

中奧文化協會

南 京

南京在中國文學史上的地位

胡小石教授

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於中奧文化協會發表之演詞

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胡小石

一

中國古都除北方之長安與洛陽外，在長江以南、當首推南京。南京自三國時代，吳孫權於紀元二二九年定都建業以後，有東晉（三二七—），劉宋（四二〇—），南齊（四七九—），梁（五〇二—），陳（五五七—五八九），皆都於此。合之孫吳，即所謂六朝是也。再後又有南唐（九三七—九七五），明（一三六八—一四二〇），太平天國（一八五三—一八六四），及最近顛覆之國民黨政府（一九二七—一九四九）。此地之有南京稱號，則自明永樂十八年（一四二〇）北遷以後始。

南京在先秦時之文學爲狀如何，因缺乏紀錄，不可得知。惟戰國末期，地屬東楚，意爲楚文學（楚辭）所籠罩。因在西漢初年，其北有枚乘父子，其東有嚴忌父子及朱買臣等，皆顯然受楚辭影響者。

南京文學之顯著於世，當自孫吳以後。三國時代，文人多集中北方（曹魏）。孫氏王朝之末期，陸機陸雲兄弟起於吳中。陸機爲當時最大詩人之一，其上輩爲吳大將，自不能與其首都脫離關係。前代方志，多載二陸有宅，在秦淮之側。陸機年二十而作文賦（杜甫詩所說）。爲中國最重要之文學理論。此時孫吳尚未亡國，或即作於首都耶，未敢定也。

嚴格言之。南京文學之最高發展，實爲東晉以下南朝時期之諸代。而以後來之南唐爲其尾聲。蓋以有創造性之事實言之。當如此也。愚意中國文學，及其有關諸方面，真正在南京本地創成者，以次數之，可有下列諸事。

（一）山水文學。

（二）文學教育，即文學之得列入大學分科。

(三) 聲律及宮體文學。
(四) 文學批評之獨立。

至若明清兩代之八股文，亦起於此地，雖其前身係來自金元人之雜劇，然在此不擬論之。今日所述，僅自上自東晉下至南唐，攷其特色而已。

二

今先言山水文學。

文學以山水作題材者，與圖畫中寫山水，同爲後起之事。詩三百篇言山水者，但有單句如泰山巖巖，河水洋洋之類，其描寫技術亦頗簡樸。至楚辭乃常有好句，亦非專篇。漢代詩賦多以人事爲主，與傳記之漢代石畫，大致相同。大約西漢自武帝尊崇儒術，以利用厚生等問題爲要務。故漢人思想，大體偏於入世間的。東漢中葉以降，海內有長時間之變亂，舊信條不復能控制現實。故士大夫思想，乃由儒術解放而出。至魏晉而改向道家，形成所謂玄學。輕人事而尚自然。晉室南渡，北來的玄學，與原先輸入或繼續輸入之佛教相合，支配一般知識階級之思想。此時一般士大夫之生活，動作與言論，吾人可於劉義慶所著之世說新語中見之。於是在人事以外，發見大自然之美，認爲宇宙間最理想的完美之物，係以山水爲其具體的表現。從此登臨遊覽成爲詩人生活之一部。謝安泛海，王羲之集蘭亭，皆爲佳話。外至大家閔秀（謝道韞），佛敦高僧（廬山諸道人）等，皆有山水名篇。王謝等貴族從北來南，一方住於浙江東部山陰上虞等地。一面在首都又各有其田舍，長于青溪間第宅相望，故當時山水詩人實以南京爲大本營。此派文學，全謝靈運謝朓等而極。彼等讚美自然，多用詩賦油語。具在河洛對立之北朝文人，則用散文紀述（如水經注）。此南北之不同也。文學對象，由人事轉向山水，爲中國文學史上開一新境。而大江之浩蕩，鍾山之嵯峨，後湖之明秀，秦淮青溪之曲折，方山之開朗，棲霞之幽靜，又俱足以啓發靈感。故以上諸名勝，在當時皆常常見諸吟咏，而晉末宗炳，顧愷之等，又爲山水畫開宗，與文學配合並進。皆南京藝術上掌故。

於此又有一人，當特別記之，卽曾爲秣陵令之鮑照是也。鮑照乃一寒族，不能與王謝等名門抗衡。而

詩特清麗，其寫山水，別有風格。尤以工爲長句，如行路難之類，翻騰壯闊，爲唐人七言歌行作先驅，可謂此時之異軍特起也。

三

次論文學教育。

文學在漢代主要者爲賦。武帝好賦，一般供奉文人，等於俳優，故世人不甚重之，揚雄且以作賦爲悔。建安中（一九六——二二〇）思想解放，魏文帝（曹丕）作典論論文，首先確認文學之獨立的地位。但其弟曹植亦一大詩人，而意見相反。後來曹先接受而發揚典論論文之意見者，爲晉代人葛洪，其文學理論，可於抱朴子外篇中見之。葛洪是句容人，上南京最近。於此有一大事足令人注目者，即宋書雷次宗傳中，記宋文帝元嘉十五年（四三八）在北郊鷓鴣山（今之北極閣）開四館教學，以雷次宗主儒學，何尚之主玄學，何承天主史學，謝朓（謝靈運從祖弟）主文學，此爲宋之國學。自漢武帝在太學中立博士授經以來，由漢至魏所爭者，爲今文與古文，由魏至晉，所爭者爲鄭（玄）學與王（肅）學。皆派別問題，不出經學範圍。文學在國家大學中無地位。此次開四館，可爲世界分科大學之最早者。而以文學（詩賦）與儒學（經學）并列，又爲文學地位增高之新紀錄。此與唐代自開九起以詩取進士，有同等重要。吾人於此不得不言對於文學脫盡西漢以來之傳統觀點，真能明瞭其價值者，實從南京起也。

前言南京在戰國末年，爲楚國一部，且文學可揣測其受楚辭之影響。自西漢崇儒尊經，統一思想，文學（賦頌）皆爲傳統頭腦所輕蔑，幾經爭論，至元嘉開館，乃能與聖典式之羣經，分庭抗禮。此亦東方之文藝復興矣。

四

批評獨立。

中國批評，首見於論語中所記，孔子之論詩，然皆單詞片語，且偏於借詩以說教者。其有專篇論文，當始於曹丕之典論。陸機文賦，葛洪外篇，亦爲專篇，且與南京有關。至若累卷鉅著。則推南齊末年，

劉勰之文心雕龍。其凡書五十篇，前半具體的論文體，後半抽象的論文章得失，實爲過去最大論文之專著。其主「爲情造文」不主「爲文造情」，尤稱卓識。至梁則有鍾嶸之詩品，專論由漢至梁之各詩人，以上中下三品，定其價格。其論詩主「直尋」而冀視粉飾雕繪，對於同時之修辭家，痛下鍼砭。爲後來南宋嚴羽所作滄浪詩話「妙悟說」之所本。亦爲名論。此時由齊入梁，爲南朝文化最高之階段。各種宗教，各種思想，各種藝術及科學，皆自由發展、各種批評。亦皆雲蒸霞蔚而出，同時謝赫論畫，首標六法。後世畫家技術之原則，即本於此。庾肩吾復有書品，亦分上中下三格。評隲書家，爲書道史不可少之資料。然諸書可能皆成於鍾山淮水間。

五

聲律與宮體。

文章之有聲律，陸機文賦已首先注意及之。中間經過范曄，謝朓，以至齊梁間沈約，王融，謝朓，此一運動，乃告厥成功。由范、謝，並官京朝，故此一運動，無疑的亦以南京爲中心。

聲律之啓發，當由佛教僧侶梵唄之美，在昔曹植游魚山，已爲之聞聲流運。則其遠源，實來自印度。而南京在南朝又爲佛教盛行之地，當時文士幾無不通釋典者。惟此問題原委，若詳細言之，恐非一時所能罄。茲但擄要一談，即此一運動成於南齊武帝永明之世（四八三—四九三），最後觀其成者，爲沈約耳。所謂聲律云云者，其要件之一，爲以四聲（平上去入）入文，約言之，則文中分平仄而已。中國單韻之字，兩兩相比時，前後上下，各以平仄聲之字，互相配合，謂之前「浮」後「切」，易言之，即前「切」後「浮」亦可，（浮切即平仄）。如四字爲句之文，其分配之式，爲

平平仄仄——南都石黛
仄仄平平——北地燕支
仄仄平平——最發雙蛾
平平仄仄——偏隔兩靨

以二音爲一節，四句爲一週期。由此演述，中國古詩，遂變爲律詩。律詩必平仄調協，且其一篇之結構，皆四句（一週期）之倍數也。賦及散文亦同時用此原則。此爲中國文體上一極大變化之關鍵所在。古

賦成爲律賦，駢文成爲四六，乃至後來詞曲之失律不失律，無不依此爲準。試一讀今日人家所懸掛之聯語，上下文之平仄，亦甚諧和入耳也。此乃修辭發展之極致，崇尚自然者固時時苦其束縛，如鍾嶸之詩品，卽力反其說。然事實上其影響中國文學，至千年以上。

言聲律不禁令人聯想及於當時之所謂宮體文學。宮體之名，雖至梁簡文帝時始著，然事實上早已已有之，謝朓沈約並爲此體之先進作家。所謂宮體者，以正陳宮闈，詞旨艷麗，爲純粹抒情詩之一。此類專言人世男女怨怨之作，實起自民間多數無人之歌詠。當東晉士大夫階級創爲山水文學，同時江南小兒女咏歎抒情之風，已非常流行。自晉至宋齊，不斷有纏綿生動之短篇歌詠。後來郭茂倩樂府詩集所收，至其豐富。如子夜歌十二首，子夜四時歌七十二首，上聲歌八首，歡聞歌一首，歡聞短歌六首，前溪歌七首，阿子歌七首，團扇歌六首，七日夜女歌九首，黃鸝曲四首，碧玉歌七首，桃葉歌四首，懊儂歌十四首，華山畿二十五首，讀曲歌八十四首，總計約有三百首以上，皆回腸盪氣，情感真摯。目皆爲吳聲歌。卽詩中言地名，更有揚州唐以前南京白門等語，尤足證明且多用南京閩甚出青年男女之手。山水文學流行後，一般文士，更闢新路，卽以此等民間俗文學爲基礎，而加之藻采，復與聲律之原則結合，以增聲音上之響鏘，純乎惟美主義。其描寫閨闈女性，往往犯色情之誦。然足時常以士大夫能詩者，始莫不好此，此爲南方文學特殊現象之一。陳後主叔寶，卽以好作此等詩，荒淫失政以至亡國。其樂府名篇，如春江花月夜，玉樹後庭花等，亦屬此體。隋人牛勣，固取得征服者地位。然煬帝楊廣，卽爲一出色之宮體詩人，其上陳也，乃并南京之文學而接收之。如春江花月夜一曲，陳代原作已失傳，今世所見者，反以煬帝所作二首爲最早也。

陳氏王朝滅時，南京之城郭宮闈，悉毀爲丘墟，爲中國文化之一大厄運。從此繁華中心，不復在江南，而移至今日江北之揚州。唐代詩人過此者，但有憑弔慨嘆而已。五代（九〇七—九六〇）時，區宇分裂，羣雄割據。南京復建立偏霸之局，卽南唐是也。地小而祚短，然文學却有可稱。

宮體文學入唐至開元前後，受復古影響，頗遭批評家之抨擊。唐詩乃一變頹廢之習。然至晚唐而又漸起。故世稱溫庭筠，李商隱，諸家之艷詩。此時五七言定型小詩，漸伸縮而成長短句，爲詞中小令之起源。五代之際，盛行於長江上下游地，上自蜀（成都）下至江南，作家林立。而以江南稱最。南唐中

主李煜，後主李煜，宰相馮延巳等，君臣上下，並以詞相矜尚。而以後主爲詞中之聖手。影響至北宋，詞家如二晏（晏殊晏幾道）如歐陽修，皆不宗馮詞而偏重南唐之詞。南唐後主李煜，與陳後主叔寶，皆以好文學，不務政事而亡國，身爲俘虜。後世論者，至以爲帝王非詩人所宜作。蓋此二後主，皆同爲歷史上悲劇之主角也。前此梁氏三祖，（武帝蕭衍，簡文帝蕭綱，元帝蕭繹）亦均爲帝王之能文者，而不得其死，後主之詞可分爲二期，前期在國內者，多屬酬宴嬉遊一類，極端頹廢，而描畫技術則極高。被俘入宋之數年，一變而爲悲涼悽咽。有類於庾信留北而作哀江南賦，擬咏懷詩，以身世所遭之慘痛，爲其文學成就之代價。以文學言，又非陳後主所及。今所存詞，不過三十餘首。然其晚年之浪淘沙，虞美人，相見歡諸闕，頓入名理，其境地之悲哀與高邈，古今詞人殆無有出其右者。宮詞文學發展至最後，往往浸入玄想，初唐之張若虛，劉希夷諸家之長歌，堪爲好例。詞則後主如是。近人王君國維論詞，謂其偉大處有基督代人類担負罪惡之意，誠不虛也。

六

今說南京文學，暫止於此。合而觀之則南京在文學歷史可謂，詩國。尤以在六朝建都之數百年中，國勢雖屬偏安，而其人士之文學思想，多傾向自由山方面，能打破傳統之桎梏，而又富於創造能力，足稱黃金時代，其影響後世至巨。

自唐而上，中國文學，以詩爲主體，故述至南唐而止。魏宋以來，平民文學次第高張，戲曲小說起而代詩之地位。在此有足注意者，即明末清初之歷史戲劇桃花扇本事，始全出於此地。清代二大小說，一爲曹雪芹之紅樓夢，一爲吳敬梓之儒林外史。前之作者少年住南京，其書即以金陵爲背景。後者爲南京萬公，其書專以諷刺當時在南京之知識份子之弱點爲主題。以不及詳論，請俟異日。

THE POSITION OF NANKING IN CHINA'S LITERATURE

Translated by Ernst J. Schwarz (施華滋)

I.

Of the ancient capitals of China, Ch'ang An (長安) and Lo Yang (洛陽) were of greatest historical significance in the north, while Nanking held an equally important position in the territories south of the Yang-tze. After Sun Ch'uan (孫權), emperor of Wu (吳) had established his capital in Chien Yeh (建業, the name of Nanking during the period of the Six Dynasties) in the year 229 A. D., the successive dynasties, viz., Eastern Chin (東晉 317-420 A. D.), Sung (宋 420-479 A. D.), Southern Ch'i (南齊 479-520), Liang (梁 520-557 A. D.) and Ch'en (陳 557-589 A. D.), likewise chose this city as their capital. The aforementioned dynasties, with the addition of the Wu dynasty founded by Sun Ch'uan, were subsumed under the term Six Dynasties (六朝) by later historians. Nanking again became dynastic capital during the Southern T'ang period (南唐 937-975), in the early Ming period (明 1368-170) and during the T'ai P'ing revolution (太平天國 1853-1864). Also the recently overthrown Kuo-Min-Tang regime (1927-1949) had established its capital in Nanking. The present name of the city, however, came into use only in the 18th year of the Yung Lo period (永樂, 1420), in

which year emperor Ch'eng (成) transferred the capital to the north.

Lack of materials leaves us without any clues regarding literary activities in the area of Nanking in times prior to the Ch'in (秦) dynasty. Topographically speaking, Nanking was, in the closing period of the Warring States, incorporated in the eastern territories of the state of Ch'u (楚). Hence, we may tentatively conclude that the dominant influence in its literary life at that time was the type of literature associated with the name of this state and superbly expressed in the Elegies of Ch'u (楚辭). Some evidence is furnished in the fact that poets of the early Western Han (西漢) period, who themselves were deeply influenced by Ch'u literature, are known to have resided in the vicinity of the city; Mei Ch'eng (枚乘, father and son) north of Nanking, Yeh Chi (嚴忌, father and son) and Chu Mai Ch'en (朱買臣) east of the city.

Nanking attained to its place of eminence in the literature of China in the closing years of the Wu dynasty (吳) of the house of Sun and the period that followed upon the annihilation of this dynasty. During the Three Kingdoms (三國), the centre of gravity of Chinese literature indubitably was in the north (Wei dynasty 魏 of the house of T'sao 曹). In the closing decades of the Wu dynasty, two great poets, the brothers Lu Chi (陸機) and Lu Yun (陸雲) displayed their literary activities in the decaying empire of Wu. Lu Chi is counted among the

greatest poets of his age. As we know that one of the Lu brothers' ancestors was a high-ranking general of the empire of Wu, we safely may assume that they were involved in the social life of the capital. This assumption appears to be tolerably substantiated on the evidence of frequent references to the mansions of the Lu brothers near the Ch'in Huai Creek (秦淮河) in local gazeteers. Lu Chi is believed to have written his famous "Fu on Literature" (文賦) when he was only twenty years old. A reference thereto occurs in a poem by Tu Fu (杜甫). This "Fu" holds a place of extreme importance in the field of literary theory in China. When Lu Chi composed his "Fu on Literature," the House of Sun still stood its ground. It is, therefore, quite probable that the "Fu on Literature" was written in Nanking.

Strictly speaking, Nanking reached its literary apogee in the period of the Southern dynasties, commencing with the Eastern Chin, while the Southern T'ang period rather marks a state of literary euphoria. The foregoing statement primarily refers to the creative element. In my opinion, a resume of those literary achievements of China that definitely originated in Nanking, should include:

1. Nature (scenic) poetry.
 2. Literary education; incorporation of literature in the departmental Ta Hsueh (大學 university).
 3. Independence of literary criticism.
 4. Tonal composition and sentimental poetry.
- The eight-sections style (八股文) of the Ming (明)

and Ch'ing (清) period, which, as we know, originated in the dramatic works of Chin (金) and Yuan (元) writers, likewise rose to eminence in Nanking. I shall, however, refrain here from any further discussion of this style. The object of my lecture thus will be limited to a description of the characteristic features of Nanking's literary achievements in the period from the Eastern Chin to the Southern T'ang.

II.

Let us first discuss Nature poetry.

The habit of choosing a scene from nature as "sujet" for a literary composition as well as the art of landscape painting date from a comparatively recent age. Passages descriptive of natural scenes occur already in some of the three hundred poems of the Book of Poetry (詩經), but these are mostly single lines as:

"Gigantic is Mount T'ai"

or:

"Vast is the expanse of the river's waters".

Also the technique of description shows utter simplicity. In the Elegies of Ch'u (楚辭), we find a good many beautiful descriptions of nature, but no entire chapter exclusively devoted to this subject. The poems of the Han period, on the other hand, were, much in the manner of the stone reliefs of that age, expressions of the human personality or human affairs. The general trend of thought of the Western Han, after emperor Wu (武帝) had

manifested his reverence for Confucian scholasticism and concentrated his efforts on the betterment of living conditions, was directed towards the affairs of this world. But permanent disorder within the empire in the later half of the Eastern Han (東漢) period, loosened the grip of dogmatism and finally broke its power of control over realities, thereby releasing the literati from their spiritual bondage. In the Wei (魏) and Chin (晉) period, there was a general turn towards Taoism that eventuated in the formation of a new school of thought, the so-called Hsuan Hsueh (玄學 metaphysical School). Appreciation of nature became now the predominant element, while the former preoccupation with human affairs gave way to an attitude of disinterest or almost disgust. When the house of Chin had established themselves south of the Yang-tze, the metaphysical school, that had come from the north, and Buddhism, which, having already found a foothold in China still continued its influx of ideas, amalgamated into a new system of thought that began to exert directive influence on the minds of the cultured classes.

The pattern of life, mannerisms and mode of speech of the literati can still be studied from the Shih Shuo Hsin Yu (世說新語), a book of anecdotes covering the period from the posterior Han to the Eastern Chin. They had discovered nature as a realm of beauty outside the world of human affairs; in their eyes, the perfect ideal found its concrete expression in the natural shape

of hills and rivers. Ascending hills and mountains to "imbibe the natural scenery" spread out below, and excursion into the open country became now an integral part of the poet's life. Hsieh An's "boat ride" and Wang Hsi Chih's gathering at Lan T'ing (cp. the collection of Lan T'ing Poems and Wang Hsi Chih's Preface 蘭亭集序) were then noteworthy events. Also ladies (Hsieh Tao Yun 謝道蘊) and renowned Buddhist monks (the fathers of Lu Shan 廬山諸道人) composed nature poetry of great literary value. Wang Hsi Chih and Hsieh An, as most of the aristocracy of that period, had originally come from the north. When they had settled south of the Yang-tze, they lived in Shan Ying (山陰), Shang Yu (上虞) and other places in eastern Chekiang, but also kept mansions in, or near the capital. Most of these mansions were concentrated in the area between Ch'ang Kan (長干) and the Ch'ing Brook (清溪). Nanking was then the central meeting point of the nature poets. This school of poetry found its highest expression in the works of Hsieh Ling Yun (謝靈運) and Hsieh T'iao (謝朓). Their praise of nature usually was written in rhymed compositions, mostly Shih (poems 詩) or Fu (賦;- there is no English equivalent for this word;- a kind of essay written in a rythmical style), in contradistinction to the writers of the north who mainly wrote prose (as, for instance, the Commentary on the Water Classic 水經注). This marks one of the major differences between the literary schools of the south and

the north. The new tendency to find literary inspiration rather in nature than in man, opened up new vistas in Chinese literature. And there was much in the stately flow of the Yang-tze, the bizzare shape of the Chung Shan (鍾山), the idyllic atmosphere of the Hsuan Wu Lake (玄武湖), the grandeur of the Fang Shan (方山) and the profound tranquillity of Ch'i Hsia Shan (棲霞山), to inspire their poetic souls. The names of the aforementioned scenic spots, therefore, occur with great frequency in their writings. Together with the nature poets, the great painters of the closing Chin period, Tsung Ping (宋炳), Ku K'ai Chih (顧愷之) and others, introduced nature into the realm of painting and thereby laid the foundation for later schools of landscape painting. The interaction and simultaneous progress of nature poetry and landscape painting, mark an important stage in the history of art in Nanking.

We should here mention a particularly noteworthy person, Pao Chao (who was once Prefect of Mo Ling 秣陵). As he was the offspring of a humble family, he could not compete with the scions of illustrious houses like Wang Hsi Chih or Hsieh An. His poetry excels in spiritual power and beauty of style, especially his nature poetry reveals strong individual characteristics. His long-lined poems (more than five syllables) made him the forerunner of the heptasyllabic songs of the T'ang period.

III.

Let us now turn to literary education as the second important achievement in the literary history of Nanking. In the literature of the Han dynasty, the "Fu" held a conspicuous place; particularly emperor Wu took great delight in this form of composition. However, as most of his court poets were but little more than actors, the literati discountenanced the "Fu" type of literature; Yang Hsiung (楊雄) even went as far as regretting that he had ever composed "Fu". In the Chien An period (建安 196-220 A. D.) the rigidity of Confucian scholasticism gave way to a free mode of thought. Emperor Wen (文帝, T'sao P'ei 曹丕) of Wei (魏) wrote then his Tien Lun Lun wen (典論論文) in which, for the first time, the independent position of literature is clearly recognised. But his younger brother T'sao Chin (曹植), also a poet of great talent, held a view purporting to be the exact contrary. The first to accept and enlarge the ideas set forth in the Tien Lun Lun Wen, was Ko Hung, (葛洪) of the Chin dynasty; his literary theories have been preserved in the Wai P'ien of the work Pao Pu Tze (抱朴子, 外篇). Ko Hung was a native of Cha Yung (句容), a district in the vicinity of Nanking.

An event that deserves special attention has been recorded in the biographical sketch of Lei T'ze Tsung (雷次宗) in the History of the Sung Dynasty (宋書), i. e. the establishment of a university divided into four departments on the Chi Lung Shan (鷓籠山), the present Pei

Chi Ko (北極閣), in the 15th year of the Yuan Chia period (元嘉 488 A. D.). Lei T'ze Tsung headed the department of Confucian scholastics (儒學), Ho Shan Chih (何尚之) the department of metaphysical studies (玄學), Ho Ch'eng T'ien (何承天) the department of history (史學), while a cousin of Hsieh Ling Yun, Hsieh Yuan (謝元) headed the department of literature (文學). This was the national institute of learning of the Sung dynasty. Since emperor Wu of the Han dynasty had ordered the Pò Sze (博士 doctores) to teach the Confucian classics at the T'ai Hsueh (太學), differences of exegesis inflamed the school of the "New Text" and the school of the "Ancient Text" to a prolonged and bitter struggle. From the Wei to the Chin dynasty, the objects of scholastic contests were differences of opinion between the protagonists of the school of Cheng Hsuen (鄭玄) and those of the School of Wang Su (王肅). But the problems involved in these contests were merely differences of interpretation of the classic texts. Literature had, as yet, found no place in the institutes of learning of that time. The university at the Chi Lung Shan with its division into four departments, is the oldest university of its type. The official acceptance of literature (poetry and "Fu") on an equal footing with Confucian scholastic (the classical texts) shows the rise of literature in general esteem. This event, therefore, appears to be of equal importance with the institution of examinations in poetry for would-be officials,

in the Kai Yuan period (開元) of the T'ang dynasty. We are thus entitled to claim that the release of literature from the traditional concepts impeding it since the Western Han dynasty as well as the realisation of its intrinsic value, are both historical events that originated in Nanking. We have already mentioned that Nanking was incorporated in the state of Ch'u in the period of the Warring States and that the type of literature that may then have prevailed was, very probably, the style associated with the name of this state. Since the ascendancy of Confucianism and the reverence for its classic texts during the Western Han, literature (Fu and Sung, - 頌 - eulogies) was treated with contempt. In the course of a prolonged contest of ideas, it finally attained to an even rank with the classics when the Sung university was founded. We may, therefore, speak here of a far-eastern renaissance movement.

IV.

The first recorded attempt at literary criticism in China has been preserved in Confucius' "discussion of poetry" in the Annals (論語 Lun Yu). This, however, is not a connected critical examination: it is merely a loose passage, wherein the name of poetry is used to set forth the master's views. The first essay solely devoted to literary criticism was T'sao P'ei's (曹丕) Tien Lun (典論). Subsequently appeared Lu Chi's "Fu on Literature" (文賦) and Ko Hung's (葛洪) elucidation of literary views in the Wai P'ien of the book Pao Pu Tze (抱朴子)

Both works were, as we have seen before, written in, or the vicinity of, Nanking. The first monumental work on literary criticism, however, appeared in the closing years of the Southern Ch'i dynasty, the Wen Hsin Tiao Lung (文心彫龍) by Liu Hsieh (劉勰). This work, totalling fifty chapters, is divided into two parts; the first part is concerned with literary styles, whereas the latter part contains an abstract disquisition on literary values. Liu Hsieh holds that "literary creation should be the outcome of feeling", and vehemently disapproves of „creating feelings for the sake of literature”.

In the Liang dynasty appeared another important work, - Chung Jung's (鍾嶸) Shih p'in (詩品 Evaluation of Poetry). This work treats of the poets from, the Han to the Liang period, grouping them according to the literary value of their writings, in three classes; - Shang (上 superior), Chung (中 average) and Hsia (下 inferior). Chung Jung demands "direct penetration" (直尋 chih hsun) as the essential element in poetic creation and abhors excessive ornamentation of style. His views profoundly influenced the Sung critic Yen Yu (嚴羽) who speaks of „mystic comprehension" (妙悟說 miao wu shuo) in his work T'san Lang Shih Hua (澹浪詩話).

The period from the Ch'i to the Liang dynasty marks the highest stage of cultural development of the Six Dynasties. At this time philosophical speculation, religion, art and science could develop free of all coercive influences. Also

in the province of art criticism, many great works date from this period of liberated thought. Hsieh He (謝赫) discussed the art of painting and spoke, for the first time, of the Six Styles (六法), thereby laying down the principles that were to govern artistic technique for many generations. Yu Chien Wu's (庾肩吾) Shu P'in (書品 Evaluation of Calligraphy), an indispensable work for the student of Chinese calligraphy, grouped calligraphic attainments according to the system used in the Shih P'in. It is very likely that all the works mentioned above were written in the area between the Chung Shan and the Huai river.

V

The tonal element in literary composition had already aroused the attention of Lu Chi. The new literary movement was carried on by Fan Yueh (范曄), Hsieh Chuang (謝莊) and others, until it reached its climax in the Ch'i and Liang period. The names associated with the completion of the movement are Shen Yueh (沈約), Wang Yung (王融) and Hsieh T'iao (謝朓). As all the persons mentioned above held official positions in the capital, there is no reason to doubt that also this movement had its point of gravity in Nanking.

The ideas of tonal composition may have been inspired by the impressive cadence of Buddhist songs (梵唄).

Already T'sao Chih had fallen under the spell of these melodies when he visited the Yu Shan (魚山). There appears to be no doubt that the remote origin of this movement is to be sought in India. Nanking, as we know, was then one of the centres of Buddhism in China. The literati in the capital were all conversant with Buddhist literature.

It would take up too much time to enter here into details. It may suffice to mention that this movement culminated in the Yung Ming period (永明) of the emperor Wu (武帝) of the Southern Ch'i (南齊), and that its final exponent was Shen Yueh (沈約).

What is meant by tonal composition is the functional application of the four tones (even, ascending, descending and entering, 平上去入) in the structure of literary composition; or, to put it briefly, the functional use of even and uneven (平 Ping, 仄 T'ze) tones. When the monosyllabic characters of the Chinese language are joined in pairs, there is a sequence of even and uneven tones that dominates their mutual relation. This is termed "anterior fou (浮 floating), posterior ch'ieh (切 cutting)" or the reverse, "anterior ch'ieh, posterior fou". The terms "fou" and "ch'ieh" are synonyms with the aforementioned terms "even" and "uneven." In four-lined compositions the tonal pattern would be:

Nan Tu Shih Tai (都南石黛)

p'ing p'ing t'se t'se

Tsuei Fa Shuang O (最發雙蛾)

t'se t'se p'ing p'ing

Pei Ti Yen Chih (北地燕支)

t'se t'se p'ing p'ing

P'ien K'ai Lang Yen (偏開兩靨)

p'ing p'ing t'se t'se

Translation:

In the southern cities they use black paint,
That brings out their eyebrows best.
In the north their cheeks are powdered red,
That lets their dimples appear.

The constituent element is here a metre consisting of two monosyllables; the period is completed in four lines. In the course of its development the ancient type of poetry (Ku Shih 古詩) was transformed into the metrical type of poetry styled Lu Shih (律詩). In the Lu Shih, harmony of even and uneven tones is absolutely required. The tonal period, on the other hand, can be extended from four to eight, twelve, sixteen, twenty or even more lines. The same principles also were applied to the "Fu" and to prose. The formation of the tonal type of composition marks a new epoch in the evolution of literary styles in China. The Ancient Fu (賦) had now metamorphosed into the Metrical Fu (律賦); the antithetical

style (駢文) changed into the Four-Six style (四八). Also tonal changes in the T'ze' (詞) and songs (曲) of later periods could not escape the influence of tonal patterns set down by this movement. Even the antithetical scrolls hung up in modern Chinese homes will, on scrutiny, reveal harmonic relation of balanced even and uneven tones. Cultivation of literary style had now reached the extreme point of its evolution. No wonder that worshippers of nature should complain bitterly about the fetters it imposed upon them. Chung Jung (鍾嶸) fulminated against the new style in his Shih Pin (詩品, Evaluations of Poetry). But, by then it was already a firmly rooted habit to write tonal compositions, - and so it has remained for longer than a millenium.

Speaking of tonal composition, we are compelled to think of a style known as Kung T'i (宮體 court style). The name Kung T'i appears first in the era of emperor Chien Wen (簡文帝) of Liang (梁); but, its actual use preceded the appearance of its name. Both Hsieh T'iao (謝朓) and Shen Yueh (沈約) were among the precursors of the Kung T'i poets. The name purports (imaginative) songs of the inner court (Kung Kuei 宮閨); its diction is permeated by a frivolous beauty; the feelings it conveys mark it as pure lyric, descriptive of the favours or grievances of lovers. The style originated in anonymous folksongs. When the nature poets among the literati of the Eastern Chin wrote their first great poems, love songs

were rampant in the territory south of the Yang Tze. From the Chin to the Ch'i period, a great many lively songs circulated among the population. Many of these songs were later collected by Kuo Mao Ch'ien (郭茂倩) in his Anthology (樂府詩集, Yueh Fu Shih Chi); -viz., Tze Yeh Ko (子夜歌, 12 songs), Tze Yeh Sze Shih Ko (子夜四時歌, 72 songs), Chang Sheng Ko (上聲歌, 8 songs), Huang Wen Ko (歡聞歌, 1 song), Huang Wen Pien Ko (歡聞變歌, 6 songs), Ch'ien Hsi Ko (前溪歌, 7 songs), A Tze Ko (阿子歌, 7 songs), T'uan Shan Lang (團扇郎, 6 songs), Ch'i Jeh Yeh Nu Ko (七月夜女歌, 9 songs), Huang Ch'iao Ch'u (黃鶯曲, 4 songs), Pi Yu Ko (碧玉歌, 5 songs), T'ao Yeh Ko (桃葉歌, 4 songs), Ao Lung Ko (懊惱歌, 14 songs), Hwa Shan Chi (華山讖, 25 songs), Tu Ch'u Ko (讀曲歌, 84 songs); the total collection contains more than three hundred of these songs. The sentiments expressed therein are intense and sincere. Philologically speaking, they originated in the area of the Wu (吳) dialects. In the text, geographical names as Yang Chou, (揚州) Pai Men (白門) etc., occur with great frequency. On this and other evidence we may conclude that these songs were poetic creations of girls and boys of the villages around Nanking. When nature poetry began to be the style, the poets found here a new vent for their feelings. They made good use of the songs circulating among the people and, by literary ornamentation and application of tonal principles, remade them into polished

poetry of high esthetic value. Their descriptions of harem ladies frequently took on an erotic tone. This, however, was then the common delight of the emperors as well as the literati. The frivolity of style we just mentioned, reveals an important characteristic of southern literature.

The last emperor of the Ch'en dynasty (Ch'en Hou Chu, Shu Pao 陳後主叔寶) was so infatuated by this style that he neglected his imperial duties for the sake of poetic pleasures; his abandon to literature is believed to have caused his utter destruction. His famous Ch'un Chiang Hwa Yueh Yeh (春江花月夜 Flowery Moon-light Night on the Vernal River) and Yu Shu Hou T'ing Hwa (玉樹後庭花 Jade Trees among the Back Court Flowers) and others Poems* belong to this style. When the Sui annihilated the Ch'en empire, they held the position of conquerors, which, however, did not prevent them from taking great delight in Kung T'i poetry. Emperor Yang (場帝, 揚廣 Yang Ti, Yang Kuang) for one, was a most talented Kung T'i poet. The incorporation of the Ch'en empire eventuated in an amalgamation of northern and southern literary traits. The oldest poems known under the title "Flowery moonlight night over the vernal river", characteristically, are not poems from the pen of the last Ch'en emperor, - which have been lost, - but two poems written by emperor Yang.

When the Sui annihilated the empire of Ch'en, the

* actually tune patterns (調)

city walls of Nanking and the imperial palace were razed to the ground. This was a very unfortunate event in the history of Chinese culture. From then on the centre of prosperity was shifted to Yang Chow (揚州) in the northern part of the present Kiangsu province. The T'ang poets who visited Chin Ling (金陵, as Nanking was then called) could not help lamenting over the evil fate that had befallen the city.

During the period of the Five Dynasties (五代 907-960 A. D.) China was torn asunder by internecine warfare. Among the warlords who founded empires, there was one who established his capital in Nanking. This was the so-called Southern T'ang dynasty (南唐). Although the size of territory under the control of this dynasty was rather insignificant, theirs was a period of considerable importance in China's literature.

In the T'ang dynasty, use of the Kung 'I style was disparaged by the Antique School. T'ang poetry completely discarded the decadent style that preceded it. But in the final period of the T'ang dynasty, this style underwent a revival. The "lascivious poems" (豔詩 Yen Shih) of the great poets of this time Wen Ting Yun (溫庭筠), Li Shang Yin (李商隱) and others, attained to great fame. The pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines had now undergone another transformation and were changed to lines of irregular lengths. This new style, the prototype of the Hsiao Ling (小令) pattern of T'ze poetry,

flourished along the Yang Tze throughout the Five Dynasties. From Szechuan (Ch'eng Tu) to the area of Nanking a great many songs of this type were composed. But the centre of the new poetic style definitely was in Nanking. Emperor Li Ching (李璟) and the last emperor of the Southern T'ang, Li Yu (李煜), prime-minister Feng Yen Chi (馮延巳) and most of the court officials were in the habit of manifesting their feelings of respect and appreciation through the medium of T'ze poetry. The greatest among the many poets, however, was emperor Li Yu. The T'ze poets of the Northern Sung, Yen Shu (晏殊), Yen Chi Tao (晏幾道) and Ou Yang Hsiu (歐陽修), were chiefly under the influence of the Southern T'ang type of T'ze poetry, while the influence of the Szechuan type was hardly felt. The last emperor of the Southern T'ang, Li Yu, and the last emperor of the Ch'en dynasty, Pao Shu, are believed to have brought about the utter ruin of their empires by their great devotion for poetry. This has induced the Chinese historians of later generations to emphasise the point that poets are not fitted to be emperors. The baleful influence of literary accomplishments on the imperial fate previously had affected three of the Liang emperors, viz., Wu Ti (武帝, Hsiao Yen 蕭衍), Chien Wen Ti (簡文帝, Hsiao Kang 蕭綱) and Yuan Ti (元帝, Hsiao I 蕭繹). All three of these poets in imperial robes died an unnatural death.

The T'ze of the last emperor of the Southern T'ang

illustrate two periods in the life of the emperor-poet. Those written during his reign are mainly concerned with festive amusements and pleasure trips; the sentiments expressed mark them as decadent but the technique of presentation shows superb skill. A few years after his capture by the Sung emperor, the tenor of his poetry suddenly changed to abject distress reminiscent of Yu Hsin's (庾信) *Ai Chiang Nan Fu* (哀江南賦, Lamentation over the Land South of the Yang-Tze) after the latter poet's detention in the north. He paid dearly, indeed, with the loss of his empire and personal humiliations for his attainments in poetry.

From the point of literary values, the Last Ch'en emperor's poetry lags behind the equally ill-fated last emperor of the Southern T'ang. Only thirty odd poems of the Nan T'ang emperor are still extant. Of these the *Lang T'ao Sha* (浪淘沙), *Yu Mei Jen* (虞美人) and *Hsiang Chien Huang* (相見歡) types of his later years have reached the highest state of perfection. The atmosphere of profound grief, and yet, exaltation of spirit, conveyed therein has rarely been surpassed by any of the great T'ze poets.

The highest development of the Kung T'i style invariably resulted in its penetration by metaphysical speculations. The longer songs of *Chang Jo Hsu* (張若虛), *Liu Hsi I* (劉希夷) and other poets of the early T'ang period exemplify this final stage of development. The poems of

the last Southern T'ang emperor signify a similar development in the realm of T'ze poetry. A recent scholar, Wang Kuo Wei (王國維) claimed, on justifiable grounds, that the magnificence of T'ze poetry lies in its qualitative affinity to the spirit of vicarious atonement of the Nazarene.

VI.

Our resume of the literary history of Nanking shall, today, be confined to the points mentioned above. Retrospectively speaking, Nanking's position in literary history entitles it to the name of "city of poets". It was particularly during the three centuries of the Six Dynasties, limited in political power, as it were, but free in thought and unhempered by traditional dogmatism, that, possessed by a strong creative impulse, Nanking passed through its "Aurea prime aetas" of literature. The influence this age exerted on later generations cannot be overestimated.

Up to the T'ang period, poetry constituted the vital element of literature. I have, therefore, concluded today's literary review with the Southern T'ang period. Since the Sung dynasty of the house of Chao (趙), vernacular literature gradually expanded its sphere of influence. Dramatic songs and novels began to supersede traditional poetry. We should mention here that the story underlying the well-known historical drama of the late Ming and early Ch'ing period, the Peach Blossom Fan (桃花扇 T'ao Hwa Shan) very probably originated in Nanking. Also the two

great novels of the Ch'ing dynasty, the Red Chamber Dream (紅樓夢, Hung Lou Meng) and Chronique Scandaleuse of the Literati (儒林外史, Ju Lin Wai Shih) are in fact, though not in name, associated with Nanking. The author of the former, T'sao Hsueh Ch'in (曹雪芹) spent his youth in Nanking and, consequently, painted the persons in his story against the background of the social life of Nanking at that time; the author of the latter, Wu Ching Tze (吳敬梓), who resided in Nanking for some time, chose the weaknesses of the literati of this city for his satire.

Further details we may reserve for another time.