

Chan With This-Worldly Cares: Hu Pu'an 胡樸安 (1878–1947) and his 'Matching Hanshan' 和寒山 Poems*

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Abstract: Known for its straightforwardness and the rendition of religious transcendence and secular concerns about humanity, the poetry of the Tang-period Chan monk-poet Hanshan 寒山 (Cold Mountain) has attracted many imitations and matching acts by later poets in Chinese literary history. This includes those who were active during the late Qing and Republican periods, which witnessed significant changes in politics, society, and culture. This paper examines the case of Hu Pu'an 胡樸安 (1878–1947), a nationalistic philologist and poet who was once a member of the Nanshe 南社 (Southern Society, 1909–1923), the largest progressive classical-style literary

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society of its time. Being a rare example of Republican-era poets who extensively wrote Hanshan-related works, Hu matched over three hundred of Hanshan's poems. In this collection of 'matching Hanshan' (和寒山) poems, Hu not only adopts the structural and stylistic features of Hanshan's poems, but also uses narratives in many of these matching works to address and respond to the social conditions and political circumstances of China. Because Hu's works demonstrate more realistically expressed socio-political concerns than Hanshan's poems, Hu also conveyed his social care and political opinions to the lay and monastic public in a more profound manner.

Keywords: Hu Pu'an 胡樸安, Hanshan 寒山 ('Cold Mountain'), Poetry of Hanshan 寒山詩, 'Matching Hanshan' Poems 和寒山詩, Buddhist literature in late Qing and Republican China

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Introduction

Since the Northern Song (960–1127), the poetry of Hanshan 寒山 (Cold Mountain), a mysterious Buddhist of the Tang dynasty (618–907), has always occupied an enigmatic but important position and formed a rich history of reception. The poems possess a unique hybridity. On one hand their contents combine the elements of the 'Three Religions' (*sanjiao* 三教)—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. On the other hand, their style simultaneously defies facile categorisation. Many of the Hanshan poems are thus highly open to interpretation. Additionally, Hanshan poems not only involve purely religious or philosophical doctrinal principles, but also address general worldly problems of humanity through straightforward language. They have exerted broad influences across many strata of society. Poets and literati of different ages and backgrounds imitated or matched (Ch. *changhe* 唱和) them. Notably, the matching poems involve a fusion of the emulation and the writing in correspondence

with the original works. The influence of Hanshan poems has even reached modern Western academia, with a great quantity of research and translation published over the past decades. However, in this dynamic reception history of Hanshan poems, modern and especially Republican period materials and records have so far received little attention. An outstanding case is the scholar-poet Hu Pu'an 胡樸安 (1878–1947), who matched the entire collection of 307 Hanshan poems and turned his own 'matching Hanshan' (*be Hanshan* 和寒山) poems into a vehicle to channel his socio-political concerns.

Since the late Qing dynasty, Buddhism has frequently inspired Chinese intellectuals who seek solutions in almost all spheres of humanity, including society, politics, and individual lives. The well-known reformist Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) even claimed that all 'scholars of new knowledge' (*xinxuejia* 新學家) were related to Buddhism.¹ A philologist and poet active in the Republican period (1912–1949), Hu Pu'an was also one of the many intellectuals who once engaged with Buddhism. A classical poet, Hu in his early years avidly participated in anti-Manchu and nation-building revolutionary activities which fought against the traditional, imperial establishment and strove for the modernisation of China. He was once a stalwart member of the Nanshe 南社 (Southern Society, 1909–1923), the largest classical-style literary association in Republican China that brought together a large number of progressive minds with lofty political aspirations. Hu then worked in journalism and education, with a brief stint serving in the Beiyang Government 北洋政府. Often bedridden, Hu came into contact with Buddhism in his later years and wrote his collection of 'matching Hanshan' poems in 1941. Centred on Confucian thought and ideals, many of Hu's works deal with socio-political themes and they adopt a realistic (Ch. *xieshi* 寫實) writing style with the use of narratives, through which they depict and represent the real situations of people's lives, thus bringing his poems closer to the real life of

¹ Liang, 'Qingdai xueshu gailun' 清代學術概論 [Intellectual Trends in the Qing Period], in *Yinbingshi zhuanji zhi sanshisi* 飲冰室專集之三十四 [Collected Monographs from the Icedrinker's Studio, no. 34], 73, in *Yinbingshi heji*, vol. 5.

China's public at that time. To a much greater extent than Hanshan, Hu responded to socio-political issues. Through these matching works, Hu can actually be regarded as the Hanshanzi 寒山子 ('The Cold Mountain Master'), the attributed author of Hanshan poems of the Republican period.

To disseminate his 'matching Hanshan' poems and the social and political concerns that are manifested through them, Hu Pu'an serialised his works in Buddhist publications that were widely circulated during the Republican period. After publishing the original handwritten version in his own collection of works, the 1941 *Puxuezhai congsbu* 樸學齋叢書 [Collectanea of the Studio of Textual Studies], Hu serialised his matching poems as printed editions for several years in the 1940s in a Shanghai-based Buddhist periodical, *Jueyouqing* 覺有情 [Bodhisattva], which was highly popular among Buddhist circles at that time.² Therefore, there are two main versions of Hu's matching works that will be cited in the footnotes in this paper. Notably, while the *Puxuezhai congsbu* version consists of all 307 'matching Hanshan' poems, only the first 237 pieces were published in the issues of the *Jueyouqing*, thus seventy matching poems appear only in the handwritten script of the *Puxuezhai congsbu*.

However, similar to many other Nanshe poets as well as figures who were active in the late Qing and Republican periods, Hu Pu'an and his literary and academic works are still little-known. This is related to the fact that his published works are not widely propagated, and that many more works are yet to be collected, collated, and published on a large scale. Among them, many are scattered in miscellaneous journals, magazines, and newspapers of Republican China, just like Hu's 'matching Hanshan' poems discussed below, and they still await exploration. In research terms, almost all the scholarship on Hu's literary and academic writings are

² Hu Pu'an's 'matching Hanshan' poems were successively published in Hu's *Puxuezhai congsbu* 樸學齋叢書 [Collectanea of the Studio of Textual Studies] in 1941, and in the Shanghai-based Buddhist journal *Jueyouqing* 覺有情 [Bodhisattva] from 1943 to 1948, see Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi'; Huang et al., comps., *MFQ*, vol. 89; and Huang et al., comps., *MFQB*, vol. 62–63.

written in Chinese. But owing to the limited circulation of his works, most of the relevant scholarly studies can only introduce and discuss his life and some of his published writings, most of which are from his two major extant collections, namely the *Puxuezhai congshu* and *Puxuezhai ji* 樸學齋集 [Collection of the Studio of Textual Studies].

In particular, since Hu Pu'an's better-known works are monographs on Chinese philology and exegesis, the academic world still primarily regards him as a philologist and exegete. Therefore, there are not many academic discussions that focus on Hu's literary works and consider him as a poet. Previous relevant studies are mainly overviews, such as the Taiwanese calligrapher and painter Li You's 李猷 1990 article on Hu's *Puxuezhai congshu* and his poetic compositions,³ and a series of research papers by the Taiwanese scholar Shen Hsin-hui 沈心慧.⁴ Noteworthy, Shen is a scholar who has devoted particular attention to Hu throughout her academic career. For instance, her doctoral dissertation delves into Hu's long-term studies of ancient Chinese classics such as the *Yijing* 易經 [Book of Changes].⁵ Shen has since published a number of essays focusing on introducing Hu's literary writings and their distribution. In 2021, mainland Chinese scholar Liu Jun 劉軍 published an article which outlines the history of reception of Hanshan poems of Republican China.⁶ Summarising five characteristics of Hanshan-inspired poems at that time, namely truth-seeking (*qiu zhenshi* 求真實), anti-authoritarian (*fan quanwei* 反權威), personality-oriented (*zhong gexing* 重個性), secularly-focused (*qiang rushi* 強入世), and pro-equality (*chang pingdeng* 倡平等), Liu's article is the most comprehensive scholarly discussion on this topic so far, though it

³ Li, 'Tan Hu Pu'an xiansheng de *Puxuezhai congshu* ji qi shi'.

⁴ Some of the major Chinese-language research works written by Shen Hsin-hui that deal with Hu Pu'an and his literary and academic works include: Shen, *Hu Pu'an shengping jiqi yixue xiaoxue yanjiu*; *idem*, 'Hu Pu'an *Puxuezhai ji* ji *Puxuezhai congshu* de wenxian jiazhi'; *idem*, '*Hu Pu'an shiji* wenxian zhengli jiqi jiazhi'; and *idem*, '*Hu Pu'an wenji* wenxian zhengli jiqi jiazhi'.

⁵ Shen, 'Hu Pu'an shengping jiqi yixue xiaoxue yanjiu'.

⁶ Liu, 'Minguo Hanshanzi shi jieshoushi xulüe'.

paid only cursory attention to Hu's works. In Anglophone academia, Hon Tze-ki's 韓子奇 essay on Hu's *Yijing* studies remains the most in-depth investigation of Hu Pu'an so far.⁷

In this paper, I argue that Hu Pu'an's 'matching Hanshan' works manifest a focus on socio-political aspects in the history of Hanshan's reception. On top of the religious and philosophical teachings and principles, Hu's pieces exhibit a shift in the thematic emphasis to profound concerns for social issues such as people's livelihoods and political conditions. Also adopting an elitist and intellectual concern for common people's suffering, Hu composed his 'matching Hanshan' poems from the perspective of a literatus, similar to the Tang poet-giant Du Fu's 杜甫 (712–770) poetry. Through these works, we can trace some of the modern socio-political beliefs which Hu supported. As these matching poems were serialised and published in broadly distributed and influential Buddhist periodicals, Hu's own socio-political ideals were further disseminated to the public. Although Hu's poems are still dominated by Confucian thought in terms of content, the sympathy they display connects them to compassionate spirit of Buddhism. This is manifested through the allegorical use of narratives which allow readers to insert themselves into the actual socio-political circumstances of Republican China, as well as through the use of easy-to-understand language that is also featured in Hanshan poems.

This paper consists of three parts. It starts with an overview of Hu Pu'an's life and early poetic compositions to see how they relate to his matching poems that were written in his later years when he was seriously ill. The overview is then followed by a brief introduction to Hanshan and Hanshan's poems and a review of their reception in Chinese literary history to better understand the works Hu targeted for matching. To conclude, by closely reading and analysing a selected group of Hu's works and juxtaposing them with their

⁷ For English-language research works that are related to Hu Pu'an, an essay on the scholarly reading of the *Yijing* 易經 [Book of Changes] in China during the twentieth century is a rare example that contains a brief introduction of Hu's contribution in the studies of *Yijing*, see Hon, 'Predicting a Regime Change'.

corresponding Hanshan pieces, I examine the contextual relationship between their poetry.

1. Hu Pu'an: An Overview of Life and Poetry

Hu Pu'an⁸ was known by a number of names, including his original given name Youbian 有忭; later, the school name (*xueming* 學名) Yunyu 韞玉, used after he went to school; his courtesy names (*zi* 字) Zhongming 仲明, Songmin 頌民, Pu'an 樸安, and Pu'an 樸庵 (he mainly used Pu'an 樸安 after he turned fifty [fifty-one *sui* 歲]); and a pseudonym (*hao* 號) Banbian weng 半邊翁 (lit. old man of half-body [paralysis]) which Hu gave himself after he suffered from stroke in his later years.⁹ Puxuezhai 樸學齋 (lit. the Studio of Textual Studies) was Hu's study studio name (*zhaiming* 齋名). On October 8, 1878, Hu Pu'an was born as the second of three sons of a traditional scholarly family in the rural area of Jingxian 涇縣, Anhui. Influenced by their previous two generations of all proficient scholars, all three brothers of the Hu family received a conventional education in classical Chinese, poetry, and history. But after the Qing Empire was defeated by Imperial Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War 第一次中日戰爭 (also known as the War of Jiawu, *Jiawu zhanzheng* 甲午戰爭) in 1895, Hu particularly disliked studying the eight-legged essays (*baguwen* 八股文) that were highly standardised for Chinese imperial examinations during the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1912) eras. He believed that their pedantry as well as the rigid state bureaucracy itself provided no benefits to China. Instead, in addition to poetry and history, Hu paid attention during his

⁸ For more on Hu's biography, see Shao, *Nanshe renwu yinping*, 211–13; Wang, 'Hu Yunyu'; Shen, *Hu Pu'an shengping jiqi yixue xiaoxue yanjiu*, 11–31; and Guo and Chen, eds., *Nanshe sheyou lu*, 188–89. Other important sources include the Hu family genealogy compiled by Hu himself: Hu, 'Jiasheng', and see pages 3b–4a of the family genealogy for Hu's biographical account. And Hu's autobiographies such as Hu, 'Wujiu zhi wo' and 'Bingfei bimen ji'.

⁹ Zheng, *Yilin sanye*, 149.

extensive self-studies of classical texts to practical subjects such as military studies, arithmetic and agriculture, which he believed to be useful knowledge for improving the country as a whole. It can thus be seen that Hu already possessed the ambition to master pragmatic statecraft when he was young. Moreover, although the young Hu was immensely well-read, he undertook a large amount of hard work in the early stage of his academic life—apart from his schoolwork he regularly engaged in heavy physical farm labour for the Hu family. These experiences helped establish his strong will to learn and pursue his lifelong goals of serving and changing society and country. Mainly composing classical-style poetry throughout his life, Hu always precisely expressed his aspirations and ideals in his works. In 1900, Hu described his lack of interest in coveting officialdom in an extended pentasyllabic poem:

我志與人殊	My goal is different from others,
我懷與古似	but my passion is similar to the ancients.
賤不恥泥塗	Even being inferior, I will not be ashamed of [being stuck in] the mud;
貴不榮朱紫	even being superior, I will not feel honoured by the red and purple coloured [official robes].
高亦不求官	Even being noble, I will not covet officialdom;
卑亦不求仕	and even being petty, I will not seek government positions.
...	...
誦詩以怡情	By reciting poems, my mood lightens;
讀書以明理	and by studying texts, I become illuminated by principles.
兵農而禮樂	Whether the subject is military studies, agricul- ture, rituals, or music,
得一乃足恃	any of these are sufficient to rely on. ¹⁰
...	...

¹⁰ Hu, 'Shihou yu zhu youren' 試後與諸友人 [Written to My Friends after Exam], in *Zhixue ji* 志學集 [Collection of Dedication to Studies], quoted in Shen, 'Hu Pu'an shiji wenxian zhengli jiqi jiazhi', 33–34.

Right at the beginning of the poem, Hu already compares himself to the ancients and states that he has no desire for an affluent life or any sort of public office (lines 1 to 6). Instead, he posits himself as a scholar who enjoys the pleasure of composing poems as well as studying just for the sake of broadening his intellectual horizons (lines 7 and 8). Such an indifference towards scholarly honour as an official actually connects to his aspiration to engage in learning that could be applied to the practical use of statecraft (*jingshi zhiyong* 經世致用), advocated by Ming-Qing Confucian philosophers like Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–1682) as the ideal pursuit of intellectuals.¹¹ This pursuit is proven by Hu's list of interested subject matters, including military studies, agriculture, rituals, and music (line 9), which are all relevant to pragmatic statecraft. From these lines, we can see that from a young age Hu already understood that intellectual knowledge should be used for the pursuit of public interests instead of personal ones from a Confucian point of view. This developed a personal sense of mission for the society and country he belonged to.

Like many other intellectuals of his time, Hu Pu'an's sense of mission for his country was also later transformed into passionate support for the anti-Manchu revolutions and nation-building during the unstoppable process of modernisation of China that began at the turn of the twentieth century. Not only did Hu widely read publications that advocated for foreign-influenced politically reformative ideas, including articles written by Liang Qichao, he also actively met and discussed revolution with other revolutionary supporters. Hoping to interact with more kindred spirits, Hu moved from Anhui to Shanghai in 1906, and soon joined the Guoxue baocun hui 國學保存會 (Society for the Preservation of National Learning, 1905–1922) which was founded the year before by scholars like Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1869–1936) and Deng Shi 鄧實 (1877–1951) to foster national reform and salvation through the development of Chinese thought and traditions.¹² Hu's diligent

¹¹ For more on the development of the concept *jingshi zhiyong*, see Yu, 'Qing-dai xueshu sixiangshi zhongyao guannian tongshi', 238–48.

¹² For more on the Society for the Preservation of National Learning, see

study of premodern texts in the Society's library during his spare time also firmly laid the academic foundation for his future research on Chinese philology and exegesis. In the following years, starting from 1909, Hu participated in the editorial work and founding of a number of periodicals in Shanghai and Fujian, such as the journal *Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報 [Journal of National Essence], and the newspaper *Minguo ribao* 民國日報 [Republican Daily]. By working for these publications, Hu thus had the chance to make political commentaries on current affairs and to meet more prominent nationalists and revolutionaries like Song Jiaoren 宋教仁 (1882–1913), Su Manshu 蘇曼殊 (1884–1918), and Dai Jitao 戴季陶 (1891–1949).

As for the opportunity of getting to know like-minded intellectuals collectively, Hu Pu'an's participation in two major anti-Qing organisations, namely the classical-style literary association Nanshe in 1910, and the underground resistance movement Zhongguo Tongmenghui 中國同盟會 (Chinese Revolutionary Alliance, 1905–1912) in 1911, played a remarkable role. In terms of literature, after its establishment in 1909 in Suzhou, the Nanshe quickly developed into the largest and most influential reformist literary society of China at that time.¹³ A large number of revolutionaries, politicians, and newspapermen were members of the Society, including Hu's younger brother Hu Huaichen 胡懷琛 (1886–1938) who joined with Hu Pu'an in the same year. Because of the regular Society gatherings and their frequent exchanges of revolutionary ideas, Hu Pu'an had a very close relationship with all these members. From a mourning poem written for the Nanshe member Zhou Xiangjun 周祥駿 (also known by his courtesy name Zhongmu 仲穆; 1870–1914), after Zhou was assassinated in 1914 by the Qing loyalist general Zhang Xun 張勳 (1854–1923), the friendship between Hu and Zhou could be seen clearly. The poem also laments the cruel reality that chaotic political conditions often lead to bad endings for upright people. It reads:

Hon, *Revolution as Restoration*, 37–41.

¹³ For more on the Nanshe, see monographs like Hockx, *Questions of Style*, 33–46; Sun, *Nanshe yanjiu*; and Luan, *Minjian de wenren yaji*.

天道竟如此	[How come] the heavenly way
沉昏太不堪	is so seamy and depraved as such?
馬蹄驕代北	While horses' hooves step superior over the Daibei area, ¹⁴
鵲血慘江南	the cuckoos' blood saddens the Jiangnan region. ¹⁵
殺士今方厲	The killing of intellectuals is now just being vigorous,
焚書興正酣	and the mood of burning books is currently flourishing.
中原多猛虎	As there are many fierce tigers in the Central Plains,
何處結茅庵	where could I build my thatched hut? ¹⁶

After writing his compassion for the tragic life of common people who always suffered the most during political strife (lines 1 to 4), Hu Pu'an focuses on the dire situations of intellectuals in the second half of the poem. Here the context is about the Warlord Era of Republican China in the 1910s and 1920s, and the warlords are analogised as 'fierce tigers' (*menghu* 猛虎; line 7) who posed great threats to China, and especially to intellectuals. Repeating the similar anti-intellectual atrocities of 'burning books and burying scholars' (*fenshu kengru* 焚

¹⁴ *Mati* 馬蹄 ('horses' hooves') alludes to Republican-period warlords who had strong armed forces. As for Daibei 代北, it literally means the north of Daizhou 代州 (the prefecture of Dai) whose government was located in present-day Daixian 代縣, Shanxi, and Daibei thus refers to northern China in the poem, as opposed to Jiangnan 江南 (line 4, lit. south of the Yangtze River) which refers to southern China.

¹⁵ According to legend, the cries of cuckoo birds (*dujuan* 杜鵑) sound miserable as they wail nonstop to the point of their mouths bleeding. *Juanxue* 鵲血 ('the cuckoos' blood') thus symbolises the common people living in misery at that time.

¹⁶ This poem is the fourth of four mourning poems Hu Pu'an wrote for Zhou Xiangjun. See Hu, 'Ku Zhou Zhongmu sishou' 哭周仲穆四首 [Crying for Zhou Zhongmu: Four Poems], in *Xiepu yong* 歇浦詠 [Chants on Resting in Shanghai], 5a, in *Puxuezhai ji*.

書坑儒) by Qin Shi Huang 秦始皇 (born Ying Zheng 嬴政; 259–210 BCE; r. 221–210 BCE), Hu indicts warlord politics for maltreating scholars who put their lives in jeopardy. Also appearing frequently in Hu's 'matching Hanshan' poems, this Confucian-centred concern for intellectualism and scholars of China was maintained throughout his life and reflects the high value he placed on an intellectual identity.

In 1915, Hu Pu'an was recommended to join the Beiyang Government and began to engage in politics. He worked for Fujian Province, Beijing, and Jiangsu Province successively between 1915 and 1932. However, as he was unaccustomed to government work, his terms of office were not long. During this time, besides journalism, Hu was actually mainly involved in teaching at different secondary and tertiary institutions, including the Great China University 大夏大學 and National University 國民大學 in Shanghai. He also continued to interact with his fellow poet friends and conduct his academic research. For instance, from 1919 to 1920, Hu founded another poetry society, the Oushe 鷗社 (Gull Society), with a group of Nanshe members in Shanghai, meeting twice a month. Although Hu was dissatisfied with his own work performance and thus eventually only worked for the Jiangsu Government for two years after resigning several times, he was still highly concerned about people's livelihood, just like many of his poetry fellows of the Nanshe. A pentasyllabic poem that was first published in 1920 also contains Hu's realistic observations of and compassion for the miserable lives of civilians who were victims of endless wars during the Warlord Era. Composed as a prefatory poem of a painting entitled *Liling bingxian tu* 醴陵兵燹圖 [Painting of the Ravages of War in Liling] for Nanshe poet Fu Xiongxian 傅熊湘 (also known by his courtesy name Tungen 屯艮; 1882–1930), the piece describes war-torn scenes of Liling, Hunan and expresses disgust for the warlord politics:

...	...
萬室付一炬	As tens of thousands of houses all turn into fire,
醴陵成空城	Liling also becomes an empty city.
地赤煙未歇	While beacon smoke never stops on the barren land,
池涸骨已平	dead bodies are buried beneath dried-out ponds.
...	...

淒風起窮巷
歌舞出大營
將軍不足責

世亂民命輕

When sad wind is blowing in the poor alleyways,
songs and dances come out from the big barracks.
It is not enough for the generals to compensate
for their responsibilities,
as in the age of chaos, people's lives are
frivolous.¹⁷

Here Hu first realistically depicts battle-weary Liling (lines 1 to 4) and then contrasts the state of people's hardship with the warlords' indulgence in song and dance (lines 5 and 6). From this, Hu castigates them for completely neglecting people's lives and seeking only their own political benefits. Works based on the social and political conditions of Republican China and composed in a realistic style also appear frequently in his other poetry collections, especially the 'matching Hanshan' poems. In other words, poetry became the main medium for Hu to convey his social care.

Throughout the 1930s, Hu Pu'an mainly taught at different universities in Shanghai and persevered in his philological and exegetical studies. He finally published the historical monographs *Zhongguo wenzixue shi* 中國文字學史 [History of Chinese Philology] and *Zhongguo xunguxue shi* 中國訓詁學史 [History of Chinese Exegesis] in 1937 and 1939 respectively, and both laid the foundation for future research in their fields. Hu also compiled literary and academic writings by his ancestors and titled the collection *Puxuezhai congshu*, which was first published in 1940 and later also included Hu's own works such as the 'matching Hanshan' poems. In fact, at the time of publication of all these works, Hu also reached another major turning point of his life. In 1938, the death of Hu's younger brother and long-time poetic companion, Hu Huaichen, left Hu Pu'an in deep sorrow. Hu then suffered from serious stomach illness in the same year and began his years of seclusion for the recuperation of his illness and accompanying disabilities due to stroke until his death in 1947. On the one hand, Hu continued his studies and poetry composition during this period of seclusion. On

¹⁷ Hu, 'Wei Fu Tungen ti *Liling bingxian tu*'.

the other hand, he reflected on his past and came into contact with Buddhism by reading different Buddhist works and interacting with people who were active in Buddhist circles at that time, including Taixu 太虛 (1890–1947) and Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952), respectively a significant Buddhist master and lay practitioner in modern China. Written in 1941, Hu's 307 'matching Hanshan' poems were also produced in this period.

After the Second Sino-Japanese War 第二次中日戰爭 ended in 1945, Hu Pu'an still took up some positions in the governmental, educational, and news sectors. For example, in 1945 he served as the president of the re-published *Minguo ribao* in Shanghai. In the end, Hu passed away in Shanghai with liver cancer on July 9, 1947. Having written extensively throughout his life, Hu published at least a hundred textual works, including more than twenty collections of poetry and countless individual essays and newspaper editorials. Most of Hu's literary and academic works were compiled by Hu Daoyan 胡道彥 (1912–1990s) and Hu Daotong 胡道彤, the eldest and third sons of Hu Pu'an's second marriage, and were reprinted in Taipei in 1983.

With more than 2,000 poems, Hu Pu'an was a prolific classical-style poet. One of the notable features of his works is that many of them are 'ancient-style' poems (*guti shi* 古體詩) which are written without regular prosodic and structural requirements. As there was no limitation on the number of verses, Hu could heartily express his emotions or topics through poetry. Autobiographical works of poetry more often applied this feature of personal lyricism, especially those that he composed when he was ill in his sixties. In these works, Hu generally adopts a relatively easy to understand and straightforward diction instead of chains of esoteric expressions and allusions.

Besides poems of an extended length, Hu Pu'an also composed a group of poetic series that matched the poems of premodern Chinese poets. Through these works, Hu still mainly writes about his feelings on the experiences and events he encountered throughout his life, but he also addresses or responds to social or political issues in China during his lifetime. In terms of matching poems, the 307 'matching Hanshan' poems are certainly the prime example which Hu used to convey his social and political concerns. In addition to Hanshan,

Hu also matched poems by the Eastern Han (25–220) and Cao Wei period (220–266) poet and musician Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263), the Eastern Jin (317–420) and Liu Song period (420–479) reclusive poet Tao Qian 陶潛 (also known as Tao Yuanming 陶淵明; 352?–427?), the Tang-period Chan monk-poet Shide 拾得 (d.u.), and the Southern Song (1127–1279) poet-official Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193).

Another feature of Hu Pu'an's poetry, although it appears far less frequently, is the use of vernacular language. As these works were composed in vernacular, which embodied cultural evolution especially after the 1919 May Fourth Movement, they were often composed in relation to or in response to current affairs and also satirised or exhorted the wider public. Apart from vernacular, Hu once even made use of English in his work. One notable example is a poem entitled 'Wenhua tan' 文化嘆 [Lament for Culture], which points out various cultural phenomena and features of the cultural landscape of early Republican China. Some of its verses are excerpted below:

新舊不相知	When the new and old do not communicate with each other,
所有的經營	then all engagements,
皆是夢中的圖畫	are only pictures in dreams.
不僅不相知	Not only do [the cultures] not communicate with each other,
自身亦不化	the people themselves are also unchangeable.
一上示三王	While <i>yi</i> , <i>shang</i> , <i>shi</i> , <i>san</i> , <i>wang</i> , ¹⁸
食古而不化	symbolise one being fettered by the past and unchangeable;
ABCDE	A, B, C, D, E,

¹⁸ *Yi* 一, *shang* 上, *shi* 示, *san* 三, and *wang* 王 are the first five radicals among the 540 radicals of *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 [Explaining Simple Graphs and Analysing Compound Characters], the character dictionary (*zidian* 字典) which focuses on analysing the structures and meanings of Chinese characters that appeared in pre-Qin classics, and was compiled by the Eastern Han scholar Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 30–124).

食新而不化 symbolise one being fettered by the new and also
unchangeable.¹⁹

From aspects of both content and style, this piece proves that Hu was not a poet who solely composed classical-style poems. Without conforming to structural rules which limit the rhyme and number of characters used in each line, the piece is written like a vernacular modern-style poem (*xinshi* 新詩) which renders a freer impression to readers. This is, in fact, directly related to the poem's central idea which implies that modern intellectuals should have a more open and liberal mind to different cultures in the wake of China's entrance into the modern era. Illustrating divergences between the so-called 'new' and 'old' cultural features in the poem, Hu believes that ancient and modern (as well as foreign) cultures should be integrated rather than remaining mutually exclusive. Therefore, in his view, intellectuals should not only be proficiently equipped with traditional knowledge such as the Chinese radicals (lines 6 and 7), but also always keep a broad-minded attitude towards foreign and new knowledge at the same time, as symbolised by the letters of the English alphabet (lines 8 and 9). It is only through the tolerance and integration of diverse cultures that people can respond and adapt to the constant progress of their times. This kind of thinking also resonates with Hu's own embrace of a modernised and reformed China.

From the above overview we can see that throughout Hu Pu'an's life he received classical education, engaged in philological and exegetical research, and mainly composed classical-style poetry. However, Hu's thoughts were still in the same vein as the progressive ideas of his time that urged social and political reforms, especially after he joined the Nanshe and met more like-minded revolutionaries. Besides his lifelong reluctance to engage in officialdom, Hu's poetry also enshrines his concerns for Chinese society and culture. Still, most of Hu's works are autobiographical or lyrical and narrate his emotions from experiences in different life stages, including his con-

¹⁹ Hu, 'Wenhua tan' 文化嘆 [Lament for Culture], in *Hua shi* 話詩 [On Poetry], quoted in Shen, 'Hu Pu'an shiji wenxian zhengli jiqi jiazhi', 44.

tact with Buddhism. Hu's collection of 'matching Hanshan' poems was also published with such a Buddhist connection, combining his persistent attention to current affairs throughout his life and his keen interest in matching classics of premodern Chinese poetry.

2. Hu Pu'an's 'Matching Hanshan' Poems: A Socio-Political Focus

Closely connected to his own background and political views, Hu Pu'an's socio-politically related poems are largely written with Confucian-centred themes. Many of them are found in his 307 'matching Hanshan' poems, which are fundamentally Buddhist. The poem excerpts discussed above show that Hu Pu'an had a concern for the ongoing state of socio-political affairs of China from the viewpoint of a traditional Confucian scholar-official who, at the same time, espoused the socio-political reformation of China. This feature runs through his poetic works through his years as a poet. In particular, Hu's 'matching Hanshan' poems most intensively address Chinese society and politics. This relates to the subject matter itself of the Hanshan poems. But more importantly, compared to Hanshan poems, which are more inclined to deliver philosophical teachings and talk about a secluded life, Hu's works pay more frequent and in-depth attention to actual livelihoods and political issues that people faced during the Republican period. In the history of Hanshan's reception, we can therefore regard Hu's works as oriented to a socio-political focus.

Hanshan poems are already unique in their own right, but Hu Pu'an's matching works build on this uniqueness to significantly enlighten readers with more profound implications that Hanshan poems also intended to achieve. Hanshan poems indeed occupy a special place in the history of Chinese literature because, although they are generally recognised as some of the most representative works of Chinese Buddhist poetry, their contents are actually quite multi-faceted and combined with many non-Buddhist connotations. Simultaneously, the style of Hanshan poems is particularly straightforward with their use of vernacular language, which attracted many literati through the ages to match the Hanshan collection. Hu was one of the rare poets in Republican China who matched

the complete set of 307 Hanshan poems, and he was a notable case for not simply matching Hanshan poems in an imitative way. In his matching poems, Hu not only incorporates different philosophical principles just like Hanshan poems, but also further transforms his pieces into a medium through which he conveys his deep social and national concerns and even political ideas. Narratives, for example, are used as a channel to convey such messages. On the one hand, the socio-political matching poems composed by Hu are written in line with the growing trend of Chinese Buddhism at that time to actively engage in worldly affairs. On the other hand, most of these works incorporate Confucian rather than Buddhist-informed ideologies or principles, and reflect Hu's own political values and past experiences.

Although Hu Pu'an's 'matching Hanshan' poems that acknowledge social and political issues are essentially Confucian, ultimately, he adopted Hanshan's Buddhist thematic approach that enlightens and exhorts readers in a more thorough and profound way than Hanshan poems. This occurred in conjunction with the publication of Hu's matching poems in an influential Republican-era Buddhist journal, which was an attempt to disseminate Hu's thoughts to a wider audience. Continuing the spirit of influencing the public through straightforward language just like Hanshan poems, Hu was actually more thoughtful than Hanshanzi towards real-life situations and conditions of the Chinese society and nation as a whole.

2.1. Hanshan and 'Matching Hanshan'

As one of the representative hermit poets in the history of Chinese literature, Hanshan's lifestyle and poetry have always given an impression of mystery. It is precisely this characteristic that garners Hanshan considerable attention throughout the ages, especially in regions outside China such as Japan and the United States. Not much is genuinely known about Hanshan, but there remain many relevant legends, mostly deduced from his collection of more than three hundred poems. For instance, it is commonly believed that Hanshan was a Tang-period Chan monk of the Tiantai School based at the Guoqing Temple 國清寺 on Tiantai Mountain 天台山 in Zhejiang, in the company of two Tiantai monk-poets Shide

and Fenggan 豐干 (d.u.), who were all active between the sixth and ninth centuries and were collectively known as the ‘Tiantai Trio’ (*Tiantai sansheng* 天台三聖) or the ‘Three recluses of the Guoqing Temple’ (*Guoqing sanyin* 國清三隱). The name Hanshan 寒山 (Cold Mountain), or more specifically, Hanshanzi 寒山子 (Cold Mountain Master), originated from the place of his seclusion, the Cuiping Mountain 翠屏巖, which was also known as Hanyan 寒巖 of Tiantai.²⁰ However, since the 1960s when there was a surge of research, translation, and imitative composition of Hanshan poems in non-Chinese scholarship, there has also been a growing understanding and eventually a correction in view of Hanshan and the poetry attributed to him. By analysing the versions, contents, and diction of the works, contemporary scholars came to believe that Hanshan poems were written by Hanshanzi himself and co-authored by several other poets under the name ‘Hanshan’, and their poetic compositions in fact spanned the period from the late Sui to late Tang.²¹ Upon close examination, some Hanshan poems may thus vary in style and occasionally include works that centre on Confucianism and Daoism. On the whole, however, the vernacular Hanshan poems remain predominantly unadorned and straightforward, and they still mainly concern themselves with

²⁰ For more on Hanshan, see the major annotations and English translations of the poetry of Hanshan, including: Henricks, *The Poetry of Han-shan*; Qian, ed., *Hanshan Shide shi jiaoping*; Xiang, ed., *Hanshan shizhu fu Shide shizhu*; and Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan (Cold Mountain), Shide, and Fenggan*. Some of the major research works on Hanshan and Hanshan poems include: Wu, ‘A Study of Han-shan’, 392–450; Chen, *Hanshanzi yanjiu*; and Rouzer, *On Cold Mountain*.

²¹ This is the collected view of contemporary Western scholars. For more on the history and development of the English-language Hanshan studies, see Huang, ‘Yaoyao Hanshan dao’, 5–68. Still, the authorship of Hanshan poems is disputed. For instance, Jia Jinhua 賈晉華 once proved that the author of the Chan poems in the poetry of Hanshan should be Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840–901), a Tang-period Chan master of the Caodong School 曹洞宗, which is a Chinese Chan Buddhist sect. See Jia, ‘Chuanshi Hanshan shiji’, 65–90.

Buddhist core ideologies such as the principle of karmic causality and the impermanence of life and death.²²

Because of their ingenious combination of linguistic simplicity and Chan-inspired subtlety and wit, many literati, Buddhists, and even Daoists have been attracted to Hanshan poems throughout history and have enthusiastically quoted (*zhengyin* 徵引), imitated (*ni* 擬, *nizuo* 擬作, *xiao* 效, or *fangxiao* 仿效), and matched (*he* 和, *changhe* 唱和, or *genghe* 賡和) them.²³ In terms of matching works, the earliest extant ‘matching Hanshan’ poems were composed by the Yuan-period (1271–1368) Chan monk Chushi Fanqi 楚石梵琦 (1296–1370) who matched Hanshan, Shide, and Fenggan poems. Another major premodern poet who matched poems of the Tiantai Trio is the late-Ming Chan monk Shishu Tongyin 石樹通隱 (d.u.). During the Qing dynasty, the original poems of the Tiantai Trio and the matching poems written by both Chushi Fanqi and Shishu Tongyin were compiled into a collection. This not only further enhanced the popularity of the Tiantai Trio’s poetry and its status in Chinese literary history, but also inspired some later poets to continue the trend of matching their works. Notable examples include Republican-period poet Lin Chunshan 林春山 who matched the Tiantai Trio’s poetry, Hu Pu’an who matched Hanshan’s and Shide’s poems, as well as the Taiwan-based poet-scholar Hu Dunyu 胡鈍俞 (1901–?) who only matched Hanshan poems.²⁴

As aforementioned, we can subdivide the major types of Han-

²² In fact, there are also some works in Hanshan poems that touch upon the real-life conditions of different social classes, see Yue, ‘Lun Hanshan de suti shi’, 151–54.

²³ For more on the history of the quotation, imitation, and matching of Hanshan poems, see Chen, ‘Zhengyin, nizuo, genghe Hanshanzi shi “re” kao’, 100–16. For a comprehensive list of the imitation and matching works of Hanshan poems until the Republican period, see Ye, comp., *Hanshan ziliao leibian*, 133–308.

²⁴ Hu, ‘He Hanshan shi sanlingqi shou, buyun bing yiqi cixu’ 和寒山詩三零七首 步韻并依其次序 [Matching 307 Hanshan Poems, by following their rhymes and in order], in *Ningyuan shiji*, 101–59.

shan-inspired poems throughout history into quotations, imitations, and matching works. For the latter two in particular there remains a difference between them, although they both involve composing new works instead of directly quoting the original texts. Differing slightly from imitating poems, written primarily by emulating the overall diction, rhymes, and content of the original works, matching poems also emphasise maintenance of direct or indirect responses or ‘connections’ (*niudai* 紐帶). These ‘connections’ must be interpreted based on the content or corresponding implications of the original works themselves, rather than function solely as an emulation that can exist independently of the original works.²⁵ In fact, imitation and matching works are not completely mutually exclusive. In general, matching poems use the same rhymes as the original works. Still, in most cases, matching poems involve new ideas but at the same time retain certain connections to the original works.²⁶ For instance, the ‘matching Hanshan’ poems composed by Hu Pu’an follow the rhymes of Hanshan poems, but besides incorporating philosophies like the Three Religions as in Hanshan poems, many of Hu’s works also brings out the social and political concerns of his time.

2.2. Hu Pu’an’s ‘Matching Hanshan’ Poems

Among the three post-late-Qing poets who published their ‘matching Hanshan’ poems, Hu Pu’an can be described as the outstanding one. His pioneering works brought the genre of Hanshan-inspired poems from the religious and philosophical level to a socio-political dimension. Apart from addressing general life-related scenarios, Hu’s works respond to different issues that Chinese society as a whole was facing at that time. This concern was closely related to the then context of the late-Qing revival of Buddhism and its related studies in China. This context was a means to seek intellectual solutions to

²⁵ Zhao, *Changhe shi yanjiu*, 2–6.

²⁶ For more on the compare and contrast of imitation and matching poems in the Chinese literary history, see Zhao, *Changhe shi yanjiu*, 2–6; and Gong, *Changhe shici yanjiu*, 5–21.

save China as a nation amidst domestic unrest and external invasions. Within this context, there was a trend that Chinese Buddhism should actively engage in worldly affairs (*rushi* 入世) and align itself to political affairs like the mission of national salvation. A major relevant discourse that exerted influence on late Qing and Republican-period intellectuals and Buddhists came from Liang Qichao's observations of Buddhism made in a 1902 essay. He summarises the religion as a rational belief which stresses philosophical enlightenment (*zhixin* 智信), ultimately seeks universal good (*jianshan* 兼善), engages in worldly affairs (*rushi*), values the infinite life (*wuliang* 無量) in one's soul, emphasises equality (*pingdeng* 平等) of all sentient beings, and requires only self-effort (*zili* 自力) to attain salvation.²⁷ Discussing Buddhism from a non-religious and non-superstitious point of view, Liang's essay elevates it as a belief that can help build the cultural foundation of China and facilitate the nation's social and political development.²⁸ Among these features of Buddhism as elucidated in socio-political discourse, Hu's 'matching Hanshan' poems particularly espouse the regard of equality as one of its core subject matters.

Taixu's vision of constructing a *rensheng Fojiao* 人生佛教 (lit. Buddhism for human life; later reworded as *renjian Fojiao* 人間佛教, lit. Buddhism for the human realm) as proposed during the 1920s and 1940s was another contemporaneous Buddhist notion that may

²⁷ Liang, 'Lun Fojiao yu qunzhi zhi guanxi' 論佛教與羣治之關係 [On the Relationship between Buddhism and Social Order], in *Yinbingshi wenji zhi shi* 飲冰室文集之十 [Collected Essays from the Icedrinker's Studio, no. 10], 45–52, in *Yinbingshi heji*, vol. 1. For a discussion of Liang's views on Buddhism and a critical summary of the essay, see Chang, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890–1907*, 231–37.

²⁸ Chang, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890–1907*, 236–37. However, Chang also criticises Liang Qichao's description of Buddhism as worldly activism is 'unqualified' and 'patently an exaggeration', as instead of objectively depicting Buddhist doctrines, Liang is actually more concerned about finding cultural recognition, including Buddhism, for the new civic values he advocated.

also have influenced Hu Pu'an to compose his 'matching Hanshan' poems. This notion urges Buddhism's return to social reality for practical application in everyday life in order to meet actual, worldly needs and pursue the common good, a departure from the stereotypical association of Buddhism with the afterlife and supernatural matters.²⁹ The examples discussed below show that although Hu still substantially incorporates ideological principles from different Chinese philosophical schools in his 'matching Hanshan' poems, Hu's works also add a socio-political emphasis. In this regard, many of his poems make use of narratives which bring out the thematic shift more clearly and thoroughly so that readers can more easily insert themselves into and understand the socio-political context of Hu's works. This also explains why Hu chose to match rather than imitate Hanshan poems—although Hu inherited Hanshan poetry's characteristic of enlightening readers with vernacular language, Hu did not compose his matching poems simply to emulate Hanshan's poetic style, nor just to emulate Hanshan's focus on explicating philosophical teachings. Rather, Hu also sought to realistically respond to the social reality and voice out his social and political ideals.

The preface written for Hu Pu'an's works serves as another significant piece of evidence to understand Hu's motivation for matching Hanshan poems.³⁰ Right at the beginning of the preface, Hu points out that his principal impetus to match Hanshan poems emanates from the status that 'the social circumstances are corrupted day by day,

²⁹ Nevertheless, the main reason Taixu put forward the *rensheng Fojiao* (or *renjian Fojiao*) notion lies in his ideals in rectifying the corrupted cultures of Chinese Buddhism, as well as reforming the Buddhist doctrines, sangha system, and management of temple properties of China. For more on the *rensheng Fojiao* notion, see Jin, "Taixu dashi "rensheng Fojiao" linian zhi yuanyuan ji sixiang beijing".

³⁰ Hu, preface to 'He Hanshanzi shi', 1–9; *idem*, 'He Hanshanzi shi xu' 和寒山子詩序 [Preface to the 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems], *Jueyouqing banyuekan* 覺有情半月刊 [Bodhisattva Semi-Monthly] 89–90 (1943): 14, in *MFQB*, vol. 62, 30. In particular, the preface published in the *Puxuezhai congshu* is more detailed than the version in the *Jueyouqing banyuekan*, therefore the main reference to Hu's preface here is the version published in the *Puxuezhai congshu*.

and my emotions get depressively stuck such that they cannot be dispatched' (環境日非, 胸懷鬱塞, 無以自遣). Still wanting to 'coin new expressions by himself' (自鑄新辭), Hu selected Hanshan poems in particular as his next target works to match because of the rich 'transcendental voices' (世外之音) they embody. This selection was also related to his illness at that time which brought him into contact with many Buddhist texts that he used to calm his mind. However, Hu only had a limited understanding of Buddhism, after all, and was more familiar with Confucianism and Daoism. As a result, he still included teachings of the three philosophies in his works to 'unfold sentimental emotions' (舒感喟之氣). In addition, Hu also emphasises in the preface his inclusion of 'contents concerning the experiences upon hearing and seeing' (耳聞目見之經歷語), which are his observations of Chinese society in the context of his matching poems. Then, after introducing different editions of Hanshan poems and Hanshanzi himself, Hu argues that the world is full of various kinds of 'temper derangement' (*fengkuang* 風狂). For example, he juxtaposes the invasion and defence of a nation's territory; being deceitful and well-behaved; as well as being well-dressed and well-fed and being poorly-dressed and poorly-fed. These can all be considered 'temper derangements' from different perspectives. From this, Hu infers that people in the Tang and Republican period could also consider Hanshan poems and Hu's 'matching Hanshan' poems as 'temper derangements' respectively. Hu then turns to lamenting the ceaseless emergence of one's 'derangement for fame and fortune' (*mingli kuang* 名利狂) that originates from the 'unenlightened temper' (*wuming feng* 無明風) in reality. Hu concludes the preface by indicating that such an incurability of society led to Hanshan's seclusion and the consequential composition of Hanshan poems, thus implying that Hu composed his matching poems in a similar context. Through this preface, Hu hints at a comparison of himself to Hanshanzi.

How did Hu Pu'an actually enlighten people through this group of 'matching Hanshan' poems? This links to another key feature of his matching works that involved the Chinese Buddhist community of the Republican period. After Hu's 307 matching poems were published in one of the *Puxuezhai congsbu* volumes as handwritten

scripts in 1941, the first 237 pieces were then serialised in twenty parts as printed editions in the influential Buddhist semi-monthly *Jueyouqing* from 1943 to 1948. Thus, seventy matching poems appear only in handwritten script in the *Puxuezhai congsbu*. Based in Shanghai, the *Jueyouqing* was founded by two lay Buddhists Chen Faxiang 陳法香 and Su Huichun 蘇慧純 on October 1, 1939.³¹ Having first published a wide range of treatises on topics like religious doctrines, philosophical thought, and the practical application of Buddhism and its theories, the *Jueyouqing* was later posited as a Buddhist periodical with a focus on the discussion of specific Buddhism-related themes such as vegetarianism and women in Buddhism. Another major characteristic of the *Jueyouqing* was reporting on updates from international Buddhist circles in its later editions, and it became one of the leading Buddhist publications of China in the 1940s. Thus, the commentaries in the journal sometimes also paid particular attention to the ongoing politics in China and abroad. From 1948, the *Jueyouqing* was published monthly, and eventually ceased publication in 1953. In coordination with the thematic directions of the semi-monthly, Hu's works and thought regarding his socio-political concerns were further disseminated through serialisation, and idealistically influenced and resonated with a wider audience in the Buddhist community of Republican China.

Turning to the content of Hu Pu'an's 'matching Hanshan' works, they first of all contain a substantial amount of philosophical teachings. Passed down from Hanshan poems, this major feature appears in the first poem of both collections of poetry to outline what the authors consider to be the most fundamental philosophical principles that they wish to deliver through their poems. The first poems of Hu's and Hanshan's collections read:

Hu Pu'an's 'He Hanshanzi shi qi yi' 和寒山子詩其一 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 1]:

³¹ For more on the history of the *Jueyouqing*, see *MFQB*, volume of the table of contents (*mulu* 目錄), introductions to the periodicals (*qikan jieshao* 期刊介紹), 54.

無始億萬年
吾心本清淨
淡然若太虛
無邪亦無正
寂寂常不動
此之謂本性
吁嗟眾生心
常為物所令

For infinite years without beginning,
our minds are still essentially clean and pure.
Being calm like the empty void,
[the mind is] neither bad nor good.
Tranquil, it is always motionless,
and this is known as one's original nature.
Alas, however, the minds of sentient beings,
are commonly being commanded by material
things.³²

Hanshan's 'Hanshan shi qi yi' 寒山詩其一 [Hanshan Poems, no. 1]:

凡讀我詩者
心中須護淨
慳貪繼日廉
諂曲登時正
驅遣除惡業
歸依受真性
今日得佛身
急急如律令

All of you who read my poems:
you must guard the purity in your minds.
Daily purify your stinginess and greed;
forthwith put right your flattering and slyness.
You'll banish all your evil karma,
take Refuge, receiving your true nature.
Today you'll obtain the Buddha's body—
be quick, as if this were a command!³³

Frankly speaking, these opening poems of the two poetic collections can hardly be recognised as artistic, and are, in fact, somehow literarily artless. While this is apparently related to their straightforward language, it also shows that the aim of both poems is not to present literary beauty, but rather to concentrate on their content. In terms of stylistic structure, correspondingly using the same rhyming

³² Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi yi' 和寒山子詩其一 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 1], in *Puxuezhai congshu*, vol. 2, book 26, 10; *idem*, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi yi', in 'He Hanshanzi shi' 和寒山子詩 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems], *Jueyouqing banyuekan* 89-90 (1943): 14, in *MFQB*, vol. 62, 30.

³³ Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan*, 12-13. I have followed the translation by Paul Rouzer here. For the sake of consistency, Paul Rouzer's translations will be used for all the following Hanshan poems selected for discussion in this paper.

characters (the last characters of line 2, 4, 6, and 8: *jing* 淨, *zheng* 正, *xing* 性, *ling* 令) of Hanshan's poem, Hu's piece conforms to a matching poem's basic characteristic of following rhymes of the original work, and this feature can be found in the entire collection of Hu's 'matching Hanshan' works. Ideologically, Hu also follows Hanshan and attempts to enlighten readers by stressing the importance of possessing a clean and pure mind, and the need to get rid of material delusions to attain one's 'original nature' (*benxing* 本性; line 6). The more obvious difference between Hu's and Hanshan's pieces should be that the latter incorporates language that can more explicitly and literally express Buddhist connotations, such as 'evil karma' (*eye* 惡業; line 5), 'take Refuge' (*guiyi* 歸依; line 6), and 'the Buddha's body' (*foshen* 佛身; line 7).

Though one may be able to discern the doctrinal leanings of the authors from the first poems, which act as sort of a guide of their respective collections, it is still hardly possible to summarise the 307 poems of Hanshan and Hu Pu'an. After all, each poem renders its own distinct and blended meanings. In Hu's works, other than poems that mainly or exclusively deal with doctrinal teachings, many of them are actually a combination of philosophical and socio-political expositions, rooted in years of Hu's intellectual and political engagements. For instance, in Hu's fortieth matching poem, he explicitly states his yearning for the Confucian ideal world of *datong* 大同 (Great Union) as envisioned in ancient China:

Hu Pu'an's 'He Hanshanzi shi qi sishi' 和寒山子詩其四十 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 40]:

理直氣自壯	When one's reasons are just, one's temper is naturally bold;
氣平心自中	when one's temper becomes pacified, one's mind is naturally impartial.
利己不損人	While benefitting oneself without harming others,
積私以為公	private accumulations of wealth belong to the public.
各自守疆界	And by defending each respective national border,

天下必大同	the world must advance into Great Union.
人我物皆足	Such that everyone can all possess sufficient
	resources,
用之總無窮	and always employ them endlessly. ³⁴

Hanshan's 'Hanshan shi qi sishi' 寒山詩其四十 ['Hanshan Poems', no. 40]:

慣居幽隱處	When I get too used to staying in this remote place,
乍向國清眾	I'll go off at once to the Guoqing assembly.
時訪豐干道	Sometimes I take the way to visit Fenggan,
仍來看拾公	or often come to see Shide.
獨迴上寒巖	Then I return alone and climb Cold Cliff;
無人話合同	there's no one whose talk is congenial!
尋究無源水	For I'm searching for water that has no source;
源窮水不窮	Though a source may run out, this water will
	not. ³⁵

Starkly different from Hanshan's piece in terms of content, Hu's poem stresses socio-political and particularly Confucian ideals. While Hanshan describes his secluded life on the Hanyan (Cold Cliff) throughout the poem, making it the only piece in the collection that mentions Fenggan and Shide, Hu turns to depict the status of Great Union. First appearing in the chapter 'Liyun' 禮運 [Ceremonial Usages] of the *Liji* 禮記 [Book of Rites], one of the ancient Chinese classics of Confucianism, the notion of Great Union illustrates a utopian world in which society is commonly ruled and shared by the public.³⁶ In this Great Union, people from all walks of life, whether

³⁴ Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi sishi' 和寒山子詩其四十 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 40], in *Puxuezhai congshu*, vol. 2, book 26, 29–30; *idem*, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi sishi', in 'He Hanshanzi shi (san xu)' 和寒山子詩(三續) [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, Third Supplement], *Jueyouqing banyuekan* 97–98 (1943): 15, in *MFQB*, vol. 62, 95.

³⁵ Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan*, 50–51.

³⁶ For the original text which describes the world of Great Union at the

they are men or women, young or old, abled or disabled, all live adequately and selflessly in peace, dignity, and unity.

In fact, the Great Union, which was regarded as the ideal status of society and state in both premodern and modern Confucian-dominated Chinese thought, is embodied and projected in Hu Pu'an's poem through another important Confucian notion. With an orderly structure that fits the content, the poem actually elucidates the famous concept of 'cultivating persons, regulating families, ordering well states, and making the whole kingdom (world) tranquil and happy' (*xiushen, qijia, zhiguo, ping tianxia* 修身、齊家、治國、平天下), which is also found in the *Liji* in its chapter 'Daxue' 大學 [The Great Learning],³⁷ from which we can see Hu's deep intellectual roots in Confucianism. Emphasising a hierarchical relationship of moral cultivation that stems from individuals and sequentially expands to families and states for the ultimate attainment of an idealistically unified and peaceful world, Hu lays out this notion in the same order in his poem. Firstly, the first two lines point out the importance that an individual have just reasons and a pacified temper, such that when one has a bold temper and impartial mind, one can naturally behave in a way that is beneficial for both oneself and others (line 3). This extends the inner moral cultivation from an individual level to the community level and corresponds respectively to the *xiushen* and *qijia* phases as stated in *Daxue*. Then, in line 4, Hu describes how when everyone in a community can be morally cultivated, then naturally even their private properties can be commonly shared by the public without causing conflicts. Further broadening to the *zhiguo* and finally *ping tianxia* level, line 5 directs to the scenario that if nations can defend their borders and avoid disputes, then the world will

beginning of the chapter 'Liyun' of the *Liji*, see Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, ed., *Liji zhengyi*, vol. 2, 766–70. For the English translation of the text by James Legge that I have followed here, see Legge, trans., *The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Confucianism, Part III*, 364–66.

³⁷ See Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, ed., *Liji zhengyi*, vol. 2, 1859–66; and Legge, trans., *The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Confucianism, Part III*, 411–12.

finally reach the ideal state of Great Union (line 6). But Hu does not stop here. In the last two lines he returns to the social dimension and describes how in the Great Union, inexhaustible resources will be available for all. These visions are, of course, ultimate ideals which are difficult to concretely realise. Through demonstrating Confucian notions in his poem, Hu's work reflected that Chinese society at the time was also facing inadequate and unevenly distributed resources as it had in previous generations. Thus, he underlines his hope that people would be able to live in abundance and be freed from the suffering of resource shortages. Perhaps Hu was also influenced by the visionary utopianism explicated by the late Qing reformist thinker Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927) in his 1901 book *Datong shu* 大同書 [Book of Great Union], which engages with a modernist reinterpretation of the Great Union concept that was applicable to late Qing China. By reinterpreting Confucian classics, it depicts an ideal social state in which everyone in the world is politically and economically equal, and free from different kinds of universal human suffering such as wealth inequality, harsh taxation, and severe penalties.³⁸ In short, although Hu does not explicitly respond to the social reality of his time in the poem, he regards Confucian political ideals as a solution to global conflicts. In contrast to Hanshan's piece which focuses on the hermit's life, Hu's work renders a socio-political emphasis that links his 'matching Hanshan' poems with the social conditions and circumstances of Republican China. This example also shows that although Hu's works use the frame of Buddhist poetry, the focus of their content is still based on Confucianism.

In Hu Pu'an's poetry, there are other works that carry similar meaning and convey the importance of moral cultivation towards society as a whole. For instance, poem no. 241 deals with the topic from a more negative perspective and exposes the social reality of moral decline:

Hu Pu'an's 'He Hanshanzi shi qi erbai sishiyi' 和寒山子詩其二百四十一 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 241]:

³⁸ Kang, 'Datong shu'. For the monographic study of the *Datong shu*, see Brusadelli, *Confucian Concord*.

世上貪愚漢
終歲勞心神
時時惟利己

事事總損人
癡心求美果
極力造惡因

所以汙濁世
殺戮日紛紛

All the greedy and foolish men
have their minds wearied throughout their lives.
They only care about benefitting themselves all
the time,
and always harm others at every occasion.
As they are infatuated in seeking desirable effects,
they use their utmost strength to create evil
causes [at the same time].
Therefore, in this turbid world,
slaughter takes place all over every day.³⁹

Hanshan's 'Hanshan shi qi erbai sanshiba' 寒山詩其二百三十八
[Hanshan Poems, no. 238]:

我見多知漢
終日用心神
歧路逞嘍囉
欺謾一切人
唯作地獄滓
不修正直因
忽然無常至
定知亂紛紛

I've seen those know-it-alls
who employ mind and spirit all day long,
showing off their clever words at the crossroads,
cheating everyone they meet.
They only become the dregs of Hell,
don't cultivate upright karma.
When Impermanence comes upon them,
certainly things will be thrown into chaos.⁴⁰

Here it can be seen that Hu's work closely matches Hanshan's poem in terms of content; both poems condemn people's failure to morally cultivate themselves and act morally good. Additionally, both poems are based on Buddhist thought, as they both refer to the principle of karma or karmic causality (*yinguo* 因果) in their fifth and sixth lines. This exhibits Hu's own connection to Buddhist thought. However, in the third and fourth lines of both poems, while Hanshan specifies the acts of 'showing off

³⁹ Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi erbai sishiyi' 和寒山子詩其二百四十一 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 241], in *Puxuezhai congsbu*, vol. 2, book 26, 133–34.

⁴⁰ Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan*, 252–53.

their clever words' (*cheng louluo* 逞嘍囉) and 'cheating' (*qiman* 欺謾) respectively, Hu still refers to the general egoistic terms of 'benefitting themselves' (*liji* 利己) and 'harming others' (*sunren* 損人). The difference between the two may seem slight, but this in fact indicates the thematic foci of the two poems and their authors. Hanshan's piece revolves around issues concerning personal moral cultivation. Particularly, the last two lines of the poem indicate the worst consequences for people who lack moral restraint: the things associated with them 'will be thrown into chaos' (*luan fenfen* 亂紛紛; line 8). This shows that the poem's main concern is still related to individuals. In contrast, in Hu's piece, the negative consequences for individuals without moral virtue is further extended to the social level, as the last two lines of the poem observes the reality that there is still constant 'slaughter' (*shalu* 殺戮; line 8) in the 'turbid world' (*wuzhuo shi* 汙濁世; line 7). On the whole, as Hu attempts to connect Buddhist thought with social concerns, this poem illustrates his attempt to demonstrate his understanding of Buddhism in addition to the content of Hanshan's poem. Notably, through his work, Hu does not just actively encourage people to perform good deeds, but he also attempts to bring out the darker side of the society in a realistic manner.

In terms of writing about social reality, there are also a group of poems that involve the use of narratives in Hu Pu'an's matching works, thereby addressing situations of Chinese society at that time from the viewpoints of people from different social classes. In poem no. 56, Hu chooses to discuss poor scholars (*pinsshi* 貧士), the identity with which he most resonates:

Hu Pu'an's 'He Hanshanzi shi qi wushiliu' 和寒山子詩其五十六 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 56]:

貧士多困頓	Always in destitute, poor scholars
鮒魚處涸轍	are like carps trapped in dried-up ruts.
三旬而九食	Having only nine meals in thirty days,
飢餓腸欲裂	they are starving with innards about to be
	rended.
所志不在奢	Yet, their aspirations are not extravagant,

升斗以為活
富人不知貧
梁肉常飽殺

and they live with tight-fisted rationing.⁴¹
Still, the rich do not understand poverty,
and they always eat themselves to death with
millet and meat.⁴²

Hanshan's 'Hanshan shi qi wushiqi' 寒山詩其五十七 [Hanshan Poems, no. 57]:

田舍多桑園
牛犢滿廄轍
肯信有因果
頑皮早晚裂
眼看消磨盡
當頭各自活
紙袴瓦作裩
到頭凍餓殺

Their farmstead has many mulberry trees and
gardens;
oxen and calves fill its stables and paths.
Are they not willing to believe in karma?
When will their stubborn hides crack?
With their own eyes they'll see their things melt
away,
suddenly each will seek to preserve himself.
With paper trousers and pants fashioned of shards,
in the end they'll all die of cold and hunger.⁴³

Also mentioning *yingguo* in the third line, Hanshan's poem is another piece in the collection that centres on the principle of karma. Beginning with the setting of a large farmstead with plenty of mulberry trees, gardens, oxen, and calves (lines 1 and 2), the poem narrates the life of a wealthy landlord. Soon turning to the issue of

⁴¹ Literally, *sheng* 升 and *dou* 斗 are measurement units for grains and wine in ancient China, and one *sheng* has less capacity than one *dou*, such that one *sheng* is roughly one-tenth of a *dou*. The term *shengdou* 升斗 thus then bears the meaning of tight-fisted rationing or grinding poverty.

⁴² Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi wushiliu' 和寒山子詩其五十六 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 56], in *Puxuezhai congshu*, vol. 2, book 26, 37; Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi sishi' 和寒山子詩其五十七 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 57], in 'He Hanshanzi shi (si xu)' 和寒山子詩(四續) [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, Fourth Supplement], *Jueyouqing banyuekan* 101–102 (1943): 13, in *MFQB*, vol. 62, 125.

⁴³ Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan*, 66–67.

karmic retribution, it asserts that people's pursuit of pleasure and satisfaction of desire is nothing but a kind of stubbornness which causes them to be disillusioned. The poem then speaks ironically of the sad reality that most of the people in the world, who have been so disillusioned and do not understand the principle of karma, still act stubbornly even if they are at the end of their tether. Contrary to the substantial life of a landlord as depicted in the first two lines of the poem, the last two lines describe another ironic scenario where rich men no longer live affluently and instead suffer from grinding poverty. This may even extend to the concept of afterlife, implying that if one is rich but merciless, one will be eventually rewarded with evil in the afterlife. In short, the descriptions of a rich landowner's life in the Hanshan poem are somehow extreme, but in the context of this poem itself, it can still be regarded as an effective way to bring out the theme of karmic retribution.

As for Hu Pu'an's poem, although it is not as incisive as Hanshan's piece in terms of content and style, it also touches upon the idea of karma and incorporates Buddhist views with a narrative style that focuses on a specific group of people in society. Still taking a Confucian stance, Hu's poem praises the integrity of poor scholars by using a narrative that tells the story of their contentment even in starvation with 'tight-fisted rationing' (*shengdou* 升斗; line 6). This belief of 'abiding in poverty and delighting in the Way' (*anpin ledao* 安貧樂道) may be a reference to Tao Qian's adaptive attitude to life as he advocated in his works like the series of seven poems entitled *Yong pinshi* 詠貧士 [Chants on Poor Scholars]. But in the end, just like the corresponding Hanshan poem, Hu's piece also makes use of the last two lines to deliver the main point as he leaves a social message of disparity between the rich and the poor from the perspective of the integrity of poor scholars.

Noteworthy, although Hu Pu'an's poems are written in easy-to-understand language, occasionally they also include some allusions, and I provide some examples here. The first one is the allusion to the chapter of 'Waiwu' 外物 [External Things] of the ancient philosophical text *Zhuangzi* 莊子 [(The Writings of) Master Zhuang]. Hu's poem uses the idiom *hezhe zhifu* 涸轍之鮒 (carps trapped in dried-up ruts; line 2) and the line *shengdou yiwei huo* 升斗

以為活 (to live with tight-fisted rationing; line 6), which can both be found in an anecdote of the impoverished Master Zhuang borrowing rice from the marquis of the Yellow River region.⁴⁴ Another allusion, *sanxun er jiushi* 三旬而九食 (having only nine meals in thirty days), appears in the third line of the poem. Borrowing from the Western Han (202 BCE–9 CE) narrative collection *Shuoyuan* 說苑 [Garden of Eloquence] by the scholar Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE), this line describes the tragedy of poor scholars.⁴⁵ It can thus be seen that both allusions are closely related to the theme of poor scholars, as well as the implications regarding the impoverished, the cruel reality of rich-poor disparity, and the illusions of money and wealth. These themes often come up in Hu's matching poems and prove his particular concern about them.

Also employing narrative, poem no. 115 is another piece that discusses the theme of wealth and poverty in society amongst the many examples on the same topic in Hu Pu'an's matching poem collection. Here, the poem only depicts the lives of two women who come from a wealthy and a poor family respectively without explicitly adding the author's personal views:

Hu Pu'an's 'He Hanshanzi shi qi bai shiwu' 和寒山子詩其百十五 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 115]:

東隣有富女	In the eastern neighbourhood, there is a wealthy lady
人言顏色殊	whom everyone says has special facial expressions.

⁴⁴ In the anecdote, the marquis is quite reluctant to offer help to Master Zhuang. Master Zhuang then becomes angry and tells a fable about a carp trapped in dried-up ruts who asks for a *dou* or a *sheng* of water to stay alive. This fable is thus used to illustrate that it is often difficult to turn to people for help. See Chen, ed., *Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi*, vol. 3, 751.

⁴⁵ This allusion refers to the impoverished Zisi 子思 (born Kong Ji 孔伋; 483–402 BCE), the grandson of Confucius, who when staying in the state of Wei 衛 could only afford to wear thin robes and have nine meals in twenty days (*erxun er jiushi* 二旬而九食). See Liu, *Shuoyuan jiaozheng*, 80.

被服紉與素 ⁴⁶ 支頤坐堂隅 西隣有貧女 有裳而無襦 夜眠一捲草 晝飽半升糞	Putting on clothes made of plain silk and satin, she holds her cheek in her palm and sits in the corner of her chamber. Whereas in the western neighbourhood, there is a poor lady who wears a skirt without a jacket. Sleeping at night on a roll of straw, she only fills herself up with a half <i>sheng</i> of bran in the daytime. ⁴⁷
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Hanshan's 'Hanshan shi qi yibai yishiliu' 寒山詩其一百一十六 [Hanshan Poems, no. 116]:

大有飢寒客 生將獸魚殊 長存磨石下 時哭路邊隅 累日空思飯 經冬不識襦 唯齋一束草 并帶五升糞	There are many cold and hungry men who by birth are different from beast and fish; yet they always shelter under millstones, and often weep by the side of the road. For many days they've thought of food in vain; they pass the whole winter unaware of shirts. They have for bedding but a bundle of straw, and carry with them five pints of bran. ⁴⁸
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Similarly, Hanshan's piece also only describes the dire poverty of the 'cold and hungry men' (*jihan ke* 飢寒客; line 1) and likely shapes the realistic style of Hu's poem. In comparison, while Hanshan focuses on illustrating the desolate life of the impoverished, Hu still

⁴⁶ The term *pifu* 被服 ('putting on clothes') as seen in the *Puxuezhai congshu* is written as *piwu* 被物 in the *Jueyouqing banyuekan*, and both terms basically bear the same meaning.

⁴⁷ Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi bai shiwu' 和寒山子詩其百十五 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 115], in *Puxuezhai congshu*, vol. 2, book 26, 67; idem, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi bai shiwu', in 'He Hanshanzi shi (shiqi xu)' 和寒山子詩(十七續) [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, Seventeenth Supplement], *Jueyouqing banyuekan* 123–124 (1944): 11, in *MFQB*, vol. 62, 305.

⁴⁸ Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan*, 126–27.

prefers to record social reality by juxtaposing the circumstances of the rich and the poor. Here, Hanshan even compares the poor to ‘beast and fish’ (*shouyu* 獸魚; line 2) as the poem mainly describes their hardships of sleeping rough on the streets and experiencing hunger and cold. As for Hu, by simply contrasting the facial expressions, clothing, and living environment of the wealthy lady with the deprived living conditions of the poor lady, his poem already shows the sad reality of Chinese society at that time. Although Hu does not leave any personal commentaries on these scenes in his poem, just like Hanshan, it is precisely in this way that Hu integrates the social situations more powerfully into his works and again highlights his observations and care for society.

Apart from poems like no. 56 and no. 115 discussed above, there are still a number of works in Hu Pu’an’s matching poem collection that describe social realities in similar realistic ways. From the following three examples, we can see not only Hu’s concern and even dissatisfaction with the social phenomena of his time, but also the thematic similarities and differences with Hanshan’s poems.

Hu Pu’an’s ‘He Hanshanzi shi qi bai ershisan’ 和寒山子詩其百二十三 [The ‘Matching Hanshanzi’ Poems, no. 123]:

年歲並不凶	The years are not terrible,
囊橐無粒米	yet there is not a single grain of rice in the sacks.
亦非乏金錢	Nor is there a lack of money,
啼飢兄與弟	but both elder and younger brothers still cry with hunger.
東鄰戶常開 ⁴⁹	While doors always open in the eastern neighbourhood,
西院門不啟	Doors are kept closed in the western hall.
究竟是何為	Why exactly is that so?
無人知徹底	No one knows it thoroughly. ⁵⁰

⁴⁹ The character *lin* 鄰 (neighbourhood) as seen in the *Puxuezhai congshu* is written as its alternative form, *lin* 隣, in the *Jueyouqing banyuekan*.

⁵⁰ Hu, ‘He Hanshanzi shi qi bai ershisan’ 和寒山子詩其百二十三 [The

Hanshan's 'Hanshan shi qi yibai ershisi' 寒山詩其一百二十四 [Hanshan Poems, no. 124]:

富貴踈親聚	Far relations flock to the wealthy and great;
只為多錢米	it's only because of their money and grain.
貧賤骨肉離	Close kin will shun the poor and base;
非關少兄弟	it's not because they have few brothers.
急須歸去來	You should go back home again,
招賢閣未啟	for Summon-Worthy Lodge will never open. ⁵¹
浪行朱雀街	It's vain to tread Vermillion Bird Street, ⁵²
踏破皮鞋底	wearing out the soles of your shoes. ⁵³

Hu Pu'an's 'He Hanshanzi shi qi erbai shisi' 和寒山子詩其二百十四 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 214]:

寒風撼窗天雨霰	As the cold wind shakes the windows, rain sleet down from the sky;
報道今日是立春	when the news reports that today is the beginning of Spring.
不信繁榮上海市	But I do not believe that in the prosperous city of Shanghai,
夜夜街頭有死人	there are dead bodies in the streets every night. ⁵⁴

'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 123], in *Puxuezhai congsbu*, vol. 2, book 26, 71; *idem*, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi bai ershisan', in 'He Hanshanzi shi (shiqi xu)' 和寒山子詩(十七續) [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, Seventeenth Supplement], *Jueyouqing banyuekan* 123–124 (1944): 11, in *MFQB*, vol. 62, 305.

⁵¹ Built by a Han-period prince, the *Zhaoxian ge* 招賢閣 (Summon-Worthy Lodge) was a place constructed to attract talents to join his retinue.

⁵² The Zhuque jie 朱雀街 (Vermillion Bird Street) was a major street in Chang'an 長安 (today Xi'an 西安), the capital of China during the Tang dynasty.

⁵³ Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan*, 134–35.

⁵⁴ Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi erbai shisi' 和寒山子詩其二百十四 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 214], in *Puxuezhai congsbu*, vol. 2, book 26, 119; Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi erbai shisi', in 'He Hanshanzi shi (nianliu xu)' 和寒山子詩(廿六續) [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, Twenty-Sixth Supplement],

Hanshan's 'Hanshan shi qi erbai yishier' 寒山詩其二百一十二 [Hanshan Poems, no. 212]:

自從到此天台境	From when I arrived in this Tiantai realm
經今早度幾冬春	Until now, I've already lived several winters and springs.
山水不移人自老	The landscape never changes, but people do grow old;
見却多少後生人	and now I see quite a few people younger than me. ⁵⁵

Hu Pu'an's 'He Hanshanzi shi qi erbai shiwu' 和寒山子詩其二百十五 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 215]:

雨雪相交加	When the rain and snow whirl and tumble,
天寒不算寒	it is still not cold even when the weather is cold.
忍凍兼忍餓	But when one has to endure the cold and hunger,
身寒是真寒	which chill one's body, then it is really cold.
窮民無控告	With no complaints, the poor people
衣難食更難	are difficult to clothe and even feed.
街頭纍纍者	Thus, for the countless [homeless people] in the streets,
傷心不忍看	I feel grieved and cannot bear to look at them. ⁵⁶

Hanshan's 'Hanshan shi qi erbai yishisan' 寒山詩其二百一十三 [Hanshan Poems, no. 213]:

說食終不飽	You'll never be full just talking of food;
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Jueyouqing banyuekan 191–192 (1947): 10, in *MFQ*, vol. 89, 238.

⁵⁵ Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan*, 224–25.

⁵⁶ Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi erbai shiwu' 和寒山子詩其二百十五 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 215], in *Puxuezhai congshu*, vol. 2, book 26, 119; *idem*, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi erbai shiwu', in 'He Hanshanzi shi (nianliu xu)' 和寒山子詩(廿六續) [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, Twenty-Sixth Supplement], *Jueyouqing banyuekan* 191–192 (1947): 10, in *MFQ*, vol. 89, 238.

說衣不免寒	and talking of clothes won't keep off the cold.
飽喫須是飯	To eat your fill, you must have food;
著衣方免寒	and putting on clothes will keep off the cold.
不解審思量	But you don't know how to ponder this;
只道求佛難	you just say it's hard to search for the Buddha.
迴心即是佛	Return to the mind—that is the Buddha;
莫向外頭看	do not look for him without. ⁵⁷

Here, all three examples of Hu's poems centre on the livelihoods of the grassroots and impoverished, showing again his profound consideration for the disadvantaged groups of people in society. As for the corresponding Hanshan poems, they mainly deal with inspiration and Buddhist thought, but some social connections between these works are still noticeable, such as the inconstancy of human relations especially as they relate to the rich and the poor ('Hanshan Poem no. 124'). From this, the socio-political focus of Hu's matching poems compared to the Hanshan poems is still apparent, as he delivers his intellectual concern for the commoner's hardships and voices the inadequate governance capacity of those in power. Turning to individual works, in his matching poem no. 123 Hu first lists three social phenomena and implicitly condemns governing power itself for indirectly making people suffer. The condemned phenomena include food shortage in granaries (line 2), people struggling in hunger (line 4), and the stark contrast between the rich eastern neighbourhood which leaves its door wide open (line 5), as well as the poor western neighbourhood which has its door tightly locked (line 6). In particular, the eastern and western neighbourhoods likely do this to welcome and prevent guests respectively because of their different living conditions. Throughout the poem, Hu emphasises that the reason behind these social problems is firstly not due to natural disasters, as he states in the first line: the years are not terrible (年歲並不凶). Hu also believes that an overall lack of wealth is not the cause of these issues (line 3), but why does a famine-like condition still occur? Hu suggests in the last line

⁵⁷ Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan*, 224–25.

that there should be complex and unexplained reasons behind this situation. In fact, through to the poem, he most likely implies that all these people's misery from serious inequality of wealth and resources are instead man-made suffering and caused by improper policies. Elevating the poem to a political level, here, Hu may therefore point his finger at the governing bodies or authorities which lead to all the aforementioned consequences. What Hu refers to in this poem also echoes blame on the power structure and the concomitant corruptions that stem from connections between wealthy and powerful people, in the corresponding 'Hanshan Poem no. 124'.

Also composed in a realistic way, the other two consecutively written matching poems by Hu Pu'an (no. 214 and 215) depict the more severe living conditions of the poor during the cold winter. First, poem no. 214 is set on the first day of Spring (*lichun* 立春) in the Chinese lunisolar calendar, one of the major days during the Chinese New Year which is also a festive period for many people. The poem contrastingly focuses on the dead, starved bodies lying in the streets (line 4) in the cold and gloomy weather (line 1). This, of course, already invokes a pathetic and miserable feeling. But what further highlights the overall wretchedness of the whole scene regarding the dead bodies in the cold is that Hu indicates in the third line that it takes place in 'the prosperous city of Shanghai' (繁榮上海市), which again presents to the readers a very exposed and, at the same time, tragic social condition of a huge rich-poor disparity. Revealing deep-rooted social problems, this scene actually resembles the one depicted in the famous poetic lines written by Du Fu: 'Crimson gates reek with meat and ale, while on the streets are bones of the frozen dead' (朱門酒肉臭, 路有凍死骨).⁵⁸ For such a situation, Hu adopts a 'no-belief' (*buxin* 不信; line 3) attitude, which on the one hand proves his compassionate concern for the poor, and on the other hand criticises those in

⁵⁸ Du, 'Zi Jing fu Fengxian xian yonghuai wubai zi' 自京赴奉先縣詠懷五百字 [Going from the Capital to Fengxian County, Singing My Feelings in Five Hundred Words], in Du, *Dushi xiangzhu*, vol. 1, 270. I have followed Stephen Owen's translation here. See Owen, trans., *The Poetry of Du Fu*, vol. 1, 214–15.

power for neglecting the lives of ordinary people. Perhaps Hu is also condemning capitalism, which is arguably the main reason behind the stark contrast of livelihoods between the rich and the poor.

These situations and implications reappear in matching poem no. 215, as it describes the innumerable impoverished freezing and starving in the streets of stormy winter (lines 1 to 7). In the last line, Hu also expresses his compassion towards these homeless people, but the focus still falls on the fifth line which states that they have to live unsheltered ‘with no complaints’ (*wu konggao* 無控告). This is possibly due to the fact that their poor physical conditions cannot support them to complain as they have insufficient food and clothing, but on top of this, there may not be any channels for them to do so. In this regard, Hu thus tries to put the blame on those superiors who hold public office as they bear unshirkable responsibilities for all this suffering.

Corresponding to Hu Pu’an’s matching poems no. 214 and 215, the two Hanshan poems (no. 212 and 213) touch upon topics other than socio-political issues. They respectively discuss the passage of time, as Hanshanzi shares his feelings after he began his secluded life in the Tiantai Mountain and stresses the importance for one to surpass desires and turn to Buddhism by returning to one’s inner, genuine mind. In comparison, Hu composed his matching poems mostly to express his socio-political concerns and to directly address the social realities of his time. These works not only enable Hu to channel his sympathy for many of the less fortunate in society as he condemns the incompetence of those in power, but also allow more people, especially readers of Buddhist journals, to learn about the plight of the impoverished. This sympathy also enshrines Buddhism’s compassionate spirit of *cibei* 慈悲 (compassion), and thus can be considered as a connection to Buddhist connotations.

In addition to pieces in the form of reportage literature (*baogao wenxue* 報告文學), a genre of modern Chinese literature that attaches great importance to the realistic description of social situations, Hu Pu’an also wrote a number of poems that mainly voice his political thought and values in his matching poem collection. For instance, in poem no. 162, Hu concentrates his discussion on the ideas of rulership (*wangdao* 王道) and ‘people-as-root’ (*minben* 民本) governance which originated from ancient China:

Hu Pu'an's 'He Hanshanzi shi qi bai liushier' 和寒山子詩其百六十二 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 162]:

古時重民眾	In ancient times, people were valued,
歸往謂之王	and rulership is what the people follow.
所以王者心	That is why the minds of rulers
經營在四方	are set to work everywhere.
後世不如古	However, being inferior to the ancients, the later
	generations
顛倒變柔剛	overturn and change the [means of coupling]
	gentleness and strength.
威福擅生殺	As they become authorised with prestige and
	blessings, they occupy the stranglehold on one's
	life and death,
萬權集於王	and all power is concentrated in rulers' hands. ⁵⁹

Hanshan's 'Hanshan shi qi yibai liushi' 寒山詩其一百六十 [Hanshan Poems, no. 160]:

我今稽首禮	I now bow low in reverence
無上法中王	to the unsurpassed Prince of the Dharma.
慈悲大喜捨	Compassionate, delighted in surrendering all;
名稱滿十方	praise of his name fills the ten directions.
眾生作依怙	All living things depend on him;
智慧身金剛	all-wise, with a body of diamond.
頂禮無所著	I prostrate myself before the one without
	attachments;
我師大法王	I take the Great Dharma Prince as my teacher. ⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi bai liushier' 和寒山子詩其百六十二 [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, no. 162], in *Puxuezhai congshu*, vol. 2, book 26, 90; Hu, 'He Hanshanzi shi qi bai liushier', in 'He Hanshanzi shi (nianyi xu)' 和寒山子詩 (廿一續) [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, Twenty-First Supplement], *Jueyouqing banyuekan* 141–142 (1945): 7, in *MFQB*, vol. 62, 393.

⁶⁰ Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan*, 174–75.

While the corresponding Hanshan poem only contains religious content about paying reverence to the Buddha, making the poem a *gāthā*-like work, Hu's piece writes solely about the political theme of governance. Particularly, the three mentions of the character *wang* 王 (rulers) in the poem prove that rulership is the core concept under discussion. Intercorrelated with rulership, Hu also wants to bring out another core concept through the poem—the 'people-as-root' governance philosophy, which benefits the people themselves as the ultimate standard of governance that determines the legitimacy of rulers. In other words, it is the people, instead of rulers, that are the most fundamental and crucial actors in a nation. This *minben* concept is also in line with Hu's emphasis on the socio-political context as exemplified by the pieces analysed above. To emphasise his argument that people-based rulership and governance in ancient China largely ceased to exist in the later periods of Chinese history, especially in modern times, Hu compares and contrasts the modes of political governance and the use of power by the authorities of ancient and modern China as a whole. Hu's poem can be divided into two main parts. The first part, with the first four lines, points out that many ancient rulers put people's well-being first (line 1). As a result, people will be naturally loyal to the rulers (line 2), such that these rulers' minds are always connected with people all around their countries (lines 3 and 4). Here, as Hu introduces and provides the basic definition of rulership in ancient China in the second line, he alludes to the line 'the rulership is what the people follow' (其曰王者, 民之所歸往也).⁶¹ First appearing in the section 'Zhuanggong sannian' 莊公三年 [Third Year of Lord Zhuang of the State of Lu] of the *Chunqiu Guliang zhuan* 春秋穀梁傳 [The Guliang Commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*], one of the ancient Confucian classics, this reference shows that Hu's poem is still based on Confucianism. The *minben* idea was also propagated and enshrined in another Confucian canon, *Mengzi* 孟子 [(The Writings of) Master Meng]: 'The people are of greatest importance, the altars of the soil

⁶¹ Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, ed., *Chunqiu Guliang zhuan zhushu*, 79.

and grain are next, and the ruler is of least importance' (民為貴, 社稷次之, 君為輕).⁶² Hu's poem stresses and even praises this key Confucian idea of 'people-as-root' governance that exerted a profound impact on Chinese politics.

The second half of Hu Pu'an's matching poem turns to argue that compared to the ancient rulers, the governance ability of many rulers of later generations in Chinese history has become worse (line 5), as they were less and less concerned with the interests of the people. Instead of caring about people's livelihoods and performing practical deeds for them, later rulers became more and more domineering. They took control over people as they implemented severe punishments and abandoned the appropriately balanced means of governance that 'couple strength and gentleness' (*gangrou bingji* 剛柔並濟) (lines 6 and 7). The form of government of many later dynasties and sovereigns of China has thus been turned from 'people-as-root' into a 'ruler-as-root' (line 8), which is similar to an authoritarian or even autocratic political system in modern terms. Here, Hu also refers to the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China 中華民國國民政府, based on the context of his matching poem collection. This can be linked to his previous political participation in serving the Nationalist Government. Being consistent with Hu's Confucian mindset, the poem implies that the Confucian-based way of ruling and governing people that centres on the people themselves is the ideal form of rulership and governance, while opposing authoritarian rule.

Although appearing less frequently than in Hu Pu'an's matching poem collection, the *minben* ideology can be found in Hanshan poems too, such as in the first two lines of no. 225: 'The state takes its people as its root, just as a tree relies on the soil' (國以人為本, 猶如樹因地).⁶³ In the literary works of the Tang period we see that there were also calls for people-based governance. Yet, the *minben* concept is different from the idea of democracy (*minzhu* 民主) through

⁶² Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, ed., *Mengzi zhushu*, 456. I have followed the translation by Irene Bloom here. See Bloom, trans., *Mencius*, 159.

⁶³ Rouzer, trans., *The Poetry of Hanshan*, 236–37.

which the people possess the direct or indirect equal authority to make decisions on formulating public policies and legislation. Unlike a democratic system in which political policies can be largely decided bottom-up by the people, a people-as-root system still relies on the top-down initiative of the rulers in power. Both systems regard the well-being of people's livelihoods as the prerequisite for a well-developed state. But for the ideological context of a people-as-root system, this prerequisite depends on another more essential prerequisite: the goodwill of the rulers themselves. In fact, in modern terms, the polity envisioned in Hu's poem is more similar to the so-called 'enlightened autocracy' (*kaiming zhuanzhi* 開明專制) that was once put forward by Liang Qichao in the 1900s as a transitional form of Chinese constitutional government.⁶⁴ It defends that as long as rulers act in an open and impartial way for the overall interests of the people, the nation can still run with a lawful and orderly political system. Still, based on the overall inclination of Hu's matching poem collection toward caring for people's living conditions, Hu's articulations of such a 'people-as-root' idea and the accompanying criticism of political leaders were still in line with the ideology of progressive intellectuals of his time. They all highly valued the well-being of the people and society as a whole. These thoughts of progressive intellectuals can also be attributed to the incorporation of many of Hu's political views in his matching poems that were also influenced by his own social and political participation.

The selection of 'matching Hanshan' poems discussed above that are written with socio-political themes, show that Hu Pu'an's works paid keen attention to Chinese society and politics, just like many Hanshan poems. Both Hanshan poems and Hu's works were written in an easy-to-understand way and were deeply concerned with people's livelihoods and the well-being of the society as a whole. More importantly, they also tried to influence readers by expounding different philosophical and socio-political values and principles. Although

⁶⁴ Liang, 'Kaiming zhuanzhi lun' 開明專制論 [On Enlightened Autocracy], in *Yinbingshi wenji zhi shiqi* 飲冰室文集之十七 [Collected Essays from the Icedrinker's Studio, no. 17], 20–23, in *Yinbingshi beji*, vol. 2.

most of his works were composed from a Confucian perspective, the sympathy and compassion Hu expressed for disadvantaged groups of people in society in particular echo the Buddhist compassionate spirit of *cibei*. This feature is evident in many of Hu's poems when he writes directly about the plight of the poor and the seriousness of income inequality. Hu also took the opportunity to deliver his disapproval towards those in power for their inability to alleviate the social problems or even to care about those in need. Additionally, Hu also voices his resentment at the decline of the overall morality of people in modern China, and attempts to visualise the Confucian utopia of Great Union in his works in the wake of the aforementioned socio-political issues. The composition of all these poems, some of which include narratives and take up a similar form of reportage literature, is certainly related to Hu's own political stances and values. But it is also believed to be linked to his long-time work in the news industry and his acute observation of current affairs. Therefore, compared to Hanshan poems, which connect to worldly affairs and were written in a secluded environment, Hu's 'matching Hanshan' poems raise realistic concerns for social realities of Republican China in a relatively more considerate manner. Even though Hu was already in his sickbed when he wrote his matching poems, at least they were written after he had obtained years of experiences in social and political circles and witnessed the various political changes in the late Qing and Republican periods. With such a genuine consideration for society and people's livelihood to an extent not less than that of Hanshan, it would thus not be an exaggeration to regard Hu as the Hanshanzi of his time.

Conclusion

To sum up, consistent with his lifelong political mindset and behaviour, Hu Pu'an demonstrated his humanistic concerns for the social and political conditions of the Republican period through his 'matching Hanshan' poems. Compared to Hanshan poems, these concerns are more profoundly expressed and deal with a broader thematic scope. To present social reality in a more realistic way, some of Hu's matching poems with socio-political themes use narratives that

not only involve different types of people in society, but also criticise the incompetence of the governing power. While most of his works view these issues from the perspective of a traditional Confucian scholar, Hu's poems on social and political issues seem to have taken on the trappings of Buddhism. Still, it is clear that Hu composed his matching poems on the basis of a combination of secluded life imageries and popular language in Hanshan poems, but he focused further on sympathising and raising people's awareness of the issues faced by the public. Hu also sought to enlighten others by publishing his matching poems on Republican-period Buddhist periodicals, to an extent beyond what was addressed in terms of socio-political themes in Hanshan poems.

Actually, Hu Pu'an's concern towards humanity as a whole was maintained even until the last moments of his life, as proven in what is believed to be the very last poem he ever wrote:

吾病難將醫藥療	My illness is difficult to treat with medicine,
眾生皆病熱增高	as all sentient beings are sick and further increase my fever.
惟有精神能主宰	As only one's spirit can dominate,
要知物質太無聊	one has to understand that material things are too frivolous.
我心定處人難曉	But while the stable place of my mind is hard to be known by others,
羣惑深時理亦淆	when the people are deeply puzzled, the principles also become confused
觀澈真空常靜穆	When one[']s mind] becomes always tranquil and calm for penetratingly observing the true insubstantiality [of things],
死生都是往來潮	it is then known that life and death are, after all, tides back and forth. ⁶⁵

⁶⁵ 'Fu Pu'an xiansheng zuihou yizuo' 附樸安先生最後遺作 [Appendix: The Final Work before Mr. Hu Pu'an's Death], in 'He Hanshanzi shi (nianliu xu)' 和寒山子詩(廿六續) [The 'Matching Hanshanzi' Poems, Twenty-Six Supplement], *Jueyouqing banyuekan* 191–192 (1947): 10, in *MFQ*, vol. 89, 238.

Written by Hu two weeks before his death, this heptasyllabic piece was included in an appendix of his serialised ‘matching Hanshan’ poems that were published in a 1947 edition of the *Jueyouqing* semi-monthly. This poem comes with a brief preface by an editor of the *Jueyouqing* that introduces Hu’s devotion to Buddhism in the last years of his life when he was afflicted by illness. The preface describes the poem itself as an embodiment of his Buddhist insights on life and spirituality. Throughout the poem, Hu indeed writes of his thorough realisation, or the ‘seeing through’ (*kanpo* 看破 or *kantou* 看透), of the issue of life and death as a process of transition that goes back and forth just like tides (line 8). In particular, while on his sickbed, he states that one’s spirit, instead of material things, is something that truly masters one’s mind and soul (lines 3 and 4). Such a realisation thus also enables him to attain a ‘tranquil and calm’ (*jingmu* 靜穆) state of mind (line 7), as he can finally see through the ‘true insubstantiality’ (*zhenkong* 真空) of worldly matters, an essential Buddhist concept. But more importantly, even in this peaceful state of mind as Hu knew that he was about to die, he actually still pays attention to the fact that ‘all sentient beings are sick’ (*zhongsheng jiebing* 眾生皆病; line 2). It is believed that this expression includes the phenomenon that people’s minds and souls are being controlled by material life rather than their own spiritual enlightenment. This phenomenon was once criticised by late Qing and Republican Chinese philosophers. For instance, Liang Qichao and Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 (1893–1988) emphasised that only happiness based on a subjective spiritual life is genuine from a Confucian position of valuing spiritual well-being over materialistic pursuits.⁶⁶ There are, of course, many poems about life and death in Hu’s

⁶⁶ Relevant works that have brought out this viewpoint include: Liang Qichao, ‘Yanjiu wenhuashi de jige zhongyao wenti’ 研究文化史的幾個重要問題 [A Few Important Issues in the Study of Cultural History], in *Yinbingshi wenji zhi sishi* 飲冰室文集之四十 [Collected Essays from the Icedrinker’s Studio, no. 40], 1–7, in *Yinbingshi heji*, vol. 3; and Liang Shuming, ‘Heli de rensheng taidu’ 合理的人生態度 [Reasonable Life Attitudes], in *Liang Shuming quanji*, vol. 4, 687–91.

‘matching poem’ collection, but based on the fact that this was his last piece of literary work in which he still cares about the spiritual life of others, it is evident that Hu was concerned with the well-being of the public and even humankind as a whole throughout his life. This feature is in line with his relevant concerns as exemplified in the many matching poems on socio-political themes analysed above.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

- MFQ* *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成. See Secondary Sources, Huang et al., comps., *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng*.
- MFQB* *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng bubian* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成. 補編. See Secondary Sources, Huang et al., comps., *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng bubian*.

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