

The Landscape Essays of Yüan Hung-Tao*

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I. Introduction:

From the late sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries, Yüan Hung-tao 袁宏道 (T. Chung-lang 中郎, 1568–1610), the leader of the late Ming Kung-an school 公安派,¹ was primarily appreciated as a major poet rather than as an essayist. Criticism throughout the Ch'ing 清 dynasty (1644–1911) mostly concentrated on his poetic style and the influence that he had exerted on the development of late Ming poetry. His prose did not attract scholarly attention until this century when, in the thirties, Lin Yutang 林語堂 (1895–1976) and Chou Tso-jen 周作人 (1885–1968) advocated the writing of *hsiao-p'in wen* 小品文, a type of short and informal essay. Since Yüan Hung-tao's prose was considered to be the archetype of *hsiao-p'in wen*, he began to be known as an important prose writer of the Ming period. At this time, it was almost forgotten that Yüan Hung-tao had been better known as a poet.

This shift of attention from Yüan's poetry to his prose strongly reflected the interests of scholars in the nineteen-thirties. Prose, however, had not been Yüan's own primary interest: his literary theory had dealt mainly with the composition of poetry, not prose. It is ironic that more than three hundred years after his death, it was his prose that reestablished his literary reputation, and came to be recognized by modern literary historians as the major achievement of the Kung-an school.² It also came to exert a strong

*This paper was presented at the 36th annual meeting of the Association of Asian Studies (Washington, DC, March 23-25, 1984). I wish to thank Professors Ta-tuan Ch'en, Frederick W. Mote and Irving Lo for their helpful comments and criticisms on an earlier version of this paper.

Yüan Hung-tao's prose collection includes a wide-ranging assortment of essays: prefaces, colophons, biographies, correspondence, reminiscences, epitaphs, eulogies, landscape essays, anecdotes, etc. However, based on the criteria discussed above, a great number of these works should be excluded from *hsiao-p'in wen*. Among so many types of writing, landscape essays (*yu-chi* 遊記) and personal letters (*ch'ih-tu* 尺牘), in my opinion, reflect Yüan Hung-tao's personality and life style most profoundly. They are the exemplary works of late Ming *hsiao-p'in*. In this article I will only discuss his *yu-chi*.

II. Landscape Essays:

In China journeying to "mountains and streams" (*shan-shui* 山水) had always been regarded as an activity that had a purgative effect on those who had been "contaminated" through political indiscretions. However, this symbolic meaning associated with traveling was never so distinct as it was in the late Ming period; men of letters craved the intellectual purity, epitomized by the prevailing vogue of the life style of a "*shan-jen*" 山人 (mountain recluse),¹³ a person considered to be pure and of refined taste. Trips to scenic spots provided late Ming writers with opportunities to meet with friends as well as inspiration for literary creation. Because of such symbolic and practical considerations, journey to mountains and lakes became irresistible and indispensable to Yüan Hung-tao.

Through his *yu-chi*, Yüan Hung-tao demonstrates a passion for nature, to the extent that landscape is viewed as an animate creature instead of lifeless object. His affinity for nature consists in an emotional attachment rather than a worshipful admiration. He loves nature but does not revere it. In "A Record of A Trip to Mount Hui" 遊惠山記, he clearly enunciates this attitude:

I am by nature a casual and carefree person; I cannot put up with any kind of bondage. Unfortunately, I share a hobby with Tung-p'o 東坡 (Su Shih) and Pan-shan 半山 (Wang An-shih 王安石 1021-1086) [i.e., the hobby of traveling]. When ever I stay indoors for one day, I feel as if I am sitting on a hot stove. Therefore even on frosty and dark nights, when I have numerous things to do, my mind is always with my friends in the hills and lakes.¹⁴

余性疏脫，不耐羈鎖，不幸犯東坡，半山之癖，每杜門一日，舉身如坐熱爐。以故雖霜天黑月，紛亂冗雜，意未嘗一刻不在賓客山水。

In a farewell poem to Fang Tzu-kung 方子公 (?-1609), Yüan expresses his fondness for nature even more emphatically: "I would rather be a slave of the West Lake than the master of the Wu Palace. When I die, I should be buried here, and my grave will be soaked in fragrance" 寧作西湖奴，不作吳宮主；死亦當埋茲，粉香漬邱土。¹⁵ He regarded this passion as an essential trait that distinguished a "ya-jen" 雅人, a man of refinement and culture, from a "su-jen" 俗人, a common person. His trips to mountains reinforced his belief that he was indeed *ya*.

Even though Yüan Hung-tao had resigned several times from official posts, he in fact had little interest in becoming a real mountain recluse and thus separating himself from civilization. He wanted rather to derive pleasure from nature, while at the same time, not give up his privileges in a civilized society. Trips into the mountains were a solution to this dilemma; and he justified his conflicting desires by saying that "those who truly know the zither play it without strings, those who truly know drinking never become drunk, and those who truly know [the enjoyment of] hills and water do not have to reside on a cliff and drink from a stream" 善琴者不弦，善飲者不醉，善知山水者不巖棲而谷飲。¹⁶ While he was not able to enjoy both nature and civilization at the same time, he nevertheless found a substitute for traveling to hills and lakes in the enjoyment of "p'ing-hua" 瓶花 (cut flowers arranged in a vase). In the preface to his "P'ing-shih" 瓶史, a short work about flower arrangement, he lists flowers and bamboo along with hills and streams as the four types of pleasure that could be attained without being involved in the struggle for fame and power. He recalls his strong desire to climb mountains and visit lakes at a time when he was fettered by his official duties and unable to do so. In such a situation, he discovered "vase flower" arrangement and found it a good way to satisfy his thirst for natural scenery.¹⁷ But if enjoyment of flowers in a vase could serve as well as that of mountains and lakes, then clearly Yüan Hung-tao did not find nature mysterious or awesome; rather, it was accessible and could be possessed. It was simply a source of pleasure and happiness. This

was basically a sensualistic attitude, and it informs Yüan Hung-tao's landscape essays.¹⁸ This attitude is perhaps most clearly seen when Hung-tao compares a natural scene to a woman. "Hu-ch'iu (Tiger Hill)," he writes in an essay entitled "Shang-fang" 上方, "is like a seductive woman with heavy make-up" 虎丘如冶女豔粧.¹⁹ This kind of simile is used frequently in Yüan's landscape essays, revealing intimacy rather than awe toward natural beauty.

Yüan Hung-tao's love of nature is rather limited to that of the "refined wilderness." His favorite scenes were either natural sites with human touches (such as the West Lake²⁰ and mountains with Buddhist temples,²¹) or delicate rural scenes (such as "Hu-ch'iu," a small mountain near Soochow,²² and "Man-ching" 滿井, a scenic spot close to Peking.²³) Hung-tao had little admiration for the true wilderness; among all his *yu-chi*, there is not a single essay describing a deserted, precipitous mountain, a torrential river or a pathless forest. This, of course, is because Yüan Hung-tao spent most of his life south of the Yangtze where there is little "wild" terrain to speak of. However, in 1609 Hung-tao administered a local examination in Shan-hsi 陝西 and made several trips to Mounts Sung 嵩 and Hua 華. Nevertheless, hardly any of the trips made during his stay in this plateau province can be considered "adventurous" or "dangerous." This shows that Yüan Hung-tao's intention was never to conquer nature, but rather to achieve a harmonious relationship with it. Needless to say, this is the typical attitude toward nature for Chinese literati; however, in Yüan Hung-tao's *yu-chi*, this attitude is especially tinged with personal and sensualistic color.

That Yüan Hung-tao was not attracted by wilderness did not make him particularly fond of pastoral scenes. His landscape essays never included such scenes as a field with ripened rice, a pond with an old fisherman, or a young boy riding on a water buffalo. He appreciates the "beautiful but useless," scenes with little practical value in human life.

Further evidence of Yüan Hung-tao's aesthetic-sensualistic outlook on nature is found in his fondness for gardens. In his collection of *yu-chi*, there are several essays in which he expresses delight at the exquisite arrangement of pavilions, man-made ponds and artificial hills.²⁴ These gardens, though beautiful, can hardly be considered natural. In 1600, Hung-tao resigned from his official post in Peking and returned to his hometown Kung-an. He built a huge garden on three hundred *mu* 畝 of land and planted thousands of willows, calling the place "Willow Waves" (Liu-lang 柳浪).²⁵ He spent six years, the most contented period of his life, in this artificially-achieved

“natural” environment.

Since the pursuit of sensual pleasure was Hung-tao's major concern in his *yu-chi*, his landscape essays sometimes become a record of joyful moments rather than a description of natural scenery. In one of his most frequently quoted and translated essays, “Hu-ch'iu,” Yüan pays very little attention to the actual location, nor does he describe in detail the geographical features. Instead he focuses on a Mid-autumn Festival held in Soochow, of which he gives minute descriptions of singing and the events of the party.²⁶ Such urban activities rarely appear in the landscape essays written prior to Yüan Hung-tao. Yüan thus expands the scope of *yu-chi*, so that it is no longer a genre exclusively devoted to landscape.

In many of Yüan Hung-tao's *yu-chi*, which are more like argumentative or expository essays, objective description is clearly of secondary importance. He used these *yu-chi* to express his ideas on various subjects. For example, his essay “Ku shan” 孤山, or “Mount Ku,” does not contain a single word that divulges where this mountain is or what it looks like. The entire essay focuses upon Yüan Hung-tao's bias against marriage:

The Recluse of Mount Ku treated plum trees as his wives and cranes as his sons. He was the most privileged person in the world. Because of having wives and sons, we simply entangle ourselves in numerous trivial matters. We cannot desert them, and yet we are tired of being close to them. It is like wearing a ragged cotton coat and walking through a field of thorn thickets that catch you with each step.²⁷

孤山處士妻梅子鶴，是世間第一種便宜人。我輩只爲有了妻子，便惹許多閒事，撇之不得，傷之可厭，如衣敗絮，行荆棘中，步步牽掛。

Later in the same essay, Yüan Hung-tao talks about a certain Yu Seng-ju 虞僧儒 whose behavior was similar to that of the recluse of Mount Ku. Yüan expresses his great admiration for these two people and concludes his essay by saying that “each age has extraordinary men.”²⁸

In Yuan's landscape essays, a geographical name is often used as a vehicle for making comments on historical figures or events related to the particular place. In “A Record of Tiac-tai” 釣臺, he again makes no mention of geographical information, discussing only the deeds and personality of Yen Kuang 嚴光, a recluse of the Han dynasty.²⁹ In the essay entitled “Ling-yen” 靈巖, a hill which was believed to be the site of Hsi-shih's 西施

palace, Yüan Hung-tao discusses this historically famed beauty of antiquity, and argues that the decline of a dynasty had nothing to do with the ruler's fondness for women, and therefore, Hsi-shih should not have been accused of causing the fall of Wu.³⁰ To present such a conclusion through a landscape essay might seem somewhat awkward or out of place; nevertheless, this kind of digression from the subject stated in the title is precisely what characterizes Yüan Hung-tao *yu-chi*.

Besides historical figures and events, discussions of special local products are often treated in disproportionate detail in Yüan's landscape essays. In his essay on a trip he made to Lung-ching 龍井, a place famed for its tea, he talks about nothing but four different kinds of tea, comparing their flavors, smells and colors as well.³¹ Likewise, in an essay entitled "Hsiang-hu" 湘湖 (Lake Hsiang), he completely ignores the scenery and concentrates on how to grow and cook water shield (*brasenia schreberi*; *ch'un-ts'ai* 蓴菜), an edible water plant.³² This great interest in food recurring in Yüan's landscape essays, again, reveals his sensualism.

Free deviation from the supposed topic and the lack of objective description create an omnipresent point of view in Yüan Hung-tao's landscape essays. He makes it very clear that it is "I" viewing scenery, and it is "I" describing whatever "I" see and "I" think. Sometimes, the "I" becomes very conspicuous and strong so that his opinions overshadow the actual scene that he perceived. In an essay entitled "Ch'i-yün" 齊雲, partially cited below, he uses more than half of the piece to criticize the habit of writing graffiti and inscriptions on rocks and trees in a beautiful natural scene:

The T'ien-men of Ch'i-yün is astonishingly beautiful. The only thing that vexed me was that inscribed stone tablets filled the area below the cliff. The Hui (An-hui 安徽) people love to make inscriptions, and it is a bad habit. Local officials helped this practice develop into vogue. Every piece of white rock was filled with red characters which made me gasp in fury. I say, there are standard punishments in the law for those who appropriate the resources of mountains and dig mines illegally. And why is there no law to prohibit vulgar scholars from contaminating the spirit of the mountains? Buddha says that all evil deeds will be recompensed with evil. And this [making inscriptions on the mountains] is just as evil as murder and robbery and yet Buddha did not mention it. This is a flaw in the sutras. What kind of guilt do green mountains and white rocks have? To disfigure their faces and cut up their skin for no reason at all, alas!

it is ever so cruel indeed!³³

齊雲天門奇勝，巖下碑碣填塞可厭耳。微人好題，亦是一癖，仕其土者，燕習成風。朱書白榜，卷石皆徧，令人氣短。余謂律中盜山伐鐵，皆有常刑。俗士毀河山靈而律不禁。何也？佛說種種惡業，俱得惡報。此業當與殺盜同科，而佛不及，亦是缺典。青山白石有何罪過？無故鯨其面，裂其膚，吁，亦不仁矣哉！

In this passage, we do not encounter any description of the place Ch'i-yün, only Yüan Hung-tao's pique. His strong self-awareness makes the distinction between the observer and the observed very clear. This, on the one hand, makes his landscape essays very personal and sometimes lyrical; however, on the other hand, his omnipresent perspective hinders him from attaining a higher mental realm where nature and the self are merged. Yüan Hung-tao's strong sense of self-identity made it impossible for him to be totally absorbed into nature; he was always only the self-conscious observer of nature and never a part of it.

Even though digression from the major subject is a common practice in Yüan's landscape essays, this does not mean that his essays lack focus. As a matter of fact, he is very skillful in concentrating on a particular scene or incident. No matter how broad or general the title is, an intimate portrayal can always be found in the text. However, the overriding importance of intimate portrayal usually eclipses the panoramic view. In a short essay entitled "A Record of First Arriving at Shuang-ch'ing Hamlet in Mount T'ien-mu" (Ch'u-chih T'ien-mu Shuang-ch'ing chuang chi 初至天目雙清莊記), his focus was the sound of a stream:

It had rained for several days, making us extremely miserable. By the time we arrived at Shuang-ch'ing hamlet, it had cleared up a little. The hamlet is located at the foot of the mountain. The monks there invited us to stay in the temple, where their rooms were very refined. The stream rolling against the rocks made a sound that could be heard throughout the night as I lay in bed. In his dream, [T'ao 陶] Shih-k'uei thought that it was the sound of rain. He became so disturbed that [having awakened] he could not fall asleep again. Next morning, the monks served tea and rice porridge and called Shih-k'uei to rise. Shih-k'uei said, "It has been raining so heavily, how can we go back? [The only thing we can do] is to imagine our journey while lying in bed." A monk said, "It has already cleared. The roar you heard was the sound of the stream, not the sound of rain." Shih-k'uei laughed loudly, and hurriedly rose and dressed. After we had

drunk several cups of tea, we left together.³⁴

數日陰雨，甚甚。至雙清莊，天稍霽，莊在山脚，諸僧留宿莊中，僧房甚精，溪流激石作聲，徹夜到枕上。石篑夢中誤以爲雨，愁極遂不能寐。次早山僧供茗糜，邀石篑起。石篑嘆曰：「暴雨如此，將安歸乎？有臥遊耳。」僧曰：「天已晴，風日甚美，響者乃溪流，非雨聲也。」石篑大笑，急披衣起。饒老數碗，即同行。

As I have shown, while Yüan Hung-tao sometimes digresses from the supposed subject in his landscape essays, it is because he uses the genre as a vehicle to expound his own ideas and opinions (*chieh-t'i fa-hui* 借題發揮). However, in the above example, he focuses closely on one tiny incident under a rather broad title (*ta-t'i hsiao-tso* 大題小作). In both cases, the title hardly reflects the content of the essay. The lack of connection between the title and the content makes it safe to assume that the titles of some essays were added later. Many of Yüan Hung-tao's landscape essays may have first been written in the form of rough notes on a day-to-day basis. As is evident in his complete works, some of his landscape essays still retain their original diary form and read more as brief notes written down to aid his memory than as complete records of his trips. The following short essay makes this point clear:

Shih-ch'iao cliff is somewhat like the area around the T'ien-men, but its pass is a little wider. It is about twenty-five *li* way from Ch'ü-yün. Because the day we roamed Shih-ch'iao cliff was very cloudy and dark, we all brought rain gear with us. However, up to the time we returned, to our surprise, it had not rained. Those who went with us but turned back half-way all regretted [not having finished the entire trip].³⁵

石橋巖略似天門一帶，而門稍闊，去齊雲二十五里。遊之日天甚昏黑，各携雨具去。及歸，竟不雨。同行半道歸者，皆大慙悞。

This passage seems to be a brief note prepared for future incorporation in a longer essay, but which somehow was included as a complete piece first in the *Chieh-t'o Collection* 解脫集, and later in his complete works. This speculation can be further supported by two sections grouped with Yüan Hung-tao's *yu-chi*. One is entitled "Ch'ang-wu hou-chi" 場屋後記,³⁶ and the other, "Mo-hsi" 墨畦.³⁷ These two sections are brief passages beginning with a date and followed by a short description of scenery or

activities. These sections should be viewed as Yüan Hung-tao's preparatory notes for his *yu-chi*, rather than as complete essays. The existence of such a format also explains why some of his landscape essays are so short and irrelevant to their titles.

Yüan Hung-tao frequently uses dialogue in his *yu-chi*. It is not unusual for him to write a landscape essay totally in conversational style, such as "A Record of Wen-i Hall" (Wen-i t'ang chi 文漪堂記)³⁸ and "A Record of the Three-Religion Temple in the Town of Liang" (Liang-hsiang san-chiao ssu chi 良鄉三教寺記).³⁹ In these two pieces, with the exception of a few narrative lines, each essay is a conversation between the author and another person. This kind of conversational style reflects Yüan Hung-tao's new approach to writing *yu-chi*; however, it also reveals a lack of overall structure. Frequent use of dialogue creates a casual and familiar tone to the essays, but at the same time, the essays are flawed by triviality and fragmentation.

The travelogues written in Yüan Hung-tao's early years are set mostly south of the Yangtze River. This area covers roughly the provinces of Kiangsu 江蘇, Chekiang 浙江, Hunan 湖南 and Hupeh. In 1609, the year before his death, he was appointed chief examiner of Shan-hsi province. The travelogues of this trip are included in *Hua-Sung yu-ts'ao* 華嵩遊草 (Draft Essays on a Trip to Mounts Hua and Sung). Geographical differences between the northern region and the Yangtze area, and the maturity of Yüan Hung-tao's views on literature transformed his *yu-chi* from casual and brief accounts into more ornate and descriptive essays. His attention to the geographical features increased and his digressions from the major subject greatly decreased.

During his later years, the most obvious change in his landscape essays was the increased use of parallelism and four-character phrases, formal features which had been rather rare in his early works. The following passage, from "Another Record of A Trip to Mount Hua" (Hua-shan pieh-chi 華山別記), shows an increasing refinement in Yüan's use of language:

On that day, there were no clouds at all. Green cliffs and crimson trees, the setting sun and the beautiful moon were all trying their best to please the travelers. I went to bed late at night; the moonlight that danced in through the cracks looks like snow.⁴⁰

是日也，天無纖翳，青崖紅樹，夕陽佳月，各畢其能，以娛遊客。夜深就枕，月光灑隙如雪。

there are eight phrases in the original Chinese version, six of which are constructed with four characters. Hung-tao's deliberate efforts to write a neat and parallel description are readily apparent.

Compared with *yu-chi* written before Yüan Hung-tao's time, what is absent in his work is the didactic message. Take the two famous Sung pieces, "A Record of a Trip to Mount Pao-ch'an" (Yu Pao-ch'an shan chi 遊褒禪山記) by Wang Anshih⁴¹ and "A Record of Mount Stone Bell" (Shih-chung shan chi 石鐘山記) by Su Shih,⁴² as examples. The former tells the reader that only those who are able to take the risk and bear the pain of exploring a cave can see the extraordinary beauty of a landscape. Wang An-shih extends this argument to conclude that in order to accomplish a great deed, one must have persistence and resolution. And the message of the latter is not to believe anything too readily without examining it personally. The attitude of both authors is clearly condescending; they are consciously preaching an ethic rather than depicting a scenic vista. We find more "reasoning" (*li* 理) than passion (*ch'ing* 情) in these essays. In contrast, Yüan Hung-tao includes no didactic instruction in his *yu-chi*. Occasionally, he may reflect philosophically on ancient remains or on sites having historical significance; however, his reflection is personal, never preceptive. Having read Hung-tao's *yu-chi*, the reader is engulfed by his passion toward nature and not over-whelmed by intellectualized conclusions derived from observing nature.

Chiang Ying-k'o 江盈科 (T. Chin-chih 進之 1556-1605), one of Yüan Hung-tao's best friends, praised Yüan's *yu-chi* in the following manner:

There are thousands of landscape essays written by contemporary men of letters. In general, they are no more than descriptions of mountains, rivers, clouds, lakes, pavilions, grass, trees and ancient remains. These essays read like gazetteers. Chung-lang's [i.e., Yüan Hung-tao's] accounts of beautiful mountains and lakes describe their joy and anger, their motion and stillness in lifelike detail. It is as if when sketching portraits, others only try to depict the superficial likeness [of a person], whereas Chung-lang describes subtle expression.⁴³

夫近代文人紀遊之作，無慮千數，大抵敘述山川雲水，亭榭草木古蹟而已，若志乘然。中郎所敘佳山水，並其喜怒哀靜之性無不描畫如生，譬之寫照，他人貌皮膚，君貌神情。

In reading this comment, it reminds us of Hsü Hung-tsu 徐宏祖 (1586-

1641), better known as Hsü Hsia-k'o 徐霞客, the great traveler and devoted *yu-chi* writer who lived his first thirty-six years as a contemporary of Yüan Hung-tao, Hsü Hsia-k'o's *yu-chi* are renowned for their minute and accurate description in geography and topography. Modern geographers have testified to the accuracy of Hsu Hsia-k'o's observations.⁴⁴ Such writing is in sharp contrast to Yüan's essays: one is "objective-descriptive" while the other is "subjective-personal." The motivation for Hsü's travel, as Li Ch'i indicates, "was more in quest of knowledge than of pleasure."⁴⁵ In other words, his motivation was more utilitarian than sensual or aesthetic. For Yüan Hung-tao, however, each journey was not a pursuit of knowledge but was an alternative route to self-expression. The style that Yüan developed in his landscape essays is characterized by a total amalgamation of description and reflection. By reading his *yu-chi*, we not only appreciate the landscape he describes, but more importantly, we learn what kind of person Yüan Hung-tao was.

Notes

Unless otherwise indicated, the works of Yüan Hung-tao are based on *Yüan Chung-lang ch'üan-chi* 袁中郎全集 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü 世界書局, 1964).

1. The Kung-an school was named after the Kung-an *hsien* 公安縣 of Hupeh 湖北 province, the hometown of the three Yüan brothers: Yüan Tsung-tao 袁宗道 (T. Po-hsiu 伯修, 1560-1600), Yüan Hung-tao (T. Chung-lang 中郎) and Yüan Chung-tao 中道 (T. Hsiao-hsiu 小修, 1570-1624).
2. "Hsiao-p'in wen," as indicated by Liu Ta-chieh 劉大杰, "is the only achievement" of the Kung-an literary movement. *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh fa-chan shih* 中國文學發展史 (rpt. Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1968), p. 868.
3. Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶 (403-444), *Shih-shuo hsün-yü* (Taipei: Chung-hua, 1968) ch. 4, "Wen-hsüeh," p. 17a:

殷中軍讀小品，下二百籤皆是精微世之幽滯...今小品猶存。

劉孝標注：釋氏辨空經有詳者焉，有略者焉，詳者為大品，略者為小品。

Mather's translation:

When Yin Hao 浩 was reading the "Small Version" of the Prajñāpāra-mitā-sūtra, he jotted down two hundred notations, all of

them intricate subtleties and obscure problems of the age
To this day (his annotated copy of) the "Smaller Version" still survives.

SSHY Comm.:

Of the Buddhist sutras which discuss Emptiness (Sūnyatā, i.e., the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras), there is a detailed one, and an abridged one. The detailed one is called "The Larger Version" (*Ta-p'in* 大品), and the abridged, "The Smaller Version" (*Hsiao-p'in*). Richard B. Mather tr. *A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), p. 108.

4. Such as Ch'en Chi-ju's 陳繼儒 (1558-1639) *Wan-hsiang t'ang hsiao-p'in* 晚香堂小品, Wang Ssu-jen's 王思任 (1575-1646) *Nüeh-an wen-fan hsiao-p'in* 誚菴文飯小品 and Chu Kuo-chen's 朱國禎 (1557-1632) *Yung-ch'uang hsiao-p'in* 湧幢小品.
5. Chou Tso-jen, "Yen-chih ts'ao pa," in *Yung-jih chi* 永日集 (Peking: Pei-hsin, 1929), p. 179.
6. See Lin Yutang, "Lun hsiao-p'in wen pi-tiao" 論小品文筆調, *Jen chien shih* 人間世 6 (June 20, 1934), pp. 10-11; "Hsiao-p'in wen chih i-hsü" 小品文之遺緒, *Jen chien shih*, 22 (Feb. 20, 1935), pp. 42-45; "Hai-shih Chiang hsiao-p'in wen chih i-hsü" 還是講小品文之遺緒, *Jen chien shih*, 24 (March 20, 1935), pp. 35-36.
7. Lin Yutang, "Lun hsiao-p'in wen pi-tiao," p. 11.
8. For a detailed study of Liu Tsung-yüan's landscape essays, see William H., Jr., Nienhauser, et al. *Liu Tsung-yüan* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973), ch. 4, pp. 66-79. For the correspondence of Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien, see *Su Tung-p'o Huang Shan-ku ch'ih-tu ho-ts'e* 蘇東坡眉山山谷尺牘合冊 (rpt. Taipei: T'ai-sh'un, 1970).
9. See Chou Tso-jen, "Tsa-pan erh pa" 雜拌兒跋, in *Yung-jih-chi*, p. 172. This postscript is partially quoted and translated in David Pollard, *A Chinese Look at Literature: The Literary Values of Chou Tso-jen in Relation to the Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 107-08.
10. "The Former Seven Masters" were led by Li Meng-yang 李夢陽 (T. Hsien-chi 獻吉, 1473-1529) and Ho Ching-ming 何景明 (T. Chung-mo 仲默, 1483-1521), and "The Latter Seven Masters" by Li P'an-lung 李攀龍 (T. Yü-lin 于鱗 1514-70) and Wang Shih-chen 王世貞 (T. Yüan-mei 元美, 1529-90).
11. This refers to the famous dictum advocated by Li Meng-yang: "As for prose, one must take the works of Ch'in and Han as model; as for poetry, one must take the works of High T'ang as model" 文必秦漢, 詩必盛唐. *Ming-shih* 明史 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1974), p. 7348.
12. For a detailed study of Yüan Hung-tao's literary theory, see Chou Chih-p'ing 周質平, "Yüan Hung-tao and Trends of Self-Expression in Late Ming Literature," diss. Indiana, 1981.
13. For studies of "shan-jen" literature, see A Ying 阿英 (Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un 錢杏邨), "Ming-mo te fan shan-jen wen-hsüeh" 明末的反山人文學, in *Yeh-hang chi*

- 夜航集 (Shanghai: Liang-yu, 1935), pp. 144-49; "Ming-mo te fan shan-jen wen-hsiieh pu" 明末的反山人文學補, in *Hai-shih chi* 滬市集 (Shanghai: Pei-hsin, 1936), pp. 20-24.
14. Yüan Hung-tao, "Yu Hui-shan chi," in *Yüan Chung-lang ch'üan-chi* 袁中郎全集 (Taipei: Shih-chieh, 1964), *Yu-chi*, p. 11.
 15. Yüan Hung-tao, "Hu-shang pieh t'ung Fang Tzu-kung fu" 湖上別同方子公賦, in *Ch'üan-chi, Shih-chi* 詩集, p. 19.
 16. Yüan Hung-tao, "T'i Ch'en shan-jen shan-shui chüan" 題陳山人山水卷, in *Ch'üan-chi, Sui-pi* 隨筆, pp. 15-16.
 17. This paraphrase is based on the preface to "P'ing-shih" 瓶史, in *Ch'üan-chi, Sui-pi*, p. 18. For an English translation of this preface, see Lin Yutang, *The Importance of Living* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1938), p. 310.
 18. For this idea, I have greatly benefited from the seminar on Chinese landscape essays held by Professor Yu-kung Kao at Princeton University and from reading James J. Y. Liu, *Essentials of Chinese Literary Art* (Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1979), pp. 39-44.
 19. Yüan Hung-tao, "Shang-fang," in *Ch'üan-chi, Yu-chi*, p. 2.
 20. The West Lake at Hangchow 杭州 was one of Yüan Hung-tao's favorite scenes. There are nine essays related to this lake in his *yu-chi*.
 21. Although Yüan Hung-tao was quite devoted to Buddhism his visits to temples had little to do with his religious belief. Temples functioned as no more than inns in his travels; they were merely places for lodging and meals.
 22. See Yüan Hung-tao, "Hu-ch'iu," in *Ch'üan-chi, Yu-chi*, p. 1.
 23. See *Ibid.*, p. 29. For English translations of "Manching yu-chi" 滿井遊記, see Liu, *Essentials*, p. 42-43; Ren Fangqiu 任訪秋, "A Brief Introduction to Yuan Hongdao," in *Chinese Literature* (Feb., 1981), pp. 122-23.
 24. See Yüan Hung-tao, "Yüan-t'ing chi-lueh" 園亭紀略 and "Pao-yung t'ing chi" 抱甕亭記, in *Ch'üan-chi, Yu-chi*, pp. 10 and 29.
 25. "Liu-lang" is listed as one of the eight scenic spots (*pa-ching* 八景) of Kung-an. See Chou Ch'eng-pi 周承弼 ed. *Kung-an hsien-chih* 公安縣誌 (first published in 1874; rpt. Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng, 1969, 3 vols.), *ch. 1*, p. 68.
 26. See Yüan Hung-tao, "Hu-ch'iu," in *Ch'üan-chi, Yu-chi*, p. 1. There are two English translations of this essay: (1) Jonathan Chaves, *Pilgrim of the Clouds* (New York: Weatherhill, 1978), pp. 93-95; (2) Ren Fangqiu, pp. 120-21.
 27. Yüan Hung-tao, "Ku-shan," in *Ch'üan-chi, Yu-chi*, p. 13. "The recluse of Mount Ku" (Ku-shan ch'ü-shih 孤山處士) in this essay refers to Lin Pu 林逋 (T. Chün-fu 君復, 967-1028), a major Sung poet, also known as "Ho-ching hsien-sheng" 和靖先生. In making this translation, I have consulted and adopted several words from Chaves' *Pilgrim of the Clouds*, p. 98.
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. See Yüan Hung-tao, "Tiao-ti'ai chi" 釣臺記, in *Ch'üan-chi, Yu-chi*, p. 27.
 30. "Ling-yen," *ibid.*, p. 3.
 31. "Lung-ching," *ibid.*, p. 15.

32. "Hsiang-hu," *ibid.*, p. 19.
33. "Ch'i-yün," *ibid.*, p. 25. For another English translation, see Chaves, pp. 101-02.
34. "Ch'u-chih T'ien-mu Shuang-ch'ing chuang chi," *ibid.*, p. 24. Mount T'ien-mu lies immediately adjacent to Soochow, on the west, between the city and the northern shores of Lake T'ai (T'ai-hu 太湖).
35. "Shih-ch'iao yen," *ibid.*, p. 26.
36. "Ch'ang-wu hou-chi" was written in diary form in 1609, including 65 entries. This short work is included in *Yüan Chunglang ch'üan-chi* (Taipei: Shih-chieh, 1964), *Yu-chi*, pp. 45-50. In Chung Hsing 鍾惺 (1574-1624) ed. 40 *ch. Yüan Chung-lang ch'üan-chi* (first published in 1629; rpt. Taipei: Wei-wen, 1976), "Ch'ang-wu hou-chi" is found in *ch.* 11, right after *Yu-chi* (*ch.* 8-10).
37. "Mo-hsi" is also entitled "Tsa-chih 雜識 (Miscellaneous Notes), in *Ch'üan-chi* (1964 edition), *Yu-chi*, pp. 50-54; Chung Hsing, ed. *Ch'üan-chi*, *ch.* 11. For more information about "Mo-hsi," see Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, "Kōan san En chosakuhyō" 公安三袁著作表, in *Shinagaku* 支那學, 10: 1 (April, 1940), p. 172.
38. Yüan Hung-tao, "Wen-i t'ang chi," in *Ch'üan-chi*, *Yu-chi*, p. 30.
39. "Liang-hsiang san-chiao ssu chi," *ibid.*, p. 31.
40. "Hua-shan pieh-chi," *ibid.*, p. 40.
41. Wang An-shih, "Yu Pao-ch'an shan chi," *Li-tai yu-chi hsüan* 歷代遊記選, eds., Pei Yüan-ch'en 貝遠辰 and Yeh Yu-ming 叶幼明 (Hu-nan: Jen-min, 1980), pp. 36-42.
42. Su Shih, "Shih-chung shan chi," *ibid.*, pp. 43-49.
43. Chiang Ying-k'o, "Chieh-t'o chi erh hsü" 解脫集二序, in *Hsüeh-t'ao ko chi* 雪齋閣集 (Hsi-ch'u chiang-shih Peiching k'an-pen 西楚江氏北京刊本, 1600), *ch.* 8, pp. 16b-17a.
44. See Li Chi, *The Travel Diaries of Hsü Hsia-k'o* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1974), p. 26.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 20.