HAN YU AND HIS KU-SHIH POETRY

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ABSTRACT

Although Han Yu is already famous as a great prose writer in Chinese literature, few Western scholars seem to be aware of the depth and originality of his poetry. This thesis is an attempt to shed some light on Han Yu's immense contributions to Chinese verse in order to correct this one-sided view of Han Yu which most scholars have.

By way of introduction, a short biography of Han Yu has been prepared from the traditional historical sources and modern Chinese and Japanese materials. Also included is a short review of Han Yu's thought with particular reference to his attitudes toward Buddhism to correct the misconception that he was completely hostile to the Indian religion. Even though the thesis is mainly concerned with Han's poetry, his prose style cannot be ignored because of its importance to his poetry and Chinese literature in general.

Han Yu's poetry is distinguished by the strangeness of its language and the consistent breaking of old rules of prosody. The fu device is found to be particularly prominent, and the writer's penchant for the composing of narrative verse is quite unique in China. The source of much of the weird subject material of Han Yu's verse is the mythology of the Chinese peasant, and Han's poetry is quite atypical in the predominance of an absurd humor never observed before in the Chinese tradition. Han's absurd humor is the key to his philosophy of life: a good-humored resignation to an inavoidable fate.

The origin of the weirder aspects of Han Yu's poetry is hard to account for, and after an examination of possible sources in literati verse it is concluded that Han owes much to the non-literatus and folk tradition in Chinese literature. Han
Yü was the center of one of the most important poetic movements in mid-T'ang times, and a school consisting of Li Ho, Meng Chiao, Lu T'ung, Ma Yi, Liu Ch'a, and others gathered about him and were all influenced by him to varying degrees. Although his contributions to Chinese poetry were nearly forgotten in late T'ang times, Ou-yang Hsiu and others renewed interest in his works, and as a result, he was one of the major sources of inspiration for the tremendous creativity of northern Sung poetry. Because of his boldness in writing verse, Han Yü was not always popular with Chinese critics, and he was frequently attacked for the prose-like quality of his poetry and the strangeness of its subject matter. However, many critics approved of his innovations, and we find that most of the adverse criticism comes from highly conservative authors.
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Han Yu, whose courtesy name was T'ui-chih, was born in the year 768 at the western capital Ch'ang-an. Han's father is described in the Old T'ang History as being without fame or position, but he was once Magistrate of Wu-ch'ang and was highly praised by the famed poet Li Po in a tablet composed by Li in commemoration of his able administration.\(^1\) Han's uncle Han Yun-ch'ing once held the post Attendant Gentleman of the Board of Rites, so it seems that the family belonged to the lower landlord class and was at least fairly well off.\(^2\) However, Han's claim to be related to the illustrious Han family of Ch'ang-li is completely unfounded, since Han's ancestors came from Nanyang County of modern Honan and seem to have no blood ties with the more famous clan of the same surname.\(^3\)

Han was the fourth son of his family, and since his father, Han Chung-ch'ing, passed away in 770, the responsibility of raising Han passed to his elder brother Han Hui. When the prime minister Yuan Ts'ai lost his power, Hui was demoted to a post in Shao-chou, and the family accompanied him to his new place of work.\(^4\) Han Yu was only fourteen years old when Hui followed his father to the grave at the early age of forty-two. Hui's wife, Lady Cheng, led the children back to Loyang after a number of difficulties arising from a rebellion in the army, and for the remainder of Han's youth, she was responsible for rearing him.

Han's biographies tell us that he commenced his
education at the age of seven and due to his great application soon mastered the Confucian classics and the various non-Confucian philosophical literatures. While still young he was attracted to the scholars Tu-ku Chi and Liang Su, who were advocates of a return to ancient ideals and undoubtedly influenced his later accomplishments in the field of ancient prose writing. During this stay in the capital, Han Yu also met people who were to influence his style of poetry, the most significant of whom was Meng Chiao, who was the closest friend of Han Yu during his entire life.

The ambition of all young men of the gentry class was an official career, and so in 792 Han Yu took and passed the chin-shih examination. This initial success was of little use to him, however, for although he was highly lauded by Cheng Yu-ch'ing and addressed three letters to the prime minister, he was unable to obtain any office in the central government. Embittered by this defeat, Han left the capital to seek his fortune and eventually occupied a post as military advisor to Tung Chin, the first job he had ever held, although he was already twenty-nine years old. He worked in an extremely repressive atmosphere in Ta Liang, for the military governors were virtual dictators over their regions, levying taxes and conscripting soldiers at will. In 799 Tung Chin died and Han Yu was on the road sending his coffin back to Loyang when the army revolted and murdered the temporary commander Lu Ch'ang-yuan, a personal friend of Han. Concerned for the safety of his wife and children, Han
first returned to the camp to escort them to safety and then continued his trip back to the capital. Shortly afterwards, Han left the capital to occupy a similar position as military advisor in Ning-Wu, but in 801 he quit this post when he was appointed to his first job in the central government, Broad Scholar of the Four Gates. Two years later he was promoted to Imperial Secretary of Investigation and acquired a reputation for outspokenness and honesty. However, honesty is rarely appreciated in politics, and upon angering the emperor Te Tsung, he was demoted to Magistrate of Yang-shan County, far off in the wilds of Kuangtung province.

Upon the death of Te Tsung and the accession of Shun Tsung in 805, Han was forgiven for his crimes and allowed to return to Ch’ang-an to assume the position of Kuo-tzu Broad Scholar. Before Shun Tsung had come to the throne, an official named Wang Shu-wen had befriended the young prince and now that Wang received the imperial favor, a coterie of progressive scholars such as Wei Chih-yih, Lü Wen, Liu Tsung-yüan, and Liu Yu-hsi gathered about him. Han Yu was opposed to their policies, and when the eunuchs took advantage of Wang Shu-wen’s retirement due to his mother’s funeral, Han was on the winning side of a conflict which left many prominent officials dead or exiled.

After the stormy events of the year 805, Han was transferred from Ch’ang-an to Loyang, occupying the same post he had had before. However, his slow rise to power soon began,
and by the year 810 he had been given the highly desirable post of Magistrate of Honan County. During his stay in the east, Han Yü got to know a number of people on whom he exerted a tremendous influence such as the poets Lu T'ung and Li Ho.  

His stay in Loyang soon came to an end, for he was promoted to a higher job in the central government at Ch'ang-an. Nevertheless, Han's return to the capital was not completely auspicious, for a year later he was the victim of slander and was demoted to his former post of Kuo-tzu Broad Scholar. His defence of himself in the "Explanation of the Advancement of Study" made certain powers in the government take note of his plight, for he was soon advanced to work in the Academy of History. When fifty years old, Han became a close friend of the powerful prime minister, P'ei Tu, and served as a military commander under him in the highly successful campaign that put down the rebellion in Huai Hsi started by Wu Huan-chi. Because of the high quality of Han's leadership, he was exalted to the powerful post of Attendant Gentleman of the Board of Punishments.  

Han's new found glory was not to last for long, however, for his outspokenness was once again to be the cause of disaster for him. In 819 Hsien Tsung was informed that the pagoda at the Dharma Gate Monastery in Feng Hsiang had a finger bone of the Buddha, and desirous of attaining the merit that follows from the worshipping of relics, the emperor ordered that preparations be made for elaborate ceremonies to welcome the Buddha bone into the capital city.
Han Yu was highly disturbed by the vast expenditures for the lavish celebrations and the superstitious excesses of the people, and in his righteous indignation he sent up a memorial to the emperor in which he violently attacked the Buddhist religion. Hsien Tsung was enraged and after being dissuaded from beheading Han decided to exile him to the malarial region of Ch'ao-chou in the deep south of China.

After a few months in Ch'ao-chou Han was transferred to the more hospitable Yhan-chou in modern Kiangsi province. To Han Yu's good fortune, the emperor Hsien Tsung was assassinated by the eunuch Ch'en Hung-chih, and after an absence of less than two years he was returned to the capital with the enviable post of Attendant Gentleman of the Board of War.

In the second year of the new emperor Mu Tsung's reign, rebellion broke out in Chen-chou, and after several expeditions failed to subdue the rebels, Han was sent forth and succeeded in persuading their leader Wang T'ing-ts'ou to refrain from further hostilities. As a result of this great accomplishment, Han's position advanced one step further in the government, and in 822 he was made Attendant Gentleman to the Board of Officials. The next year further honors were given him and he became Governor of the Capital. In the summer of 824, Han Yu became seriously ill and was forced to retire from all of the posts which he occupied in order to recuperate at his villa in Ching-an. On the second of December of that year Han Yu passed away at his villa at the age of fifty-seven years, and posthumously received the post Exalted.
Scribe of the Board of Rites with the title Duke of Literature.\textsuperscript{16}

Ever since the victory of Neo-Confucianism in Sung times, Han Yu has been celebrated for his attack against Buddhism. His position as a saint in the neo-Confucian orthodoxy is best expressed in his eulogy found in the New T'ang History of Ou-yang Hsiu: "From the Chin dynasty through the Sui, while Buddhism and Taoism were being conspicuously practiced, the Sagely Way was perpetuated only by a thread, and the various Confucian scholars relied on orthodox ideas merely as a support for the weird and supernatural. Han Yu, alone in his grief, quoted the sages in order to fight the delusions of the world. Although he suffered abuse and derision, he met all failures with renewed vigor. In the beginning no one believed him, but finally he became renowned during his age. Formerly Mencius refuted Mo-tzu, but he was separated from Confucius by only two hundred years. Han Yu, who was separated from Confucius by more than a thousand years, rejected the two schools of Buddhism and Taoism. In discarding the decadent and returning to the orthodox, his success was equal and his energy double that of Mencius.\textsuperscript{17}

The most famous incident in Han's campaign against Buddhism was his violent attack against the emperor Hsien Tsung's welcoming of a relic of the Buddha into the capital Ch'ang-an, for which he was banished to southern China. Again the New T'ang History gives us the background to this event: "Hsien Tsung sent an ambassador to Feng-hsiang to meet
the Buddha bone, and after it had been kept in the Forbidden City for three days it was sent to the Buddha's temple. Princes, nobles, scholars, and commoners ran about praying and chanting, even imitating foreign customs by scorching their bodies, giving up their wealth, and crowding the highways. Han Yu, having heard of this, found it very hateful and sent up a memorial remonstrating in the strongest terms.  

In his memorial Han Yu attacked Buddhism along several lines. One of the most important of his arguments is that the Buddhist religion is of foreign origin and, thus, destructive to the Chinese way of life; "I beg leave to say that Buddhism is merely a foreign religion. From the time of the Yellow Emperor to Yu, Wen, and Wu the rulers all enjoyed a long life and the people were happy. At their time China did not yet have Buddhism, and they were not this way because they served the Buddha. Only by the time of Han Ming Ti did we have Buddhism, and he was on the throne only eighteen years. After his time destruction and disorder continued, and the reigns were not long. From the Sung, Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en, and T'o Pa Wei dynasties, as the rulers served Buddhism even more respectfully, their reigns became even shorter, and only Liang Wu Ti was on the throne forty-eight years. Even he gave up his body three times to serve the Buddha and did not use live animals for the sacrifices in the ancestral temples, eating only one meal of vegetables and fruit a day. Afterwards he was
attacked by Hou Ching and starved to death in T'ai Ch'eng, his nation being subsequently destroyed. He served the Buddha to seek fortune but all he obtained was disaster."\(^{19}\)

The argument which Han Yu is advancing against the foreign origin of Buddhism was encountered by the religion in the earliest times, for already in the *Moutzu Li Huo Lun* (circa 225-250) we find the following attempt to dispel such anti-foreign views: "Books are not necessarily the words of Confucius; a remedy is not necessarily prepared by Pien Ch'iao. If a book is in accord with what is just, one follows it. If a medicine cures, it is good. The superior man accepts all that is good to sustain his body."\(^{20}\)

Hsün-Chi, an opponent of Buddhism at its height under the Liang dynasty, carried the anti-foreign argument farther than anyone before him by maintaining that the religion is frankly seditious because of its propagation of foreign doctrines and its attempt to rival the imperial household in the splendor of its monasteries.\(^{21}\) Thus, Han Yu's opposition to Buddhism on the grounds that it was of foreign origin was nothing new to the Chinese intellectual scene, and was most likely a view shared by a fair number of his contemporaries.

The second reason which Han Yu set forth in his memorial to attack Buddhism was the religion's encouragement of asceticism and other worldly practices: "How could your sagely intelligence believe in such things? However, the common people are foolish, being easy to delude and difficult
to enlighten, and if they see your majesty behave in this way, they will say that you sincerely serve the Buddha. Then they will proclaim: "The Emperor is a great sage and he believes in Buddhism with his whole heart, so why should we, who are commoners, spare our bodies or our lives? Then they will singe their heads and burn their fingers in groups of tens and hundreds, and they will loosen their clothes and scatter their money from morning to evening, constantly vying to imitate one another." 22

In this passage we find a typical expression of the Confucianist attitude toward superstitious practices and striving after other-worldly things, which finds its origin in Confucius' famous dictum "Respect spirits and ghosts, but keep far away from them." Particularly repugnant to the Confucians were such Indian practices as mutilation of the body and the casting away of wealth, which not only offended reason but were also a serious breach of filial piety. Hence, once again we find that Han Yu's attack against Buddhism superstition belonged to a long tradition of Chinese rationalism.

The third and last argument which Han advanced in his memorial was that Buddhism is harmful to the economic and political life of the country. He obviously believed that Liang Wu Ti's support of Buddhism, which entailed such actions as the emperor giving himself up to a monastery to be ransomed by the court, imperiled the stability of the government and wasted huge sums of money with the final
result that the Liang dynasty fell before the onslaught of Hou Ching's army. Han is careful not to mention the large amount of wealth squandered by Hsien Tsung in the ceremony for welcoming the Buddha bone, but he is very specific in his condemnation of the waste of wealth among the common people in their mad rush to worship the relic. However, the most serious economic damage done to the community by Buddhism was the burden placed upon society in supporting the large community of monks and nuns. In his "Yuan Tao" Han Yu explores this problem most fully: "For each family growing grain there are now six consuming it; for each family producing utensils there are now six using them; for each family engaged in trade, six others take their profits. Is it surprising then that the people are reduced to poverty and driven to theft?" Such an argument was not completely ungrounded either, for the costs of maintaining the largely unproductive clergy and constructing lavish temples and monasteries were very taxing to a society that had scarcely recovered from the ravages of the An Lu-shan Rebellion.

The picture of Han Yu as an inveterate foe of the Buddhist religion found in most accounts of his life is not the entire story of his attitudes toward the Indian religion. After reading his "Memorial on the Buddha Bone" most people would be inclined to infer that he would never defile himself with contact from the religion, but when one reads his poetic works, he is startled to find that many of
his verses are addressed to Buddhist monks. Most amazing of all is that our author was apparently on very good terms with the monks whom he made the object of his writing and often praised them for learning and literary ability. Thus, in his "Sending off Monk Hui" he writes the following:

"Master Hui is a man of the Buddha, 
Yet he is not a trammelled person. 
At fifteen he loved mountains and water; 
Superior to others, he left family and friends. 
He removed his cap and clipped his hair; 
His flying footsteps leaving only the dust of his tracks."

And in the same poem:

"A river fish cannot live in a pool; 
A wild bird is hard to tame in a cage. 
Though I am not of the western religion, 
I love your wildness and purity."\(^{24}\)

The most fascinating of all the poems which Han Yu addressed to monks is his "Sending off Monk Ch'eng Kuan," a work which has stirred much controversy among Chinese scholars for reasons we shall soon discuss. The illustrious monk Ch'eng Kuan was born in 738 and after leaving home at the age of eleven was ordained as a monk in 758. He was versed in all the Buddhist sutras but specialized in the Avatāmsaka Sūtra (Hua Yen Ching) and in 796 was invited to Ch'ang-an to help in a new translation of this sutra by the emperor Te Tsung. Ch'eng Kuan was honored by all succeeding
emperors and was given a number of high titles by the rulers. After writing extensive commentaries on Avatamsaka doctrine, he died in 838, and was later named as one of the patriarchs of the Hua-yen Sect, a worthy successor to the famed monk Fa Tsang.25

The controversy over Han Yu's work is that we cannot be absolutely sure that the Ch'eng Kuan Han Yu wrote it for is actually the same person as the famous Hua-yen master, because according to one commentator there may have been as many as four Ch'eng Kuan's alive at the time that Han Yu wrote his poem (800), although another scholar thinks that there were only two. One other argument against Han's poem being addressed to the famous Ch'eng Kuan is that Han does not offer the respect due to a monk that is highly revered by the imperial house, and his desire to have Ch'eng Kuan follow an official career seems to be quite strange, because the monk already had a number of high titles in the central government.26

When reading the criticism regarding Han's work, one has the vague feeling that the Confucian scholars offering their opinions find it very urgent to disassociate their idol from any relation to the famous Hua-yen master Ch'eng Kuan. Since there may have been more than one Ch'eng Kuan in China in the year 800, and Han does not provide us with any biographical details in his poem, it is, of course, impossible to be absolutely sure for whom Han Yu wrote his work, but the arguments against his association
with the famous Ch'eng Kuan are rather empty. There seems no reason why Han Yu would be overly polite to a member of a heterodox religion no matter how much he respected him for his great learning, and the official positions granted the monk could hardly have conformed to Han Yu's definition of a successful Confucian political career. In addition, Han's description of Ch'eng Kuan as an old man with extremely unusual physical features corresponds with other accounts of his weird physical appearance. Whether or not we can ever identify Han Yu's Ch'eng Kuan for sure, "Sending off Monk Ch'eng Kuan" is extremely vital to our understanding of Han Yu's seemingly ambivalent attitude toward the Buddhist religion:

"For what purpose did Buddhism come from the West? Busy, busy the men between the Four Seas race about. They build towers, construct pavilions, which cut the Milky Way; Who is to stop them from glorying in the grandeur and beauty? Later the monk Sangha appeared on the banks of the Huai and Ssu; Under him the power of Buddhism became even greater and more remarkable. Yüeh merchants and barbarian traders would escape their bodily sins,
So they filled their boats with jade of immeasurable value.
The pure Huai has no waves and is level as a mat;
Temple railings and pillars rise up reddening half the heavens.
Fire burns, water turns, and the earth is swept empty,
Towering and lofty, the pagoda rises three hundred feet high.
Its reflection sinks to the bottom of the lake, and dragons flee in fright;
At day there are no clouds, and it straddles the vacant, azure sky.
I beg to ask what person planned and built it?
It was the monk Ch'eng Kuan, who thus became widely famed.
Formerly I followed the army beneath Ta Liang,
And noble and brave men always filled my house.
They said that although Ch'eng Kuan is a member of the church,
There is no equal to him today in talent for public office.
Later there came a summons from Hsu-chou,
And there I met so many guests that I can't recall their names.
People said that Ch'eng Kuan is a poet,
And the whole table competed in reciting his fresh lines of verse.
I sighed to the wind that I could not see him,
I wished to win him to Confucianism and give him a scholar's cap.
As I passed my time in loneliness at the end of fall in Loyang,
Knock! Knock! I heard what I thought was a woodpecker pecking at the door.
There was a monk who had come to visit so I called him to come in,
His forehead was like a hidden rhinoceros horn,
and his cheekbones jutted out.
But, alas! He was already old, and no more of use,
So I sat and peered at his divine frame, sobbing in vain.
When the Grand Protector of Lin Huai first arrived at his commandery,
He dispatched a local man to send his greetings.
He loves and honors unusual men, who are difficult to meet,
So please go and send my best regards to him."

In this poem Han praises the character and literary ability of the monk but maintains a certain aloofness throughout. We should particularly note the tone in such a line as "They said that although Ch'eng Kuan is a member of the
church there is no equal to him today in talent for public office." Han Yu does not accept Ch'eng Kuan as a Buddhist monk per se, but sees him as a potential official serving in a Confucian bureaucracy. That such an attitude was typical with Han can be seen in his relation to the poet Chia Tao, who was a Buddhist monk under the name Wu Pen when Han first met him, but was persuaded by the master to have himself defrocked and enter the public service. Han had succeeded in converting his close friend Chia Tao to Confucianism, but he bewails the fact that Ch'eng Kuan is already too old to serve in the government and as one of the leading monks of the middle T'ang would not be likely to desert the Buddhist sangha.

Since Han has been severely censured by some critics for his seemingly contradictory relation to Buddhism, it would be best for us to explore a few of his motives for his actions. First of all, we should note that Han Yu's last poem to a monk other than his friend Chia Tao was that written to Master Wen Ch'ang in 806, fully thirteen years before his memorial to Hsien Tsung, and, thus, it is quite conceivable that his opposition to Buddhism did not become so bitter until his later years. Chronological considerations aside, the most plausible reason for Han Yu's association with monks is that during middle T'ang times Buddhism was still a very strong intellectual and aesthetic force in Chinese civilization. Han Yu was a man who appreciated intellect and would, thus, be drawn to monks with great
accomplishments, always with the hope that he could perhaps persuade them to abandon their otherworldly views and use their talents for the benefit of society at large. Fan Te-Yü has effectively answered those critics who would malign Han for his friendship with the Buddhist community: "Li Yeh-jen criticized Han Yü saying that he had already eliminated the unorthodox doctrines and that he should not be intimate with the disciples of Buddha or compose poems or essays praising them, but this is because he had not examined Han Yü's intentions. What Han hated was Buddha but not the monks. Buddha was the founder of the religion and, thus, could be hated, but some people are monks because they have no means of living, while others are monks because they are without knowledge. They are to be pitied, not hated. His intention was to love monks but to expose Buddhism. When did he ever praise the religion?"30

Han Yü's humane attitude toward those of a different persuasion than himself is difficult for Westerners to understand with their long history of religious persecution and perhaps, even difficult for later Confucian scholars to fathom.

Now that we have considered the anti-Buddhist element in Han Yü's thought, let us investigate his more positive attempts at a revival of the Confucian Way. The most complete exposition of Han Yü's views on Confucian revival is to be found in his essay "Yüan Tao," the central point of which is Han's formulation of the old Chinese
such a "rectification of names" was of the utmost urgency, for according to Han the concept Tao had been grossly distorted by the two heresies Taoism and Buddhism. To the Taoists, Tao was a shapeless force which had given rise to the universe but which was completely devoid of any moral or social values. The Sage was to live in harmony with this Tao and, thus, achieve complete freedom from the restrictions of material existence. The Buddhist term Tao was a translation of the Sanskrit Marga, which like the Chinese Tao means 'path' or 'road.' The Buddhist Marga usually applies to the astyamarga or 'eight-fold noble path' to salvation, which unlike the Taoist Tao is a path of moral discipline that leads one to the ultimate extinction of the material Self (nirvana).

Both the Buddhist and Taoist concepts of Tao were totally opposed to Confucian ideals, for the liberation of oneself from social restraints or the extinction of oneself being are completely divorced from the essential qualities of Humanity (Jen) and Righteousness (Yi). According to Han, "By belittling Humanity and Righteousness, Laotzu did not destroy them. Saying that Heaven is small because one is watching Heaven while sitting in a well, does not make Heaven small. He took geniality to be Humanity and loneness to be Righteousness, and, thus, it is only natural that he belittled them. That which he called the Way was considered the Way by him, but it is not what I call the Way."31

It was precisely this lack of Humanity and Righteousness
which made Taoism and Buddhism unsuited for any form of orderly society, a goal which could only be achieved through Confucianism. After all, it was the Confucian sage kings who rescued the people from a condition no better than wild beasts, teaching them how to make shelters, sew their own clothes, and protect themselves from fierce animals and their fellow men. The whole apparatus of government was dependent upon the Confucian Tao, and even the class structure had come into existence to benefit the mass of the people. Thus, only the Tao of Confucianism with its Humanity and Righteousness could be a foundation for the making of a stable society.

All of this is scarcely original in Confucian thought and most of the ideas which Han Yu expounds about the concept Tao had been well formed as early as Chou and Han times, but Han's somewhat daring concept of the transmission of the Confucian Tao is different from earlier accounts and of the utmost significance to later Juist thinkers. In accordance with most Chinese intellectuals, Han pictures an ideal antiquity in which the simple peasants were watched over by the great Confucian sage kings, who were both rulers and Confucian scholars at the same time. This golden age was followed by an age of silver in which the rulers of the empire no longer lived according to the Confucian principles and the only true vessels of the way, Confucius and Mencius, failed to put their doctrine into practice because they were without thrones. With Mencius the orthodox transmission
came to an end, and the thinker Hsiintzu, who in earlier times was considered more orthodox than Mencius, is relegated to a minor position as a man who attempted to transmit the Confucian Way but was not quite up to the task. Even such famed Han Confucian scholars as Yang Hsiung are slighted by Han as being totally incapable of continuing the great tradition of Confucius, Mencius, and the sage kings.33

When we come down to the end of the Han dynasty, we have reached the dark ages of Confucianism. Moists, Taoists, and foreign Buddhists spread their evil doctrines over the face of China and succeed not only in deluding the masses but also in seducing the Confucian scholars themselves. "Alas! Even if the men of later times desired to listen to the doctrines of Humanity, Righteousness, Way, and Virtue, from whom could they hear them? The Taoists said, 'Confucius is the disciple of our master.' The Buddhists said, 'Confucius is the disciple of our master.' Confucianists, accustomed to listening to their words, were delighted at their extravagance and belittling themselves said, 'Our master said so once.'"34 The North-South period was an age in which the Confucian doctrine became so corrupted by unorthodox and foreign influences that the True Way of the Sage was lost to the men of the times.

Finally, we arrive to the present middle T'ang era when the fearless hero of true Confucianism, Han Yu, has risen up single-handed to attack the evil forces of heresy.
Han Yü assumes the role of sole inheritor of the Confucian tradition, which had ceased to exist more than two thousand years before his time with the death of Confucius. By a return to the Confucian concept of a Tao imbued with Humanity and Righteousness and a complete elimination of non-Chinese and non-Juist elements, Han Yü expected to return to the golden age of Yao and Shun where ruling the empire was as easy as "turning over one's palm." Han Yü's conception of the transmission of Confucianism was certainly highly presumptuous on his own part, but was of the utmost influence on the later history of Confucianism in the T'ang and Sung dynasties.

Considerably more important than Han Yü's contribution to Chinese thought were his efforts toward a reform in Chinese prose style, and, in fact, Han's ku-wen prose movement has been more responsible for his fame than any of his other accomplishments. To understand Han Yü's prose reform movement we should first briefly review the history of Chinese prose writing. Unfortunately, to this day the fiction is preserved by many historians of Chinese literature that no prose worthy of mention was written between the end of the Han dynasty and the time of Han Yü. One often reads that Han "revived prose from the decadence of the eight dynasties" and that in the process of doing so, he completely obliterated the tradition of p'ien-wen, which is invariably described as a corrupt and immoral literary form. Actually the period from the end of the
Han until middle T'ang was one of great achievements in prose writing, and the gradual development of the p'ien-wen style is one of the most exciting features of this age. P'ien-wen originated during the early years of North-South Period when Chinese prose authors were beginning to break out of the narrow confines of earlier prose composition, which was largely restricted to government documents, historical works, and philosophical discourses. Prose was now used as a vehicle of individual expression, and the height of p'ien-wen development is typified by such men as Yu Hsin (513-581), whose prose-poems, funerary essays, letters, and descriptive essays have never been surpassed for their depth of feeling and perfection of literary form. Even the ascendancy of the house of T'ang did not alter the popularity of this form with the literati, and the Four Literary Giants of the Early T'ang, Wang Po, Yang Chiung, Lu Chao-lin, and Lo Pin-wang, besides being the most famous poets of their time, were masters of the p'ien-wen style. In fact, all the way until the age of Han Yu and Liu Tsung-yutan, p'ien-wen continued to be the dominant prose form, and even the most famous ku-wen author of Sung times, Su Shih, wrote many fine pieces in this style.

The original meaning of the word p'ien is a 'pair of horses,' and this pairing or parallelism is the characteristic feature of p'ien-wen. The desired effect was that each pair of lines be made exactly grammatically parallel. For example, in Wang Po's "Preface to King T'eng's Pavilion"
the line "Puddle waters exhausted, the cold lakes purified" is perfectly matched by the following line "Mist rays congealed, the evenings mountains purple." Another dominant characteristic of p'ien-wen is that most lines are either four or six characters long, although lines of different length are permitted to break up the monotony. Last of all p'ien-wen frequently employs rhyme, which is determined by the same rules which governed the regulated verse. This type of highly restricted prose writing led to a style in which one had to carefully polish his lines in order to fit into the patterns allowed. Thus, it was almost obligatory to use the shorthand of literary allusion and to refine the language to a point which might seem excessively florid by Western literary standards. Such a form of writing was more advantageous for private expression than clear argumentation as required in political documents or expository prose, and it seems that at times the authors of p'ien-wen delighted in mystifying their readers for no good purpose other than a show of their learning.

Han Yu was not the first of Chinese authors to see the necessity of a drastic break with the past tradition of prose writing. As early as the beginning years of the T'ang dynasty Wang T'ung wrote: "To speak of literature without speaking of Principle (Li) is the same as not having any literature in the world. How then can the Tao of the Kings arise?" During the period before the An Lu-shan Rebellion, the Ku-wen or ancient prose movement
gained further momentum, and in the writings of the scholars Li Hua and Hsiao Ying-shih we already find many of the ideas behind the prose reform later advocated by Han Yu. In the essays of Li and Hsiao we find three major concepts that influenced the later development of the ancient prose style, (1) modelling of all prose writing on the style of the Confucian classics, (2) the use of literature as a vehicle for the Confucian Tao, and (3) preference for simplicity in prose in contrast to the ornate compositions of the North-South Period. After the disorder caused by the An Lu-shan Rebellion, a number of authors continued the work of Li and Hsiao, the most important of whom was Tu-ku Chi, who happened to be a teacher of Han Yu as we have already mentioned. Tu-ku Chi continued to espouse most of the principles formulated by Li and Hsiao, but he is to be credited with eliminating the excessive severity of their styles.

Thus, we see that when Han began to write his ancient prose essays, the ku-wen movement already had a long history, and there was little that he could contribute to its theory. In most respects he agrees to the tenets of Li Hua and Hsiao Ying-shih; his love of the Confucian classics as literary models is equal to theirs: "At first, I did not dare to look at any books other than those of the Three Ages and the two Han dynasties, and I did not dare to entertain any ambitions different from the sages. When seated I was as if I had forgotten something, and when
walking as if I were lost."\textsuperscript{41}

Han Yu also agreed with the other ku-wen writers that the principal purpose of prose writing is to express the Tao of the only true philosophy, Confucianism: "The reason for study is to practice Tao, and the purpose of literature is to express Principle."\textsuperscript{42} The sentence "Literature is the vehicle of the Way" has become the slogan of neo-Confucianists ever since the time of Han Yu.

Han's preference for the simple language of pre-Han times is frequently encountered in his prose essays: "The reason why I have my ambitions on the ancients, is not only because their language is good, but also because I love their Tao."\textsuperscript{43} In other words, the Chou thinkers did not let the florid language of such men as the p'ien-wen writers get in the way of clear expression of the Confucian Tao.

The importance of Han Yu's ku-wen prose writings does not lie in any novel ideas which he formulated but in the technical brilliance of his style. In his desire to return to the classical purity of the Confucian canon, Han Yu writes in a language highly unusual by T'ang standards. As would be expected, he almost completely ignores the new terminology which came into being with the introduction of Buddhism at the end of Han, and largely confines himself to the vocabulary of the Thirteen Classics. In his distaste for the works of the p'ien-wen style, he usually avoids rare or obscure words, and this elimination of superfluous
vocabulary makes him one of the easiest prose essayists to read in Chinese literary history.

The sentence structure of Han Yu's prose also shows his debt to the writers of Chou and early Han times. He entirely eliminates the p'ien-wen parallelism and rhyme with the result that his sentences are of a varying length, which is determined by meaning rather than the dictates of literary artifice.

The earlier parallel-prose style found sentence particles burdensome in that they interfered with the neat parcelling off of the sentence, but in his essays Han follows the practice of the classical writers, who used the particles to divide up the sentence, and, thus, render the meaning clearer. Finally, Han only infrequently employs allusion in his prose, a practice which frees the reader from puzzling over the meaning of each line as he frequently must with works in p'ien-wen style. The result of all of these innovations is a relatively plain prose which makes up for what it lacks in literary adornment with its great clarity.

Since the purpose of prose is to act as a vehicle for the Confucian Tao, the bulk of Han Yu's works are occupied with propaganda efforts on behalf of Confucian doctrine. In such works as his "Yüan Tao" or "Memorial on the Buddha Bone" he is concerned with defining the principles of Confucianism and defending the school of thought from its enemies, Buddhism and Taoism. Other works
address themselves to more specific problems involved in the Confucian occupation of ordering and governing society; the "Cheng Ch'en Lun" discusses the role of the remonstrating officials in criticising the faults of the government while the "Shih Shuo" examines the problem of finding a proper teacher for oneself. The personal correspondence of Han is not even free of his missionary activities on behalf of Confucianism; his letter "In Answer to Ch'en Shang" expounds the theory of good Confucian writing and his "Preface to Sending off the Buddha Master Wen-ch'ang" exhorts the monk to return to a productive Confucian life. Only occasionally as in his "Sacrifice to the Crocodiles" does Han write anything other than didactic prose.

When attempting to evaluate the success of Han Yu's experiments with prose form, we are handicapped by our modern tendency to dislike works which are so clearly propagandistic as those of Han Yu. Han's essays do not have the breadth of subject matter of the later ku-wen writers such as Ou-yang Hsiu and Su Tung-p'o, and when we tire of his Confucian message we often tend to be blinded to the beauties of his prose style. Han's prose is surely in a transitional stage in which he has already left behind the severity of Li Hua and Hsiao Ying-shih but has not quite advanced to the depth of vision of the northern Sung writers. Yet even at his most didactic, he frequently has a power rarely encountered in prose writing, as when he
reviles the Buddhist heresy in his "Memorial of the Buddha Stone" or pleads in his self-defense in the "Explanation of the Advancement of Study." By sweeping away the tradition of p'ien-wen and putting life into the severity of ku-wen, Han Yu had prepared the way for even greater accomplishments in later ages.

Despite the great influence which Han Yu had upon T'ang and Sung Confucian thinkers and the bold new prose style which he developed, the most original contribution which he made to Chinese civilization lies in the revolutionary poetic style which he invented. Although the Chinese poetic tradition has been one of the most conservative in the world, there have been a number of important breaks with the past in its history, and the Yüan Ho literary movement which Han Yu led was certainly one of the most radical departures from past tradition. Through the use of unusual language, new poetic forms, and weird subject matter, Han Yu opened up a whole new territory of poetry for later writers.

One of the unusual characteristics of the language which Han Yu employs in his poetry is the great contradiction in levels of usage. On one hand, there are occasional words which must have come from the colloquial language. For example, in his "Poem of the Two Birds" we find the compound k'ou t'ou which means 'mouth' and is still used in this way in modern Mandarin, being constructed in the same way as such words as shih't'ou, hou t'ou, and ch'ien t'ou.
The use of the meaningless suffix t'ou would have been avoided by earlier Chinese poets, but when Han requires a word to fill out a line or supply a rhyme, he is quite willing to choose words from the colloquial language. In the same poem we also observe another unusual use of the word t'ou as a measure for cattle and dragons. It is not generally the practice of Chinese writers to use measure words in shih poetry, although they are frequent enough in prose.

More significant than Han's occasional use of colloquialisms is his love for language that would have been considered improper or even vulgar in poetry. In his "After Reading the Miscellaneous Affairs of Tung-fang Shuo" he uses the word niao which can be politely translated 'urinate,' a word scarcely poetic by any conventional literary standards and when used in connection with Han Wu Ti not very flattering to the imperial household. In his "I Reprimand the Malaria Demon" he describes the disease in all of its gory details, depicting the demon as making his living "in the midst of vomit and diarrhoea," while his "On First Eating Southern Food" is full of foul stenches and profuse sweat. His masterpiece of shocking language is "Poem of the Lunar Eclipse" where the toad devours and then vomits heavenly bodies, for which crime he is torn to shreds while still alive. One would search in vain for such unsettling language used by any poet before Han Yü's time.
Another characteristic of Han Yu's language that has been vigorously criticized is his penchant for rare words that were not current in the vocabulary of T'ang times. In defense of our author we should say that in most of his poems his vocabulary does not exceed that of the average reader of wen-yen literature, and it is strange that Chinese critics attack Han when they praise a man such as Hsieh Ling-yun who is truly a challenge to the reader's memory of unusual words. Nevertheless, one must admit that a number of Han Yu's best poems are written in a language which had been culled by diligent study of the Shuo-Wen and the most ancient literature. One excellent example of this is Han's "Lunar Eclipse" in which the binome pei shih has one of its few occurrences in Chinese literature and a number of the other words are a great strain upon the reader's recollection. His poem "Fire on Mount Lu-hun" is famous for its use of about fifteen different words for the color red, many of which were totally out of use by T'ang times. Lines twelve through fifteen are typical of Han's penchant for unusual words:

Tigers, bears, tailed deer, boars, even monkeys and apes,
Water dragons, iguanas, tortoises, fish, and sea turtles,
Ravens, owls, buzzards, falcons, pheasants, wild geese, and field chicken,
Scalded, roasted, stewed, baked; how can they run or fly?
In reading such passages one is uncomfortably reminded of the Han fu at the height of its absurdity.

In addition to his originality in the use of language, Han Yu made a number of contributions in the area of poetic form. In the earlier T'ang period, the lu-shih or regulated verse was brought to perfection and much of the best work up to the middle T'ang was done in this form. Han Yu wrote in both the ancient and regulated style, but he went against the prevailing trends by spending most of his efforts in the ancient style. One sign of this is that of the ten chüan of his collected poems only two are in regulated style, and although his chüeh-chü and some of his lu-shih are well written, they cannot compare with his ku-shih in originality. The lu-shih with all of its restrictions was most likely too narrow a form for Han Yu to express his genius.

Even more important than Han Yu's shift of accent to the ancient form is his contribution in the area of lien-chü or linked verses. In this form one poet would write two lines and another poet would complete the quatrain with two more lines. Almost all of these works were composed by two people, but occasionally three or even more would lend their talents to the joint enterprise. Han is not to be credited with the invention of the lien-chü, because something like it existed as early as the Han dynasty, and some of the earlier T'ang poets also experimented with it, but prior to his time no one developed the potentialities
of the lien-chü to the degree that Han Yü did. In chüan eight of his collected works we find eleven lien-chü, most of them written in collaboration with Meng Chiao but a number of them written with the help of other scholars such as Chang Ch'e, Chang Chi, Li Hsi-chih, and Li Cheng-feng. The first thing that strikes one about these poems is that they are much longer than anything written in this genre before; Han Yü and Meng Chiao's "South of the City" is three hundred and six lines long, which would certainly make it one of the most immense poems in the history of Chinese literature. In style these poems differ considerably from much of Han Yü's work, in that they are characterized by a more florid language and denser poetical line, most likely because they were composed during drinking parties and were looked upon as a form of competition between the writers.

One question about these poems that has bothered critics for a long time is the part that Han Yü had in the writing of the portions ascribed to the other authors. The principal person who collaborated with Han in their composition was Meng Chiao, and due to the rather uniform style of the works some have been tempted to suggest that Han went over his friend's contributions and altered them to suit his own taste before recording the poems. The opposite opinion is expressed by Huang T'ing-chien: "Hsi Shih-ch'uan asked Huang T'ing-chien: 'People say that Meng Chiao's linked verses are not what he would have ordinarily written, and
they suspect that they were glossed over by Han Yü.'

Huang T'ing-chien replied: 'How could have Han Yü embellished Meng Chiao? It would be more reasonable to say that Meng Chiao embellished Han Yü.'" 59

Huang T'ing-chien's opinion settled the question for most later Chinese critics, but it is extremely probable that his decision was more based on his well-known dislike for Han Yü's verse than on any critical evidence. In any case, uniformity in style in the linked verses of Meng Chiao and Han Yü could be better explained by the close cooperation between authors that worked in this literary medium and the limitations of the conditions under which the works were written.

The linked verse was a poetic format typical of the T'ang dynasty, and much of the other verse of Han Yü differs from earlier creations in form. The vast majority of ku-shih written in T'ang times were either of the five or seven character variety with only rare appearance of six and four character verses. Han Yü, on the other hand, gave great emphasis to the four character type of poetry, which originated with the Book of Songs but was written only infrequently after the rise of the five and seven character type in the Chien-an literary period. In his "Sagely Virtue of the Yüan-ho Period" Han Yü utilized the four character form to create a work considered by many critics to be the greatest tour de force of his career as a poet. This work is the longest four character poem in Chinese literature, consisting
of two hundred and fifty-six lines. The author explicitly states in his preface that no other poetic form is suitable to "record the cultural, martial, and spiritual sageliness of the Son of Heaven and to be a warning to the common people to be transmitted without end." The revival of old forms that had fallen into disuse for the purposes of the modern age is typical of the innovations which Han made in poetic form.

Besides such creative archaism Han Yu altered the stanza forms of the ku-shih to produce new variations in the number of words in each line. Since the Chien-an period and the influence of Ts'ao Chih and his associates the uneveness in the number of words in each line had been largely eliminated in Chinese verse. Although yheh-fu poetry of the T'ang dynasty was sometimes written with lines of unequal length, the variations in number of characters are usually quite predictable, an example being the frequent addition of the phrase 'chün pu chien' ('don't you see?') wherever there is a need for a change in line length. When we read Han Yu's ku-shih, we often find a very erratic stanza pattern, which superficially resembles the poetry of the Han dynasty but is quite unconnected to the musical considerations of the early yheh-fu poetry. One excellent example of this tendency is Han's "Lunar Eclipse" where lines of three, four, five, seven, and even nine characters are hopelessly jumbled together so that one frequently has difficulties in even determining where the
Another even more erratic work is the "Ballad of Oh! Master Tung" where the lines vary from three to nine characters, but the pattern is even more unpredictable because there are fewer instances of adjacent lines having the same number of words, destroying any help that symmetry of form might give the Western reader of the unpunctuated text.

Another way in which Han Yu's poetic line differs from that of his predecessors is in the placement of caesura. This is an extremely important matter, for in poetry as difficult to understand as that of China the point of division in the line is very often useful in determining the grammatical structure and, thus, the sense of the line. In traditional five character poetry the practice is to split the line into two characters in front with three characters behind. Thus, in Li Po's famous poem "Drinking Alone Beneath the Moon," the caesura in the first line "hua chien i hu chiu" ("within the flowers a pot of wine") occurs between the first two words "hua chien" and the last three "i hu chiu." However, Han Yu frequently writes lines in which the arrangement is exactly reversed with three characters in front and two in back as in his poem "On Meng Chiao Losing his Son," where we find the following line: "Hsien wen yu erh ch'ien" ("Worthy ones change when they hear advice.") In this line the first three words "Hsien wen yu" belong together, with the two words "erh ch'ien" following, although the break should
actually come after "wen" according to earlier rules of prosody. Occasionally one even encounters lines in which there is one word in front with four words following, as in the highly erratic "Reading a Book at the South of the City" where such lines as "nai i lung i chu" occur in which the "nai" is separate from the words which come after it.66

In a poetic tradition as conservative as the Chinese, such a break with the accepted practice was very serious, and down until the present time, Han Yu has been damned by critics for his ignoring of the rules of caesura.

In addition to the original poetic form of Han's verse, his sentence structure is quite new in Chinese literature. Chinese poetry has usually been renowned for the tightness of structure of the poetic line, and this has been accomplished by a poetic grammar which allowed the poet to eliminate all superfluous words, and by the practice of literary allusion which enabled him to compress his thought into a minimum of space. Han's poetic line runs completely counter to this whole tradition. His line is typified by the liberal use of sentence particles, which were used as sparingly as possible by most earlier writers. The result is that his verse resembles his ku-wen essays, in that most of it is clearly punctuated by a profusion of grammar words and interjections. The reader of his works is not confronted by the dense undergrowth of words of a Hsieh Ling-yun or a Tu Fu, and the sense of the line is infinitely easier to construe.
The Western reader can readily appreciate Han's use of grammatical particles to render the meaning of his poetry clearer, but the question of literary allusion is not so easy for us to discuss. Even the easiest of poets such as Po Chu-yi uses literary allusion, and even the simplest of references can baffle the foreign reader who has just embarked on his exploration of Chinese literature. In Han Yu's poems we still run up against a fair number of allusions, but they are nowhere as perverse as the kind employed by such a poet as Tu Fu, who seems to have expected his readers to not only have a complete command of all earlier literature but also to be intimately familiar with the political events of his age. Even when Han does indulge in the literary puzzle of allusion, one is frequently happy to find that a complete knowledge of the reference is not necessary for a fair understanding of the line, as is the case with another great poet, T'ao Ch'ien. Just as with T'ao Ch'ien, Han's use of a more open poetic line and his dislike of excessive allusion rid his poetry of the denseness and floridity of many Chinese writers and gives it a fluency rarely matched in literary history.

In the long history of Chinese literary criticism there has always been a great interest in the devices used by poets to write their verse. In his Shih P'in or Ranking of Poetry Chung Jung formulated the concept of hsing, pi, and fu as being the three principle methods of writing verse: "There are three meanings of poetry; one is called
hsing, one pi, and one fu. When the writing is already ended and there is something remaining in the meaning, that is called hsing ('arising'). To rely on things to make clear ones inner feelings is called pi ('comparison'). To write directly of things and to lodge ones words in things is called fu ('elaboration'). If one uses only hsing and pi then the defect will be that his meaning is too deep, and if the meaning is too deep, then the words are lame. If one uses only the fu form, then the defect is that the meaning will be trivial, and if the meaning is trivial, then the writing will be diffuse.  

The conflict between the pi and hsing device on the one hand and the fu device on the other has presented a problem to every Chinese poet since the Shih Ching. The ideal is to combine all three methods together, but in fact most shih writers tended to make more use of pi and hsing than fu in their poetry, and anyone who has read enough shih will agree with Chung Jung that the meaning is frequently too deep for comprehension.

Han Yu's poetry differs from the established tradition of shih writing in that the fu element is definitely more important than usual, many of his best ku-shih depending upon fu techniques for their elaboration. For example, in his "On Meng Chiao Losing a Son" there is a discussion of the dangers of bearing children which is developed by listing the various examples of unfilial creatures such as fish, wasps, owls, and vipers and describing the ways in which their
offspring bring disaster to their parents. In most earlier poetry one would expect two lines using a literary allusion to one animal, but through the fu technique Han has expanded the passage into eight lines. In the "Poem of the Two Birds" there is a remarkable fu passage where the phrase "If you do not stop the two birds from singing" is repeated four times with a different dire result added in each instance, and in his "I Reprimand the Malaria Demon" the author describes four different medical specialists and the noxious methods they employ to rid their unfortunate patients of the disease. Perhaps the most successful use of the fu method is in Han's "Lunar Eclipse" where the author runs through a list of various heavenly officials and describes their failure in carrying out the duty of repelling the demon toad. Never before had such extensive fu passages occurred in Chinese shih poetry, and Han Fu's brilliant use of the fu technique is yet another sign of his break with traditional methods of writing poetry.

One of the most striking characteristics of Han Yu's poetry is his frequent use of narration particularly in the poems of the ancient style. Narrative poetry may not seem strange in a culture which has produced the Iliad and Oddysey of more recently Paradise Lost, but China never had an epic tradition like that of Europe and India, and narrative poetry of any kind was a rarity in Chinese literature. There are, of course, a few exceptions; a few of the early yeh-fu poems such as "K'ung Ch'üeh Tung Nan Fei" and the
"Mu Lan Tz'u" were written to tell a story, but these works represent only a fraction of the great mass of Chinese verse.

The use of narrative is most central to the development of many of the longer ku-shih of Han Yu, and many of the works are not mere stories but well-developed dramatic pieces. In fact, Han Yu was quite skilled in using the common dramatic devices of (1) development of a crisis, (2) heightening of the tension, and (3) final resolution of the crisis. In the "Poem of the Two Birds" two supernatural birds come from a foreign shore, and an urgent situation develops in which the orderly processes of the universe are threatened by the singing of the birds. The tension is heightened by the long fu passage in which the Lord of Thunder describes the disastrous consequences that will result if God does not stop the birds from their destructive song. Finally, God assents, and the crisis is resolved when the birds are imprisoned in separate places. The poem "On Meng Chiao Losing a Son" is also constructed along similar lines with a crisis which arises from the grief of Meng Chiao over losing his child. The spirits of the earth take pity on him and inform God of his plight, and after another fu section in which God discusses the problems of rearing children, the problem is happily resolved by Meng Chiao taking cheer in the spirit tortoise's message. The fullest development of Han Yu's dramatic skill is found in his "Lunar Eclipse" in which the crisis is the swallowing
of the moon by the demon toad. Lu T'ung seeks to move the powers above and after enumerating the faults of the heavenly guardians, succeeds in causing God to destroy the monster that plagues the world. In all of these works Han Yu creates poems in which all of his talents for narration of high dramatic quality reach a level never before achieved in Chinese poetry.

One of the most common names that Chinese literary critics give to the kind of poetry that Han Yu and his friends wrote is kuai-t'i shih or 'poetry of weird form,' and even the accidental reader would most likely agree that European literature has few works that can compete in strangeness with Han's creations. But the word Kuai which is applied to Han's poetry connotes even more than something out of the ordinary, for one frequently finds it used when describing the phenomena of the spirit world, a realm truly beyond the limits of our everyday experience. Han Yu's otherworldly weirdness is what distinguishes him most clearly from the merely unusual in occidental or Chinese literature.

To better understand Han Yu's place in Chinese literature, it would be best to briefly review the place of the weird and supernatural in the intellectual and literary history of China. The unearthly was definitely beyond the concern of the early Confucianists, for with the exception of certain omens, there are very few supernatural phenomena recorded in Confucius' Analects, Mengtzu, or Hsun-tzu, and the later mixture of Yin-yang thought with Confucianism in the
Han period by such thinkers as Tung Chung-Shu was a serious departure from orthodox Confucianism in the opinion of Han and his contemporaries.  

Thus, in the earliest times the weird and other-worldly were almost the complete monopoly of Taoists, although Mo-tzu also defended the belief in ghosts. The Chuang-tzu and Lieh-tzu are full of tales about events beyond the realm of ordinary experience, and the later religious Taoist movement of Ko Hung and K'ou Ch'ien-chih became greatly absorbed in the world of spirits and ghosts. With the introduction of Buddhism in late Han times the Chinese were further exposed to the mythological tradition of India, which deeply enriched the already existing stock of legends and superstitions.

The mythology of Taoism and Buddhism permeated most of the literature of the North-South period, and although poetry tended to keep more free of such influences, the genre of yu-hsien shih or 'poems on wanderings among the immortals' became very popular among the literati. There was a great interest in recording strange and unnatural events, which resulted in scholars vying to create compilations of weird tales such as the Sou Shen Chi (Record of an Enquiry into the Spiritual), Ling Kuei Chih (Monograph on Spirits and Devils), etc. One of these compendia Hou Sou Shen Chi (Continuation of a Record of an Enquiry into the Spiritual) was attributed to such a hero of Confucian scholars as T'ao Yüan-ming. Although the interest in
such works never died down completely in China, it is no coincidence that there was a great revival of interest in ch'uan-ch'ı tales during Han Yü's time, and one of the poet's closest friends, Shen Ya-chih, wrote such stories as "The Record of a Strange Dream" and "Record of a Dream of Ch'in." The craze for tales on supernatural topics in T'ang times led to the writing of large collections of these works, such as "The Record of the Mysterious and Weird" by the prominent statesman Niu Seng-ju and a continuation of this by Li Fu-yen.78

When Han Yü wrote poems about weird subjects, he was no doubt reflecting a much wider interest in supernatural things during middle T'ang times. Other than Han Yü's poetry the most important reflection of this interest in upper class literature is the ch'uan-ch'ı tale, a literary tradition which most likely affected Han Yü's interest in the supernatural. Although a serious scholar such as Han would not be likely to discuss his reading of such frivolous literature as the ch'uan-ch'ı, such a poem as his "After Reading the Miscellaneous Affairs of Tung-fang Shuo" was possibly inspired by his reading of a story about the Han poet, whose famous antics made him a favorite among tale writers, the earliest example being the Han Wu Ti Nei Chuan.79 Han's work "Record of a Dream" may also be influenced by the ch'uan-ch'ı tradition, for the strange experiences of dream life and particularly encounters with immortals in dreams were favorite topics of the T'ang
novella writers.

However, much of Han Yu's interest in the supernatural was influenced by the ch'uan-ch'i short stories, we should not ignore the major differences between his poems and the tales of the T'ang dynasty. The majority of tales which survive from this period were extremely finely polished works with more attention given to form and style than effective narration, which compels one to say that they still had close connections with the more aristocratic literary conventions of early T'ang. Han Yu's poetry is quite the opposite in style, one of its most striking features being the disdain for the literary forms of earlier Chinese verse. In addition, the authors of the ch'uan-ch'i frequently managed to attach some romantic element to their interest in the supernatural, and even wrote about love affairs between mortals. In Han Yu's poetry one cannot even find the slightest hint of an interest in romantic love, a theme which was not fully developed until late T'ang times in poetry.

The most important source of the weird and supernatural in Han Yu's verse was not the aristocratic ch'uan-ch'i tradition, but rather the superstitions of the common people of China. In fact, one of Han Yu's most original contributions to Chinese poetry was his utilization of popular beliefs, for prior to his time, few poets delved into this rich storehouse of literary material. The
Ch'ü Tz'u, of course, contains many elements of the mythology of southern China, but since the beliefs of Ch'ü were foreign to the cultured peoples of the north, relatively little use was made of the Ch'ü mythological material by later poets. The authors of the Han fu were almost entirely concerned with the imperial court, and even in the North-South period when popular Taoism began to influence upper class poetry, most Taoist references were limited to stereotyped images of immortals and their paradises. Even the poetry of Li Po, which uses religious Taoism as its theme, is largely restricted to the aristocratic practices of alchemy and the search for immortality. When we come down to middle T'ang times, we find that poets of the New Yüeh-fu Movement displayed some interest in peasant beliefs, but usually their main purpose was to ridicule the superstitions of the lower classes and not to use them as source material for their poetry.

Han Yü's treatment of popular superstition is completely opposed to the practices of the New Yüeh-fu poets, for although he made fun of religious Taoism in such poems as his "Girl of Mount Hua" and "The Son of Family X", his dominant approach is to use peasant beliefs as raw material for his poetry. Thus, the primitive belief that lunar eclipses are caused by a giant toad which swallows the moon provides him with the framework around which to build his masterpiece "Poem of the Lunar Eclipse," and superstitions about owls are the main topic of his two works,
"The Tame Fox" while shamanistic beliefs about dream travel in the land of the immortals are the subject of his "Record of a Dream." Never before had any Chinese poet explored the realm of popular beliefs as extensively and with as much sympathy as Han Yu.

In fact, the entire setting of most of the poems is the crude vision of the universe most likely held by the majority of the lower classes of T'ang times. Heaven above is ruled over by the beneficent T'ien Kung or Duke of Heaven, who is a T'ang counterpart of the modern T'ien Lao Ye or Old Man Heaven, and the four directions of the skies are guarded by their respective spirit beasts.

The ground below is under the charge of the Ti Ch'i, while the Hsi Wang Mu has her extensive domain in the wild regions of west China. Various supernatural animals such as the tortoise and blackbird maintain communications between heaven and earth, and God frequently expresses his wishes to men below by a great variety of omens. It is good that there are so many beneficial gods and spirits, for they must keep in check the host of demons and evil beasts which threaten the existence of mankind and even the universe. But although the power of the gods is great, everything is under the sway of Ming, that inexorable fate which lays low both the weakest man and the most majestic of gods.

The most startling thing about this peasant vision of the universe which finds expression in Han Yu's poetry
is that Han is the literary figure of China whom we would least expect to use such material. His love of peasant superstition is almost impossible to explain if one is mainly familiar with his prose essays, as most Chinese readers are, for in these works he emerges as a rigid, puritanical Confucian, who heartily agrees with Confucius' famous dictum to "respect demons and spirits but stay far from them." Surely a "man of the people" such as Po Chü-ying would be more expected to use popular beliefs in his poetry than the dour Confucian Han Yu.

Nevertheless, if we make a careful survey of his prose works, we find a number of pieces which may enlighten us about his interests in the world of spirits, the most important being his "Sacrifice to the Crocodiles" and "Tablet on the Spirit of the South Seas" along with a few minor works about sacrifices to spirits. It might seem puzzling why a Confucian scholar would write such prose essays, but all difficulties disappear when one realizes that all of these works have a very great relevance to the welfare of the empire. "Sacrifice to the Crocodiles" was written to relieve the people of a region distant from the court of the harm done to them and their livestock by vicious crocodiles, an act which would surely enhance the prestige of the imperial house in an area normally hard to keep under control. "The Tablet on the Spirit of the South Seas" is intimately connected with the imperial cult, for the purpose of this work is the enfeoffment of the god
of the South Seas, an act which would make him subservient to the Son of Heaven thereby increasing the glory of the central government. Thus, in order to gain the respect of the people it was necessary for the various minor gods and spirits to work in harmony with the government, and Han Yu's interest in popular cults in these prose essays is quite proper for a Confucian gentleman who wishes to serve the best interests of the state.

In addition to its connection with the imperial court, popular belief had another great significance to Han Yu. Until his time the mythologies of Buddhism and Taoism had been the two most important sources for imaginative material in Chinese verse, for the serious nature of Confucianism was ill adapted to the flights of fancy so dear to a poet. However, Han Yu was violently opposed to the corrupting influence of the foreign religion Buddhism, and even Taoism was seen as a very unhealthy influence upon Chinese life. On the other hand, there were many primitive beliefs among the peasants which had obviously existed long before they were perverted by unorthodox thought. In his search for the weird and supernatural, Han would be reluctant to make use of Taoism of Buddhism, for his strict Confucianism forbade that, but he could and did delve into the huge body of peasant beliefs which were still largely "pure" of the evil influence of non-Confucian religions.

Popular mythology was the primary origin of most of the weird creatures and events recorded in Han's verse, but
Han's fertile imagination supplied many details which are completely his own invention. The main subject of one of his weirdest works, "Poem of the Two Birds," does not originate in either the literary tradition of earlier times or the beliefs of the common people. Although such a completely original composition is the exception rather than the rule, Han Yu's imagination heightens the weirdness of his works even when the original source is known to us. For example, the belief in the malaria demon is of popular origins, and his poem on the subject is connected with the "Nine Songs" of the Ch'u Tz'u, but by twisting the poem into one of spirit exorcism instead of the spirit-beckoning of the originals, he creates a work far weirder than any of the raw materials which go into its making. Even such an everyday experience as eating as described in his "On First Eating Southern Food" can be turned into a bizarre adventure with the use of peasant food lore and much individual inventiveness.

Despite the strangeness of Han Yu's verse, his works do not repel the reader mainly because of their often very humorous mood, a trait which is unfortunately missing in most of the great poetry of both East and West. In fact, due to their very infrequent mention of Chinese humor, it seems that most occidental writers hold the view that the Asians are capable of little more than an occasional inscrutable smile, but when we examine the Chinese literary tradition we find the exact opposite to
be true.

In the earliest times, even the Confucians were not averse to a chuckle now and again, and the various satirical passages of Mencius were obviously intended to elicit laughter. However, the Confucians were on the whole a rather serious lot, and most of Chou humor seems to have been the property of Taoists such as Chuangtzu, whose spoofs on Confucianism do not fail to have an effect on us more than two thousand years after they were written. With the North-South period humorous literature reached a high point in the *Shih Shuo Hsin Yu*, which was compiled at the court of Liu Yi-ch'ing and consisted of anecdotes about famous scholars of late Han and early North-South times. Toward the end of this age scholars began making collections of their favorite jokes, such as the now fragmentary *Hsiao Lin* (*Grove of Jokes*) and *Ch'i Yen Lu* (*Record of Smiles*). From this time onward authors continued to gather popular jokes and publish them in similar collections or as part of their *pi chi* (notebooks).

However, up to the time of Han Yu humor in upper class poetry had been quite restricted in its scope. One approach that might be called Confucian is typified by the works of Po Chü-yi where in such poems as his "Wife of the Salt Merchant" biting yet humorous satire delivers an attack against corruption and oppression.

The second approach is typically Taoist in its appeal to the love of wildness in us, as we can see from a
few lines in Tu Fu's early poem, "The Eight Immortals of Drink":

Ho Chih-Chang rides his horse like he's riding a boat;
His eyes foggy, he falls into a well and sleeps under water.
Li Chih drinks three quarts before he attends court;
On the road he meets a wine cart, and his mouth runs with saliva."[^101]

Prior to mid-T'ang times the Confucian and Taoist variety of humor were the most dominant ones in Chinese literati poetry.

Although Han Yu uses both of these forms of humor in his own verse, his greatest specialty is a brand of humor which one might best describe as absurd or whimsical. In his poem "On Meng Chiao Losing a Son" we are confronted with the absurd image of a clumsy tortoise who plays the part of messenger of the gods as he flies through heaven and afterwards crashes headlong through Meng Chiao's window to deliver God's message.[^102] In his "On First Eating Southern Food" one laughs at the whimsy of a poem in which the snake which is to be eaten turns on the eater and chases him about the room.[^103] Han's poem "After Reading the Miscellaneous Affairs of Tung-fang Shuo" presents the picture of a stupid Hsi Wang Mu with cloddish guards who guffaw at the destructive pranks of Tung-fang Shuo, an image
ironically at variance with the traditional radiantly
beautiful Queen Mother of the West. And in the "Satire
on Snoring" the snoring of a Buddhist monk is compared to
the anguished cries of sinners in the deepest hell. In all of these works, we find the same exaggeration and
whimsy which gives rise to an absurd humor never before
found in Chinese literature.

At times, however, this absurd humor takes on a
touch of the macabre. In Han's work "Falling Teeth" we
laugh at the image of a man whose teeth have nearly all
fallen out, but after the first impression of mirth, we
note the tragedy in the poem. The aging process sym-
bolized by the falling of teeth is not something normally
joked about in T'ang and pre-T'ang times, and, in fact,
the terror of old age and death is a favorite topic of the
poets of the North-South period. The death of children
("On Meng Chiao Losing a Son"), the scourge of malaria
("I Reprimand the Malaria Demon"), poisonous snakes
that turn on those who would eat them ("When I First Ate
Southern Food"), and snores that sound like the piteous
cries of damned sinners ("Satire on Snoring"), are scarcely
topics which one would expect to appear in ordinary jokes.
When we read these works we experience a lingering feeling
of uneasiness which stays with us long after the laughter
dies away, for Han Yu is a master at that subtle combina-
tion of both tragedy and comedy which distinguishes great
authors of all cultures.
Han Yu's tragic humor gives us the essential clue we need to understand his view of the universe. The world that lives in the works of Han Yu is filled with evil forces that threaten on all sides. One of the most horrible forms of this evil is the host of supernatural monsters which continually threaten the orderly existence of mankind and the universe itself. A huge monstrous toad bypasses all the safeguards of heaven and swallows the moon ("Lunar Eclipse"), while two birds threaten the continuation of all the natural cycles of the universe ("Poem of the Two Birds"). The natural environment itself is inhospitable to mankind, and the bitter cold of early spring threatens to destroy all living creatures ("I Complain of the Cold"). Minor evil creatures lurk everywhere; owls glare evilly in the dark of night ("Tame Fox"), and the malaria demon spreads plague among the people ("I Reprimand the Malaria Demon"). Mankind is also infected by the evils of the universe; ignorant and vain people depend upon the mysteries of the Taoist superstitions ("The Girl of Mount Hua"), and some are so foolish as to be willing to starve in the mountains to gain an enlightenment impossible to obtain ("The Son of Family X"). The political system is so corrupt that good men such as Master T'ung must suffer the humiliation of poverty and lowly position throughout their entire lives ("Ballad of Oh! Master T"ung"). Even the gods themselves such as the Queen Mother of the West and Duke of Heaven are subject to the same pettiness as the
miserable wretches who inhabit the loathsome earth under
their command. 119

The most terrifying aspect of this evil is that it is impossible for man to either alter it or escape from it, for all are controlled by an inexorable Fate. God argues that he cannot help Meng Chiao in his grief, for everything in the world is fated and the Gods are without power ("On Meng Chiao Losing a Son"), 120 and even a being as noble as the moon is incapable of escaping the disgrace of being swallowed and vomited up by a monster toad ("Lunar Eclipse"). 121 Man, of course, is even more subject to the dictates of Ming, and although he has gained the approbation of God, Master Tung finds the path to official success completely barred to himself ("Ballad of Oh! Master T'ung"). 122 Even Han Yu himself helplessly watches the irreversible falling out of his teeth, which symbolizes to him the inevitability of his death. 123

What made the doctrine of Ming even more terrifying to Han Yu was that he did not believe in the traditional escapes open to earlier Chinese. The Taoist refuge of celestial paradises and the elixir of immortality is a fraud; the girl of Mount Hua cannot rescue the people who lavish so much wealth on her, and the immortal whom Han meets in his dream is an imposter, incapable of giving his disciples the secrets of longevity and taking advantage of their reverence for him ("Record of a Dream"). 124 Buddhism is of no use to those who would escape the sorrows of the
world, and Han finds it so despicable that he rarely mentions the religion in his poetry.

What then is the path open to the man who would hope to preserve his sanity amid the horrors of life, as Han obviously did during his long and productive literary career? The only answer which seems satisfactory to Han is good-humored resignation. When Meng Chiao's son died Han Yu did not send him a poem of sympathy but rather a work which was designed to make him laugh.\(^{125}\) Han knows that his years are limited but he finds the falling of his teeth to be highly amusing and even tries to spread the mirth to his family.\(^{126}\) Even the evil forces which threaten the universe seem comical; although the giant toad attempts to destroy the moon, Han Yu's description of it as an oafish creature with a stomach bulging with celestial bodies turns the hideous creature into a comical character.\(^{127}\) The two birds which would destroy the order of the universe are also ludicrous animals, chirping away all the way until the end of the world.\(^{128}\) The corruption of mankind is viewed humorously, for who can fail to laugh at the ignorant rabble who crowd about the temple of the girl of Mount Hua\(^{129}\) or the vainness of the man who retires to the mountains to seek immortality ("Son of Family X")?\(^{130}\) Although the world is a corrupt and evil place it is still a hilarious spectacle. Han Yu did not need the escapes of Taoist tranquility of Buddhist extinction to rise above
the terrors of existence, for he is able to confront existence with a laugh.

Although Han Yu was an extremely original writer, he owes much to the long tradition of poetic writing prior to the T'ang dynasty. The two earliest mainstreams of Chinese literature are represented by the Shih Ching and Ch'u Tz'u, and since each of these collections is quite different from the other and each had a long line of descendants in Chinese literature, it would be best to ascertain what the influence of these literary traditions were upon Han Yu. Although it is difficult to make arbitrary divisions between the Shih Ching and Ch'u Tz'u literary traditions in China, it is quite possible to trace their direct line of descent well into the North-South period, when the introduction of Indian influence through Buddhism further complicated the picture. The Shih Ching tradition was the inspiration of the early folk songs of Chou and Han times, which in turn gave rise to the whole literature of shih poetry of later eras. On the other hand, the Ch'u Tz'u developed into the Han fu, which was the dominant form of serious poetry in the Han dynasty, and which evolved into the short fu so important to the literature of the North-South period. By the time we reach the T'ang dynasty the shih and sao traditions become less easy to separate, but, nevertheless, they continued to exert the greatest influence upon Chinese literature.
Ones immediate impulse would be to ascribe Han Yu to the Shih Ching tradition, for most of his poetic writing is in the shih form, but we have already noted that in his techniques his poetry varies enormously from the standard of shih writing in earlier periods. Although it is absurd to make hair-splitting divisions, one can safely conclude that Han owed more to the sao style of poetry in China than any other writer of shih verse. Han's quest for unusual language bears a strange resemblance to the philological excesses of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju and the host of fu writers that followed him in later Han times. When Han breaks through the limits of normal shih stanza patterns, one has the impression that he is searching for a quality more akin to the prose-like fu of the North-South period. We have already shown his constant use of the fu technique in shih poetry, where he rivals the Han poets in his tendency to run through a long list of the objects he wishes to describe. In his interest in the unusual and grotesque Han Yu greatly resembles the poets of the Ch' u Tzu, and it is highly significant that much of the strange world of the sao poets was drawn from the mythology of the common people of Ch' u much as Han Yu's weird universe was inspired by the superstitions of the T'ang peasants. Even Han's view of the world around him seems somewhat influenced by the sao poets, for although they failed to see any humor in the universe, they would agree with Han about the evil monsters which lie in wait for luckless human beings.
More than any other shih poet before, Han Yu absorbed the influence of the sao writers and created an ideal compromise between the Shih Ching and Ch'u Tz'u traditions in Chinese literature.

There is little in the shih poetry written from the end of Han through the early T'ang which seems to have had any marked influence upon the works of Han Yu. This whole period of literary history was regarded as one long dark age by our author, as can be seen in his rejection of its prose standards in his ancient prose movement. Particularly distasteful to him was the important position which the foreign "heresy" Buddhism had in this age, and yet when one reads Han Hū's works, one suspects that he received much from the great flood of Sanskrit materials which was translated into Chinese from the late Han onward.

Han never admits any knowledge of the Sanskrit tradition, so we must search beneath the surface to discover whatever contact he had with Chinese Buddhist literature. The most positive evidence that Han knew something of Chinese Buddhist translations is provided by his celebrated work, "Poem of the Southern Mountain," which has always infuriated conservative critics for its flouting of the rules of Chinese verse writing. One of the most daring innovations in this poem is the use of the word huo 'some' at the beginning of fifty-one successive lines to describe the shapes of the various mountains in the Nanshan Range. Such a device would have been severely censured in even a
prose essay, but in shih poetry, where all repetition of words was studiously avoided, it was outrageous.

Nowhere in the verse of the Chinese literati can we find a precedent to such a usage, but in Buddhist translations of Sanskrit works, this device is not completely avoided. One of the best examples of repetitions of the word huo at the beginning of each line is found in T' an-wu-ch' an's translation of Asvaghosa's Buddhacārita (Fo-Suo-Hsing Tsuan), where in the "Chapter on the Destruction of Devils" the translator uses the word huo over fifty times at the head of each line to describe the various kinds of demons which swarm about Gautama to disturb him from his meditation. Such a monotonous sequence of words was no doubt occasioned by a passage in the original Sanskrit in which the word kascit or kācit occurred in each line, although in Sanskrit poetry the word kascit did not have to be placed at the beginning of each line as in Chinese, due to the greater flexibility of word order in Sanskrit.

The extensive use of the word huo in Chinese translations of Buddhist work is, of course, not limited to the Buddhacārita, and another work in which such tendencies are to be observed is Shih Ch'a Nan T'o's translation of the Avatāmsaka Sutra during the Northern Chou dynasty, which is of extreme interest when we recall Han Yü's possible associations with the Avatāmsaka master Ch'eng Kuan. In none of Han's works does he admit to having read any
Buddhist translations, so that it will most likely be impossible to trace definitely his relationship with the religion, but if we take into account his warm friendship with a number of Buddhist monks and the evidence to be found in his "Poem of the South Mountains" we are quite justified in asserting that the Buddhist literature of China had some influence upon the poetry which he wrote.

Possibly even more important in its influence upon the poetry of Han Yu than the Buddhist translations was the great mass of popular literature inspired by the Buddhist religion and secular traditions. It is highly unfortunate that the only pieces which remain from the folk tradition survive from far-off Tun Huang, for as Waley implies in his work on pien-wen there was most likely a very extensive body of folk literature composed in each area of China, and the Tun Huang material has been preserved only because of the favorable climate in northwestern China.135 Thus, when we attempt to trace what possible influence folk literature had upon Han Yu we are not only handicapped by his upper class attitudes which prevented him and other Chinese literati from even mentioning pien-wen but also by an almost total lack of the actual materials which may have inspired him.

Nevertheless, if we take the Tun Huang materials as representative of the whole folk tradition in China, as they very likely were, we can observe their possible influence on the verse of Han Yu. We have already noted
the complete absence of precedent for the prosy poetic line of Han Yu among the literati poets of China, and it is no mere accident that the pien-wen materials closely resemble Han Yu's line in their looseness achieved by the use of particles, repetition, and avoidance of literary allusion. In the "Mu-lien Pien Wen" the long descriptive passages in verse of the various hells which Maudgalyāna passes through in the search of his mother, are not only typical of Indian kāavya literature but also strangely similar to the fu passages already found to be a typical feature of Han Yu's verse. All of pien-wen poetry is basically narrative in style as is the long verse of India, and the existence of a large body of popular narrative poetry may help to explain the otherwise insoluble tendency of Han Yu to go against the mainstream of Chinese upper class literature by using his longer ku-shih as a vehicle of narration. At a time when the court poets of China were writing about maidens languishing in the harem, the pien-wen poets were already displaying the interest in the weird and supernatural which was later so dominant in the poetry of Han Yu's school, and when we peruse the Buddhist miracle pieces or such a secular work as "The Wizard Yeh Ching Neng," we perceive that the folk poets of early T'ang times could very well have played a part in the formation of middle T'ang tastes. We have already shown how important folk beliefs were in Han Yu's verse, and after a study of the pien-wen it is very tempting, indeed, to
propose that some of the subject matter of Han's verse which is not derived from literati sources actually comes from some long lost product of Chinese folk poetry. Last of all, Han Yü’s use of humor as a dominant element in his verse is difficult to explain without reference to works written outside the mainstream of upper class poetry. It is well known that previous Chinese poets such as T'ao Ch'ien, Tu Fu, and Li Po were not completely lacking in a sense of humor, but the all-important role which humor has in the works of Han Yü can only make us look outside the mainstream of Chinese literature to Buddhist monks such as Han Shan and folk works typified by the "Swallow and the Sparrow" where the humorous treatment is much broader than anything found in the literatus tradition.

It is unfortunate that all of the evidence which we present for the influence of the pien-wen writers upon Han Yü's school poses problems which will probably remain insoluble forever. Unless new manuscripts come to light in areas in eastern China, a rather unlikely event, we will never know what the specific stories were which inspired Han, and even then we would be severely limited by his own failure to illuminate us as to the sources for his revolutionary poetic style. Perhaps, Han himself was not fully conscious himself of the folk traditions which had moulded his literary outlook, and when he picked up his brush to create a new poem, he may not have recalled the joy which he felt as a boy sitting in the city market absorbing every word of the illiterate poetry of an itinerant story-teller.
Now that we have examined the various possible non-literati sources for the poetry of Han Yu, it would be best that we attempt to discover what influences the upper class tradition of Chinese verse had upon the weird verse of Han with particular reference to the period immediately preceding the mid-T'ang age.

The so-called Sheng T'ang period of Chinese literature which came before the time of Han was dominated by three principal poets; Wang Wei, Li Po, and Tu Fu, and, thus, we must decide which of these three writers, if any, exerted the greatest influence on the poetry of the Yüan Ho period. We can almost immediately eliminate Wang Wei and his followers from the competition, for the kind of Buddhist nature poetry which they wrote is basically a descendant of the *shan-shui* verse of such North-South period authors as Hsieh Ling-yüan and in style and subject matter bears absolutely no resemblance to the products of Han Yu and his school.

A better case might be made for Li Po as an ancestor of the Yüan Ho style. His unrestrained and sometimes humorous verse along with his interest in alchemy and the immortals superficially resembles Han Yu's penchant for humor and popular mythology. Nevertheless, we have already shown how the absurd brand of humor which characterizes Han Yu is considerably different from the form of humor to be found among the Taoists, and by no stretch of the imagination could we possibly envision Han Yu.
playing the role of a wild, alcoholic Li Po. Even more important, Li Po's interests in the immortals are quite far removed from Han's fascination with popular mythology, for alchemical concerns of Li Po are largely derived from the *yu-hsien shih* of the North-South period, a tradition which was of aristocratic origin and, thus, totally unconnected to the folklore which Han loved so dearly. Last of all, on stylistic grounds alone Li Po had little influence upon Han, for we find that Li's poems rarely deviate from the accepted poetic forms of his age.

The only one of our three Sheng T'ang authors whom we can prove had some form of significant influence upon the Yuan-Ho movement of Han Yu is China's most famous poet, Tu Fu. In his *Cu Pei Shih Hua* the famous Ch'ing historian and poet Chao Yi elaborated upon his thesis that Tu Fu was most important to the form of poetry which Han Yu developed: "By the time of Han Yu, Li Po and Tu Fu were already before him, so although he tried his hardest to make a change, he was not able to open up a new path. The only place he could develop from were the weirder aspects of Tu Fu's verse, so he fixed his attention on these, in order to open a new road, and establish his own style." The implication in Chao Yi's statement is, of course, that Li Po and Tu Fu had exhausted all of the possibilities for the creation of great poetry, so the only thing Han could do was make an attempt at weird effects.

Chao Yi's sentiments about the origins of the
Han Yu style have been echoed by a number of scholars since his time and it is no surprise that A.C. Graham himself agrees with Chao that the late verse of Tu Fu is the departure point for the poetry of all post-An Lu-shan Chinese literature. It is not my wish to refute this highly questionable thesis of Graham about the origin of the poetry which came after Tu Fu, but it would be best if we examine more closely the debt which Han and his friends owed to Tu Fu.

Probably the most famous work of Tu Fu is his "Pei Cheng Shih" or "Poem on a Trip to the North" in which he describes the destruction spread throughout the Chinese countryside due to civil war and ends with a moving reunion with his family after passing through many hardships. This poem is not only interesting to us because of its great fame, but also because it bears certain resemblances to the work of Han Yu and his school. In Tu Fu's "Pei Cheng Shih" we can already see hints of the unconventionality of poetic form which later was to become so dominant in Yüan-ho times. Although the rules of caesura had been broken by other Chinese poets before Tu Fu, it is significant that already in his verse we commonly find lines of the three-two pattern which we discovered in Han's work. But more important than this is that Tu Fu's "Pei Cheng Shih" is basically a long narrative poem about the author's experiences in time of war, and we have already remarked about the comparative
lack of long narrative verse in China before the time of Han Yü. It is such deviations from traditional poetical form which made Chao Yi and other scholars such as Graham conclude that Tu Fu was the father of the mid-T'ang style.

However, when we more closely examine such a representative work as "Pei Cheng Shih" we come to realize the great gulf which separates the creations of Tu Fu from those of Han Yü. Even in matters of poetic form the innovations of Tu Fu presage little of what Han Yü attempted. The "Pei Cheng Shih" is written in the strictest of 熹-shih form, with all rhymes and stanza patterns in complete agreement with what was dictated by traditional prosodic rules, and, in fact, it would be difficult to find poems of Tu Fu which deviate far from the accepted standard of his age, except for lapses in caesura. As far as Tu Fu's use of narration is concerned, it is nowhere near as skillful as that of Han Yü, for Tu Fu was still encumbered by the cumbersome, allusion-studded line of the North-South period, and, thus, the flow of his story is lost to the reader who must ponder about the meaning of each line before going onto the next. Tu Fu had not yet discovered the ideal combination of prose and poetry in his poetic line, which was so effective in the narrative verse of Han Yü.

More important than differences in poetic form were the diametrically opposite interests of the two poets Tu Fu and Han Yü. Tu Fu has always been renowned for his humanism, which expressed itself in his sincere compassion for the
people of all classes who suffered from the ravages of the An Lu-shan Rebellion. Thus, a great number of Tu Fu's works describe the piteous fate of young men driven to war or of peasants who must sell their children in order to stave off starvation. In Tu Fu's works one finds constant expression of his love for the ruling dynasty and his hope that conditions can return to normal and the people live once again in peace and prosperity.

Nothing could be further from the concerns of Han Yu. We can find rare examples of poems in which he expresses compassion for those victimized by oppressive rulers or vicious warfare, such as his "Pien-chou Luan" or "The Disorder at Pien-chou," but in very few of his works do we even find a glimmer of social concern akin to that of Tu Fu. To Han Yu the weird creatures and demons which roamed the earth were infinitely more interesting than the empty belly of a peasant.

Although both Tu Fu and Han Yu were pessimistic and shared the belief in an ordained fate common to the Chinese of T'ang, there were also great differences in their outlook on life as expressed in their poetry. Although Tu Fu obviously believed that the world could be set right by the proper emperor guided by able ministers, he was still subject to the largely unrelieved pessimism current in Chinese poets from at least the North-South period. Although Tu Fu was capable of a hearty laugh in his earliest verse, as his hair began to grow white and his teeth fall out, he
was overwhelmed by the same dismal complaining already found in the "Nineteen Ancient Poems" of Han times. One could never claim that Han Yu was bubbling with the optimism which animates much of the poetry of northern Sung times, but at least he has already moved away from the unrelieved griping which is so annoying in some earlier Chinese verse and even in the poetry of Han's friend Meng Chiao. Although Han's teeth were falling out, he could still manage a laugh, and the occasion of the death of Meng Chiao's son did not send him into a fit of tears as might have been expected in earlier times. Han Yu and Tu Fu are both tragic poets, but Han Yu could at least smile while he suffered.

All that has been said above, should make clear that we cannot accept Chao Yi's or Graham's thesis about the position of Tu Fu in late T'ang literature without the strongest of reservations. One cannot deny that Han Yu grabbed onto some of the more original features of Tu Fu's poetic form in creating his own verse, but the two poets are so different from each other that it seems impossible to say much more than this. That Tu Fu was the primary poet that led to the New Yüeh-fu Movement of Po Chü-yi is obvious to all that have read Po's works, but to claim that he also inspired Han Yu's kuai-t'i shih is difficult to maintain. Han Yu's poetic movement came from non-literati sources and his own fertile imagination.

The Yüan Ho period in which Han Yu wrote much of
his verse is one of the most complex ages in the development of Chinese literature, for we find that there were at least two very distinct poetic movements flourishing at the same time. The first of these was the New Yueh-fu Movement, which centered around Po Chü-ying, who is best known for his poetry of social protest, in which he realistically described the plight of the peasants in post-An Lu-shan Rebellion China and bitterly criticized the upper classes who ground them into poverty. Stylistically, Po moved away from the ponderous manner of Tu Fu and modeled his works on the simple folk poetry of the late Han.

Yuan Chen, usually considered next in importance to Po Chü-ying in the New Yueh-fu Movement and a close friend of his, wrote many of his poems in direct imitation of the style pioneered by Po, although in some of works, the erratic prosodic patterns and the unusual subject matter show that he was at least somewhat influenced by the same spirit that produced writers such as Han Yu. Chang Chi, also one of Po Chü-ying's most intimate friends, made few innovations in the New Yueh-fu style of Po, but strangely enough kept up a warm friendship with Han Yu and his associates. Despite Han's high regard for Chang, he does not seem to have absorbed any influence from the old blind poet, and, in general, we can say that Han and his coterie had very little in common with the authors of the New Yueh-fu Movement.

A man as influential in the government and literary
affairs such as Han Yu could not fail to attract a very large following of literati. In the course of his official career Han befriended a large number of highly educated men, although many of these were obviously little influenced by their association with him, a notable example being Chang Chi, whom we have already mentioned. Not all of the writers of the middle T'ang period were influenced by all aspects of his literary innovations, and for many authors his labors in the area of prose reform were more significant than his poetical achievements. The most famous example of such a writer is Liu Tsung-yan, who was probably stimulated by the ku-wen style of Han Yu but does not seem to have been very impressed by Han's unorthodox poetry, continuing to write in a style very much his own. Other of Han's friends, who further developed the ku-wen movement, left little poetry behind; among them were such prose essayists and Confucian revivalists as Huang-fu Shih and Li Ao along with the ch'uan-ch'i story writer Shen Ya-chih.

Although Han's innovations in prose writing found many followers in middle T'ang, his poetry also played an important part in the literature of the times, and the group of poets who centered around him comprised the second important literary movement of mid-T'ang times. Among those usually listed as being of Han Yu's movement are Meng Chiao, Lu T'ung, Chia Tao, Liu Ch'a, Ma Yi, and occasionally Li Ho. Both Liu Ch'a and Ma Yi unmistakably belonged to Han Yu's literary group, but unfortunately little of their poetry has
survived, and although what remains is of excellent quality, the paucity of materials does not seem to justify any extended research.\textsuperscript{146} Chiao Tao, who was a Buddhist monk whom Han Yu convinced to return to the laity, has been shown to have little in common with Han Yu, although he was a close associate of the master after Meng Chiao's death, and his greatest importance lies in his influence on late T'ang nature poetry, a topic of little relevance to Han Yu's literary movement.\textsuperscript{147} Altogether three major poets, Meng Chiao, Lu T'ung, and Li Ho remain in our list, and since they were all deeply influenced by Han Yu, we shall discuss their debt to him in more detail.

The poet who has fared best with traditional Chinese critics among those of Han Yu's coterie is Meng Chiao. He was the oldest of the group, born at Wu K'ang in 751, seventeen years before Han Yu himself. Meng was Han's closest friend, and more of Han's verse is addressed to him than any other person. Like most of Han's friends, Meng was of a very poor background, and since he did not pass the chin-shih examination until he was fifty, he was prevented from occupying anything but minor posts during his old age. His family life was equally disappointing, for none of his children outlived him, most of them dying only a few weeks after birth. He preceded his friend Han to death by ten years, passing away in poverty in 814.\textsuperscript{148} Typical of his work is Meng's second poem in a series of fifteen entitled "Autumn Thoughts":

\begin{quote}
Typical of his work is Meng's second poem in a series of fifteen entitled "Autumn Thoughts":
\end{quote}
"The autumn moon's face turns to ice;  
An old wanderer, my will is exhausted.  
The cold dew drips, destroying my dreams;  
The harsh wind brushes my bones cold.  
On my bed are printed the marks of disease;  
In my belly my sorrows turn and twist.  
My breast, filled with doubt, can rely on nothing;  
I listen emptily, for no reason at all.  
The catalpa, withered, towers above;  
It sounds and resounds like mournful plucking."

In this work Meng Chiao's use of daring and unusual language is similar to much of what we have already found in Han Yu. Such lines as "the harsh wind brushes my bones cold" although not terribly unusual by Western standards, would have been considered vulgar by most earlier Chinese writers. The subject, autumn, is also common enough in earlier writings, but Meng Chiao's description of the season suggests sinister qualities never before encountered in Chinese verse.

Nevertheless, Meng's poetry is quite distinctive from Han's and considerably less innovative. On the whole, he observes all of the rules of ancient Chinese prosody, for there are no daring departures from accepted stanza patterns and rhyme schemes. His subject matter is largely limited to the more traditional topics, and there are no poems in which he attempts any form of narration. Meng Chiao's bitter experiences in official life and the early loss of his
children seem to have prevented him from being infected by Han Yü's humor, and his continual laments become extremely wearisome, a fact which brought down the scorn of Su Shih who was greatly irritated by Meng Chiao's "cold cicada's cry." The result of this was that the more pedantic critics of post-Sung times usually considered Meng to be a much better poet than Han or the other members of his group. A critic of the twentieth century would most likely reverse their verdict, and yet we must fully recognize the great importance of the elder Meng in paving the way for the still more daring experiments of Han Yü in unusual language.

The poet Lu T'ung was the closest in style to Han Yü among the authors of their literary movement. Going under the name of Yü-Ch'uantzu or Scholar of Jade River, he was born in Fan-yang at an undetermined date. He spent his youth as a hermit in the mountains, and even after moving to Loyang he continued to live in abject poverty, kept alive with rice given to him by some monks who lived next door. At this time Han Yü was Commander of Honan and became close friends with Lu T'ung, supposedly because he admired his high moral character. Lu T'ung remained in obscurity even after befriending Han, for he never was able to pass in the examination system. In 835 he had the misfortune of being caught eating dinner in the house of Wang Yai, one of the conspirators in the Kan-lu Rebellion, and was executed by having a nail driven into his head.
His means of death was as ironic as many of the events of his life, for his only son's name was T'ien Ting which is a homonym for the expression meaning 'to drive a nail' in Chinese. All Lu T'ung left behind him was a small collection of poetry.

The work which Lu T'ung is most famous for is his "Lunar Eclipse," which served as a model for Han Yü's poem of the same title. This work, which is one of the most obscure creations of Chinese literature, was greatly influenced by Han Yü's experiments in new verse. His poetic form is even more bizarre than Han's with lines varying greatly in the number of characters which they contain and the rhymes not terribly clear. The fu method of description which had been used sparingly in earlier poetry is employed in the same manner as in Han Yü's ku-shih, and although the narrative thread is sometimes lost in the complexities of the elaboration, it is nonetheless quite prominent. In his work Lu T'ung, too, seems to take great delight in the bizarre, and significantly his subject matter is drawn entirely from folk tradition. The same grim humor which we find with Han Yü permeates the work, and the hostile universe of middle T'ang times threatens on every side.

The conclusion which one might draw from a reading of the "Lunar Eclipse" is that Lu T'ung was a mere pale reflection of the admittedly greater poet Han Yü. Realizing that Lu T'ung took many of his ideas from Han, we must,
however, admit that he developed some of Han Yu's most original traits even further than the master himself dared, and for this reason alone he deserves a higher position in Chinese literature than the label "freakish curiosity" which Graham and others would give him. In fact, when we read Lu T'ung's complete works, we are captivated by the author's great understanding of the humor of nature which seems to have evaded most earlier Chinese shan-shui poets. We find a whole series of chüeh chü in which the animals and plants of a garden plead with their master to take them along when he moves, and another work entitled the "Song of the Dragonfly" which is typical of Lu T'ung's understanding of the irony of nature.

The most creative member of Han Yu's movement besides the master himself was Li Ho, who was a grandson of King Cheng of the T'ang imperial line. Born in 791, Li was supposedly able to compose excellent verses by the time he was seven years old. Despite his relation to the emperor, Li Ho never was allowed to take the chih-shih examination, because it was claimed that be doing so he would break the taboo on his father's name Li Ghih-ju, and, thus, he never could occupy any important posts in the central government. The disappointment of his desires for an official career and his naturally frail body seemed to have combined to bring him to an early grave at the age of twenty-six in 817.

It seems rather strange that most Chinese critics
have failed to see Li Ho's extremely important debt to Han Yu, and the ignorance of this has made many of them classify him with the late T'ang poets Li Shang-yin and Tu Mu.\textsuperscript{156}

This, of course, is impossible on mere chronological grounds, since when Li Ho died, Li Shang-yin was only four years old, and Han Yu still had eight more very fruitful years of his life left. Although, Li Ho's more ornate style influenced the writing of late T'ang times, his morbid concern with death and the terrifying aspects of the supernatural is extremely different from the late T'ang interest in romantic love.

Just the titles of his poems betray his close relationship to Han Yu's literary movement, for a very large number of them are addressed to friends of Han Yu, particularly the ancient prose master Huang-fu Shih. Han Yu's passionate defense of Li Ho's right to take the chin-shih examination in the "Hui Pien"\textsuperscript{157} and a number of laudatory remarks about Han Yu and his friends in Li Ho's verse show that the two authors had a very high opinion of each other. If we are to believe the account in the Chih-Yen Li Ho met Han Yu and Huang-fu Shih when he was only seven years old: "When Li Ho was seven years old, his fame shook the capital because of both his long and short compositions. At that time Han Yu and Huang-fu Shih read his works and were surprised, since they did not know of him yet. Therefore, they said to each other: 'If he is an ancient, then we do not know of him; but if he is a modern man, why is it
that we do not know him yet?" It happened that someone
told them of Li Chin-su's whereabouts, and so Han and
Huang-fu rode together to his house in order to request
a visit with his son. When they had arrived and Li Ho
came out with his hair tied up and robe on, they did not
believe it, and so put him to the test by having him com­
pose a poem on the spot. Li Ho received their command
happily and holding the paper and wetting his writing
brush, was as if no one was by his side. He entitled the
work 'The Exalted Chariot Passed by.' .... Both of the
gentlemen were so startled that they commanded him to
return with them to their homes riding together on the
two horses on which they had come.\textsuperscript{158}

Although the present poem which we possess of
the same title could not have been written when Li was
seven years old, it still is testimony to the great re­
spect he had to Han Yu:

His flowery gown is woven with kingfisher
feathers, green as a leek;
Golden rings press on his reigns, rocking,
ding-a-ling.
The sound of horses' hooves resounds in my
ears, rumble, rumble,
When he enters my gate and dismounts,
brilliant as a rainbow.
They say he is the Talent of the Eastern
Capital,
And the Great Duke of Prose Writing.
The twenty-eight lunar mansions are lined in his breast,
While the Primal Essence flashes out from within.
Before the imperial palace he writes poems, fame reaching the heavens;
His writing brush supplements Creation, beside him Heaven is without merit.
A scholar with broad brows, I am moved by the autumn tumbleweed,
For who could know that such dry grass could be revived by his spring wind?
Today I droop my wings hoping to ride with this Heavenly Gander,
And in the future I will not be shamed to be a snake changed into a dragon. 159

In this work we have a picture of a young poet who is dazzled by the achievements of Han Yu at the height of his career as poet, politician, and essayist. Such deep admiration would undoubtedly leave a deep mark on the mind of a young artist who still had not formed his own poetic style.

The influence of Han was felt in most areas of Li's poetic creation. The frequent use of eccentric poetic form by Han led to further adventures in this direction by Li Ho, for not only did he adopt the irregular stanza forms
common in Han's writings but also experimented with a rhyme system which reflected the pronunciation of his day rather than the arbitrary rules laid down by the earlier experts on prosody. The subject matter of his poetry also displays Han Yu's love of the weird, and in his absorption with shamanism and other popular superstitions, he reflects Han Yu's researches into the mythology of the lower classes. In Li Ho the belief in an evil and inescapable fate became a demonic obsession with death and the sinister forces in the world.

All of these common points should not make us ignore the differences between these two great poets. Li Ho did not take to the prosy line and the narrative style of Han Yu, and the extremely florid, allusion-studded lines which he produced were definitely a forerunner for the kind of poetry written by Li Shang-yin and his followers. Most important of all, there were basic differences of outlook in the two poets, for Li Ho could see no humor in the terrors of the universe; for him the evil that lurked everywhere was a continual nightmare of horror and anguish.

After the death of Han Yu and his group, there was a drastic shift in the poetic tastes of the people of T'ang, and, in general, the works of late T'ang and Five Dynasties period owe little to Han Yu's movement. Li Shang-yin, Wen-T'ing-yin, and other major authors of this period turned away from both the social criticism of the New Yüeh-fu Movement of Po Chü-yi and Yuan Chen and the surrealistic
Kuai-t'i shih of Han Yu and his group to write poems which aimed at a highly polished and ornamented style largely concerned with the subject of love between the sexes. During the last years of the T'ang dynasty, authors also tended to write more in the newly introduced tz'u form, a style which culminated in the poets of the Hua Chien Ch'iu, who sang of love and particularly the pangs of sorrow experienced by those separated from their lovers. This new direction in Chinese literature did not end with the establishment of the Sung dynasty, and for the first few years it seemed that the innovations of Han Yu's prose and poetry had fallen upon fallow ground, for the authors of the early Sung Hsi-k'un style, such as Yang Yi, wrote highly ornate verses in imitation of Li Shang-yin and won official promotion with their polished p'ien-wen essays.  

However, there soon developed dissatisfaction with the over-refined literary fashions of the late T'ang period, and Wang Yu-ch'eng (954-1001) launched a sharp attack against the effete verse which was so popular in his time. Nevertheless, Wang Yu-ch'eng was not quite up to the task of demolishing the older tradition, and it was not until the rise of the new poetry under Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), Mei Yao-ch'en (1002-1060), and Su Shun-ch'in (1008-1048) among others that the early Sung style completely disappeared. The history of the literary renaissance of northern Sung times is very closely connected with the rediscovery of the poetry and prose of Han Yu in the early years of the
dynasty. After the disorders of the Five Dynasties and the general neglect of Han Yu, his collected works had become a relatively rare book. Luckily, printing became widespread during this period, and Han Yu's works were rescued from oblivion after being first set to type by the ku-wen advocate Mu Hsiu (979-1032). After his time both Liu K'ai and Sung Ch'i among other well-known scholars of the early Sung advocated a return to ku-wen and the overthrow of the bankrupt p'ien-wen tradition, but it was not until Ou-yang Hsiu's propaganda campaign on his behalf that Han Yu began to exert his great influence upon Sung literature. In Ou-yang Hsiu's account of his "discovery" of Han Yu we can still feel some of the intense excitement which Han stirred among scholars of the new literary movement: "When young, I lived at Han-tung, which was very isolated and without scholars. My family was so poor we had no book collection, but in Chou-nan there was a rich Mister Li whose son Yen-fu had a particular love for scholarship. When still a young boy, I frequently visited their home to play and saw their old books stored in broken cases on the wall, so I opened them and found the Collected Works of Han Yu in six fascicles with missing pages all out of order. I begged Mr. Li to take the book home, and upon reading it I found his works to be profound and stirring, but inasmuch as I was still young, I was not able to completely fathom its meaning, seeing only that it was extremely enjoyable. At this time
the works of Yang Yi became the popular style, and those who mastered them passed the examinations, spread their fame about, and were able to boast of their own renown in the world. I was going to take my chin-shih examination and was working on the shih and fu of the Board of Rites. When I was seventeen I took the provincial examinations and was rejected by the officers in charge. Reading the Works of Han Yu again, I said sighing to myself: 'Scholars ought to come as far as he did and go no farther.' Thus, I was displeased with the ways of my age and seeing that I did not have any learning, I frequently thought to myself that it would be petty striving for me to seek the chih-shih degree for a salary to care for my parents. I should bend my entire efforts to studying his essays and, thus, repay him for his former efforts. Seven years later I obtained my chih-shih degree and with it a post at Loyang. Yin Shih-lu and his companions were all there, and so we all wrote ancient prose together. We uncovered various Collected Works of Han Yu, supplementing them, and searched for old editions in people's homes, collating them. Later, all of the scholars of the world gradually leaned toward the ancient prose style and Han's works became popular. Since all of this about thirty years have passed.\(^{164}\)

By the death of Ou-yang Hsiu, ku-wen was established as the most popular prose form among Sung scholars. There are two principal reasons why Ou-yang Hsiu was able to
achieve his great success in reviving interest in the literary creations of Han Yu. First of all, he was a consummate master of ku-wen prose himself, the inspiration of Han Yu allowing him to write some of the most artistically perfect essays found in Chinese literature. Even more important than his literary skill, however, was his extremely successful political career in the central government and his control of the examination system, which enabled him to enforce his literary tastes upon the scholars who wished official positions in the government. Thus, any Chinese scholar who wished to achieve social and financial success was obliged to adopt the ku-wen style, which was at that time popular with the examiners. In his ability to force his literary views upon Chinese officialdom Ou-yang Hsiu forms a contrast with Han Yu, who because of his relatively low position in the government was incapable of assuring that his theories on prose writing would become practiced by the literati. The result of Ou-yang Hsiu's actions on behalf of the ku-wen movement determined the entire course of prose writing throughout the northern Sung period, and a number of worthy successors continued to develop ancient prose writing. Su Hsin, Su Ch'e, Su Shih, Wang An-shih, and Tseng Kung created a great variety of works which in many cases had an even greater literary value than the compositions of Han Yu himself. Ku-wen was used in most historical composition also, the most famous examples being
Ou-yang Hsiu's *New T'ang History* and Ssu-ma Kuang's monumental *Tzu Chih T'ung Chien*, while in the field of philosophy Chu Hsi used ku-wen to express his new formulation of Confucianism. It was not until the Sung dynasty that Han Yu's labors toward prose reform bore their fruit.

Of course, the Sung scholars could not ignore the poetry of the man who was their idol in prose style. The poetic revolution led by Ou-yang Hsiu, Mei Yao-ch'en, and Su Shun-ch'in owes a great deal to the groundwork laid by Han Yu and his fellow poets. All of these poets express their love of Han Yu's verse in their prose works, but the greatest tribute which they paid him was by imitating his poems. The poem "Demon Cart" by Ou-yang Hsiu is clearly derived from such works as the "Poem of the Two Birds" or the "Lunar Eclipse."

"On the twenty-eighth day of September, in autumn of the sixth year of Chia Yu; The heavens were melancholy without light, and the moon didn't even come out. Floating clouds covered the sky, and the galaxy of stars disappeared; Raising ones hands toward the void was like rubbing lacquer. While the heavens were dark and the earth black, there came a thing; I did not see its form, But only heard its sound.
At first it was shrill and cutting,
Suddenly high and suddenly low.
Then abruptly like the Jade Lady tuning
here jade pipes;
The pipes were all uneven, not sounding
in unison.
Then squeak!!!! squeak!!!!
As if something were being crushed or
pulled.
It was like a hundred chariots of
Chiangchou,
Turning wheels, whirling axles going rumble!!
rumble!!
Noisy looms spinning at night on the
Brocade River,
A flock of geese swooping up from an island
of rush flowers.
I asked, "What sound is this?"
And at first I could not find the cause.
The old maid snuffed out the lamp and
called the children;
She said, 'This is a demon bird without
equal or match.
It is called the demon wagon,'
And at night it carries a hundred demons
soaring through the void.
Although its sound is small, its body is very
large,
With wings like cart wheels and a row of ten heads.
Ordinary birds have but one head,
And yet they can already chirp! chirp!
This bird's ten heads have ten mouths;
In each mouth is inserted a tongue connected to a throat.
Each mouth has its own voice,
So a thousand voices resound hunderfold in answer to one another.
Formerly Duke Chou who lived in Eastern Chou,
Hated hearing this bird, despising it as his enemy.
So at night he bade Master T'ing lead his subordinates,
And with bent bow drive it out of China;
He shot at it three times, but could not hit.
Then Heaven sent the Heavenly Hound falling from the skies;
Ever since the Heavenly Hound bit off a head,
Black blood has flowed from the severed neck,
And since that time three thousand years have passed.
At day it hides, at night comes out, just like the owl; Whenever there is darkness, it comes from beyond the horizon, But if it ever sees the light of fire it plummets with fright, At times its dripping blood defiles the ground below, And whatever house it falls on, that house is surely ruined! When I heard her words, I was startled and yet skeptical, So I prayed for it to fly by quickly and not harm us. I thought how vast heaven and earth are That the principles behind things great and small are not known. Fortune and disaster come from men and not from things, For even a snake with two heads can be auspicious. So I called the maid to light up the lantern's flame, Roll up the curtains, open the windows, and freshen our room. In a while the clouds dispersed, and the myriad stars came out;
The night was calm, and the bright moon shined forth its pure light."¹⁶⁵

In "Demon Cart" Ou-yang Hsiu has given us an imitation of Han Yu's style which is still suffused with his own great originality. In this poem it appears that Ou-yang was trying to outdo Han in the irregularity of his poetic form, the stanza pattern being one of the most unusual in Chinese literature. He abandons the dense poetic line of Yang Yi and his school for the prosy narrative style of Han Yu and his friends. Ou-yang takes a great delight in the unorthodox nature of his subject matter, and he underlines that it is taken from popular lore by having the old maid tell about popular superstitions concerning the demon bird. The result of such treatment is a work in the best tradition of the kuai-t'i Shih.

The similarities between "Demon Cart" and Han's works should not obscure the very real differences in approach between the northern Sung authors and Han Yu, even when they are consciously trying to imitate him. When Han wrote his poetry, China was wracked by internal disorder, and the literati had long been under the influence of the pessimism of North-South period thought. However, when Ou-yang Hsiu wrote the "Demon Cart" China was at peace internally and the materialistic, life-affirming philosophy of neo-Confucianism was beginning to take hold among Chinese intellectuals. Add to this Ou-yang Hsiu's very successful political career, and the extremely optimistic view of life
expressed in his poetry is readily explicable. The Sung dynasty and its writers met with many crushing defeats, but on the whole they had a much happier view of the world than did the melancholy-prone poets of T'ang. Thus, Ou-yang Hsiu does not agree with Han Yü and his contemporaries about the inescapable inevitability of Fate, for he states clearly that "disaster and fortune come from men and not from things." He hints that he is skeptical about the existence of the demon bird, and he is, thus, careful to have the ignorant maid tell of the superstitions about the monster. He challenges the demon by telling the maid to light the lamp and roll up the curtains, demonstrating that he neither believes the peasant superstitions nor fears the evil forces of the universe. When the clouds disperse and the moon returns in all of its radiant glory, one is reassured that all is right with the universe. Unlike Han Yü, Ou-yang Hsiu does not despair over his fate nor does he depend upon the intervention of some supernatural force to resolve the problems of the world. In his optimistic view of the universe, he is capable as a rational human being of solving all difficulties that arise.

In addition to poetry that was written in imitation of Han Yü's verse, most of the works of the poetic revolution of northern Sung times show the effects of the pioneering efforts of Han Yü. All that one must do is look at the description of a hawk devouring a pigeon in such a poem as "The Lone Hawk on the Buddha Pavilion of the Hall of Universal
Purity" by Mei Yao-ch'en, and he can immediately recognize
the innovations of Han Yu: "Alone on the peak of the roof,
he tore and rended it to his heart's desire. He plucked
the meat, ripped out the liver, discarding the intestines." Such shocking language had never appeared in Chinese verse
prior to Han Yu's time, and although Mei Yao Ch'en's poem
is extremely different from anything in Han's collected
works, he owes much to the T'ang writer.

If one looks through the collected works of the
early northern Sung poets, the titles of the poems alone
tell him that this poetry is much broader in scope than
anything written before Yuan Ho times. Such works as
"The Earthworm," "My Son Hsiu Shu's Head Lice," and
"In Mourning for a White Chicken" by Mei Yao Ch'en, or
"I Hate Mosquitoes" and "The Olive" by Ou-yang Hsiu
are only a few among the many poems written about subjects
that would not have been considered poetic material by any
poet before Han Yu broadened the range of Chinese verse.

As Yoshikawa has noted, humor is one of the most
important characteristics of Sung shih-style poetry, and
there can be little doubt that the brand of whimsical
humor frequently encountered in the works of such writers
as Ou-yang Hsiu or Mei Yao-ch'en owes a considerable debt
to the weird sense of humor which animates the best of
Han Yu's poetry. The glee with which the Sung poets
describe the weirder creations of the animal kingdom or
the unusual phenomena of nature is no doubt in part derived
from works in which Han Yü makes poetry out of owls and lunar eclipses. By widening the scope of Chinese poetic writing, Han Yü laid the foundation for the startling creativity of Sung poets.

No Chinese poet has caused quite as much controversy among Chinese critics as Han Yü. The great Ming poet and critic, Wang Shih-ch'en violently attacked Han's verse: "Han Yü didn't understand anything about writing poetry, and the reason why the men of Sung times called him a great writer is because of his prestige only." Many other critics just as vehemently defended Han Yü's daring experiments in new verse. One of these, the Ch'ing writer Yeh Hsieh said, "T'ang poetry was the greatest change since the eight dynasties, and Han Yü was the greatest change in T'ang poetry. His power is great, and his thoughts daring. Towering above all, he was the ancestor to later poets. Su Shun-ch'in, Mei Yao-ch'en, Ou-yang Hsiu, Su Shih, Wang An-shih, and Huang T'ing-chien were all inspired by Han Yü." The issue of the importance of Han Yü's poetry in Chinese literature has not been settled down to the present day, and one finds that modern Chinese critics disagree violently over the poetic worth of his writings.

When we examine the adverse criticism of Han Yü's verse we find that it centers around two of the most characteristic features of his poetry. The first of these qualities which met with opposition is the rather prose-like
quality of much of Han Yu's best ku-shih. Already by the northern Sung dynasty Huang T'ing-chien was attacking this characteristic of Han Yu's verse: "Poetry and prose each has its own form .... Han Yu made prose into poetry .... so his works are not skilled." Nevertheless, not all Sung critics agreed with this opinion of Huang T'ing-chien, and when the Sung polymath Shen Kua expressed a similar opinion, he met with a quick rebuff: "Shen Kua, Lu Hui-ch'ing, Wang Ts'un-chung, and Li Chi-fu were discussing poetry at night in the study during the Chih-p'ing period (1064-68). Shen Kua said: 'Han Yu's poems are just prose with rhymes stuck in, and although they may be powerful and rich, they just aren't poetry.' Li Chi-fu replied: 'Poetry ought to be just this way. I say that there are no poets equal to Han Yu.' . . . Thereupon the four men argued back and forth, and for a long time could reach no decision." Thus, the argument about Han's use of prose methods in poetry has continued on down into the twentieth century.

In addition to being criticized for its prose-like qualities, Han Yu's verse was violently attacked because of the weirdness of its language and subject matter. Wang Fu-chih, the famous early Ch'ing philosopher, critic, and poet, summarized much of the criticism of Han Yu by his contemporaries: "Han Yu, employing narrow rhymes, strange words, ancient sentences, and dialect language, could boast of his cleverness in fitting a poem together.
He certainly was very clever, but as far as feeling is concerned, he was entirely without accomplishments. His poems are drinking riddles and nothing more. However, some critics did not follow the majority in their ridicule of the strangeness of Han Yu's verse, and Yeh Hsieh blasted those who opposed Han Yu's reforms in verse: "Vulgar scholars say that Han Yu greatly altered the style of Han, Wei, and Ascendant T'ang, and cackling away they disapprove of this. How are they different from one who lives in the hole of an earthworm and being used to hearing its long call, is startled when he hears the ringing of a giant bell.... Han said that he strove to do away with old cliches, thinking that the cliches of the times were very harmful.... and yet vulgar scholars happily worship the old cliches which Han Yu cursed, thinking them to be secrets to be taught to one another. Is not this pitiable? Thus the battle over the weird language and subject matter of Han's poetry has continued down until modern times.

Although it is impossible to resolve a conflict that has been raging on and off for over a thousand years, a twentieth century westerner is greatly tempted to add his own evaluation of Han Yu's poetry to the huge mass of criticism already existing. The principal argument advanced against Han Yu's verse by unfavorable critics is that it does not read like "poetry," that is, it does not conform to the standards of poetry developed by Chinese writers prior to middle T'ang times. Thus, the criticism against
Han Yü is based largely on the conservative argument that something which departs too widely from the norm of the past is unacceptable. The strongest opponents of Han Yü's innovations were the poets and critics of the first two-thirds of the Ming dynasty, which was a period noted for its conservatism and imitation of antiquity in not only poetry but other arts such as painting and calligraphy. In fact, such conservatives as Han's inveterate foe, Wang Shih-chen advocated a return to the style of the Ascendant T'ang and scornfully dismissed most of the verse written after that time. It was inevitable that such authors would reject the originality in form and subject matter which was characteristic of Han's writing.

On the whole, one finds that those critics who approved of Han's adventures in the realm of poetry were themselves innovators and frequently among the most original poets of their age. Such Ch'ing poets as Yuan Mei and Chao Yi regarded Han Yü very highly, possibly because they too were opposed to the stifling effects of Chinese conservatism in the arts and attempted to break out of the narrow limits in which the conservative poetry of their age was written. Such writers as Yuan Mei, and Chao Yi no doubt felt great pleasure when reading the works of a man who battled against the same tendency to slavish imitation of the ancients which they themselves were fighting.

In conclusion, it seems very difficult for a modern Westerner to side with the literary conservatives of Ming
times in their attack against Han Yu's verse. The argument that poetry is not good if it does not conform to ancient standards has been long discredited in our civilization just as it was by Ch'ing and modern Chinese poets, and even those who find Han Yu's verse difficult to appreciate cannot fail to acknowledge his extreme originality.
List of Official Titles

Magistrate of Wu Ch'ang  武昌令
Attendant Gentleman of the Board of Rites 礼部侍郎
Broad Scholar of the Four Gates 四门博士
Imperial Secretary of Investigation 监察御史
Magistrate of Yang Shan  阳山令
Kuo-tzu Broad Scholar 國子博士
Magistrate of Honan County 河南令
Attendant Gentleman of the Board of Punishments 刑部侍郎
Attendant Gentleman of the Board of War 兵部侍郎
Attendant Gentleman of the Board of Officials 吏部侍郎
Governor of the Capital  高兆尹
Exalted Scribe of the Board of Rites 礼部尚书
An Lu-shan 安禄山
Chang Ch'e 張徳
Chang Chi 張籍
Ch'ang-li 昌黎
Ch'ao Chou 朝州
Ch'en Hung-chih 陳弘志
Cheng Ch'en Lun 陳確論
Ch'ing Kuan 擺觀
Ch'i Yen Lu 旖顏錫
Chia Tao 鳳安
Chien An 建安
Chih Yen 嗣言
Ching An 景安
Chu Hsi 曹思
Ch'uan Ch'i 軒奇
Ch'un Pu Chien 春浦見
Fa Tsang 法藏
Fan Yang 法陽
Fo Suo Hsing Tsuan 佛所行藏
Feng Hsiang 鳳翔
Fu 賦
Han Chung-ch'ing 韓仲卿
Han Hui 韓會
Han Shan 寒山
Han Wu Ti 漢武帝
Han Wu Ti Nei Chuan 漢武帝內傳
Han Yü 韓愈
Han Yün-ch'ing 韓雲卿
Hou Ching 侯景
Hou Sou Shen Chi 後搜神記
hou t'ou 後頭
Hsi K'un 西昆
Hsi Wang Mu 西王母
Hsiao Lin 笑林
Hsiao Ying-shih 蕭穎士
Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運
Hsien Tsung 憲宗
hsien wen yeh erh ch'ien 贊聞詠遷
hsing 興
Hsün Chi 荀濟
Hua Chien Chi 華顒集
hua chien i hu chiu 華顒集餘
Hu & Yen Ching 華與秦
Huai Hsi 淮西
Huang-fu Shih 黃甫湜
Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅
Hui 惠
Hui Pien 謹辯
huo 或
Kan Lu 甘露
Ko Hung 葛洪
K'ou Ch'ien-chih
K'ou t'ou
Ku shih
Kuai t'ı shih
K'ung Ch'ıeh Tung Nan Fei

Li Ao
Li Cheng-feng
Li Fu-yen
Li Ho
Li Hua
Li Hsi-chih
Liang Su
Liang Wu Ti
Lien chü
Ling Kui Chih
Liu Ch'a
Liu K'ai
Liu Tsung-yuan
Liu Yi-ch'ing
Liu Yu-hsi
Lo Pin-wang
Lu Ch'ang-yuan
Lu Chao-lin
Lu T'ung
Lu shih
Lu Wen
Ma Yi 馬異
Mei Yao-ch'en 梅堯臣
Meng Chiao 盧敘
Mou-tzu Li Huo Lun 牟子理惑論
Mu Lan Tzu'u 木蘭辭
Mu Hsiu 穆修
Mu Tsung 穆宗
nai i lung i chu 也一龍一鶻
Nan Yang 南陽
Ming Wu 麟武
Niu Seng-Ju 牛僧孺
Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修
P'an Te-yü 潘德舆
Pei Cheng Shih 北征詩
pei shih 厭愛
P'ei Tu 襄夜
pi 此
pi chi 筆記
Pien Chou Luan 汴州亂
p'ien wen 變文
p'd'en wen 並文
Po Ch'i-yi 白居易
shan-shui 山川
Shao Chou 韶州
Shen Kua 沈括
Shen Ya-chih
Shih Ch'ao Nan T'o
Shih Pin
Shih Shuo
Shih Shuo Hsin Yu
Shih t'ou
Shun Tsung
Sou Shen Chi
Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju
Ssu-ma Kuang
Su Ch'ie
Su Hsin
Su Shih
Su Shun-ch'in
Sung Ch'i
Ta Liang
T'ian Wu Ch'ian
T'ao Ch'ien
Te Tsung
Ti Ch'i
T'ien Ting
Ts'ao Chih
Tseng Kung
Tu Fu
Tu-ku Chi
Tung Chin
Tung Chung-shu
T'ui-chih 退之
Tzu Chih T'ung Chien 志治通鑑
Wang An-shih 王安石
Wang Fu-chih 王夫之
Wang Po 王勃
Wang Shih-chen 王世貞
Wang Shu-wen 王叔文
Wang T'ing-ts'ou 王庭寜
Wang T'ung 王通
Wang Wei 王維
Wang Yai 王涯
Wang Yu-ch'eng 王禹偁
Wei Chih-yi 韋執著
Wen Ch'ang 文昌
Wu K'ang 武康
Wu Yüan-ch'i 吳元濟
Yang Chiung 楊炯
Yang Hsiung 楊雄
Yang Shan 楊山
Yang Yi 楊豊
Yeh Hsieh 葉 İş
Yü-hsien shih 余慶盛世
Yü, Ch'uan-tzu 広信
Yü Hsin 広信
Yu-tan Hoi 楊元和
Yu-tan Chou 楊州
Yuan Tao
Yuan Ts'ai
Yëeh-fu
Note: To save space complete entries on each work cited have been reserved for the bibliography.
1. Li Po, chüan 13, p. 13.
2. Harada Norio, p. 11.
3. ibid., p. 12.
4. op. cit.
8. Harada Norio, p. 15.
9. Ou-yang Hsiu and Sung Ch'i, chüan 176, p. 4050.
13. Ou-yang Hsiu and Sung Ch'i, chüan 176, p. 4051.
15. Ou-yang Hsiu and Sung Ch'i, chüan 176, p. 4052.
16. Liu Hsi, chüan 176, p. 4051.
17. Ou-yang Hsiu and Sung Ch'i, chüan 176, p. 4052.
18. ibid., chüan 176, p. 4051.
20. Seng Yu comp., chüan 1, Taisho 52, 2bc.
22. Han Yu (1), chüan 8, p. 354.
23. ibid., chüan 1, p. 7.
24. Han Yu, (2), chüan 2, p. 91.
26. Quoted in Han Yu (2), chüan 1, p. 61.
27. Ch'en, Kenneth, p. 315.
29. Ou-yang Hsiu and Sung Ch'i, chhtan 176, p. 4052.
30. P'an Te-yü, chhtan 8, p. 5.
31. Han Yu (1), chhtan 1, p. 8.
32. ibid., chhtan 1, p. 9.
33. ibid., chhtan 1, p. 10.
34. ibid., chhtan 1, p. 8.
35. See Cheng Chen-to, vol. 2, pp. 233-34.
36. There are many p'ien-wen works scattered throughout Su Shih's collected prose; for example, "Ch'i Chiao Cheng Chou I Cha-tzu in Su Shih (1), chhtan 34, p. 218.
37. Wang Po, chhtan 5, p. 49.
38. Wang T'ung., chhtan 1, p. 4.
42. ibid., chhtan 4, p. 152.
43. ibid., chhtan 3, p. 102.
44. ibid., chhtan 1, p. 7.
45. ibid., chhtan 2, p. 62.
46. ibid., chhtan 1, p. 24.
47. ibid., chhtan 3, p. 123.
48. ibid., chhtan 4, p. 147.
49. ibid., chhtan 8, p. 329.
50. Han Yu (2), chhtan 7, p. 364.
51. ibid., chhtan 8, p. 396.
52. ibid., chhtan 3, p. 123.
53. ibid., chhtan 11, p. 501.
54. ibid., ch'tan 7, p. 326.
55. ibid., ch'tan 7, p. 326.
56. ibid., ch'tan 6, p. 299.
57. Three early examples of linked verses are to be found in Pao Chao, ch'tan 4, pp. 171-173.
58. Han Yu (2), ch'tan 5, p. 214.
59. Hu Tzu, ch'tan 18, p. 117.
60. Han Yu (2),ch'tan 6, p. 273.
61. For example Po Chü-ê-yî uses this device in his "The White-Haired Man from Shang-yang," Po Chü-ê-yî, ch'tan 3, p. 31.
62. Han Yu (2), ch'tan 7, p. 326.
63. ibid., ch'tan 1, p. 38.
64. Li Po, ch'tan 23, p. 108.
65. Han Yu (2), ch'tan 6, p. 293.
66. ibid., ch'tan 9, p. 445.
67. Chung Jung, ch'tan 1, p. 4.
68. Han Yu (2), ch'tan 6, p. 293.
69. ibid., ch'tan 7, p. 364.
70. ibid., ch'tan 3, p. 124.
71. ibid., ch'tan 7, p. 326.
72. ibid., ch'tan 7, p. 364.
73. ibid., ch'tan 6, p. 293.
74. ibid., ch'tan 7, p. 326.
76. Lu Hsun, p. 52.
77. Edited from Shen Ya-chê's complete works and other sources in Wang Kuo-yüan ed.
78. Both of these works are now found scattered throughout the T'ai P'ing Kuang Chi, Li Fang et al.
79. Pan Ku attributed, p. 1, but not in present version.

80. Probably the most famous example of the romantic T'ang novella is the Ying-ying Chuan by Yüan Chen to be found in Li Fang et. al., chüan 488.

81. See Hawkes pp. 35-36 for a discussion of the mythological background of the Ch'u Tz'u.

82. An example of such a poem would be Po Chü-yi's "The Dragon of the Black Lake" in Po Chü-yi, p. 44.

83. Han Yu (2), chüan 7, p. 326.

84. ibid., chüan 2, p. 116.

85. ibid., chüan 9, p. 451.

86. ibid., chüan 6, p. 283.

87. ibid., chüan 6, p. 293.

88. ibid., chüan 7, p. 326.

89. ibid., chüan 6, p. 293.

90. ibid., chüan 8, p. 396.

91. ibid., chüan 6, p. 293.

92. ibid., chüan 1, p. 38.

93. Han Yu (1), chüan 8, p. 329.

94. ibid., chüan 7, p. 280.

95. Han Yu (2), chüan 7, p. 364.

96. ibid., chüan 3, p. 123.

97. ibid., chüan 11, p. 501.

98. Lu Hstn, p. 74.

99. ibid., pp. 79-83.

100. Po Chü-yi, p. 44.

101. Tu Fu, chüan 1, p. 89.

102. Han Yu (2), chüan 6, p. 293.

103. ibid., chüan 11, p. 501.
104. ibid., chitan 8, p. 396.
105. ibid., chitan 6, p. 289.
106. ibid., chitan 2, p. 81.
107. ibid., chitan 6, p. 293.
108. ibid., chitan 3, p. 123.
110. ibid., chitan 6, p. 289.
111. ibid., chitan 7, p. 326.
112. ibid., chitan 7, p. 364.
113. ibid., chitan , p. 75.
114. ibid., chitan 2, p. 116.
115. ibid., chitan 3, p. 123.
116. ibid., chitan 11, p. 482.
117. ibid., chitan 7, p. 345.
118. ibid., chitan 1, p. 38.
119. ibid., chitan 8, p. 396.
120. ibid., chitan 6, p. 293.
121. ibid., chitan 7, p. 326.
122. ibid., chitan 1, p. 38.
123. ibid., chitan 2, p. 81.
124. ibid., chitan 6, p. 283.
125. ibid., chitan 6, p. 293.
126. ibid., chitan 2, p. 81.
127. ibid., chitan 7, p. 326.
128. ibid., chitan 7, p. 364.
129. ibid., chitan 11, p. 482.
130. ibid., chitan 7, p. 345.
131. ibid., chapter 4, p. 194.
132. T' an Wu Ch' an tr., Taisho, 4, 25c.
134. An example is in Shih Ch'a Nan T'o, Taisho, 10, 74bc.
137. ibid., chapter 2, pp. 216-231.
138. ibid., chapter 3, pp. 249-262.
139. Chao Yi, chapter 3, p. 28.
140. Graham, A.C., p. 39.
141. Tu Fu, chapter 4, pp. 183-185.
142. Han Yu (2), chapter 1, p. 35.
143. A particularly famous example of this tendency in Tu Fu's late verse is his highly emotional "On Climbing the Tower of Yüeh-yang" in Tu Fu, chapter 19, p. 702.
144. Cheng Chen-to, pp. 356-359.
145. An excellent example is Yüan's highly unusual work, "The Tao of Man is Short," in Yüan Chen, chapter 23, p. 85.
146. See P' eng Ting-shui et al. ed., Ch' uan T' ang Shih, chapter 14 for remaining works of Li Ch'a and Ma Yi.
147. Arai Ken, pp. 52-95.
149. Meng Chiao, chapter 4, p. 1.
151. Lu T' ung, chapter 1, p. 2.
152. Graham, A.C., p. 81.
153. Lu T' ung, chapter 1, p. 6.
155. Hsin Wen-fang, chtān 5, p. 76.
157. Han Yū (1), chtān 1, p. 34.
159. Li Ho, chtān 4, p. 154.
162. ibid., p. 56-59.
164. Ou-yang Hsiu, chtān 23, pp. 536.
165. ibid., chtān 9, p. 60.
166. Mei Yao-ch’en, chtān 11, p. 7.
167. ibid., chtān 25, p. 6.
168. ibid., chtān 27, p. 6.
169. ibid., chtān 1, p. 2.
171. ibid., chtān 4, p. 29.
173. Yeh Hsieh, chtān 1, p. 5.
174. Ch’en Shih Tao, p. 2.
175. Hui Hung, chtān 2, p. 10.
176. Wang Fu-chih, chtān 1, p. 5.
177. Yeh Hsieh, chtān 1, p. 5.
179. Cited in Han Yū (2), chtān 6, p. 291.
180. op. cit.
The Ballad of Oh! Master Tung

The Huai River rises in the T'ung Po Mountains; it races far to the east a thousand miles, never stopping. The Fei River comes out at its side, but it can't go a thousand miles, for it enters the Huai's current after a hundred. In Shou-chou is the county An-feng; in the Chen Yüan period of T'ang, a country man, Tung Shao-nan, lived as a recluse there, practicing righteousness. The prefect didn't recommend him, so the emperor never heard of his fame. Rank and salary never came to his gate; outside there were only officials, who came daily to collect rend and demand money. Oh! Alas! Master Tung went out to plow at dawn, and returned to read the ancients' books at night. He didn't get any rest all day, for sometimes he cut wood in the hills, and sometimes fished in the streams. He entered the kitchen to cook tasty morsels, and ascended the hall to ask his parents' health. His father and mother were not worried; his wife and children did not sigh. Oh! Master Tung was loving and filial,
But he was not famed among men.
Only Old Man Heaven knew of him,7
And sent down good omens all the time.

In their home was a mother dog that went out to find food,
So hens came to feed her puppies.
Peck, peck, they picked up insects and ants in the courtyard,
But when the puppies wouldn't eat, they cackled sadly.
They hesitated long, refusing to leave,
And used their wings to shelter the pups, waiting the
mother's return.8

Ah! Master Tung
Who is a match for you?
In this age
Husband and wife mistreat each other, younger and elder
brother are enemies.
They feed on their prince's salary,
Yet make their parents sad.
Why are you so different from them?
Ah! Master Tung, no one is a match for you!
This work (799) is a strange mixture of the Confucian ideal of filial piety and popular religious beliefs about omens. The Chinese literati always idealized the virtuous man who lived alone, unrecognized by those in power and not seeking high position for himself. Although it seems dubious that Han Yu took the superstitions in this poem seriously, he very likely saw a parallel between Tung Shao-nan's frustration at not being able to serve in the government and his own frustration in official life.

1. Tung Shao-nan, a recluse in Shou-chou acquired his chin-shih degree, but never held any high public office.

2. The Huai River arises in the T'ung Po Mountains and after receiving water from the Ju, Ying, and Fei Rivers passes through Anhui and Kiangsu provinces. In T'ang times it emptied toward the east into the ocean, but after a change in course of the Yellow River, it now accumulates inland and eventually flows into the Yangtze through a number of channels.

3. The T'ung Po Mountains are located in modern T'ung Po county in Honan province.

4. The Fei River arises in Hofei county of Anhui province, and one branch of it flows into the Huai River.

5. Shou-chou was first set up in Sui times and continued under T'ang in modern Anhui province. An-feng county is near present Huo Ch'iu county in Anhui.
6. Chen Yüan (True Principal) reign period of Te Tsung lasted from 780-804.
7. Old Man Heaven is the God of popular Chinese religion.
8. This is similar to a story about a certain Kuo Shih-chtin, who was so filial that dogs and pigs ate together and ravens and magpies nested together, thus, demonstrating that God was pleased by the harmony of his household. Pei Shih, "Hsiao Yi Chuan."
四时各分，天象分明。四时之气，各有不同，不可不知。天道循环，不可更改。天时不可为，人事可为。

日月星辰，各有定位。日出东方，月出西方。太阳东升，月亮西落。

宇宙，行秋而落，行冬而生。日月星辰，各有其道。

日月俱不入地，万物不生。
當有人問及此等事時，但除勉強自己外，亦難免答道，此意不知巧言之過。今，虛空比之無生，故無之無生，復比無生，復復比之，此莫非可比之言乎？今，以為此等事亦為何？因不知以之為。
I Complain of the Cold

The four seasons are equally divided;¹
One season can't monopolize the others.
Yet the Great Cold snatches away Spring's turn,
And the God of Winter is not restrained.²
The Spring God slackens his nets;³
Afraid to flee, he stands by shyly.
Deep down in the Yellow Springs,
The young sprouts die while still curled and pointed.
Grasses and trees don't grow again,
And the hundred flavors lose their taste.
A fierce whirlwind stirs the universe,
Its keen blade cutting and piercing.
Though we say sun and moon are exalted,
They cannot revive their ravens and toads.⁴
When Hsi Ho sends the sun out,⁵
He is apprehensive and first looks around.
The Flaming Emperor⁶ along with Chu Jung,⁷
Huffing and puffing, can't warm one another.
And at such a time as this,
How can I receive their gracious light?
My flesh grows scales and armor,
And my clothes feel like knife and sickle.
The air is so cold my nose can't smell;
My blood's frozen, so my fingers can't pluck.
I pour boiled spirits down my throat,
Yet my mouth feels like it's stuck with tongs.
When I take up spoon and chopsticks to eat,
They hit my fingers like a bamboo comb.
Nearing the oven, I feel no heat,
Though I've added blazing coals several times.
Reaching for hot water is of no use,
So what value are floss and silk?
Tiger and panther stiffen in their caves;
Dragons and serpents die in seclusion.
The planet Mars is lost in its orbit, 8
And the six dragon's mustaches go bald from the ice.
Within the vast and limitless universe, 9
I fear all living things will be destroyed.
Chirp! Chirp! The small sparrow by the window
Does not know he is small and insignificant.
He raises his head and cries, looking to Heaven;
All he desires is to extend his life a moment.
Best that he die by the shot of a crossbow,
Then he can be warmed by baking and boiling.
If the phoenix emperor himself cannot survive,
You sparrows are certainly not important.
The rest of the wriggling and squirming creatures
Will all die; for who will pity them?
And I am supposed to be most intelligent of all, 10
Yet I can't give shelter to them.
So sad that I am stirred to anger and sighing,
I cannot quiet the five vital organs.
At midnight I stand by the wall;
How freely my tears flow:
O! Heaven, pity those without crime!
Favor us by taking a look:
Lift up your cap-tasses and take out your ear plugs; 11
For harmony the plum and salt are best;
Let the noble and able be daily advanced;
And dismiss the haughty and crafty.
Make a wind to blow away the vapor of death;
Let all be opened up as if a curtain were raised.
The hanging icicles will melt and fall,
And the morning rays will enter the eaves.
Snow and frost will suddenly melt,
The earth's veins fertile and smooth.
Why let only the orchids proper? 12
Help the mugwort and rushes, too.
I will walk by flowers lustrous in the sun,
And sit by branches gently swaying in the wind.
If, O Heaven, you can do this,
I'll be happy even if I die.
As with all of Han's works, this poem, which was composed in 803, may possibly be a political allegory, the cold weather representing powerful ministers who have seized authority not belonging to them, which results in disaster for the empire. But since there is a long tradition of poems lamenting the cold weather in Chinese poetry, it is more likely that this poem is concerned with the personal disappointments of the author and his pessimistic view of the hostility of nature to man and beast.

1. "Imperial Heaven has evenly divided the four seasons." Ch'u Tz'u.

2. Ch'uan Suo is the god of winter and the grandson of the Yellow Emperor.

3. T'ai Ha is the god of the three spring months.

4. The raven is the bird of the sun (black sunspots), and the toad resides on the moon.

5. Hsi Ho is the charioteer of the sun.

6. Yen Ti is another name for Shen Nung, mythical emperor of China and also ruler of the summer months.

7. Chu Jung, who was another ancient emperor, was the god of fire and also presided over the summer months.

8. "Ying Huo (Mars) is called the fire of the south." Shih-Chi, "T'ien Kuan Shu."

9. Ta pao or, literally 'The Great Wrapper' is another word for the universe.

10. "Man is the most spiritual of the myriad things." Shu Ching.
11. The crowns of ancient Chinese rulers had tassles hanging down from them, which in this case block God's vision, so that he cannot see the plight of the world. The erh kuang or jade earplugs were a common ornament among the nobility of Chou times, judging from the frequent references in the Shih Ching and would quite effectively block out God's hearing of the complaints of his subordinates.

12. Orchids are the most noble of plants in China, and are frequently used in the Ch'u Tz'u to symbolize men of high character.
落

落言

落言

落言

落言
Falling Teeth

Last year a back tooth fell,
While this year a front one fell,
Suddenly I lost six or seven,
And it's clear they haven't stopped dropping yet.
Those remaining are all wobbly and loose,
Which will only stop when they all fall out.

I remember that when the first one fell,
I thought the gap in my teeth was shameful.
But when two or three had dropped out,
I was worried that I was old and soon to die.
Each time when one was about to fall,
I quaked and shuddered, hoping it would stop.
Gapped teeth hinder me in eating;
Loose teeth make me fear rinsing my mouth.
But when they finally forsake me and fall out,
It is the same as a mountain collapsing.
Recently I've become used to them falling out;
I watch them fall, empty and all alike.
There are still some twenty left,
Yet I know they'll all fall out in time.
So if one falls each year on the average,
There are still enough left to last twenty years.
But if they all drop out at once,
It would be the same as falling out gradually.
People say that when ones teeth fall,
He can't be certain of a long life.
I say our lives all have limits,\textsuperscript{6}
Whether long or short, we all die anyway.
They say that when one has gaps in his teeth,
Those around him will view them with alarm.
But I say it is said by Chuang Chou
That the tree and goose each has its joy.\textsuperscript{7}
My speech is garbled, but silence is good;
My chewing useless, but soft food still tasty.
So I sing a song and write down this poem,
And take it to scare my wife and kids.\textsuperscript{8}
The poem "Falling Teeth," which was written in the year 803, is interesting in the very different attitude which it expresses toward the aging process than is normally encountered in Chinese literature. In most verse from the Chien An period onward, old age is viewed with great trepidation, and many poets begin to complain of their white hairs while still young. By the time of Han Yu, complaint about ones old age had become one of the most tiring of cliches in Chinese poetry, and it is refreshing to see the very original light in which the author views his own aging as symbolized in the falling out of his teeth. Incidentally, if one reads this poem carefully he can denote a sense of tragedy much greater than in all the whining about old age in previous poetry.

1. The binome lin lin which means 'shuddering' is first encountered in the Shu Ching, "T'ai Shih." The entire line is quite difficult to interpret, for it one says that the final word i is merely a particle, then the sense would be that his shuddering is always present. If the word i means 'stopping,' then the line means he is always concerned for the falling of his teeth to stop.

2. The words ch'a ya have two possible translations. It is conceivable that they may be a rhyming binome, the meaning of which is 'serrated' or 'uneven.' It is also possible that ch'a is simply an adjective describing ya, as I have translated it here.
3. Tien tao literally means 'upside down' and is first used in the *Book of Songs* to describe a man who puts his clothes on upside down. *Shih Ching*, "Kuo Feng."

4. A chi is actually a period of twelve years, and since Han has only twenty teeth left, arithmetic must not have been his forte.

5. Chih is most likely used here for the word without radical sixty-four.

6. Ya is the limit of a body of water; i.e., the shore. This expression comes from *Chuangtzu*, "Yang Sheng P'ien."

7. This tale is also from *Chuangtzu*, which Ware translates as follows: "When Chuang Chou was on a mountain, he noticed a tree with luxuriant branches and leaves. A woodsman stopped by it, but did not choose it, and when asked why replied, 'It's worthless.' Chuang Chou then remarked, 'This tree is succeeding in living out its natural life because it has no quality.' On leaving the mountain, our master stayed at the house of a friend, who was so happy that he instructed his servant to kill a goose and roast it. The servant then said, 'One of them can cackle, but the other cannot. Which shall I kill?' "Kill the one that cannot cackle.'" *Chuangtzu*, "Shan Mu."

8. The earliest meaning of the word ch'a in the *Tzu Hst Fu* of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju is 'boast.' One also finds that the word means 'inform' or 'surprise.' Thus, one may choose any interpretation he wishes for this line.
I Reprimand the Malaria Demon

The soul of the Water Emperor has long vanished;
Faded, faded, no brilliance remains.
How is it that you, his unworthy son,
Still stir up fear of the malaria demon?
In Autumn you give rise to chill and fever,
So old men and women curse and damn you.
You seek food in the midst of vomit and diarrhoea,
Not knowing that stench and filth are bad.

The medicine man adds the hundred poisons;
His fumigating and rinsing never stop.
The cauterizer applies his moxa wicks,
As cruel as hunting fires surrounding a beast.
The exorciser has poison mouth and fangs;
His tongue flies along as fast as lightning.
The charm maker plays with his knife and brush;
Cinnabar and ink splatter this way and that.

Ah! The gate of your ancestors and forbears
Towers above so lofty, lofty.
Your grandfather was Hsuan and your father Hsu,
Whose former glory is not yet exhausted.
Yet you do not act with restraint;
Few are so low and mean as you.
Aren't you ashamed to face your ancestors,
So impudent you don't know enough to go home?
Limpid, limpid are the Chiang's clear waters;
Return home and bring comfort to your wife!
The clear waves will be your robes and raiment,
White rocks, your gate and threshold.
You will breathe the light of the bright moon,
And your hand will swing the lotus banners.⁹
Descending and perching, you follow the Nine Songs;¹⁰
You drink of fragrance and eat aromatics.¹¹
I present you with this good advice:
Beat it! And don't ever come back!¹²
This work, (805), is very interesting for it is a parody on the "Nine Songs" of the Chʻu Tʻu. In the original poems, the object of the poet is to attract the spirits to come and enjoy the sacrifice, but in Han's work the purpose is to drive the spirit away.

1. It is impossible to determine what specific disease is meant by the word nüeh, but from the Shuo Wen onward it is described as some form of intermittent fever, and today it is used for the disease malaria. The malaria demon was one of the three children of the mythical emperor Chuan Hsü and was said to reside in the Chiang River.

2. Chuan Hsü, the Water Emperor referred to here, was the ruler of the northern waters, grandson of the Yellow Emperor, and father of the malaria demon.

3. The pai tu or 'hundred poisons' are those medicines of particular potency.

4. In traditional Chinese medical practice the cauterizer sticks hot pins into certain points of the skin, in the belief that contact with specific points could cure certain diseases. The doctor also burned moxa wicks on the patient's skin to produce a similar effect.

5. In China as in the West incantations were used to drive away the evil spirits believed to cause certain diseases.

6. Taoist priests were specialists in the drawing of a large variety of charms for different purposes. One of the earliest full accounts of this practice is contained in the Pao Pʻutzu, "Ju Shan Fu," where Ko Hung describes a number of charms
useful in driving off the evil spirits that the Taoist adept encounters when he enters the mountains to meditate. Usually these charms were highly distorted Chinese characters and were written with both ink and cinnabar.

7. Hsüan Yüan is the personal appellation of the Yellow Emperor.

8. Hsū is the second syllable of the name Chuan Hsū, father of the malaria demon.

9. Lotus banners are mentioned in the "Nine Songs" of the Ch'ū Tz'u and were used in the shamanistic rites for summoning spirits.

10. The "Nine Songs" of the Ch'ū Tz'u were used to summon spirits in shamanistic rites.

11. The words fang and fei commonly occur in the Ch'ū Tz'u and are said by the commentator Wang Yi to be symbolic of virtuous men. Fang is the fragrance of plants which the word fei probably referred to some specific plant, the identity of which is conjectural now.

12. The word tuo is probably the correct version here, and it is likely that it was changed to the tamer ch'ū by some copyist who disliked Han's unconventional language.
Linked Verses on a Cockfight

The large cock comes along proudly,  
While the small one waits trembling.  
One towers above, puffed with pride;  
Washed and brushed his fresh brilliance stiffens.  
The other peers to one side as he awaits the danger,  
And the rays of their eyes flash back and forth.  
Minds occupied with swords and halberds,  
They use their combs for helmets.  
The season is pure and cool,  
While the ground is open and high.  
Spreading feathers they shudder as if cold;  
Their bulging throats vie in swelling.  
Suddenly a breast is lowered,  
And their stances change with the wink of an eye.  
Bam! Bang! The sound of battle roars forth;  
Fluttering white feathers fall in disorder.  
A short pause, the event is still undecided;  
A small setback, and strength redoubles.  
Their jealous natures are devoted to life and death struggle;  
With love of murder they specialize in slaughtering one another.  
Tearing at the blood, they lose their voices,  
Pecking at the crimson as if they were famished.  
Rising opposite, how tense and exciting!  
Whirling suddenly, what a clever trick!  
Their cruel hand would have satiated Li Yang,  
And their spirit bludgeons would have distressed Chu Hai.
Of compassionate heart, we take pity on them;  
What crime that they must smash their heads?  
Of course, only one will win,  
So the startled spectators sweat profusely.  
Pleasure moves the faces of those who know the victors;  
Fearing defeat, the others sadly watch their bets.  
They compete to see the contest like clouds filling a road,  
And join in the shouting, waves billowing in the sea.  
The cocks fix their claws, hard to withdraw;  
With infuriated eyes, they never tire.  
One spurt of water and they revive;  
Joining again they hone their weapons.  
Heads hang down with cinnabar combs shredded;  
Wings droop, dragging like brocade ribbon.  
One soars up with his remaining valor;  
Pure and shrill his crowing resembles a victory announcement.  
The victor is moved by the reception of Mao Sui,  
While the loser is shamed by Kuo wei being chosen first.  
A heroic heart loves to die in conflict,  
And noble flesh is ashamed of being slaughtered in the kitchen.  
Just look at this poem on the cockfight;  
Its short rhymes may be of some use.
This poem, which was written in 806, is one of the linked verses which Han Yu wrote in cooperation with his close friend Meng Chiao. As such it is not in Han's usual style most likely because the two authors were vying to see who could write the most refined lines. The subject, cockfighting, was a favorite one with the poets of the North-South period, and cockfighting was a popular sport among the Chinese in T'ang times as it is today. Probably the most famous poem on this subject is a shih written by the greatest poet of the Chien An period, Ts'ao Chih, which has been skilfully rendered by Arthur Waley. Basically, Han's and Meng's poem is a much expanded version of Ts'ao's poem, yet it is informative to note the great differences in poetic style resulting from a difference of time of over five hundred years. Ts'ao's work describes a gathering of jaded aristocrats searching for something exciting to lessen their boredom, while Han and Meng depict a group of lower class men who have staked their bets and anxiously watch the outcome of the contest.

1. "The heavenly season is not so important as the advantage of ground, and the advantage of ground is not as important as the harmony of the people." Mencius is rating the relative importance of certain strategic factors in determining the survival of a state, while Han is describing the conditions of battle between the two cocks.

2. The meaning of this line is somewhat dubious, but since chin hsin seems to mean 'shiver,' Han Yu is most likely...
describing the cocks shaking with anger in expectation of the fight.

3. "Formerly Shih Le and Li Yang were neighbors. At harvest they once fought over a hemp field, striking each other a number of times. At this point Shih Le grabbed Li Yang's arm and said, "Formerly I have become fed up with your old fist, but in the future you will become sated by my poison hand."" Chin Shu.

4. Chu Hai was an inhabitant of the nation Wei during the Warring States period. Although he was living as a hermit in the market, he was introduced to Hsin-ling Chün, and became his retainer. When the Ch'in army surrounded the capital of Chao, Hsin-ling Chün wanted to save Chao, but the army of Chin refused to come to the rescue. Thus, he sent Chu Hai to kill the commander of the army with a bludgeon concealed in his sleeves in order to gain control over the soldiers and rescue Chao. The commentators suspect that *shen ch'ui* is a mistake for *hsiu ch'ui* or 'bludgeon concealed in the sleeve,' since this would accord better with the story as found in the *Shih Chi*.

5. The word *shih* should probably have either radical nine or eighteen added to it.

6. Water was sprinkled upon the fighting cocks to revive them.

7. This line is possibly corrupt, and commentators have difficulty in explaining the word *nai*, which seems to affect the meaning little.
8. The words tan sha or 'cinnabar sand' may refer to the redness of the cock's comb or the blood flowing from it.

9. Mao Sui introduced himself to P'ing Yuan Chun when the prince was looking for retainers to help him seek an alliance with the state of Ch'U. Although ridiculed at first, Mao was received by the prince, and when the embassy reached Ch'U, Mao convinced its king of the necessity of alliance by means of his oratorical skill. Shih Chi, chuan 77.

10. "Kuo Wei told King Chao of Yen, 'If you really want to attract scholars, you should start with me, for if I am used, how much will those who are nobler than me.' Shih Chi.
天風飄吹我過，壯士少者七言，還自讀書，方當，非少者，四字，則是通幽人，以詩語之，故不復今第二句，方東明昭晉，雲云。
Recording a Dream

At night I dreamed a heavenly officer spoke with me
About the Tao’s miracles in detail, starting with the
Horn and Root.¹
He expounded on the cardinal points, his mouth flowing over,²
And one hundred twenty minutes passed in a flash.³
I still was not satisfied with hearing his speech,
When he left us crossing the mountain’s slope.
The three of us chased him together,
One man passing in front without danger.
I also walked sure-footed, skipping the hazards and perils;
Mind unworried, body nimble, my feet didn’t even shake.
I turned my body and gazed into the darkness of the gorges
and valleys,
When my cane struck a jade board going bong! bong!⁴
The spirit officer looked at me, his face breaking into a
smile;
In front I faced a man whose age wasn’t small.
One could sit on the stone altar, gently sloping;
With hand supporting chin, I propped my elbows on the seat.
Soaring towers and mighty pavilions rose into the sky,
While a heavenly wind floating along blew past me.
The man who was not young recited seven words,
Six of which were ordinary speech but one of which was hard.
With my fingers I pinched off some white jade and cinnabar,⁵
Chewing it while I questioned and examined him.
The second verse was cut off before it left his mouth,
And he looked at me harshly, his face unhappy.
Then I knew that this immortal was not yet wise and sagely; Guarding his faults, he used my ignorance to invite respect. I am already able to compromise myself to live in the World. So why should I follow you and hide in spirit mountains?
In this work (807), Han Yu is on the surface making fun of the Taoist religion, and, in particular, of the belief in immortals and elixirs for long life. What is so fascinating about this work is that it is a perfect description of a dream, for the way in which Han races along in pursuit of the immortal with his feet barely touching the ground is exactly the feeling one has when dreaming. Also, the entirely irrational nature of the poem possesses an almost surrealistic, nightmarish quality rarely encountered before in Chinese verse. His final rejection of the imposter immortal brings him back to the world of Confucian reality.

1. Chiao 'Horn' and Ken 'Root' are both constellations which corresponds to the positions ch'en and mao. The immortal is beginning his discourse with a lesson on astrology.

2. The four wei are equivalent to the four directions northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest, while the four corners refer to the four cardinal directions.

3. In T'ang China time was usually kept by a clepsydra, and the night was divided into one hundred twenty k'e.

4. The yu pan is most likely a board in the Gate of Heaven.

5. Pai yu tan or white jade cinnabar is some form of the elixir of life. Jade had magical qualities from the earliest times in China, and many of the articles used in temple ritual were of jade. Its hardness no doubt also contributed
to the idea that it could prolong life. Cinnabar was used in many Chinese alchemical operations because it could be easily transformed into mercury by the application of heat, and the alchemists, thus, thought that it was a key to the basic transformations of creation. In addition, cinnabar is colored red, the color of blood and of life to the Chinese.
A Satire on Snoring

When Master T'an sleeps during the day,\(^1\)
The sound of his snoring is so crude!
A perverse wind blows forth from his lard,
While ravines and valleys are raised up loftily.
His wild roaring is suddenly smothered,
But with each breath it becomes stronger and stronger.
It is like a ghost in Avici Hell,\(^2\)
Howling in pain from the host of his sins.
Horses and cattle, startled, will not eat,
While demons gather, waiting to seize him.
His woodspillbox spirits ross wise,\(^3\)
And the mirror grows ulcers and tumors.
Hearing him, the iron Buddha knits his brows,
And the stone man's legs shudder and shake.
Who says Earth and Heaven are merciful?
I wish to scold our True Lord.\(^4\)
Lice hide in his ears to find seclusion,
Yet waves crash violently on the sea.
The Sun cannot bear shining,
For his charioteer is lazy and slothful.\(^5\)
Suddenly the snoring sounds like Peng Yteh\(^6\) and Ch'ing Pu,\(^7\)
Screaming their innocence as they are torn to pieces.\(^8\)
Then like a tiger in a cage,
Crying from wounds and roaring for hunger.
Although you would have Ling Llu play his pipes,\(^9\)
This bitter rhyme is hard to change.
Even if you asked U Hsien to summon him back, His soul would be hard to restore.
What mountain has a divine medicine?
I want to pick it and cure him of snoring.

************
No matter if Mister T'an is sitting or lying, He always can sleep very soundly.
When I heard his snoring once, I feared he would harm his vital organs.
He sounds like the Yellow River gushing forth, Blocked up by a bunch of clumsy Kun's.
The Southern Emperor brandishes his bludgeon Drilling a hole to drain the wild confusion. It shoots out for a great distance, A myriad yards, unable to be measured. And just when one thought it had ended, It continued to flow, on and on. Dark, dark, the inside of his inch-long throat Like a thicket dense with grass and trees. The thieves may be clever and crafty, Yet they fear to peer over his threshold, tho his soul is gone.
His snoring is mixed and confused like the Primal Essence, Phantasmagoras racing about, violent and fierce. Suddenly it sounds like the bickering of an argument, Then abruptly it changes to resentment and anger. I am sorry that the bodies given us are all unique, So there is no way for me to find the cause of this.
How then can I block up the source of his snoring?

Only with a bucket of dirt in his mouth.¹⁴
These two poems, which were probably written in 807, are found in the wai chi of Han Yu's works, and there has been much controversy over whether or not they were actually written by Han. The critic Chou Tzu-chih was among those who believed that these poems are not authentic: "In the lost works of Han Yu transmitted by the world are two poems 'Ch'ao Han Shui.' The language is extremely weird, and Han Yu did not ordinarily use Buddhist terms in writing poetry. . . . It is certain that this is not the work of Han Yu." Chou Tzu-chih made his decision on the basis of the use of Buddhist terminology, but this seems a rather petty view. In Chu Hsi's poetry there is a five character ku-shih entitled 'Getting up in the Morning to Read a Buddhist Sutra,' and he didn't remove this poem. If one does not follow their religion but occasionally uses their language, nothing is lost in the meaning. Moreover, Han was using it to satirize a monk, and what was wrong with him writing that which he knew? One is very much inclined to accept Fang Shih-chü's opinion with regard to the two poems before us, for as we have already shown, the Confucian scholars were always much too eager to disassociate their hero Han Yu from any contact with the Buddhist religion. Although it will be impossible to make a definitive statement on this question until we know more about the origin of the
poems found in the waichi, it seems fairly safe to regard these two works as genuine due to their great similarity in style to the rest of Han Yu's. And even if they are fakes, they are still extremely enjoyable pieces of poetry.

1. Master T'an was an obscure Buddhist monk, whose lay name seems to have been Chu-ke Ch'ueh.

2. A-Pi-Shih is a transliteration of the Sanskrit Avici (literally, 'waveless'), the name of the last and deepest of the eight hot hells where the victims suffer, die, and are instantly reborn to suffer again.

3. It may seem strange that pillows be made of wood, but even today many Chinese peasants prefer to sleep on wooden pillows.

4. Chen Ts'ai or literally 'True Controller' is another name for God which first appears in Chuang-tzu.

5. The feiyü is another name for Hsi Ho, the charioteer of the sun.

6. P'eng Yüeh, whose biography appears in chuan ninety of the Shih Chi, was one of the major contenders in the conflict which led to the establishment of the Han dynasty, and for his great merit in the service of Liu Pang, he was enfeoffed as King of Ling. Later he fell from the imperial favor and was arrested on suspicion of treason after his carriage master slandered him. As a result, he and his entire clan were exterminated and his kingdom abolished.

7. Ch'ing Pu's biography is to be found in chuantan ninety-one of the Shih Chi. His support was a major factor in the
eventual victory of Liu Pang, and he was rewarded with the title King of Huai-nan. When Liu Pang started to eliminate the feudal kings one by one, Ch'ing Pu became afraid that he was next and so rose in revolt against the imperial authority. He was no match for the emperor of China, and when his army was routed, he was murdered by his enemies.

8. **Chu hai** is the famous Chinese method of execution in which the victim is not allowed to die quickly but is slowly hacked to pieces.

9. Ling Lun was supposed to be the inventor of the pitch pipes under the Yellow Emperor.

10. U Hsien was a famous shaman during the time of the Yellow Emperor. References to shamans attempting to call back the spirits of the dead are common in the Ch'u Tz'u literature.

11. The "five organs" are the kidneys, heart, liver, lungs, and gall bladder.

12. Kun was Yü's father and was called upon by Yao to govern the floods which then raged over the earth. He attempted to contain the waters with dams and dykes, and when these broke the conditions became even worse than before. Yü finally solved the problem by digging channels to carry off the excess water.

13. "The Emperor of the South Sea was called Hsiu, the Emperor of the North Sea Hu, and the Emperor of the Center Hun T'un. Once Hsiu and Hu met together at Hun T'un's place,
and Hun T'un treated them so well that Hsiu and Hu planned to repay his favor. They said, 'People all have seven holes in them to see, hear, eat, and breathe, but he alone doesn't have any, so let's try and drill some.' Each day they drilled one hold, and after seven days, Hun T'un died." Chuangtzu. Since the word hun t'un also means 'chaotic,' this line has a double layer of meaning. On the one hand Han Yu is comparing the leaking of the water of Hun T'un's brains gushing out of the holes drilled by his friends, while on the other hand he is saying that the disorder of the flood is equal to the primeval state of chaos.  

14. A pen is a basket used by workmen to carry dirt and other waste.
孟東野

孟東野，字：元和四年（808年）生，今江蘇省宜興市人。唐初詩人，與劉禹錫、柳宗元同稱「三傑」。

東野少孤，母貧，自力以習書。及長，涉經史，尤精於《易》。工詩，以古體見稱，於時稱為「孟東野」。

孟東野詩文倒在中唐，詩風樸實，時號為「唐詩中書」。其詩作多表現懷才不遇的感慨和對現實的悲憤，風格樸實，意境清新。

【代表作】

《鴻雁》

雲外樓台自可人，哪知鴻雁不同音。

《塞下》

塞外秋風動地陰，西園獨宿夜偏深。

《早春》

碧落初晴色未開，誰人步屩度江飛。

《秋日》

秋色滿長河，陰雲鎖遠山。

《早春》

春色滿長河，陰雲鎖遠山。

【生平】

孟東野少孤，母貧，自力以習書。及長，涉經史，尤精於《易》。工詩，以古體見稱，於時稱為「孟東野」。
On Meng Chiao Losing a Son

Meng Chiao begot three children, but after a few days they all died. He was getting old and was saddened, for he thought he would be without descendants. His friend Han Yu of Ch'ang-li was afraid that he would despair too much and used the analogy of Heaven lending our fates to us to instruct him.

"I have lost my son and whom am I to blame? I am going to blame you, Heaven above. You are truly the master of us men below, So why are you so partial in giving and taking? What is there between one man and you, That you make his children abundant and long-lived? What crime does another man have That his child is born and dies in a few days"?

Meng Chiao's cries on high were never unheard; His tears dripped to the ground, soaking the Yellow Springs. The God of Earth became sad for him; Disquieted and disturbed, he was long ill at ease, So he summoned the Great Spirit Turtle, Who rode the clouds and knocked on the Gate of Heaven. He asked God, "You are the master of men below; Why is your disfavor and grace so uneven?"

God said, "Heaven, Earth, and Man Have never been concerned for each other."
I hanged up the sun and the moon,
Tied fast the stars and the signs.
Yet the sun and moon gnaw and nibble each other,⁴
And the stars and signs trip and fall down.⁵
But I do not blame them for this,
For I know they do not determine such things.
Moreover, each thing has its own lot;
Who could have caused it to be so?

To have a child or not to have a child,
Who can fathom the good or bad in this?
The minnows fill their mother's belly,
But who would you have love them one by one?
The fine-waisted wasp does not suckle its young;
Its entire race is forever orphaned.
The owl pecks out its mother's brains;
Only when the mother dies does the child soar.⁶
When the viper bears forth its babes,
They crack and split its intestines and liver.⁷

Although good sons are said to be good,
They never pay back your kindness and labor.
Bad sons are not worth mentioning,
For they are just like the owl and viper.
Even if you have children, do not take joy;
If you lack children, you should not despair.
The best among do not wait to be instructed,
While worthy ones change when they hear advice.
The stupidest ones are confused by your words;
Although you instruct them, they can't be enlightened.

The Great Spirit bowed his head and received these words, and on the same day returned with God's command. The Earth God told the Great Spirit Turtle:

"Go and tell this to that man."

At night Meng Chiao had a dream of a man with black clothes and head cloth. He entered headlong through the window, and three times repeated the words of God. Meng Chiao bowed twice and thanked the man in black, gave up his sadness, and was joyful and glad!
Han's poem was written in the year 808, in the spring of which one of Meng Chiao's sons died. There are a number of poems by Meng Chiao about the loss of his children, all of which are typified by his extremely bitter view of life. On the contrary, Han's poem was obviously meant to be humorous, a fact which contrasts the character of these two poets and close friends. The superficial resemblance of this poem to Job is interesting to note in passing, although in this work God makes more appeal to reason in his message to the afflicted Meng Chiao. The exhortation to Meng to accept his fate is typical of the Chinese attitude toward life in T'ang times.

1. The springs are the *huang ch'üan* or Yellow Springs of the underworld.

2. The God of the Earth is first mentioned in the *Chou Li*. Here, however his name is written Ti Shih rather than Ti Ch'i.

3. Tortoises have had a magical significance in China since the most ancient times. Their shells were used for divination in the Shang dynasty, and the fairy island of P'eng Lai was said to be held up by tortoises. It seems rather odd, however, for a clumsy turtle to be the messenger of the gods.

4. This is obviously a reference to solar and lunar eclipses, which are caused by the juxtaposition of the sun and moon.
5. Here we have a reference to meteors, which as in the West were believed to be stars that fell from heaven.

6. In modern usage the word ch'ih hsiu is the designation of a large number of owls of the genus Bubo or Scops. The Chinese generally believed owls to be evil omens (e.g., the Fu Niao Fu of Chia Yí), and owls were a symbol of unfilial behavior, because the young were supposed to devour their mother.

7. The viper referred to is probably Agkistrodon, a very poisonous snake widely distributed throughout southern China. The young are born alive, and the Chinese believed that the babies' poison burst the intestines of the mother.

8. One name for the tortoise is hsulan i or 'black clothes,' and the messenger in the black robe is the human form of the great turtle spirit. Han very likely took this line from a story in which a tortoise clothed in black appeared in a dream to King Yuan of Sung. Shih Chi, "Kui Ts'e Lieh Chuan."
Poem of the Lunar Eclipse in Imitation of a Work by Lu T'ung

In the fifth year of Yüan Ho\(^1\) when the dipper pierced Tzu,\(^2\)  
At the third watch, the fourteenth of November,\(^3\)  
Thick, thick a myriad trees stood stiffly in the night;  
The cold air was bitter and biting; no wind blew.  
The moon was shaped like a round platter;  
Round, round, she rose in the east.  
Then suddenly a Thing came and devoured her;  
I know not what kind of serpent it was.  
How could the most spiritual of beings  
Suffer such ruinous misfortune?  
The stars came out like scattered sand;  
Crowded together, they vied in brightness.  
The oil lamp does not usually light the mat,  
But tonight it spat out a long rainbow of flames.  

Lu T'ung's tears streamed down as he paced alone in the courtyard,\(^4\)  
And he thought: "The sun and the moon  
Are the eyes of Heaven.  
If they cannot protect themselves,  
How can my Way be practiced?  
I have heard it said by the ancients  
That this is caused by a demon toad.  
A diameter of a thousand miles is stuffed in his belly;\(^5\)  
Where has his ugly body grown up?  
He crawls and creeps; his hands and feet are dull,
So who taught him to climb the blue and boundless?
The Yellow Emperor was four-eyed\textsuperscript{6}
And Shun had double pupils,\textsuperscript{7}
Now Heaven has only two eyes,
So why does he eat one and make Heaven blind in one eye?
Yao called forth the great floods to soak the ten suns;\textsuperscript{8}
He did not care if the babes of all lands be born with fish heads.
If you had eaten suns then,
Who would curse you though you ate eight or nine?
The red dragons and blackbirds would burn your mouth;\textsuperscript{9}
Their feathers and bristles knocking about in your gullet.
Though greedy and gluttonous your belly would have been filled,
So your intestines wouldn't rumble when you split your guts.
Now you must die for eating the moon;
The net of Heaven enshrouds all, where will you hide?"

Lu T'ung stood in the courtyard and spoke:
"I am your lowly vassal T'ung who walks on this earth;
I bow down and presume to inform you, Lord of Heaven,
Your vassal has a one-inch knife,
Which can rend the guts of this fierce toad.
But I have no ladder to ascend to Heaven,\textsuperscript{10}
So there is no way for me to walk the Heavenly Stairs.
I send my petition with the east wind,
Praying he can penetrate the northwest gate of Heaven.
I begged the Eavesdropper not to leak this secret,\textsuperscript{11}
But my luck had it that Fei Lien was lazy.\textsuperscript{12}
In the east is the black-colored dragon,\textsuperscript{13}
Whose teeth and horns are so terrifying.
Your attendants are over a hundred,
And you trouble the officials with your big appetite.
You are not even aware of the lunar eclipse;
What use is a dragon hiding in the Milky Way?
The red bird governs the southern quarters;
His tail is bald and his wings scraggly.
The eclipse is there over your head,
And your mouth gapes open fiercely.
Yet the toad steals by your two lips,
For you would save trouble by not pecking the beast.
The tiger crouches in the west,\textsuperscript{14}
Banner stars guarding him fuzzy, fuzzy.\textsuperscript{15}
He always hangs around the White Emperor's sacrifice hall,\textsuperscript{16}
And his food is increased during the December rites.\textsuperscript{17}
Now he lets the moon be eaten by an evil being;
Teeth and fangs are stuck in his mouth in vain.
The black tortoise is cowardly, vicious, and afraid of the cold;\textsuperscript{18}
He draws his head in his shell to screen himself.
At last I command Kua E to force him out;\textsuperscript{19}
The diviner burns, chisels, drills, and scorches his shell with marks like stars.\textsuperscript{20}
Except for these four, all the other inner and outer officials
Are so trifling they're not even worthy of censure.
Your vassal requests God to sweep them all away;
And don't let them complain, for they'll make a racket.
Bring back our moon with its light and rays;
May the blind eye be as clear as a mirror without defect.
Let the petty toad be captured and sent to the cooks,
And your Imperial Chopsticks dine on the white of his belly.
The hare will take charge of his mortar and pestle;\textsuperscript{21}
The cassia tree sway gracefully on the jade steps.\textsuperscript{22}
Huan E will return to her palace,\textsuperscript{23}
And the Great Sun go back to his wife.
Though you are high above Heaven, Your hearing reaches the earth,
You will be moved by my sincerity and let me know your intention;
Although without clear speech, you will tell me your command.
"All things with breath and form are my children;
I am angered by this great injury, but can I kill children of mine?
I return your bright moon to go at peace in its orbit,
And forgive everyone's sins; tear the toad to pieces!!!
Written in the year 810, this poem is an imitation of a work of the same title by Han Yu's friend, Lu T'ung. The poem is usually interpreted as a political allegory in which God is the emperor, and the eclipsed moon is a minister who has been deluded by the toad, which possibly represents a eunuch. The punishment of the lax officials and the killing of the toad probably symbolize Lu T'ung's and Han Yu's desire to rid the court of the eunuchs, who were an unhealthy influence on the emperor.

Lu T'ung's original work is one of the weirdest creations of Chinese literature, and the version of Han Yu is not only considerably abridged but also much tamer. Han quotes some parts of Lu's poem almost word for word, but by skillfully eliminating much of Lu's detail, he creates an infinitely more effective poem.

1. Yüan Ho of Primal Harmony was a reign period of Hsien Tsung starting in 806. Keng-yin was the fifth year or 810.
2. The tou is the Big Dipper of the West, and tzu is the first of the twelve earthly branches. When the Big Dipper enters this sign, the eleventh lunar month commences.
3. The third watch is the period of time from twelve midnight until two in the morning.
4. Yü Ch'uan-tzu or Scholar of the Jade River is the style of Lu T'ung.
5. "The sun and moon have a diameter of a thousand li." Po Hu T'ung.
6. Huang Ti or the Yellow Emperor was the mythical ruler
(2697-2597 B.C.) who was supposed to be the ancestor of the Chinese race. He was said to have one eye far from the four directions to allow him to keep watch over the world.

7. Shun was the legendary founder of the Hsia dynasty who was said to have double pupils. Huai-nan-tzu.

8. Yao was the predecessor of Shun on the throne (2356-2255 B.C.). The story of the flood and the nine suns is contained in the "Yao Tien" of the Shu Ching. There are also other accounts: "At the time of Yao, ten suns came out together, and grasses and trees were scorched. Yao commanded Hou I to shoot at the ten suns, and he hit nine of them." Huai nan-tzu.

9. The red dragons were the steeds which pulled the sun chariot, while the tradition of there being black birds in the sun possibly originated from the observation of sunspots.

10. The idea of a ladder reaching to heaven is first encountered in the Ch'ü Tz'u.

11. Fu Erh is the name of a constellation. "When the Eavesdropper shakes and moves there are slanderous and disorderly vassals at hand." Shih Chi, "T'ien Kuan Shu."

12. Fei Lien is the name of the wind god. "Fei Lien is a spirit bird able to control the wind. He has a body like a deer and a head like a sparrow with horns, and also a snake's tail. Its markings are like the spots of a leopard."

Han Shu In Yi.

13. "The element of the east is wood, and its beast is the blue dragon." Huai-nantzu, "T'ien-wen Hstn."
14. "The element of the west is metal, and its beast is the white tiger." _Huai-nantzu_, "T'ien-wen Hsin."
According to the dictionaries the word _yü t'ü_ is Ch'u colloquial for tiger.

15. The Ch'i Mao is a constellation in the west. _Shih Chi_, _T'ien Kuan Shu._

16. "Ch'in was situated in the west, so they made a western altar and sacrificed to the White Emperor." _Shih Chi_, "Feng Ch'ang Shu."

17. Sacrifices were offered by the emperor in the twelfth month of the lunar year, a practice supposedly originated by Shen Nung.

18. The tortoise is the beast of the north, being associated with the element water and the color black. "In the northern palace is the tortoise," _Shih Chi_, "T'ien Kuan Shu."

19. The goddess K'ua E first appears in the story about the foolish old man who attempted to move a mountain. "The snake-holding spirit heard of this, and afraid that he would not desist, told God. God was moved by his sincerity and commanded the two sons of K'ua E to move the two mountains," _Liehtzu_, "T'ang Wen P'ien."

20. During the Shang dynasty it was the practice to tell fortunes by drilling small holes in bones or tortoise shells and applying a hot needle to see what pattern the cracks would produce.

21. The earliest reference to the hare grinding the medicine of immortality on the moon is in the _Ch'u Tz'ü_, "T'ien Wen."
22. According to popular tradition, a cassia tree grew on the moon. The Chinese cassia is *Cinnamomum cassia*.

23. Heng E was the wife of the mythical archer Hou I, and in the Han dynasty her name was changed to Ch'ang E to avoid the taboo on the name of Wen Ti. "Hou I requested the medicine of immortality from the Queen Mother of the West, and Heng E stole it, escaping to the moon." *Huai-nantzu*. 
The Son of Family X

Neither foolish nor mad, the son of family X
Enters the Wang U Mountains calling himself a Taoist priest.¹
His white-haired mother blocks the door crying;
She rips his robe sleeve, but can't hold him back.
His kingfisher-browed wife is only twenty;²
As he sends her back home, her cries pierce the city.
Some say he wants to learn to play the phoenix pipes,
That he envies Consort Ling and would equal Hsiao Shih.³
It is also said that fashion scorns the ordinary,
So he strives to do the strange and dangerous to take a
noble post.
Although there are legends about spirits and immortals,
Intelligent men know these are false.
How can sagely princes and worthy ministers be cheated?
What will he get by dying of hunger in remote mountains?⁴
Alas! My heart is sympathetic to him,⁵
And I would teach him about these things from beginning to end.
"Chastise one to warn a hundred" is a rule of good government;
If he doesn't listen, it's not too late for punishment.
If any of his family or friends feel pity,
Copy this poem of mine and show it to him!
This poem was written in the year 811 and is another attack against popular Taoism. According to the commentary a young man by the name Lü Kui deserted his family and entered the Wang U Mountains to become a Taoist monk. After a short while he left the mountains and after gaining an interview with the governor of Honan, Li Su, he was told to remove his Taoist robe and return to his mother and family. Han believed that to leave one's family in order to become a Buddhist or Taoist monk was an unfilial act, and so he does not refer to the young man by his surname, but calls him the son of family X.

1. Wang U Shan is in present-day Shansi province.
2. Ts'ui mei undoubtedly refers to the cosmetics on the young bride. "Her brow was like a kingfisher feather." Sung Yü, Fu on Teng T'u-tzu's Love of Sex (Teng T'u-tzu Hao Se Fu).
3. "In the time of Duke Mu of Ch'in there was one Hsiao Shih who was good at blowing the flute, and the daughter of the Duke Nung Yü loved him, so the duke gave her to him in marriage. Subsequently he taught Nung Yü how to make a phoenix call. After several years they blew the phoenix sound and phoenixes came and perched on their house. The duke made a phoenix pavilion for them, and husband and wife lived on top of it. One day they flew off, following the phoenixes." Lieh Hsien Chuan.
4. The words kan ssu, literally 'drily die,' have two possible interpretations, 'die in vain' or 'die of hunger.'
5. The binome ch'î ti is the same as the one with radical sixty-one to the left of both characters.
查看详情
Poem of the Two Birds

Two birds came from beyond the seas;
Flying, flying, they arrived in the Middle Land,
One bird settled in a city market,
While the other perched in the recesses of a cliff.
Not able to sing with each other,
They passed three thousand years.
Both birds shut up their mouths,
And the myriad beasts restrained their tongues.

As the spring wind arose whirling along the ground,
The hundred birds flitted and fluttered about.
Suddenly the two birds came together,
And for a hundred days they sang without stop.
Those with ears became deaf from the din;
Those with tongues were ashamed of themselves.
The mynas were formerly so fertile in sound;
Now they only hung their heads low.
Even when sick they did not moan or call,
Stifled and silent, only ending with death.

The Duke of Thunder told the Lord of Heaven:
"All creatures are in need of your grace.
Since the two birds started to sing,
Their racket has muffled the sound of my thunder.
The demons and spirits fear their mocking song;
The Creative Processes have all come to a halt.
Grasses and trees have but minute feelings,
Yet their indignation shows throughout the land. Insects and mice are truly small creatures, but they cannot bear this bitter scolding. If you do not stop the two birds from singing, there will be no more spring and fall. If you do not stop the two birds from singing, the sun and moon won't whirl about. If you do not stop the two birds from singing, the Great Law will lose its Nine Statutes. The Duke of Chou will not longer be a duke, and Confucius no longer will be a -fucius!

The Heavenly Lord was disturbed by the two birds, so he grabbed them and imprisoned each in a different place. And only then did all the insects and all the birds begin to sing---chiiiiirrpp---chiiiiirrpp!! Since the two birds were in separate spots, they shut their mouths and awoke to their crimes. In the morning they ate a thousand head of dragons; in the evening they ate a thousand head of cattle. In the morning they drank from the River, drying it to dust; in the evening they drank from the Sea, exhausting its currents. Yet once again after three thousand years, will they raise up their song in mutual refrain!
The interpretation of this work, which was written in 811, is a matter of great conjecture. One theory has it that the two birds represent the religions of Buddhism and Taoism which come from overseas and disturb the tranquility of China, requiring the eventual intervention of God. This interpretation is quite questionable because the mention of a resurrection of the two birds at the end of the poem would be an unlikely conclusion to a work promoting the destruction of the two non-Confucian religions. The second and more plausible explanation of the poem is that the two birds symbolize Han Yu and Meng Chiao, who anger those around them because of the beauty of their singing (i.e., poetry and prose) and eventually arouse those in power to send them into exile. The only problem with this explication is that the rather destructive and even sinister nature of the two birds hardly fits in with Han's opinion of himself. Perhaps, we will have to abandon all previous attempts to rationally explain this work and merely accept it as one of the weirder products of Han Yu's fertile imagination.

1. Chung chou or 'middle island' is closely connected with such expressions as chung t'u (middle earth), chung yshan (middle plain), and chung kuo (middle state), and does not necessarily refer to the whole country of China but rather to the area within the Pass, the homeland of the Chinese people.

2. This line is quite obscure, although the words wan hsiang or 'myriad manifestations' seem to mean the same as the commoner wan wu.
3. *K'ou t'ou* is a colloquial word for mouth, and it is interesting to note that Han includes the empty syllable here at the end of a line where it would not normally be used in poetry.

4. The bird *pai she* or 'hundred tongues' is said to be able to imitate the sound of other birds, so it seems to fit our mynah, although the exact meaning is unknown.

5. The Lei Kung or Duke of Thunder is a figure of popular Chinese religion, who in T'ang times was depicted as a bird-like man with beak, talons, and feathers. It was his duty to hunt out evil-doers and strike them dead with his dread thunderbolt.

6. The T'ien Kung or literally Duke of Heaven was similar to the modern day T'ien Lao Ye or Old Squire of Heaven and was not the omniscient, omnipotent God of Christian belief.

7. There are two possible interpretations here. The word *ch'ao* usually means 'to make fun of someone' but it also has the meaning of the 'twittering of birds.'

8. The *tsao hua* were the natural forces which bring all things into being and continue the creative process. Unlike the West, the process of creation was not thought to be directed by a personal God.

9. The *chiu chou* or Nine Islands are nine divisions of China made by the mythical Yu when he controlled the flood.

10. Here the word *chu* does not have its usual meaning of 'punish;' this expression comes from *Tso Chuan*, "Thirty-first Year of Duke Hsiang."
11. The hung fan is the Vast Design or Law given to Yu after he brought the flood under control. The Nine Statutes are the nine subdivisions of this law.

12. The word ch'iu in the name of Confucius, K'ung Ch'iu, has the primary meaning of 'hill' of 'eminence.' Perhaps, Han means this line as a pun: "K'ung the Eminence will not be an eminence." Just as likely, however, he is playing around with the master's name.

13. According to normal classical Chinese grammar the phrase ch'ien t'ou could be translated 'thousand-headed' but here Han Yu has most likely reversed the normal word order of classical Chinese, and the word t'ou is a measure word.

14. The River is the Huang Ho or Yellow River.
今天的天气

今天是个阳光明媚的日子，天气晴朗，万里无云。温度适中，没有刮风下雨的迹象。适合户外活动，可以约上朋友去公园散步，或者去海边享受阳光和海风。在这样的天气里，心情也格外愉快，充满了活力。

今天的天气预报显示，未来几天的天气依然晴朗，适合外出活动。建议大家在享受天气的同时，也要注意防晒，避免晒伤皮肤。
不能\n
问\n
事在不可\n
查...
After Reading the Miscellaneous Affairs of Tung-fang Shuo

Towering, towering is the Queen Mother's Palace; Below are the residences of a myriad sylphs. Her belchs and yawns become the whirlwind; When she scrubs her hands great rains pour down. Tung-fang Shuo was then a little brat; Though he was insolent, she did not scold him. Secretly he entered the room of lightning and thunder; Crash!! Bam!! rolled out the wild lightning chariot! The Queen Mother heard of this with a laugh, And her guards joined in haw!! haw!! They did not know that thousands and thousands of men Were buried alive beneath mud and sand. He shook and knocked the Five Mountains over, And floated the earth's mooring ropes free. She said, "My child, you are so nasty! What can we do about your naughtiness?" Fang Shuo heard this and was displeased; Baring his body, he bridled a dragon. Looking up he espied the North Dipper's handle, While rubbing his two hands together. The host of fairies then spoke anxiously: "How can so many crimes go unpunished? We just saw him there sneaking a look; This is something that can't be pardoned. If we do not make our intention clear, The outside world will certainly clamor!"
The Queen Mother could find no other way out;
Her brow wrinkled, her mouth ah! sigh!
She nodded her head and approved the memorial,
Sending him off with an amethyst bridle gem.⁷
Fang Shuo was not even punished by this,
Carrying her bounty, more bragging and boastful.
He slandered and insulted the Liu Son of Heaven;⁸
Right in daylight he pissed in his audience hall.
One morning without even saying good-bye,
He soared into the azure pink-clouded sky.⁹
The subject matter of this poem, which was written in 813, is partially derived from an account in the Han Wu Ti Nei Chuan, which states that the Queen Mother of the West visited Han Wu Ti to give him the peach of immortality. During her visit she complained that Tung-fang Shuo attempted to steal the pears and that he was actually an immortal who had been exiled from her domain because he had played with the thunder and lightning. While retaining some of the plot of the novella, Han has skillfully utilized the story for his own purposes.

1. Tung-fang Shuo, whose biography appears in ch'uan sixty-five of the Shih-Chi, was an attendant at the court of the emperor Han Wu Ti and was noted for his literary compositions in the fu form and his prankish nature which frequently got him in trouble with the authorities. He even played jokes on the emperor himself, but he was spared from the imperial wrath by his literary abilities. After his death many legends about his supernatural powers grew up, and he became a favorite of novella writers.

2. In more modern times the Hsi Wang Mu or Queen Mother of the West has been described as a radiantly beautiful woman, who ruled over the western regions of K'un-lun. However, in earlier periods she is depicted as having human form with tiger's teeth and dishevelled hair. Mu T'ien-tzu Chuan.

3. According to Chinese popular mythology the chariot of thunder and lightning was kept in a special room in the palace of Hsi Wang Mu.
4. There were five holy mountains in Chinese native religion; Mount T'ai in Shantung, Mount Heng in Hunan, Mount Huo in Shensi, Mount Heng in Hopei, and Mount Sung in Honan.

5. The *pa wei* are the eight directions of the compass.

6. The *pei tou* is the same as the Big Dipper in the constellation Ursa Major of western astronomy. In ancient times, time was told by the position of the Big Dipper in relation to the polar star, so this constellation was intimately related to the cosmic order, and, thus, any threat to it would constitute a threat to the order of the world.

7. The word *k'e* is defined in two ways in the dictionaries. The primary meaning is 'white jade' or 'chalcedony (?),' while the secondary meaning, which seems to fit here, is 'a gem affixed to a bridle of a horse.'

8. The *Liu T'ien-tzu* is Han Wu Ti, who was a descendant of Liu Pang, the founder of the Han dynasty.

9. *Hsia* are the vermilion clouds which one sees at sunrise or sunset, but here the word most likely has a deeper significance, since red was the color of cinnabar used in Chinese alchemy and, thus, a symbol of the immortality which Tung-fang Shuo has attained.
The Sick Owl

Into the ugly water ditch to the east of my house
Fell an owl crying so mournfully.
The mud sticks to his two wings;
Flap! Flap! He can't get loose.
A pack of urchins call one another;
They vie to get him first with tiles and bricks.
But when one considers your way of life,
It seems quite fit that you should be killed.

You are not ashamed of stealing and plundering;
When your belly's full, you circle the heavens in glee.
On clear days you monopolize the sunlight,
While strong winds blow you back and forth.
You look down on the flocks of purple phoenixes,¹
For how could you deign to view the lowly storks and geese?

Today your life has come to an end;
You have met boys clever with their pellet guns.²
They have hit you in a vital place,
And there's nothing you can do about it now.
What is there between you and me,
That I can't stand them using your distress.
I beg for your life about to expire,
And bathe you in a pool of pure water.
At breakfast I give you fish and meat;
At night I protect you from foxes.
You know there is no reason for all this,
So you are long wary to receive my favors.
Stomach full, you enter the deep bamboo thicket;
Hungry, you approach the foot of the stairs.
Of course, I don't want you to repay me,
And I let you do whatever you wish.

Yesterday you got your strength back;
You flew and hopped playfully over the fence.
This morning you suddenly left without warning,
And you didn't even say goodbye to me.
You never deserved this luck of yours,
So don't espy the heavenly thoroughfares.
In the capital city many are good with their crossbows;
How could you fool all the young boys there?
Don't forget the shame of the muddy ditch;
The muddy ditch is a good lesson for you.
This poem, which was composed in 816, is probably the best of Han's poems about owls. To the Chinese, owls were not the wise creatures of Western lore, but were greatly feared because they were believed to be an evil omen and were also hated because of their rapacity and their supposed un filial predilection for murdering their parents. A creature which was the subject of so much peasant lore, was a natural topic for the poet Han Yu, who was delighted by weird and supernatural creatures.

1. The purple phoenix was the noblest of birds to the Chinese, for it only appeared when a sagely ruler occupied the throne.

2. The tan were metal pellets shot in weapons resembling crossbows and are still used for hunting birds in China today.
East and west of the street they expound Buddhist sutras;
Clanging bells, blowing conches, clamor in the palace court.
There is much drivel over sin and blessing to intimidate the
people;
The listening throng is close and crowded,\textsuperscript{2} ranged like
floating duckweed.
Yellow-clothed Taoist adepts also preach and proselytize,
But around their pulpits all is lone and desolate as the
Morning Star.\textsuperscript{3}

The girl of Mount Hua serves the Way at home,
And wishes to expel heretic doctrines, restore the sylphs
and spirits.
She washes, makes up, powders her face, dons the cap and
shawl,\textsuperscript{4}
Her throat white, cheeks red, and long eyebrows so black.
Then she comes to ascend the dais and discuss True Formulas,\textsuperscript{5}
But no one is permitted to open the lock on the temple door.

Who knows what persons passed the rumor about;
Crash!! Boom!! The ground shakes with a rumble like thunder.
All traces of men are swept away from the Buddhist monasteries;
Powerful steeds block the road, covered chariots all in a row.\textsuperscript{6}
When the inside is filled with people, they sit outside the
temple;
Latecomers can't find a place, and have no way to hear her.
They pull off hair-pins, remove bracelets, loosen rings and
pendants;
Pile gold, heap up jade, its rays pure and lustrous.

The Noble Ones of the Imperial Gate send a decree to summon her;  

The Six Palaces wish to view the Master's face and form.  

The Jade Emperor nods his head and allows her to return home; 

She rides a dragon, drives a crane, travelling the azure, dark void. 

How could the youths of noble households know about the Way? Yet they come and circle a hundred times, their feet never stopping. 

Cloud windows, mist pavilions, their affairs are dim and concealed, 

Layer after layer of kingfisher curtains, deep golden screens. 

The Sylph Ladder is hard to climb, for our vulgar karma is heavy; 

Why then do we stupidly rely on these blackbirds to communicate our faith?
This poem, which was written in the year 819, is obviously a satire on organized religious Taoism. Han Yu bitterly attacks the superstitions of the commoners and nobility who scatter their wealth to demonstrate their faith in the Taoist priestess. Since the work was composed in the same year as the Buddha bone incident and there is also criticism of the reception which the imperial family gives the priestess, it is tempting to say that Han may also be indirectly attacking Hsien Tsung’s excesses in the worship of Buddhism.

1. Mount Huo is in present day Shensi province, and is one of the five holy mountains of Taoism.

2. The binome hsia ch‘ia seems to be a colloquial expression of T’ang times, the meaning of which is not clear to modern commentators. Since one meaning of hsia is 'close to, familiar with,' I think the binome is descriptive of the crowded condition of the audience.

3. The ming hsing or 'bright star' is the morning star or the planet Venus, which is the last star to disappear in the morning due to its brightness, and, thus, presents an aspect of loneliness and desolation.

4. The word p‘i is short for hsia p‘i or 'vermillion-cloud shawl,' which was worn around the shoulders of Taoist priests and was decorated with vermillion-cloud designs, symbolic of immortality.

5. The chen ch‘ueh or 'true formulas' are the secret formulas by which one obtains immortality and becomes a sylph. One
whole section of our present Tao Tsang is devoted to the chen chüeh.

6. Hua Liu was one of the eight steeds of King Mu of Chou. In this case, however, the word simply signifies a horse of superior breed.

7. The kui jen or 'noble men' were the eunuchs who guarded the imperial harem and in later T'ang times had complete control over the central government. Most literati such as Han Yu hated the eunuchs for their often vicious treatment of their enemies.

8. The six palaces were those in which the empress and imperial consorts resided.

9. The Yü Huang or Yü Ti is the chief deity of modern popular Taoism. Here he is a symbol of the most exalted of men, the emperor of China.

10. According to popular belief, the Hsi Wang Mu communicated with blackbird messengers.
On First Eating Southern Food

The king crabs\(^1\) are really like Hui Wen caps;\(^2\)
With eyes on their backs, they walk, carrying one another.
Cysters, glued together, form mountains;
Though tens and hundreds each lives by itself.
The tail of the reed fish looks like a snake,
And its mouth and eyes don't work together.
Their \(kō\) is the same as our \(hā ma\) toad;
Though identical, they carelessly give it another name.
The cuttle-fish\(^3\) and the horse-armor mussle\(^4\)
Vie in revealing their weirdness.
As for the other several dozen kinds,
One cannot but sigh and be startled by them.
I have come to oppose demons and ogres,
So it is fit to taste this southern cuisine.
I season it with salt and vinegar,
And stew it with pepper and oranges.
Only then does the rank stench spread;
Chewing and swallowing, my face sweats and flushes.
Only the snake do I know from before,
But I dread the savageness in his mouth and eyes.
Opening the cage, I let him free;
Injured and wronged, he is still not at ease.
Selling you was not my fault;
I have compassion, for I didn't slaughter you.
I do not pray for the reward of a spirit pearl,\(^5\)
Lucky if only you don't hate me.
So I write a poem to make a record of this,
And tell those travelling with me.
Han Yü was greatly intrigued by unusual foods, as is demonstrated by this poem written in 819 and another entitled "In Answer to Liu Tsung-yüan on Eating Frogs."

In earlier Chinese literature, particularly the aristocratic poetry of the North-South period, we find many references to the many unusual dishes savoured by the upper class Chinese. However, southern Chinese food has always had a reputation for weird dishes to the northern Chinese, and even in modern times northerners delight in telling shocked foreigners how the Cantonese eat dogs and monkey brains. Since Han was intrigued by all weird phenomena, it is no wonder that he created this masterpiece of Chinese food lore.

1. The chüe is Limulus. The Chinese claimed that they carried each other on their backs and sailed across the surface of the sea.

2. The Hui Wen cap was worn by law officials of the Han court. "A military cap, it was worn by the various military officers. It was decorated with a sable tail and was called a Chao Hui Wen cap. King Wu Ling of Chao imitated barbarian clothing by decorating his head with a golden pendant and inserting a sable tail in front to signify noble office." Hou Han Shu, "Yü Fu Chih."

3. Chang chü is the same as the more common chang yü, still used for octopus, a popular item in the diet of southern Chinese even today.

4. Ma chia chu is another name for the yao chu or chiang yao, Atrina japonica, an edible fresh-water mussle.
5. "Marquis Sui saw that a large snake was injured, so he applied medicine to it. Afterwards in gratitude the snake brought him a pearl in its mouth from the great river."

Huai-nan-tzu.
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HCLSHNCS— 韓昌黎詩選三重釋
SPTK— 四部叢書
TSCCCP—叢書集成初編
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