

# Cultivating Literary Space

— Gardens in the *fu* of the Southern Dynasties —

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## 1. Introduction

Starting from late fourth century, a change of perspective took place in garden literature written in *fu* form, which is often translated as rhymed prose or rhapsody in English. Previous great writers, such as Sima Xiangru 司馬相如(179-117 BCE) of the Han Empire and Zuo Si 左思(250-305) of the Western Jin, centered on the enormous scale and imperial magnitude when describing emperors' pleasure parks. However, the imperial parks were gradually replaced into literati's gardens in the discourse of the garden/park during the Southern Dynasties. Only a few poets wrote about the Hualin yuan 華林園 in the capital Jiankang(modern Nanjing),<sup>1)</sup> while the majority described their

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1) Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝(reg. 430-464) of Song Dynasty, "Hualin Qingshu zhan *fu*"

own private gardens with the common theme of reclusion and at least temporary freedom from the constraint of the external world. Their idyllic rural motif and landscape descriptions remained the *locus classicus* for much of later Chinese garden literature (Plaks, 1976, 149), but more specific and internal differentiation is inevitable for further study. My reading of four representative *fu* works during the time will show there were already various sentiments and thoughts reflected in the discourse of garden/park.

The first piece “The Words for Returning” (Gui qu lai ci 歸去來辭) is set in a small home garden in a countryside, where the former local officer Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427) mainly celebrated his delight in retirement. In a brief sketch of his garden, a few intimate objects, such as a lone pine tree (*gu song* 孤松), successfully symbolize the author’s moral strength and incorruptibility. The second one “Living in the Mountains” (Shan ju fu 山居賦) stands opposite to the first in terms of poetic mode and garden scale. The aristocratic hermit Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433) concentrated on the elaborate description and philosophical contemplation, recording innumerable things in his mountain estate. The third “Living in the Suburb” (Jiao ju fu 郊居賦) is reminiscent of “Shan ju fu” in terms of grand form and descriptive style. The author Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513) wished to escape the entangled world, but could not overcome the weight of the dynastic disasters and personal grief. The last “Small Garden” (Xiao yuan fu 小園賦) shows even

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華林清暑展賦, *Quan Song Wen* (Hereafter QSW), 5.42-3; Liu Yigong 劉義恭 (n.d.), “Hualin Qingshu zhan fu” 華林清暑展賦, QSW, 11.100-1; He Shangzhi 何尚之 (382-460), “Hualin Qingshu zhan fu” 華林清暑展賦, QSW, 28.267. Cf. Wang Yi 王毅 (2004, 93-4) discuss that the Hualin yuan was constructed with the influence of scholars’ garden.

more emotional outburst in contrast to the serene imagery of the autumn garden. The author Yu Xin 庾信(513-581) suffered from his bitter experience in the rampages of the nomads and from homesickness at his exile in a northern dynasty.

## 2. Tao Qian: Hermitage as Symbolic Space for his Lyricism

The subject of returning to one's home in the countryside first appeared in the Latter Han times,<sup>2)</sup> and came into vogue in the Western and Eastern Jin periods.<sup>3)</sup> In this sense, "The Words for Returning"(hereafter "Return") is considered not so much literary innovation as contribution to the establishment of the theme in an enduring lyrical tradition. The author captures the literary features of his garden as a "lyric artist", defined as the one for whom creativity is the expression of one's internal mental states through the use of symbols(Kao Yu-kung, 1991, 55).

"Return" proceeds in the order of temporal progress.<sup>4)</sup> At the

2) Zhang Heng 張衡(78-139), "Gui tian fu" 歸田賦, *Wen xuan*, 2: 15.692-5. For English translation, see Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, 987, 2: 39-52.

3) Some exemplary pieces are Pan Yue's 潘岳(247-300) "Fu on Dwelling in Idleness" 閑居賦(*Wen xuan*, 2: 16.697-707; *Quan Jin wen*, 91.976-7) and "Xia shi fu" 狹室賦(*Quan Jin wen*, 91.977). For more discussion of this issue, see Yu Yuxian, 1999, 255-63; Hightower, 1954: 214-219.

4) *Wen xuan* 5: 45.2026-2028, Yuan Xingpei, 2003, 460-477. For English translation, Hightower, 1954, 220-24. Although written in the *ci* 辭, the piece is relevant to discuss in the *fu* field, because, in ancient texts, *fu* and *ci* were coordinated as a synonymous compound, and sometimes interchangeable. For one example, Shi ji, 117, 2999: "Emperor Jing(reg. 156-141 BCE) was not fond of the *cifu*" 會景帝不好辭

beginning(Lines 1 to 12), the poetic self Tao takes his homeward bound journey for retirement in 405. On his way to home in Shisang 柴桑, Jiujiang 九江 prefecture, he regrets previous pestering officialdom as the prefect of Pengze 彭澤, and commits to the carefree life in countryside. The second part(Lines 13 to 32) describes the author's immersion in his shabby garden, which will be discussed more below. In the third part(Lines 33 to 48), Tao relates a retired life, from family gatherings and farming to his aesthetic pursuits of the zither, books, and nature. In the last part(Lines 49 to 60), he reaffirms his detachment from wealth and power, and rejoices in his lot assigned by the Heaven's command.

In "Return", Tao's garden is limited mainly as the background for his pursuit of hermitage. His garden is mostly depicted in the second part, the exceptional part that is written in a descriptive mode without use of a provocative opening line:<sup>5)</sup>

乃瞻衡宇	Then I catch sight of my poor hut—	
載欣載奔	filled with joy I run.	
僮僕歡迎	The servant boy comes to welcome me,	15
稚子候門	my little son waits at the door.	
三逕就荒	The three paths are almost obliterated,	
松菊猶存	but pines and chrysanthemums are still here.	

賦。On the other hand, Cao Daoheng(1989, 16-18) regards *Chu ci* as the *fu* in the southern region, based on this passage in Han shu, 87b.3583: "None of *fu* pieces is more profound than "Li sao". Yang Xiong refuted and expanded it. None of *ci* pieces is more ornate than Sima Xiangru's. Yang Xiong wrote four pieces." 賦莫深於離騷 反而廣之 辭莫麗於相如 作四賦

5) The first and third parts start with "Gui qu lai xi" 歸去來兮: *qu* 去 and *lai* 來 are the emphatic and hortatory particles(Yuan Xingpei, 2003, 465). The first line of the last part, "*yi yi hu*," 已矣乎 also includes the emphatic particle *yi* 矣 and exclamatory particle *hu* 乎.

攜幼入室	Leading the children by the hand I enter my house,	
有酒盈罇	where there is a bottle filled with wine.	20
引壺觴以自酌	I draw the bottle to me and pour myself a cup:	
眄庭柯以怡顏	seeing the trees in the courtyard brings joy to my face.	
倚南窓以寄傲	I lean out the south window and let my pride expand,	
審容膝之易安	I consider how easy it is to be content with a little space.	
園日涉以成趣	Every day I stroll in the garden for pleasure,	25
門雖設而常關	there is a gate there, but it is always shut. <sup>6)</sup>	

One can glimpse home at the minimalism of Tao's living space. His humble house is built in a simple structure of one wooden crosspiece supported by the two side beams (*heng yu* 衡宇). Its size barely accommodates his body. The entrance is always locked. These fragmentary accounts show that the author has no concern for the outward appearance of the house. By contrast, the author gives the garden space its proper due. His courtyard is large enough to plant some ornamental trees. More remarkable is his garden with the Three Paths (*san jing* 三逕).<sup>7)</sup> Although only its vestige remains in the garden, pines and chrysanthemums symbolize that his enduring fortitude does not perish.

Tao begins to recount his idle life, changing tetrasyllabic lines into six-syllable lines. Tao seeks for what he longed for but could not do in office: drinking or wandering in his garden needs not a company. This

6) *Wen xuan*, 5: 45.2026-27, Yuan Xingpei, 2003, 460. English translation from Hightower, 1954, 221.

7) Cf. *Wen xuan*, 5: 45.2026. Li Shan (ob. 689) cites a passage from Zhao Qi 趙岐 (d. 201), *San fu jue lu* 三輔決錄, "Jiang Yu (fl. late Western Han), *zi* Yuan Qing, made three paths in his house. Only Yang Zhong (n.d.) and Qiu Zhong (n.d.) could roam with him. All of them lived in purity, renounced fame, and would not come out of retirement." 蔣詡 字元卿 舍中三逕 唯羊仲 求仲從之遊 皆控廉逃名不出

kind of deed is not to be dismissed as lazy character. His solitary drinking or aimless sauntering is the result of disinterest in secular values and nihilistic resistance toward the absurd world. It is in this drunken status that the poet attains the status of “pure, will-less, painless, timeless subject”, to borrow Schopenhauer’s words in *The World as Will and Idea*(1906, 1:231). His meaningful sloth continues in the following passage:

策扶老以流憩	Cane in hand I walk and rest.	27
時矯首而遐觀	occasionally raising my head to gaze into the distance.	
雲無心以出岫	The clouds, impersonal, rise from the peaks,	
鳥倦飛而知還	the birds, flying wearily, know it is time to come home.	
景翳翳以將入	As the sun’s rays grow dim and disappear from view,	
撫孤松而盤桓	I walk around a lonely pine tree, stroking it. <sup>8)</sup>	31

Tao Yuanming does not yield any productive outcome in his plain garden, but the reader is magically attracted by his sluggish motion and steady gaze at nearby ordinary sceneries. It is because Tao revitalizes the usual objects through their symbolic significance. The lonely pine tree(*gu song* 孤松) is a symbol of constancy in adversity, as previously mentioned along with chrysanthemum. Clouds emerging out of a mountain cavern stand for detachment, and the homeward birds and setting-sun allude to retirement.<sup>9)</sup> It is through the association of natural objects with human values that the reader contemplates the poetic depth of the prosaic garden.

8) *Wen xuan*, 5: 45.2027, Yuan Xingpei, 2003, 461. English translation from Hightower, 1954, 222.

9) Hightower(1954, 224) notes that these symbolic words are consistently used in the whole corpus of Tao’s poetry.

### 3. Xie Lingyun: Estate for Spiritual Apogee

Xie Lingyun's garden, I must say at the outset, was an enormous family estate in comparison to the other three poets' gardens. His hermitage was also not the kind of genuine seclusion. Xie was so actively involved in literary activities as a leading figure of a group of hermit-poets, so-called "elegant hermitage" (*jia dun* 嘉遁) that their fame reached the capital area.<sup>10)</sup> His estate provided a venue for this inner circle, and "Shan ju fu", the one exclusively devoted to his estate was written in this circumstance:

Xie's father and grand-father were buried together in Shining 始寧 prefecture(modern Shining in Zhejiang). Moreover, there remained old mansions and villas. Thus Xie had his family registry changed to Kuaiji. He repaired and rebuilt the estates. Living next to mountains and going along the river, he explored the charms of secluded life to the extreme. He abandoned himself for amusement with Wang Hongzhi 王弘之(365-427), Kong Shunzhi 孔淳之(fl. 427), and others. He had an intention to live there to the end of his life.<sup>11)</sup> Each time a

10) "Elegant hermitage" (*jia dun* 嘉遁) is the term for literary eremitism of Xie and other poets in Shaoxing area. Cf. *Song shu*, 93.2282. Xie Lingyun took pride in the Kuaiji area as the place for elegant hermitage in his letter to Prince Luling 廬陵王, Liu Yizhen 劉義真(407-424): "Mountains and streams abound in Kuaiji. As such, the area is for elegant hermitage in the south of the Yangtze River. Many dwell there as well." 會境既豐山水 是以江左嘉遁 並多居之: *Song shu*, 67.1755. "Shan ju fu," #3, Line 18: "Who would admire them [lavish parks mentioned in previous lines] as place for elegant hermits' wandering?" 孰嘉遁之所遊

11) Wang Hongzhi 王弘之(365-427), *zi* Fangping 方平, is a native of Linyi 臨沂, Langye 琅邪. His uncle is Wang Xianzhi 王獻之. He is well-known for his secluded life. "Former supernumerary cavalier attendant-in-ordinary(Yuanwai Sanqi changshi 員外散騎常侍), Wang Hongzhi of Langye was tranquil and still in hills and gardens. With a carefree heart he lived a disengaged existence." 前員外散騎常侍琅邪 王弘之 恬淡丘園 放心居逸 For more biographical information, see *Song shu*, 4: 93.2281-3.

poem of his was delivered in the capital, everyone, noble or lower, vied with each other to copy it down. Merely overnight, it had made the rounds of gentry and commoners alike. People from far and near reverently admired him. His reputation reverberated in the entire capital. He wrote “*fu* on Living in the Mountains” and a self-commentary, relating his reclusive days.

靈運父祖，並葬始寧縣，并有故宅及墅，遂移籍會稽，修營別業，傍山帶江，盡幽居之美。與隱士王弘之、孔淳之等縱放為娛，有終焉之志。每有一詩至都邑，貴賤莫不競寫，宿昔之間，士庶皆遍，遠近欽慕，名動京師。作山居賦并自注，以言其事。<sup>12)</sup>

Xie Lingyun audaciously presents his estate as the center of the realm by employing the literary features of the Western Han epideictic *fu* (*da fu* 大賦). Lengthy form, elaborate description filled with binomial and rare words, and extensive enumeration were used for eulogizing the glory of the palace, park, and capital of the Han empire. Xie Lingyun applied all these features to emulate the imperial authority, an unprecedented attempt in the entire history of Chinese garden literature.

In particular, Xie Lingyun kept in mind the imperial park as the model for his estate. One evidence for this is his application of the four directional formula in describing his estate.<sup>13)</sup> Xie even doubled the

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Kong Shunzhi 孔淳之 (fl. 427), *zi* Yanshen 彥深, was a native of the Lu 魯 state. “He dwelled in Shan prefecture 剡縣 in Kuaiji. By natural disposition he was fond of mountains and streams by nature. Whenever making an excursion, he never failed to trace the origin of the deep wildness. Sometimes he would forget to return home for ten weeks.” 居會稽剡縣，性好山水，每有所游，必窮其幽峻，或旬日忘歸。For more biographical information, see *Song shu*, 4: 93.2283-4.

12) *Song shu*, 67.1754.

13) *Song shu*, 3: 67.1757-9. “Four directional formula” first occurred in “Yao dian” of the *Shang shu zhengyi*, 1.21-6: Emperor Yao dispatches the four vassals of Xi 羲 and He 和 to the four territories with the direction of solar cycle for the sake of regulating each area in conformity with the season. Professor Knechtges comments on “Yao dian” as a combination of enumeration, ritual cycle, and imperial progress,

four areas by adding the dimension of proximity and distance. Thus, one could glimpse another set of the four further areas in the same direction of the four areas of his estate, while the agent Xie Lingyun makes progress in his estate and beyond. The reader' eye continues to extend his view to the entire world in his imagination. Subsequently, Xie's garden is central to the world.

However, Xie's emulation of the imperial park was not his fundamental orientation. He ultimately endeavored to idealize his estate in the spiritual dimension beyond the secular order. Unlike the ceaseless exaggeration of visual grandeur in the Western Han *fu*, Xie identifies his estate to the sacred places with various Buddhist allusions:

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欽鹿野之華苑	I delight in the flowering garden of Deer Park,	
羨靈鷲之名山	And admire the famous peak of Vulture Hill.	10
企堅固之貞林	I yearn for the hardwood grove of Kevaddha,	
希菴羅之芳園	And long for the fragrant ground of Āmrāpālī.	
雖粹容之緬邈	Though Buddha's pure face is far-removed,	
謂哀音之恒存	It is said his mournful voice is ever present.	
建招提於幽峰	I have built a monastery on a secluded peak.	15
冀振錫之息肩	Hoping staff-bearing monk will rest their shoulders there.	

"Deer Park"(Mṛgadāva) near Benares is where [Buddha] preached the Four Holy Truths(āryasatyāni). "Vulture Peak"(Mt. Gṛdharakūṭa) in Rājagrha(near modern Patnā) is where he preached the Parjñāpāramitā

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and Emperor Yao as the agent who has control over the entire realm and/or cosmos in his Han *fu* class, in spring 2007. This structure is often employed in Han *fu* piece in order to stress the imperial authority, for example, "Zi xu *fu*," when Sima Xiangru portrays the Yunmeng park(*Wen xuan*, 2:350).

and Suddharmā pundarika Sūtras. At the woods of Kevaddha(near Kusinagara) he preached the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra. At the grounds of Amrapāli, he preached the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra. The gardens I plant and the parks I lay out now beside the forests are like those of old: accordingly I entrust my thoughts(to those ancient places). Although(Buddha's) pure face is far-removed, his mournful voice is as though still extant. The "monastery"(cātur-deśika) is a place which monks, ones who cannot take up permanent residence, may use to stop and rest at a while.<sup>14)</sup> This is what I mean by "rest their shoulders."

鹿苑, 說四真諦處. 靈鷲山, 說般若法華處. 堅固林, 說泥洹處. 菴羅園, 說不思議處. 今旁林苑園制苑, 仿佛在昔, 依然託想, 雖絳容緬邈, 哀音若存也. 招提, 謂僧不能常住者, 可持作坐處也. 所謂息肩.<sup>15)</sup>

The passage clearly shows Xie's religious orientation. The first four lines enumerate the four different Buddha's sermon sites in the same sentence structure. In the ensuing four lines, Xie endeavors to revitalize Buddha's voice by building a monastery on a secluded peak in his estate. In the previous passage, Xie centralizes his estate in the horizon of the human realm. In this passage, Xie transcends the world of matters(*shi* 事) through the conceptualization of his estate as a holy site where the natural principle(*li* 理) prevails.

#### 4. Shen Yue: Soaring in the Suburbia

Shen Yue, *zi* Xiuwen 休文, was a native of Wuxing 吳興(modern

14) Frodsham(1967, 45) renders "Zhao ti" 招提 as retreat(*vihara*).

15) Translation from Westbrook, 1973, 270-6.

Deqing 德清 in Zhejiang). His official career was successful, serving the dynasties of Song(420-479), Qi(479-502), and Liang(502-557). But he was not interested in the revels and bustles in court.<sup>16)</sup> In the field of literature, he was known as a leading figure of the Eternal Brilliance(Yong ming 永明) style poetry and for his theory of “The Four Tones and Eight Defects”(Si sheng ba bing 四聲八病).

The villa, the subject matter of the “Jiao ju fu” was built on the southern slope of the Zhong Mountain 鍾山 northeast of the capital. In this suburbia, the author could not only commute to see young poets with ease, but also pursued nature appreciation. It is also easily accessible to historical sites such as the tombs of the Eastern Jin rulers.<sup>17)</sup> Most meaningful for the author was that the site was the ruined foundations of the former villa of his early patron Xiao Changmao 蕭長懋(458-493), known as Crown Prince Wenhui 文惠 of Qi, whom he served in the early years, from 479 to 486. Therefore, the location of the villa was ideal for Shen Yue, a literary elder in semi-reclusion. He spent his last six years of his life, from 507 to 513.

His “Jiao ju fu” was composed shortly after he moved to his estate in the suburb of the capital in 507(Mather, 1988, 175). It is lengthy and difficult piece, totalling 450 lines with forty-one separately rhymed stanzas. Thus, my analysis of this piece benefit from Mather’s translation and ten-sectioned division as follows(1988, 175-214):

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16) *Liang shu*, 67.236: “Shen Yue was not fond of drinking. He did not have strong preference or desire. Although he received unusual treatment from the Liang court [due to his contribution to Xiao Yan’s usurping of the Qi state], he made a frugal life.” 約性不飲 酒少嗜欲 雖時遇隆重 而居處儉素 For more bibliographical information, Cao Daoheng and Shen Yucheng, 1992, 220-2.

17) For his one-line biography of the six emperors of Eastern Jin(Lines 349 to 362) in elliptical style, see Mather, 1988, Lines 349 to 362.

- (1) a prologue stating the poet's reasons for retiring to the suburbs  
(Lines 1 to 20)
- (2) a brief history of the Shen family through fifteen generations  
(Lines 21 to 60)
- (3) Shen's own lifelong hope of becoming a recluse (Lines 61 to 76)
- (4) the troubles of the last years of Qi (Lines 77 to 104)
- (5) the founding of Liang (Lines 105 to 132)
- (6) a description of the estate, with its flora and fauna (Lines 133  
to 222)
- (7) a brief excursus on gardening (Lines 223 to 242)
- (8) the view commanded from all sides and the memories it awakens  
(Lines 243 to 314)
- (9) a mystical journey through space, symbolizing his desire to be  
free of the world (Lines 315 to 348)
- (10) reflections on the recent past and the poet's quest for  
self-fulfillment (Lines 349 to 434)
- (11) a sigh of regret over his own failure to achieve consistency in  
his life (Lines 435 to 450)

Shen Yue bore in mind "Shan ju fu," while composing "Jiao ju fu." To begin with, both pieces set the philosophical tone in the first sections. In particular, Shen's self-deprecating lines seem to make response to Xie's sententious opening lines.

"Shan ju fu" #1

夫道可重	Let the Way be affirmed.	1
故物爲輕	That things material be slighted:	
理宜存	Let the natural order prevail.	

故事斯忘      That mundane affairs be forgotten.

Xie proclaims the two maxims he learned from ancient worthies: the priority of primordial way over phenomenal world, and the transcendence of the mundane affairs through the internalization of natural order. With regard to Xie's pompous statement, Shen positioned himself in a modest way:

“Jiao ju fu” #1

惟至人之非己	None but the Perfect Man and his denial of self.	1
固物我而兼忘	can truly say both “I” and “Others” are forgotten.	
自中智以下洎	All the rest, from middling wise on down to fools,	
咸得性以爲場	must make attaining their true natures be their field of action.	

Shen Yue seems to make apology for living in the suburb, which was less favored than the mountains in Xie Lingyun's mind. He regards himself as middling wise or below, who are not completely free from their ego, like the Perfect Man (*zhi ren* 至人). Thus, he cannot imitate the enlightened life of Xie Lingyun, who “follows his nature and feelings, venturing to indulge his pleasure.”<sup>18)</sup> 順從性情 敢率所樂 Thus, Shen Yue believes that the suburban area is appropriate for his middling wisdom in order to “attain his nature” (*de xing* 得性).

Another influence from “Shan ju fu” is evident in Section 6. The following chart clearly shows that Shen Yue took reference from Xie's taxonomic enumeration of the flora and fauna.

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18) *Song shu*, 3: 67.1754. “Shan ju fu” preface.

	“Shan ju fu”	“Jiao ju fu”
Plants	Aquatic plants	Aquatic plants
	Herbs	Plants of the dry land
	Bamboos	Bamboos
	Trees	n/d
Moving	Birds	Woodland birds
Creatures		Water birds
	Fish	Fish
	Wild Animals	n/d

Shen Yue reorganizes Xie's four sections of plants and three sections of moving creatures into three sections of plants and three sections of moving creatures in “Jiao ju fu.” His estate being located in the suburban area, the habitats of trees or wild animals were not significant enough to describe separately. He also changed the name of herbs into the plants of the dry land (*lu hui* 陸卉), which is also more appropriate for his area. On the other hand, he showed special interest in avian species, dividing them into woodland birds (*lin niao* 林鳥) and water birds (*shui qin* 水禽).

However, Shen Yue did not purport to tinge his garden with authoritative or religious tone in contrast to Xie who made his garden the center of the world or the Buddhist holy place in his “Shan ju fu.” Instead, Shen Yue's estate is depicted as no more than a lovable place with the compelling scenery of four seasons (Lines 414 to 434). He even sometimes denigrated his garden as shrubby tumbleweeds (*Erigeron acer* L.). Shen mentioned tumbleweeds (*feng* 蓬) three times in the prologue, concluding part, and Section 5, which means that we need to pay special attention to the plant:

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披東郊之寥廓 | I opened up the empty spaces of the Eastern Suburb, 17

- 入蓬藿之荒茫 Penetrating deep within the wild profusion of its tangled weeds. ....
- 關重扃於華闈 Once having slid the double bolts to enter splendid harems.
- 豈蓬蒿所能沒 Could they ever be “engulfed in tumbleweed and artemisia”? ..... 124
- 時復託情魚鳥 Once more I trust my feelings to the birds and fish: 439
- 歸閑蓬華 I have come home to leisure in my humble gate.

The tumbleweeds are ambivalently read in the text. First, they allude to the place of hermitage in contrast to splendid harems in Line 124 to 125. In the context of the Zhuang zi, the entangled weeds are the nest of flapping sparrows, which may figuratively mirror the author's life. Shen always longed for the phoenix effortlessly soaring up to mythical heights, but could not fulfill his transcendental aspiration. In reality, Shen was always enmeshed by human bondages.

In particular, he could not free himself from a matrix of memories of himself, family, and the three dynasties. He could not turn away from the fall and rise of dynasties, the transience of honorable history, and family tragedy as a witness and as a historian compiling the *Song shu*. These memories are recorded in the style of “enchanted history”(yong shi 詠史) in Sections 2 to 5, the first half of Section 10, and Section 11, about one third of the entire length in my calculation. This awareness of convoluted history makes fundamental difference from Xie Lingyun's detachment from human affairs.

The paradox of bitter reminiscence in the serene garden consummates in concluding remarks(Lines 445 to 450). The poetic

persona outbursts his emotion for fear of not leaving his name to posterity:

惟以天地之恩不報	It's only that the kindnesses of heaven and earth go unrequited,	445
書事之官靡述	that the officer who writes my life has nothing to transmit.	
徒重於高門之地	Unduly honored with high family status,	
不載於良史之筆	will not be cited by the Good Historian's brush.	
長太息其何言	Long have I sighed—what more is there to say?	
羌愧心之非一	just that I am ashamed my heart has not been single. <sup>19)</sup>	450

Shen does not articulate his shameful inconsistency (*fei yi* 非一). It might have been self-reproach for serving three successive dynasties of Song, Qi, and Liang, which might make himself an opportunist from a strict historian's perspective. Another possibility is the author's frustration for his indecisive character: Shen was always entangled in the tumbles of human affairs in spite of his transcendental aspiration. Such self-contradiction is well-documented in the entire Section 3 (Lines 61 to 76), especially, in the last two lines:

詠歸歟而躑躅	I sing, "Shall I go home?" yet hesitate,	75
眷巖阿而抵掌	Look fondly toward the cliffs and coves and clap my hands.	

Perhaps, the author's anguish about his inconsistency is anticipated from the beginning in the location of his estate near the capital, where

19) Translation from Mather, 1988, 213.

personal memories and dynastic disasters cross.

## 5. Yu Xin: Frustration in the Foreign Capital

The ancestral home of Yu Xin 庾信(513-581), *zi* Zishan 子山, was Xinye 新野 in Nanyang 南陽 in modern Henan, and his family settled down in Jiangling(modern Jingzhou in Hunan) in the Yongjia 永嘉 reign period(307-312).<sup>20)</sup> He established his career as a poet of the Palace Style in his youth. He and his father Yu Jianwu 庾肩吾(487-551), along with Xu Chi 徐摛(474-551) and Xu Ling 徐陵(507-583), fashioned courtly poetry, the so-called style of Xu and Yu 徐庾體 under the auspice of Xiao Gang 蕭綱(503-551), posthumously known as Emperor Jianwen 簡文帝(550-551). However, more valued is his literature from his latter days, when he experienced the invasion of the nomad Western Wei(535-556) on the Liang court and living as a virtual captive in Chang'an from 554 to his death at the end of Northern and Chinese Southern Dynasties. Exemplary *fu* pieces at that time include “Kushu *fu*”, 枯樹賦 “Zhuzhang *fu*”, 竹杖賦 “Shangxin *fu*”, 傷心賦 “Ai Jiangnan *fu*”, 哀江南賦 and “Xiao yuan *fu*”. 小園賦 Among those the last one draws the most attention for the topic of this article.<sup>21)</sup>

“Xiao yuan *fu*” consists of the garden description(Lines 1 to 88) and

20) For more bibliographical information, see Cao Daoheng and Shen Yucheng, 1992, 393-396.

21) As for dating “Xiao yuan *fu*”, Watson(1971, 101) suggests shortly after the winter of 554, when Western Wei sacked the temporary capital Jiangling of Liang, while Cao Daoheng and Shen Yucheng date it at the time of his early service in Northern Zhou(557-591).

the author's expression of homesickness, frustration, and anger (Lines 89 to 139). The first half is again divided into the introductory overview of the garden (Lines 1 to 28) and the following detailed description (Lines 29 to 88). The second half is also divided into the two parts: difficult life in a foreign land (Lines 89 to 115) and grief for the dynastic disasters (Lines 116 to 139). I will first observe the spatial composition of his garden in the urban area and examine how the autumn imageries of deciduous trees and foliage are silently resonant with the author's woe.

The first part (Lines 1 to 28) of the first half starts out with a brief history of the residence of legendary hermits in contrast with luxurious mansions of wealthy men. Then Yu Xin introduces his humble residence in the voice of the first person speaker:

余有數畝弊廬	I have a few acres, a shabby hut,	
寂寞人外	lonely and still, beyond the world of men,	
聊以擬伏臘	Enough to fend off the worst of summer and winter,	15
聊以避風霜	enough to shelter me from wind and frost.	
雖復晏嬰近市	Though I'm closer to the market than Yen Ying (d. 500 BCE),	
不求朝夕之利	I don't send morning and evening to ask about the bargains:	
潘岳面城	Like Pan Yue, I face the city,	
且適閑居之樂	savoring delights of an idle life. <sup>22)</sup>	20

Yu Xin's house is shabby and secluded in the capital area. The author's accounts are not to be taken literally but at least we can read the author's disinterest in officialdom and commercial profit, which is

22) For primary text, I will use the edition of Xu Yimin 許逸民 (1980, 1:19-34) and *Quan Hou Zhou wen* (8.184-5). For the translation, I will cite Watson's rendering (1971, 102-7).

commonly observed from hermit-poets in ancient China.

The originality of this piece lies in the second part(Lines 29 to 88), where one can take a look at a scholar's garden-setting in the Chang'an area. Especially, this passage is an invaluable source for the number and formation of the trees in his garden, one sample of a scholars' garden in the Northern Dynasties:

有棠梨而無館	I have crabapples but no hall of that name,
足酸棗而非臺	Sour jujubes, though no towers to match.
猶得欹側八九丈	But still there's room to zigzag eighty or ninety feet,
縱橫數十步	To walk up and down many tens of paces.
榆柳三兩行	Elms and willows, two or three rows of them,
梨桃百餘樹	Pears and peaches, a stand of over a hundred: 40
撥蒙密兮見窗	Part the dense foliage and you'll find a window,
行欹斜兮得路	Thread in and out among them and come on a path:

Yu Xin's garden is surrounded with an abundance of deciduous broadleaf trees, whose fallen leaves create an autumn imagery of transience. Crabapple and jujube trees stand high, replacing a lavish hall or terrace(Lines 35 to 36). Ornamental trees of elms and willows are arranged in the two or three rows, and fruit-bearing trees number over a hundred(Lines 39 to 40).

Equally arresting is the irregularly formed spatial composition. The empty space and paths around his hut are made curvy and uneven(Lines 37, 38, and 42). This zigzagging landscaping may be necessary to make the most of narrow urban space, but, as a result, it creates sophisticated sense of volume.<sup>23)</sup> This turning and twisting

23) The aesthetic view of narrow and curvy space is already mentioned in the *Shi shuo xin yu*, 2/102. English translation from Mather, 2002, 80-1: Someone said to Wang Xun王珣(350-401): "When your grandfather, Chancellor Wang Dao 王導(276-339),

design of the garden makes a contrast with the straight and proportioned lines of eaves and doorways.<sup>24)</sup> The viewer now enjoys a complex of straight and curved lines at the scene of the mazy path leading into the house. This is one example of “the non-axial and asymmetrical in contrast to the axial structure of the living quarters”(Jeffrey F. Meyer, 2001, 224-5).

草樹混淆	Plants and trees tangled and untrained,	45
枝格相交	Stalks and branches twined together.	
山爲簣覆	For hill a heap of shoveled-up earth,	
地有堂坳	In the ground, a tiny hollow for a pond:	
藏狸并窟	Secretive wildcats burrow side by side,	
乳鵲重巢	Fledgling magpies nest together.	50
連珠細茵	Delicate grasses, seeds strung like pearls,	
長柄寒匏	Cool gourds dangling from their long handles-	

A mix of trees and plants dominate other garden elements. “A heap of shoveled-up earth”(kui fu 簣覆) and “a tiny hollow”(tang ao 堂坳) play only a nominal role of hills and pond in his garden. A few mentioned wild creatures are insignificant, compared to the enumeration of moving creatures in the previous two epideictic fu. The following

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was first rebuilding Jiankang, not having any model to follow, he ordered it laid out all twisted and turning—quite inferior to this.” Wang Xun replied: “It was precisely in this that the chancellor was astute, for the land southeast of the Yangtze River is cramped, not at all like the Central States of the North. If he’s had the streets and crossroads laid out long and straight, then in a single glance one could see everything. Therefore he had them twisting and turning, zigging and zagging, as though to make them impenetrable.” 人謂王東亭曰：丞相初營建康，無所因承，而制置紆曲，方此爲劣。東亭曰：此丞相乃所以爲巧。江左地促，不如中國；若使阡陌條暢，則一覽而盡。故紆餘委曲，若不可測。

24) Lines 57 to 58: “Under the eaves try to straighten up—they knock your hat off: Walk through the door in the usual way and get a thump on the brow.” 簷直倚而妨帽 戶平行而礙眉

passage also brims with seasonal plants as well:

一寸二寸之魚	Fish, one inch, two inches long:	
三竿兩竿之竹	Bamboos, two canes, three canes growing:	
雲氣蔭於叢蒼	Cloud breath darkening over clumps of milfoil,	69
金精養於秋菊	Essence of gold cherished in the autumn chrysanthemum	
棗酸梨酢	Jujubes sour, pears acid to the bite,	
桃榭李萸	Peaches, garden-grown and wild ones: damsons big and small:	
落葉半床	Their fall leaves half bury my chair.	
狂花滿屋	Their rioting petals fill the room—	

A school of small fish and several bamboo trees create the bleak atmosphere. Thick mists and metallic vapors foreshadow the upcoming winter season. Sour and acid flavor of fruits exhibit the psychology of his poetic persona. Above all, fallen leaves, aforementioned as the dense foliage (*meng mi* 蒙密 in Line 41) and here again, symbolize the atmosphere of sheer isolation and solitude.

From the second half (Lines 89 to 139), Yu Xin's tone is increasingly emotional, and his impulse finally bursts through the last part. In particular, he could not control his anger against Hou Jing 侯景 (d. 552):

遂乃	But then	
山崩川竭	Mountain crumbled, rivers ran dry:	
冰碎瓦裂	There was a cracking of ice, a shattering of tiles	
大盜潛移	The great bandit worked his usurpation,	
長離永滅	The star of our heavens faded for all time.	120

Yu Xin is unusually furious about Hou Jing's revolt. His

ice-cracking (*bing sui* 冰碎) and tile-shattering (*wa lie* 瓦裂) desperation are personal. What are crumbling and scorching are not mountains and streams, but the heart of Yu Xin, whose army was inexorably beaten by Hou's troops on the street of Zhu que hang 朱雀航, when he was charged with the capital defense as Jiankang ling 建康令.<sup>25)</sup> He could barely run away to the court of Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508-555), posthumously known as Emperor Yuan 元帝 (552-555) in Jiangling at that time, but this mentally weak poet could not forget the traumatic memory for the rest of his life, even in his old days in the quiet garden. This expression of intense emotion in the last part is not found in the other previous pieces.

## 6. Conclusive Remarks

My article have discussed that gardens began to be recognized as a private space for literary inspiration, which developed new lyrical tendency in garden literature starting from the Southern Dynasties. Gardens, complex space where the nature and culture encounter, were

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25) Cf. The magistrate of Jiankang is named as Wang Fu 王復 (n.d.) in Yan Zhitui 顏之推, *Yan shi jiaxun jijie* 顏氏家訓集解, 1993, 11.322-3: "When the rebellion of Hou Jing occurred, people were so flabby and soft that they were unable to walk, and their bodies so lean and breath so short that they could endure cold and heat. It often happened that such people died suddenly. Wang Fu, a magistrate of Jiankang, who was born weak and gentle, had never mounted a horse. Whenever he saw a horse neighing and galloping, he trembled in fear. He said to somebody: "Really, it is a tiger. Why do they call it a horse?" Customs had reached such a level!" 及侯景之亂, 膚脆骨柔, 不堪行步, 體羸氣弱, 不耐寒暑, 坐死倉猝者, 往往而然。建康令王復性既儒雅, 未嘗乘騎, 見馬嘶歔陸梁, 莫不震懼, 乃謂人曰: 「正是虎, 何故名爲馬乎?」其風俗至此。English translation from Teng Ssu-yü, 1968, 116.

represented in various ways in accordance with the dissimilar status and tastes of the authors. My chronological reading of the four exemplary *fu* works reveals that the feelings of frustration gradually increase through the memory of bitter experience towards the end of the Southern Dynasties.

Often called 'the originator of tianyuan 田園 poetry', Tao Yuanming led a hermitage life on the foothill of Mountain Lu; in his "Return", Tao is content with his humble garden and expresses the amusement of retirement in harmony with the nature. Natural objects in his garden, such as chrysanthemum, bamboo, and pine trees had since become the everlasting symbol of incorruptible man. The master of shanshui 山水 poetry Xie Lingyun resided in the mountainous area of Zhejiang province. In his "Shan ju *fu*", Xie catches a sight of spectacular landscape in his park and then transforms it into a Buddhist ideal world. Considering the magnificent size of his estate and descriptive strategies, Xie must have intended to emulate the imperial residence in the capital. He implies that his garden is superior to the imperial garden for the sacred nature is more valuable than the secular prosperity. Such a strong pride might contribute to his tragic death.

Standing contrast with the tempestuous life of Xie Lingyun, Shen Yue had a successful career despite chaotic political circumstance. He held high positions in the three consecutive dynasties and made distinguished scholarly achievements. Located in the suburb of the capital, his dwelling place represented his moderate character that compromised with the mundane world without losing integrity. However, he could not conceal the state of his complicated mind when involved with political upheavals. The last writer Yu Xin underwent a

turbulent life during the Hou Jing rebellion. He was forced to move to the north and lived the rest of his life there. Therefore, his garden was charged with emotional outburst and criticism on history. His “Xiaoyuan fu” reveals that the Southern Dynasties had literary influence on the Northern Dynasties, and then on the Tang Dynasty in later times.

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### <국문제요>

본 논문은 남조시대 부 문학에서 새로운 관심사로 등장한 문인 정원의 다양한 문학적 형상화를 고찰한다. 동한 이후로 부 문학은 서정화/개인화의 길을 걷는데 이러한 경향이 남조시대로 들어오면서 어떻게 다양한 스펙트럼으로 분화되는가에 주안을 둔다. 구체적으로 당시 대표적인 작가들이었던 도연명, 사령운, 심약, 유신이 정원을 자아의 연장선으로 삼아서 자족적 은둔의 기쁨에서 역사에 대한 울분까지 다양한 감정을 표출하였음을 살펴보았다.

전원시의 선구자로 불리는 도연명은 여산 아래 낙향하여 살면서 자신의 소박한 정원을 자족적 은둔의 공간으로 찬미하였다. 산수시의 선구자답게 사령운은 수도 남경에서 멀리 떨어진 회계현에 거주하면서 대자연의 아름다움을 불교적 시각에서 관조하였다. 그러나 자신의 정원을 세계의 중심으로 상정할 정도로 자신감이 넘쳤던 사령운은 결국 유송 왕조의 눈 밖에 나서 비극적으로 생을 마감하였다. 이와 대조적으로 온건하고 검소한 성격의 소유자였던 심약은 왕조가 두 번이나 바뀌어도 관직에서 낙마한 적이 없었다. 심약의 이러한 능숙한 처세술과 자연미의 추구는 남경에서 멀지 않으면서도 산을 접하고 있는 자신의 주거 환경에서 간명하게 확인된다.

선진양한 시대에서 위진 시대에 이르기까지 중국의 정치적 중심지는 줄곧 북방이었고 부 작가들은 서안과 낙양에 위치한 황실 정원의 거대한 스케일과 화려한 경관묘사에 매달렸다. 유목민족의 공격으로 남방으로 쫓겨난 동진 시대부터 문인들은 남방의 독특한 자연미에 매료되면서 새로운 서정 공간을 추구하는데 이는 종래의 북방 작가들의 작품과 다른 새로운 경향이었다. 남조 문학은 이후 북조 및 당대 정원문학의 형성에 큰 영향을 끼치면서 중국문학의 주류로 자리매김한다. 예를 들어서 후경의 난에 연루되어서 장안에서 생을 마쳐야 했던 남조 시인 유신의 작품 <소원부>를 읽어보면, 정원의 구조, 수목배치 등 세세한 묘사와 함께 문인으로서 역사비판의식이 담겨져 있다. 이는 6세기 말엽에 이미 남조 문인들의 문학이 북조 문단에 소개되었고 이후 당대 정원문학의 자양분이 되었음을 보여준다. 남조 부 문학의 서정성이 후대 문학에 끼친 영향력은 차

후에 좀 더 심도 있게 논의되어야 할 것으로 보인다.

Keywords: 정원, 도연명, 사령운, 심약, 유신, 서정성, 개인성, 남조

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