A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE NATURE-CONCEPTS IN WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1770-1850) AND TAO YUAN-MING (365-427)

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE NATURE-CONCEPTS IN WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1770 - 1850) AND TAO YUAN-MING (365 - 427)

By

Chin Ling Wang

A THESIS

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The poet, to whose mighty heart
Heaven doth a quicker pulse impart,
Subdues that energy to scan
Not his own course, but that of man.
Though he move mountains, though his day
Be passed on the proud heights of sway,
Though he hath loosed thousand chains,
Though he hath borne immortal pains,
Action and suffering though he know--
He hath not lived, if he lives so.

MATTHEW ARNOLD

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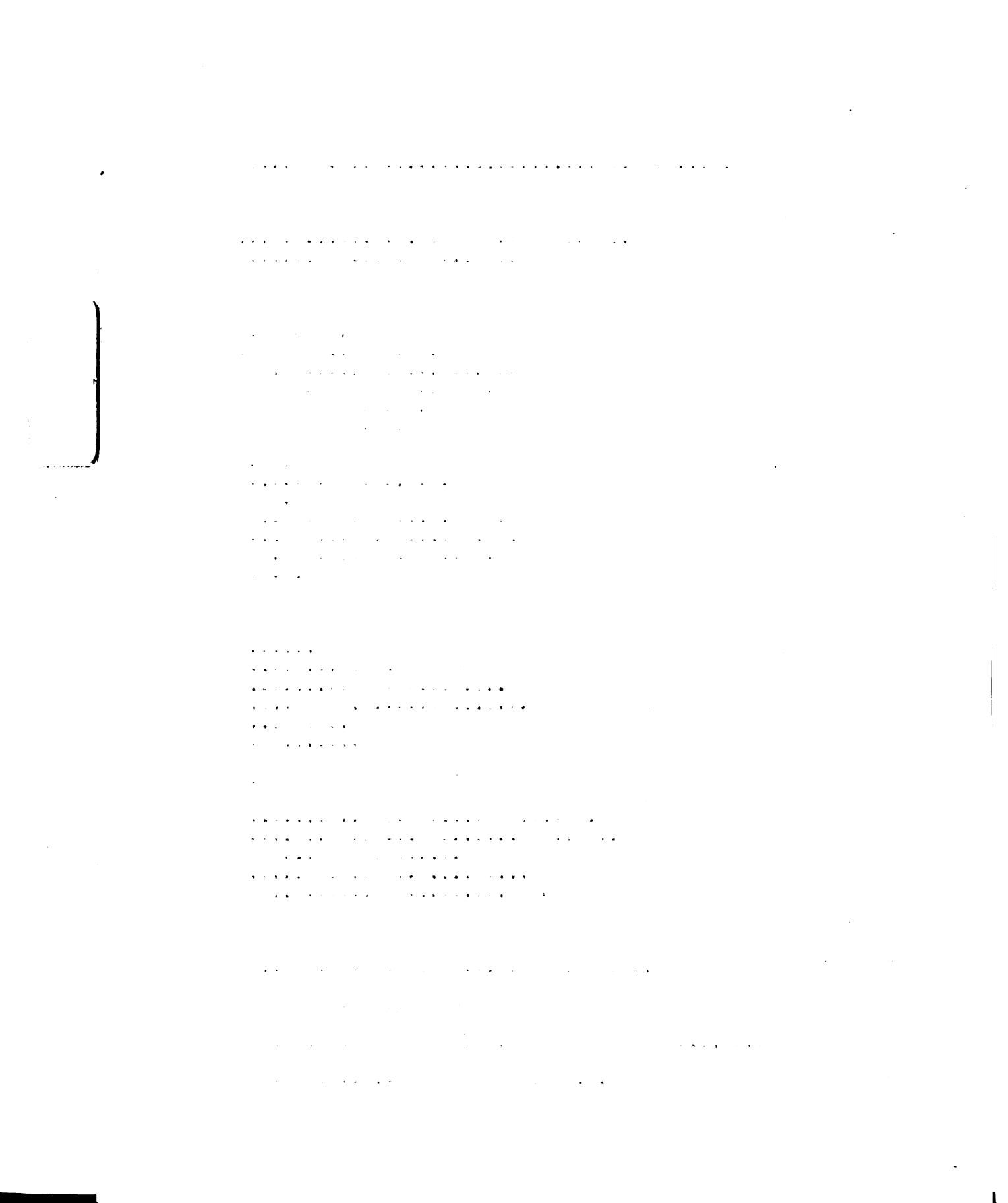

PREFACE

For many years I have desired to make a comparative study of the nature-philosophies of Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming. But for one reason or another I have delayed. The thesis which is required for the Master's degree from Michigan State College effectively provided the final motivation to undertake this study.

In spite of my previous interest in this subject, I spent several months of concentrated work on the material before I was able to arrive at any conclusion in regard to the relationship of the two poets. I am not completely satisfied with what I have done. There are no source references about Tao Yuan-Ming. Later scholarly comments about his works are not plentiful. Very little is available in this country. Therefore, my personal interpretation of his ideas on the basis of his poetry had to be presented unsupported by scholarly opinion.

Since Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming are the best-known nature-poets in England and in China, a comparative study of their ideas should be noteworthy. The procedure of this study was to ascertain their principal ideas by a close examination of their works, and then to consider the matrix of these ideas in their lives and in their studies. This is merely a general review; it is not exhaustive.

As a result of this study, I have realized that while Wordsworth is in many ways unlike Tao Yuan-Ming, yet in some

other ways they are alike. This correlation is analyzed in detail in the conclusion.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to Dr. Branford P. Millar, my major professor, for his invaluable criticisms and encouragement; to Dr. Anders Orbeck, my adviser, for his kind suggestions and help; to Dr. Claude Newlin and Dr. Arnold Williams, for their unforgetable instructions; and to Mrs. Elizabeth J. Calkins, without whose assistance this essay would not have come into existence; and to Prof. Shao Chang Lee, without whose Works of Tao Yuan-Ming it would have been extremely difficult for me to find a reliable Chinese text.

PART I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Nature and the Poets

Nature has been treated by numberless writers in almost every country over the world. The uses and ambiguities of the word are numerous. But so far as the relationship between nature and man is concerned, there are, in general, two senses which must be clarified before we deal with the concept of any particular poet. In one sense, nature has been taken to mean the whole universe, including God, the cosmos and its creatures, the mind of man, and all that is or may be imagined. In this sense, every poet and thinker is consciously or unconsciously an interpreter of nature, and every being and thing is a symbol of it. The other sense of the word denotes the power external to mankind which is implied in the earth and sky, in the mountains and sea, and whatever is in them except man.

Taking nature in the latter sense, if we read Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming (whose original name was Tao Chien), the two poets who have seen most deeply into nature, we can find essential resemblances and differences between them, notwithstanding the tremendous geographical and cultural distance between England and China and in spite of the length of time between Tao Yuan-Ming in the fifth century and Wordsworth in the nineteenth. Both poets have brought to their study an interpretation of nature which has certain outstanding qualities. They have looked on nature with a closer ob-

servation and deeper understanding and sympathy, and with more profound and luminous imagination than anybody else in any other age.

It is very obvious that imaginative delight in nature is not a new thing in the world history of poetry. It appears in forms of perfect beauty in the choruses of Sophocles, in the Georgics of Virgil, and in the Sonnets of Shakespeare. For sheer sensuous delight in natural beauty, for the play of exquisite fancy upon wood and stream and hill, Wordsworth as well as others rivalled certain of the Elizabethans. Shakespeare and Spenser, for instance, expressed fully and clearly their ideas about nature as the symbol and mirror of the changing moods of man's thought and feeling. And about a century and half later, the immediate forerunners of Wordsworth, like Chatterton, Burns, Blake, Thomson and Cowper, all made their appearance remarkable with their explicit interpretation of nature, no matter by whom they were influenced in their ideas. However, Wordsworth is acknowledged to have gone deeply into the heart of nature and by intense consciousness of it to have produced some of the greatest of modern poetry in the modern world.[1]

In the main currents of Chinese thought, as early as C. 1112 B.C. there is a most influential collection of verse, The Book of Poetry. The poems in this book are the songs of

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[1] Shairp, Poetic Interpretation of Nature, Chapters X, XI, XII, XIII.

a people genuinely in love with life in harmony with nature. There is in them the fullness of simplicity enclosed within the hallowed conception of the mysterious government of the blue sky at noon. It is a world where everything is as it is, not clouded over with a suffused reflected glare from the earth but with the brightness of the sun at noonday. This poetry of nature has exercised tremendous influence on almost every one of the Chinese men of letters of any period.[2]

Around 400 B.C. one of the greatest of ancient Chinese philosophers, Lao-Tzu, was a great expounder of the relationship between man and nature. His Taoism is an everlasting philosophy about the quietness of nature, which is supposed to be the root of all things, the place where all things return. From this is derived the theme of Tao Yuan-Ming's prose fragment called "The Peach-Blossom Fountain." Chuang-Tzu (369?-287? B.C.),[3] not long after Lao-Tzu, is the only philosopher who glorified Taoism with mysticism and transcendentalism to a full development of the idea of oneness of the universe. This provides the source of the idea of the return to nature. So far as Chinese poetry is concerned, no other poet either before or since Tao Yuan-Ming

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[2] Hu Yun-Y, New History of Chinese Literature, pp. 1-12.

[3] Both the dates of Lao-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu are uncertain. Here Chuang-Tzu's date is figured out according to "The Index of Chronological Events", Dictionary of Chinese Phrases, ed. by Fan Tsing Sheng.

has ever been so explicit as he in the deepening of imaginative consciousness of embodying man with nature.[4]

Both Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming sought to enjoy nature's passing favors and to go deep into its soul. To Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming, Nature is the mystical Mother, brooding on wondrous creations, whose face her children must be ever watching with intense scrutiny. It is not enough to take its manifestations at haphazard, and transmute them wantonly into forms of one's own fancy. Man must interpret or feel with his sensitivity rather than embroider, and this he could only do through constant and loving vigil. Hence, with Wordsworth, as well as with Tao Yuan-Ming, thorough observation is a necessity. In both these poets, it ranges from sheer sensuous delight in nature's beauty to a profound mysticism.

There are two frequently recurring themes which seem never absent from any philosophical nature-poetry. One is the relation of nature to God, and the other the relation of man's spirit to God and nature. The disposition to substitute nature for God is usually the mark of naturalism, and is more or less present in the most characteristic nature-poets. But it is actually the concept of God as the original spiritual substance, purposive and benevolent, that makes nature worthy of the enthusiasm of its devotees.

Nature-poets love to think of man as the child of na-

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[4] Hughes, Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times, pp. 144-211.

ture, intimately communing with it, subject to its laws like all other creatures, acting upon instincts by it implanted in him, and drawing from it the very mind and spirit by which he conducts his rational and moral life. Thus nature, interpreted by intuition, comes to be in a sense a rival to reason or understanding as a means for apprehending spiritual truth. And the "return to nature" at times implies the virtual abandonment of reason in favor of some higher or more mystical faculty:

> "To every form of being is assigned,"
> Thus calmly spake the venerable Sage,
> "An active Principle:--howe'er removed
> From sense and observation, it subsists
> In all things, in all natures; in the stars
> Of azure heaven, the unenduring clouds,
> In flower and tree, in every pebbly stone
> That paves the brooks, the stationary rocks,
> The moving waters, and the invisible air.
> Whate'er exists hath properties that spread
> Beyond itself communicating good,
> A simple blessing, or with evil mixed;
> Spirit that knows no insulated spot,
> No Chasm, no solitude; from link to link
> It circulates, the Soul of all the worlds."[5]

> Heaven and Earth endure eternally,
> Mountains and streams will never change;
> The plants know their natural course,
> They wither and flourish in frost and dew.
> Man should be above them in intelligence,
> But he alone is unlike them:
> A while ago he was living,
> Now he is gone and will never return.
> .....
> Virtuous deeds bring happiness,
> But how can we be certain of praise?
> Ponder how all this harms our life.
> We should resign ourselves to fate
> And drift on the waves of Great Nature,

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[5] The Excursion, Book IX, ll. 1-15. All references are to The Poetical Works of Wordsworth, edited by Thomas Hutchinson, revised by E. D. Selincourt.

Neither joyfully nor fearfully:
When the end comes, let it come,
And no more cares beset you.[6]

In these passages, both Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming are endeavoring to express themselves in accurate philosophical language. There is implied a notion of the fundamental character of the natural process which is more than poetical. Nature is here regarded as the norm of conduct, the order of things, but more specifically as the animating principle of all things in the universe. Such sensuous enjoyment of nature, quickened by imagination, must be penetrated by the senses of the poet in order for him to apprehend the possible meanings of nature. So the poet is not only keenly observing with his sharp eyes but also feeling with his intense sensibility. In all survey of created things, the upward look toward the uncreated, unexpressed though it may be, is yet ever present. It cannot but affect the poet's feeling about even the most common material things. As he looks on the face of earth, sea, and sky, the thoughts of whence come these things? whither go they? what is their origin and their end? must habitually enter in and color that which the eye beholds. It is the poet's inner thoughts about these things that will find their way out and color the observation of his eye. Therefore, Wordsworth, through his perception of the connections among things, found a close unity in all the parts of the universe. Tao Yuan-Ming by his

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[6] Tao Yuan-Ming, "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit," tr. Yang Yeh-tzu, in The White Pony, ed. Payne, pp. 156, 157.

insight into the unchangeable natural scenes, discovered the existence of the eternity of nature. But they both have apprehended the full compass of the manifold harmonies of all that is under the sky. To "return to nature" is undoubtedly the unique theme of both of them. Yet in the long run, there are many differences in spite of the similarities, both in their ideas of nature and in their attitudes towards nature. To find out how close, in certain aspects, the two poets are to each other as well as how far apart in some other aspects, is the main purpose of this study.

PART II

CHAPTER II

WORDSWORTH'S DOMINANT IDEAS OF NATURE

Sensuous Delight in Nature

In the history of English poetry, Wordsworth reached the culmination of naturalism. The teachings of nature dominate his poetry. From the time of his childhood, the mountains, skies, waters, woods had stolen into his soul through the gates of the senses. At last the particular separate impressions of all those things were mingled into one universal conception which was conceived as a kind of living personality. To Wordsworth, nature is the life-giving spirit which builds up the universe and gives to each particular thing its distinct life, soul, and work. Moreover, Wordsworth carries this thought of life, that the great divisions of the natural world, the whole of the sky, the sea, and the earth are each gifted with separate but more complex being. He is keenly aware of the moving powers of nature, the wind dancing over wood and hill, tossing the trees and grass, and lifting the head of the flowers, the river running around the stones, the clouds flying through the sky, and the stars shining over the vault. He finds in all these things a new life of joy and jollity, of solemnity or peace. His mind plays with delight over every form of natural beauty, though it be hidden in the tiny shrine of the daisy or the small celandine. Nature appeals to him so

strongly that it stirs in him the perception of beauty and kindles his imagination into creation.

Thus Wordsworth sees joy in nature, and it awakens joy in him. To him it is the joy of God in His own creative life. Therefore wherever Wordsworth goes, he goes through a rejoicing world; and he marries to its joy the joy of his own heart. He receives delight and gives back delight.

> It was an April morning: fresh and clear
> The Rivulet, delighting in its strength,
> Ran with a young man's speed; and yet the voice
> Of waters which the winter had supplied
> Was softened down into a vernal tone.
> The spirit of enjoyment and desire,
> And hopes and wishes, from all living things
> Went circling, like a multitude of sounds.
> The budding groves seemed eager to urge on
> The steps of June; as if their various hues
> Were only hindrances that stood between
> Them and their object: but, meanwhile, prevailed
> Such an entire contentment in the air
> That every naked ash, and tardy tree
> Yet leafless, showed as if the countenance
> With which it looked on this delightful day
> Were native to the summer.--Up the brook
> I roamed in the confusion of my heart,
> Alive to all things and forgetting all.
> At length I to a sudden turning came
> In this continuous glen, where down a rock
> The Stream, so ardent in its course before,
> Sent forth such sallies of glad sound, that all
> Which I till then had heard appeared the voice
> Of common pleasure: beast and bird, the lamb,
> The shepherd's dog, the linnet and the thrush,
> Vied with this waterfall, and made a song
> Which, while I listened, seemed like the wild growth
> Or like some natural produce of the air,
> That could not cease to be. Green leaves were here;
> But 'twas the foliage of the rocks--the birch,
> The yew, the holly, and the bright green thorn,
> With hanging islands of resplendent furze:
> And on a summit, distant a short space,
> By any who should look beyond the dell
> A single mountain-cottage might be seen.
> I gazed and gazed, and to myself I said,
> "Our thoughts at least are ours; and this wild nook,
> My EMMA, I will dedicate to thee."

---Soon did the spot become my other home,
My dwelling, and my out-of-doors abode.
And of the Shepherds who have seen me there,
To whom I sometimes in our idle talk
Have told this fancy, two or three, perhaps,
Years after we are gone and in our graves,
When they have cause to speak of this wild place.[1]

Here is the joy of all things in spring, and of the fullness of accomplishment in summer. Here is also the delight of the fruitage and harvest in autumn, and of the keen clearness of winter's air and light, with the sleeping seeds dreaming of the world to come. The fullness of delight to the poet's soul fills the whole world of nature through the changing year, and makes the heart of nature beat with joy for-ever. Sorrow and storm, earthquake and decay, if there are any, are nothing but the ebbing of life and joy to rise into floodtide of happiness again. They are not death, but transference of life into new forms.

This is shown in the cautious qualification with which he refers to his practice of attributing the sentiment of being to every creature in the organic and inorganic worlds. He believes that each thing has an innate sense of life and feeling. Wordsworth does not try to determine whether he arrived at this concept as a result of the association of ideas or by a direct revelation of things as they really are.

Nor should this, perchance,
Pass unrecorded, that I still had loved
The exercise and produce of a toil,
Than analytic industry to me
More pleasing, and whose character I deem

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[1] "Poems of The Naming of Places," I, ll. 1-46.

> Is more poetic as resembling more
> Creative agency. The song would speak
> Of that interminable building reared
> By observation of affinities
> In objects where no brotherhood exists
> To passive minds. My seventeenth year was come;
> And, whether from this habit rooted now
> So deeply in my mind, or from excess
> In the great social principle of life
> Coercing all things into sympathy,
> To unorganic natures were transferred
> My own enjoyments; or the power of truth
> Coming in revelation, did converse
> With things that really are; I, at this time,
> Saw blessings spread around me like a sea.
> Thus while the days flew by, and years passed on,
> From Nature and her overflowing soul
> I had received so much, that all my thoughts
> Were steeped in feeling; I was only then
> Contented, when with bliss ineffable
> I felt the sentiments of Being spread
> O'er all that moves and all that seemeth still;
> O'er all that, lost beyond the reach of thought
> And human knowledge, to the human eye
> Invisible, yet liveth to the heart;
> O'er all that leaps and runs, and shouts and sings,
> Or beats the gladsome air; o'er all that glides
> Beneath the waves, yea, in the wave itself,
> And mighty depth of waters. Wonder not
> If high the transport, great the joy I felt
> Communing in this sort through earth and heaven
> With every form of creature, as it looked
> Towards the Uncreated with a countenance
> Of adoration, with an eye of love.
> One song they sang, and it was audible,
> Most audible, then, when the fleshly ear,
> O'ercome by humblest prelude of that strain,
> Forgot her functions, and slept undisturbed.[2]

This refers to his poem, "Lines Written in Early Spring," with their earnest but qualified attribution of pleasure to plant and animal beings:

> Through primrose tufts, in that green bower,
> The periwinkle trailes its wreaths;
> And 'tis my faith that every flower
> Enjoys the air it breathes.

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[2] The Prelude, Book II, ll. 377-418.

The birds around me hopped and played,
Their thoughts I cannot measure:--
But the least motion which they made,
It seemed a thrill of pleasure.

The budding twigs spread out their fan,
To catch the breezy air;
And I must think, do all I can,
That there was pleasure there.

If this belief from heaven be sent,
If such be Nature's holy plan,
Have I not reason to lament
What man has made of man?[3]

Wordsworth grants that he cannot measure the thoughts of birds; but their least motion "seemed" a thrill of pleasure. The motion of budding twigs has the same effect upon him. The poet therefore raises the question as to whether this interpretation of lower life is a revelation, a "belief sent from heaven," or whether it is "Nature's holy plan."

Universal Love

It is very evident in the manifold adaptations of the external world to human needs that the universe as a whole makes up one system, in which what may seem ill from a restricted point of view is regarded to be good by reference to the design and intention of the whole. Thus, every thing in nature is harmonious with every thing else. Since the perfection of nature involves the regular action of its universal laws, we cannot expect them to make exception in individual cases, and we must not consider it an evil that in

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[3] "Lines Written in Early Spring," ll. 9-25.

accordance with these laws, the same principle justifies the destructive action of earthquakes, storms, and any other production of monstrous forms. This idea has been best expounded by Shaftesbury:

> Now, if the whole system of animals, together with that of vegetables, and all other things in this inferior world, be properly comprehended in one system of a globe or earth: and if again this globe or earth itself appears to have a real dependence on something still beyond; as, for example, either on its sun, the galaxy, or its fellow-planets; then it is in reality a part only of some other system. And if it be allowed, that there is in like manner a system of all things, and a universal Nature; there can be no particular being or system which is not either good or ill in that general one of the universe: for if it be insignificant and of no use, it is a fault or imperfection, and consequently ill in the general system.[4]

Wordsworth, like some other poets and philosophers, in writing of nature expresses belief in the design, order, and harmony everywhere in the universe, and ignores whatever seems to contradict this providential interpretation. It is a matter of course that he finds that nature is "kind" and "kindly,"[5] that it is "fostering Nature,"[6] "holy Nature,"[7] that man can safely trust himself to its influences[8] and that it teaches a "lesson deep of love."[9] This conviction of the universal presence of love in nature recurs in Wordsworth

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[4] Shaftesbury, Characteristics, 1732 ed., pp. 19-20, as quoted in Beach, The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry, p. 177.

[5] The Excursion, Book IX, ll. 99, 101.

[6] Ibid., Book VIII, l. 809.

[7] Ibid., Book VI, l. 998.

[8] Ibid., Book IV, l. 1193

[9] Ibid., Book I, ll. 194-195.

again and again. It is fully expressed in "Tintern Abbey," in The Excursion, and certainly in The Prelude. It is a remarkable characteristic of most of his poetry. But his simplest and most forthright treatment of this theme is in the poem "To My Sister." Wordsworth, in this poem, invites his sister to put on her woodland dress and come out for a walk on the first mild day of March. They will enjoy the love of nature and prepare for the year to come:

> Love, now a universal birth,
> From heart to heart is stealing,
> From earth to man, from man to earth:
> --It is the hour of feeling.
>
> One moment now may give us more
> Than years of toiling reason:
> Our minds shall drink at every pore
> The spirit of the season.
>
> Some silent laws our hearts will make,
> Which they shall long obey:
> We for the year to come may take
> Our temper from to-day.
>
> And from the blessed power that rolls
> About, below, above,
> We'll frame the measure of our souls:
> They shall be tuned to love.[10]

For Wordsworth, nature is a loving power that exercises fostering care for man. This power governs man's relation to things, and the relations of man to man. It is the law of love which is the heart of the world. So Wordsworth writes in "Tintern Abbey,"

> Nature never did betray
> The heart that loved her; 'tis her privilege,
> Through all the years of this our life, to lead

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10 "To My Sister," ll. 21-36.

From joy to joy: for she can so inform
The mind that is within us, so impress
With quietness and beauty, and so feed
With lofty thoughts, that neither evil tongues,
Rash judgments, nor the sneers of selfish men,
Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all
The dreary intercourse of daily life,
Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb
Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold
Is full of blessings.[11]

Wordsworth finds that nature's love is diffused and impersonal. By extending its love to man, nature arouses and ennobles our emotions. So he regards nature as a chief means of "purifying...the elements of feeling and of thought."[12] When "the passions that build up our human soul" are interwined with "high objects" we come to recognize a "grandeur in the beatings of the heart."[13] Therefore, if we look at man through natural objects which are great and fair, he appears much elevated and exalted. When Wordsworth came upon a shepherd who was glorified by the sunset, or silhouetted against the distant sky, he said,

Thus was man
Ennobled outwardly before my sight,
And thus my heart was early introduced
To an unconscious love and reverence
Of human nature; hence the human form
To me became an index of delight,
Of grace and honour, power and worthiness.
Meanwhile this creature--spiritual almost
As those of books, but more exalted far.[14]

Of course, by "man" Wordsworth meant mankind in general, not individuals. He declared this in the same poem:

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11 "Tintern Abbey," ll. 122-134.
12 The Prelude, Book I, ll. 410-411.
13 Ibid., Book I, ll. 413-414.
14 Ibid., Book VIII, ll. 275-283.

> The human nature unto which I felt
> That I belonged, and reverenced with love,
> Was not a punctual presence, but a spirit
> Diffused through time and space.[15]

It is obvious that through the qualities of nature Wordsworth gains a lofty conception of man. In other words, Wordsworth elevates human nature by his love for sublime scenery.[16]

Quietude of Nature

In addition to sensuous delight and universal love, Wordsworth found also the element of peace or quietude in the life of nature. In the supreme moments of existence, his vision about the peaceful nature dawns upon his soul. He is conscious of a strong power lying in the vast silence of natural objects as in ambush to capture his imagination. This power is the great living whole which nature is. Deep calm, he thinks, is at its heart. All natural objects exist under one Divine order, witnessing to one Eternal Being. Through his communing with nature Wordsworth feels his soul come into contact with her quietude. Nature is not a dead machine but something all-pervaded by life. She is a living unity always awakening him with infinite quietude and tenderness. Hence the calm of waters, the tranquillity of hills and fields, the flowers at rest on windless days, and the stars motionless in the sky, and even the soft murmur of the stream offer their own deep quiet to restore our heart. And this calm and qui-

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15 Ibid., Book VIII, ll. 608-611.
16 Havens, The Mind of a Poet, p. 108.

etude of nature feeds our mind with thoughts of majesty.

> To breathe in solitude, above the host
> Of every-humming insects...
> murmur of the leaves
> Many and idle, visits not his ear:
> This he is freed from, and from thousand notes
> (Not less unceasing, not less vain than these,)
> By which the finer passages of sense
> Are occupied; and the Soul, that would incline
> To listen, is prevented or deterred.[17]

Poems like this expressing the idea of divine quietude of nature are numerous in Wordsworth's works.

Wordsworth knows very well of the storms, of the fury of the sea and the flooded streams, and of other violent forces that vex the great calm of nature. But he strongly believes that beneath the outward rage of these elements, there is a ruling order, that the quiet of wisdom fills the movement of all things.

> Hail, Twilight, sovereign of one peaceful hour!
> Not dull art Thou as undiscerning Night;
> But studious only to remove from sight
> Day's mutable distinctions.--Ancient Power!
> Thus did the waters gleam, the mountains lower,
> To the rude Briton, when, in wolf-skin vest
> Here roving wild, he laid him down to rest
> On the bare rock, or through a leafy bower
> Looked ere his eyes were closed. By him was seen
> The self-same Vision which we now behold,
> At thy meek bidding, shadowy Power! brought forth:
> These mighty barriers, and the gulf between;
> The flood, the stars,--a spectacle as old
> As the beginning of the heavens and earth![18]

So, in the ultimate idea of the universe there is the quietude of the unbroken law:

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17 The Excursion, Book IX, ll. 72-80.
18 Miscellaneous Sonnets, Part II, XXII.

> Central peace subsisting at the heart
> Of endless agitation.[19]

Consequently, despite his recognition of the tempests of nature, Wordsworth is able to maintain his concept of the tranquil Being in the center of each object, organic or inorganic.

Metaphysical Ideas of Nature

It is very difficult to make a precise statement about Wordsworth's metaphysical concept of nature, because the main direction of his views is uncertain. How far Wordsworth was aware of the exact metaphysical implications of his concept of nature, we cannot tell. But general ideas about nature can be easily found in his works. First of all, from the opening passage of the ninth book of The Excursion--

> "To every form of being is assigned,"
> Thus calmly spake the venerable Sage,
> "An active Principle:--howe'er removed
> From sense and observation, it subsists
> In all things, in all natures; in the stars
> Of azure heaven, the unenduring clouds,
> In flower and tree, in every pebbly stone
> That paves the brooks, the stationary rocks,
> The moving waters, and the invisible air.
> Whate'er exists hath properties that spread
> Beyond itself communicating good,
> A simple blessing, or with evil mixed;
> Spirit that knows no insulated spot,
> No chasm, no solitude; from link to link
> It circulates, the Soul of all the worlds."--

we get at least three outstanding notions of Wordsworth's about nature. One is that nature is regarded as animating

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19 Brooke, Naturalism in English Poetry, p. 147.

principle together with the world-soul. Another is that there seems to be something eternal in the soul of the universe. The third notion is that there is a scale or chain of beings in the universe, and there is no break at all in this chain. Wordsworth personifies nature and thus nature has a soul. In the philosophical language of the poet, there is implied an idea that nature is conceived of not merely as the order of things, the norm of conduct, the expression of universal love, but more specifically as the activating agent of all things in the universe, not only of living things, but of all phenomena. So Wordsworth finds it necessary to use the words soul and spirit. Nature, in his mind, is not a mere succession of mechanical impulses conveyed from one dead atom to another, from one inert body to another. Every particle of nature, even stones and water and air, has in itself a spring of activity, of spontaneous movement. All natural beings partake somehow of the essence of spirit, or at least of life. In his mind, nature is a world with the God in it, a universe impregnated with spirit. It is animated, having an active being, and capable of propagating the impulses of the universal soul. Another passage which fully conveys this idea is from a poem written in Germany in 1799, entitled "Influence of Natural Objects in Calling Forth and Strengthening the Imagination in Boyhood and Early Youth." It reads as follows:

> Wisdom and Spirit of the universe!
> Thou Soul that art the Eternity of thought!
> That givest to forms and images a breath

> And everlasting motion, not in vain
> By day or star-light thus from my first dawn
> Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
> The passions that build up our human soul.[20]

It is obvious that in this passage and in many other passages from "Tintern Abbey,"[21] from The Prelude,[22] and from The Excursion,[23] Wordsworth is trying to express in philosophical language the idea that there must be some fundamental character in the natural process.

Besides, in this passage, there is another strong suggestion that the "soul," that is "the eternity of thought," gives "to forms and images a breath." In other words, all forms and images have their reality from the eternal "thought" which informs them. The basis for such a concept is probably a fusion of the Biblical concept of eternal God and the platonic concept of time and eternity. At any rate, it is without doubt that Wordsworth has been deeply impressed with the need for an appeal to eternity from the imperfections of time. This is particularly evident in certain parts of The Prelude.

As far as the scale of beings is concerned, let us recall for the present moment, the opening passage of the ninth book of The Excursion I have quoted. The chain of being "from link to link" is another prominent conception of Wordsworth about nature. He finds that there is a connection between one thing and another like a fast linked chain. Here man is reminded

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20 The Prelude, Book I, ll. 401-407.
21 Lines 93-111.
22 Book VII, ll. 766-771; Book XIV, ll. 63-135.
23 Book IV, ll. 957-994.

that he is but a single link in this nature's mighty chain. Even stars, clouds, stones, rocks and invisible air play their parts in "the Soul of all the worlds." Thus the being of the whole universe is one organic body made up of innumerable cells, of which none is insulated from the others.[24]

In short, to Wordsworth, nature appears as "a formative influence which is superior to any other." It is "the educator" both "of senses and of mind," "the sower in our hearts of the seeds of our feelings and beliefs." It is "a safe guide to wisdom and goodness; it is instinct with the irradiating presence of the divine."[25]

Nature as a Norm of Conduct

As discussed in the preceding sections, Wordsworth feels that nature exists in close relation to the human mind and heart. It is inspiring and illuminating. It helps man attain moral resolution with a universal love. It is regarded as "the educator" and "safe guide" of our intellectual development. Accordingly, the mind of man must be passive as well as active. It must be kept open all the time in order to receive the subtle influence and nourishment of nature. In The Excursion, Wordsworth expresses his whole-hearted devotion to the teachings of nature. He retires to a life of solitude and cuts himself off from humanity. He buries human suffer-

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24 Beach, The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry, Chapter III.

25 Ibid., p. 156.

ings and virtues in oblivion and sinks deeper and deeper into the profundity of his own mysterious thoughts.

> Quit your couch--
> Cleave not so fondly to your moody cell;
> Nor let the hallowed powers, that shed from heaven
> Stillness and rest, with disapproving eye
> Look down upon your taper, through a watch
> Of midnight hours, unseasonably twinkling
> In this deep Hollow, like a sullen star
> Dimly reflected in a lonely pool.
> Take courage, and withdraw yourself from ways
> That run not parallel to nature's course.[26]

Here Wordsworth is expressing his idea of nature as it may be represented in a norm of conduct.

According to Wordsworth's views of nature, everything which happens in the universe either with human force or without, has to happen in accordance with the order of nature. Nature is a reminder to man of the fact that nothing can be accomplished in either the outer or the inner world which infringes upon the natural order of things. No real thing or act can exist outside the order of nature. The object of all science is merely to ascertain the order in which things come about. The role of human wisdom is to choose means for the accommodation of mankind to this order. As man is a part of nature, he should not go counter to the natural forces. Otherwise, he will be unable to attain his purpose.[27]

Wordsworth's yearning is to approach perfection by flowing through the veins of nature. "He subdues man to the level of nature," says Pater, "and gives him thereby a cer-

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26 The Excursion, Book IV, ll. 481-490.

27 Beach, The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry, pp. 187-190.

tain breadth and coolness and solemnity...And, seeing man thus as a part of nature, elevated and solemnized in proportion as his daily life and occupations brought him into companionship with permanent natural objects..."[28] The expansive abandonment of oneself to impression from without is more productive of beneficial effects than concentration and meditation, because nature can teach more about humanity than can all the wisdom of the past:

> Books! 'tis a dull and endless strife:
> Come, hear the woodland linnet,
> How sweet his music! on my life,
> There's more of wisdom in it.
>
> And hark! how blithe the throstle sings!
> He, too, is no mean preacher:
> Come forth into the light of things,
> Let Nature be your teacher.
>
> She has a world of ready wealth,
> Our minds and hearts to bless--
> Spontaneous wisdom breathed by health,
> Truth breathed by cheerfulness.
>
> One impulse from a vernal wood
> May teach you more of man,
> Of moral evil and of good,
> Than all the sages can.
>
> Sweet is the lore which Nature brings;
> Our meddling intellect
> Mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things:--
> We murder to dissect.
>
> Enough of Science and of Art;
> Close up those barren leaves;
> Come forth, and bring with you a heart
> That watches and receives.[29]

Furthermore, for Wordsworth, nature is a moral teacher.

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28 Quoted in Cerf, "Wordsworth's Gospel of Nature," PMLA, Vol. XXXVII, 1922, pp. 622-623.
29 "The Table Turned," ll. 9-32.

Under its direction man can achieve perfection. It reaches man through the effects it exercises on the natural objects, on the mountains, the springs, the weather, and the flowers. In the following passage we may see the positive influence of nature on a girl:

> "She shall be sportive as the fawn
> That wild with glee across the lawn,
> Or up the mountain springs;
> And hers shall be the breathing balm,
> And hers the silence and the calm
> Of mute insensate things.
>
> "The floating clouds their state shall lend
> To her; for her the willow bend;
> Nor shall she fail to see
> Even in the motions of the Storm
> Grace that shall mold the Maiden's form
> By silent sympathy.
>
> "The stars of midnight shall be dear
> To her; and she shall lean her ear
> In many a secret place
> Where rivulets dance their wayward round,
> And beauty born of murmuring sound
> Shall pass into her face.
>
> "And vital feelings of delight
> Shall rear her form to stately height,
> Her virgin bosom swell;
> Such thoughts to Lucy I [Nature] will give
> While she and I together live
> Here in this happy dell."[30]

On the other hand, nature may also operate in a negative fashion to drive a man to think over his problem. An example may be found in "Peter Bell." The boy, Peter, stole a woodcock, and struggled with his conscience in the presence of nature. Journeying over a lonely plain, he felt himself pursued by a withered leaf and fell in sore moral distress:

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30 "Three Years She Grew in Sun and Shower," ll. 12-36.

When Peter spied the moving thing,
It only doubled his distress;
"Where there is not a bush or tree,
The very leaves they follow me--
So huge hath been my wickedness!"[31]

To be brief, nature ministers to the mental and moral needs of man. It reveals an insight into the life of things. It is possessed of a spirit of joy, love, and wisdom. It performs "a holy ministry in their relation to the spirit of Man."[32] It is regarded by Wordsworth as the norm of thought and action:

I had been taught to reverence a Power
That is the visible quality and shape
And image of right reason; that matures
Her processes by steadfast laws; gives birth
To no impatient or fallacious hopes,
No heat of passion or excessive zeal,
No vain conceits; provokes to no quick turns
Of self-applauding intellect; but trains
To meekness, and exalts by humble faith;
Holds up before the mind intoxicate
With present objects, and the busy dance
Of things that pass away, a temperate show
Of objects that endure; and by this course
Disposes her, when over-fondly set
On throwing off incumbrances, to seek
In man, and in the frame of social life
Whate'er there is desirable and good
Of kindred permanence.[33]

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31 "Peter Bell," ll. 706-710.
32 Sneath, Wordsworth: Poet of Nature and Poet of Man, p. 123.
33 The Prelude, Book XIII, ll. 20-37.

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND TO WORDSWORTH'S IDEAS OF NATURE

Secluded and Solitary Life

To understand how Wordsworth has formed such strong ideas about nature as related in the preceeding chapter, it seems necessary to indicate what kind of life he led. His natural gifts were influenced by the experiences he encountered and the mental discipline he achieved. He was brought up in a family who had lived for generations in Yorkshire, afterwards in Cumberland, in a social position intermediate between the squires and the yeomen. From both his parents he had received the inheritance of a moral nature that was healthy, frugal, and robust. He lost his mother during his eighth year, and his father at thirteen. He was deprived of his inheritance and endured a humiliating existence under his stern and narrow-minded grandparents, and for years was coldly treated by his relations on account of his indolence, his obstinacy, and his refusal to embark upon any of the safe careers suggested to him. At the age of eight he entered with his brothers the grammar school at Hawkshead. There he enjoyed ample leisure to wander late and early by the lake-margins, through the copses, and on the mountain-sides. "It was then and there, beyond a doubt, that the substantive Wordsworth was formed; it was then and there that the tall rock and sounding cataract haunted him like a

passion, and that his genius and whole being united and identified itself with external nature."[1] In 1787, from this primitive village school, he went to Cambridge, where he spent three years, the least profitable years of his life. He got more profit from a walking tour through France, Switzerland, and the Italian lakes. After graduating at Cambridge he gladly left in 1790 to take part in the French Revolution.

Aided by high hopes of humanity and a beautiful dream that a new era was about to dawn, he tried his best to fulfill his mission in the great event. However it was all in vain. Towards the close of 1792 by some stern home measures he was recalled from France. Freedom, peace, and universal brotherhood did not emerge from the struggle, and his high hopes and big dream had to give way. Despairing of the destiny of mankind, he wandered about the country aimless, dejected, almost in despondency. He had no profession, no aim in life, and was almost destitute of funds. Fortunately, in 1795, the bequest of nine hundred pounds left to him by his friend, Raisley Calvert, relieved him from extreme poverty. At this time his sister Dorothy, who had been separated from him for many years, came to live with him and to minister to his mental needs. It was she who turned him away from pondering over fruitless social and moral problems, and led him to mingle with humble men. They lived first in Dorsetshire, then in Sommersetshire, where Coleridge joined them. Con-

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1 Shairp, Poetic Interpretation of Nature, p. 241.

soled by the companionship of his sister and his poet friend, and inspired by the natural scenes, Wordsworth, after all, found an outlet for his poetic genius which was to serve him for his whole life.

Not long after this, in the last days of the eighteenth century, they finally settled in the small cottage at the Townhead of Grasmere, where the brother and sister lived for more than eight years. And there, in 1802, the home of brother and sister was made happier by the addition of his wife. It was during the years immediately preceeding this settlement at Grasmere and during the eight years at Grasmere that Wordsworth composed his famous The Prelude, an autobiographic poem on the growth of his own mind, as well as numerous other poems. After some other removals from Grasmere, first to Allan Bank, then to the Rectory, in 1813 he took his final residence at Rydal Mount, where he lived until his death in 1850.

This is only a framework of Wordsworth's biography. But if we pay much attention to his personal inclination and his intellectual development, we will find that he led an unusually independent life because of his stiff and moody disposition.

Turning Points in His Mental Development

In Wordsworth's mental history two periods are exceedingly important. The first was his school life at Hawkshead, by Esthwaite Lake, eight years in all. The second was the

mental crisis through which he passed after his return from France till he settled with his sister in the south of England, and ultimately at Grasmere. The first was the springtime of his soul, in which all the young impulses and intuitions were first awakened. The second was the trial time, the crisis of his spirit, in which all his early impulses, impressions, intuitions, were brought out into distinct consciousness. They were questioned and tested by reason. They had been hitherto conceived in his will and mind before this period, but now, they were gathered up, connected, condensed and solidified into deliberate permanent principles.

During the period at Hawkshead, Wordsworth spent a healthful, happy, blissful school time. Restrictions of school rules were very few, discipline was light, school hours were short. When school was over, the boys were free to roam wherever they liked as well as to enjoy the usual sports and games. Early morning, broad daylight, and evening shed around them in turn their poetic charm. Sometimes they would climb a hill to fly a kite; sometimes they would launch it from the meadows below:

> --Unfading recollections! at this hour
> The heart is almost mine with which I felt,
> From some hill-top on sunny afternoons,
> The paper kite high among fleecy clouds
> Pull at her rein like an impetuous courser;
> Or, from the meadows sent on gusty days,
> Beheld her breast the wind, then suddenly
> Dashed headlong, and rejected by the storm.[2]

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2 The Prelude, Book I, ll. 491-498.

In autumn a troop of them would set out to gather the harvest of hedgerow and wood. In summer, with rod and line they went out to seek the "rocks and pools shut out from every star" or the bends of mountain-brooks:

> I could record with no reluctant voice
> The woods of autumn, and their hazel bowers
> With milk-white clusters hung; the rod and line,
> True symbol of hope's foolishness, whose strong
> And unreproved enchantment led us on
> By rocks and pools shut out from every star,
> All the green summer, to forlorn cascades
> Among the windings hid of mountain brooks.[3]

If it were spring time, they would scale the mountain precipices to rob the ravens' nests. Then Wordsworth would experience the keen delight of dangerous enterprise:

> Nor less when spring had warmed the cultured Vale,
> Roved we as plunderers where the mother-bird
> Had in high places built her lodge; though mean
> Our object and inglorious, yet the end
> Was not ignoble. Oh! when I have hung
> Above the raven's nest, by knots of grass
> And half-inch fissures in the slippery rock
> But ill sustained, and almost (so it seemed)
> Suspended by the blast that blew amain,
> Shouldering the naked crag, oh, at that time
> While on the perilous ridge I hung alone,
> With what strange utterance did the loud dry wind
> Blow through my ear! the sky seemed not a sky
> Of earth-- and with what motion moved the clouds![4]

But it was in his solitary adventures most of all that Wordsworth felt himself influenced by obscure yet powerful agencies. There were precious moments in which nature worked on the mind by fear, astonishment, or the sense of beauty!

> Through half the night
> Scudding away from snare to snare, I plied

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[3] Ibid., Book I, ll. 483-490.
[4] Ibid., Book I, ll. 326-339.

That anxious visitation;--moon and stars
Were shining o'er my head. I was alone,
And seemed to be a trouble to the peace
That dwelt among them. Sometimes it befell
In these night wanderings, that a strong desire
O'erpowered my better reason, and the bird
Which was the captive of another's toil
Became my prey; and when the deed was done
I heard among the solitary hills
Low breathings coming after me, and sounds
Of undistinguishable motion, steps
Almost as silent as the turf they trod.[5]

Thus the recollections of nature in its awful or gentle aspects, its grand or tender moods, which occupy for the most part, the first two books of The Prelude, became for him inseparable from the joys which he had tasted in its presence. But while the vulgar pleasure faded quickly from his memory, the scenes which were a witness of it remained imprinted in their essential lineaments on his mind and were daily visible before his eyes:

--And if the vulgar joy by its own weight
Wearied itself out of the memory,
The scenes which were a witness of that joy
Remained in their substantial lineaments
Depicted on the brain, and to the eye
Were visible, a daily sight.[6]

Towards the close of his life at Hawkshead, when he was seventeen years old, he had cultivated a full pure love for nature, a feeling thenceforth strong enough to dispense with the support which had hitherto contributed to its maintenance and growth. The attraction of sports and games was no longer required in order to draw him towards nature. The pleasures

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5 Ibid., Book I, ll. 312-325.
6 Ibid., Book I, ll. 597-602.

he had found in nature were not needed in order to arouse his love:

> These incidental charms which first attached
> My heart to rural objects, day by day
> Grew weaker, and I hasten on to tell
> How Nature, intervenient till this time
> And secondary, now at length was sought
> For her own sake.[7]

Wordsworth, now, entered into direct communion with nature. He dedicated to it the adoration of a fervent devoted heart. Yet even before the object of his worship, he retained the independence of his soul.

The second important period with regard to the development of Wordsworth's concept of nature is the time between his residence in France and his settlement at Grasmere, that is from 1793 to 1800. The three years he had spent at Cambridge, from 1787 until the end of 1790, had begun to draw out his social feelings. Now, stricken with the social problems of the time, Wordsworth began to meditate on man, his sufferings, his aspirations and destiny. He also pondered deeply over the best forms of government, society, morality, and the possible perfection of man. His religion of humanity was not based on Christianity but on reason. To reason was due all that had been won, and by reason all that remained to conquer must be overcome. Thus it seems that Wordsworth had enjoyed the delightful illusion of obeying the strict rules of reason. In truth he had been merely converting his desires into realities.

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7 Ibid., Book II, ll. 198-203.

But he had found, now, the world was something different from what he had imagined. The hours of fresh joyousness and unshaken confidence, when hope "laid her hand upon her object,"[8] quickly disappeared. The obstacles which lay here and there on the path of reason could not escape from Wordsworth's notice. Unexpected troubles arose on every hand from the corrupt heart of man and the unhealthy society. Yet his strong will and firm belief did not fail to regard them merely as passing clouds which the sun would shortly penetrate.[9]

But unfortunately, the harmony which prevailed between his revolutionary ideas and his natural feelings became suddenly converted into discord. It ceased to exist on the day when "with open war Britain opposed the liberties of France."[10] This attack not only caused him bitter grief, it upset the equilibrium of his whole nature. For the first time he became aware that the elements which he had thought it possible to reconcile were radically opposed. Then came the disgust with his own country, disappointment and vexation with France. The whole fabric of his hope and faith gave way. He fell into distrust, not only of nations, but of himself. The faiths, intuitions, aspirations which he had hitherto lived by, failed him. He re-examined all his former fundamental principles. He found it impossible to affirm them by a formal logical dem-

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8 Ibid., Book XI, ll. 202-203.
9 Ibid., Book XI, ll. 153-173.
10 Ibid., Book XI, ll. 174-175.

onstration.[11]

Losing hold of conviction, wearied with endless perplexities, he doubted all moral truth, and gave it up in despair. With his hopes for man, and his faith in man's destiny, the poetic vision of nature, which had hitherto been with him, disappeared. He looked on the outer world no more in a free imaginative way as of old, but compared scene with scene and judged and criticised them by artificial rules. This was abnegation of his higher self, really a moral death.[12]

After his return from France he was wandering about aimless and dejected, doubting his faith in man and his love of nature. His master vision was temporarily obscured, his inner faculties were asleep. The influence of the affection and intelligent interest of his sister gradually aroused him. She made a home for him and became his hourly companion. She took him to lonely and beautiful places till nature again found access to him. Thus began the healing process which in time restored him to his true self.[13]

It was in two directions that Wordsworth's restoration showed itself as regards his feeling towards man and towards nature. As his interests and sympathies had been stimulated to excess by the political convulsions he had witnessed, now he found healthier objects in the laboring poor people with whom he conversed in the fields and in the wanderers he met

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11 Ibid., Book XI, ll. 293-305.
12 Ibid., Book XI, ll. 321-333.
13 Ibid., Book XI, ll. 333-348.

on lonely roads.[14] As a consequence, his experience and reflection made him esteem simple and humble life more than sophisticated. The homely ways of the village dames, hardy dalesmen and shepherds with whom he had spent his boyhood, concurred with his own native perception to make him love and esteem what is permanent, now what is accidental in human life, the inner, not the outer man of men, the essential soul. This native perception had been deepened by all he had seen, felt, and thought during the revolutionary ferment, and now became a fixed inclination of his mind. It seemed to him that in the humble men, the primary passions and elementary feelings of human nature are much purer than in men of high position and education, who, he thought, were often characterized by artifice and conventionality. Formal social intercourse has little to do with real feeling and just sense, and association with the polite world does little to improve men.[15] Therefore he heard,

> From mouths of men obscure and lowly, truths
> Replete with honour, sounds in unison
> With loftiest promises of good and fair.[16]

Thus Wordsworth recovered his sympathy with the humble poor, the sympathy for man as he is.

The other direction of his restoration was the full maturation of his views about nature. It was only by means of feeling that Wordsworth had perceived qualities about nature

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14 Ibid., Book XIII, ll. 137-141.
15 Ibid., Book XIII, ll. 160-174.
16 Ibid., Book XIII, ll. 182-185.

during his boyhood. But now all those qualities were sanctioned by his developed reason. The universe was now to him not a mere reverberation of his own voice, nor only a reflection of hues cast from his changeful moods, but an existence independent of man and his moods. He saw it as stable, equable, serene. Man's wisdom is to receive her native impulses without imposing his caprices on her. Hence, to man, nature is a supporting, calming, cooling, and invigorating power. So, at this time, Wordsworth felt both emotion and calmness in the energy of nature. Now he saw in nature a power which is the shape and image of right reason. He saw the order or the stability which is the calm obedience to eternal law. From this calmness of nature and from her slow and steady working processes, he received an admonition to esteem and reverence what is permanent in human affection, and in man's moral being, and to build his hope on its gradual expansion and purification:

> I had been taught to reverence a power
> That is the visible quality and shape
> And image of right reason; that matures
> Her processes by steadfast laws; gives birth
> To no impatient or fallacious hopes,
> No heat of passion or excessive zeal,
> No vain conceits; provokes to no quick turns
> Of self-applauding intellect; but trains
> To meekness, and exalts by humble faith;
> Holds up before the mind intoxicate
> With present objects, and the busy dance
> Of things that pass away, a temperate show
> Of objects that endure; and by this course
> Disposes her, when over-foundly set
> On throwing off incumbrances, to seek
> In man, and in the frame of social life,
> Whate'er there is desirable and good
> Of kindred permanance, unchanged in form

> And function, or, through strict vicissitude
> Of life and death, revolving.[17]

Furthermore, he discovered that in order to attain the highest and truest vision of nature, the soul of man must act in unison with nature. Then, the soul of man must send from itself an emanation, which, meeting with the natural objects, produces something better than that produced either by the soul itself or by nature itself:

> I seemed about this time to gain clear sight
> Of a new world--a world, too, that was fit
> To be transmitted, and to other eyes
> Made visible; as ruled by those fixed laws
> Whence spiritual dignity originates,
> Which do both give it being and maintain
> A balance, an ennobling interchange
> Of action from without and from within;
> The excellence, pure function, and best power
> Both of the object seen, and eye that sees.[18]

All these perceptions about nature which had been more or less present to him since his boyhood, now emerged as settled convictions.

Thus far we have seen the two periods as the conspicuous turning points in the development of Wordsworth's concept of nature. From the experience of these two periods Wordsworth found a general truth, namely, the three stages concerning our relation towards nature in the growth of our life. The first stage, which corresponds to the years before his education at Hawkshead, is that in early boyhood animal activity and trivial pleasures occupy our attention, nature is a secondary interest. The next stage, which corresponds to the

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17 Ibid., Book XIII, ll. 20-39.
18 Ibid., Book XIII, ll. 369-378.

period of his school life at Hawkshead, is that in time of youth and early manhood we become keenly aware of nature's existence and develop fancies about it. The third stage, which corresponds to the years of his education at Cambridge and thereafter, is that when we reach maturity we begin really to understand nature by exercising reason and imagination.

Influence of Rousseau

Apart from the influence of the life he led, no less important are the philosophers from whom Wordsworth seems to have derived his unsystematic thinking and belief. As this discussion is confined to Wordsworth's concept of nature, I will not pursue all the sources of Wordsworth's philosophy. It will be sufficient, perhaps, to point out that he adopted certain ideas from some thinkers with whom he was familiar.

Wordsworth was probably exposed to the influence of Rousseau before he left England for France. It is very likely that he owes to Rousseau many ideas which can be found markedly in Lyrical Ballads. As the composition of Lyrical Ballads was joint, whether Coleridge or Wordsworth took the initiative in the metrical and rhetorical reform is unknown. Coleridge would see more quickly than Wordsworth the consequences and implications of their literary theory. He might be the first to suggest formulating a doctrine. But it is also probable that Wordsworth initiated the theory with his ideas derived from Rousseau. For Coleridge's original inclination was towards the uncommon, the abstruse, the mysti-

eal, the splendid, and the direction indicated by Lyrical Ballads is familiar life and common speech.

Now, let us examine the distinctive elements in Rousseau, which seem in close connection with Wordsworth. First of all, Rousseau considers reverie as a mode of thought, an inactive, unsystematic meditation without logical processes and perceived steps. These steps cannot be traced backward. This reverie involves a more complete absorption of the thinker. The thinker should use his sentiment to approach spiritually the objects of sensation. Therefore he seems to touch, taste, hear, and see, by a reflex disturbance of the organs or physical reminiscence. Reverie is thus almost sensuous. It discloses to the mind what the mind has already held. It arouses, arranges and unifies the elements of one's soul. External events and objects are not essentials of this state, but may induce or stimulate it. This interpretation of reverie is actually his theory of the poetic process. It is remarkably coincident with Wordsworth's remark that "poetry is emotion recollected in tranquillity."[19]

Secondly, we find in Rousseau the desire for simplicity in everything. The mode of reverie is always a concentration, from various sources, of many conceptions in the dreamer's mind. This concentration tends to simplify the intricacies of the world. Religion can be simplified by clearing away the over-growth of errors; literature and art can be simpli-

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[19] Harper, William Wordsworth, Vol. I, pp. 129-130.

fied by constant return to nature; manners can be simplified by industrious homeliness; and social relations can be simplified by equality. Moreover, the idea of simplicity leads to the idea of equality, for inequality is a sign and a cause of unstable equilibrium. Where there is inequality there is pressure to restore the balance. Those who desire that life shall be simple, and that men shall attain a level of opportunity, love permanence and are true conservatives. The truly permanent, therefore, should hold out against all artifice.[20] It seems quite likely that Wordsworth's attitude toward "humble and rustic life" is derived from Rousseau. "Humble and rustic life" Wordsworth wrote in his famous Preface to the Lyrical Ballads for the second edition, "Was generally chosen because in that condition the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language; because in that condition of life our elementary feelings co-exist in a state of greater simplicity, and consequently may be more accurately contemplated and more forcibly communicated; because the manners of rural life germinate from these elementary feelings, and from the necessary character of rural occupations are more easily comprehended, and are more durable; and lastly, because in that condition the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of nature."[21]

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20 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 130.
21 Wordsworth, Poetical Works, p. 935.

The third quality of Rousseau consists in his habit of reverie and his love of simplicity. During the reverie, self is the active agent, yet is of little consequence. But it is of great consequence if it is regarded as a receptive, passive organ. It inwardly transforms and assimilates what comes to it. By this association of self with the objects of contemplation, the objects become infused with the life of the dreamer. Then the dreamer and the objects are no different from each other. They all become humanized. Harmony is thus brought about between the dreamer or poet and the world within his consciousness. Therefore the poet is in sympathy with the world.[22] This process is discussed in the second book of Émile which emphasizes the value for young children of the knowledge obtained through their senses in the course of mere animal play. In close connection with reverie is the knowledge that comes through the intellect. "There is much distinction between the sensitive reason and the intellectual reason. The former is the foundation of the latter. The sensitive reason is much more active in the child and natural to him; and it is no good to force a too early development of the intellectual reason, which, if forced, will only result in a specious and artificial wisdom. It is on this account that Rousseau objects to the too early inculcation of book learning."[23] Furthermore, Rousseau expresses many times his dislike for books if they are regarded

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22 Harper, William Wordsworth, Vol. I, p. 131.
23 Beach, The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry, p. 192.

as a first-hand knowledge, for real knowledge, he maintains, should be attained through experience.

This idea is close to Wordsworth's "wise passiveness" revealed in "The Tables Turned" as we have cited already, where the need, at any period of life, for returning to the testimony of the "sensitive reason" is urged in order to correct the often mistaken conclusions of the "intellectual reason." Thus he shows himself similar to Rousseau in rebellion against the dry reason of the philosophers. This rebellion is the distinctive and radical feature of the romantic movement as a whole. Rousseau, in the fourth book of Émile, presents a state of general doubt, and the impossibility of reaching conclusions by purely logical means, similar to that described by Wordsworth in The Prelude. Wordsworth realizes that philosophers can only multiply his doubts. So he takes his interior light for guide in order to believe anything, for he recognizes the danger of trusting too much to his mere intellectual reason. Thus he says in "To My Sister,"

> One moment now may give us more
> Than years of toiling reason.

Finally, we find a fourth quality of Rousseau in his intense individualism. Men have to rely on their own resources no matter in what close contact they are with the earth, with animals, and with other men. A brooding, introspective person is always liable to form a high estimate of his own consequence. With this point in mind, Rousseau expounds his political ideas in his famous Social Contract. They are based

on the assumption that society was originally anarchical, a group of independent persons. Since the individual has not been a co-ordinate part of a pre-existing harmony, he retains the right of independence though he must live in combination with other free beings. His surrender of some of his liberty or personal freedom is probably only for a time or a certain occasion. Then it is obvious that toleration under restraint is an unnatural matter. It is against nature.

In Rousseau, there is no equilibrium between reason and instinct. At times, he gave himself up to reverie, he became a sentimentalist. Wordsworth never went to the individualistic extreme in his love of liberty. He felt that social relations should be as natural and permanent as the external world. He was trying to preserve historic continuity without surrendering the right of personal judgment. His "reverie" is reflection. It is more rational than Rousseau's reverie. It is always in touch with things and events. Therefore, Wordsworth is less abstract than Rousseau.[24]

Influence of Godwin

When Wordsworth was recalled from France at the end of 1792, he came fresh from the Rousseauistic and revolutionary teaching of General Michel Beaupuy, with whom he had formed a close friendship and who had first awakened his slumbering humanitarian sentiments. In deep resentment against the at-

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24 Harper, William Wordsworth, Vol. I, p. 133.

tack of his own country on new republic of France, he was at once plunged into the turmoil and contradiction of English sentiment regarding the revolution. But his anger against his own country was quickly changed into despair, for very soon "Frenchmen had changed a war of self-defence for one of conquest,"[25] and directed the war against England and her allies. Then Wordsworth laid his hope upon "evidence safer, of universal application," which he sought elsewhere than among men.[26] Thus he turned to theories and books. It was at that time that he tried to find comfort in William Godwin's Political Justice. This book advocates the ascendency of justice and reason, and is animated by a glow of universal beneficence. The outstanding feature of the book is its extreme simplicity. All this complex world of thought is reduced to a sole principle, namely reason. Wordsworth approved Locke's rejection of innate principles, and adopted as his own the attack on vested rights by Helvetius and d'Holbach. And he frankly adopted ideas of Rousseau and Hartley with full acknowledgement.[27] But all the borrowings are subordinated to the illustration of the leading ideas of Godwin's thesis, that is, the prime importance of reason. Before this principle any sort of traditional knowledge is insignificant. Only truth is supreme, and such truth can be gained by "the reasoning faculty":

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25 The Prelude, Book XI, ll. 207-208.
26 Ibid., Book XI, ll. 203-205
27 Beatty, William Wordsworth: His Doctrine and Art in Their Historical Relations, pp. 22-26.

> Depressed, bewildered thus, I did not walk
> With scoffers, seeking light and gay revenge
> From indiscriminate laughter, nor sate down
> In reconcilement with an utter waste
> Of intellect; such sloth I could not brook,
> (Too well I loved, in that my spring of life,
> Pains-taking thoughts, and truth, their dear reward)
> But turned to abstract science, and there sought
> Work for the reasoning faculty enthroned
> Where the disturbances of space and time--
> Whether in matter's various properties
> Inherent, or from human will and power
> Derived--find no admission.[28]

Godwin is a "leveler," because the very heart of his theory of humanitarianism is the principle that all men are equal, and equality must be achieved for the benefit not only of the oppressed but of the oppressor. Thus he raised a vision of an emancipated humanity which will allow the natural goodness of man to bring natural justice to all people. But now this natural goodness is delayed simply because of the perversity of institutions and customs that are the result of prejudice and ignorance, not of reason. Godwin presents fully this idea of emancipated humanity in his novel Caleb Williams, where a philanthropic outlaw is represented as being the leader of a band of brigands, a character predicting that justice shall be attained for all in the reign of reason. Similarly, this same brigand reappears as the Marmaduke of Wordsworth's "Borderers," a philosophic philanthropist, who leads the band of border outlaws and who is betrayed by a mad, irrational world.[29]

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28 The Prelude, Book XI, ll. 321-333.

29 Beatty, William Wordsworth: His Doctrine and Art in Their Historical Relations, pp. 27-30

Wordsworth's belief in the "Utopia of democracy" as presented by Godwin is also based on the theory of original goodness and the ultimate perfectibility of man. The immortality of a perfect body can be attained only under the law of perfect reason. Godwin shows that war is connected with autocracy. It arises from autocracy. Autocracy is a product of unreason and imposture, for an offensive war is contrary to the very nature of democracy. And autocracy is also the foster mother of Anarchy. So that if we destroy autocracy we destroy both war and anarchy. Therefore despotism is the enemy of social order, because it grinds down the helpless masses on whom democracy depends. Similarly in Wordsworth's poems like "An Evening Walk," "Margaret," "Guilt and Sorrow," and "Animal Tranquillity and Decay," we find the condemnation of war, not on purely sentimental or humane grounds, but on the reasoned basis of a revolutionary philosophic doctrine. But as war is also the only instrument against tyranny, both Godwin and Wordsworth advocated wars of self-defence. In Wordsworth's later years the pattern of a tyrant who waged war against democracy and liberty was Napoleon. Thus his implacable hatred of Bonarparte and the noble patriotic sonnets dedicated to national independence and liberty.[30]

In 1794 Wordsworth began his tragedy The Borderers which was finished in the following year, and shows at once his application of Godwinian principles to life and his recoil from

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30 Ibid., pp. 30-32.

the consequences involved in them, by his development of the character of Oswald the philosophical murderer. Here he arrives at what he conceives to be the dangers of Godwinianism:

> Because I feel
> That you have shown, and by a signal instance,
> How they who would be just must seek the rule
> By diving for it into their own bosoms,
> To-day you have thrown off a tyranny
> That lives but in the torpid acquiescence
> Of our emasculated souls, the tyranny
> Of the world's masters, with the musty rules
> By which they uphold their craft from age to age:
> You have obeyed the only law that sense
> Submits to recognise; the immediate law,
> From the clear light of circumstances, flashed
> Upon an independent intellect.[31]

Mr. Beatty says that The Borderers

> is no mere record of Wordsworth's conquest of Godwinian pessimism. It is, essentially, the record of a revelation that came to him when he tried to escape the inevitable consequences of a profound natural emotional experience through a philosophy that denied the importance and validity of that very experience. In the light of this illumination, he denied the philosophy and affirmed the experience. In so doing, he was able to appraise anew the values of life and to gain an original conception of the methods and aims of art...The interest in the mysteries of human psychology, the strange contradictions in human character, which bring good from evil and evil from good, is seen in this play as in the whole body of the poet's work. Because sometimes good and evil grow up together in the field of the world almost inseparable, and where even the wisest has not the certain wisdom to make a clear distinction. This really arises from a crisis and a moral perturbation which had many roots. In order to solve this moral perturbation during his period of recovery, Wordsworth perceived in Hartley a deeper philosophy of life, and he deserted the less profound philosopher for more adequate mental needs. Yet he never abandoned the thought of Godwin at its best, that is

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31 The Borderers, Act III, ll. 1484-1496.

the more reasonable rather than extreme Godwin.[32] After the restoration from his mental crisis, Wordsworth found Godwin's "supreme reason" and necessitarianism were not satisfactory; he turned to some other philosophers. But the fundamental spirit of Godwin's "simplicity," "humanity," and associationism remains forever with Wordsworth.

Influence of Coleridge

In 1795, Wordsworth was just emerging from a state of extreme intellectual disorganization. His faith in Godwinianism had crumbled and he had given up "moral questions in despair." Wordsworth was anxious for enlightenment. Coleridge's appearance in October of 1795 with a store of philosophical knowledge provided a timely supply for Wordsworth's mental demand. The two poets were in "as close intimacy as man could be with man" until 1797. During this period of their staying together at Alfoxden, they shared completely their ideas and each regarded the other as his companion for guidance in composition.[33] It was through their intimacy at this period that Coleridge exercised certain influences on Wordsworth.

In the first place, the doctrine of necessity which denied free will to man had been adopted by both poets during their devotion to William Godwin. But Coleridge had

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32 Beatty, William Wordsworth: His Doctrine and Art in Their Relations, pp. 36-37.

33 Harper, William Wordsworth, Vol. I, pp. 333-334.

already renounced it by 1795. This repugnance is indicated in his plan of a series of "Hymns" which he prepared during the years between 1796-1797. He found that "the Godwinian System of Pride" made man "an outcast of blind nature ruled by a fatal Necessity." Thus when Coleridge met with his twin poet, he persuaded him into a reversal of opinion upon one of the fundamental human problems. The idea of freedom became a basic point in Wordsworth's later poetry.[34] As a consequence, he arrived at the conception that "all natures" were regarded to be "free," "active," and alive because everything owes its life to "the freedom of the universe."[35] We have testimony that Wordsworth abandoned necessitarianism as a result of Coleridge's persuasion. This can be proved by Coleridge's letter written to Poole, January 15, 1804:

> I love and honour you, Poole, for many things--scarcely for anything more than either my subtlety, or my eloquence, to proselytize you to the pernicious doctrine of Necessity. All praise to the Great Being who has graciously enabled me to find my way out of that labyrinth-den of sophistry, and, I would fain believe, to bring with me a better clue than has hitherto been known, to enable others to do the same I have convinced Southey and Wordsworth, and W., as you know was even to extravagance, a Necessitarian.[36]

Here Coleridge, of course, might be over-estimating his influence. At any rate, it seems clear that Coleridge did have something to do with the fact that Wordsworth abandoned ne-

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34 Rader, Presiding Ideas in Wordsworth's Poetry, pp. 122-123.

35 Wordsworth, The Excursion, Book IX, ll. 1-26.

36 Letters of Coleridge, ed. E. H. Coleridge, 1895, Vol. II, p. 454, as quoted in Rader, Presiding Ideas in Wordsworth's Poetry, p. 123.

cessitarianism.

Secondly, Wordsworth adopted Coleridge's belief that it is impossible to comprehend the ultimate complex whole of a thing or thought by tracing it back to its beginning in terms of constituents. According to the associational psychology of Godwin and Hartley, a thought or emotion is simply the summation of very small units of ideas or sensations. But in Coleridge's opinion there is something more, there is the functioning of the active mind, a self-consciousness which exists prior to sensation. Coleridge denounced the doctrine of associationism. He did not entirely reject it but modified and subordinated it. Wordsworth also emphasized the unity of consciousness. Thought has no beginning, because it arises within the mind under stimulus. It is an instigator to itself. It is implicated in each mental process. To find the beginning would be to find the origin of the mind itself. Wordsworth's point of view must have been confirmed by Coleridge's or he was converted by him. For he says:

> Who knows the individual hour in which
> His habits were first sown, even as a seed?
> Who that shall point as with a wand and say
> This portion of the river of my mind
> Came deeply read in thy own thoughts; to thee
> Science appears but what in truth she is,
> Not as our glory and our absolute boast,
> But as a succedaneum, and a prop
> To our infirmity. No officious slave
> Art thou of that false secondary power
> By which we multiply distinctions, then
> Deem that our puny boundaries are things
> That we perceive, and not that we have made.
> To thee, unblinded by these formal arts,
> The unity of all hath been revealed,
> And thou wilt doubt, with me less aptly skilled
> Than many are to range the faculties

> In scale and order, class the cabinet
> Of their sensations, and in voluble phrase
> Run through the history and birth of each
> As of a single independent thing.
> Hard task, vain hope, to analyse the mind,
> If each most obvious and particular thought,
> Not in a mystical and idle sense,
> But in the words of Reason deeply weighed,
> Hath no beginning.[37]

Thirdly, Wordsworth says in The Prelude that men have

> One sense for moral judgments, as one eye
> For the sun's light. The soul when smitten thus
> By a sublime idea, whencesoe'er
> Vouchsafed for union or communion, feeds
> On the pure bliss, and takes her rest with God.[38]

And he says again in the last lines of the same poem:

> What we have loved
> Others will love, and we will teach them how;
> Instruct them how the mind of man becomes
> A thousand times more beautiful than the earth
> On which he dwells, above this frame of things
> (Which, 'mid all revolution in the hopes
> And fears of men, doth still remain unchanged)
> In beauty exalted, as it is itself
> Of quality and fabric more divine.

It is obvious that there must be some internal supersensuous factors in knowledge which would render us capable of possessing the "one sense for moral judgments." And that sense would make the mind a thousand times more beautiful than the earth. Then the spiritual faculties are infinitely more divine than the external world. Here, in other words, the outlook expressed rests upon a transcendental foundation. Similarly, we find in Coleridge the transcendental philosophy forecast in his The Destiny of Nations, in his Religious Musings and in his several other works. "His basic notion was

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37 The Prelude, Book II, ll. 206-232.
38 Ibid., Book VIII, ll. 671-675.

that man is equipped with a transcendental faculty of 'pure Reason, which dictates unconditionally,' and which 'affirms truths which no sense could perceive, nor experiment verify, nor experience confirm.'"[39] Wordsworth definitely announced that he was indebted to Coleridge for his conception of "duty" and "a Reason which indeed is reason."

> With such a theme,
> Coleridge! with this my argument, of thee
> Shall I be silent? O most loving Soul!
> Placed on this earth to love and understand,
> And from thy presence shed the light of love,
> Shall I be mute ere thou be spoken of?
> Thy gentle Spirit to my heart of hearts
> Did also find its way; and thus the life
> Of all things and the mighty unity
> In all which we behold, and feel, and are,
> Admitted more habitually a mild
> Interposition, and closelier gathering thoughts
> Of man and his concerns, such as become
> A human Creature, be he who he may!
> Poet, or destined for a humble name;
> And so the deep enthusiastic joy,
> The rapture of the Hallelujah sent
> From all that breathes and is, was chasten'd,
> stemm'd
> And balanced by a Reason which indeed
> Is Reason; duty and pathetic truth;
> And God and Man divided, as they ought,
> Between them the great system of the world
> Where Man is sphered, and which God animates.[40]

Last of all, from the above cited passage, we may recognize very well that Wordsworth passed through two stages, pantheistic and theistic. He maintained very strongly the existence of God and the "mighty unity." This change of belief is very similar to Coleridge's reversal. It is known

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39 Rader, Presiding Ideas in Wordsworth's Poetry, p. 126.
40 The Prelude, 1805-1806 edition, Book XIII, ll. 846-868, as quoted in Rader, Presiding Ideas in Wordsworth's Poetry, p. 128.

that "when Coleridge finally abandoned his pantheistic faith, he immediately tried to convert Wordsworth, then a pantheist, but at first with no great success. In course of time, however, he did bring about a change in conviction."[41]

We have seen that Coleridge repudiated necessitarianism, denounced associationism, adopted a transcendental interpretation of knowledge, and altered from pantheism to theism. And Wordsworth attained, with the assistance of Coleridge the same philosophy. Mr. Rader firmly believes that Wordsworth's achievement of these developments was under the strong influence of Coleridge. M. Legouis also suggests that Wordsworth was undoubtedly influenced by Coleridge's mysticism. However, it is without doubt that Wordsworth received his deepest "sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused"[42] from the contemplation of external nature and from "nature and the language of the sense."[43]

Influence of Hartley, Spinoza and Kant

Now, let us trace one step further the source of Wordsworth's philosophical ideas concerning nature. First of all, we have to examine his notion of "imagination," by which he means the highest aesthetic function of the human mind. He recognizes that imagination is a feature of consciousness which derives at least partly from the activity of the sense organs.

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41 Rader, Presiding Ideas in Wordsworth's Poetry, p. 127.
42 "Tintern Abbey," ll. 95-96.
43 Ibid., l. 108.

And the content of imagination is in large measure ordered according to the principle of the association of ideas, by which items of consciousness tend to call one another before attention. Wordsworth may have borrowed these principles from an acquaintance, more or less intimate, with the writings of David Hartley.

Mr. Beatty points out that probably Coleridge was deeply interested in Hartley at the period when he and Wordsworth were becoming good friends. "As Wordsworth had left no substantial record of his thoughts in the fertile years 1795 to 1797, we may turn to the more communicative brother poet, and by reading his thoughts we may learn what Wordsworth himself was absorbing and laying up for future use in poetry and theory."[44]

Hartley's main theory is that our simple ideas are compound sensations, our complex ideas are our simple ideas compounded. There are no innate ideas. But in the course of our lives, through association of pleasure or pain with certain experiences, we build up the higher sentiments. We build them up out of the simple elements offered by our sensations and arrive at last at such complex ideal structures as imagination, ambition, self-interest, sympathy with our fellows, a feeling for God, and as culmination of all, the moral sense. In Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey" and The Prelude there are many striking reminders of the conceptions and

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44 Beatty, William Wordsworth, p. 100.

phraseology of Hartley. The general direction which Wordsworth follows is the same, from sensation to idea, and from idea to sentiment. And Hartley even furnished the model for Wordsworth's famous scheme of the three successive stages in the development of the poet's feeling for nature.[45]

According to Mr. Beach, what attracted Wordsworth to Hartley was the insistence on physical sensation as the starting point of the process of intellectual and moral development. This appealed to Wordsworth's realism, his disposition to refer to the world of the senses as the standard of reality, to work from the natural towards the spiritual.[46]

With regard to the relationship between Hartley and Wordsworth, notwithstanding these evidences we have just stated, refutations have arisen in recent years. N. F. Stallknecht, for instance, holds that Hartley and his school find the world of eye and ear to be the work of a productive intelligence. Hartley accounts for our association of anything we behold with the idea of God. Mr. Stallknecht says,

> For Hartley, God is love itself which casts out all fear and disappointment, for our mind being at one with God, we find all things good, i.e., in Hartley's hedonistic scheme, objects of pleasure. Here Hartley speaks of the love of God and of our sense of God's presence in the world; but this is later described as a result of a long period of education, including emphasis upon miracles as reported in scripture. This might perhaps hardly have offered Wordsworth an explanation of the experience described in the "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality," nor is it consistent

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45 Beach, The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry, pp. 128-129.

46 Ibid., p. 129.

> with the insight described in "Tintern Abbey." Hartley, it is true, undertakes to show how the psychology of association furthers the inculcation of orthodox religion. But this religion is not the religion of "Tintern Abbey" or The Prelude.[47]

Mr. Stallknecht points out that Wordsworth first attached his mind to the objects of nature and gradually came to enjoy them. Then he came to a more genuinely aesthetic enjoyment of the scenes which association had made dear to him. In the explanations of these later enjoyments, probably, Hartley and Alison may have helped him, but it is hard to assert their influence on Wordsworth's pantheistic interpretations. Wordsworth's belief in the Chain of Being has no origin in Hartley or his school.

Moreover, in Mr. Stallknecht's opinion, Hartley's theory of imagination is not very similar to Wordsworth's either.

> The notion of Eotian influence prompts Wordsworth to the statement that imagination is an "element of Nature's inner self." This goes far beyond Hartley...Hartley is even further from Wordsworth when he denies that the pleasures of imagination are of any great religious or even of eudaemonistic importance. In fact, Hartley insists that the "pleasures of imagination ought not to be made a primary pursuit."[48]

According to Mr. Stallknecht, Wordsworth's concept of nature is derived from Spinoza's pantheism, his conception of imagination owes much to Spinoza's "intuition," and his moral ideas are kin to Spinoza's "intellectual love of God."[49]

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47 Stallknecht, Strange Seas of Thought, pp. 36-37.
48 Ibid., p. 37.
49 Stallknecht, "Wordsworth and Philosophy," PMLA. Vol. XLIV (1929), pp. 1127-28.

Spinoza regards God, Mind, and Matter as three entities. He combines them into a single living unit; God, Man and the World are one. His pantheistic idea is that the entire universe is but an attribute of God's divine nature.[50] This interpretation of nature in relation to man is close to Wordsworth's conception of "the Spirit" or "the Soul of all the worlds." Possibly Spinoza's pantheism is the source of Wordsworth's belief in the Chain of Being.

By "intuition" Spinoza means the direct insight that all things follow necessarily from the nature of God. It is the faculty that enables us to see things and events not in view of time order but in their eternal logical relation toward God. This is what Spinoza calls "viewing the world under the form of eternity." The direct insight, according to Spinoza, is the highest knowledge. This theory of Spinoza may account for the origin of Wordsworth's insistence on the mighty mind or "the higher powers" of imagination.[51]

"The highest knowledge" of Spinoza gives rise to the intellectual love of God, which is the highest good or blessedness for man. The intellectual love of God enables our mind to renounce entirely all finite or personal desires. It is infinite love. It is the basic morality that leads us to attain true freedom from passion and fear.[52] Wordsworth's statement in lines 206-231, Book XIV, The Prelude, pointing

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50 Thomas, The Living World of Philosophy, pp. 38-39.
51 See The Prelude, ll. 63-205.
52 Thomas, The Living World of Philosophy, pp. 268-269.

out that the higher minds possess the glorious faculty and are blessed with inner freedom, is, therefore, probably derived from Spinoza.

Wordsworth is supposed to have got acquainted with Spinozism through Coleridge, because Coleridge discoursed to him of Spinoza in 1797-8 when they roamed the Quantock Hills, and a little later in Germany. But the passage from line 386 to line 418 in the second book of The Prelude declares that "the sentiment of Being" and the self-conscious personality of "every natural form" were strongly felt when "my seventeenth year was come." This passage leaves us in doubt whether in so remote a village as Hawkshead a boy who delighted in out-door life would know much of Spinozism, or whether he knew Spinozism later by way of Coleridge.[53]

As Wordsworth grew older, Mr. Stallknecht maintains, "the Spinozian morality ceased to give him satisfaction." He then turned to Kant, whose influence can be traced in the "Ode to Duty" and The Excursion.[54] Wordsworth's conception is metaphysical. Kant considers imagination a mystery, and even Hume recognizes that the imagination of the artist is "inexplicable by the utmost efforts of human understanding." But we find nothing of this in Hartley.[55]

Kant made clear that "in acquiring knowledge of the ex-

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53 Havens, The Mind of a Poet, p. 87.
54 Stallknecht, "Wordsworth and Philosophy," PMLA, Vol. XLIV (1929), pp. 1127-28, 1134.
55 Stallknecht, Strange Seas of Thought, pp. 38-39.

ternal world the mind is not passive," "but active and creative and that the primary creative activity in perception belongs to imagination."[56] However, there is no evidence to prove that Wordsworth's "imagination" was directly derived from these ideas of Kant. According to Professor Havens, it is highly probable that Coleridge found these ideas in The Critique of Pure Reason, and developed them, and passed them to his friend, Wordsworth. Using these ideas as a basis Wordsworth formed his concept of two kinds of imagination:

> The primary, which enters into all perceptions and unifies them, and the secondary, which dissolves the work of the primary in order to re-create it--that is, transforms the sense impressions already modified by the primary imagination. This transformation or re-creation is achieved, according to Wordsworth, through abstracting or eliminating some sense impressions, through modifying others, and through permeating the sense impressions derived from any object with those from surrounding objects and the impressions derived through one sense with those obtained through another. How these various methods are used may be seen in the "vision" from Snowdon (Prelude, XIV, 1-62), in the "Address to Kilchurn Castle," in "The Solitary Reaper," in "Yew Trees," and in the account of the snowfall which brought the poet consolation in Fleet Street.[57]

Probably we have gone far from the subject of this chapter. Let us return to the background of Wordsworth's concept of nature. During his school life at Hawkshead, Wordsworth, as a boy, heartily enjoyed out-door games. In his early youth he began to think over the significance of nature in connection with man. He was eager for humanity, liberty, and

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56 Havens, The Mind of a Poet, p. 205.
57 Ibid., p. 252-253.

truth. He went to France, fraternized with the supporters of the French Revolution. After coming back to England, greatly disappointed by the political disturbance, he fell into despondency. By the help of his sister he was brought back to nature with fully mature realization and convictions about the ideas of nature. Through books he got acquainted with Rousseau's theory of reverie and individualism. He adopted Godwin's necessitarianism and materialistic doctrines. Under the influence of Coleridge he abandoned Godwinianism and turned to the importance of the functioning of the active mind and the unity of consciousness. He seems to have got some help for his intellectual development from the associationist psychology of Hartley. Probably he was influenced in his conception of imagination by Spinoza and Kant. However, he never made any explicit statement about the distinction between God and nature. His theological beliefs seem uncertain. As for his concept of nature, we can be sure that he was indebted directly to nature itself more than to anyone else.

PART III

CHAPTER IV

TAO YUAN-MING'S DOMINANT IDEAS OF NATURE

Simplicity and Beauty of Nature

In the history of Chinese literature, no poet or any other sort of writer ever dealt with nature so intimately as Tao Yuan-Ming. He is the only one who deserves the title "nature-poet." It is due not to the quantity but to the quality of his poetry that he has been regarded as the Wordsworth of China. Tao Yuan-Ming did not write so much as other poets, but his concept of nature was the most profound. He lived close to nature or, rather, he lived in nature. His life as revealed in his poetry illustrates the combination of his spirit with nature. His feeling and emotion were always coincident with the way of nature. He enjoyed nature just as it was all the time. Nothing on the earth is mysterious or supernatural for him. Everything that is natural is nature itself. For him, the spirit of nature is simple but sublime, it crept into his heart and occupied his mind. He applies his ideals to the external world and adopts the spirit of nature for his ideal. Nature to him is a force to elevate man with its vastness and loftiness. It gladdens man with its beauty and inspires man with its simplicity.

Tao Yuan-Ming is exceedingly sympathetic with nature, and his sympathy is so subtle that he can witness the intimacy between the movement of nature and the movement of man's heart.

It seems to him that there is a rapid interchange of feeling between the world without and the world within. By means of this interchange he enters into the soul of nature.

Tao Yuan-Ming's art brings out the vivid image of nature with truly simple expression. He describes not only the liveliness of nature's beauty but also the significance in it. His sensuous temperament translates the forms, colors, and fragrance of the outward world sharply to our senses. Like other great artists, Tao Yuan-Ming draws the entire picture with few strokes, presents the whole by the part. He never uses too many epithets for description, yet the natural scenes in his poetry are no less vivid than the actuality. They display themselves before our eyes as if we saw them in his situation. Tao Yuan-Ming conveys emotion to us by means of suggestion and presents complexity through simplicity. He makes us see things as he sees and feel things as he feels.

> I pluck chrysanthemums under the east hedge.
> Easily the south mountain comes in sight.
> So wonderful is the mountain air at sunset,
> And the birds flying in flocks homeward.
> In all these things are secret truths:
> Though I try to explain it, words are of no avail.[1]

These lines depict a complete picturesque landscape with the poet himself mingled with the background. In this picture, we see only three objects, the man, the mountain, and the birds. There is nothing unusual in it. Its simplicity is extreme. But we find an extraordinary magnitude revealed by this sim-

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1 "Drinking Songs, I. Chrysanthemums," tr. Yang Yeh-tzu, in The White Pony, ed. Payne, ll. 5-10.

plicity. This magnitude is the atmosphere of perfect harmony between man and natural objects. And this atmosphere is the beauty that has fascinated our poet, Tao Yuan-Ming. He is well aware that it seems to be an inexplicable force prevailing at his heart. He realizes the charm of nature by his sensitive reason. As does Rousseau in regard to his conception of reverie, he finds this phenomenon difficult to explain with intellectual reason. An example indicating this feeling may be found in "The Seasonal Change":

> Over the mountain stream a mist hovers,
> Spreading upwards almost to the sky.
> A wind from the south
> Perks up the corn sprouts in the fields.
> So vast is the sheet of water,
> Scouring and cleaning the earth.
> Far and far extends the distant scene
> That affords view and delight.
> To speak the truth,
> We are heartily gratified.[2]

Here we find a sense of the remarkable harmony of nature's motion pervading the whole universe. Perceiving it men are heartily gratified. Nature, therefore, seems to be an invisible energy which strengthens the vigor of life and awakens an impulse of pleasure.

Tao Yuan-Ming's method of describing nature is by a few light and clear touches, through which we can see the whole of nature:

> Under the rising autumn moon I reached the boat-
> mooring,

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2 "The Seasonal Change," ll. 5-12, tr. Wang Chin-Ling. All references to the original text are to Works of Tao Yuan-Ming, ed. by Hu Po-Chi, with introduction by Chiao Ming Tai Tzu, Chi-Ku-Keh edition, 1879.

By the riverside I took leave of my friends.
Cold winds arose in the declining twilight.
The nocturnal scene was permeated with vague
brightness.
The unbounded universe loomed out clear.
A sheet of crystal was the smooth water.[3]

Tao Yuan-Ming lives in close accord with nature; his references to himself show him closely knit to his natural environment. He and nature are inseparable. His soul and nature's are one. Thus an infinite intimacy exists between them. It is by virtue of this intimacy that Tao Yuan-Ming brings us closer to nature, and we see nature more clearly. The clarity of vision thus afforded enables us to become more aware of nature's essential eternal simplicity.

Rural Color of Nature

The most outstanding characteristic of Tao Yuan-Ming's poetry, inevitably impressing any reader, is his treatment of rural color. Tao Yuan-Ming himself was from an upper class family. He had a good many opportunities to get a position in the court. Yet by nature he was too idealistic and naturalistic to enter worldly society. His natural inclination was to appreciate the virtue and compassion of the poor. He thought that the unhonored, obscure and lowly people had the really true and tender hearts, which would better serve the springs of his poetic faculties. He did not mind the plainness and simplicity of the peasants. On the contrary, he found enjoyment in the company of their untarnished souls:

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3 Ibid., "Traveling," ll. 7-12, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.

There was a time when I wanted to live in a south
village,
But not because I was guided by the auguries.
I had heard that many simple men lived there--
With them I would be glad to spend my mornings and
evenings.
For many years this was my desire,
And now today I shall accomplish my task:
So wretched a cottage need not be spacious,
All I want is a bed and a mat.
After the neighbors will come to see me,
We shall argue vociferously about the ancient times,
Rare writings we shall enjoy reading together,
And we shall clear up all doubtful interpretations.[4]

Tao Yuan-Ming felt that the lowly people in the country are remote from official circles. They don't need formalism, they don't know trickery. They are innocent, they don't know hypocrisy or corruption. They live by their true nature, they are sincere and sympathetic. No social code binds them, they are completely free. Being free they are close to nature. Being close to nature they are happy. This is why Tao Yuan-Ming wants to live with simple people:

In the quiet of the morning I heard a knock at my
door;
I threw on my clothes and opened it myself.
I asked who it was who had come so early to see
me:
He said he was a peasant, coming with good in-
tent.
He brought a present of wine and rice-soup,
Believing that I had fallen on evil days.
"You live in rags under a thatched roof.
And seem to have no desire of a better lot
The rest of mankind have all the same ambitions.
You too must learn to wallow in their mire."
"Old man, I am impressed by what you say.
But my soul is not fashioned like other men's.
To drive in their rut I might perhaps learn:
To be untrue to myself could only lead to muddle.

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4 "Moving House," tr. Yang Yeh-tzu, in The White Pony, ed. Payne, p. 159.

Let us drink and enjoy together the wine you have
brought,
For my course is set and cannot now be altered."[5]

The poem that shows the rural color of nature most abundantly and strikingly is "Return to the Country," in which everything in the country is natural, everything natural is genuine, and everything genuine is beautiful:

Since my boyhood I have had no taste for worldly
affairs,
By nature I love hills and mountains.
By mistake I fell into the traps of the world;
And there I wasted thirty years.
Imprisoned birds long for their old woods,
Fish in the tank think of their native pool.
I cultivate the land in the south fields.
To lead a rural life, I have returned to the
country.
My ground covers only ten-odd acres,
My thatched cottage had only a few rooms,
Elms and willows grew above the back eaves of my
house,
Peach and plum trees are in the courtyard.
Far in the distance are the hamlets of men.
The smoke hangs softly above their roofs.
Dogs bark in the deep lanes,
Cocks crow in the tops of the mulberry trees.
Inside the house, no disturbance of human noise.
In the loneliness of the room I enjoy my full
leisure.
For a long time, I was imprisoned in a cage,
But now, I have again returned to my self.[6]

Tao Yuan-Ming loved nature even when he was a boy. He was a genuine nature-poet, so he considered political activity as a "trap." After returning to the country, he saw the real color in nature. Regardless of hard labor, he cultivated the wild land; despite the primitive plainness, he lived

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5 "Drinking Songs: II. Contentment," tr. Waley, in Select Chinese Verses, ed. Lockhart, p. 77.

6 "Return to the Country I," tr. Wang Chin-Ling. One Chinese acre is about one-sixth of an English acre.

in a thatched cottage. For this is the way leading him to the enchanting palace where any object or sound is a sign of the striking beauty of the rural loftiness. The every day sights transmuted through the poetry of Tao Yuan-Ming appear in a new light. Every thing is extremely attractive and fascinating. Nothing is exotic, or bizarre. How commonplace the peach and plum trees and the distant hamlets are! How often we have seen the smoke coming up above those very roofs! Neither dog nor cock is strange. These are the elements of nature's art.

It is through the real situation that the poet presents the rural color of nature, which grasps our feeling and creeps into the innermost soul. The poet finds that in any form of nature there is beauty that appeals to us. Because the features of a scene, no matter how simple and commonplace, are unconsciously tinged with our emotional associations. As "scenery provided the best of what the universe fundamentally is...wild and semi-wild scenery became a body of symbols representing the romantic ideal of nature."[7]

Nature as a Retreat

All things have their own shelter,
But the lonely cloud has nothing to lean on:
Faintly it vanishes from the sky.
The rosy morning opens the night mist,
Innumerable birds flutter along.

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7 Fairchild, The Noble Savage, p. 376, as quoted in Beach, The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry, p. 42.

One bird stirs slowly from the forest
And returns before the fall of evening.
To keep the measure and stay in old pathways
Would mean to suffer cold and hunger.
If no one knows my character,
Let it be--why should I grieve?[8]

"Lonely cloud" is a symbol of Tao Yuan-Ming's personality, glorious and lofty. Like a separate cloud vanishing faintly from the sky, he himself died away leaving his fame in obscurity for several centuries. As late as the tenth century, his poetic glory still remained unknown. Paul Valérey figuratively says about Tao Yuan-Ming that his clothes were made by an expensive tailor, but their value could not be perceived at the first sight.[9]

Due to his eremitic nature, Tao Yuan-Ming was not interested in fame. He had no vanity and ambition, "no taste for worldly affairs." So he was unconcerned with urban life. He wanted earnestly to live close to nature, to live as a "bird stirs slowly from the forest and returns before the fall of evening." So he retreated to the depth of nature's bosom, where he found perfect tranquillity and peacefulness:

The autumn chrysanthemums have the loveliest
colors,
Flowers and leaves all moistened with the dew.
I drink this cup of all-forgetful wine,
And so drive all my earthly cares away.
Alone I lift the cup to my lips:
The wine is poured when the cup is empty.
And everything is silent at the setting of the sun;

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8 "The Poor Scholars," tr. Yang Yeh-tzu, in The White Pony, ed. Payne, p. 164.

9 Valérey, Paul, "On Tao Yuan-Ming," as quoted in Chinese translation by Hsiao Wang-Ching, Criticism of Tao Yuan-Ming, p. 2.

While the homing birds flock to the woods there is
chirping.
Under the east balcony I shout boisterously:
Satisfied now that my humble life can go on.[10]

Tao Yuan-Ming likes the colorful beauty of the chrysanthemum because it is distinguished from other flowers by its particular seasonal prime. The chrysanthemum is commonly cultivated to bloom in late fall and early winter. It symbolizes loftiness. He drinks wine in order to get rid of the earthly cares. This is one of the ways that he retreated from this world. He enjoys humble life because it affords him quiet and freedom, which comprise the essential spirit of nature.

Tao Yuan-Ming keeps in his mind an idealized panorama of the primitive community of ancient times, where Utopian circumstances would exist, where people would have little interrelationship. There, man might live with perfect freedom as does nature itself. That is the condition which claims his highest admiration:

In early summer the woods and herbs are thriving,
Around my cottage thick sway the branches and
shades.
The numerous birds delight in their sanctuaries,
And I too love my cottage.
After I have plowed and sown,
Then I return to read my books.
The narrow lane which had no deep ruts
Has often turned back an old friend's coach.
Joyfully I pour my spring wine,
And pluck the lettuce growing in my garden.
A fine rain comes from the east
And a sweet wind follows it.
Idly I read the legends of King Chou
And glance at the map of the strange places.

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10 "Chrysanthemums," tr. Yang Chi-Sing, in The White Pony, ed. Payne, p. 168.

> In a moment I am flying through the universe.
> How could such a man ever be unhappy?[11]

It is obvious enough that Tao Yuan-Ming wants to keep himself away from the artificial world. The only way to attain this purpose is to retreat into nature. Following the way of nature, he is elevated by nature's spirit. Chiao Ming Tai Tzu says in the introduction to Works of Tao Yuan-Ming,

> Tao Yuan-Ming is like a distinctively clear current flowing in a muddy river. He is like a cloud soaring high above other clouds. His poetry of life is unusually lofty and that of philosophical ideas is natural and sincere. He keeps his ideals with a firm will. He does not think of rustic work to be shameful and never complains of his poverty. How could he behave like this if he were not a great philosopher of strong will and high doctrine?[12]

Tao Yuan-Ming is not pessimistic. He is rather optimistic. His view of life leads him to renounce all earthly desires. His attitude is positive. He resigns himself to nature, where man's existence is on the same level of importance as that of any natural object. Man does not interfere with anything outside himself, and nothing interferes with him either. He is relieved from distasteful human affairs. Thus nature keeps him away from the artificial world.

In short, Tao Yuan-Ming, as revealed in his poetry, is an idealistic person. Usually he sits on a rock with chrysan-

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11 Ibid., "Reading The Book of Strange Places and Seas," p. 165. The Book of Strange Places and Seas is a book of legends supposedly compiled by Prince Huai Nan Tzu.

12 Chiao Ming Tai Tzu, "Introduction," Works of Tao Yuan-Ming, ed. Hu Po-Chi, Book I, p. 4, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.

themum blossoms beside him. Sometimes he comes back on a narrow dewy paddy walk under the moonlight with a hoe on his shoulder. Sometimes he rests alone in front of the window with a cup of wine in his hand, looking meditatively at the floating white clouds. He is popularly considered as "the forerunner of hermitic poets,"[13] simply because he takes nature for a retreat and secludes himself in it.

Nature as Destination of Human Life

Thus nature, for Tao Yuan-Ming, is an unlimited and ever-lasting beauty. In the presence of this beauty, he finds a real delight running through his soul. Bringing himself into harmony with nature he escapes any human suffering and enriches his spiritual life. This is the truth that results in Tao Yuan-Ming's wisdom.

The common people confine their lives to a small and ephemeral world. What occupies their minds and souls is no more than their personal relations with others. They may grow tired of the endless wear and tear of living with other people, but they can by no means get rid of them. Tao Yuan-Ming, like other great poets, is of an entirely different temperament. Nothing seems to be able to change his idealized way of life. By an appropriate adjustment of his inward and outward senses, he sees things that we cannot see.

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13 Chung Juang, Criticism of Chinese Poetry, as quoted in Hu Yun-Y, New History of Chinese Literature, p. 82.

Beyond this human world he discovers a bigger world where man is as without social restriction as the birds and fish are, and where man behaves in a way common to all natural objects:

> My heart remains with the house near the lakes and hills.
> Looking at clouds I am ashamed by the high-flying birds,
> Seeing fish swimming I stand abashed near the water.
>
> The perfect ideal is locked in my heart,
> No outward appearances will ever defile it.
> I shall follow the dispensation of nature
> And at last return to a hermit's cottage.[14]

Tao Yuan-Ming breaks out of the small and material world and enters another world where no spiritual distinction exists between man and natural things. There he finds an atmosphere extremely genial and free. There is no self, no selfishness nor dissatisfaction. There, people behave as freely as the birds soaring high in the sky and the fish diving deep in the water.

Tao Yuan-Ming is enlightened by nature. He blends his temperament with nature's. Lonely clouds, solitary regions, timely rain, windy scenes, new corn fields, autumn chrysanthemums, mountains, and streams are all full of attraction and fascination in his eyes. He absorbs nature's harmony and illumination. It seems that he possesses in his character the quality of being totally disengaged; he is able to release himself from worldly cares.[15] So he says in the pre-

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14 "Retrospect," tr. Yang Yeh-tzu, in The White Pony, ed. Payne, ll. 13-19.

15 Chu Kwang-Tsien, On Poetry, pp. 224-225.

face of "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit,"

> High and low, wise and simple, all are busily preserving their moments of life. In this they err greatly. So I shall expose the sufferings of Substance and Shadow, and speak of the preceiving Spirit and Nature as offering a solution...[16]

Then, in this poem, Spirit expounds to Substance and Shadow:

> The Great Potter is always righteous.
> All creatures appear in fullness and clarity.
> Man takes his place between Heaven and Earth--
> Is it not on account of me?
> Though I differ in nature from you both,
> Ever since birth we have been together
> With intimate sharing of good and ill.
> The Three Emperors were great sages,
> But where are they today?
> P'eng Tsu enjoyed a grand old age:
> If he had desired it, he could not stay.
> Old and young meet the same death,
> So do countless wiseacres and fools.[17]

So that the final solution of preserving our life is that "we should resign ourselves to fate and drift on the waves of Great Nature."[18]

As the course of "Great Nature" is limitless, man should forget the passage of time and the distinction between individuals. He should leap into the boundless and so dwell in the boundless. Heaven and earth come into existence together with men and things. They make up one universal life. Therefore, man should live identified with the integrity of this universal life. This integrity of universal life is Tao Yuan-Ming's conception of the oneness of nature. It is the total-

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16 "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit," tr. Yang Yeh-tzu, in The White Pony, ed. Payne, p. 155.

17 Ibid., "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit, Spirit Expounds," ll. 1-14.

18 Ibid., "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit, Spirit Expounds," ll. 20-21.

ity of the being of the whole universe. As we are a part of nature, our existence is naturally a part of its oneness. We should not and cannot live a life independent of this oneness or totality. Tao Yuan-Ming regards nature as the destination of human life.

Immortality and Eternity of Nature

Nature not only includes elements and forces which stimulate growth in natural objects and in man but it also provides the means of response to this aspiration. Plants in darkness reach after the light. The roots of the trees seek hidden springs of water. Every thing in nature seeks some way to prolong its life. It is by instinct that we worry about the transiency of our physical life and long for a life that does not end after death.

The supreme desire of man is to attain an immortal life. Yet no body knows how to fulfill this desire. Although we cannot preserve our physical life we can attain a kind of spiritual immortality. Tao Yuan-Ming takes the problem of immortality into consideration in "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit" in which Shadow says to Substance:

> Immortality is beyond comprehension,
> And it is hard to preserve life.
> I would wander on the heights of the K'un-lung
> Mountains,
> But closed is the road to that place.
> Since the day I met you we have shared
> The same joys, the same sorrows.
> In the shade we seem to part for a while,
> But in the sun we are always together.
> We cannot keep company forever:
> Together we shall vanish in the darkness.

The name dies when the body comes to an end.
Such is the painful thought that consumes my heart:
Our descendants will love a virtuous man,
So why should you not exert yourself?
Though wine may melt our sorrows,
Nothing compares with deeds well done.[19]

Mankind in its great totality is like a huge wave moving onward in the vast ocean of life. The wave in its progress lifts new particles of water and leaves the old ones behind; but the wave itself remains the same in its onward career. The material particles of which humanity now consists are left behind, they sink back into the ocean, yet humanity continues to progress, it continues to live, and remains the same through all the changes which the material parts of the living substance have to undergo. Man feels himself a part of a whole for which he may work and exert himself. And in so far as he represents humanity, he breathes the atmosphere of immortality.

Man lives a double life, the external life of the physical body which the world sees, and the internal life of ideals, hopes, fears, joys and griefs, which the world cannot see. Hence man is dual in character, he has an animal life and a spiritual life. One is temporary, the other eternal. One transitory, the other infinite. They are bound together in the same person.

Man's life is transient, but his thoughts and ideas may be immortal. His thoughts and ideas continue according to

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19 Ibid., "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit, Shadow Says to Substance."

the law of causation, for every event which takes place continues in its effects. Therefore, every thought or idea lingers with us as a memory. This memory is the representation of our personality which under certain circumstances may remain immortal with nature.

The immortality which engenders ever-lasting memory is the valuable accomplishment of man during his life time. This valuable accomplishment is unforgetable to his children, to his friends, and to his countrymen or even to the world. Virtues leave seeds which will grow again. Therefore, instead of living only for ourselves, we have to give ourselves up in some form or other to the common interest of mankind. Life is but the shadow of the body. In order to achieve immortality the shadow pushes the body to exert itself because "our descendants will love a virtuous man," and "nothing compares with deeds well done." In regard to this conception, Tao Yuan-Ming seems very close to Tennyson whose view of the spiritual life of the individual after death is clearly indicated as follows:

> Nor blame I Death, because he bare
> The use of virture out of earth:
> I know transplanted human worth
> Will bloom to profit, otherwhere.[20]

Immortality is a quality of nature as well as of man. Nature's existence implies the unchanging being of her in-

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20 Tennyson, "In Memoriam," LXXXII, as quoted in Beach, The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry, p. 423.

finite force which consists of the individual lives of all the objects under the sky. As Emerson says, man is at liberty to realize his oneness with the spirit that moves in all things or rather, as it seems, to mingle his identity with the divine whole. This divine whole is actually the eternity of nature. Therefore, it is obvious that a man who desires the eternity of an immortal life must follow the eternal law of nature, which brings all phenomena into existence. Tao Yuan-Ming seems to expound this idea in "The Empty Boat:"

> Softly and unhampered an empty boat glides on
> To and fro along the stream of eternity.
> Scarcely has the year begun
> When we are halfway among the constellations.
> Beyond the south window everything blossoms,
> The north forests are well wooded and luxuriant.
> Down to mysterious pools pours timely rain,
> Winds from warmer climates ruffle the early dawn.
> Whoever comes must go.
> Mortal destiny commands that we shall leave.
> Remain with your proper destiny to the end;
> Leaning on elbows we shall not harm the inward wholeness:
> Whether the changing current is foul or fair,
> The ups and downs can never touch our freedom.
> To behave in this way shows a lofty spirit--
> What need is there to climb high mountains?[21]

Like an empty boat floating on an eternal stream, the external life of man compared with nature's infinity and eternity is but a moment's existence. No matter what may happen to him in the present life, at length there will be an end to it. However, when we realize the inward wholeness,

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21 "The Empty Boat," tr. Yang Yeh-tzu, in The White Pony, ed. Payne, p. 158.

the universal freedom of nature, which is unchanging and ever-lasting, we will not consider the transitory ups and downs of our present life; we will turn our attention to the inner light and lofty spirit which exist beyond our present life. This seems to be the preliminary procedure of Tao Yuan-Ming to approach the immortality and eternity of nature.

CHAPTER V

BACKGROUND TO TAO YUAN-MING'S IDEAS OF NATURE

Inherited and Innate Qualities of His Personality

On the basis of Tao Yuan-Ming's principal ideas about nature as revealed in his poetry, it is possible to construct a profile of his personality. Actually he was nothing but a farmer working from morning till night. What distinguished him from other farmers was his profound insight and unusual intellectual faculty.

He was born in a traditionally intellectual family about 365 A.D.[1] He has been conjectured to be the great grandson of Tao Kan, a distinguished scholar and official, once the Minister of War, who owed his unusual popularity to the story that in order to keep himself from being idle, he moved one hundred bricks from one place to another in the morning, and moved them back in the afternoon. Tao Yuan-Ming's maternal grandfather was appointed General of the Western Marches. His paternal grandfather was a magistrate. His father died when he was still young. He lost his wife and married again

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1 The exact date of Tao Yuan-Ming's birth is uncertain to all scholars of today. Wu Ju-Lun in his On Chinese Poetry holds 376 A.D., which was the first year of the reign of Tai Yuan. Liang Chi-Chiao in his Tao Yuan-Ming maintains 372 A.D., the second year of the reign of Hsien An. Professor Chu Kwang-Tsien in his On Poetry claims 375 A.D., the third and last year of the reign of Ning Kang. Here 365 is the traditional record in Chinese history, e.g. Hu Yun-Y, New History of Chinese Literature, p. 80, and Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture, Vol. I, p. 165.

at his thirtieth year. While he was only middle aged, several members of his family died. An accidental fire left him with an unforeseen and heavy financial burden. Tao Yuan-Ming was exceedingly poor during his whole life. From his youth he was plagued with ill health. He died in 427.[2]

He lived in a village called Chaitsang of the district of Hsunyang, Kiangsi Province. He inherited a very small estate and had very little property. He took farming as a profession. The soil of his land was poor, and famines were frequent. He had a big family to support and it was extremely difficult for him to attain even the simple necessities:

> The weather is hot as burning
> The fields teem with insects and locusts.
> Frequently come the raids of storms and floods,
> The crop is no more than enough for one person.[3]

He was so needy that "In winter I haven't even flax to wear, and in summer I drink with a calabash and eat with a basket."[4]

For the sake of necessary sustenance, Tao Yuan-Ming was obliged to look for a post in the government. His first job was that of Military Adviser of the Capital Garrison at Chienyeh, in 399.[5] Two years later he was dispatched to Kiang-

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2 Chu Kwang-Tsien, On Poetry, pp. 214-215.
3 "Lament, Written to Pang Chu-Pu and Teng Chi-Chung," ll. 7-10, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.
4 Works, Book VIII, p. 8. "Lament for Ching-Yuan, My dead Cousin."
5 The Capital of Tsin Dynasty was Chienyeh, which is now Nanking.

ling.[6] In winter of the same year he resigned on account of the death of his mother. In 404, again he took a position as Military Adviser of Sovereign Force. In August of the next year he was appointed the Magistrate of Pengtse,[7] where he stayed only eighty-three days. Because of his dislike for the life of officialdom he quitted his post and went home to Chaitsang. This is told fully in the long preface to his famous poem "The Return:"

> ...But the world was busy with its affairs, and princes and dukes vied with one another in employing men of ability, and so through the recommendation of my uncle I received an appointment as a chief official in a small district. The country remained in confusion, and upon my soul I was sick of serving in a distant place. Pengtse is only some thirty miles from my home, and in addition there were the advantages of official fields, which assisted my income: so I undertook these duties. But after a few days I was overcome by a feeling of homesickness. Why? To serve there was against my instinct, and could not be put right by affectations. Hunger and cold can cause physical suffering, but to do things against my conscience still tortures my spirit. There is a precious lesson that I have derived from hard experience: one who indulges himself in worldly affairs merely satisfies his mouth and his stomach. But even then I conceived the desire to wait for the next crop, and then leave my office silently. A few days later my sister died in Wuchang. I was eager to go to her funeral, and so I resigned of my own accord. I have been an official for little more than eighty days.[8]

From 405 until his death he remained home as a farmer. His physical life was full of hardship and bitterness though

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6 Kiangling is a district of Yuehyang in Hunan Province.
7 A district in Kiangsi Province.
8 "Preface to The Return," tr. Yen Whai-Shou, in The White Pony, ed. Payne, pp. 151-152.

he enjoyed his chrysanthemums and lyre. Sometimes he was starving and had to beg for food. At any rate, he determined not to be an official again. He said, "I will not crook the hinges of my back for five pecks of rice a day." During his late years, he was appointed Officer of Public Writings by Emperor Liu Yu, but he did not accept this position.[9] Actually, there were great opportunities to acquire wealth, but he followed strictly his family tradition not to be corrupt. In "Biography of the Late General of the Western Marches," Tao Yuan-Ming writes of his maternal grandfather:

> ...He behaved always correctly, and never boasted of his deeds. You could hardly detect from his expression whether he was angry or pleased. He was fond of drinking, but only in moderation, and when he indulged his fancy, he would look as peaceful as though he were alone, even if he was surrounded by many people.[10]

Tao Yuan-Ming had no desire for riches and fame. It seems that he was completely contented with the natural world as he saw it. The mountains and streams, valleys and plains were all to him unchanging attractions with a deliberate simplicity and an incurable nostalgia. He loved nature and wine, children and chrysanthemums, he loved walking alone through the countryside. He took delight in the seasons and comfort in birds. He sometimes worried about death, but since it is inevitable for man, he was consoled with the idea of the im-

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9 Chu Kwang-Tsien, On Poetry, p. 216.

10 "Biography of the Late General of the Western Marches," as quoted in English translation in The White Pony, ed. Payne, p. 150.

mortality of virtuous deeds. He is the poet of quietness and solitude. His brief autobiography shows explicitly all these qualities of his personality:

> The Scholar of Five Willows is a native of I know not what place; and no one knows his name or surname. Because there were five willows beside his house, he was known simply as the Scholar of the Five Willows. He was quiet, even taciturn, had no desire for riches or fame. He amused himself with books, but never to such an extent that he would trouble himself with exact interpretations. When he found a passage that particularly delighted him, he was so happy that he went without food.
>
> He had a passion for wine, but sometimes he was so poor that he could obtain none. His friends realized this, and they never forgot to invite him over for a drink. He always emptied his cup, determined whatever else happened to get drunk. After he was drunk he retired, and cared nothing at all where he found himself. The four walls of his house were bare and tattered, and did not shelter him from wind or sun. Wearing a short flax-cloth jacket, all torn, and carrying an empty rice bowl, he was perfectly content.
>
> He amused himself by writing occasional poems, wherein aspirations are revealed, having no interest in worldly success or failure. And so his life passed to its end.[11]

Tao Yuan-Ming may appear to be a passive pessimist because of his retreat from the world. Actually, quite the contrary, he was always positive and contented. He had a firm will and strong desire for his ideal life. He determined to have nothing to do with politics. He wanted to be a lonely scholar desperately anxious to do what was right. He was intensely human. Of his personality, the greatest poet of the Sung Dynasty, Su Tung-Po, wrote in the introduc-

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11 "The Biography of The Scholar of Five Willows," as quoted in English translation in The White Pony, ed. Payne, p. 153.

tion to an edition of Tao Yuan-Ming's poetical works:

> Tao Yuan-Ming applied for the official post without feeling humble at all when he was in need of it. He gave it up without any self-conceit when he disliked it. He would beg for food if he had nothing to eat. He would treat his guests with chicken and rice if he got them. He has been highly esteemed up to the present day mostly due to his ingenuousness.[12]

Finally, I would like to quote Mr. Payne's beautiful passage as a summation of Tao Yuan-Ming's charming personality:

> Partly it was heredity and the family tratition, partly his own innate contempt for the shows and ceremonials of life. There is always robust good sense in him, an underlying gravity of manner, and a queer streak of humor. He praised all the seasons, but seems to have preferred autumn, when the chrysanthemums blossom. He painted in thin light colors, and for this reason has been called the poet of old people, but in fact he is the poet's poet, his verses possessing in the original Chinese a classic perfection of idiom. He is the nightingale rather than the skylark, and if he can be compared with any Western poets at all, we must go to the Vergil of the Georgics and the more recent poems of Robert Frost. He would deliberately select the most colorless words, not because he disliked color, but because he was intent on describing things as they are without adventitious aids, in the same way that Yeats, in revising his poetry, would search for the starkest, not the most evocative adjective. He was almost the first Chinese poet to describe nature intimately. He was the herald of a more accurate dawn.[13]

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12 Su Tung-Po, "On the Poetry of Tao Yuan-Ming," as quoted in Hsiao Wang-Ching, Criticism of Tao Yuan-Ming, p. 12, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.

13. The White Pony, ed. Payne, pp. 150-151.

Rustic Life

Tao Yuan-Ming was a sensitive poet. As he had found the official society not to his taste, he determined to go back to his fields and never come out again regardless of his extreme poverty. He must have been too much disgusted by the meaningless formality and corruption of the so-called polite circles. So he craved eagerly to return to the country and live together with the simple farmers in order to get really close to nature. In "The Return" he repeats his resolution again and again:

> I must return. My fields and my orchards
> Are invaded by weeds.
> Why should I not return?
>
> Since I have made my soul the slave of my body,
> Why should I wait, moaning dreadfully?
> No, I shall not waste my sighs on the past,
> I shall lift my spirit toward the far future.
> I have not wandered too far from the path.
> Still I know
> I am once more on the road to my home.[14]

Only in the country it is possible for a nature-loving poet to appreciate the fascinating natural scenes which appeal to his peaceful mood and lofty mind. The country is the very place where he can enjoy his garden, fields, birds, and clouds. Particularly is this the case with Tao Yuan-Ming:

> Sometimes I wander in my garden
> Where there is a door that is rarely open.
> I lean on my staff at my leisure
> And sometimes lift my head and look around.

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14 Ibid., "The Return," ll. 1-10.

Idly, the clouds climb the valleys;
The birds, weary of flying, seek for their nests.
Light thickens, but still I remain in the fields,
Caressing with my hands a solitary pine.[15]

Hence again he urges himself to leave the earthly place for home, without care for the people whose ways are different from his:

I must return!
I shall have no more friends to amuse me.
The world and I have broken apart.
What have I to do with men any longer?
I shall forget myself in the peace of my family,
And the hours will pass, and the music of my lyre...[16]

If he does not get into nature how can he find anything hidden in the depth of nature? If we do not look into the thesaurus we cannot discover what treasure is in it. We may learn very well about a place from the map, but unless we travel in that place we never can get a real knowledge of it. Probably, this is why Tao Yuan-Ming determines to leave the city for the country.

After all, he finds things in the country are really different from the city:

I shall row a small boat into the wilderness
Of leaves in search of a quiet grotto.
The trees, spendidly gleaming,
Climb higher with the coming of spring,
And the fountains and the springs
Steal from their caverns of rock.
Ah, happy is life in the spring,
But my life is slowly coming to an end.[17]

How beautiful and lovely such a place described in these

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15 Ibid., "The Return," ll. 27-34.
16 Ibid., "The Return," ll. 35-40.
17 Ibid., "The Return," ll. 45-52.

lines is! It is really no less than a fairy land. Nothing is like this in the city. Where can we enjoy such a charming spot if we don't go to the country?

Moreover, in his poetry Tao Yuan-Ming pictures an ideal society which appealed strongly to the people of his time. This society was an anarchical community in which all people are perfectly free from the restriction of any social creed or system. Nothing there is artificial. Everything is happy and spontaneous. People only work at farming, by which they live, and through which they are enabled to live closer to nature. Tao Yuan-Ming wanted to realize this natural way of life; he personally carried it into practice. Farming was, thus, his choice of an occupation rather than governmental service:

> At the foot of the south mountain I grow beans;
> Weeds are too many and the bean shoots very few.
> In early morning I start working on the wilderness.
> Under the moonlight I return home with hoe on shoulder.
> The path is narrow and the grasses tall,
> My clothes are moistened with evening dew.
> My clothes' being wet, I don't mind,
> My only desire is to be content with my way of life.[18]

Living in the country, working his farm, Tao Yuan-Ming was entirely satisfied. Sometimes men of letters and political officers visited him to keep in contact with him, but he was actually not interested in them.[19] It was the peasants with whom he associated most intimately. Sometimes

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18 "Living in the Country, II," ll. 1-8, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.
19 Chu Kwang-Tsien, On Poetry, p. 216-217.

they brought him "a present of wine and rice-soup," sometimes he "entertained" them "with a chicken."[20] When there were no farming affairs in the country, he would meet with the peasants to enjoy a cup of wine at leisure and exchange comments about their hemp and mulberries:

> Along the deserted paths,
> Turning away the grass leaves, we walk here and there.
> Gathering together, nothing to say
> Except comment on the growth of hemp and mulberries.[21]

> With farming work we are all busy.
> At leisure we think of one another.
> Thinking so much that we put on clothes,
> Talk, and laugh without fatigue whatever.[22]

This was the way in which Tao Yuan-Ming lived in the country from the time that he abandoned his public employment. He stayed far away from the busy world but he never was lonely, because he found enjoyment in the friendship and companionship of his working fellows, who were genuine by nature. As a rule, peasants live a plain life and treat one another with sincerity, ingenuousness, and innocence. The peasants have no need of affectation, deception, and hypocrisy. Therefore, their community is simple and natural. In such a community we can find a genial atmosphere which seems to be derived from the way of nature. This is the reason why Tao Yuan-Ming lived contentedly with the peasants.

Furthermore, dealing with the plants in the fields, we

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20 "Living in the Country V," ll. 5-6.
21 "Living in the Country II," ll. 5-8, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.
22 "Moving House I," ll. 17-20, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.

are always in touch with nature. We are permeated with natural air and inspired with natural scenes. Our senses are nourished by nature's revelation and our feelings and emotions purified by its effect. We are led to absorb nature's simplicity and spontaneity and to follow the natural course of life. Man and nature thus become one and inseparable in spirit. This is probably the reason why Tao Yuan-Ming approached nature through rustic life.

Influence of Confucianism

From Tao Yuan-Ming's brief autobiography we have learned that "he amused himself with books, but never to such an extent that he would trouble himself with exact interpretations. When he found a passage that particularly delighted him, he was so happy that he went without food." In his "Letter to Tzu Yan" he wrote: "In my young days I learned to play the lyre and to read books. Sometimes I loved quietness. When I found some book delightful, I would continue reading and forget to eat."[23] In "The Return" he also mentioned that he would pass the hours in playing the lyre and reading books.[24] Likewise, in many other places he indicated his keen interest in reading.

What kind of books did he read? Since no accurate record concerning his life has been handed down, we have to go

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23 Works, "Letter to Tzu Yan," Book VIII, p. 2, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.

24 "The Return," in The White Pony, ed. Payne, l. 40.

back to the clues found in his works. First of all, in one of his "Drinking Songs" he said:

> I had few affairs to deal with when I was young,
> What I cared for was the Six Classics.[25]

Here the Six Classics traditionally stand for the six well-known books: Book of Poetry, Book of History, Book of Rites, Book of Music, Book of Changes, and Spring and Autumn Annals. These books are the principal writings of Confucianism. Therefore, we are sure that he was familiar with the Confucian doctrine. In "Reply to Vice-General Pang," again we find:

> Nothing is vulgar in our talk
> All that we say is concerned with the Sage's doctrine.[26]

As a rule, nobody in China is properly called the Sage (Shing Jen) except Confucius. It is highly probable that Tao Yuan-Ming believed in Confucianism and was influenced by it in his way of behaving. Professor Chu Kwang-Tsien pointed out that his rebellion against worldly desires, his spirituality without asceticism, his materialism without sensuality, and his harmony with the life of the senses were, for the most part, derived from Confucian doctrine.[27]

Then let us turn to Confucianism for a moment. What Confucius said in his Analects probably identifies Tao Yuan-Ming's philosophy in this aspect:

> With sincere faith one unites the love of

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25 "Drinking Songs XVI," ll. 1-2, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.
26 Works, "Reply to Vice-General Pang," ll. 5-6, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.
27 Chu Kwang-Tsien, On Poetry, pp. 218-220.

> learning: holding firm to death, one is perfecting the excellence of his course.
>
> Such an one will not enter a tottering State, nor dwell in a disorganized one. When right principles of government prevail in the kingdom, he will show himself; when they are prostrated, he will keep concealed.
>
> When a country is well-governed, poverty and a mean condition are things to be ashamed of. When a country is ill-governed, riches and honor are things to be ashamed of.[28]

It is obvious that Tao Yuan-Ming, as we have seen in the account of his personality, lived in accordance with Confucius' principles. We know that during Tao Yuan-Ming's time, society was entirely out of order. Great confusion was everywhere. Peace had disappeared at the fall of Han Dynasty--220 A.D. There were wars between the people of China and the foreign tribes, between neighboring states, and between sovereigns and masters. The whole period is marked by chaos.[29] Therefore, Tao Yuan-Ming's retreat from such a tottering state to his country seclusion, and his contentment with his poverty and mean condition were possibly motivated by the Confucian principles.

Besides, Tao Yuan-Ming repeatedly and with emphasis wrote in many of his poems about the significance of doing good: "Nothing compares with deeds well done," and "Virtuous deeds bring happiness." It is very probable that he believed in the Confucian doctrine of true joy and long life. In the Confucian Analects, we find

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28 Confucius, Analects, p. 76.
29 Hu Yun-Y, New History of Chinese Literature, p. 67.

> With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow;--I have still joy in the midst of these things. Riches and honors acquired by unrighteousness are to me as a floating cloud.[30]

According to Confucius, even in the meagerest of circumstances, the man who lives rightly will be happy. Ill-gotten gains will never bring happiness. Heaven grants happiness only to the good. This idea is also expounded in the first two sections of the fifteenth chapter of book five, Book of History, that a reward will follow every good deed, and only in doing good deeds can man know the true joy of living and have long life.[31]

In conformity with Confucianism, the way to be one's true self and to be a man of divine nature is by the constant practice of righteousness. Mencius, the greatest exponent of Confucianism, fully construed this idea in the second chapter of his Works:

> He who is naturally true to himself is one who, without effort, hits upon what is right, and without thinking understands what he wants to know, whose life is easily and naturally in harmony with the moral law. Such a one is what we call a saint or a man of divine nature. He who learns to be his true self is one who finds out what is good and holds fast to it.[32]

Furthermore, in Tao Yuan-Ming's poetry describing the beauty of nature, we find a marked parallelism between the poet himself and the natural objects, and an exceedingly har-

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30 Confucius, Analects, p. 64.
31 The Sacred Writings of the World's Great Religions, ed. Frost, p. 97.
32 Confucius and Mencius, The Wisdom of Confucius, ed. and tr. Lin Yutang, p. 122.

monious atmosphere of the universe. The poet is a part of the harmonious universe as he plucks chrysanthemums under the east hedge, while the birds in flock fly homeward. He loves his cottage as the birds delight in their sanctuaries. He finds that the south wind has the effect of perking up the corn sprouts in the fields, that the singing birds celebrate the coming merry festival, and that the cold wind brings us good luck.[33] All these instances convey not only an aesthetic viewpoint but also a philosophical notion, which is coincident with the Confucian doctrine of the fulfilment of one's nature. One of Confucius' well-known followers illustrated the meaning of this idea in the twenty-second chapter of The Doctrine of the Steadfast Mean as follows:

> Only those who are their absolute true selves in the world can fulfil their own nature; only those who fulfil their own nature can fulfil the nature of others; only those who fulfil the nature of others can fulfil the nature of things; those who fulfil the nature of things are worthy to help Mother Nature in growing and sustaining life; and those who are worthy to help Mother Nature in growing and sustaining life are the equals of heaven and earth.[34]

On the whole, there seems to be a major theme which is the key point of all Tao Yuan-Ming's ideas in his poetry. This theme is the Confucian doctrine of truth. According to Mencius, truth should be the basic ground for the existence of man. Mencius said in his Works:

> Truth means the fulfilment of our life; and

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33 "Reflections on Ancient Regions I," ll. 7-8.

34 Confucius and Mencius, The Wisdom of Confucius, ed. and tr. Lin Yutang, p. 123.

> moral law means following the law of our being. Truth is the beginning and end (the substance) of material existence. Without truth there is no material existence...
>
> Truth is not only the fulfilment of our own being; it is that by which things outside of us have an existence. The fulfilment of our being is moral sense. The fulfilment of the nature of things outside of us is intellect. These, moral sense and intellect, are the powers of faculties of our being. They combine the inner or subjective and outer or objective use of the power of the mind. Therefore, with Truth, everything done is right.
>
> Thus absolute truth is indestructible. Being indestructible, it is eternal. Being eternal, it is self-existent...[35]

Tao Yuan-Ming seemed to have accepted this theory and applied it to his life. By exercising the subjective facet of his mind, he created his own solitude though living among the habitations of men. He resigned himself to the way of nature and made his soul at ease:

> My physical self goes with the spirit of nature.
> My soul remains always at ease.[36]

By exercising the objective facet of his mind, he appreciated natural beauty and harmonized himself with natural objects.

Influence of Taoism

The period between 220 A.D. and 581 is known in Chinese history as the Six Dynasties. This period of many centuries of chaos created a deep vein of pessimism and anarchism in the intellectual life of the time. Confucianism had grown formal and lifeless. Many scholars were not restrained by

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35 Ibid., p. 124.

36 "Fire Accident in the House," ll. 15-16, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.

the Confucian ritual. They appeared as cynical free thinkers. They condemned restraint, and extolled wine, nature, and poetry. The most famous group of poets and philosophers were the Seven Scholars of the Bamboo Grove in the third century. All these scholars were deeply colored with the nature mysticism of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, and also markedly influenced by the Buddhist Nihilism. They had contempt for the earthly world. They tried to attain freedom from worldly cares and desires through either the Taoist or the Buddhist belief.[37]

Tao Yuan-Ming was also living in this long chaotic period. His time was not too much later than that of those seven scholars. It is probable that he was much influenced by the attitude of his predecessors or directly by the Taoist scripture. Indeed, a strong Taoist tone may be found in many of his works. In "The Return," the last passage, a description of the poet's own propensity, carries noticeable Taoist ideas:

> How long shall I stay in the world?
> Why do they not leave my heart in peace?
> Why do I torment myself so vainly?
> Shall I stay, shall I go?
> I have no love for honors,
> I have no love for riches.
> Paradise is beyond all my hopes.
> And therefore in the clear daylight
> I shall walk among my fields and among my flowers,
> Singing a little and sighing,
> And climbing the mountains of the east
> To the accompaniment of a liquid stream,
> Chanting a few songs,
> Till the time comes when I shall be summoned away,

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37 Tsui Chi, A Short History of Chinese Civilization, pp. 103-114.

> Having accomplished my destiny, with no cares in the world.[38]

Whether Tao Yuan-Ming really believed in Taoism or not we do not know. At any rate, his temperament as described here is almost a counterpart of that of a Taoist. Let us compare this with the passage from the Tao Teh Ching, known as the basic scripture of Taoism, written by Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism:

> Tao is its [i.e., nature philosophy] fundamental principle--the way, the cosmic force which is the source of life, and in conformity with which man should aspire to live. Life and death are only phases in the great cosmic life-cycle; the visible world and all it contains are but phantoms that will pass: only Tao remains, eternal, changeless. The whole source of unhappiness, then lies in man's effort to control his destiny, thereby impeding the natural flow of spontaneous events. Knowledge is useless, action superfluous, desire harmful, wealth, rank, and the whole gamut of sensory pleasures and pains are as empty as dreams.[39]

Judging from the similarity of the attitudes toward life and death between Tao Yuan-Ming and Lao Tzu, it leaves us practically no doubt that Tao Yuan-Ming followed Lao Tzu's doctrine.

With regard to Tao Yuan-Ming's idea of virtuous deeds in relation to immortality, we also find the same conception in the Tao Teh Ching:

> In ruling men and in serving heaven, the sage uses only moderation.
> By moderation alone he is able to have conformed

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38 "The Return," in The White Pony, ed. Payne, ll. 53-67.

39 Lao Tzu, Tao Teh Ching, as quoted in Tsui Chi, A Short History of Chinese Civilization, p. 61.

early to Tao.
This early conformity is called intensive accumulation of virtue.
With this intensive accumulation of virtue, there is nothing that he cannot overcome.
Because there is nothing that he cannot overcome, no one will be able to know his supremacy.
Because no one knows his supremacy he can take possession of a country.
Because what he does is identified with the Mother in taking possession of a country, he can long endure.
This means that he is deep rooted and firmly based, and knows the way of longevity and immortality.[40]

Tao Yuan-Ming's idea of virtuous deeds as we have seen in the last section of the third chapter of this discussion, is apparently similar to this. He may well have derived his conception from Taoism.

Tao Yuan-Ming's idea of the ideal community remote from the present world may also have a Taoist source. In the ideal community, no wickedness and corruption exist. There is very little human relationship. Writings about such imaginary regions fully show the Utopian idealism of the time. Tao Yuan-Ming's "The Peach-Blossom Fountain," a poetic essay, is one of the best-known works in Chinese literature:

> During the reign of T'ai Yuan of the Tsin dynasty, a fisherman of Wu-ling was pushing his boat up a stream, forgetting to notice how far he was going. Suddenly he came upon a forest of peach trees that lay for several hundred paces along both sides of the river. There were no other trees. Beautiful were the fragrant herbs, and the petals were continually dropping from the branches. Wondering at the place he had come to, the fisherman went on to see where the forest ended, and found

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40 Lao Tzu, Tao Teh Ching, in The Bible of the World, ed. Ballou, p. 496.

that it ended at the source of the river, and there he saw a mountain with a small cave with a crack of light gleaming beyond.

Leaving his boat, the fisherman went through the opening of the cave. At first it was so narrow that he found difficulty in passing through, but after several tens of paces he suddenly came into broad daylight; he saw the open plains, the tidy farmsteads and rich fields with delightful lakes, mulberries, bamboos, and suchlike things. Paths threaded across the fields. He heard dogs barking and cocks crowing, and saw men and women walking about or working; and they wore clothes exactly like those worn by people outside. The old men had yellow hair and the young wore their hair in loops, and all seemed joyous and contented.

But when they saw the fisherman, they were alarmed and asked where he came from. He answered all their questions; they invited him to their homes, and brought wine and killed chickens for supper. Soon other villagers heard of his arrival, and came to inquire about him. Of themselves they said that in an ancient time their forefathers, in order to avoid the disasters that fell on the Ch'in dynasty, had fled with their wives and their children and their neighbors into this secluded country. They never came out and so they had been separated from the other world. They asked who was reigning: they had never heard of the Han dynasty, and still less had they heard of Wei and Tsin. The fisherman told them all he knew; they sighed to hear it, deeply moved.

Each in turn invited the fisherman into his house, spreading out food and wine. After staying several days, he bade them farewell. The people of the place said to him: "It is not worth while to speak of us to outsiders." When he came out of the cave, he found his boat and returned along the way he came, and all the while he attempted to remember landmarks.

When he reached the city, he went to the governor and related his discovery. The governor sent some men to go with him. They looked for the landmarks, lost their way, and never found the road to the place.

Liu Tse-chi, a high-minded scholar of Nan-yang, heard of the story, and joyfully made plans to make the journey. But nothing came of it, and soon afterward he died after an illness. Since that time no one has sought to find the ford.[41]

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41 "The Peach-Blossom Fountain," tr. Yang Yeh-tzu, in The White Pony, pp. 154-156.

There is almost the same description of Lao Tzu's Utopia in the Tao Teh Ching:

> Let the country be a small one, and sparsely populated. Let the people have tens of hundreds of implements, but no need to use them. Make them afraid of danger and refrain from traveling. Let them have all kinds of armor and instruments of war, but no chance to display them. Let them be content merely to count numbers on knotted strings as men did in the distant past. Let them have sweet foods and fine clothing. Let them be comfortable in their houses and feel at ease in their daily habits. Though neighboring States adjoin one another so that the crowing of cocks and barking of dogs can be heard across the frontiers, the people on either side of the boundary should never meet each other as long as they live.[42]

Comparing Tao Yuan-Ming's "The Peach-Blossom Fountain" with Lao Tzu's Utopia, we find their social ideas are so similar that evidently the former may be considered as influenced by the latter. Mr. Hsiao Wang-Ching asserted that "The Peach-Blossom Fountain" was undoubtedly derived from the writings of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, because Tao Yuan-Ming during his late years, was particularly interested in the legendary personages and places of ancient peaceful times.[43]

In brief, it is unquestionable that Taoism had its influence on Tao Yuan-Ming in many respects. Taoist naturalism, as pointed out by Professor Chen Yin-Chueh, had been the belief of Tao Yuan-Ming's ancestry for several generations.[44]

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42 Lao Tzu, Tao Teh Ching, as quoted in Tzui Chi, A Short History of Chinese Civilization, p. 62.

43 Hsiao Wang-Ching, Criticism of Tao Yuan-Ming, pp. 24-25.

44 Chen Yin-Chueh, "Connections Between Tao Yuan-Ming's Philosophy and the Mystic Discourse," as related in Chu Kwang-Tsien, On Poetry, p. 219.

Nevertheless, Tao Yuan-Ming's naturalism is more or less different from Taoism, for Tao Yuan-Ming does not care for longevity of physical life which is anxiously looked for by the Taoist. Tao Yuan-Ming craves eagerly for the life after death. This is a belief of Confucianism. Thus we can conclude that Tao Yuan-Ming is probably a follower of both Confucianism and Taoism.

Influence of Buddhism

Besides Confucianism and Taoism, Buddhism is a possible factor which exercised influence on Tao Yuan-Ming's thought. During the Six Dynasties, Buddhism enjoyed widest propagation throughout China. It helped as much as Taoism to develop new views of life and romantic conceptions. Both Buddhism and Taoism exercised tremendous influence on the intellectuals at the same time. In some ways we cannot distinguish the influence of the one from that of the other, because Taoism and Buddhism are similar to each other in certain aspects. For instance, the significance of these two lines of the Taoist scriptures

> All things in the universe come from existence,
> And existence from non-existence.[43]

is similar to the Buddhist Nirvana:

> It is only "Yuan" (Chance) that gives birth to one thing or another, and while the mind recognizes the existence of phenomena, there is no

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43 Lao Tzu, Tao Teh Ching, in The Bible of the World, ed. Ballou, p. 488.

other relation between them. The mind is consistent; the objects and affairs of the world have a temporary existence and then pass into nothingness.[44]

Hsiao Wang-Ching strongly held that Tao Yuan-Ming's retreat was due to the influence of Buddhism because Tao Yuan-Ming had the same inclination as did the Buddhist to stay away from the world in order to get rid of his earthly desires.[45] Professor Chu Kwang-Tsien confirmed the fact that in Tao Yuan-Ming's poetry there are many expressions adopted from Buddhist scriptures. In the following lines,

Life is transient,
Its end is nothingness.[46]

not only does the idea closely correspond to the Nihilism of the Buddhist faith, but also the expressions "transient" and "nothingness" are exactly the terms used by the Buddhist. Professor Chu again pointed out that in the last few lines of "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit" are found the principal ideas of Tao Yuan-Ming's philosophy of life. They may be ascribed to the influence of the Taoist conception of non-existence or nothingness. They also may be ascribed to the influence of the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvana or Nihilism. At any rate, it seems possible that Tao Yuan-Ming consciously or unconsciously accepted certain minor ideas of the Buddhist doctrine.[47]

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44 Tsui Chi, A Short History of Chinese Civilization, p. 118.

45 Hsiao Wang-Ching, Critisism of Tao Yuan-Ming, p. 29.

46 "Living in the Country IV," ll. 15-16, tr. Wang Chin-Ling.

47 Chu Kwang-Tsien, On Poetry, p. 220.

There is a story of Tao Yuan-Ming's activity which might give some clue to his relationship with Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism:

> There was then in the great Lushan Mountains, at whose foot he [Tao Yuan-Ming] lived, a great society of illustrious Zen Buddhists, and the leader, a great scholar, tried to get him to join the Lotus Society. One day he was invited to come to a party, and his condition was that he should be allowed to drink. This breaking of the Buddhist rule was granted him and he went. But when it came to putting his name down as a member, he "knitted his brows and stole away." This was a society that so great a poet as Hsieh Lingyun had been very anxious to join, but could not get in. But still the abbot courted his friendship and one day he invited him to drink, together with another great Taoist friend. They were then a company of three; the abbot, representing Buddhism, Tao Yuan-Ming representing Confucianism, and the other friend representing Taoism.[48]

From this story we can be sure that Tao Yuan-Ming believed in Confucianism, and obviously he was familiar with both Taoism and Buddhism. He might have accepted the doctrine of the Taoist naturalism and some ideas of Buddhism. In a word, Tao Yuan-Ming's philosophy as revealed in his poetry, seems to be Confucianist with many remarkable qualities of Taoism and some slight features of Buddhism.

Tao Yuan-Ming's own strength of character was enhanced by his family traditions of generations of adherence to honor and rectitude. He was able to stick to his idealistic life in spite of extreme poverty. He could get rid of the desire for fame and honor. He stayed for a short period in officialdom, the meaningless formality and corrupt phenomena of

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48 Lin Yutang, The Importance of Living, pp. 118-119.

which impelled him to live in the country and he never again took a job in the government. Leading a rustic life and farming, he appreciated the rural beauty of nature and enjoyed the ingenuousness of the simple people. From the doctrine of Confucianism, he learned to be true to himself, to emphasize virtuous deeds in order to attain immortality and eternity. Under the influence of Taoism, he lived as close to nature as possible. It is probable that Taoism caused him to conceive of the Utopian ideas and made him take nature as a retreat and as the destination of human life. He was familiar with Buddhism. Consequently, a strong flavor of the Taoist Nihilism blended with the notion of Nirvana prevails in his poetry.

PART IV

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Similarities and Differences Between Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming

Thus far in the preceding chapters we have examined the two poets' dominant ideas about nature and their backgrounds. It is not difficult to mark their similarities and differences. Both Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming found the attraction of nature chiefly from the fields, woods, waters, and mountains. Obviously nature signifies the outdoor world, not the indoor world, the country, not the town. They regarded the country as unspoiled by the hands of men, and the town as defaced by the works of men, corrupt and degraded.

Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming meant by nature not only the beauty of natural scenes in the country but also the purified life. Wordsworth was not a hermit like Tao Yuan-Ming. He was an affectionate man keenly interested in the affairs of his country. Yet he found the springs of his life in lonely places, in the calm and quietude of brooks, hills, and stars. It was the flowers, birds, clouds, and sunshine that called forth his imaginative power, for in the quietude of nature he found "a music of finer tone, a harmony,"[1] and "a grave and steady joy," which were "not of this noisy world, but silent and divine."[2] For Tao Yuan-Ming, nothing seemed

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1 The Excursion, Book II, ll. 708-724.
2 "Star-Gazers," ll, 26-28.

divine. Loneliness and solitude appealed strongly to his temperament. He eagerly longed for complete personal freedom, non-interference, and laissez faire. It seemed to him that all natural objects including men should follow their natural courses. So he wanted to escape from this noisy world and to seek for seclusion where he might be let alone as a hermit, and to live a happy life like the birds unrestrained in the sky.

The appreciation for simplicity is an idea found in both Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming. Wordsworth considered the passions of the man of rustic life as closely corresponding to the beautiful and permanent forms of nature. He held "plain living and high thinking" as a principle of life. He had frequent communication with the common people. He chose incidents and situations from their lives as the main subjects of his poems and professed to have adopted the language of common men as the most purified expressions for his poetry.[3] Tao Yuan-Ming kept closer to the peasants than Wordsworth. He actually lived a real farmer's life and frequently enjoyed the friendship and the companionship of humble people. His way of appreciating simple life was more positive than Wordsworth's. He never urged the idea of high thinking. He might have tried to get rid of it, because he wanted to forget the cares of the world by drinking.[4] Nevertheless, he too wrote

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3 "Preface to Lyrical Ballads," p. 935.

4 "Drunk and Sober," tr. Yang Yen-tzu, in The White Pony, ed. Payne, pp. 162-163.

about the affairs of common people and adopted common speech for his poetic language. He was a revolutionist in improving poetic diction, though he did not leave us any statement of literary theory.

With regard to universal harmony, both Wordsworth and Tao Yuan-Ming found an unknown force pervading all the objects under the sky. Wordsworth regarded this ministering spirit as an animating principle, a chain of being, in which all existence is linked. Tao Yuan-Ming did not use these terms to interpret this conception, but the idea of the harmony in nature can be found in most of his poetry. The "waves of Great Nature" in his "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit" seems to be nothing else than Wordsworth's "spirit of nature." It is quite possible that this is the way of nature, if Tao Yuan-Ming's concept of nature was really concerned with Taoism. In the Tao Teh Ching, it is said that Tao is the Mother of the universe:

> There is a thing inherent and natural,
> Which existed before heaven and earth.
> Motionless and fathomless,
> It stands alone and never changes;
> It pervades every-where and never becomes exhausted.
> It may be regarded as the Mother of the Universe,
> I do not know its name.
> If I am forced to give it a name,
> I call it Tao, and I name it as supreme.[5]

Here the notion of Tao, or way of nature, or, in Tao Yuan-Ming's words, "the waves of Great Nature," is actually close

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5 Lao Tzu, Tao Teh Ching, in The Bible of the World, ed. Ballou, p. 481.

to Wordsworth's "chain of being." It is this "chain of being" or "waves of nature" that is the revelation of the harmony of nature.

According to Wordsworth, there is a universal love and a universal joy in the forms of nature. The love and joy in nature extend themselves to human beings. Thus men become more humane. In Tao Yuan-Ming, we find nothing like this. It seems that neither love nor joy exists in nature. They are merely the qualities of man. This conception is probably derived from the doctrine of Confucianism, which ascribes joy and love to the passions of man. Tao Yuan-Ming says that "we should resign ourselves to fate and drift on the waves of Great Nature, neither joyfully nor fearfully." He accepts nature's entire indifference in a perfectly peaceful manner.

According to Tao Yuan-Ming, man can attain immortality by doing virtuous deeds, because virtuous deeds are deeply rooted in the memory of mankind. To do good is the way to be true to one's self. To be true to one's self means to fulfil one's self. It means to attain truth. Truth is as eternal and self-existent as heaven and earth; it is ever-lasting as is the way of nature. Man can achieve eternity by doing virtuous deeds. To Wordsworth, the "life endless" is "the sustaining thought of human Being, Eternity, and God." This faith in "life endless" is drawn from the progress of imagination,[6] because the

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6 The Prelude, Book XIV, ll. 203-205.

> mind [is] sustained
> By recognitions of transcendent power,
> In sense conducting to ideal form,
> In soul of more than mortal privilege.[7]

Therefore, Wordsworth regards "life endless," "infinity," and God as inseparable; belief in one implies belief in the other two. It is through imagination that one reaches toward infinity. Immortality and eternity are closely associated with imagination.[8]

Wordsworth took nature as the norm of conduct, by which he meant chiefly that man has to follow the order of nature. Nature is benevolent, it nourishes plants and animals. It extends love to man and shows him the way to perfection. Tao Yuan-Ming's conception of the unchangeableness of nature is, however, very close to Wordsworth's idea of the order of nature. Tao Yuan-Ming found that everything in the universe follows an unchanging natural course. It is in the unchangeable course of nature that the rain fosters the plants and the wind gives cheer to the corn sprouts. There is here no implication of love and a benevolent nature. Nature is indifferent and impartial in Tao Yuan-Ming's eyes. Tao Yuan-Ming worried about death but since he found all men are doomed to be mortal, he had to follow this law of nature with a peaceful mood.

As far as we have seen the individual backgrounds of the two poets, they both loved nature from boyhood, entered the

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7 Ibid., Book XIV, ll. 74-77.
8 Havens, The Mind of a Poet, pp. 239-245.

political circles for a short period in early manhood, and finally returned to nature in the country. They went through similar courses of life, though in his late years, Wordsworth held a government post as a Stamp-Distributor, which was merely a sinecure. However, due to the extremely different traditions of the two countries, the two poets were nourished with dissimilar cultures. Wordsworth imbibed partly the philosophies of Rousseau, Godwin, and probably of Hartley, Spinoza, and Kant. Tao Yuan-Ming absorbed the essence of Confucianism with the doctrine of Taoism and probably of Buddhism. The basic distinction between the occidental and the oriental philosophies about nature seems to be the strong stoicism and withdrawal from the world of the oriental philosophers who had great influence on Tao Yuan-Ming; this stoicism and withdrawal did not appear in the occidental philosophers from whom were derived Wordsworth's ideas. This distinction formed the fundamentally different attitudes of the two poets towards nature.

Wordsworth seemed to have kept himself more or less apart from nature, but Tao Yuan-Ming united himself with nature. The former was standing in a position to behold or observe the secrets or the mysteries of nature, but the latter remained inside of it. One is like a spectator, the other an actor. Consequently, Wordsworth is more objective than Tao Yuan-Ming, and Tao Yuan-Ming is somewhat more subjective. This may be deeply felt by reading Wordsworth's passage from "Poems of The Naming of Places" quoted in the first section

of the second chapter and Tao Yuan-Ming's first poem of "Return to the Country" cited in the second section of the fourth chapter.

Wordsworth craved worship, aspiration, uplift, and the sense of permanence. But until he was thirty-five or forty, there was nothing distinctively Christian about his thought. He believed in the Bible, the church, the Christian conception of God, and the personality of Jesus but without thinking much about them.[9] During his Hawkshead days, his religion was animism, his faith was Spirits, Beings, or Presences that inhabit certain places or objects. This belief gave him a sense of being surrounded on all sides by Spirit, by the divine. His animism developed a joyous consciousness of one Spirit pervading all things.[10] He mentioned the "infinitude" and "the invisible world," of which the religious coloring is close to the conception of God; but he did not suggest the consciousness of a personal God. In his later years he was inclined to believe theological doctrines but still he was at one time or another rather dubious and uncertain.

Tao Yuan-Ming seemed to have believed in atheism. He never touched upon the conception of God. There is nothing like Wordsworth's Spirits in Tao Yuan-Ming. Yet his positive attitude of following the way of nature brought forth an unusually mystical flavor, and his descriptive method of pre-

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9 Ibid., p. 180.
10 Ibid., p. 182.

senting the universal harmony raised a strong feeling of loftiness. This mystical flavor and loftiness made his readers associate him with theism. But actually Tao Yuan-Ming did not believe in God at all.

In consequence of their dissimilar attitudes towards the universe and beliefs, their ways of treating nature are, of course, different from each other. For Wordsworth, the external world with its various hues and forms implies an infinite inherent power which has a fostering care for human beings. Wordsworth enters into the life and movements of nature by means of his imaginative sympathy. He brings nature to us by his inspiration about the inner life of things, and by his conviction that he has penetrated into their secrets. Therefore, his poetry mediates between the soul of man and the soul of nature.

For Tao Yuan-Ming, the rural color is the real color of nature, and rustic life is the way to accord with the temperament of nature, which should be peaceful, placid, and extremely liberal and unrestrained. Tao Yuan-Ming approaches the life of nature by living in perfect harmony with natural objects. He presents nature to us by his ideas of simplicity, of inner peace, and of the way of life.

Wordsworth deepens his consciousness of nature's significance by close observation. He lights the gleams of the splendor of nature by seeking its meaningful revelation. Nature to him is the mystical Mother, brooding on wondrous miracles. He attempts "to find a rational justification for the

importance which his feelings and his experience told him that nature held for man. Unconvincing as much of this justification may be, it sprang from an effort to explain what was real and deeply felt."[11] So that his way of dealing with nature is interpretative.

Tao Yuan-Ming displays the beauty and simplicity of nature not only by his observation but also by his own experience and behavior in close accord with nature. He shows us the idealized world of nature by imaginary characters and regions. He gives illustrations instead of explanations to indicate his ideas. Therefore, his way of treating nature is illustrative.

Finally, I will quote two passages to sum up this study of the two poets. Professor Sneath writes about Wordsworth:

> Instead of a crass materialism, or a naive realism, the poet [Wordsworth] gives us a spiritual interpretation of all reality. Instead of a crude Deism, with merely a transcendent God, he gives us a world alive with the quickening power of an all-pervading Spirit. Instead of an all-engulfing Pantheism he teaches the transcendence of God, while, at the same time, predicting his immanence--preserving, however, the reality and individuality of God, things, and finite spirits, affirming their intimate relationship in spiritual kingdom, and the gracious and beneficent ministry of the Spirit in things to the Spirit of Man. His is the theist faith in a spiritual universe, which our poet affirms with his whole mind and heart, and with which his poetry of Nature throbs.[12]

On the culture of Tao Yuan-Ming, Mr. Lin Yutang writes:

> Tao Yuan-Ming represents...a curious combination (of devotion to the flesh and arrogance of the spirit), of spirituality without ascet-

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11 Ibid., p. 89.
12 Sneath, Wordsworth: Poet of Nature and Poet of Man, pp. 301-302.

> icism and materialism without sensuality, in which the senses and the spirit have come to live together in harmony. For the ideal philosopher is one who loves life heartily but loves it without restraint, and who sees the unreality of the successes and failures of the active world, and stands somewhat aloof and detached, without being hostile to it. Because Tao [Yuan-Ming] reached that true harmony of spiritual development, we see a total absence of inner conflict and his life was as natural and effortless as his poetry.[13]

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13 Lin Yutang, The Importance of Living, p. 116.

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NOTES ON THE CHINESE TEXTS

p. 1. Tao Yuan-Ming (陶淵明) was the original name of Tao Chien (陶潛). Upon the accession of Liu Yu of Sung Dynasty (宋朝劉裕即位時), A.D. 420, he changed it to Tao Chien. He has been also known by the name Mr. Tzing Tsieh (靖節先生).

p. 2. Book of Poetry (Shih Ching): 詩經

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p. 3. "Peach-Blossom Fountain": "桃花源記"

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p. 77. "The Empty Boat" or "Writing on the First Morning of May in Reply to Tai Chu-Pu" ("五月旦作和戴主簿 ")

p. 80. "Lament, Written to Pang Chu-Pu and Teng Chi-Chung": "怨詩楚調示龐主簿鄧治中"

"Lament for Ching-Yuan, My Dead Cousin": "祭從弟敬遠文"

Military Adviser of the Capital Garrison at Chienyeh: 京口鎮軍參軍

Tsin Dynasty: 晉朝

p. 81. Kiangling is the area of Yuehyand of today: 江陵即今湖南岳陽一帶

Military Adviser of Sovereign Force: 建威參軍

The Magistrate of Pentse: 彭澤令

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p. 99. Chen Yin-Chueh, "Connections between Tao Yuan-Ming's Philosophy and the Mystic Discourse": 陳寅恪, "陶淵明之思想與清談之關係"

p. 101. Life is transient, 人生似幻化,
Its end is nothingness. 終當歸空無.

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[redacted]