A Transitional Concept of Chinese Literature 1897-1917

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao on Poetry-Reform, Historical Drama and the Political Novel

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A Representative Agent

China's modern literature grew out of the premisses laid down by the Literary Revolution, starting with Hu Shih's and Ch'en Tu-hsiu's theoretical statements in the Peking New Youth (Hsin-ch'ing-nien) of January 1917. Even though the pioneers of this deep transformation have alluded to the vital influences they received from predecessors bent in a more haphazard way on change and innovation, this preparatory phase has remained relatively unexplored and summarily interpreted, if only because of more effectively contrasting the later development against the late Ch'ing scene. A possible approach towards understanding the complex transformation which occurred is an analysis of changing attitudes in the whole concept of literature as the history of literary criticism pursues.

Chinese historical writing in this field has so far stopped short of an extended description reaching beyond the last statements of traditional attitudes. The discussion of the period, which left the colourless and repetitious Ch'ing scene with its erudite niceties and technical trifles for a concededly crude restatement of basic problems, is scattered in single unsystematic pronouncements. There have been several attempts for periodization of the preparatory stage. Kuo Shao-yü closes his revised history with the Opium War projecting a first period from 1840 to 1911 and a second up to 1949 for the future description of development in criticism. The editors of a recent anthology of criticism give a similar political scheme, dividing three stages from 1840 to the Reform Movement, from 1896 until the revolution, and from 1911 to the May Forth Movement of 1919. As the revolution is not a real turning point in literature, it seems adequate to concentrate on a period of roughly the two decades between 1897 and 1917 for analysing the direct precursors of the Literary Revolution and the first notions of a new literary criticism.

Huang Tsun-hsien has usually been singled out as representative of the changing concept in poetry, whereas Lin Shu with his remarkable record of more than 150 translations stands for finding a first answer towards an assimilation of foreign literary traditions and the technical problems involved. Because of his delicacy and insight Wang Kuo-wei became China's first modern critic introducing Western evaluative concepts and reassessing the history of drama, but Liang Ch'í-ch'ao (1873—1929) has in a way equally influenced the entire contemporary scene. His attitudes can on the whole be called representative of these two decades; he has an original or at least pronounced statement on the language problem and on the genres of poetry, theater and novel at a comparatively early time, statements which proved
to have a provocatively influential grip on the young generation. Beside his critical activities he has tried his hand at all the genres and furthermore made a partial attempt at reevaluation of traditional literary history. Giving an expository survey of the development and evolution of Liang's literary concepts we have to ask, to which of his ideas can there be attributed such a representative character; for they have to be separated from those of mere personal significance. We may then try to reach a conclusion about his contribution towards Chinese and general literary criticism.

"The twenty years of my life have been an entirely political life . . . " Liang stated in retrospect in 1915. No matter how significant his influence on the literary scene may have proved, one always has to bear in mind that literary activities are of minor importance in his biography. Even in the period devoted to more scholarly work, at the end of his life, Liang never concentrated exclusively on literature or thought of himself as a literary critic. His novel, the plays and translations have all remained torso; the critical and historical writings were jotted down in haste and left unfinished. As a rule he wrote on these subjects only in moments of leisure or when illness left him no other choice. Judging the impact of foreign literature on Liang's thinking and his understanding of Western literary concepts it suffices to inquire about the author's education and knowledge of foreign languages. Liang got a fairly traditional training in the classics from his father and grandfather; he took the *hsiu-ts'ai* degree at twelve and the *chü-jen* at seventeen. In the circle of K'ang Yu-wei, who knew no foreign languages at all, Liang found himself again deeply involved in classical scholarship. At different times in his life he made repeated efforts to learn English, Latin, French and German but apparently without much success, certainly not enabling him to read foreign books without an intermediary.

The language opening up for him a new horizon was Japanese, which he seems to have mastered in the years of exile in Japan after 1898. Only through the books of Meiji Japan did he get access to the West. This accounts for the vagueness of reference to Western poets and theories; a few passages with more detailed information as those on Russian literature may with certainty said to be copied en bloc from other secondary sources. Even though Liang's knowledge was derived from Chinese and Japanese translations only, he remained however extraordinarily susceptible to new ideas brought to his notice through direct personal contacts; the relation to Ting Wen-chiang which definitely stimulated his writings, may be interpreted in this light.

**The New Style**

The study of literary groups as a convenient way of analysing main currents in literary criticism reveals a distinct feature of the Chinese historical development. Four of the most important groups, being organisations with political ambitions at the same time, were basically concerned with the question of language; their endeavour for reform was not limited to the literary idiom, it embraced the problem of the written language as such. These Old Style Movements (*ku-wen*), which sought reform of the beautiful
but increasingly difficult and unsuited tool of sophisticated parallel-style or its off-springs, the Four-six Style (szu-liu-t‘i) and the Eightlegged Essay (pa-ku-wen) of the Ch‘ing, were not bent on closing the gap between written and spoken language. They wanted to find the way back to a flexible, clear style by imitation of the ancients. These groups, around Han Yu, Ou-yang Hsiu in the T‘ang and Sung, Li Tung-yang, Li Meng-yang under the Ming and Fang Pao, Yao Nai during the Mandschu dynasty, differed only in their demand for direct imitation of the Han-style or the imitation of the imitators, the Eight Great Masters of T‘ang and Sung as they were to become called.

Liang Ch‘i-ch‘ao was at the early age of twelve educated from the main anthology of the Ch‘ing school ku-wen, and the Old Style became one basis of his writing. But in search of a more easily understandable idiom, which could be used to influence a broader circle of readers, Liang became soon dissatisfied with the restrictions of the current prose style. A deep if not very systematic concern for the problem of a future written language permeates his writings. In the fragmentary novel The Future of New China (Hsin-chung-kuo wei-lai-chi), one of the statutes of the Constitutional Government Party is language reform. Concerned with statistics which estimated Chinese literacy as barely 20% in comparison with more than 80% for Meiji Japan and 96–97% in Germany and the United States, he considered at one time the desirability of adapting a phonetic transcription to complement the use of characters. He insisted on the importance of the vernacular pai-hua for mass education, as classical wen-yen cannot compare with the colloquial idiom, and returned finally to wen-yen in his own translations because of its exactness and brevity.

With an eye on the broadening circle of people reading his periodicals Liang decided personally in favour of a more simple, easy flowing variant of the ku-wen style. His first daily, the International News (Chung-wai kung-pao), an organ of K‘ang Yu-wei’s society Ch‘iang-hsüeh-hui edited in Peking for a short time, had already drawn the attention of people like Huang Tsun-hsien, choosing between Chang Ping-lin’s more erudite style and Liang’s new experiment, Huang decided for Liang as main editor of the Chinese Progress (Shih-wu-pao) which was to make Liang famous and his style known in the whole country. Liang introduced a kind of rough punctuation. While the first numbers of the Progress used no segmentation whatsoever as in traditional ku-wen, the trimonthly began to mark coherent periods with simple full stops, forerunner of the later adopted Westernized punctuation system. Years later the author gave an evaluation of his own creation, the New Style (hsin-wen-t‘i):

... from that time Ch‘i-ch‘ao again switched and made propagating his profession; periodicals as the New People’s Magazine and the New Novel he instilled with his aims, and everybody read them eagerly with delight. Although the Ch‘ing court prohibited them severely, it could not succeed in suppressing them; of every volume there were several dozen reprints in the interior. The intellectuals’ thought was deeply influenced by them throughout the last twenty years. At an early time already he disliked the Old Style of the T‘ung-ch‘eng group; in the
writing of his youth he drew upon the late Han-, Wei- and Chin-style, esteeming serious refinement highly. When he had learned to free himself he strove for easy simplicity and candid clearness, at times inserting common expressions and rhymed words or using even foreign sentence structure. Whatever his relaxed brush aimed at flowed out without restraint. Scholars imitated this eagerly so that it came to be called the New Style. The old gentlemen hated this deeply and cursed him a wild fox, but his writings showed consequence and lucidity. The point of his brush was often carried away with emotion which had a special kind of fascination for the reader.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao thus originated a change in the entire written language. In comparison with late pai-hua, however, his New People's Style remains strongly rhetorical, making full use of parallelism for the sentence rhythm; abundant comparions, metaphorical language and a certain amount of allusions were not completely abolished at that time.

The importance of the New Style was as early as 1917 recognized by the representatives of the pai-hua movement. Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung, coeditor of the New Youth, in a letter to Ch'en Tu-hsiu, called Liang "one of the creators of the new literature" and praised his influential style, pointing out the Japanese elements in it and criticizing that Liang "could not completely leave the path of the Eight-legged Essay." Hu Shih in his reinterpretation of the fifty years preceding the Literary Revolution gave as reason for the attractiveness of Liang's style his negligence of all the restraining rules of the former ku-wen; he praised the author's tense, logical arrangement even of longer essays, which made it easy to follow the argument. First attempts at literary history as well insisted on Liang's importance in finding a style which could be adapted to the necessities of the time introducing new ideas and terms. Chou Tso-jen in his lectures at Peking University on the Origins of China's New Literature (Chung-kuo-hsin-wen-hsüeh-ti-yüan-liu) and Ch'en Tzu-chan in his historical survey depict him correctly as a forerunner of the Literary Revolution calling his style "a bridge between ku-wen and pai-hua."

**Revolution of Fiction and the Political Novel**

One center of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's ideas on reform, which he serialized during 1896 in the Chinese Progress is his discussion of educational problems. The future of the examination system, school administration, training of teachers, female education and especially the instruction of children were examined in detail. Liang advocates the compilation of new textbooks for secondary school in seven fields as a first step towards an effective modern education. Beside textbooks, teaching a limited number of about 2000 important characters, works on grammars, compilation of songs, or rhymed texts as mnemotechnical devices, beside modernized versions of the traditional 'question-answer' variety, he lays special emphasis on 'Narrative Books', larger introductory bibliographies, dictionaries, and encyclopedias. Shuo-pu-shu are envisaged here as new novels in the vernacular providing the
disciples with an easy introduction to a wide range of knowledge and arousing their curiosity for own reading experiences:

The writings of the Ancients conformed to their spoken language, the writings of present authors are far away from it. The advantages and disadvantages thereof I want to explain now in detail: For speaking everybody uses nowadays the present vernacular; writing something down however one is compelled to imitate the ancient language. Among women, children and peasants there is therefore nobody who does not consider reading books a complicated affair, and novels like the Water Margin (Shui-hu), the Three Kingdoms (San-kuo), or the Dream of the Red Chamber (Hung-lou) have on the contrary more readers than the Six classics (Westerners living in China read also mostly the novel of the Three Kingdoms because it is easier to understand). As a matter of fact, the hsiao-shuo genre was included among the Nine Categories by the Han Annals, the ancient scholars therefore did not yet despise them. In the discursive yu-lu style of the Sung worthies the paper is filled with vernacular expressions, they did not solely refrain from concentration on ornate style, a certain deeper meaning was also to be found in it. The Japanese have invented their 1-Ro-Ha system of 46 sounds, with hiragana and katakana they noted down their local language as an aid beside the Chinese text. Consequently there are more and more people who know the characters and read books or newspapers.

At present we may not be able to do that, but we should concentrate on using the colloquial language; if for writing books both sound and characters conform, there will be more who are able to understand, and readers should as well become more numerous. Since later scholars concentrated on ornate style and abandoned substantial study, nobody agreed to defile himself or to lower his aspiration by such playful writings. Because of that only people with small talent turned out such books for fun and without any restrain, which do not get away from 'teaching robbery and teaching lust' 1. If thus the rottenness of customs in the whole country has its origins herein, and nobody takes any notice — that's not a trifle matter. Today we must concentrate on using common language, writing a broad range of books which will propagate the teachings of the sages, relate historical facts, rouse consciousness for the shameful situation of our country, and have a certain impact on the common way of feeling. Even the rotten conduct of the officialdom, the evil tendencies of the examination system, the perverse craving for opium, the cruel punishment of footbinding, this all can radically be changed. How could their additional help be measured for shattering badly the decayed customs! 2

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao gives even a tentative schedual of the normal daily eight-hour routine in a future school for children between eight and twelve years, which reflects the importance he attributes to hsiao-shuo: "At four o'clock the lessons of shuo-pu-shu (I mean newly compiled ones). The teacher explains. There should be no limitations in number; if the pupils want to browse through other books, they should also be allowed to. At five o'clock
end of the lessons, teacher and pupils sing together a patriotic song; afterwards everybody goes home. The problem of developing a new vehicle of expression finds thus a rather conventional solution which his teacher K'ang Yu-wei had already emphasized. The vernacular novel becomes a helpful additional means of education children and the broad masses, a now consciously applied instrument of vulgarization.

In 1897 the author elaborates further in the same vains: "Western textbooks are most comprehensive and quite a lot of them are based on amusing novels. Therefore the Reform-Movement of Japan relied on the force of rustic songs and novels; indeed, for amusing young boys and guiding the common people there exists nothing better than that. If this is the case for other countries, how much more for our Chinese people, as six in ten do not know characters, and three in four know characters only, but do not understand the grammatical structure. Therefore education in secondary school and education of the common people is really nowadays our first duty for saving China." Now the purpose of education has become more specified and the political motivation apparent. This notion gains additional weight finally culminating in the slogan of the "Political Novel" (cheng-chih-hsiao-shuo). In 1898 Liang Chi-ch'ao begins the translation of the Strange Adventures (Chia-jen chih chi-i-yü) which was serialized during 1902 in the China Discussion (Ch'ing-yi-pao) with a generalizing preface explaining his new concept:

In former Europe, at the beginning of the modern transformation in every country, leading intellectuals and broad scholars, virtuous personalities and men of ambition inevitably used the experience of their own life, the feelings in their bosom, and projected their political convictions into novels. Afterwards eager students of these countries read them and discussed them in their spare time. Down to the soldier, merchant, peasant, artisan, cabman and hostler, down to women and small children, there was nobody who did not read them and discuss them. Everytime when a book was published, opinions in the whole country changed immediately in consequence. Causing the daily progress in politics of countries as America, England, Germany, France, Austria, Italy and Japan, the Political Novel has the highest merits. A certain famous Englishman has said: "The novel is the soul of the people." How could it be else, how could it be else?

Liang is fascinated by the prospect of literary translations and new Chinese creations in the field of the political novel. It stimulated the formulation of his new credo 'On the Relation between Novels and the Guiding of the Masses' in October 1902. This essay, which attracted more attention than any similar statement by other authors of the time and has since become an obligatory anthology piece in high-school textbooks, may be quoted here in more detail. It is a good example of the pompously rhetorical style of Liang's early prose.

If we want to renew the people of the whole country, we cannot but renew first the novel of the whole country. If we therefore want to renew Morales, there must be a renewal of the novel; if we want to
renew religion there must be a renewal of the novel; if we want to renew politics, there must be a renewal of the novel; if we want to renew customs, there must be a renewal of the novel; indeed, if we want to renew the very human conscience, if we want to renew human character, there must be a renewal of the novel. What is the reason? Because the novel has an unimaginable force for guiding human nature (tao) . . .

Thus no matter which kind of writings, they all possess the power to change man. Among all types of literature however, capable of exploring the utmost of its wonders and revealing imagination in its technique, there is none comparable to the novel. Therefore I say: The novel is the real culmination of literature.

This is indeed a radical reversion in the history of Chinese literature, as the traditional novel and short story had been a despised genre quite outside the realm of true creative writing. With his quick grasp for the really important problems of the day Liang Ch'i-ch'ao formulated the imminent inclusion of the novel in the genre table as if foreseeing the importance and even dominance the hsiao-shuo was to reach under the Republic.

The essay tries to give a rationalization of the secret powers of influence which the author attributed to the prose genre; it draws inspiration for its argument from Buddhism which had an interim attraction for many of the reformers as an alternative to the traditional Confucian outlook. The first moving force, explained in terms of the Lankavatara Sutra, is smoke-screening (hsün). The novel has the power to veil and unperceivedly remodel a man in a slow process of repeated penetration. The second force, conceived as operating in time, whereas the first acted in space, is soaking (chin). Liang describes with this term the effect of a novel's impression in the reader's mind long after he has finished reading it. This process is likened to the Buddha's promulgating of the Hua-yen Sutra. Whereas the effect of smoke-screening and soaking is slow and unnoticeable, the third force, piercing (t'ü), produces instantaneous understanding, comparable to the Zen goal of sudden enlightenment. As the fourth power the author lists forwarding (t'i). The first three defined an effect on the heart, forwarding originates inside and directs itself towards the outside. Liang describes here the power of sympathetic identification which brings about a merging of reader and main character for the time of the reading experience. We are reminded of Wordsworth's and Hazlitt's theory, or descriptions of empathy and Einfühlung. For intrusion of ideas and feeling, prolonged duration of this influence, a lofty, revelation-like experience and the power of identification Liang uses a fanciful terminology conceived in a fit and abandoned without consequences. He adds a moralistic dimension as these powers theoretically can be used for both good and evil. The essay ends in exposing the evil side of the Chinese novel in a historical perspective. This passage elucidates Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's attitude towards the traditional novel, which is condemned without much distinction. Liang exposes the "roots of rotteness in the Chinese masses":

Where do our Chinese ideas of 'successful graduate and chancellor' stem from? It's the novel. Where do our Chinese ideas of 'the beauty
and the scholar' stem from? It's the novel. Where do our Chinese ideas of 'tramp and brigand' stem from? It's the novel. Where do our Chinese ideas of 'witch and fox-spirit' stem from? It's the novel. Creating this situation there have been before no men who 'took (their pupils) by the ears' and taught them, who 'handed down the alms-bowl (to their disciples) transmitting such ideas? Butchers, cooks, pedlars, soldiers, old hags and girls, boys and small children at the bottom, important personalities, gentlemen, high talents and broad scholars at the top, they all indulge at least in one of these ideas. In case they have not yet been influenced, it's quite the same as becoming affected by (the novels), because these hundred odd novels have the force to poison people directly and indirectly. Today our people is deceived by geomancy, deceived by such practices of fortunetelling as physiognomy and the drawing of stalks, deceived by the prayers. Because of the feng-shui customs they oppose railways and the opening of mines. Because of the struggle about the site of graves, whole families take up weapons for strife and kill people like straw. Because of festivals and processions for the spirits, they annually squander millions, waste their time, get into trouble and decimate the country's resources. I say, the reason for all this is the novel.

Today our people admires the governmental examinations fervently. They struggle for official position like mad. Slave faces they have and the knees of servants, they are without much modesty and sense of shame. With their 'ten years of study by the light of fireflies or the snow', with their bribery from morning until the night, they only think of returning home to show off in the presence of their wife and concubine. They want to decide upon everything by force in their native place, and thus enjoy their days. They pursue this life even until their good name and reputation are utterly wiped out. I say, the reason for this is only the novel.

Today our people easily brush away sincerity and faith. They engage in intrigues and treachery; everything may change and be overturned like cloud and rain. Harsh behaviour and coolness dominate, and this goes so far that everybody indulges in scheming, that the whole country gets onto a thorny path. I say, the reason for all this the novel.

Today our people has become superficial and inclines to idleness. They plunge into amusements and are torn by their liaisons and bed affairs; inextricably they struggle with fun and sorrow, admiring 'flowers in springtime and the moon in autumn', thus crushing their youthful, vivacious spirit. Young men between fifteen and thirty years of age busy themselves exclusively with much passion, much sentiment, much sorrow and much illness. They have a lot of romantic sentiments but lack serious ambitions. In its exaggeration this ends in offences against the customs and destruction of morality, as such behaviour spreads it's poison over the whole society: I say the reason for all this is the novel.

Today there are 'heroes of the green woods' among our people every-
where. Daily somebody 'swears brotherhood in the peachgarden', in every place is formed 'an alliance of the Liang-Mountain'. 'A big bowl of wine, a big piece of meat, weighing gold and silver divided on the scales, putting on clothes from a heap'\(^{10}\), as it goes — such ideas fill the minds of the lower classes and produce afterwards secret societies as Old Brother or Big Knife. Finally they end in rebellions such as the Boxer Uprising, which resulted in the loss of the capital and attracted the foreign hordes: I say, the reason for this only the novel.

Alas! Dragging down the masses, the novel has gone so far, has gone so far . . . If we therefore today want to reach any improvement in guiding the masses, we must begin with a renewal of the novel\(^{11}\).

As other crude theoreticians Liang Ch'i-ch'ao is not inclined or not yet capable of drawing a distinction between didacticism and aesthetic justification, between art and reality in his evaluation of the newly acknowledged genre. All verbosity moreover cannot conceal a confusing of cause and effect, a gross exaggeration of the influence he imputes to the traditional novel.

To what extent did Liang Ch'i-ch'ao succeed in realizing his two concepts — the revolution of the novel and a new political fiction? In his youth he had been struck by the potential prospects of periodicals for China. His own plans drew their inspiration from earlier magazines edited by foreigners residing in China, such as Timothy Richard, whose secretary he had been for a short time. Reform-minded Chinese like Wang T'ao or Yen Fu, publishing the Hsün-huan Daily and the National News\(^{12}\) furnished other models in this field as well as popular Japanese ventures like the People's News (Kokuminshimbun). The number of periodicals Liang founded himself amount to a total of nine for his entire career\(^{13}\). They made him the most important figure in the only three decades old history of the Chinese periodical press. The literary side of his journalistic activity remained however a subordinate aspect of his political aims. The Chinese Progress had not yet carried a literary section; beginning with the Yokohama China Discussion (1898—1901) and the New People's Magazine (1902—07) all the other serial publications had regular contributions which covered biographies, poetry, criticism and essays of the shih-hua type beside the new novel and the translations of foreign works.

The monthly New Novel which Liang edited from 1902 to 1905, has been called China's first exclusively literary magazine. It's declared aim was to educate the political conscience of the population and to inspire patriotism, using the language of the novelist. The journal, which carried in it's first number the programmatic essay 'On the Relation of Novels and the Guiding of the Masses' seems to have been very popular in the beginning. Huang Tsun-hsien rated it even above the New People's Magazine, appreciating especially this essay, the Last Days of the World, (Shih-chieh-mo-fih chi) and The Future of New China\(^{14}\). The New Novel was to last only for such a short time because the readers became increasingly annoyed with its irregular appearance. Besides Liang allowed too many serial novels to be included with too short sections each\(^{15}\). In the magazine were serialized
novels like Wu Wo-yao’s *Strange Scene of Two Decades* (*Erh-shih-nien-mu-tu-chih-kuai-hsien-chuang*), *A Painful History* (*t’ung-shih*) and the short detective novel *Nine Lives* (*Chiu-ming ch’i-yüan*), all of them going through many separate editions thereafter. More important than its actual content however was probably the exemplary effect it had as the first venture of this kind in China. Only one year later appeared the *Illustrated Novel* (*Hsiu-hsiang hsiao-shuo*), 1906 the *Monthly Novel* (*Yüeh-yüeh hsiao-shuo*) and 1907 the *Novel Forrest* (*Hsiao-shuo-lin*). Liang’s essay influenced similar programmatic statements in these journals down to the actual wording of their titles.

The magazine carried in its first number Liang Ch’i-ch’ao’s only creative attempt, the novel *Future of New China* which remained unfinished as usual. The plan for this political confession goes back five years to 1897. The author comments on the strange form of this experiment:

> For this number I have at the moment completed only two, three chapters. Reading them again, they look like narrative books, but are not narratives, they look like ‘petty history’ but are not petty history, they look like a dissertation but are not a dissertation. I really don’t know what kind of literature they have become. The more I look at them the more they seem ridiculous to me. But if one intends to express his political convictions and to discuss the affairs of the nation, the form will naturally be slightly different from the usual narrative books. In the text are unavoidably inserted much legal documents, speeches and dissertations which follow each other uninterruptedly. They may be shockingly dull; I know there is no hope to satisfy the reader. I will repay him therefore with other things of better taste in this magazine. Those who do not like politicking, may use these chapters then for ‘covering up jars’.

Liang has pointed out that this novel is at least partially a *roman a cle*, mixing reality with personalized hopes for a meaningful future. As the first president Lo Tsai-t’ien is portrayed emperor Kuang-hsi. The second one, Huang K’o-ch’i’ang, seems to carry autobiographical traits, as well as Huang’s antipode Li Ch’ü-ping. The novel describes the fiftieth anniversary of Democratic Great China in the year 1962. On this occasion the descendant of Confucius Dr. K’ung Hung-tao, former vice-minister of education and now at 76 years in charge of the Society of Education, delivers a speech to an international audience. He recapitulates the years proceeding the actual founding of Great China. The lengthy discussion between Huang K’o-ch’i’ang and Li Ch’ü-ping about the possibilities of reform take an important place in his description. The first, an Oxford-returned student, argues in favor of a gradual peaceful solution while Li turns out to be an enthusiastic follower of the French revolution, influenced by his years of study in Paris. Both appear to give one side of Liang’s thinking, the theory of the reformer being depicted as the actual solution which leads to the present rise of China. In his speech K’ung points to Huang’s bronze-statue behind him as the actual founder of the state in which the enlightened emperor became the first president.
In spite of the fragmentary character we can make a guess at the original plan of the novel which Liang intended to finish "after many years". In the first chapter of this novel published in 1902, he outlines six parts: A preparative period until the secession of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's native province Kuang-tung, a period of independent southern provinces until the summoning of the first National Assembly, a time of unification under president Lo and Huang, a fourth period of prosperity until the fifth term of the presidency, a fifth time of 'foreign competition', from a Chinese-Russian war (ending no doubt with a Chinese victory) to the founding of an All-Asia Federation, and a concluding sixth period of a 'Great Flight Forward' until the present.

Only the first two chapters can be called a stimulating start. The discussion about revolution and reform goes completely out of hand and breaks up the speech of old K'ung. It becomes quite obvious that Liang, preoccupied as he was with political ideas, gave no thought whatsoever to the most rudimentary questions of structure. He continued to use the form of the traditional chapter-novel with a 'wedge' as introduction, parallel phrases as chapter titles, the stereotyped address to the reader (k'an-kuan . . .) and some interspersed poetry. But even this torso gives us an understanding of the drive in a new, promising direction which was to be followed more successfully by later writers.

For the further discussion of Liang's writing and translations we must turn to his basic attitudes towards Japan. He had advocated translation as a rapid way of disseminating the new knowledge of the West; a concrete attempt in this direction was the founding of the Ta-t'ung Bookstore, the efforts of Tseng Kuo-fan's 'Productive Office', which in the three decades of its existence had produced the poor output of only one hundred books, were criticized as insufficient. Liang formulated rules for such translation activity in the essay 'On Translating', centering especially on the problem of terminology. He seems much impressed by the Japanese example and comes out in favor of a short-cut, voting for the retranslating of Japanese translations: "The Japanese have already translated nearly all the superior ones among Western books in all branches of knowledge. If we make use of their succesful efforts, we may sit back and have our meal, employing the West as the ox and Japan as the peasant. Without spending hundred-thousands the important books will thus be at last assembled." Liang is so preoccupied with his suggestion for retranslation and its prospects of rapid innovation that he brushes away all arguments for directly learning a Western language, which "one cannot master in less than seven years." Japan is near, it has a similar cultural background and the language can be easily penetrated by Chinese students. There seems no better choice.

Japanese authors of the first 'period of intoxication' from 1868 to 1880 had translated a wide range of Western literature chosen rather indiscriminately. Especially the 'political novel' (cheng-chih hsiao-shuo), translations or adaptions of Lytton, Defoe and Verne found eager readers. In the second decade there began to appear similar derivative products as Futabatei's Ukigumo, Suehiro's Setchubai, or the Strange Encounters of Elegant Women.
As he introduced political thinkers like Rousseau or Bluntschli to the Chinese public relying on Japanese translations, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's whole ideas on the political novel were thus a faithful echo of this vogue and the Japanese literary scene in general, with which he had become thoroughly acquainted. Between 1898 and 1905 he published a host of translations in his China Discussion, the New People's Magazine and the New Novel (Hsin-hsiao-shuo) often omitting the references to his Japanese sources.

The first political novel Strange Adventures of the Beauties (Chia-jen-chih-ch'i-yü), his longest and only complete translation, was begun as early as 1889 still on board of the Oshima, bringing him to Japan. This novel, written by Shiba Shiro and translated into a rather indigestible Japan-style wen-yen, was preceded by Liang's essay on the translation of political novels when it appeared finally in 1902, serialized in the China Discussion. The Japanese hero carrying the original author's name, encounters in Philadelphia two Spanish and Irish beauties. In the course of the development we are led to various other places on the globe. Every chapter centers on a discussion or a largely fictitious account of the changing political situation in contemporary Spain, Ireland, Poland, Egypt, Hungary, Korea, Birma, Japan and China, as the author is bent on demonstrating how political progress through republican movements and insurrections should spread to the East. This incompatible hybrid mixture of the traditional 'beauty and scholar' novel with the new genre of political fiction deplorably lacks action and the most primitive understanding of narrative form.

Liang had chosen the novel because it included the Far East, it was followed by an anonymous translation of the Exciting Talks about Foreign Countries (Ching-kuo-mei-t'an) by Yano Ryukei in the columns of the China Discussion. The Exciting Talks, in contrast to Liang's first attempt a translation into vernacular, treats the political scene in Hungary and Greece. Both novels had been an immediate success in Japan when they appeared in 1885 and 1893; they can be considered as the earliest specimens of the political novel in China.

Meiji Japan was swept by a wave of unrestrained speculation and optimistic belief in rapid progress, exploring new horizons in time and space, which explains all sorts of utopias and political phantasies coming up at that time. The crave for the translations of Jules Verne's novels produced a large amount of imitations and new translations in the same vain, Liang's Future of New China and the Last Days of the World being only one outflow of this tendency. The latter is a translation by a French scientific author, which Liang later supplemented by another fragment of the same book.

Taking a closer look at the execution of Liang's translations into Chinese we find them not much different from Lin Shu's tour de force; with the help of his assistants Lin had transformed the original from a language which he himself did not understand, into a pseudo-ku-wen, a procedure evoking techniques used for the translations of Buddhist scriptures centuries ago. Ch'tien Chung-shu accordingly is forced to call the results of Liang's translation effort "stifling and insipid." Liang's adaption of the Fifteen Little Heroes (Shih-wu-hsiao-hao-chieh) goes back in the end to Deux Ans de
Vacance (1883) by Jules Verne, a rather idyllic transplantation of the Robinson adventures into the world of children. It was first cast freely into English and this version reached the Japanese reader in another free adaption. Liang's translation was based on this text by Morita Shiken. This transmission in three stages as well as the other adaptations show Liang Ch'i-ch'iao's ideal of a free translation which gives the main content without caring much about literalness; the reader has to be prepared for cuts, additions and alterations. A critical commentary by the translator is inserted in the text or at the end of each chapter as the traditional Chinese novel had it.

Another book, satisfying the reader's appetite for knowledge about the West which Liang seems to have admired is Allen Upward's Secrets of the Courts of Europe. It existed in a Japanese version as Strange Talks of Diplomacy (Wai-chiao-ch'i-t'an). In the New People's Magazine and the New Novel appeared at least four excerpts out of it. One chapter which Liang published as 'A Human Ghost in the Russian Imperial Palace' is clearly intended as a parallel to the fate of emperor Kuang Hsü. Alexander III lives like a phantom hiding in the palace, is detected by a French diplomat and tells him that he, the ruler of the country, was but a puppet in the hands of the court-camarilla. He prefered therefore to disappear and to live a shady incognito after officially having been declared dead.

The common bond connecting all of Liang's translations and his novel correspond thus exactly to his program for the political novel. Even the Fifteen Little Heroes are to him an educational exercise, the adventures of the children teach them how to become useful members of society. On the other side Liang's choice was predetermined by the personal example of a few writers of literary and political Meiji, which he emulated and copied — sometimes so freely, that Japan-retumed students protested in public against his plagiarism. Beside Shiba Shiro and Yano Ryukei, Morita Shiken, translator of the Fifteen Little Heroes, it is especially Tokutomi Roka, translator and editor of three newspapers, a towering figure of the Japanese intellectual life for more than half a century until the end of the second world war. Tokutomi's translations of the Last Days of the World and the four fragments of the Strange Talks of Diplomacy are the versions Liang used for his own retranslation.

Thirteen years after the foundation of the New Novel Liang draws a kind of balance for the last decade of novel-writing in China which turns into a somewhat melodramatic attack on the new novels as uncompromising as his former assault upon the traditional novel. As a matter of fact, even the Meiji novels did not live up to such high standards, they had been only a minor feature in Japan's strife for reform which importance should not been overrated. From a literary point of view one can as well pass over them in silence; the political novel was but a preparing stage for future literature. Out of the new narrative form in China had grown a heap of literary trash which was a far cry from Liang's expectations and ideals; his 'Declaration to the Novelist' (1915) was therefore only one voice amidst the general criticism of this situation. After repeating his views on the traditional novel,
the importance of the new novel in moulding the psychology of the masses, and its supremacy over classics, biography, poetry and ku-wen prose, Liang begins his survey of the decade:

To say it straightforwardly, the old society ten years ago has to a great extent been moulded by the power of the traditional novel. Gentlemen, who considered this dangerous situation in distress about the world, conceived a method of remedy to 'fight it out with the same means'. Therefore they promoted the translation of novels and raised them to the realm of literature. One really has to concede, there was no cleverer method of altering customs and changing habits than this. Today admittedly the result is not meager; the so called hsiao-shuo literature flourishes already very remarkably. This has gone so far that the entire range of other genres in the writing profession have almost completely been eroded by them. One may only try to make a general survey of the bookstores! Leaving out of account the textbooks ninety percent of the publications there are novels. We may take up the journals and investigate them; beside all kinds of scattered, petty reports we find only novels and belles lettres. The result is, that the educated of the whole country don't like to study any more, they throw away the Three Commentaries, and the Analects are but firewood. The new knowledge which they have acquired from Europe and America is very superficial often amounting to not much more than hearsay. If they occasionally take up a book, they have almost no good companion beside the novels. In comparison with ten years earlier the power of present fiction has therefore increased twofold, fivefold, tenfold and hundredfold. This is a fact which really cannot be concealed. It means however that a vital part of the future society will be controlled mainly by the hand of the novelist, that is very clear and obvious as well.

But if we review the so-called hsiao-shuo literature of today, what is the result? Alas! How can I bear to say it, how can I bear to say it. Nine from ten amount to nothing more than 'teaching robbery and teaching lust' or they are sour, thin belles lettres without any moral. By them the youth of the whole country is deluded. The brute and crafty ones become immersed in dangerous prepossessions and dodged resistance, they commit crimes and offend the law, imitating the action of certain detective novels. The yielding and decadent ones become imbued with the pictures which impress themselves on their soul, they 'jump over walls and drill holes' comparing themselves with the heroes of certain love stories. Thus their thinking accustomes to vile meanness and filthiness, their behaviour accustoms to depravity and demoralization, their talk accustoms to cunning pliancy and mordancy. In the last ten years the habits of society have dropped thousand fathoms deep. How could that be due to something else than the oppressive world of the so-called new novel.

If they keep on this depraved path reading fiction for another couple of years, there will be then no end to it until China has been engulfed by them. Alas! All you self-styled novelists in the world, to you gentle-
men I have nothing to say. But you gentlemen should know that the Karma of retribution is an age-old undestroyable truth. For people like us, who wield the brush and use the tongue, it is extremely difficult to create something blissful, to make nuisance however all but too easy. If you gentlemen rejoice as before in writing weird stories to please society, if you continue to plunge the youth of the whole country into boundless hell directly, and indirectly mutilate our national character, that there remains no way for revival in ages to come, then impartial Heaven and Earth will undoubtedly take their revenge on you gentlemen. If they don't take revenge on you yourself, it will fall on your children and grand children, if they do not seek revenge in this world it will come in a future one. Alas! Of what use are my many words?

New in this somewhat unintentionally comical passage is a tone of resignation; with it Liang Chi'-ch'ao's theoretical and practical interest for the narrative genre came to an end.

For a more general judgement of Liang's contribution to Chinese prose literature we have to single out his reevaluation of the whole genre as the most important vehicle in modern literatures; because of this his Marxist critics put him on the progressive and revolutionary side. The introduction of periodicals as means of distribution for literature and criticism was another successful step at this time. Liang's own writing and translation work cannot claim any importance. It seems more an example which had to be stated after the proclamation of a new theory as Hu Shih's fiction and Experiments (ch'ang-shih-ch'i) in poetry following the publication of his 'Eight Don'ts' (pa-pu-chu-yi). Literary historians evaluating Liang's importance such as Chou Tso-jen, Ch'en Tzu-chan and Chao Ching-shen criticize his insistence in literature with only a serving function, his lack of understanding for its own independant role. With his new didacticism Liang departs no inch from the position of the orthodox Confucian hsiao-shuo critics who liked to see it as an instrument to reform the people; he even falls back into the same terminology. Liang's condemnation of the traditional novel sprang from this excessive moralism as well as his later disillusion with the new fiction. The contradiction between a modern vision of the genre and a traditional didacticism, which harmonizes with his religious allusions, has its counterpart in matters of form. It is apparent in the discrepancy between lofty aims and an ignorance of narrative structure, between high pitched expectations of revolution in the genre and the perpetuation of an only slightly adapted conventional form. A last conflict remaining unsolved as well is Liang's wavering between the use of wen-yen and the vernacular for the new novel. Without arriving at a clear-cut decision on this matter he tends to the written language, violating his own theory of fiction which demanded easy comprehensibility for the masses. These open contradictions show the temporary necessity and transitional value of his statements which the later development of fiction made obsolete very quickly.

**Historical Drama — The Ch'uan-Ch'i Episode**

After China's most original contribution in the field of the drama — the tsa-chü plays, there developed a much more sophisticated form, at least in
a technical sense. The lyrical airs and the musical accompaniment of the *ch'uan-ch'i* were really understood and appreciated only by a much smaller circle of connoisseurs. Tenfold longer than the four-act *tsa-chü*, the *ch'uan-ch'i* have sentimental stories with a preference for romantic heroines. Very different from the farcical vaudeville style of the *Yüan* playwrights, they are thus true representatives of the southern literary tradition. In early *Ch'ing* times there had been at least two attempts at elevating the theatre to a more respectable position and to eliminate its tendency towards the erudite bookdrama. The versatile Chin Jen-jui included the *West Chamber* in his theory of the *Six Ingenious Books*, thus challenging the genre hierarchy and raising it to the same level as philosophical writing and poetry. Underlining his high esteem of this play and the genre as a whole, he published a new edition with a very original, impressionistic commentary. Chin emphasized the interpretation of the airs, much as the treatises on the drama before him had done. The playwright Li Yü on the other side tried to replace this attitude of the scholar by focusing his attention on the structure of the play and the practical problems of the stage. Neither *wen-jen* nor playwright however could initiate anything like a real change. The *Peking Opera* which eventually succeeded the *ch'uan-ch'i* centered on the art of acting and singing; it took mostly recourse to reediting of older themes presenting them in selective potpourijs. This declining style was still widely performed at the turn of the century when Liang Chi-ch'ao rejected it and experimented again with the older *ch'uan-ch'i* form. Liang did not elaborate on his ideal of a new theatre, because the term for *hsiao-shuo* traditionally included theatre, and therefore all what has been said about the novel may be applied to the drama as well; his interest for the stage furthermore seems to have been even more marginal than for the *hsiao-shuo* genre.

For an understanding of Liang's attitude towards the classical drama we have to dwell on his deep interest in the *ch'uan-ch'i* play *The Peach Blossom Fan* (*T'ao-hua-shan*). With much gusto, as he writes in a letter to his daughter, he compiled in 1925 a detailed commentary to this play. His interest in the *Fan* goes back of course to a much earlier date, probably to his formative years. The emphasis on this very untraditional play, which had fallen so thoroughly into oblivion that even the author's life was only dimly known, is in itself a revealing fact. The author K'ung Shang-jen (1648—1718), a descendant of Confucius in the 64th generation, finished this *ch'uan-ch'i* in 1699. Centering on the lovestyle of the scholar Hou Fang-yü and the heroine Li Hsiang-chün, the author paints a historical canvas of the crucial years in which the Ming had lost their empire to the Manchus. This patriotic play with its vivid description of the court in Nanking is painstakingly based on historical sources. Liang labels the drama accordingly a 'historical play' much in line with his slogan of the 'political novel'.

The reevaluation of this play, which Liang thought representative for the intellectually most stimulating period of the 17th century and even the Chinese drama as a whole, meets with Wang Kuo-wei's judgement, who from a much different angle came to a similar conclusion. Wang compares the *Fan* and the *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Hung-lou-meng*) as the only
outstanding works of the hsiao-shuo genre. From a purely literary point of view he interprets the Fan as slightly inferior because the tragic element in the drama remains confined to its concrete political and historical setting; he understands the Dream as a tragedy of general human dimension capable of 'transcendence', literature as the concrete universal. This contradicts the traditional classification of the Fan still to be found in discussions of the drama which limit themselves to the airs and their lyrical language as the only value criterium; they reserve the first place among the Ch'ing plays to the Palace of Eternal Youth (Ch'ang-sheng-tien), one of the countless replicas of the Yang Kuei-fei theme. Liang's attitude however is determined by a concern for a relevant content as the first condition for a good play. In the introduction to his commentary he says: "Generally speaking Yun-ting did not like in the plays he wrote, to draw his plot from the hsiao-shuo. He was especially fond of taking 'real men and real facts' from history adding some colour and minor episodes to amuse his audience. That is his personal style, his special technique. He began to try this technique in his Small Hu-lei (Hsiao-hu-lei), with the Peach Blossom Fan it had completely matured."

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's commentary on the 'historical playwright's' ch'uan-ch'i remains disappointingly confined to a tracing and comparing of sources, checking the content of the drama against the actual events. In the course of this k'ao-cheng exercise in Ch'ing style textual criticism, he comments repeatedly on deviations from the historical facts which are conceded to the author; "For writing historical plays however, such passages which contradict the historical facts too much, should in general not be taken as a model."

K'ung Shang-jen had been opposed to the ornate style, he expressed his aversion against the amassing of illusions, a difficult wen-yen in the airs and especially the dialogue. He condemned the current use of 'quotation-poems' (chi-yü) and 'T'ang-quotations' (chi-t'ang) puzzles as act-concluding poems which were virtually without any content. K'ung had given more consideration to the plot and structure of the play than to the airs, which he wrote in collaboration with Ku Ts'ai. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's sympathy for these principles led him to imitate the Ch'ing author also in terms of style and structure. His three new plays are all in the ch'uan-ch'i style, the New Rome (Hsin-lo-ma-ch'uan-ch'i) being a direct imitation of the Fan. In the New People's Magazine Liang published the first act of a drama which later on was not taken up again. The Dream of Destruction to Ashes (Chieh-hui-meng-ch'uan-ch'i) is much on the line of the Future of New China in its patriotic concern for the country's destiny. If the novel evoked the picture of a successful new Chinese state, the drama embarks on a description of the gloomy prospect for further defeats, judging from the Japanese victory in 1895 and the Boxer Uprising. This wedge-act with alternating airs and prose gives the monologue of the protagonist one year after the Boxer Riots. Liang makes the sheng the mouthpiece of his political convictions; he explains at the same time his conception of a new theatre contrasting it against the traditional drama, as is proper for the more general chia-men act:

I want to sing, but it's so useless; I want to cry, but it is useless; I want
to laugh, it is so useless; I want to curse it's without sense. Look, formerly in France at the time of Louis XIV was the nature of the people and the customs not the same as in China? Fortunately they had a wen-jen called Voltaire, who wrote many hsiao-shuo and plays. His cries roused at least the people of the whole country from their dreamy sleep. If I think about myself, a scholar without influence and courage, even lacking enough erudition to write books which could be presented to the public — the best may be still to use the few events which I have seen with my own eyes, the few convictions which I have reached in my heart for making a small, small ch’uan-ch’i drama out of it. That would be a diversion for those important personalities, for children and yamen-runners 'before the tea and after the wine'. At any rate it would be a bit stronger than those West Chamber (Hsi-hsiang-chi) or Peony Pavillon (Mu-tan-l’ing) dramas. That may mean, for my own person at least, to fulfill my duty as a citizen.13.

Liang’s most widely known play is the ch’uan-ch’i drama The New Rome, published between 1902 and 1904, a hybrid hodgepodge in every respect conveying a glimpse at the contradictory efforts in this period of innovation. The play was planned in forty acts but Liang finished only seven of them. The political motives for the drama we can deduct from the introductory and concluding chapters of Liang’s Biography of Italy’s Three Heroes (I-ta-li-chien-kuo-san-chieh-chuan) Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, which the author had compiled earlier in this year of extraordinary fertility (1902). Posing as the ‘New Historian’ Liang picks examples of ‘State Foundation’ from world history. Discussing 17th century England, America and France at the end of the 18th, and Japan in the 19th, he intends to describe Italy’s unification into a national state as the most fitting parallel for China; it had been plunged into disunity after a glorious past and is forced to struggle against oppression by foreign powers.16. Liang’s triple biography of these ‘knights’ is thus intended as an encouragement and a model for imitation in the same way as the biographies of Kossuth and Madame Roland. Mazzini, with whom Liang liked to identify himself, stands here for destruction, revolution and introduction of a parliamentary system whereas Cavour represents constitutional monarchy. As both strive for an united new Italy, Liang deals with the same problem as in the discussion between reformer and revolutionary in The Future. It is the crucial question of his life: his position had changed from advocating reform to a more radical attitude after the abortive 1898 experiences. It ended in disillusion with the prospects of ‘revolution’, rejection of force and the support of ‘enlightened autocracy’ after 1902.18.

Out of the 26 chapters of the Three Heroes describing Italian history from the Congress of Vienna 1914 until the coronation of Imanuel as king of Italy in 1871, Liang covers in his play only the part which corresponds to chapter one and two. Beside the introductory chia-men act there are depicted in the ch’uan-ch’i the Congress of Vienna (I), the unsuccessful revolt of the Carbonari party in 1820 (II), and the conviction of their leaders in the presence of Metternich (III). There follows young Mazzini’s decision in a conversation
with his mother to dedicate his life for the unification of Italy (IV), Garibaldi's awakening for the same task during a journey to Rome, where he visited the ruins of its former greatness in 1823 (V), and Mazzini's foundation of La Giovine Italia in 1825 (VI). The scenes are selected with regard for theatrical effect and vividly written. Whereas plot and arrangement, as far as we can judge, seem to be a successful new approach which compares favorably with the Future fragment, his decision to use the traditional ch'uan-ch'i form could but cause difficulties which may well have been responsible for the cancelling of this project. The chia-men act shows the clash of old and new. In the phrasing of the commentator Han Shu-yüan “Chinese theatre brings a foreign action and then foreigners come to see the Chinese play” 19. Dante's spirit appears in the lu-mo role. The poet, who "had written several hsiao-shuo, ch'uan-ch'i dramas and in addition much poems, tz'u songs and airs", makes the long trip to China:

Question from inside: China (Chih-na: Liang uses the Japanese term) is an ailing country in the East. Why does the great worthy go there?

(Dante's) answer: There are some things which you don't know. I have heard about a young man in China, who's name is something like 'Owner of the Ice-drinker studio (Liang's pen name). He compiled a Ch'uan-ch'i of New Rome which will be performed now for the first time in the Patriotic Theatre of Shanghai... Therefore this old man thought to take along two of my younger friends — one is England's Shakespeare, the other France's Voltaire — to go together, taking a look and listening for a while 20.

The act-concluding poem summing up the content of the play must have struck the Chinese reader as equally strange:

Metternich uses irresponsibly despotic power,
Mazzini founds La Giovine Italia,
General Chia (Garibaldi) leads three times the army of the people,
Cavour unifies Italy!

The distribution of role-types in the traditional theater implying a social and often moral classification is imposed with difficulty: Metternich gets the 'ching' role and Mazzini is the "young hero" (sheng) but the Carbonari leader appears as 'clown'. Other details seem well adapted: the messenger for instance rushes in with his usual pao-pao-pao, reporting from the newspaper's special edition 21. Doubtless the most exasperating task however must have been the casting of this plot into traditional tz'u songs and ch'ü airs.

After having given up already the New Rome, Liang tried his hand a third time at a drama with the title The Knight's Love (Hsia-ch'ing-ch'i) 22, abandoned after only the first act. It is an episode originally planned as a part of New Rome in which we see Garibaldi's later wife Manita as the heroine. Chapters V and VI of the Three Heroes relate the story in detail. This fragment is of a certain interest because Liang Ch'i-ch'ao gives here the new ideal of the women-hero, the young lady revolutionary. We have to contrast this role against the traditional passive feminine type in literature
and the theatre, which Liang in an other context traces back to the poet Li Shang-yin and earlier sources:

The ideal of 'illness as beauty' has its origin in the Southern dynasties and it may serve as fitting prove for the illness of the literary world. The writers after T'ang and Sung drift all in this stream. If they depict a beautiful women they cannot get away from illness. That is really disgracing for literature. I hope that for describing the psychology of women it will be most imperative for future writers to restore the health of the female image.

In the field of theatre this gradual development towards sentimentalism is traceable from heroines like the imperial concubines Wang Chao-chün and Yang Kuei-fei, to young ladies of the upper class Ying-ying type and its sickly descendants like T'ang Hsien-tsu's romantic Tu Li-niang or Wu Ping's sob-stuff caricatures. As Hsü Wei with his one act play Mu-lan Joins the Army (Mu-lan t'i-iu-ts'ung-chün) Liang protests against this morbid ideal echoing the status of women in traditional society by drawing on China's Jean d'Arc and the ideal of the knight-errant in hsiao-shuo literature for the role of his women revolutionary.

These abortive attempts which contained but hints for a new theatre at best, have of course to be judged as mere curiosities. It is important however that Liang gave this genre its place as literature beside the hsiao-shuo. They were all published in his own periodicals; in later journals such as the Tientsin Justice (Yung-yen) (1911—12), we find dramatic treatises as well as translations of foreign comedies by other authors. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's position can be defined as an abandonment of the traditional plot and structure while the suggested solution proved unfeasable because of an inadequate form and language. The alleged impromptu of a hilarious local opera in Kuang-tung dialect 1905 — patriotic and content hybrid as ever — seems to be a parallel attempt on the same line substituting merely one traditional style for an other. Inspite of the educational zeal which inspired Liang's commentating friend to the encouraging vision of the New Rome as a future "textbook for middle-school" the importance of the theatre for influencing a largely illiterate audience was at this time not entirely grasped. While the Japan-inspired 'Cultured Theatre' represents a transitional solution found through a practical theatrical approach, Liang's improvisations may illustrate the writer's response towards reform of the stage.

Revolution in Poetry and the Expression of Emotion

In the circle around K'ang Yu-weil which Liang joined in 1890 he became close friends with a group of young poets who were definitely trying to get rid of the complicated, conventionalized forms in classical poetry. The small group wanted to replace the dry poetic exercises in erudition and versatility with an patriotic emotionalism and a fervent belief in China's resurrection. They aimed at a language flexible enough for giving expression to new ideas of the time and concentrated therefore on a bold infusion of new terms which they borrowed from buddhism, the modernized Japanese vocabulary or directly from the West. Since 1892 Liang, then twenty years old, discussed
the new style with Hsia Tseng-tso, a similar introvert as T’an Szu-t’ung, who joined them later in the years 1893–94. For a time all three were living together in Peking engaged in daily debates about a general change of society. Their common bond was a love for buddhism and a contempt for all Chinese classical studies after Han. K’ang’s teaching of a ‘World development in three stages’, derived from a study of the ‘New text school’ in the Spring and Autumn classic, furnished them with a rudimentary background theory of evolution to which Liang adhered until his Japanese exile, where he was to find an apter substitute in Darwin’s teachings. During 1896—97 in Shanghai the three coined the slogan of the ‘Revolution in Poetry’. Even though interested in T’ang poetry from early days, Liang learned composing poems only slowly from T’an and Hsia. Until 1899 he was able to recite only some two hundred traditional poems and had not yet written fifty himself. Later he ridiculed these youthful romantic attempts for writing esoteric poetry full of symbols quite unintelligible to anybody outside the coterie. He recapitulated his views on the new poetry in the diary of the journey to Hawaii:

Even though I have no ability to write poems, I like to discuss poetry. The boundaries of the poem I think have been completely occupied for more than thousand years by parroting celebrities; even though they may have some excellent passages and excellent lines, it seems at the first reading, as if one has seen them already before in some other collection — that is most detestable. Not to write poetry is therefore one possibility today; if however somebody intends to write poems, he has to become the Columbus and Magellan of poetry, only then will he be successful. We may use the comparison with Europe when it had already exhausted its space and resources. Urgently it had to seek new land in Amerika and at the coast of the Pacific. He who wants to become the Columbus and Magellan of poetry has to meet three requirements: First a new ‘consciousness’ is necessary, second a new language is needed and finally the style of the Ancients has to be instilled. Otherwise it would be like shifting creatures from Jupiter or Venus and letting them spread over the American continent; extraordinary as such poems may be, they are entirely unsuitable.

He who meets these three requirements can become China’s king of poetry in the 20th century. Sung and Ming writers have successfully introduced Indian consciousness and language into their poetry, but these achievements have today again become an Old World; if somebody wants to change this, he cannot but orientate his search towards Europe. The European consciousness and language possess complex abundance and precious peculiarity. The author who makes them his own, will be able to surpass ageold antiquity and submerge everything: until now we do not yet have such a man.

Liang’s vision of a New Style Poetry remained not confined to this small group. In his mind the ‘Revolution of Poetry’ broadened its scope including similar efforts at reform by other writers. Hsia’s poetry with its cryptic terms had been a source of stimulation; in T’an’s efforts Liang had mainly
appreciated its new spirit and actually valued his old style poetry much higher than the few experimental lyrics T'an had written before he was executed in 1898. In 1901 Liang wrote "Expanding the Eight Immortals of Poetry", a poor imitation of a brilliant Tu Fu poem where he enumerates the important poets of the poetic revolution: It is Chiang Chih-yu whose poems in the New People's Magazine enthused him, Sung Shu, the scholar Chang Ping-lin, Ch'en San-li like T'an seeking more for a new vision than for new forms, the translator Yen Fu, Tseng Kuang-ch'un, Wu Pao-ch'u and Ting Hui-k'ang, a poet with a deep political concern. But in first line Liang extolled Huang Tsun-hsien, twenty years his senior, whose poetry was acknowledged later by the Literary Revolution of 1919 as the outstanding predecessor of China's pai-hua poetry. Huang Tsun-hsien’s verse "My hand writes as my mouth says" became a well known slogan for the new style. After Liang had read the manuscript of Huang's poetry during two months between 1896-97, Huang Tsun-hsien ranked so high in Liang's esteem, that he called him the major poet of the Poetic Revolution. He admired Huang's insistence in a Japan oriented reform, his striving for poetic originality without imitation, and oddly enough, the practical usefulness of his patriotic poetry for kindergarten, elementary school and the army.

Analysing how far these goals were actually realized we want to confine us here to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's poetry only. These compositions in which he sought "to instil with all his strength an European spirit and thought, to turn out poetic material for future poets", are for the most part in the shih style complemented by only a small amount of tz'u songs. Only few specimens of these early years, in which he wrote a lot of traditional tz'u, have survived. More is preserved from the decade before the Revolution of 1911. Even then Liang struggled with the genre; he turned out poems only very constrainedly and found it often impossible to finish his lines. One or two Regulated Quatrains (chüeh-chü) or Eight-line Poems (lü-shih), he confesses, took him as much time as several thousand words long articles for the New People's Magazine. On board of the ship to Hawaii in 1899, when he felt a sudden rare fit of poetical inspiration and wrote a lot of verses, he vowed however promptly to stop composing poems, because he feared to neglect his other activities in favor of the "drunken dream" of inspiration.

Most conspicuous in his poems are new names and terms. Foreign surnames are shortened to one character, as Chinese family names used to be written in classical poetry. This made them unintelligible without a commentary, which Liang consequently had to add, supplying profuse explanations. Beside the long-form Su-ke-la (Socrates) we encounter Shakespeare and Milton as Sha-Mi; if the length of the verse demands it Liang even gropes for the helpless compromise of a Ma-chih Mazzini. Steamships, railways and the telegraph are introduced. A new political terminology exalting 'democracy', 'freedom and equality' recurs. Mammoth terms block whole lines, as the six-character min-tzu-li-kuo-chu-yi (racial imperialism). A Japanized vocabulary reveals the new influences. The reader runs into examples of unintended humor as
The ancestor of philosophy, Evolution-Yen, 
Che-hsūeh ch’u-ts’u t’ien-yen-Yen

or

The bicycle carries the sorrow of the fan
in harvest, (is not used, as the fan after the summer)

Ts’u-yü-ch’ē han ch’i-šan-p’ei

where the new imported things are clashing with conventional allusions.
Obviously these early experiments of Liang and his friends were not successful in this form and not even especially promising. Liang Ch’i-ch’ao became very conscious of these contradictions: “In the transitional period there must be revolution. But the revolutionaries should change the spirit and not mere forms. Our clique recently likes to talk about the Revolution of Poetry. But if filling the whole paper with new terms is thought a revolution, then this seems really not much different from innovation and reform which the Manchu government claims! If there could be instilled a new consciousness into the old style, that only would be the successful launching of a real revolution.”

The last passage gives a definition of the whole movement; with the same words Liang characterizes Huang Tsun-hsien as “a modern poet who knows how to infuse new ideals into the old style.” Liang thus lives up to his ideal. Some early autobiographical poems as ‘Leaving my Country’ (1898) or the prophetic ‘The Whole Country is my Enemy’ (1901) moreover convey a genuine, moving feeling. If from a technical point of view many poems do not seem very convincing, it’s not because he fell short of realizing the new theory, the theory tried to link things unlinkable.

The magic formula for Liang’s “half-old” poems to fill new wine in old bottles as well as his haphazard lexical reform proved unsatisfying and of mere transitional value because it provided no basis for a discussion of poetic language in general. The shortened one-character terms he introduced were only usable on the spot without any prospect to become more generally accepted. The use of unshortened multi-character neologisms on the other side clogged entire lines of the short traditional verse. Hu Shih’s introduction of vernacular poetry in his Experiments (Ch’ang-shih-chi) decided this problem by abolishing the tight wen-yen with its poetical forms altogether, and the challenge of the newly emerging pai-hua poetry may well have provoked Liang’s lengthy reconsideration of the Poetic Revolution. In 1927 he wrote a long unfinished preface for an anthology of Huang Tsun-hsien and Chin Ho, called Selections from Two Great Poets of late Ch’ing (Wan-ch’ing liang-ta-chia shih-ch’ao). He explains the reason for this compilation: “I think these two gentlemen are the predecessors of the Chinese literary revolution; I think since China has poetry, these two collections of poetry mean a great liberation. Using my own view, I have copied out for this anthology the best poems in both collections, those which aptly represent the spirit of these gentlemen and may serve as models for liberation.” Formulating his concept of poetry in general, Liang restates the necessity to introduce Western literature. He condemns excessive ‘allegory’ and ‘allusions’ opposing the regulated poem and all restrictive rules.
Poetry has to be written in 'chosen language' showing 'musicality', he insists. Practically this means a concise and chosen wen-yen with as few as possible auxiliary characters, to avoid the "pa-ku sound" in the new poetry. The main focus of the discussion however is the new pai-hua poem; Liang refers expressively to Hu Shih and his anthology. Arguing first that after Han Shan, Shih-teh, Shao Yung, Po Chü-i and Wang An-shih the vernacular poem is nothing new in Chinese tradition he attacks the "old gentlemen" who oppose it. On the other hand he criticizes an excessive or exclusive inclination towards pai-hua poetry because such a style could easily become a "second T'ung-ch'eng movement". What he really wants is some kind of coexistence of both styles. In an contradictory accumulation of other helpful arguments the difference between both styles is belittled. Liang insists in rhyme as indispensable for musicality and opposes all attempts at a Chinese verse libre following European models. The rhyme must not necessarily follow the old rhyme books as P'ei-wen Poetic Rhymes (P'ei-wen -yün-fu), it should be taken instead from the present spoken language. Exclusive pai-hua poetry seems to him a very remote possibility because the vernacular language has but a small vocabulary at its disposal and is not yet developed enough as a tool for poetry. Pai-hua is too tedious and cannot convey the traditional 'suggestiveness' of Chinese poetry. Inspite of its zealous impartiality this repetitive and contradictory argument amounts in fact to not much more than an undecided defense of the old wen-yen poem. Even if Liang succeeded in pointing out a good deal of the difficulties the vernacular poetry actually encountered, it is apparent that the rapid general development had already overtaken him. If the 'Revolution of Poetry' three decades earlier had been a step towards new literature, the underlying motives for this anthology seem quite anachronistic, one year before the leftist Creation Society's debate on 'Revolutionary Literature'. Time manoeuvred him into the same conservative antiquarian position as it had happened to Lin Shu with his earlier attacks on the young pai-hua style.

Since poetry was required for the governmental examinations it had become a genre which every educated man practised; this fact, declares Liang in his preface, was responsible for the decadence of Chinese poetry since T'ang. He predicted a "Great Revolution of Poetry" which would destroy "the senseless works of convention and social intercourse" giving the realm of poetry back to the real poets. Liang's own poetry in the first decade after the attempts at New Style Poetry however had taken a visible trend in the direction of exactly this conventionalism. His neologisms became rare and the awkward, antique rawness of the earlier poems gave way to a smoother traditional elegance; through these later poems it is difficult to get a glimpse at the personality of the author. Liang joined the ordinary lyrical games between scholars, he composed 'Alternating Lines', (lien-chü) where several friends write poems on given rhyme-words, and amused himself by piercing together lines of other poets into quotation-poems. As a similar display of erudition may be cited his 'Small Distractions in midst of Sorrow', written at the deathbed of his wife, which were published 1923 with Liang's postcript in the Peking Morning News (Pei-ching ch'en-pao). In-
spired by the couplets (tui-lien) and quotation-poem models he made new poems by combining parallel-lines of other tz'u poets.

After 1911 Liang's interest in writing poetry abated. Although he was convinced, that his songs "were not inferior to those of the ancients" he discontinued practising tz'u until 1925. With the exception of 1914 and 1925 there are no new shih-poems included in his collected works. This seems a similar development as with Huang Tsun-hsien who had thought his poetry to equal Tu Fu, Li Po, Su Tung-po and Lu Yu but abandoned it in his later years looking down on his verses as "useless things".

When Liang opened his periodicals for regular lyrical contributions to further the Revolution of Poetry he included also the traditional genre of the shih-hua. Beside publishing those of his friends he began in February 1902 with parts of his own Poetry Talks from the Studio of the Icedrinker (Yin-ping-shih shih-hua) which appeared irregularly in the New People's Magazine. As the content of the shih-hua genre is only very loosely defined and coincides only partly with literary criticism we may analyse Liang's concept of this form. The tenor is given in the introduction: "All my life I loved my friends, and literature I loved as well. Everytime when I got poems in fragrant tender language from teachers and friends, I chanted them at once to engrave them in my mind. If I recollect the poems of the Ancients, I can cite by memory only very few, but poems by recent authors I know several times more; that's the so-called 'abundance in things one is familiar with'. Profound lines and extraordinary pieces, everything exuberant and overflowing I liked to gather and to copy down especially, to make a collection out of it. From among these scattered fragments I have recorded here only one or the other jotting them down with easy-going brush.

Consequently Liang arranges the booklet in short paragraphs; every entry centers on a writer and contains some poems by him or connected with him. In the succession of poets he presents, there is no order. But in the book he does not, as other shih-hua, roam freely over the whole history of Chinese poetry. Comparable to Wu Wei-yeh's treatise which gave the shih-hua of the Ch'ing new colour by evading compilative repetition and restricting itself to a description and critical survey of the author's own time, Liang concentrates on the contemporary scene, attacking the adulation of the ancients:

China is bound by the custom to weigh the present lightly loving instead the past. In matters of knowledge, writing and career one always assumes that there is no way to reach the Ancients. All my life I most detested to hear such remarks. I say: In the future the progress of these fields will by far surpass previous ages, there is not even evidence necessary. Why should therefore our famous contemporaries fall short of what the Ancients said?

In this spirit Liang's shih-hua gives spotlights of the Poetic Revolution and a personal picture of the reform-school around K'ang Yu-wei. We find further remarks about other friends and contemporaries of Liang, episodes out of their personal relations and Liang's opinion of them. As every
entry is inevitably connected with some poetry, the book can be read as an anthology at the same time, it contains in effect much what is not preserved in the collected works of the respective authors. Besides we find the usual lyrical games of the traditional literati, poems on fans, lyrical messages and lien-chü couplets. These notes drew an immediate response by Liang’s audience already before they were published as a separate book. But though they may contain interesting side-lights and a few comparisons with foreign poetry they cannot be judged as a deliberate effort towards a new literary criticism. Liang clings to the old shih-hua concept which even later specialized critics of quite another stature, as Ch’ien Chung-shu found difficult to abandon.

The shih-hua can be understood as a kind of bridge between Liang’s first period concerned mainly with the reform of hsiao-shuo or poetry and a second phase which may be described as a reappraisal of traditional poetry in a more scholarly atmosphere. His Expression of Emotion in Chinese Rhymed Literature (Chung-kuo-yün-wen-suo-piao-hsien-ti ch’ing-kan) gives a basically coherent criticism in which are to be found all the judgements stimulating his studies of individual poets. We want to use it therefore as the point of departure for examining Liang’s literary activity of this period. As so much of Liang’s writing this book bears all signs of hasty production and appeared without the slightest revision. First published in the journal La Rekonstruo (Kai-tsao) it was originally a series of lectures at Ch’ing-hua University in 1922. The actual text is in considerable contradiction to the table of contents having only ten chapters instead of fourteen; the two concluding chapters have apparently not been written and others were incorporated into existing chapters. Chou Tso-jen has tried to portray the whole development of Chinese literature as an alternation of two concepts: wen-itsai-tao — literature has to promulge the Tao —, and shih yen-chih — poetry expresses sentiments. In Chou’s interpretation the first principle represents the orthodox Confucian attitude which has dominated the historical development, assigning a moral task to art. The second gives art a more autonomous position. In this aesthetic tradition Chou depicts the idyllic individualists of Ming and early Ch‘ing as the true precursors of the new vernacular literature after 1917. Liang Ch‘i-ch‘ao’s attempt to reformulate Confucian evaluative standards took a similar direction. In his treatise he gives a dualistic classification of the different emotions expressed in Chinese rhymed literature. On this method he comments: “I only feel that to use the different ways of expressing emotion as classification for the study of ancient literature definitely has a special, exuberant flavor. Even if this may have been discussed formerly in some aspects, it has never before been systematically analyzed.”

Literature is thus redefined, its task is to reveal the personality of the writer and his feelings. Its artistic value is to be judged now by these premises only. The feelings can be aroused for good and bad, beautiful and ugly, but art is the secret way to godness and beauty. Therefore Liang calls it the instrument of emotional education falling back into a new kind of adapted didacticism. This book wants to encourage a comparative reconsideration
of Chinese literature and implies at the same time new goals for creative writing:

In this lecture I want to concentrate on the modes of expressing emotions: How many do exist, which ones did we Chinese use most frequently and most efficiently? The types of expressed emotion I would also like to analyse very much, but this time I will not get around to discussing them thoroughly, I can give only some hints. My aim for delivering these lectures is the hope that everybody uses my words as a basis for a comparison with Western literature. Comparing our emotions with those of other people we should find out whose are richer or poorer, whose are stronger or more shallow, whose are loftier or lower! Which modes are missing among the methods, our poets use for expressing emotion? First one has to know the shortcomings of the own people to procure a remedy, only then we may direct our attention to elucidating the strong points of the people. That is the profound intention of my lectures.

Liang defines 'verse' (rhymed literature) in a broader context; it covers the yüeh-ju, the ju-ode, tz'u-songs and, because of its lyricism, the drama. Theoretically it is even included the parallel-prose, as this style has to observe many rules in common with poetry. The classification therefore is meant for the whole range of genres with the exclusion of narrative prose and hsiao-shuo. Spontaneous expression of emotion (III—IV) is contrasted first with a suggestive style and symbolism (VII—VIII), the other polarity being romantic feelings (IX) as opposed to a realistic mode of expressing emotions in literature (X). These four categories give the frame for Liang's theory. Spontaneous emotions are classified as an "outburst of feeling which exhausts itself at once and completely." Liang has difficulty to find examples because this mood is most alien to the Chinese character and moreover nearly impossible within the strict regulations of classical poetry. "In Western literature there is, I fear, to find much of this kind, we in China have too little of it. I hope future writers will eagerly press forward in this direction, opening up a new world."

The pendant is a 'lingering moving emotion'. Liang finds it especially in the unadorned, direct style of the yüeh-ju between Han and T'ang dynasties and at places in Tu Fu's poetry. In modification of the T'ang poet's sobriquet 'Poetical Sage' Tu Fu is here called the 'Sage of Emotion'. Liang motivates this with the usual praise for Tu's sense of compassion towards his family, friends and the common people. The former attributive, coming close to a Confucian canonization, and rallying much of the traditional appreciation of Tu Fu for non-estetical extrinsic reasons, becomes thus secularized. Tu Fu's value as a poet is reassured from an artistic point of view in accordance with Liang's emotionalism. The author was so enthusiastic about this shift of emphasis that he expanded this part of the book in a lecture entitled "Tu Fu — the Sage of Emotion", held two months later.

As in the field of shih poetry there are poets of the tz'u genre (V) who can represent this mode expressing emotion. Liang singles out the Sung patriot Hsin Ch'i-chi, whose poetry had already been an example for the first sub-
category of unrestrained feelings. Liang held the tz’u of this poet, who had specialized in the genre, in high esteem, even compiling later in 1928 a chronological biography of the author and a posthumously published chronological edition with commentary. Traditional Chinese criticism distinguishes between the two schools of ‘soft-restrained beauty’ (wan-yüeh) and ‘vigorous magnanimity’ (hao-fang). The wan-yüeh school has ever since been regarded as the ‘correct tradition’ representative for the whole tz’u genre, whereas the hao-fang style of Hsin and Su Tung-po was considered as a complementary sideline. The modern reevaluation by scholars as Teng Kuang-ming and Cheng Ch’ien have identified Hsin as the greatest poet of the tz’u genre recognizing his range, the abrupt and powerful lyrical talent, capable of combining both stylistic extremes, simple language and highly allusive diction. Their view has its roots in a change of judgement which relies on Liang as one of its earliest propagators.

Among the drama Liang singles out the Peach-blossom Fan in the first and second subcategory. ‘Genuiness’ of feeling in this ‘chuan-ch’i’ is especially striking because it contains autobiographical notions at the same time. Liang calls this play the “Sage among emotional literature” and elaborates how effective sadness and sorrow are expressed in the several parts of the historical tragedy.

After linking these categories to the ‘half-mysterious colours’ of Southern influence as the Odes of Ch’u show and the straight-forward emotions of savage tribes in the Northwest which during the Northern and Southern dynasties had a distinctive influence on the formation of the ‘robust-sincere’ style and on directness of expression in T’ang poetry, Liang proceeds to the ‘suggestive restrained’ mode of emotions which has been acknowledged almost unanimously by traditional critics as the main trait in literature and as the purest expression of the Chinese spirit. Liang divides a sort of understatement “using a pale brush for writing intense sentiments”, the transmission (chi-t’o) of an author’s emotion into the description of other persons feelings in general, and thirdly a complete hiding of feeling, projecting it in a real or imaginary landscape description. Here the author aims at one of the special characteristics of Chinese poetry, its indirectness, abstractness and allusiveness.

As last subcategory of the suggestive emotions Liang Ch’i-ch’ao describes a symbolism which hides the object of sentiments projecting them into another appearance which becomes pregnant with emblematic meaning. The author finds this kind of writing in the Odes of Ch’u and especially in the period of middle and late T’ang with poets like Wen T’ing-yün, Li Ho, Li Shang-yin and the Hsi-k’un stylists. He defends the obscurity of Li Shang-yin’s poetry against the attacks of the pal-hua poets by expounding his ‘search for beauty’: “What these poems are actually about, I’m unable to understand. If one takes apart line for line and asks me to explain, I feel not even competent to interpret the literal meaning of the text. But I am conscious of their beauty, reading them gives a fresh alacrity to my spirit. One has to know: Beauty conveys itself in many facets, beauty possesses a character of mystery. If we still acknowledge the values of beauty, we can-
not easily brush away such kind of literature" \(^{56}\). Inspite of a certain reservation against the 'Devilish Talent' which spat out his heart in pictures of strange impressiveness while forgetting about the cherished theme of 'loyalty' towards ruler and country, Liang gives its due to Li Ho as the model of Li Shang-yin and the whole K'un-t'i school; the poet had in the Ch'ing been made more acceptable to the Confucian reader by the interpretation of Yao Wen-hsieh who explained his poetry as a net of historical allusions\(^ {57}\), a secret history of the T'ang dynasty. As Hsü Wei during the Ming, Liang can be called one of the earliest critics in the 20th century who gave back to Li's poetry its proper place discrediting this pseudohistorical interpretation construed from the Tu Fu image as the 'Poet-Historian'. " Those who misunderstand Li Ho think, that he merely plays with figurative language. In fact every line of him has a specific consciousness, apparently Ch'ang-chi's mind was a treasury of unusual images . . . we cannot but acknowledge his value in literary history" \(^{58}\).

In the history of the Li Ho reinterpretation as the imagist and symbolist Liang is thus the predecessor of the critic Ch'ien Chung-shu\(^ {59}\) and the contemporary poet Yü Kuang-chung\(^ {60}\).

Representative for suggestive-restrained emotions is the scarce poetry by women, which Liang criticizes in an appendix (IX). Such lyrics were written only as a pastime and in the surveys which have been recently compiled by literary historians from Hsieh Wu-liang to Hu Wen-k'ai\(^ {61}\) we find no real great names. The poetry is in general devoid of individuality and at its best a display of technical brilliance. Rare exceptions as Li Ch'ing-chao's few surviving poems are not enough to revise Liang's verdict: "Pitiful in our literary history is the extremely poor and feeble literature by women authors. I really cannot cite some more poetesses to buttress up the facade" \(^{62}\).

Introducing the romantic and realistic modes of expressing emotion Liang defines both terms as abstract concepts avoiding to fix historical periods in the literary development; he realizes that such comparatism would only end in a distortion of facts\(^ {63}\). In the romantic category, very near to what was termed suggestiveness and symbolism, is stressed again an air of mystery as in the Odes of Ch'u and literary descriptions of K'un-lun, the utopian country of imagination. His striving for the realm of the ideal, the 'surrealistic' attitude\(^ {64}\) in Liang's rash terminology, is apparent again in T'ao Ch'ien's poem 'Peach Blossom Paradise', in Liang's interpretation the description of a cooperative society, absolutely free, absolutely equal and without government. The romantic ideal, somewhat confusingly explained at the same time as real effort for a reform of society, is treated separately in his lecture 'Research on Ch'ü Yüan' in November of the same year (1922) and again in the book on T'ao Yüan-ming\(^ {65}\) concluded in April 1923. The latter work combines k'ao-cheng philology with the nien-p'u tradition and a modern narrative form of literary biography. As in the Li and Hsin interpretation Liang tries to free T'ao's image from the shackles of the post-Sung interpretation, which stressed T'ao's 'loyality'. He sees T'ao Yüan-ming as the great artist, who is representative for his time; beside Juan Chi he may be called the only poet up to T'ang times who has expressed his individual-
ity fully in poetry after Ch'ü Yuan. As other representatives who have explored the realm of phantasy Liang quotes Li Po, Su Tung-po and Lu T'ung concluding again with Li Ho. As realistic mode finally is defined objective description of other people's feeling or of simple facts which reveal the author's intention indirectly. Beside The Peacock flies towards South East and passages from the yüeh-fu, Liang concludes his long literary excursion with examples from Tu Fu and Po Chü-i.

Even though the last chapters of comparing and evaluating these emotions in Chinese literature are missing, the crucial point of Liang's theory becomes quite obvious in the course of its unfolding. He emphasizes individuality, spontaneous expression of feelings and the exploration of phantasy for future literature exposing the inadequacies of traditional literature in this regard. The separate studies of individual poets in which we have noticed an attempt at reevaluation replacing Confucian moralism through intrinsic literary values, reveal in addition a strong patriotic undercurrent linking them to the earlier concept of the political novel. The book on Wang An-shih has only two chapters on Wang's literary achievements in the field of ku-wen and poetry which are subordinate to Liang's main intention of rehabilitating Wang as a farsighted social reformer; the Ch'ü Yuan and T'ao Ch'ien interpretation seem at places stressed in this direction. In the Biography of Hsin Ch'i-chi (Hsin Chia-hsüan nien-p'u) we find the same longing for a renaissance of the divided country as in K'ung Shang-jen's ch'uan-ch'i-protest against the foreign conquerors, reflecting Liang's concern for the unstable situation of his own time.

The theory which Liang expounds in his Expression of Emotion is in itself a curious example for hybrid mixing of traditional and Western concepts. A close look at the terminology and the way these terms are adapted, reveals this beyond doubt. 'Suggestive-restrained', gentle-sincere', 'inextricable-restrained grief' or 'poetical didacticism' are general categories of classical literary criticism which are repeated without polemic questioning or confinement to a certain school of interpretation. Romanticism and realism (or 'half-realism'), symbolism and 'surrealism' together with the principle of 'art for art's sake' seem only very superficially linked to the context of Western criticism with which Liang had not come into direct contact. The indiscriminate use of both terminologies brings the author into difficulties because much poetry listed under the spontaneous or suggestive categories is actually a part of the chapters on romantic and realistic expression of emotion; they are not really opposed or even distinct categories. As result of this hazy classifying and a maladjusted terminology the individual poets do not fit into the prepared categories. Their poetry is more than necessary torn apart, to be listed at several places simultaneously. Liang's essay remains a provoking though inconsistent theory directing traditional thinking on a new path, an attempt to inspire contemporary literature with a concept perceived only dimly from another cultural background.

Around 1924 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao begins to trace out a survey of early literary history. The Chinese Lyrics and its History (Chung-kuo-mei-wen chi ch'i
remained an unfinished manuscript which was only posthumously published in 1930 by Ko T’ien-min, a student of Liang. The author gives his view on the early development of poetry centering on the music-bureau songs (yüeh-tu). Liang further analyses the meaning of the four parts in the Book of Odes (Shih-ching), collects early specimens of the yüeh-tu and discusses their genuiness. He tries to determine the origin of seven-word and five-word poetry and dates the ‘Nineteen Old Poems’ (Ku-shih-chiu-shou), the poems of Su Wu and those of Li Ling. In accordance with his emotionalist theory Liang sees the origin of lyrics in songs of the people whose ‘natural beauty’ is opposed to shih-poetry with its added ‘artificial beauty’. Shortlived as these songs may be they have always existed as a separate genre beside the poetry infusing it with new life.

The yüeh-tu genre as ‘poetry to music’ is separated from normal lyrics. Liang defines the yüeh-tu 73 in a narrow sense reaching from the Han to the Northern and Southern dynasties and excludes the ‘new yüeh-tu’ of later times as a mere subcategory of the shih-poetry. The yüeh-tu after the Han represents already a secondary stage of amalgamation where a border-line between songs and shih-poetry is difficult to draw. This period is comparable to the four-word poetry after the Book of Odes, the tz‘u songs after the Sung or the ch‘u-airs after the Ming; originally these genres were all accompanied by music but lost this bond gradually. Liang excludes the Han lu 74, traditionally representative for the literary development of this period, because no emotions are expressed in this genre. The yüeh-tu songs instead are acknowledged as the true representative of this time 75, as the real literature of the common people. Liang modifies here the revolutionary genre concept according to which every historical period creates its representative genre: the T‘ang dynasty the shih, the Sung the tz‘u and the Mongol dynasty the ch‘u.

The real meaning of his theory therefore must be seen again in an attempt at reevaluation, this time not of a single poet but a whole literary genre; Liang’s sympathies are with the simple, unadorned style and the spontaneous expression of emotion in the yüeh-tu 76 which were considered earlier quite outside the realm of literature proper because of their rawness and simplicity.

The New Style Poetry of Liang’s first experimental period and the poetry of the other writers who explored methods of instilling a new spirit into traditional forms will hardly find a permanent place in literary history. In retrospect they may even felt at places to be more an appendix of Ch‘ing poetry than a new beginning. Their real meaning was in paving the way for the Literary Revolution of 1919. Liang’s partial restatement of traditional literary concepts in the second period would have been revolutionary two decades earlier. At this time his vague introduction of Western concepts was already somewhat superflous. China had by now interpreters better equipped and more radically inclined. This accounts for the great influence Liang Ch‘i-ch‘ao exerted at the time of the Poetic Revolution in contrast to his relatively unnoticed later literary activity 77. The most important contribution therefore of which time has taken nothing away may thus be his reeva-
valuation of individual poets and genres. His judgement seems today in many places more balanced than the biased transvalutative suggestions of the Literary Revolution. Critics of Liang's position in literary history, preoccupied as they are with his hsiao-shuo theories, pass already over the New Style Poetry very quickly if they treat it at all. But Liang's later period, if less important for general literary history, has at least to be mentioned for an understanding of his personal development.

A Transitional Concept

Theories of lyrics and wen-yen prose had tended to be repetitious and unimaginative in Ch'ing time. Skillful imitation became somehow regarded as synonymic for a smooth writing style; we find the theoretists absorbed in discussions about which poet or which period should be most profitably imitated. Was poetry in the hey-day of T'ang to be followed, as Shih Junchang maintained, the late T'ang style which Kung Ting-tzu exalted, or Sung poetry as Cha Shen-hsing recommended? Which ku-wen school should be taken as model, the style of the Eight Masters of T'ang and Sung, for whom Hou Fang-yü pleaded or the broader conception of the T'ung-ch'eng theorists? How was the moralistic concept of wen-i-tsai-tao, which had always been inseparable from the ku-wen style, to be implemented? Was Juan Yüan right in declaring the sophisticated parallel-style as the orthodox tradition, which the ku-wen had only illicitly occupied? Against this background more flexible theories stressing originality and creativity in poetry as Wang Shih-ch'en's shen-yü postulate, Yüan Mei's hsing-ling concept or the mocking attacks of Yeh Hsieh and his followers on the plagiarizing imitators could not gain ground. Facing the deep-rooted belief in the excellency of the past their arguments were felt hardly convincing. The despised genre of hsiao-shuo and the theatre remained outside the realm of true literature. Neither drama commentaries nor pleas for theatrical reform could achieve anything so farreaching as a general reorientation towards the genres. Neither the Kung-an school, Li Chih, Feng Meng-lung nor Chin Jen-jui succeeded in elevating the novel by their commentaries, editions and anthology collections.

Literary theories of the two decades under review are substantially different from this Ch'ing criticism. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's ideas are only loosely connected with the topics discussed before him, raising instead a range of new questions. Because they found only a provisional answer, we may label this period transitional. Liang himself had actually used the term for a broader political context as early as 1901 in an essay entitled 'On the Transitional Period', depicting the whole Chinese society in a transformation after several thousand years of stagnation. Elsewhere he defined the literary scene of his day as 'transitional period of the old and new literature'. He saw his own convictions and writings providing only a temporary answer; they would be soon and inevitably discarded by a rapidly changing society, he argued in the preface to the edition of his collected works in 1902. Attempts at an evaluation of Liang's contribution finally use the term
again. Ch‘en Tzu-chan and Fu Keng-sheng in his topical history of criticism characterize the whole literary activity of the author in the same vain.

Isolating general traits characteristic of this transitional period, as far as our analysis discloses, we may begin with a drive for basic reorientation of the whole literary concept. It is induced by ideas intruding from outside the cultural horizon. The opposite rationalization of this process as an inherent change, preceded by a long preparatory stage, can be neglected here as an effort to make the new situation palatable without offending self-confidence. This drive inspires a shift in general outlook, the task of literature is redefined, a new content is demanded, literary genres lose their dominating position or gain new importance; reevaluation of the literary tradition becomes inevitable, beginning with a partial or total rejection of individual traits. Problems of a mere technical character in rhetorics and poetics recede into the background.

It is not the specialized critic or the poet who actually starts this reorientation. As in Meiji Japan the challenge for political and economical adaption is felt much more important, literary innovation follows, promoted often by writers who only occasionally venture in this field. This has obvious implications for the level of the developing discussion. The answer found is a contradictory compromise between old and new which exactly makes this period transitional. Emotional poetry in tight traditional language, dramas about revolution in the old style of buffoonery, political novels struggling with the conventional hsiao-shuo shackles make the inconsistency of the theory apparent; practical attempts at realization prove not feasible. The transitional reformers do not realize for the moment that the old forms are more or less representative of the very spirit the reform opposes. The political concept actually encourages a literature of political propaganda. The formula of social usefulness proves to be a direct heritage of the Confucian didactic moralism prevalent in traditional literary theory. An affinity of Liang’s demands with the Yenan thesis that literature has to serve politics is obvious. The new message cannot reach the audience of all social levels as the transitionalists envisage, because frequent concessions to the wen-yen style limit its radius. It penetrates frequently only to the ‘aristocratic’ public which alone has the educational background.

This for the Chinese scene revolutionary concept is a derivative one, new ideas are indirectly absorbed through a dim filtering process. Uneven translation work has a great impact and Japan assumes the role of intermediary. Liang’s concept of poetry reveals itself as a surprisingly coherent adaption and transformation of ideals which had spread in Europe a century earlier from Germany and England. This influence can, at least in Liang’s case, not be traced down to a single book or informant, it is an example for this indirect filtering process. Liang seems more an agent in it than a conscious actor. His poetic emotionalism recalls Wordsworth’s definition of lyrics as a “spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings” or Hazlitt’s interpretation of Shakespeare’s drama as “expression of the passions”. The reinterpretation of Tu Fu is the logical consequence. Liang’s sympathies for poetry with unrestrained, strong emotions, his hero cult and literary feminism, the demand
for imagination and phantasy in the work of art as well as the sympathetic identification experienced by the novel reader, fit in the romantic pattern. Romantic is the notion that poetry has to be individual self expression, which is at the bottom of Liang's Ch'ü Yüan and T'ao Ch'ien interpretation. The predilection for the simple direct yūeh-lu of the common people, linked to the hypothesis of a creative infusion from China's border tribes strikes as a kind of romantic primitivism which afterwards stimulated the interest of the Literary Revolution in the popular novel and, in another transformation, literary research under Marxist auspices.

Summarizing the characteristics of the transitional period, its importance seems to be more in introducing a new attitude towards literature than in its concrete results. The efforts of this time have thus a place in the history of modern Chinese criticism and literary evolution, but they did not prove a basis for a new literature of any artistic standards. In a broader context the tenets of the transitional period cannot arouse much attention because of their derivativeness and superficiality. The interest this time may claim is confined to a historical understanding of the inner Chinese scene.
NOTES
A Representative Agent

1. The most pertinent judgment comprising various aspects of Liang's activity seems to be that of Ch'en Tzu-ch'ang, "A Study of Liang's Literary Criticism," Peking, Shanghai, Hongkong, Taipei, P. 1962, 2 vols., referred to as NC.

2. For a chronological survey of Liang's literary activities see the attached chart: At Ch'ing-hua University Liang wrote Expression of Emotion in the pastime between his work on history (WC, 13(37), 71). The book was written in extreme haste, judging from the divergence of actual chapters and the table of contents and repetitions, as well as his own preface. In the Little Heroes we find a note which shows the hectic atmosphere in which the translations were executed (CC, 19(94), 20). Unfinished remained the novel The Future and the three plays; among the translations - not taking into account the fragmentary translations probably intended as excerpts - Liang finished only the first half of the Little Heroes and abandoned the Last Days. The introduction for the anthology of Huang Ts'un-hsien's and Chih Ho's poetry breaks off before embarking on the biography of these poets (CW, 15(43), 80). Chinese Lyrics remained an unfinished manuscript (CC, 16(73), 97, 135-36, 180), as well as Hsin Ch'i-ch'i (CC, 22(98), 61).

3. In periods of leisure Liang composed much poetry, i.e. on the voyage to Hawaii (Nov.-Dec. 1899) (NP, 94-95) and Taiwan Feb. March 1911 (NP, 331, 332-35). He began the translation of The Beauties (WC, 16(45 b), 9) compiled the commentary of the Fan (NP, 680). While ill he wrote Tao Yuan-ming (CC, 22(96), 21) and Hsin Ch'i-ch'i, the 'Small Distractions' were jotted down during the illness of his wife (WC, 16(45), 113).

4. On his studies in English, Latin French and German see 歷史研究 邵松宜 論中國文學的研究方法 2 TP 1969, 23. He learned Latin in 1896 with Ma Chen-chung, 馬建忠, in 1919 he began French and said of his renewed efforts in English: "I can nearly read books and newspapers." (NP, 553, 259, 565). In 1921 he tried a historical translation from the English, but was apparently helpless without the assistance of his children (NP, 601).

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6. Chang P'ei-fu, "A Study of Liang's Intellectual History from Ting Wen-chiang to modern Western historiography."

7. In the Chinese Progress the consistent use of punctuation begins with vol. 4(1,8,1896). Before it is used only occasionally, afterwards unpunctuated texts still recur from time to time. Concerning the discussion on the punctuation during the Literary Revolution cf. "An Introduction to our New Period," p. 1968, 11, 115-28, 葉紫 "文學革命史研究 " in Chang Jo-yung ed. 陳其美編, 中国新文学研究史料 2 SH 1936, 118.


9. In the novel the party is called 廣東省人民政軍黨 "立憲派同盟軍" (CC, 19(99), 10).


The New Style

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Revolution of Fiction and the Political Novel

1. Liang repeats the traditional standard-formula with its moral and political implications. It shows the Confucian condemnation of the 'small-talk' hsiao-shuo genre. He uses the formula again WC 12(33), 68 and WC 2(3), 34.

2. WC, 1(3), 54.

3. WC, 1(1), 58.

4. WC, 2(3), 34: a poem by K'ang has been said stimulating Liang's 'Masses'. This is not very convincing as there is to find only a most general similarity: 賽黃 whitelist Anthology of K'ang Yu-wei, P 1930, 15, 232-33.

5. WC, 2(2), 56-57.

6. CC, 19(88), 1.

7. WC, 2(3), 34-35.

8. WC, 4(10), 6-7.

9. In Aristotle it is the poet who should strive for sympathetic identification with the characters he creates. The romantics stress the effect on the reader.

10. Allusion to the Three Kingdoms and the Water Margin.

11. WC, 4(10), 9-10.

12. T. Richard lived for 45 years in China. 1890 he edited the 時報 cf. CC, 19(86), 1.


15. Letter from December 11th to Liang; NP, 166-67.


17. 細情 plays a dominant role in the novel. It is another contemptuous expression for the Chinese novel as hsiao-shuo, stressing its function as vulgarization of the official dynastic history.

18. CC, 19(89), 2.

19. In 1911 Liang recollects his 1902 novel-vision of a new China, in which he had predicted the year of state foundation exactly, Lo Tsai-P'ei is the Kuang-hsi emperor 顧賦 唐代 Literature of the last three characters of the Mandchu 統領 羅烈烈; In Huang Ko-ch'ang's 黃紹竑 Liang alludes to the Chinese, descendants of the Yellow emperor, who are bent now on 'self-strengthening'. WC, 1(29), 3.


21. CC, 19(89), 1.

22. This are the chapters of the book which K'ang Hung-tao has written. K'ang was 漢詩之雄, CC, 19(89), 5-6.

23. The wedge was originally used in the t'ai-chü drama, later as well for introduction of hsiao-shuo, as in the 佛林外史.


25. WC, 4(10), 6-7.

26. WC, 2(2), 54.

27. FUTABATEI, Uikumo; 玉田 佐助, Hetu, Kajinokiku.


29. CC, 19(86), 220; cf. WC, 16(45, 6), 9.

30. The novel was adapted as a play in China as 外國美談新戲; 趙其浮者 紹曲隨筆 Notes on Reading Drama, SH 1936, 234.

31. Flemsion 楊陳光平 地球 研究記

32. An original analysis of Lin's activity which discerns two periods and disperses the myth that Lin wrote real ku-wen is 鐵錫華, 'The Translations of Lin Shu', 許學研究節, 1, 1954.

33. On Liang's translations p. 4. Cf. Liang's commentary on literary translation CC, 19 (94), 5-6, and an analysis of Liang's translations in Nakamura's article on Tokutomi.

34. Chang Peng-yu'an, 82-86.

35. Peng Tsu-yu, 269-71: 『日人當我們 站在絕境: Liang copied mostly without acknowledgment of original authorship. He used especially intensively the articles of Tokutomi, the editor of the Tokyo Kokuminsha bunshu 自由社. Li being copied from the 国民書籍. Other students in Japan were embarrassed and published 1901 in the Shanghai 新聞雜誌 an attack on Liang and his plagiarism.

36. Tokutomi was the author of the novel 龍門 which saw eight editions in the first year of it's appearance and was sold until 1903 in more than 12000 exemplars. Liang's introduction of Tokutomi to his Chinese Readers accounts probably also for Lin Shu's translation of this novel 1908 from an English version, which became in China very popular as well and had a second translation in the thirties. WC 12(32), 67-68.

37. The editors of the Anthology of Criticism use a combined chronological and evaluative method of arranging; Liang is progressive. cf. Introduction 1, 5.


Historical Drama

Revolution in Poetry

1. K'ang Yu-wei's poetry was not entirely without influence on the Revolution of Poetry. See the rather tortuous discussion of its literary value in Anthology of K'ang Yu-wei, 13-14.

2. NP, 94.

3. WC, 15 (44a) 19-20. NP, 22,36.

4. NP, 94.

5. The earliest reference in Liang's writing to this term I found, is 1901, WC, 16(45 b), 13, cf. WC, 3(6) 55, but it was used probably several years earlier; see the China Discussion appeared 1898.

6. WC, 16(45 a), 40. A discussion of T'an's very independent poetry is in Ch'en Fo-t'ung's "Eight Immortals" Literary Heritage Supplement, XII, P 1963, 154-64. I do not think however that it could be called representative.

7. 'Eight Immortals' WC, 16(45 b), 13-14. The poem is thought important enough to be included in the Anthology of Criticism. Liang had taken Chang for Tseng in the second line of the poem and corrected it later: WC, 16(45 a), 28.


9. WC,16(45 a), 2. Liang mentions also repeatedly Huang Ts'un-hien, Tseng Tso-yu and Chiang Chih-yu as the "Three Heroes of Modern Poetry", p. 17,24.

10. Huang's 19 poems for school ' 小学校学生相和歌 ' WC, 16(45 a) 48-51, and his 24 military songs ' 小華軍歌 ' ' 真甲歌 ' '韓軍歌 ', 34-56. I think there is no reason to doubt their authorship as Chao Ching-shen does: " Liang Ch'i-ch'ao has written Kuang-tung Opera", only because they are not included in Huang's Collected Poems. Cf. infra on Liang's shih-hua.

11. WC, 16 (45 b); cf. 豐盛選集 The Poems of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, SH 1957.

12. NP, 94.

13. WC, 16(45 a), 42.

14. NP, 95.

15. Shakespeare and Milton & Co. WC, 16 (45 b), 13; Sokrates 蘇格拉底; Marxini 馬克思; in the five-word line 異名書同志.

16. 軿葉 11,14; 自由平等 10; 輪船鐵路話專 18; 民族帝國主義 19.

17. Liang uses a japaanized terminology: China 方面 ibid., 13; Europe and America 西方米 6; and sometimes Japanese and Chinese terms interchangeably, Columbus 哥倫布 and Japanese 萬龍, 5. 學術初探文論集 13.

18. "自由思軸秋風", ibid, 4.

19. Ibid, 41.
19. Ibid., 2.
20. Ibid., 16.
22. Liang met Hu Shih the first time in Nov. 1918 (NP, 550). In letters he had discussed poetry and the question of rhyme (Liang's letter to Hu 3.7.1925, NP, 576).
23. WC, 15 (43), 70. Chou's poetry collection is the 桃源吟稿. Liang's anthology seems not to have been published.
25. WC, 15 (43), 79 "中國詩界大事件".
26. Alternating lines WC 16(45 b), 24; quotation poems p.81; poems on a given rhyme, 70-71; a letter-poem, 77.
27. WC, 16 (45 a), 113-127.
28. Ibid., 98.
29. In WC, 1, 105-121 most of Liang's shih and tu'u are dated. Between 1915 and 1925 there are no shih, between 1911 and 1925 no tu'u; cf. WC 16(45 b), 90 and NP, 95, 300-01, 416-17, 673.
30. The view that "symbolism's political influence and new wave effects " (CC, 1969, 217).
31. WC, 3 (6), 55.
32. WC, 16 (45 a).
33. Ibid., 1.
34. 中外詩歌結集, WC, 16 (45 a), 3.
36. Ibid., 22.
38. WC, 13 (37), 79-140.
39. Beginning in La Rekonstruo, IV, 6, 1922.
41. WC, 13 (37), 71.
42. Ibid., 71-72.
43. Ibid., 72-73.
44. Ibid., 73.
45. Ibid., 78.
46. Ibid., 87.
47. WC, 13 (37), 37-50, cf. NP, 612.
48. WC, 13 (37), 94-96, in the first category 75.
49. 花開少年新篇 On the circumstances under which this booklet was written cf. CC, 22(98), 61 and NP, 773,778-79. Cf. "花開少年新篇" WC, 16 (44 b), 20-23. The unfinished biography is at places inaccurated due to Liang's illness. Liang Ch'i-hsun completed the annotated edition by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and published it posthumously: 桃源新篇題解附記, 6 vols, pref. 1931.
51. "隋唐詩文大聖", WC, 13 (37), 77.
52. 7th chapt.
53. WC, 13 (37), 110.
54. Ibid., 119. The original chapter on symbolism is not elaborated (cf. 70).
55. Ibid., 120.
57. WC, 13 (37), 135.
60. Cf. the literary historians Haich Wu-liang 謝元長 (1916), Liang I-ch'en 崑陽 (1927), (1932), Tan Cheng-pi 潘之基 (1930), (1935). Yao Ch'iu-yung 鄧秋芳 (1933) and the bibliography of Hu Wen- k'ai 胡文楷 (1957).
61. WC, 13 (37), 123.
62. Ibid., 127.
63. Ibid., chap. 9, p.128.
64. Cf. NP, 631.
65. CC, 22(99), 1-2.
66. WC, 13 (37), 99, and chapt. 7; gentle-sincere p.81; inextiricable-restrained grief, 81; poetical didacticism, 103.
67. Half-realism ibid., 115,137; symbolism, 47-48; surrealism; art for art's sake (poetry), 140; imagination, 152.
68. Liang noticed some inconsistencies himself, cf. WC, 13 (37), 71.
69. CC, 16 (74), 135-136 Ko Tien-min on this book. The chapter 'Han-wei fu and similar works' is a second version of chapter 'The yueh-fu of Han and Wei'; the part on 'Poetry under the Chou and Chu' is unfinished as well as 'Poetry of T'ang and Sung'.
70. The Feng in his hypothesis are country songs, Nan and Ya are songs with yueh-fu character, the Sung are explained as dancing music or theatrical performances, ibid., 97; the sevenword poetry is in Liang's opinion already current between Chan-kuo and Han times, became obsolete and saw again a revival in T'ang times, 85,105. The five-word poetry is traced back only to the middle of Eastern Han, 108. The 'Nineteen Old Poems' are works form the same time but not the same author, Liang gives as date the Eastern Han, somewhat between 120 and 170 p.d., p.118. Su and Li's poetry is not genuine, 119.
71. CC 16(74), 2-3.
Liang's influence on the youth began to decline already after 1911; Chang P'eng-yüan traces his discussion therefore only up to 1911.

A Transitional Concept

2. He alludes only once to a concrete theory, the 'shen-yün' concept of Wang Shih-ch'en as an extension of the 'suggestive' style: WC, 13 (37), 112-113.
3. WC, 3 (6), 27-32.
4. WC, 15 (43), 71.
5. WC, 1: Oct. 1902 明序.
7. Liang uses this approach for his two intellectual histories of the Ch'ing time 近世學術概論 (CC, 9(34)) and the 中国近世學術概論 (CC, 17(75)). A comparable attitude is very pronounced in 《明清之交中國思想界之代表人物》, WC, 14 (41), 27-36.
T'sa-ch'i Drama  
T'ung-ch'eng School  
Ts'ü Song  
Vernacular  
Vernacular Poetry  
Vigorous Magnanimity  
Wedge-act  
Wen-i-tsu-tao (moralism)  
Wen-jen (literati)  
Wen-yen (literary language)  
Wen-yüan  
World of consciousness  
Young Hero (protagonist)  
Yü-lu  
Yûh-fu (Music-bureau Songs)