l'intérieur du Palais furent réunis en un seul et on les appela simplement, officier constamment à la disposition de l'empereur, cavalier sans emploi déterminé (san k'i-tch'ang-che)." Des Rotours translates this term as "Grands conseillers de l'empereur". This was a two thousand bushel post, held by four men only, cf. SS, XL, p. 2a5. Like the posts in the Imperial Library it was reserved for families of the first rank.

6. TCTC, p. 3676. "When Yu was encamped at Ma-t'ou 马頭 (Hupei) he heard of the death of (Hsu) K'uei-chih 徐逵之 and was very angry. In the third month, on the day jen-wu, (23 March 415)
he led his generals across the River. Lu Kuei 曹軌 and Ssu-ma Wen-ssu 司馬文思 with forty thousand of Hsiu-chih's troops had taken up a position on top of a very steep hill that none of the army commanders could climb. Yu wanted to climb it in person, wearing his armour. All his generals tried to dissuade him from it, but he would not listen to them for he was in a great rage. The Registrar to the Commander-in-Chief, Hsieh Hui, put himself in front of him and held him back. Yu drew his sword and pointed it at Hui saying: "I will have your head."

"The Empire can get along without me," Hui replied, "but it cannot get along without you!"

Hu San-hsing comments on this incident, (loc. cit.):

"This is what Yu meant when he called Hui a very astute man." After this, "Kao-tsu heaped him with affection and favours, none of the other officials coming up to him." (SS, XLIV, p.1b9)

7. SS, XLIV p.2a6-7.
8. SS, XLIII p.12a4.
9. Hsu Hsien-chih, style Tsung-wen, biography in SS, XLIII, pp.1a-10a; NS, XV, pp.9b-12a.
10. Shen Yo comments (SS, XLIII, p.3b8): "Hsien-chih rose from a commoner and was quite uncultured. His talent lay in his strength of will. He was deeply secretive and sparing of words, never letting his emotions appear on his countenance. He was very
skilful at chess but, when watching a game one would never have thought he knew anything about it. Because of this his contemporaries esteemed him twice as much."

11. TCTC, p. 3743.6.

12. TCTC, p. 3764. "The Prince of Ying-yang paid no attention to the rites when in mourning. He enjoyed improper relations with his attendants and was immoderately given over to pleasure." For other observations on his character see SS IV, p. 1a3 and 3a-b.

13. SS, LXX, p. 1a ff. "Yi-chen was a handsome boy of fine manners, whose intellect was exceptionally acute. He was first enfeoffed as Duke of Kuei-yang county, enjoying the revenues from one thousand households. At the age of twelve he went on the expedition to the North with Kao-tsu... (p. 4a). In the first year of yung-ch' u (420 A.D.) he was enfeoffed as Prince of Luling, enjoying the revenues of three thousand households. His headquarters were transferred to Tung-ch' eng. When Kao-tsu first came to the throne Yi-chen wore an unhappy expression. Ts'ai Mao-chih [otherwise unknown] the Reader to the Emperor, asked the reason for this. Yi-chen replied: 'In times of peace one does not remain oblivious of danger. Such great good fortune is not to be relied on.' The following year (421 A.D.) he was transferred to the post of Minister of Instruction. When Kao-tsu
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fell ill he became Imperial Commissar holding the Emblems of Commander; President of the Imperial Chancellery; Military Governor-General of the Six Provinces of Nan-yü, Yu, Yung, Ssu, Ch'in and Ping; General of Chariot and Horse; K'ai fu yi t'ung san ssu and Inspector of Nan-yü chou. He went out to establish his headquarters at Li-yang (An-hui) but had not yet taken up his post when Kao-tsu died."


15. See Hsieh, p.66, 'Written by the Tomb of the Prince of Lu-ling,' volume II below; Fu of My Sorrow YKC, Ch'üan Sung wen XXX, p.3a; Yi wen lei chu', XXXIV p.1a.

16. Yeh Hsiao-hsueh (p.158, op.cit.) would disagree.

17. Yen Yen-chih, along with Hsieh Ling-yün and Pao Chao (405-462), is traditionally listed as one of the three major poets of the yüan-chia period (424-454). In fact Yen is simply ignored by literary historians. It is worthwhile noting that he had no influence on the T'ang poets several of whom - among them Tu Fu (712-770) - owe a great debt to both Hsieh and Pao.

18. The Wen hsuan yin te lists 31 entries for Hsieh Ling-yün, 23 for Yen Yen-chih, 14 for Pao Chao and 8 for T'ao Yuan-ming. This gives a rough idea of their literary rating towards the
end of the Six Dynasties period. Since then, of course, T'ao has attained pre-eminence while Yen has been almost forgotten.

19. Yen Yen-chih, style Yen-nien, biography in SS, LXXIII. See also Liebenthal (5), p.297, note 56. A slight but accurate study is the "Yen Yen-chih nien p'u" of Chi P'ing. Fu Liang is said to have been jealous of his talents as a poet (SS,LXXIII, p.2a3), a fact which may have contributed to his exile.

20. KSC, VII, p.369a. "Hui-lin, originally surnamed Liu, was a man from Ch'in commandery (South Kansu). He excelled in the classics and at philosophical Taoism, as well as at the telling of amusing stories, for he was good at making jokes. He was an able writer, hence he has left collected works in ten chüan. Yet he was vainglorious by nature and rather given to boasting. When Tao-yuan once went to visit Fu Liang, Lin got there first and took a seat. When Yuan arrived Lin did not greet him as respectfully as he should have done. Yuan's anger was written on his face. Liang accordingly punished Lin with twenty strokes. Shih-tsu (sic) of Sung frequently bestowed marks of esteem on Lin. When he was presented at court he was always allowed to sit up on a special
couch. Whenever Yen Yen-chih used to criticize him severely for this the Emperor would immediately show Yen he was displeased. Later he wrote the 'Discourse between Black and White' which offends the principles of Buddhism. Ho Ch'eng-t'ien 何承天 (370-477), Grand Warden of Heng-yang 衡陽, was a great friend of his and would often praise him to his face. Ho wrote the Discourse on Understanding the Nature (HMC, IV). Both (he and Lin) have the same intention, namely to slander and make jest of Buddhism. When Yen Yen-chih and Tsung Ping 宗炳 (375-443) criticized these two discourses, each writing over ten thousand words, Lin, who had attempted to do harm to the dharma, was sent off to Chiao-chou." It should be noted that Ho Ch'eng-t'ien was notorious for his anti-Buddhist feelings. Clearly we are intended to see Lin's friendship with him in the worst possible light.

21. SS, XCVII, p.14b. "Hui-lin was a man from the county of Ch'in in the commandery of Ch'in. His family name was Liu. When young he left his family and went to the Yeh-ch'eng monastery (in Chien-k'ang). He was a talented writer and studied both the exoteric and esoteric traditions. He was friendly with Yi-ch'en, Prince of Lu-ling. Once he wrote a Discussion of the Equality of Goodness (of the Three Religions. This is the Discourse between Black and White. Text follows until p.19b4).
This discussion is widely known. The elder monks said he should be expelled from the Buddhist order, and wanted to drive him out. But T'ai-tsu saw the discourse and enjoyed it. During the yuan-chia period he attained a position of authority. All court affairs of weight were discussed with him. Guests convened on him like spokes around a hub. Several tens of carriages stood perpetually at his gates. From all directions people brought presents and sought to be introduced to him. His position staggered the whole world. He wrote a commentary to the Classic of Filial Piety and to the Happy Excursion chapter of Chuang-tzu. His literary discussions are still extant."

22. See Liebenthal (3), pp.365-374 for a translation of this text. For its dating see ibid., note 97. 
23. Ibid., p.373. 
24. See note 20 above. NS XIII, p.16a, biography of Yi-k'ang, Prince of P'eng-ch'eng, has the following anecdote which testifies to his ready wit. "The monk Hui-lin was sent to have audience with him (Yi-k'ang). Yi-k'ang said: 'Do you hold with the theory of transmigration or not?' Hui-lin replied: 'What a pity your Highness has not read several hundred rolls by various writers (on this topic)."' Hui-lin was clearly well-known for his denial of the doctrine of transmigration.
25. SS,III, p.12a2. He was sixty when he died, having been born on 16 April 363. (SS,I, p.1a; NS,I, p.1a) SS,III, p.12a2, which gives his age at death as 67, is wrong. See Moule (1), p.20, note 3.

26. The Threnody for Emperor Wu, YKC, Ch'üan Sung wen, XXXIII, p.6a.

27. SS, LXI, p.4a8.

28. Ibid., p.4b1.

29. Ibid., p.4b2.

30. TCTC, p.3743.6. "The Imperial Crown Prince (Yi-fu) was far too intimate with base people. Hsieh Hui said to the Emperor: 'Your Majesty is by now advanced in years. You should be turning your mind to the problem of ensuring the succession for ten thousand generations. The Imperial Heritage is burdensome in the extreme: only a talented man may be made to bear it.'

The Emperor said: 'What sort of a man is Lu-ling?'

Hsieh Hui said: 'Your servant requests permission to scrutinize him.' He withdrew, and went to visit Yi-chen, Prince of Lu-ling. Yi-chen was delighted to talk to him but Hui was rather taciturn. When he returned he said: 'He has more talents than virtue. He is no ruler of men.'"
This revealing anecdote would indicate that Wu-ti, dissatisfied with the dissolute Yi-fu, was seriously considering nominating Yi-chen as Heir-Apparent, only to be dissuaded by Hui.

31. A situation all the more surprising in view of Yi-chen's apparently powerful position at the time (see note 13 above). This would seem to indicate that rank and position alone afforded little protection, unless one was backed up by a junta of influential people.

32. Wen hsien t'ung k'ao, ap. LTCKP, II, p.1488: "Wardens of commanderies under the Chin were all given the additional rank of General. Those without such a rank were in disgrace." This remark applies with equal force to the early years of Sung since no changes were made in the status of provincial officials until 427 A.D. See LTCKP, II, pp.1488-9.

33. SS, LXXIII, p.2a. We have no information as to the date of Yen's departure, but no doubt it was as precipitate as Ling-yun's.

34. SS, LXXIII, p.2a. "Hsieh Hui remarked to Yen-chih: 'Long ago Hsun Hsu 荊居 was jealous of Juan Hsien 華覇 and sent him off to govern the commandery of Shih-p'ing (Shensi) 始平 Now you for your part are going to govern Shih-an. You might be said to be the 'Two Beginners' " Hui is referring to the story that Juan Hsien had been exiled because
he always worsted Hsun Hsu in arguments on music. (See CS, XLIX, p.3a.) He is clearly drawing a comparison between this and Fu Liang's jealousy of Yen Yen-chih, (see note 19 above). Hui's pun is really untranslatable and is based on an extension of expressions made up of shih preceded by a number, e.g. san shih (first morning of the year); ssu shih (the four parts of the Classic of Songs); wu shih (the accession of the Emperor).


36. See vol. II below, Hsieh, p.27, "On Setting Out from the Capital for my Province on the Sixteenth Day of the Seventh Month of the Third Year of Yung-ch'u."

37. See vol. II below, Hsieh, p.29, "On Being Escorted by Neighbours as far as Mount Fang." Yeh Hsiao-hsueh (1), p.204, note 67, quotes SSHY, p.86, an anecdote which mentions one Juan Yu as also setting off from here.

38. Hsieh, p.29, lines 3-4.

39. Hsieh, p.49, "From the Eastern Mountain in my District I look at the Ocean," is a poem made up almost entirely of Ch' u Tz'u quotations. See vol. II below.
40. Hsieh, p.79, "Written in Reply to My Younger Cousin Hui-lien", line 1, says: "Bedridden with sickness I withdrew from the world." Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), p.102, note 2, interprets the 病 of this line as 肺病 "pulmonary consumption." This interpretation may be borne out by a phrase in Hsieh's "Memorial from the Gate Towers," (SS, LXVII, pp.39a-40a), "My wasting sickness has broken out afresh" (ibid., p.40a.)

41. As we know from his "Letter to Fan T'ai," (KHMC, XV, p.200a) in which he remarks that his legs are covered with pustules or ulcers 腿䖝 (variant reading 病). This confession may have been motivated by the fact that Fan T'ai was a fellow-sufferer from much the same complaint. Cf. SS, LX, p.3a5. "T'ai had a foot-complaint so he was given special permission to ride in a sedan-chair (in court)." Also ibid., p.9al. "Because he had a leg ailment it was difficult for him to go about his business."

Leg ailments of this nature seem to have been common. Cf. SS, LXIII, p.12a4: "(Yin) Ching-jen still pleaded a leg ailment." Wang Yao (1), p.1-5 and 41-42, thinks that these and similar complaints were brought on by the use of drugs and elixirs in the search for immortality.

43. Hsieh, p.34, On Going Out of the West Hall of Archery at Dusk, lines 13-14.

44. For an account of Sun En's "scorched earth" tactics in Kuei-chi see TCTC, p.3498. "Wherever he went he plundered anything of value, burnt the houses in the towns, set fire to the granaries, cut down the trees and blocked up the wells." See also Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), p.205, note 68.

45. Since he did not leave the capital until 20 August he could hardly have covered the distance to Kuei-chi in much less than a week, since this was close on 500 li as the crow flies and over 1,000 li by the normal route. Admittedly Ling-yun is said to have covered as much as 160 to 170 li in a single day, (SS, LXVII, p.33b5). But this was only on an outing; he could hardly have kept up this pace when burdened with baggage-wagons.

46. SS, LXVII, p.14b8 mentions the estate as the burial-place of Ling-yun's father and grandfather. CKTC, p.986b, says the estate is on Tung-shan 山, now called Tung-chia shan 家山, some 45 li south-west of Shao-hsing. See the eighteenth-century map in CKTC, pp.112-113. The Chia-t'ai Kuei-chi chih (ap. CKTC, p.493b) says: "This was where the Grand Protector, Hsieh An used to live.... One li west of this lies the Shih-ning garden. This
was Hsieh Ling-yun's country estate, also known as West Chuang. The grave of the Grand Protector lies on the west side of the mountain."

47. SS, LXVII, pp. 15a-33a.

48. SCC, XL, p. 121, says: "The P'u-yang River flows north-east from Mount Yu to the T'ai-k'ang lake. Here stood the country estate of Hsieh Hsuan, General of Chariot and Horse. On the left it is flanked by a long river. On the right it is ringed round by hills."

Further descriptions of the estate are to be found in SCF, esp. pp. 18a-22b. We learn from this that the estate was virtually an island 四面有水 (SCF, p. 18a4) ringed by mountains (ibid.). To the east fertile fields ran down to the lake while in the distance the T'ien-t'ai 天台 and T'ai-p'ing 太平 mountains could be seen. To the south the river Yen 淮 and the river Hsiao 小 flowed against the backdrop formed by the peaks of Sung-ch' en 松林 and Hsi-ch'i 森林. Westwards the Yang-chung 揚中 and Yuan-pin 元賓 ran down to the River Hsiao; while to the north the twin Wu lakes lay like a moat before the house. (ibid., p. 19a.)

The estate must have been of considerable size - perhaps even larger than the renowned estate of Ling-yun's younger contemporary, K'ung Ling-fu 孔靈符, which was thirty-three li
in circumference (SS, LIV, p.4b4.) Hsieh's estate was distinguished by two mountains, Mt. North and Mt. South. Hsieh An had built his house on Mt. North - which was, confusingly enough, known as Mt. East. Ling-yün built his on Mt. South.


I have repaired the roof that overlooks the winding stream,
I have built a tower upon these lofty mountains.
I wave my hand and tell my neighbours
That in three years' time I shall return."

50. For his route see Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), pp.160-161. The writer has checked this with AMS 2, 1:250,000, nos. 19, 29 and 41. The quotation is from Hsieh, p.32, 'The Island off Fu-ch'un,' lines 1-6.

51. There are two poems of Ling-yün's extant with the title 'Seven League Shallows.' The first (Hsieh, p.94) is well-known, Huang Chieh believes this was written when Ling-yün was on his way to Lin-ch'uan in 432 A.D. Yeh Hsiao-hsueh places it among the Yung-chia poems. The second poem is a fragment found in CKTC, p.564b. This bears Ling-yün's name but may well be spurious.

52. When he left Yung-chia he disembarked at Ch'ing-t'ien. See Fu of the Homeward Road, YKC, Ch'üan Sung wen, XXX, p.3a. "I set out
from the winding shores of Ch'ing-t'ien." See note 100 below. This would suggest the river was unnavigable above this point in autumn at least.

53. The *Letter of Reply to My Younger Cousin,* (TPYL, 942; YKC, Ch'üan Sung wen, XXXII, p.4a) written to Hui-lien says: "Last month, on the twelfth day, I arrived in the district of Yung-chia." Now since Ling-yün did not arrive in Kuei-chi until around the end of August (see note 45 above) and then spent some time on his estate he could hardly have had time to reach Yung-chia by 13 September, the twelfth day of the eighth month. On the other hand he dared not have delayed too long at Shih-ning for fear of further disfavour. It would seem likely then that he reached his destination on the twelfth day of the ninth month (13 October).


56. As T'ang (1), vol. II, p.627, points out, it is evident that this work was composed in Yung-chia. He cites a line from a letter Hsieh wrote to Wang Hung (KHMC, XVIII, p.228a) 海 進龍門 巴 "By the vast sea and the steep cliffs we were forever unrolling (scrolls) and having discussions", as proof of this.

To this one might also add the fact that Chu Tao-sheng, in a letter to Wang Hung (ibid., p.228a) refers to Ling-yün as "Hsieh
of Yung-chia". Moreover Ling-yun himself avers that he composed
the work "when I was sick in bed and had little official business
and a great many days of leisure" (ibid., p.224c). This strongly suggests that he began the work
during the winter of 422-3. A large part of this Discussion
has been translated by Bodde, History, pp.274-284. The text is
in KHMC, XVIII, pp.224c-228.

57. On Chu Tao-sheng see Liebenthal (4), (5), and (6): T'ang (1),
pp.601-676. The date of his birth given here is only a
conjecture on T'ang's part.

Ling-yun must have met Tao-sheng some time after the latter's
arrival in Chien-k'ang in 409. However Tao-sheng is not mentioned
by name in the 'Pien tsung lun' but simply referred to as "the
Buddhist with the new doctrine" 新論道士 (KHMC, XVIII, p.
225a3). We know that this must be Tao-sheng since Lu Ch'eng (425-494)
in his Fa luan mu lu 法論目錄 states explicitly
that "Chu Tao-sheng adhered to the doctrine of Instantaneous
Enlightenment", and "Hsieh Ling-yun's 'Discussion of Essentials'
expounded the Doctrine of Instantaneous Enlightenment." (Ch'u
san tsang chi chi, XII, p.84b19-20).

Furthermore, Tao-sheng says in his 'Letter to Wang Hung'
(KHMC, XVIII, p.228a9): "When I examine what Hsieh of Yung-chia
says I find myself in complete agreement."

T'ang Yung-t'ung is also of the opinion that Hsieh was expounding Tao-sheng's doctrine in the *Pien tsung lun.* (T'ang (1), p.627.)

However Liebenthal, "doubts that the doctrine of Instantaneous Illumination as defended in the *Pien tsung lun* is identical with that of Tao-sheng." (Liebenthal (5), p.302.) But the only reason he can advance for this is that Hsieh was a neo-Taoist and not a Buddhist. This conclusion he reaches through a mistranslation of a passage in the *Pien tsung lun* which says: "What we must reject from the Truth thus sets it aside from both Confucianism and Buddhism, though it borrows from both. I say that the two statements are simply expressions meant to help all creatures, but that what the other Master (道家) advocates is the doctrine that brings success." (KHMC, XVIII, p.226a6.) Liebenthal however misunderstands the expression 道家 and translates it as "Taoism". Hence his confusion.

58. These terms were coined by Demiéville (1), p.31, who says: "Il est encore une autre catégorie philosophique chinoise.... je veux parler du 'subitisme'.... et du 'gradualisme'. Il s'agit d'une antinomie opposant non seulement deux méthodes d'accès à la vérité ..... mais bien deux conceptions de la vérité elle-même, envisagée en son essence metaphysique .... Les parallèles abondent
en Inde et ailleurs .... mais nulle part, que je sache, il n'a pris autant d'importance qu'en Chine."

Demieville then goes on to make some interesting observations on Hsieh Ling-yün, whom he sees as a syncretist attempting to conciliate Buddhism and Confucianism.

59. The Discussion of Essentials, KHMC, XVIII, p. 225a; Bodde, History, pp. 276-277.


62. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1), XVIII, p. 8.


64. T'ang Yung-t'ung (1), vol. II, p. 676, points out that though Tao-sheng's two disciples, Tao-yu (d. 473-476) and Fa-yuan (d. 489), handed on the doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment they had no followers of any importance. Yet during the Liang dynasty (502-557) a certain Buddhist layman, one Liu Ch'iu (刘虬), is said to have propagated this belief. He had a friend, a monk by the name of Fa-ching (法京), who was also a zealous propagator of this doctrine. A disciple of his, one Chih-yuan (智遠) (495-571), had a friend called Hui-hao (慧高) whom T'ang equates with the patriarch of the Lankāvatāra School.
65. Liebenthal (5), pp. 90-92, attacks this argument strongly. He claims that T'ang has confused Chih-yuan's friend, Hui-hao from Hsin-an-ssu, with the patriarch Hui-hao, who came from An-chou. Since this patriarch was fifty-two years younger than Chih-yuan, Liebenthal concludes, he cannot have been the school-mate named. Hence there exists no historical connection between Tao-sheng and Ch'an Buddhism.

Liebenthal (6), p. 102, develops this point further by suggesting that Tao-sheng should be classed with Hui-yuan rather than with Ch'an Buddhism. "Ch'an ontology is based upon the doctrine of the Middle Path.

Samsāra is Nirvāṇa; as no step can lead nearer to the goal, striving is useless, living alone is possible and necessary .... All is the same, as seen in the aspect of the absolute. That attitude is completely absent in Tao-sheng's world-view."


The question of when these two cousins came to know each other is a difficult one. It is clear from Ling-yun's letters to Hui-lien as well as from his vision of him, that they were well acquainted before Ling-yun went to Yung-chia. Shen Yo however has a different opinion. He writes in Ling-yun's biography (SS, LXVII, pp.37a-b): "When Hui-lien was young he was talented but frivolous and so was not really understood by his father Fang-ming. When Ling-yun left Yung-chia he came back to Shih-ning at the time when Fang-ming was governing Kuei-chi (424-427) and there met Hui-lien. They were delighted with each other's company. At that time Ho Chang-yü was teaching Hui-lien to read and was also in the commandery. Ling-yun for his part considered Hui-lien as exceptional and said to Fang-ming: 'Young Lien has such talents, yet Your Honour treats him as an ordinary boy.'"

On the face of it this story looks plausible. Fang-ming
was governor of Kuei-chi from about 423 until 427 which means that Ling-yün could have come over from Shih-ning to see him. But the story makes it quite clear that at the time of this incident Hui-lien, who was born in 397 A.D., was only a boy. Chang-yü was teaching him to read, i.e., either literally teaching him his characters or else, more likely, giving him tuition in the classics. This means that he could scarcely have been more than a youth in his early teens for we are specifically told that at the age of ten Hui-lien could compose literary works and a child prodigy such as this, would not require much tutoring. Furthermore Ling-yün refers to him as "young Lien" and complains that he is being treated as "an ordinary boy" These are hardly terms one would use of a man bordering on thirty, which is the age we would have to assign to Hui-lien if we accepted Shen Yo's dating. It is much more likely that this incident took place a great deal earlier — perhaps between 412 and 415 when Ling-yün was in Chien-k'ang and could easily have made the trip home — and that this was the start of a friendship which was already well-developed by 422 A.D.

71. Hsieh Fang-ming, style not given. Biography in SS LIII, pp.20a-23b. His grandfather Hsieh T'ieh had been Grand Warden of Yung-chia. His father Ch'ung had been killed on his estate
in Kuei-chi by Sun En's bandits, (SS,LIII, p.20a).

72. **NS**,XIX, p.18a10. "Ling-yun's nature was such that he would praise nobody except Hui-lien. With him he had a friendship to the death."


74. **TPYL**,942.2; **YKC,Ch'üan Sung wen** XXXII, p.4a.


**Hsieh**, p.49, *From the Eastern Mountain in my District I Look at the Ocean*, line 6. "I whipped up my horse then walked it past the orchid-covered marshes."

The **Kao chien chui pi** (ap. **Shuo fu**,XLIV, pp.10b-11a) says:

"A painting of the Lotus Sect in an old collection dating from the time of Li Po depicts T'ao Yuan-ming riding in a bamboo sedan-chair while Hsieh K'ang-lo is on horseback." Was this painting based on a tradition now lost?

77. **SS**,LXVII, p.38a9-38b1. "He always wore wooden clogs. When he was going up a mountain he took out the studs in the front. When
he was going down a mountain he took out the studs in the back."

As Wang Yao (1), pp. 41-2, points out, they were first worn because of a hypersensitivity of the skin induced by drug-taking. Later they would be found useful for outside wear. CS, LXXIX, p. 41a13, relates that after Hsieh An had heard the news of the victory at the Fei River he stepped into the house with his clogs on and "did not notice the nails of his clogs breaking". Wearing these clogs was a sign of rusticity at first as with Sung Wu-ti whose "nature was free and easy. He always wore wooden clogs studded with nails. (SS, III, p. 12b2.) He may have helped to set the fashion, in which case, the adoption of these peasants' clogs by the aristocracy would be what William Empson has called "a version of pastoral". Sandals were used only on formal occasions. (Wang Yao, op. cit., p. 42.)

See Chao Hsi-ming's discussion of the habit of wearing clogs in YSCH, II, p. 2a SPPY ed.

"Hsieh Ling-yūn liked to wear a bamboo hat with a crooked brim. K'ung the Hermit (i.e. K'ung Ch'un-chih) said to him: 'Your desires are few and your heart is noble and
remote (from the world). Why cannot you stop wearing this crooked canopy?" Hsieh replied: 'Wouldn't you agree that a man who is frightened of a shadow will never be able to forget his passions?''

80. For the staff and knapsack see Hsieh, p.48, "On Climbing Mt. Green Crag...." 1.1. "I pack some provisions and took up my light staff." I assume he would carry these provisions in some sort of pilgrim's wallet. "Knapsack" is not to be interpreted too literally. The staff may not have been used simply for walking. A Ming work, the K'ao p'an yü shih 考槃餘事 of T'u Lung 屠隆 (in Mei Kung pi chi 眉公秘笈, IV, pp.8b ff.) informs us that those who went off into the mountains to gather simples used to carry charms on the ends of their staves to protect them from wild beasts and mountain demons. "Pictures of the Five Sacred Mountains are drawn in two ways.... they are hung on the end of a staff along with a gourd (for the herbs). They give protection against tigers and wolves and drive off evil demons" (ibid., iv. p.21a.) Since this idea - despite our Ming source - is very ancient (see Stein, "Jardins en Miniature d'Extrême - Orient," BEFEO, XLII, 1942, p.38.) Ling-yün may well have observed this practice.

81. SS, LXVII, p.14b5.
82. See below chapter IV, note 87, for a discussion of this point.


86. *SS*, LXVII, p.14b7. "His cousins Hui, Yao, Hung-wei and others all wrote to him to try and prevent his doing this but he would not heed their advice."

See Chang Ping-ch'üan (1), p.17a(49), who also makes the point that Hsieh's refusal to stay in office would be interpreted as a condemnation of the government. See also Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), p.163.


91. See chapter III below.

92. See chapter √ below.

93. Fu of the Homeward Road: "The season was the very end of compassionate autumn."

94. YKC, Ch'uan Sung wen, XXX, pp.2b-3a.

95. Cf. T'ao Yuan-ming's line 遠遊從爵役 (T'ao Yuan-ming chi, SPTK, ed. IV, p.10a.)

96. SC, LXVII, p.35.

"Yuan Hsien disappeared among the grassy marshes." 原憲之在草澤中

Also Tso Ssu, 詠史八首 no. 7. (Ting Fu-pao (1), vol. I, p.386).

"What age does not have its men of outstanding talent, left forgotten in their grassy marshes?"


98. Symbols of the home. Cf. Song, CXCVII. 3. "The mulberry and catalpa tree, must be regarded with reverence."

99. "Compassionate", 賽, is the epithet conventionally applied to autumn.
100. Upstream from Yung-chia.

101. See Hsieh, p.41, above.


104. Ibid., line 30.

105. Ibid., line 13.

106. SS, LXVII, p.41b1. "His son Feng died when young."

107. See above, note 73.

108. T'ai-p'ing kuang chi, CCCXXIII, p.16a, quoting the Yi-yuan of Liu Ching-shu (d. circa 465). See chapter IV below, note 76.

109. Ibid., loc. cit.
On his arrival in Shih-ning one of the first steps Ling-yun took was to have his family register officially transferred to Kuei-chi. There could have been no clearer indication that from now on he was done with the court and would be content to lead a life of peace and tranquillity on his estate. He could barely have settled down there before he threw himself into the task of improving the estate and rescuing it after its years of neglect. His enthusiasm is understandable. Even today Kuei-chi is one of the most picturesque regions of China, its many rivers, fantastically shaped mountains and placid lakes ringed with mist-hung forests making it look more like a painted scroll than a real landscape. Fifteen hundred years ago, when it was still largely virgin wilderness, it must have been of enchanting beauty. The Shih-ning estate occupied one of the best positions in the county: "Bordered by mountains and ringed round by rivers this was a beautiful place where one could dwell in complete seclusion".

Ling-yun spared no effort to bring the estate up to his own exacting standards. In his great Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains he has left us a graphic account of his early labours there:

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1. There could have been no clearer indication that from now on he was done with the court and would be content to lead a life of peace and tranquillity on his estate.

2. "Bordered by mountains and ringed round by rivers this was a beautiful place where one could dwell in complete seclusion".

3. In his great Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains he has left us a graphic account of his early labours there.
"When I began to plan out my estate
I would go off by myself with my staff.
I went into gorges and crossed rivers,
Climbed peaks and made my way along mountains;
I did not rest at the top of the crags,
Or halt at the fount-heads of the streams.
Combed by the wind and bathed by the rain,
Braving the dew I travelled on by starlight,
I investigated my shallow ideas,
And thoroughly looked into their shortcomings.
I used neither tortoise nor yarrow-stalk
To pick out the good and choose the rarity.
I cut down thorny trees and blazed paths,
I sought for rocks and searched for precipices.
There were mountains all around me,
Two streams winding about. Facing the southern peak
I set up a tower;
By the northern hill
I built a hall.
By the side of the dangerous crags
I set up a house of meditation,
By the deep stream
I set out cells for monks.
By tall trees a century old
I breathe the fragrance of a myriad ages.
I embrace the springs of antiquity
And admire the far-reaching purity of the fertile mountains
I have said farewell to the lovely pagodas of cities,
I have fled from the world of the towns.
Joyfully I look upon simplicity and embrace the Uncarved Block,
Truly there is sweet dew in the Place of Enlightenment."

He had two houses built for himself at this time. One of them lay
against the northern hill looking down onto the river below and
was, so he tells us, surrounded by a large garden:

"In the garden I am sheltered from noise and miasmas,
This pure and lonely place summons the winds from afar,
I chose a site against North Hill,
The open doors face the Southern Stream,
I have diverted a torrent to save drawing water from
a well,
I have planted hibiscus to act as a wall."
Many trees are set out before the doors,
While the windows give onto ranges of mountains.
By a winding path I may hurry to the fields below,
In the distance I can see the lofty peaks.  

The second house was much more secluded and difficult of access.
This one was built at the top of Stone Gate Crags and was surrounded
as he tells us in his poem, by "high mountains, winding streams,
rocky torrents, thick forests and tall bamboo."  

"Distant peaks rise round this lofty house,
It faces the hills and overlooks winding streams.
Vast forests stretch in front of its courtyard door,
Massy rocks crowd round the base of its stairway.
Encircling peaks make you feel there is no road out,
The path has got lost among the thick bamboo,
Newcomers are puzzled to find the track,
When they leave, they are doubtful which way they came."  

We may note, in passing, that it was probably during the course of
his activities at this time that he uncovered a tile from an ancient
tomb on his property which apparently dated from about the fifth
century B.C. The tile had fallen into the river P'u-yang and
presumably came to light when Ling-yun was carrying out one of his
irrigation projects. He sent it to the capital where it caused
a minor sensation, perhaps because of the inscription it bore in
"mysterious characters".

He was not alone at this time for there were two monks
living with him. One of them, a certain Fa-liu  法流, we know
only by name; but the other T'an-lung  阿隆, is much better
known to us. Ling-yun wrote of these monks with admiration:
"Ascetic monks there are
Who lucidly teach what they know;
Whom duty calls to the company of men
Through their hearts have grasped truths beyond this world.
Here they wander, there they rest,
Leaning on a stone under a roof of grass,
While winter and summer come and go.
There is nothing false in their supreme karman.
They look upon the Three Periods as a dream.
They cultivate the six Paramitas that they may lay hold of the Way.
They are at peace in Tranquillity itself,
And understand the subtle beauty of union with Nirvana.
They arranged a strange meeting with me on Mount East,
For they know the truth about the hidden symbols of the Western Land.
Although one day in their company seems a thousand years
I still regret that we did not meet earlier."

In his own commentary to this passage he makes it quite clear whom he is speaking of: "This refers to the two monks T'an-lung and Fa-liu. These two gentlemen have said farewell to all worldly affection and have abandoned their wives and children. Holding advancement in contempt they have retired to the mountains. From all external Causes (pratyaya) they are quite cut off. No fish or meat enters their mouths".

T'an-lung had excelled as a Confucian when young, a fact which must have appealed to his brilliantly eclectic patron. He had been living in the community at Mount Lu when Ling-yun had heard of him and asked him to accompany him to Yung-chia: "His journeying boat came southwards upstream and cast its shadow on Mount Lu. Once he had climbed Incense-burner Peak at Stone Gate he did not come down
the mountain for six years. None of the assembly of monks came up to his profundity of understanding yet the dharma-master (i.e. T'ân-lung) could not change their principles. He did not refuse to think of saving other creatures simply because he was in a secluded monastery. When any fellow-student of his lay vexed by sickness he would shake his brazen staff and come ten thousand leagues to assist him. At that time I had excused myself from office on account of illness and (was going to return to) Mount Tung. I heard of his fame and coveted him from afar off. I never dreamt we would meet when I summoned him from his mountain. How the dharma-master came and stayed with me, vulgar fellow, in my toilsome office (in Yung-chia) I have already crudely described in my poems, so I shall not trouble you with those again. After a space of time we returned to the mountains and made an agreement. Since I treated him with the utmost sincerity I kept him with me."

The presence of these two monks inspired Ling-yun to build a Retreat (vihāra) for them at Mount Stone Cliff on his estate. In a letter to Fan T'ai, a Buddhist friend of his who then held a position at court, he says: "I am building a retreat to the south of the mountain I am living on. To the south its eaves hang over a river: to the north its doors back onto craggy heights."

In a poem of his he writes enthusiastically of this
temple:

"A waterfall flies past the courtyard, 
A tall forest shines bright before the windows. 
In this house of meditation we rest in the insight 
that all is void, 
In this temple of discussion we will analyse subtle truths."

His reasons for building the retreat on this secluded hill-side are given in his Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains:

"In all humility I receive the decrees of the saints, 
Respectfully I peruse the sutras of old. 
The mountain wilderness is shining pure, 
The dwellings of men have a fetid stench 
So the great Vow of Infinite Compassion, 
Which will save all creatures from their foundering state, 
May not be vainly spoken in these lodging-places 
But must be given where it will work its good. 
So I delight in the flowery park of the Mrgadāvā 
And long for the renowned mountain of Grdhra-kūṭa, 
I strain towards the pure forest of the Kevaddha 
And hope for the fragrant garden of Amrapāli. 
Although His features, delicate as silk, are far from us, 
It is said his mournful voice is still with us. 
So when I built my retreat upon this lonely peak, 
I hoped the shakers of brazen staves might take their rest there."

Other monks from neighbouring communities also came to this retreat to spend a period of meditation.

"To sit in meditation twice a year, 
In winter and summer for three months, 
Monks come here from afar, 
Nor are those from nearby wanting. 
Then the drum of the Law sounds out, 
While hymns are chanted by clear voices."
The presence of these monks in the arcadic surroundings of this estate indicates to what an extent the monastic career had become fused with the Taoist conception - ever dear to the Chinese gentry - of the life of idyllic retirement and the cult of nature. The ideal of the solitary recluse had to some extent given way to the concept of communal retirement: invested now with a new religious significance it had taken on a deeper meaning than before, while at the same time retaining all the scholarly, contemplative and artistic activities traditionally associated with the life of the gentleman of leisure.

During the next couple of years Ling-yun deepened his understanding of Buddhism to a degree which was to make him perhaps the most learned Buddhist layman (upāsaka) of his era. He had already acquired a firm grounding in the essentials of Buddhism through having sat at the feet of such masters as Hui-yuán and Chu Tao-sheng. The writing of the Discussion of Essentials merely seems to have whetted his appetite for Buddhist theology. Aided by his two monkish friends he now plunged into the subject with renewed zest. As he puts it himself:

"For the rest of my life I shall always remember how we lived together in seclusion and shared our isolation, leading each other on to plan and begin our work, together climbing hills and gazing down. We cleared away rocks to make a passage for the torrents,"
We lopped off branches to thin out the forests.
Into the distance we gazed out over beetling crags,
Close at hand we could see rugged precipices.
When we had little to do and the place gave us leisure,
We sought for subtle truths, probed abstruse doctrines.
We left no sentence unexamined,
No doubtful point unresolved.
We unrolled scrolls from their cases,
Pulled out bundles of papers from our library.
Fast as the answers came our questions,
Till the day was prolonged into night.
Chü and Ni lived by ploughing, 31
Po-yi and Shu-ch'i gathered wei plants together. 32
We were in the same position and had as joyful hearts,
Yet what we did was different and our thoughts opposed to theirs."

It would seem reasonable to assume that he was now pursuing still further some of the questions raised by the Discussion of Essentials, for the work had excited a great deal of controversy and had spread far afield. A great deal, if not all, of the correspondence between Ling-yün and his critics on this subject has been preserved for us. We know for certain that four monks, all defenders of the theory of Gradual Enlightenment, had taken up arms against him. 33 Evidently three of them, Fa-hsu, Seng-wei and Hui-lin had been his companions in Yung-chia, for he mentions them as "monks who accompanied me on my outings" 同遊過人. The fourth monk, Chu Fa-kang (d. 434) was apparently not with them. It would be interesting to know who else took part in any further discussions that went on. Did Seng-ching
(circa 408 - circa 474), dharma-master of the nearby community at Mount Hsü and a personal friend of Ling-yün's, play any part in this lengthy controversy? And why, we may ask, is Shih Hui-kuan 释慧觀 (373/7 - 443/7), foremost antagonist of the doctrine of Instantaneous Enlightenment, not mentioned among the correspondents? It is to be noted that interest in this topic was far from being confined to the Buddhist clergy. Prominent upāsakas like Wang Hung and Fan T'ai 范泰 (355 - 428) - a well-known layman of whom we shall hear more later - kept up an assiduous correspondence on this issue.

One monk with whom Ling-yün was especially intimate at this time was Hui-jui 慧敟 (352-436), who had led a picturesque enough life before he arrived in the capital. Kidnapped while still a youth he had served as a slave before being ransomed by a merchant impressed with his capabilities. He had worked first on Tao-an's renowned translation team in Ch'ang-an and later with Kumārajīva. At some time or other he had been associated with Chu Tao-sheng. After Ch'ang-an city was sacked by Liu Yu in 417 he had fled south to Chien-k'ang, where he took up residence in the Wu-yi temple 鳥衣寺 , in the same street as the Hsieh family mansion. Since Hui-jui was the author of the preface to Kumārajīva's translation of the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra (dated 406), a work
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Ling-yün must have known almost by heart since it was "the handbook of all well-to-do laymen", it cannot have been very long before the two of them became acquainted. Ling-yün was not slow to see in this meeting a chance to improve his own understanding of the difficult sūtras which, even when translated into Chinese, can prove baffling to the tyro because of the Sanskrit terms which abound in their pages. He therefore asked Hui-jui, who was evidently something of a Sanskrit scholar himself, to compile a glossary for him. This work, the Shih ssu yin hsün hsü, was intended to help Ling-yün in his reading of Chinese translations of the sūtras by enabling him to get at the meaning of the Sanskrit terms which occurred in them. Ling-yün could, of course, have had no more than the barest smattering of Sanskrit. Yet even this was an extraordinary achievement for a mere layman in an age when many of the most outstanding Chinese masters were totally ignorant of the language.

Ling-yün's interests were by no means confined to Buddhism. Living in the neighbourhood were several Taoist recluses, some of them very likely to have been members of the heretical Way of the Heavenly Master, whom he must have found congenial company. In a letter to Yi-chen, written shortly after his arrival in Shih-ning, he writes enthusiastically of these men. "Since there is beautiful mountainous scenery around Kuei-chi many of those from south of the
River who delight in a hermit's life have lived here. But in these latter days when men are in love with glory there are but few who lead a life of retreat. Some have turned back to their talents and are sought by their times. They have not managed to follow their hearts' desires. But then we come to men like Wang Hung-chih (365 - 427) who over thirty-six years ago shook the dust from his clothes and went back to his plough; or like K'ung Ch'un-chih (floruit 427 A.D.) who has lived poor and unknown in the mountains from the very first, right down to the present day; or like Juan Wan-ling (377 - 448) who has retired from the government service and come to take his ease here, to continue and complete his former heritage. Thus are they who dwell in the mountains and marshes beyond the River Che. Since from a long way off they emulate Hsi and T'ang they do indeed intimidate the greedy and are harsh on the contenders (for office)." Wang Hung-chih was one of the Wangs of Lang-yeh. He could very well have used his family connections to manoeuvre himself into high office but, instead, preferred to live as a hermit in Shih-ning. K'ung Ch'un-chih was another retired gentleman who loved "to ramble about beyond the world of men! He had as his companion for three years the monk Chu Fa-ch'ung (377 - 448). Hsieh Fang-ming, at this time Grand Warden of Kuei-chi, did his utmost to persuade K'ung to enter his service but he refused to go. He preferred "to live under a thatched roof and have a door of tumbleweed. The courtyard was
overgrown with grass and the paths a wilderness". When Emperor Wen came to the throne he was summoned to become a Junior Chamberlain and was so anxious to avoid a post which others would have given a great deal to secure that he fled into anonymity and was never heard of again.

The third member of the trio, Juan Wan-ling, was not quite so determined in his desire to follow the arcadic life of the gentleman-recluse. He arrived in Shih-ning in 423, about the same time as Ling-yün, remained there for only a few years and then succumbed to the blandishments of the government service, though without ever making any great headway.

With friends such as these to while away his leisure hours Ling-yün must have found life pleasant enough in the seclusion of his estate. But back in the capital events were moving swiftly towards a tragedy which was to affect him deeply. Since Ling-yün's departure the Prince of Lu-ling had found himself increasingly isolated. It is hard to say, at this distance, just how much truth there is in the stories of his indecorous and unfilial behaviour which his biography has preserved for us. One feels that had they not existed it would have been necessary to invent them. Supported now only by a few loyal officials like Fan T'ai and T'an Tao-chi 蘭道濟 (d. 436) - who oddly enough was an adherent of Hsu"s
party — and deprived even of the protection of the Emperor, he was already a doomed man. In the second month of 424 Hsū finally moved against him. A memorial was sent up accusing him of drunkenness and unceremonial behaviour, among other things, and alleging that he was mustering forces for a revolt in his headquarters at Li-yang 靖陽 (Anhui). He was promptly degraded to a commoner and banished to the commandery of Hsin-an (Ch'un-an 淮安, Chekiang).

Only a single voice, that of a courageous magistrate, one Chang Yüeh-chih 張域之, was raised in his defence, an unsuccessful protest which led but to Chang's degradation and murder.

Whatever pleasure Emperor Shao may have derived from watching Yi-chen's downfall — for there was no love lost between the brothers — was shortlived. In betraying Yi-chen he had unwittingly removed the only reason the conspirators had for seeing that he himself was allowed to live. Three months later the conspirators moved against him. On 7 July a troop of soldiers led by T'an Tao-chi and Hsu Hsien-chih broke into the palace, seized the emperor after a brief scuffle and led him away to be formally deposed.

He was given the title of Prince of Ying-yang 因陽 and banished to Wu (present-day Wu county, Kiangsu). The question now arose as to which of the remaining sons should succeed to the throne.

The President of the Imperial Chancellery, Ch'eng Tao-hui 程道惠, was in favour of setting up Liu Yi-kung 劉義恭, fifth
and favourite son of Wu-ti and now a pampered boy some twelve years old. But Hsü Hsien-chih must have felt that to do so would not only be to run the risks inevitably consequent on having a child on the throne but would also mean ultimately having to dispose of both the third and fourth sons of the family. Far easier and more politic to let the dragon robes fall gracefully over the shoulders of Liu Yi-lung 刘义隆 (407 - 453), the next in the natural order of succession. Hsü's decision was law. In due course it was noted that all the appropriate omens had appeared favouring Yi-lung's accession. Ironically enough, among the most important of these were white fallow deer, portents of the coming of an emperor who will punish the guilty and restore order - an augury which boded ill for the faction then in power.

It now remained only to dispose of Yi-chen and the Emperor. On 4 August 424 both brothers fell beneath the onslaught of Hsü's hired assassins. Yi-chen died at Hsin-an 新安. Yi-fu made a desperate attempt to escape before he too fell, crushed beneath the gates of Chin-ch'ang t'ing 金昌亭 (Wu 威 county, Kiangsu). Six weeks later, on 17 September, Yi-lung, Prince of Yi-tu, ascended the throne he was to retain for the next thirty years.

The news of Yi-chen's brutal murder must have come as a shock to Ling-yun even though he had surely realised, right from the moment of his own exile, that it was inevitable. He himself
could only have been spared from sharing Yi-chen's fate on account of his close ties with Hsieh Hui and the support lent him by T'an Tao-chi who, though one of the most powerful members of Hsu's faction, was nevertheless bitterly opposed to any violence being offered to the Imperial family and its adherents. It must have been about this time that Ling-yun wrote a prose-poem, the Fu of My Sorrow, to express what he felt for his vanished friend.

Life seems to have dealt harshly with him during these years. His health, never very robust, was giving way again, his ulcerated legs in particular giving him a great deal of pain. To cap it all, during the course of the summer of 425, one of the hottest and driest for many years, T'an-lung fell ill and died. The ink could hardly have been dry on the pages of Ling-yun's lament for Yi-chen before his brush was tracing out yet another threnody for a lost companion: "We were like beams side by side or cliffs face to face. We both drank from the whirling torrents, and feasted together on chih plants and mountain thistles. We unrolled the words of the dharma and together rolled them up again. So passed two winters and summers... It was indeed an intelligent understanding of mysterious subtleties, an exorcizing and purging of obstructions near at hand, a washing away of meanness and dirt, so that day by day I forgot my sickness. I had hoped we would live
together till our hair grew white and did not imagine how unluckily we would be parted.... For when the summer heat came he fell sick. In less than a week he had been transformed."

Nevertheless, in spite of these personal tragedies and the insecurity of his own position, life must have gone on for him in much the same way as before. The very imminence of death had made him all the more determined to cheat it if he could; so we find him studying the techniques of Taoism with renewed vigour.

"I look at the two sections of the classic of Chu-hsia, And gaze at the seven chapters of the banks of the Hao river. By accepting this unscattered, unbroken heritage I shall cheat old age by Taoist arts."

These references to the Tao-te ching and the Chuang-tzu book are not to be taken too literally. There is very little in either which Ling-yun could have turned to for practical remedies against senescence. What he was doing, in fact, was pursuing his researches into those eubiotic arts which had been one of his principal reasons for going into retirement in the first place. So he writes:

"This feeble substance is difficult to preserve, It is all too easy to mourn one's declining years. To stroke one's hair breeds sadness, While to look at one's face is painful. I heard of the magic arts of the Holy Temple And hoped my decrepit body could be strong again. I looked for rare herbs on famous mountains, Crossed magic waves and then halted my carriage. I gathered Earth Yellow from the rocks, I called Heaven's Gate beneath bamboos, I collected Lesser Bitters on mountain ranges, I gathered Stream Iris by gloomy torrents. I hunted for stalactites in caverns,"
And sought for cinnabar-light in a red spring.\textsuperscript{86}

A passage like this gives us an indication of just how much the classical ideal of the hermit had changed during the fourth century. At one time the ideal hermit, whether Taoist or not, retired to the fastness of the mountain wilds where, living in "a hut of tumbleweed" with "a cracked jar for a window", he wrested a living from the soil with his own hands. The tradition was very ancient: two of these hermits Ch'ang-chü 長沮 and Chieh-ni 蘇尾 appear in the \textit{Lun-yü} where they boast of "having fled from this whole generation of men" and scoff at Confucius. But Ling-yün, in a poem on the delights of a hermit's life, now mocks Chu and Ni for wearing themselves out by dragging a plough around.

\begin{quote}
Lying ill, I have a great deal of happy leisure,
Brush and ink from time to time I'm plying....
When I have smiled at the toil of Chu and Ni,
I laugh again at Tzu-yün in the Palace Library.
Holding a lance is certainly wearing work,
Ploughing and sowing can hardly be pleasant tasks."
\end{quote}

Not for him the harsh labours of the hermits of old. The gentleman was now expected to retire from the world in order to preserve himself from harm and give himself the opportunity of practising Taoist arts. As Ko Hung 高洪 pointed out in his \textit{Pao p'u tsu}, the life of hermit was only to be considered as the first step to becoming an Immortal. Meanwhile, to turn to more mundane matters Ling-yün was still going ahead with the improvement of his estate.
In the spring of 425 he received a letter from his old friend Fan T'ai, now promoted to President of the Imperial Chancellery. T'ai seems to have been a refreshingly eccentric character in a court of time-servers and conformists. Though a devout Buddhist he was nevertheless rather too fond of wine, a trait which, allied to a natural impatience with ceremonial, made him recklessly outspoken at times. It was perhaps this reputation for bluntness which made him such a favourite of Liu Yu's. Only his singular incompetence as an administrator would seem to have prevented him from attaining the highest offices in the government. Under the Hsu regime, with plain-dealing clean out of fashion, T'ai found himself in a highly perilous position. His habit of speaking his mind quite openly on the subject of the corruption at court dismayed his friends, who attempted in vain to make him adopt a rather more conciliatory line. Eventually however he was driven to approach Hui-yi (372-444), abbot of the Jetavana monastery which he had founded on his estate five years earlier, and ask for his advice. Hui-yi, who seems to have been of rather dubious character, after advising him to be loyal and obedient to those in power, went on to urge him to endow the monastery with sixty mou of orchards and bamboo groves. This, so he assured him, would afford him divine protection against his enemies. Fan agreed to make a bequest of this land to the sangha and shortly after this wrote to Ling-yüan asking him to compose eulogies for a picture of the Jetavana which was apparently to be placed in...
the pagoda of the monastery to commemorate his generosity.
Ling-yün may well have felt more than a little amused at T'ai's touching faith in Hui-yi's assurances. T'ai was a Donor, one of those Buddhists who hoped that by becoming patrons of the church they would receive a reward in the form of a favourable karman, a practice known as pratisthita-dāna. Ling-yün on the other hand was a Seeker, one who, believing that the attainment of Enlightenment was the supreme goal to be aimed at, generally despised the Donors. Nevertheless he complied with T'ai's request, for friendship's sake, and duly wrote three eulogies together with a brief explanatory preface.

In the meantime Hsu's faction was finding to their dismay that the young emperor was proving no mere puppet in their hands. In the eighth month of 424, shortly after his accession, he had issued an edict ordering that the Prince of Lu-ling be interred with all due ceremony in his own fief while his mother and wife were to be allowed to return to the capital. This was a direct thrust at Yi-chen's murderers yet one which they were helpless to avoid. The drought of 425, the worst in living memory, brought forth the usual denunciatory memorial from Fan T'ai accusing Hsu's party of disturbing the harmony of the elements by their misrule.

This excess of yang over yin, construed as a heaven-sent
sign against the clique then in power, may well have given Wen-ti courage to act. Nor were other omens wanting should he need further encouragement. Had not two wild storks appeared on the T'ai-chi Hall and cried out when Hsu was invested as Minister of Instruction five years previously? And had there not been further bird-omens since then, a stork refusing to leave the roof of the Great Temple and several hundred gulls inexplicably settling in front of the T'ai-chi Hall? Certainly these omens do not seem to have been lost on Hsu Hsien-chih and Fu Liang, who had by now realized that they could no longer control the emperor they had set up and hoped that by voluntarily ceding power they would be allowed to live in peace. But Wen-ti was clearly determined to be rid of them. For one thing he had a blood-debt to pay to his two murdered elder brothers. For another, he must have found it intolerable that the Son of Heaven should hold his throne only by courtesy of a group of conspirators two of whom were but commoners.

He had started to lay his plans for disposing of his enemies shortly after his accession. Urged on by Wang Hua (385-427), a Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery, he had gathered together a rival junta composed of Wang Hung, Wang T'an-shou (d. 430) and Ling-yün's virtuous cousin, Hsieh Hung-wei. By the end of the year rumours of a forthcoming coup-d'état
against Hsu's party were circulating freely. Hsieh Hui, who as Inspector of Ching-chou was safely ensconced within the walls of Chiang-ling (Hupei), was repeatedly warned by his younger brother Chiao and others that a plot was being prepared against him. In his dilemma he consulted his lieutenant, Ho Ch'eng-t'ien, who advised him to flee to Wei for asylum. But Hui had already toyed with the idea of flight shortly after Wen-ti's accession and had even then rejected it. Perhaps he thought that his position in Chiang-ling was impregnable, forgetting the sad example of Liu Yi who had perished there. Perhaps he was too confident of the support of T'An Tao-chi and his troops. In any case he put the intolerable question aside and went ahead with preparations for the wedding of his two daughters, one of whom was marrying Liu Yi-k'ang (409 - 451), Prince of P'eng-ch'eng.

But Hui would not have been so unconcerned had he known that Wen-ti, having won over T'An Tao-chi to allegiance, was now ready to strike. On 8 February 426 an imperial edict was promulgated proclaiming Hsu Hsien-chih, Fu Liang and Hsieh Hui guilty of the murders of Emperor Shao and the Prince of Lu-ling. Hsu, who was on his way to court when he heard the news, promptly hanged himself. Fu Liang attempted to escape, only to be caught and executed. With him died many of his confederates, including
Hsieh Chiao and Hui's own son, Shih-hsiu, who was in Chien-k'ang for his sisters' wedding and had, ironically enough, just been made a Secretary of the Imperial Library.

When Hui heard this news at his headquarters in Chiang-ling he determined not to submit tamely to the forces he had himself unleashed when he put Wen-ti on the throne. He had been ready for just this eventuality, though he had clearly not taken the risk very seriously, and had made his preparations long before. He had some thirty thousand troops under his command, occupied a strong position and was himself an experienced commander. He could, in spite of T'an Tao-chi's defection, at least be expected to put up a stiff show of resistance. But here, unaccountably, he wavered. As T'an advanced towards him with superior forces Hui lingered indecisively, uncertain whether to fight or fly. As a result the morale of his army evaporated rapidly, the news that the emperor himself was marching against them doing nothing to revive his troops' failing courage. In spite of this he marched out to Chiang-k'ou (Hupei) to meet the attack.

On 11 April Hui woke up to find his army had deserted him. Realizing his cause was hopeless he fled north accompanied only by his younger brother Tun and seven horsemen, hoping to find refuge in Wei. But since Tun was too fat to sit a horse comfortably the party could not travel fast enough to stay ahead of the news
of their defeat. On 22 April the party were captured at the frontier post of Yen-t'ou-shu 頭陀戍 (Hupei)\(^{119}\) and sent back in cages to Chien-k'ang, where Hui was exhibited in a cage in the market-place until his execution.\(^{120}\) Many of the Hsieh family perished at this time, including Hui's talented nephew, Hsieh Shih-chi 謝世基.\(^{121}\)

In the redistribution of government posts that followed Ling-yun was far from forgotten. As the most intimate friend of the murdered prince and virtual leader of the faction most resolutely opposed to Hsu's party, common justice alone would have demanded his reinstatement. It is hardly surprising then that one of the emperor's first actions, on returning to Chien-k'ang on 24 April 426, was to summon Ling-yun and Yen-chih from exile and call Hui-lin back to court. Ling-yun was offered the post of Director of the Imperial Library; Yen-chih the Vice-Presidency\(^{122}\) of the Grand Imperial Secretariat. Yen, who was still languishing in Shih-an, accepted his post with alacrity, even though secretly discontented with the offer, preferring any fate to that of exile in Kwangsi.\(^{123}\) Ling-yun was understandably more reluctant. He realized only too well that Emperor Wen had his own cogent reasons for this display of magnanimity, over and beyond a desire to reward his late brother's adherents. As the most renowned, if not the most influential member
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of one of the greatest families in the empire, Ling-yun's adherence to the Sung cause would be bound to have a favourable effect on the wavering loyalties of the gentry. Furthermore Ling-yun, once acquired, would be an ornament of no mean brilliance in an otherwise undistinguished court. By this time he was accepted without question as the greatest poet of the day. He had just sealed his reputation with his great prose-poem, the *Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains*, a major *tour-de-force* on which he had been working for the last year or so of his sojourn in Shih-ning. This astonishing virtuoso performance, in which the poetry of ideas fuses with the poetry of description represents the very essence of the contemporary *zeitgeist*. Modelled with scrupulous exactitude on the great *fu* of the past it yet substitutes for their meticulous descriptions of man-made splendours equally detailed pictures of natural marvels. Admittedly its lengthy cataloguing of objects makes it tedious in translation, a shortcoming it shares with most of its kind. But in its use of the *fu* both as a medium for landscape poetry and a vehicle of ideas it represents a radical innovation in this genre. It is, in fact, the second greatest prose-poem of the Six Dynasties period, being surpassed only by the monumental *Lament for the South* of Yu Hsin 郭信 (513 - 581).

Ling-yun's lyric verse too was equally renowned. "Every time a poem of his appeared, everyone in the capital, rich or poor,
vied with each other to copy it down. Almost overnight everybody, gentlemen and commoners, thronged around him, while people from far and near respected and admired him. His fame was the talk of the capital."

Wen-ti's desire to have Ling-yun grace his court is then readily understandable. But Ling-yun's reluctance to accept such an offer is equally clear. He had resigned himself to living in retirement for the rest of his days, having at last convinced himself that he had gained the mastery over his worldly ambitions. Was he to yield to temptation yet once more and serve a dynasty he half despised? Was he to give up his hope of attaining enlightenment and perhaps immortality merely to join in the struggle for the tawdry prizes of rank and office? Twice the imperial summons came and twice he refused to go, excusing himself, one surmises, on grounds of sickness. Then the emperor asked his old friend Fan T'ai to write to him exhorting him to take office. Faced with his arguments Ling-yun found it impossible to resist any longer but gave in and accepted the proffered post. His dream of a life of seclusion was over. It must have been with considerable misgivings that he bade farewell to his estate and set out for the capital.
NOTES


2. Ibid., p.15a1.

3. Ibid., pp.25b-26a.


5. Hsieh, p.59. "All around my new House at Stone Gate are High Mountains, Winding Streams, Rocky Torrents, Thick Forests and Tall Bamboos".


7. SCC, XL, p.121, lines 12-13. "By the river P'u-yang (Chekiang) lies the P'i-p'a Bank. On the bank was an ancient tomb. A tile that had fallen into the river had mysterious characters in relief on it which said: 'Divination by stalks - good-fortune. Divination by the tortoise - ill-fortune.' Eight hundred years previously it had fallen into the river. Hsieh Ling-yun took the tile and sent it to the capital. Everyone talked about it and came to look at it." This tile could not have been accepted as an official omen since it has not been recorded in the mono-
graph on 'Favourable Omens' in SS. For the expression cf. NS, L. p.2a, biography of Liu Hsien (variant version in Liang Shu, XL, p.5b). "魏人送古器有隠起字,無識者."

"A man of Wei presented an antique vessel to the Emperor with indecipherable characters on it in relieve."

8. Mentioned only in Ling-yun's own commentary to SCF, SS, LXVII, p.26b.


10. SCF, SS, LXVII, pp.26a5-26b.

1. 三世 i.e., past, present and future.

2. The "Six Paramitās" 六度, i.e., the six things that ferry one beyond the sea of mortality to Nirvāṇa namely: charity; keeping the commandments; patience under insult; zeal and progress; meditation; wisdom. See Soothill (1), p.134b.

3. SS, LXVII, p.26b.

4. Biography in KSC, VII, p.373c 2-5. "In the Mount Hsu community in Shang-yü (Chekiang) there was a monk called T'an-lung. When young he had excelled as a Confucian. (席上, see Li Chi, XLI, p.1668c. 儒有席上之珍). Later he suddenly took to ascetic practices (苦節 see CY, Hex. 60. Image.苦節
graph on 'Favourable Omens' 福瑞志 in SS. For the expression 隠起字 cf. NS, L, p. 2a, biography of Liu Hsien 劉顯 (variant version in Liang Shu, XL, p. 5b). "A man of Wei presented an antique vessel to the Emperor with indecipherable characters on it in relievo."

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13. SS, LXVII, p. 26b.

14. Biography in KSC, VII, p. 375c2-5. "In the Mount Hsü 麓山 community in Shang-yü 上虞 (Chekiang) there was a monk called T'an-lung. When young he had excelled as a Confucian. (儒有度上之珍 ) Later he suddenly took to ascetic practices (苦節 see CY, Hex. 60. Image.苦節
surpassing all others in these. He was also esteemed by Hsieh Ling-yün. They always used to roam together over Mount Sheng (in Shao-hsing county, Chekiang)."

5. Song, XXXI, 4. Karlgren (1), Gloss 83.


18. KHMC, XV, p.200a.


20. SS, LXVII, p.25a. Also translated by Mather (1), pp.75-76.

21. I.e., the vow taken by a Boddhisattva not to enter Nirvāṇa until all other creatures had done so.

22. The Deer Park, near Benares, where the Buddha preached his first sermon.

23. Spirit Vulture Peak, in Rājagrha, where the Buddha preached the Saddharma-pundarīka-sūtra and the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra.

24. The spot where the Buddha preached the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra.
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22. The Deer Park, near Benares, where the Buddha preached his first sermon.


24. The spot where the Buddha preached the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra
shortly before his death.

25. Where the Buddha preached the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra*.

26. I.e., Buddhist monks.

27. SCF, SS LXVII, p.30b8.


29. KHMC,XXIII, p.267a. This has also been in part translated by Mather (1), p.71.

30. Song, 242.1

31. LY,XVIII, 6.

32. Two sages who refused to serve King Wu of Chou, preferring to remain loyal to the Shang dynasty. They starved to death on Mount Shou-yang (Shansi?) after subsisting on *wei* plants. Both Chü and Ni and Po-yi and Shu-ch'i stand for types of fugitives from the world whom Ling-yün, as a representative of the new ideal of the gentleman hermit, would only laugh at. See below, note 87.

33. Their names appear in the *Discussion of Essentials*, KHMC,pp. 225a-226b. T'ang, *History*, vol. II, p.628, also believes that the three monks mentioned above were Ling-yün's companions.
34. KHMC, XVIII, p. 224c.

35. Liebenthal (5), p. 81, note 67, remarks that Hui-lin wrote an obituary for Fa-kang, now found in KHMC, XXIII, p. 265b.

36. Biography in KSC, VII, p. 373b. The founder of the Mount Hsu community. His biography says:

"Hsieh Ling-yün of the commandery of Ch'en treated him with great solicitude because of the report of his virtue." He is said to have died circa 474-476 aged sixty-seven, (not sixty-three as the KSC has it. See Shih shih yi nien lu, I, p. 14a). This would mean that he was born circa 408-410 and hence make him little more than a boy when Ling-yün knew him. In this case he would have been far too young to have had disciples and founded a community. There has probably been a mistake about his dates of birth and death.


38. See below, note 85.

39. Hui Jui, biography in KSC, VII, p. 367a-b. Translated A.F. Wright, (4). This article, which is based on the data presented by Ochō Enichi's "Sōei to Eiei wa dōnin nari", (Tohogakuho vol. XIII, no. 2. (Tokyo, 1942) pp. 203-231), asserts that Seng-jui known as a collaborator of Kumārajīva's, is the same person as

40. KSC, VII, p.367a.

41. A.F. Wright (4); KSC, VII, p.369a.

42. Mather (1), p.73. See also Tsukamoto Zenryū (1), VI, pp.35-42, for an account of the role played by this sūtra in the development of gentry Buddhism. Zürcher, Conquest, p.131 remarks that: "The popularity of the Vimalakirti-nirdeśa, one of the most admirable products of Buddhist literature, among the fourth-century Chinese intelligentsia is easily explainable. In the first place this sūtra is a kind of dramatized exposition of the doctrine. The different dialogues between various groups of personages (the Buddha and the śrāvakas and Bodhisattvas, each of these again telling their own conversation with Vimalakīrti, the conversation between Vimalakīrti, Mañjuśrī and the other Bodhisattvas etc.), ably strung together in a Rahmenerzählung with an ever-changing scenery, have been used to treat a great variety of doctrinal subjects.... On the other hand, all these subjects are treated as variations and illustrations of the one basic theme of the whole sūtra: the loving and saving
power of the Bodhisattva who, like Vimalakīrti himself, voluntarily undergoes the 'disease of existence' for the sake of all beings. Hence this scripture may be regarded—and has indeed been qualified—as a real compendium of Mahāyāna doctrine. This explains why it remained one of the most venerated and influential works of the Buddhist canon in the Far East, and, at the same time, why it never became the favourite scripture of any particular school in later Chinese Buddhism,... In the second place, the Vimalakīrti-nirdesa possesses some special features which must have been very attractive to the cultured Chinese public in medieval times. The dialogue—since the earliest times the literary form of Buddhist scriptures—is handled here with extraordinary skill.... To the fourth century Chinese intelligentsia this must not only have appealed because of its literary qualities as such; to them the whole situation described in the main part of the sūtra—the conversation between Vimalakīrti and his guests—must have been strangely reminiscent of their own rhetorical meetings devoted to the discussion of more or less philosophical themes. Vimalakīrti, the famous householder (or, in Chinese, chu-shih, 'retired scholar'!) of Vaiśālī, rich, honoured and well-versed in debate, resembled their own ideal of the eloquent ch'ing-t' an adept."
"Hsieh Ling-yün of Ch'en commandery was intensely devoted to Buddhist principles and had a considerable knowledge of foreign (i.e. Sanskrit) words. So he asked Jui to take the various characters which appear in the sutras and to bring together all their pronunciations and various meanings, whereupon Jui wrote the Shih-ssu yin hsün hsü or Glossary arranged according to the Fourteen Vowels and Diphthongs of Sanskrit. He listed the Sanskrit and Chinese with examples, so that they could be clearly understood and thus provided a basis for later writing." Wright (op. cit., note 30) adds that this manual is not mentioned in any of the catalogues. For the "fourteen vowels" see Bukkyō daijiten, p.1938a. In the Six Chapter Nirvana Sūtra (TT,XII, pp.887c-888b) Fa Hsien, who translated this work in 417-418 (Liebenthal (5), p.84, note 79) presents these "fourteen vowels" with symbolic interpretations. Both Tao-sheng and Hui-jui were devotees of the Six Chapter Nirvāṇa-sūtra (see Wright, ibid., p.284, note 49; Liebenthal (5), pp.303-308 and SIS, vol. V, no. 2. (1956), p.96). A revised edition of this work was completed by Ling-yün in 430-431 or so. Ling-yün's achievement, in being able to struggle through a Buddhist sūtra, was an extraordinary one for a layman. Liebenthal remarks of this: "The only gentleman who in the fifth century might have studied a sūtra was Hsieh Ling-yün. All others

44. Chu Fo-nien 增佛念, the late fourth-century translator, would seem to have been the first Chinese to master Sanskrit. Zürcher points out that Chinese scholars like Nieh Ch'eng-yuan 嶌永遠 and his son Nieh Tao-chen 嶌道真 (both collaborators of Dharmarakṣa's at the end of the third century) and Po Fa-tsu 帛法祖 (ming, Yuan 遼 late third century) seem to have known some Sanskrit. Of course, many foreign acāryas, had a good knowledge of Chinese. See Zürcher, Conquest, p.321, note 1: van Gulik (3), pp.12-14. For an account of the difficulties inherent in the Buddhist system of phonetic transcription see Zürcher, op. cit., pp.39-40. The difficulty inherent in the system lay in the fact that, in the early stages at least, the transcriptions of Sanskrit terms was not standardized while any Chinese syllable, written in almost any way, could stand for a wide range of non-Chinese phonemes. The resulting confusion must have made the reading of Chinese versions of sūtras very difficult.

45. SS,XCIII, pp.10a-b; NS,XXIV, p.7a6-10.

46. Wang Hung-chih, style Fang-p'ing 翁方平. Biography in SS,XCIII, pp.8b-10b; NS,XXIV, pp.6b-7b. One of the Wangs of Lang-yeh. He came from a poor family, was orphaned early and brought up by
another clan. Though offered many posts he never took one, even though his elder cousin Ching-hung rose to high office. He was fond of fishing at a place called Three Stones, on the River Che. His biography says (p. 10a3): "Along the River T'ai in Shih-ning (Chekiang) lie beautiful mountains and waters. Hung-chih built his house on the crags there. Hsieh Ling-yun and Yen Yen-chih thought highly of him."

According to Ling-yun's letter to Yi-chen, Wang had been living as a hermit since 387 A.D.

K'ung Ch'un-chih, style Yen-shen. Biography in SS, XCIII, p. 11b; NS, LXXV, pp. 9a-b.

"When Ch'un-chih was young he was highly regarded. He loved the ancient writings of the sages and was praised by Prince Kung of T'ai-yuan. He dwelt in the county of Yen, in Kuei-chi, and was by nature fond of mountains and waters. Every time he found an opportunity to go rambling off he would make a point of climbing all the remote peaks, sometimes forgetting to come back for weeks and days at a time. Once, when wandering in the mountains, he met the monk Shih (sic) Fa-ch'ung and thereupon kept him with him, the two of them living together for three years. Fa-ch'ung once sighed and said: 'My thoughts have been beyond the world of men for over thirty years. But since I have "lowered the canopy of my carriage" (i.e., "met a friend") I have not noticed old age coming on.' When Ch'un-chih returned (to the
another clan. Though offered many posts he never took one, even though his elder cousin Ching-hung 青鴻 rose to high office. He was fond of fishing at a place called Three Stones, on the River Che. His biography says (p.10a3): "Along the River T'ai in Shih-ning (Chekiang) lie beautiful mountains and waters. Hung-chih built his house on the crags there. Hsieh Ling-yŭn and Yen Yen-chih thought highly of him."

According to Ling-yũn's letter to Yi-chen, Wang had been living as a hermit since 387 A.D.

47. K'ung Ch'un-chih, style Yen-shen 深彦. Biography in SS, XCI1, p.11b; NS, LXXV, pp.9a-b.

"When Ch'un-chih was young he was highly regarded. He loved the ancient writings of the sages and was praised by Prince Kung of T'ai-yüan. He dwelt in the county of Yen, in Kuei-chi, and was by nature fond of mountains and waters. Every time he found an opportunity to go rambling off he would make a point of climbing all the remote peaks, sometimes forgetting to come back for weeks and days at a time. Once, when wandering in the mountains, he met the monk Shih (sic) Fa-ch'ung and thereupon kept him with him, the two of them living together for three years. Fa-ch'ung once sighed and said: 'My thoughts have been beyond the world of men for over thirty years. But since I have "lowered the canopy of my carriage" (i.e., "met a friend") I have not noticed old age coming on.' When Ch'un-chih returned (to the
capital) he (Fa-ch'ung) would not tell him his (original) name."

He (K'ung) was appointed Assistant Secretary and Administrator to the Commander-in-Chief but took up neither post. He displayed great filial piety while in mourning. When the mourning was over he went back to his life of retirement. "Along with the Summoned Scholars, Tai Yung and Wang Hung-chih, as well as Wang Ching-hung and others, he would ramble about beyond the world of men." (SS, XCI, p.11b8).


49. NS, XXIV, p.7a8 reads 著成; but this binome does not occur elsewhere, whereas the compound 著成 of SS, XCI, p.10a9, occurs with the meaning, "to put the finishing touches to a collection." Cf. Ts'ao Chih, 曹植 (Ts'ao chih ch'uan p'ing, VI, p.7a).

50. CT, I, Li Sao, p.9a7-8: Hawkes (1), p.24.30. The letter continues "Your Highness loves simplicity and admires the ancients, and acts always as though wearing clothes of cotton cloth. Each time you think of what you have heard in the past you would fain live in a craggy cave, with a mind empty (of thought and desire). If you would but send me a single messenger (bearing a letter) it would serve to sustain me. This would truly be called the most beautiful deed for a thousand years."
51. SS, XCIII, p.11b gives his surname as "Shih" 詢. KSC, IV, p. 350b29 reads "Chu".

52. SS, XCIII, p.12a1-2.

53. Ibid., loc. cit., 2-3.

54. SS, XCIII, p.11a.

55. See SS, LXI, p.4b. "When he was going to set off to his headquarters (July 423) the companies and platoons were drawn up in front of the Eastern Bureau. Since the country was in mourning Yi-chen's boat was plain white and far inferior to that of his mother, Sun Hsiu-yi (sic). When Yi-chen, who was accompanied by Ling-yun, Yen-chih and Hui-lin (sic) had reviewed the troops, he held a banquet on his boat and sent his attendants to strip the iron deck (丞道甲板) off his mother's boat and put it on his own boat to gain an advantage over her." It will be noted that this account is inaccurate in stating that Yi-chen could have been accompanied by his friends, who in July 423 were all in exile. For another instance of Yi-chen's violation of the rites of mourning see SS, LXIX, p.2a4.

56. T'an Tao-chi, biography in SS, XLIII, pp.17b-22a; NS, XV, pp.21b-23b. He was made Duke of Yung-hsiu 永信 in 420 for his services to Liu Yu and became Governor of the Superior Prefecture of Tan-
yang and General of the Army of Protection. SS, XLIII, p.19b4 ff. records his opposition to the killing of Yi-chen. He was promoted for his part in Wen-ti's coup d'etat in 426 (TCTC, p.3785) and rose to high office before being executed for alleged treason in 436 (TCTC, pp.3860-3861).

57. SS, LXI, pp.4b-5a.

58. SS, LXI, p.6a5, SS IV, p.2b8-9 gives the date of his banishment as follows: "First month, day kuei-ssu (sic). On the day of the new moon there was a solar eclipse. The Inspector of Nan-yen-chou, Yi-chen, Prince of Lu-ling was degraded to a commoner." But the day kuei-ssu (17 March) fell on the day after the new moon of the second month. On the other hand NS, I, p.29a6, gives the date as: "Second month, the new moon of chi-mao" (8 April). Clearly something is wrong here as well, since there was not a new moon at all on that day and the new moon of the third month did not occur until 15 April.

59. SS, LXI, p.6a6-6b. Ibid., p.8b3 gives the text of a later edict reinstating Chang Yueh-chih.

60. TCTC, pp.3766-3767 gives the following account: "Hsu Hsien-chih and his faction, realizing that T'an Tao-chi, Inspector of Nan-yen-chou, was an old general of the former dynasty who could
overawe both palace and province, having moreover many troops at his command, summoned him to court along with Wang Hung, Inspector of Chiang-chou. In the fifth month when they had both arrived at Chien-k'ang they were apprised of the plot to depose the Emperor. On the day chia-shen (6 July)... the Emperor had been in the Hua-lin Garden where he had set up a stall at which he himself was playing shopkeeper. He had also been amusing himself sailing boats with his attendants. In the evening he had taken himself off to the T'ien-yüan Pool, where he went to sleep in a Dragon Boat. On the day yi-yu (17 July) at dawn, (T'an) Tao-chi led his troops to the front of this residence while (Hsu) Hsien-chih and his faction brought up the rear. They made their way in through the Yün-lung Gate. (Hsing An-t'ai and the others had previously warned the night-watch so that no one offered any resistance. The emperor had not yet arisen when the soldiery went in. They killed two of his attendants and wounded the emperor in the fingers when he tried to seize their naked blades?7 He was helped out to the Eastern Palace where they collected the Imperial Seal and Ribbons. Then, when all his ministers had made obeisance and taken leave of him, he was escorted under guard to the former Palace of the Crown Prince."

61. TCTC, p.3767.
Liu Yi-lung, biography in SS, V. In 415 he had been enfeoffed as Duke of P'eng-ch'eng and in 420 had become Prince of Yi-tu, with emoluments from 3,000 households. His reign was a long one (424-453), especially for such a troubled era, beginning well but ending with palace disturbances which resulted in his murder on 16 March 453 at the instigation of the Crown Prince, his son. See TCTC, pp.3986.7-3990.

TCTC, p.3767. SS, LXIII, p.6a4 states that: "In the ching-p'ing period (423-424) a dragon appeared in the west, ascending halfway across the sky. It was overhung by a five-coloured cloud. In the capital people from far and near gathered together to look at it. The Grand Historiographer sent up a memorial saying: 'In the West is an emanation (presaging) a Son of Heaven.'" The context - Wang T'an-shou's biography - makes it quite clear that this omen referred to Yi-lung. The same source (p.6b) says: "While they were on their way a yellow dragon came out and lifted up the boat the Emperor was in. All his attendants turned pale. But the Emperor said to T'an-shou: 'This is how Yu of the Hsia received the mandate of Heaven.'" Other omens of this nature are cited by Hu San-hsing in his commentary to TCTC, p.3767.
62. TCTC, p.3767.

63. Biography in SS, LXI, pp.10a ff.

64. Liu Yi-lung, biography in SS,V. In 415 he had been enfeoffed as Duke of P'eng-ch'eng and in 420 had become Prince of Yi-tou, with emoluments from 3,000 households. His reign was a long one (424-453), especially for such a troubled era, beginning well but ending with palace disturbances which resulted in his murder on 16 March 453 at the instigation of the Crown Prince, his son. See TCTC, pp.3986.7-3990.

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66. The appearance of these two rare white fallow-deer was recorded in the *Monograph of Favourable Omens* (SS, XXVIII, p. 22b): "In the first year of ching-p'ing, the fifth month, on the day kuei-wei (11 July 423) a white fallow-deer appeared in Yi-hsing commandery (modern Yi-hsing county, Kiangsu). Wang Chun-chih, the Grand Warden of Yang-hsien (biography in CS, LXXXIII, p. 11a9) captured it and presented it to the court."

Now the white fallow-deer heralds the advent of a king who will restore order by punishing the guilty (SS, XXVIII, p. 21b5). Since Yi-hsing commandery was in Nan-yen-chou, a province then under the jurisdiction of Yi-lung, the omen must have applied to him. Just after the deposition of Shao-ti the same omen was observed again: "In the second year of ching-p'ing, in the sixth month, a white fallow-deer appeared in Nan-chun. Wang Hua, Grand Warden of Chiang-yang, presented it to T'ai-tsu. At that time T'ai-tsu was about to receive the Great Change of Government. It was taken as a favourable omen", (ibid., p. 22b).

67. SS, LXI, p. 7b gives the date of Yi-chen's murder as the second year of ching-p'ing (424), sixth month, day kuei-wei. But the sixth month of 424 has no day kuei-wei. This error was apparently noted by Ssu-ma Kuang, since he has omitted the date. Hu San-
hsing discusses the point and proposes the day *kuei-ch'ou* (4 August) without giving his reasons. *(TCTC, p.3769).* Presumably he does so because this was the day on which Emperor Shao was murdered *(NS, I, p.29b9)* for the two murders may have been timed to occur together. For lack of anything better I have followed Hu here. Yeh Hsiao-hsueh *(1)*, p.165, gives the date of Yi-chen's murder as the second month, fourteenth day, without giving his sources for this. The difficulty would seem to be due to a lacuna in the *SS* text here, several pages being missing even from the *Po-na* edition.


1. *SS*, XLIII, p.21b1 records that when T'an was arrested in 436 the edict against him contained the lines: "Hsieh Ling-yün had violent ambitions and spoke hateful words. It was obvious he was no loyal subject (T'an) listened to his depraved counsels and they covered up for each other." See also note 53 above.

2. The *Shang-chi fu* 傷己賦, is found in *Yi wen lei chu*, XXXIV; *YKC*, Ch'üan Sung wen, XXX, p.3a. Ho Li-ch'üan *(1)* p.52, believes that this *fu* was written to express Hsieh's grief at
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58. TCTC, p.3769.

59. Ibid., p.3767.

70. Ibid., p.3771.

71. SS, XLIII, p.21b1 records that when Tan was arrested in 436 the edict against him contained the lines: "Hsieh Ling-yun had violent ambitions and spoke hateful words. It was obvious he was no loyal subject (Tan) listened to his depraved counsels and they covered up for each other." See also note 53 above.

The Shang-chi fu, is found in Yi wen lei chu, XXXIV; YKC, Ch'üan Sung wen, XXX, p.3a. Ho Li-ch'üan (1) p.52, believes that this fu was written to express Hsieh’s grief at
the murder of the Prince of Lu-ling. He gives no reason for assigning it to the year 424. This is strictly only the terminus post quern. The work could have been written any time after that. However I would agree that it is reasonable to assign it to a time as close to 424 as possible.

73. See chapter II, note 41 above.

74. Cf. SS, XXXI, p.20b6. "In the second year of the yuan-chia period of Sung Wen-ti there was a summer of drought." Cf. Fan T'ai's memorial on this drought in SS, LX, pp.7a. For its severity see ibid., p.7b3. "I am over 70 yet have never seen the like of this drought."


76. I.e., the Tao te ching.

77. I.e., the first seven chapters of Chuang-tzu.

78. SCF, SS, LXVII, p.31b6. Ling-yün adds: "These two books contain the highest Truths," (ibid., loc. cit., p.32a2).

79. Ibid., loc. cit., p.30b.

80. 'Holy Temple' 清府 presumably refers to CT, XVI, Chiu T'an, Ssu Ku, p.26b 萬皥登於清府兮 "K'uai Kuei mounts the
Holy Temple", where 圣府 is glossed as 清廟, a term first found in Shih ching, Song,26 六月清廟 "August is the Holy Temple," and later applied to the ancestral temple. Here the writer must confess to making no sense of Ling-yün's allusion. Could it perhaps have become an alchemical term?

81. Ti huang 地黃, rehmannia lutea.
82. T'ien men 天門, asparagus lucidus.
83. Hsi hsin 根節, asarum sieboldi.
84. Chi sun 池陽, iris sibirica, var. orientalis.
85. Compare CS, XLIX, p.7a11. "(Hsi) K'ang also met Wang Lieh and they both went into the mountains. Lieh once found a stalactite like a cake and straightway ate half of it himself and gave half to K'ang. Both froze and became as stone." This passage would indicate that the Taoists anticipated Paracelsus in their use of mineral drugs by well over a thousand years, though it is difficult to see what beneficial effect so much calcium carbonate (CaCO₃) could have had on the system.
86. Tan-yang 丹陽 must be the name of another drug. A red spring I understand as a spring that produces cinnabar. Cf. Hsieh, p.91, "I Go into the Third Valley of Ma-yuan, where Hua-tzu Hill Stands, line 4, "From the stone steps wells a red spring."
87. See Murakami Yoshimi (3), passim.

88. The conventional description of the hermit's hut.

89. *LY*, XVIII.6. "Chieh-ni said... 'As for you, instead of following one who flees from this man and that you would do better to follow one who shuns this whole generation of men.'" (Waley (2), p.221).


91. *Pa6* p′a t3w, 帝, 俊仙, passim.

92. *KHMC*, XV, p.199c. This letter cannot be dated with certainty. Our present text is headed 范特遞書, but the Ming edition of the *Tripitaka* adds: 萬谢 侍中. "To Hsieh, Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery." Now we have no evidence apart from the statement in *NS*, XIX, p.17b9 that Ling-yün ever attained the rank of Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery. In any case, even if we accept the authority of the *Nan shih* here we are still faced with a difficulty of chronology since Ling-yün could not have attained this rank until 427, by which time he was no longer on his estate. Hence T'ai could not at any time have written Ling-yün a letter with such a superscription when the latter was in Shih-ning. We may assume that the appellation "Vice-President" was added by some later hand to the
original for purposes of identification. It is to be noted
that T'ai did not reach the rank of "Specially Advanced" ──
the title he bears in this letter ─ until after 28
January 423 (SS,LX, p.60a2).

93. Fan T'ai, style Po-lun 伯倫. Biography in SS,LX, pp.1a-10b;
NS,XXXIII pp.1a-4a. He began his official career in the service
of Hsieh An and eventually became friendly with Liu Yu during
the Lu Hsün revolu rebellion in 410, and was made a general. He
went to Lo-yang with Yu and came back to P'eng-ch'eng with him
in 418. In 426 he was made Vice-President of the Imperial
Chancellery. In this capacity he was responsible for having an
imperial pardon granted to Hsieh Hui's wife and daughter, a
characteristically quixotic act towards the family of his one-
time enemy. (SS,ibid., p.9b-10a).

94. SS,LX, p.3a passim.

95. Fan T'ai had founded the Jetavana Monastery on his estate in 420
and placed Hui-yi in charge of it. T'ai's biography says: (SS,
LX, p.11b3). "In his declining years he was very assiduous in
the service of Buddha. On the west part of his estate he set
up the Jetavana monastery." See also KSC,VII, p.368c17-18.
Hui-yi had made his career by "a rather doubtful miracle",
presenting Liu Yu with a treasure he had been shown in a dream
"When Hsu Hsien-chih, T'an Tao-ch'i and their clique had usurped power at court T'ai wore a discontented look and used to curse them in public. Hsien and the others had a deep hatred for him. All those who heard him were filled with gloom because T'ai was in unfathomable danger. T'ai also considered that he was heading for misfortune, so he asked Yi how he could live on in peace. Yi replied: 'Be loyal and obedient and never lose (an opportunity) to serve those in power. Then superior and inferior will be able to regard each other with affection. Why bother worrying about a thing like this?''"

96. KSC VII, p.368c says: "T'ai took his advice and in the end enjoyed happiness. But, when T'ai died, his third son Yen said that Yi had heard of his father's peril and made up this tale in order to get the garden from him. He (Yen) became resentful on reflecting on this and thereupon took (the land) from him and would not give it back.... Yi then went to live in the Wu-yi (temple) along with Hui-jui."

97. Letter in KHMC XV, p.199c.

98. For the terms "Donors" and "Seekers" see Liebenthal (4), passim.

99. These three eulogies are found in KHMC XV, p.200a. The first is
an eulogy of an image of Buddha; the second of Bodhisattvas; the third of pratyeka - Buddhas and śrāvakas. For the dating of these eulogies see Ho Li-ch'üan (1), p.53.

100. SS,LXI, pp.8a and 8b.

101. SS,LX, pp.6a-7a.

102. SS,XXXII, p.19a. "In the third year of the yung-ch'ü period of Emperor Wu of Sung (422) when (the Emperor) had come in his carriage to invest Hsu Hsien-chih with the rank of Minister of Instruction and all the officials were drawn up in two rows, two wild storks perched on the Owl-feather ornament of the T'ai-chi Hall and cried out."

103. Ibid., p.19a. "In the second year of the ching-p'ing period of Emperor Shao, (424) in spring, a stork rested on the western Owl-feather ornament of the Great Temple. Though driven away it came back again. In the second year of the yüan-chia period of Emperor Wen, (425) in spring, several hundred gulls from the River settled in front of the T'ai-chi Hall and within the Lesser Stairway. The following year (the Emperor) punished Hsu Hsien-chih and his faction."

104. TCTC, p.3775. "In spring (425), the first month, Hsu Hsien-chih and Fu Liang sent up memorials asking to be allowed to retire
from the government. They sent up three memorials (each) before the emperor would grant this to them." The imperial decision was rescinded almost at once under pressure from various interested members of Hsu's own faction. (TCTC, loc. cit.).

5. TCTC, p. 3769, where Wang Hua 王華 refers to Hsu Hsien-chih as "a man of middling talents from a poor family" 中才寒士 and to Fu Liang as "a raw recruit from the common people" 布衣諸生. For a discussion of this antagonism between the hereditary, entrenched aristocracy and the poorer landowners see Ochi Shigeaki (3), passim.

For this group see below, chapter IV, p.

He had been appointed to this post in the eighth month of 424. See TCTC, p. 3771.

TCTC, p. 3778. "In the first month of spring Hsieh Hui's younger brother Chiao, a Gentleman in Attendance within the Yellow Gate, sent a messenger at a gallop to inform Hui (of the danger). Hui still did not believe it."

TCTC, p. 3778.1.

TCTC, p. 3771.
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106. For this group see below, chapter IV, p.

107. He had been appointed to this post in the eighth month of 424. See TCTC, p.3771.

108. TCTC, p.3778. "In the first month of spring Hsieh Hui's younger brother Chiao, a Gentleman in Attendance within the Yellow Gate, sent a messenger at a gallop to inform Hui (of the danger). Hui still did not believe it."


110. TCTC, p.3771.
111. Biography in SS, LXVIII, pp.1a-13a. Yi-k'ang was the fourth son of Wu-ti. Hui's other daughter was to be married to Liu Yi-pin, Marquis of Hsin-yeh 新野. Hui's wife, née Ts'ao 曹, and his eldest son, Shih-hsiu 世休, had escorted the girls to Chien-k'ang. See TCTC, p.3777.16, entry for eighth month of 425.

112. TCTC, p.3779.


114. TCTC, p.3780.

115. SS, XLIV, p.3b7.

116. TCTC, p.3783: "Formerly, when Hui along with Hsü Hsien-chih and Fu Liang made plans for self-preservation, they thought that with Hui based on the upper reaches (of the Yangtse) and T'an Tao-chi holding Kuang-ling, each with a strong force, they would have enough to hold the court in check." This scheme was brought to nothing by T'an Tao-chi's defection to the court-party.

117. TCTC, p.3782.

118. TCTC, p.3783. Hui fled back from Chiang-k'ou to Chiang-ling
only to find that his one remaining supporter Chou Ch'ao was on the point of surrendering to Tao Yen-chih, another powerful general.

119. TCTC, pp.3783-3784. The commander of the frontier-post, one Kuang Shun-chih, had been a former officer of Hui's.

120. TCTC, p.3784: "(Hui's) daughter, wife of the Prince of P'eng-ch'eng, came barefoot with dishevelled hair. As she took her last leave of him she said: 'A great man should leave his corpse on the battlefield. What is the use of ending so badly in the city market-place?"

121. Hsieh Shih-ch'i was the son of Hsuan and grandson of Chung. He wrote a poem on the eve of his execution to which Hui composed a reply. See SS, XLIV, p.20b3.

122. TCTC, p.3784. "In the third month, on the day hsin-ssu, the emperor returned to Chien-k'ang. He summoned Hsieh Ling-yün to be Director of the Imperial Library and Yen Yen-chih to be Vice-President of the Grand Imperial Secretariat. Both met with the utmost favour."

123. SS, LXXIII, p.3a1-2.

5. See Hsu Ling 許齡 "Yu Tzu-shan chi ch' i fu" 鄭子山及其 賦, Hsiang-kang t'ai hsueh chung wen hsueh hui hui k'an 香港大學中文學會刊 (1957), no. 8.

6. SS, LXVII, p. 33a-b has: 上使光祿大夫范泰與書
   NS, XIX, p. 1767, has: 使光祿大夫范泰與書.
Both these versions are ambiguous for they could mean either
(a) "The Emperor sent the Kuang lu ta fu Fan T'ai to give
   Ling-yün a letter", or (b) "The Emperor ordered the Kuang lu ta
   fu Fan T'ai to write to Ling-yün." Yeh Hsiao-hsueh (1),
p. 169 believes that the aged Fan T'ai actually came all the way
from Chien-k'ang to Shih-ning bearing the imperial summons.
But this is absurd. Fan T'ai was then seventy-three years old
and so afflicted with leg-ulcers that he could barely move
(SS, IX, p. 9a1 以有腳疾起居艱難 ). It is highly
improbable that the Emperor would have sent him on such a mission.
125. See Hsü Ling "Yu Tzu-shan chi ch'i fu" 庾子山及其賦，Hsiang-kang t'ai hsüeh chung wen hsüeh hui hui k'an (1957), no. 8.

126. SS, LXVII, p.33a-b, has: 上使光祿大夫范泰與靈雲書. NS, XIX, p.1767, has: 使光祿大夫范泰與書. Both these versions are ambiguous for they could mean either (a) "The Emperor sent the Kuang lu ta fu Fan T'ai to give Ling-yün a letter", or (b) "The Emperor ordered the Kuang lu ta fu Fan T'ai to write to Ling-yün." Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), p.169 believes that the aged Fan T'ai actually came all the way from Chien-k'ang to Shih-ning bearing the imperial summons. But this is absurd. Fan T'ai was then seventy-three years old and so afflicted with leg-ulcers that he could barely move (SS, LX, p.9a1 以有脚疾起居艱難). It is highly improbable that the Emperor would have sent him on such a mission.
Chapter IV

The Gate-Towers of Wei

Ling-yün found himself disappointed in his hopes soon after his arrival at court. We have no idea of precisely what arguments the voluble Fan T'ai had used to sway him into consenting to leave his estate but it would seem reasonable to assume that it had been hinted that there was a position of some importance in the offing. Nothing less could have induced Ling-yün to descend from his mountain eyrie to the teeming plain of Chien-k'ang. If he was to come out from his retreat it was not because he was eager for office as such but because he considered it his duty to do so. As he put it himself: "Political turmoil can only be brought to order by men of talent. If therefore at times they violate their own nature to help others surely it is not because they consider the arena of fame and profit to be superior to regions of purity and loneliness?"

But the position he sought for was not to be his. Wen-ti may have been a model of fraternal piety in his respect for Yi-chen's memory: all the same, he was careful not to bestow high office on any of his late brother's adherents. Instead he awarded such posts only to those whom he could trust implicitly. As a result all power was now concentrated in the hands of the Emperor and his four Vice-Presidents of the Imperial Chancellery, Wang Hua, Wang T'an-shou, Yin Ching-jen (circa 390-440) and Liu Chan.
(392-440). These men were well-known to the emperor. All of them, with the exception of Liu Chan, had served him from the days when he was only a prince of the royal house, with but small hope of reaching the throne, and had stood by him when he resolved to take action against Hsu Hsien-chih.

Until this time the office of Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery had been of no great weight, being only a post of the third grade carrying a salary of two thousand bushels. But with the accession of Emperor Wen its importance had increased radically. We have not far to look for the reasons for this. Before the emperor had wrested the reins of power from Hsu and his faction his own position had been very uncertain. He could trust none of his chief ministers but was forced to have recourse to a few intimate friends. After he had finally triumphed over Hsu this mistrust continued. His friends were now raised to the rank of Vice-Presidents because this post would keep them constantly at his side. This intimate, daily contact with the emperor was the main factor that enabled the holders of this office to exert the considerable influence they did.

We may see in Wen-ti's insistence on appointing his personal friends to these posts a manifestation of the power of the emperor so characteristic of the Liu Ch'ao period. In this instance Wen-ti's natural desire for autocracy had been sharpened by the events of the
last few years. One lesson had been driven home to him with a vengeance: the emperor who did not control his ministers would find himself controlled by them. His successful application of this principle was to ensure him a reign almost unparalleled in length throughout this notoriously troubled era.

Ling-yun may well have thought that his position as a scion of one of the two most influential families in the empire would alone be sufficient to entitle him to a high-ranking post. He would have had every reason for believing this. Chinese society during the Liu Ch'ao saw the gentry sharply divided into two often conflicting groups. On the one hand were the Great Families (men fa 閩閥) themselves subdivided into the ranking orders of old families 舊閥, secondary families 次閥, arriviste families 成閥, families of merit 励閥 and serving families 役閥. On the other hand stood the great mass of small landowners and impoverished gentry. Throughout this era these great clans held most of the highest offices in the state and kept their ranks free of any parvenus. This they accomplished largely through the "System of classification by Impartial and Just Inspectors" (Chiu p'in chung cheng 劉品中正), the precursor of the later examinations as a means of entry into the government service. Ostensibly a method of classification whereby government boards in various localities used to grade candidates for office according to their moral and intellectual qualifications, it was in fact a means of ensuring that people from the sixty-eight
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Great Families took the highest posts while the rest of the bureaucratic offices available were distributed among the other gentry families. Contemporary sources are quite explicit on this. As Holzman remarks, after an examination of this system: "En fait d'un point de vue historique, l'intérêt principale du système des Neuf Categories est qu'il permit aux grand familles des Wei et des Chin de s'arroger le pouvoir de choisir les fonctionnaires."

On the other hand the system was not quite so repressive as might appear at first glance. It is noteworthy that only two outstanding statesmen, Hsieh An and Wang Tao (276-339), emerged from the ranks of the great families during the three centuries that the Southern Dynasties held sway (317-589). All the other great generals and statesmen of the period, as well as the founders of the dynasties themselves - at least from the Liu Sung onwards - came from the lower ranks of the gentry.

Any explanation of this phenomenon in terms of the "decadence" of the aristocracy, or more subtly, in terms of their commitment to a philosophy of inaction is unsatisfactory. A more adequate cause may be found in the habit, common to astute emperors, of placing men from poor families (han-men 寒門) in positions whose importance was greater than it appeared. This process was especially marked during and after the Liu Sung. Up till that
time the imperial house, itself of aristocratic origin, had been unwilling to admit commoners to influential posts. But the Liu Sung emperors, in spite of their pretensions to descent from the Han, had no such qualms, as we may judge from the influence exerted by commoners like Hsu Hsien-chih and Fu Liang. It is true that Wen-ti's cabinet at this time was composed largely of men from the Great Families, the Wangs of Lang-yeh being especially well-represented: but he counterbalanced this by being careful not to allow any of the members of his government to acquire too much influence.

The most senior of the group then in power was Wang Hua. He belonged to the Lang-yeh branch of the family and was, in fact, a kinsman of Wang Hung's. He had early acquired a reputation for filial piety and so attracted the attention of Liu Yu. During Yu's march on Ch'ang-an he had entered the service of Liu Yi-lung, serving him so successfully that on the latter's accession to the throne he was at once appointed Vice-President of the Chancellery and made General of the Right Guard. He seems to have been a sober, industrious man, never giving or attending banquets and never touching wine, though Shen Yo does charge him with being motivated by a desire for personal gain in persuading the emperor to turn against Hsu Hsien-chih.

Hua's colleague Wang T'an-shou, also was a younger brother of Wang Hung. He too had been in Liu Yu's service before attaching
himself to Liu Yi-lung.

Yin Ching-jen had been an Administrator to the Rear Army under Liu Yi before being taken into Liu Yu's service. Here he rose to be Vice-President of the Grand Imperial Secretariat under Sung. On Shao-ti's accession he attempted to retire from the court but soon found himself back in favour when Emperor Wen came to the throne. After the defeat of Hsieh Hui he replaced Tao Yen-chih as Commander of the Central Army.

The fourth member of this junta was Liu Chan, who had known a career very similar to his colleagues. He seems to have incurred the enmity of Wang Hung and Wang T'an-shou during his stay in office for two years later, in 429, he was sent out of court to a post in the provinces.

In the face of such opposition Ling-yün found himself helpless. His official work as Director of the Imperial Library could hardly have been of any consolation to him. He had been set the task of preparing a history of the Chin dynasty from the mass of documents and partial histories in the Archives. Under later dynasties such an assignment would have been deputed to a Bureau of History rather than to merely one man. But at this epoch the responsibility for compiling a dynastic history was still placed squarely on the shoulders of a lone official historiographer. Since
Ling-yün's gifts were literary and philosophical rather than purely scholastic, the dry labours of compilation on which he was engaged could have afforded him but small satisfaction. It is very much to his credit that he eventually finished a large section of the work, some thirty-six chüan in all. Even the fragments of this history, which are all that is left to us today, still bear something of the imprint of his highly-wrought style.

Ling-yün has also been credited with the compilation of a catalogue of the library which was drawn up about this time. This work, the Ssu pu mu lu 四部目録 (Index to the Four Classes) lists 1,564 cases containing 14,582 chüan in the archives. It is interesting to note that of this fair-sized collection only 54 cases or 438 chüan were Buddhist sūtras. In fact, however, this work was compiled not by Ling-yün but by his assistant Yin Ch'un 殷淳 (403-434), a close relative of Yin Ching-jen's who had held a post in the library since 423. During his short tenure of the Directorship of the Library, Ling-yün would have been far too busy with the Chin dynasty history to have had time to spare for any other project. Nor was this catalogue simply a list of titles and authors which could have been put together in a few weeks. Since it occupied 40 chüan it must have taken rather the form of the later Ssu-k'u catalogue, carrying a brief description of the contents of each book as well as a résumé of its history. Yet it is after all hardly
surprising that later ages should have attributed this work to Ling-
"yun rather than to the almost forgotten Yin Ch'un. Besides, since
Ling-yun as Director was initially responsible for the production of
the work it was more of an exaggeration than an error to have
attached his name to it.

Another small task which Ling-yun discharged satisfactorily
was the despatch of 475 chuan of philosophical works to Ku-tsang 湟藏 (modern Wu wei 武威 , Kansu), capital of the small Hun state
of Northern Liang 北凉 (floruit 397-439). These writings were sent
off in 426 in response to a request from the Crown Prince, Chu-ch'ü
Hsing-kuo 沐渠興國 , eldest son of the ruler Chu-ch'ü Meng-
hsün 沐渠蒙遜 (r. 401-433). Since the works were, of course,
in Chinese, Hsing-kuo's desire for them provides an interesting
illustration of the slow process of sinicization taking place among
these one-time nomads of the North.

Ling-yun's real value to Wen-ti however lay in his gifts
as a poet, calligrapher and painter. The emperor himself was renowned
for his calligraphy and it may well have been his respect for a
similar though greater talent in Ling-yun which led to his showering
such favours upon him. As we have already remarked, Ling-yun's
natural talents with the brush had been developed to the full both
by his early upbringing in the Sect of the Way of the Heavenly Master
and his close kinship with Wang Hsi-chih and his family. His poems,
written out in his own square or draft style, would give Wen-ti such delight that he used to refer to them as "twin jewels", as precious for their script as for their verse. We may presume also that Ling-yun was equally gifted as a painter. It is known for certain that he executed six murals depicting Boddhisattvas for the hall of the Kan-lu Temple in Jun-chou (Chen-chiang, Kiangsu) where they survived until the end of the eleventh century. It would seem logical to presume that he must have had a great deal of practice before venturing to commit his work to the walls of a temple. Unfortunately, no example of any other painting of his has survived. One can only wonder whether any landscape scrolls, adorned with his verse, ever figured among the "jewels" that he presented to the emperor?

But pleasant as this life must have been, Ling-yun soon grew weary of it. He had not given up his hopes of attaining enlightenment merely in order to "be in attendance on the emperor at banquets and amuse him with his conversation." Even his probable promotion to the much-coveted post of Vice-President of the Chancellery must have proved to be merely a device for giving him a title of authority without the real power that should have accompanied it. Try as he could he was unable to break into the inner circles of government where decisions were made and policies decided upon. His response to the imperial indifference to what
he thought were his real talents was not long in manifesting itself. In the March of 427 he accompanied the emperor on a state visit to the royal mausoleums at Tan-t'u (Chen-chiang, Kiangsu) where he shed tears over the tomb of Yi-chen.

"We all go the same way, we change and we die, So what is the use of exalting an empty name?" he wrote sadly, thinking of his own plight as well as that of the prince who had been swept away in the murderous struggle for power. A little later, as he climbed the nearby Mount Pei-ku with the imperial entourage and rested high above the Yangtse watching the incoming tide, he voiced his determination to leave office once again.

"The clever and the stupid can each but do what they should, So I can at last return to my nest in the forest." Once again the fatal flaw in his nature was asserting itself. In the country he pined for the court. Once at court he longed to be back in the country. Now he was apparently beginning to find his duties in the library and the chancellery as irksome as he had once found the magistrate's office in Yung-chia. Yet, in spite of his resolve to "return to the forest", he somehow lacked the resolution to ask to be retired on a plea of sickness. Instead he vacillated uneasily between his desire for fame and honour and an urge to be out of it all. The result was that he found himself behaving much as he had done when in Yung-chia, neglecting his duties to the scandal of the whole court. As Shen Yo tells us: "Ling-yün's
mind was disquieted. Often he would plead sickness and not come to court.... He would go out of the city and travel round, sometimes one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy li in a single day. Weeks would pass without his returning. Yet he had neither sent up a memorial nor asked for leave." It is difficult, at this distance, to decide just what had provoked him into behaving so wrong-headedly. Perhaps his conduct was ultimately motivated by a desire to show his contempt for a court which had not recognized his true worth. But initially at least he may have had more cogent reasons for absenting himself from his official duties. The summer of 427 saw the capital swept by plague. We have no idea of the total number of victims claimed by this scourge, but to judge by the number of deaths among prominent officials occurring in this year the epidemic must have been of some severity. Obviously such a disaster would have put a check to all but the most essential activities of government; and in fact our principal sources record surprisingly little during the course of the year, especially during the summer and autumn. It would seem likely, under the circumstances, that Ling-yün left the plague-stricken city at this time for he was not Confucian enough to have put his official responsibilities anything but second to the prime purpose of preserving his life. We may then suppose that when the plague subsided with the onset of the cold weather he found it difficult to slip back into the tedious routine of the court.
Such provocative behaviour could be construed only as a challenge to those in authority, who would be inclined to see it rather as a manifestation of disloyalty to the dynasty than as an expression of unbridled eccentricity. Wang Hung was not the man to let such a lapse go unheeded. He must have insisted that the emperor take action against this recalcitrant official, a protest in which he would certainly have had the support of his colleagues. From the way in which Shen Yo words his account one would gather that the emperor was not personally offended but acted only to conciliate his ministers. It is more likely that he did not wish to cross swords with his brother Yi-k'ang, Prince of P'eng-ch'eng, who as we shall see had no love for Ling-yün. "As the emperor did not want to offend the Great Ministers he sent out an order commanding him to explain himself. Ling-yün then sent up a memorial stating he was ill and the emperor gave him leave to return home."

So once again Ling-yün's hopes of a successful official career had made shipwreck against the rock of his own nature. In a last attempt to find favour before he went on leave he sent up a memorial urging the emperor to attack the north. Ironically enough this memorial provides us with an example of precisely that lack of political acumen which had been the bane of Ling-yün's whole career. Wen-ti's successful coup against Hsü Hsien-chih had been made possible only by the defection of T'an Tao-chi who was now on
his way to becoming one of the most powerful men in the empire. Yet his betrayal of his former associates had not made him any the more acceptable to the emperor. He was tolerated, but never trusted, for his command of the army made him a potential danger to Wen-ti's desire for complete autonomy. A campaign against the north would have boosted Tao-chi's power still higher had it proved successful, as well as putting an ever more formidable striking force at his disposal. Ling-yün could hardly have been ignorant of these facts. Nor could he have failed to realize that he and T'an were suspected of collusion. Under the circumstances then his memorial could have been regarded only as an act of political naivety or a piece of calculated effrontery.

On the first of April 428, the day of the ch'ing-ming festival, Ling-yün set out once again for his Shih-ning estate. Although he was officially only going on leave he seems in fact to have regarded himself as a free man again.

"Since I have a Method for nurturing Life, I shall rest in the shade and take leave of the toils of the world," he wrote, in a poem addressed to Yen Yen-chih and Fan T'ai. His delight at coming back to his old estate was increased greatly by the arrival in the neighbourhood of his younger cousin, Hui-lien, who had just fallen into disgrace and been banished from the capital. We have already mentioned Hui-lien as the source of inspiration for some of Ling-yün's finest lines. Ling-yün was equally delighted
with Hui-lien's own talents as a poet. "If Chang Hua (232-300) were to be born again," he once exclaimed, "he would not be able to improve on these (poems)." Since Chang Hua was one of the foremost poets of the third century — this was a compliment indeed.

Hui-lien had apparently developed a rather too intimate relationship with an official in Kuei-chi by the name of Tu Te-ling 杜德靈 and had been indiscreet enough - so it was alleged - to have written a series of poems to Tu while he was still in mourning for his father, Fang-ming, who had died in 427. These verses found their way into general circulation and caused a scandal, the upshot of which was that Hui-lien was stripped of his rank, banished and forbidden to hold further office.

It must have been shortly after this that Hui-lien arrived in Shih-ning, to be enthusiastically welcomed by his elder cousin. The arrival of this fellow-sufferer in misfortune must have been all the more opportune since Ling-yün's former cronies had now vanished. Wang Hung-chih had died the year before; Juan Wan-ling was back in the government service and K'ung Ch'un-chih had wandered off, no one knew where. To make up for this, Ling-yün was now joined by three other companions. Foremost among them was Ho Chang-yü 何長瑜 (d. 444) whom Ling-yün had come across many years before when he was acting as tutor to Hui-lien. He had been impressed by Ho's literary talents, comparing his abilities to those of Wang Ts'an
王粲 (177-217) one of the foremost poets of the chien-an period (196-220). He had rated Hsieh Fang-ming roundly for not appreciating Ho's worth and had then taken him back to his own house in a carriage, presumably to have him enter his service. Ho's literary accomplishments however were judged to be below those of Hsieh Hui-lien. Something of Ling-yun's own brand of eccentric arrogance and wit would seem to have rubbed off on Ho. Many years later when he was in the service of Liu Yi-ch'ing, he incurred his displeasure by composing a satirical poem - which became very popular - about one of his officials, an escapade which resulted in his disgrace.

With Ho came two others of whom we know very little. One was a certain Hsun Yung from Ying-ch'uan (Honan), the other a Yang Hsuan-chih (d. 459).

Ling-yun and his "Four Friends - a name bestowed on them on the analogy of the four favourite disciples of Confucius or the four companions of King Wen of Chou - soon settled down to much the same sort of life that Ling-yun had enjoyed before at Shih-ning. This time though, there seems to have been rather less Buddhist research and rather more hard drinking than there had been on previous occasions. The five of them would appear to have spent their time wandering around the mountains by day, while at night they caroused riotously at parties in which literary criticism probably
took second place to criticism of the government. Unfortunately Ling-yün seems to have forgotten that he was still in the civil service and was ostensibly on sick-leave. It was not long therefore before news of these scandalous festivities came to the alert ears of the Vice-President of the Tribunal of Censors, one Fu Lung (369-451) who, since he came from Shang-yü county, Chekiang, must soon have been given first-hand information about Ling-yün's hardly valetudinarian activities. As a result Ling-yün promptly found himself impeached for conduct unbecoming to an official. By the eleventh month of 428 he had been summarily dismissed from office once again.

He could hardly have greeted the news of his dismissal with anything approaching regret. He had tried the world and found it wanting. Now back in the safety of his seclusion with his Taoist arts, his researches into Buddhist metaphysics and the companionship of his beloved Hui-lien what more could he ask for? His verse written during the years 428-430 has a more tranquil air about it than his earlier poems. He seems at last to have arrived at a genuine state of detachment from things - if not from persons - which may perhaps have been the prelude to final enlightenment.

"Once the mind ceases striving the world loses importance,
When the heart is content one does not swerve from Truth
I send these words to those who would nurture their lives:
Try putting this method to the test."
He and Hui-lien spent a great deal of time in his library during these years. Hui-lien would come over from his nearby estate, and the two of them would settle down to study.

"You crossed the mountain streams to seek my house, Opening my books, you questioned me about them. At night I feared the moon was gliding on to dawn, By day I resented the sun's flight into dusk."60

Ling-yun's wealth must have made it possible for him to get together a manuscript library which may well have rivalled the imperial collection in its scope. He had always been an omniverous reader, so he tells us, but for some time before Hui-lien's arrival he had abandoned study in favour of contemplation:

"The philosophers are no longer living, So to whom could I put the questions I had in my heart? Only the dregs are still with us today - So I opened the ribboned chests and undid my book-bags. I looked through the two rolls of the classic of Chu-hsia, I read the seven chapters of the banks of the river Hao. I received that Uncarved Block in its undispersed perfection, And preserved the arts of the Tao, already in decline. I sighed over the Six Arts, used to spread the Sage's teaching,61 And the Nine Schools, which distinguished the philosophers.62 [I read] national histories, which recorded former chronicles, Family biographies, which displayed examples for the age, Poetry, which set forth praise and blame, Critical discussions, which investigated Something and Nothing. [I studied] military arts, medicine and weather-prediction,63 Aeromancy, geomancy, mathematics and the calendar. These were some of the works I had been reading all my life, But now I cast them aside. I examined previous philosophers who had lost the Tao, And so maintained one Virtue and never swerved aside."64

It was obviously for Hui-lien's sake that Ling-yun returned to his old, scholarly pursuits once more.

But his time was far from being entirely devoted to study and contemplation. It was at this time that he threw himself whole-heartedly into
He and Hui-lien spent a great deal of time in his library during these years. Hui-lien would come over from his own estate, which was close to Ling-yün's, and the two of them would settle down to study.

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Ling-yün's wealth had made it possible for him to get together a library which may well have rivalled the imperial collection in its scope. Certainly his taste seems to have been catholic enough, if we may judge from the account of his reading which he has left us:

"I have sighed over the Six Arts, by which I understood the doctrines of the Saints,61 And the Nine Schools, where I made my choice among the disciples of the Sages.62 (I have read) dynastic histories, annals of bygone days, And family biographies of men who were the models of their age. There were essays which contained fine pieces of criticism, And critical discussions which investigated being and non-being, Works on military art, medical days (?)63 the laws of divination by tortoise-shell, milfoil and dreams, As well as writings on aeromancy64 on the location of graves and houses, on mathematics and the calendar."

But his time was far from being entirely taken up with study and contemplation. He also threw himself whole-heartedly into
an even more ambitious programme for the improvement of his estate. He had ample funds and a force of slaves and retainers running into several hundreds to help him accomplish this, along with corvée labour which he drove on, as Shen Yo remarks disapprovingly, "without any remission of the time or the task." With their aid he tunnelled into mountains, dug lakes and planted trees, combining hydraulic operations and landscape-gardening at once. It must be remembered that this period saw landscape-gardening raised to the status of an art in the south. This was made possible not only by the penchant among the gentry for retiring to the comfort of an estate, rather than to a hut in the wilds, but also by the growing taste for landscape. The desire to have all the forces of the landscape - powers ultimately conceived of as magical - held within the confines of an ordered enclosure must have played some part in determining the increasing popularity of gardens in this era. This is not to deny of course the more obviously apolaustic aims of our garden-owning gentry. But hedonism was not all. Ling-yun's own experience of dhyāna techniques would have convinced him that since the landscape was perhaps the most perfect manifestation of the Buddha, contemplation of it constituted a religious exercise. Looked at in this way the garden is simply a microcosm of the Tao, a cult-image of the dharmakāya itself and thus the very embodiment of Truth (dharmatā). So Ling-yun's gardening, like his mountain-climbing, must to him have been almost a devotional practice, bringing him into
contact with the "Body of the Dharma" itself.

It will not do to exaggerate this aspect of what was otherwise a pleasant exercise in pastoralism, an escape from the fetters of a life too rigidly bounded by prescribed ceremonial and hedged around with taboos. Much of Ling-yun's time was clearly taken up with energetic enjoyment of the pleasures of his estate, his Taoistic training having given him a liking for physical work which would have been regarded with distaste by the Confucian gentleman. As he tells us himself:

"I climb the crags and cut down trees,  
Do away with bushes and hack through bamboos,  
I root up young bamboos from their plantations,  
Strip off bamboo bark in the valley.  
The splendid burden of the star-fruit tree  
In autumn and winter I pluck and take.  
In the wilds among the creeping grass  
I hunt for the wild grapes.  
I also make "Mountain-fresh" wine  
Which adds to my great happiness.  
The bitter wine I make from the star-fruit,  
The sweet from the shen tree.  
I gather the shen mushroom in the tall forests,  
And strip the elder of its bark on the mountain-top.  
I pluck the madder on sunny hill-sides,  
And gather the hsien in the shade of branches.  
During the day I watch them plucking rushes,  
At night I see them twisted into ropes.  
I cut water-plants and mow down reeds  
To serve as hay and straw....  
In the sixth month I gather honey,  
In the eighth month I knock down chestnuts."

It was at this period, when life was running smoothly for him, that he is supposed to have been disturbed by a vision of Hui,
his dead cousin.

"In the fifth year of the yuan-chia period (428) Hsieh Ling-yun suddenly saw Hsieh Hui come in bearing his head in his hands, and sit down on another chair. The blood flowed and dripped till he could not bear to look at it. Moreover, the sable robe he was wearing was soaked in blood so copious it would have filled a casket." If he really did see such an apparition this awful premonition of his own end must have warned him that his present happiness was fated not to endure very long. Nor did it. In the spring of 430 Hui-lien was unexpectedly granted an imperial pardon and offered an official position in the Ministry of Instruction, thanks to the efforts of Yin Ching-jen. He had no alternative but to accept and it was with a heavy heart that Ling-yun watched him leave the quiet of his estate for the turmoil of the capital. As he wrote to Hui-lien later:

"Though I live in seclusion worries crowd about me. In my dreams I am waiting for your boat to come back, To free me from my rancour and weariness."78

But his hopes were in vain. Hui-lien did not come back again, and the worries that beset Ling-yun came crowding upon him thicker than ever, until at last he was to learn the bitterest lesson of all; that even in the seclusion of the mountains he could not escape from the dangers of the court.
Ling-yun's relations with the local gentry, probably never very cordial, had evidently become rather strained. He had greatly alarmed Wang Hsiu, the governor of Lin-hai, a town some three hundred li away, by suddenly appearing in his district with a force of several hundred men who had cut a path through the forest all the way from Shih-ning. This was a formidable achievement and gives us some idea of the grand scale of Ling-yun's "landscape-gardening", since it meant he had hacked a road through well over a hundred miles of mountainous and thickly forested country. It was no wonder that Wang Hsiu, with memories of Sun En's revolt fresh in his mind, mistook this band of foresters for brigands and was thrown into a panic until reassured by Ling-yun with a graceful, if ironic, little poem. In Kuei-chi in the year 430 he had the country up in arms again; but here the matter was much more serious, so serious in fact that it almost ended fatally for him. Meng Yi, Grand Warden of Kuei-chi, was an old enemy of his with whom he had already crossed swords on several occasions. One account alone of an earlier quarrel of theirs will help to explain the rancour that had grown up between them.

"Ling-yun, Wang Hung-chih and others were in the habit of going out to drink wine in the Ch'ien-ch'iu t'ing (Pavilion of a Thousand Autumns) where they would sit half-naked, making a great uproar. Yi could not bear it and sent them a note asking what was going on. Ling-yun was furious. 'What has it got
Meng Yi's disapproval of Ling-yun seems to have been largely due to his religious principles. Yi too was a fervent Buddhist who contributed generously and often to the erection of *stupas* and monasteries, as well as having been one of the underwriters of Buddhabhadra's translation of the *Avatamsakasūtra* (translated 418-420). Ling-yun's contempt for this type of Buddhist has been mentioned earlier. He had not attempted to conceal this from Yi. “Meng Yi was very assiduous in the worship of Buddha, yet Ling-yun despised him. He once said to Yi: ‘To possess the Way you must needs have the goodness that results from wisdom. You, sir, will certainly be reborn in Paradise before me; but you will just as surely attain Buddhahood after me.’ Yi resented these words deeply.”

Here again Ling-yun's aristocratic hauteur had led him into trouble. He was telling Yi, in effect, that though his pettifogging accumulation of favourable *karma* might lead to a gradual Enlightenment that could, at the most, ensure his rebirth in the Western Paradise he had no chance of realizing the transcendent wisdom resulting from sudden Enlightenment that would lead to Buddhahood. Now in thus making an enemy of Yi, whom he probably considered as an upstart with neither family nor talents to recommend him, he was guilty of a serious error. Yi was the younger brother of Meng
Ch'ang, who had played an important part in Liu Yu's early rise to power and must have left many friends at court. He had been an adherent of Liu Mu-chih's and as such could reasonably be expected to be opposed to Ling-yun. Thus it could have been predicted with some certainty that if Ling-yun quarrelled with Yi it would not be the latter who came off badly. Yi's appointment to the governorship of Kuei-chi thus put Ling-yun into a potentially embarrassing situation. Here again prudence would have demanded that Ling-yun should have been careful, if not to conciliate Yi, at least not to provoke him. Instead, he very soon found himself at daggers drawn with him over a question of land reclamation, a problem on which the authorities were particularly sensitive at this time. During this period there was a great deal of hostility between the entrenched aristocracy and the minor gentry, an enmity that became particularly bitter when the question of land-ownership arose. One of the features of the Six Dynasties era is the growth of huge estates, (almost latifundiae) of a size seldom equalled during later dynasties. These vast domains were resented by the central government, who considered them a constant threat to its authority; by the poorer landlords, who were frequently squeezed out by their wealthy neighbours and by the common people who saw themselves increasingly deprived of their traditional rights to common land. Successive dynasties had attempted to legislate against these encroachments but to no avail. The laws for the most part remained
It may at first appear surprising that the land shortage in the south, with its huge areas of virgin soil, should have been so acute as to cause popular discontent, especially since the total population during the early years of the Sung could not have been more than six million. But here we must remember that a great deal of south-east China is mountainous country and as such extremely difficult to cultivate. Furthermore what was lacking was not land in itself but arable land. Clearing and draining the jungles of the south was a task quite beyond the capacity of a peasant or even a minor landowning member of the gentry. Such a project could be successfully accomplished only by the central government or by a very rich landowner who, like Ling-yün, had hundreds of retainers at his service and access to almost unlimited corvée labour. We must therefore understand all these complaints about land-grabbing on the part of the rich to mean that, having already taken much of the best land, they were now intruding on the common-land - the less densely-covered slopes, the marshes and the lakes - to clear these in their turn for cultivation.

During the course of his land-reclamation schemes Ling-yün must have become something of an expert in draining lakes to obtain access to the fertile alluvial soil of the lake-bed. Now, not content with the resources of his own sizeable estate, he cast his
eyes around and found a very likely lake, the Hui-chung 回踵, which lay just outside the eastern wall of Kuei-chi city (modern Shao-hsing 紹興). He determined to drain it as soon as he could and accordingly applied to the central government for permission to do this, which was readily granted. At this stage however Meng Yi saw his chance to thwart Ling-yun's plans and increase his own standing as Governor. This lake was a valuable source of supply to the local peasantry who liked to supplement their meagre diet with water-produce and fish. Now Kuei-chi was an area in which most of the aristocracy of the time had their estates. As a result there was probably greater land-hunger among the peasantry here than in most parts of the Sung domains. It may have been this factor which caused them to respond so enthusiastically to Sun En when he appeared in the region. The government was naturally anxious to avoid fomenting popular discontent in a district where the people were already rather more hard-pressed than most. It only needed Meng Yi to point out to the central authorities that the draining of this lake would cause serious popular unrest for Wen-ti to revoke his permission at once.

Ling-yun must have been furious at his defeat at the hands of Meng Yi. However, he was not a man to give up easily. He abandoned the idea of draining a lake under Yi's very nose and instead set about reclaiming a lake near the haven of his own estate
in Shih-ning. But Yi, flushed with his recent victory, now dared to carry the war into Ling-yun's own territory. This lake too was part of the common-land and, being in Shih-ning, came within Yi's rightful jurisdiction. Normally no provincial governor would have dared to attack a wealthy local landowner on a score like this, but Yi was determined to have his revenge for the insults he had endured. It must have given him considerable satisfaction then when he was able to use his authority as governor to step in and prevent the draining of this lake as well.

At this juncture Ling-yun should have realized that Yi had powerful backing at court and accepted his defeat gracefully. But once again his lack of political common sense manifested itself, with the inevitable consequences. He seems to have sent some sort of protest to the government insisting that Yi's concern over the draining of the lake had nothing to do with the welfare of the people but simply with a misplaced, Buddhist concern for the well-being of the fish. This was a serious accusation to make, entailing, as it did, the charge that a provincial official was neglecting the interests of his people because of his religious opinions. As one would have expected it simply goaded Yi to fresh fury. The situation now deteriorated rapidly. Ling-yun said cutting things about Yi, who retaliated by whipping up the people to a fever pitch of agitation about their rights. There may well have been clashes between Ling-yun's small army of retainers and the local population.
Yi now saw his chance for a master-stroke. He declared what was virtually "a state of emergency" in Kuei-chi, called out troops to protect himself and sent up a memorial accusing Ling-yun of fomenting a rebellion.

The word rebellion had a particularly alarming ring about it at that time. With the Toba Wei growing daily more menacing in the north and pretenders to the throne of Chin still appearing in the south the danger of internal discontent was only too real. Yi had played his hand very well indeed. Ling-yun suddenly awoke to the fact that he was in serious danger. He had at last provided his numerous enemies at court with the very opportunity they had been waiting for. Realizing now that his only hope lay in a personal appeal to Wen-ti he set out on a dramatic and unprecedented ride to Chien-k'ang to send up his plea of innocence from the very gate-towers of the palace.
NOTES


2. Wang Hua, style Tzu-ling, biography in SS, LXIII, pp.1a-5a; NS, XXII, pp.1a-2b. His grandfather Hui had been Inner Officer of Kuei-chi, while his father Hsin became Senior Officer of the Left to the Director of Instruction. Later, Hsin disappeared while engaged in battle with Liu Lao-chih during the disturbances connected with the fall of Wang Kuo-pao's party. Hua, not knowing whether his father was alive or dead, mourned for him for over ten years. His filial conduct brought him to the attention of Liu Yu who took him into his service. Later he served Liu Yi-lung - the future Wen-ti - ousting his only rival Chang Shao by having him impeached for unfilial conduct. On Wen-ti's accession he became Vice-President of the Chancellery and later General of the Right Guard. He and the Gentleman in Attendance within the Yellow Gates, K'ung Ning-tzu, were largely instrumental in persuading Wen-ti to turn against Hsu Hsien-chih.

3. Wang T'an-shou, style unknown. Biography in SS, LXIII, pp.5a-8a; NS, XXII, pp.1a-2b. A younger brother of Wang Hung. He served first under Ssu-ma Te-wen, Prince of Lang-yeh and then was for many years with Liu Yu. On Wen-ti's accession he was made a
Vice-President of the Chancellery and General of the Army of Protection. His biography characterizes him as an austere, incorruptible official who disdained the high honours which he could easily have won for himself. His eldest son, Seng-ch'ō 僧緝 (423-453), also had a distinguished official career. See his biography in SS,LXI, pp.10a-12b.

4. Yin Ching-jen, style unknown, biography in SS,LXIII, pp.8b-13a; NS,XXVII, pp.10b-12b. A man from Ch'ang-p'ing 長平 in the commandery of Ch'en 陳 (Honan). His great-grandfather Yung 隆 and his grandfather Mao 茅 had both served with distinction under the Chin. Ching-jen early attracted the attention of the Director of Instruction, Wang Mi, who married his daughter to him, an alliance which must have aided him considerably. His first post was as Administrator to the Rear Army under Liu Yi. After Yi's death he entered Liu Yu's service where he rose to be Vice-President of the Grand Imperial Secretariat under Sung. On the accession of Shao-ti he attempted to retire from court but was refused, eventually becoming General of the Left Guard. On Wen-ti's accession he found himself in favour and was made a Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery. After the defeat of Hsieh Hui in 426 he replaced Tao Yen-chih 到彦之 as Director of the Central Army. He used his influence to bring his old friend Liu Chan (see below, note 5) back to court after
the death of Wang Hung but met with scant gratitude from Chan. In 435 he became President of the Secretariat. Liu Chan and his patron, the Prince of P'eng-ch'eng, redoubled their attacks on him but were ignored by Wen-ti. Chan grew weary of this however and retired from court on sick-leave with a leg-ailment, surviving an assassination attempt instigated by Liu Chan only thanks to the vigilance of the emperor. Five years later he rose from his sick-bed to attend Chan's trial and execution. He himself died only a month later (11th month, 440), shortly after he had been appointed Inspector of Yang-chou.

5. Liu Chan, style Hung-jen 賓仁, was a member of the Liu family of Nieh-yang 耙陽 (Honan). Both his grandfather Tan 田 and his father Liu 吕 had served with distinction under the Chin. He early attracted the attention of Liu Yu, rose speedily in his service and in 420 became Senior Officer to Liu Yi-k'ang. A year later he was made Grand Warden of Li-yang 李陽 (Anhui), where he earned a justifiable reputation for harshness in his administration. In 422 he entered the service of Liu Yi-ch'en and subsequently rose to become Inspector of Kuang-chou, a post he held from 424 to 425. In 427 he was made Vice-President of the imperial Chancellery but in the first month of 429, was sent out, much against his will, to become Constable of the Southern Man. His removal from court made him very discontented and he
bore a grudge against Wang Hung and Wang T'an-shou for this. After Hung's death in 432 Yin Ching-jen was able to bring Chan back to court as General Commanding the Army. Chan however, showed no sign of gratitude for this but leagued himself with Liu Yi-k'ang in a faction violently opposed to Ching-jen. (See above, note 4). In 439 Chan was given the Governorship of the Superior Prefecture of Tan-yang. He left office in the fifth month of 440 on the occasion of his mother's death. Five months later he was executed for his treasonable activities.

6. Lu Ssu-mien (1), XXI, sec. 3, p.1231, remarks: "The admission to power of the Vice-Presidents of the Imperial Chancellery began in the time of Sung Wen-ti." This statement is borne out by Tu Yu's careful analysis of this shift in power in T'ung tien, XXI, pp.119-122, a condensed version of which is found in LTCKP, I, pp.40-41. For an account of the origins and functions of this office see LTCKP, loc. cit. (especially the quotation from Ch'u hsueh chi on p.42); T'ung tien, XXI, p.121b and SS, XXXIX, p.32a.

7. T'ung tien, XXI, p.122a, says: During the yuan-chia period of Sung Wen-ti, Wang Hua, Wang T'an-shou, Yin Ching-jen and others were Vice-Presidents of the Imperial Chancellery together. They were in the Emperor's confidence and were intimate with him."
Tu Yu comments (*loc. cit.*): "When Wang Hua and the others were talking knee-to-knee with the emperor if the sables (on their hats, *See T'ung tien*, XXI, p.121c) brushed against the emperor he would remove them with his own hands and put them on a table. When the conversation was over he would replace them himself."

8. *Wen-ti's reign* (424-454) was surpassed in length throughout the *Liu Ch'ao* only by that of Liang Wu-ti (r. 502-549).


12. *NESCC*, XII, p.300, *loc. cit.* Wang Tao, (biography in CS, LXV) was one of the Wangs of Lang-yeh. After the collapse of the Western Chin, Wang Tao was largely responsible for rallying and organizing the exiled gentry around the new regime in the South. For his dates of birth and death see *Zürcher, Conquest*, p.347, note 6, who points out that the dates as usually given (267-330) are incorrect. The *Li tai jen wu hien li pei tsung piao* bears out this contention.

Shen T'ien-tzu, Mao Hsiu-chih and Chu Hsiu-chih among others as coming from the han-men. For a list of the influential families see Chou Chia-yu (1), chuan 1-5.

14. See Waley (7), pp.7-8. Dr. Waley believes that this culte du néant played a major role in rendering the aristocracy ineffective. It is certainly true that the aristocracy of the time did not make efficient administrators. *Liang shu*, XXXVII, p.7b says: "The Head of the Civil Service during the Ch'en (557-589) Yao Ch'a (533-606) said: 'From the cheng-shih period (240-247) of Wei down to the Chin dynasty the Mysterious Void held a high place in the estimation of the age while extravagant talk was highly prized. No one above the rank of Assistant Secretary to the Department of State Affairs ever gave another though to documents once they had been received and the text examined. Everything was done by their subordinate officers. Once the dynasty had moved south of the River these habits grew more pronounced. When Pien Hu (281-328) wanted to put the affairs of the Department of State Affairs into order Juan Fu (floruit early 4th century) said to him: 'Won't you find it rather wearisome never to have a moment's leisure?""

Pien Hu, one of Wang Tao's most prized collaborators, himself came from a han-men family. See *CS*, LXX, pp.6b-10b.

15. See *NECC*, VIII, p.154, 南朝多以寒人掌機要, where
Chao Yi remarks: "From the cheng-shih period (240-247) of Wei down through the yung-hsi period (290-291) of Chin and beyond the Great Ministers ruled the state. Emperor Yuan of Chin (r. 318-323) resented the power of the Wang family and wished to control the government himself. But when he employed Tiao Hsieh, Liu Wei and others as his personal agents he immediately brought disaster on himself in the shape of Wang Tun (266-324). From this time on the rulers were either children or weaklings who all took orders from their powerful masters.... But the rulers of the Sung, Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en dynasties, whether sages or not, all wanted the imperial sway to proceed directly from themselves and were unwilling to lend authority to the Great Ministers." Chao Yi then goes on to say that the rulers were then forced to employ han-men. See also Ochi Shigeaki (3), passim.

16. SS, LXIII, p.4a7.

17. NS, XIX, p.17b8. "He was sent to order the documents in the Archives. Since from the beginning to the end of the Chin dynasty there had been no history of the House of Chin by one historian, Ling-yun was ordered to compile one. He set up the main divisions of it in rough, but the work was never finished." But SS, LXVII, p.33b3 reads: "The work was approved
of and well-received," in lieu of NS, loc. cit.

Since Sui shu ching chi chih, ESWSP, vol. IV, p.5248a lists a Chin shu by Hsieh Ling-yün in 36 chüan we must accept both versions and conclude that the work was given imperial approval yet was never recognized as a complete history of the Chin.

For an indication of the surprising number of partial histories of the Chin extant during this period see Ting Kuo-chun, Pu Chin shu yi wen chih, pp.3362-3368: Wen T'ing-shih, Pu Chin shu yi wen chih, pp.3717-3731: Ch'in Jung-kuang, Pu Chin shu yi wen chih, pp.3809-3814: Huang Feng-yuan, Pu Chin shu yi wen chih, pp.3912-3924: Wu Shih-chien, Pu Chin shu ching chi chih, pp.3862-3866, ESWSP.

18. Sui shu ching chi chih, II, p.40, lists the work thus: "Chin shu in 36 chüan. Compiled by the Inner Officer of Lin-ch'uan, Hsieh Ling-yün of the Sung." Ten fragments of this work are to be found in T'ang Ch'iü's Chiu chia chiu Chin shu chi pen, IV, pp.377-379.

19. Sui shu ching chi chih, (Sui shu, XXXII, p.4b4). "In the eighth (sic) year of the yuan-chia period of Sung, Hsieh Ling-yün, Director of the Imperial Library, composed the Ssu pu mu lu, listing some 64,582 (sic) chüan in all." This statement, reproduced without comment in all editions of the Sui shu ching chi chih, contains two errors. First the catalogue could not
have been compiled in 431 since Ling-yün was not attached to the Imperial Library at this time. Secondly the figure of 64,582 is impossibly high. A glance at the figures given by the following catalogues, both compiled before the turn of the fifth century, will make this clear. The first, compiled by Wang Chien (452-489) in 473, records 15,704 chüan (Sui shu, XXXII, p.4b6) or according to the Ch'i lu hsu of Juan Hsiao-hsu (479-536), 15,074 chuan (KHMC, III, p.110). The second catalogue, compiled by Wang Liang and Hsieh Fei (441-506) between 483 and 493, records 18,010 chüan (Sui shu, XXXII, p.5a3). Clearly then, on the evidence of these figures, 64,582 can only be a mistake for 14,582. The sudden drop from 64,582 in the year 428 to 15,704 in 473 would only be credible if Chien-k'ang had been sacked during the intervening period. Fortunately however we do have definite proof that the figure 14,582 is in fact correct. The Ch'i lu hsu of Juan Hsiao-hsu (mentioned above) is all that remains of a catalogue called the Ch'i lu compiled during the p'u t'ung period (520-526). This work, now preserved in KHMC, III, (pp.108-111), supplies us with the following information: "In the eighth (sic) year of the yuan-chia period of Sung (there was compiled the Ssu pu mu lu of the Imperial Library (listing) 1,564 cases or 14,582 chüan.

20. KHMC, III, p.110a, commentary to Ch'i lu hsu."
21. TCNPN, pp.187-188 points this out. Ch'un's biography in SS, LIX, pp.1a-b (also in NS, XXVII, pp.14b-15a) says: "Yin Ch'un, style Ts'ui-yüan 吴山 was a man from Ch'ang-p'ing in the commandery of Ch'en (Honan).... When he was young he won a fine reputation through his love of study. In the first year of the ching-p'ing period of Shao-ti (423) he became a Secretary of the Imperial Library. He then became Master of Literary Art to (Liu Yi-chi 劉義季), Prince of Heng-yang (衡陽) (415-447). Then he was made Assistant-Director of the Imperial Library.... While in the Imperial Library he compiled the Ssu pu shu mu 四部書目 (NS, XXVII, p.15a reads: Ssu pu shu ta mu 四部書大目) in 40 chüan which is still extant."

This work must be identical with the Ssu pu mu lu ascribed to Ling-yün. I see no reason why we should doubt Yin Ch'un's authorship. We may assume that the work was begun in 427 or 428 and finished around 431. This would account both for Ling-yün's name being attached to it and also for the general attribution of the work to the "eighth year of yuan-chia", a date impossible to accept if we believe Ling-yün to have been the sole author of this work.

22. SS, XCVIII, p.17b. "In the third year (of yuan-chia).... the Crown Prince Hsing-kuo sent an envoy with a memorial asking for the Chou yi and the collected writings of the philosophers. T'ai-tsu gave him them both, in all 475 rolls."
The request for the Chou yi probably indicates that these Huns were still more interested in the magical aspects of Chinese culture than in its philosophical and literary riches. SS (loc. cit.) also relates that Chu-ch'u Meng-hsun at the same time asked the Minister of Instruction, Wang Hung, for a copy of the Sou shen chi. Hung had it copied out and sent to him."

The Sou shen chi (Record of the Investigation of Spirits) is listed in Sui shu ching chi chih, II, p.60 as "30 chuan. Compiled by Kan Pao of Chin." On this work see Bodde (1) and (2).

23. Northern Liang was still sociologically a tribal state (see Eberhard (1), p.140). Hence one would have not expected its sinicization to have proceeded at so rapid a pace. The fact that it was a trading state, living on the earnings of the caravans in transit from Turkestan, rather than a warrior state may help to explain this. See Eberhard, op. cit., p.140.

24. Chang Huai-kuan, Shu tuan, ap. Fa shu yao lu, VIII, p.130b, says: "The emperor (Wen-ti) was a superb calligrapher in the square style and a capable one in the running and draft styles."

Wang Seng-ch'ien, Shu lun, Nan Ch'i shu, XXXIII, p.9a, says Wen-ti compared himself to Wang Hsien-chih.
25. NS, XIX, p.17b9. "Ling-yün's verse and calligraphy were both of surpassing excellence. Each time he finished a piece of work he would write it out in his own hand. Wen-ti used to call them his 'twin jewels'. But he thought that, with his renown and his family background, he should have played a part in the government of the time. Yet it came about that he was merely accepted on account of his literary talents."

26. Ming hua chi, III, section V, mentions that some Buddhist paintings by Hsieh Ling-yün had survived the iconoclasm of 845. These were "six parois (pi) de bodhisattvas (peintes) ... Elles sont sur la paroi extrême de la salle des Rois Célestes." (P. Pelliot "Les Fresques de M. Eumorfopoulos", Revue des Arts Asiatiques, App. I, p.207).

These paintings were in the Kan-lu Temple until the end of the yüan-fu 元符 period (1098-1100) when they were destroyed by fire. Apparently the paintings - which were probably executed on silk rather than on the wall itself - had been moved to the Kan-lu Temple for safety, along with others. This temple had been spared either as a result of a plea to the throne by Li Teyü 李德裕, (787-849/50), its founder, or because its main hall contained a bronze statue of the T'ang Emperor, Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 (712-756). See Pelliot, op. cit., and William Acker, Some T'ang and pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting, pp.366-382, where Pelliot's article is fully discussed. Acker questions the
attributed to Hsieh Ling-yün on the grounds that Mi Fu (1051-1107) who lived for years in the Kan-lu Temple does not mention these paintings in his Hua Shih. They are mentioned however by the Sun painter Kuo Jo-hsu in his T'u hua chien wen chih (written circa 1074).

27. On the connection between landscape painting and verse see chapter VI below.

28. NS XIX, pp.17b-18a.

29. NS XIX, p.17b9. "He was almost immediately transferred to the post of Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery and was shown great favour." SS, LXVII does not have this sentence. In view of the importance of the Vice-Presidency it would seem doubtful whether Ling-yün ever held this office. Moreover NS seems self-contradictory since it goes on to say that Ling-yün had no real power, a role quite inconsistent with the tenure of the Vice-Presidency. Wan Ssu-t'ung does not list Ling-yün among the Vice-Presidents in his Sung chiang hsiang ta ch'en nien piao. Yeh Hsiao-hsueh (1), p.169, accepts the NS statement without qualms however.

30. SS, V, p.7a. "In the fourth year of yuan-chia, on the day yi-mao of the second month (24 March), the Emperor went to Tan-t'u to
visit the Royal Tombs."


32. See Hsieh, p.118. Written by Imperial Command when I accompanied the Emperor on his Journey to Mount Pei-ku near Ching-k'ou.

33. Ibid., lines 17-18.

34. SS, LXVII, p.33b.

35. SS, XXXIV, p.38b. "In the fourth year of the yuan-chia period of Sung Wen-ti, in the fifth month, there was plague in the capital." SS, V, p.7bl. "There was plague in the capital. On the day chia-wu (fifth month) envoys were sent to enquire into the health of the people and provide them with medicaments. Coffins and grave-utensils were provided for those among the dead who were without kinsfolk."

36. Cheng Hsien-chih 章顯之 (364-427), Wang Hung-chih 王弘之 (365-427), Wang Hua, Hsieh Fang-ming, T'ao Ch'ien 陶潜 (365-427) and Tu Hung-wen 杜弘文 were among them.

37. See TCTC, pp.3792-3797, (fifth to twelfth months) which contains only two entries, the death of Tu Hung-wen and the death of Wang
Hua, for this period.

38. See above, chapter III, note 111.

39. SS, LXVII, p. 36b.

40. SS, LXVII, pp. 33b7-36b.

41. At this time Tao-chi held the Inspectorship of Chiang-chou with his headquarters at Hsün-yang. In 432 he was given the additional office of Minister of Works.

42. This argument is advanced by Yeh Hsiao-hsueh (1), p.171.

43. SS, XLIII, p.21b carries the text of an edict dated the third month of 436 enumerating T'an Tao-chi's crimes. Among them we find the statement: "Hsieh Ling-yün had inordinate ambitions and uttered vile (calumnies). It was clear he was no loyal subject. They listened to seditious counsel and covered up for each other."

44. The date is vouched for by Hsieh, p.68, A Poem on Starting Off on the Road for the East.


46. SS, LIII, p.23b. "Some time before Hui-lien had been in love with an officer in Kuei-chi by the name of Tu Te-ling.
When (Hui-lien) was in mourning for his father he presented (Tu) with ten or more five-word poems which found their way into general circulation. He was judged guilty, sentenced to banishment, stripped of his rank and forbidden to hold further office. He could no longer hope for an honourable career. Yin Ching-jen, Major-Domo to the Department of State Affairs, admired his genius. So he took occasion once to remark to T'ai-tsu; 'When I was just a boy even then I used to see these poems going around. Yet there are people who say that they were written by Hsieh Hui-lien. Obviously this can't be true!'

T'ai-tsu said: 'If this is so then we must see that the way (to an official career) is clear for him again.' In the seventh year of the yuan-chia period (430) he was made Administrator to the Judicature to the Minister of Instruction, Yi-k'ang, Prince of P'eng-ch'eng. At that time Yi-k'ang was putting the walls of the Eastern Bureau in order. In the city moat they discovered an ancient tomb, whose remains they removed to another burial place. Hui-lien was asked to write a sacrificial ode for it. He stayed there for two nights waiting until it was finished. It was very beautifully written. He also wrote the 'Fu-poem on Snow', which made people marvel at its extraordinary beauty. Both these works are still extant.

He died in 433 at the age of thirty-seven. Since he died young and had moreover despised the accumulation of many (possessions)
he attained no office of distinction. He left no posterity."

47. Chang Hua's style is characterized by the Shih p'in as "ornamental" (Shih p'in chu, p.20). This clearly relates it to Hui-lien's style for he is described as being "skilful at composing exquisite ballads" (ibid., p.27). Elsewhere Ling-yun is said to have had reservations about Chang Hua. "Hsieh K'ang-lo said: 'Master Chang has still but the one style even though he should write a thousand stanzas.'" (ibid., p.21).

48. These poems are now lost. See Hui-lien's surviving works (30 poems) in Ting Fu-pao (1), vol. I, pp.656-663.

49. All our information on Ho Chang-yu is found within Ling-yun's biography itself, SS, LXVII, pp.37a-38a, "A man from Tung hai.... Once, when Ling-yun came from Shih-ning to Kuei-chi he stayed with (Hsieh) Fang-ming and met Hui-lien.... At that time (Ho) Chang-yu was teaching Hui-lien to read and was also in the commandery. Ling-yun for his part thought him (Chang-yu) exceptionally (brilliant) and said to Fang-ming:.... 'Ho Chang-yu is the Chung-hsuan of today yet you give him the food of an ordinary retainer. Since Your Honour cannot treat wise men as they should be treated, you should let Chang-yu..."
come back with me.' Ling-yun put him in his carriage and drove off with him. Chang-yu ranked next to Hui-lien in literary excellence."

50. "When (Liu) Yi-ch'ing, Prince of Lin-ch'uan, summoned all literary men together (at his court) Chang-yu rose from the rank of State Secretary in the Service of a Prince to that of Administrator in the Redaction Office in the Service of the General for the Pacification of the West. Once when he was in Chiang-ling he sent a letter to his fellow clansman Ho Ts'ui with a rhyming preface about an official of Yi-ch'ing's provincial office (i.e., Chiang-ling) which ran: 'Lu Chan has been dyeing his hair, For he wants to please his secondary wife. Black, black, he never lets it down for long, For streaked with white it's falling out again.' It went on in this way for five or six couplets, ridiculing him. Frivolous young men gave it a wide circulation. All his men and gentlemen made it the subject of further poems, everyone adding cutting words and cruel couplets to it. When this work came to be generally known, Yi-ch'ing was very angry and informed T'ai-tsu. (Ho) was appointed Magistrate of Ts'eng-ch'eng, a place within the jurisdiction of Kuang-chou, (439). When Yi-ch'ing died (444) the court gentlemen came to his house to express their mourning. Ho Ts'ui said to Yuan Shu: 'Chang-yu should be brought back again.' Shu replied: 'The state has just been plunged
into mourning for the flower of its house. We should not be thinking about exiles.'

When (Liu) Shao, Prince of Lu-ling, was supposed to take command of the garrison in Hsûn-yang (444) he appointed Chang-yu to the post of Adjutant of the South and Itinerant Administrator in Charge of the Registration of Documents. On his journey he came to a plank bridge and, buffeted by a violent wind, met his death by drowning." (Ibid., p.37b4-38a6).

51. We have no further information about Hsûn Yung except that of SS, LXVII, p.37a-b, which tells us that he came from Ying-ch'uan, that his style was Tao-yung and that he reached the rank of Extra-officiary Junior Chamberlain.

52. In the case of Yang Hsûn-chih our information is again limited to SS, loc. cit. He came from T'ai-shan and was styled Yao-fan. When he was Inner Officer of Lin-ch'uan he came into the favour of Liu Tan, Prince of Ching-ling (433-459), who was then Minister of Works. When Tan was executed Hsûn-chih died with him. Now Tan became Minister of Works in 455, rebelled in 459, and was defeated and executed the same year. (See Lo Chen-yu (1), p.4236). Hence Hsûn-chih must have died in 459.

53. SS, LXVII, p.37a4. "People at that time called them 'The Four Friends.'"
54. The original "Four Friends", from whom this name was borrowed, were the four companions of King Wen of Chou, namely Hung Yao, T'ai-kung Wang, Nan-kung Kua, and San Yi-sheng. They are mentioned in the Shang shu ta chuan ch. 1, Yin chuan, p.53. The name was also applied to the four favourite disciples of K'ung-tzu, namely Yen Hui, Tzu-kung, Tzu-chang, and Tzu-lu. See K'ung ts'ung tzu, Lun shu pp.12-13; Hsiao hsueh kan chu, p.174. For further examples of the use of this term in describing foursomes see Morohashi, TKWJ, vol. III, p.2278, No. 4682.24.

55. SS, LXVII, 37al. "After Ling-yun had returned East on account of ill-health, he used to roam about for pleasure and hold festive gatherings which went on day and night."

56. Biography in SS, LV; NS, XV. A man from Shang-yu county in Chekiang. Lived in retirement until he was forty, when he took up his first post as Extra-officiary General of Established Authority with Meng Ch'ang. Eventually attained the rank of kuang-lu ta-fu. See Hsieh, pp.68-82.

60. Hsieh, p. 79. Written in Reply to My Younger Cousin, Hui-lien.

61. I.e., the Six Confucian Arts, namely the Chou yi, Li chi, Shih ching, Shu ching, Ch'un ch'iu and music.

62. These are the Nine Philosophical Schools which sprang up after Confucius, namely the Ju chia, Tao chia, Yin yang chia, Fa chia, Tsung heng chia, Ying hao chia, Fa chia, Ming chia, Tsao chia, Mo chia, Nung chia.

63. I can make no sense of the term perhaps erroneous for ¼.

64. Feng chueh, "Divination by winds". Text of excerpt in SCP, SS, LXVI, p. 316.

65. SS, LXVII, p. 38a6, "Ling-yün had acquired a very rich patrimony through (inheriting) the wealth of his father and grandfather. His slaves were numerous while his faithful retainers were numbered by the hundred."

66. SS, LXVII, p. 33b4.

67. See Murakami Yoshimi (1), passim.

68. Cf. Stein (1), p. 38, who remarks on the essentially magical
properties attached to miniature gardens. "Un certain mana (pouvoir magique) diffus mais bienfaisant est inhérent aux jardins en miniature. Cette propriété n'est, comme tout pouvoir magique, pas seulement négative (écarter le mal) mais encore positive; elle entraîne la force et la puissance." The same considerations must surely have been present even in the making of larger gardens (no miniature gardens existed before T'ang, see Stein (1), p.33) which are also reproductions of the larger reality of the landscape. As Stein notes: "Le monde, dans sa totalité, est réellement présent dans une aire rituellement delimitée quelle qu'elle soit." (op. cit., p.3).

69. Cf. Mather (1).


71. SS,LXVII, p.27a, Shan chu fu. Ling-yun's own commentary to this passage says: "Yang means yang-t'ao (averrhoa carambola; the starfruit?). In the mountains we call it mu tzu 畢菜. Mu (tzu) wine has a bitter taste. Shen wine has a sweet taste. Both are extremely delicious and are used for the treatment of illness. Shen wine is used for abscesses; starfruit (?) wine for catarrh.... The shen mushroom tastes like ku ts'ai (zizania aquatica), only better. Collect-
ing (mushrooms) from felled trees is called mu 蘆. Elder is gathered for making paper. Madder 薰 is gathered as a "dye (reading 染 instead of 漆). Hsien 棨 is gathered for making a drink. The gathering of honey and the knocking down of chestnuts is each done in its proper month."

72. For the expression 番景福 cf. Songs, 207.5 and 247.1 "Starfruits", since 木 is 楊桃 (averrhoa carambola) as in the commentary. The presence of a native Javanese fruit here in South China in the fifth century is intriguing. Shen 棨 is not mentioned in the Chih wu hsüeh ta tz'u tien 植物學大辭典.

73. Shen 棨 is the name of a mushroom found on fallen trees. It is surprising to find the bark of the elder (sambucus javanica) being used in the manufacture of paper, (see note 71 above). All early examples of paper found so far have been made with the bark of the paper mulberry 植 (Broussonetia), hemp and various plant fibers. See Carter, The Invention of Printing in China, pp. 6-7.

74. Rubia cordifolia, var. mungista, Miq.

75. This plant is not mentioned in the Chih wu hsüeh ta tz'u tien.

76. T'ai-p'ing kuang chi, CCCXXIII, p.16a, quoting the Yi-yuan 業
of Liu Ching-shu 刘敬叔 (d. 465/472). See Yao Chen-tsung (1), p.5379c for an account of this work. Liu Ching-shu held a post at the Sung court from 426 (see Yao Chen-tsung, loc. cit.) and must therefore have known Ling-yün personally. Hence we may presume that Ling-yün may well have experienced a dream or vision akin to that described.

77. See Hsieh, p.79, Written in Reply to My Younger Cousin, Hui-lien and Hsieh, p.82, On Ascending the Peak of Lin-hai after Leaving Chiang-chung.

78. Hsieh, p.79, lines 38-40.

79. Wang Hsiu was the youngest son of Wang Mi 王謫. See CS, LXV, p.8b9. "(Mi's) three sons Kuan 璇, Ch'iu 球 (biography in SS,LVIII, pp.7b-9a) and Hsiu all reached high office during the Sung."

80. SS,LXVII, p.38b1. "Once, by felling trees, he opened up a path from Nan-shan in Shih-ning as far as Lin-hai. Wang Hsiu, the Governor of Lin-hai, was greatly alarmed for he thought they were bandits from the mountains. But when he was told this was Ling-yün he calmed down. Ling-yün, for his part, wanted Hsiu to let him go on but Hsiu was unwilling. So Ling-yün presented him with a poem which said:
The ruler of the country found the crags gave him trouble,
The traveller had no worries about journeying through the mountains."

81. Meng Yi, style Yen-chung 亁, biography in NS XIX, p.20b4, was the younger brother of Meng Ch'ang 陳超. Both Ch'ang and Yi were so good-looking that their contemporaries gave them the sobriquet of "the twin pearls". As long as Ch'ang held office Yi would not take a post. After Ch'ang's death in 410, Yi commenced his official career. He seems to have early incurred the enmity of Hsu Hsien-chih for in 417, during Liu Yu's northern campaign, he was foolish enough to tell Hsu that he considered there was no one fit to succeed Liu Mu-chih, who had just died. Since Hsu was then actively scheming to take Liu's place (see chapter 1 above, p. 43) the remark was not well-received. However, this antagonism on the part of Hsu must have stood Yi in good stead when Wen-ti came to the throne for he rose ultimately to the Vice-Presidency of the Imperial Chancellery (440), Major-Domo to the Department of State Affairs (441), General Intendant to the Household of the Crown Prince, Officer of Irregular Cavalry in Constant Attendance on the Emperor and Kuang lu ta fu of the Left. He died at his post while Grand Warden of Kuei-chi.

82. NS, XIX, p.19b2.

83. CSTCC, IX, p.61a, mentions Yi in connection with this sutra. KSC carries several accounts of Yi's Buddhist
activities. He is mentioned as having established the Fang-hsien (Chekiang, Ch'ien-t'ang circuit) and having invited Seng-ch'uan to reside there. He is also mentioned in connection with other pious activities ranging from the enlargement of a stūpa (said to have been Asoka's! See Zürcher, Conquest, p.279) near Mou-hsien (east of modern Yin-hsien, Chekiang), to the support of monks and the building of a Hall of Meditation. See Yeh, p. 212, notes 106-111.

84. See above, chapter III, note 99.
85. SS, LXVII, p.38b; NS, XIX, p.19a (identical with SS.) Mather (1) p.69, note 8, translates: "Attainment of the way requires the work of wisdom. If you are reborn as a god it may be before me, but if you become a Buddha it will surely be after me." Liebenthal (5), p.82, note 70, translates: "To be saved one has to acquire Wisdom. You will get a seat in Heaven before Ling-yun, but be sure you will become Buddha after me (sic)."

Both these translations ignore the full connatation of the term hui yeh, an expression drawn from the Vimalakīrti-sūtra. See Soothill (1), p.434, Morohashi, TKWJ, p.4564, 11, 116.33.

Fo t'uung chi, XXVI, p.343a as well as TPYL, 654.1 and
498.3 read 丈人 with NS loc. cit. But SS loc. cit., along with Fo tsu li tai t'ung tsai, VIII, p.535a, reads 丈人 ".

Yeh Hsiao-hsueh (1), p.213, note 112, claims that one (unspecified) edition of TPYL also reads 丈人 (498.3). But the editors of the SPPY edition of SS (p.558) adopt the reading 丈人 which they explain as a vocative. Note that 丈人 generally means "Ancestor" as in Song, CCLXII.5, and is not used as a form of address.

86. See Ochi Shikeaki (2), passim.

87. See Lu Ssu-mien (1), vol. II pp.1061-1063; Wang Yi-t'ung (1), pp.75-94. It was not only the central government that issued edicts against the appropriation of common land for private use. Zealous provincial officials also took up arms in defence of these rights. Thus Liu Hung 劉弘 (circa 236-304 A.D.) took action to enable the peasantry to gain access to commonland. "A long-standing regulation had forbidden the common people to catch fish in the lakes around Mount Hsien 恆山 and Mount Fang 方山 (respectively 60 li and 40 li west of Chang-hsing 存興 county, Chekiang). Hung issued an edict which said: "According to the Li Chi (V, 36, Wang Chih; Couvreur, Li Ki vol. 1, p.293) famous mountains and great lakes may not be made private property but should have their benefits open to all. Now public and private interests have
annexed them and the common people have no place to set their hands. What can this mean? Let these laws be quickly repealed." (CS LXVI, p.2b4.)

Again we find one Wang Tzu-shang (fl. 5th century A.D.) complaining that, "Although the prohibitions (against encroaching) on mountains and lakes are of long standing, popular customs connected with these have been superseded and are no longer accepted. Mountains are cleared by fire and lakes are made private property, both guarded for the profit of a family, so that since but recently (these prohibitions) have daily fallen into extreme neglect. Rich and powerful interests have monopolized the mountain ranges, so that the poor and the weak have nowhere to go for their herbs and firewood. And indeed the fishing-grounds too are in a like state." (SS, LV, p.8b1-4). That these conditions were not exclusively confined to the south is apparent from an edict of Fu Chien's "throwing open the benefits of mountains and lakes" (CS, CXII, p.2b7).

88. See Bielenstein (2).

89. "This lake (the Hui-chung) was not far from the outskirts of the town and it afforded a supply of water-produce. The peasants grudged it. Yi held firmly on to it and would not give it to him."
90. SS, LVII, p.21a, biography of Ts'ai Hsing-tsung 蔡興宗 (415-472): "In Kuei-chi there were many eminent families who paid no heed to the royal regulations. Moreover, favoured ministers and imperial favourites, who between them held control of the imperial palace, had taken into their fiefs the lakes and the mountains, thus standing in the way of the people to the detriment of good government. Hsing-tsung brought them all to order by means of the law."

91. SS, LXVII, p.38b says: "T'ai-tsu had ordered the provincial authorities to put this (order) into effect.... Yi held firmly on to (the lake) and would not give it him." Though Shen Yo does not make the point clear it is obvious that Yi must have persuaded Wen-ti to reverse his decision. He was not rashly defying an imperial command.

93. SS, LXVII, p.38b. "Since Ling-yun could not get hold of the Hui-chung lake he then tried to get the P'ei-huang lake in Shih-ning to turn it into fields. Yi held firmly on to it once again."

94. Yeh Hsiao-hsueh (1), p.173, believes that Yi belonged to the faction once led by Liu Mu-chih. He quotes an episode from Yi's biography (NS, XIX, p.20b) in which he is censured by Wang Hung for sighing after Liu Mu-chih in support of this (Yeh,
95. *SS*, LXVII, p.39al. "Ling-yun said that Yi was not succouring and profiting the people but was simply thinking that draining the lake would harm many living creatures. He said cutting things about him and from then on was at daggers drawn with Yi. Since Ling-yun was forward and the people were becoming agitated, Meng Yi then sent up a memorial accusing him of plotting rebellion, called out troops to protect himself, made a report about it and sent up word."

96. The Toba Wei had eliminated the Yuan Yuan the year before and were hence free to turn their attention to Sung.

97. *TCTC*, p.3838 relates that in the autumn of 432: "A vagabond called Hsü Mu-chih 許穆之 changed his surname and personal name to Ssu-ma Fei-lung 司馬飛龍 and gave out that he was a close relative of the House of Chin. He went and attached himself to Yang Nan-tang 楊難當, Prince of the Ti. Nan-tang sought to take advantage of popular discontent by supplying Fei-lung with weapons and sending him off to invade Yi-chou to stir up trouble there. Fei-lung summoned the men of Shu together and got over a thousand of them. Then he attacked Pa-hsing 巴興 (Ssu-ch'uan) killed its magistrate and drove away the Grand Warden of Yin-p'ing (160 li
north-west of present-day Tzu-t'ung (צביל, Ssu-ch'uan). (T'an) Tao-chi sent an army which attacked him and took his head."

98. SS,LXVII, p.39a4. "Ling-yun galloped out to the capital, went to the gate-towers (of the palace) and sent up a memorial."
Chapter V

Final Resolution

Ling-yun’s first action on reaching the capital was to send up a memorial protesting his innocence. The document is a cleverly-argued appeal on which he has lavished all his consummate literary skill in an attempt to sway the emperor to his side.

"It is now three years since I, your servant, returned to the mountains suffering from my sickness. I have not dwelt by the suburb walls but have served among intractable people, dwelling among the gloom of the utmost crags, doubly cut off from all external causes (pratyaya). There I guarded my lot and nourished my life, hoping to bring to a close what years were left to me. But suddenly, on the twenty-eighth day of last month, I obtained possession of a report to the Emperor by your servant, the Grand Warden of Kuei-chi, Meng Yi, dated the twenty-seventh day, which said: 'For some time past there has been a great deal of seditious talk going on.' Although this is now over the people are not altogether peaceful. So I have taken some small precautions (to protect myself)." When I unrolled this memorial I was terrified and could not explain how this had come about. So by starlight I fled at a gallop to return my bones to Your Majesty.

When I was passing through Shan-yin (modern Shao-hsing) I saw that guards were out in brilliant array with shields, horses and spears. They had blocked all the roads and byways and were scattered everywhere. There were men with halberds and armour all along the road. I, your humble servant, did not know what crime I had committed. For although Yi had told me in an interview that he understood everything clearly yet (when I saw that) he had taken such precautions I felt ensnared and terrified.

I, your servant, long ago disgraced you by my proximity to you in your service and enjoyed the grace of Heaven which I received. If there were clear written proof of the marks of my guilt I should not only be publicly executed, along with my entire family, by the Officer of Punishments to maintain the statutes of the realm, but in the whole empire there would be no land that would afford me shelter. Yet now for an empty word I am condemned.
Could anything be as cruel as this! From of old the saints and sages have not escaped from slander. Yet when such extreme slander comes it must surely be based on something tangible. Now there are people who treat death lightly but set great store by their temperament. They are the sort who form factions and join together in cliques. There are others who are dashing fellows who surpass everyone else in their district. They become swordsmen and go galloping about on horseback. But I have never heard of one versed in the rites who has wanted to incur the guilt of rebelling against due order or of a scholar in retirement in the mountains who would deliberately come into conflict with the emperor. Yet proofs of my guilt have been baselessly established while false slanders have been created from nothing at all. Never perhaps from remote antiquity has there been such cruelty. Even if my life is not valued there should be real sorrow for my pains. To tell the truth, when I looked within myself I found no fault in me. Yet none would vouch for the principle I bore in my breast.

It is for this reason that I have come, dragging my sick body along and bundling up my bones, to return and ask for audience. If, when I look up for support from Your Majesty, the Mirror of Heaven will but deign to cast a regard upon me, then the day of my death will be as the years of my life.

I, your servant, have been in sorrow and fear the live-long day. My wasting sickness has broken out afresh, I am a living corpse, so confused I know not even if I have expressed myself properly here.

Such eloquence did not go unrewarded. Wen-ti must have realized that Meng Yi's story was far from convincing, for he took no action against Ling-yun beyond refusing to allow him to return to his estate, a prudent enough move under the circumstances.

The emperor's impatience with Meng Yi's prattle of alarms and excursions was well justified. At this time he had far weightier matters on his hands. Ever since he came to the throne he had dreamt of liberating Honan, which had been occupied by the To-pa Wei since the year 423. His only reason for
delaying until this time had been a feeling that it would be imprudent to launch out into military adventures before he had achieved complete autonomy at home. He must have reasoned that to have undertaken an attack on the north while T'an Tao-chi still occupied the commanding position he had enjoyed for so long would have been to invite disaster. It was largely for reasons like these that the campaign had not been mounted earlier. Of late, however, the power-structure of the government had altered in Wen-ti's favour. For one thing he now had an heir to the empire, his son Shao 9 (d.453), fated to murder his father and usurp, although briefly, his throne. Shao had been installed as Crown Prince on 15 May 429. His brothers, Yi-k'ang and Yi-kung, had also entered the government shortly before this, on 12 March. Yi-k'ang had been made Director of Instruction, while Yi-kung had been put in charge of the military forces of eight provinces.

With his position strengthened in this way, Wen-ti could afford to indulge in the luxury of a campaign aimed at increasing his prestige. It would have been idle for him to expect any great popular enthusiasm at the prospect of yet another northern campaign. The central plain had been won back only to be lost again twice in the space of eighty years. By now the populace must have become sceptical about the prospect of every recovering it again. Furthermore, there was little incentive for the launching of an army of liberation. To the northerners, who had settled in the south after the fall of Western Chin (311 A.D.) their lost home was by now little more than a nostalgic family
tradition. They were comfortably ensconced in the south, very often in regions far more inviting than the bleak territory of the north. The long-settled southerners of course had even less reason to be enthusiastic; they could hardly be expected to respond zealously to an exhortation to return to a territory which was completely alien to them.

In spite of this, however, Wen-ti decided to go ahead with his plans for an attack on the north. Tao Yen-chih, a former general of T' an Tao-chi's, was put in command of the expedition. The campaign went well enough at first. In the seventh month of 430, Lo-yang and Hu-lao (also known as Ch'eng-kao, Ssu-shui, Honan), the latter a strong point of considerable strategic importance, were abandoned by the Wei troops and promptly occupied by Tao Yen-chih's forces. The King of Hsia, Ho-lien Ting (r. 428-431), now saw his chance to make capital out of Wei's difficulties and sent an army to join in the attack. Hopes of final victory must have run high in Chien-k'ang at this time. But they were soon to be dashed. Wei had the inestimable advantage of the leadership of Ts'ui Hao (d. 450 A.D.), one of the greatest statesman of the period. Under his guidance, Wei soon rallied to the onslaught with such success that by the tenth month of 430 they had recaptured Lo-yang and Hu-lao and inflicted heavy defeats on the imperial forces. This proved disastrous for the imperial forces, who now found that what had begun as a triumphal progress had degenerated into a rout. Tao Yen-chih and his troops, plagued by sickness and harassed by constant attacks, fled to the shelter of
P'eng-ch'eng only to find this city in its turn menaced by the advancing Wei armies. In the meantime Sung's would-be allies, the Hsia, had fared no better. On Tuesday, 16 December (11 month, day ting-yu) they had been heavily defeated at Ch'un-ku (Ling-t'ai, Kansu), the king of Hsia barely escaping with his life.

Wen-ti now saw victory being snatched from his grasp at the last moment. In his dilemma he was forced to turn to the very man he most wanted to exclude from any possible share of the glory, T'an Tao-chi, whom he now ordered to lead a relieving force to attack Wei. For a time it looked as though T'an's intervention had changed the fortunes of the war. On 14 February 431 (1 month, day ting-yu) he defeated the Wei forces at Shou-ch'ang (near modern Tung-p'ing, Shantung), and then swung west in an attempt to raise the seige of Hua-t'ai (modern Hua-hsien, Honan). As he pushed on he was continually harassed by the Wei forces, fighting over thirty engagements with them in the course of three weeks. Wei had recourse to guerilla tactics, skirmishing with T'an's troops on all sides and burning the countryside around them as they advanced. Before long the imperial army was faced with starvation. T'an was compelled to return, conducting a masterly retreat under difficult circumstances. Wei was now left victorious on the scene. By the summer of 431 Ho-lien Ting had been captured and most of Ho-nan occupied. Only widespread flood and famine in the south of the Wei territory prevented the Wei ruler, T'ai-wu-ti (r.423-452),
from carrying the war further into Sung territory. Wen-ti's campaign against the north had ended even more disastrously than his father's.

Meanwhile, in the midst of these military excursions, Ling-yun had been busy with work of a very different nature. The Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra, one of the most important sūtras of the Mahāyāna sect, had been brought back in a partial version of six chapters by Fa-hsien many years before. This had later been translated by Fa-hsien himself in the Tao-ch'ang monastery between 417 and 418. But the full version was known only in the state of Northern Liang, where Dharmakṣema (385-433) had been engaged in translating it between 414 and 421. Around this sūtra a theological dispute of the first importance had arisen. Ling-yūn's old master, Chu Tao-sheng, had asserted on the basis of what he had heard from Fa-hsien that even icchāntikas - incorrigible unbelievers - could become Buddhas. Unfortunately, though both Fa-hsien and Tao-sheng knew that this doctrine was attested by the Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra, it was not to be found in the six-chapter version. However, Tao-sheng persisted in his assertion, in spite of the lack of written proof, until he was eventually accused of heresy (in 428/9) and driven from the capital. Shortly after this, however, the full forty-chapter version arrived from Northern Liang and with its arrival Tao-sheng found himself completely vindicated. Here was authoritative evidence icchāntikas did indeed possess the Buddha-nature. He was brought back to the capital in triumph.

Now Ling-yūn must have had a special interest in this discovery. He was not only Tao-sheng's follower but had himself
advocated the same "heresy" in his *Inscription on the Buddha-Shadow*, where he had twice asserted that "the icchantika would find the road leading home". He immediately set to work and with the help of two monkish friends of his, Hui-kuan 華嚴 (d.443/7) and Hui-yen 慧嚴 (364-443) presently succeeded in turning Dharmakṣema's rather crude Chinese into a masterpiece of polished style.

Here we may add that Ling-yün - whether he was aware of it or not - had taken sides in another of the great controversies of the time. It had long been debated whether the Indian scriptures should be translated boldly and literally into Chinese, with no stylistic gilding to adorn the resulting homely structure, or whether a more polished, if not so faithful version, should be produced which would have a far greater appeal to the cultivated public for which it was designed. Those against adorning the words of the Buddha would quote Lao-tzu's dictum that: 'Beautiful words are not reliable; reliable words are not beautiful'. But Ling-yün evidently let his aesthetic sense override his religious convictions for his version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, if not completely accurate, is extremely elegant.

One other Buddhist work of Ling-yün's deserves to be mentioned before we pass on. This was his commentary to the renowned *Vajracchedikāprajñāparamitā (The Diamond Sūtra)*, an exegesis which is now unfortunately lost. We have no idea when he wrote this commentary; at the most we may hazard the guess that he could hardly have ventured to comment on a work of such difficulty until he felt himself well-grounded in Buddhist doctrine. The
Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā, the "Perfection of Wisdom which cuts like a thunderbolt" is the most important of the thirty-eight books of the Prajñāpāramitā literature. It represents the essence of the Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra. Kumārajīva's translation (TT, No. 235) must have been scarcely intelligible as it stood. As Conze remarks: "In the case of the Diamond Sūtra it is quite obvious that a bare translation cannot possibly convey its full meaning. To a casual reader it must present the disconcerting appearance of a jumble of disjointed pieces.... The meaning of the Sūtra as a whole is bound to elude him, for it contains within itself only few and inconclusive clues to its logical sequence."

It would seem likely then that Ling-yün's work as "Deleter and Style Polisher" on the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra had finally given him the confidence to attempt a commentary on the Vajracchedikā. We can therefore tentatively conclude that he began work on this commentary shortly after he had finished his task of translation.

By this time Ling-yün's theoretical grasp of Buddhism must have been considerable. He was obviously familiar with the basic texts of the Pure Land School, the Saddharma-pundarīka and the Sukhāvati-vyūha, for he alludes to them in his work, while in addition to these he was well-acquainted with the Vimalakīrti-nirdēśā. To these three we must add the two texts just discussed above. His Discussion of Essentials alone is sufficient to prove that he had a real contribution to make to Buddhist
thought. Yet of the two main aspects of the Mahāyāna teaching -
the Bodhisattva ideal and the doctrine of चुन्यवादा, the unreality of the universe - only the latter seems to have
been really understood by him. The idea that the universe was a
mental construction, that all dharma were empty, that the five
skandhas, the twelve अयातानास and the eighteen ढातुस were all
just so many concepts, must have come easily to him. For were
not the Mahāyāna doctrines of dharmanairatmya (egolessness) and
sarvadharmasūnyatā (emptiness) very close to the Taoist doctrine
of the Void? Here Ling-yun's basic Taoism undoubtedly aided him
in his grasp of the Mahāyāna teachings. Even the further develop­
ment of Mahāyāna doctrine, the identity of Nirvāṇa and Saṃsāra, not
to mention that further stumbling-block, the conclusion that the
identity of these two necessarily leads to their complete separate­
ness, could hardly have proved strange to a mind accustomed to
the paradoxes of the Tao-te ching and Chuang-tzu.

Things were otherwise when it came to his understanding of
the Bodhisattva doctrine. For one thing his association with the
Mount Lu community, whose devotional creed involved not a प्राणिद्धाना (the Bodhisattva vow) but a solemn covenant that all would enter
Sukhāvatī together, could hardly have helped him in his understanding
of the doctrine. But more serious was the subtle influence of his
Taoist beliefs which, like a vein of ore near a lodestone, made him
almost imperceptibly deviate from Mahāyāna doctrine. For how else
can his assiduous practice of Taoist techniques for assuring longe­
vity be explained? How could the doctrine of anātman - the denial
of all substance or soul - which has always been the very foundation
of Buddhism, ever be reconciled with this belief of his in a personal immortality? The contradiction is everywhere apparent. He must often have read the famous ten similes in the Vimalakirti-sutra, one of which should surely have raised some doubts in his mind on the efficacy of his ch'ang sheng techniques:

"This body is like a mass of foam
It cannot be held.
This body is like a bubble;
It may not long endure."39

Nevertheless a sort of "negative capability" (the term is Keats', another poet who found no difficulty in holding apparently contradictory beliefs) enabled him to reconcile his Taoist exercises with his Buddhist contempt for the body. Is there some justification, one wonders, for seeing in this contradiction but the diminished reflection of that fatal dichotomy between thought and action, belief and practice, which characterised at least the latter years of his life? One might argue that he somehow equated the ethereal body of the Taoist hsien with the mind-formed body (manomaya) which is referred to by the Mahāyāna schools in the Guhyasamājatantrarāja (TT, No.885) and other Tantras. This body is connected with the magic power (rddhi 如意) which is the first of the six supernatural powers 六神通 (sad-abhijnā) acquired in the higher stages of spiritual progress.41 But it is difficult to see how he managed to yoke the two doctrines together for long without upset. Life for the Taoist is the supreme good, to be accepted joyfully whatever one's condition. Life for the Buddhist, whatever form it may take, is "the origin of this whole mass of pain", and as such one should flee from it as from a hungry tiger.
But Ling-yün was not to be allowed to spend his remaining years in peaceful scholarship. In the spring of 431 he was appointed Inner Officer of Lin-ch'uan (west of modern Lin-ch'uan, Kiangsi). In a poem written as he waited for his boat at Shih-shou-ch'eng, the fortress outside Chien-k'ang, he is duly grateful to Wen-ti for having graciously spared his life. Yet there must have been a great deal of bitterness in him at being sent into virtual exile once again. Posts in the provinces - one's native district excepted - were a sure mark of disfavour when given to members of the Great Families. Added to this smart of disgrace was his sorrow at being once again separated from his companions:

"Once again I have endured a parting for life,
A second time I have bidden farewell to my friends.
The mountains I once knew recede further from me every day,
How shall I ever return over these wind-blown waves?"

His exile of ten years before seemed to be repeating itself. Once again as his boat forged slowly up the long reaches of the Yangtze and through the P'eng-li Lake (P'o-yang hu) heading for Yu-chang, he composed a series of magnificently conceived poems recording his journey. The prevailing mood in these verses is one of nostalgia. Gone now is the tranquillity he had attained in Yung-chia; his poems are "stanzas written in dejection", full of regrets for the idyllic life that had been snatched away from him. As always, the analogy of Ch'ü Yuan came readily to his mind:

"You could not stop thinking of your homeland,
I was melancholy through brooding on my mountains.
My thoughts went back to the days when I was idle,
When I lay stretched at full length completely at my ease, ..."
"I never regretted the length of the autumn nights
But only felt bitter at the shortness of the summer
days."49

But now, he complains:

"Through thinking of the past I can enjoy nothing new,
So full of sorrow I am heedless of the warm sunshine
of spring."50

Even the superb scenery of the upper Yangtze in spring
could not bring consolation to his troubled mind.

"In the spring dusk the green wilds are blossoming,
Round the craggy heights the white clouds gather.
But a thousand thoughts possess me day and night,
Ten thousand passions brim me from dawn till dusk."51

On his arrival in Lin-ch'uan he refused to settle down
to the duties of his office, even though he must have been aware
just how serious the consequences of such an action would be. It
is not difficult to understand why he chose to behave so mutinously.
He had been unjustly slandered by an inferior, kept virtual
prisoner in the capital for a year and then sent packing into the
wilds of Kiangsi like a criminal. His arrogant spirit could brook
so much but no more. How could he have brought himself to settle
down to the dull routine of the magistrate's office, like a
whipped child doing penance? The official career had dangled the
lure of fame before him for too long. Now he would take life as
it came, never heeding the consequences:

"So I shall give rein to my desire to go wandering
off alone,
To make the most of the moonlight and play with
the flowing waters.52

But he was not to be allowed to enjoy his leisure for
long. This time the authorities were determined to make an
example of him. Liu Yi-k'ang had now replaced the friendly Wang
Hung as Director of Instruction. He was married to a daughter of Hsieh Hui who could have had no love for Ling-yün and may well have urged Yi-k'ang to revenge her father's death on him. Whatever the reasons, Yi-k'ang now ordered Cheng Wang-sheng, a subordinate officer from Suei-chou (modern Suei-hsien, Hupei) to place Ling-yün under arrest. At this final indignity Ling-yün lost his last shreds of self-control. In a fit of rage he held his captor captive, fled from the city and raised troops in a revolt as senseless as it was futile. All his long-suppressed anger against the House of Sung had burst forth at last. He would stage a rebellion for Chin, though knowing it would amount to suicide to do so, and so salve the wounded conscience that had troubled him since he first betrayed the dynasty he owed allegiance to by bowing his back to Sung. Defiantly he wrote his declaration of faith:

"When the Han state fell Tzu-fang was roused to action,\(^{56}\)
When Ch'in gained the empire Lu-lien felt ashamed.\(^{57}\)
As is natural in the case of men of rivers and seas
Their loyalty and righteousness affected all true gentlemen."

Here he compares the Sung dynasty with the tyrannical Ch'in. He sees himself first as Chang Liang (d.187 B.C.), who attempted to assassinate Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, and then as Lu Chung-lien, who fought against Ch'in but refused to take any reward.

The result of such recklessness was inevitable. As Shen Yo puts it:
He was pursued, captured and brought before the Commandant of Justice for trial. The Commandant of Justice sent up a memorial alleging that Ling-yün had led certain sections of the populace to revolt, and that it should be proclaimed that he was rightly to be punished with decapitation."58

But even now Wen-ti would not turn against him. Perhaps he valued his poetic and artistic talents too highly to lose them. Perhaps he remembered his debates on the question of capital punishment with Gunahbadra only two years earlier and was reluctant to take life lightly, like the pious Buddhist he was. Alternatively, he may have been held back by scruples about the wisdom of disposing of the most illustrious member of such a family as the Hsieh. Whatever his motive, there is no doubt that his behaviour was magnanimous enough. He was prepared to make due allowances for Ling-yün's erratic genius and merely dismiss him from office. But unfortunately for Ling-yün, Liu Yi-k'ang was determined not to let his prey slip from his clutches. He protested so vehemently against any complete pardon being granted that in the end the emperor was forced to impose a sentence of banishment. The edict of condemnation ran:

"Ling-yün has been guilty of continued violations of the law and should really meet with the utmost severity the law can afford. But Hsieh Hsüan gained merit by assisting in a petty office and we must let our clemency descend unto his posterity. The death sentence is to be mitigated by one degree. He is to be exiled to Kuang-chou."61

Ling-yün was then summarily ordered to leave the capital for Nan-hai 南海 (modern Canton), a place on the very southernmost limit of the empire. In the November or early December of 432 he set out on his wanderings once more, taking much the same route as he had done when making for Lin-ch'uan. He headed up
the Yangtze, through P'eng-li Lake, and then struck out south over the Wu-ling range towards the distant sea. So he writes:

"I raised my tall mast at Yang-t'an, and turned my footsteps into the distance, to the fiery province. I traversed the long road through Lu-chiang, Then left P'eng-li behind and went drifting south. It was then the tenth moon of the last season, The year gave signs of drawing to a close."

If he wrote any poems on this journey none of them has survived. But we do have fragments of two fu which he produced while on his way to Nan-hai. In one of them, the Hsiao kan fu (quoted above) he laments the fact that his exile is taking him away from his ancestral heritage, and voices a premonition of his approaching end. He must have felt his separation from Kuei-chi and his estate very keenly; even worse would be the feeling that he had failed; that he, a descendant of An and Hsuan, should be wending his way into exile like a common criminal. Nor could the prospect of spending his remaining years amid the heat and squalor of this still barely half-civilized trading-town have been pleasant to him. To be an exile - a commoner and a criminal - in such a region was very different from being local governor of Yung-chia or Lin-ch'uan, places which, though far enough from the capital, were still in their own way within the confines of Chinese civilization.

Nevertheless his misfortunes do not seem to have broken his spirit. He was still capable of appreciating the wild and virgin beauty of the largely uninhabited territory he was passing through and of putting his feelings down in verse. His fu written
as he crossed the Wu-ling range, fragmentary as it is, still gives us an indication that his powers were in no way diminished:

"I clamber slowly over the long mountain, Completely isolated on all sides. Down below are no hidden streams, Up here no even track. The timid deer and rabbit turn back at the sight of these peaks, The wild geese spy these summits and flee from them. I have slowly climbed the lower slopes and made my way along the side, Now I climb and descend again along the mountain track. I look back at the dizzy heights of the road, I gaze ahead at the towering mountain steps. I watch the morning clouds swathed round the range, I listen, darkling, to the torrent rushing through the gorge. Rocks lie strewn here and there like chess-stones, I scramble over them, marvelling at their strangeness. This is no mountain, this is no hill But a very tower, a gate turret. Bedecked with colours like a gaudy cloth It is bright and lustrous as the moon. I haul myself up by the creepers, On its mossy robe I slip and slide."

Since the journey to Nan-hai must have taken him several weeks, he could hardly have arrived there much before the first month of 433. One might have expected that he would have been allowed to pine away in exile in this malaria-ridden climate. But the premonitions he had voiced in the Hsiao kan fu were all too real. His enemies were determined not to be balked of their prey. Only a few months later it was alleged that Ling-yün had been planning rebellion once again and had arranged to have himself rescued from exile. The account in the Sung shu which tells of how this "plot" was discovered looks pitifully thin today:

"When Tsung Ch'i-shou 宗齊受, a General of a Yamen of the commandery of Ch'ìn, came to Ch'u-k'ou 餘口 on a journey, he passed through the village of T'ao-hsü 桃虛
"where he saw seven men going down the road and talking of rebellion. He suspected that there was something odd about them, so he turned back to inform the officials of the commandery and district, who put troops at his service so he might take them by surprise. All were captured and put to the question. One of them, whose surname was Chao and whose personal name was Ch'in, a fellow from the county of Shan-yang (modern Huai-an, Kiangsu), said that a fellow-villager of his, one Hsueh Tao-shuang, had had dealings with Hsieh K'ang-lo. At the beginning of the ninth month of the previous year Tao-shuang had passed word to (Chao) Ch'in through his fellow-villager Ch'eng Kuo saying that when he (Ling-yün) had first stirred up trouble in the commandery of Lin-ch'uan and was being sent into exile in Kuang-chou, he had given him (Tao-shuang) money to buy bows and arrows, swords, shields and other things and had sent him off to round up the able-bodied men from San-chiang-k'ou (Kuang-tung). If they had succeeded as Ling-yün intended they would afterwards have been considered as equal in merit. They had thereupon gathered together a gang to try and lay hold of Hsieh but they had not been successful. When they had returned they were starving, so they had taken to the roads and become robbers."

On such flimsy evidence was Ling-yün's fate decided. Wen-ti must have realised by now that it was useless to try to protect Ling-yün from the enmity of Liu Yi-k'ang. Hsieh Hung-wei, the only minister powerful and interested enough to have interceded for Ling-yün, was by now dead or dying. So, weary of trying to defend him, Wen-ti put his seal to the warrant ordering that he be publicly executed in Nan-hai.

Ling-yün wrote one last poem on the eve of his execution to express what he felt:

"Kung Sheng had no life left to him,
Li Yeh came to an end.
Hsi (K'ang) was harassed for his truth,
Master Huo too lost his life.
Thick and green the cypress, heedless of the frost,
Soaked with dew the mushroom, suffering in the wind.
What does a happy life amount to after all?
I am not troubled by its brevity."
I only regret that my resolution as a gentleman
Could not have brought me to my end among the mountains.
To deliver up my heart before I achieved omniscience—
This pain has been with me for long.
I only pray I may be born again
Where friend and foe alike might share
My heart's desire."^{87}

On his way to execution, so the story goes, Ling-yün cut off his splendid goatee and presented it to the Jetavana monastery in Nan-hai to serve as a beard for an image of Vimalakirti. He died as he had lived—philosophical, eccentric, courageous—a poet and an aristocrat to the last. His body was brought back to Kuei-chi and laid to rest there among the mountains he loved so well.

His son Feng 鳳 and his grandson Ch'ao-tsung 超宗 (d.483) had both gone into exile with him. Of Feng we know nothing except that he died young while still an exile in Kuang-chou. Ch'ao-tsung grew up in exile and remained there for the next twenty years or so. Towards the end of the yuan-chia period (424-454) he was allowed to return to the capital. Here he speedily made a reputation for himself as a poet and writer, so much so that Hsiao Wu-ti (r.454-464) is said to have praised him as a second Ling-yün. Later he was involved in the disgrace of Chang Ching-erh 張敬兒 (d.483), and though merely banished to Yueh-sui 越巖 (Hsi-ch'ang 西昌, Ssu-ch'uan) was compelled to commit suicide at Yü-chang. His son Chi-ch'ing 施卿 (476- ) also achieved a reputation for himself as a poet during the Liang dynasty. Chi-ch'ing's elder brother Ts'ai-ch'ing 施卿...
died young leaving only one son, Tsao 96, with whom this
gifted line comes to an end.

There has been a tendency to decry the achievements
of the Southern dynasties by contrasting them with the great
ages of T'ang and Sung. But this is scarcely to do them
justice. Eberhard's classic dismissal of Liu Sung history
("Nothing happened at court but drinking, licentiousness and
continual murders") overlooks the fact that this period was
one of an extraordinarily high level of achievement in many
fields. The names of T'ao Yuan-ming, Pao Chao and Ling-yün
himself hold positions of the first importance in the great
tradition of Chinese verse. Had this era nothing else to
contribute it would be outstanding merely for having produced
a cultural configuration of this magnitude. Furthermore, as
the following chapter will attempt to prove, it was at this
time that the genre of nature poetry - perhaps the most out-
standing Chinese contribution to world literature - first
assumed coherent form. On the achievements of this period
the glories of T'ang and Sung verse are solidly based.

In literary genres other than the five-word poem and
the yüeh-fu the contribution is less noteworthy. But the
Shih shuo hsin yü and the Pao-p'u-tzu in the field of philo-
 sophical writing are both of considerable interest, while the
Hou Han shu of Fan Yeh (398-445) and the commentary to
the San Kuo chih of P'eı Sung-chih (372-451) are
outstanding examples of historiography.
Among calligraphers and painters of the time we number the great Ku K'ai-chih and the scarcely less renowned Tsung Ping, who are perhaps the first landscape painters in Chinese art. Wang Ning-chih too holds an honoured place in the annals of Chinese calligraphy.

Nor did the liberal arts alone usurp all the talents of the age. The work of Ho Ch'eng-t'ien (377-410) and Tsu Ch'ung-chih (429-500) in astronomy and mathematics merits them a place in the history of Chinese science.

But perhaps the greatest contribution of the time lay in the advances made in the understanding and sinicization of Buddhism. As a translator Kumārajīva (343/4-413) rendered signal service, while thinkers of the calibre of Chu Tao-sheng and Seng-chao (384-414) hold a permanent place in the history of Chinese thought. Hui-yuan too, who exercised such an influence on Ling-yün, is of an importance that can hardly be overemphasized. It is against this cultural background in all its divergencies and richness that Ling-yün's own contributions must be seen. His extraordinarily versatile genius could only have developed as it did with a culture so firm in tradition to support it. He was nourished and stimulated, not by a court where there was nothing but debauchery and murder, but by an intellectual and artistic milieu of great subtlety, power and refinement. In passing
a verdict upon the culture of medieval China one must be
careful to avoid the elementary mistake of confusing our
own (too often dubious) moral standards with theirs. The
sophisticated cruelties of the age may shock our sense of
humanity, but this should not blind us to the achievements
of a court in which the most despotic emperor might be a
first-rate calligrapher, the most ruthless courtier a
delicately sensitive poet. If one is to launch any criticism
against the age at all it would seem that only one is
justified, namely that the absence of any carrière ouverte
aux talents, with the cultural inbreeding this entailed,
resulted in a relative impoverishment of thought and
achievement which could have been avoided. This is not to
say that men like T'ao Yüan-ming and Pao Chao were not
recognized and given a chance. Up to a point there seems
to have been a tacit understanding that genius could break
through the rigid social barriers of the time. One has only
to think of Ling-yün's attitude to Yen Yen-chih and Ho Chang-
yü (to mention only two of his plebian friends) to see that
the han-men could be, and were, accepted. The real tragedy
lay in the fact that the caste-barriers were so high that
such intermingling of classes only occurred in very excep-
tional cases. Later eras at least threw the precarious
bridges of the examination system across the gulfs that
yawned in the ranks of the gentry. But in our era the dead
hand of the Impartial and Just Inspectors must have stifled
talent at birth.

Ling-yün's brilliant eclecticism is therefore partially explained by the fact that, as a member of one of the most illustrious families in the empire, he found every gateway open to him. He could associate freely with anyone who appealed to him, whether poet or calligrapher, Taoist recluse or Buddhist monk, without being swayed by any consideration but that of talent. Furthermore his great wealth not only gave him all the leisure he needed but must also have enabled him to collect together a library which may well have rivalled the imperial collection, a fact which would help to explain the range of his reading for he is certainly one of the most learned poets of the Six Dynasties period.

Eclecticism, learning and a strong critical sense are Ling-yün's distinguishing features as a writer. He was very conscious of his own place in the poetic tradition and had decided views on his predecessors. His veneration for Ts'ao Chih was unequivocal and is best expressed in his own words: "If the world possessed a bushel of talents, then Ts'ao Tzu-chien alone would take eight measures, I would get one measure and the rest of the world would share one measure between them." This superbly arrogant remark reveals Ts'ao as the only poet he would ever openly acknowledge. His admiration for P'an Yo 潘岳 (247-300) and Lu Chi 陸機 (261-303), whom he characterizes as "the finest
"geniuses of their age", also reveals the soundness of his critical taste. Chung Yung in his Shih p'in was quick to see Ling-yün's relation to the main line of Chinese verse:

(King) Ssu of Ch'en (Ts'ao Chih) was the outstanding genius of the chien-an period. (Liu) Kung-han, (Liu Cheng d.217 A.D.) and (Wang) Chung-hsüan (Wang Ts'an d.217) were his lieutenants. Lu Chi was the very flower of the t'ai-k'ang period (280-290) while (P'an) An-jen (P'an Yo) and (Chang) Ching-yang (Chang Hsieh floruit 295 A.D.) were his lieutenants. Hsieh K'o was the most virile talent of the yuan-chia period and Yen Yen-nien was his lieutenant.

There was no doubt at the time of Ling-yün's pre-eminent position in the yuan-chia period, even though T'ao Yuan-ming and perhaps Pao Chao have now come to rival him there. The Nan Shih carries the following revealing anecdote on this subject:

Yen Yen-chih asked Pao Chao who was the better poet, he himself or Hsieh Ling-yün. Chao replied: 'Hsieh's five-word poems are like lotuses in the fresh of the day, which are loved for their natural beauty. Your poems are like a display of variegated silk tissue and brocade whose ornate patterns dazzle the eye.' When Yen heard these words he resented them to the end of his days.

The verdict of later generations has proved Pao Chao to be right. As Itō Masafumi has demonstrated, Ling-yün exercised a greater influence on the poets of the T'ang dynasty
than any other writer of the Six Dynasties period. For this alone he would deserve an honoured place in the annals of Chinese literary history, irrespective of his own achievements.

As a philosopher Ling-yun is very much of a syncretist. His early Taoist upbringing coupled with his natural leanings towards Buddhist ontology alone would have assured us of this. But it must not be forgotten that there was also a pronounced Confucian streak in him, so much so that it is said to have offended the Buddhist piety of Emperor Wen, who complained that he laid far too much emphasis on the Confucian classics to the detriment of the sutras. One has only to look at the poems to realize how deeply Ling-yun was imbued with traditional Confucian thought. The Songs and the Chou yi were evidently among his favourite books, to judge by the frequency with which he quoted them. But quotations from the other classics are liberally scattered throughout his work. Moreover, as we know from his poem On Commanding Certain Scholars to Expound the (Confucian) Writings to Me, he took his duties in Yung-chia seriously enough to encourage local scholars in their Confucian studies.

Thus to satisfy my mind,
I summon you scholars to expound the classics to me.

In this respect he seems to have anticipated the well-known Feng Yung (floruit, 6th century A.D.) who pacified the natives of Kwangsi during the Liang dynasty "with rites and righteousness and with authority and trustworthiness."
It could be well be argued, moreover, that even Ling-yun's eremitism had a strong Confucian flavour to it. Like T'ao Yuan-ming he was at heart loyal to the Chin dynasty though unlike T'ao he lacked the moral fibre which would have forbidden him to serve the Sung. In his poem On Leaving my District he compares himself with several recluses two of whom, P'eng Hsüan 彭宣 and Hsiang Chang 聖長, refused to serve Wang Mang 王莽 (d.23 A.D.).

The implication here is obvious. A careful study of the corpus of Ling-yun's verse reveals several other examples all of which point to the same tendency to look upon the Liu Sung as usurpers of the mandate of Chin. One is inevitably driven to the conclusion that there was a strong element of purely Confucian protest in Ling-yun's reluctance to serve the Sung dynasty.

This is not of course to deny Ling-yun's own pronounced Taoist and Buddhist leanings. These have already been discussed at some length in the preceding pages so we shall here content ourselves with pointing out that these doctrines too are more than adequately represented in his poetry. Chuang-tzu and the Tao te ching, Lieh-tzu and the Lieh hsien chuan are the very stuff of which the main fabric of his verse is woven. Seen from this angle there appears to be little of the Confucian in his eremitism, as is evident from his description of the recluse in his Yi min fu 民賦:

...When they show themselves they are like roving dragons. When they retreat they are like hidden phoenixes. They come no one knows where and go no one knows where. When they have wine they dance but when they have no wine they are sober. They are not brilliant or clever nor are they
stupid or commonplace. They are desolate when autumn comes but flourish in the spring. They play the lute beneath the bright moon and pour out wine in the gentle breeze. They travel far away, riding on the wind. They ride high in the air brushing away the white clouds. If you ask where you may meet them they point to the whole world. They expect to linger long beyond the bonds that hold us all.

This is the traditional description of the Taoist hermit, not the Confucian gentlemen-in-retirement. In the Ju tao chih jen fu Ling-yun makes this point even more graphically!

"Should there exist a Supreme Man who is above all desire for fame he will enter on the Way and take up his abode in truth. He will let his intelligence lie fallow and his knowledge diminish. He will withdraw himself bodily and flee from his selfhood. Thereupon he will build himself a house a thousand jen up (in the hills). It will be far removed from everywhere, a mysterious dwelling of the utmost emptiness, hung round with wild plants like a mist. Water will run this way and that way (around it) dashing against rocks. The sun will peer through the clouds at times. Drifting blossoms will fall brightly into the stream across the way, while the enshrouding mists loom up like mountain-peaks. He will deduce (the principles) of Heaven and Earth from his own solitary being. He will straddle the four seas with his inch of heart. He will leap beyond the dust of the world to see things as they are. What an all-encompassing heart he bears!"

This was the ideal that Ling-yun was forever striving after in vain; that of the man of complete understanding who, without stirring from his house,
comprehends all the phenomena of the universe. He will take no action that would endanger his person for nothing in this world can be more precious to him than his own self. "The man of understanding knows his own high worth."

The only thing that he really esteems as much as himself is the Tao; and so "it is because the Tao may be prized that phenomena may be despised." Hence it is not enough, he concludes, merely to stay aloof from "the greedy contenders for office." The great aim is the full understanding of life which may be achieved either through Taoist techniques or Buddhist contemplation, or better still, through both.

Yet, in spite of his having formulated such a coherent philosophical attitude, he did not succeed in embodying it in his life. The man who prized his life above all else, who valued the Tao above anything the world had to offer, spent his life among the careerist intrigues of a court which eventually forced him to his knees in the blood-soaked execution ground of Kuang-chou. The irony of it is that Ling-yun was not pushed into the pursuit of an official career by sheer economic necessity. With the vast wealth he had at his disposal he could have lived out his life as a recluse under the most idyllic conditions. Nor did he even have the excuse that fame was the spur that drove him back to the official career. The renown he had gained as a poet
was assured whether he came to court or not. The pressures that forced him into the perilous gambits of a career at court were subtler than these. First was the pull of tradition, the example set by his family. Ling-yūn was acknowledged as the most brilliant member of his generation in a family renowned for its talents. His sense of family achievements was very strong. One has only to look at his Two Poems Telling of the Virtue of My Grandfather, 117 to see just what pride he took in Hsieh Hsüan alone. A desire to do as his grandfather had done and to crown a successful official career with a peaceful retirement to the quiet of his estate must have been one of the ideals he set himself.

But Ling-yūn had to cope with a situation which Hsüan was never called on to deal with. The rise of Liu Yū and the fall of Chin confronted him with the time-honoured problem of whether to retire from office and refuse to serve the new dynasty or accept a post with it. Had this problem arisen several hundred years later there would have been no doubt as to his answer, which could only have been a flat refusal. But at this time Confucianism was not strong enough to lay down a universal fiat which would govern all norms of conduct. The ideal of what has been called "compulsory eremitism," withdrawal from office of all officers of a fallen dynasty in the name of loyalty, was then present only as a vague concept not a clear-cut moral obligation. Furthermore, in Ling-yūn's case, withdrawal presented special
difficulties. In the first place he was very much Liu Yu's man. He owed his life to Yu who could, after all, have put him to death as one of Yi's foremost adherents after the capture of Chiang-ling. By the time Yu ascended the throne Ling-yün had already given him seven years' faithful service. How then could he be expected to withdraw? Moreover, even if he had wished to retire from office when Yu came to the throne, he would have found it very difficult. A member of a family as important as the Hsieh could not lightly refuse to serve a new dynasty, for the very action of refusal would itself be interpreted as a condemnation.

Such was the situation in which Ling-yün found himself entrapped at the accession of the Sung. "Framed to one law, to another bound," pledged both to Liu Yu and the Chin, he was caught between two conflicting loyalties. Had his friendship with the Prince of Lu-ling proved fruitful, had he in fact become, as he had hoped, the closest associate of a brilliantly talented emperor he would almost certainly have had no more pangs of conscience than did Wang Hung, Wang Hua or Wang T'an-shou, scions of another equally illustrious family who yet served two masters without a qualm. But his exile marked the end of his hopes. From this time on he was a dependent of the new dynasty, at the mercy of an emperor's favours. This his pride would not brook. So from this time on he fell into the pendulum-like motion of advance and withdrawal, of sullen service and fretful solitude,
which was eventually to drive him to his death.

Ling-yün's problem was not a new one. The question of whether to serve a usurping dynasty had been present for centuries in Chinese tradition. Nor, of course, did it become any less difficult until the Neo-Confucianists, by imposing a rigid criterion of moral duty, clarified the problem once and for all. But in Ling-yün's case the conflicts set up within him gave rise to an intolerable tension which, embodying itself in verse, produced some of the finest poetry in Chinese. For Ling-yün's verse is not mere description of scenery. It is itself the record of an essentially mystical mind driven to resolve its conflicts dramatically through the contemplation of nature. The term "dramatic!" is used advisedly; for most of his poems do possess just this quality. They begin with a journey as the poet climbs a hill or drifts along a river, progress through soliloquies in which each feature of the observed landscape, transmuted into symbol, plays its due part in the argument and at last move with great economy towards their final resolution. With Ling-yün died perhaps the most outstanding all-round intellect of the Six Dynasties period. We are fortunate that Shen Yo was so impressed with his genius that he not only devoted a complete chapter of the Sung shu to his biography but also included two lengthy fu in it, a proceeding that would certainly not have been countenanced in a more Confucian age. This has at least
preserved for us his two most important fu which otherwise might well have come down to us, like the rest of them, only in fragments. For the final tragedy of Ling-yün's work is that so little of it has survived. What we are left with today, impressive as it is, represents only a fraction of his total achievement. Of the eighteen or so works credited to him, amounting to some 200 chüan, there now remains only four chüan of poems (shih and yüeh-fu) and as many chüan of other genres. When he was at the height of his powers examples of every type of literary genre must have flowed from his brush, in addition to anthologies, translations and histories, of which in most cases only the names remain to us. Yet even the ruins of this great edifice of art, towering above the shifting sands of the centuries, can still impress us with the conviction that here was one of the outstanding literary geniuses, not of his age alone, but of all time.
CHAPTER V

Notes


2. Cf. SCF, SS, LXVII, p.26b. "From all external causes they are cut off."

3. Song, CXCIII. 7. "I have committed no offence, have no guilt but the slanderous mouths are clamouring.... they chatter and babble and show hatred behind one's back."

4. Song, L. 3. "By starlight he yoked his carriage." See Karlsgren (1), Gloss 139.

5. As Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), p.176, remarks, this was a very telling argument.

6.或许疾。Perhaps pulmonary consumption?

7. SS, LXVII, p.40a. "T'ai-tsu realised he had been slandered and was not guilty." Ling-yün's kinship with Hsieh Hung-wei, by then a favourite of the emperor's and a Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery, must have assisted Ling-yün somewhat. It is significant that Hung-wei fell ill in the autumn of 431 and returned home soon afterwards (SS, LVII, p.6b). This would have left Ling-yün without a protector at court.

8. See TCTC, p.3758. Hu-lao 南陽府 (Honan), the last remaining Sung strongpoint, fell to the Wei forces on Saturday, 16 June 423 (intercalary month, day ting-ssu) after desperate resistance.
9. See TCTC, pp.3989-3990 for the murder of Wen-ti (16 March 453). Liu Shao's biography is in SS, XCIX.

10. TCTC, p.3806, third month, day ting-ssu.

11. TCTC, p.3804, first month, day kuei-ch'ou.

12. See Ochi Shikeaki (2), passim, for an account of the reluctance of the south to undertake such campaigns.

13. TCTC, pp.3814–3815, gives the date of Tao's appointment to the command of the expedition as 11 April 430 (third month, day mou-tzu). Tao Yen-chih, style Tao-yü 道子象, has a biography in SS, XLVI (incomplete) and in NS, XXV pp.36-5a.

14. TCTC, pp.3818–3820. Hu-lao and Loyang were abandoned by Wei on 31 August 430 (seventh month, day keng-hsu). The Hsia intervened on 9 October (ninth month, day chi-ch'ou).

15. Ts'ui Hao, style Po-yüan 伯淵, biography in Wei shu, XXXV, Pei shih, XXI.

16. TCTC, pp.3822–3824. Lo-yang was recaptured by Wei on 25 November (tenth month, day ping-tzu), Hu-lao on the 30 November (tenth month, day hsin-ssu).

17. TCTC, pp.3823–3824.

18. Ibid., p.3824.

19. Ibid., p.3828.

20. Ibid., p.3830.

21. Ibid., p.3830.

22. T'o-pa Tao 擎跋寗 (408-452).
23. **CSTCC, XV, 4, p.60b**, says that Fa-hsien brought the six-chapter edition back with him and that on the first day of the tenth month of 417 (26 October) Buddhabhadra (cf. Nanjio (1), p.399-42, and CSTCC, XIV, p.103b) and one Pao-yün (biography in CSTCC, XV, p.113a), began translating it. They were working in the Tao-ch'ang monastery. The work was completed on the second (variant; "first") day of the first month of 418 (21st (22nd?) of February).

24. **CSTCC, p.59b ff. and San lun yu yi yi, p.122b**, give a general description of the 40 chüan Northern Edition as it was called. (TT, 374, Nanjio (1), 113). Dharmakṣema (biography in CSTCC, XIV, p.102: see also Demiéville (2), Fascicule Annexe, p.132) began his translation of it in 414 and finished it on the twenty-third day of the tenth month of 421 (3rd December). (Liebenthal (5), p.304, note 80; T'ang (1), p.603). This work must not be confused with the Hinayāna sūtra of the same name. (See T'ang (1), p.601; TT, 7).

25. **CSTCC, XV, 4, p.111a15**, gives the date of arrival of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra in the capital as 430, shortly after Tao-sheng had moved from the Hu-ch'iu monastery to Mt. Lu. The **San lun yu yi yi**, p.122b9, gives the same date. This fits in nicely with Hsieh's arrival in the capital from Shīh-ning. We must assume that several
months elapsed before he took up his Lin-ch'uan post and that he spent this time in labouring at his new version of the sutra. Clearly the work could only have been performed in the capital and was in fact carried out there, as Hui-yen's biography makes clear. See CSTCC, 4, p. 111a; Liebenthal (5), pp. 84–85; pp. 88–89; Feng, History, vol. 2, pp. 270–271; KSC, VII, p. 367a.

26. Liebenthal (5), p. 305-305 remarks that "Tao-sheng's sagacity has often been praised ... but it is difficult to believe in his gift of prophecy - He must have been acquainted with the Buddhahood of the icchāntika through Fa-hsien who arrived in Shantung in 412 and met Hsieh Ling-yün in Chien-k'ang in the autumn of 413. Ling-yün in the "Introduction to the Dedication of the Shrine of the Buddha-shade", composed soon after this event, extols the fact that they too will awaken from their dream. One may even suggest that the first translators were looking forward to find it in the sutra text and were much disappointed when it was not there. For they know from Fa-hsien that this was an important point. Fa-hsien himself might have expected to find it in his copy (since he had not copied it himself but had had it done by an Upasaka Kala). The question was whether the written text was correct or the opposite news which had arrived
with Fa-hsien. Tao-sheng only "prophesied" what was already known, though not corroborated by a text brought from India and therefore not believed by the majority of students." Hsieh's Inscription on the Buddha-shadow, KHMC, XV, p.199b, says in its preface (lines 13-14):
"The flying owl will change her note; the icchāntika will find the road leading home"; while the Inscription itself says (ibid., 199c, lines 10-11):
"Those who seek it (Truth) like lost children, the servile crowd of icchantikas, now see the road home; awake from their dreams, to behold this (revelation)".


27. KSC, VII, 4, p.368b; Liebenthal (5), p.287, note 15, and (3), p.396, note 30b. Also (1), p.183, note 786; T'ang (1), pp.307, 326. One of the four best pupils of Kumāra-jīva. He began his studies with the Saddharma-pundarika-sūtra on which he later wrote a study (see CSTCC, IX, 37, 3.22; mentioned in Zürcher, Conquest, p.344, note 245) and later became a disciple of Hui-yūan. In Ch'ang-an he studied meditation under Buddhabhadra (Nanjio, p.399, 4) whom he followed to Lu Shan. In 402 or 403 he went north along with Tao-sheng, Hui-yen and Hui-jui (see KSC, VII, p.367a.14) on a journey probably financed by Hui-yūan.

(A.F. Wright, "Seng-jui alias Hui-jui", p.284, note 49,
SIS, V, discusses the date of this journey and argues that they must have reached Ch'ang-an by February 402). In 412 he arrived in Chiang-ling where he met Liu Yü and became tutor to Liu Yi-lung (Wen-ti). He was an exponent of Gradual Illumination on which he wrote a discourse (cf. Liebenthal (1), p.383). He died between 443 and 447.

28. See KSC, VII, 3, p.367b22; T'ang (1), pp.297 and 325; Liebenthal (5), p.287, note 15. He took part in the translations at Ch'ang-an and then returned to the capital where he lived in the Tung-an temple. Liu Yü was very fond of him and took him with him in the attack on Ch'ang-an, in spite of his protests. Wen-ti also favoured him. He died in 443 at the age of eighty. KSC, VII, p.368a. 20, says: "When the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra first came to Sung territory its text was excellent but its chapter headings and numberings were few and far between, so that its students found it difficult to reflect on it. So Yen along with Hui-kuan, Hsieh Ling-yün and others, basing themselves on the Nirvāṇa-sūtra, added a list of chapter headings to it".


30. TIC, LXXI. This is quoted as having actually been spoken by the Indian master Vighna (Wei Ch'i-nan, early 3rd century) in Chih Ch'ien's Preface to the Dharmapada (d. circa 250) (CSTCC, VII, 49.3). See the translation by Lévi (1), pp.205-207; also Zürcher, Conquest, p.48.
31. Hui-ta 慧遠, Preface to the Chao Lun 翻論 (TT, No.1858, p.150b; Joron Kenkyū, p.1), names Hsieh at the head of some "eight hundred almsgivers of pure faith." Obviously "his connection with translation and publication projects was well recognised in his day" (Mather (1), pp.71-72). Yüan-k'ang 元康 (seventh century) writes in his Chao lun 翻論疏 (TT, XLIV, p.162c; T'ang, p.439): "Hsieh Ling-yün had an elegant and highly-developed literary style that surpassed that of both ancient and modern times. For example, when the Nirvāṇa-sūtra in its unrevised state was crude or rough and originally read: "Hands grasping and feet stepping, we get to reach the Other Shore", Hsieh revised it to read: 'Flying the hands and moving the feet we stem the tide and cross over'. (Mather (1), pp.71-72).

32. A fragment from this is quoted in Li Shan's commentary to the Inscription on the Dhūta monastery of Wang Chin 王真 (d.505), WH, LXI, p.4a-b. The work is also mentioned in Li Yen's 李榮 Preface to the Vajracchedika-prajñāpāramitā with Collected Commentaries in KHM, XXIII, p.260a. 13.


34. See Fuchs (1); van Gulik (3), both of whom translate an account from Fo tsu T'ung chi, XLIV, of the methods followed in Yi ching yüan 譯經院 (College for Translating the Sūtras) founded in 982 by Emperor T'ai-tsung of Sung (r.976-997). Van Gulik translates (op.cit., p.30): "The eighth
(official) is the Deleter (列定) who deletes superfluous words and gives the sentences their final form. The ninth is the Style polishing (文文). He verifies and polishes the Chinese text." It is to be noted that no knowledge of Sanskrit whatsoever was required of the Deleter and Style Polisher. They were concerned purely with the Chinese text. Hence Ling-yün's ability to perform this task was not in any way dependent on whatever smattering of Sanskrit he might have had. Translation was above all a matter of team-work; and as Buddhism developed in China this aspect of translation received more attention, not less. So the Yi ching yuan regularly had a team of nine. These comprised, in addition to the two officials listed above, the Leader of the Translation, the Attestor, the Second Attestor, the Chinese scribe (who had to know Sanskrit), the Recorder (who translated the Sanskrit into Chinese), the Style Corrector and the Assistant Translator. See van Gulik, loc.cit.

35. He knew the Saddharmapundarika (as Mather (1), p.72 points out) in the translations of both Kumārajīva (TT, No.262) and Dharmarakṣa (TT No.263). This is evident from his Yuan chüeh sheng wen ho tsan 緣覺聲聞合贊 (Eulogy of the Pratyeka-Buddhas and Śrāvakas) in KHMC, XV, p.200a, for which see Saddharmapundarika (Miao fa lien hua ching 妙法蓮華經, Kumārajīva's translation TT, No.262) IX, p.12b. For his knowledge of the Sukhāvatīvyūha
of which "there were at least eight translations in existence during Hsieh's lifetime" (Mather, loc. cit.) see his Ch'ing t'u yung 清土詠 or Wu liang shou fo sung 無量壽佛詠 (Eulogy of Buddha Amitāyus) in YWLC, LXXVI, p.6a, and compare with Sukhāvatīvyūha (Wu liang shou ching 無量壽經 TT. No.360) XII, p.267a. For his knowledge of the Vimalakīrti-sūtra see his Wei mo chieh ching chung shih p'ī tsan 離摩誌經+第十四 (Eulogy on the Ten Similes in the Vimalakīrti-sūtra) in YWLC, LXXVI, p.7a and KHMC, XV, p.200a.

36. Zürcher, Conquest, p.35 remarks: "It was especially the doctrine of universal "Emptiness" as expounded in the basic scriptures of this school of Mahāyāna gnosticism (Prajñā-paramitā, Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa) that became popular in gentry circles, mainly on account of its apparent affinity with the prevailing hsüan-hsüeh speculations".

37. See Murti, The Central Philosophy of Buddhism, pp.231-236. Nāgārjuna himself stated that there was no difference at all between Nirvāṇa and Samsāra: na samsārasya nirvānāt kimcid asti viśesanam; na nirvāṇasya samsārāt kimcid asti viśesanam. (Vallée Poussin (1), XXV, 19.)

See also Conze (3), p.90: "... In a logic which identifies Yes and No, it is only logical that the identity of world and emptiness should lead to their complete separateness."


39. Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, (Wei mo chieh so shuo ching 離摩誌
Kumārajīva's translation; TT, No. 475, XIV, p. 539b. See Ling-yün's eulogy of this simile Chû mo p'ao ho tsan 聚沫泡合贊 in TWLC, LXXVI, p. 7a.


41. See Lamotte (1), pp. 328-333; Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, pp. 106-135; Zürcher, Conquest, p. 431, note 54. Zürcher (loc. cit.) remarks that: "It is only natural that the transcendent powers of perception (洞觀) and the power of levitation (飛行) of the Taoist adept came to be amalgamated with the five or six abhiṣeka of the Buddhist saint."

42. E.J. Thomas (1), p. 119, "... with rebirth as cause there is old age and death. Even so is the origin of this whole mass of pain." (Translation of Samyutta-Nikaya, II, 10).

43. SS gives no date for this. But we know that the year must have been 431 since he had spent most of 430 in his work on the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra. Two poems written on his journey to Lin-ch'uan (Hsieh, p. 87, While Travelling I Think of the Time I Spent in the Mountains, line 18, and Hsieh p. 88, On Entering the Mouth of P'eng-li Lake, line 7) both have references to spring.

44. SS, LXVII, p. 40a5. "He was appointed Inner Officer of Lin-ch'uan, attaining the full two-thousand bushel rank." The only major difference between an Inner Officer
内部 and a Grand Warden 太守 was that the former was in charge of a so-called princely state 太守 while the latter had only a commandery. See the Chin history Monograph on Officials, CS, XXIV, p.14a-b. "In all commanderies a Grand Warden was set up ... All Princely States had an Inner Officer who filled the post of a Grand Warden." See also LTCKP, LIII, pp.1487-1488.

46. Ibid., p.85, lines 11-14.
47. Ibid., p.88, 'On Entering the Mouth of P'eng-li Lake.'
48. Ibid., pp.85-88.
49. Ibid., p.87, lines 7-10; 13-14.
50. Ibid., lines 15-16.
51. Ibid., p.88, lines 7-10.
52. Ibid., p.91, I Go into the Third Valley of Ma-yüan, lines 17-18.
53. As from the first month of 430. See note 11 above.
55. Text in SS, LXVII, p.40a. For a discussion of this poem see the Shih ch'i shih shang ch'üeh, LXXIX, p.570, where Wang Ming-sheng notes that Ho Ch'o 何焯 (1661-1772) has stated that the Annals of Hsiao-ching-ti 孝静帝 (r.534-550) of Eastern Wei 東魏 (floruit 534-557), carry a version of this poem which reads 忠義 instead of 忠義 in line 4.
Wang points out that Ho must have been using the Sung edition of the Pei shih since the edition of Mao Chin 毛晋 (1599-1659) in his Shih ch'i shih (printed circa 1628) reads 忠義.

56. Chang Liang 張良, style Tzu-fang 張信 (d.187 B.C.). Biography in SC, LV.

57. Lu Chung-lien 魯仲連 (3rd century B.C.) fled from his native Ch' i to Chao. He persuaded Chao not to submit to Ch'in and encouraged Hsin Yuan-yen 新垣衍 of Wei to attack the Ch'in forces. See vol.II, below, Hsieh, p.19, Poem I, note to line 10.

58. SS, LXVII, p.40b.

59. KSC, III, p.431a.

60. SS, LXVII, p.40b2. "The Emperor grudged the loss of such talents and would have liked him merely dismissed from office. But (Liu) Yi-k'ang, Prince of P'eng-ch'eng, resisted stoutly, saying that he ought not to be shown any mercy."

61. Ibid., p.40b3.

62. Nan-hai had been founded by the first emperor of Ch'in in 243 B.C. largely as a place of banishment. Miyakawa Hisayuki, "The Confucianization of South China", p.39, notes that "in pre-T'ang times those who were exiled to Ling-nan were all sent in the status of commoners." Does this mean that Ling-yün was stripped of his title of Duke of K'ang-lo before being sent into exile?
63. See *Hsiao kan fu* 考感賦, *YWLC*, XX, p.12a, line 6, 千時月孟餘季 (translated above). The tenth month of 432 ran from 9 November to 8 December.

64. Ibid.


66. Here 炎州 is not a place-name (the place of this name in Ssu-ch'uan was not so called until T'ang) but simply a poetical designation for Kuangtung.

67. Lu-chiang 鬆江 commandery, An-hui.


70. I am doubtful about the sense of this line:


72. *NS* reads Sung 宋 Ch'i-shou. Unidentifiable.

73. *NS* reads T'u-k'ou 涂口. Both places, as well as T'ao-hsü, are unidentifiable.

74. *NS* reads 聚語, "talking together".

75. See Hu San-hsing's commentary in *TCTC*, p.3850, referring to *SCC*, XXXVIII, p.419.


77. *SS*, LXVII, p.419.

78. Ibid., p.41a. A variant version is found in *KHMC*, XXX, p.356a. Huang Chieh's edition, p.115, reproduces the *KHMC* version with a few variants.
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69. Ling piao fu, YWLC, VIII, p.5a.

70. I am doubtful about the sense of this line:

71. SS, LXVII, p.40b; NS, XIX, p.26a.

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80. Li Yeh 李業 (d. 1st century A.D.), biography in HHS, CXI. He too preferred death to serving the usurper Kunsun Shu 公孫述 (biography in HHS, XLIII), who incensed at his refusal, had him poisoned.

81. Hsi K'ang 詐康 (223-262). See Holzman (1), pp. 12-51. Ling-yun could not but have felt the analogy between his own case and Hsi K'ang's very keenly. Hsi K'ang too had been unjustly put to death on the flimsiest of evidence. (See Holzman (1), pp. 47-48.) One has only to compare Hsi K'ang's valedictory poem Mysterious Sadness 幽憤 (WH, XXIII, p. 14b) with our poem to see the resemblance.

82. Huo Yuan 霍原, biography in CS, XCIV, pp. 6b-7a. He lived for many years in the mountains and gathered several hundred disciples about him. Eventually he was persuaded to accept high office. Later when Wang Chun 王浚 (252-314) (biography in CS, XXXIX, p. 2b) was plotting to usurp the throne he tried to enlist Yuan's help but to no avail. On hearing that several hundred of Yuan's disciples had now become robbers and planned to seize Yuan for their leader, he had him executed. Notice that the analogy between Hsieh's own case and that of Huo Yuan is often surprisingly exact.

83. SS, reads: 悸懽凌霜葉; KHMC: 悌懽後霜枝.

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83. SS, reads: 懷悽淒霜葉；KHMC: 懷悽後霜柏.
Other editions of KHMC read 婪婪. I have adopted this variant reading of KHMC in my translation, since it seems to point the contrast rather nicely. On the one hand is the cypress, symbol of evergreen longevity, untouched by the rigours of winter - the image of what Ling-yun had hoped to be. On the other hand is the "morning mushroom" (cf. Chuang, I, 10) - image of what he actually was. This reading seems to me far superior to SS. It is noticeable that H.C. also adopted this (Hsieh, p.115) quoting Ku Shih No.3, "Green, green the cypress on the tomb" in support. Surely the expression 婪婪 is more characteristic of the appearance of the cypress than 嬉嬉?

84. SS 翹翹衡鳯菌; KHMC 納納衡鳯菌; variant 衡鳯菌. I must confess I can make no sense of SS, since I can find no other example of the binome 翹翹 and hence have adopted the KHMC version which alludes to CT, XVI, Chiu T'an, (Feng Fen), p.3b. "My robe drags heavily in the dew" (Hawkes (1), p.153, 18) where 納納 is glossed as "soaking wet". Mather's translation, "short-lived", seems a mere guess.

85. SS 遠返竟幾向 修短非所感
KHMC 遠返竟既時 修短非所感
Mather translates: "Wherever it may be at last, this un-appointed meeting, Whether late or soon is not what troubles me". Here he would seem to be translating the KHMC version, not SS, though he gives no indication of this in his notes.
The expression hsieh-hou occurs in Songs, XCIV and CXVIII, where Chu Hsi glosses it as "an unexpected meeting" 不期而會. But, as Karlgren points out, this is a flat misinterpretation of Mao's gloss to Song, XCIV (cf. Karlgren, Gloss 242). Furthermore, in Song, CXVII, 2, 與此邂逅何 Mao glosses hsieh-hou unambiguously as 解説之貌 "carefree and happy". Now the SS version is clearly very close to this line in Song, CXVIII. It is therefore quite clear that Ling-yün could not have understood hsieh-hou as meaning anything other than "happy". Moreover, since 何 can only mean "how much?" or "how many?" (or occasionally, "not many"), these lines would be nonsensical if we translated them as: "How many unexpected meetings have I finally had?"

KHMC is more difficult to make sense of. Mather's translation is indefensible, since 何時 could not possibly mean "whenever" (which would be 何時), but can only mean either "already time", or "at the appointed time" (or possibly "since the time is up", taking 何 as 留). Cf. Morohashi, TKWJ, p.5350, No.13724). "I am carefree and happy when at last my appointed time has come", would seem to be the meaning of the line. There seems no reason to prefer this to SS. H.C. (Hsieh, p.115) adopts the variant KHMC reading, 無時, but this seems inferior.

It is difficult to decide which of these variants is
preferable. "Enlightenment for self", the enlightenment of an arhat, is certainly a more modest goal than samyak-sambodhi, "omniscience", the attribute of a Buddha, but less likely in a Māhāyāna context.

87. These two lines are not found in SS. Perhaps they were omitted for the sake of brevity. Perhaps the compiler of KHMC thought fit to add them to the poem as a pious wish. In the last line can only have the meaning of an omen or sign. Huang Chieh mentions Chuang, VII, Ying ti wang, 應帝王 (Chuang tzu chi chieh, p.51) where is glossed as "sign". Cf. also TTC, XX, 我獨泊兮其未兆 "I alone am passive and give no sign".

88. Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh, p.215, note 125, gives a different version quoting the Sui T'ang chia hua 隋唐嘉話 of Liu Su 劉餞.

T'ai-p'ing kuang chi, 405, p.7a (掃葉山房本). "Hsieh Ling-yün of the Chin dynasty had a very fine goatee. On his way to execution he gave it to the Jetavana monastery in Nan-hai to serve as a beard for Vimalakīrti. The monks treasured it at first and did not lose it. But during the reign of the Chung-tsung emperor (684 and 705-710), the Princess Lo-an was playing the "Contest of the Hundred Herbs" in the fifth month and wanted to improve her stake so she ordered someone to gallop off and take it. Since (the monks) feared someone else would get hold of it they cut it off and threw away what was left of it. Now it is lost". The "Contest of the Hundred Herbs" was a game of chance
always played on the fifth day of the fifth month. See Waley, (6), p.145.

The Chia-t'ai Kuei-chi chih, ap., CKTC, p.4005a, says that Ling-yun's grave lies thirty-three li south of Shao-hsing and that after his death in Kuang-chou his body was brought home for burial. The Ta Ch'ing yi t'ung chih, CCXCVI, p.37b, says that his grave lies "twenty-nine li south-west of Shan-yin county-town" (i.e., Shao-hsing). This would place it somewhere in the vicinity of modern Feng-chiao.

Hsien Ch'ao-tsung, biography in NS, XIX, pp.21a-2b, Nan Ch'i shu, XXXVII, pp.1a-6a. was the son of Feng.

Hsien Ch'ao-tsung, biography in NS, XIX, p.21a.

Ibid., p.21a. "When Yin Shu-yi, mother of the Prince (of Hsin-an, Liu Tzu-luan) died, Ch'ao-tsung composed a dirge for her and sent it up. The emperor greatly admired it and remarked to Hsieh Chuang (421-466): 'Ch'ao-tsung certainly has his grandfather's talents (literally, "wears the phoenix feathers"). Ling-yun has appeared again!' (Nan Ch'i shu, XXXVII, p.16 reads: "I fear that Ling-yun has appeared again.")

Liu Tzu-luan was born in 457, hence his mother must have died at or after this time. Since the memorial was sent to the emperor, Yin Shu-yi must have been one of his wives and not a later emperor's. Hence the emperor concerned was clearly Hsiao-wu-ti.

Biography in NS, XLV, pp.9b-13a; Nan Ch'i shu, XXV, pp.10b-21b.
94. NS, XIX, p.22b.
95. Biography in NS, XIX, pp.22b-23a.
96. Or so I presume, since I have been unable to trace the
line any further.
97. Eberhard (1), p.170. It is only fair to add that later
on the author does note that "culturally the period was
rich in achievement."
99. See Feng, History, p.258 et seq. His series of treaties
composed at Ch'ang-an and known as the Chao lun (TT, No.1858)
are of considerable importance. See Joron Kenkyū, pp.1-109, for a Japanese translation by Tsukamoto Zenryū; also Liebenthal (1).
100. On Pao Chao (405-466), biography in SS, LI, p.22b, see
the Pab Chao nien p'u of Wu Pei-chi (1936).
101. See Holzman (2), passim.
102. Quoted in the Ts'ao chi ch'üan p'ing of Ting Yen (Chi shuo, p.4) as from a work
called the Shih ch'ang t'an which I cannot trace. Also quoted by Yeh Hsiao-hsüeh (1), p.184 and Ting Fu-pao (2), p.3b, neither of whom mentions a source.
103. NS, XIX, p.5b: "At a banquet Ling-yūn asked Hui hou (P'an)
Yo and (Lu) Chi compared with Chia Ch'ung (217-282). Hui replied: '(P'an) An-jen was a flatterer at the gates of
those in power. (Lu) Shih-heng was forever courting trouble.
Neither could protect himself from harm nor find great
happiness. (Chia) K'ung-lu (had to choose between) a famous name and helping his age. He could not do both.

Ling-yun said: 'An-jen and Shih-heng were the finest geniuses of their age. If we compare them with K'ung-lu, naturally they excel him by a long way.' Chan said, with a serious expression: 'If one can hold an honoured place and yet be able to care nothing for power then censure will never arise and danger never come near one. Does not the gentleman through his wisdom protect himself from harm in this way?'

Shih p'in chu, Chung Jung's Preface, pp. 3-4.

NS, XXXIV, p. 5a. Shih p'in chu (中品, Yen Yen-chih), p. 26, carries a variant of the same story but attributes the bon mot to T'ang Hui-hsiu (floruit 464).


KSC, VII, p. 367c. "Wen-ti said: 'Fan T'ai and Hsieh Ling-yun are always asserting that the Six (Confucian) Classics have as their main concern good government and the preservation of the people. But who can seek out the nature of the spiritual and the mystery of Reality without taking the Buddhist sūtras for his mentor?'"

See notes to Hsieh's poems translated below, passim.

Hsieh, p. 51.

Ibid., lines 9-10.

I owe this quotation to Miyakawa Hisayuki (1), p. 38.

Hsieh, p. 55.

YWLC, XXXVI, p. 8a.

Ibid., p. 8b.
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Hsieh, p.55.

YWLC, XXXVI, p.8a.

Ibid., p.8b.

116. SS, LXVII, p. 15b5, SCF. "Master Hsieh lay sick upon a mountain peak. As he perused the writings of the ancients he found they agreed with his own ideas. Long he laughed, then he said: 'It is because the Tao may be prized that phenomena may be despised. It is because Truth must be preserved that the things of the world may be thus forgotten.'"


118. The phrase is Frederick W. Mote's. See Mote (1), p. 208 et seq.

119. This has already been remarked on by Wang Ming-sheng, Shih ch'i shih shang ch'üeh, LXXIX, p. 571.

120. See Appendix II below for a list of Ling-yün's works.
Chapter VI

The Poetic Tradition

We have seen in the preceding chapter how Hsieh Ling-yun's work may be used to provide us with the raw materials for a biographical study. However, to treat the work of such a writer as a mere appendage to his biography is hardly to give it the attention it deserves. A full study of the literary implications of Ling-yun's oeuvres is outside the scope of this thesis. But this chapter will endeavour to throw new light on one of the major aspects of Hsieh's work - the relation it bears to the general literary tradition of the time. This I believe is one of the first questions one must ask about any literary work. How does it stand in relation to its predecessors? What is its place in the general line of development of that particular literary genre?

Now Chinese literary histories have been almost unanimous in their verdict on the place occupied by Ling-yun's verse. All of them, with minor modifications, agree that Hsieh Ling-yun must be regarded as the first of the nature poets and the founder of the school of shan-shui verse. Now this belief, though entirely misleading, has nevertheless a respectable ancestry. Indeed, to challenge it means disputing concepts as to the evolution of Chinese verse which have gone virtually unchallenged since the sixth century.
The great Ch'ing critic Wang Shih-chen 王士禛 (1634-1711), expressed this belief in its most classic form: "The 305 poems (i.e., the Shih Ching) in giving vent to grievances through metaphors include the names of birds, animals and plants, with few omissions. And though they do not depict landscapes, yet here and there are a few stanzas, or rather a few lines in a few stanzas, which do so. Such are those in Wide is the Han, (Song XCVII) and What is there on Chung-nan hill? (Song CXXX). But there is nothing besides these. The works of the poets of the Han and Wei dynasties also have but little connection with landscape poetry. But during the yuan-chia period Hsieh K'ang-lo came forward as the first to write verse depicting landscape. He strove to carry mystery and sublimity in verse to the utmost degree and discovered the sort of emotions that valleys, mountains and springs produce. This was what somebody long ago called "Chuang and Lao retiring while mountain and water (poetry) flourished". From the (Liu) Sung and Ch'i dynasties onwards K'ang-lo was generally taken as a model."

Now Wang's quotation is taken from the Wen hsin tiao lung 1 where Liu Hsieh 劉勰 (466-510) remarks in the course of his discussion of the evolution of lyric verse: "Literature at the beginning of Sung underwent a stylistic revolution. Chuang and Lao retired while mountain and water (poetry) flourished."
This opinion is echoed by Chung Jung (floruit 500 A.D.), who says in his preface to the Shih p'in: "During the yung-chia period (307-312) Taoism flourished. Discourses on the Void were highly valued. In the verse of the time there was more philosophy than poetry. It was flat and insipid. A little of this influence was passed on to the other side of the River. Sun Ch'o (307-385), Hsu Hsun (320?-365), Huan (Yi?) (276-328) and Yu (Ch'an) (circa 286 - 339) wrote verses which were all as dull and as full of allusions as the Discourses on the Tao te ching. The inspiration of the chien-an period had petered out."

Much the same account is given by Hsiao Tzu-hsien (489-537), in his postface to the biographies of eminent writers in the Nan Ch'i shu: "The prevailing taste south of the River made the Taoist doctrines flourish. Kuo P'u (276-324) exalted Magical Transformations while Hsu Hsun carried the Theory of Names to its highest pitch. This mystic spirit was still not entirely lacking in (Yin) Chung-wen (d. 407 A.D.). Hsieh Hun covered a new range of emotions but had never had the recognition he deserves."

But perhaps the fullest account of the contemporary view of literary developments in this period is given by a passage in the
lost Hsü Chin yang chiu 续晋陽秋 of T' an Tao-luan 種道鸞 which in discussing the verse of Hsü Hsün also gives a useful account of the developments leading up to it: "Hsün had a gift for style and wrote well. Since the time of men of genius like Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 (179-117 B.C.), Wang Pao 天寳 (d. 61 B.C.) and Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (53 B.C. - 18 A.D.) everybody had thought highly of fu poems and Odes and modelled their style on the Shih Ching and the Li Sao, making an eclectic choice from all the doctrines of the philosophic schools. During the chien-an period (196-220) poetry was in a very flourishing state. Even up to the end of the Western Chin dynasty P'an Yo 潘岳 (247-300) Lu Chi 陸機 (261-303) and their followers all had the same aims although some used simple language and some ornate. During the cheng-shih period (240-49) Wang Pi 王弼 (226-49) and Ho Yen 何晏 (d. 249) loved the mysticism in the discourses of Chuang and Lao and everyone admired them. After the crossing of the River (i.e., the fall of Western Chin in 317) Buddhism flourished greatly, and it was on account of this that the five-word poems of Kuo P'u first put the Taoist doctrines into verse. Hsün and Sun Ch' o of the t'ai-yüan period (376-97) on the contrary thought highly of Buddhism, so they for their part added phrases from the Three Periods to their style and completely did away with forms based on the Shih Ching and the
Li Sao. Hsun and Ch'o were the finest writers of their time and all scholars adopted their style as a model. During the yi-hsi period (405-419) Hsieh Hun began to change this.

Summing up these various viewpoints we arrive at the following résumé of their arguments. Taoist verse began to come into prominence with Kuo P'u, who wanted to contest the growing influence of Buddhism. His verse however was still stylistically related to the Shih Ching and Ch'u Tz'u. Hsu Hsun and Sun Ch'o as Buddhists were able to break completely with this tradition, being followed in this by Yu Ch'an. Their style was gradually altered by Yin Chung-wen and finally transmuted by Hsieh Hun, who "discovered a new range of emotions." Now we are not told precisely what is meant by this latter phrase. But since we have already seen that Hun was Ling-yun's poetic teacher, the miglior fabbro who taught him the craft of verse, it would seem reasonable to assume that Ling-yun learnt the art of poetic landscape-painting from Hun. In fact, if we examine Hsieh Hun's sole surviving poem in the Wen Hsuan, we can see at once that it is quite close stylistically to Ling-yun's early verse:

An Excursion to the West Lake

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

On the basis of this evidence we can reasonably assume that Ling-yun's verse owes a considerable debt to Hsieh Hun. In this case it is clear that Wang Shih-chen's statement that: "Hsieh K'ang-lo was the first to write verse depicting landscape", needs some modification, since in fact Hsieh Hun has the distinction of preceding him in this. But such a degree of maturity as is found in the landscape-verse of these two poets can only be the result of a long process of development. It is our contention therefore that this verse represents the culminating point of a movement which had begun centuries before.

This attitude to landscape seems ultimately to have had a magical origin. Mountains have been worshipped in China for centuries and it seems feasible that the primitive religious feelings evoked
by a mountain were later generalized and given a philosophical basis. But it is important to note that these early semi-religious feelings about landscape did not find their way into the literature of the time. Wang Shih-chen is wrong when he says that pre-Han literature had no feeling for landscape. The Ch'ü Tzu in particular, is full of splendid descriptions of the wild scenery of the south. But the attitude of the poets in this collection, like that of the English Augustans, is invariably one of shuddering fascination. They are both awed by and repelled by what they see; but it does not shock them into a new awareness of the total meaning of things. Most mature nature poetry however, would seem to look upon the configurations of landscape as symbols charged with a mysterious power. I believe that this came about in Chinese verse when a series of existing conventional attitudes to nature were suddenly brought into forcible contact with the older semi-religious feelings. It is as though the Chinese mind until then had been compartmentalized, literary attitudes and religious feelings being rigidly separated. Then, quite suddenly, their formal schema was disrupted, and the two elements flowed together and reacted to create a violent explosion of cultural energy.

Now it is well-recognized that the first major change in the Chinese weltanschauung came about with the fall of Later Han.
It is here we must look for the seeds of this new attitude to Nature. The collapse of the ordered stable society of Han brought with it the eclipse of Confucianism. Faced with the ruins of their civilisation the scholar-gentry took refuge, for the most part, in a philosophy which denied any real value to the standards of the culture they had lost. By the third century of our era Confucianism had become merely the official ideology. Neo-Taoism had by now attracted to itself the best minds of the time. There were two types of reaction against the prevailing ideology subsumed under the quite inadequate heading of Taoism. The first school arose directly from a crisis in Confucianism itself. The victory of the rationalistic Old Text school over the cosmological theories of the New Text school had reduced Confucianism to its original status as a system of social and political thought. In doing so it had deprived the gentry of philosophical support. The Confucian scholastic metaphysics were now replaced by a new system based on a curious amalgam of the philosophy of the Confucian 'Yi Ching - now drastically re-interpreted - and early Taoist ideas. Wang Pi, Ho Yen and Kuo Hsiang (d. 312) are the best representatives of this hsüan-hsüeh school." They used the dialectical weapons of the ch'ing t'an school to destroy the cumbersome Confucian metaphysics and then went on to create a plan for an alternative system of government based on so-called Taoist principles. Hsüan-hsüeh
now became the philosophy of the leisure class, serving as a metaphysical complement of the realistic teachings of the "Doctrine of Names", (ming-chiao 名教).

The second school, typified by thinkers like Hsi K'ang 稽康 (223-262), and Ko Hung 葛洪 (circa 250 - circa 330), stressed the anarchical aspects of Taoism and would have no truck with the easy compromise of the school of Mysterious Learning. For them society was evil, and the True Man, (chen jen 真人) could have no truck with it.

Now the earliest poetic exponents of neo-Taoism, the so-called "Bamboo Grove" (chu-lin 竹林) poets, would seem to have fallen between two schools. The careers of most of them alternated uneasily between rustic seclusion and court preferment. Yet, though theirs was a "version of pastoral" rather than true nature poetry it is here, in "the discontent of the civilized with civilization" - the phrase is Lovejoy's - that we find the beginnings of our school of nature poetry. Thus, to cite only one instance, in the biography of the poet Juan Chi 元籍 (210-263), we read that: "he would sometimes climb mountains to gaze down on waters, forgetting to return for days on end." And again: "Chi once said, 'Throughout my life I have wandered about Tung-p'ing, enjoying its scenery.'"

That such ideas were prevalent at the time and were not
just confined to this poetic clique is shown by a passage in the biography of Yang Hu (d. 278). "Hu loved landscapes and every time a good view could be obtained he would insist on having a drinking party on Mount Hsien where they would talk all day long and never grow weary. Once, sighing sadly, he turned to Captain Tsou Chan and the rest of his retinue: 'Since the beginning of the Universe', he said, 'this mountain has stood here. It saddens one to think how many geniuses and brilliant men there were, who have climbed up here and looked into the distance like you and me, yet now have perished, never to be heard of more. If our spirits are in existence a hundred years from now surely they will still climb up here.'"

Such examples indicate that by the third century of this era there was a new awareness of nature growing up among the gentry which is probably to be connected with the resurgence of Taoism at the time. But this heightened sensibility had not yet found expression in verse. The poetry of the chien-an (196-220) period, great though it may be, is nevertheless almost entirely devoid of any feeling for nature at all. The solitary exception is a yüeh-fu song by Ts'ao Ts'ao (155-220), which has been called the first nature poem in Chinese literature.

"I stand on the east of the Pillar Rock, And look at the blue sea. How chaste the waters lie
Around the mountainous islands.
So dense the trees,
So luxuriant the plants.
The autumn wind is sad,
Vast waves swell and rise.
The journeying sun and moon
Seem to be among them.
The shining starry river,
Seems to be in their midst.
How great is my happiness!
I express my feelings in song."

This yueh-fu, though simple and stylized, is certainly the first example of a complete poem of this type that we possess. Yet the absence of any informing philosophy which would transform natural phenomena into symbols, and mere emotion into a cathartic release from emotion marks it off from later nature poetry. Perhaps the four-word line in which this poem is written has something to do with this. Certainly the conservative influence of the Shih Ching, with its stereotyped turns of phrase, must have tended to limit the powers of invention of any poet writing in this metre. This poem may well have succeeded as far as it does only because it was a yueh-fu ballad, meant to be sung, and therefore to a certain extent careless of canonical imitation. The development of nature verse is undoubtedly bound up with the development of the five-word line. This not only took the poet out of the restrictive confines of earlier verse, but enabled him to write flowing descriptive passages, since he was no longer forced to chop them up into the short and relatively clumsy lengths of the four-word line.
The only successful nature poetry we possess written in the four-word line is the verse of the Orchid Pavilion poets which I shall discuss later on. But even there it will be seen that their four-word poems are greatly inferior to the five-word poems treating the same subject.

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

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

This shift in interests is clearly reflected even in fu which do not ostensibly deal with landscapes. One of the earliest and best examples is found in the Fu of the Lute 琴賦, of Hsi K'ang.

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

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

Yet though the fu seems to have been the first form to give adequate expression to this developing awareness of nature, the five-word lyric poem soon took up the same theme, as is shown by the following verses of Tso Ssu (272-305).

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

"I have built a hut on the Eastern Mountain, Under its fruit-trees a thorn-brake has sprung up. In front stands a well with an icy spring, Where I can refresh my heart and soul. Among these brilliant blues and emeralds, Bamboos and cypress-trees can realize their true nature. Their tender leaves are hung with frost and snow, But from their green and soaring tops the water drips. Rank and robes are but uncertain pleasures, One must bend or stretch as the times are good or ill. Knotting (the seal) at one's girdle may involve one in trouble, Tapping one's hat may rid it of dirt and dust. Hui-lien is not my idea of humility, Nor Shou-yang my idea of Love."

Verse like this proves that even at this early date, in the last quarter of the third century A.D., something very close to true nature poetry was being written. Yet this aspect of the verse of that time goes unmentioned in all histories of Chinese
According to the conventional view which has been outlined above, it was only a short time after the cheng-shih period (240-249), when the above verse was written, that hsüan-hsüeh verse proper was first written. However, if we examine in some detail the work of the poets cited in all those critical evaluations translated above, a very different picture appears.

First let us look at the work of the acknowledged masters of the hsüan-hsüeh school, Sun Ch'o and Hsü Hsun. Sun's poem An Autumn Day, will provide as good an example as any:

"A melancholy day in the second month of autumn,
A whirling wind moans, the storm-tossed clouds are high.
Living in the mountains you feel the seasons changing,
Far from home the traveller sings a long ballad.
The empty peaks are thick with frozen æther,
The leafless forest hung with icy winds.
Soaking dew wets garden and forest.
Thick leaves take farewell of wind-blown boughs.
I touch these mushrooms, sorry they will fall so soon,
I pull down a pine-branch, glad that it endures so long.
I cast my line in woods and wilds,
I have my friendships far from market and court.
Gone now is the troubled heart I used to bear,
Surely I am not far from the banks of the River Hao."

This verse is certainly not as Taoist as we would have expected from the accounts of the critics of the period. However, in view of the later prestige of nature poetry, it could be argued that only such poems survived as were acceptable to the tastes of
the time and that this poem therefore is not truly representative of Sun Ch'o's work. I believe that this is not in fact the case, for in Chiang Yen's 江淹 (444-505) brilliant, *Imitations of Thirty Poets*, we find a poem in the style of Sun Ch'o which, lacking other evidence, is the only indication we have of Sun's normal poetic style:

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

It would be difficult to find a more overtly hsüan-hsüeh poem than this one, in which every line contains an allusion to the *Chuang-tzu* book. We are forced to conclude then that though Sun
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Ch’o’s work was basically Taoist in conception and inspiration, some of his poems are nevertheless good examples of early nature poetry.

In the case of Hsu Hsun we are forced to rely wholly on Chiang Yen’s pastiche as only one poem of Hsün’s exists and this is valueless for our purposes. Chiang’s Description of Myself must be very close to Hsün’s normal style:

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

These poems are both more redolent of hsuan-hsueh than those first cited, yet in spite of this they are still not completely
dissimilar from what we know as nature poetry. We may conclude from the above that the hsüan-hsüeh element in the work of Hsu Hsun and Sun Ch' o has been greatly exaggerated. When we come to the work of Yin Chung-wen and Hsieh Hun we find it even less manifest.

At this juncture we are tempted to draw a comparison between the development of nature poetry in medieval China and the closely parallel process in eighteenth-century Europe. Both cultures progressed from a shuddering distaste for mountain and forest through a carefully cultivated urban taste for landscape gardens to a mystical understanding of nature. The one major difference between the two is that whereas in China the amalgam of Neo-Taoism and Buddhism provided a secure philosophical formation for excursions into mysticism, the European movement had no sounder beliefs to fall back on than a vague pantheism. In spite of this however the parallel is remarkably close. Most striking of all perhaps is the analogy between the regional developments of the movements. In England nature-poetry came suddenly to maturity under Wordsworth, in the Lake District. In China the process took place through the genius of Hsieh Ling-yun in Kuei-chi, the "Lake District" of South China. It was here during the fourth century that a coterie of poets and painters gathered who were to make the landscape of this region celebrated for centuries.

The biography of one of the most important of this group,
Wang Hsi-chih, says: "There are beautiful landscapes in Kuei-chi and many famous men made their homes there. Hsieh An, for one, used to live there before he took office. Sun Ch'ou, Li Ch'ung (floruit circa 330), Hsu Hsun and others, all of whom were among the best writers of the time, had houses built in the Eastern region and were on good terms with Hsi-chih."  

The biography of Sun Ch'ou who was also associated with the group says: "He lived in Kuei-chi and roamed freely about the countryside for more than ten years."

References to Kuei-chi abound in the literature of the period. The biography of Sun T'ung 孫統 (floruit 326) says: "His family lived in Kuei-chi. He was by nature fond of landscape ... and wandered where he would at his leisure. There was not a single famous mountain or fine river that he had not explored."

The biography of Tai Yung 戴頴 (d. 441) says: "There are many famous mountains in the country of Shan in Kuei-chi so a lot of (well-known) people lived down there .... In T'ung-lu county there are also many famous mountains. (Tai) and his elder brother used to wander about among them and there they dwelt."

Tai Yung and his brother were carrying on the tradition of their father, the great landscape painter Tai K'uei 戴逵."
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Finally, the biography of Hsieh An, who was perhaps the real centre of this Kuei-chi group, says: "He dwelt in Kuei-chi with Wang Hsi-chih, Hsü Hsun of Kao-yang and the monk Chih Tun. And there they lived at their ease. They went out to fish and shoot among the mountains and rivers. When they came home they would recite verse and compose poems. They harboured no worldly thoughts."

It would appear from this that, sometime around the middle of the fourth century, a literary coterie which had its centre in Kuei-chi had come into existence. By a fortunate coincidence the names of many of this clique have been preserved for us in Wang Hsi-chih's famous account of the gathering at the Orchid Pavilion on the day of the spring purification festival of 353. This was a festival held on the third day of the month to celebrate the spring. The company would drink from goblets floated on a stream and compose verse. On this occasion all the poems were copied out by Wang Hsi-chih himself. To this he added a preface and a list of those present. As this was a splendid example of his noted calligraphy the text was preserved in its entirety, thus giving us an idea of the type of nature-poetry then in vogue. None of the poems from this collection - of which the following is representative - make particularly exciting reading:

"My gaze wanders over the high hills,
My eyes dwell on the lofty forest.
Green creeper covers the crags,
Tall bamboos crown the peaks."
The valley stream has a clear sound,
The branchy drums have resounding notes.66
The gloomy heights spit forth rain,
Flying mist shadows everything."

This piece of vers d'occasion, dashed off on the spur of the moment by Hsieh Wan, can hardly be expected to reveal many of those qualities for which Ling-yün's verse is renowned. Nevertheless, its precise parallelism and its slightly too recherché phrasing, already suggest that Ling-yün may have learnt something of value from his ancestor.

There are however earlier spring festival poems than these, some of which go back as far as the middle of the third century. However, the first of this type to show any real awareness of nature was written by the little-known poet, Yu Ch'an around the beginning of the Eastern Chin. The poem By The River Ch'u on the Third Day of the Third Month is very similar in its freshness and vividness of imagery to those of Hsieh Ling-yün.

"In the last month of spring we wash in the pure river-arm, Swimming fishes plunge through the whole gorge. Up on high a spring gushes out from the Eastern Peak, Its whirling waves give forth a clear sound. I look down on the river, current after winding current, The great forest is bright with verdure. From our flimsy boat we launch our winged goblets, As the oars beat on we see the fishes leap."

Yu Ch'an has some eighteen poems extant, most of which anticipate
stylistically the work of the poets of the yün-chia period (424-454). Three of them are especially remarkable.

Mount Heng

"To the north I see the beginning of Mt. Heng, To the south I look at the end of the Five Peaks. I sit quietly paying my respects to this peaceful void, As I gaze around my feelings are completely receptive. A winged dragon can cross the empyrean, But a stranded fish finds it hard to keep wet with slime. Since it has never felt itself part of the greatness of a river or a lake, How can it know of the vast size of the Southern Deep?"

Looking at Stone Drum Mountain

"I called for my carriage and went to look at strange rarities, Hastening on my way I went to the Magic Mountain. In the morning I crossed the shores of a pure stream, In the evening I rested by the Five Dragon Spring. The Singing Stone holds a hidden music, Thunderous and startling, it shakes the Nine Heavens. It is not that there are no such things as Mysterious Transformations, But that no one knows of the Spontaneity of the Spirits. Flying mist brushes the blue peaks, A green torrent washes between the crags. I rinse my hands in the vernal purity of the spring, While my eyes enjoy the fresh beauty of flowers in the sun."
On Meeting with Winds in Chiang-tu

"As T'ien Wu bounds in the magic gorges,
I flee in my carriage from gloomy storm-clouds.
Fei Lien shakes trees and shatters them,
As the Flowing Light mounts on a whirlwind.
On the great river we halt for the night on the waves.
On the surging waters we will welcome the morning tide.
I look up and see how the dark clouds assail us.
I look down and hear the roar of the mournful wind."

There were other poets writing about this time whose work, as far as we can judge by such fragments as remain, must have been very similar to that of Yu Ch'an. Among these the most prominent are Chan Fang-sheng (floruit 4th century) and Chiang Yu (303-362).

Chan Fang-sheng's best-known poem, Returning to the Capital by Sail, expresses in deceptively simple language a genuine insight into nature without having recourse to the conventional hszuan-hsueh trappings.

"High mountains that rise to ten thousand feet,
Long lakes, clear for a thousand leagues.
White sands, unsullied the whole year long,
Pine forests, verdant both summer and winter.
Water that stays not even a moment,
Trees that stand firm a thousand years.
I lie awake writing new poems,
Suddenly forgetting my sadness at the journey."

This remarkable little poem is not only less pretentiously philosophical than so much of the verse of the time - including
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This remarkable little poem is not only less pretentiously philosophical than so much of the verse of the time - including
Ling-yün's - but is also quite free from the smell of the lamp that pervades so many other poems. With its balanced couplets, its picturesque imagery and the neat turn in the oddly personal final couplet, it might well have been written by one of the great T'ang masters.

Two other poems by Chan Fang-sheng perfectly exemplify all the qualities of good nature poetry:

**Sailing into the Southern Lake**

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

**A Fine Day**

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

Chan Fang-sheng's Poem about my Study at the back of the House is in some ways the most interesting of all his work for it
is more reminiscent of the verse of T'ao Yüan-ming than of the shan-shui poets:

"I loosened my cap strings and put on dolicho clothes again,
I said farewell to the Court and went back to my marshes.
No carriages can get through my gates,
My homestead is not even a full acre.
Thick grasses fence in my courtyard,
Orchids in profusion brush against my windows.
I fondle my sons and nephews,
I clasp the hands of my friends.
We eat vegetables from the garden,
And drink this spring wine.
I open the lattice window and gaze out for a long time,
I sit and look at the river and hills.
Who can I tell what I am feeling?
There is no one I can tell my feelings to.
Unpainted beams are easy to look after,
The 'dark root' does not easily rot.
If you go towards it it will not be far away,
Keep this in mind and you can live for ever."

Chan's fellow-poet, Chiang Yu, has a very similar style as we may see from his Song of Autumn.

"Chu Jung loosens his fiery reins, Ju Shou rises in icy chariot.
A high wind urges on the changing season,
Frozen dew speeds on Mutability.
Throughout the forest I am saddened by white autumn,
Thick grasses make me think of the fiery summer.
A crying goose draws near the cloudy peak,
A cricket sings in the depth of the tower.
The cicada of cold cries as evening draws on,
A sudden whirlwind starts up during the night.
Nature moves us to greater sadness still,
Wretched am I, and have no joyful hours of leisure."
It is a pity that so much of the verse of this time has been lost that it is difficult to gain a clear picture of how it developed. There are necessarily so many gaps in our knowledge that any sort of critical judgement which contradicts the literary historians of the time, who must have had access to a hundred poems for every one that now remains, is highly suspicious. Nevertheless, in the light of the above facts, it does seem that they oversimplified matters in asserting that nature poetry was not written till the fifth century. In these fourth-century poets, Chiang Yu, Yu Ch'an or Chan Fang-sheng, the new sensibility is fully developed. The only thing lacking is the absence of a poetic structure adequate to embody the experience. As a critic comments on much the same situation in English literature: "It is as if these harbingers of another era had felt, but had not felt strongly enough to work upon the objects of their feelings a pattern of meaning which would speak for itself - and which would hence endure as a poetic monument."

It was Hsieh Ling-yün's peculiar achievement to have evolved precisely this monumental structure. And this he did in much the same way as Coleridge improved on his predecessors - by keeping his eye more closely on the subject and investing his verse with meanings for richer than those overtly stated.

So far we have seen that Ling-yün's verse has a longer
literary ancestry than was formerly supposed. But what of the forces that brought this new genre into being? Some of these have already been mentioned above. But so far we have omitted a factor of considerable importance in the formation of the landscape consciousness of the time - the development of Buddhism.

We have already seen that several of the poets responsible for the school of nature poetry were Buddhists. Ling-yün himself evidently owes no small part of his own insight into nature to Buddhist philosophy. For the association between landscape and Buddhism is far from fortuitous. It has been argued that, since Reality for the Buddhist is essentially void, landscape is a very apt symbol for it. But we may put the matter much more exactly. Landscape was not just a symbol for the Tao - the term was at this period as much a Buddhist as a Taoist expression - it is the Tao itself. This is brought out very clearly by a passage in Sun Ch'o's Fu of my Wanderings on Mount T'ien T'ai:

"When (the Tao) dissolves it becomes rivers; When it coagulates it becomes mountains."

So the contemplation of landscape is the contemplation of Reality itself. It brings on that state of mystical detachment which could either be described in Taoist terms, as in the passage below, or as the trance of visualizing the Buddha, buddhānusmṛti-samādhi. Sun Ch'o continues: "When I have done with wandering around and
contemplating Nature my body is tranquil and my heart is peaceful. I have by now driven off anything that might 'harm the horses' and have done away with the things of this world. My knife meets only with emptiness. I see the ox but not as a whole. I concentrate my thoughts on these mysterious crags and sing a clear song about the long rivers."

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

The following two poems by the Buddhist laymen Wang Ch'iao-chih and Chang Yeh should certainly be considered in this light:

"Wander where you will you rarely meet with spirits, Their subtle goodness being naturally akin to darkness. Yet when you reach this place of the wisdom of emptiness, A mysterious hill has formed here from the dust. All the mountains lie in silence, A single peak cuts through the air. Misty sunlight falls along the crags, The pure air suits the season. There is a summit, a divine peak, There are men who cross these heights. A long river washes the wooded lands of Ch'ü, On its rainy slopes stand autumn pines. It is dangerous to set foot near these vast deeps, A magic gorge shines bright ten thousand feet down. The sound of wind and springs make far-off music in the air, Many sounds echo in the distance."
Such all-pervading beauty has made me feel sad, 
I gaze a little longer and see the nine rivers. 
Here we are near the land of the heavenly men, 
Always I hear their clear flutes sounding in the air."102

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The next poet, Chang Yeh writes:

"I gaze at the peaks, confused by their huge image, 
I look at the crags, bewildered by their steepness. 
Their power is so great that it hides the heavens, 
They rise on high, soaring up wall after wall. 
In a single bound they cast off all dust and stains, 
I can see clearly for a long way. 
My glances reach the sky, 
I penetrate the distance. 
Through this I can express my joyful feelings, 
And so forget the faults that I still have. 
My mysterious dwelling wears an air of loneliness, 
By taking this weird path death is diminished."

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Since these poems were written in 400 A.D. they are
not particularly early examples of Buddhist Nature-poetry. But 
there are poems extant by Chih Tun (314-366), a Buddhist monk who was a friend of Wang Hsi-chih, and his circle, which must have been written at least fifty years earlier.

Song of My Mountain Dwelling

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

So far we have skirted the fringe of the most difficult question of all, that of the connection between nature poetry and landscape painting. Was one generated from the other or did both spring from the same new understanding of landscape? The question of the evolution of landscape painting has been well discussed by Michael Sullivan. He has quite satisfactorily established that we must look no further than China itself for the origin of this art and refuted Soper's earlier convention that landscape developed during Han times as a result of foreign influence. Sullivan contends that a landscape style evolved out of purely abstract design, volutes twisting themselves into mountains, scrolls evolving quite naturally into rocaille. This pictorial evolution of landscape proceeded at a far slower pace than its poetical counterpart. So he continues: "Nevertheless, while the forces of Nature, of wind
and storm, cold and rain, river and mountain are frequently the subjects of Han poetry (especially in the fu form) these things were generally represented in Han art by fantastic creatures rather than by actual landscape elements. Yet the significant fact is not that these subjects were, or were not, depicted in art as they were described by the poets but that they were even described at all. In these early formative years the poetic imagination strode far ahead of the ability of the artist to represent nature."

The point is well made. We may add here that the "fantastic creatures" - actually nature spirits - of Han landscape linger on in nature poetry until late in the fourth century. Chu Jung, Ju Chou, P'ing Yi, Fei Lien, T'ien Wu, and the rest of them all appear regularly in the verse of the period. I am inclined to see this however, not as evidence of 'folk-art and lore feeding a vital stream into the totality of Chinese culture' but simply as the survival of a devitalized convention into an art rapidly outgrowing it. Before nature poetry could come of age it had to slough off these outworn forms much as eighteenth-century English verse had to rid itself of similar, though much more cumbersome, mythological irrelevancies.

Here too, we must remember that poetry and painting have always been intimately connected in China. Many of the poets we have
mentioned including, of course, Hsieh Ling-yun, were well-known as calligraphers and painters. It would seem probable then, in spite of Sullivan's perhaps over-cautious warning that there are no extant illustrations of this nature, that the origins of landscape painting may be found in the practice of illustrating poetry describing scenery.

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

"When Ku Ch'ang-k'ang had come back from Kuei-chi someone asked him about the beauty of its mountains and rivers. Ku replied: 'A thousand crags vie with each other in magnificence. Ten thousand ravines dispute with contending torrents. Plants and trees grow over them, covering everything like clouds that rise and obscure the sky at dawn.'"

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

Tsung Ping is the probable author of a treatise on painting, the Hua shan-shui hsü that gives us an insight into the mystical powers that landscape was felt to possess; "Landscapes exist in the material world yet soar into the realms of the spirit."

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

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

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

Or, as Sullivan puts it, this was "an art of symbolic abstractions for the representation, not of landscape itself, but through the landscape of those cosmic forces denoted by the much-abused term
It is doubtful however whether in the period with which we have been dealing - the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. - landscape had acquired the full richness of the connotations it was to acquire later. One might half suspect that at this date the appreciation of Nature may still have been subjected to the great Taoist aim of the prolongation of life, so that painting and verse might be seen as disciplines or exercises allied to yoga, respiratory and sexual techniques and drug-taking. Such at any rate would seem to be the opinion of Tsung Ping: "So by living at leisure, by controlling the vital breath, by rinsing out the goblet, by playing the lute, by contemplating pictures in silence, by never resisting the influence of heaven and by responding to the call of the wilderness where the crags and peaks rise to shining heights and the cloudy forests are dense and vast, the wise and virtuous men of old found innumerable pleasures which they assimilated through their souls and minds." We may conclude here by remarking that, whatever the ultimate origins or motives of Ling-yün's verse, its quality is incontestable. Furthermore there are interesting resemblances between his school and that of the European nature-poets which would well repay detailed study. For both these groups landscape provided the best evidence of the fundamental nature of the universe. It is this essentially mystic shock of recognition
that sets true nature poetry apart from mere pastoral, like the incidental descriptions of scenery in Latin verse or the Ch'u Tz'u for example. Formally too, there are points of contact, for Ling-yün's verse shares many of the characteristics which an American critic W.K. Wimsatt has noticed in the poetry of Wordsworth. "Both tenor and vehicle are wrought in a parallel process out of the same material. The landscape is both the occasion of subjective reflection or transcendental insight and the source of figures by which the reflection or insight is defined .... The interest derives from our discerning the design and unity latent in a multiform sensuous picture."

Nevertheless, these resemblances must not be over-stressed. The differences between the two traditions are even more striking. There is no animating imagery, no "pathetic fallacy" in Chinese nature poetry. "A puddle," says Hazlitt, speaking of Wordsworth's Excursion, "is filled with pre-natural faces." This cannot be said of any stage in the development of the Chinese tradition even though it may be approached philosophically in the Zen concept of sunyata when "the mountains are mountains and I see them as such and they see me as such." Furthermore the Chinese poet, unlike the European romantic, never saw the cosmos as a mere stage-setting for his posturing ego. For him it was axiomatic that understanding could be won only after the suppression of all selfhood.
On the other hand we must not exaggerate the differences between these two. In his Principles of Chinese Painting George Rowley has given a summary of what he takes to be the main differences between the two traditions:

"Philosophically, the locus of that kind of western romanticism was the emotional tension between actuality and longing. It began with the aggrandizement of the ego and its desires as expressed in the words of Rousseau, 'I am a man like other men but I am also different'; it asserted itself in revolt against the conditions of actuality which might be commonplace, the restrictions of convention or the artificiality of city life: its emotional overtones thrived on the strange, the unusual, the imagined; lastly the romantic goal was some kind of escape towards the unattainable, whether into the heroic past which can never be reclaimed, or into a fanciful existence in foreign climes, or into a kind of pantheistic return to nature. If this is a correct summary the four essentials of romanticism were an assertive ego, the active emotion of revolt, a longing for the unusual and the psychology of escapism. On all four counts the Chinese Taoists held contrary views".130

This is well expressed; but it is surely at fault in asserting that Chinese Taoists held contrary views to these. Certainly there was no "Romantic agony", no fevered search for a Chinese Byzantium, a Belle Dame sans Merci, or the Beauty of the Medusa - all prime characteristics of the Romantic movement in Europe - in the Taoist quest. Nor is there the slightest trace of anything approximating to these sadomasochistic perversions, that moribd over-refinement of sensibility, that fevered thirst for the infinite which have left their indelible stamp on the art and literature of the West.131
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Yet, in spite of all these qualifications the basic resemblance remains. Taoism was in fact a religion of revolt against the artificiality of civilized life. Ling-yün, in his Shan chü fu, speaks out strongly against the "stench of cities" - one of the great Romantic leitmotivs - and dwells on the time when men dwelt in nests and caves of which his simple house of stone is but an adaptation. Neither can we see Ling-yün as anything but a Romantic in the wilfulness of his nature, his complete disregard for convention, his refusal to conform to what Confucian society demanded of him. So too with his flights from the court or the yamen into the mountain wilas where he would lose himself for days on end. What else are these restless journeyings but the faint foreshadowing of those that were to drive a Byron, a Gaugin or a Rimbaud into their chosen wilderness? Again we may ask if it is not apparent from what we have learnt of Ling-yün's character that his imagination thrived on "the strange, the unusual, the imagined"? His early initiation into an esoteric Taoist sect, his membership of the Mount Lu community, his love of alchemy, Taoist and Buddhist yoga and the "strange sights" of which he speaks in his poems afford ample proof of this. And even where his personal behaviour is concerned, that bizarre eccentricity so characteristic of the hsüan-hsüeh culture of his time surely flaunts itself extravagantly enough in his character?
Ultimately however it is not so much these similarities to our own Romantic movement but rather the fundamental unity of poetic truth that bridge the gap across the estranging centuries. It is because of this that we may with justice apply to Ling-yun words that have been spoken of Wordsworth. Had any poetry before his "managed to shade overt statement of spiritual import so curiously, so dramatically, and with such sleights and duplicities of meaning into the metaphoric implications of the literally described landscape?"

Sullivan has remarked that "the supreme place occupied in Chinese civilization by landscape is due to the fact that as the art developed it came to embody ideas and concepts which, in other civilizations, have been more characteristically expressed in religious or philosophical terms." To this we can only add that the life and vital order of the universe, the philosophy of organism, of the supreme Pattern which reveals itself through the ever-changing forms of mountains and streams, clothed itself for the first time subtly yet radiantly in the poetry of Hsieh Ling-yün.
NOTES

1. Preface to Tai ching t'ang shih hua, chapter V.

2. Liu Hsieh, biography in Liang shu, L, pp.13b-17b, probably wrote his Wen hsin tiao lung around 502 A.D. See Vincent Shih (1), Introduction.

3. Wen hsin tiao lung, II, sec. 6, Ming shih, p.2a.


5. Shih p'in, p.164.

6. Sun Ch'o, style Hsing-kung, was famous as a composer of epigrams and eulogies, many of which have been preserved in KSC. Philosophically he represents an extreme form of the syncretism current at the time. His Elucidation of the Way 謀道論 (HMC, III, p.16b-7c) is an example of the Buddhist hsüan-hsüeh in vogue among the scholar-gentry of the time. Similarly his "Eulogy on Lao-tzu" 老子贊, (Ch'u hsueh chi, XXIII, p.3b) attempts to harmonize Taoism with Confucianism.

7. Hsu Hsun, style Hsuan-tu, was a follower of Chih Tun and belonged to the group of aristocrats around Hsieh An, who maintained him during his life as a recluse in a mountain cave in Kuei-chi (SSHY, III A, p.17b, SPTK ed.). He was noted for his
skill at ch'ing t'an and at writing five-syllable poems, an art for which he was praised by Ssu-ma Yu 司馬昱, Prince of Kuei-chi and later Emperor Chien-wen (371-373), who said: "Hsuan-tu's five-word poems are far beyond all others in their subtlety." (SSHY, IA, p.34a, SPTK ed.). KSC, IV, 348c, 25, shows him in a debate with Chih Tun (translated Zürcher, Conquest, p.118).

Since only one fragment of his poetic works has survived we are unable to judge what his work must have been like. But see below, note 49.

8. Identification seems doubtful here. Chang Chen-yung (1), prefers Huan Yi 环翼, (style Mao-lun 茂倫) biography in CS, LXXIV, p.1a3, "People compared him to Hsü (Hsun) and Kuo (P'u)."

9. In view of the importance of Yu Ch'an 尤闇 in the literary history of the period I think it extremely likely that he is the poet designated here. See below, note 69, for further details.


11. Kuo P'u 科璞, style Ching-tun 景純, (276-324), biography in CS, LXXII, pp.1a-7b, was a hsuan-hsueh adept, who after a chequered official career was executed by Wang Tun 王敦. He was perhaps the most prolific writer of the Six Dynasties period, having produced among other things, commentaries on the Shan hai
ching, the Erh Ya, the Fang yen, the Shui ching and the Mu T'ien tzu chuan, as well as a considerable number of other works (CS, LXXII, p.7b8-9). He enjoyed a great reputation as a poet and is known today chiefly for his 'Fourteen Poems on Wandering Immortals' (Ting Fu-pao (1), vol. 1, pp. 423-425) seven of which are to be found in WH, XXI, p.13a et seq. One couplet of his became famous for the frisson it evoked. "In a poem by Kuo P'u it is said: 'In the forest the ever-rustling trees. In the river the unquiet wave.' Juan Fu said: 'The immensity of this solitude and desolation is really inexpressible. Each time I read these lines my spirit and body are caught up beyond themselves.'" (SSHY, IV, sec. 4, p.65). In this couplet we catch a glimpse of the technique which Hsieh Ling-yūn was later to develop to an art.

12. Yin Chung-wen 殷仲文, (d. 407 A.D.), biography in CS, XCIX, pp.14b-15b. A close collaborator of Huan Hsuan's who was eventually killed by Liu Yü. Hsieh Ling-yūn once remarked of him: "If he had but read half as many books as Yuan Pao 袁豹 (473-415) his literary genius would have been equal to Pan Ku's 伯 国 (31-92)." (CS, XCIX, p.15b8).

13. For Hsieh Hun see chapter I above.

14. This work, which is now known only from the fragments found in
the commentary to SSHY, was written some time in the middle of the fifth century.

15. San shih 三世, a Buddhist term indicating past, present and future. See Bukkyo daijiten, p.640c.

16. Quoted in commentary to SSHY, II, sec. 4, Wen hsüeh, p.67, under anecdote beginning. 詞文摘訳


18. Song, CXIV, "The cricket is in the hall, the year is drawing to its close."

19. Song, XLIV, "Longingly I think of you".

20. Song, LXXXVII, "If you think of me with longing I shall gird up my robes and wade the Chen".

21. Chuang-tzu chi shih, XXIII, p.338. "Keng Sang-ch'u said (to Nan-yang Ch'u): 'Keep your body intact; protect your life; do not let your thoughts go rushing madly about.'"

22. The phrase is David Hawkes's. (Hawkes (1), p.119). However we must not assume that such was the universal attitude to nature. There were exceptions to the rule. Early Taoist and Confucian texts provide us with examples of these. See LY, VI, 21, "The wise find pleasure in water; the virtuous find pleasure in hills."
Chuang, XXIV, 81. "Mountains and woods .... make us joyfully
delight in them."

These early insights seem to have been later overlaid by
a heavy application of Confucian moralizing. See Han shih wai

23. See Balazs, (1) and (2); Waley, (6) passim.

24. See Liebenthal, (8).

25. For the Bamboo Grove poets, see van Gulik, (1) and Holzman (1).
Shan T'ao Shan T'ao, style Chu-yuan Chu-yuan, (205-283), biography in
CS, XLIII, pp.1a-3a, is the classic example of one whose Taoist
pretensions did not prevent him from reaching high office.


27. CS, XLIX, p.1b10.

28. CS, XXXIV, p.5a7.

29. By Lin Keng (1), p.154, who discusses the implications of this
poem with considerable insight.

30. Ts'ao Ts'ao Ts'ao Kuan ts'ang hai Kuan ts'ang hai, song no. 2
in the cycle of four, under the name of P'u ch'u tung hsi men
hsing 步出東西門行 步出東西門行. Ting Fu-pao (1), vol. 1, p.119.

31. On the transition from the fu to the lyric during the third
and fourth centuries see Ami Yuji (1), passim: Sullivan (1), pp.54-57.

32. WH, XVIII, p.16b; translated van Gulik, (1) p.53.

33. WH, XXII p.1a. Chao yin shih 招隠士 No. 1, lines 3-10: no. 2, lines 1-14: Note the contrast with the forbidding landscape of the similarly entitled poem in the Ch'u tz'u.

34. Ting Fu-pao, (1), vol. 1, p.436, Ch'iu jih 秋日 . The allusion in the last line is to Chuang, XVII 87 (7); Chuang tzu chi shih, p.267, commentary, identifies the river Hao with one in Huai-nan.

35. WH, XXXI, p.26b, Tsa shu 杂述, After Sun Ch'o. (Most editions have the erroneous reading "Chang" for "Sun") Chiang Wen-t'ung chi, IV, p.9b.

36. Lieh-tzu chu, II, T'ien tuan, p.2. "The Great Uniform Chaos was the Origin of Matter."

37. Chuang tzu chi shih, II, Ch'i wu lun, p.24. "Tzu-yu said: 'I venture to ask about the pipes of Heaven.' Tzu-ch'i said: 'They blow in ten thousand different ways.'"

38. Chuang-tzu chi shih, II, Ch'i wu lun, p.39. "There is nothing that lives longer than a child that dies prematurely."


42. *Chuang tzu chi shih*, XXXIII, *T'ien hsia*, p.479. "If, every day, you take away half of a stick a foot long, it will not be exhausted after ten thousand generations."

43. *CY*, *Hsi tz'u*(B), sec. 3. "Through one action the fruits of a hundred thoughts are realized. What need has nature of care or thought?"

44. *HS*, LXXII, p.1b. "The Younger Son from the Village of Ch'i", was one of the "four white-haired men" who took service under Han after retiring to the mountains during the Ch'in dynasty. See *SC*, LVI, pp.26-27.

45. *Chuang tzu chi shih*, XXI, *T'ien Tzu-fang*, p.310. "Chung-ni said: .... "To the end of my day I shall be rubbing shoulders with you and yet I shall lose you."

46. *Chuang tzu chi shih*, III, *Yang sheng*, p.60. "We point to the burnt firewood but the fire has been passed on elsewhere."
47. **Lieh tzu chu**, II, *Huang ti*, p.21. "There was a man who lived by the sea and loved sea-gulls. Everyday at dawn he went down to the sea and swam about, followed by sea-gulls."


49. WH, XXXI, p.28b. *Tzu hsu*.

50. **Chuang tzu chi shih**, XIX, *Ta sheng*, p.284. "In Lu there lived a certain Shan Pao who dwelt among the crags and drank from the rivers. He would not partake of the profits of the people. At seventy he still had the complexion of a babe. Unfortunately he met a hungry tiger that killed and ate him."

51. Ibid. "There was Chang Yi who had a hanging screen before his lofty gates. Everyone went to him. But at forty he died of a fever."

52. **Chuang tzu chi shih**, II, *Ch'i wu lun*, p.49. "How do I know that my dislike of death is not like the attitude of a lost child who does not know how to get home?"

53. **Chuang tzu chi shih**, XXIV, *Hsü Wu-kuei*, p.365. "Chuang tzu was accompanying a funeral. When passing by Hui-tzu's grave he turned his head and said to his attendants: 'There is a spot of mud the size of a fly's wing on the tip of the nose of that man from Ying. Send for the workman Shih to cut it off!' The
47. Lieh tzu chu, II, Huang ti, p.21. "There was a man who lived by the sea and loved sea-gulls. Everyday at dawn he went down to the sea and swam about, followed by sea-gulls."

48. Ting Fu-pao (1), vol. 1, p.451, Chu shan 竹扇

49. WH, XXXI, p.28b. Tzu hsü.

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workman Shih swung his axe in a circle till it made such a wind that, by listening to it, he could tell when to cut it off. All the mud disappeared leaving the nose unharmed."

See also CY, Hex. 30, Image (1): "Doubled clarity, attaching itself to what is right, will transform and perfect the world."

54. Hsi K'ang chi, p. 70. Ta nan yang sheng lun 答難養生論, "There are five difficulties in nourishing one's life. The first is not getting rid of feelings of self-interest. The second is not doing away with feelings of joy and anger. The third is not banishing sounds and colours. The fourth is not cutting oneself off from tastes. The fifth is having an unquiet mind and one's vital fluid scattered." (Translated Holzmann (1), p. 119. Translation from French by the writer.)

55. A discussion of this problem lies outside the scope of this work. However, the writer has been collecting material on this subject for some time with a view to establishing some points of comparison between the two movements. See note 114 below for a further brief comment.

56. Kuei-chi was an administrative district covering present day Shao-hsing county, Chekiang and the county of Wu in Kiangsu. It was the cultural heart of South China during the Six Dynasties period. The Yueh chun chih lueh 越郡志略 of Ssu-ma
Hsiang 司馬相 (chin-shih of 1521 A.D.) apud Ta Ch'ing yi
"When the Chin moved to the East of the River the flower of the gentry all gathered in Yueh.
It became the major cultural centre of six provinces. Distinguished men and literary worthies came together in clouds, one attracting another." (Translated by Wright (2), p.395). Lu Hsun's Kuei-chí chun ku shu tsa chi contains a collection of works on Kuei-chí most of which were written between the third and fifth centuries A.D. which give a good idea of the importance of the area at that time. See also Wright (2), passim.

57. CS,LXXX, p.3b14.
58. CS,LVI, p.9a14.
59. CS,LVI, p.9a11. T'ung was an elder brother of Ch' o.
60. SS,XCIII, p.2b7. Yung was a younger son of Tai K'uei (see following note).
61. Tai K'uei, style An-tao (d. 396 A.D.), biography in CS, XCIV, p.18a, was a well-known painter and a friend of Hsieh An's. SSHY,III, section 6, Ya liang, p.98, records the following anecdote: "When Master Tai came from the East (i.e. from Kuei-chí) the Grand Preceptor Hsieh (An) came to see him. At first
Hsieh had a low opinion of Tai and when they met would only discuss lute-playing and painting with him. But Tai was in no way disconcerted and discussed lute-playing and painting with such subtlety that Hsieh finally came to recognise his true worth." Tai K'uei may well have been one of the first landscape-painters, if his love of mountains was in any way reflected in his art. Unfortunately, none of his paintings has survived.

62. For Chih Tun see below, note 105.

63. CS, LXXIX, p.2b8.

64. The Lan t'ing chi hsü 蘭亭集序, "one of the classic examples of literary composition," (Zürcher) is typical of the school of Mysterious Learning in its stress on the ephemeral nature of the world. A complete version is found in CS, LXXX, pp.4a3-4b: another version appears in the SSHY comm. (IIIA, p.8b) with the title Lin ho hsü 臨河序. For a full study of this work see Obi Koichi, (3).

See also Pelliot (1), p.95, note 1, and p.105, note 1, for an account of the fate of the original preface, a calligraphic masterpiece from Hsi-chih's own brush. It was apparently buried with T'ang T'ai-tsung in 649 A.D.

Sireh (1), p.8, reproduces a charming woodcut of the Lan-t'ing taken from Hung hsüeh yin yüan t'u chi 鴻雪因緣圖記.
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of Lin Ch'ing (1791-1846).


66. "Branchy drums", is obviously a rather forced metaphor for "trees".

67. Wan must have been well-known as a poet in his day even though nothing of his verse has survived, beside these two poems, out of his sixteen chüan of Collected Works (CS, LXXIX, p. 10b9; Sui shu ching chi chih, EWSPP, vol. IV, p. 5769a). I hazard the opinion that Wan's verse may have influenced Hsieh Hun who in turn influenced Ling-yün. I suspect that the family tradition may have played a larger part than we imagine in the determination of literary influence in Chinese.


69. Yü Ch' an, style Chung-ch' u 仲初, biography in CS, XVII p. 10a. Yü Ch' an's position in the history of nature-poetry has been noticed by Fan Wen-lan 范文藹 who remarks: "The writing of nature poetry began with Yü Ch' an and his associates during the early years of Eastern Chin." (Fan Wen-lan, Wen hsin tiao lung
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chu, p.18b, note 34).


71. See Ting Fu-pao (1), vol. I, pp.444-446.


73. Reading 擼 as 擼.


76. The Nine Heavens 九天, are the Nine Directions of Heaven which fit together to form a sphere. See *CT*, III, *T'ien Wen*, p.2b, Wang Yi's commentary.


78. *SHC*, IX, p.2a, describes *T'ien Wu* as Earl of the Waters,水伯.


80. Nothing is known of Chan Fang-sheng except that he held the rank of Administrator and Counsellor to the Army of Defence. However from the fact that he mentions the date 386 A.D. in his Poem
on the Gods and Immortals on Mt. Lu, (Ting Fu-pao (1), vol. I, p.491) we may conclude he was alive towards the end of the fourth century.

81. Chiang Yu, style Tao-tsai 道載, biography in CS, LXXXIII, pp.6a-8b. This biography lists his works as ten chuan. Of this only eight poems remain.

82. Huan tu fan 還都帆, Ting Fu-pao (1), vol. I, p.492.

83. Fan ju Nan-hu 帆入南湖, ibid., p.492.

84. T'ien ch'ing shih 天晴詩, ibid., p.492.

85. The God of Rain. See SHC, IX, p.4b.

86. I have purposely omitted any discussion of T'ao Yuan-ming from this chapter on the grounds that his work is far too complex to be subsumed under any formula. However it would be interesting to see whether the traditional Chinese description of T'ao on a poet of "fields and gardens" 田園, really stands close scrutiny. Does not this too-facile distinction from landscape poetry proper 水, merely obscure the fact that he too is one of the great nature poets? A comparative study of the work of T'ao and Hsieh would be of great interest. Did they ever meet, one wonders; and if not, why?

88. **"Yung ch’iu"** 蒞秋, ibid., p. 444.


90. Guardian Spirit of the West, ibid., p. 6a; Hawkes (1), p. 85.60, note 3.

91. CY, Hex. 53, 9/6. "The wild goose gradually draws near the cloudy heights."


93. See Mather (1), passim.

94. Mather (1), p. 76.


96. See above, ch. 1.

97. WH, II, p. 6a, Yu T’ien-t’ai-shan fu.

98. Chuang, XXIV, 32.

In *Lu shan chi*, IV, p. 1042c9 and *Fo tsu t'ung chi* XXVI, p. 261c17, he is described as Wang Ch'iao-chih 瑤之, magistrate of Lin-ho 臨賀. However *KHMCh*, XXX, p. 351c8 ff., lists four eulogies on the Bodhisattvas Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata and on the Buddha by one Wang Ch'i-chih 齋之 of Lang-yeh. See Liebenthal (1), pp. 193-195 for a translation of these poems. Clearly, whoever he is, this person is one of the third generation descendants of Wang Cheng 正 since he has a two-syllable personal name ending in 齋, a sign of membership of the Sect of the Way of the Heavenly Master. Since the monk Tao-heng 道恆, who died in 417 A.D., wrote a lament on the death of Wang Ch'i-chih he must have died before that year. See *KSC*, VI, p. 365a7. Also Zürcher, *Conquest*, vol. II, p. 398, note 205.

Chang Yeh was one of the original members of the Mt. Lu community. According to that very questionable source, the Shih pa hsien chuan, in *Lu shan chi*, III, p. 1040a, he lived from 350-418. He is known now only for his "Inscription" 銘 on Hui-yuan quoted in *SSHY* commentary 1B, pp. 27a-b.

Lu shan chi, IV, p. 1042.

Lu shan chi, IV, p. 1042.

The date is given in the preface to the poems.

Chih Tun, style Tao-lin 道林 was a gentleman-scholar and monk
who mingled with the group of aristocrats around Hsieh An. (See note above). He died in Kuei-chi in 366. See an excellent account in Zürcher, *Conquest*, pp.116-130.


107. Shou-yang 首陽 was the mountain on which Po Yi 伯夷 and Shu Ch'i 叔齊 starved to death.

108. *KHMC*, XXX, p.351b, *Yung shan chü* 詠山居. One of a total of seventeen miscellaneous poems, many of which are very similar in tone to the one translated.


110. Soper (1), *passim*.


112. Ibid., p.62.

113. I am aware that this statement represents an over-simplification of a complex problem. One could well argue that nineteenth-century English verse witnessed an intensification and revitalization of the mythological apparatus. See Bush (1), *passim*, esp. pp.3-50.

114. English landscape verse was also similarly affected by painting. Most minor eighteenth-century landscape poets are merely
describing the painting of Salvator Rosa, Poussin or Claude, even when supposedly writing of the English countryside. See Deans (1), pp.63-92.


117. SSHY1, sec. 2, Yen yu" p.35: CS,XCII,p.21a11, has a slightly variant version.

118. Tsung Ping, (375-443), biography in SS,XCIII,p.4b, NS,LXXV, p.3b; Lu shan chi III, p.1040a. A painter, scholar and noted Buddhist apologist, Tsung Ping also won fame as a musician and a ch'ing t'an virtuoso. He never took office but lived first on Mt. Lu with Hui-yuan, and then at Chiang-ling. His Ming fo lun 明佛論 of 433 is an attempt to prove that Buddhism was known in China even in antiquity.

119. SS,XCIII, p.6a2.

120. Hua shan shui hsü", Li tai ming hua chi VI, sec. 2, pp.208-210. This treatise may be spurious since it was excluded by Wang Yuan-ch'i 佩文齋书画譜 (1642-1715) from the P'ei wen chai shu hua p'u 佩文齋书画譜
121. *Hua shan shui hsü*, p.208.

122. *TTC*, 56.

123. Hsieh, p.74. *What I saw when I Crossed the Lake* ... 1.22.


125. Sullivan (1), p.64.

126. *Hua shan shui hsü*, *Li tai ming hua chi*, VI, p.210. Van Gulik (2), pp.84-85, remarks that "the desire of scholars and artists to surround themselves with beautiful things ... originated from magic considerations ... and theories about yang-sheng 生. He also notes "the tray-landscapes that ... summarize the cosmic forces". (On this see Stein (1), *passim*). There can be little doubt that the cult of nature had a very similar magical origin.


129. Suzuki (3), p.188.


