Genre Theory in China

in the 3rd-6th Centuries

FERENC TŐKEI

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST

F. TŐKEI

GENRE THEORY IN CHINA IN THE 3rd—6th CENTURIES

(Bibliotheca orientalis Hungarica XV)

The author, expert of China's past, analyzes in this book the famous treatise *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*, written at about the turn of the 5th—6th centuries by *Liu Hsieh*, one of China's most prominent literary theoreticians. After a thorough study of the historical social backgrounds of the 3rd to 6th centuries, the reader is presented a sketch of the germs of aesthetic interest prior to the 3rd century, and the beginnings of the Chinese literary genre theory in the time of the *Ts'ao* family and in the work of *Ts'ao P'i*. Having shown the antecedents and *Liu Hsieh's* life and career, the author discloses *Liu Hsieh*'s views on poetic, *i.e. par excellence* literary genres of Chinese literature: *wên*, written either in verse or prose; and he points out *Liu Hsieh*'s term *t'ung-pien* to be one of the peaks of Chinese logics and literary theory, *i.e.* to be a term expressing the discovery of the genre's peculiar position between literature in general and individual literary works.

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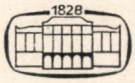

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TO THE MEMORY OF ETIENNE BALÁZS

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I. INTRODUCTION

When analyzing genre problems of ancient Chinese literature in my essay "Birth of the Chinese Elegy",[1] I attempted to prove that the elegiac character of Chinese poetry in general and the representative character of the elegy genre in China in particular are no incidental phenomena. They are the special artistic reflections of the kinetic laws of a relatively stagnant Chinese society that developed as early as in the antiquity. The object of the present examination is to find out: when, to what extent and for what reasons this basically elegiac character of the Chinese poetry — elegy and its subvarieties in particular — became conscious in the activities of Chinese literary theoreticians. So while in our earlier treatise literature itself was examined from the point of view of genre theory, with attention focused on the poetry of elegies of *Ch'ü Yüan* and what preceded it, the present one will discuss the genre conceptions of the philosophic literary theory of a much later date.

Since the subject of the examination changes, the new subject of another quality requires a somewhat different method to be adopted. It must, above all, be stated that while analyzing literary genres, almost all individual problems that are not directly related to genre questions could be or in fact had to be ignored, now — when, among others, the exact definition and interpretation of Chinese terms and formulations are involved, — I would have much less liberty to do so. The task now undertaken is made especially philological by the fact that the early texts of Chinese literary theory that are to be considered here, are not sufficiently elaborated philologically. Western translations and interpretations are scarce, and Chinese scholars are rarely capable of evading the influence of subsequent Chinese "literary criticism", the first ever to interpret these early texts, which, in our opinion, was one-sided, shallowy, allowing the most significant achievements to fall into oblivion. The fundamental reason for the present

[1] Cf. Tőkei F., *A kínai elégia születése. K'iü Jüan és kora*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1959. A revised French edition: F. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise. K'iu Yuan et son époque; Les Essais* CXXV, Gallimard, Paris 1967.

state of philological research is the fact that both the majority of Western sinologists and Chinese scholars tried to approach the problems of literary theory by using methods which, being inadequate, are bound to end up in a failure. It is obvious that e.g. the question of genre is neither an issue of the history of literature nor that of traditional philology, but it is a problem to be dealt with by the theory of literature.[2] It is therefore quite clear that I cannot abandon my essentially *philosophical* method this time either; for, however thoroughly the philological tasks lying ahead are accomplished, philology is incapable of even raising the problems of genre theory. It can only give assistance, which cannot, of course, be dispensed with, to the effect that the texts selected for examination should be as faultlessly reproduced as possible, with their individuality accurately fixed for such an investigation whose goal and range well exceeds the level of individuality, and which attempts to grasp just these peculiar and general laws. Traditional philology, however, does not possess means with which the specific and general standards can be reached, while at the same time it is the philologically fixed individuality from which we can rise to the actual peculiarities and generalities. And if the correctness of this fundamental methodological principle was quite clear during the investigation of such specific laws like those of literary genres, then it must apply to the same or to an even greater extent here — parallel with the rise in philological tasks in the narrow sense of the term — when the subject of our research is the way how the Chinese theoreticians grasped the peculiar and general laws.

These methodological remarks take us nearer to the — historically concrete — philosophic formulation of the subject. Genre can namely be defined as: the peculiar between individual works and poetry considered in general; and the theory of genre is accordingly the apprehension of the peculiar in poetry, namely from a peculiar aspect, the aspect of division. The pursuit of literary genre is first of all a matter of classifying literary works but — as we shall see — it would be a serious mistake to think that it is no more than the matter of such classification. György Lukács's recent research has shown that peculiarity is the central category of the whole aesthetics, since the subject of aesthetics, i.e. art, is such a peculiar reflection of reality which, after arriving at the general from the individual, does not

[2] Even the only considerable study on Chinese genre theory, J. R. Hightower's article "*The Wen Hsüan and Genre Theory*" (Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies XX(1957), pp. 512—533) bears marks of the author's methodological uncertainty.

formulate the result of recognition in its generality like science, but by, so to speak, incorporating the general into the individual, thus creating the peculiar (the type, etc.). Similarly, if it wants to keep its artistic nature, every work of art has repeatedly to meet the laws of a peculiar genre — never to be conceived schoolwise — for only the genre is capable of establishing communication between the individual work and art in general.[3] It is therefore philosophically an absolute nonsense to speak of the artistic nature, poetic rank or value of a work of art without analyzing the genre of the piece concerned. For that matter both scientific history of literature and scientific criticism are inconceivable without genre theory. But now, in order not to burden too heavily the present introduction, we have to be content with the given indication which, it is believed, has convinced the reader that the analysis of genre and theory of genre goes well beyond the limits of mere classification; to put it more correctly: it is a classification that raises the vital questions of art, in our case, literature.

However, the subject chosen now is not the peculiar, i.e. the genres of Chinese literature approached from the angle of classification but the process, the ways and results of the research of the peculiar. Needless to say that the investigation of the Chinese genre theory promises results of interest, having the strength to illuminate too, because the formation and development of the Chinese genre theory were impeded by enormous obstacles, the most obvious of which is that, compared to European literature, literature in China is relatively indifferentiated from the aspect of genres. When moving closer to a more accurate definition of our subject, the first question to be raised is: what is responsible in China for arts and their kinds remaining in a relatively indifferentiated condition? And the reasons to be briefly outlined will be the same as those forcing science in China (the other major branch of cognition, i.e. reflection of reality) to move within very narrow limits, thereby preventing the establishment of a real, dialectic link — through the apprehension of the peculiar — between the individual and general.

Apprehension of the relations between the individual, peculiar and general is one of the most important problems of human thinking. Regarding the simplest daily activities, this is the prerequisite of the "logic" of common thinking, and concerning more complicated points, it is the precondition of

[3] Cf. G. Lukács, *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*, 2. Halbband, Zwölftes Kapitel, *Die Kategorie der Besonderheit: G. Lukács Werke*, Band 12, Neuwied 1963, pp. 193—266; and 1. Halbband: *G. Lukács Werke*, Band 11, pp. 618—640 respectively.

scientific generalization, viz. that of every science. It is observation of nature and in the first place the experiences obtained from tool-making that may lead to grasping these three elements of objective reality; of course not by themselves but if these three elements can also be observed in *social* reality. This refers particularly to such ideation of the correct generalization, hence the "logic" of common thinking like scientific methodology (classification etc.) or — first of all — scientific, theoretical logic. As a matter of fact, almost up to these days the science of correct generalization, i.e. methodology and logic, remained in a rather embryonic state in China, and the only too deepset cause of this — not at all incidental — effect is to be found in the structure of Chinese society.

That the element of the peculiar in the Eastern World is uncertain, obscure, was already seen by Hegel; but he did not investigate the real reason for this. The recognition of the Orient only rose from divination to knowledge when economic, social and especially property relations were made subject of scientific investigation by Marx who discovered that it is the absence of *private landed property* that provides the real "key even to the Eastern Heaven".[4] I do not wish to repeat what I have already stated more than once in other relations,[5] but a few recalling words seem to be inevitably necessary. The fundamental unit of the ancient Chinese society had been the village community, whose contributions supported the aristocracy. The exploitation by rate-collectors was patriarchal, for it rested upon the (originally tribal) community ownership of land as well as upon the fiction that the representatives of the "higher community", hence the reigning prince (later the emperor) and his officials "embodied" the community, viz. the real owner of all fields.[6] For the peasants of course — as

[4] Cf. Marx's letter to Engels dating from June 2nd, 1853: K. Marx—F. Engels, *Briefwechsel*, Diet-Verlag, Berlin 1949, pp. 575—576.

[5] The concept of Marx and Engels is analyzed in detail in two chapters of our treatise: *Sur le mode de production asiatique: Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 58, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1966, pp. 7—68, while the third chapter, pp. 68—88, tries to adapt the concept of Marx and Engels to the fundamental lines of China's history, and a similar attempt was made in our study "The ancient Chinese Society and Philosophy", an introduction (pp. 9—27) to the first volume of the "*Kínai filozófia. Ókor.*" (Chinese Philosophy. Ancient Period) I—III. Selected, translated, introduced and commented by F. Tőkei: *Filozófiai Írók Tára. Új Folyam* XXII—XXIV, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1962, 1964, 1967.

[6] The most widespread term for the idea of "embodiment": 體 *t'i* is encountered several times in the course of this study. The basic meanings of this term are: "body" *(Tso-chuan)*, "limb" *(Shih-ching)*, "embody" *(I-ching)*, "form, shape" *(Shih-ching)*,

the original tribes soon perished — the higher communities are merely communities of exploitation, artificial and abstract, their "reality" existing only from the viewpoint of the aristocracy, forming just the basis of aristocratic parasitism. Private landownership is lacking, in the *Chou* period even its collateral forms are non-existent. In this society therefore no individual (and single community) can take some particular position of any kind, they cannot act as particular towards single persons (or towards other village communities), and on the other hand towards the monarch, that is the generality of the "highest community". The destiny of the single person can only be an absolute subjection to the state, the complete dissolution of his individuality in the general. This is of course only an abstract scheme (formulated from the viewpoint of our problem) of the ancient Chinese

"category, class" *(Li-chi)*, "indication of divination" *(Shih-ching)*, cf. B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa: Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* XXIX (1957), No. 597. These basic meanings of this word destined it to involve such very important philosophic ideas as e.g. "essence", "whole, complete" or "(a phenomenon) embodying the essence", "(a part) representing the whole", and, just directing the reader's attention to the centre of our subject: "genre" and "style". Unfortunately, sometimes there seems to be something wrong with the explanation of this very important term. E.g. we read this interesting phrase in the *Chou-li (T'ien-kuan)*: (the task of 太宰 *t'ai-tsai* is:) 體國經野 *t'i-kuo ching-yeh*. On the basis of a commentary, explaining *t'i* by the word 分 *fên*, this term is usually translated like this: "(the *t'ai-tsai)* determines the division of the capital and the outskirts", cf. S. Couvreur, *Dictionnaire classique de la langue chinoise*, Ho kien fou 1911, p. 927. This interpretation of the expression in question, however, is not satisfactory. Obviously, *t'i* can only mean "to divide" in the sense "being a part, to represent the whole", "being a limb, to represent the body"; thus Matthews (Chinese—English Dictionary) is quite justified in derivating the meaning of the aforesaid expression from the meaning "to embody", giving a comprehensive translation of the phrase: "to administer the empire". Even if in the *Chou-li* the task of the *t'ai-tsai* must be one of determining the basic plan of the capital and the division of the country, it is obvious that this meaning is not independent of "embodiment", since the plan of the capital has to be symbolic, representing by its basic scheme the division of the country. Without considering this solution to be a final one, we would suggest these interpretations of the expression of four words, quoted above: "to create a representative (= symbolic) division in the capital, and (in harmony with this) to divide the country"; or, if there is no need of insisting on the planning activity of the *t'ai-tsai:* "to make the capital representative, and (by this) to govern the country". This most abstract meaning is quite concrete and rich at the same time from an economic and social viewpoint, since it fixes one of the fundamental characteristics of Chinese "Asian mode of production": the impersonator, the embodier of the community must stay in the capital so that a good system of taxation can be organized, because "embodiment" (of a community by a ruler etc.) is the basis of taxation.

society, sufficient, however, to pose our question. Its concretization and dialectic outdoing can only take place in the course of our concrete analyses.

In consequence of the social dependency and indistinctness of the element of the peculiar, development of scientific logic never was possible in China, and every science got stuck on a popular-instinctive level.[7] This general characterization seemingly contradicts the fact that with several inventions the Chinese thinking and science (as well as technology) preceded considerably the peoples of Europe. Now, in our opinion all such inventions are ultimately due to the deadlock and relative stagnation of Chinese society, and it is the internal laws of motion of the "Asian mode of production" that gives us the key to really understanding the fact that in certain historical moments this stagnating society was able to precede temporarily (and always ambiguously) the development of European society. Since our subject, the Chinese literature theory in the 3rd to 6th centuries is quite a similar achievement of Chinese civilization, preceding the European one in several respects; this, in the course of our study, will be repeatedly and circumstantially dealt with.

Having analyzed the development of the Chinese elegy's genre and its growth to become a representative one, I believe to have shown that elegy itself is such a genre of the Chinese poetry which does not only bear comparison with the European one, but the universally valid genre laws of which can also be better outlined on the ground of the Chinese elegies themselves than the Western ones.[8] Now, to a certain extent and from certain aspects we will come across some equally great theoretical achievements "preceding Europe" in texts of literature theory in the 3rd to 6th centuries, mainly of course in relation to the elegic keynote of Chinese poetry and to the theoretical recognition of the elegy's genre laws. The direct soil of these achievements is (the indirect, economic and social grounds will be discussed later): a vast upswing of activities in the field of literature and fine arts as well as aesthetical thinking just in the centuries in question. And since this turning of the entire intellectual life towards aesthetics occurred exactly after the collapse of the realm of *Han*, when China's political unity ceased to exist, in the bloodiest centuries of the "great migrations" of barbars and early Middle-Ages anarchism, we are faced with such a contradiction that our whole essay can merely contribute to its solution and explication, and indi-

[7] On the history of science in China see J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* I—IV. With the research assistance of Wang Ling, Cambridge 1954—1965, The University Press.

[8] Cf. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 196—211.

cate the main directions for a comprehensive expounding. Here — by way of introduction — it suffices to point to the fact that as it is not accidental at all that the social-human problematic of the late *Chou* period could be summed up by the great poetry of elegies by *Ch'ü Yüan*, nor is it a chance event that the Chinese philosophy, from its beginnings, has carried the germs of the later greatly developing aesthetics, and that Chinese philosophy has had even from the beginnings a certain aesthetizing character considered in a broad sense. The comprehension of this demands the followings to be outlined:

The principle of the priority of the speculative-moral content is usually considered the essence of the Confucian literature theory, that is formulated *e.g.* in the following Confucius' saying of the *Lun-yü:* "Words should only interpose (the meaning)."[9] This is really one of the basic principles of the Confucian aesthetics, but this time it must be emphasized that it is only one of its principles, being moreover itself only too double-edged. When studying the genesis of the Chinese elegy, we demonstrated that the principle of the priority of contents — the "prescribed" contents being apologetic-Confucian — played as the first element an anti-poetic role, and became fruitful only when it surpassed the Confucian attitude, then, however, it turned into the veritable gold foundation of the greatness of Chinese poetry.[10] Now however, inquiring after the earliest ideas of the Chinese literature theory, the question has to be posed whether (independent of poetic practice) neglect and underrating of the form is to be seen in the Confucian theories. This question can be immediately answered: not in the least, on the contrary. Early Confucians had made considerable efforts to seize the unity of contents and form (always maintaining the principle of the priority of contents). In this respect the most important passage of the *Lun-yü* runs: "Said the Master: 'This one whose natural properties *(chih)* outshine education *(wên)* is a savage *(yeh)*. This one whose education *(wên)* outshines natural properties is a common scribe *(shih)*. This one whose education and natural properties are balanced became a nobleman *(chün-tzŭ)*.' "[11] In the quoted text the most important categories of the whole Chinese aesthetics manifest themselves. Though the formulation is moralizing, in conformity with the general character of Confucianism, the formulated principle became — and not by chance — one of the fundamental

[9] Cf. *Lun-yü*, chapter 15, 40.

[10] Cf. e.g. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, p. 80 etc.

[11] Cf. *Lun-yü*, 6, 16.

ideas of the subsequent aesthetics. The *chih* ("natural property") is in the later aesthetical texts one of the technical terms for contents, and the *wên* ("education") means in the first place the fine, ornate, artistic external form, and in the second place beauty, art, poetry.[12] When used together, the *chih* and the *wên* always mean: contents and form; more exactly: the virtuous contents and the suitably fine form, further: internal and external, substantial and accidental and so forth. The harmonious unity, the "balance" of the *chih* and the *wên* is the *pin-pin*, whose result in the moral sense is the "noble man" *(chün-tzŭ)*, and in the aesthetic sense the perfect work of art. The term *pin-pin* preserved this peculiar meaning carried in the quoted texts later as well: it never means some balancedness or harmony whatever, but exclusively the "balance", more correctly the unity of *chih* and *wên*.

Now, this principle of *pin-pin*, originally looked at from the moral angle, was said in the foregoing — the word aesthetic meant in a broad sense — to be aesthetical, aesthetizing. And why? Omitting here complicated argumentations and coming directly to the most important point: because this endeavour of the Confucian ethics after harmony and balance is directed towards the apprehension of the notion "mean", in the absence of which no philosophy of art is possible either. This is the reason why the ethical *pin-pin* became the category of just the aesthetics. One of the most famous

[12] Cf. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 493, giving the following basic meanings for the word *chih* 質: "substance, solid part" *(I-ching)*, "essential" *(Lun-yü)*, "natural qualities" *(Li-chi)*, "natural, simple, honest" *(Shih-ching)*, "good faith" *(Tso-chuan)*, "affirm" *(Li-chi)*, "give pledge" *(Shih-ching)*, "just, exactly" *(Li-chi)*, "directly" *(Li-chi)*, "verify" *(Li-chi)*, "written contract" *(Chou-li)* etc.; from these meanings it is but evident that in an aesthetic sense this term — opposed to *wên* — indicates "substantial" elements, i.e. content elements of works of art. See, moreover, Karlgren's opinion *(Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 475): the most archaic forms of the Chinese character 文 *wên* show "a man with tattooing on the breast". The fundamental meanings of the word are: "drawn lines, design" *(I-ching)*, "striped" *(Shu-ching)*, "ornaments, ornate" *(Shih-ching)*, "written character" *(Tso-chuan)*, "literary document, literature" *(Lun-yü)*, "accomplished" *(Shih-ching)*, "civil (as opp. to military)" *(Shih-ching)*, "embellish" *(Lun-yü)*. The meanings "nice shape", "ornament" and "literature" of this term obviously stem from the comprehensive meaning of tattooing and other lines and designs of magic function. The ornamental, decorative art character of the ideal of beauty denoted by the word *wên* is worth noticing. It follows from the origin of this word, *wên* — even in its literary theoretical meanings — always denotes the aesthetic qualities that changed into beautiful *spectacle*, i.e. it means beauty manifested externally, thus representing a suitable counterpart of the term *chih*. Connection of the idea of beauty denoted as *wên* with magic is testified by subsequent literary theoretical texts, too.

reference to the principle "mean" in the *Lun-yü* is: "Said the Master: 'The virtue of the mean's immobility *(chung-yung)* is the highest grade of perfection. And for a long time past already (it has been reached only) by very few men.' "[13] If the *Lun-yü* can be credited, this principle had already been applied to art by Confucius himself. One of his sparse conjectures reads: "The Master said of the *Shao*-dance that it is both perfectly beautiful *(mei)* and perfectly good (*shan*); but he said of the *Wu*-dance that though perfectly beautiful, it is not quite good."[14] The terms *mei* and *shan*[15] can be found likewise in the later aesthetical texts, and while their importance is not comparable with that of the *wên* and *chih*, so much is certain that the aesthetic concretization of the ethic *pin-pin* and *chung-yung* principles was conceived by Confucius himself (or by the author of the cited text) through them. Even the literary theoretical concretization of the principle "mean" can be discovered in the *Lun-yü*. It may be read: "Said the Master: 'The *Kuan-ch'ü* (song) is joyful but not libertine; sorrowful *(ai)* but not depressing.' "[16] It is perhaps superfluous to remind the reader of the fact that this formulation which to be sure has become similarly one of the fundamental theses of the Chinese literary science, already tries to find its way towards the basic questions of Chinese poetry.

The social contents of the Confucian "mean"-concept (and at the same time one of the ultimate reasons of the ethical and aesthetical character of Confucianism) is in our view the fact that Confucius' teaching tries from the first to find a middle way between the forces of state officialdom and patriarchal separatism, and tries to create a characteristically Chinese (Eastern) unity between national interest *(kuo)* and those of the aristocracy of patriarchal families *(chia.)*. If the principles *pin-pin* and *chung-yung* are taken seriously, if consequently the one is not allowed to get the better of the other, the union of the two is naturally a Utopia. Nor did Confucians succeed in creating the *kuo-chia* ("state"); the principal role in this histor-

[13] Cf. *Lun-yü*, 6, 27. The term *Chung-yung*, identical with the title of the subsequent famous Confucian classic work is, according to a new attempt, translated not as "immobility of the mean (middle)", but as "use of the mean", identifying the word 庸 *yung*, on the basis of old commentaries, with the word 用 *yung* " 'to use', 'to employ', cf. P. Weber-Schäfer, *Der Edle und der Weise*, München 1963, pp. 27—28; there is no reason, however, for rejecting the interpretation of the "neo-Confucian" tradition.

[14] Cf. *Lun-yü*, 3, 25.

[15] Generally 美 *mei* would mean 'virtue which is beautiful externally or also externally', while *shan* 善 used to mean 'inner virtue, goodness, competence'; cf. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 568 and No. 205.

[16] Cf. *Lun-yü*, 3, 20.

ical deed waited for the so-called legism that, dealing the given patriarchal aristocracy *(chia)* hard blows, was able to ensure the priority of national interest *(kuo)*, that is to say to definitely subordinate the *chia* to the *kuo*. Of these problems the important point for us now is that the society of Confucian "mean", "balancedness", "harmony" being extremely contradictory and Utopian, the whole Confucianism necessarily assumed the form of ethics and unavoidably became of an aesthetizing fundamental character. Slightly simplified: what cannot be solved in reality is better spoken of in the language of ethics, aesthetically formulated.

It is also the fundamentally Utopian character of Confucianism that determinated the development of its various schools. Its earliest phase of evolution is quite surely reflected in the *Lun-yü* (for the most part independent of the age of the text), because in this collection which does not make a point of systematizing the "sayings", the contradictions that result from taking seriously the principle of the "mean" are still quite undisguised, open, even logical contradictions were not tried to be eliminated by the compilers. Thus, reading the *Lun-yü*, we may already witness the strengthening of one of the most important Confucian currents, the ritualist trend. In some places resistance can also be experienced. The following can be read for instance: "Said the Master: 'I have never met anyone who likes virtue *(tê)* as much as external beauty *(shê)*.' "[17] The saying reprimands in the name of the *pin-pin* and *chung-yung* those who prefer "external beauty" to "virtue", and fails to observe — and how could it observe — that the domination of the external is one of the important development trends of the Confucian doctrine itself. For it is in vain that the principle of the priority of contents was never given up by a single Confucian philosopher, in the course of time when history set the task more and more pressingly to establish the "kingdom" *(wang)*, the unified nation, before long it is the aristocracy alone that found support for its interests in the Confucian ethics. New social strata had already come into being to support the "national interest", and though meanwhile few in number but already — in the philosophy of *Mo Ti* — making their voices heard. It is an extremely telltale fact the first great enemy of the Confucian patriarchalism, *Mo Ti* formulated the principle of "Condemnation of Music" *(fei yo)* as one

[17] Cf. *Lun-yü*, 9, 17. In the original sense 'magic power' of the word *tê*, which meaning did not disappear in subsequent periods either, see. e.g. A. Waley, *The Way and its Power*, London 1934, pp. 20, 31. For the basic meanings of the word *shê* see Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 927; in the philosophy of the *Chou*-period this term often meant 'woman's beauty, woman's charm'.

of his fundamental doctrines, condemning from a plebeian standpoint all kinds of aristocratic luxuries, among them music too, and not far is the time when the whole Confucianism becomes identified with ritualism by the consequent followers of *Mo Ti*.[18] And when the early Taoism appears — uniting various anti-patriarchal tendencies — its philosophers refuse, too, together with the Confucian ethical standards, both "education" *(wên)* and "beauty". In the *Lao-tzŭ* it can be read: "Trustworthy words are not fine, fine words are not trustworthy."[19] Further: "The five colours are blinding the eyes of man, the five tones are deafening the ears of man, the five tastes are blunting the palate of man.[20] Much riding and hunting infatuate the heart of man. Properties difficultly acquirable[21] impede the motion of man. The wise man therefore concerns himself with his inner self and not with his eyes. He discards consequently 'that' and selects 'this' ".[22] *Chuang-tzŭ* also rejects the whole "civilization" together with its beauty, as artificial, superfluous and harmful.[23] Thus Taoism upsets the "balancedness" of the *chih* and *wên* and sets up the "savage" with his primitive naturalness as its ideal, as part of an essentially pantheistic philosophy. And of this

[18] The 39th chapter of the *Mo-tzŭ* "Condemnation of Confucianists" can be a highly convincing argument in support of the gradually increasing ritualism of Confucianism.

[19] Cf. *Lao-tzŭ*, 81.

[20] The five colours are: the bluish-green, yellow, red, white and black. The five tones are: the five tonalities based on the five notes of the Chinese pentatonic scale *(kung, shang, chio, chih, yü)*. The five tastes are: the bitter, sour, salty, pungent and sweet. But in this text number "five" is only to be understood as 'different (kinds of)'.

[21] The expression *nan-tê chih huo* 'objects difficult to acquire' is a clear manifestation of the fact that in China trade was limited to rarities and luxury goods; it might well be translated also as 'rare articles', because the idea of *huo* was connected with the exchange of goods from the earliest times. In the phonetic element *hua* 'to transform' of the character *huo*, originally "a drawing of two knives, i.e. coins of knife-money" could be recognized (cf. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* II, p. 221), and in the character *huo*, this element was added a drawing of *pei* 'cowrie-shell', a "rare object" playing the role of money as early as in the *Shang—Yin* period (18th—12th century B.C.). Thus the basic meaning 'object (of property)' ('bribe' in the *Shu-ching)* is to be understood from the very beginning as 'object for exchange', 'money'. Naturally, *Lao-tzŭ*'s claim to the effect that "rare wares" — i.e. money — "impede the motion of man" is just the reverse of the truth from economic point of view, but the phrase in question is to be understood ethically: it is the desire for rarities that impedes man in his free, natural, "desire-less" motion.

[22] Cf. *Lao-tzŭ*, 12. Naturally "that" concerns the external world of vanities, and "this" concerns the internal world of a man.

[23] Cf. e.g. *Chuang-tzŭ*, 8.

logically follow the Taoistic principles ("naturalness of the unworked wood", "unutilizableness" etc.) which are well-known and unnecessary to quote.[24]

Besides the ritualist trend, the *Mêng-tzŭ*'s "school" of Confucianism also developed, limited to a much smaller circle as regards its direct influence.[25] Compared with ritualism, *Mêng-tzŭ*'s philosophy represents a more "mundane" and in the first place more practical standpoint: it advises on the creation of an ideal taxation system etc.; yet for all that — or rather just on that account — arrives at distinctly reactionary political conclusions. It protects by its theorems the interests of the "small state", the patriarchalism of principalities in an epoch when the veritable conditions of the great union are already maturing too. What can be his views on literature like? One of his extremely characteristic manifestations is fully quoted here: "*Kung-sun Ch'ou*[26] asked, saying: '*Kao-tzŭ*[27] says that the poem *Hsiao-p'an*[28] was written by a common man *(hsiao-jên)*'. *Mêng-tzŭ* asked: 'And why does he say that?' *(Kung-sun Ch'ou)* answered: 'Because he grumbles'. Then *Mêng-tzŭ* said: 'Oh, how stupid old *Kao* is in the understanding of the (Book of) Poems! For let us suppose that somebody points his bow at a man from *Yüeh* and wants to shoot him. The latter needs fine words and smiles to appeal to the better self of the former, namely just because he is faced with a stranger. But if it is his own brother that strings his bow to shoot him, he may burst out weeping and sobbing, appealing in this way to his better feelings, namely because he is faced with a close relative. Hence it is the love for parents that is streaming from the grumbling of the *Hsiao-p'an*. And the love for parents is humaneness *(jên)*. Oh, in the comprehension of the (Book) of Poems, old *Kao* is really stupid!' — *(Kung-sun Ch'ou)*

[24] Cf. *Chuang-tzŭ*, 1, 5; 2, 1; 3, 2 etc.

[25] *Fêng Yu-lan* gives a well-defined characterization of *Mêng-tzŭ*'s philosphy describing it as "the idealistic wing", as opposed to the "realistic wing" represented by *Hsün-tzŭ;* cf. Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, Ed. by D. Bodde, New York 1960, pp. 68—69.

[26] *Kung-sun Ch'ou* was one of *Mêng-tzŭ*'s disciples from the state *Ch'i*.

[27] All that we learn from the commentary about *Kao-tzŭ* is that "He was a man from *Ch'i*". He is not identical with *Mêng-tzŭ*'s other disciple from *Ch'i* of the same name, mentioned in *Mêng-tzŭ*, 2, B, 12.

[28] Cf. *Shih-ching* 197 (B. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm 1950, pp. 144—147). — The poem *Hsiao-p'an* is an elegy of a bitter tone, in which a calumniated official "grumbles" over his master's credulity. From the 3rd strophe we may conclude that the loneliness of the poet of this elegy must have originated from a conflict between the "official side" and the "internal side" of the family. This strophe offered a basis for *Mêng-tzŭ*'s interpretation stating that "the love for parents . . . is streaming from the grumbling" of this poem.

asked: 'How can it be then that the poem *K'ai-fêng*[29] does not grumble?' *(Mêng-tzŭ)* however answered: 'In the *K'ai-fêng* the parental error is but small, but in the *Hsiao-p'an* the parental error is great. And if the error of our parents is great and we are not grumbling, then we are behaving as strangers. If on the other hand the error of our parents is small and we nevertheless grumble about it, we are much too impatient. To behave like a stranger means lack of love for parents *(pu-hsiao)*: and impatience means lack of love for parents as well' . . .''[30] Now, without any particular explication it is obvious that the forced adherence of *Mêng-tzŭ* to the principles "balancedness" and "mean" is already quite intricate and false, and leads to a nation very remote from the true contents of the mentioned poems, falsifying them entirely.[31]

Investigation of the origins of literary theory in the ancient Chinese philosophy is not one of the tasks of this treatise; therefore we have to content ourselves with the accentuation of some momenta necessary to understand what follows. Now we are going to find our way back to the definition of our subject proper. The first phase of the research on genre theory is: classification. Every classification, however, raises the problem of the relation between the individual and the general in some form. Well, at the end of the *Chou* period the "discusser" *(pien-chê)* or "terminologist" *(ming-chia)* philosophers appear who first of all keep harping on the relation wrapped in sophisms of the name *(ming)* and reality *(shih)*, that is on the relation of the general and the individual. Special fame has been won by the sophism ascribed to *Kung-sun Lung*, according to which: "the white horse is no horse" *(po-ma fei ma)*, that is: a special horse is not the horse in general.[32] It is the late followers of *Mo Ti* who square up against sophistics, againts this absolutistical tendency to tear apart the peculiar and the general, and answer the question on the contrary: "The white horse is: a horse. He who mounts a white horse mounts a horse. The black horse is: a horse. He who mounts a black horse mounts a horse. A bond woman is: a human being. He who loves a bond woman, loves a human being. A slave is: a man

[29] Cf. *Shih-ching* 32 (Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, pp. 19—20). — In the poem *K'ai-fêng*, according to *Mêng-tzŭ*'s interpretation, a widow — mother of seven sons — who cannot bear her pains alone, decides to remarry: that would be the "minor error" over which the seven sons should not "grumble".

[30] Cf. *Mêng-tzŭ*, 6, B, 3.

[31] The history of the *Shih-ching* interpretations is still to be written. The foundations, unfortunately no more than the fondations of this apparently fruitful work were laid by B. Karlgren.

[32] Cf. *Kung-sun Lung-tzŭ*, 2.

He who loves a slave loves a human being."[33] At the same time, however, they do not at all amalgamate the peculiar and the general: "There are the (peculiar) properties in the *Ch'in* horse, and there are the (general) properties in the horse."[34] For the sake of fighting down sophistics, these late Motists exerted mighty efforts to define concepts correctly. In the struggle fought for definitions, the problems of the right argumentation, exact lingual expression, scientific induction turn up, and herewith appear in the ancient Chinese philosophy the nuclei of a theoretical (formal) logic. The greatest achievements of these nuclei lie in the fact that they strike upon the peculiar as the intermediary between the individual and the general. It can be read: "The name *(ming)* can denote the genus *(ta)*, the kind *(lei)* and the individual *(szŭ)*."[35] Or at another instance: "The difficulty of classifying into kinds *(lei)* can be explained by the fact that there are 'larger' and 'smaller' (names)."[36] The term *lei*, translated as "kind", being a mediator between *ta* and *szŭ*, doubtlessly means the element of the peculiar, and also reveals by its basic meaning — that is: "classification" — the practical preconditions and sense of the discovery of the peculiarity. It would be a pleasure to dwell longer on the theorems of the Motist logicians, for these buds of logic are perhaps the most interesting and enlightening texts of the whole Chinese philosophy; our chosen subject, however, obliges us to fast advancement. The question to be answered is — because in the course of our aesthetical study this is going to be of great importance — by what means the Motist logicians could discover the element of the peculiar, which is so indefinite in the Chinese society regarding its basic structure.

In Europe, in the antique Greece the suitable ground for scientific logic (and for scientific thinking in general) got established by the fact that part of the fields became private landed property, consequently the relation between individual and community worked out in such a way that the individuals or their groups could also occupy peculiar positions in relation to the rest of the individuals and — on the other hand — in relation to the national community as a general. From a different angle: The entire individual and social life of the ancient Greeks was permeated with money economy and commodity production; and yet money, being itself a singular and later a peculiar commodity, in the beginning, — passing through every

[33] Cf. *Mo-tzŭ*, 45. Our translation follows that of A. Forke, *Mê Ti, des Sozialethiker und seiner Schüler philosophische Werke*, Berlin 1922, pp. 529—530.

[34] Cf. *Mo-tzŭ*, 44, 16.

[35] Cf. *Mo-tzŭ*, 40, 58.

[36] Cf. *Mo-tzŭ*, 41, 3.

stage of singular and peculiar commodity — becomes the general standard of values, so that in this way it may offer day by day all its users an eloquent example of the veritable, dialectic mediation between the singular and the general. Now, in China during the *Chou*-period there is no trace of any private landed property, but there are indubitable symptoms of the development of a certain money economy. This is of course some trade of a highly limited radious of action, but its significance, even thus confined to the immediate surroundings of the towns, is mighty: the union of the Chinese principalities is ultimately due to an evolving merchant-aristocracy.[37] In our view the Motist "debaters" — like once the immediate followers of *Mo Ti* — have come from such "urban" social strata which while serving the official power (and not belonging to the old patriarchal families) have turned againts patriarchalism. The traditional term "swordsmen" *(hsieh)*, originating from *Han Fei-tzŭ*[38] is obviously too narrow for the comprehensive denotation of these social strata; the matter at issue is rather such "migrants" without families who once had been slaves, practising craftmanship and court-entertaining and when liberated, part of them kept on with their profession and the rest became tradesmen. Naturally there could be among them a fair number of real "swordsmen", both soldiers and specialists of war techniques, etc. and jacks-of-all-trades.[39] Several passages

[37] The biography of the rich "legist" merchant *Lü Pu-wei* is instructive from this point of view (cf. Szŭ-ma Ch'ien, *Shih-chi*, 85); see its summary by R. Wilhelm, *Frühling und Herbst des Lü Bu We*, Einleitung, Jena 1928, pp. I—VI.

[38] Cf. e.g. *Han Fei-tzŭ*, 49: "The Confucian scholars *(ju)* confuse laws *(fa)* by means of literary culture *(wên)*; and the swordsmen *(hsieh)* violate the rules with the aid of their military virtue *(wu)*." — Besides the Confucianists, the Motists are mentioned most frequently by *Han Fei-tzŭ*, thus the phrase quoted above is attributed to the Motists. But *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien* who begins the 124th chapter "Wandering Swordsmen" of his *Shih-chi* by quoting the aforesaid phrase, does not connect the word *hsieh* with Motism, cf. *Records of the Grand Historian of China, Translated from the Shih-chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien* by B. Watson, New York and London, 1961, II, pp. 452—461: "*The Biographies of Wandering Knights*". — The archaic form of the phonetic element *chieh* of the character *hsieh* represents three men; one of them in the middle is bigger than the two others flanking him, cf. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 630. Both from the contents of the *Shih-chi*'s 124th chapter and from the character *hsieh* it seems to be beyond doubt that it is the self-reliance, independence, self-effort that form the basic element of the idea of *hsieh*. Nevertheless, the whole problem of *hsieh*, which is no doubt of great importance, requires further research.

[39] The chapters 52—71 of the *Mo-tzŭ* (the text of nine of them being lost) preserved the works of a Motist "school" of warfare. In conformity with *Mo Ti*'s concept condemning war, the "school" dealt mainly with the technics of defence. Cf. Forke, *Mê Ti*, pp. 99—113, 600—629.

in the Motist logical "canons" prove that the authors of the texts — although promoting as a whole the interests of a merchant-aristocracy — could have scarcely been wealthy merchants themselves, but rather elements of the actual working people, like for instance artisans, commercial employees and the like. The same can be gathered from the following interesting quotation: "Prices are determined by knife-moneys and grain (marketing) together. If the knife-moneys are light, grains are not costly. Should knife-moneys be heavy, the purchasing of grains is not easy. The royal knife-moneys *(wang-tao)* do not change, but the grain market is nevertheless changeable (because) the harvest may change the grain market, hence the harvest may change knife-moneys too. If a vendor sells all his (goods) he becomes drained, having nothing more to sell. Yet through the fact that he has nothing more to sell, it is the sale that determines the price. The consideration of fairness is right, because through willingness or unwillingness (greed for grain) the vendors may ruin the country."[40]

The social strata serving as the social fundament of the Motist logical thinking, occupied really a peculiar position in the structure of Chinese society. This is a transitory and quickly passing peculiar, because as soon as they get formed into a class (the class of merchants), it already becomes absorbed in the general, loosing its peculiar position, but it must still be a peculiarity, and without it not even the buds of theoretical logic could have appeared in China; not to speak of the fact that without them (and without their legism) China could not have been turned into a unified state. Yet in the ancient China the buds of logic remained only buds up to the end, they could never assume the form of a formal-logic system. Although in some form or another they influenced the whole subsequent Chinese philosophy, these early beginnings could never be systematized and surpassed by anyone. In the relatively most systematized form they were taken over by the most stately system of the antique Chinese philosophy, the Confucian system of *Hsün-tzŭ*. By a system that can produce — as its organic part — the first relatively independent aesthetic disquisition in Chinese philosophy. And this is by no means incidental.

The central category of *Hsün-tzŭ* is ceremonialism *(li)*; but it would be greatly erroneous to identify this with the religiously inclined ceremonial notion of the ritualist trend. *Hsün-tzŭ* was a great philosopher and with him "ceremonialism", the regulating principle of the external forms of behaviour lets fully develop the aesthetic character being latent in it. This

[40] Cf. *Mo-tzŭ*, 43, 57, 59.

all becomes quite clear at the examination of two passages of the chapter about the *li*. One of them runs as follows: "Ceremonialism *(li)* begins always with the 'small columns' (rules), completes itself in beauty *(wên)* and ends in joy and serenity *(yüe hsiao)*. Consequently: if (the ceremonies) are perfectly fulfilled, then our sentiments *(ch'ing)* and sense of beauty *(wên)* become equally satisfied. It is the next (less perfect) degree when of our sentiments *(ch'ing)* and sense of beauty *(wên)* the one gets the upper hand over the other *(tai-shêng)*. And it is the lowest degree when we merely keep repeating our sentiments *(ch'ing)* in this way returning to the 'great number one' (to our uncivilized condition)."[41] The other one is still more clear-cut: "Should beauty *(wên-li)* be ample, with slight emotional contents *(ch'ing yung)*, then the ceremony *(li)* is too superabundant; yet if beauty *(wên-li)* is poor but its emotional contents *(ch'ing-yung)* are ample, then the ceremony *(li)* gets crippled. If beauty *(wên-li)* and emotional contents *(ch'ing yung)* compare like the inner and the outer side (of the same matter, viz. 'ceremonialism'), if the outer and the inner *(piao li)* proceed in line and the one is undistinguishable from the other *(tsa)*, then we are pacing the middle way of ceremonialism *(li chih chung liu)*."[42]

In the quoted sentences the *li* is practically interchangeable with the concept of art which possesses in this case an external form *(wên* and/or *wên-li)* and emotional contents *(ch'ing* and/or *ch'ing-yung)*. This couple of concepts is already such an aesthetic concretization of the concept-couple *wên* and *chih* which in the first line may be applied to lyrics and which naturally became an important category of the subsequent literary science. It shows that the *li*-concept of *Hsün-tzŭ* is highly superior to ritualism. But is this rise-into-aesthetics a means of escape from reality? In the history of philosophy the aesthetic trend does not generally mean an escape but rather the advantageous exploitation of some difficult situation; as for instance in case of the German enlightenment and classics.[43] In *Hsün-tzŭ*'s philosophy this is very clear. It has been pointed out that *Hsün-tzŭ*'s concept of *li*, if all its meanings are tried to be summed up in our words, expresses the universal law of human society and moral, being in this way the immediate forerunner of the *fa-* (law) category of the legists.[44] In certain formulations

[41] Cf. *Hsün-tzŭ*, 19.

[42] Cf. *Hsün-tzŭ*, 19, 226.

[43] On Schiller's "aesthetic education" see G. Lukács, *Zur Ästhetik Schillers* (1935): *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ästhetik*, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin 1954, pp. 11—40.

[44] Cf. e.g. the introduction of *Fang Hsiao-po*'s book *Hsün-tzŭ hsüan*, Peking 1958, pp. 1—7.

its meaning is not so comprehensive, and when it comes to that, its subordination to some more general concept is fixed by another term. Highly characteristic is for instance the phrase: "graciousness of ceremonialism and justness" *(li i chih wên-li)*[45] often repeated by him, where the proper contents of *li* and *i* are aesthetically considered. The struggle fought by *Hsün-tzŭ* for the formulation of a concept of law is equally one of the most tempting topics of the ancient Chinese history of philosophy, but we cannot dwell here any longer either. It remains merely to be indicated that — in the course of his battle fought for the concept of law — *Hsün-tzŭ* also logically considered the problems of correct generalization, and tried to build into his system the achievements of the Motist "debaters". In the chapter "correction of denominations" we read: "Although things *(wan-wu)* are of a great number of kinds, occasionally we want to mention them in their totality and in this case they are referred to as: things *(wu)*. Things: this is the most general denomination *(ta kung ming)*. (The concept) may be extended and made to be more general *(kung)*, and when it is already more general, it is generalized still further, up to the stage where there does not exist anything more general, and then it comes to a halt. Another time it is only one side of the things that we want to mention, and then we say: 'birds and beasts'. Birds and beasts: this is a highly distinctive denomination *(ta pieh ming)*. (The concept) gets narrowed down and differentiated, and when it is already distinctive, it is differentiated still further, up to the stage where there exists nothing that would be more differentiated; and then this comes to a halt."[46]

Differentiation and assembling to unity, to ensure the unity of the individual (in the above instance: peculiar) and the general: this also is the basis of his "musical theory". The 20th chapter of his collected works is the first, relatively independent aesthetic treatise in Chinese philosophy.[47]

[45] *Hsün-tzŭ* considers the development of the term *wên-li* 'charm', 'beauty', 'culture' etc. a realization of the principles "ceremonialism" and "justice"; thus this idea has central significance in his philosophy, since the native "badness" of human nature can be overcome just by the *wên-li*, cf. *Hsün-tzŭ*, 23. The word *li* meaning 'veins (in jade)', 'to rule lines' etc., is, on the one hand, related to the original sense of *wên* 'drawn lines', 'ornaments' etc., but on the other, it means the internal, natural "veins", i.e. order, principle, rule of the phenomena; in this way, while in aesthetic literature *wên* became the term of the external form (of beauty), the term *li* — as opposed to *wên* — always meant order and truth of the idea.

[46] Cf. *Hsün-tzŭ*, 22.

[47] Cf. *Hsün-tzŭ*, 20: *Yo-lun* 'Treatise on Music'. This study was written in defence of music, challenging *Mo Ti*'s "condemning" standpoint.

Therein we read: "Thus music *(yo*[48]*)* differentiates the singles *(i)* to ensure hereby harmony *(ho)*; compares (different) things *(wu)* to increase hereby the beauty of the parts *(chieh)*; unites therefore the (different) musical tunes to create hereby beauty *(wên)*." And further: "Music creates harmony *(ho)* which is unchangeable; ceremonies fix concepts *(li)* which are un(inter) changeable. Music unites and identifies *(ho t'ung)*, ceremonies take apart and distinguish *(pieh i)*. The joined influence of ceremonies and music *(li yo chih t'ung)* may be a good governor of men's heart." These formulae and especially the latter demonstrate clearly also the social ground for *Hsün-tzŭ*'s aestetical-philosophic categories. Ceremonialism, whose fundamental principle — in contradiction to music is distinction, is actually the abstract expression for patriarchalism; yet music, whose concept in contradiction to ceremonies is uniting, is the abstract expression for national unity. The amalgamation of both principles is therefore: the quondam Utopy of Confucius. In *Hsün-tzŭ*'s formulation there is, however, always a certain emphasis on the relative independence of the part against the whole, on the "proportion of the parts", and that the whole consists of parts, and does not exist without them, etc. In a word: in the philosophy of *Hsün-tzŭ* appear vaguely — under the influence of the sophists and the Motist logicians — the intermediator of individuality and generality, viz. philosophy. This is what makes *Hsün-tzŭ*'s philosophy the crowning of the phase before the legism of the antique Chinese thinking, and at the same time the immediate forerunner of legism itself.

On the ground of the related facts it can be understood in what way *Hsün-tzŭ* or some immediate follower of his also reached such literary theoretical formulations which manifest the deep comprehension of poetry that unfolded up to that time, and at the same time point — inseparably — to the future. Let us quote only one: "(The poets) of the Small Odes *(Hsiao-ya)*, not finding (official) employment through the culpable monarchs, retired personally (from public life), and lived badly off *(chü-hsia)*. Since they hated the then government *(chin chih chêng)* they turned with longing towards the past *(wang chê)*, with beauty *(wên)* in their words and grief *(ai)* in their voice."[49]

This characterization of the odes of *Hsiao-ya*, referring to the political lameness, anticonformism of the poets, their turning towards the past for

[48] Naturally *yo* means here 'musical composition', a combination of singing, instrumental music and dancing, poetry being part of it.

[49] Cf. *Hsün-tzŭ*, 27.

the sake of future is: the recognition and deepest understanding of the elegical tendencies.[50] The joining of the concepts of beauty *(wên)* and sorrow *(ai)* is a mental deed of immense significance; this connection expresses the basically elegical nature of the entire Chinese poetry, and it is not by chance that in the wording of Chinese poets the various expressions of beauty and the various terms of pain, sorrow, grief became virtually as good as reciprocal synonyms. In all probability the most important feature, the differentia specifica of the beauty-ideal of Chinese poets is that it is centred upon sorrow.

Considering all this, it is not at all surprising that *Hsün-tzŭ* was not only a philosopher but also a poet, namely a poet of elegies. From political and mental viewpoint he is the philosopher and poet closest to *Ch'ü Yüan;* their spiritual efforts were similar and they reached similar results. Nearly simultaneously with the birth of *Ch'ü Yüan*'s great poetry of elegies, it is *Hsün-tzŭ* (or an immediate follower of his) who is endavouring to apprehend in aesthetic-literary theoretical relation the most important definitivenesses of the Chinese poetry, among them also those of the genre. And therewith we have arrived in the determination of our subject at the point where we practically stopped when studying the origins of the Chinese elegy: at *Ch'ü Yüan.* His poetry means a turning-point (resulting organically from its antecedents) in the Chinese literature because he creates *Li-sao,* i.e. the unparalleled ideal of the most Chinese of all genres: elegy. What then was the ultimate object of the research into the history of literature and genre must be now the starting-point of the study of literary theoretical progression of consciousness, as the main precondition of genre theoretical cogitation is after all the differentiation of poetical genres.

However the initiatives of *Hsün-tzŭ* — whose greatness is, in our opinion, sufficiently demonstrated by the above quotations — were not improved upon significantly by anybody up to the end of the *Han* period. There are, of course, profound social reasons for this that cannot be discussed here in details. The most important of the epoch's characteristics for us now is the point that although trade is prospering in a never experienced measure, the political power is kept up to the end by the hands of the office-holder aristocracy. Consequently commerce gets planted into the system of patriarchal-public exploitation, adheres to mandarinism, increasing immensely the parasitism of the whole social order. The merchants provisionally procure land and slaves as their private property, but after that they purchase or

[50] Cf. *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise,* pp. 99—114.

get some official employment, their private property either ceases to exist (becomes "delivered" to the state) or gets degraded to secondary importance. There is no trace of the development of latifundium, industrial undertakings are known (e.g. iron-founding), but the state — if there is a way — tries to get hold of them.[51] In this way the accumulation of monetary possessions, having no "target" in the economic sense, leads only to debasement, destitution and revolts; after which the order, existing a phase earlier, becomes restored and this everlasting monotonous recurrence in China of "rise" and "decline" is going on.[52] Now, this ceaseless fight and symbiosis of the official and mercantile aristocracy which is essentially a sharing-wrangling about the produce surplus of community peasants, is the basic determinator of the fights and history of philosophy in the *Han* period. So far Sinologist research has revealed the motives and contents of this history even less than those of the philosophy of the *Chou* period. For us, however, it is sufficient to accentuate a few factors the most important of which being the philosophy of "alteration".

According to tradition, the first admirer and commentator of *Ch'ü Yüan*'s *Li-sao* had been *Liu An*, prince of *Huai-nan*, in the 2nd century B.C.[53] It is the same *Liu An* whose philosophic circle created *Huai-nan-tzŭ*,[54] the fundamental book of the new mystical phase of Taoism. The "heavenly journey" becomes now definitely a flight, *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry of elegies gets connected now with Taoism; and perhaps it is just the circle of *Liu An* or some other Taoist circle of the early *Han* period where the representative

[51] On the state monopoly of salt and iron see N. L. Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China*, Princeton 1950, Commentary, pp. 61—64.

[52] Needless to say that the characteristically Oriental conceptions of recurrence, of historical "rotation" are based on the illusory motion of the actually stagnating "Asian" society. That is why the constant change of "good government" *(chih)* and "convulsion" *(luan)* is one of the basic motives of the Chinese historiography from the very beginning. In the *Han*-period when, besides the succession of rises and falls of dynasties, it could be noticed that even the state management of one single dynasty was but constant recurrence of rises and falls, different kinds of supernatural explanations of the rotary motion were elaborated by the Chinese ideologists.

[53] *Liu An*'s biography can be read in the 118th chapter of the *Shih-chi* and in the 44th chapter of the *Han-shu*: it is summarized by A. Forke, *Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie*, Hamburg 1934, pp. 21—24. The Taoist "school" emerging around *Liu An* must have played a considerable role in preserving of the traditions of elegy poetry of *Ch'u* or better to say, in its distortion in the Taoist direction.

[54] See a short summary of *Huai-nan-tzŭ*'s philosophy by Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 25—46.

work of this turning-point, *Yüan-yu*[55] is written. And at the same time on the other, the "official" side: we find the Confucian mysticism of *Tung Chung-shu*.[56] No matter how far one system stands from the other on the surface, they notwithstanding meet in the "natural-philosophic" mystic: both make the course of human fate dependent on the "alterations", the mutual surmounting of *yin* and *yang*.[57] Meanwhile in poetry the "descriptive poem", the *fu*, originating from *Ch'ü Yüan*'s elegy *(sao)* gets to flourishing and autocracy, and *Szŭ-ma Hsiang-ju* (about 179—117 B.C.) will be its representative master.[58] And in the person of the great historian *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien* (about 145—90 B.C.) the poetry of *Ch'ü Yüan* meets with the first person of real understanding and valuation. The biography of *Ch'ü Yüan* was quoted nearly fully from the *Shih-chi* of *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien* in our former treatise.[59] Now we have only to inspect cursorily the passage left out there: the literary estimation of the *Li-sao*.

"*Ch'ü P'ing (Ch'ü Yüan)* — writes *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien* — when writing the *Li-sao*, told the troubles of his own life. (The poets of) *Kuo-fêng* liked beauty but they did not overdo *(pu-yin)* it.[60] (The poets of) *Hsiao-ya* complained because of slander but they did not want to make trouble by doing so *(pu-luan)*. Well, of the *Li-sao* it can be said that (these artistic virtues)

[55] Cf. *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 184—187.

[56] *Tung Chung-shu*'s biography can be read in the 121st chapter of the *Shih-chi* and in the 56th chapter of the *Han-shu;* and in a shortened form by Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 46—49, with a summary of his philosophy, *ibid.*, pp. 49—64.

[57] The explanation of "alteration", "change" is one of the central problems in the philosophy of both the Confucian *Tung Chung-shu* and Taoist *Liu An*. Both of them revive the doctrines of the so-called *Yin-yang*-"school", a "natural-philosophic" trend of *Chou*-period; *Hung-fan* 'The Great Rule' is ranked among its representative works and the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* 'Attached Explanations', an appendix to the *I-ching* is considered another important work of this school by *Fêng Yu-lan, A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 129—142. In the course of this treatise the concept of "change" of the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* and of the philosophy of history based on it will become especially important, but we have to postpone its analysis to chapter III, 4.

[58] See *Szŭ-ma Hsiang-ju*'s biography in *Shih-chi*, 117, and the translation of the whole chapter, abundantly quoting his works, by Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, II, pp. 297—342.

[59] Cf. *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 122—125.

[60] In the expression *pu-yin*, the double and connected meanings of *yin* could be interpreted as 'overdoing' as well as 'debauchery'. Now, in aesthetical relation, it seems appropriate to stress the meaning 'exaggeration', 'excess'.

are united in it. 'Above' it mentions *Ti-ku*,[61] 'below' it speaks about (prince) *Huan* of *Ch'i*,[62] and in the 'middle' it tells of *T'ang* and *Wu*,[63] criticizing therewith the conditions of the epoch *(shih-shih)*, giving radiance to the 'way and virtue' as well as to the lawfulness of order and confusion; and there is nothing finally which it would not show. — The form (of the poem) *(wên)* is concise, its words *(tz'ŭ)* are of hidden meaning. The ambition *(chih)* (of *Ch'ü Yüan)* was pure, his behaviour *(hsing)* unimpeachable; (thus) when in his style *(ch'êng)* the external beauty *(wên)* is lower, then (the hidden) meaning *(chih)* is the highest possible; when his parables *(chü-lei)* are near, then his message *(i)* is far-reaching. His ambition *(chih)* being pure, he praised (in his work) the fine fragrance of the plants,[64] and his behaviour *(hsing)* being unimpeachable, he preferred death to exile. He washed off the mud thrown at him, in the very center of mud; like a cricket he slipped out of his skin in the midst of impurity; he flew away with easy levitation beyond the dust of Earth (where) the filth of his epoch could not reach him, and his shining purity was muddled to no effect, he could not be stained! — Judged from the above emotional contents *(chih)*: (the *Li-sao)* could worthily compete even with the light of the sun and moon."[65] Referring to *Pan Ku*, this estimation is held to belong — the first sentence excepted — to *Liu An*'s lost commentaries. — This is possible. Yet the whole estimation considered as part of *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien*'s great biography of *Ch'ü Yüan*, the Taoist-like sentences can be held only for the lyric expression of his admiration and enthusiasm. It is the basic idea of *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien* that the poet did not escape from life, from politics but got chased out of them, and it is just this that he sang about in his great elegy. "He was trustworthy but he met with doubt; he was faithful but he got

[61] *Ti-k'u* is a mythic ruler mentioned by *Ch'ü Yüan* as *Kao-hsin;* see related traditions: Ed. Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Paris 1895, I, pp. 39—41.

[62] Prince *Huan* from *Ch'i* (685—643 B.C.) was the first from among the so-called "five hegemonic rulers" *(wu-pa)* who succeeded in creating a comparatively strong state power by carrying out certain reforms, cf. H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, Paris 1965, p. 245 etc. *Ch'ü Yüan* mentioned that he had been able to raise *Ning-ch'i*, a wandering merchant to a high rank, cf. *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 148, 163.

[63] *T'ang* was the legendary founder of the *Shang-Yin* dynasty. *Wu* is *Wu-wang*, i.e. the "Martial King", the war leader and founder of the *Chou*-dynasty.

[64] In *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry — and, under his influence, in the whole Chinese poetry as well — the fine fragrance of the plants is always a symbol of virtue, nobility and purity, originating obviously from the practice of offering plant sacrifices.

[65] Cf. *Shih-chi*, 84.

slandered; how could he have refrained from complaining!" — is written by him immediately before the lines quoted here.[66] One of his literary theoretical basic ideas seems to be — according to a number of passages in the *Shih-chi* — that poets create really great works when they are forced to live in "misery", cast out of glory and power.[67] It perhaps goes without saying that this idea has essentially nothing in common with the mysticism of "changes", but that it has definite political contents; and that by this idea *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien* is — most closely connected to the understanding of *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry — the heir of *Hsün-tzŭ*'s initiatives.

One of the most characteristic currents of the *Han* period will be the one which sets as its aim the interpretation of classic books.[68] The *Shih-ching* commentaries of *Chêng Hsüan* (127—200), in which this "philological" current culminates, were conceived for the most part in the spirit of *Mêng-tzŭ*.[69] The "Great Preface" of *Wei Hung*, the translation of which can be read in our earlier essay,[70] was written about 25, — similarly in the spirit of the formal Confucianism. This latter work, however, — its motives not minded now — contains significant theoretical generalizations and, according to this, its effect on the Chinese literary theoretical thinking was rather strong. Its translation will not be repeated fully, but now the closer inspection of some of its ideas and terms is indispensable. The idea of definitive character, which shows relationship with the theory of "alterations", is as follows: "The music of the epoch of good government is quiescent and (therefore) joyful, for the governing is harmonious. The music of the period of confusion is discontented and (therefore) wrathful, for the governing is deteriorated. The music of the country running to ruin is complaining *(ai)* and meditating *(szŭ)*, for the people got to misery." Both idea and termi-

[66] Cf. *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, p. 123.

[67] Investigating *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien*'s literary critical views, *Li Ch'ang-shih* presumes to discover even the expression of inferiority complex of Freud and Adler in the *Shih-chi*, cf. his book *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien chih jên-ko yü fêng-ko* (*Szŭ-ma Ch'ien*'s Personality and Inclinations), Shanghai 1948, p. 353 etc.

[68] Cf. Dr. Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hung T'ung, The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*, Leiden 1949, pp. 82—100, 128—165.

[69] See *Chêng Hsüan*'s *Shih-ching*-interpretations considered irrefutable for a long time, in B. Karlgren's glosses: *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* XIV (1942), XVI (1944), XVIII (1946).

[70] Cf. *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 85—87. The text of the "Great Preface" was edited in the *Wên-hsüan*, 45, under the title "Preface to the *Mao* Odes" as a work by *Pu Shang (Tzŭ-hsia)*, a disciple of Confucius. But the chapter *Ju-lin chuan* (109) of the *Hou Han-shu* (by *Fan Yeh* who lived from 398 to 445) attributes it to *Wei Hung*. As at present, *Wei Hung*'s authorship can hardly be a matter of doubt.

nology show the influence of *Hsün-tzŭ*. The author then names the famous "six principles" of the poem *(shih)*. These are: the *fêng*, the *fu*, the *pi*, the *hsing*, the *ya* and the *sung*. The interpretation of the "six principles" is much discussed; so much seems at any rate to be certain that a genre can be seen only in three of them: the well-known classification of the *Shih-ching* taken for a ground, the *fêng* is the song, the *ya* is the ode and the *sung* is the hymn. The three other "principles" are methodic concepts: the *fu* is description, the *pi* comparison, and the *hsing* allegory.[71] Famous though this genre-methodological classification has become — being doubtlessly the first one — its unexplainedness has to be stated first of all. Our author is impeded by his moralizing mentality, even at the definition of the song's genre. He says: "Principals alter their subjects by the aid of the *fêng*, and subjects criticize their principals by the aid of the *fêng*. It is the most important that it should be fine *(wên)* and that it should advise cunningly. (In this way) he who says it, may not be punished for it; and it is sufficient for him who hears it, to take care (of his behaviour). That is why it is called *fêng*." He separates subsequently the *fêng*, the *ya*, and the *sung* from one another in this way: " . . .when the things of a principality *(kuo)* are bound to the person of a single man *(i-jên chih pên)*, we speak of the *fêng*. When the things 'under heaven' are put into words and the customs *(fêng)* of the four heavenly quarters are illustrated by the poem, then it is called the *ya*. The meaning of the (word) *ya* is regular *(chêng)*. It puts into words the reasons why the 'royal government' is deteriorated, and the reasons of its prosperity. And because there are smaller and larger governments, there are both *hsiao-ya* and *ta-ya*. The *Sung* is (the poem) which sounds the praises of the perfect virtue's incarnators *(hsing jung)*, and 'advises' the spirits *(shên-ming)* of their worthy deeds."[72] The distinction of the three genres rests on the idea that the *fêng* is limited — according to its moral contents, and even to its allegorical meaning — to the "customs" of a prin-

[71] These six principles in the same order of sequence, but without any further definition, first occur in the *Chou-li* (*Shih-san* edition, p. 64). To our interpretation see Hightower, *The Wen Hsüan and Genre Theory*, p. 519 (Note 27).

[72] On the basis of the pieces of verses of the *Shih-ching*, no definite distinction can be made between the parts *Hsiao-ya* and *Ta-ya*. Anyhow, the theory of "smaller governments" and "larger governments" fits well into the series of *fêng-ya-sung* of the "Great Preface", which — according to our quotation — proceed from smaller government units to larger ones. The traditional classification theory invented by *Wei Hung* obviously has some foundations, as testified probably also by the fact that we cannot say much more about the basic principles of the four parts of the *Shih-ching* even with our present knowledge.

cipality, whereas the *ya* expands to the "things under heaven", and the *sung* "informs" the gods of the earthly incarnations of the divine virtue. And, fictitious though this starting-point may be, the result is: the remarkable outlining of the genres of song, ode and hymn, as in the *Shih-ching* these three genres already appear differentiated. The greatest success in the definition of the *sung* and the most forced one is that of the *fêng*. This is not by chance, because the task of the interpretations of *Mêng-tzŭ* is obviously in the case of *Kuo-fêng*'s songs (in a number of instances folk-songs) the most difficult. The informal lyricism, songlike nature of *Kuo-fêng* pieces were strikingly contrary to any moralizing arbitrary interpretation (be it by the method of the *pi, hsing* or *fu)*. Thus came then *Wei Hung* to the peculiar formulation that the *fêng*, dealing with the things of a single principality, being in connection with a single person, that is the person of the prince, criticizes *(fêng)* the attitude of the latter most cunningly, finely, committing no "offence". It is apparent that this theory of the *fêng* endeavours with persistent efforts to retain the method of moralizing interpretation and at the same time to bring this somehow in harmony with the undeniable fact: the lyricism, subjectivity, connectedness "to the person of a single man" of *Kuo-fêng*-songs.[73]

Much more profound and authentic analysis of the genre "version" *(pien)* of the *fêng* and *ya* is given by *Wei Hung:* "When the 'royal way' is in decline, ceremonies and justice are disregarded, governing and education are failures and each principality is improperly governed, each family *(chia)* has its own customs, then come *pien-fêng* and *pien-ya* into being." Some theoretical sense is shown by the point in the first place that *Wei Hung* does not speak of such "version" *(pien)* of elegic character — as already proved — of the *sung*.[74] On the other hand it must be pointed out that with the term *pien* *Wei Hung* once more wants to unite intellectual attitudes contradicting each other: the interpretating method of *Mêng-tzŭ* and that of *Hsün-tzŭ*.

[73] The abstract character of *Wei Hung*'s concept, manifested also in the approximative nature of the theory of the four parts, is most conspicuous perhaps in the expression "the person of a single man". It can also be understood as "the person of the prince" and "the person of individual men" as well.

[74] Cf. *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, p. 103 etc. *Wei Hung* shows considerable theoretical talent by noticing that in the part *Sung* (Hymns) there is no piece of *pien*. Probably he even guessed why: because the elegic "degeneration" of songs and odes can be excused somehow by the benevolence of "offering advice", and the "versions" can remain within the scope of the two genres in question, but a hymn when beginning to complain, is no longer a hymn.

Namely the word *pien* has a lot of meanings: as the counterpart of the 'right', 'regular', 'orthodox', of *chêng* it is equivalent to 'faulty', 'irregular' too, while at the same time it may also denote — according to the standpoint of the applying person — the right alteration, deviation from a bad rule, turning to good account. The basic meaning is: 'to alter', 'altering', 'alteration'; and it is needless to say that — relying on the *I-ching* — this is one of the most often mentioned categories of the *Han* period Confucianism. From its mystical perception *(Tung Chung-shu)*, however, the perception of legistic origin deviates sharply, by which the "change of time" is taken for the ground of reformist or sometimes even revolutionary demands. This legistic *pien*-concept obtains its most definite and most revolutionary interpretation during the *Han* period in the works of *Wang Ch'ung* (27—97) the philosopher: *Wang Ch'ung* says straight out that change is good, things are promoted by it, and that the new has the advantage over the old.[75] Well, *Wei Hung* is far from this perception; his *pien-fêng* and *pien-ya* are products of the "declining" epoch, which is inevitable though, which cannot be otherwise, in its character of *pien* there is something to be pitied, a kind of withdrawal from the "right". Our author consequently recognizes the "change" discovered by *Hsün-tzŭ*, the elegic character, elegic tendency of part of the songs and odes, but he also gets scared at the same time lest 'change' should be exaggerated! For, to be sure, where would be then the *pin-pin* and the *chung-yung!* And our brave Confucian attempts the explication of the character of *pien* like this: "Should the chronicler of the principality *(kuo-shih)* clearly see symptoms of 'gain and loss', should he feel pain because 'human relations' *(jên-lun)*[76] are ignored, should he complain of the cruelty of punishments and governing, and if he sings of his emotions *(ch'ing-hsing)* so that this be criticism *(fêng)* toward his principals, then he has perfectly comprehended the alteration of things *(shih-pien)*, and cultivates in this way the old customs. The *pien-fêng* arises therefore of the emotions *(ch'ing)* but remains within the framework of ceremonialism and justness. Its springing from feelings follows from the fundamental nature

[75] *Wang Ch'ung*, a most perspicacious critic of the preposterousness of his age, devotes the chapter "*Hsüan Han*" of his *Lun-hêng*, not at all without due considerations, to laudation of the *Han*-dynasty, describing this comparatively progressive era as contrasted to the ideal past of the Confucianists (Cf. *Lun-hêng* of *Chu-tzŭ chi-ch'êng* edition, pp. 189—191).

[76] The "human relations" are mutual obligations between a prince and his subject, a father and his son, a husband and his wife, elder and younger brothers, and between friends.

of the people (of men); and its staying within the framework of ceremonialism and justness is the beneficial influence of the ancient kings."

This quotation does not need many commentaries. Surely this is also *Mêng-tzŭ*'s standpoint behind the terminology taken from *Hsün-tzŭ*. It is a persistent effort to save the Confucian "mean" — in the second half of the *Han* period. He who speaks like that, did not understand the ideas of *Hsün-tzŭ*, and shut his eyes to the "changing of times", as if no legists, *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien* and especially *Ch'ü Yüan* ever existed for him. And that the "Great Preface" nevertheless could exert, also after the "alteration of centuries", considerable influence on the Chinese literary theory, is due not only to the fact that — as seen above — here and there in it the force of truth harps on the Confucian basic scheme, but also to its close connection with the extremely cautious notion of "alteration", *pien*. Arriving at our subject proper we are going to treat this point — being of central significance in the study of genre theory too — more in detail.

This introduction should not be prolonged by the analysis of other literary theoretical beginnings in the *Han* period. Manifestation of some authors of the *Han* period will be referred to in the following there and then where and when it will be necessary. Yet one by no means philosophical but literary historical text has to be introduced; first of all to see distinctly: what progress the comprehension of *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry made, i.e. the consciousness of the epoch-making significance of the great poetry of elegies created by him as well as the appreciation and classification of the new genre (or genres) in the *Han* period. This text is *Pan Ku's* (32—92) preface to the part *Shih fu* ('Poems and *fu*-s') of the *Han shu*'s bibliographical chapter *(I-wên chih)*.[77] The preface, instructive even in its title runs:

"The Commentaries *(chuan)* say:[78] "What is not sung but merely recited *(sung)* is called *fu*. He who is able (to write) a *fu* mounting to a height, is worthy to become some high-ranking official." It means that he who is able, moved by things of the outer world *(Kan-wu)*, to make these the starting-point *(tsao-tuan)* (for expressing his emotions), possesses a knowledge *(ts'ai chih)* so profound and distinguished that "planning the services"

[77] The first Chinese bibliography was ordered by emperor *Ch'êng-ti* of the *Han*-dynasty in 7 B.C. *Liu Hsiang* (77 B.C.—6. A.D.) began the work and his son *Liu Hsin* finished it under the title "*Ch'i-lio pieh-lu*". This work is lost, but *Pan Ku*'s bibliographical chapter (*Han-shu* 30) was based on it.

[78] The Commentaries: i.e. notes to the *Mao-shih-chuan*, to the *Mao Ch'ang* version of the *Shih-ching*. Only a few of those pieces quoted above can be found among them, cf. Ku Shih, *Han-shu i-wen chih chiang-shu*, Shanghai 1927, p. 1927.

(t'u-shih) may be deservedly made together with him, and thus he is worthy to be classed among high-ranking officials.

In ancient times when princes, ministers and high-ranking officials got personally into touch with neighbouring principalities, they tried to influence each other by hidden words *(wei-yen)*. In that epoch of "compliments and yielding precedence" (ceremonial courtesy) their intentions *(chih)* had always to be conveyed by quoting poems *(shih)* to make distinction thereby between distinguished and unworthy, to show (the reasons of) prospering and decline. This is why *K'ung-tzŭ* said: "He who has not learned the Poems *(shih)* has nothing to speak with."[79]

After the epoch of Spring and Autumn when the *tao* of the house of *Chou* is falling gradually into ruin,[80] (the custom of) information by songs *(ko-yung)* when going on a mission was no more practised in the various principalities. The scribes who had learned the poems *(hsio-shih chih shih)* lived secluded wearing their "cotton garments" (as commoners), and it is then that the *fu*'s of the "ambition-lost" *(shih-chih)* distinguished men came into being. Having been slandered and anxious about their country both *Sun Ch'ing (Hsün-tzŭ)* the great Confucian and *Ch'ü Yüan*, the official in *Ch'u*, wrote *fu*s, to criticize *(fêng)* by these, and in all (their *fu*s) subsisted the message *(i)* of suffering *(ts'ê-yin)* characteristic of the ancient poems *(shih)*. They were followed by *Sung Yü* and *T'ang Lê*, and later, at the rise of the *Han* dynasty by *Mei Shêng* and *Szŭ-ma Hsiang-ju*, up to *Yang Tzŭ-yün (Yang Hsiung)*, who created in competition their extremely ornate and verbose poems *(tz'ŭ)* and squandered the principles of criticism and information *(fêng yü chih i)*. That is why *Yang-tzŭ (Yang Hsiung)* turned away from (the writing of *fu*-s) saying: "Descriptions *(fu)* of the Poems' *(shih)* poets are beautiful, and setting an example *(ts'ê)* herewith; the *fu*s of the *tz'ŭ*-poets are beautiful and they are excessive *(yin)* in this. If *fu*s had been written by the followers of Master *K'ung*, then *Chia I* 'could have entered their hall', *(Szŭ-ma) Hsiang-ju* 'could have entered their inner

[79] According to the *Lun-yü*, 16, 13, these words were told by Confucius to his son *Li*. The primary meaning of this phrase is obviously to the effect that a person who does not know the *Shih-ching*, cannot quote fine aphorisms from it in moral conversations. (It is not ruled out, however, that at the same time it also means that a person who did not master the classic language of the *Shih-ching*, cannot express himself in a proper way.)

[80] The time of Spring and Autumn: i.e. the period covered by the chronicle *Ch'un-ch'iu* (722—484 B.C.), the epoch following the collapse of the *Chou*-empire alleged to have existed in the 12th—8th centuries B.C.

rooms' (that is: he could have learned from them); as, however, they did not write (*fus*), what could they have done?"[81]

From the time of (the emperor) *Hsiao-wu,* when the Music Office *(Yo-fu)* was established, the collecting of folk-songs *(ko-yao)* began.[82] The popular songs *(ou)* from *Tai* and *Chao* and the songs *(fêng)* from *Ch'in* and *Ch'u,* which all sprang from sorrow and joy (that is: from true feelings) and express (emotions) following the events *(yüan-shih),* survived in this fashion;[83] and at the same time through them the customs *(fêng-su)* can be observed and the poorness or abundance (of virtue) can be recognized.

Arranging the poems *(shih)* and *fus* I have ascertained five kinds of them."

The distinction of the "five kinds" seems mainly to be of practical character, as their conceptual delimitation is not attempted by *Pan Ku:*

1. *Ch'ü (Yüan)*'s *fus*
2. *Lu (Chia)*'s *fus*
3. *Hsiün (-tzŭ)*'s *fus*
4. *Mixed (tsa) fus*
5. Songs and poems *(ko shih).*[84]

[81] Information about *Sung Yü* and *T'ang Lê* is supplied by the biography of *Ch'ü Yüan* in the *Shih-chi,* cf. *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise,* p. 183. *Mei Shêng*'s biography (died in 141 B.C.) can be read in the 51st chapter of the *Han-shu;* no authentic *fu* of his has survived. — On *Szŭ-ma Hsiang-ju* see Note 58. — *Yang Hsiung* (52 B.C.—18 A.D.): a famous philosopher of the *Han*-period, cf. his biography in the *Han-shu,* 87, *shang-hsia;* about his life and doctrines see Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie,* pp. 74—99. His phrases quoted by *Pan Ku* are taken from the second chapter of his work *Yang-tzŭ fa-yen* (*Chu-tzŭ chi-ch'êng* edition, 4), where *Yang Hsiung* expresses his contempt for *fu*-poetry, though this genre was practised by himself, too, in his youth. — The biography of *Chia I* (198—166 B.C.) is to be found in the *Shih-chi,* 84, together with that of *Ch'ü Yüan;* on his life and philosophy see Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie,* pp. 11—21. *Yang Hsiung* whose political position is rather problematic and occasionally definitely reactionary, considers *fu,* as a matter of fact, only a "degeneration", something that has gone astray from the solely right Confucian disciplines.

[82] This phrase is the most important information about the foundation of the Music Office *(Yo-fu)* by *Han Wu-ti* (140—87 B.C.). This institution must have been established for ritual purposes: probably *Wu-ti* wanted to create a kind of a new, up-to-date *Shih-ching.*

[83] *Tai, Chao, Ch'in* and *Ch'u* were ancient states. In the collection *Yo-fu,* late in its modern form, there are quite a series of poems dating from the *Han*-period, but it is impossible to localize them.

[84] An illustration of the statistical rates of bibliography: "*Ch'ü Yüan*'s *fus*" contain 361 *p'iens* from 20 poets; "*Lu (Chia)*'s *fus*": 274 *p'iens* from 21 poets; "*Hsün(-tzŭ)*'s

Hence the Chinese poetry's pattern of "alterations" as outlined by *Pan Ku* is the following: *Shih-ching* — *Ch'ü Yüan* — composing of *fu*s in the *Han* period (by-pass) — the poetry of *yo-fu* (return to the main line). This scheme, as it will be seen, has become an irrefutable commonplace of the traditional Chinese history of literature; and not quite groundlessly, as there are surely veritable development lines hidden in its background. About the greatness of *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry there was consequently no doubt in the second half of the *Han* period. Then in the 2nd century *Wang I* compiled the collection named *Ch'u-tz'ŭ* (*Ch'u*'s poems), the first large anthology of poems since the *Shih-ching*, with *Li-sao*, the paragon of the "altered" poetry at the head. The editing and selection principles of *Wang I* as well as his prefaces and commentaries written to the pieces might be the subject of another treatise.[85] Here, however, as they do not represent a serious advancement from the viewpoint of genre theory, their quotation will be omitted. The philosophic problems of the end-phase of the *Han* period will be mentioned later in the text.

Now we have got to our subject. At the turn of the 2nd century into 3rd, the *Han* empire disintegrated, and the unity of China ceased to exist for about four hundred years. At the same time poetry as well as aesthetical and literary historical thinking began to flourish in a grandiose measure.

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*fu*s": 136 *p'ien*s from 25 poets; "mixed *fu*s": 233 *p'ien*s from 12 poets; and finally "songs and poems": 316 *p'ien*s from 28 poets.

[85] *Wang I*'s biography consisting of a few lines can be read in the *Hou Han-shu*, 110, *shang*. He included one of his own works in the *Ch'u-tz'ŭ*, but as a poet his son *Wang Yen-shou* was more significant. *Wang I*'s remarkable prefaces were edited by Fan Wên-lan, *Wên-hsin tiao-lung chu*, Peking 1958, pp. 51—53 (Note 6), 54—57 (Notes 19—21 and 23—25).

II. BEGINNINGS OF THE CHINESE GENRE THEORY

The first great flourishing of Chinese poetry since *Ch'ü Yüan*, and together with it the birth of the literary theoretical way of thinking already independent, separated from ethics, takes place in the last, bloodiest and most chaotic phase of the *Han* era, in the so-called *Chien-an* period (196—219), more precisely at the end of this, after *Ts'ao Ts'ao* (155—220) had founded his small realm in 204, making *Yeh* its capital.[1] This short period, beginning in 204, will be the starting-point of quite a novel evolution concerning not only literature and literary theory but the entire history of China: the opening of various radical economic and social "changes" which entitle us to speak of the Chinese society's "middle-age" from this time onward.[2] To make these alterations understood essentially, it is necessary to outline briefly the circumstances of the fall of the *Han* Empire as well as those of the Chinese antiquity.

As is well-known, in the European antiquity the fight for power between the old (patriarchal) and more recent (commercial) aristocracy ended with a complete victory of the latter; moreover — as this was made possible by the "antique form of property", — further and further commercial strata were claiming and gaining their share in power.[3] As has already been mentioned, the fight of the two kinds of aristocracy yielded in China quite a different result. The battle being fought on the static ground of "Asian form of property", commerce remained entirely parasitic, and could lead only to economic and political downfall. The policy of the emperors *Han* was directed from the beginning by the efforts that — while their rule was based unchangedly on the taxes of peasant communities — toleration should also be shown at the same time towards the merchants, admitting and including them in the mandarin-system by various methods, thus trying

[1] On *Ts'ao Ts'ao* organizing his realm and *Yeh* as its capital between 204 and 208, see chapter 1 of the *Wei-shu* in *San-kuo chih* (Po-na edition, 21b—28a).

[2] Cf. Ét. Balázs, *Études sur la société et l'économie de la Chine médiévale* I, *Le traité économique du "Soui-chou"*: *T'oung Pao* XLII: 3/4, p. 124.

[3] Cf. Tőkei, *Sur le mode de production asiatique*, pp. 31—35.

to have state finance benefit from their activities.[4] This policy scored a double result: it provided on the one hand for about four centuries the basis of a great urban development that made China for these four hundred years the mighty "World Empire" of the Far East, and started on the other hand an endless series of periodical impoverishments of peasant communities (and of the state finances together with them) ensuing from time to time, in cyclic order and inevitably. As a matter of fact, these cyclic "crises", settled every time by incidental measures, are running through the entire history of Chinese economy, furnishing the basis of both the Chinese theories about the eternal circuit of "elevation and downfall", and the Taoist and Confucian concepts of "changes". In consequence the mystic character of the theory of "changes" is anything but accidental. It is in fact the regular manifestation of the Chinese *semblance* of ecoonomic-social motion: of its non-economic, supernatural appearance.

The history of the *Han* era's second half could prove — also to contemporaries — that this circuit cannot last for ever, that it has to come to an end somehow. The dynasty was less and less able to tackle the parasitic commerce, which — through the increase of the power of eunuchs — wholly entangled and hamstringed the Court itself. At the same time with the crisis growing chronic, it became possible for the best men of the epoch to look behind the surface and to formulate the real causes of troubles. In an excellent essay Etienne Balázs demonstrated that those who had seen the greatest depths, are all the offspring of impoverished clerk—mandarin families, and that all of them are taking up again and continuing the development of the ideas of Legism (and directly those of *Wang Ch'ung)*.[5] Of these thinkers *Wang Fu* was the first (about 90—165) who, being the son of a concubine, was never able to acquire an office,[6] starting from *Wang Ch'ung*'s precepts and believing himself still to be a Confucian, was led to definite legist conclusions.[7] To demonstrate the clarity of his judgement regarding the economic nature of troubles, Ét. Balázs quotes among others the following

[4] On the taxation of merchants see N. L. Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China*, p. 278 etc.

[5] Cf. Ét. Balázs, *La crise sociale et la philosophie politique à la fin des Han: T'oung Pao* XXXIX: 1/3, pp. 83—131.

[6] See *Wang Fu*'s biography in the 79th chapter of the *Hou Han-shu;* cf. Balázs, *La crise sociale*, pp. 83—131.

[7] A good summary of his work *Ch'ien-fu lun* ("Views of a Hermit"): Balázs, *La crise sociale*, pp. 95—105. A bad, but just therefore highly instructive summary, criticized by Balázs: Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 148—157.

section of his work: "If one looks at today's *Lo-yang*, those engaged in one of the 'secondary occupations' *(mo-yeh)* outnumber the peasants ten times, and the number of unemployed is ten times as great as those in 'secondary occupations'. Thus one man plows and a hundred people consume the product; one woman rears silkworms, and hundred people clothe themselves with the silk. How can one person supply the needs of a hundred?"[8] The elimination of the parasitism of high-ranking officials and merchants that would also mean the end of troubles, demands first of all a comprehensive obligatory jurisdiction. *Wang Fu*'s disciple, *Ts'ui Shih* (about 110—170) whose life as a distiller and peddler ended in extreme poverty, assumes an even more definite legist attitude, and turns already deliberately against Confucianism.[9] Finally: the work of *Ts'ui Shih* is carried on by one of the most interesting personages of the epoch, *Chung-ch'ang T'ung* (180—220), the wandering philosopher and poet, who becomes in 208 an official of *Ts'ao Ts'ao*, so that his activities are coeval with the upswing of poetry and literary theory in the *Yeh* period. This philosopher has also to be taken for a most significant poet on the ground of some of his surviving poems.[10] Of Confucianism he speaks with disdain and ardent hatred; and his revolt gets uttered in phrases taken from Taoists and from the *I-ching*'s "Attached Explications".[11] There were some researchers who separated the "Taoist" poet from the all too practical-political philosopher, failing to comprehend how these two sides could belong together.[12] Yet the explanation is simple: the poetic-emotional revolt is merely a natural form of a revolutionarily courageous attitude. Thus *Chung-ch'ang T'ung* is not a Taoist, for he does

[8] Cf. Balázs, *La crise sociale*, p. 100. (The English translation is quoted from E. Balazs, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy. Variations on a theme.* Transl. by H. M. Wright, Ed. by A. F. Wright, New Haven and London 1964, Yale University Press, 13.: *Political Philosophy and Social Crisis at the End of the Han Dynasty*, p. 201.)

[9] Cf. *Ts'ui Shih*'s biography in the 82nd chapter of the *Hou Han-shu*, and see the excellent summary of the biographical data as well as of the treatise *Chêng-lun* ("On governing"): Balázs, *La crise sociale*, pp. 105—116.

[10] Cf. *Chung-ch'ang T'ung*'s biography in the 79th chapter of the *Hou Han-shu;* see the biographical data and summaries and translations of his works *Ch'ang-yen* ("Sincere Words"), *Lo-chih lun* ("On the desire for joy") and two poems of his, all of them taken from the biography: Balázs, *La crise sociale*, pp. 116—131.

[11] Cf. Balázs, *La crise sociale*, p. 120. It is worth mentioning that even *Ts'ao Ts'ao*, another great enemy of Confucianism, recalled traditions of the *I-ching* and Taoism in his poetry, cf. St. Balázs, *Ts'ao Ts'ao (Zwei Lieder): Monumenta Serica* II (1937): 2, pp. 410—420.

[12] See Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, p. 175.

not even think of retiring from the world and minding only his own personality; on the contrary: *Ts'ao Ts'ao* also gets the most practically political advice from him.[13] Of these pieces of advice two are of great importance for us now: the counsel to limit the "tearing out of land" *(fên t'ien)*, and the other suggesting the directly governmental utilization of abandoned lands. The former advice points at limiting private land property *(Chung-chang T'ung* suggests an equalizing distribution of land and uniform taxation); and the latter represents the idea of *Ts'ao Ts'ao*'s famous system *t'un-t'ien* (also of legist origin) that became the economic basis of consolidation in the *Wei* Empire.[14]

The strenghtening of private land property is a fundamentally important fact of the early "Middle Ages". Simultaneously with the weakening and impoverishment of the central power in the second half of the *Han* epoch, private land property of high-ranking officials and merchants — up to that time limited and incidental — constantly increased. And from the time when in 184 the great popular rising of the "Yellow Turbaned Rebels", and then, when in the course of its suppression the country got overwhelmed by a never ending series of wars in consequence of the generals' struggle for power, the central power ceased to exist. In consequence of all this, private land property was freed from its public shackles, and all "estates" of mighty provincial families became private property. In the circumstances of barbar invasions and civil wars this land property had, of course, to be defended. So armed troops were organized from the masses made homeless by the upheaval.[15] Besides these armed men, the great families "grant shelter" to everybody who asked for "protection", that is to say who was willing to enter into their service; and the number of these was very high.[16] For the

[13] Especially in the 4th section of his *Ch'ang-yen*'s second chapter, containing also a programme of sixteen articles, cf. Balázs, *La crise sociale*, p. 125 etc.

[14] The idea of the *t'un-t'ien* system, since provisions supplied for the army belonged to its most direct tasks, must have been quite evident at that time, and thus the merit of creating this system cannot be attributed to *Chung-ch'ang T'ung;* cf. Balázs, *La crise sociale*, p. 131. It seems doubtless that the *t'un-t'ien* system was but a special continuation of the *Han*-time system of military colonies (in border regions), and the latter system — like so many institutions of the *Han*-period — carried on *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti*'s initiatives.

[15] On these armed troops see Ét. Balázs's note: *Le traité économique du "Soui-chou"*, p. 190.

[16] On different forms and terms of the "defendedness" see Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty: Studies in Chinese Institutional History, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies* XX, Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1961, pp. 127—128; cf. Balázs, *Le traité économique du "Soui-chou"*, p. 189.

present, so much seems to be sufficient to demonstrate: elements of the feudal property relations appear now for the first time in China's history. Now then, what could provide under these circumstances the basis of power for a general who — aware of the end of the *Han* Empire — wants to create state power in a new way? It is obvious that he cannot begin with the suppression of the power of private land proprietors, because these might join forces against him and defeat him too.[17] He has to establish first of all an economic basis for his power that will be — considering the prevailing circumstances — something only too similar to that of the feudals. In this manner and therefore created *Ts'ao Ts'ao* his famous system *t'un-t'ien*. The gist of it is: his veteran campaigners should cultivate deserted land, deliver to the state 50—60 per cent of the crop, the state providing for them land equipment.[18] This system was for the moment favourable for the veterans, because it settled their livelihood, and, considering the conditions of the over-all devastation, it was favourable for the masses grown homeless too. According to the economic description in the *Chin-shu*, these homeless people, learning that the new northern state, *Wei* was relatively quiet and peaceful, "returned" there in large numbers. The state tried to ensure work conditions for them, partly by enlarging the system *t'un-t'ien*, and partly by sponsoring and utilizing other undertakings.[19] In this way the new state was finally able to overcome the feudals, just because its economic basis was created practically *beside* feudal private land property, competing with it withouth attacking it fundamentally. And the new system — likewise of characteristically feudal-governmental nature — proved to be such a solid economic basis that taxes, carrying into effect the state proprietorship of the rest of lands, could be much lower in the state of *Wei* than they had ever been during the *Han* era.[20]

[17] *Ts'ao Ts'ao* was forced, especially after 208, to make certain concessions for the "great families", cf. D. Holzman, *Les débuts du système médiéval de choix et de classement des fonctionnaires: Les Neuf Catégories et L'Impartial et Juste. Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoise* I, Paris 1957, pp. 391—393.

[18] An interesting description of this system can be read at the beginning of the 16th chapter of the *San-kuo chih* (in the commentary). Only those cultivators of the *t'un-t'ien* were allowed to keep 50 per cent of the crop who worked with their own cattle; those who got the cattle, too, from the government, could only keep 40 per cent; cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 184 (Note 131).

[19] See *e.g.* the 26th chapter of the *Chin-shu*, cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 164.

[20] According to the *Chin-shu*, at about 204, *Ts'ao Ts'ao* collected 4 *shêng*s of tax

Mandarinism disintegrated; the bonds that laced people together (from peasants up to high-ranking officials) into the "community" of a single system got broken, so that the individual had to hold his own, depending on his own resources. It is small wonder that in the new era beginning now, the fundamental attribute of poesy is a personal character, the *par excellence* lyricism. Together with the dynasty *Han*, the Confucian ethical standards got washed out; no wonder then that *Chung-ch'ang T'ung* turns hatefully against them and appeals to Taoism for his emotional expressions. So do almost all poets of the period, *Ts'ao Ts'ao* himself among them as well as his son and successor *Ts'ao P'i* (187—226), from 220 on known as *Wên-ti*.[21] These two could hardly be called therefore Taoists. This Taoist-like whiff in poesy is not yet the "black wind" of the subsequent mysticism, it is the poetic expression of a definite anti-Confucianism, and at the same time a sign of the great step of Chinese lyrics that has grown now personal. The subject of the new poetry is the emotional world of man taken individually in the chaotic epoch, the fate and problems of the individual. The new poetic "school" is operating under the wings of *Ts'ao Ts'ao, Ts'ao P'i* and *Ts'ao Chih* (192—231) in *Yeh*, on this safe isle in the middle of over-all chaos, deserving alone in the China of this time the name of *Chien-an*, i.e. "Established Quietude" (that the last emperor of the *Han* dynasty merely kept promising).[22] The poesy of this period is characterized by anything but some anarchistic-nihilistic uninhibitedness, some "romantic" digression, but rather by a kind of "classicism". After the century-old domination of the *fu*-form, it is surely just the poets of this period that promote the verse-forms of folk-poetry, and especially the five-word versification *(wu-yen)* to the rank of "high poesy". This form will be — just as the result of their activities — the predominant poetic form of middle-age Chinese lyrics.[23]

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per every *mu* of land, while the average tax of the *Han*-period may have amounted to even 10 *shêng*s per *mu*, cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 140 etc.

[21] See his biography in the second chapter of the *San-kuo chih*. Forty poems of his have survived and on this basis we have to consider him a significant poet.

[22] The names of periods. *i.e. nien-hao*s of the last *Han* emperor *Hsien-ti* are: *Chung-p'ing* ("Obtained Quietude", 189), *Ch'u-p'ing* ("Commenced Quietude", 190—193), *Hsing-p'ing* ("Recommenced Quietude, 194—195), *Chien-an* ("Established Quietude, 196—219) and *Yen-k'ang* ("Longlasting Welfare", 220). All of them are but promises to create quietude in the midst of maximum "convulsion".

[23] Examination of the poetry of "five words" is the aim of *Chung Yung*'s work of literary criticism *Shih-p'in* ("Classification of Poems"). Some of the poems "classified"

The new poetry is characterized by "classicism" in the sense of the term that it exacts order and harmony, slenderness and closedness of form; accordingly a kind of "classicism" which is an artistic reflection of the relative order in the new state, and even more of the longing for a national, universal order.

As part and projection of the great economic and political, poetic and aesthetic settling that began in *Yeh,* was written *Ts'ao P'i*'s essay titled *Tien-lun. Lun-wên* (henceforward: *Lun-wên),* the first significant work of independent Chinese literary theory. Its title could be translated: "Classic Essays: Essays on Literature."[24]

The striking peculiarity of the small essay lies in its extremely well-considered and close construction. Its starting-point is the view that every writer has his own style, according optimally to his talent through which he may become really distinguished. Displayed in a nutshell, his genre theory is founded on this conception, and also on the idea that the actual sense of literature is: procurement of immortality through fame. All these ideas are the aesthetic formulations of the most fundamental, central problems of the whole era.

The immediate basis of *Ts'ao P'i*'s classicist literary theory consists of poesy flourishing in *Yeh,* which in spite of its short duration — limited to only a few years — raised Chinese lyrics to new heights. Central contents of this poetry are such subjects as friendship, individual happiness, etc. and even singing of e.g. ceremony-ordained repasts, it is not morality that they are interested in but joy, pleasure of life, happiness of the moment vanishing together with youth. In the circumstances of the early Middle Ages when individuals left to themselves, to provide for their "position" in a fight against one another, it is easy to understand that *friendship* plays an important part in the connections between persons, which — being connection of individuals — has always been opposed to the patriarchal forms of con-

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by *Chung Yung* are traditionally considered to be dating from an earlier period, but the basic significance of the poets of *Chien-an* period in this "genre" is clear from the text of his work too.

[24] According to a *Wên-hsüan* commentary, the *Tien-lun* consisted of 20 *p'iens,* while it is registered in the bibliographical chapter of the *Sui-shu* as a booklet of fascicles. Only the part *Lun-wên* has survived to the present, probably this is not merely accidental. In any case, we may state: it is the *literary theory* of classicism that seems to have proved to be the most interesting, most worthy of being preserved for the contemporaries as well as for posterity. The basic meaning of the word *tien* is: 'law-book', '(to serve as a) rule' etc., cf. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa,* No. 476.

nections.[25] This ethically exquisite human relationship united in *Yeh* the "seven masters". It was just the dissimilarity of all of them that made their friendship a real one; as many the persons, as many the places they came from. And though "running together", they preserved their differences, their independence within their friendship too, partly even building their friendship on this ground. Now — on the ground of all that has been said — the true contents of the "characterology", providing the conceptual starting-point of the *Lun-wên,* are the friendship of those who are different from one another. Every enumerated "writer" expressed his self by his work: and hereby they are one; and as they expressed different "breaths": they are different, both in style and genre.

According to one of the views, the literary critical and genre theoretical method of the *Lun-wên* originates from the classifying "mania" of the 3rd century.[26] It seems to us — on the grounds of all that has been said — that this "mania" shows the struggle against the fundamental questions of the period. For the basic problem of the epoch lies in the point: how to arrange a new order out of the chaos, how to organize those who have got private property into a new state unity, how to bring together individuals in forming new communities, how to unite different ones? This problem is not quite new in Chinese philosophy: it also became a central point at the end of the

[25] According to the work *Chung-yung*, the "five universal laws *(ta-tao)* of the (world) under the heaven", or, with a more usual term: the "five social obligations" *(wu-lun)* are: the relations between a prince and his subject, father and his son, husband and his wife, elder and younger brothers and between friends, as mentioned in I, Note 76. The first relation is an "external", public (state) obligation; the second, third and fourth ones are "internal", family obligations. Naturally, the essence of the fifth obligatory relation, *i.e.* that between friends is but cultivation of "virtue"; nevertheless, practically friendship can run counter to both public and family demands. The *Shih-ching* mentions "friends" several times, but the real sense of these allusions has not yet been revealed in a satisfactory manner. The following, however, can undoubtedly be stated: towards the end of the *Han*-period, and especially from the *Chien-an* period onwards, friendship became one of the central topics of Chinese poetry, and in the Chinese literature, from that time onwards, poems written to friends played a role, similar in some respect to the part played by love poetry in Europe. The custom that, when taking leave of a friend, even those wrote verses who otherwise never did so, shows only too well how friendship and poetry got intertwined; products of rather different value of this habit are to be found in abundance in the *Wên-hsüan*. All this proves that friendship as a non-patriarchal and even non-bureaucratic human relation had a special role, peculiar from philosophic viewpoint, in Chinese society. But this problem is well worth a separate study at some later date.

[26] Cf. Hightower, *The Wen Hsüan and Genre Theory*, pp. 513—514.

Chou-era, in the course of the conceptual fight for a unified Chinese state. Its clear formulations were found recently in *Hsün-tzŭ*'s philosophy when aesthetic beginnings were studied.[27] To distinguish and then to unite: this is — under the influence of the Motist logists — also characteristic of *Hsün-tzŭ*'s method. And now, at the beginning of the 3rd century, when under the proprietorship-economic conditions and on the same basis in every field of life a mighty "distinction", differentiation takes place, the problem arises again, and grows to become central in the Chinese mentality for centuries. The product of this mental effort — even if it leads to such an artificial classification — is the notorious "characterology",[28] and most clearly one of its political-administrative results is also the "nine grades of officials" and the institution of the "impartial and fair" *(chung-chêng)* office.[29] And, as can be seen, this all but methodical problem is not taken off the agenda of cogitation for a long time to come.

It would be the merest formalism to start to measure the amount of Confucianism, the influence of Taoism and other currents in *Ts'ao P'i*'s literary theory. Like every other significant intellectual work, the *Lun-wên* must be comprehended through its own epoch in the first place, and not through the (all but unchanged) theses of century old schools. In our view, the "classicism" of the *Lun-wên* — though naturally absorbing and comprising "Taoist" and other influences too — is fundamentally "Confucian", naturally in the broader sense of the term. The essential character of this more loosely interpreted Confucianism is a basically "positive" regulating attitude that does not stop at "distinction" but advances to the consolidation of the different things. In this broadest sense, the Confucian attitude is identical with the Chinese state-creating principle. This state-creating principle, however, always keeps its *Chinese* nature: it conceives to unite different

[27] Cf.: "Music unites and identifies, ceremonies disunite and distinguish" *(Hsün-tzŭ*, 20). In *Hsün-tzŭ*'s philosophy it is not music, but ceremoniousness, *i.e.* distinction that has primary significance. Without doubt, ceremonies — in a traditional sense — distinguish by no means individuals or individualities, but family and state ranks, independent of individuality. When considering, however, that *Hsün-tzŭ*'s idea of *li* 'ceremony' is a direct predecessor of the legist category *fa* 'law', it may be admitted that behind the effort of *li* = distinction, not only logically but from ethical viewpoint, too, the interest of "individuals" of that age, *i.e.* that of merchants is concealed (which is represented most clearly by the legists, continuing the Motist heritage).

[28] On *Liu Shao* (about 190—250) and his work of "characterology" *Jên-wu-chih*, see Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 196—199.

[29] This institution is considered to be of aristocratic origin, cf. D. Holzman, *Les débuts de système médiéval de choix et de classement des fonctionnaires*, I, pp. 387—414.

ones by the aid of a most uncertain, indefinite "middle". And *why?* This question is more complicated than to be answered in a few words.

In his essay, *Ts'ao P'i* himself indicates the philosophic forerunner and the founder of his literary theoretical classicism, the philosophy of the Confucian *Hsü Kan*. In our view, the sentences written about *Hsü Kan* are inappropriately valued if they mean to us only the high estimation of *Ts'ao P'i* (for some, hitherto inexplored reason) for *Hsü Kan*'s philosophy.[30] The conceptual level, the philosophic grade of *Ts'ao P'i*'s works demand that every sentence of his has to be taken seriously, most of all when somebody is placed over the "seven masters" — and himself — like in the case of *Hsü Kan*. There is not the slightest subjective partiality of *Ts'ao P'i* to *Hsü Kan*. Even what was written — fitting organically in the whole conception — about *Hsü Kan*'s individual characteristics, has its philosophic sense: according to *Ts'ao P'i*, *Hsü Kan* has realized, both as a man and as a "writer", the ideal of the *pin-pin* and of the "middle". Now the attention of modern sinology was hardly drawn to *Hsü Kan*'s philosophic work entitled "Theory of the Middle" *(Chung-lun)*. Hardly anybody looked for novel thoughts respective to his epoch beyond his simple and always lucid style, his seemingly schematic classification and numerous quotations from Confucius.[31] The disclosure of the deeper contents of this neglected work is a task that cannot be carried out here. Yet some points of *Hsü Kan*'s "Middle Theory" are widely known. First of all the "six arts" *(liu-i)* put in the centre,[32] and similarly his striking "intellectualism" and rational-

[30] Several short histories of Chinese philosophy, *e.g.* that of *Fêng Yu-lan*, do not mention even *Hsü Kan*'s name. There are only incidental steps taken towards a real comprehension of *Hsü Kan*'s *Chung-lun*. *E.g. Ch'ên Chung-fan* writes in the preface to his interesting anthology of prose *Han Wei Liu-ch'ao san-wên-hsüan*, Shanghai 1957, p. 12, that *Hsü Kan*'s work is plenty of terminologist (*ming-shih:* "name and reality") argumentations, and as a matter of fact, several chapters are to be considered of a legist character; but unfortunately, no *Hsü Kan*-quotation is included in this anthology either. In the spiritual life of *Hsü Kan*'s epoch, at the end of the *Han*-period, revival of logics and of legist traditions were of invaluable importance, and the *Chung-lun*, even if using a firm Confucian phraseology, is a representative work of this "legist" trend, and its Confucianism is as characteristic and instructive as its legism and terminologism.

[31] See the few pages devoted to *Hsü Kan*'s doctrines, — an evaluation to be considered one of the merits of A. Forke's history of philosophy, otherwise rightly criticized by Et. Balázs for quoting mostly platitudinous commonplaces from Chinese philosophy: *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophy*, pp. 168—172.

[32] Enumeration of the "six arts" (taken from the *Chou-li*) forms the starting point of the whole work: ceremonies, music, archery, charioteering, writing and mathemat-

ism.[33] This all may be enough to make it likely that the philosophic foundation of *Ts'ao P'i*'s literary theoretical classicism is nothing else but the philosophy of *Hsü Kan;* and the "school", founded — according to the essay — by *Hsü Kan* is nothing else but *Ts'ao P'i*'s "classicism theory" *(Tien-lun)*.[34]

Now, the really grave problem is: what is the reason of *Ts'ao P'i* claiming just the Confucian *Hsü Kan* to be his spiritual ancestor when during the same years e.g. *Chung-ch'ang T'ung* seems a much more significant philosopher? Why does not he even mention *Chung-ch'ang T'ung,* excelling both as a poet and philosopher, who was made a counsellor by *Ts'ao Ts'ao* in 208, and why does he sooner hold in such a high estimation *Hsü Kan* who is a much more moderate "legist" and a Confucian on the whole? If the ground of literary classicism is — just like in the Europe of the 17th century — some political-philosophic "englightenment", how is it possible that after or rather instead of the consequently "legist" *Chung-ch'ang T'ung* it is *Hsün-tzŭ*'s belated disciple, *Hsü Kan* who comes into prominence? Partly right but insufficient would be the following answer to these questions: because *Hsü Kan*'s Confucianism is more engaged in aesthetics, is of a more aesthetic nature than the more practical legism. The problem is namely

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ics. Their function is defined by *Hsü Kan* in his first chapter like this: "By ceremonies we can examine respect, by music we can strengthen love, by archery we conciliate ambition *(chih)*, by charioteering we calm heart, by writing we connect objects *(shih)*, and by mathematics we create order in convulsion." Cf. Forke, *Gesch. der mitteralterl. chin. Philosophie*, p. 168.

[33] We read at the beginning of the first chapter: "The five virtues *(liu-tê)* are: knowledge *(chih)*, humanity *(jên)*, "holiness" *(shêng)*, rightousness *(i)*, "middle" (*chung* = impartiality?) and "harmony" *(ho)*." Forke, *ibid.*, mentions that the first place of knowledge is worthy of attention. Indeed, dozens of laudations of the knowledge could be cited from the *Chung-lun.*

[34] This is no place for exploration of a series of deep connections between *Ts'ao P'i*'s *Lun-wên* and *Hsü Kan*'s *Chung-lun*, as in cases like this a manysided analysis can never be substituted by quotations. That is why when outlining a general sketch of their relation, we emphasize only one direct connection: *Hsü Kan* distinguishes three kinds of "longevity" *(shou)*, three sources of "immortality". These are: "longevity arising from royal benefaction, longevity provided by fame, and longevity originating from virtuous deeds", cf. Forke, *ibid.*, p. 171. Even in the case of the *Lun-wên* we took it for certain that, if any really Taoist idea can be found there — it is the idea of "immortality", now it is clear that, on the one hand, "immortality provided by fame" has nothing to do with Taoism, and on the other hand, it is worth searching for philosophic precedents and bases of *Ts'ao P'i*'s literary theory just in *Hsü Kan*'s *Chung-lun.*

connected with the question unanswered above: Why did the unifying of differences in China remain essentially the old type, characteristically Chinese, why did the great number of "alterations", taking place at the downfall of the *Han* realm, not bring some fundamental social renascence, some advancement of revolutionary significance in Chinese society?

It is again property relations that have the key to the problem. At the disintegration of the dynasty *Han*, the empire of *Ts'ao Ts'ao*, emerging from the upheaval, by the fight against Confucian political and ethical principles with legist assistance, was soon forced — in direct ratio to the consolidation — to have recourse to Confucian help. Let us look at the economic basis of the new state. The most important basis of state finance lies in the system *t'un-t'ien* and secondarily in the taxation of the entire population. Those who cultivate the strictly state-owned land can be regarded partly as slaves, partly as serfs; and the masters of the "Strong Houses", grown private landowners, pay taxes on the pretext that "every bit of land belongs to the king". These two kinds of taxation must by no means be confused, because this duplicity is one of the most important peculiarities of the new system. Nevertheless, the fact must not be ignored that the two kinds of taxation are merely a separated and parallel form of the old mandarinism whose essence in taxation based on "communal" or more precisely state land property. The difference between the two forms appears by the fact that while the situation of land cultivators gets lowered to depths never reached before (50—60 per cent "taxes" !), the taxes of the "feudals" are so easy to bear as perhaps also never before.[35] For the aristocracy, grown feudalistic, officialdom, that is to say subordination to the state, becomes from time to time — depending always on the given power relations — sheer formalism, a mere juridical cover for their feudal property. This feudalism, however, only develops within the higher strata of society, — and it is this that draws a radical distinction between the Chinese and European Middle Ages. In China peasant land allotment property does not get developed, in the conditions of "confusion" even less than at the time of "order", and therefore the economic factor that is the fundament of the entire European civilization — being the starting-point of both the antique and

[35] Chapter 26 of the *Chin-shu* remarks (2a) that the tax of 4 *shêng*s on a *mu*, a very low tax compared with that of the *Han*-period (see Note 20), "was collected both from the strong and the weak", and evidently this equalization proved to be more advantageous for the "strong", cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 159.

feudal evolution — in China fails to come about.[36] No need to prove that the cultivator of state land is not a bondsman owning allotment property and equipment, but a slave-serf without any property at all. The situation of those asking "protection" from feudal families is somewhat more complicated. Do these want "protection" of the feudals to keep their land property, to assure their smallholder existence by it? No, on the contrary; by being "protected" they renounce their smallholder existence, because this "protectedness" — besides meaning of course often the "protection" of sheer life — aims above all at being exempted from state taxation. Those asking for "protection" are — similarly to the state land cultivators — poverty-stricken and homeless; and that this "protectedness" could hardly be better for them than the slavery-serfdom of state land, is proved well by the masses of homeless people streaming back to *Wei*.[37] In the following these problems will return again, but here it is enough to state that *Ts'ao Ts'ao*'s new state was not a new one in the social-economic sense, but a peculiar variation of the old mandarinism, the only one that could be realized in the new situation. The feudalization of society got started but — compared with the European evolution — remained rather limited. Since in the Chinese antiquity no antique land property of the European type could develop, no feudal "change" could become consequent and bring radical renewal either.[38]

[36] Cf. Tőkei, *Sur le mode de production asiatique*, p. 34 etc.

[37] Cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 164.

[38] Historical sources from the *Han*-period supply informations several times about land purchases, but from these data we should not draw far-reaching conclusions, for further complex examinations are required in order to be able to judge well the economic significance of private landed property in that period. From this point of view it is instructive to see Nancy Lee Swann's selection of historiographical passages about rich people of the epoch preceeding the *Han*-period and of the beginning of the *Han*-period (*Food and Money in Ancient China*, p. 414—464). These data, collected from the *Han-shu*, 91 and from the *Shih-chi*, 129, concern 41 rich persons; and only one of them, a certain *Ch'in Yang* is stated to have become the first in his *chou* by "cultivation *(t'ien-nung)*" (cf. *Han-shu*, 91; *Food and Money in Ancient China*, p. 460), but the commentary to this phrase considers it necessary to remark that "by his landed area *(t'ien-ti)* he exceeded the (permissible) limits" (cf. *Food and Money in Ancient China*, p. 411). All the other rich personalities obtained their wealth by trade and industrial enterprises or even by fraud or robbery. Thus it is obvious that at the beginning of the *Han*-era, private landed property was only of secondary importance, of an occasional and accidental nature; and there is no reason to suppose an essential change of this situation in the second part of the *Han*-period either. — A systematic discussion — exceeding the scope of our study — would be needed to demonstrate that feudal private landed property cannot develop without direct or indirect inter-

It is an extremely significant fact that *Ts'ao Ts'ao*'s new state tried from the beginning to suppress commerce and to limit it to a very narrow field. According to a biography of the *Chin-shu*, it was exactly *Hsü Kan* that suggested such regulations like the limitation of the number of slaves and the interdiction of sale and purchase of land and houses.[39] *Ts'ao P'i* known as *Wên-ti*, succeeding his father in 220, becoming the first emperor of the state and dynasty *Wei*, at once revoked the copper-currency named "five *shu*", ordering to substite it by grain and silk.[40] In the next year — allegedly — he permitted again the use of copper money, but after a few months he interdicted it again. His successor, *Ming-ti* (227—239) permitted it later; yet *Wei* period copper money is unknown to Chinese numismatics.[41] All this reveals the definite patriarchalism of the new state, an even more patriarchal system than that of the *Han* era.[42] A characteristically Chinese turn

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ference by the antique form of property. See a few related remarks: *Sur le mode de production asiatique*, pp. 45—48.

[39] Cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 133.

[40] The money "five *shu*" was the "most suitable" money of the *Han*-period; *Wang Mang* interdicted it, but after his fall it was restituted. Cf. *Chin-shu*, 26 (Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 187 etc., pp. 191—192).

[41] *Okazaki Fumio* supposes that the *Wei*-emperors only restituted the use of old coins, but they did not have new ones minted, cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 192.

[42] From the fact that the "five *shu*" money, just because it was "suitable", was interdicted by *Wang Mang*, an enemy of merchants and a primary representative of aristocratic reaction in the *Han*-period, we must not draw direct conclusions concerning the character of the new regime in *Wei*. *Ts'ao P'i*'s steps must be understood from his own epoch: from the situation created by rich merchants, parasites of the "convulsion". The prohibition on copper currency alone could only restrict trade; it was not directed against trade in general, but only against its most parasitic branches. That is why this measure — which, anyway, concluded in a failure — was very suitable for a legist policy too, because the recognition of the fact that economic decay arises from the parasitism of trade, belonged to the most important discoveries of the legists both in the *Chou*-period and at the end of the *Han*-era. From this point of view, it is interesting to read a description of a somewhat later date of the "Three Capitals" by *Tso Szŭ* (about 250—305), cf. *Wên-hsüan*, 4, 3; 5; 6. *Tso Szŭ* who, according to the evidence of his preface, attaches much importance to the objective accuracy of his work, describes the trade of the states of *Shu* and *Wu* to be luxurious, while that of state *Wei* to be moderate, useful and avoiding luxury. Thus in a critical period of the *Chin*-dynasty it is *Wei*'s memory that became an ideal of the efforts of similarly legist spirit, and in a considerable measure just by its sober, limited commerce. Naturally, *Tso Szŭ*'s description can be used primarily as a document of his own age, but it cannot be indifferent for us how *Wei*'s commerce was valued a few decades later by those thinkers who sought the way out of a new crisis caused by parasitic trade.

of development took place: new phenomena demand a change, but, in consequence of the unchanged economic fundament, unchanged property relations, the change merely restitutes the old situation in a somewhat modified form.

The gleam of hope at the birth of the new state and its vanishing is in our view the basical experience of the epoch's greatest poet *Ts'ao Chih*. His poesy rises to the level of *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poesy of elegies just by singing of this great experience. His poems, some of which cannot be dated, roughly form two groups: those written before and after 220. The early poems radiate great hopefulness and eagerness to act, the later ones already are only elegies of powerlessness. And it is by no mean accidental that these later ones are his master pieces.[43] The new "unity", the unity of the "distinguished", once day-dreamed about by the members of the circle of friends, ran counter to the new order. *Ts'ao Chih* is put from an office to another, first by his elder brother *Wên-ti*, then by his nephew *Ming-ti*. He is incessantly controlled and humiliated, his friends get executed, etc. It is not personal hatred that is acting here but the fact that *Ts'ao Chih* has never made a secret of his political ambitions. His imperial relations were anxious to keep their power, and thus every prince of the family *Ts'ao*, — *Ts'ao Chih* included — had to be kept off real power.[44] *Ts'ao Chih*'s special situation resulted from his being very close to the (imagined) possibilities of action, to the imperial power,[45] and on the other hand being prevented by all means to get any

[43] The biography of *Ts'ao Chih* (192—231) can be read in the *San-kuo chih*, 19. See on his poetry: Yü Kuan-ying, *Chien-an shih-jên tai-piao Ts'ao Chih: Han Wei Liu-ch'ao shih lun-ts'ung*, Shanghai 1956, pp. 91—107.

[44] *Ts'ao Chih*'s petition, with two poems added to it (cf. *Wên-hsüan*, 20, 1—2) as well as his petition "asking for employment" and applying for a permission "to intercommunicate with his family members" (cf. *Wên-hsüan*, 37, 3—4), reveals clearly the main reason, neglection though being a prince, a fact inspiring the poetry of his whole mature period.

[45] There is no need to explain that rulers had fears for their throne first of all of the princes. Moreover, *Ts'ao Chih* was intended by his father several times to be appointed as the heir to the throne, and it only happened in 217 that *Ts'ao Ts'ao* made a decision in favour of his first-born son *Ts'ao P'i*. Of curse, this could hardly increase the elder brother's fraternal love towards *Ts'ao Chih*. The latter seems, however, to have resigned to his father's will; we do not know if ever he made an attempt to gain the throne. Anyhow, *Ts'ao P'i* — immediately after his accession to the throne — had his younger brother's best friends: *Ting Chêng-li* and *Ting Ching-li* (both of them were of high rank) put to death, cf. *e.g.* A. Fang, *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms: Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies* VI, Cambridge-Massachusetts 1952, I, pp. 3—4, 22—23.

power at all. This special situation promoted the unfolding of his poetic talent, and made possible his singing again a *Ch'ü Yüan*-like elegy of political-human lameness with such a power which has no equal since the poet from *Ch'u*. It is his typically "Chinese" situation and fate that made him one of the greatest poets of Chinese lyrics. But his particular situation also offered him the possibilities — though unable to create a system similar to that of his elder brother — to raise more sharply and exactly the problems of literary criticism and literary theory than his brother was able to. In one of his letters, written to a friend, *Yang Hsiu*,[46] it is to be read:

. . ."I myself, though my virtue *(tê)* is poor, am a prince in regard of my official rank *(wei)*, and therefore I stand close[47] to concentrating all my power on the capital's administration *(shang-kuo)*, to pour good deeds upon the lower people *(hsia-min)*, to strenghten the governing activities of our eternal dynasty, and to leave after me worthy deeds to be engraved in bronze and stone. For I wonder whether fame acquired merely with 'brush and ink', by creating only poems *(tz'ŭ-fu)* could make one a 'noble man'?". . .

This letter, being a sceptical retrospective glance of the twenty five-years old poet at his "juvenile" poetry and that of his friends, means after all a sort of sepulture of the "classicism" in *Yeh* too. For us the letter is enlightening, first of all because it indicates the rapid vanishing of great hopes, the fast passing away and limited nature of the "classicism" in *Yeh*. The ground of illusions is given by political activity, the hope for a real "change", and soon this hope does not contain more than the want itself without any perspective of realization. This most significant member of the circle of friends in *Yeh* who became the worthy successor of *Ch'ü Yüan*, just because he survived the short-lived "classicism", and lived through the great Chinese experience of stopping short; for this reason he passed such a severe judgement on the juvenile poesy of his friends and himself. His criticism is much more severe than that of his brother, because he — both as a poet and thinker — had seen and experienced more of the reality. And he is right in

[46] The name of *Yang Hsiu* (175—219) is mentioned among the poets of this period (perhaps only on the basis of *Ts'ao Chih*'s letter) by the *Wang Ts'an*-biography in the *San-kuo chih*, XXXI. The basis of our translation is: "A letter to *Yang Tê-tsu*", *Wên-hsüan*, 42, 5. Both this letter and *Yang Hsiu*'s answer can also be found in the *San-kuo chih*, 19 (*Ts'ao Chih*'s biography).

[47] In the words "I stand close . . .", judging from *Ts'ao Chih*'s fate and poetry, probably it is no exaggeration to discover some bitterness and irony. From the following phrases it is evident that *Ts'ao Chih* — in contrast to his elder brother — had no desire for literary immortality, but for practical-political activity.

finding a recoiling and restrictedness of the "classics" in *Yeh* in the separation of poetry from political action. In this way, although abandoning the exposition of theory and system of a new "classicism" of higher quality, his letter still shows such a higher pretension and one or two criteria even become formulated in it. So appears first of all the principle of the unison with political action running through the pattern of the letter (similarly as through the whole poetry of *Ts'ao Chih*), as well as the sharp condemnation of the *fu*-poetry drowned in playfulness. This aims at the defence of the principle of political pledge, and leads to the final conclusion that the paragons of a new "classicism", a new lyrical realism have to be looked for among "street talks" and popular songs.[48]

We think that now, having inspected the "classicism" in *Yeh* from the angle of both its origin and its evanescence, a recapitulative evaluation of *Ts'ao P'i*'s literary theoretic work should be made. A fundamental insufficiency of the *Lun-wên* is the statement that the main sense of literature *(wên)* consists in the "life-philosophic" principle to secure immortality. In this idea a number of new and true perceptions are formulated of course; e.g. the awareness of the "eternal human", universal value of poesy, and the ideation of the personal character of *lyrical* poetry as well as the general lyricism of — Chinese — poetry. These new and true elements, however, do not meet with their concrete generality in this "life-philosophy" conception of the *wên*. In the following, *Ts'ao Chih* — rather abandoning the external system — does not even mention this idea any more.

Now what is the *wên*, the purpose and sense of which is thought by *Ts'ao P'i* to be apprehended through the principle of "immortality of fame"? That *Ts'ao P'i*'s *wên*-concept — no matter how "purely" literary it seems in comparison with the *wên* of the Confucian ethics — can be only some very uncertain, abstract generality. Let us inspect the essence of *Ts'ao P'i*'s poesy: his genre theory. The four grades *(k'o)* of literature *(wên)* include eight genres *(t'i)*, in the following order and matching:

[48] This conclusion of *Ts'ao Chih* is one of the most plebeian manifestations of that epoch, related to another remark of this letter, praising "street talks", i.e. those "small stories" *(hsiao-shuo)*, which rose to literary rank as from the 3rd century, and which produced only riddles, enigmatical anecdotes etc. in that time, but subsequently ghost-stories and afterwards other types of short stories too. *Ts'ao Chih*'s turn to folk poetry means not only a conscious, theoretical recognition of new sources of lyrics, but also the feeling of a possibility of genres' enrichment. As a matter of fact, both the prose of "street talks" and the verses of folk poetry contained the *epic* germs, which — in the case of more consequent "changes" in that period — could have led the whole Chinese literature to a new path.

Ist grade	*IInd grade*
tsou (memorandum)	*shu* (letter)
i (advisory paper)	*lun* (essay)
IIIrd grade	*IVth grade*
ming (inscription)	*shih* (poem)
lei (elegy)	*fu* (description)

In this classification the first that strikes the eye is the fact that after all *Ts'ao P'i* does not consider the eight *t'i*-s as genres but only the four *k'o*-s. The second that directly catches one's eye is the contradiction between the *par excellence* lyric interpretation of the sense of *wên* ("self-expression") and the reference to the *par excellence* lyric poetry *(shih-fu)* as the last item. And thirdly: no theory at all of the four "grades" is to be met with, merely the concise designation of the principle of four "grades" meant to be fundamental. Now then, attempting to reconstruct on this basis the theoretic considerations behind these short-spoken sentences, this should be made in the following way. The first "grade" includes political "literature", "counselling" in governing matters. It has to be consequently "regular-graceful", "noble", normative *(ya)*.[49] To the second "grade" belongs the prosaic "literature" — in regard both of its form and contents — which discusses not only political questions but a wider circle of conceptual problems, always in a rational *(li)*, that is to say conceptual way, endeavouring to convince ideologically. *Ts'ao P'i* included in this second "grade" no doubt, e.g. the whole philosophic literature, with *Hsü Kan*'s *Chung-lun* at the head. The third "grade" is the kind of rhyming poetry which aims at the praise and immortalization of the defuncts' "virtue" partly in the form of epitaphs and partly in lamenting form; just therefore the basic principle of this poetry is adherence to the facts, that is to actual merits. The fourth "grade" is finally: lyrical poetry that can be either of a directly lyric nature *(shih)*

[49] Two basic meanings of the term *ya* are given by Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 37: "correct, proper, refined *(Lun-yü)*" and "a kind of musical instrument *(Chou-li)*". There can be no doubt, however, that *ya* involved — beyond its meaning "ode" in the series of the "six principles *(liu-i)*" — more abstract contents, too, as early as in the *Han*-era texts, and when intending to summarize all it denotes, we may do so by the word "classical" in this case as well as in that of the term *tien*. In consequence of their related contents, the words *tien* and *ya* are often connected.

or adopting the mediation of description *(fu)*,[50] its main principle, however, being always beauty *(li)*.

And if the unsaid ideas has got reconstructed rightly, the sequence of the four grades can hardly be called simply Confucian. For Confucianism appears in this sequence in a single sense, in the sense of the "enlightening" nature of Confucianism, judging political, philosophic and virtue-glorifying conceptualism prior to mere "beauty", taken for the basical principle of lyrics by *Ts'ao P'i*. It is this "enlightening" attitude which detains *Ts'ao P'i* from, e.g. the theoretical formulation of lyric "pledgedness" which by the way, is not absent from his own poesy either.[51] *Ts'ao P'i*, the theoretic writer has such immediate political purposes in view that he does not perceive among others the real poetic value and lyricism of the literature of letters, the literary letters, flourishing just at that time, though setting in his own letter only the necessary limits to the uprising — elegic — lyricism.[52] But how to square this theoretical underrating of lyrics with the fundamentally lyrical notion of the sense of *wên?* Now then, here we are facing one of the most important logical contradictions of the *Lun-wên*. The two notions cannot be directly fitted side by side, and as *Ts'ao P'i* nevertheless does so, the result can be only an abstract and uncertain character of the concept of literature *(wên)*. It is the *wên*, which is from the viewpoint of the individual merely a guarantee of "immortality", so to say: identifies itself from the social aspect with written politics, whose four "grades" are determined by the degree of directness or indirectness of the engagement in politics. This abstract, "enlightening" idea, however, can be

[50] The expression *shih-fu* 'poetry', being a connection of the words *shih* and *fu*, reflects the fact that from *Ch'ü Yüan*'s time onward, and especially through the activity of *Han*-period poets, to the tradition of *Shih-ching* (i.e. *shih)* of the Chinese poetry a new element: the *fu* was added.

[51] *Yü Kuan-ying*, examining 40 survived poems of his, emphasizes that *Ts'ao P'i* abundantly made use of the forms and inspirations of folk poetry, cf. *San Ts'ao shih hsüan*, Preface, Peking 1956, pp. 12—16.

[52] Very interesting letters are known even from the early *Han*-period; a letter alleged to be written by *Li Ling*, another by *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien* and a third by *Yang Yün* were included in the *Wên-hsüan* (41, 1; 41, 2 and 41, 3 respectively). But the heyday of lyric letters can undoubtedly be ascribed to the poets of the *Chien-an* period, and, considering the special preconditions and tasks of this genre, it cannot be regarded as merely accidental. It is obvious that a letter, similar to the custom of "dedication" of the poems, is a product and form of expression of new connections between individuals, primarily of friendship. This problem, however, like that of friendship, would need to be studied separately.

fruitful at the best in the case of certain limited style-critical or "talent-classifying" tasks, but its genre theoretical application must be a failure.

We think it not necessary to analyze any further *Ts'ao P'i*'s "genre theory" of a few words, as he has given up himself the theoretical explication of his classification. On the ground of what has been said it can be obvious why *Ts'ao P'i*'s very significant genre theoretical attempt was really a failure. *Ts'ao P'i* started from the new occurences of the epoch, and introduced — related to these — new concepts (the diversity of talents, styles, genres, the "breath", the immortality in literature, etc.); and rejecting the demand for Confucian moralizing, he substituted it by a political outlet taken in the general sense. Herewith he attempted a keeping-and-termination, a dialectic outdoing of the Confucian aesthetics in an "englightening" way. But when rejecting the moralization of the orthodox Confucian aesthetics, at the same time he also rejected the historical approach, social aspect of the Confucian aesthetics. As earlier already seen, the germ of recognition that "music" reflexts the social reality, the social-ethical conditions of the epoch, has already been latent in the Confucian "music" theory, especially in *Hsün-tzŭ*'s work, but partly in *Wei Hung*'s work too.[53] This notion, leading in the case of *Hsün-tzŭ* and some other authors already in the *Han* era to very deep literary theoretical statements, is wholly absent in *Ts'ao P'i*'s poetics. The chief insufficiency of his work consists therefore — its accomplishment measured against *Ts'ao P'i*'s own forbears and not against our knowledge — in disregard to social determinedness, and consequently in its unhistorical nature. No need to affirm that *Ts'ao P'i*'s poetics is characteristically "enlightening" from this angle too.

But let us not dwell any longer on *Ts'ao P'i*'s attempt to break a new trail which ended in a failure, but look at the ways and means of the formation of society, literature and philosophy in the state of *Wei* (220—264), and then at the time of the *Chin* dynasty (265—316). The state of *Wei* got very soon consolidated, and it had again to face "confusion" very soon. Of the political history it is enough to know that in *Wei* the ruling family *Ts'ao* soon met with the same fate to which they compelled from the first the princes of blood: their rule was rendered mere formal, and they were prac-

[53] As we can see from the passages of the Great Preface (in the chapter I), the term *fêng*, besides being used for a genre and borrowed as a term for "to criticize", also keeps its meanings "custom" and "morals", thus representing a Confucian type realization of the "reflection of reality in art".

tically ousted from power.[54] Power was seized by the *Szŭ-ma* House, founding also formally a new dynasty, namely the *Chin* dynasty in 265.[55] And what the *Ts'ao*-s were never able to do, the new dynasty accomplished at a striking speed: China became united, the period of division into three states ended.[56] This unity, however, was rather relative, laden with the hostilities of the *Szŭ-ma* princes destroying each other, and when the dynasty had to move the capital — away from the increasingly menacing Barbarian pressure — to the south, into the Nanking of today (in 317), it also ceased to exist for a long time.[57] There is a single proper indication for the whole epoch: early Middle-Ages feudal anarchy. The problem of the social motives propounded more concretely, the question has to be clarified first of all: what was it that set the *Ts'ao* and *Szŭ-ma* families against each other? Is it merely a feudal squabble that we are facing or the case of controversy between feudalism and central power? The answer is not simple but worth the trouble, being connected with the fundamental peculiarities of Chinese early Middle Ages.

There is no doubt about the economic basis of the *Ts'ao* family: their power rested on the system *t'un-t'ien*. The basis of the power of the *Szŭ-ma*-s was primarily their large — and without any doubt feudal — land property. The feudal character of this was not curtailed by the circumstance that the members of the family were holding offices.[58] But what prevented the ruling dynasty from subjugating the land property of the *Szŭ-ma*-s by the bonds of state mandarinism, so that the latter got on the contrary governmental-official assistance to acquire the power connected with land property? It is quite comprehensible that in the European Middle Ages the central Power

[54] In 251, the *Ts'ao*s were exiled to *Yeh;* cf. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, II, Berlin—Leipzig 1936, p. 12 etc.

[55] See these events, recorded by the *San-kuo chih*, in a summarized form: Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, II, pp. 14—16.

[56] The independence of the state of *Shu* was put an end to in 263 by *Szŭ-ma Ch'ao*, the father of *Szŭ-ma Yen*, who came to the throne as the first emperor of the *Chin*-dynasty. But *Szŭ-ma Yen (Wu-ti)* decided only in 280 to launch a decisive attack on the southern state of *Wu*, cf. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, II, pp. 15—17.

[57] *Chiang T'ung*'s petition, written in 299 and trying to persuade the emperor to oppose definitely to Barbarians, is an interesting lecture, showing obvious interrelations of the wars between the *Szŭ-ma* princes, wiping out one another, and of the victories of "five Barbarian tribes"; see it with commentaries: Ch'ên Chung-fan, *Han Wei Liu-ch'ao san-wên hsüan*, pp. 194—200. On the significance of the *Chin*-dynasty's transfer to *Chien-k'ang* see Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, II, p. 54 etc.

[58] *Szŭ-ma I*, who seized full power at that time, began his official carreer in *Ts'ao Ts'ao*'s time, and later he came to be *Ts'ao P'i*'s and *Ts'ao Jui*'s confident official.

could not master the might of some feudal families: it could not touch feudal private land property, as the royal power was also based on it. In China of the early Middle Ages however, where the central power was based on the "Asian" system of taxation, feudalism eventually always came to be submitted to the state by the ruling dynasty, although — of course — always only temporarily. What could be the reason why — as it seems — from the beginnings, the *Szŭ-ma*-s were only formally subjugated to mandarinism? Well now, we consider very meaningful the fact that at the time of the second ruler from the *Wei* dynasty, the members of the *Szŭ-ma* House took the part of the reinstallation of copper currency, and — according to reports — *Ming-ti* did reinstall it.[59] Considering the very definite attitude of *Wên-ti (Ts'ao P'i)* or that of his favourite ideologist *Hsü Kan* against large-scale trade,[60] the dispute about the use or withdrawal of copper currency cannot be regarded as some negligible matter of detail. It is by no means accidental that the Chinese economic life had two fundamental problems from the viewpoint of the state already at the age of *Chou*, and even more clearly during the *Han* epoch: the problems of grain and money;[61] no need to explain their organic connection.

There is, however, a social aspect of this connection, without the comprehension of which the Chinese, especially the Middle Ages Chinese society and history could only be crammed into schemes, without being able to reveal the concretely-real particularity of the period. This aspect is as follows: at the collapse of the *Han* Empire, the great landowners preserved for the Middle Ages not only their land property but their monetary funds, their monetary capital too. In this way feudal land property becomes entwined, or frequently even identified with trade capital also in the Middle

[59] Cf. *Chin-shu*, 26; Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 191—192.

[60] See a suggestion alleged to have been made by *Hsü Kan* on limitation of slaves' number and on prohibition of the sale of land and houses, *Chin-shu*, 46; cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 133.

[61] In the title *Shih-huo-chih* of the economic chapters of the *Han-shu* and, on its authority, of those of the *Chin-shu* and other historical sources, appropriately translated as "Treatise on Food and Money", the expression *shih-huo* "food and money" is by no means accidental composition, but an appropriate term for describing the special duality of Chinese economy, pairing natural economy with its parasite, i.e. parasitic trade. The problem of grain is closely connected with that of money in the direct practice of governing, too, thus these chapters rightly seek explanation of the economy in the duality of "food and money", without being capable, naturally, of apprehending their connection in a scientific way.

Ages — equally as in the ancient — China. Compared with the Middle Ages in Europe, the most important peculiarity of the Chinese Middle Ages lies just in this inherence.

It is easy to realize that the lack of peasant land property, stated above to be the most important peculiarity, means merely another side, the apprehension from the negative side of one and the same matter: as already mentioned, on the ground of the "Asian property form" commerce sponging on natural economy is in a spontaneous way intertwined with official power and with landownership, however, loosely connected to official power, and under "Asian" conditions even with the landownership developed as the accessories of mandarinism, and this, inflicting crises over and over again, gradually undermines the central power. Essentially it is the same process again, the "eternal rotation" of which China has lived to see so often before: commerce sprawled on natural economy is ruining public finances. The economic basis of the bloody history of the 3rd century is given by the fight and at the same time symbiosis of taxation and trade. The problem of grain and the question of money circulation, in their eternal association and contrast, express the most important internal contradiction of the "Asian" mode of production.

Vitally important statements concerning the particularities of the Chinese early Middle Ages present themselves from this all. To begin with: it becomes quite obvious that in China the difference between antique and Middle Ages society cannot be as profound as in Europe. It must be even stated that behind the motion of feudal character there exists in essence the former basis: the "Asian property form" quite unchanged; hence there is no really significant difference in principle between the ancient and the Middle Ages phases of Chinese society. In China, no social revolution, no revolutionary "changes" were setting in with the Middle Ages. And now the posing of a problem is reached which might promote the determination of the place of Chinese civilization in world history, to which — because of its great significance — the whole of the present essay tries to be merely a contribution. The problem is this: how can it happen that Chinese civilization, the whole history of which had been up to that time essentially a history of surface motions on immobile basis, a history of the series of eternal recoilings in hardly started "changes", was still able to get far ahead of the Europe of that time, and just by its early medieval achievements?

China owes this, in our view, just to the essentially immobile economic basis. It is obvious that the existence of Chinese silk industry — world-famous already in the antiquity — is due to peasant community handi-

crafts and, on the other hand, to state manufactures.[62] Here other discoveries cannot even be referred to; but a few words are due to just those in the 3rd century which can also promote the comprehension of the already outlined social relations. It was, in that century of political "upheaval" that *Ma Chün* reduced the number of treadles in brocade weaving looms from 50—60 to 12,[63] and it is he that also discovered a "car pointing southwards".[64] *Chu-ko Liang* rose to fame by discovering, among others, two vehicles named "wooden-ox" and "swimming horses".[65] In that century the simple

[62] Silkworm breeding, being women's work, always represented a part of the "basic professions", and the tax paid in silk formed a part of peasant community taxes. In the *Han*-period already, there must have been several public silk weaver manufactures where state slaves were employed.

[63] In connection with this see the commentary quoting a fragment by *Fu Hsüan* (217—278), *San-kuo chih*, 29; cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 129.

[64] The "car pointing southwards" was a kind of compass, based on the mechanism of a chain of gears, cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 130 (and see the references cited there in Note 57). *Fu Hsüan*'s text (mentioned above, Note 63) attributes to *Ma Chün* — besides the "car pointing southwards" — the invention of a kind of irrigating wheel, automatic machineries made of wood, and weapon machineries, too. See this text with commentaries: *Ch'ên Chung-fan*, *Han Wei Liu-ch'ao san-wên hsüan*, pp. 105—109. At the end of *Ma Chün*'s "biography", we can find *Fu Hsüan*'s own opinion, his disapproval of the social disinterest towards inventions and especially to inventors who — like *Ma Chün* — were not employed officially, and so their skill could not be of use to the world; he regretted that people were not employed according to their talent, and prominent officials did not show talent by their deeds. These remarks of an obviously "legist" spirit fit conveniently into *Fu Hsüan*'s whole philosophy, cf. Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 199—204 (the list of *Ma Chün*'s inventions, on the last page, is not correct). It is worth laying stress on a thought of his, namely that "there is no more harmful for (the world) under the heaven than women's jewels" (cf. Franke, pp. 202—203). This statement shows clearly that 3rd century ,,legists", mostly confessing themselves Confucianists, saw the main cause of troubles not in trade in general, but only in the trade of luxury wares. — *Fu Hsüan*'s remarks are justified, not only regarding their political content; probably they are completely true in other respects, too: e.g. among *Ma Chün*'s inventions, enumerated above, primarily weapons and automatic toy-machineries must have been of interest for the *Wei*-court. We may not neglect, however, the fact that the state of *Wei* was interested in a more economic way of cultivating of the *t'un-t'ien*-lands; therefore neither the improvement of brocade weaving looms, nor the invention of irrigating wheel may be considered accidental, even if these inventions — compared with *Fu Hsüan*'s expectations — remained so to say unutilized.

[65] From *Chu-ko Liang*'s biography (*San-kuo chih, Shu-shu*, 5) it seems that the tumbril-like devices named *mu-niu yün* and *liu-ma yün* could be used first of all for military purposes.

seeding machine named "*lou*-plough" discovered in the *Han* epoch already, came in general use all over China along with the water-mills, the latter playing the role — in a most illuminating way — of one of the main sources of private richess.[66] The assessing state itself is primarily interested in the development of agricultural technology; and the greater its efforts on this behalf, the more "food" becomes endangered by "money", that is to say: the taxes by commerce. The triplicity of peasant community ground, mandarinism living on it and of it, and commerce, the mutual juncture, partial interdependence and joint interest of mandarinism and natural economy, of trade and natural economy and that of mandarinism and commerce created a basis for such an early medieval evolution of Chinese civilization which made it possible later to fight political anarchy down too, and in a number of fields (discoveries, poetry etc.) to precede thoroughly the barbarized Europe. To these achievements of Chinese civilization — highly significant in world history — belongs also the Chinese literary theory, starting its development in the 3rd century and reaching its peak towards the beginning of the 6th century.

The trade of the 3rd century has not yet been studied to an adequate extent. But what conclusion could be drawn e.g. from the fact that the "grain and silk currency" was introduced by *Wên-ti* and that soon the *Szŭ-ma*-s demanded the re-establishment of copper money? It can only mean that in the field of the fight of tax policy and trade capital it is the interests of the latter that are represented by the House *Szŭ-ma*. The *Wei* dynasty, although making efforts to create an ideally patriarchal state, was never really able to keep a tight hold on trade in the "ideal" manner.[67] Of the proportions to what trade was able to grow in the course of the 3rd century, a number of anecdotes about fantastically enormous fortunes give

[66] See *Chin-shu*, 26; Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 166—167 (and see the references there to the sowing machine, invented probably about 100 B. C., in Note 35). State propagation of sowing machines seems to have been due not simply to the *t'un-t'ien* system, but to the state interest in peasant communities' taxation in general. But in this case the development of agricultural technology was advantageous not only for the state, but also for tax-paying peasants as well as for feudal lords. Possession of water-mill proved, however, to be the most profitable enterprise, the greatest business of that epoch, because from the above-mentioned inventions this was the only device serving exclusively the private contractors' interest. On the invention and spreading of water-mill see Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 130 (and the Notes).

[67] Cf. our Note 59.

evidence.[68] Thus the *Szŭ-ma* family owe their power, and China the union (not for the first nor the last time) to *money*, to trade. This is testified among others by the great efforts of the *Szŭ-ma* emperors (Western *Chin* dynasty) from the very first year of their rule to settle the problem of grain.[69] Namely the new dynasty, as the central power of mandarinism, was forced to struggle from the beginning with grain problems, being rendered critical even not quite by wartime ravaging but much more by trade capital itself that now came to power formally, too. In this way, regarding its economic-social contents, the reign of the Western *Chin* dynasty is of ancient Chinese character, reminiscent mainly of the *Han* Empire, only made worse by civil discords and the ever increasing Barbarian invasions. Nothing is more characteristic of trade in the second half of the 3rd century and of the rule of monetary capital over the whole economy than the deservedly famous small work of *Lu Pao* (died 295): *Chien shên lun* (Treatise on the Money-Spirit) which describes money as the omnipotent master, the "god" of the epoch; a "god" possessing supernatural powers, and unaware of any impossibility.[70]

In the course of the 3rd century the forces of feudal independence also became solidified, parallel with the growth of monetary power, and also in interaction with it; the feudal lords began to seize even the "mountains and morasses" that is to say the woods, fishing sites, etc., ever regarded as public lands. More and more people got under the "protection" of feudal lords; moreover, the privileges of that part of aristocracy which on the whole was not feudal but of official nature, also became consolidated to such a degree that — born nobility constituting the starting-point as well as the final result — as a partial phenomenon in the society, it can be called feudal.[71] It has been demonstrated that the system of the "nine categories" and the "impartial and just" *(chung-chêng)* office became in the course of

[68] Many similar anecdotes can be read in the collection of stories and anecdotes *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*.

[69] Cf. *Chin-shu*, 26; Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 170 etc.

[70] Only a "summary" of *Lu Pao*'s important work has survived in the *Chin-shu*, 94. This chapter of the *Chin-shu* deals with "retired scholars", i.e. with those who never reached official positions; among these interesting short biographies, *Lu Pao*'s is the fourteenth.

[71] On the "conquer of mountains" *(chan-shan)* see Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 134 etc. On land possession according to the "nine categories" and on the connection of this system with the permitted number of "protected persons", free of tax, see Lien-sheng Yang, *ibid.*, pp. 180—181.

the 3rd century definitely the institution of the aristocracy, establishing official favouritism.[72] In consequence of all these tendencies, in the course of the century, Chinese mandarinism was sinking very low, and its downfall could not be stopped until the reign of the *T'ang* dynasty. Therefore two contrasting motives are determining the aesthetic (literary-poetic, pictorial, etc.) and the aesthetizing character of the early Middle Ages Chinese culture: on the one hand the survival of ancient mandarinism, and on the other hand, the ever increasing downfall of the same.

Fundamental economic and social movements are only reflected naturally indirectly within political events and ideological as well as artistic phenomena. The mediations are sometimes highly complex, but the chief motives of social consciousness can always be opened up, and these express — in a peculiarly concentrated form — the economic-social basic problems of the period. Now in the course of the 3rd century, the really characteristic Chinese ideal *fêng-liu* developed in Chinese literature, philosophy, taste, etc., which was felt by *Fêng Yu-lan* to be akin to the European "romanticism"; at the same time it was mystified by him as some Chinese spiritual property, inconceivable for Europeans.[73] The expression beloved by Chinese authors means verbatim: "to swim with the current of wind". This is an expression of Taoist origin,[74] and in its essence also the Taoist fundamental position, its contents being: "inaction", letting matters "run"; or else — to view directly its stylic sense: ease, elegance, grace.[75] There is nothing in the con-

[72] See Ét. Balázs, *Entre révolte nihiliste et évasion mystique; les courants intellectuels en Chine au III^e siècle de notre ère: Études Asiatiques*, Bern 1948, pp. 31—32; D. Holzman, *Les débuts du système médiéval de choix et de classement des fonctionnaires*, I, p. 396 etc.

[73] Cf. Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 231—240. This chapter of his book is based on the anecdotes of the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* and on chapter 7 of the *Lieh-tzŭ;* the latter is considered by *Fêng Yu-lan* a characteristic product of that epoch.

[74] The term *fêng-liu* is conspicuously related e.g. to *Chuang-tzŭ*'s idea of *yu* ("wandering"), influenced probably by *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry too.

[75] *Fêng Yu-lan*'s book, in the chapter mentioned above (Note 73), — in spite of its mystifying intentions — contains several subtle observations. *Fêng* derives the idea of *fêng-liu* fundamentally from the Taoist idea of *tzŭ-jan* ("naturality"); but at the end of his argumentation he quotes an important phrase from the first chapter of the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*. *Yo Kuang*, who died in 304, told laughingly: "Even within the *ming-chiao*, joy has its own sphere." Well, *ming-chiao* ("obligations and teachings [of the sages]"), being a Confucian teaching about social hierarchy, is considered by *Fêng Yu-lan* a manifestation of Chinese "classicism". He discovers his own combination of "classicism" and "romanticism" only in the so-called neo-Confucian philos-

cept *fêng-liu* that would be incomprehensible for a European; it is only that a European researcher would not condense its political, ethical, "life-philosophical", stylistical, etc. meanings into the concept "romanticism" (incomprehended by *Fêng Yu-lan)* but into the concept "aestheticism". We suppose, what was already said about the aesthetizing tendency of Confucianism — manifested from the beginning — makes it clear that the ideal *fêng-liu* is not quite independent even of Confucianism.

But this extremely abstract (and, on the other hand, poetic) concept would not do a lot of good in itself; it just needs specification instead of being regarded as an absolute matter in the way of *Fêng Yu-lan*. Namely it must not be considered in the first place according to its — very much comprehensible — nuances of meaning, but according to the ways and means the various social forces can use it in their own — and divergent — interest, how they are approaching it from different directions, and how it is often made by them the starting-point of contrasting trends. A pioneering step towards such a specification was taken by Ét. Balázs, demonstrating that the conceptual currents reach from the retirement of the "pures" from the unclean public life, up to the "nihilist revolt", the mystic "flight", anarchist plebeian utopy and various spiritual manifestations of aristocratic parasitism, even up to a "positive", legist way of thinking.[76] The pattern outlined by him needs to be completad here only by a few elements. First of all it must be pointed out that the Taoist "black wind", assuming power by the middle of the century, is not some simple disillusioned enstrangement from public life, but also at the same time the mystic approach to the scientifically not apprehended "new" manifestations, — quite like in the *Han* epoch. Just like in earlier times, it is now essentially the crisis caused by trade, the continuation of the "eternal rotation" or even — formulated more pregnantly — the seemingly supernatural power of money that is pro-

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ophy of the *Sung*-time (10th—13th centuries), cf. *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 289—293; he is impeded in scientific revealing of *fêng-liu* of the early Middle Ages by a naive concept (inherited from Nietzsche) of the eternal opposition of "classicism-romanticism". As for the contemporary *Yo Kuang*, he was completely right in stating that *fêng-liu*, being aestheticism by its nature, fitted very well into Confucian teachings too.

[76] Cf. Balázs, *Entre révolte nihiliste et évasion mystique*, pp. 27—55. Recently, a voluminous study, considerable primarily because of the quoted material involved, was devoted to spiritual trends of this period by *Yü Ying-shih: Han Chin chih chi shih chih hsin tzŭ-chio hsin szŭ-ch'ao: Hsin Ya Hsio Pao* IV (1959, Hongkong): 1, pp. 25—144.

vided with a mystic explanation by it. *Lu Pao*'s small writing on "money-spirit" is almost a comprehension of the ultimate basis of mystics.[77] This explains that — just like in earlier times — the flourishing metaphysical philosophy resting on the work of the ancient Taoists and on *I-ching*, inquires into very noteworthy logical and methodological problems, achieving also significant results. While the "critic of the pures" becomes mostly "pure conversation",[78] this "pure" philosophizing — besides meaning a kind of flight from reality — also means a considerable approach to the deeper comprehension of reality, attempting to raise and solve those logical and methodological problems which were not treated by anybody since centuries, since they got formulated by the "sophists", "Motist" disputers and by *Hsün-tzŭ*. Starting on the wings of the "black wind", but soon falling away from it, the significant intellects of the period have found two ways out by the middle of the century already: the one was lyric poetry and the other was philosophy. The new upswing of philosophy occurs at the so-called *Chêng-shih* period (240—249) when — as a chief official of *Ts'ao Shuang* — *Ho Yen* (about 193—249) is in power,[79] and that of poetry ensues ten years

[77] *Lu Pao*'s *Ch'ien-shên lun* "Treatise on Money Spirit" was a sharp satire in the contemporaries' view. Considering how close a relation is shown by him between the "pure conversations" of scholars and their dream about money, we have to recognize that conceptually he was near to unravel the essence of mysticism. His contemporaries who "hated that period", spread *Lu Pao*'s treatise obviously not because it criticized public morals, but because they felt the deep truth content of its basic concept, the idea of "money-spirit". The igenuity of this fundamental idea is also testified by the fact that the "money-spirit" appeared much later, in Japanese anecdotes too, and a short story was written about its "figure" by Ueda Akinari in the 18th century (cf. *Controverse sur la misère et la fortune: Uéda Akinari, Contes de pluie et de lune, Connaissance de l'Orient* No. 2, Paris 1956, pp. 153—163).

[78] Cf. Balázs, *Entre révolte nihiliste et évasion mystique*, p. 30.

[79] *Ho Yen*'s short biography can be read, together with that of *Ts'ao Shuang*, in the *San-kuo chih*, 9 (26a). According to this text, *Ho Yen* was *Ts'ao Ts'ao*'s stepson, he grew up in the palace, he "liked the teachings of *Lao (-tzŭ)* and *Chuang (-tzŭ)*", and he wrote a "Treatise on Way and Virtue *(Tao-tê lun)*". Of his survived works a fragment entitled by *Yen K'o-chün* as "*Wu-wei lun* (Treatise on Nonaction)" might be most interesting for us: "For the ten-thousand things *(wan-wu)* of heaven and earth (= nature), non-action *(wu-wei)* is fundamental. As concerns non-existence *(wu)*, in the course of the beginning and accomplishment of the things it knows of no cessation and non-survival (= it is ever-lasting). The *yin* and *yang*, relying on it, transform (things) and revive (them); the ten thousand things, relying on it, are accomplished and assume shape; the eminent man, relying on it, perfects his virtue *(tê)*; the unworthy man, relying on it, can save his life (from punishment). Therefore non-existence *(wu)*, even if it lacks ranks *(chio)*, has a distinguished (place) in (prac-

later, during the activities of the poetic group named "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove".[80] As well-known, in disputes about "existence" *(yu)* or "non-existence" *(wu)*, *Ho Yen* defends the *wu* and his opponents the *yu*.[81] Well then: *Ho Yen* got executed, together with *Ts'ao Shuang* by *Szŭ-ma I* in 249. Why do the adherents of the dynasty defend the concept *wu*, and why do the followers of the *Szŭ-ma*-s defend the *yu?* It is obvious that the *wu* of the *Ts'ao*-s is not a simple "inaction" *(wu-wei)*, the turning away from public life, with the dynasty — and *Ho Yen* — being still in power.[82]

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tical) utilization." (Cf. *Chung-kuo li-tai chê-hsio wên-hsüan, Liang Han-Sui-T'ang pien*, Peking 1963, II, p. 296.) The idea of *wu*, connected with feelings, is revealed by a discussion between *Ho Yen* and *Wang Pi*, to be read in the commentaries to *Ts'ao Shuang*'s biography, see it in a shortened form: Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, p. 238.

[80] On the biographical data of the "Seven Sages" see D. Holzman, *Les sept sages de la Forêt des Bambous et la société de leur temps: T'oung Pao* XLIV (1956), pp. 317—346.

[81] The philosophy of *yu* was expounded by *P'ei Wei* only later (cf. our Note 88), but the assumption should be made that already *Ho Yen*'s (and *Wang Pi*'s) *wu*-concept was of a polemic nature. *Ho Yen* and his circle confronted, on the one hand, the Taoist principle *tzŭ-jan* ("naturality") with the Confucian *ming-chiao* ("obligation and teaching"), and on the other hand, in a more abstract, "purer" formulation: 無 *wu* to 有 *yu*. Presumably, a dispute related to this opposition was preserved by the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, 4, in the following "pure conversation": "Once *Wang Fu-szŭ (Wang Pi)*, still in his youth, went to see *P'ei Hui. (P'ei) Hui* asked him: if *wu* is bearing the ten thousand things indeed, how is then that the saint man (= Confucius) did not want to speak about it at all, while *Lao-tzŭ* expounded it endlessly? — *(Wang) Pi* answered: — The saint himself embodied *(t'i)* the *wu*, thus *wu* could not represent for him something to be taught; therefore in his words he always dealt with *yu*. But *Lao (-tzŭ)* and *Chuang-tzŭ* could not yet get rid of *yu*, so they spoke constantly about what they were in need of." (Cf. Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, p. 219.) If we accept at least the gist of this anecdote, we have to conclude that from the beginnings (as early as in *Ho Yen*'s time) there must have been a *yu*-concept opposed to a *wu*-concept (just as *ming-chiao* was opposed to *tzŭ-jan*). At the same time, *Wang Pi*'s formulation may be another warning against simplifying the opposition between *wu* and *yu* to the conflict between Taoism and Confucianism.

[82] It is a fairly widespread opinion that the followers of the *Wei*-dynasty were Taoists, while those of the *Szŭ-ma* family were Confucianists; cf. e.g. Holzman, *La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang*, p. 29. In our view, this problem is not as simple as that. Holzman, pp. 8—9, risks the assumption that in the famous dispute on the identity or difference, unification or distinction of talent *(ts'ai)* and (fundamental) nature *(hsing)*, *Fu Chia* and *Chung Hui* spoke of identity and unification in support of those in power, and it happened for the sake of those who were excluded from power that the Taoists ensured more freedom for individuals by distinguishing them by their talent and fundamental nature. But the main difficulty of this supposition — and of

On the ground of all that has been said, the reader may not be surprised by our view that the *wu* of the *Ts'ao*-s, contrasted with the *yu* of the *Szŭ-ma* family, and translated into the language of economy and politics, means in its essence the negation of the private property principle, that of both land property and monetary capital, or — formulated otherwise — it is the affirmation of the ideally patriarchal social order, the "Asian" form of property and mode of production. On the other hand, the *yu* of the *Szŭ-ma* dynasty, set against the *wu* of the *Ts'ao*-s and similarly translated into the language of economy and politics, can mean essentially nothing else but the affirmation of the private property principle.[83]

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the opposition between Confucianists-Taoists — is presented by the fact that the whole spiritual duel, including the dispute on talent and fundamental nature, took place not after the *Szŭ-ma*s had taken over power, as is supposed by Holzman (*ibid.*, p. 8), but earlier, in the *Chêng-shih*-period (240—248). An evidence to this effect can be found in *Liu Hsieh*'s *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*, 18, where a (lost) work on talent by *Fu Chia* (209—255) is mentioned side by side with Taoist writings, among the works written in the *Chêng-shih*-period, cf. *Fan Wên-lan*'s Note 22 in his *Wên-hsin tiao-lung chu*, p. 340. It is hard to believe that behind as important ideological fights as "pure conversations" — mentioned above — the simple motive of rivalry between families for practicing political power would be concealed. Or even if we accept this formulation, the character of social forces, the interests of which are represented by the political power of the two families in question, would still remain an open problem. Moreover, there were four different approaches expressed concerning talent and fundamental nature, if we believe a commentary of the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, 4: "*Fu Chia* came out in support of the identity *(t'ung)* (of talent and fundamental nature), *Li Fêng* for their difference *(i)*, *Chung Hui* for their unification *(ho)*, and *Wang Kuang* for their separation *(li)*." These conceptions can be understood also like this: in *Fu Chia*'s opinion, talent and fundamental nature are simply identical, in *Li Fêng*'s opinion they are different, in *Chung Hui*'s opinion they are different but should be unified, and in *Wang Kuang*'s opinion they are identical but should be separated. But in this case we face a situation too complicated to enable us to identify the views of *Li Fêng* with those of *Wang Kuang* only on the basis that both of them ended their life as victims of the *Szŭ-ma*s. A satisfactory treatment of the whole problem is a task going beyong the scope of this study; yet it must be remarked that these four views, alleged to have been opposed to each other in 253, show an obviously more tinged variation of the dispute over "identity or difference", continuing the debate between *Fu Chia* and *Li Fêng* as an epilogue of the ideological-political struggles of the decade of the *Chêng-shih*-period, when the political power was in the hands of the *Ts'ao*s and their followers (*Li Fêng*, *Ho Yen*, *Wang Pi* etc.).

[83] It is only too natural that the aforesaid social-political content never manifests itself in a direct form in the philosophy of *wu* and *yu*, and therefore its presence needs to be proved from several aspects. To do so is impossible here, so we have to confine our examination to the basic meanings of the two terms. In a remarkable study

A more significant philosopher than *Ho Yen* is *Wang Pi* (226—249) who in the year of *Szŭ-ma I*'s coupe d'état fell ill and died.[84] The greatest value of his famous commentaries is the methodical application of such dialectic concept-couples as "existence and non-existence" (being of course adherent to "non-existence), essence and phenomenon, stillness and motion, one and many, substantial *(t'i)* and accidental *(yung)*, "thought and word", and so on, always considering fundamental this train of "thoughts": "non-existence" — essence — stillness — one — substantial, etc.[85] One of *Wang Pi*'s most important merits in the history of philosophy

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A. C. Graham concluded that the Chinese terms for "existence" and "non-existence" are extremely indistinct compared with the ideas of European philosophy, but he supposes that this is perhaps a mere illusion arising from ignorance of relationships unknown to us, cf. "*Being*" *in Western Philosophy compared with shih/fei and yu/wu in Chinese Philosophy: Asia Major, N.S.* VII (1959), pp. 79—112. No matter how "pure" categories the terms *yu* and *wu* are; no matter how "pure" disputes were carried on about their interpretation in Chinese philosophy, — in our view it must always be born in mind that the basic meaning of the word *yu* is "to possess" and that of *wu* is "not-to-possess" (and not only in the sense of "Asian" "merely-to-possess", but in that of "to (consider as one's) own" and "not to (consider as one's) own", near to the sense "to have (something) in one's property" and "not to have in one's property"). *Yu* means "rich", too, as early as in the *Shih-ching* (cf. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 995); and in the *Lao-tzŭ* already, *wu* is obviously an idea as opposed to the *yu* of rich and aristocratic persons, merchants and officials. May we have the liberty to consider the basic meanings of the two terms in question as of secondary importance just in Chinese philosophy, the ideas of which could be abstracted solely from the reality of Chinese society, from that social reality, whose essence cannot be understood without distinguishing between *property (Eigentum)* and *possession (Besitz)?* Can it be merely accidental that the dispute over *wu* and *yu* came into the focus of spiritual life exactly in a century when, on the one hand, a major attempt was made to restore the "ideal" *wu* of times past, i.e. "merely-possession" (by the *Ts'ao*s), and on the other, efforts were made to guarantee "property", wealth, and, moreover, to transform *ex-officio*-possession into private property (by the *Szŭ-ma*s)? — It is hoped that these remarks will convince the reader that this problem is raised with good reasons, and that it would deserve further research.

[84] On *Wang Pi* and his philosophy see *Chung-kuo li-tai chê-hsio wên-hsüan, Liang Han—Sui—T'ang pien*, pp. 298—327, and see there a few fragments of *Wang Pi*'s works.

[85] At the end of *Chung Hui*'s biography (*San-kuo chih*, 28, 39b—40a) we are told that *Chung Hui*, a member of the pro-*Szŭ-ma* party held the same views in his youth, in the *Chêng-shih*-period as *Wang Pi*, a follower of the pro-*Ts'ao* party; and there we read a report about a book written by *Chung Hui:* it was entitled "Treatise on the *Tao (Tao-lun)*", but as a matter of fact, it belonged to the school of "punishments and names *(hsing-ming)*". As regards the term *hsing-ming*, H. G. Creel tries to prove that it was of legist origin, and it could be translated as "performance and title", cf. *The Meaning of Hsing Ming: Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, Copenhagen 1959,

is his rendering again logical and methodological questions the central problems of thinking.

The poetic group "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove" that flourished during the next decade of the already barely concealed reign of the *Szŭ-ma* family and the complete fettering of the *Ts'ao* House, has two really outstanding poets among its members: *Juan Chi* (210—263) and *Hsi K'ang* (223—262). Ascending on the wings of Taoism, the poetry of both outgrows it, of course, in regard of their basic contents, and follows the main stream of Chinese poetry hall-marked by *Ch'ü Yüan* and *Ts'ao Chih*.[86] *Hsi K'ang* also attempts to lay the foundations of a new aesthetics: he writes an essay titled "Music Has Neither Sorrow Nor Joy" *(Shêng wu ai lo lun)* wherein he keeps stating that in the objective sense there is neither sorrow nor joy

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pp. 199—211. But does the part *ming* of the frequently used term *hsing-ming* concern the Confucian *ming-chiao?* We read in the *Fu-tzŭ* (fragments by *Fu Hsüan*, cf. our Notes 63 and 64): "*Wei Wu (Ts'ao Ts'ao)* liked laws *(fa-shu)*, and the (world) under the heaven highly esteemed punishments and names *(hsing-ming)*." It is quite clear from this phrase that *hsing-ming* is inseparable from legism. How should it then be interpreted? Should we consider it simply a realization of the legist *fa-shu*, i.e. "a practical measure and a clear designation" (accepting in essence Creel's suggestion)? A part of *Lu Shêng*'s biography (cf. *Chin-shu*, 94, 3a), quoting the preface of his commentaries to the Motist canonical works of logics, could render assistance in deciding the problem, stating: "*Mo-tzŭ*, when writing his book, created the "disputing" canons *(pien-ching)*, laying by them the bases of terminology *(ming)*. *Hui Shih* and *Kung-sun Lung* continued faithfully his science by correcting "punishments and names *(hsing-ming)*", and through this they became famous in their epoch." That is to say: *Lu Shêng* used the term *hsing-ming* to denote the activity of the two most famous "disputers". — The sense of *hsing-ming* could be adequately apprehended perhaps by translating it as "political terminology", — on the basis of its inseparable connections with legism as well as with terminology. As is well-known, the *Chou*-period efforts of logics were not only parallel with the development of legism, but were closely related to it; from the viewpoint of the history of philosophy, the activities of the "disputers" can be considered as a preparation for legism. Nevertheless, since these "disputers" achieved independent results, too, it is understandable that the ideologists of the *Wei*-state (including *Hsü Kan*) exerted themselves about unifying legism with terminology, and this endeavour is at least as-much remarkable as their efforts to unify Confucianism with Taoism. In this way, the term *hsing-ming* connects legism ("politically applied") with logics ("terminology"); like the term *ming-fa* ("terminology and legism", "name and law"), widespread in the *Han*-period already. In contrast to *hsing-ming*, *ming-chiao* obviously tries to unify terminology *(ming)* with Confucianism *(chiao)*, and that is why it expresses really conservative, even aristocratic efforts of the time.

[86] For *Juan Chi*'s and *Hsi K'ang*'s poetry see *Wei Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao wên-hsio shih ts'an-k'ao tzŭ-liao*, pp. 174—207 and 208—233. See their biographies in the *Chin-shu*, 49. On *Hsi K'ang*'s poetry see Holzman, *La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang*.

in music, there are merely one's own emotions and these have nothing in common with music.[87] It shows, without any detailed analysis of his theory, that this idea, while expressing sharp opposition to the Confucian "music" theory, rejects at the same time in an even more extreme form that did *Ts'ao P'i* before him, the (originally Confucian) principle of the socially and historically determined nature of artistic work, the artistic reflection of reality.

Late in the 3rd century, legist ideas appear again, parallel with the intensification of the already outlined economic and social contradictions. *P'ei Wei* (267—300) demands against protectionism a selection of the real talents to be appointed to offices, as well as new legislation — naturally all that from the standpoint of "existence" *(yu)*.[88] It is similarly for the sake of defence of "existence" *(yu)* that *Kuo Hsiang* (252—312) writes his famous *Chuang-tzŭ*-commentaries, another masterpiece of logical-methodological thinking.[89] At the end of the century, the unity of the empire is a mere semblance, and in the first decade of the 4th century the feudal anarchy reaches its climax in the "confusion" brought about by the "eight princes"; Chinese political life once again touches bottom.[90] Just in this

[87] In the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*, 13 (cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 327), *Liu Hsieh* mentions *Hsi K'ang*'s work on aesthetics of music also among the products of the *Chêng-shih*-period. On the principal ideas of this work see Holzman, *La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang*. pp. 68—72. His *fu* "The Lute" is an interesting contribution to his aesthetics of music, cf. *Wên-hsüan*, 18, 2.

[88] See *P'ei Wei*'s biography, containing fragments of his work "Treatise on the Respect of Being", in the *Chin-shu*, 35. The best summary of his doctrines, with quotations: Balázs, *Entre révolte nihiliste et évasion mystique*, pp. 51—54; cf. Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 226—229.

[89] The very interesting commentaries to the *Chuang-tzŭ*, according to the *Chin-shu*, 49, were begun by *Hsiang Hsiu* (227—277), who was *Hsi K'ang*'s friend and a member of the society of "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove"; and it was completed by *Kuo Hsiang*. That is why the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, 4, mentions it as *Hsiang—Kuo*-commentaries; see the survived texts: *Chung-kuo li-tai chê-hsio wên-hsüan Liang Han—Sui—T'ang pien*, pp. 388—421. On the authenticity of the *Hsiang—Kuo*-commentaries, with abundantly selected passages: Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 220—230.

[90] The first political-anarchist work of Chinese philosophy: *Pao Ching-yen*'s treatise, preserved in the *Pao-p'u-tzŭ* (*Wai-p'ien*, 48), was written at the turn of the 3rd and 4th centuries, at the culminating point of feudal anarchy lying concealed behind the semblance of unity. All we know about "Master *Pao*" — besides his name — is that "he liked *Lao(-tzŭ)*'s and *Chuang(-tzŭ)*'s books, and he was experienced in eloquence of debate *(pien)*". He developed the old Taoist idea of "non-action" to such an extent that he absolutely denied the reasons for existence of any kind of govern-

period, in the first year of the new century a poet and later high-ranking official, *Lu Chi* (261—303), coming from *Wu* to *Lo-yang*, undertakes to realize a literary theoretical recapitulation: he writes his poem *Wên-fu*.[91]

An essential peculiarity of the *Wên-fu* is its being itself a piece of poetry, a *fu*, the *ars poetica* of a poet. It contains just therefore a great number of very subtle observations, concerning for the most part workshop secrets of poetry, as for example, inspiration, versification, drafting work, etc. For all the same, the work is not insignificant accomplishment from literary theoretical viewpoint either.

What is *wên*, what is the purpose and sense of literature according to *Lu Chi?* In the last section of his work this is what he says: "The function *(wei-yung)* of literature *(wên)* is to be rested upon by lots of ideas *(chung li)*. (In this way) it is able to embrace ten thousand miles, and nothing can stand in its way; it is able to penetrate *(t'ung)* one hundred thousand years serving as a ford (in time)."[92] This is a very profound and true idea that could also be a kind of summing up of our present day aesthetic knowledge. In *Ts'ao P'i*'s theory — as already seen — the ideological-political and the personal motives (the political principle of genre classification and the principle of "immortality through fame") could not yet adjust themselves to an organic conceptual unity; *Ts'ao P'i* could not define the *wên* after all. And now we are facing such a definition which includes the germ of our modern perception of the universal self-consciousness of humanity.[93] According to *Lu Chi*, the purpose of a literary work is neither direct engagement in politics, nor "immortality", but the transmission of "ideas" *(li)* that is to say knowledge, cognizance both the contemporaries and to posterity, pervading *(t'ung)* space and time, as the consciousness of universality *(t'ung)* of mankind, as self-consciousness of mankind.[94] Between *Ts'ao P'i*'s and *Lu Chi*'s literary theories there is a great difference accordingly, yet

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ment, stating that "in the old times (people) knew no ruler". See an excellent translation of his writings: Balázs, *Entre révolte nihiliste et évasion mystique*, pp. 43—47; and his selected passages: Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 224—226.

[91] See *Lu Chi*'s biography in the *Chin-shu*, 54. His *Wên-fu* — like his other works — were preserved in the *Wên-hsüan*, chap. 17, 1. A good translation with commentaries: A. Fang, *Rhymeprose on Literature, The Wen-fu of Lu Chi (A. D. 261—303)*: HJAS XIV (1951), pp. 527—566.

[92] Cf. Fang, *Rhymeprose on Literature*, pp. 545—546.

[93] Cf. G. Lukács, *Vom partikularen Individuum zum Selbstbewusstsein der Menschengattung: Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*, 1. Halbband (Werke XI), pp. 572—617.

[94] See a detailed analysis of the term *t'ung* ("to penetrate", "universal") in the chapter III, 4 of the present essay.

the reason for this is not the difference between the talents of both theorists (and poets), nor the poetic experience accumulated in the meantime, but the philosophic, logical and methodologic evolution of the 3rd century which is based on nothing else but the omnipotence, universality reached by the "money-spirit". We think that after what has been said, the reader will consider this conclusion well founded, and, glancing back upon our earlier economic exposition, he will not regard them superfluous.

Now let us look at what we are most interested in: the genre theory of the *Wên-fu*.

"(1) Poem *(shih)* is attached to emotions, and is as fine as silk.
(2) *Fu* describes the objects *(t'i-wu)* and is shining and clear.
(3) Epitaph *(pei)* endows with external beauty *(wên)* (the deceased), completing therewith the real merit *(chih)*.
(4) Lament *(lei)* is closely tied, and (expresses) deep sorrow.
(5) Epigraph *(ming)* is comprehensive and compact, gentle and sparkling.
(6) Admonition *(chên)* is disjointed, yet clear and forceful.
(7) Hymn *(sung)* is streaming abundantly and is hereby noble *(pin-wei)*.
(8) Essay *(lun)* is clever and profound, but clear and comprehensible.
(9) Petition *(tsou)* is quiet and convincing, graceful and dignified.
(10) Polemical treatise *(shuo)* is shining glamorously and arguing in artistic ways.[95]

Should (the works belonging to the ten genres) be of whatever different classes *(ch'ü fên)*, every (genre) forbids irregularity and demands order.[96] The most important (requirement) is the mediating action of words *(tz'ŭ)* so that the intellect should be lifted high through them,[97] consequently lengthiness and verbosity have to be avoided."[98]

This shows that however considerable a step was taken forward as regards the work of *Ts'ao P'i*, the *theory* of genres is still absent here. At any rate,

[95] These lines were translated by J. R. Hightower too: *The Wen Hsüan and Genre Theory*, p. 515.

[96] Or, in a more precise translation: "it creates order in licentiousness".

[97] On the mediating function of words see a passage from Confucius: *Lun-yü*, 15, 40.

[98] The words "diffusivity and length" *(jung-ch'ang)* concern probably every looseness of form, straying from the ideal aims of the genre in question. Unfortunately, as regards the "aims" concerning contents, i.e. genre principles, we only meet no more than certain signs in the characterization of genres.

the more correct generalization, realized in the fresh definition of the *wên* provided a possibility for the sequence of genres to be turned the other way round. Thus lyric poetry was put to the first place, and the didactic-prosaic "genres" were forced to be positioned at the end of the line. But it becomes now evident that even *Lu Chi*'s definition of the *wên* is not concrete enough to be the fundamental principle of genre classification of really artistic literature. Its deficiency consists just in the lack of apprehension of the *artistic* nature of literature, "functioning as ford" in time, the distinction of the recognition of "matters" from the not artistic but scientific manner of the mediation of "intellect". *Lu Chi* does not even look for the theoretical border line between prose and poetry, and this is the chief deficiency of his literary and genre theory.

In *Ts'ao P'i*'s theory, the classification has been of a pointedly political nature, and the general principle of "life-philosophy"; in *Lu Chi*'s case it is the principle of classification, that of the sequence that seems to be "lyric", and the general principle to be didactic. But let us not believe that there is a real contrast behind the contrasting surface. Surely it is easy to realize that the principle "functioning as ford" in times is only partially opposed to the principle "immortality through fame" (the former being of objective and the latter of subjective position). On the other hand, however, it can also be regarded as the keeping-and-abolishment, transcending, lifting to objectivity of *Ts'ao P'i*'s principle which nevertheless tries practically to become objectively applied in genre classification. Also the turning of the sequence, the lyric's coming to the first place from the last cannot be taken for an abjuration of *Ts'ao P'i*'s political principle. *Lu Chi* could not have the slightest doubt about the political contents of the really lyric poetry (though this is not quite clear from the "definition" of "poem" given by him). His "positive", legist-tinted Confucian views are well-known.[99] And when reading the first section of the *Wên-fu*[100] on the starting-point of poetic work, on experience itself, we are bound to notice that the Taoist, may be *fêng-liu*-like sentences allude actually to politics. The poet who "advances together with the four seasons, sighing over evanescence", who "is worried about leaves falling to the earth in the middle of autumn, and is pleased with the tender buds opening in fragrant spring", whose "heart throbs with fear when he feels frost", and "who is flung far away by his

[99] E.g. from his interesting gnomes "Fifty Sections' String of Pearls *(lien-chu)*" (cf. *Wên-hsüan*, 15, 2), where he urges to raise real talent to official positions, and protests against hereditary titles and ranks etc.

[100] Cf. Fang, *Rhymeprose on Literature*, p. 531.

desires when looking at the clouds" — now this poet stands first of all in the very "middle" of the political "upheaval" "viewing the secrets" of it. Thus "upheaval" was "permanent" for several decades, but just in the years of the *Wên fu*'s origin it grows to such proportions that is unrivalled even in China's history. The matter is by no means some escape from politics; the like of it may be talked about at the best in the sense of *Hsün-tzŭ*'s, *Ts'ao P'i*'s or anybody's case who wants order in the situation of political "upheaval", looks for it, but cannot find his paragon except in the essentially aesthetic principle of *pin-pin*. This kind of aestheticizing, however, does not deserve the name "escape" but the stressing of the point that the political idea of a wide perspective, pointing to the future, can find in it its sole proper way, the only historically possible form in the given period.

Lu Chi is consequently a follower of the aestheticizing "enlighteners", and is the immediate successor of *Ts'ao P'i*'s work. But he is, unfortunately, also a follower of *Ts'ao P'i* concerning the point that in his literary theory the idea of social determination does not play a significant role. All considered, it is the neglect of this moment that is the reason why the concept of "genre" *(t'i)*, keeps its undefined nature in his theory,[101] as well as his genre classification becomes accidental, inorganized and arbitrary.

The problem of this unhistorical attitude appears quite clearly in a writing of *Tso Szŭ* (about 250—305), a contemporary of *Lu Chi*.[102] His *fu*, entitled "Three capitals" provides an insight into *Tso Szŭ*'s amazingly sober world. The "unpoetical" *ars poetica* of *Tso Szŭ*, however, calls attention to one of the most important questions of aesthetics. Namely *Tso Szŭ* attempts to evolve the principle of the literary work's truth-contents starting out from the old Confucian idea of reflecting "local customs", developing it into the naturalistic theory of an objective "verity" of description. From the angle of principle it seemed that *Lu Chi's* aesthetics should only be "implanted" with the principle of social determination, to supply directly his genial divinations and observations of details with a solid basis. Now — as usual in the struggle between ideologies — the old Confucian principle of "reflection" becomes exposed by the work of a contemporary in such a thoroughly different direction that the accordance of this with *Lu Chi*'s aesthetics is really quite impossible.

[101] Cf. the 5th strophe of his *fu*.

[102] See *Tso Szŭ*'s biography in the *Chin-shu*, 92, and his *fu*s on the three capitals of the "three kingdoms"; they had such a great success that "paper became expensive in *Lo-yang*" in consequence of the high number of their copies: *Wên-hsüan*, 4, 3; 5; 6. On the political content of these *fu*s see our Note 42 of this chapter.

Tso Szŭ's naturalism seems to be relatively the most justified exactly in the case of the descriptive genre *fu;* yet this is merely a semblance, because his formulations are only valid in themselves for non-artistic prose or scientific "literature". The political-scientific-aesthetical aspiration, however, coming forward in the demand of naturalism, has to be taken most seriously. *Tso Szŭ* who is of plebeian origin and whose political paragon is the state *Wei,* existing a century before, belongs essentially to the same legist-Confucian current as *Lu Chi,* the most significant ideologist of which being *P'ei Wei.* And for one of the most characteristic products of the — highly didactic — endeavour, first formulated by *Tso Szŭ* for the sake of defending his own *fu,* can be regarded the *Po-wu chih,* one of the works of *Chang Hua* (232—300) who also rose to the post of a high-ranking official from humble origin. The aim of the work is nothing else but to take stock unfailingly of "things", the diversity of the objective world, to describe this so that it should provide an adequate basis for a future scientific synthesis.[103] The fact that there is a fair number of fabulous and legendary notes in *Chang Hua*'s work, does not diminish at all the great scientific value of the venture. On the other hand however, the nature of the book's disintegrated world concept that does not wholly overcome the fable, reveals that the primitiveness and scattered nature of the really scientific attainments in this epoch do not yet admit new and exacting scientific generalizations.[104] No wonder then that *Lu Chi*'s aesthetizing generalization (the *wên* and its truth-contents) reaches a considerably higher level and greater correctness than that of *Tso Szŭ.* For though *Lu Chi*'s objective idealism conducts to the neglect of the social determination of poetry, the principle of social character falls equally victim to *Tso Szŭ*'s mechanical-metaphysical materialism, moreover here the sense and purpose of the *wên* also becomes questionable. Also the contrasting of the *shih*'s lyricism and the *fu*'s objectivity gets lost herewith, that had yet seemed a significant recognition of genres.

Of the undamaged work that have survived it is *Lu Chi*'s *Wên-fu* which is on the highest level both in the poetic and in the conceptual sense. From

[103] *Chang Hua*'s biography, stating that "being orphaned early, he was poor and he grazed sheep", may be read in the *Chin-shu,* 36. It was *Chang Hua* who discovered *Lu Chi*'s talent when he arrived at *Lo-yang.* — The *Po-wu chih,* an extremely valuable document of scientific knowledge of that time, was included in the collection *Han—Wei ts'ung-shu;* the authenticity of its survived form is still to be settled.

[104] At the same time the *Po-wu chih,* containing also some kinds of tales and anecdotes, played an important role in the history of *hsiao-shuo* too, cf. Lu Hsun, *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction,* Peking 1959, pp. 48—49.

the viewpoint of genre theory, however, it is not *Lu Chi*'s work that is the leading performance. His contemporary, *Chih Yü* (died about 310) composed the first large anthology since the *Shih-ching* and *Ch'u-tz'ŭ*, entitled "Collection of Literary Works According to Genres" *(Wên-chang liu-pieh chi)*.[105] This was the first anthology in the Chinese literature arranged according to genres, and it is really unfortunate that not even its table of contents survived. But *Chih Yü* has written essays on genre theory too,[106] actually as a by-product of his anthology, and fragments of these have survived.[107] The thorough study of these fragments proves that *Chih Yü* — evidently also assisted by the practical task of composing an anthology — penetrated much deeper into the questions of genre theory than *Lu Chi*.

Chih Yü makes the principle of social determination to be his starting point (conceived in the Confucian manner of course), reaching on this basis such historical approaches to poetic genres of which there is no trace in the works of *Lu Chi* and *Ts'ao P'i*. And finally: as a result of the social and historical approach, in *Chih Yü*'s work there begins the formation of an already not arbitrary (and simply reversible) sequence of genres, but their well-weighed, really organic system.

The fragmentary state of *Chih Yü*'s writings is very regrettable indeed. Among his fragments, the most interesting ones are the comments concerning the genre *sung*, according to which the *sung* of the *Shih-ching* ceased, in the course of time, to be a real hymn, and became a laudation of the unworthy, of a "mixed kind", once belonging to the genre of ode *(ya)*, and then passing over into the genre of descriptive poem *(fu)*. This outlook of definite principle is also perceptible in his comments on other genres. In J. R. Hightower's opinion, *Chih Yü* is the first Chinese critic who is able to perceive the difference between the form and its label.[108] The correctness of this formulation might be disputed, but so much is unquestionable that it draws our attention to the logical-methodical questions primarily important

[105] See *Chih Yü*'s biography in the *Chin-shu*, 51, and a summary of the Chinese bibliographical data concerning his lost works: Hightower, *The Wen Hsüan and Genre Theory*, p. 515.

[106] According to the biography: "*(Chih) Yü* compiled the four chapters of the *Wên-chang chih*, moreover he selected old literary works, classifying them into species, in 30 chapters, giving them the title "*Liu-pieh chi*"; and he provided all of them with treatises *(lun)*, in which he put the forms and principles *(tz'ŭ-li)* on their right place, and which were highly esteemed by his contemporaries."

[107] *Yen K'o-chün* quotes a few fragments of the Treatises *(lun)* entitled "*Wên-chang liu-pieh lun*" (from the *I-wên lei-chü*, 56) in the *Ch'üan Chin wên*, 77.

[108] Cf. Hightower, *The Wen Hsüan and Genre Theory*, p. 517.

in genre theory. It is obvious that in *Chih Yü*'s theory, the assertion of the principle of historicality is really assisted considerably by the logical-methodological soundness which is the most important result of the research of "name and reality", the "terminology" reborn in the 3rd century as well as that of all kinds of "pure conversations". And in the formulations of *Chih Yü* the logical-methodological firmness becomes coupled with the idea that genres (and their concepts) are always attached to their epoch, and "are changing" together with the age. It is exactly this coupling that places his work — in spite of its fragmentary nature — from the genre theoretical viewpoint highly over the attempts of *Lu Chi* and *Tso Szŭ*.

The genre theory of *Chih Yü*, which no doubt had been originally more expounded, and particularly his anthology, arranged according to genres, had presumably a major effect on his contemporaries and posterity: the stream of anthologies in the "Southern Courts" (now for the most part missing) started very likely in consideration of his principles.[109] His method and theory of genre research will appear again, expanded and evolved on a large scale in the peak achievement of Chinese literary theory, *Liu Hsieh*'s book, entitled *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*, some two hundred years later. A more complete comprehension of this development demands, however, to be true — also in our study — to the historicism of *Chih Yü*, that at least the main features of Chinese society in the following two hundred years be first discussed.

[109] In the *Sui-shu*, 35, we find 419 titles; *Chih Yü's* anthology is heading the list. Only two items of them have survived: the *Wên-hsüan* and the *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung*, containing mostly love poems, cf. Hightower, *The Wen Hsüan and Genre Theory*, p. 517.

III. LIU HSIEH'S THEORY ON LITERARY GENRES

1. The epoch of Liu Hsieh

At the beginning of the 4th century the Western *Chin* dynasty, meaning already just formally some "unity" above anarchy, was no more able to resist the pressure of the "five barbarians",[1] and in 317 transferred its seat from *Lo-yang* to *Chien-k'ang* (today's Nanking), which had once been the capital of one of the "three kingdoms": southern *Wu*.[2] Although the period of the dynasty's reign beginning here is termed by Chinese historians as the Eastern *Chin* epoch,[3] it is evident that in reality it is the split of China's political history into "Northern" and "Southern" lines, the era of "Southern and Northern Courts" ending only by 589 when the *Sui* dynasty actually succeeded in restoring China's unity, which was started by this migration southward to the "left Riverside".[4]

The removal of the seat to the south was only the completion of the southward migration of the official-feudal aristocracy, beginning already at the end of the 3rd century.[5] This migration to the south assumed the dimensions of a mass movement around 317, naturally without affecting even the basic masses of peasants. The northern territories were overwhelmed by barbar tribes which established short-lived "dynasties"; in the southern parts the rule of the *Chin* dynasty continued — fundamentally on unchanged grounds — and together with this the ancient Chinese civilization preserved from antiquity apart from a few changes. Later on (about 420) the *T'o-pa* tribe succeeded in establishing a mighty state; in the south the Eastern *Chin* was followed by the *Sung* dynasty *(Liu-Sung:* 420—478), which in turn was succeded by the *Ch'i* (479—501) and *Liang* (502—556) dynasties. Finally with the reign of the *Ch'ên* dynasty (557—588), the southern line of evolution ended. It is not the southern but the northern line of evolution

[1] On China's relations with Barbarians in this period see Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, II, pp. 27—53.

[2] On the earlier period of *Chien-k'ang* see Note 42 of our chapter II.

[3] Cf. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, II, pp. 54—55.

[4] Cf. the details in Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, II, p. 308 etc.

[5] Cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 126—127, and see the references cited there.

that is directly continued and completed by the *Sui* dynasty, this iron-handed promoter of the *T'ang* empire; the southern line, this peculiar prolongation of Chinese antiquity comes to a deadlock.[6]

If there is a period in China's history, the "alterations" of which in essence hand down only immobility, it certainly is the "history" of the southern dynasties. The real "amendments" whose necessity had been clearly recognized already at the end of the 3rd century and at the beginning of the 4th century by "positive" minds, could be delayed for more than two hundred years by the aristocracy, — and exactly through the migration to the south. The economic foundations of aristocratic parasitism which had been shattered and ended in the north, now got interchanged. The south still provided plentiful fields, connected up till then only loosely to Chinese civilization, and the "civilizing" of these fields offered Chinese mandarinism plenty of "fresh" grounds to be exploited.[7]

It is not necessary to discuss here the details of the political "changes" of southern dynasties. Political life is animated chiefly by the competition of semi-feudal and semi-mandarin families; and it is evident that in those fights the squabble for positions and land of the southern "aborigines" and the immigrated aristocracy played a certain role.[8] For us the economic and political "evolution" of the period is more important. And since this "evolution" — in its every important element — is the development of tendencies originating from the beginning of the 3rd century, and they have already been discussed, a brief summary seems to be sufficient here.

In the period of the "southern and northern Courts" feudal tendencies were gaining strength all over China. According to our present knowledge, it is the north where this trend prevailed to a greater extent; the study of this process, however, does not belong to our present subject matter.[9] But not even in the south could the expropriation of "mountains and morasses"

[6] As an Appendix to the study by Ét. Balázs, *Études sur la société et l'économie de la Chine médiévale. 2. Le traité juridique du "Souei-chou": Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises* IX, Leiden 1954, p. 207, an instructive table is published about the filiation of law-books: the code of *Chin* was followed by that of Northern *Wei*, Northern *Ch'i* and *Sui* successively. We are convinced that the filiation of many important Chinese institutions of the early Middle Ages could be inferred in a similar way.

[7] Cf. Balázs, *Le traité économique*, p. 135 and p. 188.

[8] See a relevant good summary e.g. in the *Chung-kuo li-shih kang-yao*, compiled by *Shang Yüeh*, Peking 1954, p. 89 etc.

[9] On the advanced stage of northern feudalism see Balázs, *Le traité économique*, pp. 276—281.

by the aristocracy be stopped: an order of the *Liu-Sung* dynasty, issued in 457 was only an attempt to limit expropriations.[10] One of manifestations of these feudal aspirations in the south is the fact that the aristocrats arriving from the North endeavoured to shun taxation, — naturally their numerous "protégés" included; one of the greatest problems in the first section of the Eastern *Chin* epoch was the appropriate registration of taxpayers within the realm.[11] Another victory of feudalistic efforts is shown by the fact that in 377 the taxation according to the size of land could be annulled, a taxation system afflicting everyone "equally" to be introduced instead.[12] At the same time the greatest problem of the central power continued to be how to assure grain. From the year of the transfer of the seat to the south, the Eastern *Chin* dynasty made constant attempts to promote by various decrees the "fundamental", and the idea arose from time to time that the principal reason for the difficulties might be found in the large number of "migrants" and those engaged in "secondary" professions.[13] In the year 402 a Chief Minister suggested again the withdrawal of copper-currency and the introduction of "grain and silk"-money instead. His advice was, however, — evidently — not accepted.[14] How would it be possible to accept it when the central power had already found one of the most important taxpayers, the main "secondary": commerce.

Chien-k'ang, today's Nanking, had been as the capital of *Wu* state, an important trade centre already.[15] Its position, both economic-geografically and topographically made it a commercial city.[16] Now the southern dynas-

[10] According to the *Sung-shu*, 54(2b), the officials were allowed to "fence off" for themselves maximum 3 *ch'ing*s of land, in proportion to their ranks, cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 134.

[11] Cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *ibid.*, pp. 128—129.

[12] Cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *ibid.*, p. 186.

[13] A petition submitted in 319 is quoted by the *Chin-shu*, 26; cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 182—183.

[14] This suggestion was made by the chief minister *Huan Hsüan*, who seized the throne at the end of the year 402; he was defeated and executed in 404. The *Chin-shu*, 26, quotes *K'ung Lin-chih*'s argumentation of defence of copper currency; cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 193—197.

[15] According to the *Liang-shu*, 54, in 226 a Roman merchant came to the ruler of *Wu* via Annam in order to obtain information, cf. Lien-sheng Yang, *Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty*, p. 131.

[16] The position of *Chien-k'ang* is well characterized by a passage of the *Sui-shu*'s economic chapter, informing us that at the beginning of the rule of the *Liang*-dynasty, in the small state of *Liang* three economic spheres could be distinguished: natural economy in the country, economy of copper currency in the capital and in a few district

ties, while forced to yield to feudalistic efforts, levied a tax on trade, and — according to the evidence of the *Sui-shu*'s economic-historical chapter — the taxes of the "secondary" professions soon exceeded those of the "fundamental" ones.[17] It is this fact that makes comprehensible the assertion of the same chapter that from the *Wei* era onwards the taxation of the peasantry continued to be "chaotic" up to the ascension to the throne of the *Liang* dynasty:[18] the *Wei* dynasty built up its reign upon the *t'un-t'ien* system in the first place, with the southern dynasties increasingly relying upon the taxes of commerce. This evolution culminated, on the other hand, at the time of the *Liang* dynasty, which made relative "order" in the field of taxation and in a number of other fields, and this "order-making" was based exactly upon the circumstance that commerce began to be definitely one of the very foundations of the state. The first emperor of the *Liang* dynasty, *Wu-ti*, commenced its long rule of almost half a century (502—549) with the attempt to consolidate the monetary system through the introduction of the "five-*shu*" currency.[19] Nothing is more characteristic of the nature of the *Liang* reign than the statute book created — according to the order of *Wu-ti* — by a large group of scholars, which makes convertible almost every penalty (with the exception of capital punishment) into money.[20] It is the state of *Liang* where mercenary spirit became really all-powerful. This commercial interest of the state makes comprehensible *Wu-ti*'s connections to his half-brother *Hsiao Hung . . . Hsiao Hung* (473—526) — whose biography's most important moments were set off by Ét. Balázs[21] — got his princely honours when his brother came to the throne, later on he was conferred different high offices, and *Wu-ti*'s favour did not diminish even when it was discovered that he was sheltering common thieves and murderers from penalty. In the sign of "brotherly affection", the emperor even granted amnesty to the protégés of his half-brother. The enormous power of *Hsiao Hung* rested upon his immense wealth originating from sheer usury. In the capital and in its surroundings, a great number of people "lost their occupations" *(yeh)* through *Hsiao Hung*'s loan transactions, and

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centres, and economy of gold currency in the coastal belt; cf. Balázs, *Le traité économique*, p. 174, p. 232, and the interesting description quoted from the geographic chapter of the *Sui-shu*, p. 317.

[17] Cf. Balázs, *Le traité économique*, pp. 135—136.

[18] Cf. Balázs, *ibid.*, p. 131.

[19] Cf. Balázs, *ibid.*, pp. 174—175 (and the extensive notes, pp. 232—236).

[20] See the *Sui-shu*, 25; cf. Balázs, *Le traité juridique*, p. 33 etc.

[21] Cf. Balázs, *Le traité juridique*, pp. 122—123.

Wu-ti still tolerated him in his offices. The second son of the emperor, *Hsiao Tsung* (480—528) — who, by the way, escaped to the north — wrote a pamphlet on *Hsiao Hung* entitled "On the Madness of Money", naturally modelled on *Lu Pao's Ch'ien-shên lun,* but this work was destroyed by *Wu-ti*'s command.[22] It is again Ét. Balázs who quotes the notion of a subsequent historian, *Szŭ-ma* Kuang who is puzzled by the point how *Wu-ti* could let *Hsiao Hung* keep his high honours.[23] In our view, this indulgence, inconceivable for *Szŭ-ma Kuang,* is only a natural manifestation of the intertwining of capital and mandarinism. It is not for the first nor the last time that this occurs in China's history, but it appears in the state of the *Liang* dynasty at least as markedly as in the second half of the *Han* age.

When speaking of the great importance of money and commerce, it must be born in mind that it is by no means the commerce of the epoch of *T'ang* or that of a later period, not even the one developing in the North that is at issue. The distinctive peculiarity of commerce under the southern dynasties lies exactly in the circumstance that it was built most closely together with mandarinism, and even also with feudalistic aspirations (which, among others, are just therefore not feudalistic aspirations in the European sense). This inherence naturally promotes the emancipation of such forms of capital as e.g. usury. It is this inherence that rendered it possible for the aristocracy to prolong their rule — under the southern dynasties — for a long time to come, reaching as far as the Chinese Middle Ages, and that, grown into a closed caste, for a good while it could represent the ancient Chinese civilization in a China becoming more and more barbarized. And one of the most striking results of this inherence, the distinctive peculiarity of the South, is the fact that the feudalistic-official-capitalistic interests and aspirations led to an *aristocratism* of a measure hitherto unprecedented in China. This aristocratism of the epoch is apparent if e.g. the public schedule of examinations or even the legislature is being inspected.[24]

[22] We read about this in the *Nan-shih*, 51 (5b): "From the time of the *Chin*-dynasty there existed [a work] "*Ch'ien shên lun*". *(Hsiao) Tsung*, prince of *Yü-chang* wrote the *Ch'ien-yü lun*, based on *Hsiao Hung*'s greediness and parsimony. His work *(wên)* was rather sharp [worded] . . . And, though [the people] were in a hurry to annihilate it according to the order (of *Wu-ti)*, (the pamphlet) still spread [far and] wide. *(Hsiao) Hung* was made seriously ill by it." Unfortunately, the text of the *Ch'ien-yü lun* has not survived.

[23] Cf. Balázs, *Le traité juridique*, p. 123.

[24] See the *Sui-shu*, 25; cf. Balázs, *Le traité juridique*, pp. 44—49, and related notes, p. 185.

The ancient Chinese mandarinism, by practically absorbing feudalism, commercial capital and usury in the first place, reached the last stage of its parasitism in the aristocratism of the southern dynasties. This inherence motivates the fact that the southern line of evolution came to a deadlock wherefrom there was no way out. It is not the southern traditions that were continued by the relatively reformed mandarinism of the epoch of *Sui* and *T'ang*. This one preferred to rest on commercial (and feudal) evolution, being more "free", more independent and more sound in the North.[25] But just this peculiarity of the "southern Courts" is the ground of the fact that in this period the spiritual-cultural life of the south left that of the north far behind. The development of social aristocratism, upsweeping to the *Liang* dynasty, runs parallel with the flourishing of literature unrivalled so far. The progress of poetry is no more the function of the activities of one and another — more or less isolated — great poet or at best poetic group. It grew into a wide stream whose rolling on produced for the first time in the history of Chinese literature a many-coloured, manifold and still organic-continuous evolution. There appeared new literary genres, and even new arts.[26] Large anthologies were compiled to summarize earlier inceptions on a high level, and also the literary theoretical way of thinking rises to scientific level. The development line of the "southern Courts" had to come to ruin, but the great literary upswing during the *T'ang* epoch is unimaginable without its literature and literary theory. From an economic and political point of view, China does not owe her subsequent union to the "southern Courts", but the intellectual preparation of the union was carried out in the South.[27] And on the basis of what has been stated about the southern economy and

[25] Chapter 24 of the *Sui-shu*, very characteristically, does not contain any data concerning northern commerce, except for the statement of a rather doubtful value that heavy taxes were imposed on the trade of "more than one hundred great markets north of the rive *Huai*"; cf. Balázs, *Le traité économique*, pp. 173—174, and especially Notes 211, 214, 231 and 232.

[26] Of new literary genres it is the rise of a literature of anecdotes, jokes etc., named *hsiao-shuo* that can be considered most important (see our Note 48 to chapter II); and from among the new arts, the appearance and rapid flourishing of landscape-painting, related to Taoism, and sculpture, related to Buddhism should be emphasized.

[27] *Chêng Chên-to* writes (*Ch'a-tu-pên chung-kuo wên-hsio shih*, II, Peking 1959, p. 261) that southern literature penetrated the northern countries and in this way "much before the political unity of Northern and Southern Courts was established, their literature became unified". In spite of the naive formulation, this remark points towards real correlations.

society, it is by no means surprising that the most important fields of this preparations were poetry and literary theory.

Nowhere in the world was there more flourishing a literature in that time than that of the "southern Courts". In Europe that was the period of the decay of ancient civilization, and of the barbarization during the early Middle Ages. Thus the flourishing southern poetry is one of China's great — though for a long time isolated — contribution to universal world civilization.[28] And as further heights of poetry were reached in the *T'ang* era, similarly unparalleled in the literary history of the world, literary theory is in every respect a representative product of the "southern Courts". Its great achievements, however, were mostly discontinued in China as well and later they even became quite forgotten.

These sentences — meant to be only preparatory — are perhaps capable of making the reader perceive that now, when the study of the main work of the Chinese South's literary theory: *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*[29] by *Liu Hsieh* (about 465—522) commences, it is one of the greatest treasures of Chinese civilization that is in our hands. This work needs to be studied with utmost attention and care.

In the biography of *Liu Hsieh* his adherence to Buddhism seems to be the most important feature. For — according to the text — although it was only in the last weeks of his life when he became a monk, he was educated in his childhood over ten years by a Buddhist monk, namely by the same *Sêng-yu* whose name is linked with the compilation of the first selection of Buddhist polemical essays, the *Hung-ming chi*.[30] This work was done by *Sêng-yu* by the

[28] Later on, medieval Chinese poetry and literary theory exercised influence again only upon Eastern Asia. Chinese literary connections with European literature began only in modern times and, as regards the role of Chinese literature, not lyrics and aesthetics, but philosophy and epic genres had some kind of influence. Thus separation of Chinese lyrics and aesthetics has lasted, so to speak, to the present day, and it began to open not earlier than in the recent few decades. The author of this study is guided in his present task by the desire to help in transforming this treasure of Chinese civilization from exoticism to values "suitable for us".

[29] The title can only be translated with great difficulties. However, it is certain that the expression *wên-hsin* ("literary heart") concerns the contents, while *tiao-lung* ("carved dragons") is connected with the aspects of form. The whole title could be translated approximatively like this: "The Literary Heart and its Carved Dragons."

[30] *Sêng-yu* who lived from 445 to 518, was an important figure of early Chinese Buddhism; his biography can be found in the *Kao-sêng chuan*, 11. His main work was a compilation of the anthology of Buddhist texts *Hung-ming-chi*, preserving for us the first writings of Chinese Buddhism.

order of *Liang Wu-ti*, and *Liu Hsieh* not only took part in the compilation work, but one of his own manuscripts was also included in the book.[31] According to Pelliot, the *Hung-ming chi*, this extremely valuable collection of early Buddhist works, dates back to 507 and 518, while others put it about 520.[32] Both dates fit into the biography.

Prior to discussing other data of the biography and the Preface of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*, some elements of the early history of Chinese Buddhism have to be pointed out. Buddhism came to China in the ancient times, but then it produced almost no effect at all.[33] It actually spread in the early Middle Ages and especially in the time of the "southern and northern Courts."[34] Of the works included in the *Hung-ming chi* the first one is a dialogue entitled *Mou-tzŭ*, which is supposed to have been written at the end of the *Han* era, between 190 and 195. The genuineness of its text is disputed,[35] and if it is really from the years stated, it has to be regarded as an exceptional manifestation.[36] The little work's chief endeavour is, however, not exceptional at all, but highly characteristic of the spread of Buddhism in China. It is an attempt to reconcile or even conform Buddhism with Taoism and Confucianism.[37] At the beginning of the 4th century, *Sun Ch'o* tried to identify directly Buddhism and Confucianism: *"Chou (-kung)* and *K'ung* (Confucius) mean just Buddha; and Buddha means but *Chou (-kung)*

[31] *Liu Hsieh* is indicated in the *Hung-ming-chi*, 8, as the author of the small apologetic work *Mieh-huo lun*.

[32] Cf. Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, p. 158 (Note 3). All considered, we may suppose after all that the compilation was completed not by *Sêng-yu*, but perhaps just by *Liu Hsieh* and *Hui-chên*. The latter was a Buddhist monk, appointed by *Liang Wu-ti* after *Sêng-yu*'s death (518), in 519 or 520, to re-arrange the Buddhist library established by *Sêng-yu*.

[33] In *Wada Sei*'s opinion, the first reference to Buddhism in Chinese literature was made by *Chang Hêng* (78—139) in his description of the Western Capital; cf. A. F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, Stanford—London 1959, p. 21.

[34] Cf. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, pp. 34—41, and the chapter "The Period of Domestication", pp. 42—64.

[35] See these debates in Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 157—159. The whole title of the work in question is *Mou-tzŭ li-huo*. In P. Pelliot's opinion, its structure is reminiscent of the famous *Milinda-panho*, cf. *Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés: T'oung Pao* XIX (1920), p. 258.

[36] It is impossible to point out traces of Buddhism in Chinese literature proper (i.e. in poetry, philosophy, *hsiao-shuo*) even in the course of the 3rd century, though in this century, Buddhist establishments were founded in an increasing number.

[37] See its summary, with plenty of quotations: Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 159—167.

and *K'ung.*"[38] It is obvious that these attempts could only rest on a most superficial knowledge of Buddhism.

Unlike Confucianism, Taoism is capable of presenting kindred features with Buddhism. The spread of the Taoist "black wind" runs parallel from the 4th century onward with the spread of Buddhism. The best-known ideologist of a subsequent stage of Taoism, concentrating on the search for the elixir of life, *Ko Hung* (about 253—333) whose chief work *Pao-p'u-tzŭ* was written in the first years of the Eastern *Chin* dynasty, was an official of the ruler of the time, *Yüan-ti.*[39] Buddhism is not discussed in his work, but the fact that in the part named "Inner Book" *(Nei-p'ien)* his magic-mystic Taoism is expounded, and in the "Outer Book" *(Wai-p'ien)* mostly Confucian principles are professed, [40] indicates a kind of maintenance of both philosophies side by side, as various subsequent literarians accept the validity of Confucianism in the field of politics, but for private life they prefer Buddhism.[41] In the case of *Ko Hung* this duplicity is the obvious continuation of the "metaphysical" line of philosophy represented directly before him by *Kuo Hsiang,* and it is the manifestation of the endeavour for a more comprehensive attitude, for higher generalization. Also in the history of literary criticism *Ko Hung*'s name is worth being mentioned: he intervened against the Confucian worship of classic books, and took sides with the "altered" literature.

But let us continue our short review of the reception of Buddhism. Conforming attempts do not cease even in the 5th century; on the contrary *Chang Yung* (444—497), although accepting the unity of the final aim of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, already writes, only to demonstrate the identity of Taoism and Buddhism, his famous simile: "Once, a long time ago, a wild-goose flew in the sky; but, as it got farther and farther, it became more and more difficult to identify it. Those in *Yüeh* thought it to be a duck, and those in *Ch'u* believed it to be a swallow. The people themselves were from *Yüeh* and from *Ch'u,* but the wild-goose remained one

[38] The biography of *Sun Ch'o,* remarkable as a poet too, can be read in the *Chin-shu,* 56. His small writing *Yü-tao-lun* was preserved by the *Hung-ming-chi,* 3.

[39] See his biographical data, based on the *Chên-shu,* 72: Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie,* pp. 204—206.

[40] In Forke's opinion, who reviews his works and philosophy in detail; see *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie,* pp. 206—224.

[41] A subsequent name of Buddhism was "*nei-tien*", and that of Confucianism was "*wai-chiao*".

and the same."[42] The wording of his contemporary, *Ku Huan* (430—493), who had risen from poverty to an official of *Kao-ti* of the *Ch'i* dynasty, is somewhat different: "Taoism is the same as Buddhism; and Buddhism is the same as Taoism. Their saints are matched (= are in harmony), but their footprints are contrasting *(fan)*."[43] And this is the conclusion: China actually does not even need Buddhism.[44] This idea, which gained the upper hand in the course of the century, is, however, worded by another contemporary, *Mêng Ching-i*, the protégé of crown-prince *Wên-hui* and of prince *Hsiao Tzŭ-liang*,[45] as follows: "At the beginning *Lao-tzŭ* and *Shih* (Shakyamuni-Buddha) did not differ from each other. Those who separated and not yet united them, were misguided."[46] According to him, the principal identity of Buddha and Tao consists in the One, the principle of unity.[47]

Here it is not necessary to become absorbed in the kindred features and contradictions of Taoism and Buddhism.[48] It is much more important to bring into proper prominence the most important idea brought to China by Buddhism: the idea of the immortality of soul, against which the strongest protests were raised by various Chinese philosophers who had entirely different traditions concerning this question. They demonstrated that the idea of the soul being independent of the body was quite alien even to the most religious, most magic, most mystic Taoism; not to speak about Confucianism.[49] Mainly on purpose of fighting down the opposition to this idea, a combative literature of polemical essays developed, the flourishing of which occured during the period of the *Liang* dynasty and one of its major

[42] On *Chung Yung* and his work in the *Hung-ming-chi* see Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 230—232. The quoted text was amended by Forke on the basis of a variation to be found in the *Nan Ch'i-shu*, 54; cf. *ibid.*, p. 232 (Note 2).

[43] Cf. *Nan Ch'i-shu*, 54.

[44] Cf. Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 233—237, especially p. 234.

[45] Crown-prince *Wên-hui* was the oldest son of *Wu-ti* of the *Ch'i*-dynasty; he died earlier than his father and therefore he never ruled. His biography can be read in the *Nan Ch'i-shu*, 21. On *Liang Wu-ti*'s second son *Hsiao Tzŭ-liang* see our Note 53 to this chapter.

[46] Cf. *Nan Ch'i-shu*, 54; Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, p. 237.

[47] Cf. Forke, *ibid.*, referring to the *Lao-tzŭ*, 22.

[48] Cf. P. Demiéville, *La pénétration du Bouddhisme dans la tradition philosophique chinoise: Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* III (1956), pp. 19—38.

[49] Cf. H. Maspero, *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine*, II: *Le taoisme*, Paris 1950, pp. 16—18 and pp. 208—209; I: *Les religions chinoises*, Paris 1950, pp. 76—78.

achievements was also the compilation of the *Hung-ming chi*.[50] Extremely characteristic of the vexedness of the idea of the soul's immortality is the fact that there were debates, that it was thought disputable, although in his decree in 504 *Wu-ti* declared Buddhism the state religion.[51] One of the most interesting and most significant philosophic works: *Fan Chên*'s (about 450—515) "On the immortality of the soul" *(Shên mieh lun)* which has also survived in the *Hung-ming chi* is the product of the debates on this question.[52] *Fan Chên* was poor and was the enemy of wealth and aristocracy since his childhood. In the time of *Wu-ti* from the *Ch'i* dynasty (483—494) he was given some minor "literary" job, and later occupied higher offices. In the palace of *Hsiao Tzŭ-liang*, prince of *Ching-ling* (460—494), he met *Hsiao Yen*, the later emperor *Liang Wu-ti*, and supposedly a number of other notabilities of the period.[53] Both *Hsiao*s were dedicated Buddhists, but they also esteemed *Fan Chên* "for his open and straight forward character". *Hsiao Tzŭ-liang* drew the most famous Buddhist monks into the debate, but in vain, for neither of them was a match for *Fan Chên*'s arguments. The prince promised him high honours if the gave up his views, but *Fan Chên* answered that "he does not sell his belief for an office". It is very likely that his *Shên mieh lun* was written in 507, that is after Buddhism had been declared state religion,[54] and *Wu-ti* at once arranged a large-scale debate (!)

[50] On the works of *Hui-yüan* (334—416) and other authors, preserved in the *Hung-ming-chi*, see Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 261—266. On the Buddhist writings of the "Southern Courts" see Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, p. 46 etc.

[51] In 504, on Buddha's birthday, *Wu-ti* ordered the imperial relatives and officials to leave Taoism and to become converted to Buddhism; cf. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, p. 51. On *Wu-ti*'s Buddhism see Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, II. pp. 165—168.

[52] The text preserved by the *Hung-ming-chi*, 9, can be found, in a somewhat different form, in *Fan Chên*'s biography, too (cf. *Liang-shu*, 48). See the Chinese texts supplied with good commentaries: *Ch'ên Chung-fan, Han Wei Liu-ch'ao san-wên hsüan, Liang Han—Sui—T'ang pien*, pp. 482—501, and the best translation provided with an analysis: Stefan Balázs, *Der Philosoph Fan Dschen und sein Traktat gegen den Buddhismus: Sinica* VII (1932), pp. 220—234.

[53] *Hsiao Tzŭ-liang*'s biography can be read in the *Nan Ch'i-shu*, 40. Every prominent representative of that period visited his court, a centre of contemporary spiritual life (until his death in 494). His connections were close especially with his "eight friends" (among them: *Shên Yo, Hsieh Tao* etc.); see on them e.g. *Chêng Chên-to, Ch'a-t'u-pên chung-kuo wên-hsio shih*, p. 204 etc.

[54] An opinion like this is expressed e.g. by *Ch'ên Chung-fan, Han Wei Liu-ch'ao san-wên hsüan*, p. 210. It is possible, however, that the work in question was written

against it, designating quite a number of critics. And it was *Fan Chên* who emerged triumphantly in every debate![55]

Fan Chên's principal argument is the statement that the substance and attribute of matter have to be distinguished. The latter arises from the former and cannot exist without it. Yet the soul *(shên)* is merely the "function" *(yung)* of the body *(hsing)*, while the body is the substance *(chih)* of the soul.[56] To an objection he answers that body and soul are two names *(ming)*, viz. two concepts whose essence *(t'i)*, viz. contents are the same. This shows that *Fan Chên*'s argumentation rests on conceptual distinctions and logical forms. Though comparison between his method and that of his debating partners would be difficult, it is beyond doubt that it is this abstract, methodical nature of argumentation that gave a possibility to the debate itself. And now it is time to collect some threads of analysis hitherto left incomplete: the threads of the logical-methodical achievements, meeting and being interwoven finally at the "pure" height of abstraction in the history of the Chinese way of thinking. If there exists a really kindred feature between Buddhism and Taoism, it is to be found exactly in the sound logical-methodical foundation of their — in many respects contradictory — philosophies. This "purity" is of course the organic part of the period's aesthetic attitude; the arena of intellectual fights is art on the one hand and "pure" logical-methodical way of thinking on the other. The study of art itself is beyond our scope right now; but so is the study of the "pure" way of thinking, because — as already discussed from another angle — this bears its most beautiful fruits in aesthetics and in literary theory. Now, the identification of Taoism with Buddhism can be relatively justifiable and for the most part right, because the evolution of the Taoist "metaphysics", sweeping from *Wang Pi* (in a wider sense from *Lao-tzŭ)* up to *Kuo Hsiang* and *Ko Hung*, and reviving the antique Chinese logical commencements, by its abstract "purity" virtually went out of its way to meet with Buddhism. It is by no means mere accident that *Sêng-chao* (384—414), maybe the most significant philosopher of early Chinese Buddhism, left Taoism for Buddhism and that the principal virtue of his representative works is the novel inquiry about the connexions between essence and phe-

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in the time of the debates in *Hsiao Tzŭ-liang*'s court; cf. Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, p. 267.

[55] See a review of these debates and some passages from them: Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 268—274.

[56] The simultaneous use of the terms *shên* and *hsing* is of Taoist origin; cf. Maspero, *Mélanges posthumes* II: *Le taoisme*, p. 208.

nomenon as well as between motion and stillness.[57] And this "purity" imbues the way of thinking in this period to such an extent that through it, or more correctly: at this level of generalization not only Taoism and Buddhism come near to each other, but "Confucianism" is also renewed, as it revives in its fight against Buddhism, its "metaphysical" and logical traditions. We have seen that long since *I-ching* became one of the intellectual supports of Taoism.[58] Now, on what kind of traditions could this "enlightened" current rely, going to philosophical war against Buddhism, as the naive-instinctive dialectics and materialistically considered "metaphysics" of the "Book of Changes"? A predecessor of *Fan Chên, Ho Ch'êng-t'ien* (370—447), yet *Fan Chên* himself too, similarly turn the philosophy of *I-ching* against Buddhism.[59]

So, without having to go into further details, it can be stated that in the case of every significant thinker of this epoch a keen interest in and demand for logical-methodical problems prevail. Behind this interest there was the ideological-social and, in the final result, economic and political necessity of a higher generalization. But what indeed was the objective basis of this necessity — independent of subjective desires — as well as the basis of the possibility of higher generalization and of its, at least conceptual, realization? We propose to confine ourselves here again to taking up a few earlier threads of our analysis. In the early 6th century the real threads also joined in reality, namely by the following well-known facts: *Hsiao Yen*, although a prince of blood of the *Ch'i* dynasty, having laid his hands on the throne, declared himself the first monarch of the *Liang* House,[60] and immediately attempted to unify the monetary system (by his decree in 502),[61] declared Buddhism almost at once (in 504) the state religion, and arranged a major dispute in defence of the most novel theorem of the new religion: immortality of the soul. If to those facts all is added in thought that was said about the relation of *Wu-ti* to his half-brother *Hsiao Hung*, and — connected to this —

[57] Cf. *Chung-kuo li-tai chê-hsio wên-hsüan, Liang Han—Sui—T'ang pien*, pp. 461—474.

[58] As a matter of fact, this concerns the *Huai-nan-tzŭ*, too, but especially the Taoists of the 3rd century (cf. chapter II of our study).

[59] On *Ho Ch'êng-t'ien* see *Chung-kuo li-tai chê-hsio wên-hsüan, Liang Han—Sui—T'ang pien*, pp. 475—481.

[60] Cf. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, II, p. 157, pp. 162—163 (on the latter page the information that *Wu-ti* was converted to Buddhism only later, as we can see from the aforesaid data, is a mistake).

[61] Cf. Balázs, *Le traité économique*, pp. 174—175, pp. 232—236.

about the economy and society of the "Southern Courts" and especially about those of the *Liang* era, then our opinion — according to which the seemingly remote economic and religions occurrences of the period must not be examined isolated from one another and cannot be comprehended except in unity — will be considered well founded. As since the beginning of the *Han* age it is the incomprehension of the circuit-like "changes" that was the ideological foundation of "metaphysical" mysticism as well as economically the endless line of crises caused by the parasitic trade: the eternal contradiction of "grain" and "money", now Taoist mysticism was growing in the same way into Buddhist mysticism on the ground of this typical mechanism of Chinese economy. And as this mechanism took, under the "Southern Courts", the form of a particularly strong interpenetration of commercial capital and mandarin state, the real cause of the "changes" increased effects on every field of life, and, on the other hand, retained its incomprehensibility or even became more incomprehensible. The upswing of Buddhism in the periods of *Ch'i* and *Liang* denotes just this contradiction.[62] The idea of the immortal soul, independent of the body *(shên)*, reflects more adequately the only too realistic, merely scientifically not understood "money spirit" *(Ch'ien shên)*, than any concept of the Chinese way of thinking so far. The higher generality whose divination revives logical thinking is also now, like in the *Chou* era, nothing else but money. And the real basis of *Liang Wu-ti*'s Buddhism, similar to that of the "comprehensive universality", "great universality", "great identity"[63] of his policy is: money already united inseparably with "grain".

In his work entitled *Shên mieh lun, Fan Chên*, answering the question whether it is of any use acknowledging the mortality of the soul, gives only too economic and political a criticism of Buddhism instead of a "clear" one.

[62] Paul Demiéville detects polarization of gnosiological "gradualism" and "subitism" in an interesting way from *Chu Tao-shêng*'s (365—434) philosophy; in his opinion, the former concept was supported by Confucian, while the latter by Taoist traditions, cf. *La pénétration du Bouddhisme dans la tradition philosophique chinoise*, pp. 28—35. *Fêng Yu-lan* (*A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 241—254), examining early Buddhism, arrives at the conclusion that in Chinese philosophy first of all the idea of "Universal Mind" *(li)* was due to Buddhism. The idea of *li*, playing a major role later in neo-Confucianism, was obviously parallel with the idea of *shên* (i.e. immortal and "universal" soul, wandering from body to body).

[63] It is worth reviewing *Liang Wu-ti*'s *nien-hao*s: *T'ien-chien* ("Heavenly Inspection": 502—519), *P'u-t'ung* ("Comprehensive Universality": 520—526), *Ta-t'ung* ("Great Universality": 527—528), *Chung-ta-t'ung* ("Medial Great Universality": 529—534), *Ta-t'ung* ("Great Identity": 546) and *Ta-ch'ing* ("Great Purity": 547—549).

According to him, Buddhism "does damage governing", because he who becomes a monk "depletes his goods", "smashes his homestead", no more cultivates the land, nor does he breed silkworms.[64] It can be remembered: legist-Confucian ideologists always waged war on the parasitic trade in this manner. This part of *Fan Chên*'s text got supposedly maimed by Buddhist compilators, but from his sentences even so the condemnation of the trade-parasitism by a legist asserts itself. His sentence, according to which in the mind of Buddhists "the sense for self-enrichment *(hou-wo)* is deep, but the desire to help the world *(chi-wu)* is shallow" will hardly be interpreted correctly if it is only the concern for spiritual matters that is discovered in the expression "self-enrichment". For whatever *Fan Chên* himself referred this sentence to, the "private life"-character of Buddhism (and Taoism) rests, in the objective sense, on aspirations always aiming at an individual loophole from the "outer world" *(wu)* of the mandarin-state, and principally an exemption from taxes. This aspiration, partly feudal and partly commercial, renders comprehensible the point that *Fan Chên* condemns those who "smash their homestead", and "do not show mercy for their near and distant relatives": because these Buddhists do smash their own domestic, in a patriarchal way organized, taxpaying homesteads, shatter a basic unity of the state's taxation basis, and evade the order of mandarinism. *Fan Chên*'s criticism — in its whole and essence — refers to this all too economic "self-enrichment".

By now it is already known that the Buddhist monasteries were by no means — and not in the first place — institutions for spiritual edification. At the beginning, monasteries were merely a safety device for "being protected", that is to say exemption from taxes.[65] The fact, however, that their economic foundation was based on "donations" of the local feudalistic gentlemen and officials, leads to the conclusion that from the beginning it is the mandarins of feudal aspirations themselves who withdrew part of their land and other goods from the liability of state taxation.[66]

Whatever the beginning was like, the monasteries already developed in the 5th century into large economic enterprises (according to a number of data verifying this fact). The thorough examination of J. Gernet has

[64] Cf. *Ch'ên Chung-fan, Han Wei Liu-ch'ao san-wên hsüan*, pp. 217—218; *Chung-kuo li-tai chê-hsio wên-hsüan, Liang Han—Sui—T'ang pien*, pp. 489—490.

[65] On the ideology of fiscal immunity of Buddhist monasteries see e.g. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, pp. 49—50.

[66] Naturally, the endowments were always granted under the cover of pious religious intentions, and this disguise was maintained later on, too.

demonstrated that monasteries became not only the owners of large estates but — through their industrial establishments — also held economic key positions to a certain measure.[67] Two of their most important industrial establishments were the oil-presses and water-mills. Needless to particularize the commercial possibilities given to a monastery situated at a suitable place: a fortune was to be earned merely by functioning as landlords and innkeepers.[68] Yet this did not satisfy them at all: they began to lend money and among others established the institution of pawnshops.[69] This all leads J. Gernet to the conclusion that money and land property was developed by the monasteries into "producing capital", herewith introducing to China a form of "modern capitalism".[70] This wording seems disputable,[71] but so much appears doubtless that this monasterial organization of the capital originating from trade and usury, which was capable of evading institutionally the state taxation system, means such a mercantile independence which is unparalleled in ancient China. Needless to affirm that *Liang Wu-ti*'s decrée in 504, making Buddhism the state religion, only continues and completes what was also made — though in a less expedient form — at the times of the "Southern Courts": bringing the commercial capital into state service, that is to say mandarinizing it.[72]

[67] Cf. J. Gernet, *Les aspects économiques du Bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du V^e au X^e siècle*, Saigon 1956.

[68] In subsequent literature of dramas and novels, Buddhist monasteries generally appeared as meeting-places for people coming from different parts of the country, and the generous endowments were due primarily to lodging functions of these places. In these dramas and novels monasteries served, at the same time, as the hotbed of various plots and intrigues, too.

[69] Lien-sheng Yang (*Buddhist Monasteries and Four Money-raising Institutions in Chinese History: Harvard Studies* XX, pp. 199—200) quotes data testifying that monasteries dealt with pawnbroking as early as at the end of the 5th century, that is during the rule of the Southern *Ch'i*-dynasty. An old Chinese term for pawnhouse is, very characteristically, *ch'ang-shêng-k'u* "longevity-treasury"; according to Lien-sheng Yang, originally this term concerned monastery treasuries in general, and was closely related to the expression *wu-chin-tsang* "inexhaustible treasury" (the latter being the name of a fabulously rich monastery in *Ch'ang-an*, founded in the *Sui*-period); cf. *Buddhist monasteries*, pp. 200—201.

[70] Cf. Gernet, *Les aspects économiques*, p. 223.

[71] Obviously, commercial capitalism, even if coupled with a certain kind of industry, cannot but conserve the primitive forms of trade (raising it to a "god" or "immortal soul"); thus in this case the expression "modern capitalism" is hardly reasonable to use.

[72] *Liang Wu-ti* "gave himself" several times to Buddhist monasteries, and called his officials to "redeem" him by substantial grants given to the monasteries; cf.

Thus in China of the Middle Ages monasteries were but economic enterprises, much more openly than in Europe. In China it was not monasteries that preserved some kind of civilization in a sea of Barbarism, like at the dawn of European Middle Ages, since — especially in the "Southern Courts" — just the "outer world", the central power represented the preserver of ancient civilization. Nor was it in monasteries that intellectual "workshops" came into being; this occured in secular circles. One kind of these has to be especially mentioned.

Under the "Southern Courts" literary and intellectual workshops generally developed in the palaces of *princes*. The most famous of these circles at the time of the *Ch'i* dynasty was formed round *Hsiao Tzŭ-liang* where almost every notability of these years and the following ones can be found.[73] The social situation of the princedom has — in connection with the problems of the *Wei* dynasty — already been discussed. This peculiar situation of strict state control, of forced lameness also in the closest vicinity of power is very well characterized by *Jên Fang* (460—508) in his biographical appreciation of prince *Hsiao Tzŭ-liang* of 494 on the occasion of his early death.[74] *Jên Fang* takes meticulous care to balance ideally the prince's familial-patriarchal virtues and his public virtues as a subject, never accentuating even by a shade the ones at the expense of the others.[75] This social situation: to be near the power and at the same time to be powerless, evolved the characteristically literary, poetical and easthetic nature of these intellectual workshops, these friendly societies, in the ancient periods already, *(Ch'ü Yüan, Liu An,* etc.), in the period *Chien-an* ("seven masters"), in the *Wei* era *(Ts'ao Chih,* "the seven sages of the Bamboo Grove", etc.), and also later, at the time

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Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, p. 51. Moreover, we should remember *Hsiao Hung*'s doubtful monastic connections! Obviously, the support given to monasteries was converted into profit in one way or another; but this "aspect économique" is still to be explored. — Wright characterizes the difference between northern and southern Buddhism in an interesting manner. In his opinion the southern Buddhists "reconciled Buddhism with an aristocratic state and society", but northern Buddhism had hard fights with its rivals, and as a result it was even subject to persecution in 446—452 and 574—578; cf. *Buddhism in Chinese History*, pp. 60—62.

[73] Cf. Note 45 to this chapter.

[74] Cf. Jên Fang, "Appraisement of the life of *Wên-hsüan*, prince of *Ching-ling* of the *Ch'i*-house, whose grandfather *(Ch'i) Kao-ti* was the founder of the dynasty, and whose father *(Ch'i) Wu-ti* was the successor to the throne": *Wên-hsüan*, 60, 1.

[75] This appreciation refers to earlier princes, among them to *Liu An* and *Ts'ao Chih* too. The two virtues, emphasized with equal strength by *Jên Fang*, are: "filial piety *(hsiao)*" and "loyalty *(chung)*".

of the *Chin, Sung* and *Ch'i* dynasties. There is something in this social situation that is somewhat "middle"-like. To put it playfully, the institution of princedom in China was: feudalism itself forced into the prison of mandarinism. From princedom there actually might be a way to the throne; e.g. prince *Hsiao Yen* became *Liang Wu-ti*. Whatever efforts the throne exerted to prevent the independence of princedom, this institution sometimes became independent, especially if the prince was as resourceful as e.g. *Hsiao Hung*, the "madman of money". As in the "Southern Courts", the feudal aspirations and the capital became interwoven, the same interpenetration appears in the institution of princedom, though in a somewhat separated, peculiar form within mandarinism: in a form containing at a high concentration the most general features, possibilities and regular trends of the entire Chinese society. This is the reason for the great importance of princes' palaces regarding ancient and Middle Ages Chinese poetry and literary theoretical way of thinking.

Following these comments, the epoch of *Liu Hsieh* being more understandable, let us proceed to examine some problems of the masterpiece *Whên-hsin tiao-lung*.

2. Preface of Wên-hsin tiao-lung

In the Preface *(Hsü-chih)* the fundamental problems of the whole work are presented to us.

The first thing that is quite surprising with good reason is that there is no trace in it of *Liu Hsieh*'s belonging to Buddhism; on the contrary, he declares himself to be a Confucian. Although it must be admitted that this work dates back "at the beginning already", at the last years of the 5th century, about the end of the *Ch'i* dynasty, when *Liu Hsieh* was thirty-odd years of age. But — if his biography in the *Liang-shu* is to be believed (and there is good reason to believe it) — *Liu Hsieh* had been educated for over ten years by *Sêng-yu*, so that he might well be expected to be apparently familiar with Buddhism in his aesthetical work too. Yet in the fifty chapters of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* there is only one direct reference to Buddhism.[76] Every concept, term, etc. in the book — although its language

[76] Chapter 18 mentions the idea of *prajna (pan-jo)*, cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 327; *Wang Li-ch'i, Wên-hsin tiao-lung*, Peking 1951, p. 55; Vincent Yu-chung Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons by Liu Hsieh*, New York 1959, p. 103; — it means the wisdom necessary to reach nirvana. *Wang Li-ch'i* thinks to discover Buddhist background in an allusion of chapter 39, too. It goes without saying that in a huge work of encyclopedic character like *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*, a few allusions mean next to nothing.

is only too ornamental in some places — can be explained by Confucian and Taoist traditions of the Chinese way of thinking. An inquiry about the indirect influence of Buddhism is still to be made; however, it is a task in no way solvable within this study.

Of the influence of Buddhism to be felt in the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* as much is usually said that this great work cannot be imagined without the comprehensive contemplation of Buddhism. This is right of course — when considered together with all that was said about economy and society — and it seems that so much is now sufficient. One of the fundamental peculiarities of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* is undoubtedly its extremely comprehensive, many-sided analytical disposition. This results directly in a considerate attitude — so very important in the philosophy of art — which enables the author to qualify as a merit from a viewpoint of something that he has already condemned from another angle; in short, to approach every genre with suitable responsiveness and humility. But could this large-mindedness of the work not have developed on the ground of the traditional Chinese philosophies? Was Buddhism absolutely necessary for the interaction of traditional precepts to lead the Chinese mind to the level of a higher generalization?

It is perhaps needless to say that the preconditions of a novel, higher generalization were already perfectly mature in the traditional Chinese mentality, too. In this period, attempts were made to "unite", to keep-and-terminate the various trends of traditional philosophy, and to reach on the basis of the Chinese way of thinking a "comprehensive attitude". Efforts designed to synthetize can be observed, trying to "identify" Confucianism with Taoism and Buddhism, and subsequently both of the latter ones. Anyhow, in this phase of the reception of Buddhism, Chinese thinkers could not even imagine Buddhism otherwise than an organic part or at least another variation of Taoism.

In the philosophic works of the time Taoism and Buddhism face another "identified": the "external teaching", Confucianism, irreplaceable in politics and its "internal", spiritual and private-life counterpart and completion.[77] In our view, after our recent analyses, there is no need to say more about

[77] The roots of this "identification" — which, as we have seen, can be considered successful from certain points of view, — date back directly to the earlier attempts referred to above. No doubt, however, that this phenomenon must have been well-based on several historical and social motives the examination of which is still in its infancy.

the economic and social basis of the final result: a formulation of the "external" and "internal" as a contrast-couple.

The aesthetic projection of this social-philosophical duplicity, however, deserves some attention. Namely, the rupture of politics and private life as well as their contradictions, being always a characteristic feature of Chinese society,[78] were never as explicit and at the same time as forced into an inseparable unity as just at the time of the "Southern Courts". And it never came as much into the center of moral and aesthetic problems as in the "Southern Courts". Also the emotions determined by this duplicity constitute the fundamental contents of lyrics in this epoch. The poetry of the "Southern Courts" ultimately became elegiac — although by the most various ways — in consequence of the insolvability of this contradiction.

There are three basic types of poetic "ways" that can be outlined: the poet retires wholly from the "world", looking for happiness as a private person, or works his way unfailingly up in the official hierarchy, so as to find the reason for his being a public figure, or else — and this is the most frequent case in this period — he tries to separate the public figure and the private person within himself, wearing away or eventually even — simpering in the contradiction of his double self.[79]

Looking back again from poetry to our proper subject: the pointed contradiction between public life and private life assumes great importance in aesthetics. For this is — beside the circle of logical-methodical problems — the single field and the "pure" height of cogitation where a reconciliation of contradiction seems possible, and is also partly possible indeed. The most

[78] As early as in the *Chou*-period, we face two extreme basic attitudes in philosophy, too: of those taking an office or retiring from public life.

[79] It is beyond our scope to prove that this sketch is justified, but perhaps we can stimulate connoisseurs of Chinese poetry to further trains of thought by referring to such examples as e.g. *T'ao Yüan-ming* whose poetical oeuvre was based on the attitude of retirement, and to *Pao Chao* whose poetry was determined by "positive" ambition and tenure of office. We could not clarify the third — and most frequent — attitude better than by *Liu Hsieh*'s words from his *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*, 31: "Those whose ambition *(chih)* is — as yet — official car and hat, write wavering poems about happy retirement; and those (being officials already) whose heart is kept busy by daily tasks, cherish empty dreams about a transhuman (world)." (Cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 538; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 89; Yu-chung Shih, p. 177.) Indeed, the poetry of that epoch, as clearly seen from the *Wên-hsüan*, came to be dominated mostly by this insincere, affected "solution" of the conflict between private and public life, characterized by *Liu Hsieh* in a way valid until today. Naturally, this "third attitude" could not produce masterpieces, since politically — as opposed to the two sincerely undertaken extremities, objectively equally justifiable — it was doomed to failure.

important aesthetical projection of the dualism of private and public life, the most significant result of the efforts to "conciliate", is the possibility given to the achievements of Taoist aesthetics to rest on "enlightening' Confucian grounds in aesthetic thinking, the former ones being mainly of "private life"-, "art psychological", etc. nature. From the aspect of literary theory this "conciliation" was realized by the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*. Literary theory is able to tackle relatively more successfully those problems of the epoch where philosophy is mostly at a loss. We think therefore that if literary theoretical works are not even mentioned when writing the history of Chinese philosophy, then comprehension of the most characteristic feature is lacking, i.e. comprehension of the aesthetic nature of the 3rd and 4th century philosophy, and the philosophy of this epoch becomes deprived of its most valuable achievement: its literary theory.

Now we can turn back to the Preface of *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*. In our view, the part of the Preface of biographical nature where *Liu Hsieh*'s Confucian ambitions are treated, would be interpreted in a way that *Liu Hsieh*, when "the number of his years passed thirty", intended to write a philosophic work, perchance — in keeping with time-honoured traditions — commentaries on classical books. He awoke, however, to the perception that in this field he had not much to look forward to, and at the same time discovered that the literary theoretical openings needed to be summed up, in a synthesis, that such a synthesis was quite possible and that he could "found a school" by doing so. It is this period of conceptual preparation when Buddhism became connected with his spiritual development. For in vain did he learn Buddhism as a child, it is quite obvious that its significant philosophic effect appears only when his years of manhood "passed the thirty mark" and he began to realize his great ambitions. At that time, however, in his preparations for the great task, *Liu Hsieh*'s Buddhist knowledge became most significant: it coincided with the attempts to synthetize on traditional philosophic basis. In recognizing the primitive, disintegrated state of literary theory, *Liu Hsieh* was greatly assisted by his Buddhist attainments, and he realized that it had to be raised, by "comprehensive intuition", to a really scientific level. It is this height wherefrom *Liu Hsieh* — also supported by his Buddhist knowledge — could regard as primitive all the earlier literary theoretical works, namely in a way that — though condemning them severely in the Preface — not a single of their valuable ideas came to be wasted, being built by him into the fabric of *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*. In this way Buddhism is latent in it, though not in the form of some direct allusion but undoubtedly in indirect relations.

Inspecting attentively the section of the Preface where the composition of *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* is discussed, it shows that *Liu Hsieh* constructed the work with a most severe logic. The first four chapters deal with the origins and other fundamental questions of literature, especially the point that it is founded upon classic books. The twenty-one chapters that follow discuss the genres of literature; the next seven chapters treat methodical problems of the literary work, nine subsequent chapters deal with technical points, and the rest, eight chapters, consider literary theoretical problems in general which can hardly be inserted in an extrinsic system. Yet it is not in the chapter scheme — as shown by the reference to the "sacred" number fifty — that his real system consists. The chapter scheme is merely outward and represents an occasional form of theoretical system determined by a number of subordinate circumstances. As can be seen, it is influenced by a demand of lexical-encyclopedistic completeness too, namely — like in the case of such demands in general — at a disadvantage. Scarcely any attempts have been made till now to disclose *Liu Hsieh*'s system in literary theory; and the present essay cannot undertake more — however tempting the methodical and other problems can be — than point out a few fundamental connections of his theory worked out on poetic genres.

Poetic genres are mentioned here, although this concept in this case has to be defined more accurately. What is meant by *Liu Hsieh* by "literature" *(wên)?* Why is our study limited to the theory of poetic genres worked out by him, and in what respect does this limit *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory anyway? The fact of posing these questions takes us to the very centre of *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory, and it seems that now, having completed our long preparations, we can make a venture into it.

In most early literary theoretical attempts, poetry and prose, not in the formal but aesthetic sense of these terms, were convergent, with their dividing line becoming indistinct. The definite distinction of *wên* 文 from *pi* 筆, standing out clearly in the chapter scheme, too (as evident from the Preface) is one of the fundamentally important achievements of *Liu Hsieh*'s literary theory. Neither of the two terms is novel, they also appear in earlier-works,[80] but the fact that by the 6th century this distinction was already clear-cut and accepted, is in fact the merit of *Liu Hsieh*.[81]

[80] Very rich material, irreproducible here, is published concerning the distinction between *wên* and *pi* by *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 660 etc.

[81] This problem is treated in detail by *Kuo Shao-yü, Chung-kuo wên-hsio p'i-p'ing shih*, Shanghai 1955, p. 56—65.

In the background of the distinction of *wên* from *pi* as well as in that of the attempts made with other terms there is hidden apparently the endeavour to separate poetry from prose.[82] In *Liu Hsieh*'s notion — as seen in the chapter scheme — the concept of *wên*, taken in the more limited sense as "poetry", registers practically poetry in verse, and the concept of *pi* covers either not artistic in essence or not primarily artistic "literature" written in prose. It is quite clear that it is not the form of verse and the prosaic form that is called by *Liu Hsieh wên* and *pi*, but that the term *wên* is recommended for the designation of poetry in verse and prose, and *pi* rather for denoting the concepts of artistic prose, style art, etc.

Liu Hsieh's term *wên* often worries the translator, because besides its meaning of "literature" it also occurs many a time in its earlier, other meanings.[83] Just therefore it would be rather fruitless to inquire about the meaning of *wên* in *Liu Hsieh*'s literary theory. This question has to be put in a more concrete form: what is the meaning of "literature" *(wên)* in *Liu Hsieh*'s theory, namely not set against *pi* in the first place, that is to say limited to "poetry", but more generally: *pi* included too? The 1st chapter of the work, entitled *Yüan tao* ("The Source, the *Tao*") expounds the "metaphysics" of "literature" *(wên)*. The cardinal idea of this is as follows:

The "*wên* of man" — similar to the *wên* of heaven and earth — is in its essence the manifestation, perceptible (and beautiful) external form of the law of nature, *tao*, truth. This idea, aestheticizing in a most characteristic fashion — by uniting Confucian and Taoist aesthetical conceptions — the whole universe, includes at the same time the idea of the unity, the objective and cognoscible nature of the world. This means consequently a relatively highly solid starting-point for art philosophy. For this metaphysics of *wên* amounts to the recognition of the objectivity of beauty. In this way, the most general meaning of "literature" *(wên)* in *Liu Hsieh*'s theory is: the objective beauty of man expressed by speech, by words.

It is obvious that the beautiful virtues of man as well as his fine thoughts and fine emotions are included in the concept of the beauty of man. Consequently this exquisite generalization can embrace both the ideas of Confucian morale-preaching and Taoist self-expression. It seems, however, that *Liu Hsieh* herewith abandons the idea of the cognizance nature of the *wên*, although this had been given its unmistakable formulation already in *Lu*

[82] By the way: *Lu Chi* did not even raise the (aesthetic) problem of poetry and prose.
[83] Cf. our Note 12 to the chapter I.

Chi's *Wên-fu*. Now, supposing this, we would underrate *Liu Hsieh*'s level of a philosopher. It is not traditionalism, nor custom that made him say in the Preface that the function of literary works *(wên-chang)* is: to be the ramification of classic books, that is to say to promote the consummation of the Five Ceremonies, the functioning of the Six Offices i.e. of "good governing". Some literary theoreticians of today might be amazed at how this "practicistic", "utilitarian" perception of the function of literature can harmonize with the "pure" ideas expressed a short while ago. In reality, however, there is no contradiction at all between these ideas. Also in *Liu Hsieh*'s literary theory, as a connecting link, there is the idea of the cognition quality of literature.

Those present-day theoreticians who fear that their mystified "beauty" might be endangered by the acceptance of the cognition quality of literature and reflection-quality of this cognition, are no match for *Liu Hsieh* regarding the level of scientific generalization. For them the conforming of the *wên*'s "metaphysics" and the idea of social utility in a single natural unity will be an eternal enigma. Yet mediations are quite clear also from *Liu Hsieh*'s work. Through the idea of the cognizance of "truth of things" *(li)*, the "metaphysics" — materialist in its nature — which formulates the objectivity of "*wên*", leads to such a *wên* concept that is a really adequate subject of literary theory: the concepts of beauty recognized (through words), of recognized (beautiful) law, and that of *wên* intellectually-emotionally attained by man. This conceptual step, converting the *wên* being independent of man's mind into the *wên* attained by man's mind, remains materialistic in its essence, in the same way as has been the "metaphysical" starting-point, for attainment through the mind, cognition is nothing but the reflection of the "truth of things". And why to recognize the "truth of things", why the attainment of the objective *wên?* To be able to impart our knowledge — of objective value — obtained in this way to both our contemporaries and the generations to come, so that the experiences of a great number of poets and of many generations might help man to better arrange his life on earth or, if it sounds better: to the practical, real completeness of man's objective *wên*.

Consequently *Liu Hsieh*'s concept of "literature" is: the objective *wên* attained by man, and the adequate expression of it by words. But which of the objective *wên*s is the matter of literary attainment: that of heaven or earth or that of man? In our view it follows from both the 1st and the 48th chapters that the real subject of cognizance is man's *wên*, and the *wên* of nature is not. On this point, *Liu Hsieh* did not arrive at a decision, nor

did he pointedly propound this question. He merely runs against it here and there, and seems to be irresolute regarding it. And — as will be seen — it is perhaps this indecision that is the chief reason for his discussing — as a second group — the "genres" of artistic prose among the genres of literature *(wên)*. Yet it is similarly this want of an appropriate definition of the literature-*wên* concept that may have induced him to separate the *wên* taken in a narrower sense from *pi*, the genuine artistic literature, poetry, whose subject and contents in turn are always and exclusively the *wên* of man. And by such a marking off from prose, *Liu Hsieh* reached the truly aesthetic concept of literature, of poetry where its kinds as those of a genus are already successfully definable without the risk of the kinds lining up in such an inorganic and accidental manner as they occurred in the case of most of his predecessors. The subject of our future interest will be for this reason only the theory created by *Liu Hsieh* of the *wên* genres of poetry (distinguished from *pi*).

3. Liu Hsieh on the history of poetical genres

Nine chapters of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* were dedicated by *Liu Hsieh* to the theory and history of poetical genres: the 5th chapter dealing with the *sao*, the 6th with the *shih*, the 7th with the *yo-fu*, the 8th with the *fu*, the 9th with the *sung* and the *tsan*, the 10th with the *chu* and the *mêng*, the 11th with the *ming* and the *chên*, the 12th with the *lei* and the *pei*, and finally the 13th with the *ai* and the *tiao*. On the basis of this arrangement of chapters, it would be premature to speak already of his genre theory system, because — as it will be seen — this extrinsic "system", determined by practical viewpoints, is not co-extensive with the genre system worked out by him. The fact, however, that — after the first four chapters treating classics — the series of genre historical chapters begins with the *sao*, i.e. the genre of elegy created by *Ch'ü Yüan*, and the *shih*, the "genre" of the Book of Poems coming only after it, is of course not quite without significance.

Liu Hsieh's classicism, the fundamental principles of which are to be read also in the Preface, is generally considered to need explanation. There are some who find a certain contradiction between the so-called conservatism formulated in the Preface and *Liu Hsieh*'s extraordinally responsiveness when approaching new manifestations of "modern" literature; and they believe to find a solution for this "contradiction" by asserting that *Liu Hsieh*'s "conservatism" was a custom, and his advanced ideas were resulting

from his conviction.[84] We think that following our premises, it is not worth wasting a lot of words on this "problem". It is sufficient for the time being to state the fact — obvious also from the Preface — that *Liu Hsieh* is a classicist in the same sense as were also *Ts'ao P'i, Lu Chi* or *Chih Yü* before him, that is to say a classicist in the "enlightened" way, and that this classicism has nothing in common with conservatism or academical character. On the contrary, in this epoch of "upheaval", the aesthetic aspirations of an advanced mind, in search of order, could only be classicistic. When analyzing the literary theoretical beginnings, it must have been already clear that while on the one hand restoring "order" could only be realized within art and in "pure" ideas, and in the most effective way just in literary theory; and on the other hand, the literary theoretical requirement itself, the beginning theoretical thinking about the "order" of literature is: classicism, namely "enlightening" classicism, diametrically opposed to conservatism and academic character. This chief regularity in the whole epoch's political and intellectual life is condensed — like the ocean in a drop — in the Chinese term for classicism which was made a central point by *Ts'ao P'i:* the term *tien* 典; namely by the fact that this word, meaning originally "Canon", "Code", etc. had been chosen by the stubborn enemy of the Confucianism of classic books, by *Ts'ao P'i* himself, to be the general term denoting his own order-restoring efforts.[85]

Liu Hsieh is also classicist in the theory of genres, but he is by no means conservative-minded. In the 3rd chapter he tries to demonstrate why and how classic books are the "ancestors" of literature, that is to say he traces back — similar to what *Chih Yü* did before him — the descent of all genres enumerated above to the classic books. Is this conservatism in itself? No, it only means to start out from the facts. For where else could he search for the origins of genres of subsequent literature if not in the oldest period of Chinese literature, in that of the age of *Chou?* The expression "classic books" practically does not mean anything else but "*Chou* epoch literature"; seeing that literature before the *Han* period survived for the most part in "classic books". An accusation of conservatism seems somewhat more justified when one thinks of the fact that *Liu Hsieh* — in trying to evolve the fundamental principles of genres out of their genesis — wants to compare,

[84] Cf. e.g. Yu-chung Shih, Introduction, XLIV: "From the general tenor of his writing, we must conclude that his conservativism is a matter of habit, while his progressive ideas arise from convictions."

[85] See our Note 24 to the chapter II.

according to the statement of his Preface, the "classic" primary form of genres with their subsequent "changes" regarded by him as examples of degeneration for the most part. It would lead us too far to start here an examination of the contemporary Chinese literature for the sake of deciding in what respect it might be regarded as really decadent, yet if considering all that has been said about the society of the epoch, indeed even a certain historical justification of a really conservative attitude could not be contested. The opposition by *Liu Hsieh*, however, to contemporary literary aristocratism is not — as you will see — of a conservative but of an "enlightening" kind. Everybody familiar with *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* is well aware that dozens of unswerving attitudes for the really new, "changed" and if you like, modern manifestations of Chinese poetry could be quoted from it. A great number of them can also be met with — without collecting them on purpose — in the chapters treating genre history.

The peak performance of the poesy before the *Han* epoch, however, the elegy-poetry of *Ch'ü Yüan*, is no part of "classic books". The *sao* is termed by the Preface as the first great genre "change" of classic literature.

One of the signs of *Liu Hsieh*'s greatness as a theoretician is the point that he commenced the series of his genre historical studies by the examination of the genre (and at the same time methodical and stylistic) "change". He regarded it to be his primary task to solve the contradiction between "classic books" and the *Ch'u-tz'ŭ*. In *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry, the genre-stylistic ideal incarnated in the "classic books", underwent an undisputable "change", and *Liu Hsieh* made the extensive study of this "change" the starting-point of his genre analyses. After our premises it would be superfluous to asseverate that the posing of such a question, while being of a deeply theoretical significance, is not a mere theoretical construction, but it springs from the most important facts of the history of ancient Chinese literature. If *Liu Hsieh* had been a conservative theoretician, the examination of the "change" ensued with *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poesy, might have easily led to a condemnation of the "change" in view of the classic ideal.[86]

Liu Hsieh's examination results, on the other hand, in the classification of *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry among the paragons, beside the "classic books".

[86] The term *pien*, as opposed to *chêng*, means "degenerated" in a conservative concept; only a few Chinese philosophers came out in defence of *pien*, the legists were the first to do so. Even in *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry, *pien* is a peiorative term, meaning contemporary "degeneration" of his legist—Confucian ideals; cf. *Wei Hung*'s Great Preface too (in Chapter I).

His study begins with an enumeration of several earlier indefinite conjectures related to *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry, and he then advances these soundings to the rank of a clear and sharp theoretical formulation. Earlier judgements are not simply ruled out by him, but are transcended and explained. He demonstrates that *dualism* is really the fundamental peculiarity of the *sao* poetry: proving on the one hand to be the continuities of the classics, and on the other hand, to be straying away from them. In our view, there is behind this dualism, demonstrated by *Liu Hsieh*, the recognition of two most significant laws, as its contents. The first one is the point that, to a certain extent, the *Ch'u-tz'ŭ* means really a divergence from the classic ideal, able to pave the way towards straying away just by this. Considering that the *fu* poetry, appearing and predominating in the *Han* epoch, really got for the best part to the extreme limit of poetry, often going over to the realm of prose with artistic appearance, — the correctness of *Liu Hsieh*'s judgement must be admitted. It is a most noteworthy fact that in the text of *Liu Hsieh* the chief work of *Ch'ü Yüan, Li-sao* is — however indeterminately — separated in some measure from the rest of the works attributed to *Ch'ü Yüan;* namely in a way that where the accordance with the classic ideal is at issue, most of the references can be related to the *Li-sao,* and when elements of "straying away" are coming on, the majority of examples are provided not by the *Li-sao* but by other pieces of the *Ch'u-tz'ŭ*. This differentiation — though remaining indeterminate, divination-like in *Liu Hsieh*'s text — indicates by all means the way to the right distinction between the poetry of *Ch'ü Yüan* and that of his imitators. But is it conservatism that *Liu Hsieh* also finds a certain "straying away" from the classic ideal in the "change" represented by the *sao?* First of all it must be established that the *Li-sao* is considered by *Liu Hsieh* such a masterpiece that he professes its paragon-like level, that is to say its classicity together with the dualism of the work. Hereby the genre essence of the *sao* is also the apprehended in dualism by him; and this is a result more important than anything of his speculations.

Let us remind the reader: in our earlier essay we tried to demonstrate just by an analysis of the *Li sao* that the genre essence of elegy is a peculiar two-phasicality of contents, which lays the foundation of this genre's epico-lyric character as well as its constant vacillation between delineation and expression, realism of style and fantastic imagination, etc., and also the rest of extraneous signs of form, up to the characteristic dualism of versification.[87]

[87] Cf. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 154—173.

And now we meet in *Liu Hsieh*'s theory with the formulation — appropriate to his epoch — of the same law, the apprehension of which — quite independent of *Liu Hsieh* — was made possible for us by the analytical methods of our age. In genre dualism, *Liu Hsieh* apprehended with such a really universal validity the fundamental law of the *sao*, that is to say that of elegy, so deeply as did nobody else in Chinese literary theory. The great importance of his discovery is even clearer when we are made aquainted with other genre-historical essays of his.

As ascertainable from the 6th chapter — entitled "Illumination of the Poem *(Ming shih)*" — the *shih*-historic conception of *Liu Hsieh* coincides, to a very great measure, with our comments made in the course of our preliminary research on Chinese literature.

What is in *Liu Hsieh*'s opinion the genre of the *shih?* This concept of *shih* is certainly much wider than the meaning of the *Shih-ching*'s "four words", and it seems that it is alluding practically to the entire lyric poetry.[88] In the first place, it must be seen clearly that *Liu Hsieh*'s genre of *shih* is by no means identical with some metrical form, not even with a definite group of metrical forms. It is beyond doubt from the text that the question of metrical form was regarded secondary, extrinsic by *Liu Hsieh*, and nothing was more alien to him than the uninitiated opinion which confounds metrical form with genre. At the very beginning of the chapter, there is the theory of the genre *shih*, as the starting-point of the-whole "illumination". The entire theory is crystallized, like the ocean in a drop, in a single term: the concept of *chih* 志. The word *chih* means on the one hand "emotion", and is — as proved by our text — synonymous with the *ch'ing* or the *ch'ing-hsing;* on the other hand it means "thought" and "ambition", noble, virtuous thought and ambition, of course. The term may be therefore formulated in its whole richness somehow in this way: emotion subsisting on virtuous thoughts and noble ambition. The "emotion" conceived in this way is virtually synonymous with the concepts "human *tao*" and "human *wên*".[89] The *shih* — says *Liu Hsieh* — gets hold of the emotions and nature of man

[88] In the course of the *Han*-period, the term *shih* 'poem' meant — in a narrow sense: as a form of verse — mostly only the form of "four words' poetry" of the *Shih-ching*, while later, in the *Shih-p'in* "Classification of Poems", written in the 6th century by *Chung Yung*, only its "ramification": the form of "five words' poetry". In *Liu Hsieh*'s use of words, it involves both forms of verse (in the title of the chapter in question it is translated simply as "Poetry" by Yu-chung Shih, p. 31).

[89] The metaphysics of *wên* date as far back as to the *I-ching*.

(ch'ing-hsing)."[90] And since to express human emotions means — in the sense of what was said above — the interpretation of serious thoughts, virtuous messages etc., the *shih* poetry, in its emotions-expressing way, is also part of human cognizance, and will be "an eternal sight for ten thousand ages". In this theory of the *shih* it appears again most clearly how *Liu Hsieh* preserves and sums up at a higher level all the really valuable achievements of the earlier attempts. And here is the result: such a theory of the par excellence lyric poetry whose basic features we can accept even today. *Liu Hsieh*'s theory of lyrics may even contain matter that could be instructive for us.

The par excellence lyric genre of European aesthetics is: the song.[91] Now, *Liu Hsieh*'s genre of *shih* is — while par excellence lyric — somewhat more extensive than the genre of song according to our concepts. Its wider nature cannot be analyzed here with full particulars, for this would require the study of quite a few of poems. But we have to point out what is clear from *Liu Hsieh*'s text: the *shih* allows considerably more speculative elements or if you like, didactics than our genre of songs. This speculative, "meditative" character — as is repeatedly underlined — is synonymous with the elegiac keynote of Chinese lyrics in a wider sense of the word.[92] Strictly speaking, this meditative-elegic character naturally means a certain indirectness in expressing emotions, that is to say principally a certain alienation from the par excellence lyric principle of a direct expression of emotions. Yet one has every right to ask: can speculative elements be excluded from the notion of direct lyrics, that is to say from that of songs? The life work

[90] Concerning the term *ch'ing-hsing*, frequently used in ancient periods, especially by *Hsün-tzŭ*, it is worth remarking that while *ch'ing* means different feelings (the so-called "seven passions": joy, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hatred and desire), *hsing* concerns the basic nature of mankind. The latter term, homophonic with the word *hsing* ("clan-name", "family-name", cf. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 812), as opposed to the occasional character of *ch'ing*, means something constant, which is (from an individual viewpoint) not chosen, but inherited. (Its meaning can be comprehended not only when being contrasted with *ch'ing*, but also when comparing it to the more mobile, individual character of *ts'ai* = talent, cf. our Note 82 to the chapter II.)

[91] Cf. G. W. F. Hegel, *Ästhetik*, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin 1955, pp. 1025—1029. Even when treating the *par excellence* lyric poetry, Hegel always mentions feelings and thoughts together, but he does not identify them (as we can see e.g. in the Chinese category *chih)*, and it is not surprising that most of the popular handbooks of poetics simply separate "emotional" and "intellectual" lyric poetry; cf. e.g. H. Sommert, *Grundzüge der deutschen Poetik*, Wien—Leipzig 1923[14], pp. 104—112.

[92] Cf. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, p. 107—108.

of the Chinese poets, mentioned as examples in the related chapter, gives proof of the fact that in Chinese poetry such a separation of "emotion" and "thought" is impossible. Needless to say, the same point is attested by the dual and yet unified sense of the term *chih*. And as in our opinion the strict separation of emotion and thought is not more allowed by the European lyrics than by the Chinese, we think to find in the theory of the genre *shih*, presented by *Liu Hsieh*, the recognition, valuable also for us, that the expression of emotions is always of inevitably indirect character, in the most direct lyrics of the most lyric nature, too. That the unity of emotion and thought means at the same time an aesthetic rationalism, consequently the linear continuation of "enlightening" traditions, is self-evident and should not be dwelt upon.

Liu Hsieh therefore ranks, with the genre of *shih*, every poem expressing — independent of its length, metrical form etc. — "emotions and ideas" *(ch'ing-li)*. In historical analysis he also applies the principle of the emotional-speculative unity of the *shih*'s object. The predomination of Taoist mysticism is regarded by him as a serious "aberration". We might well ask: why? — since "metaphysical" speculation does suit the requirement of conceptuality. Yet Taoist mysticism actually moves apart from the "noble ambition" *(chih)*, from the problems of public life, and in this way this attitude comes essentially into collision with the "human *wên*". Consequently, it can be the object of a significant lyric poetry merely in such exceptional instances when the poet (like for example *Hsi K'ang* or *Juan Chi)* does by no means escape from reality into "pure thought" but is exteriorizing much too earthly problems into the realm of phantasy, as had been done once by *Ch'ü Yüan*. This resolute, "enlightening" conceptualism, just by its concrete character of this earth, becomes in the historical design an enemy of "metaphysical" abstraction, and the defender of the emotional element of the lyric contents *(chih)*. Indeed, in looking for earthly attachments, *Liu Hsieh* brings exactly these poets into prominence, placing them into the main line of great poesy whose attachments were formed into *shih* through original emotions, profoundly subjective experience, lyricism really "seizing" our emotions, too. Something fresh to reflect on for some of the present literary theoreticians: the solid basis of real lyricism is just earthly concreteness, and "metaphysical" "purity" is but the driest, most abstract "didactics".

What is then the difference between the genres of *sao* and *shih*? The poetry from *Ch'u* is mentioned by *Liu Hsieh* also in the chapter treating the history of *shih*, but from both chapters it is clear that they are regarded

by him as two related yet different genres. If the reader, paying attention to this, reads the two chapters, he may convince himself that *Liu Hsieh* regards both *sao* and *shih* as the expression of emotions and thoughts, but in the case of *sao*, the subjective (lyric) and objective ("epic)) elements get the same emphasis and just this dualism becomes the basic principle of the genre; in the case of *shih* the last grade of the objectivity of artistic formation is scenery description namely not in the way of the *fu*-poetry but according to the scenery descriptive lyrics, starting in the time of the *Sung* dynasty, and the justification of this within the genre of *shih* is only accepted by *Liu Hsieh* if the scenery description is the form of original and true emotions, "noble ambitions" etc. The fundamental identity of *sao* and *shih* is clear from the text of both chapters: both genres express "emotions and thoughts", belonging therefore — translating *Liu Hsieh*'s theory into our genre concepts — to lyrics after all. Considering that the ancient and early Middle Ages Chinese poetry does not know any great-epic masterpiece,[93] the more the elements in *Liu Hsieh*'s theory of *sao* must be appreciated, which try to formulate adequately to the lyricism of *sao* the elements — in our ideation — of epic nature. As such an element it can be regarded for example that, speaking about the classic antecedents of the *Li-sao*, *Liu Hsieh* also ranks the *Shu-ching* among them.[94] Such is moreover the emphasized significance of description meaning in the genre of *sao* not the permissible extreme limit, but getting central importance; with every right, as demonstrated in our earlier essay, for description is essentially the elegic version of epic narrative.[95] A definite, conceptual delimitation of *sao* and *shih*, however, cannot be found in *Liu Hsieh*'s theory; his delimitation is only exploratory, intuitive, made perceptible merely by stress differences. In our view, the basis of conceptual security could only have been a definite concept of the epic, separable from the lyric and contrastable to the lyric, that is to say the development of a non-elegic, epico-lyric but "full-blooded" epic poetry in Chinese literature. It is, however, not *Liu Hsieh* that is responsible for this factor. By the discovery of the dimly realized but abstractly taken very definite dual character of the genre *sao*, this outstanding theore-

[93] On the remains of ancient epic poetry in the *Shu-ching* and elsewhere see Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 36—62. Tendencies of large-scale epic poetry could be detected out (in a separate study) from *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien*'s *Shih-chi* and from *Pan Ku*'s *Han-shu* as well, but, just in accordance with the rules of development in China, these tendencies had to remain within the limits of historiography for a long time.

[94] Cf. our remarks about this in *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 175—177.

[95] Cf. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 170—173.

tician did everything allowed for him by the development of Chinese literature up to then, the differentiation of genres up to that time: he laid the foundations for a profound theory of elegy. It cannot be regarded as some deficiency that he does not separate *sao* fundamentally from lyrics (of our ideas), for on the one hand it is true that elegy actually cannot be detached from lyrics, and on the other hand, elegy also appears — exactly therefore — as a genre of lyrics in modern European poetics.[96]

From the differentiation (within lyrics) of *sao* and *shih* — however uncertain it is — so much is nevertheless clear that *Liu Hsieh* sees the difference between these two genres first of all in two different degrees of the indirectness of "emotion and thought". Though not expressing it, he regards *shih* as the genre of a more direct expression of emotions, and *sao* as that of a much more indirect expression, of the more objective formation. Does it result from this that *Liu Hsieh* discerns poetic genres according to the way of formation? This question will be better answered when we have already got to know also other genre and genre historical chapters of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*.

The title of the following, 7th chapter is *Yo-fu*. This title promises the theory of the Chinese "genre" which supposedly originated from the result of functioning of the "Office of Music" *(Yo-fu)*, founded by *Han Wu-ti* (140—87 B. C.). This genre is essentially a heterogeneous group of various lyric poems written to certain melodies.[97] If the poems named *yo-fu* could be connected by something, this would be without doubt their increased song-like nature, following from their fixedness to melody. A certain song-like spontaneity and ease are preserved by *yo-fu*s even when these poems are no more intended for singing or for some production accompanied by music.[98] To think in consequence of this that it is the Chinese *yo-fu* that

[96] In the works mentioned in our Note 91 to this chapter (cf. Hegel, *Ästhetik*, pp. 1028—1029), elegy is included in the second group of lyric poetry proper, the grade of song being taken in a broader sense; and e.g. in Sommert's poetics, pp. 110—111, it is classified into the third group of lyric genres, in the sphere of "intellectual lyric poetry".

[97] On the *Sung*-time division of the collection *Yo-fu* see *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 121—133; *Yü Kuan-ying*, "*Yo-fu shih-hsüan*" *hsü: Han Wei Liu-ch'ao shih lun ts'ung*, pp. 1—24.

[98] The *yo-fu*-poetry began to become separated from musical accompaniment probably at the time when — rising into "high poetry" — it became a poetry of "five words" verses; cf. also the introductory treatise of *Chung Yung*'s *Shih-p'in*. — In chapter 6: *Ming shih* ("Elucidation of poem") *Liu Hsieh* states that "in the versification of 'four words' *(szŭ-yen)*, which is the original form *(chêng-t'i)*, graciosity and sparkling are fundamental; and in the versification of 'five words' *(wu-yen)*, which

best corresponds in the narrower sense of the word to our genre of songs, could be right from the viewpoint of the song's genesis, but a mistake from the angle of genre theory. Namely, the concept of *yo-fu* is not suited to rise to a genre concept; it is one of those conventional terms — and such ones could be mentioned by the score from the history of European literature too — which have no genre meaning, nor could they have any. The term *yo-fu* — being identical with the name of the "Office for Music" and of the collection initiated by it — could not mean anything else but "poem written to melody". It could have risen at best to the term of the genre of songs; but the *shih* being given, this was quite unnecessary.[99] And if one looks at the pieces taken into the *Yo-fu* collection, there are poems of the most different genres to be met with. The *yo-fu* poetry itself — as mentioned earlier — played a most important role in the renewal of the *shih* poetry; the foundation of the *Chien-an* period's poetic fluorishing is due, to a considerable extent, to the discovery of the new, contemporary popular poetry.[100] With regard to genre, it acted doubtlessly in the direction of the renovation of song-like spontaneity, this, however, did not mean anything radically new in Chinese poetry but merely the rejuvenation of the *shih*-lyric, and its modernization by the fluids of contemporary popular poetry. There is a single really new genre produced by the *yo-fu* composing the genre of romance. We have demonstrated that romance means the melting of epic (ballad-) beginnings into lyrics, in this way showing tendencies parallel with the genre of elegy.[101] The study of the *yo-fu* poetry could, in principle, have led *Liu Hsieh* somewhat nearer to the concept of epic nature at best; but only in principle, of course, for on the one hand the genre of

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is a ramification, purity and beauty are the most important." This remark, a parallel of which can also be read among *Chih Yü*'s fragments, is based on rhythmic characteristics of the forms of verse of "four words" and "five words". We can be convinced that it was rightly made if we only consider the fact that the scansion of a "four words" line of verse is always 2 + 2, while that of a "five words" line is: 2 + 3. The two basic schemes show the former form of verse to be "gracious" (= well-balanced), and the latter to be "beautiful" (= richer).

[99] Naturally, literary theoretical thinking is concerned here, which (like *Liu Hsieh* in his recently quoted chapter) reserves the term *shih* for *par excellence* lyric poetry, including forms of "five words" verses etc. into its sphere of significance, but excluding the genres *ya* and *sung* (of the *Shih-ching)*. In literary-historical works, not competent from genre theory viewpoint, naturally *yo-fu* represents a separate "genre".

[100] Cf. our chapter II.

[101] Cf. F. Tőkei, *Traces et débuts des ballades populaires dans la poésie de la Chine antique: Acta Orient. Hung.* XX (1967), pp. 33—57.

romance — similar to elegy — is not of epic but of epico-lyric character, and, on the other hand — what is more — the romances of the collection *Yo-fu* are so few that they practically get lost in the ocean of lyric pieces of other genres, so that their differentiation requires a most conscious and most determinately theoretic search for epic elements. *Liu Hsieh* can by no means be blamed for not building a theory from these elements, that only we have an inkling of.

Another proof of *Liu Hsieh*'s greatness as a theoretician is the fact that while he dedicated the 7th chapter of his work to the traditional poetry of *Yo-fu*, his purpose was not to prove the genre nature of *yo-fu*, but, on the contrary, to demonstrate the heterogenous contents of this notion. In this way the chapter provides him first of all an opportunity to speak about the connection between music and poesy, and advocate the cause of separating poesy from music.

In studying *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory, the 7th chapter is consequently illuminating to us just for this reason, because he does not try to throw together in a makeshift way some pseudo-theory around a traditional and "accepted" notion which, however, does not apprehend connections of vital importance. On the contrary: he decomposes and rejects *yo-fu* as a genre category, considering it undiscernible from *shih*, *sao* and other lyric genres. We might call the attention of several literary historians and writers of poetry to the care and adherence to principle showed by *Liu Hsieh* against conventional terms in current use.

In the sequence of genre chapters the next one is the 8th chapter entitled "Explication of the *fu*" *(Ch'üan fu)*.

In *Liu Hsieh*'s opinion, the genre of *fu* is doubtless: a descriptive poem which enters into competition with the descriptive arts of "carving and painting". The delimitation from *shih* is quite clear: if *shih* undertakes description, e.g. scenery description, it deviates from its basic principle and approaches the principle of *fu*. But can *fu* be delimitated from *sao?* According to *Liu Hsieh*, *fu* "has got its mandate from the poets of the Poems, but obtained its proper field by the *Ch'u-tz'ŭ*", in the first place through the Elegy, consequently through the *Li-sao*, although only *Hsün-tzŭ* and *Sung Yü* were the first to consciously use the term *fu*. *Sao* is therefore — as we may see elsewhere too — the first, unequalled, example-creating form of *fu*.[102] For already in the *Han* epoch, a decline of the genre is to be observed, the reason for which being considered by *Liu Hsieh* consisting in

[102] See *Chih Yü*'s fragments; cf. chapter II of this study.

the too great expansions of the range of the *fu*'s subjects, and continually a more insignificant and more mediorce matter was chosen by the poets to be the objects of description. So highly is spoken by *Liu Hsieh* of the "expansion of the field of sounding and visualization" of the *Li-sao*, as is condemning by his statement about subsequent excessive widening of this field. It is, however, instructive to observe how he can always find appreciative words also for the poems mentioned as examples for the decadent *fu*, indicating their values — realized within the tendency of mediocrity — too. While studying the general decline of genre, he approaches the single works of art with care and appreciation.

So, looking for the outlines of his genre theory system, the question arises: is *Liu Hsieh*'s *fu* to be considered such a wider, indefinite, conventional category as has been the term *yo-fu*, or is it really a genre, and if it is, does it coincide with the genre of *sao?* We think, it is obvious: in *Liu Hsieh*'s opinion *fu* means a genre, namely much more definitely than *sao*. In the case of *fu*, the central importance of description is no longer formulated merely by a stress-transfer, but it is directly, simply and unmistakeably stated: *fu* is — a descriptive poem. *Fu* is therefore, on the one hand, a more definite, and, on the other hand, a much more comprehensive category than *sao;* the latter is from the aesthetic viewpoint the paragon, from the literary historical viewpoint the first form, from the statistical angle simply part of the *fu* poetry. To apprehend relations between *fu* and *sao* correctly also in the genre theoretical sense, we must not ignore the undisputable historical fact that *fu*-composing was a direct continuation not of *shih* but that of *sao*. On this ground namely we are to reach quite the opposite result in genre classification: *sao* is not part of *fu*, but the other way round, *fu* is an "improvement" on, a ramification of *sao*. In our view, in *Liu Hsieh*'s theory two interpretations of *fu* are implied. One is nothing else but the basic principle itself: the principle of description; and investigating the first manifestations of this, it is really justified to look around among others also within the genre of *shih*, and denote its first great development in the genre *sao*. The fact, however, that *Liu Hsieh* dedicated a separate chapter to *sao* — and prior to *fu* — permits us in itself to conclude that *fu* as a genre was regarded by *Liu Hsieh* as being narrower and more delimited than its basic principle. And really, if one reads the two chapters, attentively keeping this in mind, it can be ascertained that in *Liu Hsieh*'s opinion *sao* means chiefly the elegy created by *Ch'ü Yüan*, first of all the *Li-sao*, and *fu* rather means the descriptive poems of the poets using this term already consciously, that is to say the ramification of *sao*, or a group of its ramifications which

can be brought under the term of descriptive poem. Is this distinction of a theoretical significance? In our view it is, because *Liu Hsieh* recognized in the substance of *sao* a certain — abstractedly formulated — dualism, and in connection with *fu* he no longer spoke of this dualism, asserting exclusively the principle of description instead. In this way *fu* obtains the genre sense through the exclusiveness of description, also as opposed to *sao;* the latter, — while being the "first extender of the subject field" of poetry — is far from the point that description should be exclusive, the single way of mediating "emotion and thought" in it, and consequently its genre essence be covered adequately by the principle of description.

The insufficiently concrete analysis of the genre *sao* renders indefinite surely also this genre theory system which begins to enfold itself before us — behind the extrinsic arrangement of chapters — from the genre-historical chapters. The fact, however, that *Liu Hsieh* began genre analyses with the discussion of *sao,* and ranked *Ch'ü Yüan*'s life work, the first great genre "change" among the "classic books", indicates clearly that our author attached primary importance to the formation of the elegy's classic form in Chinese poetry. Though impeded by the lack of the concept of epic matter to apprehend concretely the substance of elegy, his constantly vivid intuition, his consistency and historical concept, his dialectic method made it possible that this inkling of the primary importance of the elegy should influence his whole genre theory to a considerable extent.

The next, 9th chapter in the line of genre historical chapters deals with the genre of hymn *(sung),* well-known from the *Shih-ching,* and with the genre of the so-called *tsan* ("laudatory song"). It shows that *sung* is most consistent with the European concept of hymn. It is made nevertheless Chinese by the "spirits" whose virtues are "reported" to the powers above by *sung,* — as stated by this chapter — who are the dead monarchs, ancestors of the dynasty. As a matter of fact, the "report" recalls their own past virtues for the spirits of the ancestors. It is only one step from this that the living "Son of Heaven", reigning just at that time, glorifies by a *sung* his own virtues for the powers in heaven and — for himself. This, however, is a *sung* already "changed", and is an aberration from the basic principle of the genre.

Wei Hung whose idea was to use the terms *pien-fêng* and *pien-ya,* did not mention *pien-sung. Liu Hsieh,* however, already mentions quite a number of the *sung* "varieties": besides *sung* glorifying the living emperor, he considers "changed" all those hymnically glorifying poems which are praising "human objects", eventually "insignificant things" so excessively. The case when

sung associates with praise — which is its single basic principle — criticism, admonition or advice, is also considered by him an aberration. In this case, *sung* passes over to the field of another genre: it becomes an inscription *(ming)* or an admonition *(chên)*. Description bringing out formalities is also an important means of the divine virtue's praise; yet if it predominates, becomes exclusive, eventually self-contained in it, *sung* intrudes into the "field of flowers and intemperance" that is to say it becomes *fu*. The number of various "changes" is obviously regarded by *Liu Hsieh* as not closed, he regards as such every possible deviation from the basic principle, and the turn of these is taken by him according to what was named *sung* by different poets. If, however, this question is not regarded merely from the point of view of terminology, but we are looking for the meaning of deviation from the contents of the basic principle, it will show that by the concept of "changed *sung*" *Liu Hsieh* tries to denote essentially the elegic tendencies of the hymn in a summarizing way, as did *Wei Hung* earlier by the concepts *pien-fêng* and *pien-ya* the elegic variation of *fêng* and *ya*.[103] For let us try to think: why do foreign elements, for example admonition, get into the hymnical praise? Considering poetic evolution, genre alteration, etc. to be an objective process, there can be only one reason for this, viz. that the object of praise is somehow not worthy of being praised, the virtues of the ancestry are disappearing, reality no longer inspires poets to celebrate in it the earthly replica of divine virtue. (No need to mention here an other "variety", the "genre" of hymnic sycophancy, because this would lead too far from poetry.) A typical specimen of the favourably "changed" *sung* may be *Ch'ü Yüan*'s praise of the orange tree which is said with full right by *Liu Hsieh* to own "emotions and colours glorious like fragrant flowers" as well as "meanings hidden in images and metaphores". He is even right in the point that this "change", as a deviation from the concept of hymn is blameworthy; but he does not reach the theoretical recognition of his divination regarding the transition into elegy, nor the consolidation of his attitude towards it. The general image is the same as before: genial divinations and conceptual tendencies, confined to incompleteness — measured to our present knowledge — and to a certain irresolution by the deficiency of his theory of *sao*.

The next four chapters of *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* deal with such poetic genres the importance of which cannot be compared with that of the genres examined so far. Nevertheless; they are not without illumination, and we must

[103] Cf. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 84—114. See *Wei Hung*'s text in our chapter I, too.

be introduced to their theories created by *Liu Hsieh* — in broad outlines at least — by translations of their principal formulations. The leading ideas of the 10th chapter entitled "Prayer *(chu)* and Oath *(mêng)*" can be quoted in the following way:

"When Heaven and Earth were settled in their places, sacrifices (had begun to be offered) to all spirits *(ch'ün-shên)*. Sacrifices having been offered to the "six respectables" *(liu-tsung)*,[104] (sacrifices) were made permanent to the "three ones to be looked at from a distance" *(san-wang)*,[105] a "peaceful" wind was blowing, and "sweet" rain was falling, giving life to various millets; people (therefore) paid homage (to the mentioned spirits), and "good requital" did not fail to come about.

The fragrance of the scrifices' perfection[106] is rooted in making virtue radiant *(ming-tê)*; the reliability *(chên-hsin)* of the leader of prayer's *(chu-shih)* presentation rests on "beautiful words" *(wên-tz'ŭ)*.[107]

Once *I Ch'i* had founded *la*, to offer sacrifice herewith to the "eight spirits" *(pa-shên)*;[108] and his words *(tz'ŭ)* said: "Let the Earth return to its place; let the water return to its bed; vermin should not act any more; let grass and trees return into the morass."[109] This had been the ancient monarch's *(shang-huang)* prayer-poem *(chu-wên)*, which has survived up to now.

Concerning the *Chao-hun* from the *Ch'u-tz'ŭ*, it can be said that it is the most beautiful *(tsu-li)* of all prayer-poems *(chu-tz'ŭ)*.[110]

[104] According to *Wang Su*'s commentary to the *Shu-ching*, the "six respectable" *(liu-tsung)* things are: the four seasons (1), cold and heat (2), the sun (3), the moon (4), the stars (5), flood and draught (6).

[105] The term "three (things) to be looked at from a distance" *(san-wang)* occurs in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (in the 31st year of *Hsi-kung*, cf. S. Couvreur, *Tch'oun-ts'iou et Tso-tchouan. La chronique de la principauté de Lou*, Paris 1951, I, p. 421) and the different commentaries are only in agreement in the point that two of them must be the spirits of mountains and those of rivers (which are to be respected "looking at them from a distance"); the "third" means perhaps respect for certain stars.

[106] The "fragrance of the sacrifices" means its acceptance by the spirits.

[107] To the magic significance of the "beautiful words" *(wên-tz'ŭ)* see our Note 12 to chapter I.

[108] According to the *Li-chi*, 9 *(Chiao t'ê shêng)* "*I Ch'i* founded sacrifice *la*". By certain experts *I Ch'i* is identified with *Shên-nung*, by others with *Yao*. On the great sacrifice (its Chinese character being read there *cha*) of the 12th month, and on the "eight spirits" see M. Granet, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*, Paris 1929², p. 182 etc.

[109] On this famous magic formula see Granet, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*, pp. 187—188.

[110] On the problem of identity of the person calling the spirit and of the called up spirit in the *Chao-hun*, see Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 187—188.

As a rule *(li)*, the task of the sacrificial prayer *(chu)* is limited to "gratification" by "reporting". The sacrificial poems *(wên)* written in the "middle period",[111] however, also praise *(tsan)* the "words and deeds". Yet to join (the "prayer") with praise *(tsan)* on the occasion of sacrifice: can only be done at the price of extending (the genre).

Furthermore, in the time of the *Han* dynasty, mourning orders *(ai-ts'ê)* were issued in beautiful form *(wên)* at imperial funerals *(shan-ling)*; as (once) when *Chou (King Mu)* lost *Shêng Chi* (his concubine), the "inner clerk" introduced the (mourning) order *(ts'ê)*.[112] In this way, though the order *(ts'ê)* had been originally the verification of bestowal *(shu-tsêng)*, it became through lamentation *(ai)* a poetic work *(wên)*. Thus the message *(i)* became identical with that of the mourning song *(lei)*, although in view of its form *(wên)* it informed the spirits *(kao-shên)* in point of fact. It begins as a mourning song *(lei)* and ends as a lamentation *(ai)*; it is a hymn *(sung)* in its style *(t'i)* and a prayer *(chu)* in its manner *(i)*. The laudatory poems *(tsan)* recited by the *t'ai-shih* (at funerals) were essentially prayer-poems *(chu-wên)* of the *Chou* epoch.[113]

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The meaning of (the word) *mêng* is: "to clarify".[114] (The contracting parties) introduced the words (of their oath) *(ch'ên-tz'ŭ)*, supplied with a red bull, a white horse, a pearl-dish and a jade vessel, before the "square deity" *(fang-ming)*, summoning and informing *(chu kao)* the gods *(shên-ming)* (about the pledges in contract).[115]

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The chief principles of the *mêng* are as follows: always to report the crisis

[111] The "medial period", according to the context, is the age of the *Han-* and *Wei-*dynasties.

[112] This allusion refers to the *Mu t'ien-tzŭ chuan*, reporting about the travels of king *Mu* of the Western *Chou*-house (cf. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 59—62); in the 6th chapter mention is made of an official mourning poem *(ts'ê)*, written for king *Mu* by his "inner clerk" *(nei-shih)* on the death of beautiful *Shêng Chi*. The poem is not included in the *Mu t'ien-tzŭ chuan*.

[113] The inspection of (imperial) funeral rites belonged to the tasks of the *t'ai-shih* in the *Han*-period (when *t'ai-shih*, in the strict sense of the term, did not mean "Great Historian" yet, but "Great Astrologer").

[114] The etymology *mêng* ~ *ming* (by the *Shuo-wên*, *Shih-ming* etc.) is correct. The word *ming* ("making clear") means "agreement, contract", too, in the *Shih-ching*; cf. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 760.

[115] The "square deity" *(fang-ming)* is an idol carved of wood, painted according to the traditional colours of the four cardinal directions. See the references to this point as well as to other data of this text: *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 189 (Notes 33 and 34).

caused by peril *(wei-chi)*,[116] to encourage loyality to and respect for parents; to create a community for life and death; to unify mind and strength; to ask the mysterious powers for undertaking inspection (of the agreement); "to point to the nine heavens", as to be the token;[117] to be touching, therewith providing the solid ground for the seriousness (of the pledge); and to be most informal (or: most hasty) in the use of words *(fu-tz'ŭ)*. These are the common features of all (oaths)."[118]

Chu is originally the "fine word" of samanistic magic, that is to say, the "verb" of incantation. This developed later into samanistic song and then into prayer, of which it has been demonstrated in our earlier study that — dealing with the magic remedying of earthly wrongs — they contain plenty of elegic possibilities.[119] The elegic possibilities are indeed realized: it is the "prayers", samanistic songs that mean one of the most important formal antecedents of *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poetry.[120] *Liu Hsieh* does not speak now about such elements of the *Chiu-ko* cycle or the *Li-sao;* that poem, however, which seems to save without alteration the form of conjuring up of incantation: the "Summoning of the Soul" *(Chao-hun)* is repeatedly mentioned by him as "the most beautiful of all prayer-songs".

According to *Liu Hsieh,* the basic principle of *chu* is: "delighting" by "reporting". In this genre therefore description again has a role to play, one that is subordinated to the purpose of incantation; the laudation of "words and deeds" is past of its range of effect all the more so for by this it would approach *sung* and *tsan*. And *Liu Hsieh* mentions finally, as something alien to the basic principle but nevertheless developed in the form of *chu,* that behind the prayer-form there is often some elegic content concealed also in the narrower sense of the word, which should belong essentially to mourning songs *(lei)* or lamentations *(ai)*.

Mêng is — as can be seen from the quotations — in its essence a form limited to a narrower sphere of the prayer, the incantation: the text of the pledge or oath, having magic strength through its solemn, poetic form. If it is right that the *Chao-hun* of the *Ch'u-tz'ŭ* is "the most beautiful of all prayer-poems", then *mêng* can only mean a "small ramification" beside

[116] Naturally "contracts", sealed by oath, were concluded in critical times, against extraordinary dangers.

[117] This is an allusion to *Ch'ü Yüan*'s *Li sao*.

[118] See the quoted texts in *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 175—176, 177, 178; *Wang Li-ch'i*, pp. 28—29, 30, 31; and their translation: Yu-chung Shih, pp. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.

[119] Cf. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 103—108.

[120] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 131—141.

chu or rather within it, just as *tsan* which cannot be regarded either as a genre placed beside *sung*. This is already the second case among the titles of the genre chapters where the two title-granting genres are not equal but the second is at best a "small ramification", a relatively insignificant subvariety of the first. The case will be much the same in the titles of the next three chapters dealing with poetic genres. Consequently, in these chapters, we must not look for the theory of two genres each, but only one theory for each genre.

The title of the 11th chapter is: "Inscription and Admonition" *(Ming chên)*; its principal ideas being as follows:

"The meaning of (the word) *ming* is 'to designate' *(ming)*. To consider some object (rightly), it is necessary to give it the right name *(chêng-ming)*; in judging its utility *(shên-yung)*, the flourishing virtue *(shên-tê)* is most important.[121] Expressing his opinion, *Tsang Wu-chung* said of the *ming*: '(It is eternizing) the outstanding virtue of the Heaven's Son, the worthy deeds of the reigning princes *(chu-hou)*, and the military merits of high officials *(tai-fu)*.'[122]

. . . . . .

The meaning of (the word) *chên* is: a "needle". (This genre) is for fighting maladies, for preventing misfortunes; it is like pin-prick in healing *(chên-shih)*.[123] The flourishing of such poetry *(wên)* was complete in the time of the Three Dynasties.[124] . . . From the Warring Epoch *(chan-tai)* on, as virtue *(tê)* was cast off and merits *(kung)* were minded instead, inscription-poem *(ming-tz'ŭ)* flourished, taking the place (of admonition); and admonition-poetry *(chên-wên)* withered and perished.[125]

Admonition had to be read out in the palace;[126] address *(ming)* got engraved in vessels. But however different in their (extrinsic) purposes *(ming-mu)*, they are identical in respect of their advising and warning essence *(shih)*.

[121] In manuscript the from the *T'ang*-era we find *shên* ("to judge") for the word *shêng* ("flourishing"), and, no doubt, in this way the phrase is easier to understand. The connection between this naming and the inscription refers to the magic origin of a genre again; cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 198 (Note 7).

[122] A shortened form of a quotation from the *Tso-chuan;* see the 19th year of *Hsiang-kung* (cf. Couvreur, *La chronique de la principauté de Lou*, II, p. 491).

[123] This etymology is given by the *Shuo-wên;* cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 206 (Note 23).

[124] The Three Dynasties are: the *Hsia*, *Shang* and *Chou* dynasties of Confucian legends.

[125] This witty remark reveals at the same time about the poem of inscription that it is needed just because "virtue is dismissed".

[126] According to the *Kuo-yü* and *Chou-yü*, masters of music *(shih)* performed warnings, admonitions too at the court.

Since the single purpose of admonition is to prevent fault, its poetic form *(wên)* rests on security and accuracy; and as to purposes of address belong also praise and laudation, its style *(t'i)* is good if 'grand' and shining. The subject *(shih)* chosen for them should always be (previously) thoroughly studied and hereby well distinguished, and the form *(wên)* used in them should always be simple yet profound; these are the principal requirements (of this genre)".[127]

. . . . . .

The genres *ming* and *chên* respond mainly to our concept of the epigram and gnome. Their Chinese nature consists in the fact that among the inscriptions — as they have no worthy subject — one never finds in China an epic epigram similar to that of the Greeks,[128] and thus the main principle of this genre also in *Liu Hsieh*'s theory is rightly the gnomic principle, the comparison of which with pin-prick is very witty, and from the viewpoints of contents and form equally much to the point. The estrangement from gnomic didactics and the approach to some "heroic" epigram are, under Chinese circumstances, but false apologetics. As said by *Liu Hsieh:* "From the Warring Epoch on — since virtue was cast off, and merits were considered instead — inscription-poems flourished, taking the place (of admonition); and admonition-poetry withered and perished."

From chapter 12 entitled "Mourning-song and Epitaph *(Lei pei)*" the following must be quoted:

"In the time of the *Chou* dynasty, as virtue *(tê)* was flourishing, the poetry of epitaphs and mourning-songs *(ming-lei chih wên)* was not missing either. It was a proof of the talent of high officials that they were capable of writing mourning-songs *(lei)* for funerals. The meaning of (the word) *lei* is 'to heap' (= to recount); (the genre) 'heaps' the virtuous deeds (of the dead), and by making them well-known, renders them immortal.[129]

To narrate the deeds of ancestors by the mourning-song *(lei)*, this rule was followed by the poets of the Poems *(shih-jên)*.[130] Coming to (the mourning-songs) which related sorrowful emotions *(ai-ch'ing)* (instead of the activities of the dead), this is already the (original genre's) 'further growth, striking upon the similar'. . .

[127] See the texts: *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 193, 194, 195; *Wang Li-ch'i*, pp. 32, 33, 34—35; and their translations: Yu-chung Shih, pp. 59, 61, 62, 63.

[128] Cf. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 29—35.

[129] The etymology 誄*lei* ~ 累 *lei (Li-chi*-commentaries, *Shih-ming)* seems correct; cf. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 577 and No. 578.

[130] In this phrase a reference is made to the 245th, 303rd and 304th poems of the *Shih-ching*.

(When) examining the construction of the mourning-song *(lei)*: it reveals several chosen sayings (of the dead) in them and his deeds worthy of being noted, it is biographical in style *(chuan-t'i)*, hymn-like in form *(sung-wên)*, jubilant at the beginning, and sorrowful at the end. When speaking about the (dead) man, it visualized him in a way that we almost see him before us; and when speaking about (his own) suffering, it is so woeful that we practically suffer along with him. This is the sense *(chih)* of the (mourning-song).

. . . . . .

The genres for slabs of stone *(chu-pei chih t'i)* rest on historiographical talent. Their arrangement is biography-like *(chuan)*, their form *(wên)* is that of an inscription *(ming)*.[131] . . . In this way every (work) engraved in stone and praising merits belongs to the field of inscription *(ming)*; and every (work) on an upright board, speaking of a dead person, comes under the heading of mourning-songs *(lei)*."[132]

Lei is consequently — together with its subspecies engraved into a slab of stone — is clearly a kind of elegy also in the narrowest sense of the word. And it is a most meaningful fact that *Liu Hsieh* came closest to the epico-lyric character of elegy just by the definition of the basic principle of this most clearly elegic elegy. Namely, according to him, *lei* has first of all to visualize i.e. to describe the dead and their deeds, while the poet's own suffering is only a collateral, secondary element. And though he regards the epic element as primary, and the lyric secondary, he recognizes the essence of the genre *lei* just in this inseparable dualism. The basic principle of elegy, solely right in our opinion, which *Liu Hsieh* was apparently after as seen in the preceding chapters is given its unmistakable formulation in this definition of *lei*. It is impossible to suppose that such a theoretician as *Liu Hsieh*, was not aware of the deep relationship of his analyses of *sao* and *lei*, and that he did not perceive the *lei*-essence of the genre *sao*.

Finally, this is what can be read in the 13th chapter entitled "Lament and Condolence *(Ai tiao)*":

"As a rule, posthumous names are given; and the name of the young dead is *ai* ('to be lamented'). The meaning of (the word) *ai* is: 'to lean upon' *(i)*.[133] Sorrow reclines really on the heart; and it is said therefore *ai*. He who

[131] In these phrases we can see that *Liu Hsieh* uses the expression "historiographical talent" for indicating epic character.

[132] See these quotations in *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 212, 213, 214; *Wang Li-ch'i*, pp. 35, 36, 37, 38; and their translations: Yu-chung Shih, pp. 64, 66, 68.

[133] In the *Li-chi* the word 依 *i* ("lean upon") means: "sobs at the end of lamentation", cf. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 550.

expresses his sorrow *(ai)* by a poem *(tz'ŭ)*, laments without crying. Thus the (genre of lament) does not suit well (the lamenting) of grey-haired people; it can always be used on the occasion of early death only.

Once the 'three brave men' accompanied the (reigning prince) of *Ch'in* into his tomb, and even a hundred men could not save them. This subject *(shih)* is just the early and wrongful death; and the question arises whether the '*Huang-niao*' which laments them *(fu-ai)*, is not one of the laments *(ai-tz'ŭ)* of the poets of Poems *(shih-jên)*.[134]

. . . . . .

The meaning of (the word) *tiao* is 'to arrive' *(chih)*. This is what is in (the Book of) Poems: *Shên chih tiao;* which means: the spirits have arrived.[135]

When a 'noble man', arriving at the end of this life, dies, and his posthumous name gets established, it is a most important *(li)* and most sorrowful *(ai)* occurrence. The consolation of the members of the family by the guests therefore came to be termed as 'arrival' *(chih-tao)*.[136] If, however, (the cause of death) was bruise of falling into the water, contrary to the usual way *(tao)*, no condolation *(pu-tiao)* was due (to the relatives).[137]

When *Chia I* was sailing downstream on the river *Hsiang*, he expressed his grief by writing a 'condolence' *(tiao)*, addressed to *Ch'ü (Yüan)* himself. His style *(t'i)* was perfect, he presents his subject *(shih)* clearly; his language *(tz'ŭ)* is pure, his thoughts *(li)* are sorrowful *(ai)*; it is, in short, a most outstanding work of art. . .[138]

[134] See the "Huang-niao", mourning the loss of the "three brave men", buried together with the ruler *Mu* of *Chin: Shih-ching*, No. 131. This theme was versed again by *Wang Ts'an* and *Ts'ao Chih: Wên-hsüan*, 21, 1; 21, 2. Cf. K. P. K. Whitaker, *Some Notes on the Background and Date of Tsaur Jyr's Poem on the Three Good Courtiers: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XVIII (1956), pp. 303—311.

[135] 神之弔矣: this is the 25th line of the *Shih-ching*'s 166th poem. In this line, the word pronounced *tiao* (and *ti*) means "good" according to Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 1165; cf. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, Stockholm 1940, p. 110. The etymology 弔 *tiao/ti* ~ 至 *chih* can be found in the *Êrh-ya*. To this whole problem see *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 245—246 (Notes 11 and 12).

[136] Yu-chung Shih (p. 70, Note 6) seeks a connection between the words *ti (tiog)* and *tao (tog)*.

[137] We read in the *Li-chi, T'an-kung, shang* 25 (cf. S. Couvreur, *Li ki: Mémoires sur les bienséances et les ceremonies*, Paris 1950, I, p. 130): "There are three deaths which are not due *tiao:* [the deaths] in consequence of cowardice *(wei)*, bruise *(ya)* and drowning *(ni)*" (as in these cases the deceased himself is responsible for the misfortune that befell him).

[138] Of course, *Chia I* laments his own fate in his elegy *Tiao Ch'ü Yüan* (cf. *Wên-hsüan*, 60, 2; it was included first in the *Shih-chi*, 84, then in the *Ch'u-tz'ŭ* too).

Thus the basic principle *(i)* of *tiao* is 'old', its form *(tz'ŭ)*, however, developed only later. And when the ornaments were excessive, and the rythm *(yün)* was slow, (the genre) was transformed and became *fu*. (For the real *tiao)* it is necessary that the thoughts *(li)* should be bound by right basic principles *(i)*, the virtue (of the dead) should be made shining, their aberrations left unsaid, the measure of praises and reproofs carefully stipulated, and *(tiao)* sorrowful *(ai)* but moderate *(yu-chêng)*. And then there will be nobody to contest our ability (to write a perfect *tiao)*".[139]

Ai and *tiao* are made to be the same genre — perceivable from the passages quoted — by the point that in them the epic element falls to the background, and the lyric moment is given prominence. Here we have again a kind of elegy, but this time it is the lyric elegy where the emotions of the poet are the most important factors, in contrast to the genres of *lei* and *pei*. The examples mentioned in the quotations prove again that *Liu Hsieh* could imagine, similar to the rest, a great number of varieties of this genre, too.

So far go the nine chapters (not counting the one treating *yo-fu:* only eight) of *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* dealing with the genres of *wên* taken in the narrower sense. Before summarizing briefly *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory, we have to cast a glance at the "genres" of the artistic prose, *pi*. This outlook is all the more necessary since the 14th chapter entitled by *Liu Hsieh Tsa-wên* ("Literature of a mixed kind"), collects the genres developed essentially through the blending of the poetry-*wên* and *pi*, and the 15th chapter entitled "Jest and Enigma" *(Hsieh yin)* treats two genres placed virtually between *wên* and *pi*.[140]

The chapter entitled "Literature of a mixed kind" begins as follows "The sharp-minded thinkers and very scholarly men (are of a nature that) beauty *(tsao)* stream from their words *(tz'ŭ)*, and their (fine) words *(tz'ŭ)* from their "breath" *(ch'i)*. It is due to their deer-forest-like and park-like (=showing great abundance and variety) poetic emotions *(wên-ch'ing)* that they create (practically) new and different (kinds) of work day after day. *Sung Yü*, who had a real talent and at the same time often "turned his back on custom", was the first to create a *tui-wên* to express herewith his emotions-and-thoughts *(chih)*; and his "breath" *(ch'i)* really made it possible for him

[139] See the quoted texts: *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 239, 240, 241; *Wang Li-ch'i*, pp. 38—39, 40, 41; and their translations: Yu-chung Shih, pp. 68—69, 70, 71, 72—73.

[140] *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 4—5, publishes a table about the composition of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*. There he places the genres discussed in chapters 14 and 15, titled *wêr-pi-tsa*, between *wên*-genres (chapters 5—8) and *pi*-genres (chapters 16—25).

to fly freely *(fang-huai)* in his infinite solitude *(liao-k'uo)*.[141] And *Mei Shêng*, the master of fine style, was the first to write *Ch'i-fa* the rich language *(tz'ŭ)* of which is like the shape of clouds, and its "excessive beauty" *(k'ua-li)* is startling like a gush of wind.[142] (This work) sets out from the "seven apertures",[143] that is to say, from sensual desires, so it begins with the aberrated ones and finishes with the right ones, to provide with admonition the persons grown up on "meat and grain" (= in prosperity). *Yang Hsiung*, who could meditate quietly in the pavilion of literature *(wên)*,[144] and, by way of his profession, was deeply absorbed in literary work, composed his *lien-chu* from certain poetic elements *(sui-wên)* and fragmentary sayings *(so-yü)*. Though the "words" *(tz'ŭ)* of this were "small" (= petty), they were clear and shining.[145] These three (genres)[146] are ramifications of literature *(wên-chang)*, second-rate pieces of free-time recreation."[147]

Why does *Liu Hsieh* consider these three genres to be "of a mixed kind"? Now, even here he does not say that he sees "mixedness" in the mingling or connecting of the poetic and prosaic forms. According to the sense of his words, he sees the "mixedness" of these three genres lies in the mingling of poetry and prose taken in the aesthetic sense, that cannot result real works of art, but only second-rate works that are only aristic as regards their details. These three genres are connected by this semi-artistic, semi-

[141] See the "Answer to the question of *Ch'u*'s king" in *Wên-hsüan*, 45, 1. As regards its form, this writing can be considered maximum a rhythmic prose, similar to the works *Pu-chü* and *Yü-fu*, attributed to *Ch'ü Yüan*.

[142] As a matter of fact, the *Ch'i-fa* is the only authentic work by *Mei Shêng: Wên-hsüan*, 34, 1. Its form is related to the *fu*s of the *Han*-period.

[143] The title *Ch'i-fa* means literally "Seven Shots". The so-called "seven apertures" are: the sensual desires of the body. — In his work *Mei Shêng* tries to stimulate the crown-prince in seven different ways to choose an occupation worthy of his rank; he begins with depicting such pleasures as listening to music, eating, charioteering etc., so that finally he could reach result by promising the joys of philosophy. On the "seven-part" or "seven-fold" form see *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 257—258 (Note 3).

[144] The pavilion of literature is: the imperial library named *T'ien-lu-ko*, built by the first chief minister of the *Han*-dynasty.

[145] The form of *lien-chu* ("stringed pearls") means a cycle of short, didactic works. On its origin and fashion, with two pieces attributed to *Yang Hsiung*, see *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 259—260 (Note 4). The *Wên-hsüan* contains only one *lien-chu:* that of *Lu Chi* (55, 2).

[146] Hereafter this chapter deals with subsequent products of the three genres, related to one another.

[147] Cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 254; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 41; Yu-chang Shih, pp. 73—74.

prosaic character, and this is what separates them from *wên* as poesy, and, on the other, from *pi* as the prose only externally "ornate". This is a field of a kind which is attempted by European poetics to be denoted as the concept of "didactic poetry" among others.[148] The same principle is realized by the final part of the chapter which directs a number of genres, by others thought to be "mixed", in reality, however, purely poetic and, purely prosaic, to their appropriate place according to their contents *(i)*.[149]

Chapter 15, treating the genre of jest and enigma ought to be most thoroughly discussed if our actual subject were the very interesting problem of Chinese humour. *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien* already dedicated a chapter of *Shih-chi* to the jesters;[150] and now *Liu Hsieh* ranks two elementary, folkloristic forms of satire among literary genres, namely between the genres of *wên* and *pi*. According to his theory, the jest and enigma can be written either in verse or in prose, and it is even limited mostly to some jocular or enigmatic saying; and the enigma "can easily be in a relation with jest as an expressional form *(hsieh tz'ŭ)*, similar to the relation between the inside and the outside". Both genres have the same purpose: to conceal some serious message in a jocular and enigmatic form; autotelism is — like in every field of literature — inadmissible. With this chapter *Liu Hsieh* includes a most important genre of ancient and medieval Chinese literature, which is of popular origin and has become really independent, into the spheres of "high literature". This is what *Liu Hsieh* says about its spread: "In the time of the *Han* dynasty, enigmatic writings amounted to eighteen books and *(Liu) Hsin*

[148] Quite naturally, Hegel classified the so-called "didactic poetry" among epic genres, but — just to remain at our example, chosen at random — in Sommert's poetics, pp. 112—121, "didactic poetry" represents a fourth species of literary genres, side by side with epics, lyrics and drama. Obviously, that who ranks these "four species" to lie side by side, has no scientific idea either of didactics, or of the nature of epics, lyrics and drama.

[149] These are: 典 *tien* ("law", "document"), 誥 *kao* ("report"), 誓 *shih* ("festive speech"), 問 *wên* ("question"), 覽 *lan* ("examination"), 略 *lio* ("summary"), 篇 *p'ien* ("work"), 章 *chang* ("chapter", "treatise" etc.), 曲 *ch'ü* ("air"), 操 *ts'ao* ("plucking (song)"), 弄 *lung* ("song"), 引 *yin* ("introductory (song)"), 吟 *yin* ("lament"), 諷 *fêng* ("satire"), 謠 *yao* ("folksong"), 詠 *yung* ("chant"). *Liu Hsieh* writes: "If we only want to collect their names, they all may be classified in the group *tsa-wên;* but if we distinguish their contents *(i)*, they must be separately placed in the fields discussed (in their due places)", cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 256; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 43; Yu-chung Shih, pp. 76—77.

[150] See *Shih-chi*, 126: *Hua-tzŭ lieh-chuan*. *Liu Hsieh*, too, builds his argumentation upon *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien*'s treatise.

and *(Pan) Ku*, preparing a catalogue, placed them at the end of the *fu*s".[151] In addition, this is what is said about their place within literature: "...among literary forms *(wên-tz'ŭ)* jest and enigma also have their place, like 'small tales' *(hsiao-shuo)* have their place among the 'nine currents'; they were collected by lower officials, in order to enlarge their sight and hearing (= their experiences) by them."[152] The fact, on the other hand, that *Liu Hsieh* can imagine satire grown to an independent genre merely as a jest and puzzle artistically quite embryonal, could be instructive for literary people who, saying satire, always mean an independent genre.

Then in *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* there subsequently appear the "genres" of *pi:* chapter 16 treats historiography, chapter 17 philosophic literature, chapter 18 independent essays, chapter 19 imperial edicts, chapter 20 wartime proclamations, chapter 21 sacrimental texts, chapters 22 and 23 various petitions, chapter 24 "discussion and answer", and finally chapter 25 "letters and recordings".[153] The basic principle of these "genres" is no longer the expression of "emotions and thoughts" but the communication of knowledge, so that fundamentally they all belong to the field of prose, that of *pi*. But the fact that within the frame of Chinese historiography, philosophy, etc. often real poetry also comes in sight, enables *Liu Hsieh* to make his fine literary sense more than once profitable in these chapters, too. And if it should occur to us to blame *Liu Hsieh* for ranking to the concept of *wên* taken in a wider sense a number of things that can present something "ornate" as an extrinsic element at best, let us remember that it was *Liu Hsieh* that — surpassing by far his forebears — first separated definitely the really poetic *wên* from literature in a broad sense, namely establishing a separate group of really poetic genres on the ground of not formal but substantial criteria.

The last in the line of chapters dealing with the *pi-* "genres", which treats letters and other kinds of "recording", is instructive to us chiefly from two viewpoints. The first is that — awakening to the consciousness of the estab-

[151] See the texts of the two quotations: *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 271; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 45; and their translations: Yu-chung Shih, p. 82. Instead of the word *fu* we find *ko* ("song") in *Liu Hsieh*'s text; but in the *I-wên-chih* the notice of the enigma of 18 *p'ien*s is to be found at the end of the *fu*-section.

[152] Cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 272; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 45; Yu-chung Shih, p. 83. In the *I-wên-chih* after the "nine currents" the tenth is: *hsiao-shuo*.

[153] The titles of chapters are: 史傳 *Shih-chuan* (16), 諸子 *Chu-tzŭ* (17), 論說 *Lun-shuo* (18), 詔策 *Chao-ts'ê* (19), 檄移 *Hsi-i* (20), 封禪 *Fêng-shan* (21), 章表 *Chang-piao* (22), 奏啓 *Tsou-ch'i* (23), 議對 *I-tui* (24) and 書記 *Shu-chi* (25).

lished literature of letters — he not only discovers the lyric possibilities of the letter *(shu)*, but declares just this lyricism to be the basic principle of letter as a literary genre. It reads: "Studying in a summarizing way the principles of the genre of letter *(shu-t'i)*: (a letter) is fundamentally but 'exhaustion by words' *(chin-yen)*, (namely by) words which dissipate our depressing emotions, and express them in elegant colours *(fêng-ts'ai)*. (A letter) therefore has to be regular and clear to be capable of expressing the 'breath' *(ch'i)* (of the writer), and also easy-flowing and affectionate, so as to make the emotions (of the reader) joyful. And if its 'adornment' *(wên)* is bright, its bearing easy-flowing, (the letter) will be really the 'offering' or 'reciprocation' of the heart's sound."[154] It is well shown by the quotation what is considered by *Liu Hsieh* the essence of real poetry *(wên* taken in a narrower sense): ultimately lyricism. The first and most important peculiarity of the theory of poetic genres expounded by him is the point that it is fundamentally the theory of *lyric* genres.

We cannot, however, afford to leave the question unposed that can by right be propounded: if *Liu Hsieh* considers *shu* an essentially lyric, and therefore poetic genre from the viewpoint of its contents, why is it discussed after the "genres" of artistic prose, and why is this genre not placed into the category of the *wên*-genres or at least to that of the "mixed" genres? We admit the placing of *shu* indicates that, by differentiating *wên* and *pi*, *Liu Hsieh* did not leave the versed form of the former and the prosaic form of the latter out of consideration. By this, however, it is not admitted that the theoretical basic principle of this distinction would be the formality of mere rhyming or not rhyming. The practical coincidence with the versed and prosaic form of poetry and prose taken in the aesthetic sense, is a natural phenomenon in the early phase of every literature.[155] The discussion of *shu* as the last genre of *pi* in the order of succession is not such an important fact that we should be forced on this ground to consider *Liu Hsieh*'s distinction of *wên* and *pi* more primitive than it actually is. Namely, the arrangement of chapters — as we have seen — is a most extrinsic form of *Liu Hsieh*'s system determined by conventional viewpoints. If such a customary term like *yo-fu* was given an independent chapter among the genre studies, why to attach more than adequate importance to the placement

[154] Cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 456; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 76; Yu-chung Shih, p. 146. "Offer" and "return": i.e. the letter and the reply to it.

[155] In this respect Hegel, too, could base his theory on excellent information about ancient poetry; cf. e.g. Hegel, *Ästhetik*, p. 879 and p. 908 etc.

of the genre *shu?* Moreover, the 25th chapter, which closes the genre historical studies, also enumerates two dozen "ramifications", as belonging to the category of the title-making *shu-chi* ("kinds of letters and recordings"), from the chronicle up to the proverb, including in this term the most different "reminding" writings.[156] And another lesson for us is just the point that it seems that the enumeration of sub-species could even be continued, and the number of "varieties" is undetermined, and practically infinite.

As is well known, the prince of *Chao-ming, Hsiao T'ung* (died in 531) collected in the anthology entitled *Wên-hsüan* practically the literary material of *Liu Hsieh*'s theory. In his preface, *Hsiao T'ung* also discusses shortly the definition of genres, and so his text is a reply to the question: what kind of "system" was inferred by a significant contemporary from *Liu Hsieh*'s analyzes.

J. R. Hightower compared very carefully the list of genres to be read in *Hsiao T'ung*'s Preface with the genre arrangement of the anthology itself. He came to the conclusion that *Hsiao T'ung* failed to apply the genre classification of his own Preface consistently.[157] The result of the comparison is most illuminating, yet it is not justified in our view to value the fact in a way that the importance of a genre system was only just recognized by *Hsiao T'ung,* but "he did not find a final solution."[158]

What did *Hsiao T'ung* learn in respect of genres from *Wên-hsin tiao-lung?* For it can hardly be supposed that he was not familiar with *Liu Hsieh*'s work. He must have known it, and, according to the evidence of the Preface, he also learned something from it. First of all: *Hsiao T'ung* also puts forward four genres, namely the same four ones that were also suggested by *Liu Hsieh: sao, fu, shih* and *sung*. It is true that with *Hsiao T'ung* (both in his Preface and his anthology) it is not *sao* but *fu* that comes first; but this does not mean much, since it is of common knowledge that *fu* was preceded by *sao*. We can, however, call the attention to a more important difference as regards the judgement of the relation between the two genres: *Hsiao T'ung* already puts the distinction of *fu* and *sao* to be beyond dispute, regarding only *Hsüan-tzŭ* and *Sung Yü* as originators of *fu,* and mentioning *Ch'ü Yüan* merely as the classic of *sao.*[159] *Hsiao T'ung* was no theoretician but he

[156] Cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 457—460; *Wang Li-ch'i*, pp. 77—79; Yu-chung Shih, pp. 148—153.

[157] See Hightower's comparative table in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XX (1957), p. 531.

[158] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 533.

[159] Before *Liu Hsieh*, generally *Ch'ü Yüan* was considered the creator of the *fu*.

liked more than anything else the "changed" literature, and as he did not include in his anthology any of the "classic books", the poetry of elegies created by *Ch'ü Yüan* is not only placed beside the "classic books", but it virtually takes their place. If instead of moving along the surface indicated by the phrases and terms of the Preface one tries to glance at the depths of things, it is objectively apparent that the literary conception of both *Hsiao T'ung* and *Liu Hsieh* is fundamentally influenced by the divination of the central importance of *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poesy. And this divination is more than mere intuition, for it produces with both of them an intellectual effort of a different nature — to apprehend the problem correctly. *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory was effected by the recognition of *sao*'s classic rank in a way similar to that *Ch'ü Yüan*'s poesy effected Chinese poetry and its genres themselves, as shown in *Wên-hsüan* as well. Regarding the first four genres: the texts of *Liu Hsieh* give an idea of the elegic keynote, root or tendency, of *shih*, *fu* and *sung* by various elements, namely — as indicated in the appropriate instances — in relation to the basic principle of the three genres. *Liu Hsieh*'s further four genres (essentially four but if divided to their subvarieties eight) show in the case of the kinds of prayer *(chu mêng)* and inscription-admonitions *(ming-chên)* weaker elegic elements, while in the case of the lamentations of the *lei-pei* and *ai-tiao*, these elements are predominant. In our view, the outlines of such a "system" are unfolding from *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory, where the varieties of elegy are put in the centre, first of all *sao* which could perhaps be called "great elegy", and *lei-pei* which might perhaps be named "little elegy". The basic principle of these two genres being the balance of the epic and lyric side, the other genres are placed principally around them in such manner that certain ones might be nearer to the par excellence lyrics, and others to the principle of epic objectivity. As can be judged from the texts of *Liu Hsieh*, most varieties of *fu* as well as the original *sung* come much nearer to one another through the principle of description, or e.g. through the gnomic-didactic principle of the genre of inscriptions and admonitions, to the objective delineation, than *shih*, however descriptive-elegic, or for example the lyric elegy of *ai-tiao*. In this way *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory is united into a system not simply by the degree of intermediatedness, but by the recognition of the point that the genres apprehend different elements of objective reality, and their methods become suitable to this.

Yet the question is fully justified: if these outlines of a system were conscious results of *Liu Hsieh*'s cogitation, at least to a certain extent, why did he not formulate these principles in the form of such a "system" which could

have been symply adopted by *Hsiao T'ung* and others? Let us consider: in Chinese philosophy it had been customary right from the beginning to ensure the active force of "instruction" through well-rounded and concluded formulations, easy to memorize, through numeral categories, formula-like systematization.[160] There is hardly a more characteristic feature of the "logic" of traditional Chinese philosophy than exactly the "method" of setting the production of primitive and static "systems" into numbered points. And now a philosopher turns up who appeals with the ambition of "founding a school" to literary theory, doing away with the traditional "method" that in China — and let us admit: also in Europe — ensures best popularity and possibility to be quoted and to be taught, for the person who uses it. Why did *Liu Hsieh* renounce the construction of a "system" which can be easily memorized and mechanically adopted by prefaces and anthologies?

In our view, this "renounciation" can fundamentally be traced back to a double reason. The first had already been indicated: *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theoretical classification is given an indefinite character by the factor, independent of him, that up to his epoch no epic poetry of artistic grade could develop in Chinese literature, and thus the principle of the par excellence lyrics could not be confronted with the principle of par excellence epics, merely with such distorted or undeveloped tendencies of epic matter, as for example, the objectivity of description or even didactics. At this time hardly anything else can be said to be full-blooded epics in liberation also from philosophical didactics than the genre of "little tales" *(hsiao-shuo)*, sprouting then, of which the Chinese novellette developed later.[161] The genre novelty of the "little stories" is very aptly apprehended by *Liu Hsieh* with the category of the jest and enigma, and he establishes very rightly the place of this novelty between *wên* (lyrics) and *pi* (didactic prose). It is quite sure that *Liu Hsieh* discovered the affinity between the jest and enigma and e.g. the "hidden meanings" of the *Li-sao*, and that he approached by this recognition the formulation of the epics' principle; but it must be admitted that he could not get any further. And as the principle of jest and enigma is after all a most rudimentary form of the principle of epic delineation, the formulations of the epic character provided by *Liu Hsieh* mean the upper

[160] Cf. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 56—57.

[161] See our treatise: "The old Chinese short story" in a volume of translations *Klasszikus kínai elbeszélések* [Classical Chinese short stories], Európa Könyvkiadó, Budapest 1962, pp. I—XXV; in Japanese: *Chūgoku koten no tampen shōsetsu: Bungaku* XXXVI (1968): 1, pp. 81—100, translated by 羽仁協子 *Hani Kyōko*.

limit of the possibilities of generalization in genre theory. And while this indefiniteness of epic matter makes the theory of genres uncertain, it cannot prevent on the other hand — as has already been seen — the apprehension from different angles of the genres' elegic tendencies. A genre theory built on a more definite concept of epic matter, and within this a more accurate definition of the relations of the kinds of elegy between them and to other genres: on the ground of contemporary Chinese literature, was quite impossible. We should like to emphasize the greatness of *Liu Hsieh*'s accomplishment again by mentioning that in ancient China there was nobody who would have produced a more profound genre theory than his, not even when a more definite concept of epic matter would have been made possible by the appearance of epic genres.

Another reason for giving up the static-extrinsic system, which, in our opinion, is connected and ranging with what was said above is the dialectic and historical method of *Liu Hsieh*'s mentality. We think it is clear from all his quoted expositions that according to *Liu Hsieh* poetic genres are not separated from one another by a "great wall of China", the single genres are in continual interaction, being incessantly transformed into one another. *Liu Hsieh* did not try to construct headings to be crammed with poetic works, but he attempted to establish *basic principles, around* which subspecies, single works, that is to say every kind of "varieties" might be arranged. One would look in vain for a system of genre headings in the work of *Liu Hsieh*, simply because this great thinker did not admit a reason for the existence of such headings. In his dialectic and historical conception, headings and terms of genres only have a most limited amount of importance. And although he attempted to evolve genre principles also from the etymology of single terms, general validity is never given to terms but always to the evolved basic principles. He endeavoured to create the system of genre basic principles, and he succeeded in doing so to an extent allowed by his epoch and his subject: literature. And he even concerned himself with the formulation of the contact, widening, transforming into one another of the basic principles themselves, when studying the "changes". *Liu Hsieh* did not want to create a genre theory system that could be fixed for good and all, and by not wanting it, he saved a great number of his genial observations from unscholarly vulgarization. In our opinion, the recognition of the limited nature of genre headings is one of the greatest achievements of his whole genre theory, and this is perhaps the most important fact learned from him by *Hsiao T'ung*. Also in *Hsiao T'ung*'s Preface the free, nondogmatic handling of genre terms are not explained by stylistic reasons, but

by the recognition of the terms' relativity.[162] And this is increasingly so in *Liu Hsieh*'s work. *Liu Hsieh* is always nimble also in the treatment of the basic principle exposed by himself, giving an eye to various viewpoints, and how much so when using separate, maybe, eventual terms! And does his terminological boldness make him only once betray his basic principles? If his argumentation was read attentively, one could become convinced of the contrary. The reproof which finds in his dialectics some terminological incertitude, and behind this some conceptual muddle, may have reference to a number of other Chinese philosophers, in *Liu Hsieh*'s case however, it only deserves our indulgent smile.[163]

If the reader should perchance expect that after all some scheme of *Liu Hsieh*'s system of genre basic principle is going to be written here, or at least some sort of table of the eight poetic genres, it will certainly be a disappointment for him. It cannot be done what was refused by *Liu Hsieh*, though he might have done so easily. And if the reader should ask for our own opinion, this task of ours could only be averted, for this would have required preliminary studies of quite another sort, principally a thorough study of Chinese poetry itself. In this way, we may only present this summary of *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory which — in the "methodological" part of his work, in a separte chapter — was created by himself.

4. Principle of t'ung-pien

The key to *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory, from a certain viewpoint even to that of his whole literature philosophy is the 29th chapter of his work entitled *T'ung-pien* 通變. The interpretation of the title-granting category is unfortunately far from being exhaustive and precise. Vincent *Yu-chung Shih* translates it as follows: "Flexible Adaptability to Varying Situations."[164] This translation of the title ought not be criticized if *Yu-chung Shih*'s

[162] The content of the *Wên-hsüan* itself represents the best proof that *Hsiao T'ung*, even if he had made efforts in a dogmatic way, could have hardly classified more "consistently" those literary works which were judged by him to be prominent. In a simple formulation: the material included in the *Wên-hsüan*, just because its genres are not differentiated, is characteristic of the whole literature of that epoch (perhaps the *hsiao-shuo* may be missed), and *Hsiao T'ung*'s "genre theory" is adapted to this material.

[163] Cf. e.g. Yu-chung Shih, pp. 108—109.

[164] Cf. Yu-chung Shih, p. 165.

rendering of the chapter itself proved that the category is correctly understood. This, however, as the reader may soon discover, is not so; the interpretation of the title-granting category turns out to be much too abstract, and a great number of the chapter's valuable ideas were left indistinct, hazy or even ambiguous by the translation. It must be attempted to interpret the title-granting category more precisely, and then to translate the chapter anew.

Following the antecedents, the reader may not be surprised by the fact that the category *t'ung-pien* originates from the *I-ching*. The term appears for the first time in the appendix of the *I-ching*, entitled "Attached Explanations" *(Hsi-tz'ŭ)*, and as there it is given more than one definition, one might think that there is nothing amiss about the interpretation of the expression in the *I-ching*. Unfortunately, this is not so. The first occurrence of the term in the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* can be found in a sentence which is rendered either by "the work (or activity, service, etc.) = perception of changes" [165] or like this: "the work = accomplishment of changes".[166] Every researcher of the *I-ching* is fully aware that the *Hsi-tz'ŭ*, much as an independent philosophical work, is nevertheless only the commentary of the original book of prophecies, whose philosophic generalizations are built upon manipulations with small sticks, that is to say with lines, in fact never detaching themselves wholly from them.[167] The "changes" made as to the placement, the combinatios of the lines, which are symbolizing objective "alterations", can therefore serve with good reason as a starting-point for these traditional translations of the term *t'ung-pien*. In our view, however, neither the rendering "to accomplish changes" nor the other "to understand alterations" are adequate, because in both interpretations the meaning of *t'ung*, set against *pien* which in this connection is very definite and concrete, gets lost. At first sight there is nothing to worry about the usual translation of the quoted little sentence, and if we content ourselves with the connection that the

[165] Z. D. Sung, *The Text of Yi King (and its Appendices)*, Shanghai 1935, p. 281, translates it as follows: "the comprehension of the changes . . . what we call the business."

[166] See R. Wilhelm, *I Ging, Das Buch der Wandlungen*, Jena 1924, I—II, p. 228: "Indem er (der Sinn) dazu dient, die Veränderungen mit lebendigem Zusammenhang zu durchdringen, heisst es das Werk." Karlgren, too, attributes only the meaning "penetrate, pass through" to the *t'ung* of the *I-ching*, and he acknowledges its meaning "reaching everywhere, universal" only in the *Lun-yü*, cf. *Grammata Serica Recensa*, No. 1185.

[167] Cf. e.g. Wilhelm, *Das Buch der Wandlungen*, Einleitung, pp. IV—X.

changing of the lines' combination, hence the "activity", "service" of the diviner appears philosophically generalized, in the character of understanding the alterations of human "action", "work" in general (more narrowly: the correct interpretation of omens; more widely: comprehension of the necessity of changes-alterations); in this case, both usual interpretations seem to be concordant. This concordance is, however, much too abstract, and both translations are superficial; namely their ground consists in the fact that the translators did not discover the concrete meaning of *t'ung* and hesitated between the meanings "to penetrate", "to reach", "to understand", etc. of the word, picking out at random one of the well-known meanings.

We do not want to withhold our opinion any longer, according to which the term *t'ung* in the given context does not mean either "to execute" or "to understand", but its meaning is: "comprehensive", "universal". If the translation of the term *pien* is "changing", in our view the *t'ung*, figuring as its counterpart, ought to be translated as "comprehensively existing", "lasting", "unchanging"; if *pien* should equal "alteration", then *t'ung* equals "non-alteration"; should *pien* be "changing", *t'ung* must be "unchanging", "letting-unchanged" and so forth. Some thinking will be sufficient to ascertain that the changing of line-combinations in the prophetic manipulations did not mean merely "changing" but at the same time also "letting unchanged", for the new combinations always occurred in a way that part of the given combination became altered and another part was left unchanged, and it is just the fact that the next in succession always differs only by partial "alteration" from the former in line which unites the various combinations into an integrated "comprehensive" orderliness.[168] As a result: he who translates *t'ung* as "to understand", simply identifies *pien* with the concept of the much more comprehensive 易 *i*, and does not in fact understand that *i* contains the elements of both *pien* and *t'ung*. For as the original prophetic book *(i)* is the succession of such line-combinations which come about by changing *(pien)* some of the lines, and letting other lines unchanged *(t'ung)*, so neither in the philosophic sense can "alteration" *(i)* of things be anything else but the complete change *(pien)* of some of their elements and the unchanged stay *(t'ung)* of their other elements. And if it is just the definitions to be met with in *Hsi-tz'ŭ* that make

[168] Of course, the series of 64 hexagrams is concerned here (except for the first two of them); a demonstrative table is published about them by J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, II, History of Scientific Thought*, Cambridge 1956, pp. 314—321.

it possible for us to prove the correctness of our interpretation, then the reader will admit that both the texts in the *I-ching* and the concrete substance of the *i* can be better "understood" in this way, not to say anything about the subsequent — logical and aesthetical — meaning of the concept.

The above quoted sentence of the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* is organically connected to the preceeding one. It is therefore advisable to translate them together. The *t'ung-pien* interpreted correctly, the two sentences should, in our view, be translated as follows: "To exhaust the numbers and (by this means) to learn the things to come: this in called prediction; letting-unchanged and changing: this is operation itself".[169] It is quite obvious that both sentences treat the same topic: the operation of prediction. According to its essence, prediction is nothing but utilization of the possibilities of line-combinations, "the (gradual) exhausting of numbers", which, expressed slightly more concretely, means: the manipulation, "activity", "service" of leaving some of the lines unchanged and changing other lines. The rest of the definitions in the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* are even more clear-cut. For example, "Thus 'the closing of the door' is of the character *k'un*, and the opening of the door is of the character *ch'ien*.[170] To close it and open it in turns: this is called changing *(pien)*; 'to have (it) gone and to have come' without exhausting (it): this is called letting-unchanged *(t'ung)*." The sentence of closer interest to us can naturally be approached also from its philosophical aspect: "To open and close in turns: this is alteration; and while getting from one state into the other not to detach oneself wholly (from the earlier state): this is keeping-unchanged."

Let us, however, look at further definitions of both terms. With one of them it is worth while being made acquainted, together with its surroundings: "Said the master: — That which is written does not exhaust the words, and words do not exhaust the idea. And this being so, cannot perhaps the ideas of saintly men be sighted (in their written words)? — Said the master: — Saintly men established the 'images' *(hsiang)* and therewith exhausted their ideas; created the line-combinations *(kua)* and therewith exhausted the truth and falsehood *(ch'ing-wei)* of things; and attaching explanations *(hsi-tz'ŭ)* they exhausted their words; by changing *(pien)* and at the same time by letting-unchanged *(t'ung)* they exhausted (every possible) 'advantage' *(li)*; animating (the people) with drumbeat and dances they exhausted

[169] Cf. Z. D. Sung, *The Text of Yi King*, p. 281.

[170] 坤 *K'un* means the earth; 乾 *ch'ien* means heaven. On the symbolic interpretation of ancient Chinese ideograms see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, Paris 1965, p. 32.

their divine power *(shên)*."[171] Then, some sentences later it says: "Change and reshaping are called *pien*, and (only) realization by extension is called *t'ung*."[172] And later: "Shaping by alteration depends on the *pien* (= is the matter of *pien*), and the realization by extension is dependent on the *t'ung* (= is the matter of *t'ung*)."[173]

Even a most cautious reader can be convinced by these quotations at least of the fact that in the *Hsi-tz'ŭ pien* and *t'ung* are two connected, coordinated concepts, one set against the other, and thus the adequate translation of *t'ung-pien* cannot be either "accomplishment of changes" or "understanding of changes". The coordination of the two terms is also proved by sentences in which they occur in a reverse order, in the relation *pien-t'ung*. One of these sentences is: ("The Book of Changes resp. the change of things) by its largeness and greatness, is worthy counterpart to Heaven and Earth, and by its changes and its lasting character *(pien-t'ung)* it is worthy counterpart to the four seasons."[174] Another: "Therefore there is no greater pattern and no greater 'image' *(fa-hsiang)* than Heaven and Earth; and there is no greater change and nothing is more lasting *(pien-t'ung)* than the four seasons."[175] And the third: "(The stating of) the strong and weak (lines) is: laying a solid foundation; and changing and latting-unchanged *(pien-t'ung)* are adaptation to time."[176] It is the interpretation proposed by us that throws light on the text even in the case when *t'ung* is separated from *pien*, the former to be considered predicate and *pien* its complement. This sentence reads as follows: "To accomplish the changings *(pien)* by threefold and quintuple combinations, to augment the number (of combinations) by rearrangement, (namely) to ensure non-change for the variations *(t'ung ch'i pien)*; in the end the forms *(wên)* of Heaven and Earth can be created."[177] And this last quotation provides an advance for us also of the aesthetic formulation and development of the problem *t'ung-pien*.

But the most unmistakable wording of a conclusive force in itself is to be read in the 2nd chapter in part II of the *Hsi-tz'ŭ*. Regarding its content, this small chapter is of historic-philosophical and political character: it

[171] Cf. Z. D. Sung, *The Text of Yi King*, p. 302.

[172] Cf. Z. D. Sung, *ibid.*, p. 303.

[173] Cf. Z. D. Sung, *ibid.*, p. 305.

[174] Cf. Z. D. Sung, *ibid.*, p. 282: "in its ever-recurring changes".

[175] Cf. Z. D. Sung, *ibid.*, p. 300: "of things that change and extend an influence (on others) there are none greater than the four seasons".

[176] Cf. Z. D. Sung, *ibid.*, p. 307: "their changes, however, varied".

[177] Cf. Z. D. Sung, *ibid.*, p. 295: "the changes are gone through with in this way".

treats the "changings" that were accomplished in customs and institutions by cultural heroes of the myths. The influence of the activity of "terminologists" and Motistic logicians, which can be found at every turn on the text of the *Hsi-tz'ŭ*, is experienced in this chapter in a concentrated way and in a conspicious form; and what is more, connected with historic-philosophical and economic questions.[178] By this means the succint little treatise presents an interesting image as to what consequences were drawn by the Confucians from the logical as well as historic-philosophical and political achievements of the late *Chou* period. Now, the most general and, at the same time,

[178] Here it seems useful to quote the beginning of the interesting text, directly preceding the most important phrases to be cited soon: "In the old times, when the head of the *Pao-hsi*-clan ruled as a king *(wang)* the [world] under the heaven, he — looking up — scrutinized the pictures *(hsiang)* in the heaven, and — looking down — scrutinized the patterns *(fa)* on the earth. He examined the ornaments *(wên)* of birds and quadrupedal animals, together (or: connecting them) with the quality of the earth *(ti-i)*; in the vicinity he took his own person, and from a distance he took different objects *(chu-wu)* (as examples). Then (or: thus) he created the eight divination diagrams *(pa-kua)* in order to create by them identity (通 *t'ung)* with the virtue *(tê)* of the divine and bright (powers), and to classify *(lei)* by them the essence *(ch'ing)* of the ten thousand things. — He invented rope knotting, he made different nets to hunt and fish with them. He took this (idea) probably from the diagram 離 *Li* ("to fall into a net"). — When the head of the *Pao-hsi*-clan died, *Shên-nung* arose (= came to the throne). By carving wood he made plough (耜), by bending wood he made plough-handle (耒), and through the advantages *(li)* of ploughing and weeding he instructed *(chiao)* [the world] under the heaven. He took this (idea) probably from the diagram 益 *I* ("to increase"). — "In the middle of the day" he had a fair (市 *shih)* held, collecting all the people under the heaven, and collecting all the wares *(huo)* under the heaven. They mutually exchanged (their products), and by the time they retired (= went home), everybody had already obtained what he wanted (各得其所). He took this (idea) probably from the diagram 噬嗑 *Shih-ho*." Cf. Z. D. Sung *The Text of Yi King*, pp. 309—310. — This text is worthy of interest in many respects. Here we have to content ourselves with noting that no matter how hard it tries to deduce every great "change" from divination diagrams, that is from divine afflatus, it involuntarily reveals that the "changes" and moreover — judging from the whole *Hsi-tz'ŭ* — even the categories of logic themselves are connected with commerce. The 市 *shih*, attributed to *Shên-nung*, naturally could not be a fair in the European sense of the word, as this latter could only be held by private proprietor peasants, by peasants of the feudal mode of production; cf. É. Balázs, *Les foires en Chine: Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* V (1953), pp. 77—88 (and see there interesting data about the connection between Northern Buddhism and the attempts at holding fairs). Perhaps the expression 日中 "in the middle of the day" means "in broad daylight". Nevertheless, should this *shih* be related to no matter what occasion, our text, connecting it with *Shên-nung*, obviously wants to raise the ideal of state-organized exchange to divine rank.

very concrete implication of the Confucians was just the category of *t'ung-pien*. The sentences of the text, in which we are now most directly interested are as follows: "When *Shên-nung* died, *Huang-ti*, then *Yao* and *Shun* arose (came to the throne). Keeping on the thread of Unalteration their changings *(t'ung ch'i pien)*, they achieved that the people did not grow tired; practising their reshaping influence with divine power *(shên)*, they achieved that the people approved ("their changings"). For in the change of things *(i)* what is "exhausting" (= a radical change) is: alteration *(pien)*; but (besides) alteration there is also what is keeping-unchanged *(pien tsê t'ung)*; and keeping-unchanged *(t'ung)* means to be lasting."[179] We think this text does not necessitate much explanation. The political content of the idea is quite clear: the really "wise" monarch should keep away from radical changes, for if these do not follow the thread of the "lasting", the "people" will refuse to admit their rightness. Quite clear is furthermere the logical meaning of *t'ung* and *pien* which is later — seemingly — separated from the political one: "comprehensive", "universal" and "accidental", "partial". The political and logical meanings integrate in the historic-philosophical idea that the fundamental principle of social alteration, viz. development is: both alteration and keeping things unaltered, but in a manner that "alteration" should be essentially only a variation of the never-changing, partial motion in the immobility of the whole, incidental and contingent in proportion to the universality of Unalteration, ephemerical compared with the lasting, that is, actually a relatively insignificant stir of the essential Unalteration, stagnation, so that immobility should keep its eternal life. In this strikingly expressed idea of the last quotation we must recognize the fundamental law of the "Asiatic" stagnation-alteration of the Chinese society, and, at the same time, the apologetic glorification of this fundamental law, stemming from the characteristically "reformist" behaviour of the Confucians. All considered, the principle of *t'ung-pien* is nothing but the conceptual projection of the aspiration of Chinese mandarinism to ensure its unchanged survival by "adaptation to time", "alterations" without essential difference, for good. And in the total process, which is of course no progess but a circuit *(i)*, the emphasis is not laid upon *pien* but on *t'ung*, either the "alterations" of the ancient and early Middle-Ages Chinese society or the Con-

[179] The text that follows this one runs like this: "It happened in this way that heaven helped them (= the forementioned rulers), and in their fortune there was nothing that would be without advantage *(li)*", and then we find there an enumeration of different civilisatoric "changes", infered from divination diagrams. Cf. Z. D. Sung, *The Text of Yi King*, p. 310 etc.

fucian idealization of this social reality are considered. Now, it is just the complete misunderstanding of the emphasis and herewith the lack of comprehension for the motion laws of Chinese society that characterizes the attitude of those who simply identify *pien* and *i* and refuse to take notice of *t'ung*.

The term *t'ung-pien* (sometimes in the form *pien-t'ung)* was fairly frequent in the course of the 3rd to 6th centuries. Its occurrances cannot be followed individually; but in our opinion, it must be translated according to the said interpretation in every case. "Unaltering and altering" retain their fundamental meaning even later; a very clear example is to be met with, for instance, in the juristic chapter of the *Sui-shu* which is translated by Etienne Balázs with self-evident naturalness: in 535, emperor *Wên* of the northern *Chou* dynasty issued an order to his officials "to survey the laws of the past and the present, their stability and modifications *(ku-chin t'ung-pien)*."[180] It is difficult to understand how up to this date incertitude of interpretating this category could prevail in spite of the fact that there are innumerable occurrances of this sort which could be quoted. It is even not only the book of *Liu Hsieh* where the category appears in stressed form, set off as the title of a independent treatise. It is met with as the title of another Chinese

[180] Cf. Balázs, *Le traité juridique*, p. 64 (and his Notes 189 and 152, p. 147 and p. 131 respectively). — According to the *Han-shu* (16th chapter, 3a), we may read in the Poems (in *Ying Shao*'s opinion, as seen from a commentary of his: in a lost poem of the *Shih-ching):* "The nine (= many) changes *(pien)* (happen) again and again on a connecting thread, — and (the task is:) finding of the wise words." The interpretation of this quotation is still disputed. When trying to understand the "connecting thread" of changes, we might be assisted by a phrase of the *Han-shu*, directly preceding the phrase in question: by another citation, now from the Appendix entitled "Attached Explanations" *(Hsi-tz'ŭ)* of the *I-ching*. It says: "The *I-(ching)* says: 'They ensured permanence for their alterations *(t'ung ch'i pien)*, and they achieved that the people did not get tired (of the changes)'." Cf. Z. D. Sung, *The Text of Yi King*, p. 310. In the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* the ideal governing of ideal rulers is concerned, which can only realize "changes" along the "connecting thread", — if we connect the sense of the two citations. — Subsequent occurrences of the term *t'ung-pien*, in the 3rd to 6th centuries, are well worth an independent essay, but there is no doubt that its use was established by the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* and by the commentators of the *I-ching*, for whom this term did not mean any problem. Of them *Wang Pi*, whose importance was emphasized by our chapter II, uses this category in a self-evidently natural way in the second and third chapters of his work 周易略例 *Chou-i lio-li*. The title of the second chapter is: 明爻通變 *Ming yao t'ung-pien* ("Explanation of the durability and alteration of the changes"), and that of the third chapter is: 明卦適變通爻 *Ming kua shih pien-t'ung yao* ("Explanation of how divination diagrams correspond to changes caused by alteration and unalteredness").

work, too: the 4th chapter of the *Kung-sun Lung-tzŭ* is headed *T'ung-pien lun* by the compilator of the book. With very thorough-going study of the *Kung-sun Lung-tzŭ*, A. C. Graham stated that the book, reconstructing the theorems of the *Chou* age's famous "sophist" came into being during the period of the closest interest to us, some time between the 4th and the 6th centuries. Its unknown compilator could partly own original "sophist" fragments, and in part tried to reconstruct on the basis of other sources the sophism of *Kung-sun Lung* and the theories behind them.[181] And A. C. Graham, the most sharp-sighted researcher of this work up to this day, contents himself in the case of title category of the 4th chapter with referring to the small sentence of the first occurrance in the *Hsi-tz'ŭ*, and translates it into "Understanding Change".[182] After the foregoing study of the definitions in the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* the reader will understand that we can only share the opinion of those who — no matter how they interpret the rather difficult text of the chapter — consider the *t'ung* and the *pien* of the title two logical concepts forming a couple of contrasts, belonging together.[183]

As evidence of our standpoint let us present here the first section of the chapter *T'ung-pien lun* which is presumed by A. C. Graham to be based upon original scattered remnants: "Question: — Does the two contain the one? — Answer:[184] — The two does not contain the one. — Question: Does the two contain the right (side)? — Answer: The two does not contain the right. — Question: Does the two contain the left? — Answer: The two does not contain the left. — Question: Can the right be called two? — Answer: (No,) it cannot. Question: Can the left be called two? — Answer: No, it cannot. — Question: Can left and right be called two? — Answer: (Yes,) it can. — Question: Is it proper to say that *pien* is not identical with *pu-pien?* — Answer: (Yes,) it is proper. — Question: If the right has got (something) to be together with, is it proper to call it *pien?* — Answer: (In this case) it

[181] Cf. A. C. Graham, *The Composition of the Gonsuen Long Tzyy: Asia Major, N.S.* V (1956), pp. 147—183.

[182] This title of chapter can be found even in *Fêng Yu-lan*'s history of philosophy, translated by Derk Bodde: "Explanation of Change" *(A History of Chinese Philosophy*, I, Princeton 1952, p. 212).

[183] Ignace Kouo Pao-koh, *Deux sophistes chinois, Houei Che et Kong-souen Long*, Paris 1953, p. 44, translates the title like this: "Sur le muable et l'immuable". In a note of his, he refers — quite correctly — also to *Fêng Yu-lan*'s *Chung-kuo chê-hsio shih* (Shanghai 1947, I, p. 264), — cf. our previous note (Note 182).

[184] The Chinese original of the word translated here now as "question" and then as "answer" — to facilitate the understanding of our text — is simply 曰 *yüeh* ("saying").

is proper. — Question: And as *pien*, what is (the thing)? — Answer: it is the right. — Question: But if the right is (now) *pien*, how can it be called the right? And if it is *pu-pien*, how can it be *pien?* — (A further) Question: And if the two do not contain the left, and do not contain the right either, how can it be possible that the two, the left and the right are together?"[185] The rest of the chapter is even less clear than the first part; but is would be difficult to call into question just the fact that according to the purpose of the whole chapter, it attempts to apprehend logically the relation between the general and the individual. Thus in the disclosure of the real substance of sophisms it is obviously *Fêng Yu-lan* that came closest to truth, searching consistently both in the ancient paradoxes and in the *Kung-sun Lung-tzŭ* for the struggle fought by the "sophists" for the apprehension of the real relation between the general concept and the reality of the particular-individual.[186] In the quoted text term *t'ung* does not appear, and *pien* only occurs in this first section of the chapter. But however "sophistical" the form, it is beyond doubt that "changing", denoted with *pien*, must be conceived as *specification* essentially, it means in its sense "changed" specified, in its sense "alteration" getting specified. According to this, the meaning of *pu-pien* ("unchanged") is: unspecified. This is very clear in the conception, according to which the right only becomes specified as right in its relation to the left, it is not right by itself. And in all probability this is the same reason why the two do not "contain" either the right (in itself) or the left (in itself) but only the left and the right together, the one connected to the other, specified. The logical problems of the text are, however, much too complicated to be settled here; thus we must be content with the statement that the apprehension of the relation between general and individual in the quoted text insists on the question of the relation between the abstract and the concrete. Our object does not need to be carried further than that now; it is worth mentioning at the very most that the paradox-form of the problem posed from the viewpoint of logic is not accidental here either, but it discloses the fact that Chinese philosophy was unable to lay the foundation of a formal logic even on the basis of the economic and social "changes" of the Middle Ages.

The compilator of the *Kung-sun Lung-tzŭ* deemed undeniably the term *t'ung* to be suitable to designate the *pu-pien* ("unspecified") when he set off the category of *t'ung-pien* from the *Hsi-tz'ŭ*. The question whether there

[185] Cf. Kouo Pao-koh, *Deux sophistes chinois*, pp. 44—46.

[186] Cf. Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 80—92.

is any direct connection between *Liu Hsieh*'s 29th chapter entitled *T'ung-pien* and the *T'ung-pien lun* of the *Kung-sun Lung-tzŭ* is not of great interest, both disquisitions being the products of fundamentally identical spiritual endeavours of a roughly identical period; the inkling cannot be kept back, however, that *Liu Hsieh*'s work may have been preceded by the *T'ung-pien lun*. Namely, *Liu Hsieh*'s category of *t'ung-pien* is so clear, so well exposed and so much more advanced logically that the compilator of the *Kung-sun Lung-tzŭ*, had he but known it, might have handed down to us — even in spite of his endeavours for sophistic formulations — clearer texts.

The intimate relation between terminologism and aesthetics, characterizing the whole period, has been already repeatedly referred to.[187] The extent to which *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory was influenced by the philosophy of "name and principle" *(ming-li)* has been eloquently testified by every quoted text of his.[188] And now let us look at the chapter of his work, entitled *T'ung-pien*, wholly and completely. So as not to modernize the text excessively, we shall translate *t'ung* into "universal", and *pien* into "changing".

The genre *(t'i)*, in which the literary work *(wên)* is created, has its permanent rules *(yu-ch'ang)*; that art *(shu)* however, by which a literary work *(wên)* is rendered "changing" (individual), has no fixed rule *(wu-fang)*.[189] How can it be made clear that this is so?

The verse *(shih)*, the descriptive poem *(fu)*, the letter *(shu)* and the note *(chi)* are genres based on the correspondence of name to principle *(ming-li)* and possessing therefore permanent rules *(yu-ch'ang chih t'i)*.[190] The poetic form of expression *(wên tz'ŭ)* and the power of breath *(ch'i-li)*, however, is art which becomes stably by 'universal' turning into 'changing' *(t'ung-pien)*, and therefore does not possess fixed rules *(wu-fang chih shu)*.[191]

[187] About *Hsün-tzŭ* see our chapter I; on the characteristics of the philosophy in *Wei* see our chapter II.

[188] In his treatises on genres *Liu Hsieh* emphasizes steadily the duality of name *(ming)* and principle *(li)*, and he always tries to adapt the "name" to the "principle".

[189] "The art by which a literary work is made changing": 變文之數. We hope to be soon able to convince the reader that this translation is right, while Yu-chung Shih's solution ("an individual composition is permitted stylistic flexibility") is not correct at all.

[190] What is concealed in this phrase is: genre is abstraction based on correspondence between "name and principle", and therefore it is "universal" compared to the individual works of art *(pien)*.

[191] The translation "universal turned into changing", "universal made [to be] changing" seems to contradict that what has been said about inevitable domination

As there are permanent rules of the (correspondence of) name to principle, the genre *(t'i)* is always dependent on 'old facts' *(ku-shih)*; but as there is no fixed rule for the 'universal' turning into 'changing', the art *(shu)* (of forming an individual work) is always dependent on the 'new music' *(hsin-shêng)*. (The poet) is thus able to gallop onwards on a never ending way, and to keep drinking from a source never running dry. And if he is still 'keeping thirst in his mouth, because the rope is too short', 'stops on his way, because his feet are tired', this is not because the number of poetic principles *(wên-li chih shu)* has already become exhausted, but because he has ignored the art of rendering the 'universal' into 'changing' *(t'ung-pien chih shu)*.[192] Therefore, if literature *(wên)* should be likened to something (it can be said:) it is like the herbs and the trees, which are, with their roots and trunk being bound to the soil, of identical basic quality *(t'ung-hsing)*, but by their fragrance and flavour, with which they stay in the sunshine, they are notwithstanding different *(i-p'in)*.

Thus in the verses and songs *(yung-ko)* of the 'nine dynasties' there is correspondence between the emotional content *(chih)* and poetic form *(wên)*.[193] *Huang (-ti)*'s song, the *'Tuan-chu'* is the last degree of sticking to the point *(chih)*.[194] The song of *T'ang*'s period, the *'Tsai-chê'*, is already

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of *t'ung* over *pien;* and, accordingly, we should translate *t'ung-pien* — in a predicative function — in a contrary way: "to turn changing into universal". But in the following, just by the translation of this chapter, we shall try to persuade the reader that the aesthetic implication of the term *t'ung-pien* succeeded in becoming separated from its history-philosophical and political content, moreover, it succeeded in being turned into its opposite. The formulation of our translation is based on the following interpretation of *t'ung-pien:* "being universal, (still) to become changing", "keeping universality, to make changing".

[192] One of the possible paraphrases: "universal", in this case: genre can only be maintained by an ever-attentive art, always creating "new music", producing individual works of art, and if the work is not successful, not the genre principles, but their concrete application is to be blamed.

[193] It is usual to debate the identification of the "nine dynasties", mentioned by *Liu Hsieh*. If in this case we were to take number nine seriously, then — on the basis of the following sentences — this series of dynasties could be considered most probable: *T'ang, Yü, Hsia, Shang, Chou, Han, Wei, Chin* and *Sung*.

[194] This short song, attributed to the mythic ruler *Huang-ti*, is to be read in the work *Wu-Yüeh ch'un-ch'iu*, written by *Chao Yeh* in the *Han*-period; it is so brief indeed (consisting of not more than four identical-rhymed lines of "two words"), that it is hardly intelligible. A translation like this could be admitted: "Cut bamboo — Weaved bamboo — Flying earth — Chased flesh." Perhaps it is a magic song, or maybe, an enigma.

(somewhat) more extensive than (the *'Tuan-chu'*) of the period of *Huang (-ti)*.[195] The song' *Ch'ing-yün'* of *Yü*'s time is more ornate than that of the *T'ang*-period.[196] The song of the *Hsia* dynasty, the *'Tiao-ch'iang'* is even more ornamental than that of the *Yü* period.[197] The Verses *(p'ien-shih)* of the *Shang* and *Chou* periods are even more beautiful *(li)* than (the song of) the *Hsia* times.[198] All (the mentioned verses) speak — by expressing emotions *(hsü-chih)* — of their own periods *(shu-shih)*, and just thereby are they unified (after all). Arriving at the poetry of elegies *(sao-wên)* in the *Ch'u* period: this also models itself on (the works of) poets of the *Chou* period; the *fu*-s and *sung*-s of the *Han* period imitate (the poetry) in the *Ch'u* period; the poetic works *(p'ien-chih)* of the *Wei* period turn with admiration towards the 'wind' of the *Han* period; the poetry *(ch'i-chang)* of the *Chin* period looks at the 'colours' of the *Wei* period.[199]

It can be stated through thorough examination that in the period of

[195] In *Wang Li-ch'i*'s text we find 者 *chê;* in that of *Fan Wên-lan:* 昔 *hsi*. This *hsi* may be a miswritten form of the word 蜡 *la*, and in this case the poem in question would be identical with the famous magic formula: "The earth should return to its place — The water should return to its bed — The worms should not be active — The grass and tree should return to the marsh!" Cf. Granet, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*, pp. 185—191.

[196] The text of the "*Ch'ing-yün*", according to the *Shang-shu ta-chuan*, runs like this: "Oh, how brilliant the beneficial clouds are! — How beautifully, slowly they roll along! — The shining splendour of sun and moon — (Brightens) again from dawn to dawn!"

[197] The expression "*Tiao-ch'iang*" ("Carved wall") occurs in the second song of the part "Songs of *Wu-tzŭ*" of the *Shu-ching*, cf. S. Couvreur, *Chou king: Les Annales de la Chine*, Ho-kien-fou 1897, réimp., Paris 1950, p. 93. According to the traditional opinion, the chapter *Wu-tzŭ chih ko* (of the apocryphal text) of the *Shu-ching* (cf. Couvreur, *Les Annales de la Chine*, pp. 91—95) contains the songs of the five brothers *(wu-tzŭ)* of king *T'ai-k'ang* of the *Hsia*-dynasty. It was pointed out, however, that perhaps not five songs, but five strophes of one and the same song are concerned, and *Wu-tzŭ*, mentioned in the title, does not mean "five boys", but "Mister *Wu*", i.e. *Wu-kuan*, who was *T'ai-k'ang*'s younger brother. Cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 70—71 (Note 9).

[198] "The Verses of the *Shang*- and *Chou*-periods": i.e. the *Shih-ching*.

[199] The content of these sentences is not simply the statement that poetry of each aforementioned period imitated its direct predecessor, but a conclusion is involved in them in that the significant, *great poetry* of different periods is completely unified — we may as well say: *t'ung* — in respect of the main principle: "they *speak* — by expressing emotions — of their *own periods*". In this way the significance of *pien*, applied to the literary-historical process, is extremely increased compared with *t'ung*, since the change of each period, the up-to-dateness itself is raised to the rank of "universal". Cf. our previous note (Note 191).

Huang (-ti) and *T'ang*, (poetry) was pure and aiming at essentials *(chih)*, in the time of the houses of *Yü* and *Hsia* it aimed at essentials *(chih)* and wanted to convince *(pien)*, in the time of *Shang* and *Chou* it was fine *(li)* and regular-graceful *(ya)*, in *Ch'u* and in the time of the *Han* dynasty it was exaggerative *(ch'ih)* and enchanting *(yen)*, in the *Wei* and *Chin* period it was shallow *(ch'ien)* and ornamental *(ch'i)*, at the beginning of the (reign of the) *Sung* dynasty it was deceptive *(o)* and aiming at new trends *(hsin)*. Starting out from aiming at essentials *(chih)* it arrived at deception *(o)*, and the nerarer it got (to our age), the more 'stale' *(tan)* (poetry) became. And why? Because (the poets) competed for novelty in a way that they ignored the old, (so that) the 'wind' became insignificant *(mo)*, and the 'breath' sank into decay.[200]

Today, the literati of 'talented brush', when learning ideas *(i)* and poetic forms *(wên)*, mostly only skim through the verses *(p'ien)* of the *Han* period, and consider the collections *(chi)* of the *Sung* period their examples to follow.[201] They study in vain both the old (poesy) and that of today, they attach themselves all the same to what is near-by and ignore what is at a distance.

Yet the blue (colour) originates from indigo and the red from madder-wort, and in vain surpass (these colours) that (of the plant) constituting their basis, they are not capable of being transformed again and again *(fu hua)*.[202] *Huan Chün-shan (Huan T'an)* said: 'When I am reading the

[200] The great poesy of every epoch expresses its own age, and just by doing so it follows the footsteps of the predecessors. But when examining different periods' poesy, divided into large units like e.g. poetry of *Ch'u-* and *Han*-periods, or that of the age of *Wei-* and *Chin*-dynasties, we experience such "change" which may well be judged even degeneration from a certain aspect. The reason for this "change" is the fact that generally subsequent poets only look for traditions directly preceding their era, they try to versify problems of their own age while resting only on the direct antecedents, and they do not care about poetry more distant in time. Probably this is the deepest motive of *Liu Hsieh*'s classicism: the demand that poets should seek traditions in masterpieces of the *whole* previous poetry.

[201] Here the words "the collections of the *Sung*-period" are unlikely to refer to the anthologies compiled after *Chih Yü*'s example, mentioned at the end of chapter II, but the poetry of Southern *Sung*-dynasty in general (cf. our previous note, Note 200).

[202] The first chapter of the *Hsün-tzŭ* begins like this: "The gentleman *(chün-tzŭ)* says: Without learning one cannot manage. The blue (colour) is gained from the indigo . . ." *Liu Hsieh*'s parable may be interpreted like this: the blue and red colours can only be produced from the appropriate plants. But let us pay attention to his remark stating that blue and red surpass the colour of the plant which give their basic character!

recently introduced ornate literary works *(li-wên)*, I think them to be beautiful *(mei)*, but there is nothing to be taken out *(wu-ts'ai)* of them; when, however, I am reading the words *(yen-tz'ŭ)* of *Liu (Hsin)* and *Yang (Hsiung)*, I always feel that I have profited something *(yu-tê)*'.[203] This also establishes the truth (of our arguments). Consequently: he who wants to make blue finer, red clearer, must necessarily return to the indigo and madder-wort. And he who wants to straighten the deceptive, and turn the shallow into its contrary, must return to the "ancestors": to the classic books *(ching-kao)*.[204] And he who is already well able to find his way between the inner value and external beauty *(chih-wên chih chien)*, 'is measuring the angle well' on the dividing line of the regular-graceful and the ordinary *(ya-su chih chi)*, is worthy of being spoken to about the 'universal' and the 'changing' *(t'ung-pien)*.[205]

The show-off with sounds and reproducing forms *(shêng-mao)* (= abundance in descriptions) reached its highest peak is the early *Han* period already. And from this time on subsequent (poets), as though circling, aligned themselves all to this. (So then) in vain did they elevate their flight to get out of the 'track', at last they nevertheless got into the bird-cage (of the 'old', the 'universal'). This is what *Mei Shêng* wrote in the "Seven Encouragements": 'I am looking far above the East Sea, and (I see) an infinite space, (united) with the blue firmament'.[206] *(Szŭ-ma) Hsiang-ju* wrote in his *fu* entitled *Shang-lin:* 'I am looking (at the plain), and it has no beginning; I am exploring it, and it has no coast anywhere: the sun rises from the eastern lake (of this plain), and the moon is born on its western slope.[207] *Ma Yung* says in the *'Kuang ch'êng';* Heaven and Earth (amalga-

[203] This saying which cannot be found in the preserved fragments of the *Hsin-lun*, is interesting especially because in other cases *Huan T'an* criticized his two friends *Liu Hsin* and *Yang Hsiung* several times. On one occasion *Yang Hsiung* accused *Huan T'an* of preferring "heretical" music to "serious" one; cf. Forke, *Gesch. der mittelalterl. chin. Philosophie*, pp. 101—102.

[204] That is to say: the "classical books" represent such an "ancestor", such a basis of literature, which though lagging behind subsequent development, is as indispensable for each poetical renascence as indigo and madder-wort are for producing blue and red paints.

[205] I.e.: who has studied not only recent traditions but the whole previous literature is able to decide what tradition is to remain unchanged and what must be changed.

[206] See the quoted two lines of *Mei Shêng* in the *Sun p'i Hu k'o Wên-hsüan*, 34, 4b.

[207] See the quoted lines of *Szŭ-ma Hsiang-ju*'s *Shang-lin* in the *Sun p'i Hu k'o Wên-hsüan*, 8, 2b (the last line of the original poem reads as follows: "(the sun) goes down, behind the western slopes").

mate) like an endless space, you cannot see either its beginning or its coast; the 'great light' (= the sun) rises in the East, and the moon is born on the western slope.[208] *Yang Hsiung* says in (the *fu* entitled) *Yü-lin:* 'The sun and the moon rise and set (here), and Heaven and Earth meet'.[209] And *Chang Hêng* says (nearly the same in the description of the) Western Capital: 'The sun and the moon rise here and set here; you can see here the *Fu-sang* (tree) and the *Mêng-szŭ* (lake).'[210] Now, these metaphors *(fa)* of the width and these representations *(chuang)* of the extreme (= of the infinitude) (were described by) five poets, and yet they are as if (written by) one (poet). And in every case like this, (the poets) imitate one another without exception. Though 'to establish by threefold and quintuple combinations' *(ts'an-wu)* what is to be followed and what is to be changed *(yin-ko):* is the very art *(shu)* of rendering the 'universal' into 'changing' *(t'ung pien).*[211]

Therefore if (the poet) wants to plan (= to create) according to literary tradition *(wên-t'ung),* then his sight must embrace the great principles of genre *(ta-t'i).* And if for the beginning he collects experiences on a large scale to render his power of comprehension clearer and then summarizes the unchanged laws *(kang-chi)* in a way that they adjust themselves to a harmonius unity, then he gets hereby to such a road of open outlook where he may establish the turnpoint, gallop forward over a great distance with the halter let loose, mastering the reins quite easily. He is able (then) to rely on his emotions *(ch'ing)* so that he should harmonize (at the same time) with the 'universal' *(t'ung),* and he is able to carry the 'breath' *(ch'i)* in a way that it should always suit the 'changing' *(pien).* His colours will be like the outstretched 'fins' of the rainbow, and his brilliance like the fluttering wings of the miraculous sun-bird. Quite outstanding poetic works

[208] On the *sung* "*Kuan-ch'êng*" of *Ma Yung* (79—166) see his biography: *Hou Han-shu,* 90, *shang.*

[209] This sentence is quoted from *Yang Hsiung*'s *fu* "*Yü-li*" ("Hunting with feathers") (in *Liu Hsieh*'s text the word 校 *chiao* stands for *yü*): *Sun p'i Hu k'o Wên-hsüan,* 9, 7a.

[210] These two lines are quoted from *Chang Hêng*'s *fu* "Western Capital": *Sun p'i Hu k'o Wên-hsüan,* 2, 6b.

[211] Every term of this sentence stems from the *Hsi-tz'ŭ.* The term intended to explain *t'ung-pien:* 因革 *yin-ko* ("to follow and to change") is especially interesting; originally, it concerned creation of line-combinations, and thus it was a kind of synonym for *t'ung-pien.* This whole section of the text is to the effect that we have to be able to choose from among traditions, because otherwise we get trapped in the "cage" of traditions, and classicism will become academism and epigonism.

(wên) (can be born) in this way.[212] He, however, who keeps his sphere of vision narrow, and his conception onesided (= individual), and takes only pride in what he can create by himself *(i-chih)*, only runs around in circles, in a yard, and how could his feet take him to cover the distance of ten thousand miles!

Summarized in a verse:

The laws of literature *(wên-lü)* move forward and round,[213]
And it (herby) renovates day after day its inherited goods *(yeh)*,
It is 'changing' *(pien)*, and hereby makes itself lasting,
It is 'universal' *(t'ung)*, and therefore without deficiency,
Follows it own age, and is always 'fruitful',
It grasps a single instant, and has nothing to fear,
Looking at the present, it creates outstanding (beauty),
And learning from the past, composes (new) laws."[214]

We believe that by this text the reader could be convinced of the fact: *Liu Hsieh* did not interpret the category *t'ung-pien* of the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* as "understood change", not as "compliant accomodation", but as "universal and changing". Our statement advanced above according to which this chapter of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* represents the key and summing up of *Liu Hsieh*'s whole genre theory, and even in a certain sense of his whole philosophy of

[212] The expressions "outstretched fins of rainbow" and "fluttering wings of the sun-bird" can be found in *Chang Hêng*'s *fus* "Western Capital" and "Longing for getting into the mystery" respectively *(Wên-hsüan*, 2; 15, 1); and in their use perhaps we can see a hidden reference to *Liu Hsieh*'s opinion, appreciating after all *Chang Hêng*'s two *fus* as masterpieces.

[213] The expression in question is: 運周. Strictly speaking, it might be translated as "rotation", too. Yu-chung Shih, p. 169, translates this line as follows: "It is the law of literature both to move along and to come to full circle." In our opinion, the expression *wên-lü* concerns genre etc. rules of literature; and the term *yün-chou*, if its content is outlined from the whole chapter or at least from the whole *tsan*-verse, may not be translated simply "rotation". The scheme of development outlined by *Liu Hsieh* shows well that the limited linguistic possibilities, as we have seen several times and just recently in the case of *t'ung-pien*, do not reach the level of the thought in respect of the content of *yün-chou* either; that is, in *Liu Hsieh*'s concept the process of literary development was obviously no rotary motion, but a helical one, including rotation too.

[214] In our opinion, these lines completely justify our translation of the terms *wên-lü* and *yün-chou*. — See the text: *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 519—521; *Wang Li-ch'i*, pp. 84—86; and its translation: Yu-chung Shih, pp. 165—169.

art, has been equally proved many times by this text. We have read one of the peak performances of the Chinese way of thinking in the Middle Ages, and since the author of this treatise has endeavoured to facilitate for the reader to understand the ideas of *Liu Hsieh* with previous investigations, often seeming to be quite distant, now, after presenting the most beautiful of what he has kept in store, he is beginning to feel that it is superfluous for him to act as a guide any longer. Nevertheless, though the reader of our foregoing analyses could be left to himself with the ideas of *Liu Hsieh*, we might perhaps be excused for taking the word once more — and for the last time — in order to sum up some final results of our investigations.

The treatise dealing with the principle of *t'ung-pien* crowns *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory first of all by applying to the category of the genre *(t'i)* the concept of *t'ung*, and to the individual work of art the concept of *pien*. Genre is abstraction, the expression of the substance *(t'i)* by a single fundamental principle *(li)* and its term *(ming)*. That is why it is "unchanging", "lasting" and "universal". Philosophically, the individual work of art is always the "variant" of the principle, the genre *(pien)*; as compared to the genre as a general, it is peculiar-individual, as against the abstract character of the fundamental principle it is concrete, and in contrast to the unchanging nature of the former, it is constantly changing, unlike its universality only partial, occasional, ephemeral. The question, however, could be posed: why should such an application of the terms *t'ung* and *pien* be considered such great an achievement when it is known that genres in a single art do not represent the general, but its particulars in contrast to the given art as general. Now, should we reflect upon *Liu Hsieh*'s genre studies, we have to realize that our author is, also in the application of *t'ung* and *pien*, free from every metaphysical severity. Let us only recollect: how often he has spoken of the "change", the *pien*, also of the substance, the fundamental principle; endeavouring, by doing so, in every instance to apprehend particular "changes". This all, however, is only the elasticity and boldness of his wording. The dialectic character of his analyses consists in this respect that *Liu Hsieh* — concluding from the "unclosedness" of his genre theory system — reckons both theoretically and practically with the unclosedness of the number of *pien*-s, the infinity of the number of "varieties". The idea of the infinite manifoldness of *pien* also becomes testified with unambiguous clarity by the recently quoted text. It is now quite obvious: *Liu Hsieh* regarded *pien*, being a logical operation, as "specification", as the concretizing decomposition of abstraction, the operation of the approach to the infinitely manifold individualities. Considered objectively, the way from the

general to the individual only runs through the sphere of the particular, from the concept of literature taken in the general sense one can reach the individual work of art only through the concept of poetic genres. Now *Liu Hsieh*, as we have seen, applies the concepts of *t'ung* and *pien* most dialectically, and in every case with reason, but it seems that he has not recognized the particularity of the genre — and that of the work of art — for among his terms there is not a single one that would approach the concept of particularity. Or is there such a term after all? There is one, of course, the term *t'ung-pien*, this inseparable alloy of *t'ung* and *pien*.

Liu Hsieh's rank as that of a thinker would be underestimated if we gathered from his theory only what we are practically spoon-fed by the affirmative sentences of his text. We have no right to presume that he did not comprehend the elementary relations of his own ideas. It is on this ground that we consider evident, for instance, that *Liu Hsieh* could take "man's *wên*" only for particular as against *wên* conceived in the most general sense, compared to this for particular the literature-*wên*, within this also for particular the poesy-*wên*, then, in respect to *wên* (as general), for particular the genre, for a further particular the genre subvariety, subspecies (mostly called *pien* traditionally), and even within this for particular the custom of a single period or "school", the metric structure and a number of other moments. This is an infinite series of the interpositions of the way leading from the general to the individual, and it is not "terminological confusion" why *Liu Hsieh* renounced the determination of the number of interpositions, but because he was well aware of the fact that the distance separating the single from the general is, in reality, infinitely divisible. Now, what is regarded as single, particular and general in this endless succession of interpositions is always the matter of visual angle determined by the actual task. If we consider the visual angle of genre theory tasks, it is unquestionably the genre that is particular as against the poesy-*wên* as general, while the single work is the individual, and *Liu Hsieh* would be undeniably more "up-to-date" if his terminology also expressed this trinity. Yet could the always wavering appearance and quick passing away of the particular moments of social structure in China (independent trade, landed property, status of princedom, etc.) allow a greater theoretical "emancipation" of the element of the particular? Or from the aspect of literature: could a more definite genre theory than that created by *Liu Hsieh* be rendered possible by the stage of genre differentiation of the Chinese poesy achieved up to the given time? No, under the conditions of Chinese society, the logical apprehension of the relation between the individual and the

general is only possible by way of — still rather extrinsic — contrasting the individual to the general. For the denomination of this extrinsic contrasting one cannot imagine a more adequate term than the *t'ung-pien* in the *Hsi-tz'ŭ*. By contrasting the single *(pien)* to the general *(t'ung)*, and effacing the particular, this term proves to be poor on the one hand; on the other, however, it is impossible to deny that when connected, applied as a single concept, behind the not yet developed form, in given cases it may be the bearer of an exquisite content: the concept of the particular itself which is ultimately and intermediary link really between the individual and the general. Needless to say that these conceptual possibilities of the term are greatly assisted towards realization by the characteristics of the Chinese language too, allowing or even demanding several kinds of solutions in our translation.

It is about as much that the chapter *T'ung-pien* means the summing up of *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory. Now we think to understand also from the logical viewpoint the reason why *Liu Hsieh* did not construct a static-didactic genre theory system. Besides the mentioned reasons all the more so because he considered the way leading from the literature-*wên* to the individual work of art as the chain of continuous interpositions of the general-single *(t'ung-pien)*, although the really dialectic intermediary unit, the relatively "independent" peculiar is actually, so to say, hidden between *t'ung* and *pien* without independence, turning now into *t'ung* and now into *pien*, quite like every peculiar element of Chinese society and economy.

Yet in the literary theory of *Liu Hsieh* the principle of *t'ung-pien* surpasses by far the stage of the indefinite peculiar, quasi outlined by the extrinsic contrasting of the general to the individual. The merger of the two words into a single term, which already happened in the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* proved to be so creative in the hands of *Liu Hsieh* that in quite a number of analyses it becomes the means of expression for peculiarity. Thus the expression "art of the *t'ung-pien*" at the beginning of the recently read chapter already means: "to let unchanged as well as to alter", namely to let unchanged what is universally valid and to alter the varying elements. The reason why of the grammatically possible translations — the meaningless "prevailing accomodation" refused — the solution "rendering the universal into changing" was selected is the fact that this expression, while referring also to its logical and genre theoretical meanings, is at the same time the appropriate formulation of the peculiarity of the work of art, of its aesthetic character. For what else is the work of art if not "rendering the universal into changing" ever since the cognizance of the reality's *wên* arrived at the apprehen-

sion of the general, and, returning there, tries to demonstrate it in individual manifestations while retaining the general, too? In this sense is *t'ung-pien*, figuring as the most general definition of poesy in the quoted chapter, the brilliant apprehension of the peculiar-creating essence of art.

In the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* also such occurrences of the terms *t'ung-pien* and *pien-t'ung* are met with, which indicate that the expression was probably also used in a narrower sense by *Liu Hsieh*, and in these cases the translation into "flexible accomodation" seems accetable. In the 2nd chapter we read: "It's comprehensible . . . that versatility and conciseness are: different forms;[215] concealedness and openness are: different methods *(shu)*; their rejection or application follows the point of time *(shih)*, their changing or letting-unchanged *(pien-t'ung)* always answer the given occasion *(hui)*."[216] In the 24th chapter the term appears in a way like this: ". . .(the genre of *i*) selects the 'old facts' *(ku-shih* = its traditions) from previous periods, but what it should let unchanged and what it should change *(t'ung-pien)*, it surveys in its own age (= decides suited to its own period)."[217] The 32nd chapter begins as follows: "If the emotional content *(ch'ing-li)* is in its appropriate place, then the beauty of the form *(wên-ts'ai)* is realized by the 'internal' value *(chung)* (of the work). By strong and weak emotions we lay the solid foundation, and by changing and letting-unchanged *(pien-t'ung)* we accomodate ourselves to the times. Laying the foundations does have its (appropriate) genres *(t'i)*, although sometimes the significance *(i)* may be missed; yet the accomodation to times has no constant rule *(fang)*, and the phrasing forms *(tz'ŭ)* are sometimes too complicated and confused."[218] Finally, in the 48th chapter treating criticism our term eventually appears as part of a didactic enumeration: "Thus when one begins to study the internal nature *(ch'ing)* of a literary work *(wên)*, one has

[215] Instead of the character 形 *hsing* meaning 'form', in the manuscript of the *T'ang*-era the word 制 *chih* can be found, to be interpreted as "method of composing".

[216] Cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 16; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 4. Yu-chung Shih translates it as follows: "The choice of either method must depend on the occasion, remaining adaptable to all changing circumstances."

[217] The form of expression "*pien-t'ung*" follows the text of the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan;* in other texts we mostly read *t'ung-pien*. In our opinion, it is quite indifferent which of them is accepted as authentic. — See the text in *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 438; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 73. Yu-chung Shih's translation, p. 140: "(the *i* must be based . . .) on a selection of facts from previous times adapted to the changing needs of the present."

[218] Cf. *Fan-Wên-lan*, p. 543; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 89. Yu-chung Shih's translation, p. 179: ". . . the flexible adaptability to changing situations enables one to meet the varying needs of different times."

to observe in the first place six points of view: the first point of view is how (its poet) established the genre *(t'i)*; the second point of view is whether he applied the phrasing forms *(tz'ŭ)* correctly; the third point of view is (the manner) of *t'ung* and *pien*; the fourth point of view is the "special characteristic or regularity" *(ch'i-chêng)*; the fifth point of view is the objective and conceptual content *(shih-i)*; and the sixth point of view is (the interchange of) the notes *kung* and *shang*.[219] And when we already have an image formed of these artistic principles *(shu)*, the merits and deficiencies (of the work) will be visible to us."[220]

The principle *t'ung-pien*, as we see, is narrowed down to one of the work of art's elements, actually only in the latest quotation; in the three other cases its meaning is more comprehensive. Yet this sixfold enumeration is by no means identical with *Liu Hsieh*'s system of literature theory; these six "points of view" are but some practical advice of a really didactic purpose for critics. Proceeding from the selection of genre up to the metric structure, the succession of the six "points of view" appears very logical practically, but if in the "system" of these six pieces of good advice we would look for the system of *Liu Hsieh*'s literature theory, this would be the sign of our unpardonable blindness. Likewise it is only the primitivity of his own way of thinking that is disclosed by him who believes, based on the above sentences or just on the chapter *T'ung-pien*, that *Liu Hsieh* regarded the content as unchanged, possessing a constant rule, and the form as changing that cannot be regulated by rules; or maybe in reverse order, unchanged the form and changing the content. A bifurcation of substance and form of this kind is quite alien to *Liu Hsie*'s aesthetics; there is no trace of a thing like that in the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*. One or other of the quoted wordings seems to apply *t'ung* rather to the substance, and *pien* to the formal elements, other sentences, however, in quite reversed order, regard substantial elements as "changing", form-concepts as "unchanged". This makes it evident that *Liu Hsieh*'s *t'ung* taken as a whole refers equally to the substance and the form, and *pien* denotes both the substantial and formal "alterations". And by this the truth of our notion is again proved, according to which the principle *t'ung-pien* in the work of *Liu Hsieh* concerns the work of art itself.

[219] The notes *kung* and *shang* are: the first two notes of the Chinese pentatonic scale; in our opinion, they mean the alternation of "low and high" tones, and in *Liu Hsieh*'s text they simply refer to the rhythm of verse.

[220] Cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 715; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 125; Yu-chung Shih, p. 262.

The principle *t'ung-pien* penetrates — just through its comprehensive meaning — *Liu Hsieh*'s literary theory all through, and so we come across it at every step in its narrower sense, too, in single peculiar aspects, in concrete relations. In such cases, however, the term *t'ung-pien* itself mostly does not appear, unless the last four quotation are included. Let us refer to a single example: to certain specially forceful sentences of the 46th chapter entitled *Wu-shê* ("Beauty of the Objective World"), which approach discernibly the artistic problem of landscape-description with the aid of the principle *t'ung-pien*. It says the following: "Since the beginning of our age, in literature *(wên)* the likeness of external forms *(hsing-szŭ)* is very highly appreciated, but (the poets) explore the internal substance *(ch'ing)* in a single landscape *(fêng-ching)*, and break through the external appearance of herbs and trees. Whatever be that prompts them to compose poetry, the emotional-conceptual content *(chih)* (in their works) is deep and far-reaching. And, to describe the objective world *(t'i-wu)* with perfect subtlety, they must exactly know (which descriptions are) the most suitable (at every instant). Thus perfect correspondence of the ingenious words *(ch'iao-yen)* to the form *(chuang)* is a kind of relation like the one between the signet and signet-ink; without any further carving and chiselling, even the finest lines must describe minute details, too. Only in this way (can it be achieved) that by reading the words the (objective) forms are made visible, and that with the intervention of the characters (anybody) should comprehend the seasons.[221] Yet the outside world *(wu)* possesses it unalterable laws, while thought *(szŭ)* ignores definite patterns. It happens that only what is nearby is pursued and we reach the extreme boundaries, at other times even the most ingenious thought makes (the work) more decomposed. Now, creating the paragon (in the matter of description), [the Book of] Odes and the Elegy have taken possession of the most important strategic points, and therefore the brush-"sharpening" (poets) appearing later were much afraid of entering into competition (with these works). There is no one wanting to acquire artistry *(ch'iao)* without being supported by the rule *(fêng)* established by them, hence who would aspire to discover the speciality *(ch'i)* trusting his own power *(shih)*. For if someone understands how to render the most important suited (to the new circumstances), his (work), no matter how old, is (at the same time) all the newer (too). . . . Since the ancient times the

[221] The task of Chinese landscape poetry (and landscape painting) was seen by every poet (and painter) in expressing — by describing the atmosphere of seasons — feelings "suited to the season", aroused by the experience of the different seasons.

poets *(tz'ŭ-jên)*, though living in different periods, have followed in each other's footsteps, and there is no one who would not turn over in his mind what he should alter in what was done by someone else, the greatest merit *(kung)* being: to use for support (what exists) and at the same time also to modify *(yin-ko)* it.[222] (Therefore:) should already the beauty of objects *(wu-shê)* be 'exhausted', but (the work) presents (its reader) also with further ample emotional content *(ch'ing)*, then (the poet) did perfectly understand 'universality' *(t'ung)*."[223]

Liu Hsieh's starting point is the notion that the objective world, whose description can be undertaken by several genres, represents with its objective laws some kind of abstraction as against the occasional-individual character of our emotional reaction. Now, the descriptive poesy of landscapes is after all the combination of nature's beauty — abstract from the artistic point of view — and the concrete character of our human-individual emotions, whose (logically peculiar) result is the substance of the work of art, *ch'ing*, which encloses in this way both the truth, the internal essence of things and our subjective emotions.

According to another thought expressed by the quoted sentences the visualization of the objective world has already its traditions, which, in turn, represent a certain generality compared to the individuality of landscape and other experiences varying with the poets, and the poet, if he aspires to perfection, unites in his work the generality of tradition with the individuality issuing from the new age and from himself. And if his decision is right as concerns the question what he should depend on *(yin)* and remodel *(ko)* from traditions, then he has understood that it is an unceasing revival, modernization, individualization, etc. that alone enables the real "universality" *(t'ung)* of poesy to complete itself. Therewith we again arrived at the peculiar-creating nature of the work of art. Innumerable further self-evident examples could be quoted of the fact that *Liu Hsieh*'s literature theory is — even when the term itself is not mentioned — imbued with the principle *t'ung-pien*. In the depths of every important analysis of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*, *Liu Hsieh*'s firm belief is concealed: both the pure generality and the pure individuality are alien to the art of literature, to the

[222] In the 6th chapter treating *shih*, similarly the term *yin-ko* (cf. above, Note 211 to this chapter) indicated the "change", in the course of which, at the beginning of the rule of the *Sung*-dynasty, *Chuang-tzŭ* and *Lao-tzŭ* was pushed into the background, with landscape lyric poetry coming into prominence instead.

[223] Cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 694; *Wang Li-ch'i*, p. 120, 121; Yu-chung Shih, p. 248, 249.

work of art, and that the essence of aesthetics just lies in the fact that both are mediated. It is therefore no overstatement to consider the principle *t'ung-pien* the central category of the whole work. It is this principle that makes it possible for us to comprehend *Liu Hsieh*'s whole system of literature theory; which system cannot — unfortunately — be studied any further presently. In the light of the principle *t'ung-pien* are we able to understand more profoundly — among others — *Liu Hsieh*'s frequently mentioned classicism, too.

Namely, while in the spirit of the principle *t'ung-pien* the sentences of the last quotation unambiguously affirmed the "modern" art of landscape-description, approving also the adaptation to traditions, the chapter *T'ung-pien* condemns rather sharply the slavish imitations of the descriptions' "classic" pattern, the epigonism, that means imprisonment in the cage of the "universal". The question of *Liu Hsieh*'s classicism in thus related to the problem of Chinese traditionalism that is mystified ever so often. The whole train of thoughts of the chapter *T'ung-pien* is the exposition also of his classicism at the highest level; and the reader of the text can convince himself of the fact that *Liu Hsieh*'s notion as regards descriptive poetry is quite integrated and consistent: according to him the unchanged continuation of traditions *(t'ung)*, and the modern-individual innovations *(pien)* have to play an equally important part in the matter of descriptions as well as in the questions of genre, methods, stylistics, etc. of literature, neither of them should be allowed to get the better of the other. In certain connections, for instance in sentences of the Preface indicating the direct purpose of the book, or at places emphasizing the "classic books' " paragon-character of genre etc., the stress is undoubtedly laid on traditionalism; at other times, as for example in our last quotation, it is the necessity of "alteration" that seems to be slightly more emphasized. Now, the chapter *T'ung-pien* demonstrates quite clearly that it is the balance of *t'ung* and *pien* that *Liu Hsieh* demanded principally from literature, presenting thereby a new theoretical formulation to the ideal of the old Confucian "mean", more profound than any other before.

It is no mere accident, however, that in the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* emphasis is placed practically on the moment of *t'ung* — without offending the clearly formulated principle. Nor can it be sheer chance that of the forms *t'ung-pien* and *pien-t'ung* it is the former that was made statistically predominant by linguistic custom, and the latter less frequent. As mentioned earlier, in the principle *t'ung-pien t'ung* ranks first also in consideration of the idea's internal logic, and not only because at the establishment of line-combina-

tions what is left unchanged overtakes in a natural way what is changing, but also because while *pien* means the radical changing of single moments only, it is the *t'ung* that connects the sequence of *pien*s. Our economic and social analyses have shown that the same law prevails in the relations between the *t'ung* and *pien*s of Chinese history: the fundamental motionlessness cannot be turned into history in the European sense even by motions entailing the greatest political "upheaval". For this reason exactly it is the principle of the *t'ung-pien* that can be the most general expression of the most fundamental motion laws of the Chinese "Asian mode of production"; not only one of those most general Chinese concepts chiselled to perfection by centuries, of which in this essay the concepts *kuo-chia* (state) and *shih-huo* (economy) were mentioned earlier, but it is a principle comprehending and subordinating these categories, too. In respect of the philosophy of history as well as logics and aesthetics it is equally the most outstanding performance of Chinese conception. Yet in consequence of the fact that it cannot apprehend the peculiar but abstractly, it could be employed by politically contrasting endeavours. In the orthodox-Confucian school of thought — as we have repeatedly seen in the course of this study — the priority of *t'ung* became ideal, and *pien* became heresy, degeneration. One could also see how few people (legists, *Wang Ch'ung, Ko Hung*) definitely advocated *pien*, the radical alteration in China. In logical sense, this category which got stuck on the level of external confrontation of *t'ung* and *pien*, yielded only a harvest of paradoxes. The trait of the principle *t'ung-pien* that *t'ung* is prior to *pien* in it, proved to amount to the conservative standpoint in a historic-philosophical, political and logical respect. The admission of the priority of *t'ung* supported fatalistic, reactionary-apologetic, dogmatic (and sophistic) tendencies in the philosophy of history, in politics and in logic respectively. It seems that one of the general laws of historical movement is the attitude that veritable revolutions always concentrate only on *pien* subjectively, and until their most immediate purposes are seen realized, they do not care for *t'ung* at all. This — as a general law — pertains to the most consistent one of all revolutions, i.e. the socialist revolution, exactly through its consistency, even to an increased degree than to earlier social revolutions. But it appears to be an equally general law, and in the case of a socialist revolution in the most concentrated measure again, that objectively the revolution does not emancipate itself from *t'ung*, but it modifies, alters and raises it onto a higher level, unfolding the "universality" of evolution to a greater extent. This revolutionary "universality", revolutionary "traditionalism" could not bear significant fruits in China either in the phi-

losophy of history, or in logic, because the conservatism of economic-social reality proved to be insurmountable, making every conceptual recognition of this real motion law (or rather stagnation law) acceptation and utilizing it for its own purpose. There were only two wide fields of Chinese civilization in the early Middle Ages where the principle *t'ung-pien* did not lead to the renunciation or incertitude of the progressive standpoint, not even by the fact that practically the moment of *t'ung* became conspicuous, namely poetry and literary philosophy.

And what was the reason? In respect of poetry, we have to content ourselves with earlier references made in this study. In literary theory the "harmlessness", "purity" of the principle *t'ung-pien* taken in the indicated sense, rested upon the point that a much higher order, more veritable universality — even though for the best part transformed aesthetically — could be set against the sham-order, sham-universality of "Courts of the South". From the concrete, literary critical angle the main characteristic of this situation was the fact that the Chinese poetry, which flourished, spread, and became richer from the 3rd to 6th centuries, at the same time carried really the signs of decline — what is made comprehensible by the social reality of the "Courts of the South" —, naturally the ancient masterpieces taken as a measure. The society of the "Courts of the South" being "altered" and "yet-not-changed" at the same time, one of the most general contradictions of contemporary poetry was the same, and moments pointing ahead emerged from the tangle of epigonism, aristocratism, old and new fashions. In this way the problem of traditions and innovation could be solved in literary theory through the principle of dialectic, peculiar crossing of *t'ung* and *pien*, and the inevitable conspicuousness of *t'ung*, contrasting the ancient masterpieces with contemporary decadence, just did not mean an academic sense but the exclusively authorized criterion of discernment between the fashion and the really new matter. If we consider the point that the tradition serving as a measure in *Liu Hsieh*'s theory is essentially the poetry of the *Shih-ching* and of *Ch'ü Yüan*, it can be realized that by no means the literature of the apology of the old is raised high by his classicism but the necessarily elegiac poetic mirror of Chinese reality. The political idealization of *t'ung*, that is the Confucian apology was never capable — in consequence of the character of literature — of producting masterpieces; the existence of poetic masterpieces can be ascribed to *pien* in the first place. This is the reason why *Liu Hsieh*'s classicism can prove to be the the most exquisite, purest form of contemporary progressive conception. It is unfortunate that only very few of the researchers of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* have paid atten-

tion to this, and he who did react, also groped only waveringly around the question.[224]

As it can be seen that the principle *t'ung-pien*, at which we arrived investigating *Liu Hsieh*'s genre theory as at the special formulation of the peculiarity of poetic genre, carries us far beyond the circle of genre theory problems. At the same time this category turns out to be the most general formulation of art, even to be a fundamental principle for the philosophy of history. When translating the chapter *T'ung-pien* we deemed to keep together the genre theory meanings of the term by rendering it, where-ever possible, in the words "making the universal changing". We think this translation also refers to the priority of *t'ung* without meaning some conservatism, it accentuates, on the contrary, the most profound and most authentic idea of *Liu Hsieh:* the peculiar-creating substance of poetry. Considering its deepest contents, "making the universal to be changing" is but having arrived at the universal, at the general laws of the world, to impart the result of our cognizance in peculiar unity of the individual and general, in the form of a literary work of art, in *t'ung-pien* to our fellow-people, so that our knowledge, refined in poetic form, should be capable of reaching even late generations "serving as a ford" in the course of times. Whatever the direction of approach, the aesthetic concretization of the principle *t'ung-pien* turns out to be so very profound and rich that we are sad on the one hand because of the "Asian" character of Chinese society in the early Middle Ages, which condemned Chinese civilization, and after all naturally also the development of the aesthetic thought to isolation and standstill; but on the other hand, we must pay tribute to the same society, which rendered it possible to throw out feelers towards such depths, in an age when Europe was perhaps farther than ever from recognizing them.

Liu Hsieh's literary theory has not been surpassed comprehensively by anybody in China. His powerful initiatives, however, were of course, not without effect. His literary theory influenced as regards quite a number of points the way of thinking of his contemporaries as well as that ob subsequent theoreticians and poets. In some cases, his initiatives were elaborated by *Liu Hsieh* himself with such fullness that they became in his formulation the commonplaces of Chinese men of letters. In the splendid chapter entitled *T'ung-pien* it could be seen, for instance, that the principle "making the universal to be changing" was used by *Liu Hsieh* not only as the funda-

[224] On the Chinese interpretations of *t'ung-pien*-principle see *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 521—522 (Note 1); *Kuo Shao-yü, Chung-kuo wên-hsio p'i-p'ing shih*, pp. 86—90.

mental principle of the work of art but he also applied it to the entire development of literature. Since *t'ung-pien* is the main principle of the work of art, so the whole history of poetry is but the development of this principle: it is the "universality" of poetry that is developed and renewed by every subsequent flourishing of poetry, by every subsequent masterpiece. It seems from the chapter *T'ung-pien* that the development of literature was considered by *Liu Hsieh* to be essentially in decline (and just because of slavish traditionalism); but from other quotations again one can be persuaded of the fact that this he stated only for actual relations and with polemic purposes. The most profound formulation of the principle *t'ung-pien,* the Chinese consciousness of *historicity* was described by *Liu Hsieh:* "The laws of literature are moving forward and around."[225] This conception of the historic evolution as well as *Liu Hsieh*'s other literary theoretical results created the solid basis for the Chinese literary history writing to advance to the status of science. And now, by way of conclusion, let us be made acquainted with chapter 45 of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* entitled "The Order of Times" *(Shih-hsü),* which includes *Liu Hsieh*'s literary historical conception.[226] It reads:

"Times change, (dynasties) come and go in succession, and poetic substance and its form *(chih-wên)* change periodically. From old times on up to the present how much can be said of (the changes in) emotions and ideas *(ch'ing-li)* !

Long ago when *T'ao-t'ang (Yao)* reigned, virtue *(tê)* fluorished, its remodelling influence *(hua)* was powerful, and the old men in villages *(ye-lao)* talked about the futility of strength (= violence) and suburban children *(chiao-t'ung)* sang about (the people) not knowing anything (of governing).[227] When *Yu-yü (Shun)* went on with the work, governing was good, the people led an easy life, and the monarch created the poem *(shih) 'Hsün-*

[225] See above, our Note 213, and the summary written in verse of the chapter *T'ung-pien.*

[226] Of course, here we only find the summary of his views on the development of literature, since in connection with different genres, we have met every now and then his historical considerations that are mostly valid until today. The fact itself that after his genre-historical chapter he thought it necessary to write a general historical summary, too, shows how great an attention he paid to the literary historical foundation of his theory.

[227] The song of "the old men in villages", quoted by *Wang Ch'ung*'s *Lun-hêng* too, can be found, in a somewhat different form, in the collection *Ti-wang shih-chi;* it must have been an old labour song. The song of "suburban children" can be read in the work *Lieh-tzŭ,* 4; cf. A. C. Graham, *The Book of Lieh-tzŭ,* London 1960, p. 90.

fêng', and the officials the song *(ko) 'Lan-yün'*.[228] What could be the reason for their perfect beauty *(mei)?* It was this: the heart (of their composers) was happy and their voice was quiet.

Yü the Great distributed the land, and this notable deed was sung in the 'nine arrangements'.[229] *Ch'êng-t'ang* was wise and respectful, and of him the hymn *(sung)* (beginning with) *I-yü* was composed.[230]

In consequence of the flourishing of *Chi Wên (Wên-wang)*'s virtue, the (songs) *'Chou-nan'* (in the *Shih-ching)* (announce) zealous work, but always without being plaintive; as a result of the benefits of the remodelling influence of *T'ai-wang*, the songs *(fêng)* of *Pin* are full of joy but they are never profligate.[231] *Yet* for reasons of (kings) *Yu*'s and *Li*'s 'darkness' (the poems beginning) *'Pan'* and *'Tang'* are wrathful *(nu);* and because of the 'misery' of *P'ing-wang* (the poem beginning with) *'Shu-li'* became distressed *(ai)*.[232] From this one can understand that songs *(ko-yao)* and their style *(wên-li)* change together with ages; for when the wind arises above, waves spring below.

Following the era of Spring and Autumn, when (principalities) fought against one another for the distinguished rank *(ying-hsiung)*, the 'six classic books' were dragons hiding in mud, and the 'hundred philosophers' *(po-chia)*

[228] The poem "*Hsün-fêng*" ("Warm wind") is identical with the song "*Nan-fêng*" ("Southern wind"), attributed to emperor *Shun* by the *Li-chi, Yo-chi;* cf. Couvreur, *Mémoires sur les bienséances et les ceremonies*, II, p. 67, and *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 70 (Note 7). The "*Lan-yün*" ("Brilliant clouds") is probably identical with the poem "*Ch'ing-yün*" ("Beneficial clouds"), cf. our Note 196 to this chapter.

[229] In the chapter *Ta Yü mu* of the traditional text of the *Shu-ching*, *Yü* says that if the "nine arrangements", i.e. the regulation of water, fire, metal, wood, earth and corn, with "right virtue", "useful utilization" and "rich life": "these nine deeds created order, then these nine arrangements are to be sung." Cf. Couvreur, *Les annales de la Chine*, pp. 34—35.

[230] The *sung* beginning with the words *I-yü* is the 301st song of the *Shih-ching;* it praises *T'ang*, founder of the *Shang-Yin*-dynasty.

[231] The "*Chou-nan*"-songs are the 1st to 11th songs of the *Shih-ching;* the "songs of *Pin*" are the 154th to 160th songs of the *Shih-ching*. *Chi* is the family name of *Wu-wang*'s father *Wên-wang*. According to traditions, the "zealous" and satisfied tone of the "*Chou-nan*"-songs can be ascribed to *Wên-wang*'s "beneficial influence", while that of the "songs of *Pin*" is due to *Wên-wang*'s grandfather *T'ai-wang*'s influence on that territory; but by mentioning this tradition *Liu Hsieh* wants to exemplify most probably only the principle of the social determination of poetry.

[232] *Yu* and *Li* were "guilty kings" of the *Chou*-dynasty. "*Pan*" is the 254th, "*Tang*" is the 255th poem of the *Shih-ching*. *P'ing-wang* (770—720 B.C.): a king of the *Chou*-house, who was forced to remove his capital to *Lo-i (Lo-yang)* in consequence of the attacks by western Barbarians. "*Shu-li*" is the 65th poem of the *Shih-ching*.

attacked like the blast of wind.[233] At that time (the principalities) *Han* and *Wei* devoted their strength to governing; (also) *Yen* and *Chao* were only concerned with political power; and the 'five worms' and 'six damages' (= logistic precepts) found the greatest respect in *Ch'in* where (they became the basic of) statutes.[234] Only in two principalities, in *Ch'i* and in *Ch'u* was there some literary education *(wên-hsio)*. In *Ch'i*, houses were constructed along the main high street (for the use of men of letters), and in *Ch'u* the palace *Lan-t'ai* was enlarged. *Mêng K'o (Mêng-tzŭ)* dwelt as a guest (in *Ch'i)*, and *Hsün Ch'ing (Hsün-tzŭ)* became governor of a small town (in *Ch'u)*; thus (at the gate) *Chi-hsia* the pure wind (of literature) sprang into vigorous action, and in *Lan-ling* (poetry) began to flourish in full swing.[235] Master *Tsou (Yen)* made his name lofty through his speeches about 'heaven', and *Tsou Shih* became very famous by 'carving dragons'.[236] *Ch'ü P'ing (Ch'ü Yüan)* wrote more splendid works than the sun and the moon; *Sung Yü* joined more beautiful colours than clouds before the wind. And if one examines the delighting beauty *(li-yüeh)* (of their works), it can be seen that 'they have captured into their cage' the Odes *(ya)* and Hymns *(sung)*. Of this it can be understood that the outstanding ideas *(ch'i-i)* (of *Ch'ü Yüan* and *Sung Yü)*, one more splendid than the other, originated exactly

[233] The "six classic books" are: the *Shih-ching*, *Shu-ching*, *Li*, *Yo*, *I-ching* and *Ch'un-ch'iu*, that is to say: the Confucian classics. The simile "dragon hiding in mud" was used by *Pan Ku* (*Wên-hsüan*, 45, 4). *Po-chia:* "hundred kinds" of philosophers at the end of the *Chou*-period.

[234] The expression "five worms" refers to the title of the 49th chapter of the *Han Fei-tzŭ*. The category "six damages" (literally: "six lice") is to be found in the 4th and 20th chapters of the *Shang-chün shu*.

[235] On the *Chi-hsia*-"academy" in *Ch'i* see J. J. L. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, London 1928, pp. 73—75. We can read first about the *Lan-t'ai* ("Orchid Tower") at he beginning of the *Fêng-fu*, attributed to *Sung Yü* (*Wên-hsüan*, 13, 1). *Lan-ling* was a small town in *Ch'u*, where *Hsün-tzŭ* became an official.

[236] *Tsou Yen* was a philosopher in *Ch'i*, founder of the school of "five elements and *yin-yang*". His work *Tsou-tzŭ* is lost, but we have been made familiar with his teachings by his biography in the *Shih-chi*, 74; on them see Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 135—136. His speeches about "heaven": i.e. his "metaphysical" teachings (they might be connected — a point still to be clarified — with the origin of the *Hsi-tz'ŭ* too). — In *Hsün-tzŭ*'s biography, written by *Szŭ-ma Ch'ien*, we find a name "Dragon-carving *Shih*" *(Tiao-lung Shih)* (*Shih-chi*, 74, 5a—b), which refers — according to *P'ei Yin*'s commentary — to the traditional opinion that in his writtings *Tsou Shih* imitated *Tsou Yen*'s style, and the latter's style is reminiscent of dragon-patterns (symbolizing formal elements, "ornaments" of literature in the title of *Liu Hsieh*'s *Wên-hsin tiao-lung*, too).

from the specific conditions *(kui-szŭ)* of the (age of) 'vertical and horizontal alliance'.[237]

Then followed the *Han* dynasty, which replaced the (dynasty of) book-burner *(Ch'in Shih Huang-ti)*. *Kao-tsu* appreciated the virtue of war *(wu)* above all, and made fun of men of letters *(ju)*, and did not care about learning *(hsio)*. Though he did create the foundations of ceremonies and laws, for Odes *(shih)* and Scripts *(shu)* he had no sufficient time. Yet his songs *(ko)* '*Ta-fêng*' and '*Hung-ku*' are nevertheless the works of a splendid talent "sent by heaven".[238]

During the time of (the emperor) *Hsiao-hui*, and up to the time of (the emperors) *Wên* and *Ching* the science of classic books *(ching-shu)* slightly improved, but poets *(tz'ŭ-jên)* were not employed; as this can also be learned from the low status of *Chia I* as well as from the fall of *Tsou (Yang)* and *Mei (Shêng)*.[239]

(Emperor) *Hsiao-wu* thought highly of men of letters *(ju)* and considered beauty part of the 'great occupation' (= governing). Thus (during his reign) ceremonies and music competed in radiance, there was a great rivalry of poems and other literary works *(tz'ŭ tsao)*. It was he that disseminated (in the tower) *Po-liang* the custom of poems *(shih)* written for courtly repasts; when the 'golden dam' (got burst), he composed his poem *(yung)* expressing his compassion on the people; for *Mei Shêng* he sent a carriage whose wheels were padded with reed; *Chu-fu (Yen)* got permission from him 'to eat from *ting*'; he highly appreciated *Kung-sun (Hung)*'s *tui-ts'ê*; admired the memorandum *(tsou)* composed by *Ni K'uan*; *(Chu) Mai-ch'ên* who had hauled brushwood on his shoulders before, became a wearer of silk gowns (= an official); *(Szŭ-ma) Hsiang-ju*, who had been a dishwasher earlier also put on ornamental garment. And men like historian *(Szŭ-ma) Ch'ien* or *(Wu-ch'iu) Shou-wang*, people like *Yen (An)*, *Chung (Chün)* or *Mei Kao* never knew any restriction in their answers (given to the emperor), and neither were they ever defeated through their poetic works *(p'ien-chang)*.

[237] On the "vertical and horizontal alliance" see e. g. Tőkei, *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise*, pp. 115—116.

[238] The well-kwon song "*Ta-fêng*" of the emperor *Kau-tsu* was preserved in the *Shih-chi*, 8, and his "*Hung-ku*" in the *Shih-chi*, 55.

[239] These three emperors of the *Han*-dynasty ruled from 194 to 188 B.C. *(Hsiao-hui)*, 179—157 B.C. *(Wên-ti)* and 156—141 B.C. *(Ching-ti)* respectively. The biographies of *Chia I*, *Tsou Yang* and *Mei Shêng* can be read in the *Han-shu*, 48 and 51.

Nobody could compete with their 'wind' left behind, with the perfection of their rich colours.[240]

Later on (the emperors) *Chao* and *Hsüan* continued worthily the valuable work of (emperor) *Wu*. (Men of letters) 'raced their horses' (in the palace) *Shih-ch'ü*, and made an outing to poetry *(wên-hui)* in their spare time. The outstanding talent of 'signet-carving' (= stylistic art) were collected, and the best experts of 'fine silks' (= fine style) were started. At that time *Wang Pao* and his companions established their official income (by their literary works) and they became court officials.[241] In the time of (the emperors) *Yüan* and *Ch'êng* great attention was paid to 'images' and books *(t'u-chi)*, learned talk about the 'dust of jade' (= poetry) was regarded as glory, the way leading to (the gate) *Chin-ma* was swept clean. It was then that *Tzŭ-yün (Yang Hsiung)* showed his sharp wit (by learning) a thousand poems, and that *Tzŭ-chêng (Liu Hsiang)* collated (and edited) the 'six classic books' *(liu-i)*.[242] All this well deserves our admiration.

[240] According to traditions, emperor *Hsiao-wu (Wu-ti* of the *Han*-house, 140—87 B.C.) had a tower built, named *Po-liang*, in 108 B.C., and he ordered his officials to write there poems of "seven words"-verses with identical rhymes. *Ku Yen-wu*, however, expressed his doubts, supported by factual arguments, concerning authenticity of the verses attributed to the society of the *Po-liang* Tower (cf. *Jih-chih lu*, 21). *Wu-ti*'s poem written at the time of the "golden dam" burst survived in the *Han-shu*, 29. About the signal favours conferred on *Mei Shêng* and *Chu-fu Yen* we may read in their biographies: *Han-shu*, 51 and 64. *Kung-sun Hung*'s *tui-ts'ê* is available in his biography: *Han-shu*, 58. About *Ni K'uan*'s *tsou* we read in his biography *(Han-shu*, 58) that as a matter of fact, it was *Chang T'ang*'s text that was revised by *Ni*, with great success. *Chu Mai-ch'ên*'s biography is available in the *Han-shu*, 64, *shang;* that of *Szŭ-ma Hsiang-ju: Han-shu*, 57, *shang-hsia; Szŭ-ma Ch'ien: Han-shu*, 62; *Wu-ch'iu Shou-wang: Han-shu*, 64, *shang; Yen An* and *Chung Chün: Han-shu*, 64, *hsia; Mei Kao*'s biography can be found in that of his father *Mei Shêng*, *Han-shu*, 51. The most important phrases are collected by *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 678—679 (Note 8).

[241] *Chao-ti* ruled between 86—74 B.C.; *Hsüan-ti:* 73—49 B.C. See *Wang Pao's* biography in the *Han-shu*, 64, *hsia*. On the dispute held in the *Shih-ch'ü*-palace in 51 B.C. see Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung*, I, pp. 82—91.

[242] *Yüan-ti:* 48—33 B.C. *Ch'êng-ti:* 32—7 B.C. The term "dust of jade" was used in a pejorative sense by *Wang Ch'ung* in his *Lun-hêng* (cf. *Chu-tzŭ chi-ch'êng* edition, p. 276). The scholars lived together at the gate *Chin-ma* ("Golden Horse", named after the bronze statue, erected in its neighbourhood), so that in the event of an imperial call they could go immediately to the palace. — According to a fragment of *Huan T'an*'s *Hsin-lun* (cf. *I-wên lei-chü*, LVI), *Yang Hsiung* told *Huan T'an:* "That who can read a thousand of *fu*s, can also write similar ones." According to the second chapter of the *Hsi-ching tsa-chi:* "Somebody asked *Yang Hsiung* how to write a *fu*. *(Yang) Hsiung* answered: "One has to read a thousand of *fu*s, and then it can be managed."

From the beginning of the (reign) of the *Han* dynasty up to the time of (the emperors) *Ch'êng* and *Ai* though generations — perhaps even a hundred of them — came in succession, and also the poets *(tz'ŭ-jên)* changed 'nine times', but taken as a whole they all aspired to perpetuate (the poetry of) the *Ch'u-tz'ŭ*. The mighty 'shadow' of *Ling-chün (Ch'ü Yüan)* also survived through them.

In the period of decline, which started at the time of (emperors) *Ai* and *P'ing* and that of the restoration *(chung-hsing)* (executed by) *Kuang-wu*, the 'images' and apocryphal scripts mattered above all, and literary beauty *(wên-hua)* was rather ignored. Nevertheless, *Tu Tu* escaped punishment by means of offering a funeral song *(lei)*, and *Pan Piao* obtained governorship through the presentation of a memorandum *(tsou)*. (Thus *Kuang-wu*), though not searching (for talent), did not wholly renounce them.[243]

During the brilliance of (the emperors) *Ming* and *Chang*, following each other, the science of men of letters *(ju-shu)* was highly esteemed and loved. *(Ming-ti)* had the ceremonies practised in the 'Hall of the Disc of Jade' *(Pi-t'ang)*, and *(Chang-ti)* held discussions about literature *(wên)* in the (White) Tiger Hall *(hu-kuan)*. *Mêng-chien (Pan Ku)*, wearing his brush as an ear-ornament (= as a courtly historian) worked on the History of the Realm *(kuo-shih)*, and *Chia K'ui* was given the wooden board to (write) his praising poem *(sung)* treating good omens. (Prince) *Tung-p'ing* won great respect through his excellent written works *(wên)*, and the prince of *P'ei* revived the general principles (of classic books) *(t'ung-lun)*. Both the imperial example *(ti-tsê)* and the moral of borders *(fan-i)* shone, suffusing each other with light.[244]

— *Liu Hsiang* received imperial order not only to make bibliography, but he was also entrusted — like many other scholars in the *Han*-period — with editorial jobs involving the classic texts.

[243] *Ai-ti:* 6—1 B.C.; thus the period, indicated with uncertainty, covers more than 200 years. In the *I-wên-chih* really the *fus* of *Ch'ü Yüan* type were in the greatest number: 361 *p'iens* of 25 poets. — *P'ing-ti* ruled in 1—5 A.D., emperor *Kuang-wu* in 25—27; between them *Wang Mang*'s reactionary "usurpation of throne" lasted from 9 to 23. — See *Tu Tu*'s biography in the *Hou Han-shu*, 110, *shang*. He wrote his mourning song (cf. *I-wên lei-chü*, 47), in memory of *Wu Han*, and emperor *Kuang-wu* liked it so much that he released him from prison. — See *Pan Piao*'s story in his biography: *Hou Han-shu*, 70.

[244] *Ming-ti:* 58—75. *Chang-ti:* 76—88. The "Hall of the Disc of Jade" *(Pi-t'ang)* was built in 59. "White Tiger Hall": i.e. the *Po-hu kuan*, where a great debate was held on the interpretation of classics in 79; cf. Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung*, I, pp. 154—165. "Wearing his brush as an ear-ornament": i.e. being ready to record imme-

From the period of (the emperors) *Ho* and *An* onwards up to the age of (the emperors) *Shun* and *Huan* there were *Pan (Ku), Fu (I),* the three *Ts'ui*s *(Ts'ui Yin, Ts'ui Yüan* and *Ts'ui Shih), Wang (Ch'ung), Ma (Yung), Chang (Hêng)* and *Ts'ai (Yung),* as many excellent men of letters *(hung-ju),* so that this line was by no means devoid of talent: nevertheless, if we want to select masterpieces *(wên-chang),* we must persist in keeping back our view.[245] For after the restoration *(chung-hsing)* (of the *Han* dynasty) numerous (recounted) talent gradually changed the 'earlier track of wheel' after all, concerning (equally) the 'flower' and the 'fruit', and had constantly the classic expressions *(ching-tz'ŭ)* in their mind. And as during the period of successive governments *(chêng)* they explained (the classics) ever so often, they gradually reformed the Confucian 'wind' *(ju-fêng).*[246]

Then came *Ling-ti* who occasionally found his pleasure in composing poems *(tz'ŭ).* He wrote his book entitled *Hsi-huang (p'ien),* and made way for the *fu*s (written at the gate) *Hung-tu.*[247] Yet *Yo Sung* and his companions collected shallow and vulgar men who were called *Huan Tou* by *Yang Szŭ* just because of this, and were compared to show people and clowns by *Ts'ai Yung.* Their 'wind' and literary activity *(wên)* handed down is quite insignificant.[248]

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diately every event. — See *Chia K'uei*'s biography in the *Hou Han-shu,* 66, and those of the princes of *Tung-p'ing* and *P'ei* in the *Hou Han-shu,* 72. The "imperial example" refers to conversations on ritual subjects with the prince of *Tung-p'ing,* while "the moral of the borders" is an allusion to a *sung* written by *Chia K'uei* about the "divine sparrows" (considered symbols with prophetic strength of the surrender of Barbarians).

[245] *Ho-ti:* 89—105; *An-ti:* 107—125. (Between them *Shang-ti* reigned only in 106.) *Sun-ti:* 126—144; *Huan-ti:* 147—167. (Between them *Ch'ung-ti* ruled in 145, and *Chih-ti* in 146.) — *Fu I* (about 47—92): the famous scholar of the *Han*-period, in the time of *Ming-ti* (58—75) and *Chang-ti* (76—88); during the reign of *Chang-ti* he was appointed *ling-shih* of the Orchid Tower. Together with *Pan Ku,* he made textual criticism. — See the biographies of the three *Ts'ui*s (the father, his son and his grandson, the prominent philosopher) *Hou Han-shu,* 82; that of *Wang Ch'ung: Hou Han-shu,* 79; *Ma Yung* and *Ts'ai Yung: Hou Han-shu,* 90; *Chang Hêng: Hou Han-shu,* 89.

[246] *Liu Hsieh* writes about this in the chapter 38 of his *Wên-hsin tiao-lung: "Ts'ui (Yin), Pan (Ku), Chang (Hêng)* and *Ts'ai (Yung)* picked out quotations from the classic and historical works, spreading flower and fruit everywhere, and (as thus) they got merits by relying on books, for subsequent scholars all of them became examples to be followed." Cf. *Fan Wên-lan,* p. 615; *Wang Li-ch'i,* p. 101; Yu-ohung Shih, p. 204.

[247] *Ling-ti:* 168—219. None of his works survived; see the record about him in the *Hou Han-shu,* 90; cf. *Fan Wên-lan,* p. 681.

[248] See *Yang Szŭ*'s views in his biography: *Hou Han-shu,* 90. *Huan Tou* was a mythic rebellious "minister" in the time of *Yao* and *Shun.*

Since the time when *Hsien-ti* had to keep his residences changing, literature *(wên-hsio)* was thrown about (in the confusion) like the plant *p'êng*.[249] Only late in the *Chien-an* period did peace set in the empire. *Wu (Ts'ao Ts'ao)* of *Wei*, who then had the rank of minister and prince *(hsiang wang)*, understood and liked *(ya-ai)* poetry *(shih-chang)*; *Wên-ti (Ts'ao P'i)*, who then held the rank of crown prince *(fu-chün)*, was marvellously good at writing poetry *(tz'ŭ-fu)*; and whenever *Ch'ên Szŭ (Ts'ao Chih)*, who was then a princely youth *(kung-tzŭ)*, began to write, 'gems tinkled'. And because they (all the three of them) embodied excellence and openmindedness *(ying-i)*, (around them) outstanding talent emerged and went flying up like clouds.[250] *Chung-hsüan (Wang Ts'an)* sent his gift to *Han-man* (= he joined *Ts'ao Ts'ao)*, *K'ung-chang (Ch'ên Lin)* surrendered in *Ho-pei*, *Wei-ch'ang (Hsü Kan)* took up service in *Ch'ing-t'u*, *Kung-kan (Liu Chên)* joined *(Ts'ao Ts'ao)* in *Hai-yü*. *Tê-lien (Ying Yang)* concentrated his thoughts on elegance *(fei-jan)*, *Yüan-yü (Juan Yü)* found his pleasure in the floating fine style *(p'ien-p'ien)*.[251] *Wên-wei (Lu Ts'ui)*, *Hui-po (Po Ch'in)* and their companions *Tzŭ-shu (Han-tan Ch'un)*, *Tê-tsu (Yang Hsiu)* and others, as they (were sitting) with august and noble bearing before the goblets and dishes, (sitting) stately and quietly on the mat, wrote their convivial songs *(han-ko)* with light brushes, and offered (the topic) to chat and laugh with well-mixed ink.[252] Reading the works *(wên)* of that time, (one can find out that these poets) always liked noble emotions *(k'ang-kan)*. This stemmed from the fact that there was great confusion and chaos in that period, old customs began to perish *(fêng shuai)*, dissatisfaction reigned

[249] *Hsien-ti* (190—220) transferred his capital five times between 190 and 196; cf. the beginning of our chapter II and our Note 22 to chapter II. — In *Ts'ao Chih*'s poetry, the plant *p'êng* symbolizes uncertainty of his fate, his rootless vicissitudes; here it indicates "upheaval" of the whole epoch.

[250] As we have seen, it happened probably between 204 and 208 that "outstanding talent" gathered around the "three *Ts'ao*s", in their capital *Yeh*. This text puts the beginning of "peace" to the end of the *Chien-an* period. The chapter treating *shih* speaks about the beginning of the period; but since its first year was 196, the "first section" of the period (196—219) must be concerned, because the gathering of the "school" in *Yeh* is supposed to have been in 204 (cf. our chapter II).

[251] See *Ts'ao P'i*'s works and *Ts'ao Chih*'s letter, cf. our chapter II.

[252] See a short note on *Lu Ts'ui*, *Po Ch'in*, *Han-tan Shun* and *Yang Hsiu* in *Wang Ts'an*'s biography in the *San-kuo chih* (and additional information in the commentaries). The traditional grouping of the "seven masters" of this society originated from *Ts'ao P'i*; the poetical "school" of the *Chien-an* period has to be taken in a much broader sense. *Liu Hsieh*'s following characterization of this "school", in his usual way, is thorough and valid until today.

in the world *(su yüan)*, and they all felt it deeply (= they became profoundly imbued by all this) and used their brush excellently (= they were also able to express it in their works). This is why (their compositions) are full of great emotions *(kêng-kan)* and full of 'breath' *(ch'i)*.

Coming to (the reign of) *Ming-ti*, (we can find that) the emperor himself wrote poems *(shih)* and composed tunes. He collected the poets-men of letters *(p'ien-chang chih shih)*, and founded (for their use) the Hall of Respect for Literature *(Ch'ung-wên kuan)*, where *Ho (Yen)*, *Liu (Shao)* and a number of other talent irradiated one another alternately.[253] In the time of the subsequent young monarch it was only *Kao-kui (hsiang-kung* = the emperor himself) that was talented *(ying)* and refined *(ya)*; it took him (the time of) a single glance around to write a strophe *(chang)*, and as soon as he began to speak, a treatise *(lun)* was at once ready.[254] At that time the 'wind' left behind by the *Chêng-shih* period (asserted itself), and the works were (therefore) 'easy' and without taste; nevertheless *Hsi (K'ang) Juan (Chi)*, *Ying (Ch'ü)* and *Miu (Szŭ)* all rode forward on the highway of poetry *(wên)*.[255]

At the time of *Hsüan*, who laid the foundations for the *Chin* dynasty, and at the time of *Ching* and *Wên*, who solidified the construction, even trace of literary culture *(ju-ya)* was lost, for (these monarchs) were only concerned with immersing in political manoeuvres *(fang-shu)*. *Wu-ti*, who was actually (the first emperor of) the new dynasty, although got his 'mandate' *(ming)* in a peaceful period *(ch'êng-p'ing)*, upset the order (= he did not follow the example of his predecessors) concerning poetry *(p'ien-chang)*, not

[253] The survived *yo-fu*-poems, written by *Wei Ming-ti* (227—239), that is *Ts'ao Jui*, are not significant. On the foundation of the *Ch'ung-wên kuan* we are informed by the *San-kuo chih*, 3. On *Liu Shao* see our Note 28, and on *Ho Yen* see e.g. our Note 79 to the chapter II!

[254] In the *San-kuo chih*, 4, we read about three successive "young rulers", remaining under the shadow of the *Szŭ-ma*-family; among them *Kao-kui hsiang-kung (Ts'ao Mao)* "ruled" from 254 to 259.

[255] The significance of the poetry of *Hsi K'ang* and *Juan Chi* (see their biographies in the *Chin-shu*, 49) was emphasized in our chapter II. *Ying Ch'ü* (190—252) was the younger brother of *Ying Yang*, one of the "seven masters" of the *Chien-an* period. According to a commentary to *Wang Ts'an*'s biography in the *San-kuo chih*, his only survived poem *Po-i* ("One of a hundred") was written in *Ts'ao Shuang*'s time for criticizing the state of public affairs. This poem, being of prominent importance because of its sharply satirical character, was subsequently imitated by many poets. — *Miu Hsi*'s biography can be read in the *San-kuo chih*, 21. Poetical works of each of them are presented by the *Wên-hsüan*.

turning his majestic attention (to anything like this). Subsequent (emperors) *Huai* and *Min* were already mere 'pending ornaments on the banner' (= they did not possess real power).[256]

Although (the emperors of) the *Chin* dynasty had no poetic inclination *(wên)*, there were really a lot of talent all the same: *Mao-hsien (Chang Hua)* 'scattered pearls' with every stroke of his brush; *T'ai Ch'ung (Tso Szŭ)* 'spread out brocade silk' by every stir of ink; *(P'an) Yo* and *(Hsia-hou) Chan* shone in the beauty of the double disc of jade; *(Lu) Chi* and *(Lu) Yün* presented the beauty worthy of their excellence; and the ones like *Ying (Chên)* and *Fu (Hsüan)*, the three *Chang*s, as well as *Sun (Ch'u)*, *Chih (Yü)* and *Ch'êng-kung (Sui)* all wrote pure and fine works, letting 'poems of graceful texture *(yün)* flow' (out of their brushes). Earlier historians thought that the poets who lived in the last years (= at the decline) of the dynasty, were unable to develop their talent. How true this statement! And how sad![257]

Emperor *Yüan*, who restored the dynasty *(chung-hsing)* putting on himself the gown of literature *(wên)*, too, strengthened 'learning' (= institution of state examinations). *Liu (Wei)* and *Tiao (Hsieh)* were officials respecting ceremonies, therefore the glory of imperial favour (fell to their lot); it was due to the poetic *(wên)* cleverness of *Ching-ch'un (Kuo P'u)* that he was promoted to a distinguished status.[258] After him *Ming-ti*, who was a very bright (youth), always liked poetic *(wên)* gatherings, and when he ascended the throne as a successor, he continued to study art *(i)* very diligently. He 'trained' his emotions *(ch'ing)* by his patents and decrees *(kao ts'ê)*, and composed really fine works of poetry *(tz'ŭ-fu)*, too. Through his literary talent, *Yü (Liang)* came nearer (to the emperor) than the latter's near relatives; likewise *Wên (Ch'iao)* acquired the richest rewards through his

[256] *Wu-ti* (265—306) was the first emperor of the *Chin*-dynasty; he gave the posthumous titles *Hsüan-ti*, *Ching-ti* and *Wên-ti* (to *Szŭ-ma I*, *Szŭ-ma Shih* and *Szŭ-ma Chao* respectively). *Huai-ti* (307—312) and *Min-ti* (313—316) reigned at the time of a new "upheaval", when a lot of eminent scholars and poets fell victim of the wrangling of the "eight princes".

[257] On the writers and poets mentioned here see e.g. our Notes 102, 103, 105, 106 to chapter II. *Ying Chên* was the son of *Ying Yang*'s younger brother *Ying Ch'ü*. *Hsia-hou Chan*'s biography can be found in the *Chin-shu*, 55.

[258] *Yüan-ti*, the first emperor of the Eastern *Chin*-dynasty ruled from 317 to 322. Increased strictness at state examinations was a partial realization of earlier "legist" demands (raised by *P'ei Wei*, *Lu Chi* etc.). *Liu Wei*'s and *Tiao Hsieh*'s "respect for ceremonies", too, did not concern their ritualism, but — say — their "legism": according to their biographies in the *Chin-shu*, 69, they strictly watched that the laws were observed. *Kuo P'u*'s biography can be found in the *Chin-shu*, 72.

literary *(wên)* ideas. By lifting artistic beauty to great heights *(Ming-ti)*, was the veritable (emperor) *Han Wu* of this period.[259]

(Emperors) *Ch'êng* and *K'ang* died too early, and the reign of (the emperors) *Mu* and *Ai* was also very short. But then suddenly (emperor) *Chien-wên* came to (the throne), they were engaged in 'pure' and lofty (talks): fine words *(yen)* and deep thoughts *(li)* covered 'the mats (of men discussing) mysteries', and the park of literature *(wên)* was sometimes flooded with abstract ideas and rich colours.[260]

(Emperor) *Hsiao-wu* could not leave (the throne) to an heir any more, and (with the reign of emperors) *An* and *Kung* (the reign of the *Chin* dynasty) came to an end. As regards literary and historic works *(wên shih)* (of this last epoch), there are *Yüan (Hung)*, *Yin (Chung-wên)*, *Sun (Shêng)*, and *Kan (Pao)* and others of the same kind. Although one had more talent, and the other less, their jade character *(kui-chang)* rendered them worthy of being (officially) employed.[261]

Since the age of the 'middle court' (Western Chin dynasty) mysticism *(hsüan)* was already highly appreciated, yet it reached its prime in the period of *Chiang-tso* (Eastern Chin). And the overflowing 'breath' *(ch'i)* of these 'talks' kept spreading, and created a literary style *(wên-t'i)*. In this way, while a state of uncertainty characterized the whole period, in both the form *(tz'ŭ)* and substance *(i)* (of poetry) quietude and serenity *(i-t'ai)* dominated. The poems *(shih)* were given inevitably to the percepts of 'the one under the pillars' (= *Lao-tzŭ*), and the *fu*s kept explaining the ideas of 'the one in the lac-tree garden' (= *Chuang-tzŭ*).[262] Of this one can under-

[259] From *Ming-ti*'s (323—325) works *(tz'ŭ—fu)* only a fragment was preserved by the *I-wên lei-chü*, 97). We read *Yü Liang*'s biography in the *Chin-shu*, 73, and that of *Wên Ch'iao* in the *Chin-shu*, 67.

[260] *Ch'êng-ti:* 326—342. *K'ang-ti:* 343—344. *Mu-ti:* 345—361. *Ai-ti:* 362—365. This period extended to no less than forty years and *Liu Hsieh* informs us tactfully, but definitely that he did not find significant poesy in this epoch. Even *Chien-wên-ti* (371—372) took interest only in the renewal of the fashion of "pure conversations".

[261] According to the *Chin-shu*, 9, *Hsiao-wu-ti* (373—395) was *Chien-wên-ti*'s third son, predicted still before his birth to become the last ruler of the dynasty; cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 684—685 (Note 14), Yu-chung Shih, p. 242 (Note 50). This prediction was considered to come true, as both *An-ti* (396—418) and *Kung-ti* (419—420), *Hsiao-wu-ti*'s two descendants fell victims of *Liu Yü*, who founded a new dynasty, the so-called *Liu-Sung*-house. *Yüan Hung*'s biography can be found in the *Chin-shu*, 92; that of *Yin Chung-wên* in the *Chin-shu*, 99; those of *Sun Shêng* and *Kan Pao* in the *Chin-shu*, 82. *Kan Pao* was the author of an interesting collection of ghost-stories: *Sou-shên-chi*.

[262] Cf. the text preserved in the commentary of the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, quoted by *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 685 (Note 26).

stand that alterations in literature *(wên-pien)* are depedent on social circumstances *(shih-ch'ing)*, and that flourishing or decline (of single 'phases' of literature) are closely connected to the (political) order *(shih-hsü)* of each period. And as we are examining the final result starting out (in this way) from the origin, this can be known for certain concerning even one hundred generations.

(Emperor) *Wu* of the house *(Liu) Sung*, who liked literature *(wên)*, and *Wên-ti*, who was of harmonic and noble attitude *(pin ya)*, possessed (both of them) the virtue of poetry *(wên chih tê)*. (Emperor) *Hsiao-wu* was very talented, and his works are as beautiful as cloud formations. From the time of *Ming-ti*, however, there followed a decline (again) regarding both literary form and ideas *(wên-li)*.[263]

In the forest of 'the ones wearing red sash' ascended redish clouds, and like a whirlwind (talent) sprang up from nowhere. The *Wang*s and *Yüan*s (practically) 'united their progenies' *(lien-tsung)* to create 'dragon-beauty' *(lung-chang)*; and the *Yen*s and *Hsieh*s created 'phoenix-beauty' *(fêng-ts'ai)* with the collaboration of two generations *(ch'ung-yeh)*. It would be too much (to enumerate) those from the *Ho, Fan, Chang* and *Shên* families or the others.[264] As they are well-known also in our age, they are only mentioned here in general.

When the august *Ch'i* dynasty came to the throne, (an epoch) of abundance and brilliance set in at last: *T'ai-tsu (Kao-ti)* won his 'mandate' *(ying-lu)* because of his holy wisdom and virtue of war, *Kao-tsu* continued to rule *(tsuan-yeh)* by his wisdom and 'peaceful virtue' *(wên)*, *Wên-ti* 'held beauties in his mouth' *(han-chang)* with the assistance of the 'two divided ones' (= the sun and the moon = light), and *Chung-tsung* made the luck (of the dynasty) to prosper *(hsing-yün)* (even more) with his exceptional cleverness. They all got their literary talent *(wên)* and bright brains *(ming)* from heaven and in their incessant glamour (their lot became) great happiness.[265]

[263] The above-mentioned rulers of the *Liu-Sung*-dynasty are: *Wu-ti* (420—423), *Wên-ti* (424—453), *Hsiao-wu-ti* (454—464) and *Ming-ti* (465—471); a few poems, attributed to them, can be found in the *Yo-fu*.

[264] The *Sung-shu* (written by *Shên Yo*) contains a long series of biographies of writers and poets, impossible to be enumerated here, from the *Wang*-family. Among the members of the *Yüan*-family we know two poets: *Yüan Shu* (cf. *Sung-shu*, 70) and *Yüan Ts'an* (*Sung-shu*, 89). The *Yen*s were: *Yen Yen-chih* and his two sons (*Sung-shu*, 73). The *Hsieh*'s were: *Hsieh Ling-yün* (*Sung-shu*, 67); *Hsieh Hun, Hsieh Hui-lien* and *Hsieh Chan*. Cf. *Fan Wên-lan*, pp. 686—688 (Note 28).

[265] *Hsiao Tao-ch'êng* who ruled from 479 to 482 under the name *Kao-ti*, was the founder of the *Ch'i*-dynasty. In the *Ch'i*-house there was no emperor named *Kao-tsu;*

The present Holy Reign *(shêng-li)* has just begun, and we are (already) enveloped by the light of 'literary thought' *(wên-szŭ)*.[266] (The gods) of the seas and mountains have sent their spirits *(shên)*, and the excellence of (our monarch's) talent has burst into rich bloom. He drives his flying dragons on the heavenly highway, and his good steeds draw his carriage along the ten-thousand-mile road. The works treating the classics *(ching-tien)* and the books of ceremonies *(li-chang)* surpass those of the *Chou* epoch, and progress in the track of the *Han* dynasty. It was at the time of *T'ang* and *Yü* that literature was so great and flourishing. This is a mighty 'wind' with marvellous beauty, and my brush is too imperfect to enable me to render account of it. To sing the praise of our age with words on the wings: with (this task), pray, let some other man be entrusted, who is more enlightened and wiser than I.[267]

Composed in a poem:

As a fine reflection of the ten dynasties,

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but since the posthumous title of the second ruler *Wu-ti* (483—493) was *Shih-tsu*, *Liu Hsieh* is supposed to have miswritten one character of the name. — The name *Wên-ti* was only a posthumous title given to the late crown-prince *Wên-hui*, the eldest son of *Wu-ti*, by *Wu-ti*'s successor to the throne *Yü-lin* (in 494). — The divination diagram 離 *Li* (see also our Note 178 to this chapter) is connected by an Appendix of the *I-ching* with the light of the sun and moon, because the written character means 'to separate' too, and the character 明 *ming* ("light"), if its two elements are "separated", gives two characters meaning 'sun' and 'moon', and they are really "separated" for ever. — It is in vain to seek a ruler named *Chung-tsung* among the *Ch'i*-emperors: *Fan Wên-lan*, p. 688 (Note 29), suggests that *Liu Hsieh* is mistaken again, miswriting the name *Kao-tsung*, the posthumous title of *Ming-ti* (494—498). About these supposed mistakes occurring in the part of text so important from the point of view of the date when this work was written, nothing can be said with certainty. Generally the laudation of the *Ch'i*-rulers is considered as an argument in favour of the supposition that the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* was written still in the time of the *Ch'i*-dynasty.

[266] This sentence is presumed to be of decisive importance in respect of the problem of dating *Liu Hsieh*'s work. The allusion is alleged to refer to the rule of the last emperor of the *Ch'i*-house *Tung-hun-hou* (499—501).

[267] We think it necessary to remark that this laud in *Liu Hsieh*'s work about the existing regime, no matter how excessive it seems, is hardly more — under contemporary Chinese conditions — than a phrase of mere politeness. In our opinion, the last sentence, where *Liu Hsieh* virtually refuses to accept praises by contemporary literature, is much more important. We do not believe that in this matter *Liu Hsieh* was only led by practical cautiousness.

Poetic beauty *(tz'ŭ-ts'ai)* 'nine times' changed.[268]
As the axle keeps moving in the middle,
('Changing') turns round idefatigably.
Substance and form *(chih-wên)* follow the change of time,
Honoured or disdained — this depends on the moment.
Long past times, however far away from us
Become in this way just as visible as a human face."[269]

The confrontation of the image drawn by *Liu Hsieh* with the history of Chinese literature does not concern us this time. But anybody well acquainted with the principal works of Chinese poetry and the principal traits of its history can conclude instantly that the outlined image comes very near to that which might be drawn on the basis of our present knowledge. If every now and then the reader has developed suspicion about *Liu Hsieh* occasionally deviating from the living reality of literary history, in consequence of the philosophic character of his method, now we can assure him: *Liu Hsieh* is not only the greatest thinker of literary theory in China but simultaneously — and exactly therefore — the founder of the Chinese literary history writing which he raised to the rank of science. Nor could this happen otherwise, because no scientific literary history at all is possible without well-developed philosophy of art and literature, either in China in the early Middle Ages or in Europe of the 20th century.

The image of literary history outlined in the quoted chapter is: one of the most brilliant unfolding of the principle *t'ung-pien,* which creates a new science. The immediate basis of this process was offered by the ancient Confucian idea of the age-boundedness, social determination of poetry. The fact that this ancient concept has been neglected made *Ts'ao P'i*'s or *Lu Chi's* literary theory very unhistorical, but in the hands of *Liu Hsieh* it was free from all conservative-moralizing features on the one hand, and, on the other, it provides the whole literary theory of the *Wên-hsin tiao-lung* with historical basis. Of the profound historism — following *Ch'ih Yü* — of *Liu Hsieh* one could become convinced by all of his diaquisitions about genre and others, yet the finest fruit of his historism is the recently quoted chapter on the history of literature. The meeting and fusion of the old Confucian

[268] The ten dynasties are: *T"ang, Yü, Hsia, Shang, Chou, Han, Wei, Chin, Sung* and *Ch'i.* "Nine times changed": i.e. "changed many times", of course. — Here the scheme of the process of development (rotation around an axle) is much more primitive than in the concluding verse of the chapter *T"ung-pien.*

[269] Cf. *Fan Wên-lan,* pp. 671—676; *Wang Li-ch'i,* pp. 115—119; Yu-chung Shih, pp. 233—245.

concept of age-boundedness with the principle *t'ung-pien* has a particularly favourable result from literary historical viewpoint: through the crossing, the principle *t'ung-pien* takes a concrete form this time as well, namely in a way that as a matter of fact *t'ung* becomes identical with the concept of social determination, and *pien* with the realization of the concept varying from period to period and poet by poet. If *Liu Hsieh*'s literary historical disquisitions (both in the recent texts and in those earlier) are read attentively, one must become aware that in them the poetry of different epochs are made into unity not by some superhuman and supersocial generality, but just by the "universal" principle, according to which the poet of every epoch speaks of his own epoch both to his contemporaries and to other ages. Thus the central idea of *Liu Hsieh*'s classicism is: with your eyes kept on classic works, try hard to create poetic masterpieces, yet you can only create masterpieces if you shape into poetry — like the great masters of the antiquity — the great social, political, human, emotional etc. problems of your own time. In this final principle become synonymous such concepts as *wên*, that is beauty, poetry and poetic cognition, poetic reflection. And this is why *Liu Hsieh*, who was able to reach conceptually as far as this, has a great deal to say to the literary theory of today, too.

On the sources:

In this study the Chinese historical sources, philosophical and other works are quoted generally only by their title; they are followed by the numbers of chapters and sometimes by the numbers of pages as well. In a few cases, referring to details, the *Shih-chi* and *San-kuo chih* were quoted from the *Po-na* edition, while the other historical works were cited on the basis of their 1892 edition reprinted in Shanghai, 1923.
The poems of the *Shih-ching* were quoted by indicating the number of verse of the *Mao*-version.
When quoting the *Wên-hsüan*, compiled by *Hsiao T'ung*, we indicated the numbers of chapters and within a chapter the serial numbers of the works in question (by Arab numbers, in this order of succession). Where needed, the page numbers of the *Sun p'i Hu k'o Wên-hsüan* of Sung-period (edited in 1809) were given. In other references the bibliographical data were only indicated in the first case.
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