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WANG KUO-WEI AND LU HSÜN: THE EARLY YEARS*

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Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若 (b. 1892) has contended that in their early years there were a great many similarities between Lu Hsün 魯迅 (1882–1936) and Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 (1877–1927).¹ They belonged to the same age group and came from the same areas of Chekiang province. Wang Kuo-wei went to Japan in 1901 to study physics, while Lu Hsün travelled there in 1902 to study medicine. After giving up their studies in science, both men became interested in literature and philosophy. As serious scholars, Lu and Wang attempted to organize and analyze China's cultural tradition from new perspectives, according to Kuo Mo-jo. Wang Kuo-wei's work on Shang and Chou dynasty bronzes, Han and Chin dynasty bamboo slips, and oracle bones was epoch-making. Lu Hsün's research into post-Ch'in dynasty wood engravings and his systematic account of Chinese fiction were also very important.²

To account for Lu Hsün's ability to escape the shackles of a feudal

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Abbreviations:

LHCC *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi* 魯迅全集, 10 vols. Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1956.

CAWC *Ching-an wen-chi* 靜庵文集 in *Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu* 海寧王靜安先生遺書. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936.

CAWCHP *Ching-an wen-chi hsü-pien* 靜庵文集續編 in *Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu*.

1) Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若, *Li-shih jen-wu* 歷史人物 (Shanghai: Hsin wen-i ch'u-pan-she, 1952, 2nd ed.), pp. 288–300.

2) *Ibid.*, pp. 291–93.

society and Wang Kuo-wei's becoming a sacrificial victim to that society, Kuo Mo-jo argued that Lu Hsün had been able to grow with the times under the influence of radical friends and teachers, whereas Wang Kuo-wei stopped growing at a middle stage in his development as a result of his unfortunate relationship with his deceitful and oppressive benefactor, Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 (1866–1940).³

While it may be the case that Kuo Mo-jo's account is a simple character study—the kind of psychological sketch of two personalities that some one does as a literary diversion—its theoretical significance lies in Kuo's attempt to apply social and environmental conditions, i.e., class analysis, to intellectual phenomena. Thus, Kuo Mo-jo's 1946 remarks about Lu Hsün and Wang Kuo-wei are a foreshadowing of the rise of class analysis in Chinese academics after the 1949 liberation.

A careful reading of Lu Hsün's and Wang Kuo-wei's early writings, however, reveals Kuo Mo-jo's picture to be misleading.⁴ Given the similarities which Kuo enumerated, it is significant how different in content and orientation their early essays were. In this article I will explore the cultural and political commitments which are found in these early works. If we can understand what questions each man was asking in these essays, we will be able to decipher some important elements in his intellectual development and better understand why the two men came to different ends.

WANG KUO-WEI'S EARLY ESSAYS⁵

When Wang Kuo-wei turned thirty in 1907, he wrote that for five

3) *Ibid.*, pp. 295–99. For an account of Wang's relationship with Lo Chen-yü see Ching-i Tu, "Conservatism in a Constructive Form: The Case of Wang Kuo-wei (1877–1927)," *Monumenta Serica* 28 (1969), 193–4, 197–202, 208–11. For an account of Chang T'ai-yen 章太炎 (1868–1936) and his impact on Lu Hsün see Ts'ao Chü-jen 曹聚仁, *Lu Hsün p'ing-chuan* 魯迅評傳 (Hong Kong: Hsin wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1961), pp. 34–35.

4) Included of course, is a gentle tug at the totalistic aspects of sociological reductionism. On the other hand, this is not to say that Lo's role in Wang's life was entirely honorable either. Lo was known as a forger, and is suspected of taking credit for some of Wang's research. See Kuo, *op. cit.*, pp. 297–98.

5) The essays I will present first appeared one by one in the 1904–5 issues of

years he had been engaged in an attempt at self-education, first reading secondary works on western philosophical and sociological issues, before proceeding to read the writings of Immanuel Kant, Arthur Schopenhauer, and Friedrich Nietzsche in English translations.⁶ By his own admission, Wang had become interested in western thought because of his weak physical constitution and his accompanying despondency over the meaning of human life.

In the essay entitled "Schopenhauer's Philosophy and his Theory of Education," Wang claimed that Schopenhauer had corrected Kant's mistaken assumptions and successfully developed a coherent metaphysical system. According to Wang, Schopenhauer had discovered the pure knowing subject, the thing-in-itself or "will," which gave internal significance to our ideas of the world.⁷

Because the basic aim of the will was self-preservation, life was a vale of suffering in which organisms preyed upon each other in a blind striving for existence at any cost. To remedy this, Wang went on, Schopenhauer had stipulated that only the total denial of the will could bring salvation. If the intellect could break away from the will's enslavement, then objects of perception would no longer be seen simply

the journal *Chiao-yü shih-chieh tsa-chih* 教育世界雜誌 founded by Lo Chen-yü in 1901 and edited by Lo and Wang together. These essays were subsequently brought together in the 1905 collections (*CAWC* and *CAWCHP*) upon which this article is based. For purposes of focus, a number of Wang's more specialized essays have not been included.

6) *CAWCHP*, pp. 19b–20a. According to Wang's own account, he read Friedrich Paulsen's *Introduction to Philosophy* and Wilhelm Windelband's *A History of Philosophy*. Wang seems to have studied Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* mainly, but he also read parts of *Foundations of Morals* and *Critique of Judgment*. He concentrated on Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Idea* but also read *The Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason*, *The Will in Nature*, and *Essays*. Although Wang does not mention which works of Nietzsche he did read, his translations indicate that his knowledge of Nietzsche's ideas was based on *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and Windelband's discussion. In addition, Wang read some things by John Locke and David Hume. For an account of Wang's subsequent rejection of philosophy and his turn toward poetry and literary criticism see *Wang Kuo-wei's Jen-chien Tz'u-hua* 人間詞話 : *A Study in Chinese Literary Criticism*. Translated with an introduction by Adele Austin Rickett (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1977), pp. 12–13.

7) *CAWC*, p. 26a.

in terms of their value to the will. They would stand in an aesthetic relation to the intellect, and the recognition of true beauty would become possible.⁸

No one but the genius, a *t'ien-ts'ai* 天才, could achieve this vision of the highest in which the selfish desires of the will were overcome. Wang used Schopenhauer's aesthetic theory to analyze the novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* in another essay.⁹ Wang attempted to demonstrate that the pains of life were self-inflicted and that the road to salvation lay in overcoming the desires of the will and negating the subject/object dichotomy. Chia Pao-yü's 賈寶玉 parting with the "red dust of the world" was the epitome of the aesthetic ideal: the renunciation of the will to live.¹⁰

The essay "Schopenhauer and Nietzsche" began with Wang's noting that both Nietzsche and Schopenhauer took "will" as the essence of human nature. Unlike Schopenhauer, however, Nietzsche opposed the denial of the will as a cultural ideal. Schopenhauer had contended that only aesthetic contemplation could transcend the law of sufficient reason, and Wang tried to show how Nietzsche had turned this around and developed his notion of the *Übermensch*.¹¹ The latter went beyond the laws of good and evil in the same way that Schopenhauer's genius overcame the demands of his will in the contemplation of beauty.¹²

Wang Kuo-wei was so caught up in speculative philosophy in these essays that he did not mention anything having to do with events of his own time. In the essay "On the Current Intellectual World," however, he attempted to relate his philosophical studies to contemporary events in China. Wang's message was internationalist in tone. Beginning with a claim that intellectual thought in China had reached a point of stagnation comparable to the period before the influx of Buddhism, Wang saw western ideas as a "second Buddhism" capable of stimulating

8) *Ibid.*, pp. 26b–29b.

9) *Ibid.*, pp. 40b–62a. The essay was entitled "Critique of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*."

10) *Ibid.*, pp. 47b, 52a–53a.

11) *Ibid.*, pp. 62a–62b.

12) *Ibid.*, pp. 62b–64a.

Chinese intellectual life.¹³ Although Yen Fu's 嚴復 (1853–1921) translations were important, Wang pointed out that Yen's emphasis had not been on the root of western culture—pure philosophy—but, rather, was limited to its branches—science, economics, and sociology.¹⁴ What was needed, according to Wang, was an understanding of the philosophical vision from which the West drew its strength.

Wang went on to criticize those Chinese who were interested in western ideas for their political content only. K'ang Yu-wei 康有爲 (1857–1927) and T'an Ssu-t'ung 譚嗣同 (1865–1898) were described as false prophets of religious superstitions already in decline in the West. Wang ridiculed the Chinese journals then appearing in Japan as shallow attempts by students and exiles to appear knowledgeable about the West when they were nothing but political demagogues. Modern Chinese literature was also falling into a political trap: literature as a platform for political issues.¹⁵

For these reasons Wang concluded that western ideas would not have much impact in China. He wrote: "Therefore, if you want scholarship to progress, then you must view scholarship as the goal and not as the means before it will be all right."¹⁶ In closing he pointed out that it was wrong to see China and the West as separate worlds of knowledge. Again he wrote: "What scholarship disputes is merely the difference between right and wrong, true and false. . . . The development of scholarship resides in its independence and that's all."¹⁷

Wang discussed the intellectual's role in society in the essay "On the Sacred Duty of Philosophers and Artists" in which he described philosophers and artists as men searching for true principles, principles that would hold for all time. Politicians and industrialists could only hope for achievements that would last five or ten generations.¹⁸

13) *Ibid.*, pp. 93b–97a.

14) *Ibid.*, pp. 94a–94b. Yen Fu translated Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* along with some works by Herbert Spencer and others into classical Chinese. See Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power. Yen Fu and the West* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), *passim*.

15) *CAWC*, pp. 94b–95a.

16) *Ibid.*, p. 95b.

17) *Ibid.*, p. 97a.

18) *Ibid.*, p. 101a.

As Wang saw it, China only had developed ethical and political ideas, but never any pure philosophy. He ended rhetorically: "Isn't it also the case that philosophers and artists have forgotten their sacred worth and independent position and cowardly accept the command of the populace?"¹⁹ The roots of high culture lay in philosophical vision.

LU HSÜN'S EARLY ESSAYS²⁰

After completing four years of specialized training at the Kiangnan Naval Academy and the School of Railways and Mines, Lu Hsün went to Japan in 1902 on a government grant to study medicine, believing in part that Japan's successful modernization had been the result of adopting modern medical practices.²¹ Upon seeing a news film of the Russo-Japanese War, however, Lu came to the realization that China's illness was cultural and not medical. He began to think in terms of using literature as a means to renovate China.²²

In his first two essays, "History of Man" and "Lessons in the History of Science," Lu discussed scientific issues.²³ First, he contended

19) *Ibid.*, p. 102a.

20) Lu and his younger brother Chou Tso-jen 周作人 (1885–1966) tried to establish a critical magazine of the arts in 1906 entitled *Hsin-sheng* 新生. This venture never bore fruit, but the ideas that Lu had formulated were later incorporated in a series of essays which appeared in the 1907–9 issues of *Honan* 河南, a magazine published in Japan by Chinese from that province. For an account of this effort see Chou Tso-jen, *Chih-t'ang hui-hsiang lu* 知堂回想錄, 2 vols. (Hong Kong: San Yü Publishing Co., 1970), 1: 174, 192–219.

21) *LHCC*, 1: 3.

22) When Lu arrived in Japan in 1902, he first enrolled in a Japanese language school designed for Chinese students. Besides studying Japanese, Lu spent a great deal of time reading western works of literature and becoming familiar with western philosophy. Exactly what works he read is not clear, but Chou Tso-jen tells us that although his brother was not interested in German literature very much, he always kept a copy of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* nearby. See Chou, *Lu Hsün te ku-chia* 魯迅的故家 (Shanghai: Shanghai Publishing Co., 1953), pp. 390–91. For an account of Lu's early translation work see Patrick Hanan, "The Technique of Lu Hsün's Fiction," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 34 (1974), 54–56. For a comprehensive treatment of Lu's intellectual development see William Lyell, *Lu Hsün's Vision of Reality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), *passim*.

23) *LHCC*, 1: 156–66 & 167–78 respectively. For an account of the impor-

that the inclusion of men with animals in the same evolutionary framework should not lead to a downgrading of man's position in the world, nor should it be grounds for rejecting the developments of modern science.²⁴ Second, he gave a brief sketch of the development of science in Europe, but he ended ominously by pointing out that the fruits of science could lead to the destruction which Europe suffered through during the Napoleonic Wars. A healthy society needed a balance between the arts and sciences in order to control the dangerous potential of the latter. Kants were as necessary as Beethovens. Darwins were as important as Carlyles.²⁵

Lu Hsün's chief theoretical essay, "On Going to Extremes in Cultural Development," was an attempt to investigate what alternatives China faced, at a time when her extinction as a nation was imminent. Lu began by rejecting the program offered by members of the *yang-wu p'ai* 洋務派 [foreign affairs clique, i.e., the self-strengtheners] who argued that China should borrow western techniques but must base them on Chinese values. Since the question of techniques, e.g., arms, was a secondary manifestation of more fundamental aspects of western culture, Lu dismissed this position as superficial.²⁶

An alternative which Lu also repudiated was the *wei-hsin p'ai* 維新派 [reform clique, i.e., those associated with the 1898 Reform Movement] call for political and institutional modernization. At the heart of the reformers' proposals lay the program for mobilizing the popular will of the people through parliaments and congresses. Lu did not believe that the solution to the problems facing China could be found in institutional reform alone. A blind faith in the will of the people might only confound China's plight. In fact, according to Lu, it was doubtful whether ideas simply borrowed from the West would be appropriate to China's situation.²⁷

Lu proceeded to describe how European philosophers in the late

tance of science in Lu's early development see Hua Kang 華崗, *Lu Hsün ssu-hsiang ti lo-chi fa-chan* 魯迅思想的邏輯發展 (Shanghai: Hsin wen-i ch'u-pan-she, 1953), pp. 123-50.

24) *LHCC*, 1: 156.

25) *Ibid.*, 1: 178.

26) *Ibid.*, 1: 180.

27) *Ibid.*, 1: 181-82.

nineteenth century had demonstrated that an emphasis on the masses and a philosophy of materialism imposed a pressure of conformity that stifled men of genius. Freedom resided in the individual, and to allow the masses to determine issues was folly.²⁸ Lu argued vehemently against democracy and trivialities like congresses and constitutions. Only men of vision, *ming-che chih shih* 明哲之士, could resolve China's difficulties. Materialism if left unchecked, would lead to the destruction of the spiritual truths which lay at the heart of any viable culture.²⁹

If the creative potential of each Chinese could be unleashed and tapped, then China would be saved. In this context Lu brought up Nietzsche's dream of a new man, mentioned Schopenhauer's genius along with Max Stirner's advocacy of individualism, and contended that Søren Kierkegaard had been in favor of developing one's nature to the fullest. Nietzsche's *Übermensch* was the epitome of the realized man.³⁰ If China hoped to survive, then ". . . the first thing to do is to establish men. When men are established then all things will follow. . . . We must bring honor to the individual and expand the spirit. If not, China will decay and be extinguished in a generation."³¹

The role of the artist in society was the subject of the essay "The Power of Mara Poetry."³² Lu saw artists and writers as "warriors of the spirit" who spoke with a universal voice. Mara poets fanatically preached resistance and action against injustice, and in their writings encouraged others to follow their example and demand individual freedom.³³ In sharp contrast to the traditional Chinese emphasis on harmony, Lu painted a picture of men who acted against the status quo and struggled to reach their full potentials.

28) *Ibid.*, 1: 184, 188.

29) *Ibid.*, 1: 189. To come to terms with Lu Hsün's early elitism has been a difficult problem for Chinese Marxist historians. Invariably they play down Lu's ideas of individualism and his attacks on materialism and conclude that his early ideas had progressive value because they attacked the Chinese feudal tradition. See Hua Kang, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7, 20-21, 39-43. See also the editors' comments to *LHCC*, 1: 496-99 (note 1).

30) *LHCC*, 1: 186-88.

31) *Ibid.*, 1: 193.

32) *Ibid.*, 1: 194-234. The demon Mara tried to keep the Buddha from attaining Nirvana.

33) *Ibid.*, 1: 195-97.

Poetry, according to Lu, nourished man's spirit, and its power was no less invigorating than clothing or food.³⁴ Through direct and emotional words, literature and poetry could expose issues which the objectivity inherent in the sciences precluded. George Gordon (Lord Byron) was Lu's archetypal Mara poet. The list went on to include a host of others who were united in their efforts to awaken men to new possibilities.³⁵ Mixing his metaphors, Lu indicated that China, however, was still waiting for a Jeremiah who would proclaim her plight to the world and lead her out of the wilderness. He closed with an invocation to action which he himself strangely failed to heed: "Are we still to remain submerged in thought and that's all?"³⁶

CONCLUSIONS

As we observe how Lu Hsün's essays move from the history of science to attacks on democracy and materialism, and then proceed to the role literature plays in cultural change, we see immediately that Lu's dominant concern throughout was the need to get China moving toward a better future. With regard to Wang Kuo-wei, however, it is clear that he was predominantly concerned with the meaning of human life in his early writings.

Although both Lu and Wang often discussed what on the surface appear to be similar issues, careful examination reveals the different manner in which these issues were brought up.³⁷ The genius, for example, was a theme common to both, but Wang's *t'ien-ts'ai* was

34) *Ibid.*, 1: 202-3.

35) *Ibid.*, 1: 194-234. Included were Nietzsche, Goethe, Gogol, Shakespeare, Milton, Ibsen, Shelly, Keats, Pushkin, Lermontov, and a large group of Slavic and Hungarian poets.

36) *Ibid.*, 1: 234. After returning to China in 1909 Lu did little but "remain submerged in thought and that's all." For Lu's own description of his feelings of depression during this period see *LHCC*, 1: 5-8.

37) However, in their early essays both Wang and Lu do betray one important similarity. They argue in terms of a social system where an elite would determine what direction China should take. This similarity is found in virtually all Chinese intellectuals before the May Fourth Movement and unites all the various positions held in pre-1911 China, from the arch-Confucianists to the revolutionaries.

spiritually committed to a quest for eternal truths, a quest which would sacrifice social and political convictions to itself. Lu's *ming-che chih shih*, on the other hand, exhorted those around him to follow his example and struggle to improve society. Such a commitment was first and last political.

This difference in orientation, despite similarities in social background, can also be found in the function Wang and Lu attributed to literature. Lu had been influenced by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's 梁啟超 (1873–1929) suggestion in a 1902 essay published in Japan that Chinese writers use literature as a means to influence political and cultural change.³⁸ Lu's Mara poet can be seen as an attempt to develop Liang's view further. The conceptual leap from Lu Hsün's youthful position to Mao Tse-tung's 毛澤東 views on the function of literature in a socialist society, while indirect, is not as vast as might be initially supposed. What began as an appeal on Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's part eventually became a command in Maoist literary theory. Lu started with Liang's perspective in mind, but in the 1930's, when he became interested in socialist realism, he made the jump to a position which went beyond his early notions but was still based on them.³⁹ Wang Kuo-wei, though, in his contention that literature was being misused by men whose only interest was politics, was making an implicit attack on Liang's position.⁴⁰

38) Liang's essay was entitled "The Relationship between Fiction and Public Order" and appeared in the 1902 inaugural issue of *Hsin hsiao-shuo* 新小說. See Liang, *Yin-ping-shih wen-chi* 飲冰室文集 (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960), 10: 6–10. For a description of the impact of this essay on Chou Tso-jen and Lu Hsün see Chou, *Chih-t'ang hui-hsiang lu*, 1: 195–97.

39) Cf. Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), p. 2. Although Lu's early writings were elitist, he had tempered his criticism of the role the masses played in society in the unfinished essay entitled "On Breaking Down the Voices of Evil" written in 1908. Lu divided Chinese society into two parts, the ruling gentry and the oppressed peasants. His sympathy was with the peasants who still maintained a sensitivity to the power and beauty of nature. The gentry were blinded by a mania for wealth and success. See *LHCC*, 7: 235–47.

40) There is no evidence that Wang ever read Liang's essay, but he must have known of Liang and his writings. In 1898 Wang worked as a clerk in Shanghai for the *Shih-wu pao* 時務報, which had been established and edited by Liang in 1896. There is no record that the two met at that time since in 1898 Liang was in Peking. See *CAWCHP*, pp. 19a–19b.

Wang's explicit attacks on K'ang Yu-wei and T'an Ssu-t'ung indicate he would have attacked Lu Hsün's early writings as well.

If we look at these essays from the perspective of the growing radical movements in China at the turn of the century, we find that Lu Hsün was involved with the emergence of Chinese nationalism from a very early date. Wang Kuo-wei, however, favored a more internationalist perspective in order to reach an understanding of humanity in general—at a time when the burning issues among Chinese youth were the strengthening of China and virulent anti-Manchuism.

Lu Hsün, along with men like Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, represented an emerging movement for cultural and political change, and his post-May Fourth political direction was already foreshadowed in his early writings. Moreover, Lu's dissatisfaction with the program advocated by the reformers and revolutionaries predated by a number of years the disenchantment with democratic institutions that was evident in the period after the 1911 Revolution.⁴¹

Wang Kuo-wei's essays, in sharp contrast to Lu's, were a direct assault on the Chinese tradition of mixing politics with scholarship. He held that ". . . if a philosopher takes the interest of government and society as his criterion, then his is not real philosophy."⁴² This perspective was in some ways a preview of the appeal for cultural and educational change—instead of political action—which Chinese intellectuals participating in the New Culture Movement after 1915 emphasized. It was also an indication of the fragile position Chinese intellectuals were to be faced with in a politicized society, a position which may have

41) In 1915 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao wrote two essays describing his disappointment over the current political chaos. He had come to realize that political and institutional changes were not fundamental enough. Liang indicated that he would now begin to devote himself to social and cultural matters. See his "The Foundation of Politics and the Guidance of Public Advocates," *Yin-ping-shih wen-chi*, 33: 31–40, and "How I Will Repay the Country from Now On," *Yin-ping-shih wen-chi*, 33:51–54. For an account of the move from institutional to social questions among Chinese intellectuals during this period see Arif Dirlik, "Mirror to Revolution: Early Marxist Images of Chinese History," *Journal of Asian Studies* 33, 2 (February 1974), 193–223.

42) *CAWCHP*, p. 27b.

been partially responsible for Wang's 1927 suicide.⁴³

Finally, the manner in which Wang and Lu interpreted and appropriated western ideas and theories enables us to determine to what degree these foreign ideas were refracted and whether or not they came to take on Chinese connotations in theory and practice.⁴⁴ Lu Hsün placed what he learned from and about the West within the same context, namely, how will this help to create a healthy China? His use of Nietzsche's *Übermensch* was a typical example. Lu accepted the *Übermensch* as an ideal character model that would serve to motivate Chinese to fulfill their potential in service to China, but he never came to grips with what Nietzsche himself meant by the *Übermensch* or what specific philosophical issues Nietzsche was dealing with.⁴⁵ Lu assimilated Nietzsche's emphasis on the individual but overlooked the latter's strident anti-statism. In his discussion of Lord Byron and other Mara poets, the refracted nature of Lu's account was almost total. It is doubtful whether any western literary critic would find the same unifying features in the poets Lu described in his name-dropping manner as "warriors of the spirit."

With regard to Wang Kuo-wei, however, it is remarkable how little

43) Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, by then a colleague of Wang's at Tsing-hua University has written that at the time of his suicide Wang was very upset over the murder of traditional Confucian scholars like Yeh Te-hui 葉德輝 (1864–1927) by Kuomintang forces as they worked their way north to Peking during the Northern Expedition. See *Liang Jen-kung hsien-sheng nien-p'u ch'ang-pien ch'u-kao* 梁任公先生年譜長編初稿, edited by Ting Wen-chiang 丁文江, 2 vols. (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1972), 2: 739. For an account of the precarious position Chinese intellectuals were faced with in the 1920's see Laurence Schneider, *Ku Chieh-kang and China's New History: Nationalism and the Quest for Alternative Traditions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 85–115 and especially pp. 115–20 for Schneider's account of Ku Chieh-kang's 顧頌剛 "Obituary for Wang Kuo-wei."

44) For this approach I am of course indebted to Benjamin Schwartz's *In Search of Wealth and Power, passim*.

45) It is true that Lu and Nietzsche both were concerned with the question: what constitutes a healthy culture? Nietzsche had written:

I am still waiting for a philosophical *physician* in the exceptional sense of the word—one who has to pursue the problem of the total health of a people, time, race, or of humanity—to muster the courage to push any suspicion to its limits and risk the proposition: what was at stake in all philosophizing hitherto was not at all "truth" but something else—let us

modification took place in his account of Schopenhauer's philosophy. The Schopenhauer we find in Wang's essays closely resembles the Schopenhauer we find in western versions. The low degree of refraction on Wang's part perhaps reveals how the sensitive apprehension and assimilation of western philosophy might lead a Chinese intellectual to disavow Chinese nationalism in favor of a search for more fundamental human values lying at the heart of both China and the West.⁴⁶ We will probably never know what went on in Wang Kuo-wei's mind while he paced beside Kun-ming Lake on the grounds of the Summer Palace on the morning of June 2, 1927—he had grown weary of philosophical speculation and had in turn focused his attention on literature and then historical archeology—but Wang's youthful writings reveal a man deeply troubled, a man in the midst of a spiritual quest for peace and consolation. He never found them.

say, health, future, growth, power, life.

See *The Gay Science* translated by Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), P, #2 (p. 35). Lu's essays, however, do not tell us how Nietzsche approached this problem nor did Lu come to grips with the question that Nietzsche considered his major discovery—"under what conditions did man devise these value judgments good and evil? and what value do they themselves possess?" See *On the Genealogy of Morals* translated by Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), P, #3 (p. 17).

46) The interpretation given requires some elucidation. Schopenhauer had been deeply influenced by Vedantic and Buddhist philosophical ideas in formulating his philosophical system. See Guy Welbon, *The Buddhist Nirvana and Its Western Interpreters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 155–71. In terms of his analysis of suffering, the will to live, and will-lessness as the means for salvation, Schopenhauer was in essential agreement with the Buddha's Four Noble Truths: 1) Life is suffering; 2) Suffering is caused by craving; 3) The cessation of craving will lead to a cessation of suffering; 4) By following the Noble Eight-fold Path, one causes craving to cease. In reading Schopenhauer's works then, Wang Kuo-wei was in fact reading a refracted version of ideas which were part of the Chinese cultural tradition since the Later Han dynasty. Perhaps Wang had something like this in mind when he labelled western ideas as a possible "second Buddhism," as described above.