The New Romantics: Romantic Themes in the Poetry of Guo Moruo and Xu Zhimo

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The New Romantics:
Romantic Themes in the Poetry of Guo Moruo
and Xu Zhimo

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelors of Arts in Department of Modern Languages from
The College of William and Mary

by

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Introduction:

Romanticism and the Chinese Perspective

In spite of difference of soil and climate, of language and manners, of laws and customs; in spite of things silently gone out of mind, and things violently destroyed; the Poet binds together by passion and knowledge the vast empire of human society, as it spreads over the whole earth, and over all time.

--William Wordsworth, Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (1802)

When speaking of the Romantic Movement, one generally has in mind a specific place and time—for example, England in the early 19th century. Perhaps the broadest definition one might give would limit the movement to Europe as a whole from the late 18th to early 19th centuries.¹ Very few people would associate the term “Romanticism” with Chinese poets of the 1920s, yet we find Chinese poets and their literary critics staking a claim on that literary genre. What exactly is meant by the term “Romantic” when it is removed by one hundred years and half the globe from its European origins? Can there be a close literary affinity between poets separated by time, place, and especially culture? Wordsworth’s conception of poetry, as quoted above, would certainly argue in the affirmative.

My task then is to analyze Chinese Romanticism by doing case studies of two of the most Romantic Chinese poets—Gu Moruo and Xu Zhimo. The purpose of this thesis is not to prove causality—that is, I am not attempting to definitively prove Guo Moruo had in mind a particular Romantic work when he wrote his own poems. We know that both Guo Moruo and Xu Zhimo read works by Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley and Keats, but its becomes nearly impossible to follow the influence of the Romantics through the myriad cross-currents of poetic styles that impressed Guo and Xu. My goal is to analyze the poetry of Guo and Xu, who are known as two of the most Romantic poets of their generation, looking in their poetry for strains of

Romanticism as embodied by the English Romanticism of the early 19th century. By analyzing
Guo and Xu’s poetry, I seek to discover to what extent they reflect European Romantic
sensibilities and in what ways they adapt Romantic principles to their own unique situation.

**Defining Romanticism**

In order to begin any meaningful analysis, one first needs to define the term “Romanticism.” This task is notoriously difficult, and there are critics who claim that the term has been overused to the point of meaninglessness: “The categories which it has been customary to use in distinguishing and classifying ‘movements’ in literature or philosophy…are far too rough, crude, undiscriminating—and none of them so hopelessly so as the category ‘Romantic.’”\footnote{Lovejoy, 22} However, René Wellek challenges this notion in his work *Concepts of Criticism.* I find Wellek’s analysis particularly applicable to my thesis because he analyzes the various versions of Romanticism that grew up in different European countries for their common threads. Clearly, this sort of international, cross-cultural conception of Romanticism lends itself well to a comparative literature study.

Wellek finds that all of the literature classified as “Romantic” shares similar tendencies—it is “dynamic rather than static, prefers disorder to order, continuity to discreteness, soft focus to sharp focus, has an inner rather than an outer bias, and prefers another world to this world.”\footnote{René Wellek, *Concepts of Criticism*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols, Jr. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963), 205} Besides these general traits, Wellek discovers three major conceptual elements within all Romantic literature: similar conceptions of poetry, the imagination, and nature.\footnote{Wellek 160} These three ideas provide the major themes of Romantic literature, and thus serve as a working definition for
it. If a work is Romantic, it will reflect a certain conception of the nature of poetry, the imagination, and a conception of nature as one animated, organic whole. Each of these criteria bears further investigation.

First, Wellek argues that all Romantics share the same conception of poetry “as knowledge of the deepest reality.”5 The poet sees beyond reality to a higher plane, the realm of immortality and eternal truths. Transcendence means reaching this realm of higher meanings, and poetry serves as both a description of the poet’s own journey to transcendence and a guide for the reader to reach it as well. As such, poetry is a function of “the totality of man’s forces, not reason alone, nor sentiment alone, but rather intuition, ‘intellectual intuition,’ imagination.”6 In this sense, Wellek argues, Romanticism challenges the classicism of the seventeenth century, valuing the former’s “poetry of infinite desire” over the latter’s “poetry of perfection.”7 As Wordsworth so famously wrote in the Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, “all good poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings.” The idea of poetry as intuitive and emotional represents a common thread throughout Romanticism. The Romantics find their “deepest reality” not in science or rational thought, but in an emotional sensitivity which provides the shaping force behind their poetry.

The reason the poet can use his sensibilities to achieve transcendence lies in the Romantic imagination. To Romantics, imagination provides “insight into the nature of reality,” which allows the poet to read nature as a symbol of the deeper forces beyond. In other words, “imagination is thus an organ of knowledge which transforms objects, see through them.”8 If poetry is the expression of transcendental knowledge, then imagination is the key to gaining that

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5 Wellek 161
6 Wellek 165
7 Wellek 160
8 Wellek 179
know ledge. Imagination holds crucial importance to all the Romantics, and colors their conception of the poet as well. The poet, blessed with imagination, gains special insights into a world that few others can see. The need of the poet to spread his unique message becomes the basic justification for Romantic art—the “poet as prophet” conception, where the poet is not merely an artist but a social or cultural redeemer, come to share a unique truth with humanity.9 The imagination, through the poet, is an instrument of cultural transformation. While the conditions of human life impede transcendence, the poetic imagination can lead others towards it.10

Underpinning both the Romantic conception of poetry and that of the imagination is the quintessential Romantic theme—the supremacy of nature. To the Romantic, nature is “an organic whole… nature is animated, alive, filled with God or the Spirit of the World.”11 Nature is the lens through which the poet sees the transcendental force that animates the world. When the poet looks beyond reality to find the eternal, a natural scene serves as his guide. Under this scheme, nature and the mind of the poet have a special symbiosis. Nature provides the poetic mind with glimpses of transcendence and the poet interprets and praises nature. The mind blends with nature in Romantic poetry—the natural scenery shapes and is shaped by the mind, and vice versa.12 As a result of his understanding of nature, the Romantic poet tends to see the world as a symbol. Thus all Romantic poets “are symbolists whose practice must be understood in terms of their attempt to give a total mythic interpretation of the world to which the poet holds the key.”13

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10 Peckham 219
11 Wellek 182-183
12 Wellek 186
13 Wellek 188
The Chinese Perception of Romanticism

A Western definition of Romanticism highlights the three key traits of the function of poetry, the importance of the imagination, and the supremacy of nature. But how did Chinese scholars interpret this foreign literary movement? Mao Dun (1896-1981), a famous author in his own right, was also a literary and cultural critic. One of his books, *Xi Yang Wen Xue Tong Lun* (*A Survey of Western Literature*), published in 1930, describes and characterizes the different phases of Western literature, from the ancient Greeks and Romans through Romanticism and beyond. As a contemporary of Guo Moruo and Xu Zhimo, Mao’s interpretation of Romanticism helps shed light on the Chinese perspective of his generation.

Mao emphasizes the naturalness, the passion, and the heartfelt emotion of Romantic poetry. He sees Romanticism as the literary embodiment of the urge for freedom—Romanticism “breaks open the rules that shackle human freedom.”  

Mao extends his view of Romanticism to general life rather than confining it to literature, so that Romanticism means breaking down any traditions that seek to limit individual creation. Thus Romanticism to Mao has two defining characteristics: “egotistic individual liberation” and “avoiding the common while striving for the splendid.”

“The individual is holy” to the Romantics, and as part of their quest for individual liberation they seek the sublime and the supernatural.

When specifically discussing English Romanticism, Mao praises the “naturalness” of their poetry. He uses the term to mean unaffected and down-to-earth, as opposed to the stylistically rigid poetry of classicism. According to Mao, the greatest period of the English

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14 Mao Dun, *Xi Yang Wen Xue Tong Lun [A Survey of Western Literature]* (Shanghai, China: Fudan University Press, 2004), 77
15 Mao 77
16 Mao 77
17 Mao 78
18 Mao 85
Romantics came during the lives of Byron, Shelley, and Keats. Mao admires these poets for their emotional writing—Byron possesses “unrestrained passion” and writes “blaze-like poetry”; Shelley can “burrow into your heart”; Keats “moves the deepest regions of your heart” with his “touching melodies.”\(^{19}\) The overflow of emotion in poetry and the individual freedom to express oneself resonated with Mao, as they must have with many readers of his generation.

When Mao Dun and his contemporaries came of age, China was undergoing a major cultural renovation known as the May Fourth Movement. This Movement emphasized the need to do away with Confucian traditions, which May Fourth scholars saw as a stifling influence, holding China back from modernization. In place of the old traditions, the May Fourth Movement emphasized rationality, democracy, and individual freedom, with a heavy emphasis on Western and Japanese learning. Small wonder then that Mao identifies with the Romantic literature he describes: “Individual expression is always good, individual liberation is always rational; [if] I want to say this, it’s my personal freedom… personality is holy.”\(^{20}\) Though speaking for the Romantics, Mao’s own sympathies show through in his enthusiastic declaration of the Romantic emphasis on freedom. He is less enthusiastic, however, about the Romantic quest for beauty and the sublime, suggesting that it leads to a fundamental disconnect from reality.\(^{21}\) Therein lies the May Fourth critique of Romanticism—the scientific and rational side of the May Fourth Movement conflicts at times with the boundless emotionality of the Romantics.

**Traditional Chinese Nature Poetry and Romanticism**

Interestingly, Mao says little about the role of nature in Romantic poetry. Perhaps this is because he did not see it as a unique characteristic in itself, as China too has a rich history of

\(^{19}\) Mao 86  
\(^{20}\) Mao 78  
\(^{21}\) Mao 78
nature poetry. What separates the Romantic conception of nature from the traditional Chinese one are the two characteristics Mao has already noted: the intense individualistic nature of Romantic poetry and the use of nature in the quest for transcendence. Traditionally, Chinese poets also viewed nature as the key to the fundamental nature of the universe, but they tend to emphasize the “suppression of selfhood” rather than the “egoism of the experience.”\textsuperscript{22} Taoism especially holds similarities to the Romantic conception of nature, with an emphasis on the oneness of the universe and the possibility for seeing deeper meaning by communing with nature.\textsuperscript{23} Taoism focuses on “communion with Nature and… mysteries of nourishing and prolonging life.”\textsuperscript{24}

Yet only Romanticism makes the claim that the creative power of the poet is the key to this transcendent realm.\textsuperscript{25} For the traditional Chinese poet, transcendence is the realm of the monk. While Chinese nature poetry often focuses on a union between the “celestial and the terrestrial world,” the poet does not serve as a conduit to bring this about, but rather as the recorder of the moment.\textsuperscript{26} In other words, traditional Chinese poetry emphasizes oneness with nature in the sense that the poet is willingly submitting to the natural order.\textsuperscript{27} Conversely, in Romantic nature poetry, the poet’s union with nature represents a dynamic and reciprocal creative relationship.\textsuperscript{28} The Chinese poet’s perceptions are not specifically linked to transcendence but instead a specific emotional experience. The “spots of time” describe deep

\textsuperscript{23} Miller 219-220
\textsuperscript{24} Hans H. Frankel, \textit{The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady: Interpretations of Chinese Poetry} (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 14
\textsuperscript{25} Miller 219
\textsuperscript{26} Frankel 15-16
\textsuperscript{27} Michelle Yeh, \textit{Modern Chinese Poetry: Theory and Practice Since 1917} (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 21
emotions rather than transformative meetings with the pantheistic force, as in Romantic poetry.\textsuperscript{29} The natural scenery acts as a medium for conveying the emotion of the poet—the famous relationship between the Chinese concepts of \textit{qing} (emotion) and \textit{jing} (scenery).\textsuperscript{30}

Despite the thematic differences in the use of nature imagery, the similarities between traditional Chinese poetry and Romantic poetry are large enough that a Chinese poet could easily identify with the poetry of the English Romantics. Added to the traditional background we have the iconoclastic forces of the May Fourth Movement, which also served to attract young Chinese scholars to Romantic ideals. The next section deals with the historical context of the May Fourth Movement, the cultural movement that nurtured both Guo Moruo and Xu Zhimo, and how such a movement could have led young Chinese authors towards Romanticism.

\textsuperscript{29} Miller 231
\textsuperscript{30} Frankel 1
Part I

Romanticism as “The Spirit of the Age”:

Historical Context

Why did the Chinese May Fourth writers identify with the English Romantic poets of the previous century? Why did poets such as Guo Moruo and Xu Zhimo feel drawn to figures like Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, and Keats? I suggest that the key lies in the similar intellectual contexts of late 18th and early 19th century Europe and China during the 1910s and 1920s. Romanticism grew out of larger cultural trends in England and across Europe, including a growing emphasis on liberty and revolution and a new tendency to question the predominant social and cultural norms. These same attitudes emerged in China during the May Fourth Movement (1915-1925), a diverse social and cultural movement that criticized Chinese traditional values and encouraged reliance on Western ideas like science and democracy. Chinese authors who adopted this sort of questioning and rebellious attitude within their own cultural context could easily have seen the Romantic authors as role models.

In the 1790s, the Romantics watched in horror as the French Revolution, which was supposed to represent a triumph of liberty and freedom, degenerated into bloodshed and terror. To many English Romantic poets, the French Terror represented the failure of reason. An attempt at establishing a nation based on the principles of “equality, liberty, and fraternity” within five years turned into despotism and terror. In its wake, European Romantics began to reevaluate their culture and adjust their thinking about political revolution. The Romantics

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31 Peckham 13
33 Peckham 103
34 Peckham 15
faced a crisis of faith just as over a century later many Chinese intellectuals were losing hope in the establishment of a new China.

China by 1915 was at a crossroads. The imperial system that had united the country for thousands of years had fallen, and chaos ruled in its place as warlords divided China and fought for ultimate control. The republican hopes of those who overthrew the Qing dynasty in 1911 had been dashed by the political realities of China when the powerful general Yuan Shikai seized control in 1913. With his death in 1916, the final vestiges of the Chinese Republic disintegrated into decentralized warlord rule. The failure of the revolution came as a drastic ideological shock to the intellectuals who had championed republicanism, leading the Chinese intelligentsia to reexamine their goals.\(^{35}\) China had attempted a democracy and failed, and the overwhelming question was why. Why could China not imitate Western democracies, and thus take its place among the modern nations of the world? In the wake of this disillusionment, many Chinese scholars of that generation felt their faith in emotion and patriotism had been betrayed.\(^{36}\) To intellectuals such as Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi, the answer lay in Chinese culture, which they saw as stifling and out-dated. To ensure the success of further modernizing changes, China would first have to change its culture.\(^{37}\)

Both the Romantics and Chinese intellectuals engaged in a dynamic reevaluation of their own cultures, seeking personal and national redemption.\(^{38}\) In China, this quest took the form of the May Fourth Movement (\emph{wu si yundong} 五四运动) where intellectuals and students, often after studying abroad in Japan or Western countries, promoted the values of science and

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\(^{36}\) Schwarcz, 34


\(^{38}\) Schwarcz 36; Peckham 123
democracy, even demonizing Chinese traditions in their zealous promotion of cultural reform. This movement has been compared to the European Renaissance\textsuperscript{39} and the Enlightenment movement,\textsuperscript{40} but it also has definite ties to Romanticism. In both movements, the aim was to transcend one’s own culture in order to promote the values of personal liberty and social justice.\textsuperscript{41} While both the Romantics and the Chinese May Fourth intellectuals emphasized the importance of personal transformation, for many Chinese intellectuals, this was only a stepping stone for eventual national transformation.\textsuperscript{42} Their main goal was to save China, a goal they thought could only be achieved after the cultural transformation of the nation. The connection between cultural questioning and national salvation represents a crucial difference between them and the Romantics, whose goals were on a more personal, individual level.\textsuperscript{43}

The challenge to save China was taken up by the founders of the May Fourth Movement, people such as Chen Duxiu (陈独秀), founder of the influential and ground-breaking journal *New Youth (Xin Qingnian; 新青年)*; Hu Shi (胡适), the major advocate of the use of vernacular Chinese in literature; and Lu Xun (鲁迅), arguably the most influential May Fourth writer. All of them studied abroad: Chen Duxiu in France, Hu Shi in the United States, and Lu Xun in Japan. All returned from their studies not only with new ideas about science, democracy, and individual freedom, but also with lasting impressions of Western, “modern” perceptions of China and Confucianism as weak and outdated.\textsuperscript{44} These leaders saw themselves as uniquely placed to save China because of their cultural familiarity with their motherland combined with new ideas and

\textsuperscript{40} Schwarcz 32
\textsuperscript{41} Gurney 34
\textsuperscript{42} Xiaoming Chen, *From the May Fourth Movement to Communist Revolution: Guo Moruo and the Chinese Path to Communism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), 10
\textsuperscript{43} Peckham 66-67
perspectives from the West. They adopted Western emphases on personal freedom, political rights, and social change, all concepts that were at the heart of the Romantic movement.\textsuperscript{45} Many of the concepts that were to be a part of the May Fourth Movement were borrowed from Western countries, so it is no surprise Chinese intellectuals turned to the early advocates of revolution, individuality, and social change as their role models. The Chinese May Fourth Movement adopted European Romantic values as part of its rallying cry, so naturally they held the Romantic poets in high regard.

Interestingly, the May Fourth Movement centered much of its efforts on the literary realm. In some ways, May Fourth intellectuals were the modern version of the ancient scholar-officials, empowered by special status to speak for the commoners.\textsuperscript{46} Chinese scholar-officials traditionally functioned as advisors and advocates within the government, and during the early 1900s Chinese intellectuals still felt they had governmental or at least social responsibilities to fulfill.\textsuperscript{47} The traditional way of affecting society was through literature, as shown in the idea of \textit{wen yi zai dao} (文以载道) or “literature carrying the Tao (or the way).” In traditional Chinese thought, truth becomes known through literature, and thus writing is the most powerful tool to use in social reconstruction. It makes sense then that many scholars mark the beginning of the May Fourth Movement with a literary event: Chen Duxiu’s founding of \textit{New Youth}, a periodical devoted to expressing and circulating the new cultural ideas of Chen and his students. He and many of the May Fourth advocates thought that any attempt to reform China would first have to do away with traditional morality and its emphasis on submitting to authority.\textsuperscript{48} Thus any attempt to modernize China technologically or socially would have to begin with efforts to

\textsuperscript{45} Gurney 2; Peckham 66  
\textsuperscript{46} Schwarcz 75  
\textsuperscript{47} Patricia Buckley Ebrey, \textit{The Cambridge Illustrated History of China} (London: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 267  
\textsuperscript{48} Schwarcz 18
modernize its culture. Lu Xun, one of China’s most famous modern writers, reached this same conclusion when he decided to abandon his medical studies in order to pursue a literary career. His decision to *qi yi cong wen* (弃医从文) (give up medicine to follow literature) came when he famously realized that China’s true illnesses were cultural and thus could only be cured culturally—through writing.\(^{49}\)

The idea of massive culture change through a literary campaign does have precedents in Chinese history. Often the scholar-officials were proponents of change, and would express their ideas through literature, usually stylized essays.\(^{50}\) But the high regard for the transformative power of literature is also a central theme of the Romantic movement, where the poet especially had special status as a shaper of society. The “poet as prophet” motif, advocated by Romantics like Wordsworth and Shelley, meant that the responsibility for social change and even revolution lay in the hands of the poets.\(^{51}\) Both Chinese May Fourth and English Romantic poets saw their literary mission in similar terms, and thus many Chinese intellectuals like Guo Moruo came to idolize the Romantic poets who had previously waged a literary campaign for cultural change.\(^{52}\)

Even while both Chinese and Romantics saw themselves as elites guiding and shaping a movement, they also sought to include the common people in their efforts. One of the hallmarks of the May Fourth Movement was its attack on classical Chinese language (*wenyan* 文言), a program spearheaded by Hu Shi. Hu Shi believed the use of the classical language in literature confined and stifled the expression of new ideas, and furthermore prevented the commoners from reading and understanding literature.\(^{53}\) It took years of training to be able to write in the classical language, and a substantial amount of education to be able to read anything written in this highly

\(^{49}\) Schoppa 163  
\(^{50}\) Schwarcz 75  
\(^{51}\) Peckham 66  
\(^{53}\) Schwarcz 84
Hu Shi suggested instead the use of Chinese vernacular, *baihua* (白话) in literature, as the language was already used in business-related and other documents. The vernacular mirrored spoken Chinese, making it far more accessible to both readers and writers.

The change from using classical Chinese to using *baihua* can be compared to the replacement of Latin by local vernaculars such as French, German, and Italian in Renaissance Europe. While this comparison captures the scale and importance of the change, it also has similarities to the revision of poetic diction that occurred in the English Romantic period, where poets attempted to use common language to express their ideas. The literary revolution advocated by Wordsworth and Coleridge did not involve the rejection of one language for another; in this sense, the Chinese movement towards *baihua* is far more significant. However, both changes involved shucking off an increasingly confining and stifling traditional poetic diction and use of a language approximating the spoken word of the common people. Wordsworth especially championed using “the real language of men” in poetry. Wordsworth, like Hu, maintained that the classic forms of poetry (including traditional poetic diction and strict poetic forms) only served to “separate [the poet] from the sympathies of men.” By writing *Lyrical Ballads* entirely in a colloquial style, Wordsworth and Coleridge sparked what Wu calls “a literary revolution.” Poets in China who were trying to incite a similar revolution by switching to the use of *baihua* would naturally view their Romantic counterparts with admiration.

In addition to the use of the vernacular, both the Chinese May Fourth Movement and English Romanticism saw the rise of realistic literature, which Vera Schwarcz describes as “not

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54 Schoppa 167-168
55 Fairbank and Goldman 266
57 Wu 498-499
58 Wu 327
only deal[ing] with topics from ‘real life,’ but also address[ing] itself to the audience’s literacy level and class circumstances.”

Instead of adopting aristocratic families as their main characters, many Chinese authors and poets strove to portray peasants, workers, and students. This trend strongly recalls the efforts of the Romantic poets to portray events and characters easily recognizable to the ordinary man. As Coleridge wrote in *Biographica Literaria*, “the characters and incidents were to be such as will be found in every village and its vicinity.”

The movement towards realism also worked well as a form of social critique, allowing authors to portray the despair and poverty that many commoners faced both in 19th century England and in 20th century China. Once again, by pioneering the use of realistic literature, the Romantics served as a role model for the May Fourth thinkers.

These feelings of respect for and even identification with Romantic poets must have been exacerbated by the overall isolation of the May Fourth writers. Despite its undoubted importance, we must remember that the May Fourth movement was limited in its scope. When thinking about the influential writings in periodicals such as *New Youth*, it is important to bear in mind that readership of all Chinese papers, much less those affiliated with the May Fourth Movement, was at maximum 30 million, which at the time represented less than ten percent of China’s population.

The May Fourth Movement, though it championed democracy and the rights of the “common man” was in reality influential only among the elite—the college students, professors, and educated urbanites. Even then, there were many enemies of the movement, conservatives who attacked the May Fourth advocates as unpatriotic. In a time when May

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59 Schwarcz 84
60 Wu 692
61 Peckham 91; Schwarcz 84
62 Fairbank and Goldman 263
63 Schwarcz 128-131
64 Schoppa 177
Fourth intellectuals were isolated and condemned, perhaps they found comfort in knowing that the Romantics suffered the same fate.\textsuperscript{65} Romanticism also started as a small, elite movement, and Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, and Keats all suffered massive criticisms of their works. Byron and Shelley even went so far as to self-exile themselves, spending much of their brief lives living overseas. These English poets thus are not only potential role models for the Chinese, but a source of moral support, having suffered through harsh critiques and endured.

However, the May Fourth Movement gained a massive boost of popular support from the events on May 4, 1919, the source of the movement’s name. Some historical explanation is necessary to understand the context of the incident. China entered World War I on the side of the Allied powers in 1917, hoping that in return for its aid German territories in China would be returned to Chinese control. Instead, at the Versailles Peace Conference the Allied Powers decided to award control of the Shandong peninsula and other previously German holdings in China to Japan, which had conquered the German-held regions during the war. Thanks to a series of secret agreements, the imperialist powers supported Japan’s claim, as did the warlord government that held Beijing at the time.\textsuperscript{66} The Treaty of Versailles agreed to cede Shandong to Japan. When news of the decision reached the students in Beijing, thousands of them poured onto the streets in protest. When the government cracked down by arresting the student leaders, the students banded together further, organizing protests and strikes across the nation. These protests marked the beginning of the largest nation-wide patriotic movement China had ever seen.\textsuperscript{67}

The May Fourth Movement now began to attract members of society beyond the elite intellectual class, including merchants, laborers, and professionals. In the wake of May 4, 1919,

\textsuperscript{65} Yeh, Modern Chinese Poetry, 30, 34
\textsuperscript{66} Ebrey 271
\textsuperscript{67} Schoppa 171
these diverse groups melded into one united force.\textsuperscript{68} However, in reaching out to the masses, the movement changed from its original goals of science, democracy, and individual rights. These concepts had little meaning to the lower classes of China, who faced more pressing, immediate concerns such as constant mistreatment and poverty. Instead, the May Fourth Movement gained popularity through political events, and thus came to have political concerns as its center, which, being more concrete than the cultural ideals of the intellectuals, were better equipped to garner support.\textsuperscript{69} The original ideas of science, democracy, and individualism became mixed with the rising patriotic sentiments, especially anti-imperialism.\textsuperscript{70} While many of the original May Fourth thinkers fought to keep their literary and cultural transformation on track, the movement was adopted by patriotic and anti-imperialist forces who saw foreigners as the enemy. The movement soon split between those who clung to the original idea of evolution through cultural change and those who championed the more drastic and more popular alternative of revolution through political change.\textsuperscript{71}

This shift obviously has implications for our historical comparison. During the early 1800s English Romantic poets faced a growing tide of patriotism due to the war against France, so that “it became difficult to express anything other than support for the national cause.”\textsuperscript{72} However, unlike their Chinese counterparts, the English poets did not have the added confusion of anti-imperialism to deal with. Many Chinese in the 1900s felt they had been humiliated and abused by the Western powers. To the Chinese, the terms of the Versailles Treaty gave another example of the duplicity and oppressive nature of the Western powers. This sense of national

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{schoppa171} Schoppa 171-173
\bibitem{schwarcz128} Schurcz 128-148
\bibitem{schoppa174} Schoppa 174
\bibitem{wu} Wu xxxii
\end{thebibliography}
victimization by outside forces is absent in Romantic writings. The Romantic poets saw the cultural problems in England as self-inflicted, and they believed cultural and social change was the only solution.\textsuperscript{73} Their campaign to save England differed fundamentally from the Chinese, who had to face the very real danger that their country would disintegrate into small pieces governed by warlords and foreign powers. Instead, when Romantics spoke of saving their nation they generally meant liberating the oppressed individual from the restrictive bonds of his own society, which would benefit society as a whole.\textsuperscript{74} This social and cultural liberation was also initially a main goal for May Fourth thinkers, but for many Chinese this goal mixed with or was even subsumed by the anti-imperialistic fervor of 1919 and afterwards.\textsuperscript{75}

Of course, from the start the May Fourth Movement had included the ideas of nationalism and anti-imperialism. The ultimate goal of the movement was to make China stronger, so that it could be a power in its own right and not merely subservient to Western nations.\textsuperscript{76} However, the intellectual leaders of the May Fourth Movement believed that before this could happen, China needed to undergo some radical cultural changes, especially dismantling the old Confucian traditions. In the wake of a failed attempt at political action (the Revolution of 1911), many Chinese intellectuals decided cultural change had to come first.\textsuperscript{77} Thus while the May Fourth Movement included the values of patriotism and nationalism, it emphasized other ideas, especially science and democracy, believing that without a new culture patriotic and anti-imperialist movements would be futile.\textsuperscript{78}

\textsuperscript{73} Peckham 15
\textsuperscript{72} Wu xxxvi-xxxvii
\textsuperscript{75} Furth 59, 67
\textsuperscript{76} Schwarcz 35-36
\textsuperscript{77} Schoppa 163
\textsuperscript{78} Schwarcz 37
In a famous essay defending his anti-Confucian stance, Chen Duxiu explained his reasons for promoting “Mr. Science” and “Mr. Democracy”: “We now know that these two gentlemen can save China from the darkness of its politics, its morality, its learning.”  

In other words, the Chinese had to adopt two central concepts of Western culture in order to make China stronger. Only once China had strengthened herself could she throw off foreign interference, using the Westerners’ own methods. This plan led to a rather contradictory situation where May Fourth thinkers attempted to save their country by attacking its traditions. Instead of embracing an emotional patriotism, they attempted to scientifically analyze Chinese culture. They sought to reveal all of China’s flaws, which needed to be corrected before the Chinese people could begin to improve their country politically. European Romanticism has much more in common with this form of self-critique and the resulting push for cultural and social change than it does with the anti-imperialist sentiments that grew more and more prominent in China after 1919.

Under the influence of rampant anti-foreign sentiments, it also became more and more difficult to justify a movement that so explicitly borrowed from Western precedents. The May Fourth message of cultural change as a prerequisite for revolution became much less popular amidst the pro-Chinese, anti-Western atmosphere of the early 1920s. Many younger students began advocating revolution without focusing on introspection and cultural change. They focused on China’s humiliation, on the social problems caused by China’s weakness, and especially on the need to liberate China from its own corrupt warlords and the Western powers, both of which preyed upon the average Chinese citizen. Even while rejecting Western nations,

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80 Schwarcz 118
82 Schwarcz 146
however, many thinkers still continued to advocate the use of Western theories to modernize China.\textsuperscript{83} And even in the midst of the most violent attacks on Western nations, Chinese authors, perhaps unconsciously, reflected the Romantic emphases on the importance of liberty for personal fulfillment.\textsuperscript{84}

In the early 1920s, Chinese thinkers began to embrace Communism as a means for achieving ultimate personal freedom as well as national salvation.\textsuperscript{85} The leaders of the May Fourth Movement could not have foreseen that their quest for democracy would end in Communism, yet many of them believed strongly in the new ideal. They saw Communism as the final stage of democracy, combining political freedom with economic freedom.\textsuperscript{86} In fact, Chen Duxiu, the great friend of “Mr. Science” and “Mr. Democracy,” was also one of the founding members of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. The subtle but crucial changes May 4, 1919 brought to the May Fourth ideals served as a bridge between the early May Fourth Movement and the rise of Communism.\textsuperscript{87} After 1919, the May Fourth Movement added a new emphasis on patriotism and anti-imperialism, and an increased wariness of the previously embraced Western credo of liberal democracy. Many May Fourth scholars were disillusioned by the brutal war between the Western nations they had sought to use as models for building a new China. The secret dealings that awarded Chinese territory to Japan also made many Chinese believe Western nations could not live up to their own ideals of democracy and equality.\textsuperscript{88} With their democratic ideals called into serious question, many scholars turned for inspiration to the recently formed

\begin{footnotes}
\item Schwarcz 121
\item Xiaoming Chen 101
\item Schoppa 176
\end{footnotes}
Soviet Union, which had just undergone its own Communist revolution.\textsuperscript{89} Thus the May Fourth Movement opened the door for Communist influence.

The growing influence of Communism in China represents another divergence from the Romantic tradition, but perhaps not as large of one as might initially appear. Karl Marx grew up during the late stages of the Romantic movement, and his early writing reveals its influence.\textsuperscript{90} Marx especially embraced the Romantic ideas of isolation of the artist and the potential of art to create revolution.\textsuperscript{91} Just as within Marx’s work we find strains of Romantic thinking, among the Romantic poets themselves there are tendencies towards Communism. For example, Coleridge endorsed a system he called “pantisocracy,” whereby twelve married couples would live and work together on a commune, with no personal property.\textsuperscript{92} Shelley in his youth also believed in a communal ideal.\textsuperscript{93} And the Romantic utopia was “a promised land in which property was of no consequence.”\textsuperscript{94} Given the emphasis many Romantic poets placed on social justice and revolution, the leap from Romanticism to Communism is not as great as it first appears.

So it is not entirely bewildering that this drive to Communism found its expression in literary techniques borrowed from the Romantic authors. As Communism gained importance to Chinese intellectuals, the idea of class struggle took on more importance.\textsuperscript{95} Thus the literature changed to reflect this, including the social criticism and emotional appeals to the common man that partly characterize English Romanticism. Poets such as Guo Moruo, who admired Byron, Shelley, and Keats and was “an ardent believer in pantheism” like Wordsworth and Coleridge,

\textsuperscript{89} Schoppa 174
\textsuperscript{91} Johnston 265, 267
\textsuperscript{92} Wu 593
\textsuperscript{93} Wu 1044
\textsuperscript{94} Wu xxxvii
came to embrace Marxism.\textsuperscript{96} Far from seeing a contradiction in this, Guo Moruo saw the Romantic poet and the Marxist fighter as extensions of the same ideal.\textsuperscript{97} Guo is an interesting example of how, after the May Fourth Incident, intellectuals began changing their ideas of exactly what their new culture should embrace. However, many of the Western-influenced literary techniques and themes these Chinese intellectuals had adopted remained a part of the literature they produced.\textsuperscript{98} And on the other end of the spectrum there were poets like Xu Zhimo, who rejected the influence of politics and insisted on writing pure (and largely Romantic) poetry.\textsuperscript{99}

With May 4, 1919 and the ensuing protests as a catalyst, intellectuals moved from an emphasis on cultural change to a stress on politics and actions. The theme was no longer “intellectual revolution” as embodied by the pre-May 4 May Fourth Movement but “social reconstruction.”\textsuperscript{100} The active nature of the May Fourth Movement after the summer of 1919, complete with strikes, boycotts, and protests, made it easier for post-May Fourth intellectuals to accept the idea of violent Marxist-style revolution.\textsuperscript{101} The idea of revolution was in many ways anathema to the typical May Fourth intellectual; their revolution was passive, involving minds, not bodies.\textsuperscript{102} However, in the wake of May 4, 1919 many of them came to see the potential of physical action as a means of change. With the brutal crack-downs of the warlord government, peaceful revolution seemed less and less feasible. In this way, the idea of democracy slowly became linked to the Marxist idea of social revolution, where the people obtain freedom by

\textsuperscript{96} Leo Ou-fan Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers} (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 183-184  
\textsuperscript{97} Lee 199  
\textsuperscript{98} Goldman 9-12  
\textsuperscript{99} Lee 169  
\textsuperscript{101} Ip, “The Origins of Chinese Communism” 54  
\textsuperscript{102} Schwarcz 52
violently shaking off the bonds of their oppressors.\textsuperscript{103} After the brutal murder of Chinese protestors by imperial military forces on May 30, 1925, the anti-imperialism, anti-Western drive towards political radicalism only grew stronger. By 1925 the May Fourth Movement had run its course.\textsuperscript{104}

And in all of this, lurking in the background was the Romantic ideal of revolution, the struggle for human rights, and the “idea of a poem that could precipitate revolution.”\textsuperscript{105} A crucial difference between the Romantic advocates of revolution and the Chinese in the 1920s was immediacy. Many Chinese wanted a revolution sooner rather than later, and many May Fourth intellectuals were actively involved in organizing strikes and protests.\textsuperscript{106} The Romantic poets of England had a different view. While they admired the idea of revolution and wrote about it in glowing terms, particularly praising the early French Revolution, there was not a sense that England itself was in dire need of an immediate revolution. Their revolutionary efforts were largely focused outward, at Ireland, Greece, or France.\textsuperscript{107} The political stability of England gave them a sense of security, giving them a firm base from which to launch their critiques of their native society and culture.\textsuperscript{108} This stability was not available to the Chinese thinkers of the May Fourth Movement, who saw their country torn apart by warlords and threatened by predatory foreign nations. For China, revolution was far more than an abstract utopian concept. The need for social change was real and urgent.

This urgent impetus for revolution, caused in a large part by Western imperialism, is a major dividing point between Chinese and English Romanticism. The similarities in the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[103] Gu 611
\item[104] Schwarcz 179-180
\item[105] Wu 328
\item[106] Schwarcz 130-131
\item[107] Wu xxxvi
\item[108] Schwarcz 147
\end{footnotes}
historical backgrounds of China’s May Fourth Movement and England’s Romantic Movement help explain why many Chinese writers were drawn to English Romantic poets. However, Romanticism was by no means a perfect model for the Chinese. The historical problems China faced in the 20th century were far different than those facing England in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Thus turning to Romanticism was only partially helpful to Chinese writers trying to address China’s national questions as well as their own personal insecurities. The writers that can be said to be a part of Chinese Romanticism adapted the movement to fit their own needs and the needs of their country. Their use of nature imagery, their ideas on transcendence, and their views on imagination and the role of the poet diverged from the English Romantic model, evolving into something uniquely suited for early twentieth-century China. The next section will examine how the works of Guo Moruo embraced both Romanticism and Communism.
Part II

Guo Moruo: The Romantic Marxist

Guo Moruo was one of the forerunners of vernacular poetry in China, and also one of the early proponents of “revolutionary literature” on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party. He was also a solid Romantic through much of his life. Guo’s version of Romanticism reflects subtle differences from the English model, including an ambivalent attitude towards the role of the poet and a unique conception of the power of nature. Yet in most of Guo’s poetry, especially his early works, we can easily see why his poetry is usually classified as Romantic.

Guo Moruo’s Life

Guo Moruo was born in 1892 to a fairly prosperous family that could afford to give their son an education. Guo, like many of his contemporaries, was originally given a classical education based on Chinese traditional works and thoughts. However, when the civil service examination (which focused on traditional Chinese learning) was abolished, so were the financial and social incentives for such an education. A traditional education no longer helped in securing a lucrative government job. Guo’s family then enrolled him in more Western-style schools.

Guo was a rebellious child, often getting into trouble with teachers and faculty at his various schools. At the same time, Guo began reading translations of Western writings that appealed to both his rebellious streak and his growing sentimentality. Guo also admired traditional Chinese works that meshed well with his personality, including the Chinese classic Zhuangzi (or Chuang-tzu), a Taoist text with a strong emphasis on nature and the imagination.  

109 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 182
110 David Tod Roy, Kuo Mo-jo: The Early Years (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 32
A fascination with emotionality, imagination, and the force behind nature would lead him “almost inevitably to Western romanticism.”\(^{111}\) Guo was also affected by western concepts of love, romance, and individualism, which led to psychological tensions when Guo’s family pressured him into an arranged marriage in 1912.\(^{112}\)

Like many members of his generation, Guo left China to further his education abroad. Guo arrived in Japan in 1914, and the experience was a formative one. While in Japan Guo studied a variety of works that would have major influences on his later writing—the Chinese Confucian scholar Wang Yangming, who emphasized the value of intuitive knowledge; the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore, whose works attracted Guo to the values of free verse as well as furthering his growing pantheistic views; and Goethe, whose Romantic pantheism left a strong impression on Guo.\(^{113}\) During his time in Japan Guo also encountered the works of Walt Whitman and the English Romantics (especially Byron, Shelley, and Keats). While finding kindred spirits in the intellectual realm, Guo also formed an emotional bond with a Japanese girl named Tomiko, who became his lover and de facto wife (although he never divorced the girl he had originally married in 1912).

Guo was in Japan during the May Fourth Incident of 1919, but he too was caught up in the patriotic fervor that followed. Guo’s work blossomed from 1919-1921, his most productive period.\(^{114}\) He began writing vernacular poetry in 1919 as a way of expressing his boundless emotions, consciously adopting the role of a Romantic poet.\(^{115}\) As a result of his two year creative burst, Guo published his first collection of poetry, *The Goddesses* (*Nü Shen* 女神), in 1921.

\(^{111}\) Roy 70
\(^{112}\) Xiaoming Chen, 14
\(^{113}\) Roy 60-69
\(^{114}\) Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 184
\(^{115}\) Roy 87
However, Guo’s vigorous style soon faded as he faced the hardships of everyday life. From his return to China in 1920 until the mid 1920s, Guo had a difficult time supporting his family. As part of his Romantic ideals, Guo felt it was a betrayal of artistic integrity to sell one’s work for money, yet this was his only means of support. Poverty and practical challenges to his idealism contributed to a growing alienation from his early Romantic enthusiasm. Guo began to give up his pantheism and his Romantic idols in 1923, just around the time he made a major shift towards Communism. Though Guo espoused Communist ideas as early as 1919, he only began to truly study the doctrine in 1923, after a disillusioning encounter with bitter reality.

The violent political situation in China only added to Guo’s conviction that he had to abandon his previous thoughts on literature. After 1925, Guo no longer championed art as a means of free expression; he instead led the trend towards revolutionary literature. Still, his new emphasis on revolutionary literature reflected a strong belief in the prophetic mission of the poet. Guo firmly believed writers could use literature to sway the masses, bringing about the revolution he hoped for. And though Guo gave up his literary individualism in favor of a new nationalistic outlook, he viewed Marxism as a way of gaining ultimate individual emancipation for all. He had little concern for the purely material aspects of Marxist philosophy—what attracted Guo to Marxism was the idea of revolution and emancipation. In other words,

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116 Xiaoming Chen 37
117 Xiaoming Chen 37
118 Xiaoming Chen 49
119 Roy 150
120 Schwarcz 174
121 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 178
122 Schwarcz 174
123 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 196
124 Xiaoming Chen 2
125 Xiaoming Chen 105-106
Marxism became the means for fulfilling the Romantic goals he had adopted during the May Fourth Movement. However, after 1925, nationalism was Guo’s overwhelming concern.\textsuperscript{126}

Guo officially joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1927. During the 1930s, and especially during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) his nationalistic propaganda won him acclaim within the party. He remained a major figure in the CCP, holding various posts until his death in 1978. However, most scholars agree that Guo’s later works, his forays into revolutionary literature, lack the emotional vigor that made his earlier works so appealing. According to Julia C. Lin, most of Guo’s later poems “are barely verse, being prosaic, banal, didactic, and tediously propagandistic in character.”\textsuperscript{127} Guo’s true poetic achievement came in the early 1920s, when he was in the throes of Romanticism. \textit{The Goddesses}, his first and most would say his best collection of poetry, reflects these Romantic themes.

\textbf{Influences on Guo Moruo}

Guo Moruo offers an interesting case study of the role of Romanticism in China. Even in the early 1920s, when he was at his most Romantic, Guo shared sympathies with the Communist movement. In his introductory poem to \textit{The Goddesses}, Guo explicitly calls himself a Communist.\textsuperscript{128} The two movements are undeniably at odds over certain crucial points. Where Romanticism extols the creative power of the individual, Chinese Communism insists the individual should always serve the society.\textsuperscript{129} Where Romanticism praises the value of nature and largely ignores technology, Communist theory applauds the urban working classes.\textsuperscript{130}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{126}{Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 193}
\footnotetext{127}{Julia C. Lin 221}
\footnotetext{128}{Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 195}
\footnotetext{129}{Ip, “Politics and Individuality,” 33-34}
\end{footnotes}
Interestingly, Guo’s Romantic tendencies, even in his most Romantic work, show the imprint of Communist thinking and traditional Chinese collectivism.\(^{131}\)

Of course the historical context of *The Goddesses* cannot be ignored. In the aftermath of the May Fourth Incident in 1919, a wave of patriotic nationalism swept over China and Guo, even though he was studying in Japan at the time, was certainly not immune. His poems reveal his deep concern for his homeland and its future.\(^{132}\) Read in this light, his Romantic concerns are more nationalistic and less focused on the individual than those of the English poets. Figures such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelley all examine the individual’s quest for transcendence. Guo extends the transcendental theme to an entire nation, holding out the possibility of rebirth to all of China.\(^ {133}\)

When discussing Guo’s poetry, even though Romantic strains are quite evident, one must acknowledge other authors and genres that also influenced Guo’s work. Much work has been done exploring Guo’s indebtedness to Walt Whitman, tracing Guo’s pantheism and “dynamism” to his admiration of the American poet.\(^{134}\) Guo himself was a great admirer of Whitman’s famous work *Leaves of Grass*, and he remained an admirer of Whitman throughout his life.\(^{135}\) However, many of the elements of Guo’s poetry that can be traced to Whitman’s influence are also Romantic—pantheism, for example, as well as the desire to return to nature and transcend the physical world.\(^ {136}\) Whether Guo was attracted to such ideas because of Whitman’s work or

\(^{131}\) Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 195

\(^{132}\) Xiaoming Chen 54

\(^{133}\) Xiaoming Chen 52


\(^{135}\) Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 187

because of Shelley or Byron’s poetry has less bearing on this study than the fact that Guo did indeed embrace such quintessentially Romantic principles in his poetry.

The same can be said for the influence of Chinese traditional literature upon Guo’s writing. The argument that traditional Chinese literature predisposed young Chinese authors to embrace certain themes is a convincing one. Xiaoming Chen has done an interesting study on Guo Moruo, tracing his move from Romantic poet to Communist supporter in terms of traditional Chinese values. Chen ably demonstrates Guo’s indebtedness to Chinese traditional literature, arguing that Guo embraced Western Romanticism because he had been so strongly influenced by similar concepts (namely, transcendence, pantheism, and the importance of nature) in Chinese literature.

Yet while traditional Chinese literature may have served to guide Guo’s reading of foreign sources, the influence of Western authors upon Guo is undeniable. When he wrote The Goddesses, Guo was inspired and influenced by numerous writers, including Walt Whitman, the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore, and Russian realists Nikolai Gogol and Leo Tolstoy, as well as by European Romantics Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Lord Byron, and John Keats. Though one can see The Goddesses as Guo’s synthesis of all these influences, the Romantic strain comes through the most clearly in Guo’s pantheism, iconoclasm, and nature worship. The poems he wrote from 1919 to 1921 show this Romantic influence especially strongly.

The Role of Nature in The Goddesses

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137 Goldman 9
138 Xiaoming Chen 42-43
139 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 183
What exactly make Guo’s poetry so strongly reminiscent of European Romanticism? One of the most identifiable characteristics of the Romantic Movement is praise of and appreciation for nature. Nature for the Romantic poet is animated, alive, and an organic whole.\(^{141}\) Beyond this, nature is a conduit to higher knowledge.\(^{142}\) As Wellek says, nature itself is “unreal” because beyond it lurks a higher reality.\(^{143}\) Nature functions both as an object admired for its beauty and also as a symbol that the poet must interpret in order to see the hidden knowledge behind it. Thus a poem that merely extols the beauty of nature is not strictly Romantic; there must be a suggestion of something more; something the poet sees beyond the natural scene.\(^{144}\) In fact, this is one of the key differences between traditional Chinese nature poetry and the Romantic school—the Chinese nature poems do not link perception of nature with transcendence.\(^{145}\)

Guo Moruo’s poems in *The Goddesses* are strongly tied to nature and natural images. In fact, many of the poems’ titles contain nature imagery: “Sunrise,” “Morning Snow,” “New Moon and White Clouds,” “Moonlight after Rain,” “Stirrings of Spring,” and so on.\(^{146}\) The question, then, is whether nature imagery in Guo’s poetry functions in the same way as nature imagery in Romantic poetry. Does the natural imagery connect to the idea of transcendence?

Guo provides a clear answer to this question in his poem “Morning Snow,” significantly subtitled “On reading Carlyle’s ‘The Hero as Poet.’” Guo ties a natural image to an abstract idea, connecting nature with his emotional response to a book. The poem’s first stanza reveals what thoughts Guo had while reading Carlyle’s work:

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\begin{align*}
\text{Waves of snow,} \\
\text{A world all of silver.}
\end{align*}
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\(^{141}\) Wellek 182-183
\(^{142}\) Gurney 13
\(^{143}\) Wellek 184-185
\(^{144}\) Wimsatt 31
\(^{145}\) Miller 225
\(^{146}\) All translations of Guo Moruo’s poems taken from *The Goddesses/Nü Shen*, trans. Jong Lester and A.C. Barnes (Beijing, China: Foreign Languages Press, 2001)
My whole being is ready to resolve into light and flow forth, an open secret.\textsuperscript{147} (1-4)

The first two lines set up the natural scene: an ocean of snow, turning the entire world silver. This natural image leads to an emotional response where the speaker feels his body is about to transform into light. Already in the first stanza, contemplation of a natural scene leads to a desire for transcendence; in this case transcending the limiting factors of the human body in exchange for the freedom to “flow forth.” (l. 3)

The transcendental drive is even clearer when we look at the English words “open secret” (l. 4). A note to the text tells us “open secret” is a quote from Goethe, found in Carlyle’s book. According to Carlyle, the “open secret” is none other than “the sacred mystery of the Universe” (p. 30). There is no mistaking the transcendental function of nature in “Morning Snow.” In just one stanza, Guo moves from appreciation of nature’s beauty to the transcendental reaction it sparks within him.

Many of Guo’s poems follow this same pattern. “Shouting on the Rim of the World” begins with a description of the “sublime arctic landscape” (l. 2) then moves to praise for the transcendental force behind the scene, a power of “unending destruction, unending creation, unending effort” (l. 5). Similarly, in “Drunken Song Under a Flowering Plum Tree,” Guo begins by invoking the plum tree, saying he wishes to sing its praises. However, he shifts quickly from the plum tree itself to the “Quintessence of the universe,/ source of life!” (ll. 7-8). Praising the plum tree leads Guo to recognize his kinship with it, and with all of nature.\textsuperscript{148} Thus when he tells the plum tree “I sing your praises” (l. 13) his praise has a deeper meaning: “I sing the praises of myself,/ I sing the praises of the self-expressive universe” (ll. 14-15). Because all things are one, Guo realizes that praising the plum tree is tantamount to praising himself, because both are part

\textsuperscript{147} The italicized words are in English in the original text.
\textsuperscript{148} Julia C. Lin 207
of one greater whole. While the idea of the unity of all things also finds expression in traditional Chinese literature, what sets Guo’s poetry apart is the egoism of the experience.¹⁴⁹ Traditional Chinese poetry involves the “suppression of all self-hood”¹⁵⁰ whereas Guo claims oneness with nature in order to connect himself to the eternal force of the “self-expressive universe” (l. 15).

We find the same sort of transition in Guo’s poem “Pacing Through Jurimatsubara at Night,” but here Guo more lovingly spells out the nature imagery. Guo’s poems are mostly shorter works, and he has a tendency to establish the natural scene in a few lines before moving on to his main theme, man’s interaction with nature and the transcendental urge.¹⁵¹ “Pacing Through Jurimatsubara at Night” is an exception to this pattern. Of the poem’s ten lines, nine are devoted to describing the scenery. The language Guo uses grows more and more symbolic, revealing the unity of nature and providing a glimpse of the force beyond it. For example, the heavens become a symbol for the transcendental force behind nature as Guo addresses the sky: “how lofty you are, how free, how mighty, how vast and serene!” (l. 4)

Yet the pantheistic force behind the scene is surprisingly quiescent—“The ocean sleeps in peace” (l. 1) while the “spacious heavens” are “serene” even while being “mighty” (l. 4). The only movement in the poem comes from the pine trees, which Guo envisions as raising “high their hands in silent adoration of the heavens” (l. 8). Guo himself is in a state akin to sensory deprivation as “only a misty glow can be seen,/ not the faintest murmur of waves can be heard” (ll. 2-3). Yet apparently this silent and darkened scene still provides a transcendental appreciation of nature and the force behind it. Just as the pine trees’ hands “tremble in awe against the sky” (l. 9), so Guo says “every fibre of my nerves trembles in awe within me!” (l. 10)

¹⁴⁹ Miller 217
¹⁵¹ Julia C. Lin 210
Guo sees nature as a window through which the poet can glimpse the transcendental power of the universe. In this regard, he is in agreement with the Romantics.152 Examples of the pantheistic force experienced through nature abound, two of the more famous examples being Wordsworth’s “Tintern Abbey” and Shelley’s “Mount Blanc.” Coleridge’s “Frost at Midnight” expresses a similar theme. An encounter with a natural scene leads the poet to an encounter with a higher power. Coleridge’s observation of frost, owlets, and a still night lead him to extol the idea of natural scenery as

\begin{quote}
The lovely shapes and sounds intelligible
Of that eternal language which thy God
Utters, who from eternity doth teach
Himself in all, and all things in himself. (59-62)
\end{quote}

Nature thus takes the role of “Great universal teacher” (l. 63), which Coleridge hopes his young son will be able to learn from. Interestingly, this famous poem also contains imagery of silence and darkness, just as Guo’s poem “Pacing Through Jurimatsubara at Night.” In both, the poet feels the power of nature despite the lack of stimulating sensory input.

Guo’s seemingly boundless faith in the powerful connection between poet and nature does flag at times. In poems like “Spring Sadness,” he explores the limitations of man to penetrate the mysteries of nature. The poem is a series of questions, none of which are answered. Thus the poem ends with the speaker’s dejected admission: “But I can make nothing of the words of the sea,/ for me the flight of the white clouds has no meaning” (ll. 9-10). However, even in this poem where the speaker believes himself incapable of understanding nature, he views the natural world in anthropomorphic terms that mirror his depression. The sky is “desolate bleakness” (l. 2), and the “spring sunlight/ is so drear and bereft of brilliance” (ll.3-4). Even the hills seem to “bow their heads in frowning dejection” (l. 6). Thus even while the poem

expresses man’s frustrated attempts to connect with nature, it upholds an individual’s subjective, imaginative vision of the natural world.

These poems, where Guo’s ego is relatively subdued, are closer to traditional Chinese nature poems than his more blatantly Romantic ones. Even the form of the poem, with its regular four character lines, resembles the structure of traditional poetry more than Guo’s usual experimental verse forms. Traditional Chinese nature poetry tends to leave the meaning unspoken or even unclear. Likewise, “Spring Sadness” is full of questions, none of which can be answered. Many Chinese traditional poems use natural scenery to reflect the poet’s emotions, so that the scenery either sympathizes with or contradicts the poet’s feelings. Guo’s poem takes this bond between nature and man one step further. The speaker cannot tell whether nature seems “drear” (l. 4) because he is sad or whether he is unhappy because nature is lacking its usual brilliance. “Is it that melancholy is clouding my mind?/ Or is it the desolate bleakness of the sky?” (ll. 1-2) he wonders. Guo’s conflation of his own emotions with the external world serves not only to enhance the mood of the poem but also as a commentary on the poet’s deep relationship with nature. This makes his inability to find meaning in the natural world all the more striking.

Guo Moruo and the Common Man

Subdued, more traditional nature poems like “Spring Sadness” are the exception within Guo’s poetry. Normally, Guo’s attitude towards nature and transcendence resonates with the classic Romantic paradigm, with several key differences. First, Guo extends this praise of nature

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153 Miller 222
154 Frankel 11
to a praise of the simple life and manual labor.\textsuperscript{155} Although the English Romantics also praise the common man, they hold tight to the sense that the poet, as the “favorite of nature” holds a superior position.\textsuperscript{156} When Guo praises the peasantry, he places them above even the poet. One interesting example of this is Guo’s poem entitled “Three Pantheists,” which I include in its entirety:

I love our old Chuang-tzu  
because I love his pantheism,  
because he got a living by making straw shoes.  

I love the Dutchman Spinoza  
because I love his pantheism,  
because he got a living by grinding lenses.  

I love the Indian Kabir  
because I love his pantheism,  
because he got a living by knotting fishing-nets.

Guo “loves” these three figures for their pantheism; that is, for their recognition of the universal spirit that animates all things. However, this is only part of the reason. He also extols all three figures because they “got a living” by doing menial work. Chuang-tzu, a famous Chinese Taoist philosopher of the fourth century BCE, earns respect because he made straw shoes. Likewise, Guo admires the Dutch philosopher Spinoza and the Indian poet Kabir because of their mundane, humble occupations. In light of the powerful third line of each stanza, the second line seems rather banal. Merely saying he loves these figures’ pantheism does not do enough to explain why Guo is drawn to it. However, by expanding upon their occupation in the third line of each stanza, Guo makes it seem that this is the most important reason to love each man. Their humble occupations, which would put them among lower-class workers, cause Guo to love them.\textsuperscript{157}

\textsuperscript{155} Roy 141  
\textsuperscript{156} Peckham 225  
\textsuperscript{157} Xiaoming Chen 76
This is just one example of Guo’s love for the common man adding to or supplanting his pantheism. In another poem, “O Earth, My Mother,” Guo takes time out from a panegyric to the earth to praise the humbler workers. Here, Guo envies “the peasants in the fields” (l. 18), calling them “the nurse of mankind” (l. 19). He also admires miners, “the workers in coal-pits” (l. 22), who are significantly called “the Prometheus of mankind” (l. 23). Guo perhaps means this in a literal sense—by mining coal, the workers bring up fuel for fire on earth, playing the role of Prometheus. However, Prometheus was an important symbolic figure for the May Fourth writers, including Guo.\textsuperscript{158} Writers of Guo’s generation saw Prometheus as a figure of endurance, self-sacrifice, and the defiance of tyranny.\textsuperscript{159} Usually, the poet identifies himself with Prometheus, bringing enlightenment to the population. However, in “O Earth, My Mother,” Guo gives this heroic role to the lowly miners. Their connection with nature and their humble occupation exalt them over the poet, who can merely envy them and their situation. Perhaps Guo is thinking of the peasants and the coal miners when he ends his poem by saying: “I know that you [the Earth] love me and wish to encourage me to work,/ I shall learn from you to work, never to stop” (ll. 83-84).

Romantic poets also tend to extol the simple peasant above the jaded city-dweller, but almost never raise such a figure above the role of the poet. Wordsworth’s poems in \textit{Lyrical Ballads} mostly center on country people with simple lives, and for the most part these people are praised for their connection with nature and simple lives. However, these poems also seek to call attention to the impoverished lives of the country folk.\textsuperscript{160} Wordsworth blends social critique and nature worship, making his portrayal of peasants far more complex than Guo’s. In poems such as “Goody Blake and Harry Gill” and “Simon Lee,” Wordsworth dwells more on the wretched poverty these characters suffer than their blessed connection to nature. “Goody Blake was old

\begin{footnotesize}
158 Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 195
159 Ip, “Politics and Individuality,” 43
160 Gurney 50
\end{footnotesize}
and poor,/ Ill fed she was, and thinly clad” (l. 21-22) while Simon Lee is “lean and he is sick” (l. 33). While Wordsworth extols the simple country life over the “din/ Of towns and cities” (“Tintern Abbey,” l. 26-27), he doesn’t extend this to a love of the harsh life of the peasantry.\textsuperscript{161} Compared with Guo’s rosy conflation of union with the pantheistic force and manual labor in mines and fields, Wordsworth’s portrayal is far more subtle, with underlying themes of social commentary.

We see another view of the common folk in Byron’s treatment of the peasantry in \textit{Manfred}. In Act II, Scene I, Manfred speaks with a chamois hunter, who has just saved Manfred from suicide. The hunter is a commoner—he has heard of castles but confesses “I only know their portals” (l. 10). His attitude throughout the poem bears out his social class. While Manfred speaks in high Romantic vein about the merging of nature and self, the peasant sees only the immediate physicality of the situation. While the hunter comments “The mists begin to rise up from the valley” (l. 82), Manfred takes the mist as a sign of supernatural forces: “The mists boil up around the glaciers; clouds/ rise curling fast beneath me, white and sulphury/ Like form from the roused ocean of deep hell” (ll. 85-87). Though the hunter spends his entire life in communion with nature, he seems to lack the ability to see beyond its literal form.

Throughout the conversation between Manfred and the hunter, Manfred constantly takes the superior position. The hunter, at a loss to understand Manfred’s deep sorrow, can only offer platitudes: “whate’er/ Thy dread and sufferance be, there’s comfort yet-/ The aid of holy men, and heavenly patience” (ll.32-34). “The aid of holy men” does little to aid Manfred, if we can take the Abbot as the poem’s example of a holy man. And as for patience, Manfred will have none of it: “Patience and patience hence! That word was made/ For brutes of burden, not for birds of prey” (ll.35-36). The entire scene serves to demonstrate that the chamois hunter is a

\textsuperscript{161} Gurney 51
“mortal of dust” (l. 37) while Manfred continues to emphasizes the spiritual over the physical. Far from extolling the virtues of the simply hunter, Manfred insists upon his own superiority as a spiritual being.\textsuperscript{162} The peasant, despite his close connection with nature, occupies a position decidedly inferior to that of the poet, who is able to truly appreciate natural beauty and its implicit meaning about man’s sublime potential.

These two quick examples from Romantic poetry demonstrate a complex attitude towards the common man entirely missing from Guo Moruo’s work. Guo’s treatment of the peasant places them on a pedestal, praising not just their close proximity to nature but the innate superiority of manual labor and country life. Guo’s tendency to extol the common man and the peasantry dovetails with his burgeoning Communist ideology as well as with the traditional Chinese tendency towards “the suppression of self.”\textsuperscript{163} For Guo, the traditional restraint of egoism led to Communism, with its insistence on merging into the collective and serving the revolution.\textsuperscript{164} Both the traditional emphasis on collectivism and the modern impetus towards revolution find expression in the prefatory poem to \textit{The Goddesses}, where Guo cheerfully exclaims: “I am a proletariat!” We see this ebullient attitude towards the lower classes reflected in his poetry. While his Romanticism leads to praise of nature and the search for the life-force behind nature, it is Guo’s fledgling Communism that colors his portrayal of the peasantry.

\textbf{Nature and Technology}

The second difference in the Romantic’s treatment of nature and Guo’s lies in the comparison between nature and technology. While the majority of transcendental experiences in Guo’s poems are tied to nature imagery, in some poems man-made objects can spark the same

\textsuperscript{162} Gurney 79
\textsuperscript{163} Miller 217
\textsuperscript{164} Ip, “Politics and Individuality,” 45
emotional response. For example, in his poem “The Good Morning” Guo imagines himself greeting various symbols of a renewing and creative force, a force that he hopes will create a “millennial dawn” (l. 41). Heralds of this pantheistic forces include not only the “rolling ocean” (l. 2) and the “morning breeze” (l. 7) but also famous people such as “Tagore of Bengal” (l. 22), “Da Vinci” (l. 27), and the “poets of Ireland” (l. 31). Likewise, natural features such as the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers, and the “snow-capped Himalayas” (l. 21) get no more praise than man-made objects like the Great Wall, the Pantheon, and even the “Thinker of Rodin” (l. 28). What Guo envisions in this poem is a world where everything, not just nature, can serve as evidence of the transcendental force.

In another poem, entitled “I Am an Idolater,” Guo’s idolatry consists of worshipping not only the sun, the sea, and great rivers, but also worshipping the Suez and Panama Canals, the Great Wall, and the Pyramid, all man-made objects. This poem and others that praise nature and technology equally suggest that to Guo nature is just one possible route to transcendence. Most mentions of modernization are generally positive. In “Sunrise,” the “blazing headlights of motorcars” are “twentieth-century Apollos” (l. 5, 6) and in “Panaorama from Fudetate Yama” Guo praises the “steamers unnumbered,/ funnel upon funnel bearing its black peony” (ll. 14-15) as symbols of the “marriage of man and Nature” (l. 10). The world as a whole is the source of transcendence, and so any aspect of it that Guo considers inspiring, whether natural or man-made, can lead him to deeper knowledge or even connection with the pantheistic force.165

For the Romantics, nature was of supreme importance for the seeker of transcendence, and technology, man-made objects, and especially the city all served only to cloud the universal force.166 In “Frost at Midnight,” Coleridge specifically relates the transcendental experience to

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165 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 188
166 Gurney 42, 46
nature. He regrets his childhood spent “In the great city, pent mid cloisters dim” (l. 52), saying that the urban world holds “nought lovely but the sky and stars” (l. 53). Here, the man-made world is a hindrance to transcendental knowledge, which is why Coleridge hopes his infant son can grow up surrounded by nature and thereby receive instruction from the “Great universal teacher” (l. 64).

Similarly, Wordsworth in “Tintern Abbey” contrasts the natural world with the man-made. In the poem, natural beauty leads him to recognize “A motion and a spirit that impels/ All thinking things, all objects of all thought,/ And rolls through all things” (l.103-105). By contrast, the poet finds only “hours of weariness” (l. 28) and “lonely rooms” (l. 26) in “the din/ Of towns and cities” (ll. 26-27). Only the remembrance of natural scenes and the sublime experience of communing with a great power can bring “sensations sweet” (l. 28) and “tranquil restoration” (l. 31) to the poet while he dwells in the city. Urban life itself is tiresome and even damaging to the spirit. There is no hint that the city possesses any innate beauty or that man’s creations can also be part of the path to transcendence.

**Guo’s Celebration of the Human Mind**

In a way, however, Guo’s different conception of the value of the city and technology is also in touch with the Romantic strain. The second part of Wellek’s definition of Romanticism is the celebration of the imagination.\(^{167}\) The Romantics saw imagination as a creative power that helps to penetrate reality and reach the greater or transcendent meaning beyond.\(^{168}\) When Guo praises man-made creations such as the Suez and Panama Canals and the Pyramids, he celebrates

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\(^{167}\) Wellek 179
\(^{168}\) Wimsatt 31
not only the actual object but the creative force behind it.\textsuperscript{169} The imagination connects the poet to the world, letting him see its true nature. In other words, the imagination lets the poet read the symbolism of nature in order to see through it to the greater power beyond.\textsuperscript{170} So when Guo extols man-made artifacts, he praises the creative spirit that the Romantic poets also valued so highly.

The most obvious example of this enthusiasm for creation is Guo’s poem “Pyramids.” In the poem, the pyramids of Egypt serve as a symbol of man’s creative forces. The poet stands before them in awe just as in other poems he marvels at the powers of nature. To Guo, the pyramids seem to be calling out: “Create! Create! Create with all your might!” (l. 20) The pyramids not only present a visible example of the ingenuity of man, but they also call other men to create. At the beginning of the poem, the pyramids are merely one part of a scene:

\begin{quote}
First one, then two, then three pyramid peaks  
range on the banks of the Nile…

…..
The river banks below run on neat as a knife cut.
Ah, those ripples in the river’s flow, those rosy clouds surging behind the pyramids!  
A white blur of light shows through the clouds; it must be the westering sun (ll. 1-2, 4-6)
\end{quote}

The pyramids are on equal footing with natural symbols such as the river, the clouds, and the sun. By the end of the poem, this equality falls away. The pyramids assert their superiority over all of nature, saying “Even the sun in the sky must bow his head to us!” (l. 23) The poet, now in touch with his own creative feelings, begins to view nature as a subset of himself—“Surely that Z-shaped river in the woods must be me myself!” (l. 26) With nature thus subsumed by the creative forces of man’s imagination, Guo confidently states that “The creative forces of man can rival those of the gods” (l. 21). Man becomes the embodiment of the universal force.\textsuperscript{171}

\textsuperscript{169} Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 188  
\textsuperscript{170} Wellek 179  
\textsuperscript{171} Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 190
Other poems similarly state the supremacy of the imagination over all else. Guo’s poem “By Electric Light” provides an interesting exploration of the poet’s ability to use his imagination to escape the dreariness of life, and what sparks his imagined episodes are others’ creative works. The poem also denies the restorative properties of the city and technology, a very Romantic idea, as discussed above. The poem starts with the speaker musing on the loneliness of urban life: “The electric lights are already shining,/ but why is there gloom in my heart?” (ll. 1-2) To escape this gloom, he drifts into a fantasy, imagining the loneliness of the Chinese historical figure Su Tse-ching, who was banished to Lake Baikal for his refusal to betray the Han emperor. The speaker imagines a kinship between himself and Su Tse-ching: one is “a lone figure in the city” (l. 3), the other “a solitary figure in the boundless Siberian steppes” (l. 7). In the speaker’s vision, Su Tse-ching is surrounded by nature and yet not comforted by it—“his eyes charged with infinite sorrow” (l. 15). Both Su in his natural setting and the speaker in a city share feelings of loneliness and depression, and yet in Su’s eyes “there burned a thread of hope” (l. 16), hinting that for the speaker as well there may be hope of restoration.

The restoration here comes not from nature but from the creative powers of man. The speaker enters an art museum and glances at various paintings before finding the one that lifts his gloom—a portrait of Beethoven. The great composer, part of the European Romantic movement himself, inspires the speaker, becoming an embodiment of the creative urge by the end of the poem. “Ah! Beethoven! Beethoven! You dispel my nameless grief!” (l. 39) the speaker exclaims. It is really the creative force that Beethoven symbolizes which Guo finds uplifting. Beethoven’s features embody natural elements—his “hair streams life swiftly flowing waves” (l. 40), his collar is “a snow-capped ridge” (l. 11), and his facial features are compared to those of a lion and a tiger. To the speaker, Beethoven encapsulates nature within himself. Even further, Beethoven’s
mind, the source of his creativity, “is like ‘the will of the Universe’ itself” (l. 43). The imagination of man can control the universe. Inspired, the narrator ends the poem by imagining that he hears Beethoven’s symphony.

“By Electric Light” is another example of how Guo both adopts and modifies the Romantic message. While he joins figures such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Byron in praising the creative forces of man, Guo praises not only intellectual creation but also the creation of technology, industry, and monuments. His vision of creative forces is broader than the Romantics, and sometimes he envisions man’s creativity as at odds with or in competition with nature instead of flowing from the universal pantheistic force. By contrast, Romantic poets usually treat nature as the nurturing force behind the soul’s development and, by extension, all creativity. Guo envisions a human creativity that can escape the reins of nature, leaping beyond it.

**The Need for Transcendence and Transformation**

For Guo, the most important function of the imagination is to bring man up to the level of transcendence. The primary motive for wanting to do this is escapist—the world is so horrible and corrupt that Guo can no longer stand it, and feels a desperate need to use his creative powers to either rise above the world or to remake it entirely. The urgent need for transformation comes across most clearly in Guo’s poetic drama, “Rebirth of the Goddesses.”

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172 Xiaoming Chen 41  
174 Xiaoming Chen 43  
175 Xiaoming Chen 58
The poem can be seen as an allegory, using mythical Chinese figures to represent Guo’s dissatisfaction with China’s modern situation. The poem begins with a quote from Goethe’s *Faust*:

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All things transitory
But as symbols are sent;
Earth’s insufficiency
Here grows to event;
The Indescribable,
Here it is done;
The Woman-soul leadeth us
Upward and on!176
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Guo uses Goethe, a German Romantic, to set the stage for his entire poem. The dark, bloody world of the drama is shown to be “transitory.” Guo literalizes the “Woman-soul” in the form of the three Goddesses, who lead the world towards its bright future. Guo here envisions transcendence not as the goal of the individual but as the goal of society. China as a nation is being asked to transcend its dark present.177

The Goddesses’ commentary on their world functions as Guo’s commentary on warlord-torn China. The Goddesses dread “a catastrophe” equal to the rending of the heavens in Chinese myth. This presentiment is heralded by the “harsh clamour” and “the counterpoint of evil cries” brought by war. Within the world of the play, the war is between Chuan-Hsu and Kung-Kung, two mythical Chinese kings who fought for control of the empire. However, one can easily imagine the Goddesses critiquing the warlords that fought over 20th century China: “They go, they said, to fight for some paltry hegemony;/ this turbulence has become intolerable.” The constant threat of war and bloodshed threatens to crack open the heavens; even the sun is “weary” from the battle. This dark picture of life is both a social critique, calling the warlords to

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176 In the original Chinese text, the quote appeared in German beside a Chinese translation
177 Julia C. Lin 213
task for their feuding, and also the beginning of the process of transcendence. The warfare and accompanying noise awakens the Goddesses, who begin the drama as statues. Only after recognizing the direness of the situation do they decide to take action, proclaiming “no longer will we remain mere statues in niches.”

The Goddesses leave on their quest to create a new sun; meanwhile, Chuan-Hsu and Kung-Kung fight their battles. Guo satirizes both figures; they parrot each other, citing ancient sayings as justification for their war, but neither of them can answer the crucial question: “What necessity urges you to become ruler?” Kung-Kung answers, “Ask the sun—why must it shine?” The arrogance of comparing himself to the sun, particularly considering the powerful and redemptive function of the Goddesses’ new sun later in the poem, encapsulates Kung-Kung’s attitude. His only reason for desiring to rule, and thus starting a war, is his own personal ambition. This marks an interesting negative commentary on the transcendental urge—even while the Goddesses rush to help society rise above war and bloodshed, the two kings’ wish to ascend to absolute power is unequivocally condemned.

Guo emphasizes still further the negative consequences of unbridled ambition by showing the destruction the war causes. An old peasant and a shepherd boy both lament that the war has destroyed their livelihoods; they are followed by “wild men,” presumably bandits, who plan to take advantage of the war for their own personal gain. The greatest destruction comes from the final battle between Kung-Kung and Chuan-Hsu. Kung-Kung, unwilling to bear defeat, has his forces crack the “pillar of heaven,” one of four pillars that held up the sky, according to Chinese myth. This act destroys both armies, and by extension the world—Guo calls for darkness to cover the stage for a “silence of five minutes,” suggesting an end to the play.

178 Rose Jui Chang Chen, 197
However, this massive destruction merely sets up the Goddesses’ triumphant return. Their final dialogue takes place in total darkness, reminding the audience of the relationship between desolation and renewal.\textsuperscript{179} The Goddesses bring with them their newly created sun, a Promethean-like gift to mankind. The play ends with the Goddesses singing a welcoming song to the sun, which significantly does not rise during the play. The Goddesses recognize that the sun is “still far away,” but preparation for its arrival has begun: “the morning bell can be heard pealing in the sea” and a “funeral knell” for the old order (represented by the “Wolf of Heaven”) rings out as well. The possibility of national transcendence is there.

The drama ends with a curious prose address by the “stage manager” to the audience, essentially hitting the audience over the head with Guo’s message:

\begin{quote}
Ladies and gentlemen, you have become tired of living in the foetid gloom of this dark world. You surely thirst for light. Your poet, having dramatized so far, writes no more. He has, in fact, fled beyond the sea to create new light and heat. Ladies and gentlemen, do you await the appearance of a new sun? You are bid to create it for yourselves. We will meet again under the new sun.
\end{quote}

This address, besides making the historical message of the poem crystal clear, highlights several interesting points about Guo’s attitude toward transcendence. First, Guo addresses the role of poet in bringing about transcendence. While the poet is involved in the quest “to create new light and heat,” he does so not by writing but by some other mysterious process. Thus the poet “writes no more”—he stops being a poet as he begins his revolutionary task. Also, Guo urges the audience to also take up the task of creating a new sun. Guo urges them to “create it for [them]selves,” implicitly criticizing them for taking a passive role in waiting for national salvation. The poem ends with a note of hope, that both audience and poet “will meet again under the new sun,” a sun created not by poetry but by collective effort.

\textsuperscript{179} Rose Jui Chang Chen 197; Julia C. Lin 214
This hope for national salvation is an interesting expansion of the transcendental urge. When dealing with transcendence on an individual level, Guo’s view of the concept closely follows the view of the Romantics. Like Wordsworth and Shelley, Guo believes in a pantheistic force that unites all things. The poet, using his special powers of creativity and imagination, can tap into this force, particularly when he is inspired by the beauty of nature. However, when Guo attempts to raise the idea of transcendence to the national level, the concept is fundamentally changed. The goal is not to move beyond the physical world to the spiritual force behind it but rather to tear down the present and build the future. This task is no longer the poet’s specialty but a duty that falls on all citizens. Poetry may be used to urge people to action, as Guo does with his poetic dramas, but in the end revolution must come from something besides writing.

The Role of the Poet for Guo Moruo

Guo shows a certain amount of confusion on the poet’s role. On one hand, he believes that the poet or author can incite people to action through social critique and the call for change. Here he seems much in line with the Romantic perception of poetry. However, Guo also seems to believe that mere poetry alone cannot cause the change he is looking for. Thus in order to actively begin to create the new world, the poet must “write no more.” Guo’s life also reflects this paradox—as a Romantic author, he wants to use his words to inspire the

180 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 183
181 Roy 160
182 McDougall 39; Vogel 147
183 Wu xxxvi
184 Ip, “Politics and Individuality,” 64
masses; as a Communist Party member, he knows his role as poet is subordinate to party ideology and the good of the people.\textsuperscript{185}

The poem “Spring Silkworms” shows this tension. The poet addresses the silkworms of the title, realizing with astonishment that they are spinning poetry instead of silk. He praises the poetry as “gossamer,” “charming,” and “delicate” (l. 3). Ironically, he then runs up against the limitations of language: “I can find no words to describe you!” (l. 4) In the midst of a panegyric on poetry, Guo draws our attention to its inadequacies. The second stanza reflects the contemporary debate in 20\textsuperscript{th} century China on the function and creation of art:\textsuperscript{186}

Silkworms, your poetry—
is it premeditated or unprompted?
Do you create with art, or is it a natural flow?
Do you make it for others, 
or for yourselves alone? (5-9)

Taking a Romantic view of poetry, a view that Guo himself upholds in some of his earlier poetry, we should say that poetry is “unprompted” rather than “premeditated,” part of a “natural flow” rather than created by artifice, and (since poetry is self-expression) made for the poet instead of for others. Further, since the “poets” are silkworms, how could their poetry be anything but natural and spontaneous? Guo seems to be upholding a Romantic view of the organic nature of poetry.\textsuperscript{187}

Surprisingly, in the last stanza of the poem Guo turns this on its head:

Silkworms, I am afraid that your poetry
is, alas, spontaneous,
is, alas, a natural flow.
The Palace of Art you are erecting,
is, alas, for yourselves alone. (10-14)

\textsuperscript{185} Xiaoming Chen 101
\textsuperscript{186} Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 19
\textsuperscript{187} Lovejoy 12
The word translated as “alas” is zhong pa (终怕) in the original Chinese. Zhong means “end” and pa means “to be afraid”; thus, a more literal translation of “alas” would be “in the end, I fear.” I believe this better captures the attitude towards the silkworm’s poetry—in the final analysis, Guo must reject this style of poetry. It is indeed beautiful, but the very qualities that add to such poetry’s beauty undermine its social significance. The spontaneity, the “natural flow” (l. 12) of the poem, becomes a detriment because such characteristics mean the poetry is for the poet alone. The use of zhong pa or “alas” is really the only clue that Guo evaluates this poetry negatively; remove it from the last stanza and the evaluation is at worst neutral. However, zhong pa also gives the criticism a regretful or even wistful quality. Much as Guo may wish to create this type of poetry (and in fact many of the poems in The Goddesses could be subject to the same criticisms as the silkworm’s poetry), he must turn from it because, in the context of national salvation, poetry and art should have a more universal function. Interestingly, May Fourth poets used the need for “spontaneous” and “natural” poetry as a justification for abandoning the strict verse forms of traditional Chinese poetry. By repudiating the values of these reforms, Guo reflects Chinese tradition rather than May Fourth sensibilities.

Guo envisions the poet as having a higher function than self-expression. In poems such as “Rebirth of the Goddesses,” Guo stresses the social and political function of the poet and his work. First, he must reveal to the people the dark reality of the world in which they live, and then he must spur them on to action, to the creation of a new sun. Yet most of Guo’s poems vacillate between this mission and Guo’s own need for self-expression. For every overtly political poem, like “Rebirth of the Goddesses,” there are several nature poems such as

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188 Lydia H. Liu, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China 1900-1937 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 79
190 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 196
“Panorama from Fudetate Yama” and “Shouting on the Rim of the World.” Guo may believe that the poet’s higher calling is nationalistic social commentary, but he still cannot bring himself to abandon the Romantic need for individual expression, the exploration of nature, and the quest for personal transcendence.

The Romantic Tradition of Political Poetry

Of course, the Romantic poets also believed strongly in the political power of their poems. Guo was aware of this; in fact, he mentions being inspired by two of Lord Byron’s revolutionary poems, “The Glory that was Greece” (part of Canto III of Don Juan) and “Fair Greece! Sad Relic!” (from Canto II of Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage). According to Guo’s note, these two poems inspired his most overtly political poem, “Victorious in Death.” This is one of the only direct references we have that link Guo’s poetry to that of a Romantic author. A comparison of Guo’s poem with Byron’s reveals a strong difference between their poetry. While both poets call upon men to take up the revolutionary duty, Byron feels sure that his call to arms will fall upon deaf ears. Guo, on the contrary, addresses his poem to a contemporary revolutionary figure, and his optimism for the cause knows no bounds.\footnote{Julia C. Lin 199-200}

In both Byron’s poems, the narrator is the only one who heeds the call of freedom. The first poem Guo calls “‘The Glory That Was Greece’ from Don Juan.” I believe this refers to the passage in Canto III of Don Juan which begins with a description of “The isles of Greece! The isles of Greece!” These isles have lost their past glory. Abandoned by “burning Sappho,” “Phoebus” and the muses, Greece now festers in slavery. The passage is a harsh critique of present Greece compared to its glowing past. The narrator contrasts the Greek heroes of Marathon and Thermopylae, who fought and died to defend ancient Greece from invaders, with
the present Greeks, who drown themselves in “Samian wine.” The dead heroes wait in vain for “one living head” that will arise to free Greece from its chains. The only one who responds to the call is the narrator, who throws down the wine cup and declares “A land of slaves shall ne’er be mine.” However, this very act of heroic defiance implies that the narrator acts alone within a country full of “slaves.”

There is a similar theme in “Fair Greece! Sad Relic!” of Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage. The narrator scornfully describes the Greeks: they “idly rail in vain,/ Trembling beneath the scourge of Turkish hand,/ From birth till death enslaved; in word, in deed, unmanned.” Again, here we see a Greece that has fallen far from its “glorious day” and has only shameful slavery left to look forward too. Byron is again skeptical of the potential of revolution. He phrases all his revolutionary statements as questions: “Who now shall lead thy scattered children forth,/ And long-accustomed bondage uncreate?”

When Guo read these poems, he clearly absorbed the call to revolution without the pessimism of the narrator. Perhaps it was easier for Byron as an Englishman to critique the Greeks than it would be for Guo to chastise his own country. Yet one cannot help but wonder if Guo saw that lines such as “Fair Greece! sad relic of departed worth!/ Immortal, though no more; though fallen, great!” (ll. 1-2) could easily be used to describe China, once a great empire, now humbled by foreign imperialism. Interestingly, “Victorious in Death,” Guo’s most revolutionary poem in The Goddesses, does not concern his home country, but rather Ireland. Like Byron, Guo distances himself from the action by observing a foreign country. Yet instead of using this distance to critique, as Byron does, Guo bubbles with enthusiastic praise of a revolutionary hero
living half a world away. Guo clearly sees the Irish revolutionary movement as a potential model for China.

Guo’s poem is addressed to Terence MacSwiney, a leader of the Irish Republican Army who was arrested by the British government in 1920 and died in prison after a hunger strike. Guo traces his reaction to the story as he hears about it in news reports. Considering his distance from the action, which is emphasized in the poem by Guo’s uncertainty over MacSwiney’s fate, Guo shows an interesting amount of solidarity with the Irish:

Honoured MacSwiney!
Dear sons of Ireland,
the spirit of freedom will ever stand by you,
for you stand by one another,
you are the incarnation of freedom! (p. 41)

Such an attitude could not be more different from Byron’s bleak view of the Greeks. Guo goes even further in his optimism in the last stanza of the poem. Here, nature itself mourns MacSwiney’s death, which is a special kind of death: “Brave, tragic death! Death in a blaze of glory! Triumphant procession of a victor! Victorious death!” Guo even thanks the “God of Death” for saving MacSwiney. In the last lines of the poem, Guo elevates MacSwiney to a symbol of revolutionary power: “MacSwiney, fighter for freedom, you have shown how great can be the power of the human will!”

Though Guo may have been inspired by Byron’s poem, his treatment of revolutionary spirit is far different. Byron offers a strident call for revolution, a call that he believes will go unheeded in the end. The narrator’s urging reveals that he possesses a greater strength of will and a stronger sense of freedom than the Greek themselves, who are content to “Fill high the bowl with Samian wine” and forget all else. Guo instead takes a position of humility—MacSwiney is the inspiring example that calls the poet to revolution even as the poet himself transmits this call

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192 Julia C. Lin 199
to the world through his work. In Guo’s poem, the poet is not superior. Where Byron’s poem exhibits the determination and isolation of a Byronic hero, Guo’s poem shows humility and a desire to join in a revolutionary movement that has already begun.\(^\text{193}\)

**The Poet as Revolutionary**

In this way Guo gives an interesting twist to the Promethean figure of the poet. The poet still possesses the gift to call the masses into action, yet he is not doing so on his own behalf, but rather passing on the heroic example of MacSwiney and the Irish revolutionaries. To Byron, the poet himself is the supreme example. Here again there is a tension between Guo’s Romantic tendencies and his commitment to the Chinese revolution. Guo’s nature poetry evokes the Romantic image of the poet as special, with a unique tie to nature and thus unique insights into the transcendental force beyond it.\(^\text{194}\) However, Guo also feels that the poet alone cannot win the revolution. The epilogue to “Rebirth of the Goddess” makes it clear that Guo passes the revolutionary call on to people, without whom the revolution could not hope to succeed. Guo cannot decide who is more important: the poet himself, who issues this call to revolt or the people, who will actually create the revolution.

Thus we get poems like “Coal in the Grate,” where Guo sees the revolutionary spirit as his unique possession: “only in my slavish breast/ could burn a fire so bright” (ll. 9-10). And in “Morning Snow,” Guo praises the “hero-poet,/ Proletarian poet” (ll. 11-12) for his special connection with nature. In both these poems, the special abilities of the poet are linked to the revolution; this is what makes the poet a “hero.”\(^\text{195}\) Yet in later poems, such as “Oh Earth, My Mother,” Guo humbles the poet beneath the peasants and the miners, who take on the role of

\(^{193}\) Xiaoming Chen 39-40
\(^{194}\) Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 183
\(^{195}\) Ip, “Politics and Individuality,” 44
nurturing and enlightening the world. Here, the poet envies the workers, placing himself beneath them. Guo alternately extols the poet as being above the common people and praises the commoners as higher than the poet.

“The Good Morning” experiments with these oppositions. Here, the poet seems to be playing the role of a Prometheus, awakening the various peoples and countries of the world. “I greet you with a Good Morning,” Guo repeats at the beginning of each stanza. This translation seems a bit wordy; the Chinese is *chen an* (晨安), which literally means “peaceful morning” but is used in much the same way as the English phrase “Good morning.” Though the Chinese does not include the “I” figure as overtly (and clumsily) as the English translation, the language still implies that the poet is speaking to the various parts of the world. Guo even asks the morning wind to “bear away my voice to the four quarters,” echoing Shelley’s “Ode to the West Wind.” Yet even while awakening each item he addresses, asking them to join in the “millennial dawn,” Guo also praises their virtues. Russia is “the pioneer I hold in awe”; Tagore and the Himalayas are “fellow scholars in the school of Nature.” The common people have no place in this poem; Guo greets mountains, oceans, countries, and various great thinkers (such as Leonardo Da Vinci, Walt Whitman, and George Washington). Guo seems to have lost sight of the common peasants and workers that he elevates so highly in other poems.

Guo was clearly influenced by the Romantic tendency to lift up the role of the poet. Even his references to the superiority of the common man seem more tied to a Romantic-style love of nature and the natural life than any sort of political theory. Yet Guo does take pains to check these impulses, as in “Spring Silkworms” when he dismisses self-expressive poetry devoid of a broader social function. Guo also seeks inspiration for the revolution outside of himself, whereas

196 Xiaoming Chen 106-107
Romantics like Byron seem to view themselves as the epitome of the revolutionary spirit. Guo sees his duty as the bringer of enlightenment, yet he also realizes that this function makes him depend upon the people for the fruition of his dreams. Thus Guo’s poetry swings from the most self-assured Romantic statements (“Shouting on the Rim of the World”) to expressions of doubt (“Spring Silkworms,” “O Earth, My Mother”). Guo’s poetry reflects the psychological struggle of many May Fourth intellectuals who came to embrace Communism. The switch from Romantic individualism to Communist collectivism was a difficult one to make.

\[197\] Gurney 74
\[198\] Rose Jui Chang Chen 182-183
\[199\] Ip, “Politics and Individuality,” 33
Part III

Xu Zhimo:

If Guo Moruo’s scathing political critiques and shouted emotions represent one end of the Romantic spectrum, Xu Zhimo sits firmly at the other end. Both poets share the Romantic qualities of a deep connection with nature and a profound appreciation for the power of the human imagination. Yet Xu’s treatment of these subjects is more subtle than Guo’s. Where Guo shouts from a mountaintop, Xu whispers from under the ocean, as in his poem “Coral.” Xu’s poetry represents a more delicate representation of Romanticism, and as such lacks much of the political and social critique that defines Guo’s works. Both poets were deeply attached to the idea of European Romanticism, yet their interactions with and modifications of the earlier movement are far from identical. Xu represents a quieter, more subtler interpretation of Romanticism.

Xu Zhimo’s Life

Xu Zhimo was born in 1897. His father was a wealthy businessman, so, like Guo Moruo, Xu thus had access to schooling, both classical and later on a more Western-style education. He was an extremely accomplished student from a young age. Because of his intelligence and his family’s wealth, Xu was an attractive match for an arranged marriage, and he was indeed married in 1915. Unlike Guo Moruo, Xu seemed to genuinely like his new bride.

As a young man, Xu was heavily influenced by the philosophy of Bertrand Russell. Like many young Chinese of that time, Xu wanted to rebuild China according to “foreign

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200 Julia C. Lin 107
201 Julia C. Lin 129
202 Julia C. Lin 101, 199
203 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 126
204 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 126
blueprints.” He dreamed of becoming “a Chinese Hamilton.” With this as his goal, Xu left China in 1918, traveling to America to study politics and economics at Clark University and later Columbia. However, American life and schooling left a bad impression on Xu, who felt lonely and isolated in New England. In 1920, Xu left America to travel to Cambridge, hoping to meet Bertrand Russell.

However, when Xu arrived at Cambridge, Russell had just departed from the college. This marked a major turning point in Xu’s life—faced with the absence of his philosophical idol, Xu turned to other pursuits, most notably literature. It was during his stay at Cambridge that Xu “transferred his allegiance from Hamilton to Shelley and Keats, and decided on a literary career.” Xu abandoned his studies of politics and economics, deciding instead to become a poet, following in the footsteps of his new idols, the Romantic poets. He even began to experiment with Western verse and rhyme forms, which he would continue to do throughout his career. As the birthplace of his poetic ambitions, Cambridge would forever hold a special place in Xu’s heart. He extolled its beautiful natural scenery as well as the atmosphere of learning and the exchange of wisdom.

While at Cambridge, he met a young Chinese girl named Lin Hui-yin, the daughter of one of Xu’s friends. Xu was immediately taken with her, to the extent that he divorced his wife so as to be free to pursue Lin. Xu’s passionate insistence on the value of love was to become

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205 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 129
206 Julia C. Lin 101
207 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 129
208 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 130
209 Julia C. Lin 101
210 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 147
211 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 134-135
212 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 133
his hallmark theme. Along with nature worship and an emphasis on personal fulfillment, Xu’s insistence on the supremacy of the emotions, especially love, shaped all of his poetry.213

In 1922, Xu returned to China, partially to follow Lin Hui-yin. However, upon his return he found that Lin was engaged to another man. Xu continued to shower her with affection, upsetting her family and his own.214 Despite Xu’s efforts, the relationship with Lin Hui-yin never progressed much farther than courtship. However, in 1922 Xu met another woman who would have a profound effect on his life—Lu Xiaoman.

Lu Xiaoman was beautiful, wealthy, part of the elite social class, and married. Yet Xu, ever the champion of free love, conducted a highly public courtship of her from 1922 until 1926, when they were finally married. He even published a sort of emotional diary recording his feeling for Lu, the popular “Love Letters to May.”215 Though Xu again drew criticism for courting a married woman, he withstood scorn and scandal, reveling in the strength of his emotions.216

During this time, Xu was also gaining a name for himself as an author. He began publishing his first poems in 1922, writing in the vernacular style.217 In 1924 Xu and some colleagues founded the Crescent Society, which upheld their artistic credo of “art for art’s sake.” Xu’s first collection of poetry, Zhimo’s Poems, came out in 1925, followed in 1927 by the collection A Night in Florence, both of which testify to Xu’s Romantic belief in love, nature, and individual potential.

Yet by 1926, Xu’s seemingly boundless idealism was beginning to flag. His marriage to Lu Xiaoman put a decidedly mundane spin on what had been an exciting and forbidden courtship.

213 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 134
214 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 136
215 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 141
216 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 141-142
217 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 138
Their relationship became strained, causing Xu to rethink his endless faith in love.\textsuperscript{218} Added to this was a growing depression over China’s plight—the endless warlord battles and the growing burden of imperialism. Before 1926, Xu seems to have been content with his personal affairs, refraining from much involvement in politics. In the late 1920s, as Xu’s national consciousness grew, so did his pessimism.\textsuperscript{219}

Yet Xu continued to insist on the sanctity of art, resisting pressure from figures like Guo Moruo who claimed that all literature must now serve the state. When the Crescent Society also adopted a political stance, Xu dropped out.\textsuperscript{220} By the 1930s, as the conflict between China and Japan intensified, most poets were either converted to Guo’s idea of “revolutionary literature” or they were ostracized.\textsuperscript{221} Xu never faced this pressure—he was killed in a plane crash in 1931. Xu kept his Romantic sensibilities until the end, as reflected by his final collection of poetry, \textit{The Tiger}, published in 1931 just before his death.

\textbf{Xu’s Romantic Love of Nature}

As discussed earlier, perhaps the most easily recognizable characteristic of the Romantic poet is his or her special relationship with nature. The praise of nature and natural beauty permeates nearly all of Xu Zhimo’s poetry, just as nature plays a definitive role in the poems of Guo Moruo, Williams Wordsworth, and Percy Bysshe Shelley. For Xu, as for most Romantics, the beauty of nature represents the ultimate goal, the eternal, unchanging reality beyond human

\textsuperscript{218} Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 149
\textsuperscript{219} Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 154
\textsuperscript{220} Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 148
\textsuperscript{221} Vogel 158
The image of the star most often represents this transcendental reality but other natural images (the ocean, the mountain, the flower) can have similar symbolic meaning.

One of Xu’s most famous poems, “Second Farewell to Cambridge” offers an excellent example of Xu’s ideas on nature. The poem is both a hymn to natural beauty and an exploration of the poet’s relationship with nature. Beautiful images abound: “the golden willow on the riverbank” with “her luminous reflection in the ripples” (l 5, 7); “the pool in the elm shade” that “settles into a rainbowlike dream” (l. 13, 16). Yet each image of natural beauty also functions to draw the poet deeper into the world beyond nature, closer to his transcendental goal.

As the poet communes with nature, his relationship to it grows closer and closer. At the beginning of the poem, he waves goodbye as one would to a friend: “I wave my hand in gentle farewell/ To the clouds in the western sky” (ll. 3-4). By the next stanza, the relationship with nature has already become a closer one, that of husband and wife, where the “golden willow on the riverbank/ Is a bride” (ll. 5-6). In the third stanza, the poet expresses a wish to shed any sense of separation. He no longer wants to simply be close to nature, he wants to be a part of nature. Looking at the river plants, the poet decides “I’d rather be a water reed/ In the gentle river of Cam” (ll. 11-12).

The desire to subsume oneself into nature finds fruition in the “rainbowlike dream” of the fourth stanza. The dream itself is a facet of the search for transcendence, as the poet, helped by his bond with nature, journeys towards a higher reality.

...With a long pole,
Sail toward where the grass grows greener;

—Lawrence Lee Wing-yiu, “Some Aspects of the Western Influence on Hsu Chih-mo’s Poetry,” M.A. dissertation, University of Hong Kong, 1975, 17
—Julia C. Lin 125-127
—Translation by Michelle Yeh, ed and trans., Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992)
In a skiff loaded with starlight,
Sing among the shining stars (17-20)

The poet experiences the transcendental moment, where he communes with nature and the force behind nature which even Xu cannot define. He cannot even describe what he seeks “among the shining stars.” “In search of a dream?” (l. 17), he asks himself, casting doubt on the reality of both “the rainbowlike dream” of nature and the possibility of a higher reality.

Whatever the nature of his “dream,” the poet emerges from it rather abruptly. The desire to “sing among the shining stars” is met bluntly with reality: “I cannot sing tonight;/ Silence is the tune of farewell” (l. 21-22). The transcendental moment, whether dream or not, is over. The need to depart, made explicit from the title and the first line (“Softly I am leaving”) reenters the poem, breaking the poet’s connection with nature and whatever force lies beyond the natural world. The last stanza, which mirrors the first, reiterates the transience of the experience, as the poet leaves “without taking away a whiff of cloud” (l. 28).

English Romanticism also provides examples of poems simultaneously describing transcendence and casting doubt on the transcendental experience. Shelley’s “Mont Blanc” speaks of “an unremitting interchange/ With the clear universe of things around” (ll. 39-40) but ends with a note of uncertainty—“what were thou, and earth, and stars, and sea,/ If to the human mind’s imaginings/ Silence and solitude were vacancy?” (ll.142-144) Even Wordsworth’s “Tintern Abbey,” with its exuberant proclamation of “A motion and a spirit that impels/ All thinking things, all objects of all thought,/ And rolls through all things” (ll. 103-105) casts intimations of doubt. Wordsworth holds out the possibility that transcendence might “Be but a vain belief” (l. 52), calling our attention to the fact that the transcendental experience might be nothing more than what Xu Zhimo calls a “dream.”

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225 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 135
226 Gurney 88
In Xu’s poem, however, the transient nature of the transcendental experience must be read in dialogue with the title. While the poem describes a farewell, it is the “Second Farewell.” By making this the title, Xu ensures that the fleeting experience in the poem is seen as connected to the past (the first farewell, recorded in his poem “Goodbye Cambridge”) and the future (the potential for another return, and a third farewell). Thus the momentary experience of communing with nature is layered with the forces of memory and imagination.

Again, Xu Zhimo is in good Romantic company. Wordsworth’s “Tintern Abbey” describes not only an experience with nature, but the process by which remembering such an experience brings “tranquil restoration” (l. 31) to a wearied mind. For Wordsworth, the beauty of the scenery makes possible transcendence: “with an eye made quiet by the power/ Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,/ We see into the life of things” (l. 48-50). The “joy” is nothing less than the joy that comes from recognizing one’s own connection to the pantheistic life force—recognizing one’s “own immanence, which may be the same thing as God’s immanence, in Nature.” But “Tintern Abbey” does not merely focus on the joy that comes from harmony with nature. Wordsworth also explores how remembrance of that joy can serve as “life and food/ For future years” (ll. 66-67), sustaining the poet while he suffers from “the fevers of the world” (l. 55). While Xu’s “Second Farewell to Cambridge” does not explicitly spell out the power of remembrance the way Wordsworth does in “Tintern Abbey,” the act of returning to a beloved place and recognizing the inevitably of leaving again creates a strong parallel between the two poems.

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227 Wimsatt 30
228 Adam Potkay, The Story of Joy: From the Bible to Late Romanticism (London: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 122
While Xu’s exploration of remembered nature is only implied in “Second Farewell to Cambridge,” he fleshes this theme out in “On the Mountain.” This brief poem explores the possibility of connecting with nature through imagination and memory.

All’s quiet in the courtyard,  
Except for a lingering urban ditty;  
Pine shadows have woven a rug—  
Look, the moon is bright.

What is it like, I wonder,  
On the mountain tonight;  
There must be the moon and pines, too,  
And quietness, only deeper.

I wish I could climb on a moonbeam  
And turn into a puff of wind  
To awake the pines from their spring hangover  
And let them sway gently on the mountain.

I’d blow off a fresh green needle  
And let it fall by your window;  
Soft as a sigh—  
It wouldn’t startle you in your sleep.

Though the first stanza establishes the urban setting for the poem, the rest of the poem explores the imagined mountain and the poet’s own desire to commune with nature. The “courtyard” where the poet finds himself is not utterly divorced from nature—there are pine trees and a bright moon. However, nature is tinged by human influence. The pine’s shadows “have woven a rug” (l. 3) and an “urban ditty” (l. 2) disturbs the quiet of the night. Unsatisfied with his current surroundings, the poet begins to imagine what “the mountain” (l. 6) is like.

His familiar address, “the mountain” (shan 山) instead of a proper name, suggests a close connection with the mountain, in terms of experience or geography, and probably both. The familiarity of the poet with the mountain suggests he has visited it in the past, and it jumps into

229 Translated by Michelle Yeh
his memory now, offering a way of mentally communing with nature. As he imagines the deep, undisturbed quiet of the mountain, the poet envisions himself becoming a part of nature, turning “into a puff of wind” (l. 10). In this vision, the poet not only joins with nature, he also interacts with it, awakening the trees “from their spring hangover” (l. 11). He plays a dynamic role as a natural force.

Yet his role is not enough to let him connect with the human world. His actions as the wind wouldn’t serve to awaken the sleeping “you” of the last stanza. The deep sleep of the unnamed second person comments on the unreality of the poet’s wishful visions, reminding us that the middle two stanzas take place only in the poetic imagination. Yet the feeling of a meaningful connection with nature remains; the image of the unheeded “fresh green needle” (l. 13) seems to critique the sleeping figure’s unawareness of the power of nature. While others sleep undisturbed in the city, the poet takes an imaginative journey up the mountain, and communes with nature within his own mind.230

Once again, Xu’s poem finds an interesting counterpart in Romantic literature. Coleridge’s poem “This Lime Tree Bower, My Prison” also explores the ability of the poet to imaginatively experience the transcendental power of nature.231 The poem begins with the narrator, prevented from going on a walk with his friends, lamenting the loss of “Beauties and feelings, such as would have been/ Most sweet to my remembrance” (ll.3-4). The speaker begins to imagine what his friends must be seeing, and transitions from this into his own personal brush with the pantheistic force, brought about by “a self-conscious reflection on a deliquescent consciousness.”232 In essence, the speaker uses his imagination to relive a previous communion with nature, a time when he stood “gazing round/ On the wide landscape…till all doth seem/

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231 Gurney 59-60
232 Potkay 145
Less gross than bodily, and of such hues/ As veil the Almighty Spirit” (ll.39-42). The power of remembrance leads the speaker to a closer bond with nature, even confined as he is to a lime-tree bower—“No scene so narrow but may well employ/ Each faculty of sense, and keep the heart/ Awake to love and beauty!” (ll.62-64) Xu experiments with the same idea of finding transcendence through remembrance of nature, but does so more subtly, with less certainty.

**Love as a Route to Transcendence**

As of yet, we have explored how Xu’s portrayal of nature reflects a positive strain, emphasizing the Romantic view that nature is man’s conduit to a higher, more meaningful reality. However, there are other poems where his view of nature is more ambivalent, or even negative, where nature represents the forces of destruction and inevitable decay.\(^{233}\) In these poems, Xu finds the transcendental hope for immortality in other places. Usually for Xu, if transcendence cannot be found in nature, he finds it in love. The short poem “Build a Wall”\(^ {234}\) is a good example of this theme:

> You and I must never desecrate that word.  
> Let us not forget our vow before God.  
> I want your most tender love  
> To wrap around my heart like plantain peel  
> And your love as strong as pure steel  
> To build a wall in the flux of life.  
> Let the autumn wind cover the garden with sere leaves,  
> Let termites eat away carved pillars a thousand years old.  
> Even if a lightning bolt shattered the universe one day,  
> It could not shatter our freedom behind the wall of love.

In this poem, the speaker seeks to find transcendence not through the power of nature, but through the emotion of love.\(^ {235}\) To him, the natural world is part of a harsh reality that seeks to

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\(^{233}\) Julia C. Lin 117  
\(^{234}\) Translated by Michelle Yeh  
\(^{235}\) Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 160-161
“desecrate” (l. 1) the love between the speaker and his partner. Instead of using communion with
nature to gain “freedom” (l. 10), the poet seeks to cut himself off from the outside world,
building a “wall of love” (l. 10) behind which he and his lover can shelter themselves from a
corrosive reality. The natural images of the poem are agents of decay. Line seven describes the
autumn wind that covers a once blossoming garden with dry, dead leaves while line eight depicts
termites slowly but inevitably destroying a stone pillar. The poem implies that the driving force
behind nature is not one of transcendence or immortality, but rather entropy, where decay is
inevitable.236

The speaker seeks to escape the process of decay by taking shelter in love.237 This love,
both “tender” (l. 3) and “as strong as pure steel” (l. 5), will protect the speaker and his lover from
the erosive effects of exposure to the outside world. “Behind the wall of love” (l. 10), the lovers
can escape the change from summer to autumn and avoid the slow decay of passing years. Love
becomes a sacred force, a vow made “before God” (l. 2), something that one must not
“desecrate” (l. 1). In “Build a Wall,” Xu’s worshipful attitude towards love replaces his
reverence for nature. Actually, Xu seems to attribute more power to love than he does to
nature.238 While all moments of connection to the natural world are depicted as fleeting instants,
with clear beginnings and endings, Xu believes that love can stand firm “in the flux of life” (l. 6).
Xu recognizes change as a part of nature, but he insists that love can rise above this transience
and stand forever, “even if a lightning bolt shattered the universe one day” (l. 9). One cannot
help but see in this reflection of Xu Zhimo the lover, who broke away from an arranged marriage
to conduct a highly romantic, highly publicized courtship of a married woman.239 The whole

236 Julia C. Lin 117
237 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 162
238 Lee Wing-yiu 19
239 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 137
weight of social condemnation could no more keep Xu from love than the poem’s “lightning bolt.”

**Pessimism in Xu’s Poetry**

While “Build a Wall” maintain Xu’s usual optimism, his poem “Broken” expresses a more negative view of nature and life in general. “Broken” depicts a figure who finds no solace in nature or the power of love. This poem expresses a level of pessimism and doubt that is rare in both Xu’s poems and in English Romantic poetry (Wu xxxvii, Lin 129). As several critics have noted, the pessimism found in “Broken” and some of Xu’s darker poems shows the influence of Thomas Hardy who, in Xu’s own words, “said optimism was the face of a corpse/ Made up with powder and rouge.” Each stanza of “Broken” begins with the same refrain: “Sitting on a deep, deep night.” The darkness of night and the foreboding setting, which shifts from urban to natural, reflects the despair of the poet. Everything in the aptly named piece is indeed “broken”—the speaker’s pen is dull; the window has chinks; the trees are “withered;” even the shadows are “grotesque.” In this atmosphere, we can easily understand how the poet’s very thoughts are “broken.”

Besides giving a decidedly dark portrayal of a foreboding natural world, “Broken” offers an interesting commentary on another great Romantic theme, the power of imagination and the human mind. As seen above, many of Xu’s poems express the hope that the poet, through a special connection with nature or the experience of love, can reach at least a moment of transcendence. In “Broken,” the speaker’s ability to reach this state is just as fractured as the world around him. He attempts to “compose a broken, broken tune…To express my broken

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240 Translated by Michelle Yeh  
241 Lee Wing-yiu 8  
242 From Xu Zhimo’s poem “Thomas Hardy,” translated by Michelle Yeh  
243 Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 172
thoughts” (ll.5, 7) but his failure is a foregone conclusion. The dismal surroundings and the poet’s own heartache contribute to his inability to turn his misery into a meaningful work of art. His composition is merely the attempt of a “broken, broken consciousness/ Trying to rebuild a broken world” (ll. 20-21). Knowing this futility of this effort, the poet joins the “withered trees” (l. 17) in their “wild despair” (l. 19).

The speaker makes one final attempt to break out of his desolation, remembering a happy encounter with a woman: “Ah, when she was still a cool white lotus/ In the morning breeze, delicate beyond compare” (ll. 24-25). Again, as in “Build a Wall,” the poet seeks to find happiness in love rather than in nature. Yet in “Broken” even this attempt fails, overpowered by the knowledge that the moment is irretrievably passed. Unlike in “On the Mountain,” where the speaker could use his imagination to escape to a remembered place of beauty, here even the last refuge of one’s own mind fails. The would-be poet is left alone with his “broken breath/ Like the mice locked up in the wall,/ Scuffling about, chasing after darkness and the void!” (ll. 27-28) Not even imagination can help the speaker to escape a harsh, even frightening, reality. The very transience of that one encounter with an ideal woman precludes it from bringing the speaker any happiness.244 Ultimately, the mind fails to break through reality, leaving the narrator trapped in his dismal world.

This bleak pessimism does not permeate all of Xu’s poems. As we have already seen, many of Xu’s poems record a belief in the possibility of transcending, even if only for a moment. “Second Farewell to Cambridge” attests to the possibility of sharing one fleeting moment of transcendental unity with nature. The speaker’s dream-like state allows him to both connect with nature and transcend it, momentarily reaching a higher reality among the stars.245 Though the

244 Julia C. Lin 119
245 Lee Wing-yiu 7
moment ends, leaving a bittersweet flavor, the poem remains a testament to the potential of having such an experience. Further, as discussed above, “On the Mountain” reveals how the power of the human mind and remembrance can recreate the fleeting moment, extending a transient experience and bringing a second brush with transcendence. Clearly, Xu shares the extremely Romantic notion that memory and imagination combined with nature can bring about a connection to a deeper, everlasting reality.\textsuperscript{246} For Xu, this connection can also be found through love, as seen in “Build a Wall.”

\textbf{Transcendence and Transience}

Xu’s most explicit representation of the human mind achieving transcendence comes in his “Seeking a Bright Star.”\textsuperscript{247} Julia C. Lin describes the symbolism in this way: “The star, with its associations of steadfastness, permanence, and something beyond the world of flux and mutability, became Hsü’s [Xu’s] persistent symbol of man’s aspiration for the Absolute.”\textsuperscript{248} The speaker seeks the star, the symbol of the “Absolute” or transcendence of the non-Absolute, the earth-bound, and the mundane. Despite his limitations—“a limping blind horse” (l.1), the darkness of the night, and his own exhaustion— the seeker continues his quest, undaunted by the star’s unwillingness to show itself.\textsuperscript{249} Finally, the star emerges: “the sky reveals a crystallike radiance” (l. 13).

Interestingly, transcendence in this poem equals death.\textsuperscript{250} As the star appears, both the horse and rider die. “An animal falls in the wild;/ A corpse lies in the dark night” (ll. 14-15). Yet the poem ends with the repetition of the moment of hope, “the sky reveals a crystallike radiance”

\textsuperscript{246} Julia C. Lin 120
\textsuperscript{247} Translated by Julia C. Lin
\textsuperscript{248} Julia C. Lin 125
\textsuperscript{249} Lee Wing-yiu 37
\textsuperscript{250} Julia C. Lin 125
(l. 16), underscoring the rider’s triumph even in death. The link between the transcendental moment and death is a prominent theme in Xu’s work, as it is in some Romantic depictions of transcendence. Though many of Xu’s poems attest to the possibility of experiencing a higher reality, they also emphasize the forces of physical and spiritual decay. With victory comes death, either metaphorically or literally. By linking death with transcendence, Xu constantly draws our attention to human and natural transience, even in his depictions of the quest for the eternal.

This idea of impermanence, of life in constant flux, permeates most of Xu’s work. The poem “A Chance Encounter” provides an interesting exploration of this complex theme. Xu examines the randomness and transience of a connection between two people:

I am a cloud in the sky,
By chance casting a shadow on the ripples of your heart.
   No need to be surprised,
   Even less to rejoice—
The shadow vanishes in a wink.

You and I met on the sea at night;
You had your direction, I had mine.
   You may remember,
   Better yet forget—
The light emitted at the moment of encounter.

In this poem, the meeting between the lovers represents only a brief instant, brought about “by chance” (l. 2). The impermanence of the meeting finds its reflection in the nature imagery—clouds and ripples, both ever changing and ever shifting. Just as ripples fade and clouds evaporate, so the moment of association between the two hearts “vanishes in a wink” (l.

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251 Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 161
253 Julia C. Lin 119-120
254 Julia C. Lin 119
255 Translated by Michelle Yeh
256 Lee Wing-yiu 27
5). When the connection between two lovers is so tenuous, so fragile, the speaker sees “no need to be surprised,/ Even less to rejoice” (ll. 3-4) at the encounter.

This poem provides an intriguing counterpoint to poems such as “Second Farewell to Cambridge” and “On the Mountain,” which both suggest that the moment of transcendence, of connection with nature and forces beyond, is worthwhile despite its brevity. “A Chance Encounter” highlights instead the inevitability of the moment’s passing and advocates a sort of studied indifference to the experience. While Xu’s other poems suggest the power of memory and imagination, here he writes that it is better to forget “the light emitted at the moment of encounter.” (l. 10). The forces of chance and change overpower the possibility of emotional or spiritual unity between the speaker and the unnamed figure he addresses. Yet even as the speaker advises the “you” to forget the encounter, he prolongs the moment of contact. He says “forget,” and then gives a poignant description of the meeting as a luminous force, emitting light in the darkness. The speaker advises the “you” to let the meeting fade from memory, and yet makes it impossible to do so by immortalizing an ephemeral moment in verse. Thus “A Chance Encounter” has more in common with Xu’s other poems than appears at first glance.

However, one must not overlook the resigned tone of lines eight and nine: “You may remember,/ Better yet forget.” The speaker prefers the oblivion of forgetfulness to the memory of a beautiful moment that can never be reclaimed. This attitude could explain the bitterness of the speaker in “Broken,” who struggles unsuccessfully to recapture his one encounter with purity and loveliness in a broken world. Other poems also suggest that in dark times, the memory of happiness is only a further torment. “For Whom?” Xu’s poem lamenting the end of summer,

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257 Julia C. Lin 124-125
258 Lee Wing-yiu 27, 37
259 Translated by Julia C. Lin
describes the autumn wind mercilessly hunting down the last signs of summer. Surrounded by bleakness and destruction, in a world without “life, color, and beauty” (l. 5), the speaker can only grieve for his loss, without even knowing how to give a name to what he misses. “Ah, for whom do I grieve?” (l. 20), he laments. The loss of beauty is a crueler blow than the absence of beauty; the speaker’s nameless grief results from his having known summer. The remembrance of departed beauty brings only “a deep sense of loss and melancholy.”

Yet in other poems, Xu adopts a more positive view of the transience of beauty, one that Lin compares to John Keats. “Birth of Spring” overflows with joy as it describes the death of winter and the coming of spring. Spring, “born in the corpse of winter” (l. 5), brings new life to the world, also reawakening the emotions of the poet and his love. Just as “For Whom?” ignores the “anticipation of spring’s resurgence,” “Birth of Spring” studiously avoids the inevitable return of winter. The only acknowledgement of spring’s temporary nature comes from the speaker’s question to his lover at the emotional climax of the poem:

Do you not feel my arms
Anxiously seeking your waist,
My breath reflecting on your body,
Like myriads of fireflies thrusting themselves into the flame? (ll.16-19)

Here the speaker acknowledges that his passion cannot last forever. His love is too intense; it will destroy itself as surely as the firefly will burn within the fire. Yet the speaker feels no regret for this, only overpowering joy. This is the quest for “love, beauty, and truth, to which the poet is irresistibly drawn, even though it costs him his life.” In a sense, the

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260 Julia C. Lin 118
261 Julia C. Lin 118
262 Julia C. Lin 119
263 Translated by Julia C. Lin
264 Julia C. Lin 119
265 Julia C. Lin 118
266 Julia C. Lin 119
267 Julia C. Lin 119
transience of beauty only makes it more beautiful, and makes its siren call to the poet that much stronger. Xu seems to prefer the ecstatic beauty that ends in death rather than fading beauty which, like summer, will melt into autumn and winter and leave the poet behind to grieve.\footnote{Lee Wing-yiu 25}

Lin compares Xu’s “obsession with the passing of beauty” to Keats’ own observations on the transient nature of beauty.\footnote{Julia C. Lin 119} Many of Keats’ poems, especially the odes, address the problem of ephemeral beauty. Keats reaches the conclusion that “only by being aware of sorrow can the poet devote himself wholeheartedly to joy, conscious the while that his respite will be brief.”\footnote{Fogle 437} Thus in “Ode to a Nightingale” “the weariness, the fever, and the fret” (l. 23) the poet has experienced adds to his appreciation of the nightingale’s song. He knows that the song must end, and sure enough by the end of the poem “fled is that music” (l. 80). Yet for a brief while, the nightingale transported the speaker above the grind of daily life, as he soars on the “wings of Poesy” (l. 33) closer to the transcendent realm of beauty. Though the bird’s song must end, there is an immortal quality about it: “The voice I hear this passing night was heard/ In ancient days” (ll.63-64). Though in itself fleeting, the experience of beauty becomes a constant that connects all generations, paradoxically emphasizing both death and continuity.\footnote{Gurney 124} The poet takes his joy in a beauty that will inevitably die—without this looming death beauty loses its attraction.\footnote{Fogle 436} As Keats says in “Ode on a Grecian Urn,” immortal beauty is “all breathing human passion far above” (l. 28). Such beauty is no longer connected to the human realm.\footnote{Gurney 124}

While Keats ultimately feels that the inevitability of losing beauty only makes it that much more valuable, Xu’s poetry reveals a darker interpretation. While beauty can be enjoyed,
its passing leaves men grieving in its wake.\textsuperscript{274} Xu’s “Roaming in the Clouds”\textsuperscript{275} traces one man’s encounter with beauty and its impact upon his life, using the allegory of a mountain stream and a drifting cloud. Xu’s figure of beauty is effervescent to the point of being intangible.\textsuperscript{276} Beauty “roam[s] among the clouds in the sky” (l. 1), with little connection to reality and the earth below. The cloud takes “joy in infinite wandering” (l. 4), passing from place to place ceaselessly. When a stream encounters this nomadic figure of beauty, catastrophe ensues.

\begin{verse}
\ldots Your radiant beauty
In your passing has kindled his soul
And startled him to awakening. He held close to your lovely shadow.
But what he held was only unending sorrow,
For no beauty can be stayed in space or time.
He yearns for you, but you’ve flown across many mountain peaks
To cast your shadow in a yet vaster and wider sea.
He now pines for you, that one mountain stream,
Despairingly praying, praying for your return. (ll.6-14)
\end{verse}

This encounter with beauty brings mixed effects. While the stream has been awakened, this new love of beauty brings “only unending sorrow” because beauty can never last. This particular beauty seems indifferent, even “unaware that on this humble earth/ There is a mountain stream” (ll.5-6). Beauty’s cold indifference to the stream casts a negative pall on its influence. While the stream is left alone and broken, to pray for a repeat encounter, the cloud has moved on without even noticing its effects. Read as a parable of the moment of transcendence, the encounter with the sublimely beautiful, this poem highlights Xu’s troubled attitude towards such moments. True, an experience with transcendent beauty brings awakening and a newly “kindled soul” but Xu seems obsessed with the costs of that awakening.\textsuperscript{277} The knowledge of beauty, or of a higher reality not bound by the rules of the earth, brings only sadness that neither

\textsuperscript{274} Julia C. Lin 120
\textsuperscript{275} Translated by Julia C. Lin
\textsuperscript{276} Julia C. Lin 107
\textsuperscript{277} Julia C. Lin 129
can be a permanent part of human life. In this regard, the power of the human mind is sadly limited for Xu. Even when awakened by exposure to great beauty, the mind is fated to be left behind, “despairingly praying, praying” for that beauty to return.

Lin suggests that Xu’s “Roaming in the Clouds” can be compared to Shelley’s “Hymn to Intellectual Beauty.” Both poems describe an encounter with fleeting beauty, and lament the fact that beauty must “pass away and leave our state,/ This dim vast vale of tears, vacant and desolate” (ll.16-17). Shelley even compares “Love, hope, and self-esteem” to clouds (l. 47), a metaphor Xu extends in his own poem. Like Xu, Shelley depicts beauty as “fleeting, evanescent, and unpredictable.” Yet Shelley’s poem, despite its pessimistic moments, also contains a certain optimism that the spirit of intellectual beauty will return, freeing “This world from its dark slavery” (l. 70). The speaker holds out hope that the “Spirit of Beauty” (l. 13) will “to my onward life supply/ Its calm” (ll. 80-81). The poem ends with the narrator’s continued commitment “To fear himself, and love all humankind” (l.84). Xu’s poem never makes the transition from gloom to hope that we see in Shelley’s “Hymn to Intellectual Beauty.”

Xu’s Poetry and China’s Politics

Perhaps this is because Xu’s doubts parallel the situation of contemporary China rather than being simply intellectual uncertainties. Though Xu tried to distance himself from politics, he could not escape the growing desperation of China’s situation in the 1920s. As part of the May Fourth Movement, which sought to free China from the restrictions of its traditions, Xu’s attitude in poems like “Roaming in the Clouds” lend themselves to comparison with the thoughts

278 Julia C. Lin 120
279 Gurney 87
280 Gurney 88
281 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 144
of another great May Fourth writer, the great Lu Xun. In his most famous metaphor, Lu
expresses doubts about the value of being awakened to the grim reality of the world:

Imagine an iron house without windows, absolutely indestructible, with many people fast
asleep inside who will soon die of suffocation. But you know since they will die in their
sleep, they will not feel the pain of death. Now if you cry aloud to wake a few of the
lighter sleepers, making those unfortunate few suffer the agony of irrevocable
death, do you think you are doing them a good turn?\footnote{Translation from Joseph S. M. Lau and Howard Goldblatt, eds., \textit{The Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 4}

Lu Xun questions the value of awakening people to the truth, realizing the agony of being
awakened to face a brutal reality that one cannot possibly change. Lu Xun’s attitude here seems
to me to reflect Xu Zhimo’s unspoken question in “Roaming in the Clouds.” Yes, the stream is
“awakened” by his encounter with beauty, but if such an awakening brings only pain, would it
not be better to remain asleep, like the suffocating sleepers in Lu Xun’s iron house? This
tendency to question (if not despair of) the value of awakening people runs deep within the May
Fourth Movement.\footnote{Yeh, \textit{Modern Chinese Poetry}, 29-31} Though a similar line of questioning can be found in Romantic works, their
doubts about the possibilities of transcendence and the value of beauty stem from an entirely
different source than Xu Zhimo’s and Lu Xun’s. The Chinese writers constantly faced the
poverty and abuse prevalent in their struggling society as well as the crushing feeling of
inadequacy against the militarily and industrially stronger imperialist powers. Their doubts and
insecurities flow from this sense of national humiliation and despair.\footnote{Schwarca 157} By contrast, English
Romantic doubt had its sources in personal feelings and philosophies.\footnote{Gurney 16}

Given this widespread pessimism, Xu Zhimo’s strong Romantic tendencies are even
more incredible. His love of nature, yearning for transcendence, and hope that the human mind
could reach a better place all shine through in many of his poems.\textsuperscript{286} Lu Xun follows his iron house metaphor with a friend’s rebuttal: “But if a few awake, you can’t say there is no hope of the destroying the iron house.”\textsuperscript{287} Xu Zhimo likewise has great hopes—for transcendence, for beauty, and for social change, the main concern of most May Fourth writers. However, as he grew older and China’s situation worsened, some of these hopes dimmed, leading to melancholy poems such as “Broken” (1927) and “Roaming in the Clouds” (1929).\textsuperscript{288}

As discussed earlier, Guo Moruo believed the main function of poetry was to bring about social change.\textsuperscript{289} For Xu Zhimo, writing played a different role. He likely would not have condemned Guo’s silkworms for spinning poetry for themselves alone. Much of Xu’s poetry explores the individual quest for transcendence, the individual’s relationship with the world and nature, or the individual’s reaction to beauty.\textsuperscript{290} Compared to Guo, Xu often seems isolationist. The standout example of this tendency is his poem “Go Away, World, Go Away.”\textsuperscript{291}

The title of this poem, which is also the first line, reveals the tone of the poem. The speaker shouts respectively at the world, his youth, “the country of dreams” (l. 9), and the “all in all” (l. 13) to “go away” in the four stanzas. The speaker himself stands “alone on the lofty mountain peak” (l. 2), a symbol of a man communing with nature.\textsuperscript{292} Cut off from the world, the speaker still feels the need to demand further isolation. While this poem clearly represents the wish to divorce oneself from the world, at a deeper level it expresses the futility of such a desire.\textsuperscript{293} Even the lone speaker, faced only with “the infinite blue canopy of sky” (l. 4) cannot

\textsuperscript{286} Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 159-160
\textsuperscript{287} Lau and Goldblatt 6
\textsuperscript{288} Lee Wing-yiu 30
\textsuperscript{289} Julia C. Lin 198
\textsuperscript{290} Lee, \textit{The Romantic Generation}, 169
\textsuperscript{291} Translated by Julia C. Lin
\textsuperscript{292} Julia C. Lin 124
\textsuperscript{293} Lee Wing-yiu 33
escape the world, and feels compelled to shout in frustration. The repeated refrain, “go away,” underlines the impossibility of escaping.

Part of the problem is that the speaker wishes to leave behind not just the outside world, but parts of himself. He tries to banish his own youth, wishing it could “be buried with the sweet grass of the valley” (l. 6). The speaker turns the typical connotations of youth—innocence, idealism, and purity—on their heads. He equates youth with death instead of life, regulating it to a grave. Instead of celebrating the happiness of being young, the speaker demands that youth “throw [its] sorrow to the crows of the darkening sky” (l. 8). The speaker rejects youth because he focuses only on its negative aspects. His isolationism results in no small part from despair.²⁹⁴

As an extension of this despair, the speaker even rejects imagination by banishing the “country of dreams” (l. 9). Most Romantic isolationism results from an inordinate love of the imagination, the desire to use the mind to forge a special relationship with nature and thus transcend the dismal realities of the world.²⁹⁵ Xu’s isolationism also rejects the power of his own mind, saying “I have scattered the jade cup of imagination” (l. 10). Based on his pessimistic interpretation of youth, we can infer that the decision to reject imagination comes from the speaker’s disillusionment with the “country of dreams” and the hope it represents.²⁹⁶ Yet despite his rejection of imagination, the speaker still sees value in communing with nature: “Smiling, I accept the congratulation of winds and waves” (l. 12).

Even though Xu’s narrator adopts the traditional Romantic pose, communing with nature, his attitude towards it is slightly different. Instead of an interaction with nature based on the imagination, Xu’s nature congratulates the speaker on rejecting the imagination and dreams. The poem implies that transcendence requires a rejection of both internal dreams and external

²⁹⁴ Lee Wing-yiu 33
²⁹⁵ Wellek 179
²⁹⁶ Lee Wing-yiu 31
Thus in the final stanza the speaker rejects “all in all” (l. 13) (also translated as “all and all” by Kai-yu Hsu).298 Facing the “lofty peak piercing heaven…the infinite Infinity” (ll. 14, 16), the speaker chooses to reject everything—the world, his own youth, even his imagination—in order to reach that Infinity. “Go Away, World, Go Away” provides a different spin on the transcendental quest—one that involves rejection of the internal world of the speaker as well as the external world. The speaker must empty himself before being able to reach “the infinite Infinity” of transcendence, an attitude that strongly harkens back to China’s Taoism.299

“Go Away, World, Go Away” and its escapist message has important connotations for Xu’s style of poetry. Most of Xu’s poems are chronicles of his emotions and perceptions, the quest for transcendence, or hymns to the beauty of the natural world. Like “Go Away, World, Go Away,” his poems mostly reject the political and social problems of his day, either explicitly or implicitly.300 Usually Xu’s consciousness of politics only finds its way into his poems through a pervading sense of pessimism in poems such as “Broken” or “Roaming in the Clouds.” Xu is less comfortable with direct commentary on the political-social world than his contemporary, Guo Moruo.301 Guo made it clear that his poetic mission was to bring about social change, ushering in a new utopia. Xu’s poetry lacks this clear purpose. His poems are usually a spontaneous expression of his intense personal emotions and as such lack any explicit political commentary.302

297 Julia C. Lin 124
299 Julia C. Lin 120
300 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 155
301 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 144
302 Lee, The Romantic Generation, 169
Xu’s Social Critiques

Here we see a division between two heritages of the Romantic traditions. Within the
Romantic genre there are two distinct types of poetry—the deeply personal record of the poet’s
emotions and the impassioned critique of social ills and the political world. Guo Moruo’s
poems also generally fit in these two categories. For Xu Zhimo, poetry as an emotional record far
outweighs poetry as a social critique. When he does write of social ills, he “offers no resolution,
sounds no indignant protest; he supplies only the detached observation of a bystander.” In this
way, Xu’s few poems with direct social commentary are more closely akin to Blake’s ironic
social commentary in *Songs of Innocence and Experience* than they are to the harsh social
critiques of Shelley’s “The Mask of Anarchy” or “England in 1819.”

A good example of Xu’s social critique is the poem “A Picture of Happy Poverty.” The
poem describes beggars picking through a pile of garbage, but accentuates the colors and
movements so that the scene appears more like a festive dance than what it is, a picture of abject
poverty. The title itself reflects this irony in the phrase “happy poverty.” Xu successfully uses
the irony of what he describes and how he describes it throughout the poem. Thus the
“garbage pile is a gold mine” (l. 8) and the beggars are “gold diggers” (l. 9). The experience of
digging through garbage becomes an exercise in peaceful unity: “No argument, only silent
poking and picking from the pile/…Shoulder to shoulder, head to head, poking and picking”
(l.15, 17). At the end of poem, the scene has a festival air to it.

One file of rags, like a moving merry-go-round lantern,
Going around and around and around.
The middle-aged women, the young girls, the grandmas,  
There are also a few yellow dogs mingling in their midst to add to the gaiety.  
(ll. 22-25)

Each of the ironic metaphors only serves to underline what the beggars will never experience—gold, joy, and the sort of abundant festival their scrounging recalls. As Lin comments, “The poem ends with the familiar Chinese lantern; its associations of festivity and gracious living subtly recall the life ‘behind the vermillion gates,’ where the garbage came from.”^310 The seeming happiness of the beggars likewise only serves to make their plight more poignant. Their joy over small scraps of food within a garbage heap drives home how desperate their situation is: “Grandma finds a strip of cloth. What a fine piece of cloth!/ … ‘Mother,’ a girl shouts, ‘I found a piece of fresh meat bone!/ We can cook it with bean cakes. Won’t it be nice?’”  
(ll.18, 20-21).

The use of light-hearted vocabulary to create an ironic condemnation of social injustice recalls Blake’s poems in *Songs of Innocence*, especially when those poems are read in conjunction with those published as *Songs of Experience*.^311 The poems in *Songs of Innocence* paint a picture of happiness and hope, even when the speaker or subject is disadvantaged socially. However, each of Blake’s *Songs of Innocence* contains an undercurrent of social critique that challenges the obvious interpretation.^312 The potential for critical irony becomes especially apparent when reading the companion poems of *Songs of Experience*, which turn the optimistic tone of *Innocence* on its head with sharp social critique. One of the most famous examples of this is “The Chimney Sweeper.” In *Songs of Innocence*, “The Chimney Sweeper” emphasizes a strong religious message. The young chimney sweeper, Tom, dreams about an Angel coming to free all the chimney sweeps: “Then naked and white, all their bags left behind,/ They rise upon
clouds and sport in the wind” (ll.17-18). The poem deemphasizes the brutal nature of child labor and underlines the hope of eternal paradise for those who “do their duty” (l. 24). The poem “radiates an harmonious faith in the consolations of the Christian promise.”  

By contrast, “The Chimney Sweeper” in *Songs of Experience* directly questions the hypocrisy of using the promise of heaven to justify current suffering: “They think they have done me no injury,/ And are gone to praise God and his Priest and King/ Who make up a heaven of our misery” (ll. 10-12). As Gurney puts it, in *Songs of Experience* “conventional Christian piety is rejected as a callow fraud.”  

When the two poems are read side by side, it is easy to detect ironic undercurrents in the first version despite its cheerful tone and bright imagery. Xu Zhimo also makes use of ironically merry imagery to create a harsh social critique in “A Picture of Happy Poverty.”  

Xu adopts a sharper tone in his poem “Serves You Right, Beggar” but still avoids either suggesting a solution or harshly chastising society. Instead, the poem is one of despair, cataloguing suffering rather than tracing its cause. The poem portrays “the abstract theme of the suffering of humanity” without attempting to assign blame or offer hope for improvement. The reader experiences the beggar’s overly polite pleas for help, for “a little bit of your leftovers, just a little bit!” (l. 3) and thus shoulders part of the guilt of ignoring his plight. Only the wind acknowledges the beggar’s existence, but, as in “Broken,” even this natural force assumes the role of tormenter. “Outside the gate, the northwest wind chuckles, ‘Serve you right, beggar!’” (l. 8) Utterly rejected, both by society and by nature, the beggar is reduced to “a pile of black shadows, trembling,/ Lying like a worm on the frontage road of humanity” (ll. 9-10).
Despite the undeniable pathos of this description, Xu’s poem of social critique lacks bitterness or anger.\textsuperscript{319} The social elites who would naturally be the targets for such anger are almost entirely absent from the poem. The beggar addresses them, but they make no response, either positive or negative. Only the cruel wind interacts at all with the beggar. A poem that could have been an angry diatribe becomes only a deeply melancholy statement on human suffering.\textsuperscript{320} This separates Xu from his Romantic counterparts, both English and Chinese—his poems of social critique are sad instead of angry. Where Guo Moruo or Percy Shelley would roar in anger, Xu Zhimo sighs in despair.

What then is the purpose of Xu’s social critique? If he neither seeks to galvanize a society into action through righteous anger, nor provides suggestions for positive change, then why depict poverty and misery?\textsuperscript{321} It seems to me that in Xu’s hands such subjects become extensions of Xu’s emotional poetry. In “Serves You Right, Beggar” the world is closely akin to that found in “Broken,” a record of personal suffering. Xu seems to be trying to give a voice to the emotions, especially the despair, of the poor. Thus he acts more as a conduit for feelings than a commentator.\textsuperscript{322} Perhaps Xu shared Keats’ belief in negative capability, whereby an author assumes the identity of the poetic subject without projecting anything of himself into it.\textsuperscript{323} Xu certainly achieves this in “A Picture of Happy Poverty,” where, as Lin says, “The narrator of the poem…never intrudes with didactic comment or sentimental moralizing.”\textsuperscript{324} Indeed, the narrator doesn’t intrude at all into the poem; he merely describes the events placed before him.

\textsuperscript{319} Julia C. Lin 132  
\textsuperscript{320} Julia C. Lin 132  
\textsuperscript{321} Julia C. Lin 132  
\textsuperscript{322} Julia C. Lin 131  
\textsuperscript{323} Wu 1336-1337  
\textsuperscript{324} Julia C. Lin 131
Perhaps John Keats is indeed the best counterpart one can find among the English Romantics for Xu’s style.\textsuperscript{325} Both share “an obsession with the passing of beauty” and a tendency to back away from explicit commentary on political events.\textsuperscript{326} Some critics suggest that Keats’ poems contain a great deal of hidden political statements;\textsuperscript{327} one can also find this submerged style of social and political critique coloring the emotions expressed in many of Xu’s darker poems, like “Broken” and “For Whom?”\textsuperscript{328} Yet ultimately Xu’s Romanticism is his own, grown out of his deep commitment to the pursuit of beauty and emotional truth against the formidable obstacles to both in early twentieth century China.

\textsuperscript{325} Julia C. Lin 119
\textsuperscript{326} Julia C. Lin 119; Wu 1340-1341
\textsuperscript{327} Wu 1341
\textsuperscript{328} Lee Wing-yiu 118
Conclusion

Both Guo Moruo and Xu Zhimo’s conceptions of Romanticism show the impact of the surrounding cultural and historical contexts. Guo’s love of nature and the drive to transcendence is colored by his Communist ideology, leading to confusion about the role of the poet. While Guo is pulled towards transcendence and individual liberation, his growing class consciousness leads him to extol the common man even over the revolutionary poet, so that the need for national transcendence in the end outweighs the need for personal transcendence. Despite this, Guo cannot overlook the value of personal liberation and transcendence. His works represent a tension between the typical Romantic hope for individual transcendence and the Chinese Communist pull for collectivist efforts towards national salvation. His poems argue with each other—should the poet be above the common man or below him? Should art be the spontaneous expression of ego and emotion, or political propaganda made to push the masses towards revolution? After 1924, Guo made his choice, devoting himself and his art fully to the Chinese Communist Party.

Xu avoids many of these tensions by largely absenting himself from politics. Most of his poems reflect an individualistic Romanticism. He experiments with Romantic themes on the value of nature and the possibility of transcendence through use of the imagination and remembrance. Yet Xu also brings a unique perspective to Romanticism, giving transcendental power to love as well as nature. In fact, some of Xu’s poems are downright pessimistic about nature, and love cannot always successfully combat the dark forces of the world Xu lived in. The realities of China’s social and political struggles lead Xu to become more and more pessimistic, coloring his Romanticism. Xu becomes obsessed with the transience of beauty. He cannot decide whether the passing of beauty should bring increased appreciation for it or bitterness.
The Romanticism of 1920s China, as represented by Guo Moruo and Xu Zhimo, is a unique literary movement to itself. However, even while being unique, Chinese Romanticism definitely fits within the broad bounds of Romanticism as defined by René Wellek. The emphasis on nature and the pantheistic force, the awesome power of the imagination, and poetry as a powerful force are all found in Chinese Romanticism. The Chinese Romantics, rather than merely copying English Romanticism, adapt it and add their unique cultural perspective. They are the new Romantics, giving one of the West’s great literary movements relevance to 20th century China.
Appendix: Full Text of Selected Poems

Guo Moruo’s Poems

By Electric Light

I. Inspired by an old theme: Su Tse-ching by Lake Baikal
The electric lights are already shining,
but why is there gloom in my heart?
I pace, a long figure, in the city;
I think of Su Tse-ching on the shores of Lake Baikal.
I see him with his white fleece on his shoulders,
a felt turban on his head, felt shoes, felt gown,
a solitary figure in the boundless Siberian steppes,
behind him a snowy sea of sheep.
I see him at dusk in early spring, waiting to return to the yurt,
his background the frozen waves of Lake Baikal
whose shapes mingle with the undulations of the clouds at the horizon.
I see him moving eastwards,
far away, looking towards the south, his head raised,
his eyes charge with infinite sorrow,
and yet as though there burned a thread of hope.

II. Before a painting—“The Shepherdess” of Millet
The electric lights are already shining,
but why is there gloom in my heart?
I imagine Su Tse-ching’s thoughts turning to home.
I enter an art gallery from the street,
I enjoy the late afternoon scene of Vierwaldstätter Sea;
next I gaze on a waterfall in California—
an ideal picture, a picture more than ideal.
Person in the painting, surely you are a barbarian woman, yes a barbarian woman.
A vast emerald plain brilliant with wild flowers
unrolls before my eyes.
In it stands a woman with a crook in her hand,
at her back, homeward-bound, surges her flock of sheep.
Such must have been the scene to which Su Tse-ching returned:
his forsaken wife, his thriving flock.
But the eyes of the shepherdess, those eyes…
are they fraught with bitterness? With resentment? With despair?

III. Portrait of Beethoven

329 All poems by Guo Moruo translated by Jong Lester and A.C. Barnes. Asterisked lines are my own translations.
The electric lights are already shining,  
but why is there gloom in my heart?  
I look again at the painting by Millet,  
I again search through “the world’s great paintings.”  
Virgin Mary, head of Jesus, girl hugging a pitcher… *  
dance before my eyes.  
Ah! Beethoven! Beethoven! You dispel my nameless grief!  
Your disheveled hair streams like swiftly flowing waves,  
your high white collar is like a snow-capped ridge;  
your leonine forehead, your tigerish eyes,  
your brain which is like “the will of the universe” itself.  
In your right hand a pen, in your left a manuscript,  
an angry torrent flows from the point of your pen.  
Beethoven! What are you listening to?  
It is as if I were hearing your *symphony.*

**Coal in the Grate**  
-dedicated to my native land

Ah, my fair young maiden,  
I shall not betray your care,  
let you not disappoint my hopes.  
For her my heart’s delight  
I burn to such a heat.

Ah, my fair young maiden,  
you must know of my former life?  
You must not shrink from my coarseness?*  
only in my slavish breast*  
could burn a fire so bight.

Ah, my fair young maiden,  
I believe in my former life*  
I was a trusty pillar  
buried alive for years one end:  
today I must see the light of day again.  
Ah, my fair young maiden,  
since I saw the light of day again*  
I often think of my native home:*  
for her my heart’s delight  
I burn to such a heat.

**Drunken Song Under a Flowering Plum Tree**

Plum tree! Plum tree!
I sing your praises! I sing your praises!
You from your innermost self
exhale your faint unearthly fragrance
and put forth your lovely flowers.
Flowers! Love!
Quintessence of the universe,
source of life!
Were spring without flowers,
life without love,
what kind of a world would it be?
Plum blossom! Plum blossom!
I sing your praises,
I sing the praises of myself,
I sing the praises of the self-expressive universe.

The Good Morning

I greet you with a Good Morning,
rolling ocean that knows no rest,
shimmering glow of the rosy dawn,
white clouds welling up like poetry from its source.
silken-rain threads evenly drawn (language of poetry),
crests over the sea burning with the fire of passion,
morning breeze combing the soul.
(Morning breeze, bear away my voice to the four quarters!)

I greet you with a Good Morning,
my youthful homeland,
my new-born kinsfolk,
boundless reaches in southern lands of my Yangtze,
frozen wastes in the northern lands of my Yellow River.
(Yellow River, may the ice-floes in your bosom thaw very soon!)
Thousand-league Great Wall,
wilderness of snow,
the Russia who inspires me with awe,
the pioneer I hold in awe.

I greet you with a Good Morning,
snow-capped Pamirs,
snow-capped Himalayas,
revered Tagore of the Bengal,
fellow scholars in the school of Nature,
Ganges! Sacred light glowing on the Ganges,
Indian Ocean, Red Sea, Suez Canal,
pyramids on the banks of the Nile!
Da Vinci, so early your dreams of flight,
Thinker of Rodin, seated before the Pantheon,
band of friends, half working half studying,
Belgium, people of Belgium, survivors of war,
Ireland, poets of Ireland,
Atlantic!

I greet you with a Good Morning,
Atlantic, flanked by the New World,
grave of Washington, of Lincoln, of Whitman,
Whitman! Whitman! The Pacific that was Whitman!
Pacific!
Pacific Ocean! Isles of the Pacific, ancient Fusang lying in the Pacific,
O Fusang! Fusang still wrapped in dream.
Awake! Mésamé!
Hasten to share in this millennial dawn!

I Am an Idolater

I am an idolater;
I worship the sun, worship mountain peaks, worship the sea;
I worship water, worship fire, worship volcanoes, worship the great rivers;
I worship life, worship death, worship light, worship darkness;
I worship Suez, worship Panama, worship the Great Wall, worship the Pyramids.
I worship the creative spirit, worship strength, worship blood, worship the heart;
I worship bombs, worship sorrow, worship destruction;
I worship iconoclasts, worship myself,
for I am also an iconoclast!

Morning Snow
-On reading Carlyle’s “The Hero as Poet”

Waves of snow.
A world of all silver.
My whole being is ready to resolve into light and flow forth,
an open secret.

Water dripping from the eaves…
Surely it is my life’s blood?
My life’s blood drips with muted cadence,
in harmony with the waves of the sea, of the pines, of the snow.

Nature, how bold your sweep.
The symphony that is Nature.
Hero-poet.
O Earth, My Mother

O earth, my mother,
the sky is already pale with dawn;
you rouse the child in your bosom,
now I am crawling on your back.

O earth, my mother,
you sustain me as I roam through the paradisiacal garden,
and within the ocean
you give forth music that soothes my spirit.

O earth, my mother,
though past, present and future
you are food, apparel, shelter for me;
how can I repay the benefits you have bestowed upon me?

O earth, my mother,
henceforth I shall seclude myself less indoors;
in the midst of this opening up of waste lands
I would fulfill my filial duty to you.

O earth, my mother,
I am envious of your dutiful sons, the peasants in the fields;
they are the nurse of mankind,
you have always cared for them.

O earth, my mother,
I am envious of your darlings, workers in coal pits;
they are Prometheus of mankind,
you have always cared for them.

O earth, my mother,
I am envious of every blade or twig, my brothers, your progeny:
freely, independently, contentedly, vigorously
they enjoy the life bestowed on them.

O earth, my mother,
I envy every living creature, the earthworm most of all;
only I do not envy the birds flying in the air,
they have left you to go their way in the air.
O earth, my mother,
I do not wish to fly in the air,
nor ride in carts, on horseback, wear socks or put on shoes,
I only wish to go barefoot, ever closer to you.

O earth, my mother,
you are witness to the reality of my existence;
I do not believe you are the mere shape of a bubble conjured forth in a dream,
I do not believe I am merely an imbecile creature acting without reason.

O earth, my mother,
we are all I-yin, born out of Kungsang;
I do not believe that in the shadowy heaven above,
a certain Father exists.

O earth, my mother,
I think everything in this world are incarnations of your body:
thunder is the breath of your might,
snow and rain the upsurge of your blood.

O earth, my mother,
I think that the lofty bowl of the sky is the mirror in which you adorn yourself,
and that the sun by day and the moon by night
are but your reflections in the mirror.
O earth, my mother,
I think that all the stars in the sky
are but the eyes of us your creatures reflected in the mirror.
I can only think you are the witness to the reality of existence.

O earth, my mother,
My former self was just an ignorant child,
I only enjoyed your affection,
I did not understand, I did not know how to repay your affection.

O earth, my mother,
henceforth I shall realize how loving you are;
if I drink a glass of water, even if it is from Heaven-sent dew,
I shall know it is your milk, my life-sustaining drink.

O earth, my mother,
whenever I hear a voice speak or laugh
I know it is your song,
expressly provided to comfort my spirit.

O earth, my mother,
before my eyes everything is in restless motion;
I know this is your dance
with which you wish to comfort my soul.

O earth, my mother,
I savour every fragrance, every colour;
I know they are playthings you have given to me
expressly to comfort my spirit.

O earth, my mother,
my spirit is your spirit;
I shall make my spirit strong
to repay your affection

O earth, my mother,
henceforth I shall repay your affection;
I know that you love me and wish to encourage me to work,
I shall learn from you to work, never to stop.

**Pacing Through Jurimatsubara at Night**

The ocean sleeps in peace.
Gaze into the distance, only a misty glow can be seen,
not the faintest murmur of waves can be heard.
Ah, you spacious heavens, how lofty you are, how free, how mighty, how vast and seren!
Countless stars look down the wide-eyed,
their gaze fixed on the beauty of the night.
Countless pines in Jurimatsubara
raise high their hands in silent adoration of the heavens;
their hands tremble in awe against the sky;
every fibre of my nerves trembles in awe within me!

**Panorama from Fudetate Yama**

Pulse of the great city,
surge of life,
beating, panting, roaring,
spurting, flying, leaping,
the whole sky covered with a pall of smoke:
my heart is ready to leap from my mouth.
Hills, roofs, surge on,
wave after wave they well up before me.
Symphony of myriad sounds,
marriage of man and Nature.
The curve of the bay might be Cupid’s bow,
Man’s life his arrow, shot over the sea.
Dark and misty coastline, steamers at anchor,
steamers in motion, steamers unnumbered,
funnel upon funnel bearing its black peony.
Ah! Emblem of the Twentieth Century!
Stern of modern civilization!

Pyramids

First one, then two, then three pyramid peaks
range on the banks of the Nile—are these not the Nile banks?
One high, one lower, the last lowest of all.
The river banks below run on neat as a knife cut.
Ah, those ripples in the river’s flow, those rosy clouds surging behind the pyramids!
A white blur of light shows through the clouds: it must be the westering sun;
The sun has traversed the eastern hemisphere, it will now visit the western.
The natural and man-made beauties must all have passed before your gaze.
No! No! Not so! It is the earth that is turning and circling you
like a dancing girl approaching you.
Sun! Symbol of the sun! Pyramids!
Oh, that I might follow you in your course, fly towards you!

II

On either side runs a line of somber woods:
between them flows a Z-shaped ribbon,
flowing towards the foot of the cloud-lapped pyramids
seem at the same time to be proclaiming in sonorous voices:
Create! Create! Create with all your might!
The creative forces of man can rival those of the gods.
If you will not believe, look upon us, we grandiose structures!
Even the sun in the sky must bow his head to us!
Sonorous thunder, I am grateful for this your self-tested advice.
The surging feelings in the sea of my heart have converged into a river that flows towards you.
Surely that Z-shaped river in the woods must be me myself!

Prefatory Poem to The Goddesses

I am a proletarian:
Because except for my naked self,
I have no private property of my own.
The Goddesses is something that I gave birth to myself,
And perhaps I could say that it belongs to me,
But I would like to become a communist,
So I am going to share it with public.

**Shouting on the Rim of the World**

Endless tumult of angry white clouds,  
sublime arctic landscape.  
The mighty Pacific gathers her strength to engulf the earth,  
the surging flood wells up before me:  
unending destruction, unending creation, unending effort.  
Ah, power, power!  
Picture of power, dance of power, music of power, poetry of power, gamut of power!

**Spring Sadness**

Is it that melancholy is clouding my mind?  
Or is it the desolate bleakness of the sky?  
How is it that the spring sunlight  
is so drear and bereft of brilliance?  
Why do the hills on yonder shore  
bow their heads in frowning dejection?  
The air is filled with the beat of the waves on the shore.  
O sea! to whom are you speaking?  
But I can make nothing of the words of the sea,  
for me the flight of the white clouds has no meaning.

**Spring Silkworms**

Silkworms, you are spinning silk….  
No it is poetry you are spinning!  
How gossamer your poetry, how charming, how delicate, how pure, how sparkling,  
how very …why I can find no words to describe you!

Silkworms, your poetry—  
is it premeditated or unprompted?  
Do you create with art, or is it a natural flow?  
Do you make it for others,  
or for yourselves alone?

Silkworms, I am afraid that your poetry  
is, alas, spontaneous,  
is, alas, a natural flow.
The Palace of Art you are erecting,
is, alas, for yourselves alone.

Sunrise

Fiery clouds girdle the rim of the sky
like crimson dragons roving the air,
like crimson lions, whales, elephants, rhinoceroses.
Perhaps you are all outriders of Apollo?

And you, blazing headlights of motorcars,
you twentieth-century Apollos,
have you not changed your mount for a car?
I would be your driver, will you engage me?

Ah! The vitality of light!
Agate morning birds scatter before my eyes.
Light and dark are divided with the clean cut of a knife.
This truly is the struggle between life and death!*

Ah! Light and dark, both are floating clouds.*
I hold my gaze on the darkness of the clouds:
all are dispersed by Apollo’s potent beams.
The cock crows all about me boast of the triumphant return.*

Victorious in Death

Terence MacSwiney, the Sinn Feiner, a leader of the Irish Republican Army, was arrested by the British Government in the middle of August, 1920 and was imprisoned in Parkstone Jail. For seventy-three days he disdained to eat the English bread and died there on October 25.

I.

Oh! once again to Freedom's cause return
The patriot Tell—the Bruce of Bannockburn!
---Thomas Campbell

True depiction of “the sea of tears,”
gaunt forbidding pile: can it be the gateway to a prison, or the outside of a church?
A countless throng of young men kneel at prayer.

“MacSwiney, leader of the Irish Republican Army,
cast into Parkstone Gaol fifty day ago and more,
has spurned ever since the shameful English bread.
We sons of Ireland, kneeling before this great building,
are deeply moved by his devotion.
We offer up our prayers for his protection.”

Honoured MacSwiney!
Dear sons of Ireland,
the spirit of freedom will ever stand by you,
for you stand by one another,
you are the incarnation of freedom!

October 13

II.

Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,
And Freedom shrieked—as Kosciusko fell!
--Thomas Campbell

Terence MacSwiney, Irish patriot!
Today is the 22nd of October!
(Never has the calendar on the wall so fixed my attention!)
Are you still alive, locked in your prison cell?
Came a cable of the 17th from London:
It was sixty-six days since your fast began,
and yet you bear yourself as well as ever.
You talked for a while with your dear ones on the afternoon of the 17th,
and your face was even more radiant than before.
Your strength was fading daily…
and today is the 22nd of October.
Irish patriot, Terence MacSwiney!
Can you still be counted among living creature?
A cable of the 17th from your native Cork
told than a Sinn Feiner, a comrade of yours, Fitzgerald,
fasted for sixty-eight days in Cork City Gaol,
and suddenly died at sundown on the 17th.
Cruel deaths there are in history, but few so tragic.
The Shouyang Mountain of Ireland! The Po-yi and Shu-chi of Ireland!
The next cable I dread to read…

October 22

III.

O sacred Truth! Thy triumph ceased awhile,
And Hope, thy sister, ceased with thee to smile.
--Thomas Campbell

Now arrives a cable of the 21st:
Three times MacSwiney has fainted.
His sister has sent a telegram to his friends,
hoping that the citizens have offered prayers for her brother.
She prays that he may die the sooner, and his agony be ended.
Who could bear to read to the end these heart-breaking words?
Who could restrain his tears?
Bestial murderous government, are you bent on casting an indelible stain on the history of the world?
Cruel, callous Englishmen, has the blood of Byron and Campbell ceased to flow in your veins?
Lusterless moon, would that our somber earth might on the instant be turned like you to ice!

October 24

IV.

Truth shall restore the light by Nature given,
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of Heaven!
--Thomas Campbell

The mighty ocean is sobbing its sad lament,
the boundless abyss of the sky is red with weeping,
far, far away the sun has sunk in the west.
Brave, tragic death! Death in a blaze of glory! Triumphant death!*
Victorious death!
Impartial God of Death! I am grateful to you! You have saved MacSwiney, for whom my love and reverence know no bounds!
MacSwiney, fighter for freedom, you have shown how great can be the power of the human will!
I am grateful to you! I extol you! Freedom can henceforth never die! The night has closed down on us, but how bright is the moon…

October 27

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Xu Zhimo’s Poems

Coral

No need to expect me to speak,
My heart’s sunk to the bottom of the sea;
No use beckoning to me again,
For I can reply no more

Unless, unless you, too, would come
To this world surrounded by coral reefs;
In the quiet moment when the sea wind subsides,
You and I would exchange our sighs.

--Trans. Michelle Yeh

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330 Translated by Michelle Yeh
Birth of Spring

Last night,
And the night before as well,
In the frenzied madness of thunder and rain
Spring
Was born in the corpse of winter.

Don’t you feel the yielding softness underfoot,
The caressing warmth on your forehead?
Greenness floats on the branches,
Water in the pool ripples into tangled longing;
On your body and mine
And within our bosoms is a strange throbbing;

Peach flowers are already in bloom on your face.
And I more keenly relish
Your seductive charm, drinking in
Your pearly laughter.
Do you not feel my arms
Anxiously seeking your waist,
My breath reflecting on your body,
Like myriads of fireflies thrusting themselves into the flame?

These and untold others,
All join the birds in their ecstatic soaring,
All join hands in praise of
The birth of spring.

Broken

1
Sitting on a deep, deep night,
A dim glow at the window,
    Dust balls rolling
    Down the alley:
I want to compose a broken, broken tune
With the dull tip of my pen
To express my broken thoughts.

2
Sitting on a deep, deep night,

331 Translated by Julia C. Lin
332 Translated by Michelle Yeh
The night chill at the window chinks,
    Jealous of the warmth fading from the room,
    Does not forgive my limbs:
I’ll use my drying ink to sketch
Some broken, broken patterns,
For broken are my thoughts.

3
Sitting on a deep, deep night,
With grotesque shadows around me:
    Withered trees
    Screech on the bank of an icy river
    And gesture in wild despair,
Like me in my broken, broken consciousness
Trying to rebuild a broken world.

4
Sitting on a deep, deep night,
I reminisce with my eyes closed:
Ah, when she was still a cool white lotus
    In the morning breeze, delicate beyond compare.
But I am neither sunshine nor dew;
All I have is my broken breaths
    Like the mice locked up in the wall,
Scuffling about, chasing after darkness and the void!

For Whom? 333

In the last few days, the autumn wind has become notably sharp.
    I am afraid to look at our courtyard.
    The leaves, like wounded birds, wildly swirl,
    As if shot by invisible arrows—
Gone, completely gone, are life, color, and beauty.

Only a few streaks of creeping vine are left on the western walls.
    Its leopard-spotted autumn color still
    Bearing the beatings of the wind’s fists,
    Lowly it moans a sound of sorrow.
    “I endure for you!” it seems to tell me.

It endures for me! That splendid autumn vine.
    But the autumn wind mercilessly pursues,
    Pursues (Blight is its only act of grace!),
    Pursuing to the end of life’s remaining radiance.

333 Translated by Julia C. Lin
Now on the wall is no longer seen the brave autumn vine.

Tonight there are three blue stars in the sky,  
    Listening close to the empty autumn courtyard,  
    So quiet, not even a sigh is heard.  
    The fallen leaves are asleep above the ground.  
I am left alone in the deep night. Ah, for whom do I grieve?

Go Away, World, Go Away

Go away, world, go away!  
I stand alone on the lofty mountain peak;  
Go away, world, go away!  
I face the infinite blue canopy of sky.

Go away, youth, go away!  
And be buried with the sweet grass of the valley.  
Go away, youth, go away!  
Throw your sorrows to the crows of the darkening sky.

Go away, country of dreams, go away!  
I have scatter the jade cup of imagination.  
Go away, country of dreams, go away!  
Smiling, I accept the congratulations of winds and waves.

Go away, all in all, go away!  
Before me is the lofty peak piercing heaven.  
Go away, all in all, go away!  
Before me if the infinite Infinity!

A Picture of Happy Poverty

There is a large pile of newly dumped garbage before the lane.  
Probably it is from behind the vermillion gates.  
They are not all ashes. Still some good cinders left.  
Not all bones. There is marrow in them;  
Perhaps there are even slivers of meat.  
There are rags and untorn newspapers;  
Two, three lamp wicks, a few cigarette butts.

This garbage pile is a gold mine.  
It is full of crouching gold diggers:

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334 Translated by Julia C. Lin
335 Translated by Julia C. Lin
A squadron of dirty rags, tattered pants and jackets,  
One, two, countless humped backs.  
Young girls, middle-aged women, old grandmas are all there,  
One hand clutching a basket, the other holding a tree branch,  
Their waists bending low, not a cough, not a chatter;  
No argument, only silent poking and picking from the pile,  
Poking in the front, poking in the back, poking from both sides;  
Shoulder to shoulder, head to head, poking and picking.  
Grandma finds a strip of cloth. What a fine piece of cloth!  
Some are collecting cinders, a ground filled with cinders.  
“Mother,” a girl shouts, “I found a piece of fresh meat bone!  
We can cook it with bean cakes. Won’t it be nice?”  
One file of rags, like a moving merry-go-round lantern,  
Going around and around and around.  
The middle-aged women, the young girls, the grandmas,  
There are also a few yellow dogs mingling in their midst to add to the gaiety.

Roaming in the Clouds

That day you lightly roam among the clouds in the sky,  
Carefree, delicately graceful, you have no thought to tarry  
Along the sky’s edge or the land’s end.  
You have found your joy in infinite wandering.  
You are unaware that on this humble earth  
There is a mountain stream. Your radiant beauty  
In your passing has kindled his soul  
And startled him to awakening. He held close to your lovely shadow.  
But what he held was only unending sorrow,  
For no beauty can be stayed in space or time.  
He yearns for you, but you’ve flown across many mountain peaks  
To cast your shadow in a yet vaster and wider sea.  
He now pines for you, that one mountain stream,  
Despairingly praying, praying for your return.

Second Farewell to Cambridge

Softly I am leaving,  
As I softly came;  
I wave my hand in gentle farewell  
To the clouds in the western sky.  

The golden willow on the riverbank

336 Translated by Julia C. Lin  
337 Translated by Michelle Yeh
Is a bride in the sunset;  
Her luminous reflection in the ripples  
Is swaying in my heart.

Plants in the soft mud  
Wave in the current;  
I’d rather be a water reed  
In the gentle river of Cam.

The pool in the elm shade  
Is not clear but iridescent;  
Wrinkled by the swaying algae,  
It settles into a rainbowlike dream.

In search of a dream? With a long pole,  
Sail toward where the grass grows greener;  
In a skiff loaded with starlight,  
Sing among the shining stars.

But I cannot sing tonight;  
Silence is the tune of farewell.  
Summer insects are quiet for me too;  
Silent is Cambridge tonight.

Quietly I am leaving,  
As I quietly came;  
I raise my sleeve and wave,  
Without taking away a whiff of cloud.

Seeking a Bright Star

I ride on a limping blind horse,  
Spurring it on into the dark night;  
Spurring it on into the dark night,  
I ride on a limping blind horse.

I dash into this long dark night,  
Seeking a bright star;  
Seeking a bright star,  
I dash into this vast darkness of the wild.

Exhausted, exhausted is my riding animal,  
Yet the star remains invisible;  
Yet the star remains invisible,

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338 Translated by Julia C. Lin
Exhausted, exhausted is the body on the saddle.

Now the sky reveals a crystallike radiance,
   An animal falls in the wild;
   A corpse lies in the dark night,
Now the sky reveals a crystallike radiance,

Serves You Right, Beggar

“Kind-hearted ladies, charitable sirs,”
   The northwest wind slashes his face like a sharp knife.
“Give me a little bit of your leftovers, just a little bit!”
   A patch of dark shadows curls up near the gate.

“Have pity my wealthy lord, I’m dying of hunger.”
   Inside the gate there are jade cups, warm fire and laughter.
“Have pity, my lord of good fortunes, I’m dying of cold.”
   Outside the gate the northwest wind chuckles, “Serves you right, beggar!”

I am but a pile of black shadows, trembling,
Lying like a worm on the frontage road of humanity;
I wish only a bit of the warmth of sympathy
To shelter what’s left of me, after repeated carving.
But this heavy gate stays tightly closed: Care who might?
In the street only the wind continues to ridicule, “Beggar, serves you right!”

Thomas Hardy

Hardy, world-weary, life-weary,
This time has no need to complain.
Has a black shadow covered his eyes?
Gone, he will show his face no more.

Eighty years are not easy to live.
That old man, he had a hard time.
With heavy thoughts burdening him,
He could not let go morning or night.

Why did he leave sweets untasted
And comfortable couches unused?
Why did he have to choose a gloomy tune to sing
And spices that burned his tongue?

339 Translated by Kai-yu Hsu
340 Translated by Michelle Yeh
He was born a stiff old man
Who loved to glare at folks.
Whoever he looked at got bad luck—
No use begging mercy from him.

He loved to take the world apart;
Even a rose would be ruined.
He did not have the gentle touch of a canary,
Only the queerness of a night owl.

Strange, all he fought for was
A little freedom of the soul.
He didn’t mean to quarrel with anyone;
To see truth was to see it clearly.

But he was not without love—
He loved sincerity and compassion.
They say life is a dream;
Still, it shouldn’t be without comfort.

These days you blame him for his regrets,
Blame him for his thorny words.
He said optimism was the face of a corpse
Made up with powder and rouge.

This is not to give up hope;
The universe will go on.
But if there is hope for the future,
Thoughts cannot be taken lightly.

To uphold the dignity of thought,
The poet dared not relax.
He lifted his ideals high, his eyes wide open,
As he picked at life’s mistakes.

Now he’s gone, he can no longer speak.
(Listen to the quietness in the wild.)
Forget him if you will.
(Heaven mourns the demise of a sage.)
Bibliography


