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ARTICLES

BODY AS A PRINCIPLE OF SPACE ORGANIZATION AND INTERPRETATION

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The utilization of anatomical metaphor in various conceptual domains is briefly discussed here. Occasional applications are distinguished from those instances where the whole complex of body parts is projected upon another conceptual domain.

It is a well-known fact that words referring to body parts play a significant role in the expansion of vocabulary in various languages. The anatomical terms are often used metaphorically (or metonymically), irrespective of whether their metaphorical nature is still perceived by the speakers of the language as living or whether it is detectable only by means of an etymological analysis. The metaphorical mechanisms, however, are at work in both instances, which is important from the cognitive point of view relevant in this paper. For example, the English word "head" in the utterance "He has a good head for languages", stands for someone's intellect or mind. At other opportunities again, the metaphorical usages of "head" are based rather upon its round shape as witnessed by the following examples: "head of a muscle", "head of a ram", "head of a violin", "head of a lathe", "head of a tape recorder", "head of lettuce"; upon its prominence or functional centrality within a body; or upon its position at the top of an object, cf. "head of a column", "head of a bed", "head of a grave", "head of the family" (or of a committee, etc.), "head in a book", "head waiter", "headmaster", "head of the table", "the head on a glass of beer", "head of a valley", "head of a staircase" (or of a mast), "head of a river", "head of a tree", "head of a ship", "head of a bridge", "headstream", "headstone", "head- word"; sometimes several factors may be involved, e.g. "head of a missile", "head of a cane", etc.

Other anatomical terms can also be utilized metaphorically, e.g., eye ("the eye of a needle"), nose ("nose of a canoe"), mouth ("mouth of a river"), hand ("hand of a clock"), foot ("foot of a mountain"). Anatomical terms are employed as vehicles of lexical metaphors probably in most languages of the world, reflecting thus a cognitive semantic or pragmatic universal.

In Japanese, *atama*, "head", can metaphorically refer to a chief or leader or to the top part of an object; *me*, "eye", may denote, in addition to the organ of vision, the eye of a needle or a field of a chessboard; *kawa* means both skin and bark, husk, shell or the crust of bread.

Languages seem to differ as to the frequency of body-based lexical metaphors. While Japanese metaphorizes anatomical (and possibly other) terms sparsely, in Indonesian they are very common indeed. For example, Indonesian *kepala*, "head", is metaphorically employed in six diverse conceptual domains, i.e. *kepala kereta api*, "locomotive" (literally head of a train), *kepala sarong*, "upper edge of sarong" (head of a sarong), *kepala desa*, "village headman" (head of a village), *kepala air*, "the edge of flooding water" (head of water), *kepala susu*, "cream" (head of milk), *kepala tahun*, "the beginning of the year" (head of the year). The metaphorical usages of Indonesian *mata*, "eye", *muka*, "face", or *mulut*, "mouth", are among the most frequently used body parts.

The anatomical terms have been found to be applied not only to visible natural objects but also to artifacts and various abstractions, even such as time and space.

The inventory of human body parts includes several dozen terms, but not all of them are equally eligible for metaphorization. A preliminary comparison of Indonesian and Maori indicates that both languages display a tendency to prefer the metaphorization of the most salient body parts – eye, head, mouth – and, more particularly, of their salient features. Such a coincidence of the two languages is obviously not due to chance and seems to have a psychological basis; drawings of people by children tend to emphasize facial features and head in general while visibly reducing the rest of the body (Krupa 1993: 147–153).

The metaphorical usage of an anatomical term outside its proper conceptual domain presumes that the object from the target domain is viewed as being at least partly analogical to the model object. And yet it does not automatically ensue that several if not the whole set of anatomical terms are metaphorically applied to one and the same target domain. If a committee is said to have a head, this does not mean and guarantee that this committee must have "hands", "stomach", or "feet", at least not upon the conventional lexicological level (poetry, of course, would be something different). Analogical metaphorization of a complete or partial set of the body parts does occur in common speech, but it is an individual occurrence, an ad hoc event; if husband is "the head" of a family, wife may be jokingly said to be "the neck", namely the part of the body capable of turning the head in one or the other direction.

A more complex or systemic projection of a whole set of anatomical terms often occurs in mythology. And yet, while a mythological narrative is alive, such a projection cannot be said to be a metaphor; at least it is not felt by the believers to be one but can be viewed as a metaphorical interpretation of a conceptual field by external observers.

Thus, body as a gestalt has become a model for the description (Kordys 1991: 65) of universe and society in mythology. It ought to be stressed, however, that the human body may be the most important but certainly not the only

model of this kind. Occasionally other models are recorded – such as animal body, plant anatomy or even an important artifact, e.g., canoe. And, equally interesting, all of them may play a part not only in mythology.

Sufficient evidence has been amassed by Alexander Demandt from ancient, mediaeval and modern history as well as from philosophy to document widespread usage of “organic” metaphors in various historical eras (Demandt 1978). Awareness of isomorphism between the individual body and the organism of state dates as far back as Ancient Egypt and Persia. Aristotle elaborates on the image and views various state organs as organs of the human body, justifying thus the priority of the state over its individual citizens by the priority of the whole body over its limbs and organs (Demandt 1978: 21).

The organic image of a state or of a society has survived in history into the 20th century; Arnold Toynbee speaks of social organisms that are born, grow, may suffer from diseases and even die in their time (Demandt 1978: 100).

Many mythological stories expressly assert (or establish) the existence of links between the bodies of various gods and the world. Japanese cosmogony derives the origin of many natural features from the body parts of gods, whereas other created objects are said to be born by gods. Early in the 19th century the Hawaiians viewed their kingdom as their king’s body. In both Japanese and Hawaiian mythology, this metaphorical device is a means of enhancing the historical continuity and the feeling of essential unity of creation.

One of the most elaborate and detailed instances of the application of a complex of anatomical terms – or rather notions, for we have to do in the first place with a projection mechanism that is essentially extralinguistic – is supplied by the culture of the New Zealand Maori. According to Cleve Barlow, *whare whakairo*, carved ancestral house, is nowadays thought as a representation of the ancestors of the tribe. Its ridge pole is the backbone, its rafters the ribcage and the barge boards the outstretched arms of an ancestor. The Maori entering such a house are virtually returning to their mythological origins (Barlow 1991: 179).

It ought to be added, however, that such houses obviously did not exist in the pre-European era. Nowadays, they are thought of as focal points of Maori traditional culture or its last refuge. In the past the *marae*, of which the meeting house is a part, was viewed as symbolizing both the god of war Tu and the god of peace and cultivated plants Rongo. The acceptance of Christianity led to a reinterpretation of *marae*: The meeting-house is viewed as the realm of Jesus Christ and not of Rongo (Van Meijl 1993: 197). And yet the meeting houses are named after the ancestors and believed to represent their “bodies”. Van Meijl analyses the situation in his paper in some detail. The *koruru* (figural carving) at the junction of the eaves of the veranda represents the ancestor’s face (Barlow is only speaking of the ancestor as such). The porch was equated with the ancestor’s brain (*roro*). By the way, *roro* means both porch and brain (an instance of chance homonymy). The barge-boards are his arms (*maihi*), and their extensions (*raparapa*) are interpreted and sometimes even carved as his fingers (*raparapa* is probably derived from *rapa*, “spread out”, “be extended” or from homonymous *rapa*, “stick, adhere”). The front window is regarded as the ancestor’s eye, which is underlined by the

term *mataaho* in which *mata* means eye and *aho* refers to light coming in through the window. The interior of the house is called the chest (*poho*) of the ancestor and, finally, the ridge-pole (*taahuhu*) is believed to represent the backbone and the senior descent line at the same time. The rafters (*heke*) represent junior descent lines. Thus the meeting-house is not only an embodiment of the ancestral body but also a kind of an iconic scheme of the kin unity.

Anne Salmond, however, goes even farther and sees in the meeting house the embodiment of the whole Maori world view including the progression from the mythical era to the historical past and the future (Salmond 1978). But the semiological analysis of this surpasses the framework of the present paper.

The body as a model is hidden behind the orientation of house in another Austronesian area, the Indonesian island of Roti. This problem has been discussed by James J. Fox to a considerable detail (Fox 1978). The body-based spatial orientation is projected to the whole island. The model body seems to be a generalized animal body, at least as far as the coordinate *langa* "head" – *iko* "tail" is concerned. As Fox says, this coordinate is superimposed on the east-west coordinate. Thus the house has a "head" that looks to the east (*dulu*) and a "tail" turned toward the west (*muli*). There is another parallel coordinate in terms of which east (and head) correlates with *fulak*, "white", actually light, while west (and tail) corresponds to *nggeo*, "black", that is, to darkness or night (Fox 1993: 150–151). The body as a model for house building furnishes a more detailed application because several kinds of builders are engaged in the work of building a house, i.e., builders of the "head" of the house, of the "inner middle", of the "chest", of the "upper back", of the "shoulders", of the "tail", and of the "hind legs" (Fox 1993: 152).

Yet another interesting instance of the projection of a complex of anatomical terms is supplied by Maori mythology and, namely, by the toponymy of the North Island. Here Aotearoa or North Island is identified with the fish caught by Maui. Another Maori name for Aotearoa is *Te Ika a Maui*, "Maui's fish". *Upoko o te Ika* ("head of the fish") is in the south of the island, by chance coinciding with the capital Wellington (*Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara*, Wellington Harbor is identified with the mouth of the legendary fish), Lake Wairarapa is one of its eyes, Taupo or the Urewera mountains its heart, Taranaki and Tai Raawhiti its fins, and finally Northland, *Te Hiku o te Whenua*, its tail. According to the same logic, the South Island is called *Te Waka o Maui*, "Maui's canoe",. Stewart Island in the far south is called *Te Puka o te Waka o Maui*, "the anchor of Maui's canoe", and the Kaikoura mountains are believed to be *Te Taumanu a Maui*, "Maui's thwart" (Orbell 1985: 99ff).

Ruth M. Kempson aptly points out that a thought or utterance may describe a certain state of affairs but not only this... Utterances represent not only states of affairs but also thoughts of the speaker; thoughts may be entertained not only as descriptions of states but also as representations of further thoughts (Kempson 1990: 133). And her words refer to the case just mentioned above.

Stephen C. Levinson critically discusses metaphorization of body parts in his paper on Tzeltal, doubting that we have to do with a fresh metaphorical process (Levinson 1992: 21–23). Unlike the Maori case ("Maui's fish"), the

Tzeltal anatomical conceptual domain is not employed as a whole – only sporadic terms are applied to semantic fields that may be quite divergent. The same is true of anatomical metaphorical vehicles in many other languages (English, Slovak, Maori, Indonesian, etc.). As a rule such body terms are eligible for metaphorization that are perceptibly salient. Of course, the salience is a complicated matter because any object can in principle display more than one salient feature. For example, head is salient as the seat of intelligence, as the highest point of a whole, its central component, or merely as a typically round object. This also means that the process of metaphorization does not take place in isolation or separation from the concrete circumstances but rather is always bound to a particular situation, i.e., is contextual.

The human body is one of the most important models for metaphorization to other domains, which can be explained through the cognitive centrality of this domain. It is well known, however, that the human body may also be a target, not only a model (vehicle) of metaphorical processes. For example, in Maori *rangi* (basic meaning sky, heaven) may under certain conditions refer to head as a body part, just as to a chief. In addition, chief may be referred to as *haku* (kingfish), *kaahu* (hawk, harrier), *kaakahi* (whale, large porpoise), or *kahika* (*Podocarpus excelsus*). These metaphors do not spring from cognitive needs but are motivated by special stylistic demands (that is why they do not occur in the neutral style) and the speaker uses them to express his evaluative intentions that may be either positive or negative.

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THE LEXICON OF "SLOVAK" ROMANY LANGUAGE

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In the Slovak Republic, 4.8 per cent out of the total population are Romanies. They are divided into four groups and speak their own dialects. The most commonly-used dialect is the so-called Slovak Romany language, the core of which is represented by the words of Indian origin gradually complemented by borrowings from various languages. The vast majority of borrowings are from the Slovak language. Besides these, neologisms created with the help of Indian words appear. It is most probable that in the future development Slovak Romany will use less words from the vernacular, and more loan-words from new languages and will create "home" descriptive denominations. It, naturally, depends on the development of Romany prose, poetry and publicism.

By the end of 1989, the number of Romanies living in Slovakia was 253,943, that is, 4.8 per cent out of the total population of the Slovak Republic. Thus by the percentage of Romanies in the total population Slovakia occupies the first place in Europe. However, many Romanies knowingly deny their *romipen*. It is not surprising because not very long ago they were considered just a backward stratum of Slovak society and not a special ethnic group. Thanks to historic circumstances and also to their way of living, Romanies as a whole occupy the lowest level in the social hierarchy. Although today they have a right to their own Romany ethnicity and by the resolution of the Slovak government in 1991 they have even been accepted as a nationality in the Slovak Republic, the vast majority of them purposefully do not declare their Romany nationality. They do not want to acknowledge the appurtenance to a group of population which as a whole is negatively evaluated by other inhabitants of Slovakia. The Romanies often prefer to declare the Slovak or Hungarian nationality.

However, Romanies cannot renounce their peculiarity. They differ from other Slovak population by their physiognomy, tradition, customs and language.

Four groups of Romanies live in Slovakia. The most of them (58 per cent) are Rumungris, that is, Slovak Romanies living in the Eastern Slovakia. Here, in the area called Spiš, the first records about Romanies in Slovakia appeared in 1322.

The second group would be the so-called Hungarian Romanies living in the Southern Slovakia. The lifestyle of the two groups is very similar, they differ mainly by the degree of influence of Slovak and Hungarian on their language. Both groups are considered settled. They were settled more than two hundred years ago and this was also due to the policy of the Enlightenment of Maria

Theresa and Joseph II who, within the framework of their attempts to regulate Gypsies, strived for their permanent settlement and their joining in economic activities.

The third group is the so-called Vlachike Romanies who came to Slovakia from Romania in the second half of the nineteenth century and were only forced to settle down in 1958–1959. Thanks to the migratory way of life they held for until relatively recently, they have preserved more distinctions in their customs and language. The Slovak Vlachike Romanies are divided into two large groups, the Lovaris and Bougeshtis.

The fourth are a very small group of Romanies in Slovakia, the so-called German Sintis.

The above-mentioned groups of Romanies speak their own dialects. Gradually, however, some literary works have also been written in the Romany language¹ and rare translations to Romany² as well as Romany newspapers and journals, sometimes comprising parallel texts in Romany and Slovak languages, have appeared.³

The most widespread Romany dialect in Slovakia is the so-called Slovak Romany dialect spoken by about eighty per cent of Romanies in Slovakia and Bohemia.⁴ Its characteristic feature is the way the core of the Indian lexicon has been enriched by many Slovak loan-words.

In spite of about a thousand years of pilgrimage outside their old homeland India, during which Romanies were in touch with many different cultures and languages, their language has preserved grammatical structure, lexicon and phonetics similar to those in other New Indo-Aryan languages (i.e. Indo-Iranian languages of the North India). The Romany language, like other New Indo-Aryan languages, follows the Old Indian and Middle Indo-Aryan stages in its development. General processes can be followed in Romany which had begun as early as the Middle Indo-Aryan period, i.e. 600 B.C. – 1000 A.C., when various dialects – prakrits and apabhraṃsas – existed in India. They became the sources of the origin and development of the New Indo-Aryan languages. In these dialects Old Indian morphological and phonetic systems have gradually been simplified and further crystallized in New Indo-Aryan languages. In phonetics, e.g. vocal *r* disappeared: Sanskrit *gr̥ha* > Prakrit *ghara* > Hindi and also Bengali *ghar*; Romany *kher* house; in some New Indo-Aryan languages the aspiration at the final position in a word disappeared, e.g. Sanskrit *mukha* > Prakrit *muha* > Hindi *mūh* (but Bengali *mukh*), Romani *muj* face; in some West-

¹ LACKOVÁ, Elena: *Rómske rozprávky (Romane paramisa)*. Košice, Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo 1992. 91 pp.

² PATOČKOVÁ, Katarína: *Jekhfeder tut dykchav andro vondro*. Translated from Slovak to Romany by Stanislav Cina. Bratislava, Štúdio -dd- 1994. 93 pp.

³ Romano fil, Prešov.

⁴ BAČOVÁ, Viera: *Hľadanie rómskej identity*. In: Sociológia 1–2, roč. 23, 1991, p. 142.

ern Indo-Aryan languages the Old-Indian palatal *ś* and cerebral *ṣ* changed into the dental *s*, e.g. Sanskrit *śiras* > Hindi *sir* (in the contrary to Bengali *śir*, also Romany *širo*⁵) head, etc.

Naturally, Romany language has a special status among other New Indo-Aryan languages. After the departure of Romanies from India, their language lost contacts with other Indian languages. The other Indian languages (with the exception of Sinhalese) preserved contacts among themselves and their development continued generally along the same line differing mainly by a degree of application of processes that begun as early as the Middle Indo-Aryan period.⁶ In the New Indo-Aryan period, the Romany language was developing under the influence of many non-Indo-Aryan languages of peoples and nationalities with which Romanies came into touch during their migration from country to country.

In spite of various influences, the basic lexicon of Romany language is represented by words the origin of which goes as far back as India. They are, naturally, words closely connected with the life of Romanies in their ancient past. They are denominations of basic objects of everyday use, names of food and animals which surrounded old Romanies: *kher* house, *phuv* the earth, soil, *jag* fire, *bar* stone, *khoro* jug, *kašt* wood, tree, *gav* village, *vudar* door, *čhuri* knife, *pañi* water, *thud* milk, *maro* bread, *mas* meat, *graj* horse, *guruv* ox, *šošoj* rabbit, *sap* snake, *mačho* fish, *šing* horn, *khas* hay, *phusa* straw, *berš* year, *d'ives* day, *rat* night, *than* place, *kham* sun, *čhon* moon, *balvaj/balval* wind, *šuko* dry, *truš* thirst, etc.

The next category are denominations of persons: *manuš* man, *daj* mother, *dad* father, *phen* sister, *phral* brother, *čhavo* son, *raj* mister, *dil* God, etc.

The names of parts of body follow, e.g. *šer* head, *muj* mouth, face, *nakh* nose, *naj* nail, *per* belly, *dand* tooth, *khoč* knee, etc.

A large group of adjectives naming basic qualities, attributes and states follow, e.g. *lačho* good, *baro* big, *puro* old, *pharo* heavy, *sasto* healthy, *učo* high, *cikno* small, *thulo* thick, *kalo* black, *zoralo* strong, *melalo* dirty, *bango* crooked, *cindo* wet, *čoro* poor, *barvalo* rich, *pherdo* full, *tato* warm, *koro* blind, *peko* baked, *šudro* cold, *šundo* heard, *bokhalo* hungry, etc.

A rich group of verbs follows: *sikhľol* learn, *asal* laugh, *chal* eat, *chasal* cough, *phučel* ask, *dikhel* see, *šunel* listen, *lel* take, *del* give, *džanel* knew, *kamel* want, *pharol* crack, *dživel* live, *džal* go, *maťarel* drink, *phirel* walk etc.

The lower numerals also originated in India: *jek* one, *duj* two, *trin* three, *panč* five, *šov* six, *deš* ten, *biš* twenty and also *šel* hundred.

And last but not least there are the pronouns, e.g., *me* I, *tu* you, *jov* he, *joj* she, *amen* we, *miro* my, etc.

The above should be sufficient to indicate that several changes took place in the Romany language in comparison with the Old-Indian and Middle Indo-Aryan

⁵ In Slovak Romany words I use Slovak transcription.

⁶ ZOGRAF, G. A.: *Morfologičeskij stroj novych indoarijskich jazykov*. Moskva, Nauka 1976.

stages. These changes obviously were similar in Slovak Romany and, e.g., in the North Russian Romany language as described by Vencel.⁷ The most striking change is the loss of voiced aspirates thanks to which Romany, in contrast to all other New Indo-Aryan languages (with the exception of Panjabi), has just a three-membered system of the opposition voiced – unvoiced and aspirated – unaspirated consonants:

p	ph	k	kh	t	th	č	čh
b		g		d		dž	

The voiced aspirates have changed into unvoiced aspirates, e.g., *gh* > *kh* (*ghar* > *kher* house), *bh* > *ph* (*bhūmi* > *phuv* earth, soil), *dh* > *th* (*dhum* > *thuv* smoke), or they have lost their aspiration and changed into corresponding voiced consonants: *dh* > *d* (*dudha* > *thud* milk) *bh* > *b* (*bhāṣā* > *bašel* to sound).

However, not only the voiced but also the unvoiced aspirates have been deaspirated.

The aspirate *kh* has changed into *ch* (*khāsā* > *chasal* cough) in the initial position and into *j* (*mukh* > *muj* mouth, face) at the end of a word.

In the middle of a word, the aspirate *čh* has changed into an unvoiced unaspirated *č* (*prcchatī* > *phučel* ask), and *th* has become *t* (*svastha* > *sasto* healthy).

On the other hand, originally unaspirated consonants have become aspirates. Consonants have sometimes lost their voice in the initial position and, under the influence of the loss of aspiration of a consonant in the middle of a word,⁸ they have become aspirates, i.e. *g* > *kh* (*gāndhā* > *khandel* smell), *d* > *th* (*dudha* > *thud* milk) and similarly *b* > *ph* (*buṣā* > *phusa* straw).

The unvoiced *p* in the initial position has also become aspirated: *p* > *ph* (*purā* – *phuro* old, *prcchatī* – *phučel* ask, etc.).

The next important change is the loss of the whole line of cerebrals, e.g., *ṭ* > *r* (*vāṭa* > *bar* stone, *ghaṭa* > *khoro* jug), *ḍ* > *r* (*ḍom* > *rom* Rom), *ṣ* > *š* (*varṣa* > *berš* year), etc.

Further, the originally intervocal *m* has changed into *v*: *m* > *v* (*bhūmi* > *phuv* earth, soil, *grāma* > *gav* village).

The cluster of consonants *sth* at the beginning of a word has become simplified: *sth* > *th* (*sthān* > *than* place, *sthula* – *thulo* thick).

The initial consonant *h* has disappeared (*hasa* – *asal* laugh), the prothetic consonant *j* (*agni* > *jag* fire, *ek* > *jek* one) and vowel *u* (*dvār* > *udar* door) have appeared at the beginning of a word.

The vowels have lost the opposition of quantity.

In a more profound study of further texts we would probably find more changes but this is not the goal of this paper. In this part, we are primarily con-

⁷ VENCEL, T. V.: *Cyganskij jazyk (Severorusskij dialekt)*. Moskva, Nauka 1964.

⁸ VENCEL, T. V. – ČERENKOV, L. N.: *Dialekty cyganskogo jazyka*. In: *Jazyki Azii i Afriki I*. Moskva, Nauka 1976, pp. 283–284.

cerned with showing that the basic core of the Slovak Romany language is represented by a rather small group of words of the Indian origin in which regular changes have taken place in comparison with the Old Indian and Middle Indo-Aryan languages. These most probably took place long before the arrival of Romanies to Slovakia, because the same or at least very similar changes occur also, e.g., in the North Russian Romany language described by Venceľ.

The Indian core of Romany has gradually been enriched through borrowings from languages of countries through which Romanies travelled on their way from India. Before their arrival in Slovakia they were in Persia, Armenia, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania and Hungary. Romanies were always dependent on co-existence with local populations. Therefore they were compelled to communicate with them, i.e., to learn their language, such that adult Romanies are often bilingual. Knowledge of foreign languages helps Romanies to fill in the lexical gaps in their Romany language. Although it is characteristic for Romany that, after arrival to a new language area, the loan-words from a previous language are gradually substituted by borrowings from the new contact language,⁹ there still have been preserved words borrowed from languages of many countries in contemporary Slovak Romany. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, as also Kostić points out,¹⁰ that the etymologic source of a loan-word is often not transparent and Romany can adopt an expression which has been borrowed to a source language from some other contact language, e.g., Romani word *karačoňa* (Christmas) < Hungarian *karácsony* < Old Slavonian *krčun*. Such a type of borrowed words in Slovak Romany includes many loan-words from Slovak vernacular language which have originally been borrowed from German, for example, *furt* always, *firhangos* curtain, *štokos* floor and many others. Our prime goal here, however, is not to follow the etymology of a borrowed word but just to point out the contact language from which Slovak Romany has taken it over.

In Slovak Romany there are still words borrowed from Greek, e.g., numerals *efťa* seven, *ochto* eight, *eňa* nine and also the names of some things, e.g., *petaľos* horseshoe, *drom* road, *skamin* table, etc.

In his article, Kostić¹¹ introduces many loan-words from Serbian, e.g. *lepetka* butterfly, *naranča* orange, *briga* sadness, *duma* speech, *dosta* enough, *talpa* sole, *vera* oath, *kanta* bucket, etc.

The word *luma*, world, is borrowed from Romanian.

In Slovak Romany, loan-words from Hungarian are more frequent as Hungary was the last stop of Romanies before their arrival to Slovakia. They are for

⁹ VEKERDI, J.: *Numerical Data on Loan Words in Gypsy*. In: Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Tomus 30 (3–4), 1980, p. 367.

¹⁰ KOSTIĆ, Svetislav: *Romaňi čhib a jazykový kontakt*. In: Romano džaniben 1, 1994, pp. 42–57.

¹¹ KOSTIĆ, Svetislav: op. cit., pp. 49–50.

instance *vilagos* world, *verdan* cart, *kereka* wheel, *mind'ar* moment, *het* away, *igen* very, *hjabá* a little, *bajusi* moustache, *viragos* flower, *kerel mulatšagos* to celebrate, *fajta* kin, *vonatos* train, *vilanis* torch, etc.

Naturally, the vast majority of borrowed words in Slovak Romany originate from Slovak. Considering that Romany always served as a colloquial language and Romanies had contacts especially with rural populations speaking a particular dialect, Romany has been mainly enriched by numerous words borrowed from the vernacular language. These are, e.g., words on which their German origin can be recognized: *biglajz* iron, *fest* strongly, *štreka* railway, *štrempľa* stocking, *štrompadľa/štrumpadľa* garter, *štruzlakos* straw mattress, *chasna* use, *forontos/foronta* store, *foga/fuga* crevice, etc.

There are many other denominations belonging to the vocabulary borrowed from the vernacular language, e.g., *sklepa* shop, *fiškalis* lawyer, *fizola* bean, *mašina* train, *motoris* car, *cigarellis* cigarette, *gombineta* slip, *pondzelkos* Monday, *duchna* "a sack stuffed with feathers", etc.

Besides these, there are a number of loan-words which mostly have no special regional form in Slovak as they are contemporary and modern denominations (often of foreign origin), e.g., *gitara* guitar, *bagros* excavator, *televizoris* television set, *gaučos* sofa, *koruna* crown, *ňebos* heaven, *žiletka* shaving-blade, *električka* tram, *dvora* yard, *mačka* cat, *svetos* world, *parkos* park, *stavba* building, *saksafonos* saxaphon, *metla* rod, *polovačka* hunting and many, many others.

Sometimes more denominations of different origin are used for denominating a thing and their usage is quite variable. The choice of a particular denomination depends on various factors, e.g., on an author's belonging to a region, perhaps on his or her age or personal preferences. For instance, the world can be named by the Slovak borrowing *svetos*, Hungarian borrowing *vilagos* but also Rumanian borrowing *luma*. Similarly, for denominating a bed, the word *than* of Indian origin is used (originally meaning a place), as well as *haďos/vaďos* and *vondros* etc.

At present Slovak Romany no longer functions just as a colloquial language but has also become a language of literature, journals and newspapers. As such it has to complete its insufficiently developed lexicon by many words. Some authors fill in a lexical gap simply by using a Slovak denomination, others are more creative and use neologisms created with the help of original, i.e., Indian bases, e.g., *dikhado* theatre (along with *d'ivadlos*, *tijatros*), *gend'i*, *lilali* book (along with *knižka*), *phend'i* sentence, *sikhad'i* school (along with *škola*), *lilavaris* primer, spelling book, *čhindo lav* syllable, etc.

A special group of denominations in Slovak Romany are descriptive denominations created with the help of Indian words, e.g., *kalo čiriklo* (lit. black bird) blackbird, *šuko than* (lit. dry place) island, *čiriklano nakh* (lit. bird's nose) eagle's beak, *baro paňi* (lit. big water) sea, *phuro dad* (lit. old father – here old in contrast to more generally used grand-, gross-) grandfather, *phuri daj* (lit. old mother) grandmother, etc. This way of creating denominations enables subtler differentiation of kinship relationships, e.g., *le čhaskero čhavo* (lit. son's son) grandson along with *la čhakero čhavo* (daughter's son), *le čhaskeri čhaj* (lit.

son's daughter) granddaughter along with *la čhakeri čhaj* (daughter's daughter), *le phraleskero čhavo* (lit. brother's son) nephew along with *la pheňakero čhavo* (sister's son), etc.

The above should be sufficient to show the character of the lexicon of the present Slovak Romany. It is most probable that, in the future development, it will use less vernacular words and instead use more loan-words from new languages and create "home" descriptive denominations. Naturally, this depends on the development of Romany prose, poetry and publicism.

ARABIC SCRIPT AS A LINGUISTIC FACTOR

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In a way, the vowelless Arabic script, incapable of expressing a great deal of synthetic markers of Standard Arabic by appropriate alphabetic symbols, stimulates the ongoing loss of synthetic structures in the oral usage of this language. The aim of the study is to examine the part played by Arabic script in this process.

1. *Scriptio defectiva*¹ of the Arabic graphical system, in spite of its long cultural tradition, does not cease to create serious problems in general education and in recent efforts to spread basic literacy. As compared to some other Semitic scripts, the Arabic graphical system is substantially consonantal. Short vowels cannot be expressed by autonomous alphabetic symbols and, what is more, some consonantal graphemes are alternatively used to mark vowel quantity. The nonalphabetic marking of gemination (*šadda*, *tašdīd*) is another disturbing feature of *scriptio defectiva*. The typical omission of nonalphabetic symbols keeps high the level of homography and any interpretational ambiguity associated with it.

The Arabic graphical system currently in use leads to a paradoxical situation: the mastery of Arabic script, as well as the necessary amount of phonological and morphonological data, does not enable the student to read an unvocalized Arabic text. Arabic script is here understood as all alphabetic symbols of the graphical system, devoid of the nonalphabetic elements of the *taškīl* that are typically omitted both in handwritten and printed texts. The reading of a typical (viz. vowelless) Arabic text presupposes full linguistic competence on the part of the reader or, at the very least, a reliable receptive awareness of what is read. Since comprehension of what is read is a prerequisite to reading, Arabic script cannot operate as an efficient tool of instruction for Standard Arabic not even in an Arabophone milieu. Standard Arabic, irrespective of whether in its true classical or modern form, is of a predominantly synthetic type in contrast

¹ Cf. M. TAYMŪR 1955: 350–361: *kitāba nāqīṣa*; H. FLEISCH 1964: 50–51: *écriture avocallique*; etc.

to the local vernaculars, the true mother tongues of the Arabic-speaking populations throughout the Arab world, that are of a prevailing analytic type. Most synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic are conveyed, either exclusively or partially, by short vowels that cannot be visualized by alphabetic symbols of the Arabic script. As a result, a great deal of Standard Arabic grammatical structures assume, in writing, an amorphous shape. The numerous, and as yet unsuccessful, attempts at reforming Arabic script, repeatedly initiated by the Arab academies, reflect the efforts of highest codificative centres to deal with this cultural handicap (for Cairo, see e.g. R. Meynet 1971; for Damascus, see e.g. R. Hamzaoui 1965).

2. Linguistic competence, as a prerequisite to the identification and oral reproduction of a written Standard Arabic text, proves to be helpful but in sufficiently full and self-explanatory contexts that may vary from short phrasal structures up to complex sentences and sentence clusters. An unambiguous identification of isolated lexical units as to their paradigmatical and mostly even derivational class membership is hardly ever possible.

2.1. All graphically represented interpretations of graphically ambiguous grammatical forms will be referred to as paradigmatical homographs while those, connected with graphically ambiguous word units, will be termed derivational homographs, in what follows.

2.1.1. Paradigmatical homographs may comprise one or several grammatical categories. In the former case we shall speak about simple, in the latter, about complex homographs, as in:²

(1) simple homographs:

(1.1) e.g. verbal voice:

ktb: kataba/kutiba – 3MS,³ perfective, active/passive, “to write”;

(2) complex homographs:

(2.1) e.g. person, gender, verbal voice:

ktbt: katabat/kutibat – 3FS, perfective, active/passive;

ktbt: katabta/kutibta – 2MS, perfective, active/passive;

ktbt: katabti/kutibti – 2FS, perfective, active/passive;

ktbt: katabtu/kutibtu – 1MFS, perfective, active/passive;

(2.2) e.g. verbal voice, verbal mood:

yktb: yaktub-/yuktab-u, -a, -θ – 3MS, imperfective, active/passive; indicative, subjunctive, jussive, resp., “to write”;

(2.3.) e.g. verbal aspect, verbal mood, verbal voice, person, gender:

'rsl: 'arsala/'ursila – 3MS, perfective, active/passive, “to send”;

² The examples are presented in pairs and are separated by a colon: the romanized transcription of a homograph is followed by its possible interpretation that is presented in the usual transcription.

³ For the sake of economy the following abbreviations will be used: 3MS – third person, masculine, singular; 3MP – third person, masculine, plural; 2/3MP – second or third person, masculine, plural; 1MFS – first person, masculine or feminine, singular, and the like.

'*rsl*: '*ursil*/'*ursal-u*, -*a*, -*θ* – 1MFS, imperfective, active/passive; indicative, subjunctive, jussive, resp.;

'*rsl*: '*arsil* – 2MS, imperative, active;

(2.4) e.g. case, definiteness:

ktāb: *kitāb-un*, -*in* – nominative, genitive, resp., indefinite, “a book” (it should be noted that accusative, graphically represented as *ktābā*, does not form part of the homograph); or:

mfātīḥ: *māfātīḥ-u*, -*a* – nominative, oblique, resp.; indefinite, “keys”, etc.;

3. Paradigmatical homographs may occur either independently of derivational ones or may be associated with them. Derivational homographs are invariably associated with paradigmatical ones. Some examples:

3.1. Paradigmatical homographs:

(3.1) e.g. case, definiteness:

mfātīḥ: *māfātīḥ-u*, -*a* – nominative, oblique, resp.; indefinite, “keys”;

/'*l*-' *mfātīḥ*: /' *al*-' *māfātīḥ-u*, -*i*, -*a* – nominative, genitive, accusative; definite, “the keys”,⁴ etc.;

3.2. Paradigmatical-and-derivational homographs:

(paradigmatical coalescence: verbal voice, verbal mood;

derivational coalescence: three autonomous word units):

y^clm “to know”: *ya^clam*/'*yu^clam-u*, -*a*, -*θ* – 3MS, imperfective, active/passive; indicative, subjunctive, jussive;

y^clm “to teach”: *yu^callim*/'*yu^callam-u*, -*a*, -*θ* – 3MS, imperfective, active/passive; indicative, subjunctive, jussive;

y^clm “to inform”: *yu^clim*/'*yu^clam-u*, -*a*, -*θ* – 3MS, imperfective, active/passive; indicative, subjunctive, jussive, etc.

4. The extent of homography is somewhat reduced by the restrictive action of the alphabetic elements involved. In the paradigmatical domain, for instance, the homograph *y^rsln*, involving an alphabetic 3FP indicator -*n*: -*na*, is a simple homograph, in our classification, since it covers only one grammatical category (verbal voice),⁵ as compared to a paradigmatically closely related homograph *y^rsl*, extending over two grammatical categories (verbal voice and verbal mood), which is, in our classification, a complex homograph, as in:

y^rsln: *y^rsilna*/'*y^rsalna* – 3FP, imperfective, active/passive; indicative, subjunctive, jussive, “to send”, as compared to:

y^rsl: *y^rsil*/'*y^rsal-u*, -*a*, -*θ* – 3MS, imperfective, active/passive; indicative, subjunctive, jussive, resp.;

⁴ In view of the fact that in some syntactic contexts, the category of definiteness may be marked with definite nouns by the definite article '*al*-, the set of nonalphabetic case markers will be treated, in the following paragraphs, as related to one single category. In order to simplify the classificatory frame of the description, the same classification will be retained even with indefinite nouns, marked by *tanwīn*, where the case will be treated as part of a common case-and-definiteness category.

⁵ Modus energicus, as a verbal mood atypical of POA, will not be taken into account here.

4.1. The restrictive effect of alphabetic elements involved in synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic may vary in accordance with their functional load. When seen from this point of view, the alphabetic indicator *-n*: *-na*, as a 2/3FP marker operating within the imperfective paradigm, common to all verbal moods, is less restrictive as to the extent of ambiguity, resulting from a homographic representation, than, say, the alphabetic 2/3MP *-ūn*: *-ūna* indicator operating within the same paradigm:

yrsln: *yursilna/yursalna* – see §4 above; as compared to

yrslūn: *yursilūna/yursalūna* – 3MP, imperfective, active/passive; indicative, while the subjunctive and jussive are marked by the alphabetic 3MP *-ū*.

4.2. The impact of linearity, centred around the VSO word-order scheme, frequently prevents the successive identification of homographs. Thus, for instance, the problem of whether a verb, which as a rule is found at the beginning of a sentence, has to be read in an active or a passive form cannot be decided before the sentence is read to the end. In some cases, even this one-sentence context is not sufficient and the active-passive problem needs to be clarified in a much larger context. This problem is frequently faced by radio announcers as well as by all those who have to read texts they are unacquainted with. At least one example:

the sentence: *qbd °lā rjl 'šīr 'lyh* may be interpreted in one of the following four ways:

qabaḍa °alā rajulin 'ušīru 'ilayhi “he arrested the man I am hinting at”;

qubiḍa °alā rajulin 'ušīru 'ilayhi “the man I am hinting at was arrested”;

qabaḍa °alā rajulin 'ušīra 'ilayhi “he arrested the man hinted at”;

qubiḍa °alā rajulin 'ušīra 'ilayhi “the man hinted at was arrested”.

As obvious, the taxonomic status of the two verbal homographs is quite different: *qbd °lā*: *qabaḍa/qubiḍa °alā* is a simple paradigmatic homograph (verbal voice: active/passive) in contrast to the complex paradigmatical homograph *'šīr 'lyh*: *'ušīru/'ušīra 'ilayhi* that covers three grammatical categories: verbal aspect: perfective/imperfective, verbal voice: active/passive, person: 1st person linked with the active form of the verb in a personal construction/3rd person linked with the passive form of the verb in an impersonal construction.

The one-sentence context, as quoted above, cannot guide the reader since it admits either of the two interpretations in either of the two verbal homographs. In order to decide on the appropriate reading the reader should have recourse to a much more conclusive linguistic or extra-linguistic context.

5. The following paragraphs aim to examine some aspects of the binary system of alphabetic and nonalphabetic symbols of the Arabic script, as reflected in the inflectional marking of Standard Arabic, and to state their import to the formation of what will henceforward be termed Prestigious Oral Arabic (POA).⁶

⁶ Prestigious nonstandard varieties of oral Arabic have been studied under various names and at various cultural levels, like FSA: Formal Spoken Arabic (Ryding 1990); ESA: Educated Spoken Arabic (Mitchell 1986); OLA/ESA: Oral Literary Arabic/Educated Spoken Arabic (Meiseles 1980); OMA: Oral Media Arabic (Killeen 1980); ERA: Egyptian Radio Arabic (Harrell 1960); etc.

Perceived as a linguistic continuum, POA will be identified with a set of relatively diffuse structural states oscillating between two poles of the typological space of diglossia: maximum of synthetism and maximum of analytism, without being fully identifiable with either of them.

The study of POA should necessarily involve a great variety of phenomena derived from quite different linguistic levels. In order to present the typological status of POA in a shortest and most transparent way, the attention will exclusively be focussed on structural phenomena and all other equally relevant linguistic features will be disregarded. From the totality of synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic only the two most conspicuous sets will be taken into account: synthetic markers of case and those of verbal mood. This further restriction was motivated by the fact that these categories constitute the core of the synthetic system of Standard Arabic where the shift from synthetic to analytic structures is most clearly observable.

5.1. Structural variations, taking place in various manifestations of POA, may be delimited by two structural maximum states that simultaneously delimit the typological space of Arabic diglossia:

(1) the maximum of synthetism, represented by the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic, and

(2) the maximum of analytism, represented by analytic structures of regionally differentiated colloquial varieties of Arabic.

From a structural point of view, any linguistic variety of Arabic may be identified in terms of its relation to these structural maxima, though only one of them is represented by a codified linguistic norm: that of Standard Arabic.

In accordance with the restrictions adopted, particular manifestations of POA will be classified according to the structural stability of synthetic indicators involved therein. By the structural stability of synthetic indicators their capability to resist the ongoing process of analytization will be understood. The differentiation of synthetic indicators according to the degree of their structural stability cannot safely be explained by mere cultural factors that play a significant part in maintaining the general level of synthetism. A certain clue, in this respect, may be deduced from the very nature of the root-and-pattern system of the Semitic languages which seems to provide a dividing point between what some investigators (Ambros 1972: 105–127) call functionality and redundancy. This distinction manifests itself in a tendency to concentrate alphabetic indicators to the domain of portmanteau morphemes, as in the multicategorical indicator *-ūn/-ū*: *-ūna/-ū* that signals three categories at the same time: case (nominative), gender (masculine) and number (plural).

The redundant nature of nonalphabetic indicators that signal, as rule, one grammatical category only,⁷ is confirmed by the general evolutionary drift of Arabic that leads to their successive disappearance and to their replacement by analytic structures. The redundant nature of nonalphabetic indicators coincides

⁷ For the treatment of definiteness, as related to the category of case, see note 4.

with their relatively limited marking power, as may be seen on the nonalphabetic suffix *-u*, for instance: in the nominal domain, it indicates case (nominative); in the verbal domain, it signals verbal mood (indicative).

5.2. As already shown, the distinction between functionally higher and functionally lower ranking inflectional indicators found its visual expression in the distinction between alphabetic and nonalphabetic indicators, as provided by the Arabic graphical system. The predominantly consonantal nature of Arabic script operates as powerful differentiating factor between (1) read, i.e. graphically controlled, and (2) spontaneously spoken, i.e. graphically independent acts of oral communication.

In spite of the fact that Standard Arabic, in the recent system of diglossia, mostly operates as a medium of written communication, the Arabic graphical system, nevertheless, plays an important role in the formation and stratification of culturally prestigious acts of oral communication. The impact of Arabic script comes into force either directly, in the course of an oral reproduction of a written Standard Arabic text, or indirectly, through a graphically stimulated linguistic awareness and through the acquired oral skills and habits related to it.

5.3. The feature of functionality or redundancy, displayed by synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic, is, then, reflected in their expressibility or non-expressibility by alphabetic symbols of Arabic script. The dividing point between the two states will be called, for the sake of convenience, graphical limit. The latter, apart from being a criterially important dividing point between alphabetic and nonalphabetic indicators, at the same time operates as a unique sufficiently clear structurally relevant factor in the whole typological space of POA (see §5).

6. In accordance with the restrictions adopted, the following statement will exclusively be focussed on the category of case and verbal mood.

6.1. In the case paradigm, from the six case indicators of triptotic declension, only one belongs to the class of alphabetic indicators: the indefinite accusative, signalled by the suffix *-ā*: *-an*.⁸ With diptotic nouns, the whole inventory of case markers belongs to the class of nonalphabetic indicators.

The class of portmanteau or multicategorical indicators behaves quite differently. Here, the suffix *-ūn/-ū*: *-ūna/-ū*, for the nominative, and *-īn/-ī*: *-īna/-ī*, for the oblique case, are members of the alphabetic class.

The same applies to the dual suffixes *-ān/-ā*: *-āni/-ā*, for the nominative masculine, and *-yn/-y*: *-ayni/-ay*,⁹ for the corresponding oblique case. The same

⁸ The different status of the *tanwīn -an*, as opposed to *-un* and *-in*, reflects the quite different behaviour of the latter in the pausal position: *-an/-ā*, as compared to *-un/-∅* and *-in/-∅*. This exceptional status of *-an/-ā*, that cannot be explained by a higher functional rank, has a phonetic background (cf. Birkeland 1940: 46).

⁹ The oblique case suffixes *-yn/-y*: *-ayni/-ay*, for the masculine dual, and *-īn/-ī*: *-īna/-ī*, for the masculine plural, have, in Arabic, the same graphical rendering. The distinction between the vocalic */ī/* and semivocalic */y/* reading of the grapheme *yā'* has to point out the difference between the vowel quantity in the plural and the diphthong in the dual markers.

holds true of the corresponding feminine obtained by combination with the feminine suffix *-t*: *-at*. Here, we have: *-tān/-tā*: *-tāni/-tā*, for the nominative, and *-tyn/-ty*: *-tayni/-tay*, for the oblique case.

The taxonomic status of the feminine plural is somewhat different. In this case, the gender-number *-āt* belongs to the class of alphabetic indicators while the case markers (see note 4) *-u/-un*, for the nominative, and *-i/-in*, for the oblique, are members of the nonalphabetic class.

6.2. In the domain of verbal mood, from a total of thirteen forms of the imperfect in each modal paradigm (indicative, subjunctive and jussive) only eight¹⁰ belong to the alphabetic class, but not even here are they able to secure the full distinction between all members of these three modal paradigms (for a restricted distinctive power of the 2/3FP *-n*: *-na* and the 2/3MP *-ūn*: *-ūna* see §§ 4 and 4.1 above). Only *modus energicus* has a full alphabetic marking for its modal class membership.

7. Graphical limit, dividing the whole inventory of synthetic indicators into two classes with a markedly different degree of structural stability, permits division of the typological space of Arabic diglossia (cf. § 5.1) into two intervals. Each interval is delimited by a maximum state and graphical limit.

7.1. One of these intervals is delimited by the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic, at the synthetic pole of the typological space, and graphical limit. It will be referred to, not without a deal of ambiguity, as synthetic interval, in accordance with the delimiting structural maximum and the typical predominance of synthetic structures that is stimulated by it.

Synthetic interval warrants the preservation of all alphabetic indicators and tolerates only a relatively limited synthetic-analytic variation in the nonalphabetic domain. Accordingly, it includes all oral manifestations of prestigious Arabic that are (1) either in full harmony with its synthetic norm – these are oral manifestations of Standard Arabic – (2) or display only a relatively limited deviation from it, as specified above – these are manifestations of Prestigious Oral Arabic.

The full representation of alphabetic indicators warrants the preservation of case inflection in the domain of portmanteau morphemes of gender, number and case, as occurring in the masculine plural: *-ūn/-ū*: *-ūna/-ū*, for nominative, and *-īn/-ī*: *-īna/-ī*, for oblique, and in the masculine dual: *-ān/-ā*: *-āni/-ā*, for nominative, and *-yn/-y*: *-ayn/ay*, for oblique, with an independent marking of the feminine gender: *-tān/-tā*: *-atāni/-atā*, for nominative, and *-tyn/-ty*: *-atayni/-atay*, for oblique. The gender-number portmanteau of the feminine plural, with a nonalphabetic case marking, does not belong to the set of alphabetic case indicators.

The full representation of alphabetic indicators in the verbal domain guarantees the preservation of more than a half of the synthetic markers of verbal mood (eight out of thirteen in each modal paradigm). These belong to the class

¹⁰ The paradigmatical identity of only seven of them can unambiguously be established in formal terms in each of the three modal paradigms under consideration.

of portmanteau morphemes, too, since they signal verbal mood (indicative, subjunctive, jussive; *modus energicus* has to be classified apart), gender (in combination with gender prefixes: masculine, feminine), and number (singular, dual and plural).

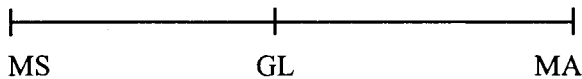
Accordingly, this interval warrants, in the verbal domain, the preservation of a number of evolutionally endangered feminine forms of the imperfect, like 2FS *tʃlīn* : *taʃʿalīna*, 3FP *yʃlīn* : *yaʃʿalna*, and 2FP *tʃlīn* : *taʃʿalna*; further, the imperative 2FP *ʃlīn* : *ʃʿalna*, the perfective 3PF *ʃlīn* : *ʃaʿalna*, as well as all the nonsubstantive paradigms of the dual that tend to disappear in living speech.

7.2. The other interval is delimited by the maximum of analytism, at the analytic pole of typological space, and by graphical limit. With a deal of ambiguity, this will be referred to as analytic interval, in accordance with the delimiting structural maximum and the typical prevalence of analytic structures associated with it.

As compared to the preceding interval, this one tolerates a relatively great deviation from the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic both in the domain of alphabetic and, even to a much greater extent, in that of nonalphabetic indicators. It provides space for spontaneous acts of oral communication with a highly variable degree of cultural significance, ranging from any of the colloquial varieties of Arabic, at the point of maximum of analytism, up to the structurally highly diversified manifestation of Prestigious Oral Arabic that do not comply with the restrictive frame of graphical limit.

As evident, Prestigious Oral Arabic is the unique linguistic variety of Arabic to be represented on both sides of graphical limit as a nonpolar member of both intervals of the typological space.

8. The most important issues of the present study may briefly be presented in the form of a simple diagram as follows:



GL – MA: ‘analytic’ interval of the typological space; deviations from the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic possibly include alphabetic indicators, as well; the term reflects the typical predominance of analytic structures;

POA: Prestigious Oral Arabic, linguistic continuum, the set of relatively diffuse and permeable structural states that oscillate between MS and MA, without being fully identifiable with any of these structural maxima.

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THE RECEPTION OF THE *BIBLE*
IN MAINLAND CHINA (1980–1992):
OBSERVATIONS OF A LITERARY COMPARATIST*

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This article analyses the literary and critical reception of the *Bible* among critics and historians of the People's Republic of China after the beginning of more liberal policy towards religions at the end of the 1970s. Poetic and fictional works of the *Bible* form the focus of the study.

When reading the solidly written study by Wang Weifan [1], "*Shengjing*" *yiben zai Zhongguo* [2] *Bible's Translations in China*,¹ one gets the impression of dizziness: a history of the reception is not so long as in some other countries in the world (more than 1350 years), but its variety, especially in the last one hundred years' is amazing; e.g., between 1862 and 1949 more than three hundred different editions were published in *guanhua* [4] Mandarin versions in China.²

The real history of the *Bible* translations began in China in the 630s when Nestorian missionary named Aluoben [5] came to China. Aluoben brought with him 530 volumes of different books in the Syrian language, including *Bible*, parts of which had been translated into Chinese, such as *Genesis*, *Psalms*, *Four Gospels*, among others. These were discovered in the caves of Dunhuang in 1908.³

After the "Cultural Revolution" or, better to say, from 1981 up to the end of 1980, 5,510,000 copies of the Bible were published; 3,140,000 of these copies containing both the whole Old and New Testament.⁴ It was published in Chinese, its dialects and in some of the languages of the nationalities living in the PRC. This is still not enough for the vast population of China.

* The author thanks to Professor Tak-wai Wong (Hong Kong) and Miss Elena Hidvéghyová (Bratislava), who supplied him with most of materials used in this study.

¹ *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* [3] *Studies in Religion*, 1, 1992, pp. 71–83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

A little more than one decade of relative religious freedom in Mainland China is not much time for developing the possibilities that could be used in regard to the *Bible* and its stimuli in the realm of creation, criticism and new knowledge. Even in the pre-Communist times, anti-Christian Movements in China were strong, at least in some periods, such as in the late Ming and early Qing⁵ and in the first years after the May Fourth Movement in the 1920s.⁶ The whole Communist era supported Marx's idea that religion was the opium of the people. This opium theory is criticized⁷ or at least not highlighted now, just as purely "cultural" or "class-platform" attitudes towards the religions within the framework of Chinese socialism. The Chinese religious leaders and propagandists probably cannot protest openly against "Party leadership", and at least under political threat they are prepared to "participate in the building up of the socialist spiritual civilization". In accord with this "spiritual" civilization "they have the respect for, defend and develop all profitable for the realization of Four Modernizations, they have to bring China to prosperity, to unite the country (with Taiwan, M.G.), to contribute to the collaboration with the nationalities, social progress, spirit and active ideas leading to the happiness of the people..."⁸

The question of the "socialist spiritual civilization" seems to be crucial, at least for those who are responsible for the religious policy. We do not know whether we may believe in the sincerity of the pronouncements of the leading theoreticians. "Spiritual pollution" in the field of literature is a *caveat*, and it is possible that the Maoist and post-Maoist cant concerning especially the practice as the basis of cognition and the criterion of truth even in the realm of religion⁹ is only a lip service to the overall Party theory and practice and not its real implementation.

⁵ WONG, George H.C.: *The Anti-Christian Movement in China: Late Ming and Early Ch'ing*, Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Studies, New Series III, 1, 1962, pp. 187-220.

⁶ Cf. CHOW, Tse-tsung: *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*, Stanford, Stanford University Press 1967, pp. 320-327 and LAM, Wing-hung: *Chinese Theology in Construction*, Pasadena, William Carey Library 1983, pp. 85-104.

⁷ *Bianhou* [6] After Editing, Zongjiao Religion, 2, 1986, p. 101.

⁸ Loc. cit.

⁹ After Editing, Religion, 2, 1987, p. 101. Much important information concerning the religious situation in Mainland China can be found in two articles: WANG, Hsueh-wen: *Tolerance and Control: Peking's Attitude Toward Religion*, Issues & Studies (Taipei), 27, January 1991, 1, pp. 118-129 and CHAN, Hon S.: *Christianity in Post-Mao Mainland China*, ibid., 29, March 1993, 3, pp. 106-132. More complicated state of affairs among the Catholics than in the Protestant churches is analysed in CHAN, Kim-Kwong: *Towards a Contextual Ecclesiology. The Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China (1979-1983): Its Life and Theological Implications*, Hong Kong, Chinese Church Research Centre 1987, 465 pp.

The process of the literary reception of the *Bible* began in the first half of 1980 with the extensive study of Nestor by Chinese *Biblical* literary studies Professor Zhu Weizhi [7] (1905–) entitled *Xibolai wenxue jianjie* [8] A Short Introduction to Hebrew Literature, with the subtitle *Xiang “Jiuyue quanshu” wenxue tanxian* [9] Exploring the Literature of the *Old Testament*.¹⁰ Professor Zhu Weizhi from Nankai University, Tientsin, read *Bible* as a teenager in its *guanhua heheben* [11] Mandarin Union Version published in 1919, which was probably most accepted among young Chinese students and intellectuals. In his autobiography, Zhu Weizhi mentions *Psalms*, *Song of Songs*, *The Book of Job* and *St. Matthew’s Gospel* and admires them as “beautiful to be absorbed at once”.¹¹ He returned to the *Bible* many times in his life. At 83 years of age he confessed in one of his essays that among all the Chinese and foreign literature he read up to his nineteenth year under the guidance of Professor Zhu Ziqing [15] (1898–1948), then at the Pedagogical High School in Wenzhou, Chekiang Province, nothing made a greater impression on him than a few lines from *Psalm 114*:

When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob
from a people of strange language,
Judah was his sanctuary, and Israel his dominion.
The sea saw *it* and fled; Jordan was driven back,
The mountains skipped like rams, and the little
hills like lambs.¹²

Zhu Weizhi enumerated the whole gamut of Chinese and foreign works and authors, all of them not reaching the spirit of this small work (eight verses only): *Guofeng* [20] Song of States from *Shijing* [21] *Book of Poetry*; *Jiuge* [22] *Nine Songs*, attributed to Qu Yuan [23] (ca. 340–278 B.C.); Li Bai’s [24] (701–762) *yuefu* [25] folk ballads; Wang Wei’s (699–759)[26] *jueju* [27] quatrains; *ci* [28] lyric songs of Li Qingzhao [29] (1081–1143), Su Shi [30] (1037–1101) and Xin Qiji [31] (1140–1207); *qu* [32] dramatic songs of Dong Jieyuan [33] (fl. around 1200), Wang Shifu [34] (after 1250) and Ma Zhiyuan [35] (ca. 1265–ca. 1325); Su Manshu’s [36] (1884–1918) translations from Goethe and

¹⁰ Waiguo wenxue yanjiu [10] Studies in Foreign Literature, 2, 1980, pp. 106–118.

¹¹ Zhu Weizhi zizhuan [12] Zhu Weizhi’s Autobiography. In: WANG SHOULAN [13] (ed.): *Dangdai wenxue fanyi baijia tan* [14] Treatises On and By a Hundred Chinese Literary Translators. Peking, Peking University Publishing House 1989, p. 189.

¹² Cf. ZHU WEIZHI: Xu [16] Preface to Liang Gong [17]: *Shengjing shige* [18] Poetry From the *Bible*. Tientsin, Baihua wenyi [19] 1989, p. 1 and *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments* (James’ Edition). Oxford, At the University Press, n.y. All quotations from the *Bible* (with one exception in Latin) are from this edition.

Byron and Bing Xin's [37] (1900–) translations from Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941).

From the *Song of Songs* he chose a few last lines, calling the whole poem “most courageous and most frank” among all love poetry in world literature:

Set me as a seal upon thy heart, as a seal
upon thy arm;
for love *is* strong as death; jealousy is cruel
as the grave;
the coals thereof *are* coals of fire, *which has*
a most vehement flame.
Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods
drown it;
if a man would give all the substance of his house
for love, it would utterly be contemned.¹³

The third example, where the *Biblical* writings achieved their philosophical apogee, Zhu Weizhi found in *Ecclesiastes* or *The Preacher*, a short work of more than six thousand words which he compared with Laozi's [38] (4th cent. B.C.) *Daode jing* [39] *Sacred Book of Dao and De* with its more than five thousand characters and appreciated them as “two jewels surpassing all the philosophical works in Oriental literatures and two specimens of world literature of incomparable value”:

Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labour which he takes under the sun? One generation passeth away, and *another* generation cometh; but the earth abideth for ever...

All things *are* full of labour; man cannot utter *it*: the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing.

The thing that hath been, *it is* that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and *there is* no new thing under the sun.¹⁴

It is not difficult to guess why just these three examples drew Zhu Weizhi's attention over the course of seventy years. The first poem depicting vividly the spirit of “national liberation” in both a dramatic and lyric way; was really never present in Chinese literature. Likewise, there was no single love poem in this literature, and probably in all of world literature, comparable to the *Song of Songs*. The ideas of the *Ecclesiastes* would be familiar to Chinese readers well trained in Taoist and Buddhist philosophy. Vanity in the *Bible* and *kong* [40] or *xu* [41], both meaning “emptiness” (sansk. *sunyata*), especially the first one, alludes the impermanence in Buddhism, in which: “nothing remains the same

¹³ Ibid., pp. 2–3 and *Song of Song*, 8, 6–7.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 3 and *Ecclesiastes*, 1, 2–9.

even for an instant: everything is in constant flux and is subject to endless transmutations as it goes through the round of birth, growth, decay and death..."¹⁵ This affinity would be even more clear if Zhu Weizhi would have cited the following lines from the *Ecclesiastes*:

I have seen all the works that are done under the sun; and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of the spirit.

Or:

And I gave my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly: I perceived that this also is vexation of spirit.¹⁶

Here the situation is similar to that of Buddhist devotee who knows that the "attachment to sense objects (or aversion to them) puts the subject into the false position of desiring (or feeling aversion for) mere forms which have no permanence or objective reality. Such desires (or aversions) result in unhappiness because, no sooner have we attained the objects of our desires, then we find them no longer desirable, and no sooner have we freed ourselves from the objects of our aversion then we find them to be other than we thought. What appeared to be solid reality reveals itself as nothing but as shadow."¹⁷

Zhu Weizhi's *A Short Introduction to Hebrew Literature* has been preceded by his other works connected with the *Bible*, such as *Jidujiao yu wenxue* [42] Christianity and Literature (1941), and *Wuchanzhe Yesu zhuan* [43] Biography of Jesus – A Proletarian (1951),¹⁸ the latter being written in the form of novel. In his first article after the opening of China to the Western world in the end of 1970s, Zhu Weizhi was more inhibited than in the time of writing his later confession. When quoting nearly the same words from the *Ecclesiastes*, he criticized his unknown Hebrew writer for spreading "deeply passive teachings" and the "decadent voices of the country in turmoil and decay".¹⁹

In the *Book of Job*, Zhu Weizhi was interested mostly in the words of young Elihu, who was angry with Job and his three friends: the first one because he justified rather himself than God, and the older companions because they did not find an answer to Job's afflictions and unjustly condemned him. For the sinologist, it is interesting that the old Chinese scholar supposes that God tempers Job's inner character and morality. To Zhu this episode was similar to that from the book by the early Confucian philosopher Mencius (371–289 B.C.):

"Shun rose from the fields; Fu Yüeh was raised to office from amongst the builders; Chiao Ke from amidst the fish and salt; Kuan Chung from the hands of the prison officer; Sun Shu-ao from the sea and Po-li Hsi from the market.

¹⁵ BLOFELD, J.: *The Jewel in Lotus*. London, Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd. 1948, p. 43.

¹⁶ *Ecclesiastes*, 1, 14 and 17.

¹⁷ BLOFELD, J.: op. cit., p. 43.

¹⁸ Zhu Weizhi's *Autobiography*, p. 191.

¹⁹ ZHU WEIZHI: *A Short Introduction to Hebrew Literature*, p. 112.

That is why Heaven, when it is about to place a great burden on a man, always first tests his resolution, exhausts his frame and makes him suffer starvation and hardship, frustrates his efforts so as to shake him from his mental lassitude, toughen his nature and make good his deficiencies..."²⁰ Job as a moral and literary character would not be possible in Chinese writings, since in China morality and personal behaviour of human beings were never sanctioned by an allmighty and omniscient God. I wonder why Zhu Weizhi did not highlight the lines from Job that stress the belief but also human call for justice or temperance against too much meaningless suffering of humans in the face of God:

Though he slays me, yet will I trust in him: but I will maintain mine own ways before him.

Or:

Therefore I will not refrain my mouth; I will speak in the anguish of my spirit; I will complain in the bitterness of my soul.

Am I a sea, or a whale, that thou settest a watch over me? When I say, my bed shall comfort me, my couch shall ease my complaint;

Then thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me with visions:

So that my soul chooseth strangling, *and* death rather than my life.

I loathe it; I would not live always: let me alone; for my days are vanity.²¹

I wonder also why Zhu Weizhi did not compare the words of God from Chapter 38 with those from *Tian wen* [46] *Heavenly Questions*, attributed to Qu Yuan,²² or to *Tang wen* [47] Questions Addressed to Tang from *Liezi* [48] (3rd–4th cent. A.D.),²³ but to Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and to the *Prologue in Heaven* of Goethe's *Faust*. As to the last but one question, it is necessary to point out, just as Paolo Santangelo asserted in his excellent book on a "sin" in Chinese traditional society, that the "important characteristic of the Chinese attitude when faced with natural ills and pain is... the almost total absence of any sense of revolt against the natural order or the ethical system",²⁴ or as his reviewer Mark Elvin claimed that a "Job's problem", namely the

²⁰ *Mencius*. Transl. with an Introduction by D.C. Lau. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books 1970, p. 181. For original see *Mengzi Zheng yi* [44]. Vol. 2, juan 25, *Sibu beiyao* [45] ed. (henceforth only SBBY). Taipei 1966, p. 15A.

²¹ *Book of Job*, 13, 15 and 7, 11–16.

²² *Ch'u Tz'u. The Songs of South*. Transl. by David Hawkes. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press 1959, pp. 45–58. For original see *Chuci buzhu* [53], juan 3, SBBY ed. Taipei 1966, pp. 1A–26B.

²³ ETIEMBLE *et al.*: *Philosophes taoistes. Lao-tseu, Tchouang-tseu, Lie-tseu*. Paris, Gallimard 1980, pp. 475–476 and *The Book of Lieh-tzu. A New Translation by A.C. Graham*. London 1960, passages 95–117. For original see *Liezi*, juan 5, SBBY ed. Taipei 1966, pp. 1A–21B.

²⁴ SANTANGELO, P.: *Il "Peccato" in Cina. Bene e male nel Neofucianismo dalla metà del XIV alla metà del XIX secolo* ("Sin" in China. Goodness and Evil in Neo-Confucianism from the Half of the 14th to the Half of the 19th Century). Bari, G. Laterza e Figli 1991, p. 267. Quoted according to M. Elvin's review, *Philosophy East & West*, 43, April 1993, 2, p. 299.

“suffering of the virtuous and the prosperity of the wicked... can be found in some form or another in late imperial China”, but these “were not felt to matter deeply, however interesting they might have been”.²⁵ Maybe Professor Zhu regarded the similarity between *Book of Job* and the Chinese works mentioned above as so close that he did not feel the necessity to comment on it at all.

The following parts of Zhu’s study are not so well elaborated except for the *Lamentations* attributed traditionally to the Prophet Jeremiah (between the 7th and 6th cent.). The Chinese scholar has no doubts concerning the authorship of Jeremiah, and he has only words of admiration for this elegy, just as Lu Xun [49] (1881–1936) had at the beginning of the 20th century.²⁶ Quite interesting is his attempt to translate passages from it using *saoti* [52] elegy form of *Chuci* or *Songs of Chu* used by Qu Yuan and his followers.²⁷

Zhu Weizhi’s second article *Shengjing wenxuede diwei he tezhi* [54] Characteristic Features and the Place of the *Bible*²⁸ (in world literature, M.G.), is more under the spell of Marxist doctrine, although not fully. He begins with the well-known dogma of this teaching that Marxism and religion are incompatible and that religions and classes will disappear in the future. Marx and Engels are quoted as the authorities. Especially emphasized are Marx’s assertions regarding the historical principles of the genesis of culture from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*²⁹ and Engels’ opinion about Martin Luther’s translation into German and its influence both in the field of language and literature from his *Introduction to Dialectics of Nature*.³⁰ Zhu Weizhi’s article is a solid essay on the subject of influence of the *Bible* on different European literatures. From what he wrote in it, much is well-known and it needs not to be repeated here, except for one point concerning modern China. This was for the first time articulated, as far as I know, by Zhou Zuoren [55] (1885–1967), who expressed the views of many adversaries of *baihua* [56] vernacular language, as a means to be used in literature and overall social communication on the background of *St. Matthew’s Gospel*, the style of which allegedly made a great impact on, or

²⁵ Elvin’s review of Santangelo’s book, p. 299.

²⁶ Cf. ZHU WEIZHI: A Short Introduction to Hebrew Literature, p. 113, LU XUN: *Moluo shili shuo* [50] On Satanic Power of Poetry. In: *Lu Xun quanji* [51] The Complete Works of Lu Xun. Peking, People’s Literature Publishing House 1973, p. 101 and GÁLIK, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History. III. Young Lu Xun (1902–1909)*, Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), XXI, 1985, p. 56.

²⁷ HAWKES, D.: *General Introduction*. In: *Ch’u Tz’u. The Songs of the South*, pp. 1–11.

²⁸ *Studies in Foreign Literature*, 4, 1982, pp. 45–49.

²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 45 and MARX, K.: *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. In: MARX, K. and ENGELS, Fr.: *Selected Works in Two Volumes*. Vol. 1. Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House 1962, p. 247.

³⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 46 and ENGELS, Fr.: *Preface to Dialectics of Nature*. Moscow, Progress Publishers 1966, pp. 21–22.

at least was very similar to that of Chinese literature after the May Fourth Movement.³¹

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Zhu Yunbin's [60] "*Shengjing Yage*" *shi xin shuo* [61] *The Song of Songs* in the *Bible*. A New Theory, with the subtitle *Jianyi dui "Yage" de ji zhong pinglun* [62] Some Opinions Concerning *The Song of Songs*,³² is the first more detailed study on this important literary work from the *Bible*. It is probably one of the most read from the *Old Testament* in the PRC. Some Chinese universities and publishing houses in China put *Song of Songs* into their literary textbooks or selections.³³ This extensive article in two installments is mostly a polemic with two Chinese works analysing *Song of Songs* before Zhu Yunbin: Zhu Weizhi's A Short Introduction to Hebrew Literature and *Waiguo wenxue jianbian* [68] A Short Introduction to Foreign Literature, 2nd vol., Changchun, People's Literature Publishing House 1983, pp. 61–63.

From the same author we have another article entitled *Shengjing yuanshi xiaoshuo chutan* [69] Preliminary Study on the Primitive Fiction in the *Bible*.³⁴ Here, once again, Marx is highlighted since, according the statistical data made by the publishing house just mentioned, one-fifth of all literary quotations in Marx's writings came from the *Bible*.³⁵ He and Engels, according to this author, possessed not only "deep and original" knowledge, but were able to give also "shocking and creative instructions"³⁶ in this field. Zhu Yunbin's deliberations are partly strange, e.g., to characterize the best literary stories from the *Bible* as primitive, is rather a crude judgement. The most important target of his criticism are the opinions of the Polish writer Zenon Kosidowski.³⁷ Zhu usually does not agree with Kosidowski's views on different

³¹ ZHOU ZUOREN: *Shengshu yu Zhongguo wenxue* [57] *The Bible* and Chinese Literature. In: *Zhongguo bijiao wenxue yanjiu ziliao, 1919–1949* [58] Material for the Study of Chinese Comparative Literature, 1919–1959. Peking, Peking University Publishing House 1989, p. 385. Originally appeared in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* [59] Short Story Monthly, 12, 1921, 1.

³² Xinyang shifanxueyuan xuebao (Zhaxue shehui kexue ban) [63] Bulletin of Xinyang Pedagogical Institute (Humanistic Sciences), 1, 1985, pp. 61–69 and 2, 1985, pp. 107–111.

³³ These were as follows before 1983: *Waiguo wenxue zuopin xuan* [64] A Selection From Foreign Literary Works. Shanghai, Yiwu chubanshe [65] 1979, *Waiguo wenxue shi* [66] A History of Foreign Literature. Changchun, People's Publishing House of Kirin Province 1980 and *Waiguo wenxue jianming jiaocheng* [67] A Sketchy Course in Foreign Literature. Nanchang, People's Publishing House of Kiangsi Province 1982.

³⁴ Bulletin of Xinyang Pedagogical Institute (Humanistic Sciences), 4, 1985, pp. 108–115 and 33.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 33.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 108.

³⁷ KOSIDOWSKI, Z.: *Opowieści biblijne* (Biblical Stories). Warszawa, Iskry 1963. I know this book on the basis of the Slovak translation: Bratislava, Obzor 1983. Henceforth only Slovak edition is used in citations.

examples of *Biblical* fiction. If the Polish writer extolls *Book of Job* and regards it as the “*chef d’oeuvre* of Biblical literature”,³⁸ as do many other experts in the field, the Chinese writer supposes that “as to its content and form ‘*Book of Job*’ could not become a good literary work”.³⁹ He completely misunderstands “Job’s problem”, thinking naively that according to this work: “Human beings are God’s oxen and sheep. Their duty is only to follow his orders. This theological idea is the main and essential creative feature of this story and therefore it is not possible to say that this is a good work.”⁴⁰

Book of Ruth is a much better work according to Zhu Yunbin, but he disagrees with Kosidowski’s idea that it depicts the old custom of levirate, the marriage among Jewish brothers or near relatives and their sisters-in-law that became childless widows, and accentuates the interethnic solidarity and partnership. Kosidowski stressed this last feature,⁴¹ too, but without having a specific aim: to build up a “socialist spiritual civilization”⁴² which was certainly that of Zhu Yunbin.

In addition to the one just analysed, *Book of Esther* is according to Zhu Yunbin a “real masterpiece”.⁴³ He stresses the method of *yang* [70] highlighting and *yi* [71] curbing, in process of delineating the characters: positive heroes are restrained or suppressed at first and later highlighted (like Esther or Mordecai), villains are highlighted at the beginning and repressed at the end (like Haman).⁴⁴ There is no word about the similarity or difference between Esther’s story and Chinese fictional literature, e.g. some parts of *Xiyou ji* [72] *Pilgrimage to the West*, but one may surmise the unconscious origin of Zhu Yunbin’s sympathy. Here an extensive quotation from Robert Alter would be helpful to the sinologist acquainted with the narrative art of Wu Cheng’en [73] (ca. 1500–1580) in order to understand Zhu Yunbin’s evaluation:

“The tale begins... by offering an account of a royal feast with all its sumptuous trappings at which Queen Vashti is summoned to display her beauty before the wine-befuddled male guests. What is implicitly stressed at the beginning is the physical separation between harem and king, women and men. Whether or not the original idea was for Vashti to display herself naked, as some medieval commentators proposed, the obvious implication of Ahasuerus’s summons is his pride of sexual possession. It is not altogether clear if that possession is more than titular, a matter of mere display. In any case, after Vashti’s great refusal, the royal counselor Memucan sounds the alarm that unless Vashti is turned away, male dominance of wives throughout the empire

³⁸ Ibid., p. 300.

³⁹ ZHU YUNBIN: Preliminary Study on the Primitive Fiction in the *Bible*, p. 111.

⁴⁰ Loc. cit.

⁴¹ KOSIDOWSKI, Z.: op. cit., p. 168.

⁴² ZHU YUNBIN: op. cit., p. 33.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 111.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 111–113.

would be undermined by this act of insubordination. The prelude to the main plot, then, strikes a note of male anxiety that points forward to the climax in which the ever malleable Ahasuerus will be subtly guided by his new consort Esther to do exactly what she requires of him."⁴⁵

Here the "banquet pattern in fiction",⁴⁶ so familiar to the readers of Chinese traditional novels, and its "show" character is stressed. In the Chapter 60 of the *Pilgrimage to the West*, for example, we find Niumo wang [74] Ox Monster King, who not long ago left his first wife Tieshan gongzhu [75] Princess Iron Fan, and after making love to his second wife Yumian gongzhu [76] Princess Jade, "is sitting in the seat of honour with three or four lesser dragon spirits on either side. Facing him was an ancient dragon, surrounded by dragon sons, dragon grandsons, dragon wives and dragon daughters."⁴⁷ The men and women (even if they are spirits) are similar to that of Ahasuerus's feast. The riches of the kingdom between India and Ethiopia were not greater than those depicted in the underwater realm of Ancient Dragon. Zhu Yunbin was probably attracted by the refinement ruling over the story and also the erotically restrained character. In Chinese literature, with the exception of its pornographic parts or works, the idea of *li* propriety, decorum, sound social conduct and a "sense of ritual correctness" was a leading one; anti-decorous words, deeds and even thoughts endangered this overall "ritual" of social life and therefore was not permissible in the works of literature.⁴⁸

It was not an intention of the author (or authors) of the *Book of Esther* to make a positive heroine out of its main protagonist. She was only a witty girl, beautiful, submissive, loyal to her royal husband and patiently waiting for the realization of her aims. Zhu Yunbin was a victim of post-Maoist literary criticism and black-and-white analysis of literary facts that serves mostly the implementation of the tasks of the contemporary cultural policy.

Interethnic *topos* is accentuated in Zhu's evaluation of the last two stories and of the *Book of Judith*, the one we find in the Catholic versions of the *Bible*. Judith, allegedly a pious and chaste Hebrew widow, who saved her town of Bethulia from the Assyrian conquest, killing Holofernes, commander-in-chief. She feasted with him, drank wine and ate the best food. After he fell asleep, she

⁴⁵ ALTER, R.: *The World of Biblical Narrative*. New York, Basic Book, A Division of Harper Collins Publishers, Inc. 1992, pp. 31–32.

⁴⁶ CHANG, H.C.: *Chinese Literature: Popular Fiction and Drama*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 1974, pp. 20–21.

⁴⁷ WU CHENG'EN: *Journey to the West*. Transl. by W.J.F. Jenner. Vol. 3, Peking, Foreign Languages Press 1990, p. 1103. For original, see *Xiyou ji*. Vol. 2. Peking, Zuoja [77] Publishers 1955, p. 692.

⁴⁸ SHUEN-FU LIN: *Ritual and Narrative Structure in Ju-lin wai-shih*. In: PLAKS, H.H. (ed.): *Chinese Narrative. Critical and Theoretical Essays*. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1977, pp. 256–259.

took his sword, withdrew it from the shield, (*evaginasset illum* in Latin)⁴⁹ and decapitated him.

When Zhu wrote about the literary value in the stories of the Christian part of the *Bible* in *Shitan "Shijing Xinyue" wenxue* [78] A Tentative Discussion of the *New Testament* as Literature,⁵⁰ he had no other authorities to make reference to or to condemn, except for Marx and Engels. Although it is possible to agree with his evaluation of the stories, apparently there is not much new in them, and to invoke such slogans like: *guwei jinyong*, *yangwei zhongyong* [79] make the past serve the present, or *qu qi jinghua*, *tichu zaopo* [80] select the refined and discard the crude,⁵¹ is a useless "litany".

3

Niu Yongmao's [81] two studies with similar titles *Mantan "Shengjing" wenxue* [82] Notes on the *Biblical* Literature (1982)⁵² and *Mantan "Shengjing" Notes on the Bible* (1985),⁵³ follow the steps of the first Zhu in this study – Zhu Weizhi.

The article from 1982 is more valuable, the second one is more repetitive. The "ideological blessing" is also much stronger and after reading it, we know that Marx and Engels cited *Bible* in their works nearly one hundred times and Lenin a few dozen times.⁵⁴ This is one of the main reasons why this collection of books should be studied.

Both articles start with the description of the process of making *Bible*, both the *Old* and *New Testament*. Whereas the first article analyses some more important *Biblical* literary works, the second follows different translations into Latin and English, explains the relations between literature and religion and the *Bible's* impact on world culture including literature, fine arts and music.

In the first article, most attention is devoted to the *Song of Songs*. Whether it was a work the author appreciated highly, or because there were good possibilities for comparison, this part of Niu's article is worthy of reading. "*Song of Songs*," he states, "and Chinese *Song of States* from the *Book of Poetry*, are lyric poems describing the love between two sexes, but because of the various customs among the Chinese and Hebrews, there are differences in their poetic styles. What concerns the mutual life between men and women, the feelings

⁴⁹ *Liber Judith* (Vulgate version), 13, 9.

⁵⁰ Bulletin of Xinyang Pedagogical Institute (Humanistic Sciences), 2, 1987, pp. 67–72.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁵² *Waiguo wenxue yanjiu jikan* [83] Collected Papers in Foreign Literary Studies, 4, 1982, pp.216–237.

⁵³ *Studies in Foreign Literature*, 1, 1985, pp. 31–38 and 30.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

expressed in the *Song of Songs* are warmer, stronger, more audacious and bold.”⁵⁵

Niu Yongmao offers two examples from the *Song of Songs* in Chinese translation for the readers: Chapter 2 and verses 5–7 from Chapter 8. The lines from the Chapter 8 are just the same as cited by Zhu Weizhi. Chapter 2 begins with the lines:

I *am* the rose of Sharon, *and* the lily of the valley.
As the lily among the thorns, so *is* my love among the daughters.

And ends with:

My beloved *is* mine, and I *am* his: he feedeth among the lilies.
Until the day breaks, and the shadows flee away, turn, my beloved, and be
though like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Buther.

This kind of love, depicted in the *Song of Songs*, seems to Niu Yongmao to be “more straightforward and frank”⁵⁶ than in the poems from the *Book of Poetry* or *Ziye* [84] (3rd–4th cent. A.D.). There are, of course, poems in ancient Chinese literature, e.g. the one mentioned by Niu and entitled *Ye you si jun* [85] *In the Wilds There Is a Dead Doe*, translated by my old friend Professor Wu-chi Liu, which is straightforward enough but also crude:

In the wilds there is a dead doe;
In white rushes it is wrapped.
There was a girl longing for spring;
A fine gentleman seduced her.

In the woods there are tree stumps;
In the wilds lies a dead deer,
Wrapped and bound with white rushes.
There was a girl fair as jade.

“Ah, not so hasty, not so rough!
Do not move my girdle kerchief;
Do not make the dog bark.”⁵⁷

The crudeness of this poem from the *Book of Poetry* contradicts the delicacy of the part from the *Song of Songs*. The setting is more or less the same, as are

⁵⁵ NIU YONGMAO: Notes on the *Biblical Literature*, p. 222.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁵⁷ *Sunflower Splendor. Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry*. Coed. by Wu-chi Liu and Irving Yucheng Lo. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1975, pp. 5–6. For original see *Mao shi Zheng jian* [86], juan 1, SBBY ed. Taipei 1966, pp. 17A–17B.

the *poematis personae*, but the treatment of the theme of love is much more refined and sophisticated in Hebrew literature:

My beloved is like a roe or a young hart: behold, he
standeth behind our wall,
he looked forth at the windows,
shewing himself through the lattice.
My beloved spake, and said to me,
Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away...
O my dove, *that art* in the clefts of the rock,
in the sacred *places* of the stairs,
let me see thy countenance,
let me hear thy voice;
for sweet *is* thy voice,
and thy countenance is comely.⁵⁸

Here the love is sublimated, even “desexualized” to a great extent. Some of the descriptions, such as in Chapter 7, in which Shulamite’s thighs, belly, navel or breasts are depicted, would hardly be imaginable in traditional Chinese poetry, and if such few specimens were found there, they usually were not supposed to be pure poetry.⁵⁹

The audacity of poems included into the *Song of Songs* was always connected with refined craft of stylistic devices implying in themselves a lot of restraint. They were put there because of the possibility of their allegorical explications proper for both Jews and Christians. The allegorical explanation was also an important cause for including the *Book of Poetry* into the Confucian canon.

The Psalms probably do not belong to among Niu Yongmao’s favourite poems. It is probably because he regarded them as “didactic religious poems”.⁶⁰ If he was fond of some, they should have another purpose, let us say a patriotic theme, like *Psalms* 137, in which the “Babylon captivity” is delineated in a moving way:

By the rivers Babylon, there we sat down,
yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Song of Songs*, 2, 9–14.

⁵⁹ A few examples of the descriptions of female body are in TAN ZHENGBI [87]: *Zhongguo nuxingde wenxue shenghuo* [88] *Literary Life of Chinese Women*, Shanghai, Guangming shuju [89] 1930, p. 219. They were written by courtesan poetess Zhao Luanluan [90] (around 8th cent.) to advertise her charms. All of them were translated into English by Kenneth Rexroth and Ling Chung in: *The Orchid Boat. Women Poets of China*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Comp. 1972, pp. 26–30.

⁶⁰ NIU YONGMAO: op. cit., p. 226.

⁶¹ Loc. cit.

In contrast to Zhu Weizhi, Niu Yongmao has doubts about Jeremias's authorship of the *Lamentations*, and his analysis is more accurate. On the other hand, I like Zhu's opinion concerning the *Ecclesiastes* or the *Book of Job* better.

4

Du Benhai [91] is the last among the authors of the "triads" in this study. He took as his subject the story of the Creation of Heaven and Earth in its two versions: the first one from *Genesis*, Chapter 1 and the second from *Genesis*, Chapters 2 and 3. One of them entitled *Moba Jiuyue zhongde liangge chuangshi shenhua hun er wei yi* [92] Don't Confuse Two Versions of the Creation of the World From the *Bible* As One,⁶² tries to be a scholarly treatment of this enthralling subject. Two other studies: *Gudai renlei meihao benxingde songge* [94] Eulogy on the Aesthetic Qualities of Ancient Mankind with the subtitle *Jiuyue liuri chuangshi gushi jinghua tanxi* [95] A Study in Refined Essence of the Six Days Creation From the *Old Testament of the Bible*,⁶³ and "*Jiuyue*" *zhongshen chuangshi shenhua de shenmei cengci* [97] The Aesthetic Dimensions of the Polytheistic Myth of Creation of the World in the *Old Testament*,⁶⁴ discuss mostly the aesthetic questions of different strata of this myth, or better to say, of its versions.

The old Hebrew word Elohim is used for God in some parts of *Genesis*. Du Benhai explains this term as gods (in plural) as it was really used among the different peoples of ancient Canaan. Therefore, according to him, for instance, not God, but gods said: "Let there be light: and there was light." And, of course, not God, but gods "saw the light, that *it was* good", and not God, but gods "divided the light from the darkness".⁶⁵ As a literary comparatist and student of world mythologies, Professor Du Benhai (from the Normal University of North East China, Changchun), is knowledgeable to make such conclusions, but this one is questionable. There is such a phenomenon like the history of gods and God, and we know that it was always (at least what is the last concerned) in a state of permanent evolution. In the time of the canon-formation of Hebrews, those who shaped it first sometime in the 9th cent. B.C., believed in one God, whether he was called Elohim, El or Yahweh (Yahwe, Yehovah). Du's cognition of world mythologies is also broad enough, and his assertion that none of the cosmogonic myths in world literature is comparable to that of the *Old Testament* as to its aesthetic elements, is worthy of attention. Even the indigenous Chinese myths are not able to compete with myths of creation of Hebrews, because "their parts are not beautiful", and they cannot "stir aesthetic

⁶² Dongbei shida xuebao [93] Bulletin of Northeast China Pedagogical University (Humanistic Sciences), 6, 1986, pp. 79-84.

⁶³ Shehui kexue zhanxian [96] Social Sciences Front, 1, 1987, pp. 284-288 and 283.

⁶⁴ Minjian wenxue luntan [98] Forum on Folk Literature, 5, 1987, pp. 23-29.

⁶⁵ Cf. DU BENHAI: The Aesthetic Dimensions..., p. 23 and *Genesis*, 1, 3-4.

emotions”.⁶⁶ Following Marx’s idea of “social childhood of mankind” in regard to Greek art and epics which “still constitute with us a source of aesthetic enjoyment and in certain respects prevail as the standard and model beyond attainment”,⁶⁷ Du Benhai analysed the six days of creation as an “aesthetic summary of practical activity of mankind”.⁶⁸

Perhaps this practical activity is stressed too much in Du’s deliberations. It seems that the toiling masses of the Hebrews were not the best mythopoeists of the world in the realm of cosmogony or anthropogeny. The priest strata of the Semitic peoples around the Jews and their spiritual leaders played a very important role in the shaping of these myths. It is difficult to believe that the second myth from *Genesis* 2 and 3 “expressed the idea of materialist ontology”⁶⁹ on the one hand, and the first myth from the *Genesis* 1, may serve as example of the “typical idealist ontology”⁷⁰ on the other. Here is the rest of the Zhdanovian attitude to the history of world thought as the permanent process of struggle between idealism and materialism. From a Chinese writer I would expect much more the indigenous attitude to the spirit of creativeness present in *Genesis* and its evaluation on the background of the autochthonous Chinese myths. Myths concerning Nuwa and Pangu are mentioned but hardly analysed.

The second myth of creation from the *Bible* is a theme of another article entitled “*Shengjing*” *yidianyuan shenhua yu muqin yuanxing* [99] The Myth of Eden in the *Bible* and the Mother Archetype. The author, Liu Lianxiang [100] (from the Department of English of the Institute of Foreign Languages, Tientsin), is one of the few who does not care for Marxist achievements in Biblical studies, and the chief arguments draws from C.G. Jung’s theory of archetypes.⁷¹ Liu finds another source of impact in the work of Professor Ding Guangxun [102] (1915–) (from Nanjing Union Theological Seminary) entitled *Shangdi bu shi nanxing* [103] God Is Not of *Masculini Generis*. I did not have the opportunity to read this article, but I suppose that the one under analysis has a slightly feminist character. Not only God of the *Old Testament*, and concretely of *Genesis*, owns feminine features such as “goodness, warmth, gentleness, love and concern, cordiality, silent maternal diligence and self-sacrifice”,⁷² but the whole nature in the garden of Eden shows the resemblance to the mother archetype, e.g., soil fertility, paradisiacal security, rivers and their

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

⁶⁷ MARX, K.: *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Quoted according to: HARDISON, Jr. O.B. (ed.): *Modern Continental Literary Criticism*. London, Peter Owen 1962, p. 117.

⁶⁸ DU BENHAI: *The Aesthetic Dimensions...*, p. 27.

⁶⁹ DU BENHAI: *Don’t Confuse Two Versions...*, p. 80.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

⁷¹ LIU LIANXIANG: *The Myth of Eden in the Bible and Mother Archetype*, *Waiguo wenxue pinglun* [101] *Revue of Foreign Literatures*, 1, 1990, p. 36.

⁷² Loc. cit., and Jinling xiehe shenxue zhi [104] *Bulletin of the Nanjing Union Theological Seminary*, 2, 1985, p. 42.

sources (perhaps because they were connected with the female principle of *yin* [105]), e.g., the plants, trees, birds and animals. Ding and Liu go too far in their characterization both of God and of nature as a “maternal” character or mother archetype. Not all in the *Bible*, especially in some parts of the *Old Testament*, bears witness to the positive “maternal” or “feminine” features of God:

For the LORD thy God *is* a consuming fire, *even* a jealous God (*Deuteronomy*, 4, 24)

(For the LORD thy God *is* a jealous God among you) lest the anger of the LORD thy God be kindled against thee, and destroy thee from off the face of the earth

(*Deuteronomy*, 6, 15)

God is greatly to be feared in the assembly of the saints, and to be had in reverence of all *them that* are about him (*The Psalms*, 89, 7)

God is jealous, and the LORD revengeth, and *is* furious: the LORD will take vengeance on his adversaries, and he reserveth *wrath* for his enemies (*Nahum*, 1, 2)

The mother archetype is understood in Liu’s article in too broad a manner and it would probably be better to analyse it in a Jungian way as Mother Nature, in which it finds one of its universal manifestations.⁷³

Even before Liu Lianxiang, another Chinese writer, Qi Kuiyi [106], decided to manifest his own attitude and inner feelings towards the *Bible* in a short confession *Cong Shengjing zhongde “Shipian” kan Xibolai shigede yuyan tedian* [107] *Psalms in the Bible: On the Linguistic Characteristics of Hebrew Poetry*.⁷⁴ In contrast to Niu Yongmao, who did not appreciate *Psalms* due to their didactic religious purpose, Qi Kuiyi regards them as “excellent literary works of Hebrew nation”⁷⁵ and he personally thinks that *Psalm* 23 is “the most favourite”⁷⁶ of all for the readers. For a historian of modern Chinese this literature presents some interest to know that after reading this psalm (among others, of course), Bing Xin underwent baptism as a high school student before she became a well-known poet and writer:

The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:
he leadeth me beside the still waters.

Qi praised *Psalm* 137, beginning with: “By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down”, because “it is possible to say that it was the most influential poem

⁷³ STEVENS, A.: *Jung*. Oxford, Oxford University Press 1994, p. 52.

⁷⁴ Qiqihaer shifan xueyuan xuebao [108] Bulletin of Qiqihaer Pedagogical Institute, 4, 1988, pp. 50–54.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 50.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 51.

(among the psalms in the *Bible*, M.G.) for the literary works of later epochs”.⁷⁷ Among the literary devices used in the *Psalms*, he stressed three:

1) Synonymous parallelism, as in *Psalms* 15:

LORD, who shall abide in thy tabernacle?
who shall dwell in thy holy hill?

in which “abide” and “dwell”, “tabernacle” and “holy hill” are synonymic words.

2) Antithetic parallelism, as in *Psalms* 37:

For evildoers shall be cut off:
but those that wait upon the LORD,
they shall inherit the earth,

in which “evildoers” and “those that wait upon the LORD”, then “cut off” and “inherit the earth” have antithetic meanings.

3) Synthetic parallelism, as in *Psalms* 19:

The statutes of the LORD *are* right, rejoicing the heart,
the commandment of the LORD *is* pure, enlightening the eyes,

in which “statutes” and “commandment”, then “right” and “pure”, “rejoicing the heart” and “enlightening the eyes” are positive parallels undermining God’s wisdom and his art of designing the heaven and earth.

5

The most promising, and one of the youngest among the scholars interested in the literary aspects of the *Bible* in the PRC, is Liang Gong, working now at the Henan University, Zhengzhou. He published some articles in different journals beginning in 1987 and later two books: *Shengjing shige* [18] Poetry From the *Bible*,⁷⁸ and *Shengjing wenxue daodu* [109] An Introduction to Reading of the *Bible*.⁷⁹

Liang’s first book with the introduction by Zhu Weizhi, Rabbi of Liang Gong, analysed above, in reality explains and translates the poetic works from the *Old Testament* only, starting with *Genesis* and ending with *Ecclesiastes*, including the examples from the historical and prophetic books, *Psalms*, *Lamentations*, *Song of Songs*, *Book of Job* and *Proverbs*. Unlike some of his colleagues, Liang was successful in collecting some important primary and secon-

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 52.

⁷⁸ Tientsin, Baihua wenyi 1989, 379 pp.

⁷⁹ Guilin, Lijiang chubanshe [110] 1992, 432 pp.

dary sources (usually older ones) for the literary study of the *Bible*, and to master both old Greek and Hebrew languages. His sources include S.C. Yoder's *Poetry of the Old Testament* and C.H. Bullock's *An Introduction to the Old Testament Poetic Books*. He follows also two Chinese *Bible*'s translations published in Hong Kong: *Xiandai zhongwen yiben Shengjing* [111] *Bible* in Contemporary Chinese Translation and *Dangdai Shengjing* [112] *Contemporary Bible*, where the translation of the poetic parts are put into the verse.⁸⁰

In the introductory chapter of this book, Liang analyses the ethnical background of the texts, their forms, styles and ideational features, the process of their "coming to be" and their deeper study through centuries in European cultural area. He mostly appreciates secular and philosophical poems, or those with a more synthetic character. It seems that he does not like so much those praising God, not excluding even "The LORD is my shepherd", due to his Marxist conviction. According to Liang: "God of the Hebrews is only mythopoetized, illusory and upside down phenomenon that sprang out of Hebrew spirit."⁸¹ God does not exist for Liang Gong and he takes it for granted since he asserts in plural: "Today we radically deny the existence of God, but it does not influence our understanding, appreciation and the study of this (i.e., *Biblical* and literary, M.G.) legacy."⁸² For the present times, and especially for the Mainland China, where *Bible* is little known, it is necessary "to oppose the invasion of religious poison" on one side and "to read the *Biblical* poems in accordance with reasonable principles"⁸³ on the other. Liang Gong's attitude to the *Bible* is just the same as to Greek myths or Greek literature.

This antireligious attitude had impact on Liang's evaluation of some of the most beautiful parts in *Biblical* poems. He was not much enthralled by Moses's hymn to God after passing through the Red Sea which we find in *Exodus*:

The LORD is a man of war: the LORD is his name.
Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea.
The depths have covered them:
they sank into the bottom as stone.⁸⁴

Liang preferred otherwise also the wonderful lament of King David (1012–972 B.C.) for King Saul (ca. 1030–1010 B.C.) and Saul's son Jonathan because of its heroic spirits manifested in the following lines:

The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places:
how are the mighty fallen!

⁸⁰ LIANG GONG: *Houji* [113] Epilogue. In: *Poetry From the Bible*, p. 369.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁸³ *Loc. cit.*

⁸⁴ *Exodus*, 15, 3–5.

Or:

How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!

And:

How are the mighty fallen,
and weapons of war perished.⁸⁵

I personally think that the *grandeur* of this poem (and its value, too) is not so much in eulogizing the heroism of father and son, but in the attitude of David to both of them: one worst among his enemies who wanted to kill him, and the second his best friend. Saul despite of his paranoid feelings and deeds, has been “annointed with the oil”, and he was appointed as the King in Israel by God; therefore David was loyal to him, although his life was in permanent danger. I wonder why Liang Gong did not devote more attention to the lines:

I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan:
very pleasant hast thou been unto me:
thy love was wonderful,
passing the love of women.⁸⁶

I think that in the whole of Chinese literature we do not find such a sincere expression of friendship of this kind.

In the *Psalms* Liang Gong appreciated mostly the “imprecatory” poems directed against bad people or enemies, such as *Psalms* 129:

The LORD *is* righteous: he hath cut asunder
the cords of the wicked.
Let them all be confounded and turned back
that hate Zion.

To a lesser degree his appreciation is meant also for “praising” and “natural” poems, the first extolling God and the second nature as the creation of God. Liang despises, of course, their religious flavour or theological thought.⁸⁷

Lamentations are much nearer to Liang Gong’s taste than *Psalms*. He characterizes its five chapters as the “basic work of *Biblical* poetry” and regards them as the most “sorrowful and melancholic work”⁸⁸ in the whole *Bible*. Some of the examples he selected are really among the best, such as:

How does the city sit solitary,
that *was* full of people!
how *is* she become as a widow!

⁸⁵ Cf. LIANG GONG: op. cit., pp. 69–70 and *The Second Book of Samuel*, 1, 19, 25 and 27.

⁸⁶ *The Second Book of Samuel*, 1, 26.

⁸⁷ LIANG GONG: op. cit., p. 141.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

or:

The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets:
my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword.⁸⁹

Most attention in this book is devoted to the *Song of Songs*, not only because it is one of the best works of ancient times in world literature, but also due to the long and complicated history of its exegesis. Liang follows mainly Zenon Kosidowski's explanation that the *Song of Songs* is a selection of Hebrew love poems connected with wedding rituals, and partly Origen's (185–254), one of the Church Fathers, who asserted that the *Song of Songs* is the early experiment in dramatic art.⁹⁰

Liang Gong's other book *An Introduction to Reading of the Bible*, composed of his Ph.D. thesis and his lectures at his *Alma Mater*, Peking Normal University, evaluates Professor Zhu Weizhi as the "first Chinese monograph concerned with *Biblical* studies".⁹¹ After some decades of ultraleftist thought in Mainland China, it was possible to point to the Judeo-Christian components of European civilization and culture. Liang Gong tried to do this analysis in this book which is divided into two parts. The first presents a history of the *Old Testament* with two "intermezzos": images of God and David, and the second includes short characteristics of the *New Testament*, the impact of the *Bible* on *Koran*, on the Western world and China up to the present, not excepting the reception of the *Bible* by Marx and Engels.

Liang Gong is better in analysing *Biblical* poetry than in writing about fiction. One of the reasons is probably that he had more secondary sources when analysing the first. Some of the most intriguing stories (from the literary point of view), such as that of incestuous intercourse between David's son Ammon and his half-sister Tamar, or son of Jacob – Judah, and his seduction of another Tamar, who was his own daughter-in-law, we do not find in Liang's book. The most interesting part, at least for me, presents *imago Dei*, the literary image of God in the *Bible* and its different hypostases during the millennia: as one of many gods, then God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, then God of Hebrew *ethnos*, then God Warrior, Ethical God, and lastly one God for all. The image of David is much weaker.

For the sinologist it is probably most interesting to read Liang Gong's remarks on the *Bible* translations into Chinese, which are more lucid and clear than Wang Weifan's article mentioned at the beginning of this study, and his concise overview of the *Bible*'s reception in literary circles of Mainland China today.

With the exception of Liang Gong, another scholar, Zhuo Xinping [115] (from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking), is the author of a

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 182 and 192 (respectively 179) and *Lamentations*, 1, 1 and 2, 21.

⁹⁰ LIANG GONG: op. cit., pp. 211–213.

⁹¹ ZHU WEIZHI: *Luling guangdian, wuguang shise (xuyan)* [114] Wonderful Labyrinth Full of Light and Colors (Preface). In: LIANG GONG: op. cit., p. 2.

monograph *Shengjing jianshang* [116] Appreciation of the *Bible*.⁹² This book is similar to Liang's historical treatise, but it is written more for popular use with many *diangu* [117] allusions, most common verbal expressions from the *Bible* that became property of many languages and literatures of the world, including China, such as "land flowing milk and honey", "crossing the sea", "eye for eye, tooth for tooth", etc. As far as the impact of the *Bible* on world culture is concerned, Zhuo's book treats also the realms of philosophy, music, painting and sculpture. He does not analyse the Chinese situation except for a short evaluation of the *Bible's* translation into Chinese. The names of Marx and Engels are not mentioned in this book.

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Some of the books and articles from Mainland China published in the years 1980–1992, never came to my hands, for instance, *Shengjing gushi* [118] *Biblical Stories*, edited by Zhang Jiuxuan [119], and published in Peking in 1982. Up to May 1988, 735,000 copies from this book were sold with attractive illustrations and translated into elegant Chinese.⁹³ I also had not an opportunity to see a similar book *Shengjing wenxue gushi xuan* [120] *Literary Biblical Stories*, edited by Zhu Weizhi, which was published in 1982. This holds true also for Wu Guorui's [121] *Shengjingde gushi* [122] *Stories from the Bible*, which appeared as the first among them, in 1980.

I was more lucky with the articles on the literary aspects of the *Bible*. Although I could not read and analyse all of them, on the basis of those I had, it has been possible to delineate, I hope, an overall view of what has been done in post-Mao China during the 1980s and at the beginning of 1990s.

Last but not least: in 1991 *Shengjing baike cidian* [123] *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*⁹⁴ has appeared, the first of its kind in China, under the chief editorship of Liang Gong. Professor Ding Guangxun, as a representative of Chinese Christians, manifested his thanks to Chinese professors and students at Henan University, who compiled this thick book in a country in which more than 99 per cent of the inhabitants do not believe in a Judeo-Christian God. He also expressed his dissatisfaction with some items and with their theological explanation, but this, according to him, was not important.⁹⁵ It had been done, after all, mostly by literary scholars! The message of the *Bible* in the vast country, in which many Hebrew or Christian values are known only to a small measure, is what really counts.

⁹² Peking, Chinese Social Sciences Publishing House 1992, 460 pp.

⁹³ LIANG GONG: An Introduction to Reading of the *Bible*, p. 425. Only after this study went to press, I received this book, published in 1994, through courtesy of Dr. Chan Kim-Kwong, with the illustrations by Julius Schnorr von Carlsfeld (1794–1872).

⁹⁴ Shenyang, People's Publishing House of the Province Liaoning 1991, 1425 pp.

⁹⁵ DING GUANGXUN: *Xu* [16] Preface. Ibid., p. 3.

It is a pity that in all writings analysed presently I did not find a word about the attitude of contemporary writers from Mainland China to the *Bible* or to its literary aspects. Perhaps the works, such as Wang Meng's [124] (1934–) *Shizijia shang* [125] *On the Cross*,⁹⁶ Shu Ting's [127] (1952–) *Zai shigede shizijia shang* [128] *On the Cross of Poetry*⁹⁷ and Sha Yexin's [130] (1939–) *Yesu, Kongzi, Bitoushi Lienong* [131] *Jesus, Confucius and John Lennon*,⁹⁸ are not the only exceptions of this kind in the vast sea of Mainland Chinese contemporary literature?

⁹⁶ Zhongshan [126], 3, 1988, pp. 45–48. Cf. my article in English: *Wang Meng's Mythopoeic Vision of Golgotha and Apocalypse*. *Annali* (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli), 52, 1992, 1, pp. 61–82, or its German version: *Mythopoetische Vision von Golgotha und Apocalypse bei Wang Meng*. *Minima sinica* (Bonn), 2, 1991, pp. 55–82.

⁹⁷ *Shuangwei chuan* [129] *A Boat With Two Masts*. Shanghai, Literature and Art Publishing House 1982, pp. 100–103.

⁹⁸ Shanghai, Literature and Art Publishing House 1989, pp. 341–429.

1. 汪維藩 2. "聖經"譯本在中國 3. 世界宗教研究 4. 官話 5. 阿羅本 6. 編後
7. 朱維之 8. 希伯來文學簡解 9. 向"舊約全書"文學探險 10. 外國文學研究 11. 官話和合本 12. 朱維之自傳 13. 王壽聞 14. 當代文學白家談 15. 朱自清 16. 序 17. 梁
18. 聖經詩歌 19. 白花文藝 20. 國風 21. 詩經 22. 九歌 23. 屈原 24. 李白
25. 樂府 26. 王維 27. 絕句 28. 詞 29. 李清照 30. 蘇軾 31. 辛棄疾 32. 曲
33. 龍解元 34. 王實甫 35. 馬致遠 36. 蘇曼殊 37. 冰心 38. 老子 39. 道德經
40. 空 41. 虛 42. 基督教與文學 43. 無產者耶穌傳 44. 孟子正義 45. 四部備要
46. 天問 47. 湯問 48. 列子 49. 魯迅 50. 摩羅詩力說 51. 魯迅全集 52. 騷體
53. 楚辭補注 54. 聖經文學的地位和特質 55. 周作人 56. 白話 57. 聖書與中國文學
58. 中國比較文學研究資料,一九一九 - 一九四九 59. 小說月報 60. 朱謙之 61. "聖詩雅歌"詩新說 62. 兼義對"雅歌"的幾種評論 63. 信陽師範學院學報(哲學社會科學版)
64. 外國文學作品選 65. 譯文出版社 66. 外國文學史 67. 外國文學簡明教程 68. 外國文學簡編 69. "聖經"原始小說初探 70. 楊 71. 抑 72. 西遊記 73. 吳承恩 74. 牛魔王
75. 鐵扇公主 76. 玉面公主 77. 作家 78. 試談"聖經·新約"文學 79. 古為今用
80. 取其精華,剔除糟粕 81. 牛馬巷 82. 漫談"聖經" 83. 外國文學研究季刊 84. 子夜
85. 野有死 86. 毛詩鄭箋 87. 譚正璧 88. 中國女性的文學生活 89. 光明書局
90. 趙鸞鸞 91. 都本海 92. 莫把"舊約"中的兩個創世神話混而為一 93. 東北師大學報
94. 古代人類美好本性的頌歌 95. "舊約·六日創世故事"精華探析 96. 社會科學戰線
97. "舊約"眾神創世神話的審美層次 98. 民間文學 99. "聖經"伊甸園神話與母親原型
100. 劉連祥 101. 外國文學評論 102. 丁光訓 103. 上帝不是男性 104. 金陵協和神學志
105. 陰 106. 齊賡一 107. 從"聖經"中的"詩篇"看希伯來詩歌的語言特點
108. 齊齊哈爾師範學院學報 109. 聖經文學導讀 110. 瀾江出版社 111. 現代中文譯本
112. 聖經 113. 當代聖經 114. 後記 115. 魯零光殿,五光十色(序言) 116. 卓新平
117. 聖經聖實 118. 典故 119. 聖經故事 120. 張久宜 121. 聖經文學故事選
122. 吳國瑞 123. 聖經的故事 124. 聖經百科辭典 125. 王蒙 126. 十字架
127. 舒婷 128. 在十歌的十字架上 129. 雙桅船 130. 沙葉新 131. 耶穌,孔子,披頭士列儼

THE DECADENT OBSESSION: EROS VERSUS CELIBACY IN THE WORK OF SHI ZHECUN AND ANATOLE FRANCE*

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The main purpose of the presented article:

- to elucidate and justify Shi Zhecun's adherence to the Chinese literary DECADENCE, focusing on his relevant historical novelette KUMARAJIVA and its decadent traits,
- to bring to the light the neglected impact of A. France upon Shi's literary creation, exemplified not only, but foremost, through the case in the literary indebtedness: THAÏS (1889) – KUMARAJIVA (1929).

“Never were fantasy and the
supernatural so much in vogue
as during that unbelieving
and frivolous fin de siècle.”
(J. Pierrot)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Refined eroticism spiced with dandyism, fetishism, hallucinations, nightmarish anxiety, witchcraft,... plus other unusual and fantastic ingredients of Shi Zhecun's (1905–) [1] non-conformist fiction predestined him for the lot of a Chinese *enfant terrible*: the writer had fallen into oblivion for almost half a century, although he had been a zealous herald and promoter of fresh, avant-garde currents in Chinese literature.

Apart from the very general label *modernist*, Shi's stories are usually classified as *neosensualist*, *Freudian*, *psychoanalytic*... My curiosity, however, was aroused foremost by the rarely mentioned, *decadent* traits of his fiction (though surely not predominant *quantitatively*), adding the flavour of valuable originality to Shi Zhecun's stories. Moreover the quality of decadence probably gives

* My special thanks go to Dr Hartmut Walravens (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), who kindly provided me with the English translation of THAÏS – a very rare book in Europe and rather relevant material for this study.

us the best clues for understanding author's rather eccentric inner worlds and somewhat decadent taste.

Only during the first half of Shi Zhecun's creative career (ie *non-realistic* phase, roughly 1926–1931), the author gave vent to his strong predilection towards the chimeric world of fantasy, mystery, where *eros* often plays the key-note.

This rather uninhibited period of Shi's creation merges roughly with the short-lasting and often repudiated phenomenon of decadence in the modern Chinese literature – not elucidated until now satisfactorily.¹

To present the decadent features in Shi's fiction more convincingly I decided to focus on his novelette *Kumarajiva* [7], which became very apt for my aim: written prior to the sharp leftist-attacks directed towards the *against-the-grain*-authors, the work echoed the author's penchant for the bizarre, giving an undistorted, genuine reflection of his rather unusual personality.

"My works in those years, were nothing but a few bubbles that lasted only for an instant,"² said Shi Zhecun of his whole literary creation (ie stories from 20–30s). As far as *Kumarajiva* is concerned, however, from 1988 until 1994 the novelette was re-printed at least six-times in China.³ More than a half century has proven inexorably that *Kumarajiva*'s message is universally valid and appealing for present-day man as well. Yet, surprisingly, this historical piece of prose has not been analysed in depth thus far. "*Kumarajiva* deals with the clash between the sensual and the spiritual needs of a man" – usually one can hardly learn more than such general conclusions, written in a quite similar vein.⁴

The following analysis of *Kumarajiva* attempts not only to go far beyond such concise evaluations, but simultaneously endeavours to present the personality of Shi Zhecun in a new light: to point out the relevant impact of Ana-

¹ I am not familiar with any detailed scholarly treatise on the subject as a whole. Some preliminary works, however, exploring the terra incognita in a rather *comprehensive mode* had been written by LEO OU-FAN LEE (LI OUFAN) [2]: *Mantan Zhongguo xiandai wenxuezhongde "tui fei"* [3] (Informal Discussion on the Phenomenon of "Decadence" in the Modern Chinese Literature). In: Jintian [4] (Today), 4, 1993, pp 26–51; see also: *Zhongguo xiandai wenxuede "tuifei" ji zuojia* [5] (About the "Decadence" and its Authors in the Modern Chinese Literature). In: Dangdai [6] (Contemporary), 93, (Jan 1994), pp 22–47.

² SHI ZHECUN: '*Shixiu zhi lian*': *Shinian chuanzuoji* [8] ('Shixiu's Love Affair': Selected Works of One Decade). Vol 1. Beijing, Renmin wenxue chubanshe 1991, p 2.

³ 1/ YING GUOQING (ed.): *Shi Zhecun*. Hong Kong, Joint Publishing Co., Ltd. 1988. 2/ YAN JIAYAN (ed): *Zhongguo xiandai geliupai xiaoshuo xuan* [9] (Selected Works from the Various Groups in the Modern Chinese Literature). Vol 2. Beijing, Beijing daxue chubanshe 1988. 3/ SHI ZHECUN: 'Shixiu's Love Affair'. 4/ MUZI (ed): *Zhongguo xiandai xing'ai xiaoshuo ziliao congshu. Xingde qufuzhe* [10] (Collection of the Modern Chinese Erotic Stories. Surrendered to the Lust of Flesh). Shenyang, Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe 1993. 5/ WU LICHANG (ed): *Xinli xiaoshuo* [11] (Psychological Tales). Shanghai, Wenyi chubanshe 1992. 6/ SHI ZHECUN: *One Rainy Evening*. Beijing, Panda Books 1994.

⁴ As far as I know, the only exception in this regard is rather detailed book review: *On General's Head (Jiangjunde tou)* [12] (ie Shi's collection of four historical novelettes including *Kumarajiva*). In: *Xiandai (Les Contemporains)* [13] 1, 5, pp 730–732.

tole France (1844–1924), namely his *Thaïs*, on the work of the Chinese author.⁵ Drawing a parallel between *Thaïs* and *Kumarajiva* is not a matter of mere hypothesis or fantasy, but has a very solid base. Recalling his youth and the favourite Western authors, Shi Zhecun told me that France's *Thaïs* impressed him deeply.⁶ Moreover, prior to writing *Kumarajiva*, he was definitely familiar with the Chinese version of *Thaïs* as he revealed once: "After the 12 April 1927 events, I retreated together with Dai Wangshu and Du Heng to my parental house in Songjiang... as not to stay idle, we started with translations of some Western literature... and Tu Heng translated *Thaïs* during that time."⁷

Viewed from the vantage point of France's masterpiece *Thaïs*, one cannot only understand better the kinship between both writers, but can also explore more profoundly the true nature of *Kumarajiva*.

Prior to drawing the direct parallels, a few words about the Shi Zhecun's outlook on the French culture in general should be said.

1. FRANCE: THE CHINESE DREAMLAND

For Chinese artists the strongest magic of exotic *other* definitely radiated from France. It was the "land of women, wine and poetry. The nations from the neighbourhood appeared just in the light of an exotic periphery."⁸ Paris was very often identified with the "metropolis of the world culture"⁹ and the whole of "France... from the Asian perspective was always the Exotic Paradise par excellence."¹⁰

If we observe Shi Zhecun's literary manifestations related to France, the word "Paris" appears in the symbolic title of his slightly obscene and ill-famed story *At the Cinema Paris* (*Zai Bali daxiyuan*, 1931) [15], the setting for a rendezvous between a scrupulous young Chinese and his unrestrained, apparently westernized, girl-friend.

In autumn 1925, Shi, together with Tu Heng (1907–1964) [16], enrolled for the special course of the French language and literature at the Shanghai Aurora University (*Zhendan daxue*) [17] and, along with another schoolmate, Dai

⁵ English renditions used for the quotations' purposes: *Kumarajiva*, Roberts, R. (tr). In: *One Rainy Evening*, pp 148–187; *Thaïs*, Tristan, E. (tr). London, Carrington 1901, 304 pp.

⁶ Based on the interview between Shi Zhecun and the author of this article in Shanghai: October 26, 1993.

⁷ YING GUOQING (ed.): *Shi Zhecun sanwen xuanji* [14] (Selected Prose Works of Shi Zhecun). Tianjin, Baihua wenyi chubanshe 1986, p 314.

⁸ FRÜHAUF, H.: *Deutschland in der chinesischen Literatur der zwanziger und dreißiger Jahre*. In: KUBIN, W. (Hrsg.): *Mein Bild in deinem Auge. Exotismus und Moderne: Deutschland – China im 20. Jahrhundert*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1995, p 284.

⁹ *Ibid*, p 285.

¹⁰ FRÜHAUF, H.: *Sehnsüchte unter sich. Literarischer Exotismus in Ost und West*. Tokyo, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG) 1988, p 12.

Wangshu (1905–1950) [18], the three young men planned to study for one year in France.¹¹

Shi Zhecun's manifold literary activities equally demonstrated his great respect and admiration for French culture. In May 1932 he accepted the chief-editor's post in the freshly launched literary monthly *les Contemporains* (ie subtitle for the prestigious *Xiandai*), originating the column Leisure Talks about the Parisian Art and Literature (Bali yiwen yihua) [21] and contributing to the magazine by many articles, essays dealing with the cultural issues in France. Shi Zhecun was enthralled by the French symbolist poetry and since the end of twenties his knowledge of the language unabled him to read them in French. In addition, many years later, he introduced some works of the outstanding poets, such as Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Verlaine, Rimbaud, in his own renditions to the Chinese reader.¹²

As far as I know, Shi Zhecun never translated any of A. France's work into Chinese. He was, however, rather familiar with the work of the Parisian dandy and no doubt had a great admiration for him. The francophile Chinese writer possessed the complete works of Anatole France¹³ and, in writing the preface to the collection of his essays *Beneath the Lantern (Dengxijai)* [23], he reveals: "I admire France's *Literary Life*, such an ingenious piece of critical prose"¹⁴ (ie *La vie littéraire*, 1888–1892). Elsewhere Shi Zhecun presented the fragment of France's legacy saying: "A. France noted once: For a really sensitive person this world consists only of two parts. Wherever he looks, he can see just the two things in the whole of nature – death and love."¹⁵

2. THAÏS IN CHINA

SHI ZHECUN AND EROTIC MOTIFS

Anatole France was the apostle of sensualism and his story boldly advocates the cult of joy and beauty stifled by stern monastic rules. *Thaïs*, based upon the victory of carnal desires against the sublime ascetic ideals, was certainly in accord with the trends of the New China to criticize poignantly the traditional moral orders of the old feudal empire.

The French novel became clearly very popular among Chinese readers. Within the book reviews of *New Literature and Art (Xinwenyi)* [25], Nov 1929)

¹¹ SHI ZHECUN: *Zhendan ernian* [19] (Two Years at the Aurora University). In: *Xinwenxue shiliao* [20] Historical Sources of the Modern Chinese Literature (hereafter HS), 4, 1984, p 52.

¹² SHI ZHECUN: *Yuwai shichao* [22] (Excerpts from the Foreign Poetry). Changsha, Chunren renmin chubanshe 1987, p 178–224.

¹³ Shi's letter from February 2, 1994 to the author of this article.

¹⁴ SHI ZHECUN: *Beneath the Lantern*. Shanghai, Kaiming shudian 1937, p 2.

¹⁵ SHI ZHECUN: *Fuxin sanbuqu* [24] (Woman Trilogy). Shanghai, Shenzhou guoguangshe 1932, p 2.

Dai Wangshu wrote “with pleasure”¹⁶ that the “outstanding novel *Thaïs* was published recently in its second rendition,”¹⁷ and just a year before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, already the third Chinese version of France’s novel had appeared (1936).¹⁸

It is also noteworthy that *Thaïs* impressed the distinguished Chinese author Lu Xun (1881–1936) [29]. In his essay called *Literary Schools of Peking and Shanghai* (*Jingpai yu Haipai*, 1935) [30], aside from giving praise to France’s *maestria*, Lu Xun profited ingeniously from certain images from *Thaïs* in aiming to characterize vividly and rather expressively the interrelation between the two controversial art concepts: Peking versus Shanghai. Lu Xun invoked before the reader’s eyes the picture of the austere and slovenly monk Paphnuce abreast the lascivious actress, the most celebrated beauty of Alexandria, *Thaïs*. The essayist gave the very concise content of the whole story, quoting the climax-lines, where the mad-driven “holy man”, hurrying to the *Thaïs*’ death-bed cries bitterly: “I love you! Do not die!”¹⁹

Lu Xun’s nostalgia about the Shanghai literature’s death agony reminds of a necrology above the grave, where the *Haipai* dashing, sinner-like literature was buried. Surely enough that his allegorical words would be accepted unanimously nor then, neither now... yet Lu Xun’s excellent insight is worth careful consideration and acknowledgement.

Shanghaese Thaïs, will the day of your Resurrection come ever?

Introducing boldly the erotic elements, the sexual needs of a man in the Chinese literature was just the natural outcoming of the imported modern *frei-geist* (the process undoubtedly spurred by the theories of S. Freud also in China). Leo Ou-fan Lee, using Shi Zhecun’s own words says, that Shi’s fiction was “governed by two recurring motifs – the erotic and the grotesque.”²⁰

As concerning the erotic literature, Shi confessed once, that among all foreign and Chinese books, his favourite one was *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* – as “its value is much bigger, if compared to contemporaneous writings. Both method and the point of view are different.”²¹ In addition, the Chinese author marked H. Ellis’ *Psychology of Sex* as the most influential book in his life.²²

¹⁶ DAI WANGSHU: *Xu yi “Nüyou Taiqisi” kuangmiu*. [26] (Xu Weinan’s altered translation of “Magical *Thaïs*”). In: *New Literature and Art* 1, 3 (Nov 1929), p 556.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p 556.

¹⁸ The third pre-war translation of *Thaïs* was made by Wang Jiaji [27]: *Taiyisi* [28]. Shanghai, Qiming shuju 1936.

¹⁹ LU XUN: *Erjiating zawen erji* [31]. “*Jingpai*” yu “*Haipai*”. Beijing 1953, pp 86–90.

²⁰ LEE, LEO OU-FAN: *Informal Discussion*, p 34.

²¹ SHEN QISI [32]: *Lun Shi Zhecunde xiaoshuo chuanzuo* [33] (Shi Zhecun’s *Prose Works*). In: *Shanghai Shifan daxue xuebao*. *Zhexueban* [34] (*Bulletin of the Shanghai Normal University. Philosophy*), 2, 1990, p 107.

²² *Ibid*, p 100.

Although we surely cannot accept such statements “dogmatically”, yet a letter exists, partly supporting those facts. In 1933 Shi Zhecun asked his good friend Dai Wangshu, who lived in Paris that time, to get two books for him: *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* and *Fanny Hill*.²³ (The latter work is claimed by the literary critique as the “ideal erotic and sexually uninhibited companion”²⁴.)

Finally, one definitely should not overlook a very relevant influence coming directly from Shi’s homeland, embodied foremost by a young Chinese intellectual brought up in Japan and thirsty for all novelties in art – Liu Naou (1900–1939) [36]. Thoroughly soaked in all avant-garde literary trends adopted in Japan from the West, Liu became a herald and a fervent adherent of these fashionable currents after his coming back to China in 1925. Shi Zhecun, once Liu Naou’s co-worker, recalls that “Liu took the greatest fancy in depictions of the erotic life in a big metropolis... and we didn’t remain unaffected”²⁵ (“we” referred to Shi Zhecun, Dai Wangshu and Feng Xuefeng (1903–1976) [38]).

The typically decadent *erotic sensibility* is also very palpable in *Kumara-jiva*. The monk, shortly after his arrival to Chang’an, meets an irresistibly charming Miss Meng in the local Buddhist temple. The well known Chang’an’s harlot is from the very beginning characterized as a seductive, coquettish woman, the only person amidst the crowd, who, instead of fearing monk’s piercing eyes, “met his intense gaze steadily and gave him a smile that in an instant displayed to him all her beauty and charm. He suddenly felt a shock going through him and his whole body trembled.”²⁶ Monk’s inner panic grew still further when the little fly buzzing around settled finally on his lips and then flew straight down from the rostrum into Meng’s gleaming hair. The poor monk, however, could not know, that the next time something even more terrifying would happen: Kumarajiva has a vivid hallucination of his deceased wife, reincarnated into Meng’s body. “She slowly approached him, climbed onto the rostrum and sat in his lap in a seductive pose. Then she embraced him and held his tongue in her mouth as she had done before she died.”²⁷

3. KUMARAJIVA – THAÏS: GENERAL REMARKS

Prior to making a detailed confrontation between both stories based upon the unsuccessful asceticism of a monk, the feature pre-eminently binding them should be discussed:

²³ KONG LINGJING (ed): *Shi Zhecun’s Letter to Dai Wangshu*, not dated (but probably 1933). In: *Xiandai zuojia shujian* [35] (Letters of Contemporary Chinese Writers). Shanghai, Shenghuo shudian 1936, p 114.

²⁴ PLUMB, J.H.: an introductory note to J. CLELAND’s *Fanny Hill*. New York, Signet Book 1965.

²⁵ SHI ZHECUN: *Zuihou yige laopengyou – Feng Xuefeng* [37] (The Last Old Friend – Feng Xuefeng). In: HS 2, 1983, p 202.

²⁶ *Kumarajiva*, p 170.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p 180.

Kumarajiva and *Thaïs* proved equally that, although the world of religion was philosophically repudiated by many decadent artists, it brought the price-less aesthetic and spiritual stimuli for them.²⁸ The religious ground supplied their works not only with the picturesque decorative exterior, but at the same time gave the outlet for a typically decadent exuberant sensuality and fantasy.

Anticlerically oriented Shi Zhecun and Anatole France equally juxtaposed in their stories the secular instinct driven life and the austere monastic life of the self-denial. The painstaking endeavours of both Kumarajiva and Paphnuce to maintain celibacy collapsed finally, causing a profound existential anxiety and despair – a punishment for man who betrayed his own lofty ideals.

Whereas France introduces the life of Paphnuce chronologically, *Kumara-jiva* is interlaid with many retrospective events. Unfortunately they are written mostly in a quite concise and descriptive manner, with hardly any dramatic effect. In such rather insipid mood the two relevant moments from Kumarajiva's former life are presented: warning words of his mother, who could foresee the predestined disasters in the life of her son; secondly the sin of his first, enforced, physical contact with beautiful Kuchah princess and consequent marriage with her.

The monk whom we met in the first lines is aware of his unfortunate lot going back many years. He is no more a chaste celibate, but instead a man living in matrimony, overloaded with many bitter remorse and deep pain. The whole story is permeated with Kumarajiva's pungent inner doubts about whether his steps could really bring him towards spiritual perfection. His deterioration comes step by step, very gently.

Paphnuce on the contrary, the Christian monk who successfully spent his whole life in preaching of the *Bible* and in ascetic self-mortification, does not loose his battle with Eros until the very end. The man who used to say that "everything in this world is mirage and moving sand. God alone is steadfast,"²⁹ by the death-bed of beautiful Thaïs cries: "I have deceived you; I was but a wretched fool. God, heaven – all that is nothing. There is nothing true but this wordly life, and the love of human beings. I love you! Do not die!... Come, come with me! Let us fly; I will carry you far away in my arms. Come, let us love!"³⁰ The lecherous monk finally turns to an ugly vampire, whereas the former target of his frenzied apostolate, Thaïs, gives her converted and purified soul to God.

Albeit the reader can anticipate the victory of sensual-drives from the first chapter, they did not appear triumphant until the final part. Anatole France managed to create in *Thaïs* a breathtaking tension that culminates in a very dramatic, impressive and quite ambiguous way.

²⁸ Cf PIERROT, J.: *The Decadent Imagination*. Coltman D. (tr). Chicago, The Chicago University Press 1981, p 88.

²⁹ *Thaïs*, p 43.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p 303.

The same, however, cannot be said about his Chinese counterpart. Furthermore it should be noted that imposing climax is a common deficiency of many Shi Zhecun's works. Nevertheless the fact that *Kumarajiva* breaks the monastic rules without any "climax" point and without any poignant moral accentuation or dramatic depth is definitely bound to the religious concepts, more or less absent in the traditional Chinese culture: *sin* as the violation of the Ten Commandments and the irreconcilable struggle between *angelic* and *satanic* forces. Moreover the plot of *Kumarajiva* reveals that the Chinese author strictly followed the content of the original legend.

4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND – THE WORLD OF LEGEND

A nostalgic weakness to gaze back towards bygone eras enabled a decadent artist to cultivate his wild dreams and illusions, escaping the boredom of the quotidian life. Western decadents took great fancy at giving a historical setting to their works, such as the Roman decadence, legendary Byzantium, the world of ancient Egyptians and Jews.³¹ Concretely France located his *Thaïs* in the 4th century AD, during the last years of the Western-Roman Empire in the northern Egypt. Five years after the novel was published the author wrote: "The holy Thaïs is mentioned in the *Biographies of the Holy Hermits*... Abbot Paphnuce, who was in charge to supervise the moral order among the villagers of Upper Egypt... heard about a poor girl who, decorated with the copper coins on her forehead, made dancing performances on her rugged carpet for the merchants and the shipmen who delivered goods for local monks. Paphnuce's indignation was aroused and he ordered the maiden shut in the nearby nunnery. This is the real face of Thaïs.

To tell the truth, I didn't care much about that. I undertook the legend as it is recorded within the fifty lines in the book, expanding and altering the story according to my own ethic-moral concept."³²

When *Thaïs* appeared, legendary motifs in Europe were highly *en vogue*, whereas *Kumarajiva* was written under the rather different circumstances. For the modern Chinese author at the beginning of the 20th century, the legendary-historic topics did not provide great inspiration. This can be well documented by the following remark in the reader's forum, taken from the avant-garde literary monthly *New Literature and Art* (Dec 1929): "During the last decade many different literary works have been written, but, except for Guo Moruo, who has drawn from the lives of Zhuangzi, Laozi and other ancients for inspiration, very rarely did the historical event supply a theme for the literary work... the spontaneous way Mr Shi applied the historical topic, as well as his rich fantasy, are but great."³³

³¹ Cf PIERROT, p 10 and 192.

³² See F. CÁDRA's *Doslov* (Epilogue) in Slovak tr of *Thaïs*: Bratislava, Pravda 1947, p 206.

³³ *New Literature and Art* 1, 4 (Dec 1929), p 801.

Kumarajiva undoubtedly was a very unusual and refreshing piece of prose amidst the torrent of literature focused on the contemporary life. Thus one of the important artistic merits of Shi Zhecun should be seen in his remarkable subject-revitalization of the predominantly realistic mode in the Post-May Fourth writing.

"I have only given my own interpretation of a legend based upon historical records,"³⁴ Shi told me in regard to his whole collection of historical stories named *General's Head*. Shi Zhecun, brought up under traditional Confucian scholarship was well versed in the Chinese past and *Kumarajiva* was not his first literary treatment of the subject from the antiquity. As early as 1925, the short story *Li Shishi* [39] was published – Shi's attempt to recapture the inner conflicts of a famous Sung prostitute and four years later *Kumarajiva*, dating back to the 4th century AD, occurred.

If we summon the *factual data* concerning the life of the real *Patriarch (Guoshi)* [40] *Kumarajiva* (314?–413?),³⁵ Shi Zhecun's monk apparently treads very faithfully in the steps of his great forerunner. However the *psychological portrayal* of the famous Mahayana-Sutra-translator and the Great Sage (as the monk doubtlessly was according to the tradition), sounds rather contradictory under the interpretation of the Chinese author whose imagination was permeated merely with weaknesses and foibles of the Great Man.

Did the inner disbelief in monk's real virtuosity and geniality lead Shi Zhecun to *purify* *Kumarajiva* from historical alluvia, doubting the reliability of tradition itself? Or, did he create in *Kumarajiva* the symbol of a modern man, full of anxiety, running away from his own self, only dressed in a historical robe? Did he then mould *Kumarajiva* independently from the historical matrice?

In any case, Shi Zhecun clearly planted the seed of mistrust making the habitual truth dubious in the spirit of the modern Nietzschean *Umwertung der Werte*, demanding radical re-imagining and re-evaluation of the old, traditional world.

(There is no discrepancy if we thus justify the concept of *modernity* alongside the concept of *decadence* in *Kumarajiva*, as the latter is organically included within the *Faces of Modernity*.³⁶)

5. RELIGIOUS UNEASE

"Professing their rather contradictory creeds, I assembled many philosophers and theologians around my Thais. In order to demonstrate how the justice

³⁴ The above-mentioned interview with Shi Zhecun.

³⁵ The richest source is very probably the *Gao Sengzhuan* [41] (The Biographies of the Eminent Monks) *Biographies des Moines Éminents*. Louvain, Université de Louvain. Institut Orientaliste 54, 1986, pp 60–81.

³⁶ Cf CALINESCU, M.: *Faces of Modernity: Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1977.

of God differs from our human justice, I brought Paphnuce, trying to deliver Thaïs from evil, to lose his own soul,"³⁷ said the French writer – whereas Shi Zhecun told me about his *Kumarajiva*: "My aim was to display the conflict between morale and passion. I didn't care much about the religious issues."³⁸

The statements of both authors reflect in fact very eloquently the substantial split between the stories: the philosophically rich *Thaïs* is strongly attached to the realm of metaphysics. The same, however, cannot be said about *Kumarajiva*, where either philosophical or religious problems appear just on the margin.

The dramatic clash between the two opposed cultures in *Thaïs*, ie, the Ancient versus Christian world, constitutes the leitmotif of the story. Religious arguments and dogmas of the Christian Saint Paphnuce are thoroughly shaken vis-à-vis the materialist thoughts of ancient intellectuals, devoted adherents of epicurean, stoic and sceptic world views. No wonder that in the première version, in the prestigious *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1889), France subtitled his work a "philosophical tale" (*conte philosophique*).

Albeit Shi Zhecun, similarly to France, introduces the fervent struggle between good vs evil powers and ruminates over the standards of a virtuous life, he does not expose these issues to the light of a dogmatic religious morale.

The messenger of such a morale is Paphnuce. Wherever he goes, he disseminates the word of God with a great zeal, regardless to his own deeply rooted and increasing misgivings. His relation to God is presented by the author as rather mean, *trade-like* affair: "I endure hardships equally great,... I live in abstinence and solitude. But then it is to please God, and to earn eternal happiness... But you, foolish old man! you deprive yourself of all these advantages; you lose without hope of any gain...,"³⁹ says Paphnuce to the old sceptic-anchorite named Timocles, living void of any desire or need. As a certain echo of the Paphnuce's *life philosophy*, we find Kumarajiva contemplating: "A monk who suppressed his passions and practised self-denial and mortification just to reach the Enlightenment was not a genuine sage. That was as base as... doing good deeds just in order to receive a retribution."⁴⁰

Thaïs is just among the countless examples, that within the European, ie, Judeo-Christian cultural tradition, the Church and clergy left very significant imprints. The emphatic religious point of departure provided France with a large space for his inner heated ontological dispute, but Shi Zhecun obviously did not draw on this aspect of *Thaïs* for a creative inspiration. Inevitably indeed, if we take into account, that the "Chinese are not people for whom religious ideas and activities constitute an all important and absorbing part of life...

³⁷ See CÄDRA, p 206.

³⁸ The above-mentioned interview with Shi Zhecun.

³⁹ *Thaïs*, p 32.

⁴⁰ *Kumarajiva*, p 158.

It is ethics and not religion.”⁴¹ The concerns of a saint, a philosopher or a sage according to the Chinese concept were fully directed towards the earthly life. The general notions of *Chinese philosophers*, *Chinese saints*, should imply the traditional Confucianist view – a view that eschewed the problems of the post-humous life, upholding the approach of the Great Sage Confucius. Chinese philosophers (and consequently writers as well) usually did not stress the ontological or epistemological issues at all, but man and his morally justified deeds within the human society were the focus of their interests. Concretely if talking about Shi Zhecun, he never identified himself with Buddhism – thus his nov-elette, although on the surface built on the religious background, did not bring forward any distinct heritage of Buddhist philosophy or religion. Buddhism became only a transparent veil for *Kumarajiva*.

France, to the contrary, well versed in both the Biblical and the Ancient philosophy, had skilfully interwoven the huge gamut of various spiritual creeds and philosophical stances within the structure of his story. *Thaïs* is permeated with the biblical quotations related to the life in Heaven, the life after death. Once Paphnuce has even had a vivid, terrifying apparition of the Hell: “Leaning over the edge of the abyss, he saw a river of fire which flowed in the interior of the earth, between two cliffs of black rocks. There, in a livid light, the demons tormented the souls of the damned. The souls preserved the appearance of the bodies which had held them.”⁴² Thaïs on the other hand, shortly before she passed away, gazing into infinity murmured: “Heaven opens. I see the angels, the prophets, and the saints... The good Theodore is amongst them... Two angels come to me. They draw near.... How beautiful they are! I see God!”⁴³

Shi wrote at one point, that the wife of Kumarajiva, aware of her *crime* was “struck with terror of the heavenly punishment that might befall her,”⁴⁴ each time the monk enjoyed her beautiful body. Nevertheless one may deduce that the Chinese narrator did not refer to *Heaven* as the “executive body” implementing the God’s anger. We should remember that “Heaven (*Tian*) [42] according to the Chinese understanding is different from the relatively simple Christian concept of Heaven as abode of God, angels, saints and those who entered it after the virtuous or penitential life on the earth. The Chinese Heaven manifests a non-anthropomorphic holder of power which is partly divine, partly natural and cosmic... a completely un-personal and un-psychical entity that is active and silent because the “Heaven does not speak.”⁴⁵

⁴¹ This view of Prof D. Bodde is quoted according to: FUNG YULAN: *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*. New York 1948, p 4.

⁴² *Thaïs*, p 57.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p 303.

⁴⁴ *Kumarajiva*, p 156.

⁴⁵ GÁLIK, M.: *The Bible and Chinese Literature as Seen from the Angle of Intercultural Communication*. In: *Asian and African Studies Bratislava*, 2, 1993, 2, p 117.

Although we can see Kumarajiva often praying reverently to Buddha in dismay, he does not receive any reply, revelation, nor does he make direct contact with the metaphysical world. The mediators of good or evil powers, hence corresponding with the typically Chinese pantheism, are the parts of the nature – peacock, raven, fox, fly – giving useful warnings and signals to the helpless monk.

In the portrayal of Paphnuce and Kumarajiva we can see one striking difference:

The Buddhist monk, disregarding his life in wedlock, still continued doing his preachings and in the eye of the people, he managed to preserve the image of a honourable Great Patriarch. Even after Kumarajiva died, he became a shining example of the pious, virtuous Buddha's disciple, finding his devoted followers. In the case of sanctimonious Paphnuce, however, not only did his soul turn rotten, but the monk even changed outwardly, having the appearance of a repulsive vampire. He totally denies the existence of God, the one that he fanatically professed throughout whole life. The fall of the monk leads to the complete degeneration of his religious faith and the doom of Paphnuce's soul.

The very controversial destiny of both monks should be viewed foremost in the connection with the already mentioned emphatic doctrine of *sin*, preached by the original Christian Church and closely linked with the idea of *hell* and *eternal doom* derived from the *Bible*. The idea of the Day of the Doom, when the wicked and *unprofitable servants* will be "cast... into the furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth,"⁴⁶ or that sinners "go away into everlasting punishment,"⁴⁷ sounds nothing but normal for a Christian, who must have heard this metaphoric diction of the *Bible* frequently.

In the *Chinese Bible*, ie *Four Books*, to the contrary, no promised life in the Kingdom of God, no biblical story of the Creation, no concepts of Heaven, Hell, parallel to the Judeo-Christian tradition are to be found.

Finally we must keep in mind, that among the most typical trends of Francean era was the fervent protest levelled against the decaying Roman-Catholic Church, strengthened by the impact of materialism, poignant especially in the second half of the 19th century, spreading serious doubts about the existence of a Judeo-Christian God, saying even that "God is dead."

Needless to say, China never witnessed any intellectual tide akin to this. Moreover the double-faced (deistic) and rather perfunctory religious life, widespread among Buddhist *believers*, was not rare even among the imperial circles. Neither the *purely religious consciousness* of Chinese, nor their *anticlerical efforts* (terms even hardly applicable in the context of China) ever reached the comparable dimensions to those in Europe, where the criterion for *Good* and *Evil* was strictly governed by the authority of the *Bible*.

⁴⁶ *St Matthew*, 13, 42.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 25, 46.

6. IVORY TOWER ON THE BLACK HORIZONS OF DECADENCE

"The literature of the Decadence seldom chooses the political social or intellectual, moral decline of a historical epoch as its subject matter... but the decay of the state of mind, the behaviour and fortune of an individual. They are mostly men of weak vitality, diminishing vital energy, fragile will-power and weary nerves."⁴⁸

This definition is closely linked with the habitual decadent world view: fundamental pessimism, rooted in the conviction that happiness can never counter-balance suffering, the essential and all-pervading substance of human life.

Now, shifting attention to the discussed stories, one may clearly observe, that the psychology of Kumarajiva and Paphnuce are both shaped exactly within the outlined patterns.

The overwhelming disillusionment, gloominess and melancholy are the common ties between both men in spite of the very controversial fulfilment of their fate. The inner despair and self-pity appears very acute especially when both of them are active in public speeches, undertaken from the position of peaceful, self-balanced and perfect Holy man. "More wretched than the blind, deaf, and paralysed who trust in me, I have lost all knowledge of things supernatural, and am more depraved than the maniacs who eat earth and approach dead bodies... I am the laughing-stock of the devils."⁴⁹ This is the bitterness of Paphnuce's inner commitment. Kumarajiva, on the other hand, only in less expressive mode, realized "that he was not only no longer a real monk but the most utterly base layman. Now just in order to be fed and clothed, he pretended to be a highly moral monk, and under the protection of the Hongzhi monarch made fools of the ignorant, good men and women and mendicants of the East."⁵⁰

Desire to abandon the greyish reality was a very important source of the decadent imagination directed towards the search for mystery and bold reveries in the transcendental realms. The analogous climate of existential, political tension and disillusionment for the artist dwelling amidst the bustling cosmopolitan city, a ghetto for many self-exiled lone wolves, whether Paris or Shanghai, bore very similar fruits – an outlet to the magical world of legends and history tales, to bizarre realms of fantasy and illusion. "France believes that the dearest gift nature gave him is the ability to dream... From his very childhood

⁴⁸ RASCH, W.: *Die literarische Decadence um 1900*. München, C.H. Beck Verlag 1987, p 23. English tr quoted according to: GOAT KOEI LANG-TAN: *The European Literature of the Decadence and the so-called Modernist Chinese Short Stories from the 1920s and 1930s: Interliterary Study of A. Schnitzler and Ling Shuhua*. In: GÁLIK, M. (ed): *Interliterary and Intraliterary Aspects of the May Fourth Movement 1919 in China*. Bratislava, VEDA 1990, p 140.

⁴⁹ *Thaïs*, p 263.

⁵⁰ *Kumarajiva*, p 183.

France manifests a curious interest in the mysterious, the dreamlike, and the supernatural.”⁵¹

“As soon as one gets a job, life becomes a dull, insipid routine with no time for reveries left. My strong addiction for *wangxiang* [43] day-dreaming, however, was deeply rooted in me since I was a child.”⁵²

It seems that the escape to the *other worlds* was very intimate, life-important endowment for both authors. This refuge in boundless fictitious worlds was very probably partly the outcome of their profound disappointment with the materialistic-governed and hedonistic life in the modern metropolis. This bondage between Shi and France is the very important one, hypostatized also in the shape of *Kumarajiva* and *Thaïs*.

Both monks had lead virtuous and pious lives while living isolated in wilderness, protected from the lures of the world. In both cases, however, as soon as *Kumarajiva* and *Paphnuce* arrived in a big city, the destruction of their soul is launched very soon.

A few days after *Kumarajiva* stayed in the Qin’s splendid capital, the helpless monk, afflicted by temptation and inner disquiet, prays reverently: “At present I feel panic-stricken, afraid that in this city I will find my doom.”⁵³ Later when he wakes up sharing one bed with famous Chang’an prostitute, *Kumarajiva* “couldn’t comprehend the events of the last night. He didn’t know how that strong temptation could have harmed him, made him so confused,”⁵⁴ and the poor monk sighs: “Ah, this lamentable Eastern land!”⁵⁵ And later, facing his reverent audience, *Kumarajiva* concludes for himself: “When monks of high repute came from the desert to a magnificent city, they would immediately lose their powers of self-denial.”⁵⁶

On the other hand, *Paphnuce*, treading on the soil of the “rich cradle, an illustrious country”,⁵⁷ cries bitterly: “...Alexandria. I hate you! I hate you for your riches... your pleasures, and your beauty. Be accursed, temple of demons! Lewd couch of the Gentiles, tainted pulpit of Arian heresy, may you be accursed!”⁵⁸ On his way back to the hermitage, exposed to the unbearable pressure of Alexandrian-remembrances, *Palemon* analyses *Paphnuce*’s problem: “...your distemper comes from your having passed too suddenly from the calm of solitude to the noisy world. Such sudden transitions can but harm the health of the soul.”⁵⁹

⁵¹ BRESKY, D.: *The Art of Anatole France*. Paris, Mouton 1969, p 20.

⁵² Selected Prose Works of Shi Zhecun, p 64.

⁵³ *Kumarajiva*, p 167.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p 181.

⁵⁵ *Loc cit*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p 182.

⁵⁷ *Thaïs*, p 40.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p 41.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p 233.

The fin de siècle big cities were permeated with debauchery and dissoluteness, affecting the morale of people very badly. Perhaps just subconsciously, but it seems that both Shi and France foreshadowed their own anxiety and misgivings about such decayed city life-style. Thus both stories display the same problem: the seed of disastrous unrest and distraction is planted in the heart of a virtuous monk, immediately after he first encounters the city, or rather after he faces its strong temptation – ready to ruin even the strongest among man – incarnated in the glamorous Thaïs and the lovable prostitute Meng.

7. FATAL WOMAN

Antifeminism was very widespread in European decadent art (influenced mostly by Schopenhauer and Baudelaire), closely linked with the highly popular image of a cool, exciting femme fatale who leads man to his doom. Many literary works echoed the view, that woman is “predominantly an animal, and being directly and tyrannically governed by her physical instincts she is incapable of detaching herself from them, so that all her activities are ineluctably directed toward their satisfaction... the universe of the spiritual life is absolutely closed to her.”⁶⁰

This rather strong touch of antifeminism is presented also in the discussed works of Shi Zhecun and France, reflecting the ambiguity toward woman and her mission in this world as the authors were swayed in a great dilemma – they simultaneously recognized “the satanic and perverse nature of love, the contemptible nature of woman, and the impossibility of doing without her.”⁶¹

The Chinese writer juxtaposes the lofty, spiritual world of a pious monk a few times in a sharp contrast with the world of woman, or the human love in general.

During his sojourn in Kuchah, Kumarajiva often felt the strong anxiety on his evening trips, secretly followed by his cousin. He knew “this was the last and the greatest temptation sent on him by Buddha,... he will never reach the correct path of spiritual perfection unless he breaks through this karma obstruction.”⁶²

Later in Chang'an, on his first visit at prostitute Meng's house, “Kumarajiva was suddenly filled with revulsion at the way that pitiful soul had been completely deceived by this luxurious, ostentatious lifestyle... he could see that she was nothing but a degenerate, seductively charming woman. All she had was carnal lust.”⁶³

In discussion with Kumarajiva, young soldier refers to the prostitute as a woman who “has no soul, and what's more, she has no need of that thing called

⁶⁰ PIERROT, J.: op cit, p 124.

⁶¹ Ibid, p 124.

⁶² *Kumarajiva*, p 152.

⁶³ Ibid, p 179.

a soul... She will never get old. She will only die.”⁶⁴ His words recall those of the philosopher Dorion’s statement about Thaïs, who is “but a freak of nature, and the atoms know not what they do. They will some day separate with the same indifference as they came together.”⁶⁵ Moreover Dorion proclaims that “Woman is the natural enemy of man, and the disgrace of humankind... Women inspire love, though it is absurd and ridiculous to love them.”⁶⁶

Although Thaïs by the end of the story renounces all her priceless belongings and luxurious dwelling for the austere monastic life devoted to God, she is presented originally as a pleasure seeking, lascivious actress. In the Alexandrian theatre she “showed herself in the public games,... performed dances, the movements of which... brought to mind the most terrible passions.”⁶⁷ In front of Paphnuce the courtesan proudly proclaims: “I am more powerful than the masters of the world. I have seen them at my feet... look at these little feet; thousands of man would pay with their blood for the happiness of kissing them... I look like a grain of rice; but that grain of rice has caused among men griefs, despairs, hates, and crimes enough to have filled Tartarus.”⁶⁸

The Chinese *dangfu* [44] – the woman of loose morale – may be considered for the parallel to the Chinese historical demonic *youwu* [45] (an equivalent for the European *femme fatale*) and *beauty* (*meiren*) [46] according to the Chinese literary tradition, was synonymous word for “catastrophe”, “disaster” (*huoshui*) [47].⁶⁹

If we consider the semantic correlations between those woman-related expressions, they are also but fully justifiable by *Kumarajiva*.

Shi Zhecun characterizes the spellbinding Chang’an prostitute twice as *dangnu* [48] (*wanton woman*), who really evokes the decadent idol-woman in basic traits: from the first moments Meng causes monk’s inner disquiet, her courageous and coquettish gaze threatens him. Later she appears as the phantasm of his former wife and Kumarajiva finally is involved with her physically. She is charming, enticing, mysterious and simultaneously terrifying.

Kumarajiva’s first wife, however, also merges to a certain extent with this image. Although she is described a few times as “bright”, “lofty”, “of noble bearing”, in fact since the very beginning “she has wanted to possess him”,⁷⁰ though she knew, any kind of love affair is strictly forbidden for a Buddhist monk. Even long before they spent the first night together, she had said to Kumarajiva: “I am afraid I really might destroy you because I truly do feel an evil

⁶⁴ Ibid, p 175.

⁶⁵ Thaïs, p 71.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p 65, 71.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p 11.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p 125.

⁶⁹ LEE, LEO OU-FAN, Informal Discussion, p 26.

⁷⁰ *Kumarajiva*, p 153.

power possessing my body.”⁷¹ And elsewhere, shortly before her death, she confessed: “I am your catastrophe. If I go with you to Qin, I will obstruct your lifework and damage your good reputation.”⁷²

In both parts of *Kumarajiva* a woman appeared in fact as a seductress, whose behaviour reflected their own convictions and assurances about their especially powerful charms. Both women are irresistibly beautiful, but also rather dangerous, causing a real “catastrophe” in the life of Kumarajiva. Since marrying the Kuchah princess, “he seemed to have tumbled from the pinnacle of merit... he himself felt as if he were enveloped in an atmosphere of gloom. He spoke only in low tones and his expression lost much of its former radiance.”⁷³ Moreover after the first night spent in the arms of a charming prostitute, the symbol of the dark lamp in the Buddha-shrine was unequivocal: the monk had totally lost the favour of Great Buddha.

In addition the distinctions between the Patriarch’s first wife and the prostitute Meng in the second part of *Kumarajiva* became rather hazy, the first woman was constantly reshaped in the body of the second one, even the “court lady” – the concrete person firstly seated along with Miss Meng in the temple – by the end of the story has turned to a borrowed term to denote prostitute Meng. The author ceased to make clear differences in the mind of monk between his temptresses, instead merging them under the common denominator: woman.

Herein another clear parallel with France’s work appear. During the time when Thais already lived secluded in a nunnery, Paphnuce, living in the painted chamber is haunted by the voices of a charming lute-player, calling on him from the wall-painting: “I am mysterious and beautiful. Love me... You cannot escape me; I am the beauty of woman. Whether do you think to fly from me, senseless fool?... It was certain that, wherever you went, you would find Thais again.”⁷⁴

Both stories are the expression of the same principle: “The demonic *youwu*, alias femme fatale, is an avatar of *eros* ... a certain subconscious energy.”⁷⁵ It is the eternal symbol of woman, a phantasm that haunts and stirs man’s imagination, luring him irresistibly.

8. KUMARAJIVA – FREUDIAN WORK?

Throughout the whole story the Great Buddhist Master is painfully torn between the two opposed aspirations of his heart – the spiritual perfection demanding monastic celibacy against the love-passion between man and woman.

⁷¹ Ibid, p 153.

⁷² Ibid, p 160.

⁷³ Ibid, p 154.

⁷⁴ *Thais*, p 268.

⁷⁵ LEE, LEO OU-FAN: op cit, p 34.

Adopting Sigmund Freud's conceptualization of personality enables us to explain the basic scheme of Kumarajiva's conflict in this way: the strong instinctual drives of a man called *libido*, or *id* (*Es*), operate according to the *pleasure principle* (*Lustprinzip*) and often comes into the deep conflict with the voices of "moral-supervisor", concerned with meeting the demands of morality and social convention, i.e. *superego* (*das Über-Ich*).

The task of making *Kumarajiva's* exegesis in light of Freudianism, as far as I know, has been undertaken most seriously and radically by the German sinologist Ralf John who concluded: "(In *Kumarajiva*, E.H.) Shi Zhecun displayed rather convincingly the theories of Freud, claiming the helpless situation of ego, which parallelly faces the prohibitions of superego and the instinctual drives of id."⁷⁶

Such judgements are essentially very akin to those of the Chinese (PRC) literary critics: "Kumarajiva is a lofty monk, but also an emotional human being. He fails to bring under the control impulses of his ego (*ziwo*) [49], but at the same time, he cannot repudiate the restriction imposed by the superego (*chao-ziwo*) [50], hencefore his ego meets with difficulties...",⁷⁷ or: "Shi Zhecun, in his stories from history, consistently applied theories of Freud to illuminate the psyche of historical personages, or rather, on the historical personages he exemplified Freud's theories meticulously."⁷⁸

As it is known generally, in the 1920s and 1930s the name of Sigmund Freud was highly popular in China. During the process, launched basically in 1919 (in China the first work of Freud appeared as soon as in 1913) and culminated in the mid-thirties, a great part of his original and rather revolutionary thoughts were introduced in the Chinese arena. It should be emphasized, however, that after nearly half a century, PRC witnesses the "Freud-fever" again... To exemplify further the typically Chinese inclination to savour critical writings with the Freudian terminology, the following facts are very revealing:

The contemporary PRC literary critic Wu Lichang [57] in one of his articles on Freudianism writes, that "Lu Xun admired immensely the way A. France described Paphnuce's conflict of spirit and flesh,"⁷⁹ quoting Lu Xun's own

⁷⁶ JOHN, R.: *Eine genauere Betrachtung der Psychoanalyse-Erzählungen Shi Zhecuns* (A More Detailed Account on Shi Zhecun's Psychoanalytic Stories). In: SCHILLING, I.-S. and JOHN, R.: *Die Neue Sensualisten* (Neosensualists). Martin, H. (ed). Bochum, Brockmeyer Verlag 1994, pp 338–339.

⁷⁷ YI HONG [51]: *Fuluoyidezhu yi yu "wusi" langman wenxue* [52] (Freudianism and the "May Fourth" Romantic Literature). In: *Zhongguo shehui kexue* [53] (Chinese Sociology) 5, Peking 1989, p 60.

⁷⁸ MA RONGJIAN [54]: *Qianyi Fuluoyide zhuyi zai xiandai wenxuezhingde xiaozhang* [55] (A Brief Account on the Growth and Decline of Freudianism in the Modern Chinese Literature). In: Ningxia jiaoyu xueyuan. Yinchuan shizhuan xuebao: *Kexueban* [56] (Bulletin of the Yinchuan Pedagogical Institute: Humanities), 2, 1990, p 75.

⁷⁹ WU LICHANG: *Xinlingde tanxun – Fuluoyide yu xifang wenhua* [58] (Explorations of the Psyche – Freud and the Western Culture). In: CHAO YUE (ed): *Tiaozhan yu yingzhan* [59] (Struggling and Winning the Battle). Shanghai, Wenyi chubanshe 1988, p 54.

statement further: "In the structure of *Thaïs* a lot from Freudian psychoanalytic theory is applied."⁸⁰ Wu remarks, however, that considering the year 1891 when *Thaïs* appeared (the correct date should be 1889, E. H.), "Freud had not established his theory of psychoanalysis yet, henceforth his theory could not have been utilized by A. France. Nevertheless Lu Xun, clearly perceived the inner connections between *Thaïs*' main idea with later developed thoughts in psychoanalysis..."⁸¹

As a matter of fact, the notion of *unconscious*, the starting point for the theory of the psychoanalysis, was already well known in Francean times. Hartmann, in his book *The Philosophy of the Unconscious* (1868), did "clearly assert that the unconscious plays a determining role in our sexuality... by the decade between 1870 and 1880 the general idea of an unconscious mind had become commonplace throughout Europe."⁸² Therefore it is highly probable that France profited to a certain extent from the theoretical discoveries about the role of unconscious and our sexuality. Finding any attachment of *Thaïs* to Freud and his theory of psychoanalysis, however, would be definitely more than inadequate.

It is known, that S. Freud profited considerably from his predecessors' research, esp from the 19th century, when psychology and psychiatry saw unprecedented progress. In the explorations of terra incognita, i.e. the *unconscious* world in human psyche, it was Freud, however, who made a great contribution to its understanding laying stress on *dream* and *free association* phenomena as its important manifestation.

In this connection one should remember the Austrian author Arthur Schnitzler, whose works are still considered for their exemplification of Freud's theories in literature. (In 1912 Freud hailed his Viennese contemporary as a "colleague" and ten years later he even referred to Schnitzler as his "double" [*Doppelgänger*].)⁸³ He became an expert in hypnotic clinical techniques as an assistant in the clinic of Theodor Meynert, Freud's teacher. Schnitzler was predestined towards his exceptional insight and knowledge about the human psyche by not only his education and the daily contact with patients, but also by the peculiar milieu of fin de siècle Vienna, with its outstanding achievements in the field of psychoanalysis and psychiatry.

In regard to Shi Zhecun's relation towards Freud, one should not omit the fact, that, in 1933, the Chinese author openly proclaimed Freud's influence on him: "It is not very accurate to call me a *neosensualist*, but I know, in my work

⁸⁰ Ibid, p 54.

⁸¹ Ibid, p 54.

⁸² PIERROT, J.: op cit, p 120.

⁸³ *Arthur Schnitzler. Sein Leben – Sein Werk – Seine Zeit.* Frankfurt/Main, S. Fischer Verlag 1981, p 108.

I have applied some “Freudian psychological stories”, that’s all.”⁸⁴ Moreover in author’s reminiscences about his youth, we read as follows: “Liu Naou used to talk with pleasure about the analyses of Freud’s sexual psychology in literature and arts... and of course that Dai Wangshu and I did not remain unaffected.”⁸⁵

Shi Zhecun – rather taken with the unscrupulous treatment of sexual problems – obviously regarded himself as an author of “Freudian” stories. It should not, however, lead us necessarily to the conclusion that concretely *Kumarajiva* should be labelled so. Besides, as already outlined in this chapter, if we take the work of a genuine literary Freudian, Arthur Schnitzler, as the yardstick, then it is rather dubious, which Chinese literary works actually deserve to be called “Freudian”.

The core of Freud’s influential theory of *psychoanalysis*, that the strong motivation of our behaviour is essentially rooted in the *unconscious*, the harbour of instinctual forces... are to be also well applied in *Kumarajiva*. This is an undeniable fact. Could not then, however, any work related to man’s sexual urge appear indeed under the label “Freudian”? Clearly such a deduction would be rather preposterous and farfetched as for the issues of *guilt-feeling*, in other words, the *voice of conscience*, along with the tortures caused by the strong *sensual desire* – not rarely contradicting the moral doctrines – were the fountainhead for artistic creativity from ages, as they are bound to the very nature of man.

Is *Kumarajiva* a Freudian work then?

If we set up the criterion for “Freudian work” (inevitably) higher than a mere portrayal of inborn carnality vying with man’s superego, then the interpretation of *Kumarajiva* as a “Freudian” or “psychoanalytic” tale would be rather exaggerated and inappropriate – the very same way as it would be in the case of France’s *Thais*...

CONCLUSION

If talking about the “Chinese decadence”, we must keep in our mind its very relevant and specific feature: for the most Chinese writers (including Shi Zhecun), unlike their Western *colleagues*, decadence never became a self-

⁸⁴ SHI ZHECUN: *Wode chuanzuo shenghuo zhi licheng* [60] (The Journey of My Creative Life). In: YANG ZHIHUA (ed): *Chuanzuode jingyan* [61] (Experiences in Creative Writing). Shanghai 1935, p 82.

⁸⁵ SHI ZHECUN: *Women jingyingguo sange shudian* [62] (How We Used to Run Three Bookstores). In: HS 1, 1985, p 184.

acknowledged stance.⁸⁶ This had a very serious historical reasons as modern Chinese intellectuals under the strongly optimistic imprint of May Fourth's humanism, viewed modernity foremost as a progressive, dynamic mode and henceforth could not embrace decadence as its dark, yet unseparable counterpart.⁸⁷

In spite of this fact, however, taking for a touchstone the typical characteristic of European decadent art,⁸⁸ I have found in *Kumarajiva* its essence:

- a drawing on certain prestigious past eras with a legendary-religious background for inspiration;
- an anxiety from modern and over-technologized city life resulting in the escape to the world of fantasy and supernatural powers – in a slight contradiction with rather strong decadent anticlericalism;
- the futility of man's endeavour against the irreversible forces of Fate linked with a generally pessimist decadent approach towards human existence;
- a hostility and disdain towards woman, who is reduced to her body and detached from the universe of spiritual life (rooted in antifeminist creeds), in a certain contrast with the image of a demonic femme fatale, leading man to his doom with her irresistible sensual appeal, thus supplying the whole work with a specific touch of erotic and mystery.

Obviously, as concerning the *idea conveyed*, the ingredients of decadent imagination are quite plentiful in *Kumarajiva* and in this respect we may surely claim the novelette for an unique work in the context of modern Chinese literature.

On the contrary, if talking about the *aesthetic concepts* and artistic devices of typically French decadent style, we can hardly find them in *Kumarajiva*, organically linked with another Chinese specific: unlike the French decadents, surrounded by the luxury in their own apartments (museums of all sorts of *objets d'art*), the Chinese authors with the very few exceptions (e.g. Shao Xunmei, 1906–1968) [63] lived in rather modest, frugal conditions which are echoed also in the sharp contrast between the aesthetic style of *Kumarajiva* and *Thaïs*.

The snobbish cultivation of beauty in the *paradis artificiels*, the connoisseurship for exquisite objects, the penchant for dazzling and bizarre decorations... and many akin weaknesses of Western decadent artists found its way-

⁸⁶ See LEE, LEO OU-FAN: *Decadence: A Tentative Essay on the Relevance of a Concept in Modern Chinese Literature*. In: GALIK, M. (ed): *Chinese Literature and European Context*. Bratislava, Rowaco Ltd. and Veda 1994, p 23.

⁸⁷ See LEE, LEO OU-FAN: *In Search of Modernity: Some Reflections on a New Mode of Consciousness in the Twentieth-Century Chinese History and Literature*. In: COHEN, P.A. and GOLDMAN, M. (eds): *Ideas Across Cultures: Essays in Honour of Benjamin Schwartz*. Cambridge, Harvard East Asian Monographs 1990, pp 109–136. See also: LEE, LEO OU-FAN: *Modernism in Modern Chinese Literature: A Study (somewhat comparative) in Literary History*. In: Tamkang Review, 4, 1980, pp 281–283.

⁸⁸ Based foremost on the J. PIERROT's work.

out foremost in the ostentatious depictions of their female heroes. In recalling the grandiose and vivid images of *Thaïs* with all her lavish decorations and accessoires, however, the Kuchah princess and prostitute Meng are apparently just a faint, even insipid reflection of the glamorous courtesan.

The same must be claimed in fact about *Kumarajiva*'s overall insufficiency in the important ingredients of the decadent art: the highly ornate, grandiose style and exciting dramatic depths, perfectly displayed in *Thaïs*. In the case of Shi Zhecun's novelette it should be emphasized, that albeit in the Chinese arena *Kumarajiva* can be considered as a modernist story written in a rather strong decadent mode, like the majority of Chinese works from the first decades of the 20th century, it is only to a certain limited extent that we are able to regard them as analogous to their western counterparts.

Various scholars unanimously recognized creative stimuli from A. Schnitzler, S. Freud, E.A. Poe and D.H. Lawrence as being the greatest in Shi's fiction. (To complete the list of his favourite western authors, names like Marquis de Sade, A. Lowell, W.B. Yeats, J. Joyce, F. McLeod, A. Lang, J. Frazer, B. de Aurevilly, J.S. Le Fanu can be added.)⁸⁹ Nonetheless as far as I know, the name ANATOLE FRANCE never appeared in this huge gamut of names – yet it fully deserves to be included and hopefully this work will have given enough of an argument for such an assertion.

Thaïs provided Shi Zhecun with artistic inspiration, as he himself admitted.⁹⁰ However, he transformed the whole story in a very creative and original way, fitting it to Chinese cultural tradition and his own spiritual needs. He did not adopt the grandiosity of style and very emphatic religious point – these were obviously alien to his nature. Bringing to life the famous historical personage, Shi made an universally valid psychoanalytic probe, elucidating quite profoundly the mental torments of a fragile human being. Shi Zhecun, akin to France, under a thin legendary disguise managed to advocate the needs of a modern man – the overthrow of the old taboos heaped over the human sexuality. The contribution of S. Freud in shattering those rather fake and harmful beliefs is undeniable and Chinese literary critics are especially fond of terms, such as “Freudian (psychoanalytic) theories” and Freudian terminology in general, when talking about *Kumarajiva*. Yet the extent of the often claimed *Freudianism* in the novelette is rather debatable issue. It depends, where we put the border-line between: Freud's theory of *libido*, the diametrically opposed aspirations of *id* – *I* and man's sexual desire against his voice of conscience, inborn in the heart of every human being.

Particularly during the second half of the 19th century (long before the circulation of Freud's *libertinous* theories!) the portrayals of lewd monks and saints furiously assailed by the lusts of flesh became very much à la mode

⁸⁹ LEE, LEO OU-FAN: *Decadence: A Tentative Essay*, p 22.

⁹⁰ “I do highly appreciate your sensitivity,” wrote Shi Zhecun to me (Feb 21, 1994) – a response on my letter saying: “I founded many interrelations between *Kumarajiva* – *Thaïs*. Do you agree that you was strongly influenced by *Thaïs*?”

among the decadent artists. The blasphemous atmosphere replenished by the violation of the Sixth Commandment highly satisfied their thirst for provocative, exciting sensual stimuli as well as gave way to their anticlerical feelings.

Basically within this frame France's novel was moulded and turned out to be a powerful inspiration for *Kumarajiva*'s creator. Shi Zhecun was definitely drawn to *Thaïs* for the close affinity with his own doubtful approach towards the genuine asceticism of monks, underscored with the concept of a woman-idol causing man's sensual excitement, but simultaneously a nightmarish, demonic woman, who terrified him.

No matter how different their cultural nourishment, *Thaïs* and *Kumarajiva* equally justified the relevant creed on the decadent art, concluding that the "mixture of sensuality and religion, with its often sacrilegious atmosphere, certainly came to be one of the most conspicuous ingredients of the decadent imagination."⁹¹

⁹¹ PIERROT, J.: op cit, p 89.

- 1。施蜚存 2。李歐梵 3。漫談中國現代文學中的 "頹廢"
- 4。今天 5。中國現代文學的 "頹廢" 及作家 6。當代
- 7。鳩摩羅什 8。"石秀之戀" 十年創作集
- 9。中國現代各流派小說選 10。中國現代性愛小說資料叢書。
性的屈服者 11。心理小說 12。將軍的頭 13。現代
- 14。施蜚存散文選集 15。在巴黎大戲院 16。杜衡
- 17。震旦大學 18。戴望舒 19。震旦二年 20。新文學史料
- 21。巴黎藝文逸話 22。域外詩抄 23。燈下集 24。婦心三部曲
- 25。新文藝 26。序譯 "女仇泰倚思" 27。王家驥 28。泰綺思
- 29。魯訊 30。"京派" 与 "海派" 31。且介亭雜文二集
- 32。沈其茵 33。論施蜚存的小說創作
- 34。上海師範大學學報。哲學版 35。現代作家書簡
- 36。劉呐嘔 37。最後一各老朋友-- 馮雪峰 38。馮雪峰
- 39。李師師 40。國師 41。高僧傳 42。天 43。妄想
- 44。蕩婦 45。尤物 46。美人 47。禍水 48。蕩女
- 49。自我 50。超自我 51。尹鴻
- 52。弗洛伊德主義与 "五四" 浪漫文學 53。中國社會科學
- 54。馬容健 55。潛議弗洛伊德主義在現代文學中的消長
- 56。寧夏教育學院。銀川師專學報。科學版 57。吳立昌
- 58。心靈的探尋--弗洛伊德主義与西方文化 59。挑戰与應戰
- 60。我的創作生活之歷程 61。創作的經驗
- 62。我們經營過三各書店 63。邵洵美

DISCUSSIONS ON STRATEGY AGAINST “BARBARIANS” – AN ESSAY FROM NEW HISTORY OF THE TANG DYNASTY (*XIN TANG SHU*)

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The paper analyses an essay from New History of the Tang Dynasty which discusses different methods which Tang Dynasty Chinese statesmen used when dealing with “barbarians”. The document shows that the Tang statesmen were primarily concerned with strengthening the Chinese empire economically and administratively. The Tang statesmen considered this the best policy to keep “barbarians” behind the Chinese border. The second part of this paper is a translation from New History of the Tang Dynasty, *juan* 215, *liezhuan* 140A.

1

Sinocentrism and the problems of Sino-barbarian relations have been the focus of much of the works of well-known 20th century sinologists.¹ These authors used as their primary sources mainly so-called Dynastic histories (better to say Standard histories, *Zhengshi*) [1]. Beginning with Sima Qian's [2] (145 B.C. – ?) Records of the Historian (*Shi ji*) [3], some of the *liezhuan* [4] were concerned with the neighbouring countries (i.e. from the Chinese point of view “barbarians”) with which Imperial court established contacts. Much interesting information dealing with the problems of non-Chinese nations can be found also in imperial edicts. These documents usually deal with specific problems which occurred in the problematic cohabitation of Chinese and “barbarians” in East Asia, but they do not document the theoretical problems of this symbiosis – there are not treatise about the principles and methods the policy against “barbarians” could be based on. In some of the Han (206 B.C. –

¹ Cf. FAIRBANK, J.K. (ed.): *The Chinese World Order. Traditional China's Foreign Relations*. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1968. ROSSABI, M.(ed.): *China among Equals – The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbours, IVth – XIVth Century*. Berkeley 1983. LATTIMORE, O.: *Inner Asia Frontiers of China*. Boston 1962. BAUER, W. (ed.): *China und die Fremden. 3000 Jahre Auseinandersetzung in Krieg und Frieden*. München 1980.

220 A.D.) Dynasty works – this dynasty was endangered by Xiongnu's² [5] attacks – there are chapters concerned with theoretical questions. In 4th chapter of Jia Yi's [6] (201 B.C. – 168 B.C.)³ New tractates (*Xin shu*) [8], he gives advice to the ruler on the problem how to deal with Xiongnu. In the work Debates on Salt and Iron (*Yan tie lun*) [9] there is recorded a discussion between learned Confucian officials (*xianliang*) [10] and ministers (*taifu*) [11] about problems relating to the salt and iron state monopoly. Besides this they also dispute problems concerning the strategy against “barbarians” Xiongnu. It is obvious that there are two ideas about how to deal with “barbarians” – one group, the Confucian officials, represent pacifistic and idealistic views, on the other hand, the ministers were advocating military actions against “barbarians”. Later Chinese statesmen were often to argue about this fundamental dilemma – whether to deal with non-Chinese nations using culture (*wen*) [12] or punitive expeditions (*zhengfa*) [13]. In the work New History of the Tang Dynasty (*Xin Tang shu*) [14] which was written by Song Qi [15] (998–1061 A.D.), Ouyang Xiu [16] (1007–1072 A.D.) and others between the years 1043–1060 (the aim of authors was to write a revised edition of the first dynastic history of Tang (618–906 A.D.) – History of the Tang Dynasty (*Tang shu*) [17] completed by Liu Xu [18] and Zhang Zhaoyuan [19] in 945), there is a *liezhuan* devoted to the theoretical problems connected with “barbarians”. In chapter (*juan*) [20] 215, *liezhuan* 140A it briefly explains the principles and methods of Sino-barbarian relationship. From *liezhuan* 140A in *Xin Tang shu* (XTS) the part devoted to the non-Chinese nations around China starts.⁴ Immediately after this ideological basis (still *liezhuan* 140A) the treatise about Turks (Tujue [21] in Chinese) follows and later other countries, e.g. Tibet (Tubo⁵ [22]), Huihe [27],⁶ Nanzhao

² Some authors in the past translated the term Xiongnu as Huns. However “ihre (i.e. Xiongnu and Huns, M.S.) *historische Beziehung ist durch nichts bewiesen und aufgrund der bisherigen Forschungen auch unwahrscheinlich*”. Quoted from MÜLLER, C.C.: *Die Herausbildung der Gegensätze: Chinesen und Barbaren in der frühen Zeit (I. Jahrtausend v. Chr. bis 220 n. Chr.)*. In: BAUER, W. (ed.): *op. cit.*, p. 59.

³ Jia Yi – famous Han Dynasty official on the court of the Han Dynasty emperor Wendi [7] (203–157 B.C.).

⁴ For XTS I used the edition published in Beijing 1991 (4th edition). Translated text is on pp. 6023–6028.

⁵ The problem of the pronunciation of the Chinese term for the Tibetan empire in the 7th–9th centuries is a controversial matter. In older works we can find the transcription Tufan which seems to be incorrect. The original meaning of the first character, “*tu*” [23], is “to spit, to vomit” so it obviously has a derogatory meaning. The character “*tu*” is used also in names of other “barbaric” states or tribes – e.g. Tuyuhun [24], Tutu [25], Tuxi [26]. The second character has two readings. The meaning reading it as “*fan*” is “foreign, barbarous”. “Thus the sound *fan* stands ambiguously for characters that mean respectively foreign or vassal.” Quoted from FAIRBANK, J.K.: *A Preliminary Study*. In: FAIRBANK, J. K. (ed.): *op. cit.*, p. 10. So the transcription Tufan besides the derogatory meaning implies also the idea that Tufan (i.e. Tubo) was a vassal of China which was not true. However the second character has also another reading – “*bo*”. The reading “*bo*” in Tubo comes from the name of Tibet in Tibetan which is *bod*. Therefore the correct reading should be Tubo.

[28] are mentioned. The second part of this paper is a translation of this treatise from XTS.

People living in the Inner Asia steppes always represented a menace for China.⁷ The organizational structure of these societies, economical basis (a series of contrasts between agricultural economy and pastoralism, settled peasants and mobile nomads, family centred society and clan organization) were completely different, and so the Chinese model did not attract nor was it applicable for these societies living on the steppes. One of the aims of Chinese foreign policy was to keep these Innerasian nations away from making an alliance against China. This problem was brought sharply into focus during the Tang Dynasty. The translated text is a compilation of the opinions of four Tang China statesmen on the problem of foreign policy in relation to "barbarians". In the Tang Dynasty China Eastern Turks, Western Turks, Tibetans and later Uighurs represented a danger for Chinese rule. After the suppression of An Lushan's [29] (703–757 A.D.) rebellion in 762 China was economically weak, and unable to defeat militarily the "barbarians", so Chinese statesmen using diplomatic manoeuvres tried to establish some equilibrium on western frontiers. "*Die Aktionen der Barbaren wurden in gewisser Weise als Reaktionen aufgefaßt, als Reaktionen auf den Zustand, in dem sich das Reich selbst befand.*"⁸ Naturally during this weak period for China the "barbarians" were more aggressive. It became a priority to deter three non-Chinese empires – i.e. Tibetans, Uighurs and Nanzhao kingdom – from making a coalition and together attacking China because such an attack would probably have been deadly for the declining dynasty.⁹ Chinese politicians did their best to secure a military alliance with at least one of these nations. In the second half of 8th century Uighurs sided militarily with the Chinese Dynasty, but its greatest danger came from Tibetan empire, which in the second half of the 8th century un-

⁶ Huihe is the Chinese term for Uighurs who originally belonged to Turks but in the 7th century formed their empire in northwestern steppes.

⁷ Fairbank divides the neighbours of China into three zones: Sinic, Inner Asian and Outer and states that the people from Inner Asia represented the greatest military threat for China. Cf. FAIRBANK, J.K.: *A Preliminary Study*. In: FAIRBANK, J.K. (ed.): *op. cit.*, p. 3. Bauer divides these neighbouring nations also in three groups: *Fremde der Innenwelt*, *Fremde der Gegenwart* and *Fremde der Außenwelt*. The nomadic nations belong to *Fremde der Gegenwart* and this name for them seems to be more suitable because it is immediately clear what was their attitude towards China. Cf. BAUER, W.: *Einleitung*. In: BAUER, W. (ed.): *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.

⁸ BAUER, W.: *Einleitung*. In: BAUER, W. (ed.): *op. cit.*, p.10.

⁹ Uighurs and Tibetans made an alliance against China only once and it was under the leadership of Pugu Huai'en [30] (?–765), a non-Chinese in service of the Tang Dynasty – he was the ruler in Daning [31]. In the aftermath of An Lushan's rebellion, Pugu Huai'en revolted against the Emperor in 764 and together with Uighur and Tibetan army attacked Chang'an [32] creating a critical situation for Imperial court. However in 765 Pugu Huai'en died and a struggle for succession broke out in "barbarian" army. The great Chinese statesmen Guo Ziyi [33] (697–781) took advantage of this disunity and secretly made an alliance with Uighurs against Tibetans.

der the rule of Khri-sron-lde-brtsan (756–797 A.D.) reached the peak of its territorial expansion. However it should be also said that there was a period in which Sino-Uighur relations were broken and Tibet supplied China with soldiers.¹⁰ Chinese statesmen had a limited choice of possibilities for diplomatic manoeuvring because *it was a must* for them to make an alliance.

Chinese historians usually blame the decline of dynasties on “inside disorder and outside calamity” (*neiluan waihuan*) [40] which is to a certain level valid also for the decline of the Tang Dynasty. However the last paragraph of translated chapter states: “it is recorder [here] what caused the destruction of the Tang [Dynasty]” (*ji Tang suo you wang yun*) [41]. This opinion is a good example of Sinocentric thinking which expresses the idealized conception that the destruction of the Tang Dynasty was caused *only* by “barbarians” and refuses to accept fact that it was caused also by domestic – economic and military – weakness, overconcentration of power in the hands of *jiedu shi* (military commissioners), and corruption. All these factors made it easier for “barbarians” to invade and control parts of Chinese territory.

The following translation from XTS could be divided into four parts. Each is formed by an opinion of one of four Tang officials on the strategy against “barbarians”. In the first part Liu Kuang¹¹ [42] concentrates more on theoretical questions and confronts his ideas with statements by Han historians Ban Gu [43] (32–92 A.D.)¹² and Yan You [45].¹³ The other three authors – i.e. Du You [47] (735–812),¹⁴ Du Mu [49] (803–852),¹⁵ Sun Qiao [50]¹⁶ – deal mainly with practical problems in Tang economy and army. Tang officials were probably not overtly interested in theoretical models of China’s foreign relations – for these models did not correspond with political reality and were not applicable

¹⁰ This happened in 784 during the revolt of Zhu Ci [34] who was military commissioner (*jiedu shi*) [35] in Jingyuan [36]. Tibetans signed a peace alliance with China in year 783 in Qingshui [37] (later also in Chang’an and Tibet). During Zhu Ci’s revolt Uighurs supplied him with soldiers and attacked the Chinese empire. Tibetans under obligation due to the previous year’s agreement dispatched soldiers to China and helped to suppress the revolt. In the aftermath of this revolt Tibetans broke friendly relations with China because court officials (and emperor Dezong [38]) did not stick to previously agreed promise and they did not cede some territories to Tibet. The result was the capture of many high Chinese officials by Tibetans in the ill-fated Pingliang [39] incident in 787.

¹¹ Liu Kuang – Tang official.

¹² Ban Gu – famous Han Dynasty historian, he lived from 32 A.D. to 92 A.D., author of History of the Han Dynasty (*Han shu*) [44].

¹³ Yan You – Han Dynasty general. He was a contemporary of Wang Mang [46]. Yan You lived in the last years of B.C. and in the beginning of A.D. He opposed Wang Mang’s preparations for a punitive expedition against the Xiongnu.

¹⁴ Du You – Tang Dynasty high official at Imperial court. He is the author of *Tongdian* [48] encyclopedia.

¹⁵ Du Mu – Du You’s (note 14) grandson. He was well-known poet and high official at Imperial court. Cf. KUBIN, W.: *Das lyrische Werk des Tu Mu (803 – 852)*. Wiesbaden 1976.

¹⁶ Sun Qiao – Tang Dynasty official (?).

in periods of instability and weakness. Tang Emperors still maintained that the ruler should be engaged in “tender cherishing of men from afar” (*hauirou yuanren*) [51] and “barbarians” should “come and be transformed” (*lai hua*) [52]; moreover during the Tang Dynasty *de* [53] (virtue) as manifested by Emperor¹⁷ played the central role. Further more court officials discussed very practical problems. They understood – as a result of previous experiences with “barbarians”, especially Xiongnu during the Han Dynasty – that “barbarians” were a menace to China in periods when the Empire was economically and militarily weak and therefore Du You, Du Mu and Sun Qiao tried to find ways to stop the inner crisis.

2

Let us look more thoroughly at the opinions of these four officials. Liu Kuang, whose ideas form the biggest part of this introductory essay from XTS, concentrates on the criticism of Yan You’s and Ban Gu’s ideas. Liu Kuang considers the strategy against “barbarians” of the three past dynasties – Zhou [54] (1122–221 B.C.), Qin [55] (221–209 B.C.) and Han [56] (206 B.C.–220 A.D.). According to Liu Kuang the Zhou Dynasty had the best strategy against “barbarians”, because at that time soldiers were strictly guarding frontiers and did not fight with “barbarians” outside Chinese territory. However it is quite difficult to draw a line between what was Chinese and what was non-Chinese in the period of Zhou Dynasty. Liu Kuang approves the policy of the Qin Dynasty as the second best, because they built the Great Wall and limited inner (*nei*) [57] and outer (*wai*) [58] territories. Liu Kuang severely criticizes the policy – and ministers – of the Han Dynasty (he states that they “did not have strategy”, *wu ce* [59]). He rejects the policy of “marriage alliances” (*heqin*) [60], because he considers it a shameful policy of bribery. He thinks that this policy is useful only in short periods when all-under-Heaven (*Tianxia*) [61] is not yet stabilized. It is clear to Liu Kuang that “barbarians” (in this case Xiongnu) make ill use of China’s weakness and they keep peace only as long as it is economically profitable for them. The reason Liu Kuang rejects the strategy of the Han Dynasty is, to use his own example, that at that time people from far-off places were not coming here (i.e. to China) but we were going there (i.e. to places inhabited by “barbarians”) with gifts. These gifts represented a heavy financial burden for the state treasuries but it was probably cheaper – and more secure – than despatching punitive expeditions. According to Liu Kuang, Yan You “discussed but was not detailed” (*bian er weixiang*) [62]. Yan You affirmed that in the past there had not existed the best strategy against barbarians because China was not able to subordinate “barbarians”. Liu Kuang’s arguing that “actually [China] could have done it but [she] did not make use of it” (*cheng neng zhi er bu yong er*) [63] seems to be idealistic and is in contradiction with

¹⁷ Cf. WANG GUNGWU: *Early Ming Relations with Southeast Asia: A Background Essay*. In: FAIRBANK, J.K. (ed.): *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44.

his other realistic and pragmatic statements. According to Yan You the Zhou Dynasty had the second best strategy, the Han Dynasty the worst and the Qin Dynasty did not have any strategy at all. This criticism of Qin is probably connected with the fact that Qin was a legalistic dynasty and Confucians took advantage of every opportunity to criticize it. Liu Kuang states that Ban Gu “was detailed but not conclusive” (*xiang er weijin*) [64]. Liu Kuang rebukes Ban Gu’s opinion that the Chinese should receive “barbarians” with rituals (*li*) [65] and politeness. Liu Kuang advocates isolationism and rejects Ban Gu’s idea that Chinese should deal with “barbarians” according to rituals which are for gentlemen. For Liu Kuang “barbarians” are the same as animals.¹⁸ Liu Kuang also points out some strategical advice connected with the different character of Chinese (infantry) and “barbarian” (cavalry) armies.

The second part of translated chapter consists of opinions of the well-known Tang official Du You on the policy against “barbarians”. He focuses on the economical situation in the Tang China. The core of the Chinese economy was agriculture and so Du You compares it with the situation in previous dynasties (Qin, Han). This illuminating information enables us to understand better the miserable situation of the Tang Dynasty after An Lushan’s rebellion. However it is interesting that authors of New History of the Tang Dynasty put Du You’s ideas into this introductory essay, because Du You almost does not mention “barbarians” (this is valid also for Du Mu’s paragraph which will be discussed later). He disputes domestic – mainly economical – problems. Domestic policy was of course closely related to foreign policy. According to Du You the best defence against “barbarians” is a rich, working economy. Du You, and later also Sun Qiao, see the solution in so-called military colonies (*tuntian*) [66] which could save the expenses of central government. Du You knows that although China is culturally and technologically superior to “barbarians”, this spiritual superiority cannot keep non-Chinese nations outside the frontier.

Du Mu, the third official whose opinions are recorded in this essay, sharply criticizes the situation in Chinese army. Du Mu warns that the army is not well trained, not prepared for war; supervision is insufficient to prevent corruption; the system of “awards and penalties” (*shang fa*) [67] is not working correctly; the decision-making process is too complicated and there is no standardized level of competence. His information that generals exaggerate their merits¹⁹ is very interesting in relation to Standard histories where the records often cite “some tenthousands men strong barbarian armies” and “thousands of killed and

¹⁸ About the problem of comparing non-Chinese with animals cf. MÜLLER, C.C.: *Die Herausbildung der Gegensätze: Chinesen und Barbaren in der frühen Zeit (1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. bis 220 n. Chr.)*. In BAUER, W. (ed.): *op. cit.*, pp. 59–62 and LIEN-SHENG YANG: *Historical Notes on the Chinese world Order*. In: FAIRBANK, J.K. (ed.): *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28.

¹⁹ Another Chinese high official (he was prime minister) – Lu Zhi (754–805) [68] in his statements to Emperor analysed the situation in the Tang Dynasty and tried to find solutions. Also Lu Zhi criticized generals for “falsely exaggerating enemies force”. Quoted from SU JINREN [69]: *Historical materials about Tibetan Empire from Comprehensive Mirror for Aid of Government (Tongjian Tubo shiliao* [70]). Lhasa 1982, p. 223.

captured enemies". It is necessary to have Du Mu's words in mind when reading about the quantities of soldiers in Chinese historical works. Du Mu also does not speak explicitly about "barbarians". Du You and Du Mu propose to rulers as the best policy against "barbarians" a "strong army and rich state" (*bīng qiáng guó fù*) [71] and it resembles very much two pillars on which the Qin Dynasty with its legalist ideology was based. Actually Du You mentions with praise – and a bit of nostalgia – Shang Yang [72] (ca. 390–338 B.C.) in his treatise.

The last part of essay is formed by opinions of authors of XTS and a quotation from Sun Qiao's ideas. He tries to solve the problems related to Nanzhao kingdom in southwest China in the second half of the 8th century. This area was quite important for Chinese diplomats. Nanzhao was originally a tributary of China, but in the middle of the 8th century (still before the An Lushan's rebellion) Nanzhao broke relations with China and made an alliance with Tubo²⁰ because of some unskilled diplomatic decisions of Chinese officials. The Nanzhao army was not a decisive military force in East Asia, but when they were in alliance with Tibetan empire, it also became necessary for China to guard the southwestern border, supply more troops and so military expenses increased. Chinese statesmen managed to "cut the right arm of Tibet"²¹ (i.e. broke Tibet's alliance with Nanzhao) only at the end of the 8th century. This was in great part due to the official Wei Gao [77] (he was at that time military commissioner in Jiannan [78]) who is mentioned also in the essay. Authors of XTS criticize the corruption of local authorities and they admit openly that local citizens collaborated with "barbarians" as long as it was economically beneficial for them. In this paragraph we can find also proof that students from non-Chinese aristocratic families who studied in China (most of them stayed in Chang'an) – and also members of tributary missions (it is not the aim of my paper to discuss here the problems whether these missions were really bringing tribute or they were trade missions)²² – during their stay in China also gathered strategically important information about Chinese defence and numbers of soldiers. Chinese statesmen of course realized this and so members of tributary

²⁰ It is interesting to quote how Tibetans and Nanzhao kingdom established their alliance: "In Man [73] (Chinese historians called the people from Nanzhao sometimes also as southern Man barbarians, M.S.) language 'zhong' [74] means younger brother and Tibetan *zanpu* [75] (title of Tibetan rulers in Chinese, it comes from the Tibetan word for ruler *btsan-po*, M.S.) called Geluofeng [76] (king of Nanzhao, M.S.) 'zanpu's zhong', he gave him the title 'Eastern ruler' and golden seal." Quoted from SU JINREN: *op. cit.*, p. 99. It is obvious that Tibetans used the same patterns as Chinese emperors when arranging their foreign relations – the alliance is expressed by terms of inner family relations, the vassal ruler is given a title and official seal.

²¹ SU JINREN: *op. cit.*, p. 205.

²² For problems related to tribute and trade cf. e.g. FAIRBANK, J.K.: *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast – The Opening of the Treaty Ports 1842–1854*. Vol. I. Cambridge 1953, pp. 23–38. MANCALL, M.: *The Ch'ing Tribute System: An Interpretive Essay*. In: FAIRBANK, J.K. (ed.): *op. cit.*, pp. 75–79.

missions were supervised during their stay in capital by Chinese officers and their movement was restricted.²³ Sun Qiao points out that frontier guards should be – and it is not valid only for Shu [79] area – locals because they are accustomed to local climate and are familiar with the terrain.

In short we can say that pragmatic Chinese statesmen realized the shortcomings of the Tang Dynasty and they sought solutions which would improve situation. Here sinologist Chusei Suzuki can be mentioned who wrote that “many of the important domestic policies and reforms in China’s long history were planned and carried out for the purpose of effectively opposing the northern peoples”.²⁴ In periods when China was under pressure of non-Chinese empires the conception of cultural superiority and universal rule of Son of Heaven (*Tianzi*) [80] obviously did not work and it was necessary to replace it with more practical and realistic approaches. In periods of “barbarian” pressure it was also easier to push through these reforms at the conservative Imperial court. The best defence, according to Du You, Du Mu and Sun Qiao was self-strengthening which would create a politically, economically and militarily stable Chinese empire. During the periods of stability and prosperity it was much more difficult for non-Chinese nations to threaten China.

3

Here follows the translation from New History of Tang Dynasty, *juan* 215, *liezhuan* 140A:

[Barbarians] Yi a Di had been a danger for China since ancient times. Historians can speak about most of this former events. [After] Tang [Dynasty] came to power, [barbarians] Man and Yi had undergone [periods] of prosperity and decline. Four [groups of barbarians] – Tujue, Tubo, Huihe and Yunnan [81] [barbarians] – competed with China. During this time, officials presented many proposals [on how to deal with barbarians] to Imperial court. Emperor listened [and acted according to some of these proposals] and lay aside [others]. One can see it very obviously [from forthcoming examples].

Liu Kuang thought this about [barbarians]:

• Yan You discussed about [the strategy against barbarians] but was not detailed. Ban Gu was [quite] detailed but not conclusive. If we weigh up [which dynasty] had the most suitable [strategy against barbarians], [we would ascertain that] the Zhou [Dynasty] had the best [strategy], the Qin [Dynasty] had the

²³ Cf. LIN, T.C.: “Manchuria Trade and Tribute in the Ming Dynasty: A Study of Chinese Theories and Methods of Control over Border People”. *Nankai Social and Economic Quarterly*. Vol. IX, No. 4., Tianjin 1937, p. 880. This (pp. 855–892) is an interesting essay. Although the author is discussing Sino-barbarian relationship only from the Chinese point of view, there is much useful information about Chinese foreign trade and the relation between trade and tribute.

²⁴ SUZUKI, Ch.: *China's Relations with Inner Asia – The Hsiung-nu, Tibet*. In: FAIRBANK, J. K. (ed.): *op. cit.*, p. 189.

second best [strategy against barbarians] and the Han [Dynasty] did not have any strategy at all. Why do I affirm this? Our culture and civilization do not reach [territories] outside *huangfu* [82].²⁵ [When] barbarians revolt we should not raise army. When they surrender to us we should not relax our defences but we should remain vigilant. In strategically located places in border regions we should built strongholds, so in case [barbarians try] to invade us they will not be successful. [In case] they would like to become [our] servants they will not achieve it. “With the help of Zhongxia’s [84] [culture] pacify [people] from four directions”²⁶ - this was the way in which the Zhou [Dynasty dealt with barbarians]. Therefore I say the Zhou [Dynasty] had the best strategy [against barbarians].

In *Yijing* [86] it is said: “King and prince built barriers in order to strengthen their state.”²⁷ They built long walls²⁸ and fortresses as barriers. Jianzi [92] from [state] Zhao [93]²⁹ raised great walls [in order to] guard against Hu [barbarians]. [State] Yan [95]³⁰ and Qin [97]³¹ also built long walls to limit central and outer [territories]. They continued to build walls and fortifications [until] the walls were perfect [but] the state was destroyed and the inhabitants blamed [these walls] for their destruction. Later [state] Wei [99]³² built great wall. [The officials] who came with this idea regarded it as the first step to ensure order [in the world]. The wall extended for one thousand *li* [100]³³ and 300,000 people were forced to [build it]. In a short time it was finished and they achieved a long-lasting respite [from barbarians]. Therefore I say Qin had the second best strategy [against barbarians].

²⁵ In ancient times Chinese divided the territory around capital in five zones (*fu*) [83]. *Huangfu* was the fifth, most distant zone. Cf. BAUER, W. (ed.): *op. cit.*, pp. 50–59. Literal meaning of the character “*huang*” is “wild, uncultivated”.

²⁶ Quotation from Book of Songs (*Shijing*) [85]. Cf. LEGGE, J.: *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. II, The She king, Shanghai 1935, p. 495. Zhongxia is another term for central Chinese territories.

²⁷ Quotation from Book of Changes. Cf. XU ZIHONG [87] (transl. & comm.): *Zhouyi quan yi* [88], Guiyang 1991, p. 157.

²⁸ During the Warring States Period individual states used to build defence walls which were called long walls (*chang cheng*) [89]. Some parts of these walls were later united by Qin Shi Huangdi [90] into the so-called Great Wall (*Chang cheng*) [91].

²⁹ State Zhao – one of the states from the Warring States Period (WSP). It was situated in the northern part of today’s Shanxi [94] province. It was probably to Jianzi’s merit that long walls were built in this area.

³⁰ State Yan – one of the states from the WSP. It was situated north from today’s Beijing, in Hebei [96] province.

³¹ State Qin – one of the states from the WSP, it was situated in today’s Shaanxi [98] province. In the year 221 B.C. the ruler of this state, Qin Shi Huangdi, united China.

³² State Wei – one of the states from the WSP. It was situated in the southern part of today’s Shanxi province.

³³ *Li* – traditional length measure, ca. 500 metres.

The Han court married girls from imperial clan to Xiongnu. But it occurred to [emperor] Gaozu [101]³⁴ that Lu Yuan [103]³⁵ could not stop a secret plot by King of Zhao [104].³⁶ [Although Gaozu] said that he was able to pacify the rebellion of Xiongnu, he was not right. [If] Modu [105]³⁷ himself [could] have killed his relatives how [could the emperor] hope [Modu] would not struggle for power with [his] bride's family. Isn't it confusing! [The emperor] knew marriage alliances are not a long-term strategy [to preserve peace]. In spite of that the Emperor acted in that way because all-under-Heaven was just [recently] stabilized and [he tried] to defer threat of [Xiongnu attacks] for every month or week. In the reign [of emperor] Wudi [107]³⁸ China was [already] stable and peaceful and there were less barbarian attacks. [Our relations with them] were not so close and we had a good opportunity to break contacts with them. But we only wasted the fortune of Huaxia [109]³⁹ and we fought with them for years. Therefore Yan You asserted that the Han [Dynasty] had the worst policy [against barbarians]. However [in the reign of] the Han [emperors] Zhao [110]⁴⁰ and Xuan [112]⁴¹ soldiers were well trained and scouts were shrewd. Xiongnu retreated but we still followed Feng Chun's [114]⁴² miscalculated actions – we were emptying store-houses and treasuries and giving [everything] to the north-west.⁴³ Every year we sent them 270,000 [strings of cash]. We dispatched beautiful girls from imperial family as concubines to barbarian tents. Beautiful imperial concubines descended to the desert. To render up sons, daughters and local products was originally a duty of subjects. In *Shijing* it is said: "There was no one who dared not to come with offerings, there was no one who ventured not to come and bow to the ruler."⁴⁴ [People] from far-off places say [that they should] come here but they do not say [that we shall] go there. The fact that Duke [Ai from state Lu] went to [state] Wu [115] to make a

³⁴ Gaozu (256–195 B.C.) – the founder of Han Dynasty. His name was Liu Bang [102]. In 202 B.C. he became the first emperor of Han Dynasty.

³⁵ Lu Yuan – Han Dynasty general, official (?).

³⁶ Zhao – feudal state of the Han Dynasty. It was situated in the southern part of today's Shanxi province.

³⁷ Modu – leader of Xiongnu. His title, according to Chinese historical sources, was *Shangyu* [106]. Modu was a contemporary of emperor Gaozu (note 34). He died in the year 174 B.C. Modu came to power by killing his father.

³⁸ Wudi (156–87 B.C.) – the sixth and most famous Han Dynasty emperor. His name was Liu Che [108]. He became emperor in the year 140 B.C.

³⁹ Huaxia – another term for central Chinese territories.

⁴⁰ Zhaodi – Han Dynasty seventh emperor. His name was Liu Fuling [111]. He succeeded Wudi (note 38) in 86 B.C. and died in the year 73 B.C.

⁴¹ Xuandi (92–49 B.C.) – the eighth emperor of the Han Dynasty. His name was Liu Xun [113].

⁴² Feng Chun – Han Dynasty official (?).

⁴³ Territory settled by "barbarians".

⁴⁴ Cf. LEGGE, J.: *op. cit.*, p. 644.

peace agreement is a taboo and it is not recorded [elsewhere].⁴⁵ How can the Son of Heaven with his honour establish fraternal relationship with Xiongnu? How one can mention names of imperial ladies side by side with barbarian old women? Barbarians fornicate with own mothers and daughters. [How can we] follow their ugly customs? The Middle Kingdom differs from barbarians in the point that [here] exists the difference between father and son, man and woman. [Our] pretty girls are deflowered by foreigners. It is a great humiliation. No gentleman and minister from the Han [Dynasty] felt ashamed by this. In the period of the Wei [121]⁴⁶ and the Jin [122]⁴⁷ [dynasties] barbarians settled near the Great Wall. They received more gifts than before. We were bestowing golden seals⁴⁸ in purple silk on leaders of hundred or thousand people. We fed them as kings or dukes. Young shepherds and herdsmen, people who gave us poor quality cloths and expected profits, met on the roads [to the Imperial palace]. Everything which was harvested in the fields, produced from silk and flax we distributed to the regions thousands of *li* away. Barbarians [were becoming] year after year prouder and China [was getting] day by day weaker. When they just were strong, we were exhausting the strength of the common people and attacking barbarians. [When] barbarians were serving us we supported them as before. [When] they were in trouble they accepted [our] help. [But when] barbarians again became strong, they once again assault the central territories. China was serving barbarians for almost thousand years, is not it sorrowful! [If rulers] really could redistribute our wealth to award frontier guards, so people would get rich. [If rulers] would use official ranks as bait for loyal ministers, so in future [everything would] be fine. Wealth and profits [would] return to us and the danger of defeat would threaten them. There would not be the shame of giving [our] girls to barbarians and it would not be necessary to produce things for barbarians. These [proposals] were rejected and [rulers] did not act according to them. Therefore I say the Han [Dynasty] did not have any strategy [in how to deal with barbarians].

Yan You said that previously there had not been the best strategy [against barbarians]. He stated that [China] was not able to subordinate barbarians. Actually [China] could have done it but [she] did not make use of it. [Yan You affirmed that] the Qin [Dynasty] did not have any strategy [against barbarians] because they defeated [barbarians] Di but the state was destroyed. However the

⁴⁵ An allusion to a story from Spring and Autumn Annals with Zuo's Commentary (*Chun qiu Zuo zhuan*) [116]. In the 8th year of the rule of Duke Ai [117] from state Lu [118], the southern state Wu, situated in today's Jiangsu [119] province, attacked state Lu (situated in southern part of today's Shandong [120] province). Duke Ai could not but sign a peace agreement with state Wu. In this period (770–476 B.C.) state Wu was considered "barbarian" and therefore it was shameful for state Lu to sign a peace agreement with them.

⁴⁶ The Wei Dynasty – 220–264 A.D.

⁴⁷ The Jin Dynasty – 265–419 A.D.

⁴⁸ Golden seals were symbols of official status. Chinese rulers bestowed golden seals on leaders of vassal territories.

Qin [Dynasty] was not destroyed because of struggles with [barbarians] Di. [According to Yan You] the Han [Dynasty] had the worst policy [against barbarians] because they fought with [barbarians] Hu and people suffered. [But] people already suffered before. [Officials] pushed people into forced labour and [products of their work] were offered to barbarians. And this was not any strategy [against barbarians] at all. That is why I said Yan You discussed about [strategy against barbarians] but was not detailed.

Ban Gu affirmed that barbarians are coming [to China] to admire [our] righteousness and so we should have met them in accordance with rituals and politeness. Why did he say this? Rituals and politeness [are used when] receiving a gentleman. They are not suitable for meeting with birds, beasts and barbarians. We scattered fine and nice silks to distant lands and barbarians became greedy. This greediness encouraged them to raid and rob [our territories]. [Our] sages should not eat together with them and entertain them. [When barbarians] come to the Imperial court [to bow to the emperor, they should] sit in front of the door. Interpreters and assistants should give them something to eat and we should not let them know about our fragrant and delicious meals. The Han [Dynasty] pampered barbarians and they were able to enjoy themselves with girls from [states] Yan [123] and Zhao [124],⁴⁹ [eat] sweets prepared by imperial cook and dress themselves in elegant and beautiful silk. [As long as] we were providing them with all these things, [their] demands were increasing. When we stopped supplying them we incited their animosity. It is like feeding a wolf with the best pieces of meat and so indulging its desire for hunting. The Chinese army [consists of] infantry and soldiers could take full advantage of inaccessible places. The barbarian cavalry makes use of the plains. [That is why we should] carefully guard and not run after them. [When] their army approaches we should not allow them to enter [into our territory]. [When they] retreat [we should] close these inaccessible places so they could not return. We should rush against them with [long sticks] *ji* [125]⁵⁰ and pull them off [their horses] with the help of strong bows. Not [because we] strive for victory. [Barbarians indeed] are like worms, beetles, snakes and lizards so [how could we] meet them in accordance with rituals and politeness. Therefore I say Ban Gu was [quite] detailed but not conclusive.

Du You said:

[State] Qin with [its] little [territory of] Guanzhong [126]⁵¹ destroyed six powerful states. Now we are draining wealth and money from the whole Empire and [everything] is sent to the capital. Barbarian dogs are bullying [our people] in provinces. They have [already] conquered some hundreds of cities. In central territories there are soldiers who still have not taken off their shields

⁴⁹ Girls from Yan and Zhao were famous beauties.

⁵⁰ *Ji* – a kind of traditional Chinese weapon. It consisted of long wooden stick. On one end of this stick there were two iron spikes.

⁵¹ The term Guanzhong (literally “territory in between the passes”) was used for the territory around Chang’an (today’s Xi’an) [127]. In the WSP it was the seat of state Qin.

and rested in peace. [This] has already lasted for 36 years. Is it because punishments and awards have different foundations or [is it because] the past and present are different? [In the reign of] the Zhou [Dynasty] a system [existed according to which] one *mu* [128]⁵² was long hundred *bu* [129]⁵³ and hundred *mu* was allotted to one peasant. Shang Yang,⁵⁴ counsellor at the Qin court, affirmed that [this system] did not utilize the soil completely. He changed it into one *mu* was 240 *bu* long and hundred *mu* was allotted to one peasant. The territory of [state] Qin was vast but [had] few inhabitants. The territory of [state] Jin [131]⁵⁵ was small and very populated. [That is why they] attracted people from three [states of former] Jin to plough the fields [in Qin]. They allotted to them fields and dwellings, [which were later] inherited by sons and grandsons. And in this way [state] Qin could keep its enemies outside its borders. [The people who] were not farmers or soldiers could not become officials. In a group of hundred people there were about 50 farmers and 50 people trained for war. Therefore the army was strong and the state rich. Later [there were] more ways by which to become official. Day by day there were more merchants.⁵⁶ Nowadays from a group of hundred people there are only ten farmers and all the other earn their money through different jobs. Moreover [in the reign] of the Han and the Qin [Dynasties] Zheng's canal [138]⁵⁷ irrigated 40,000 *qing* [143]⁵⁸ [of fields] and the White canal [144]⁵⁹ irrigated 4,500 *qing* [of fields].

⁵² *Mu* – traditional area unit. Its size varied. It is reckoned as 240 sq. paces *bu* (see note ⁵³).

⁵³ *Bu* – traditional length unit. Its size varied. During the Zhou Dynasty one *bu* was ca. 2.4 metres. However it is possible that Du You uses the *bu* in its Tang Dynasty size which was 1.5 metres.

⁵⁴ Shang Yang (?390–338 B.C.) – one of the high officials in state Qin. Due to his reforms state Qin later became dominant and united China. Some authors incorrectly attribute to him the authorship of Book of Lord Shang (*Shangjun shu*) [130], which was written by his disciples after Shang Yang's death.

⁵⁵ State Jin – one of the states from WSP. Originally it was situated in today's Shanxi. In the year 453 B.C. it was divided into three separate states – Han [132], Wei [133] and Zhao [134].

⁵⁶ The character “*mo*” [135] (literally “branches of a tree, the end”) is used for merchants, trade. This character is in contrast with the character “*ben*” [136] (literally “root”) which was used for agriculture. The use of these two characters reflects the anticommercial spirit of Confucian state (merchants, whose aim was “*li*” [137], profit, belonged to the lowest social stratum). The core, the “root” of this society was agriculture.

⁵⁷ Zheng's canal (*Zheng qu*) – name of an irrigation canal which was built in 246 B.C. by Zheng Guo [139] from state Han for state Qin. It was situated north of Xian Yang [140] where the Qin capital was. The canal connected the rivers Jingshui [141] and Luoshui [142]. The canal was long about 150 km.

⁵⁸ *Qing* – traditional area measure with width 100 *bu* and length 240 *bu*, ca. 6.6 ha.

⁵⁹ White canal (*Bai qu*) – name of an irrigation canal. It was finished in the reign of the Han Dynasty under emperor Wudi (see note 38) in the year 94 B.C. The canal was ca. 100 km long and it was situated south of Zheng's canal (see note 57).

In the Yonghui [145]⁶⁰ [period] both canals irrigated not more than 10,000 *qing* [of fields]. In the beginning of the Dali [147]⁶¹ [period the irrigated area] was reduced to 6,000 *mu*. For every *mu*, they harvested one *hu* [149]⁶² less [of grain]. Every year they less harvested 4–5,000,000 *hu* [of grain]. The soil is wasted and manpower is scattered. [Therefore although] we would like to become powerful and wealthy, it is not possible. In the reign of the Han [Dynasty] Xiongnu settled only 700 *li* north of Chang'an and [they] invaded and robbed [China] ceaselessly. [If we would] count all barbarians it would be not more than [inhabitants] of one Han Dynasty *jun* [150].⁶³ Chao Cuo [151]⁶⁴ asked for permission to build defence facilities and thanks to this, [there was] peace on the northern frontiers. [But] nowadays west of Tongguan [152],⁶⁵ east of Longshan [153],⁶⁶ south of Fufang [155]⁶⁷ and north of Zhongnan [157],⁶⁸ in a territory covering more than ten prefectures, there are already ten thousands of families. Tubo is weak, they are unskilled and not gifted and do not have enough to eat. They are not of a level with China. [If] we really could again produce such plentitude as in the time when both canals [were in function], attract farmers to plough, [in border areas] find strategically located places and rebuild walls there and strongholds, if we would distribute soil to soldiers so that soldiers would grow their own grain and in this way save the work of farmers, so we could recover [prefectures] He [158] and Long [159].⁶⁹ How this would be only defence!

⁶⁰ Yonghui – the title of the reign (*nianhao*) [146] of the Tang Dynasty emperor Gaozu, between years 650 and 656 A.D.

⁶¹ Dali – title of the reign of the Tang emperor Daizong [148], from the year 766 to 779 A.D.

⁶² *Hu* – originally it was an instrument for measuring. Later used as unit of capacity, *ca.* 52 litres.

⁶³ *Jun* – an administrative unit during the Han Dynasty. *Jun* was territory under the administration of one military commander. It is usually translated as commanderies. In the Han Dynasty there were 83 commanderies.

⁶⁴ Chao Cuo (200–154 B.C.) – Han Dynasty official. He came with the idea of so-called *tuntian* or military colonies.

⁶⁵ Tong pass (Tong *guan*) was near today's Tongguan city in Shaanxi province, *ca.* 100 km east of the Tang Dynasty capital – Chang'an.

⁶⁶ Mountain Long (Long *shan*) is in the southern part of today's Ningxia [154] province, *ca.* 300 km west of the Tang Dynasty Chang'an.

⁶⁷ Fufang was *ca.* 150 km north of the Tang Dynasty Chang'an, it was close to today's Yan'an [156] in Shaanxi province.

⁶⁸ Zhongnan – mountain situated *ca.* 100 km south of the Tang Dynasty Chang'an. All these four places (notes 65, 66, 67, 68) delimit the central territory of the Tang Dynasty.

⁶⁹ The prefecture of He (He *zhou*) was situated in today's Gansu [160] province, *ca.* 100 km south of the provincial capital Lanzhou [161]. The prefecture of Long (Long *zhou*) was *ca.* 250 km from Chang'an. Both prefectures were conquered by Tibetans in the second half of the 8th century.

And [Du] Mu, [Du] You's grandson also said:

When there is peace in *Tianxia* ministers strive for wealth and rank, and seek comfort. Soldiers are scattered, they have blunt and broken weapons and war-chariots are placed in circle. [If] there suddenly would rose up a rebellion in *Tianxia* and the soldiers would be hurriedly sent to fight, this is called to lose the battle in advance. The error is that [the army do not attend] spring huntings⁷⁰ and this is the first reason for our defeat. Hundred of soldiers carry [weapons] *ge* [162]⁷¹ and as for food they rely on subprefecture officials. [These officials] shelter under the names of thousands warriors, and high-level and petty generals seize from grain rations for their profit from the soldiers. There are often few people who carry weapons and fight and more and more people who eat [good] rice-gruel. They build a fortress and it did not yet dry up, [but] state treasuries are already empty. The error is that there is not sufficient supervision and this is the second reason for defeat. Generals win a small victory in war and they exaggerate their merits. They rush to present documents of their merits and expect awards. Some of these [generals] received rewards twice a day, they are bestowed honours many times in one month. They even do not finish singing the song of victory, but are immediately promoted to a higher official rank. [With this high rank officials receive] also vast fields and palaces, plenty of gold and silk. [Their] sons and grandsons become officials too. How could they be willing die in wilderness fighting for native country. The error lies in too generous rewards and this is the third reason for our defeat. Many soldiers have died, many big cities have been destroyed, but [generals] escape [from fight] and return [home]. They harm our country and come back looking at how [soldiers] are being punished. Generals see the [soldiers'] hungry faces and [they] feel comfortable. Year after year nothing changes, [because these generals] have already been set on the pedestal of power. The error is that penalties are [too] light and it is the fourth reason for our defeat. High ranking generals lead armies [in battle], [but] power is not centralized in a single hand. Some [generals] say [soldiers should] make half-moon formation, other assert that [army should] be in the fish formation.⁷² Three armies⁷³ with ten thousand men hesitate and vacillate. Barbarian cavalry uses this opportunity. The error is that there is not single general who takes responsibility and this is the fifth reason for our defeat. In the period Yuanhe [166]⁷⁴ there were some hundred thousands soldiers assembled who should have punished [rebel]

⁷⁰ In ancient China hunting served as military exercise.

⁷¹ *Ge* – a kind of Chinese weapon. It looked similar to *ji* (see note 50).

⁷² Fish formation (*yu li*) [163] – a name of a combat formation. Half-moon (*yan yue*) [164] – probably also a combat formation.

⁷³ Three armies (*san jun*) [165] – the Chinese army consisted of three divisions – Left army, Middle army and Right army.

⁷⁴ Yuanhe – the title of the reign of the Tang Dynasty emperor Xianzong [167], from the year 806 to 820 A.D.

Cai [168].⁷⁵ They exhausted the coffers of all-under-Heaven and only after four years were they able to conquer him. The reason it took such a long time is that they did not remove the five reasons of [our] defeat. In the beginning of Changqing [169]⁷⁶ [period] rebels' sons and grandsons were agitating. Not long after, there was unrest also in Yan [171]⁷⁷ and Zhao [172]⁷⁸ [prefectures]. We led an army [there], appointed generals and the five reasons for our defeat became more profound. We were not able to suppress the revolting barbarians. This is what Du son and Du grandson said.

In the time between Guangde [173]⁷⁹ [period] and Jianzhong [174]⁸⁰ Tibetans were again watering horses in river Min [176].⁸¹ They often used Nanzhao [army] as vanguard.⁸² They held long [weapons] *ji*, and at the same time they fought and moved forward into [our territory]. Soldiers from Shu⁸³ blunted blades and broke points of arrows [but] they did not manage to kill [even] one barbarian. Day by day barbarian soldiers penetrated deeper into [China]. There were more and more dead and wounded soldiers [in barbarian] army and they realized that it is not possible for them to remain [here] and they retreated. The inhabitants of Shu have such a saying: "We can keep in with western [barbarians] Rong but south [barbarians] Man are cruel to us." Wei Gao⁸⁴ chiselled the road to Qingxi [179]⁸⁵ in order to make peace with Man hordes. [Man barbarians] dispatched [envoys] with tribute to Shu by this road. They selected sons and brothers to study Chinese and mathematics in Chengdu. When they finished their courses they left. [These students] knew the terrain and strategic points [well]. [In the reign of emperor] Wenzong [181]⁸⁶ they invaded Chengdu. In [the area] 800 *li* north of Yuexi [183]⁸⁷ people and cattle were dragged

⁷⁵ Rebel Cai – Tang Dynasty general (?).

⁷⁶ Changqing – the title of the reign of the Tang Dynasty emperor Muzong [170], from the year 821 to 825.

⁷⁷ The prefecture of Yan was north of today's Beijing.

⁷⁸ The prefecture of Zhao was situated in the southern part of today's Hebei province.

⁷⁹ Guangde – the title of the reign of the Tang Dynasty emperor Daizong, from the year 763 to 765.

⁸⁰ Jianzhong – the title of the reign of the Tang Dynasty emperor Dezong [175], from the year 780 to 784.

⁸¹ River Min (Min *jiang*) is *ca.* 80 km north-west from Chengdu [177], the provincial capital of today's Sichuan [178] province.

⁸² In this period (763–784) the Nanzhao kingdom was an ally of Tibetan empire.

⁸³ Shu – the territory of today's Sichuan province.

⁸⁴ Wei Gao (745–805 A.D.) – Tang Dynasty official. He managed to break the Nanzhao-Tibetan alliance.

⁸⁵ Qingxi – a pass in the southern part of today's Sichuan province, *ca.* 70 km south-west of Mount Emei [180].

⁸⁶ Wenzong (827–840 A.D.) – the Tang Dynasty emperor. His name was Li Ang [182].

⁸⁷ Yuexi was in the southern part of today's Sichuan province, close to the city Xichang [184].

away [by barbarians]. Moreover defeated soldiers and poor people plundered and killed. The authorities could not stop them. Since that time Man hordes often wanted to kill citizens of Shu. Inhabitants of Shu suffered under the heavy forced labour and taxes [of Chinese empire]. Therefore they tried to help [barbarians] and so find relief in [this] unordinary period. Year after year we have dispatched frontier guards [to this regions]. [The soldiers] were not familiar with strategic points. They slowly passed one *she* [185]⁸⁸ and they already breathed heavily and sweat. Generals put aside one part of [soldier's] pay. When distributing clothes, generals changed good quality clothes for thin [garments]. When dispensing grain rations they mixed sand with grain. Therefore the frontier guards were angry and [situation in the regions] Ba [186]⁸⁹ and Shu was dangerous. Sun Qiao said: "[Emperor should] order to investigate strategically important places in Yandao [187],⁹⁰ Shenli [188]⁹¹ and Yuexi, [these] three prefectures and enlist soldiers to defend them. Moreover if the soldiers' families were [in the same] prefectures it would be easier [for soldiers] to serve. [If] soldiers came from frontier regions they would be familiar with strategic points. [It was necessary] to find [suitable] fields for them and divide them into military colonies where soldiers would engage in farming. In spring they will plough fields, in summer they will [breed] silkworms and they will be self-sufficient with food and cloths. In autumn and in winter they will strengthen fortifications walls and so prepare for [barbarian] attacks. Every year we will dispatch honest officials there in order to find out what soldiers need. [Central] government would not have to transport them supplies of grain and [local] officials will not be tempted to steal [grain]." So this is Sun Qiao's strategy of defence [against barbarians]. It would be possible to carry out this strategy as it is written in this chapter.

We will describe all the [periods] of prosperity and decline, how they followed in order in Tujue, Tubo, Huihe. Eastern [barbarians] Yi and Western region⁹² follow next. We will trace skirmishes and major battles. In the end we will mention southern Man [barbarians]. [Here] it is recorded what caused the destruction of the Tang [Dynasty].

⁸⁸ *She* – traditional length. One *she* was equal to 30 *li*, i.e. ca. 15 km.

⁸⁹ Ba was situated in the territory of today's Sichuan province.

⁹⁰ Yandao was situated ca. 125 km south-west of Chengdu in today's Sichuan.

⁹¹ Shenli was also in today's Sichuan, ca. 200 km south-west of Chengdu.

⁹² Western region (Xi yu) [189] is the territory in Central Asia which now belongs to China (Xinjiang [190] Uighur Autonomous region). Some English-writing authors also use the term Chinese Turkestan. At the beginning of the reign of the Tang Dynasty, China administered this territory. Tang China later competed for rule over this Western region with the Tibetan empire and the Arabs.

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1. 正史 2. 司馬遷 3. 史記 4. 列傳 5. 匈奴 6. 賈誼 7. 文帝
 8. 新書 9. 鹽鐵論 10. 賢良 11. 太夫 12. 文 13. 征伐
 14. 新唐書 15. 宋祁 16. 歐陽修 17. 唐書 18. 劉昫 19. 張昭遠
 20. 卷 21. 突厥 22. 吐蕃 23. 吐 24. 吐谷渾 25. 吐突
 26. 吐奚 27. 回紇 28. 南詔 29. 安祿山 30. 僕固懷恩 31. 大寧
 32. 長安 33. 郭子儀 34. 朱泚 35. 節度使 36. 涇原 37. 清水
 38. 德宗 39. 平涼 40. 內亂外患 41. 記唐所繇亡云 42. 劉眘
 43. 班固 44. 漢書 45. 嚴尤 46. 王莽 47. 杜佑 48. 通典
 49. 杜牧 50. 孫樵 51. 懷柔遠人 52. 來化 53. 德 54. 周
 55. 秦 56. 漢 57. 內 58. 外 59. 無策 60. 和親 61. 天下
 62. 辯而未詳 63. 誠能之而不用耳 64. 詳而未盡 65. 禮
 66. 屯田 67. 賞罰 68. 陸贄 69. 蘇晉仁 70. 通鑑吐蕃史料
 71. 兵強國富 72. 商鞅 73. 蠻 74. 鐘 75. 贊普 76. 閼羅風
 77. 韋臬 78. 劍南 79. 蜀 80. 天子 81. 雲南 82. 荒服 83. 服
 84. 中夏 85. 詩經 86. 易經 87. 徐子宏 88. 周易全譯 89. 長城
 90. 秦始皇帝 91. 長城 92. 簡子 93. 趙 94. 山西 95. 燕
 96. 河北 97. 秦 98. 陝西 99. 魏 100. 里 101. 高祖 102. 劉邦
 103. 魯元 104. 趙王 105. 冒頓 106. 單于 107. 武帝 108. 劉徹
 109. 華夏 110. 昭帝 111. 劉弗陵 112. 宣帝 113. 劉詢
 114. 奉春 115. 吳 116. 春秋左傳 117. 哀 118. 魯 119. 江蘇
 120. 山東 121. 魏 122. 晉 123. 燕 124. 趙 125. 戟 126. 關中
 127. 西安 128. 畝 129. 步 130. 商君書 131. 晉 132. 韓
 133. 魏 134. 趙 135. 末 136. 本 137. 利 138. 鄭渠 139. 鄭國
 140. 咸陽 141. 涇水 142. 洛水 143. 頃 144. 白渠 145. 永徽
 146. 年號 147. 大曆 148. 代宗 149. 斛 150. 郡 151. 龜錯
 152. 潼關 153. 隴山 154. 寧夏 155. 廊坊 156. 延安 157. 終南
 158. 河 159. 隴 160. 甘肅 161. 蘭州 162. 戈 163. 魚麗
 164. 偃月 165. 三軍 166. 元和 167. 憲宗 168. 蔡 169. 長慶
 170. 穆宗 171. 燕 172. 趙 173. 廣德 174. 建中 175. 德宗
 176. 岷江 177. 成都 178. 四川 179. 青溪 180. 峨眉山
 181. 文宗 182. 李昂 183. 越嵩 184. 西昌 185. 舍 186. 巴
 187. 嚴道 188. 沈黎 189. 西域 190. 新疆

DIE GRUNDGEDANKEN DER STAATSLEHRE KHOMEINIS UND IHR NIEDERSCHLAG IN DER IRANISCHEN VERFASSUNG VON 1979

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THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF KHOMEINI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE IRANIAN CONSTITUTION OF 1979

The paper first briefly outlines Khomeini's life and work. This is followed by a discussion of one of his most important political writings – „The Islamic State“, a review of the 1979 Iranian Constitution, and a comparative analysis of the ideas contained in both texts. Finally, the author concludes that in drafting the constitution, the ultra-orthodox group led by Khomeini had to compromise with other elements within the political class of Iran.

1. EINLEITUNG

Kaum ein politisches und historisches Ereignis seit 1945 hat so viel Interesse und Aufmerksamkeit, aber auch Mißverständnisse und Besorgnis im Westen hervorgerufen wie die islamische Revolution im Iran. Nicht von ungefähr, denn die Bedeutung dieses Ereignisses für die Welt des ausgehenden 20. und des anbrechenden 21. Jahrhunderts kann gar nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt werden.

Es war vor allem ein Mann, der durch sein politisches und ideologisches Wirken dieser Revolution ihre theoretische Grundlage und ihre konkrete Gestalt gab: Ayatollah Khomeini. Aber nicht nur durch sein politisches Werk, sondern auch durch seine charismatische Persönlichkeit prägte er den Verlauf dieser Revolution und das aus ihr resultierende neue Staatswesen entscheidend mit. Als sich dieser neue Staat dann auch eine entsprechende Verfassung gab, stand die Welt vor etwas einmalig Neuem: Nach dem Ende der direkten politischen und militärischen, sowie allgemein kulturellen Hegemonie des Westens über den Rest der Welt, vollzog ein Objekt dieser Hegemonie offen den Bruch mit einem Großteil jener Werte und Ideen, die durch den Westen (oder sollte man besser Norden sagen?) zu globaler Bedeutung erhoben worden waren. Eine radikale Rückbesinnung auf eigene schiitisch – islamische Werte und Ideen war gleichzeitig das erklärte Ziel dieses Bruches: das Aufhalten der Überfremdung sowie die Verfolgung eines unabhängigen Kurses zwischen Ost und West.

Die Beispielwirkung dieser Revolution auf andere islamische Länder, beziehungsweise überhaupt auf die Dritte Welt, sollte nicht unterschätzt werden, vor allem auch nicht wegen der erst relativ kurzen Zeit, die seither verstrichen ist. All zu leicht wird heute vergessen, welcher ungeheuren Einfluß der japanische Sieg über das zaristische Rußland im Jahre 1905 auf die konstitutionelle Bewegung im Iran von 1906–1909 hatte, und das angesichts der sehr großen geographischen und auch kulturellen Distanz zwischen diesen beiden Ländern. Um wie viel leichter ist es daher vorstellbar, daß die islamische Revolution des Iran früher oder später auch andere Teile der islamischen Welt noch stärker beeinflussen wird als es in den letzten zwölf Jahren ohnedies schon der Fall war.

Im folgenden soll versucht werden, die Grundgedanken in der Staatslehre Khomeinis herauszukristallisieren, sowie den Einfluß zu bewerten, den diese Staatslehre auf die erste Verfassung der Islamischen Republik Iran hatte. Probleme rein religiöser, kultureller oder wirtschaftlicher Natur – und auch solche hat Khomeini wiederholt ausführlich behandelt – bleiben dabei ausgespart. Doch zunächst einige Bemerkungen biographischer Natur über Ayatollah Khomeini.

2. RUHOLLAH AL-MUSAWI AL-KHOMEINI (1900–1989)

Als das Geburtsjahr Khomeinis gilt das Jahr 1900, obwohl auch manchmal 1902 angegeben wird – die damaligen Verhältnisse im Iran lassen eine genaue Datierung nicht zu. Sein Geburtsort Khomein liegt 290 km südlich von Teheran. Khomeinis Vater war aktiv an der sogenannten „Tabak-Bewegung“ beteiligt, die als Reaktion gegen die ausländische Tabakkonzession entstanden war; 1903 wurde er ermordet.

Khomeini studierte Theologie in Isfahan und erlangte 1926 die Reife des „ijtihād“, das heißt die Befähigung, selbständig islamisches Recht zu interpretieren (eine Eigenheit des schiitischen Islams). In der Folge unterrichtete er selbst Theologie und zählte bald zu den führenden Geistlichen des Iran, vor allem wegen seiner großen Gelehrsamkeit und seiner persönlichen Integrität. Seine sich schon in den dreißiger Jahren abzeichnende neuartige und sehr radikale Interpretation der imamitischen Theorien über Verfassungs- und Regierungsfragen brachte Khomeini bald in Konflikt mit der Herrschaft des ersten Kaisers der Pahlavi-Dynastie, Reza Khan. An diesem Gegensatz änderte sich auch unter Rezas Sohn Muhammad Reza nichts. Im Gegenteil: Die Frage der Landreform und des Frauenwahlrechtes vergrößerte die Kluft ständig. Auch blieb das Verhältnis des von Khomeini angeführten Teiles der Geistlichkeit zur Nationalen Front immer ambivalent, im besten Fall war es ein taktisches Bündnis auf Zeit. Dafür wurde damals die später so bedeutsame Koalition zwischen Klerus und Bazaaris begründet. Mehrmals verhaftet und auch unter Hausarrest gestellt, wurde Khomeini 1964 des Landes verwiesen, vor allem wegen seiner vehementen Ablehnung des Gesetzes über den Status der US-Streitkräfte im Iran („Kapitulationsgesetz“). Über die Türkei gelangte er in den Irak, wo er sich in Najaf niederließ, einem bedeutenden schiitischen Zentrum. Dort entstand auch sein

politisches Hauptwerk „Der Islamische Staat“, das damals aber eher unbeachtet blieb. 1978 wurde Khomeini der irakischen Regierung aus außenpolitischen Gründen unbequem und mußte nach Frankreich übersiedeln. Erst dort avancierte er endgültig zur Integrationsfigur der iranischen Opposition gegen die Kaiserdiktatur, sowohl im Iran selbst als auch im Exil. Nachdem dann Muhammad Reza das Land verlassen hatte, kehrte Khomeini am 1. Februar 1979 als Sieger und im Triumph, von Millionen Iranern bejubelt, in seine Heimat zurück. Unter seiner unumstrittenen Führung wurde von den Revolutionären die Islamische Republik Iran errichtet, während die wirklichen oder vermeintlichen Anhänger des alten Regimes eine grausame Vergeltung traf. Nachdem sich das neue Regime trotz innerer Widerstände und weitgehender außenpolitischer Isolation gefestigt hatte, erklärte Khomeini am 6.3.1980, daß er sich von nun an nur mehr zu rein religiösen Fragen äußern würde. Nach längerer Krankheit starb er 1989. Khomeinis Popularität unter den iranischen Massen während seiner letzten Lebensjahre läßt sich nur schwer einschätzen, jedenfalls aber werden sein Andenken und sein ideologisch-politisches Vermächtnis auch heute im Iran (zumindest verbal) in Ehren gehalten.

Nun aber zu Khomeinis wichtigster Schrift, einem Buch, dessen Wirkung buchstäblich „weltbewegend“ war.

3. DER ISLAMISCHE STAAT (HOKÚMAT-E ESLÁMÍ)

Zu Beginn des Jahres 1970 hielt Khomeini in Najaf, dem Ort seines irakischen Exils, Vorlesungen in der Studienrichtung „fegh“ (islamische Jurisprudenz). Zentraler Gegenstand dieser Vorlesungen war immer wieder die Frage der sogenannten Statthalterschaft eines (islamischen) Rechtsgelehrten, das heißt das Problem der legitimen politischen Herrschaft über die Gemeinde der (schiitischen) Gläubigen in der Zeit bis zur Wiederkunft des verborgenen zwölften Imams. Seine Vorträge zu diesem Thema wurden gesammelt, und bald darauf unter dem Titel „Hokúmet-e Eslámí-Weláyat-e Fagih“ in arabischer und persischer Sprache herausgegeben (wie alle großen, auch nicht-arabischen, Gelehrten des Islam beherrschte Khomeini die Sprache des Qur’án perfekt in Wort und Schrift). Der Titel dieses Werkes läßt sich am besten übersetzen mit: Der Islamische Staat – Statthalterschaft eines Rechtsgelehrten. Außer in den Kreisen der schiitischen Seminaristen und bei einigen westlichen Akademikern erregte die Schrift damals wenig Aufsehen. Schon gar nicht wurde sie als das programmatische Dokument für eine zukünftige „islamische Revolution“ angesehen, die es von seiner Intention her eigentlich darstellt. Denn das Buch Khomeinis gliedert sich in drei verschiedene Teile:

- Gründe für die Notwendigkeit der Schaffung des islamischen Staates,
- die islamische Regierungsweise, und ein
- Kampfprogramm zur Schaffung eines islamischen Staates.

Doch 1970 schien das kaiserliche Regime noch stabil und unangefochten zu sein, und selbst großen Teilen des iranischen Klerus’ war der Gedanke einer direkten Regierung des Iran durch die Geistlichkeit durchaus fremd.

Im ersten Teil seines Buches konzentriert sich der Verfasser vor allem auf das Problem der Überfremdung des Iran durch den westlichen Kultureinfluß, auf die, seiner Meinung nach, katastrophale Verfassung gerade auch großer Teile des schiitischen Klerus, und den schlechten Ausbildungsstand der islamischen Seminare. Die Schuldigen an diesem Zustand sind für ihn die „Kolonialisten“, angeführt von Amerika und Großbritannien; aber auch mit Kritik an den marxistischen Staaten spart Khomeini nicht. Außerdem stellt natürlich auch der Staat Israel, oder schlechthin „die Juden“, ein Feinbild ersten Ranges dar. Ja, die häufige, fast obsessive Beschäftigung mit den Juden verleiht dem Werk ein manchmal fast rassistisches Gepräge. Schon im zweiten Absatz des Vorwortes kommt Khomeini auf diese Thema zu sprechen:

„Zuerst war die islamische Bewegung mit dem Judentum konfrontiert. Die Juden waren es, die als erste mit der anti-islamischen Propaganda und mit geistigen Verschwörungen begannen. Und das dauert, wie Sie sehen, bis in die Gegenwart an. Nach den Juden traten andere Volksstämme auf, die in gewisser Hinsicht noch teuflischer sind. Sie drangen als Kolonialisten vor dreihundert Jahren oder früher in die islamischen Länder ein.“¹

Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang vor allem die Bezeichnung der Juden als „Volksstamm“, und an sich ist eine gewisse antisemitische Tendenz bei einem großen islamischen Gelehrten wie Khomeini gar nichts Ungewöhnliches, eher im Gegenteil. Im zweiten Teil des Buches findet sich naturgemäß die Quintessenz von Khomeinis Staatslehre im engeren Sinn, davon aber weiter unten.

Der dritte Teil stellt eine Anleitung zur Umsetzung der dargelegten Theorien in die Praxis dar, und dies keineswegs immer nur mit gewaltfreien Mitteln: Säuberung der islamischen Seminare von quietistisch gesinnten Studenten und Lehrern, Demonstrationen, Sturz der tyrannischen (das heißt illegitimen) Regierungen, usw.

Alle seine Ansichten und Interpretationen belegt Khomeini ausführlich mit Zitaten aus dem Qur'án, und besonders den Hadithen, und man kann sagen, daß er (zumindest formal) ganz auf dem Boden der imamitischen Orthodoxie steht. Denn nichts hätte Khomeini gefährlicher werden können als in den Augen seiner Rivalen unter den hohen Geistlichen als „Neuerer“ zu erscheinen (hier ist „Neuerung“ im islamischen Sinn zu verstehen, arabisch „bid'a“, ein schwerwiegendes Vergehen nach orthodoxer Ansicht). Und trotzdem war Khomeini ein Erneuerer, ja man kann sagen, daß der die Zwölfer-Schia geradezu revolutioniert hat. Mit welchem Erfolg, bleibt historisch gesehen abzuwarten. Auf dieses Problem wird weiter unten noch einmal näher einzugehen sein. Der Stil, den Khomeini in seiner Abhandlung pflegt, ist sehr lebendig, fast spannend, und doch auch tautologisch, die Diktion dem Sprecher einer europäischen Sprache,

¹ SCHWARZ, Klaus (Herausg.): *Ajatollah Chomeini – Der islamische Staat*, Berlin, 1983, S.15/16.

auch in der Übersetzung, ungewohnt. Ausgiebiges Zitieren des Wortlautes wurde deshalb hier unterlassen. Auch sind die Gliederung und die Reihenfolge der behandelten Teilprobleme oft nicht sehr systematisch. Trotzdem kann man, vor allem im zweiten Teil des Buches, unschwer die Grundgedanken der Staatslehre Khomeinis erkennen:

a. Die Religion als Grundlage der Politik

Man könnte diesen Grundsatz auch als das Postulat der Einheit von Religion und Politik bezeichnen. Der Islam, als die geoffenbarte Gesetzesreligion Gottes, enthält für Khomeini Vorschriften und Regelungen für alle Sphären und Phasen der menschlichen Existenz: vom Embryonalstadium bis zum Grab, von der Art, wie der Mensch seine Notdurft verrichtet, bis zu den zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen. Kein Aspekt ist zu bedeutend oder unbedeutend, um nicht vom allumfassenden Islam erfaßt zu werden. Das gilt auch für die staatlich-politische Sphäre. Das bedeutet, daß die Politik, also jener soziale Teilbereich, der sich mit der Sicherung und Organisation der menschlichen Gesellschaft befaßt, ausschließlich auf Grund islamischer Werte und gemäß islamischer Gesetze gestaltet werden muß. Und es bedeutet natürlich auch, daß nichts in Staat und Politik, das diesen Werten und Gesetzen widerspricht, Existenzberechtigung besitzt, und folglich bekämpft und eliminiert werden muß. In letzter Konsequenz läßt sich dieser Grundgedanke wohl aus dem Einheitsbekenntnis des Islam zu dem *e i n e n* Gott ableiten (arabisch: tauhid), in Analogie sozusagen. Oder um ein christliches Wort zu gebrauchen, „Dein Wille geschehe, wie im Himmel, so auf Erden“. Denn wie könnte es anders sein, als daß der eine und einzige Gott seine Entsprechung in seinem einen und ausschließlichen Gesetz unter den Menschen hat? Für Khomeini gilt also beim Regieren der Nationen das selbe Gesetz, das auch sonst in der vom Menschen zu verwaltenden Schöpfung Gottes zu gelten hat, und dieses Gesetz heißt Islam. Diese Weltanschauung ist es übrigens, die man eventuell als „religiösen Fundamentalismus“ bezeichnen könnte. Alles, was über diesen Sprachgebrauch hinausgeht, ist vom wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus gesehen eigentlich abzulehnen, weil dadurch das Wort Fundamentalismus zu einem Schimpfwort degeneriert, ähnlich wie es mit dem Wort Faschismus der Fall war.

b. Gott als Souverän

Aus dem vorangegangenen Grundsatz leitet Khomeini auch die Souveränität Gottes über den islamischen Staat ab. Der islamische Staat Khomeinis ist zwar, gemäß dem ausdrücklichen Wunsch des Imams, eine „Republik“, aber eine Volkssouveränität im westlichen Sinn kennt sie ebensowenig, wie sie die Souveränität eines erblichen Monarchen kennt. Khomeini hebt sich damit von den beiden gängigen Souveränitätsbegriffen deutlich ab und bezieht eine neue, in dieser Radikalität bislang unbekannte Position. Es bleibt allerdings offen, welche konkrete Form diese Gottessouveränität annimmt. Eigentlich besteht sie nur theoretisch, als Axiom sozusagen, ohne weitere praktische Konsequenz (was ja auch bei der neuzeitlichen Volkssouveränität der Fall ist). Jedenfalls ergibt sich

aus diesem Gedanken die Notwendigkeit, in der Praxis des staatlichen Lebens ein Substitut (oder einen Repräsentanten) für das eigentliche Souverän zu finden, eine Rolle, die einerseits von der Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen, in weiterer Konsequenz aber von den gelehrten Geistlichen übernommen wird. Davon weiter unten unter (d.) und (e.). Doch vorher noch zu einer anderen Ableitung aus dem ersten Grundsatz.

c. Gott als Gesetzgeber

Sowie Gott die Naturgesetze schuf, so „schuf“ und offenbarte er auch die Gesetze für den Menschen und die Gesellschaft. Hier spielen zwei Dinge eine Rolle: erstens mittelalterliche Theorien über die Erschaffung des Qur’āns (die im Gegensatz zur Sunna auch heute noch in der Schia eine Rolle spielen), und zweitens das Problem der Rechtsquellen im Islam, denn wer das Heilige Buch des Islams aufschlägt, sieht sofort, daß mit dem wenigen, daß in ihm enthalten ist, wahrlich kein „Staat“ zu machen ist. Andere primäre und auch sekundäre Rechtsquellen müssen hinzutreten, um den Islam als Instrument gesellschaftlicher Reglementierung brauchbar zu machen. Es würde den Rahmen dieser Arbeit sprengen, hier näher auf die unterschiedliche Bewertung der „mu’tazila“ in Sunna und Schia, bzw. den unterschiedlichen Sprachgebrauch und andere Verschiedenheiten bezüglich ijmá’, ijtihád etc. einzugehen. Es mag genügen festzustellen, daß für Khomeini das islamische Gesetz, so wie es jetzt vorliegt, die shari’a also, als göttliches Recht alleinige Geltung besitzen soll, auch in politischen Belangen. Und da Gott der Gesetzgeber ist, braucht der islamische Staat auch keine eigentliche Gesetzgebung, sondern nur eine Interpretation des schon vorhandenen Gesetzes.

d. Die Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen

Dieser Ausdruck dient als Übersetzung für das arabische Wort „umma“ (etymologisch vielleicht mit dem Wort für Mutter, „umm“, verwandt). Für Khomeini ist dies erstens die Gemeinde der Zwölfer-Schiiten im Iran, zweitens sind es aber auch alle Muslime, potentiell sogar die gesamte Menschheit. Die Umma ist also Khomeinis „body politic“ und tritt als weiteres Element neben das Souverän und die Geistlichkeit bzw. die staatlichen Institutionen im engeren Sinn. Das Kollektiv der menschlichen Gemeinschaft fungiert hier demnach als Stellvertreter Gottes auf Erden.

Doch Angelpunkt der gesamten Staatskonstruktion ist die Statthalterschaft des Rechtsgelehrten.

e. Statthalterschaft eines Rechtsgelehrten

Das Hauptproblem der schiitischen Theorien über Staat und Regierung war immer das der legitimen Herrschaft in der Zeit der Verborgenheit des zwölften Imams. In der Zeit vor dessen Verschwinden stellte sich das Problem nicht, denn es existierte eine Kette göttlich legitimierter Machthaber: von Muhammad, dem Propheten, über seinen Schwiegersohn Ali und dessen Frau Fatima zu ihren Söhnen Hassan und Hussein und deren Nachkommen im Mannesstamm,

den Imamen der Zwölfer-Schia. Danach jedoch entstand ein Legitimitätsvakuum, auf das der überwiegende Teil der Rechtsgelehrten dadurch reagierte, daß jede staatliche Autorität als illegitim betrachtet wurde. Eine Ausnahme stellte die Zeit der Safaviden-Dynastie dar, die als orthodoxe Zwölfer-Schiiten die Imamiya im Iran erst zur Staatsreligion erklärten. Doch schon unter der nachfolgenden Qajaren-Dynastie kehrte der Klerus zu seinem Grundsätzlichen Quietismus in politischen Belangen zurück, obwohl man trotzdem sagen kann, daß sich eine gewisse Symbiose von staatlicher und religiöser Autorität einstellte. Erst zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts, vor allem unter der neuen Pahlavi-Dynastie, änderte sich dies, und zwar dahingehend, daß beträchtliche Teile des Klerus in immer größeren Gegensatz zur staatlichen Macht gerieten. Man begann, die alten Theorien über die Rolle der Rechtsgelehrten neu zu überdenken und zu interpretieren. Khomeini griff in seiner Schrift diese Ideen auf und entwickelte sie bis zur letzten Konsequenz. Danach ist es die Aufgabe des gerechtesten, gelehrtesten und allgemein anerkanntesten schiitischen Rechtsgelehrten seiner Zeit (mit dem Titel „Quelle der Nachahmung“ bezeichnet), als „Statthalter“ die Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen zu führen. Gleichzeitig sollte dieser sich in fast papstähnlicher Position befindliche gelehrte Herrscher als *primus inter pares* an der Spitze der hierarchisch gegliederten übrigen Geistlichkeit stehen. Khomeini drückt es so aus:

„Wenn ein fähiger Mann, der die beiden obengenannten Eigenschaften (i.e. Gerechtigkeit und Gelehrsamkeit) besitzt, auftritt, und eine Regierung bildet, verfügt er über die gleichen Vollmachten der Statthalterschaft, über die Seine Heiligkeit, der hochedle Prophet-G-, für die Verwaltung der Gesellschaft verfügte. Das ganze Volk ist verpflichtet, ihm zu gehorchen. (...) Die gleichen Befugnisse, die Seine Heiligkeit, der Prophet, und die Imame – sie seien begrüßt! – (...) hatten, hat Gott für die islamische Regierung in unserer Zeit vorgesehen.“²

An anderer Stelle heißt es: „Die Statthalterschaft des Fagih ist eine relative Angelegenheit, sie wird durch Ernennung übertragen, ein Akt, der vergleichbar ist mit der Ernennung eines Vormunds für Minderjährige.“³ Und schließlich schreibt Khomeini: „Aus der Klärung dieser Frage (der Statthalterschaft) ergibt sich, daß die Fogahá (Mehrzahl von Fagih) verpflichtet sind, gemeinsam oder einzeln zum Zweck... der Ordnung des Islams eine religiöse Regierung zu bilden.“⁴

Die Fogahá, die Rechtsgelehrten also, sind es, denen es mit der „Quelle der Nachahmung“ an der Spitze obliegt, den Staat zu regieren. Kein erblicher Sultan, Shah, König, oder einfach nur gewählter weltlicher Präsident, sondern die Ulamá. Auch bedeutet „eine religiöse Regierung bilden“ weit mehr als nur das

² Ibid., S. 60/61.

³ Ibid., S. 61.

⁴ Ibid., S. 63.

auch schon früher im Iran und in anderen islamischen Ländern bekannte Ausstellen von „fatwas“ zur Legitimierung von Akten der weltlichen Herrschaft; das wäre an sich nichts Neues. Aber es geht Khomeini um die direkte politische Herrschaft der Ulamá, für ihn der zeitgemäße Ausdruck der Einheit von Religion und Staat, sowohl inhaltlich als auch personell. Allerdings sieht er diese Herrschaft nicht als Privileg, sondern als schwere Pflicht und Aufgabe an. Und diese Herrschaft ist auch nicht unumschränkt, sondern hat klar definierte, nicht zu überschreitende Grenzen.

f. Konstitutionalismus und Rechtsstaatlichkeit

„Der islamische Staat ähnelt keiner anderen bestehenden Staatsform. Er ist nicht despotisch. Das Oberhaupt des Staates ist kein Despot, der eigenmächtig handelt, mit Vermögen und Leben der Menschen spielt, tut, was er will, tötet, wen er will, bevorzugt, wen er wünscht, und den Boden und das Eigentum des Volkes diesem oder jenem schenkt. Der hochedle Prophet-G- und Seine Heiligkeit, der Fürst der Gläubigen (i.e. Ali)-F-, sowie andere Kalifen verfügten nicht über solche Macht. Der islamische Staat ist weder despotisch noch absolutistisch, er ist konstitutionell. Selbstverständlich nicht konstitutionell im üblichen Sinne des Begriffs, wo Gesetze nach dem Votum von Personen verabschiedet werden und von der Mehrheit abhängig sind. Er ist konstitutionell in dem Sinne, daß die Regierenden in ihrer exekutiven und administrativen Tätigkeit an eine Reihe von Bedingungen gebunden sind, die im heiligen Koran und in der Sunna des hochedlen Propheten-G- festgelegt worden sind. Mit „eine Reihe von Bedingungen“ sind die Gesetze und Bedingungen des Islams gemeint, die respektiert und angewendet werden müssen. Daher ist die islamische Regierung des göttlichen Gesetzes über das Volk.“⁵

Aus diesen Ausführungen Khomeinis im zweiten Teil seines Werkes, der sich mit den Charakteristiken der islamischen Regierungsweise beschäftigt, ist zu ersehen, daß der Verfasser sich zwar vom bürgerlich-westlichen Prinzip des Konstitutionalismus distanziert, daß aber der ihm entsprechende Begriff der schiitischen Dogmatik – obschon eine Eigenentwicklung – dem heutigen europäischen Verständnis von Konstitutionalität formal gesehen recht ähnlich ist. Außerdem muß noch hinzugefügt werden, daß die Islamische Republik nach 1979 in der Praxis diesem Grundsatz genauso oft untreu wurde wie manche konstitutionelle Rechtsstaaten Europas im Laufe ihrer Geschichte.

g. Die Dreiteilung der staatlichen

Gewalt Merkwürdig vertraut, und zu den übrigen Prinzipien in auffallendem Kontrast stehend, mutet dieser Grundsatz Khomeinis an. Hier haben wir es ganz offensichtlich mit einer direkten Übernahme bürgerlich-westlicher Vorstellungen

⁵ Ibid., S. 51.

zu tun, denn Khomeini unterscheidet klar zwischen Legislative, Exekutive und Judikatur. Zwei Eigenheiten sind dennoch zu erwähnen. Erstens: Die Legislative ist, es wurde schon erwähnt, eigentlich nicht zur Gesetzgebung berufen, sondern nur zur Interpretation des schon vorliegenden göttlichen Gesetzes, und zur „Planung“ der exekutiven Tätigkeit der Regierung. Der Unterschied ist aber doch eher semantischer Natur, denn die Praxis hat gezeigt, daß der iranische Majlis in seiner Arbeits- und Wirkungsweise anderen Parlamenten sehr ähnlich ist. Zweitens: Implicite vertritt Khomeini die Ansicht, daß über den drei herkömmlichen staatlichen Gewalten jener eine gerechte und gelehrte islamische Jurist (als „Quelle der Nachahmung“ oder auch „Groß-Ayatollah“ bezeichnet) als „Führer“ fungieren sollte, als vierte „Über-Gewalt“ sozusagen. Manchmal entsteht auch der Eindruck, daß die Fogahá und Ulamá bzw. Mujtahidún als Kollektiv diese vierte Gewalt repräsentieren, oder doch zumindest eine Gruppe der hervorragendsten und anerkanntesten von ihnen (und nicht ein einziger). Jedenfalls war es Khomeini, der diese Stellung bis zu seinem Tode innehatte, und diese Tatsache fand auch ihren Ausdruck und ihre formalrechtliche Bestätigung in der Verfassung von 1979.

h. Der Prophet und der Fürst der Gläubigen als Vorbilder immer wieder verweist Khomeini in seinem Werk darauf, daß es in der Vergangenheit schon einmal zwei ideale islamische Staatswesen gegeben hat, nämlich den Staat Muhammads in Medina, und Alis Kalifat in Kufa. Es sei daher gar nichts Neues, was er propagiere, man müsse nur das alte, abhandengekommene Ideal der klassischen Epoche aufgreifen, die notwendigen Adaptionen vornehmen und in die heutige Praxis umsetzen. Die Behauptung, daß seine Staatslehre eigentlich die Fortführung der politischen Praxis des Propheten bzw. Alis und der Imaame darstelle, verleiht Khomeinis Werk natürlich fast die Aura des Heiligen, und macht es immun gegen Vorwürfe, eine verwerfliche Neuerung (bid'a) zu sein. Dieser Historismus Khomeinis läßt an Yehuda ha-Lewis „Kuzari“ denken, oder auch an Konfuzius, wenn im „Li-Gi“ vom Zeitalter der „Heiligen auf dem Thron“ spricht, und er ist symbolisch für die gesamte geistesgeschichtliche Phase, die die islamische Welt zur Zeit durchläuft.

4. DIE VERFASSUNG DER ISLAMISCHEN REPUBLIK IRAN

Am 30. und 31. März 1979 stimmten 99,4 % der iranischen Wahlberechtigten dafür, den Iran in eine islamische Republik umzuwandeln und die Monarchie abzuschaffen. Ayatollah Khomeini proklamierte daraufhin am 1. April die „Islamische Republik Iran“ (Jumhuri-ye Islami-ye Iran). Wenig später wurde eine 73-köpfige gewählte Expertenversammlung damit beauftragt, eine islamische Verfassung für den neuen Staat auszuarbeiten. Es war dies ein Kompromiß zwischen dem Streben Khomeinis, den im engsten klerikalen Kreis ausgearbeiteten Entwurf anschließend einfach einem Referendum zu unterwerfen, und dem Wunsch von Teilen des Klerus, der bürgerlichen Gruppierungen wie der Nationalen Front, aber auch linker Kräfte, eine verfassungsgebende Versamm-

lung nach westlichem Vorbild zu wählen. 60 der 73 Mitglieder der Expertenversammlung waren Abgeordnete der Islamisch-Republikanischen Partei Khomeinis, was der „Linie des Imams“ von vornherein den Sieg in allen Diskussionen und Erörterungen zu sichern schien. Trotzdem wurde die Debatte über die zu verabschiedende neue und „islamische“ Verfassung nicht nur in der Expertenversammlung selbst geführt, sondern vielmehr entwickelte sich auch eine landesweite und sehr rege Verfassungsdiskussion, an der Gruppen Parteien und Einzelpersonlichkeiten unterschiedlichster Couleurs teilnahmen.

Am 2. und 3. Dezember 1979 schließlich wurde die ausgearbeitete Verfassung dem iranischen Volk zur Abstimmung vorgelegt, und 98% der Stimmberechtigten hießen sie gut. Es ist wichtig festzuhalten, daß trotz des großen Übergewichtes der Khomeini nahestehenden Kräfte, wie überhaupt des klerikalen Elementes in der Expertenversammlung, die neue Verfassung sich in einigen Punkten doch von dem Entwurf unterschied, den Khomeini aus Frankreich mitgebracht hatte. So zum Beispiel wurde ein eigenes Kapitel der Präambel dem Problem der „verfassungsmäßigen“ Rolle der Frau gewidmet, weil sich aus dieser Frage während der Arbeit der Expertenversammlung eine generelle Diskussion über die Rolle der Frau in einer sich re-islamisierenden Gesellschaft wie der iranischen entwickelt hatte. Khomeini und die ihm nahestehenden Gruppen mußten gewisse Abstriche von traditionalistischen Extremstandpunkten gerade in dieser heiklen Angelegenheit machen. Auch bezüglich der „Unabhängigkeit“ der Justiz und der Rolle der nationalen und religiösen Minderheiten mußten Kompromisse geschlossen werden. Doch soll hier ja nicht das Endprodukt an Khomeinis Entwurf, sondern an seinem „Islamischen Staat“ gemessen werden.

Formal gliedert sich die Verfassung in eine sehr ausführliche Präambel und zwölf Abschnitte, die nacheinander folgende Themen behandeln: allgemeine Prinzipien; Sprache, Schrift, Geschichte und Flagge des Landes; die Rechte der Bürger; wirtschaftliche und finanzielle Angelegenheiten; nationale Souveränität und die aus ihr abgeleiteten Vollmachten; die Legislative; Räte; der Führer oder Führungsrat; die Exekutive; Außenpolitik; die Justiz; die Massenmedien.

Insgesamt enthält die Verfassung 175 Artikel. Was ihr die „islamische Färbung“ verleiht, sind vor allem der Sprachgebrauch und die Wortwahl, die Anrufung Gottes, die vor allem in der Präambel häufige Erwähnung des Imamats und der Imame sowie auch des Propheten, und natürlich das ausgiebige Zitieren aus dem Qur'án. Auffällig ist ferner die revolutionäre Rhetorik, die manchmal fast marxistisch anmutet („...the great Prophet, the founder of the liberating school of thought of freedom giving Islam...“).⁶

Alles in allem ist die neue Verfassung einer bürgerlich-westlichen Präsidialverfassung nicht unähnlich, von den erwähnten islamischen Spezifika einmal abgesehen.

Diese Charakterisierung trifft auch auf den inhaltlichen Aspekt der Verfassung teilweise zu, doch es wird die Aufgabe des folgenden Kapitels sein, kurz zu

⁶ Dieses, und alle nachfolgenden Zitate aus: Islamic Propagation Organization (Herausg.): *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran*, Teheran, o.J., S. 17.

beleuchten, inwieweit die Vorstellungen Khomeinis vom idealen islamischen Staat Eingang in die Verfassung von 1979 gefunden haben.

5. VERGLEICHENDE ANALYSE DES IDEENGEHALTES

Sucht man die Grundgedanken der Staatslehre Khomeinis, so wie sie in 3.a. bis h. erörtert wurden, in der Verfassung der Islamischen Republik Iran von 1979, ergibt sich folgendes Bild:

a. Die Religion als Grundlage der Politik

Dieser Grundsatz findet sich vor allem in der sehr umfangreichen Präambel und in den beiden ersten Artikeln der eigentlichen Verfassung. Am deutlichsten angesprochen wird er in Artikel 2:

„The Islamic Republic is a system based upon faith in the following:

1. Monotheism (as reflected in the phrase „there is no god but God“), His sovereignty and His legislation of the law solely belongs to Him and the necessity of surrender to His command.

2. The Divine Revelation and the basic foundation of it in expressing the laws.“

Wie man sieht, beinhaltet dieser Artikel auch gleich zwei weitere Grundsätze der Staatslehre Khomeinis, nämlich erstens, daß Gott das eigentliche Souverän der staatlichen Gemeinschaft ist (b.), und zweitens, daß er auch der alleinige Gesetzgeber dieser Gemeinschaft ist (c.).

d. Die Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen

Dieser wichtige Grundgedanke kommt gleich zu Beginn der Präambel zur Sprache. Es heißt da:

„The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as the expressor of the cultural, social, political and economic institutions of Iranian society, is based upon Islamic principles and precepts which reflect the true aspiration of the Islamic community.“

Die Verfassung stellt hier also, anders formuliert, fest daß die iranische Gesellschaft bzw. die islamische Gemeinschaft, prinzipiell und eo ipso islamisch orientiert ist, und daher gar nichts anderes erstreben könne als eine islamische Republik.

e. Statthalterschaft eines Rechtsgelehrten

In der Präambel heißt es: „...the Constitution shall prepare the ground for the realization of leadership of qualified theologians who are recognized as leaders by the people,...“ Artikel 5 spricht deshalb von einem „Leader“ oder „Leadership Council“ als oberstem staatlichen Organ. Khomeini ist es natürlich, der dieses Amt bekleidet, und er wird in dieser Eigenschaft auch namentlich in der Präambel erwähnt (S. 6).

f. Konstitutionalismus und Rechtsstaatlichkeit

Dieser Grundsatz ist erstens verwirklicht durch die bloße Existenz einer Verfassung selbst und wird zweitens in dem schon zitierten Artikel 2,2. noch einmal ausdrücklich festgehalten. Außerdem besagt Artikel 20, daß vor dem (auf

dem Qur'án basierenden) Gesetz alle Bürger der Islamischen Republik, ohne Unterschied des Geschlechtes, gleiche Rechte genießen sollen.

g. Die Dreiteilung der staatlichen Gewalt

Artikel 57 lautet:

„The three sovereign powers in the Islamic Republic are the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary, which are exercised under the supervision of religious leadership (imamate) according to the forthcoming articles of the present Constitution. These three powers are independent from each other and the President is the link between all three of them.“

h. Muhammad und Ali als Vorbilder

Dieser letzte Grundsatz der Staatslehre Khomeinis findet sich zwar nirgendwo expressis verbis in der Verfassung, die Idee jedoch, daß der ideale islamische Staat in der Vergangenheit, nämlich im Urislam, bereits einmal existiert habe, und daß zu diesem Modell zurückzukehren sei, schon. In der Präambel (S. 11) heißt es:

„Our nation, in the process of its revolutionary evolution, cleansed itself of the rust and dust of tyranny and shed alien thoughts in order to be able to return to the original mode of thinking and world view of Islam. Now, it is on the threshold of building an exemplary society (aswah) on the basis of this foundation.“

6. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Wie wir gesehen haben, finden sich alle grundlegenden Ideen der Staatslehre Khomeinis in der einen oder anderen Form in der iranischen Verfassung von 1979, und zwar an vielen Stellen, nicht nur den hier erwähnten. Trotzdem fällt auf, daß das meiste davon in der Präambel und den ersten achtzehn Artikeln komprimiert ist, also in den eher deklarativen Teilen des Verfassungstextes. Das soll nicht heißen, daß es sich dabei nur um Lippenbekenntnisse handelt, und daß dann zum juristischen „Kleinkram“, wie er auch in anderen Verfassungen üblich ist, übergegangen wurde. Es zeigt aber doch, daß es dem ultra-orthodoxen Flügel um Khomeini nicht möglich war, sich in vollem Umfang bei der Ausarbeitung der Verfassung durchzusetzen, und daß auch andere Richtungen und Gruppen, namentlich jene um Bani Sadr, das Endergebnis zu beeinflussen vermochten.

Jedenfalls ist die Verfassung von 1979 nicht ein Werk aus „einem Guß“, sondern sowohl inhaltlich als auch stilistisch als eher heterogen zu bezeichnen – man denke nur an das Kapitel über die Frau (Präambel S. 14), das in einem Geist geschrieben ist, der den Intentionen der strengen Traditionalisten nicht genehm sein kann.

Wie aktuell ist aber die in dieser Arbeit behandelte Frage heute, nach so vielen Jahren? Khomeini ist tot, im Iran hat eine neue, angeblich pragmatischere Führung die Macht übernommen, und auch die Islamische Republik hat sich verändert und weiterentwickelt. Nichtsdestoweniger bleibt die Beschäftigung

mit dem Phänomen der Re-Islamisierung des Iran im besonderen und des Nahen Ostens im allgemeinen notwendig und auch lohnend, und auf keinen Fall handelt es sich dabei um eine historische und gesellschaftliche Eintagsfliege, wie anfangs oft vermutet wurde.

So gesehen mutet es fast schon komisch an, wenn ein DDR-Autor in einer Beschreibung der Islamischen Republik Iran aus dem Jahre 1987 schreibt:

„Summarisch hebt sich unter dem Strich das Bild ab von einer Revolution, die nach Marxscher Interpretation zu den „Lokomotiven der Geschichte“ zählt, deren Dampf aber nicht für den Endspurt ausreichte.“⁷

Uns hingegen erscheint es eher so, als ob da inzwischen einer Reihe ganz anderer „Lokomotiven“ der „Dampf“ ausgegangen wäre.

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⁷ EBERT, Hans-Georg: *Die Islamische Republik Iran*, Berlin, 1987, S. 476.

BOOK REVIEWS

KOLMAŠ, Josef: *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet (A Chronological Study)*. Prague, Archív orientální Supplementa VII., The Oriental Institute 1994. 86 pp.

After more than a thirty year long break the Prague Oriental Institute decided to continue the publication of the Supplementa of the journal *Archív orientální*, in which researchers of this Institute release their papers. The VIth volume (K.V. Zvelebil: *The Tamil Skandapurāṇam*) was published in 1992 and the VIIth volume appeared last year.

The author of this paper, Josef Kolmaš, who had already for a long period of time devoted himself to the study of Sino-Tibetan relations, this time focused his interest on a crucial period (the Qing Dynasty) from the standpoint of Tibetan claims for independence. He concentrates on the institution of supervision by the central Chinese government in Tibet, which he chose to call "the Ambanate" (a part of his research was already published under the title "A Chronology of the Ambans of Tibet. Part I: The Ambans and Assistant Ambans in the Yongzheng and the Qianlong Period (1727–1795)." In: Ihara Shōren – Yamaguchi Zuihō (eds.), *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*. Narita Shinshoji, 1992).

In the introductory essay (pp. 5–17) the author briefly summarizes information about the creation and function of the 185-year-old institution of the Ambanate in Tibet (during the Qing Dynasty the Imperial court dispatched Ambans not only to Tibet but also to Chinese Turkestan and Mongolia). In the beginning of 18th century the first imperial officials arrived in Lhasa and in the course of this initial period (till the end of 18th century) they quickly gained decisive powers in Tibet. This period was crucial from the standpoint of the functioning of the institution of the Ambanate and therefore, also from the standpoint of Tibet's international status after the fall of the Qing Dynasty. The increasing influence of imperial officials is on one hand closely connected with inner instability and civil wars in Tibet, and on the other hand with the interventions of foreign powers (Dsungar invasion, Gurkha war) in Tibet. Moreover during the 18th century the Qing Dynasty reached the peak of its power. As the Qing Dynasty weakened in the course of the 19th century, so did its role in Tibetan affairs and Qing statesmen were mainly concerned about the penetration of Western powers from the eastern coast.

The first Manchu commissioner (*shilang*, "Vice Minister") Heshou was dispatched to Lhasa in the year 1709 and his task was "to assist Lha-bzang in managing Tibetan affairs". This was the first step by the Imperial court, to set up an office to manage local affairs in Tibet. After the Dsungar invasion (1720), which was suppressed with the help of the Qing army, the influence of the Imperial court in Tibet began to spread. The institutions of Ambans (*zhu Zang banshi dachen*) and Assistant Ambans (*zhu Zang bangban dachen*) were established in Tibet in year 1727 with the arrival of Senge and Mala, who came to Tibet to arbitrate between two factions – pro-Manchu Pho-lha-nas and their nationalistic adversaries. Although their position in Tibet was supported by a garrison of 2,000 men, in the beginning they were only observers of the Tibetan political

situation, who were reporting to the Imperial court in Beijing. The powers of Imperial Residents were increased in the aftermath of the anti-Chinese revolt in 1750. They were given rights of control and supervision of the activities of the *bka'-gshags*. After 1750 the system of two Imperial Residents (i.e. Amban and Assistant Amban) was introduced. They more or less regularly rotated every three years and enjoyed equal authority. Following the Gurkha war with Tibet (1788–92) further measures were taken which abolished the last remnants of Tibet's autonomy. These measures are known as the 102-point Imperial Regulations (*Qingding zhangcheng*). In many administrative and executive spheres the powers of Ambans again increased. The most important rights allotted to Ambans by new regulations were: a) they were given equal status with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama; b) they had the right of direct participation in Tibetan government; c) they authorized incarnations of the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama and other "Living Buddhas"; d) in their hands were left foreign affairs and the issuing of permits for foreign trade.

After this Introduction follows the main part of the study, which is a chronological list of the Ambans and Assistant Ambans who were appointed to Lhasa (pp. 19–66). They are divided according to the titles of reign of the individual Qing emperors. The author gives by every official (if he could find the information in historical sources) his name, Banner and clan affiliation, date of birth and/or death, previous positions held, the office in Tibet (Amban or Assistant Amban), the date of appointment, the date of arrival to and departure from Tibet, references to sources related to chronology and biography. After this part of publication the Chronological Table of Ambans and Assistant Ambans in Tibet follows. In this Table there are ordered the names of all Imperial officials who worked in Tibet and the years of their service. The publication is supplemented by Appendixes (pp. 72–77) in which the author divided Imperial Residents according to their Banner and clan affiliation. It is interesting to note, that from 135 officials assigned to Tibet about 70 % were Manchus, more than 20 % Mongolians and only 9 officials were Chinese (moreover the first Chinese official was appointed in the thirties of the 19th century when the strength of Manchu dynasty and the authority of Ambans in Tibet faded). The publication is ended with a Bibliography and List of Chinese characters. The author in his research made use of standard works of Chinese historiography related to the Qing period (among others *Qing shilu*, *Qingshi*, *Qingshi gao*, *Weizang tongzhi*). He did not use the Tibetan historiographic sources and since the author knows the Tibetan language so there could not have been the problem of a language barrier, but the problem, which is also connected to other periods of Tibetan history and the history of Sino-Tibetan relations, is the lack of historiography (in the literal sense of the word). Tibetan scholars devoted their efforts mainly to works on history of religion in Tibet. The lack of Tibetan historical sources to a certain extent causes confusion about the status of Tibet in history. The Chinese when defending their standpoint selectively use quotations from Chinese historical sources of the period. Those sources represent Chinese sinocentric point of view, but it is difficult to document the Tibetan point of view of the period, that is how did Tibetan statesmen perceive the relation to their stronger neighbour behind the eastern border? On the other hand the fact that the author relied on Chinese sources shows how much interesting and important information on neighbouring regions (among them also on Tibet) could be found in abundant Chinese sources. It is the task of sinologists to make this information available also to other historians. But when working with Chinese sources, especially with their connection to neighbouring "barbarians", it is necessary to keep a critical distance and check their reliability whenever possible.

The author's study is an important contribution to the understanding of the institution of Ambanate. The next task which is before the author, or some other scholar, is a study devoted to the powers and rights of individual Ambans in different periods of time. Because, it seems to be certain that those rights which were given to Imperial Residents by the 102-point regulations were not always able to be executed and their status in Tibetan political life changed with dependence on the state of Tibetan administration and also the situation in the Qing Imperial court (especially in this questions it would be desirable to consult Tibetan, or some other non-Chinese sources, because it cannot be expected to find in Chinese historical sources information on powers which Imperial Resident were not able to execute). It is known, for instance, that the Treaty between Tibet and Nepal signed in 1856 was settled directly between the two sides involved and Imperial Residents in Lhasa did not influence its signing although theoretically they were responsible for all Tibetan foreign affairs. The only reference to China is in the Preamble of this Treaty, where both sides state that they "pay respect as always before to the Emperor of China". Also the selection of 13th Dalai Lama was made without recourse to the lottery system which was introduced in year 1793 by Chinese Emperor. To understand completely the institution of supervision and control of the central government in the Qing period a comparative study analysing the status of Ambans, and their relations to local administration also in other Qing dependencies (Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan) is inevitable.

The author with his detailed revised publication with abundant references to other sources provides a solid foundation which can be used for further researching of Chinese influence in Tibet during the Qing Dynasty. His work is essential for all scholars who work not only in the field of Sino-Tibetan relations but in the relations of Imperial China with foreign countries in general.

Martin Slobodnik

COLE, W. Owen – SAMBHI, Piara Singh: *A Popular Dictionary of Sikhism*. London, Curzon Press – Glenn Dale, The Riverdale Company 1990. 163 pp.

The attention of the media paid to Sikhs increased during the eighties, especially in connection with Sikh demand for the creation of an independent state, called Khalistan, Operation Blue star by the Indian army in Amritsar, and the death of Indira Gandhi. The media often used unsuitable and incorrect terms relating to Sikh religion, concepts, beliefs and practices. This seems to be one of the reasons why W. Owen Cole and Piara Singh Sambhi have written the present dictionary. Another reason has been perhaps an effort to present their own views on Sikh history and major beliefs. They have done it, in addition to entries, in a relatively large introduction (20 pp.). Here, they have examined three views being held of Sikhism by scholars in the first half of the twentieth century, i.e., firstly, that Guru Nanak was a disciple of Kabir, and the Sikh religion owes its theology largely to him, secondly, that Sikhism is a form of deliberate syncretism, and, thirdly, that Guru Nanak was a social reformer. The authors of the dictionary disagree with all three views because they have no support in Guru Nanak's hymns. Although they admit a kinship of Guru Nanak's ideas with those of Kabir, they reject the evidence of dependence. They believe that Sikhism is a syncretic religion; Guru Nanak "had no wish to create a religion, but wished to enable men and women to experience the truth which lay beyond religions and was often obscured by them. Sikhism itself emerged as

a result of circumstance, not intent" (p. 11). Further on, the authors try to prove that Sikhism is more than a social reform movement, seeking to improve the lot of the poor in India.

Quite a lot of space is devoted to the life and activities of Guru Nanak, to the doctrine of guruship brought to its culmination by the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh, and to the great role of history in shaping the Sikh movement. Of great importance in contemporary Sikh history is the development of Sikh diaspora the total population of which may be as many as one million now, i.e., eight per cent of the membership of Sikh religion. No less important is the direction to be taken by the diaspora. According to the authors of the dictionary, "It is likely that any major changes in Sikh practice will happen in America or Britain and will not affect Sikh theology but will result in a form of Sikhism which may be nostalgically Punjabi or may consciously distance itself from its Punjabi origins" (p. 24).

The next pages are devoted to the explanation of major Sikh beliefs, to the problem of terminology and some questions of technical character (spelling, dating, etc.). Useful is a short column introducing some books on Sikh religion and history.

Naturally, the core of the book is represented by 406 entries (pp. 32 – 163) relating to Sikh concepts, beliefs, practices, history and legislation. They also include entries on famous representatives of Sikh religious, political and cultural life. The dictionary is supplemented by two maps of Punjab and Mughal Empire at the death of Akbar and by two figures showing the genealogical table of the Gurus with regnal dates and the Sikh Gurus in their Mughal context.

The present dictionary can be recommended not only to scholars and students of Sikh religion but also to all reporters and authors of popular articles on Sikhism. By using correct and precise terminology they will prove their effort to really understand the thought-world of religion and tradition they describe and succeed in explaining it to their readers.

Anna Rácová

Das Mittelalter in Daten. Literatur, Kunst, Geschichte 750 bis 1520. Hrsg. von Joachim Heinze. München, Verlag C. H. Beck 1993. 433 S.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten hat man in den kommunistischen Ländern Mitteleuropas allgemeine Enzyklopädien herauszugeben begonnen, vor allem über Mathematik, Physik, Chemie, Biologie, Geographie, Musik, Film, Literatur, Kunst, usw. Erst jetzt hat man begonnen spezielle Arbeiten über Sprachwissenschaft, Archäologie, Symbole, usw. herauszugeben. Leider kann das nicht von historischen Arbeiten gesagt werden.

Das Buch, welches dem Mittelalter gewidmet ist, bringt beachtenswerte Daten, die nicht allgemein bekannt sind, auch ist dieses Werk von unterschiedlichen Standpunkten aus bearbeitet.

Das rezensierte Buch bietet zum ersten Mal überhaupt in synoptischer Darstellung einen Überblick der Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters vom 8. bis zum Beginn des 16. Jh. – von der Karolingerzeit bis zur Frühzeit der Reformation.

In einer kurzen Einleitung (Konzeption und Einrichtung) bringt der Herausgeber grundlegende Angaben, die für eine hochwertige Arbeit notwendig sind. Deshalb finden wir in dem Buch Fachleute die sich europäischen Literaturen widmen, der niederländischen, englischen, skandinavischen, romanischen, mittellateinischen, slavischen und

keltischen. Der kunstgeschichtliche Teil stammt von Peter und Dorothea Diemer; ergänzende musikgeschichtliche Informationen steuerte H. Hücke bei; die Daten der Ereignisgeschichte und der deutschen Literatur schließlich stellte J. Heinze zusammen, der auch für das Werk insgesamt verantwortlich zeichnet.

Auf den linken Seiten sind jeweils die Daten der Ereignis- und der Kunstgeschichte aufgelistet. Die kunstgeschichtlichen Materialien werden in einer letzten Rubrik der linken Seiten durch knappe Orientierungsdaten zur Musikgeschichte ergänzt.

Daten zu Literatur, Kunst und Geschichte 750–1520, also seit Pippin dem Jüngeren, König der Franken, bis Hernan Cortés, Zerstörer des Aztekenreichs in Mexiko (S. 21–345), bringen einen enormen Umfang an Erkenntnissen und einen breiten Überblick. Man kann sagen, daß den Großteil der mittelalterlichen Literatur überwiegend lateinische, deutsche und zum Teil englische, französische, holländische, aber auch bretonische, irische, kymrische sowie slavische Texte bilden.

Die Kultur war im wesentlichen lateinisch, deutsch, englisch, irisch, aber auch kymrisch, kornisch, bretonisch. Aus der Sicht der westlichen Slaven war der bedeutendste Mann der Großfürst Rastislav von Mähren (Mähren war die führende slavische Macht), der nahe zu Byzanz stand (846–70). Wahrscheinlich um 874 wurde der böhmische Fürst Bořivoj von Method getauft. Der Großfürst Svätopluk von Mähren (870–894) bekam die Macht vom Papst (880). Die Zerstörung des Mährischen Reiches durch die Magyaren bedeutet den Zerfall der slavischen Welt.

Nach der Eingliederung der Slowakei in den Ungarischen Staat an der Wende des 10. und 11. Jh. begann die Errichtung der Einheiten der administrativen und kirchlichen Organisation. Die Benediktiner Abtei am Zobor bei Neutra bestand ununterbrochen seit der Zeit des Großmährischen Reiches, sowie das Domkapitel in Neutra, und in der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts wurde auch das Bistum erneuert. Im 11. Jh. entstand St. Benedikt am Gran, die Abtei wurde hier im ersten Drittel des 11. Jh. gegründet, als auch die erste romanische Basilika des heiligen Benedikt, des Abtes entstand, die im Jahr 1075 konsekriert wurde. Diese kirchlichen Institutionen waren die Hauptzentren der Kultur, der mittelalterlichen Bildung und sie bewahrten Sammlungen von Büchermanuskripten.

Zu den bemerkenswerten Denkwürdigkeiten der Buchkultur in der Slowakei gehört der Kodex von Neutra – ein liturgisches Buch – verfaßt gegen Ende des 11. Jh. in der Benediktiner Abtei des Heiligen Benedikts und aufbewahrt im Archiv des Domkapitels von Neutra. Es ist auch der älteste erhaltene Kodex, der in der Slowakei entstand. Er enthält Auszüge aus den Evangelien, die man an Sonntagen und Festen des kirchlichen Jahres las beginnend am Ostersonntag und endend am Karsamstag.

Auf Grund von Vergleichen der ältesten ungarischen Kodexe setzt man voraus, daß die Vorlage aus dem nordfranzösischen Milieu stammt und benediktinischer Herkunft ist. In dieser Zeit war das keine Besonderheit, da die vorgeschriebenen kirchlichen Bücher von westlichen Zentren eingeführt und in heimischen Klöstern abgeschrieben wurden. Außerdem haben wir aus der Zeit der Wende vom 11.–12. Jahrhundert in der Schule des Domkapitels von Neutra den „Grammaticus“ Villermus nachgewiesen, der wahrscheinlich französischer Abstammung war.

Es ist sehr schwierig Zeit und Ort der Entstehung von liturgischen Büchern zu bestimmen. Es erfordert gute Kenntnisse der Paläographie und anderer historischer Hilfswissenschaften, sowie der Kirchengeschichte, Hagiographie, usw. Zum Beispiel unter den verehrten Heiligen im Kodex von Neutra finden wir St. Adalbert (Vojtech), den Schutzheiligen der Erzdiözese Gran und St. Wenzel, den Schutzheiligen des Böhmisches Königreiches, was aber nicht bedeutet, daß der Kodex für irgendeine Institution in Böhmen ausgefertigt wurde, sondern es bedeutet eine allgemein verbreitete Verehrung

von St. Wenzel im breiteren europäischen Milieu. Im Kodex befinden sich aber nicht die ungarischen Heiligen, die Könige Stephan und Emmerich und St. Gerhard, die im Jahre 1083 kanonisiert wurden, auch nicht die mit dem slowakischen Milieu verbundenen St. Andreas-Svorad und Benedikt. Daraus entstand die Ansicht, daß der Kodex vor 1083 entstehen mußte.

Die Arbeit „*Das Mittelalter in Daten. Literatur, Kunst, Geschichte 750 bis 1520*“ bringt wichtige Erkenntnisse und findet allgemeine Anwendung.

Vojtech Kopčan

Hösch, E.: *Geschichte der Balkan-Länder. Von der Frühzeit zur Gegenwart*. München, Verlag C.H. Beck 1993. 375 S.

Das Buch von E. Hösch ist für einen breiten Leserkreis bestimmt, die erste Auflage erschien bereits 1988. Im Vergleich zur ersten Auflage ist das Buch wesentlich überarbeitet und durch verschiedene Daten ergänzt, vor allem die neueste Geschichte betreffend. Man kann sagen, daß es eine Einleitung zur politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Geschichte der Balkan-Länder von der Antike bis zur neuesten Gegenwart ist.

Die Grundlagen und Voraussetzungen der Geschichte Südosteuropas, wie das erste Kapitel heißt, befaßt sich mit Staaten und Grenzen, natürlichen Aufteilungen, ethnischen Strukturen, Kulturzonen, Kirchen und Religionen. Ein relativ umfangreicher Teil ist den ethnischen Strukturen und Kulturzonen gewidmet. Es ist interessant, daß der Autor in die südöstlichen Staaten auch die Ungarische Republik einbezogen hat.

Das zweite Kapitel erfaßt die Geschichte dieses Gebietes vom 5. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 14. Jh. Man kann verfolgen wieviele Völker sich von Süden, Osten und Norden über den Balkan ausbreiteten. Es waren Griechen, Kelten, Römer, Germanen aber auch östliche Hunnen, Awaren und Bulgaren. Bedeutend waren auch die slawischen Stämme, obwohl die damaligen Quellen darüber nicht berichten, sie wurden Anten und Slawen genannt. Später entstanden die slawischen Staaten der Kroaten und Serben. Die Kroaten und Slowenen kommen in Quellen des Adriagebietes vor.

Im 9. Jh. nahm Chan Boris-Michael das Christentum an und sein Nachfolger Simeon erweiterte das Gebiet von Bulgarien. Die Bulgaren nutzten für ihre politischen Zwecke die Petschenegen, welche die Magyaren vertrieben, die dann hinter die Karpaten flüchteten und das Großmährische Reich zerstörten.

Die türkische Periode (von 1354 bis zu Beginn des 18. Jh.) stellt das dritte Kapitel dar. An der Erweiterung des osmanischen Fürstentums beteiligten sich auch andere Kämpfer. Aber die Hauptrichtung der osmanischen Expansion war der Balkan, wovon zwei Schlachten zeugen, die Schlacht auf dem Amselfeld (1389) und Nikopol (1396). Den schnellen Vormarsch des Sultan Bayezid I. auf den Balkan brachte Timur Leng (1402) zum Stehen sowie der Bürgerkrieg zwischen den Prinzen. Der Zerfall des Balkans ermöglichte den Osmanen ein großes Reich zu bilden. Man kann die osmanische Vorherrschaft nicht pauschal beurteilen auf Grund späterer Äußerungen und Propaganda in den letzten Jahrhunderten. Historischen Daten zufolge war die osmanische Wirtschaft erst seit der Hälfte des 16. Jh. in einem schlechten Zustand. Der Umbruch begann Ende des 16. Jh., die Landbevölkerung hatte keinen Lebensunterhalt und flüchtete in die Städte. Ausschlaggebend war, daß die osmanische Armee offenbar bei der

Entwicklung von Waffen und Taktik aber auch bei der Disziplin nicht Schritt halten konnte. Auch die Großwesire aus dem Hause Köprülü trugen zum Zerfall bei.

Das vierte Kapitel ist der „Ostfrage“ in der europäischen Politik gewidmet. Diesen Termin schuf die europäische Diplomatie unterstützt von der Idee der deutschen Romantik, der französischen Revolution sowie den westeuropäischen Staaten. In diesen Kämpfen für die Freiheit der christlichen Völker entstanden Nationalstaaten, welche als Muster bei der Entstehung der Balkanstaaten dienten.

Der Kampf der Balkanvölker mit den Türken sowie der Werdegang der einzelnen Völker ist im Kapitel fünf enthalten. Für die Orthodoxen spielte die griechische Kirche und Fanar (Zentrum der Griechen in Istanbul) eine bedeutsame Rolle, aber man darf auch die Bedeutung Rußlands für die Balkanstaaten nicht unterschätzen. Diese, wie die Serben oder Rumänen und andere in der habsburgischen Monarchie, konnten einen Anschluß an die neuen Staaten erwarten. Schlimmer waren die Bulgaren dran, da sie viele Moslems hatten. Die Kroaten hatten im Gegensatz zu anderen Völkern kulturelle Institutionen und 1868 kam es zu einem Ausgleich mit den Ungarn. Wie der Autor anführt, war für die Balkanvölker sowie auch für andere überwiegend slawische Völker die nationale Wiedergeburt von Bedeutung.

Auf dem Weg zum Nationalstaat – so nennt der Autor das sechste Kapitel – welches mit dem serbischen Aufstand (1804) gegen das osmanische Reich beginnt. Dieser Aufstand hatte seine Beschützer, vor allem Rußland und Österreich. Griechenland erlangte die Unabhängigkeit 1821–29 langsam, da sie sich über die Verfassung nicht einigen konnten. Im Hinblick auf die türkische Bedrohung ernannten die Griechen den Bayernkönig aus dem Hause Wittelsbach zu ihrem Herrscher. In Situationen, wo sich die Balkanführer nicht einigen konnten, bestiegen zu verschiedenen Zeiten deutsche Fürsten und Könige die balkanischen Throne.

Den Aufschwung des osmanischen Reiches beschleunigte Sultan Mahmud II., aber die Reformen begannen erst mit Sultan Abdülmecit I., die sog. Tanzimat-i Hayriye (Neue Therapieordnung). Die Ergebnisse der Reformen waren nicht immer erfolgreich, jede Schwächung der Regierung hatte ein Losreißen vom Reich zur Folge. In den letzten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jh. entstanden Streitigkeiten überwiegend wegen der Grenzen und der Nichtanerkennung einiger Völker, was der Autor ausführlich erklärt. Das Ergebnis des langen Krieges war der Zerfall von Vielvölkerstaaten.

Das siebente Kapitel – Strukturkrisen der Nachfolgestaaten – analysiert im Grunde die Entwicklung nach dem I. Weltkrieg und die neuen Grenzen in Europa und Übersee. Der Autor führt an, daß J.M. Keynes als Delegat an den Pariser Friedensgesprächen darauf aufmerksam gemacht hat, daß sie sich am freien Markt beteiligen sollen, was jedoch der nationale Egoismus verhinderte. Deshalb soll man sich nicht wundern, daß der 2. Weltkrieg am Balkan außerordentlich grausam war und viele menschliche und materielle Verluste mit sich brachte.

Achtes Kapitel – Von der nationalen zur sozialen Revolution. Der Autor verfolgt eingehend wie und auf welche Weise die Sowjetisierung vor sich ging. Auf dem Wege der „Volksdemokratie“ wurde alles schnell und demokratisch gelöst. Dazu haben politische Emigranten beigetragen, die später zu Opfern wurden. Schon 1948 begannen die ersten Säuberungen. Später begannen die Prozesse in Ungarn, Rumänien, Bulgarien und Albanien. Aus den Angaben von Hösch über die Kollektivierung am Balkan ist ersichtlich, daß es ein teures Experiment war.

Das letzte neunte Kapitel – Das Ende der Volksdemokratien – Rückkehr nach Europa? – zeigt radikale Veränderungen nicht nur auf dem Balkan sondern auch in Mittel-

europa. Man kann sagen, daß dem Autor eine gute Übersicht über den Zerfall des Kommunismus gelungen ist.

Im Anhang befinden sich Karten: Südosteuropa vom 10. Jh. bis zum Berliner Kongreß. Südosteuropa in der deutschen Forschung zeigt die Geschichte dieser Disziplin und eine Übersicht über die heutige Forschung in Deutschland.

Die Bibliographie, systematisch bearbeitet (S. 289–324) bringt fast alles zu diesem Thema. Eine kleine Anmerkung: auf Seite 298 soll statt V.D. Zdeněk – V.Z. David stehen. Das Glossar bringt auf S. 325 Beylerbey und Eyalet: „A province used to be called a beylerbeyilik or a vilâyet. Both terms are too general to have any specific connotation: beylerbeyilik simply refers to the area that comes under a beylerbeyi, while vilâyet, a general term for administration, was applied to smaller units as well. From 1580s the term eyâlet came to replace the earlier terms.“ Kunt, I.M.: *The Sultan's Servants*. New York 1983. S. 96.

Zeittafel (S. 327–338) und Zeittafel der aktuellen Ereignisse 1988–1993 (S. 339–353) und schließlich Orts- und Personenregister (S. 354–375): Ahmed Pascha Köprülü, Großwesir (seit 1661 nicht 1666); Kollár, Ján (1783–1852), slow. nicht tschech. Dichter.

Das Buch gibt einen hervorragenden Überblick über die Geschichte des Balkans vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart. Es bringt eine Menge Fakten, ausführliche Erklärungen und ist fachlich und klar geschrieben, eine interessante und gute Lektüre.

Vojtech Kopčan

HULEC, O. and MENDEL, M. (Editors): *Threefold Wisdom. Islam, the Arab World and Africa. Papers in Honour of Ivan Hrbek*. Prague, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute 1993. 266 pp.

The book here presented was originally intended to commemorate the seventieth birthday of Professor Ivan Hrbek (20. 6. 1923 – 20. 3. 1993), an excellent teacher and prolific scholar in the domain of Arabic, Islamic and African Studies. Unfortunately, the prepared *Festschrift* has become a posthumous homage.

The biographical note, written by Luboš Kropáček, is followed by twenty studies and a bibliography, compiled by O. Hulec.

Most studies, included in the volume, are concerned with various aspects of African history (D. Birmingham: *Nkrumah in Retirement*; A. Davidson: *African Travels of the Russian Poet Nikolai Gumilev*; G. Höpp: *Muḥammad Kāmil ‘Ayyād, Ibn Ḥaldūn und der Orientalismus*; O. Hulec: *Problems and Positions of Indian Minority in South Africa Until World War I*; V. Pawliková Vilhanová: *African Historical Studies: Retrospect and Prospect*); African literature and culture (E. Bertoni-Zúbková: *Muslim Women in Zanzibar Literature*; A.D.H. Bivar: *A Possible Fulani Autograph in the Library of SOAS*; Paulo Fernando de Moraes Ferias: *Text as a Landscape: Cultural Reappropriations of Medieval Inscriptions in the Seventeenth and Late Twentieth Centuries (Éssuk Mali)*; V. Klíma: *Wole Soyinka's Commitment*); African anthropology (P. Skalník: *On the Impossibility of Doing Fieldwork*); African religion (H.J. Fisher: *Sujūd and Symbolism: A Case Study in the Ambiguity of Symbolic Ritual Action in the Quran and in Western Africa*; P.M. Holt: *A Sudanese Saint: Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib b. al-Bashīr*); African trade (G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville: *Apropos the Gold of Sofala*).

Afro-Arab integrating trends are studies by A.A. Mazrui: *Afrabia: Africa and the Arabs in the New World Order*.

Three papers are devoted to various aspects of Islamic fundamentalism (L. Kropáček: *Concept of Hijra in African Islamic Revolutions*; M. Mendel: *Islamic Fundamentalism as an Ideological Instrument of Social Communication*; A. Mrozek-Dumanowska: *Between Contestation and Pietism. New Trends in the Islamic Fundamentalism*).

The Arab linguistic policy is analysed by S. Pantůček: *Die Arabisierung in Algerien aus kultureller Sicht*.

An interesting source for the Egyptian history is described by R. Veselý: *Eine Stil-kunstschrift oder eine Urkundensammlung? Das Qahwat al-inšā' des Abū Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī*.

A solitary article of a non-African and non-Arab orientation has been sent in by Yusuf A. Talib: *Jawi Script: its Significance and Contribution to the Malay World*.

The memorial volume reflects main fields of scholarly interest of Professor Ivan Hrbek and is a valuable contribution to the scholarly domains represented.

Ladislav Drozdík

ZABORSKI, Andrzej: *Rozmówki arabskie. Dialekt egipski* (Arabic Dialogues. Egyptian Colloquial Arabic). Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna 1988. 377 pp.

The present manual of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic is the first one to be published in the Polish language. Despite its small size, the booklet presents a truly astonishing amount of highly useful and neatly classified words and phrases that cover all important situations of everyday life.

Apart from the main part of the book – the thematically classified lexical and conversational material – the manual contains an editorial note (*Od Wydawnictwa*, p. 11), a preface (*Przedmowa*, p. 12), and a couple of useful suggestions how to use the manual (*Jak posługiwać się Rozmówkami arabskimi*, p. 17).

The lexical and conversational material is subdivided into 16 thematic units: 1. Informative inscriptions; 2. Numbers and measures; 3. Time, weather, climate; 4. Expressions used in social life; 5. Dialogues on various topics; 6. Travelling; 7. In the city; 8. Lodging; 9. In the restaurant, café; 10. Shopping; 11. Post office, telegraph, telephone; 12. Services; 13. Health; 14. Entertainment; 15. Offices; 16. Economic, Social and Political Problems.

Apart from a number of current misprints, like *fi'l-Mugamma^ca* (= *fi'l-Mugamma^c*, 110), *it-ta'šširit bita^cti* (= *it-ta'ššira-bta^cti*, 109); *muwāšala ḥašša* (*muwāšala ḥāšša*, 126); *al-bāḥira* (= *al-bāḥira*, 133), etc., there is a number of overclassicized examples, like *asmā il-aḥfāl alladīna yurāfiqūna' ṭ-ṭālib* (111), and the like.

At any rate, Zaborski's manual is a very useful introduction to Cairo Arabic that will be appreciated by all those who can read Polish.

Ladislav Drozdík

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The Editors
