
ASIAN

MIČ 49*194
ISSN 1335-1257

AND

Slovak
Academy
of Sciences

AFRICAN

STUDIES

Volume 5/1996

Number 1

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We would like to inform our readers that since 1992 our periodical ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES is published semi-annually in journal form rather than annually in book form. The conception of our journal, however, has not undergone any major changes.

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ASIAN AND Slovak Academy of Sciences AFRICAN STUDIES

INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES
SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, BRATISLAVA

SAP – SLOVAK ACADEMIC PRESS, LTD.
BRATISLAVA
SLOVAKIA

ARTICLES

LIFE AND HEALTH, DISEASE AND DEATH. A COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN

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It has been observed before that the semantic characteristics of the concept of life in some Polynesian languages is so fuzzy as to be hardly delimitable from the concept of health just as sometimes no clear line can be drawn between the concepts of death and disease. Average Europeans are inclined to believe that life is separated from health and even more so death from disease by a sufficiently wide and safe gap, but in a society that has (or had, at least in the not so distant past) at its disposal no very effective therapeutic methods, the transition between these adjacent concepts need not be as difficult as all that.

In Polynesia, seriously sick persons were often separated from the rest of the family and neglected or simply left to die by their relatives. "In season of illness, especially if protracted, the common people, and the aged, received but little attention. If the malady was not soon relieved by the prayers of the priest, and the remedies he administered, the sufferer was abandoned" (Ellis 1829:II: 281–282). In such a society, being alive was truly tantamount to being healthy while being ill was a state that might only too often result in dying. Therefore one should expect that such a state of affairs would find its reflection in the lexicon, and the present paper may be regarded as an attempt at testing our hypothesis.

It is at the same time assumed that the different state of affairs in European (and also in many other) societies to which more efficient therapeutic methods are available is reflected in their languages too. One could with some justification expect that these languages tend to more unambiguously distinguish the domain of life from that of health and that the same would be true for the contiguous domains of disease and death.

The comparison and evaluation of synonyms and near-synonyms helps to build up what may be characterized as a conventionally accepted semantic configuration or content of a concept. Of course, various levels of denotation – primary, direct, transposed (metaphorical, metonymical, euphemisms), etc. – are to

be taken into account in the investigation, provided they may be said to compete functionally in speech.

The semantic domain of life overlaps not only with that of health but with other domains as well, for example with those of mental, philosophical and religious phenomena. The domain of death in its turn interferes with such phenomena as decay, disappearance, departure, sleep, rest, night, etc. The two extremes of life and death do not form a symmetrical contrast. First of all their emotional appreciation is obviously very different. While it is universally acceptable to talk of life in an open and straightforward manner (at least in most societies), any open and explicit mention of death is often felt to be embarrassing if not considered explicitly prohibited. As a result, there is a tendency to refer to such phenomena as death indirectly – via employing periphrastic, figurative and euphemistic means when the need arises. This explains why there is (in so many languages) a much greater abundance of terms referring to death than to life. It would seem that this contradicts the Polyanna principle according to which people prefer speaking of positive and pleasant experiences. In this respect the principle is violated just seemingly, which becomes manifest after it has been modified to the effect that people rather prefer speaking of their experiences in a positive and pleasant way.

The asymmetry of the relation between the concepts of life and death, however, has deeper roots. The twin notions of life and death are here torn out in an arbitrary ad hoc manner while their essence and interrelationships may only be fully understood within a more comprehensive scenario.

Below, relevant evidence from several Austronesian languages is collected, described and classified. The data have been extracted from available dictionaries. It should be underlined that the dictionaries discussed here are of varying size and quality, differing also in their coverage of idioms and exemplification; in other words, their comparability is inevitably somewhat restricted.

The following languages are dealt with below: Maori, Hawaiian, Tongan, Samoan (Polynesian group), Indonesian, Malagasy (Indonesian group), Fijian (Melanesian group), Ponapean and Trukese (Micronesian group). The data for the particular languages are arranged uniformly in the sequence *life* — *health* — *disease* — *death* and each entry includes all synonyms listed in the appropriate dictionary (or dictionaries).

MAORI

LIFE

koiora: life

kaiao: alive, living

mataora: living, alive

ora: alive, well, in health, safe, satiated, survive, escape, recover

mauri: life principle, thymos, source of the emotions; talisman, a material symbol of the hidden principle protecting vitality

hau: vitality of man, vital essence of land etc.

HEALTH

hauora: spirit of life, health, vigour; healthy, fresh, well, lively, in good spirits, perfect

waiora: health, soundness

ora: alive, well, in health, safe, satiated, survive, escape, recover

DISEASE

tahumaero: sickness, disease

mahaki: sick man, invalid, sick, ill, loose, cutaneous disease

oke: struggle, wriggle, writhe, put forth one's strength, strive, invalid, sick person, ill, ailing

wheori: diseased, ill

tuuroro: sick person, sick, corpse

mate: dead, extinguished, sick, ill, unconscious, injured, damaged, suffering, in want of, lacking, overcome with any emotion, deeply in love, calmed down, subsided, moving slowly, slack, completed, finished, accomplished, caught, injury, sickness, wound, danger, defeat, calamity, desire, company of mourners, death

mamate: distressed

matemate: sickly; shallow, failing (of streams)

DEATH

kouka: the part of latrine behind the beam, fig. abyss, death

muri: North, death, the place of departed spirits

pirau: rotten, gone out, extinguished, pus, decay, death

poautinitini: tribulation, evil, death

(po)pohe: withered, blind, dead, stupid, dull, death

hemo: be passed by, be gone away, cease, disappear, miss a mark, be consumed, die, be faint, completion of action (*hemonga* object of earnest desire)

(ke)kero: maimed, dead, die, disappear

hurumutu: die, come to an end, end, finish

makere: fall, drop, get down, alight, descend, be lost, abandoned, fail, cease, be seen in a vision, die

marere: drop, fall, be put off, be given, let oneself down, die

moe: sleep, dream, marry, repose, close the eyes, die

moonehu: fine rusty pubescence on the unexpanded fronds of bracken and other ferns, die, expire

hinga (te tootara): (the totara) has fallen

mate: dead, extinguished, sick, ill, unconscious, injured, damaged, suffering, in want of, lacking, overcome with any emotion, deeply in love, calmed down, subsided, moving slowly, slack, completed, finished, accomplished, caught, injury, sickness, wound, danger, defeat, calamity, desire, company of mourners, death

ika takoto a Tiki: the prostrate fish of Tiki, i.e. corpse

maataotao: cool, cold, i.e. die out, extinguished

roku: wane (moon), i.e. grow weak, decline
tatau o te poo: door of night, i.e. death
taawhati: ebb, i.e. die
te manu pirau a Tiki: rotten bird of Tiki, i.e. corpse
whati te (tara o) te marama: the (horn of the) moon broke

Synopsis: The primary Maori word for life, *ora*, denotes both health and life, a few derivatives refer only to life (*kaiao*, *mataora*) as well as a few lexemes referring only to health, namely *waiora* and *hauora*. And, finally, several terms refer to life from the spiritual point of view (*mauri*, *hau*, *hauora*). At the opposite end of the scale, there are some words reserved for disease (*tahumaero*, *mahaki*, *oke*, *wheori*, *mamate*, *matemate*) as well as a few terms referring both to disease and death (*tuuroro*, *mate*). However, the inventory of secondary terms referring to death and dying is impressive, due to verbal imagery, cf. *kouka*, *muri*, *pirau*, (*po*)*pohe*, *hemo*, *hurumutu*, *makere*, *marere*, *moe*, *moonehu*, *taawhati*, *maataotao*, *ika takoto a Tiki*, *tatau o te poo*, *manu pirau a Tiki*, *whati te tara o te maarama*.

HAWAIIAN

LIFE

ola: life, health, well-being, living, livelihood, means of support, salvation, alive, living, spared, recovered, healed, to live, to spare, to save, heal, grant life
ea: life, breath, vapor, gas, breeze, spirit
mauli: life, heart, seat of life; ghost, spirit; fontanel
iwi: (originally bones, i.e., the most cherished remains of the dead, and therefore) life, old age
haa: breath, breathe, spirit, life

HEALTH

ola kino: state of health

DISEASE

ma'i: patient, sick person, sickness, disease, sick, ill, menstruating

DEATH

make: die, defeated, killed, unfortunate, to faint, death, fainting, danger of death, peril, destruction, misfortune, to kill, deathly, deadly, faint, deceased, late, obsolete, poisonous; desire, want, to want
mamake: wilt, wither (of plants)
haa'ule: fall, drop, lose, fail, forget, neglect, die
hiamoe loa: oversleep, sleep deeply, eternal sleep, death (figurative)
ala ho'i 'ole mai: (literally a pathway on which there is no returning)
moe kau a ho'oilo: (literally sleep summer to winter = the sleep of death) death, be dead

Synopsis: There is just one specific term for health (*ola kino*) and likewise one for disease (*ma'i*) in Hawaiian. The basic term for life (*ola*) also refers to health, salvation, escape, well-being while that for death (*make*) denotes faintness, misfortune, danger, etc. Just as in Maori, there are terms for life pointing to the spiritual domain (*ea, mau, haa*) and, at the other extreme, numerous periphrastic, figurative and euphemistic terms referring to death (*haa'ule, hiamoe loa, ala ho'i 'ole mai, moe kau a ho'oilo*).

TONGAN

LIFE

mo'ui: (honorific *laumaalie, lakoifie*) live, be living, alive, be in health, recover, fig. be burning, be active (volc.), be going, working (of clock)

HEALTH

mo'ui, mo'ui lelei (see above)

ma'ui'ui: be in a healthy and flourishing condition (of plants), fresh

talavou: youth, adolescent, strong and healthy and good-looking

mata-mo'ui: healthy-looking

DISEASE

mate: be nearly dead with, be utterly sick and tired, be overcome or carried away with (laughter, weeping, desire, sleepiness, fear)

DEAD

mate: (*pekia* honorific, *hala* regal) die, be stunned or quite unconscious, go out, be out (fire), be sunk or wrecked (boat), be extinct (volcano), die down, cease (wind), be eclipsed (sun, moon), stop, not be going (engine), be knocked out, defeated, be paralysed; *Kuo mate 'ene mohé* "He is very fast asleep"

mamate: numb; quite barren, desert, lifeless, wrecked (of land, country)

tamate: subside, become less or slower, die down, die away

maalooloo: (euphemistic) die, orig. to rest

mama'o: (euphemistic) die, orig. be distant, far away, be absent

hiki: (euphemistic) die, orig. move from one place to another

vio: (abusive)

fekekeva'i: (abusive) die, cf. *kekeva* stiff, rigid

Synopsis: In Tongan, linguistic denotations of life overlap with those of health (*mo'ui*) and those of disease with that of death (*mate*). The whole picture is complicated by the introduction of an honorific parameter. The concept of death attracts a plethora of synonyms employing figurative processes in the interest of either politeness or euphemism or even abusement (*maalooloo, mama'o, hiki, fekekeva'i, vio*).

SAMOAN

LIFE

ola: (polite *soifua*) live, be alive, get over, recover from, live by, live on, grow, increase, give birth, remit, cancel (a punishment), end (of war), life, living

HEALTH

maaloolooina: (polite *soifua*) be healthy, healthy, health, recover from sickness, be well again

DISEASE

ma'i: be sick, sick, fall ill, infection, disease, sickness, pregnancy

DEATH

mate: die (of animals, plants, fire, streams, etc.)

oti: die (of people) (polite *maalaia*, orig. meaning overcome by disaster, be unlucky; also *maliu*, cf. *liu* change, *taliiu* return), be knocked out (of a boxer), finish, death

pee: (of animals) die, be dead, go out (light, fire), be low (tide), be numb, paralysed (limbs), heal (wound)

gase: be numb, without feeling, be dead, killed (of animals)

tu'umaaloo: (of high chiefs) die, death (*tu'u* put, leave + *maaloo* power, victory)

usufono: (polite, for orators) die (orig. attend, take part in a council)

usugaafono: (polite, for orators) death

Synopsis: Samoan, unlike the other Polynesian languages examined here, seems to draw a clearer line between life (*ola*) and health (*maaloolooina*) as well as between disease (*ma'i*) and death (*oti*, *mate*, *pee*). Their semantic structure is complicated by such factors as animateness (human beings – animals – plants) and politeness.

INDONESIAN

LIFE

hidup: life, be alive, living; thrive; run, go, be in the running, be put in use, have life; burn; fresh (fish, vegetables); flowing (water)

nyawa: soul (obviously primary meaning), spirit, life

HEALTH

sehat: healthy, sound

DISEASE

sakit: ill, sick, sore, painful

DEATH

mati: die, dead; break up; fixed (price); numb; stop (e.g. clock), go out (light, gas), fade (of sounds, flowers), dry out (water reservoir, tree), close down

Synopsis: Indonesian distinguishes life from health and disease from death just as European languages do. The words for life, living (*hidup*) and death, dying (*mati*) are extended along the anthropomorphic lines to refer to non-biological processes just as in several other Austronesian languages quoted here.

MALAGASY

LIFE

aina: life, come to life, restore strength, health, take rest, breathe, get rid of, health, strength, cut short, expand

velona: living, flowing (water), working or operating, functioning, resounding, beginning, burning, accessible

HEALTH

salama: healthy, health

DISEASE

aretina: disease

marary: sick, sickly (cf. *rary* pain, suffering)

marisa: sick, in bad condition (cf. *risa* weakness)

DEATH

maty: dead, killed, completely coinciding with, sentenced or executed by mistake; hard- working; wasted away; without progeny, destroyed, abolished, annihilated, forgotten, worn, extinguished, broken, partly paralysed, out of order, dried out, lost (of voice)

Synopsis: The radical distinction of adjacent concepts is present only within the continuum disease (*aretina*, *marisa*, *marary*) – death (*maty*). The continuum life – health comprises the unspecific term *aina*, *velona* (life, health) and the specific term *salama* (health).

FIJIAN

LIFE/HEALTH

bula: live, life, recover from illness, escape death, alive, sound in health either of body or mind

DEATH/DISEASE

mate: death, die, disease, sickness, be sick; sink (of a boat); be extinguished

matemate: sickly

Synopsis: The available dictionary is relatively small. What data are there seem to confirm the assumption that the concept of health overlaps with that of life (*bula*) just as the concept of disease does with that of death (*mate*).

PONAPEAN

LIFE

mour: life, alive, raw, undried or green (of wood), fresh
ieias (honorific): be alive

HEALTH

roson: health, healthy (of human beings)

DISEASE

soumwahu: sickness, disease, sick, diseased, ill
liper: sick, weak, skinny
luhmwuhmw (honorific): sickness, disease, sick, diseased, ill

DEATH

meng: dead, withered, dried (of vegetation) *engila* (slang): die
matala (honorific): die
mehla: die, stop (of a mechanical thing)
pweula (honorific): die (literally be postponed, cancelled, fail)
sipalla (honorific): die (cf. *sipal* cross over, skip)

Synopsis: According to the only available dictionary the Ponapean language distinguishes health (*roson*) from life (*mour*) and disease (*soumwahu*, *liper*) from death (*meng*). In addition to neutral terms there are honorific and partly also vulgar terms.

TRUKese

LIFE/HEALTH

manaü: life, alive; salvation, saved; health, recovered; fresh, erect, run

DEATH/DISEASE

mä: death, dying, pestilence, epidemic; weakness, collapse, overexertion, over-tired; stop, standstill; dead, died, paralysed
pe: die, dead, died; lost in war, fighting or contest; be worsted, unlucky, have a hard time

Synopsis: Trukese, unlike Ponapean, the other Micronesian language discussed here, goes with the majority of the Polynesian languages in fusing the concepts of life and health (*manaü*) on the one hand and those of disease and death (*mä*) on the other.

* * *

It may probably be concluded that those languages which do not clearly distinguish the adjacent concepts of (1) life and health and those of (2) disease and death, i.e., Maori, Hawaiian, Tongan, Fijian, and Trukese, represent a more ar-

chaic phase. By the way, in Biblical time all seriously ill persons were considered “dead” (Kremer 1995: 68). Aside from them there are those languages in which life is carefully distinguished from health just as disease from death, namely Indonesian, Samoan and Ponapean. However, the term archaic ought to be employed with some care. For example, separate lexemes for disease and death are known to have existed in Proto-Austronesian and their fusion in some languages of Oceania is secondary. In some of the languages, however, the overlap is only partial.

The conceptual domains of life (alongside health) and death (alongside disease) exert a powerful semantic influence upon the structuration of lexicon, which is apparent in the plethora of semantic transfers to or from other conceptual domains.

The true relation between the concepts of life, health, disease, and death may only be properly understood if they are inspected within their natural ambient, within a more extensive and naturally defined scenario. What matters is that life and death may be treated as contrasts, but this may degenerate into a simplistic dichotomy. In fact, their ontological status is considerably different. Life may be viewed as a process of some duration while death is better interpreted as a change, that is, as an event taking place during a relatively short time-span. Thus, any consideration of death as a true contrast of life, is acceptable only *cum grano salis*. Death is a terminative event of life which cannot be understood without its inchoative event, that is, without birth. While life is certainly compatible with health, diseases are far from absent in the course of its duration and both health and disease may alternate. On the other hand, death, being perfectly compatible with disease, seems not to go either with good health or with well-being.

Human beings have always been inclined to view the surrounding world with a measure of anthropocentrism. This enables us to view many non-human processes as akin to life and to employ the recognized analogies as a foundation of numerous figurative expressions, transfers, euphemisms, and idioms.

Interestingly enough, few figurative expressions have been attested for birth; however, the notion of death finds a secondary denotation in numerous indirect expressions, very often metaphors, taken from the world of nature, cf. Maori *kouka* the part of latrine behind the beam, figuratively abyss, death, *muri* North, metonym. death, the place of departed spirits, *pirau* rotten, gone out, extinguished, pus, decay, death, *(po)pohe* withered, blind, dead, stupid, dull, death, *hemo* be passed by, be gone away, cease, disappear, miss a mark, be consumed, die, be faint, completion of action (cf. *hemonga* object of earnest desire), *(ke)kero* maimed, dead, die, disappear, *hurumutu* die, come to an end, end, finish, *makere* fall, drop, get down, alight, descend, be lost, abandoned, fail, cease, be seen in a vision, die, *marere* drop, fall, be put off, be given, let oneself down, die, *moe* sleep, dream, marry, repose, close the eyes, die, *moonehu* fine rusty pubescence on the unexpanded fronds of bracken and other ferns, die, expire, *hinga te tootara* the totara has fallen; Hawaiian *haa'ule* fall, drop, lose, fail, forget, neglect, die, *hiamoe loa* oversleep, sleep deeply, eternal sleep, death, *ala*

ho'i 'ole mai (literally a pathway on which there is no returning), *moe kau a ho'oilo* (literally sleep summer to winter = the sleep of death) death, be dead: Tongan *tamate* subside, become less or slower, die down, die away; *maalooloo* (euphemistic) die, literally to rest, *mama'o* (euphemistic) die, originally be distant, far away, be absent, *hiki* (euphemistic) die, originally move from one place to another, *fekekeva'i* (abusive) die, cf. *kekeva* stiff, rigid; Ponapean *pweula* (honorific) die, literally be postponed, cancelled, fail, *sipalla* (honorific) die (cf. *sipal* cross over, skip).

On the other hand, the lexemes with the primary meaning of life and death often undergo an anthropomorphic expansion to include functionally analogous phenomena, cf. Maori *hauora* perfect, *mate* calmed down, moving slowly, slack, completed, finished, caught, defeat, calamity; Hawaiian *make* defeated, unfortunate, destruction, peril, *mamake* wilt, wither; Tongan *mo'ui* be burning, be active (of a volcano), be going, working (of a machine), *mate* stunned, unconscious, go out, be sunk or wrecked (of a canoe), extinct, eclipsed, stop, defeated; Samoan *ola* end (of a war), cancel a punishment, *pe* dry out, go out; Indonesian *hidup* run, be going, be put in use, burn, flow, *mati* break up, stop (of clock), go out, fade, dry out, close down; Malagasy *velona* flow (of water), be working, operating, functioning (a machine), resound, burn, *maty* be forgotten, extinguished, dried out, broken, out of order; Fijian *mate* sink, extinguish; Ponapean *mehla* stop; Trukese *manaü* erect, run (a mechanism), *mä* collapse, stop, standstill, *pe* lost in war.

Appendix

Semantic components of the HEALTH – LIFE continuum (in Maori):

WELL – SAFE – SATIATED – VIGOUR – FRESH – IN GOOD SPIRITS – PERFECT – SURVIVE – ESCAPE – RECOVER SPIRIT OF LIFE

Semantic components of DISEASE – DEATH continuum (in Maori):

STRUGGLE – WRIGGLE – WRITHE – OUT OF ONE'S STRENGTH – STRIVE – AILING – ILL – UNCONSCIOUS – WOUND – INJURY – DAMAGE – CALAMITY – DANGER – SUFFERING – COMPANY OF MOURNERS – OVERCOME WITH EMOTION – DESIRE – DEEPLY IN LOVE – IN WANT OF – LACKING -DEFEAT – SUBSIDE – MOVE SLOWLY – SLACK – CALM DOWN – ACCOMPLISHED – COMPLETED – FINISHED – EXTINGUISHED – CORPSE

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NATURE IN MAORI METAPHOR

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Metaphor is known to occur in all languages of the world and its appearance in speech is stimulated by factors inherent in the so-called problem situations, in the activity known as problem solution. Therefore we can distinguish poetic and cognitive metaphors. A predominantly cognitive basis, for example, gives birth to metaphors in the speech of children, in terminology (especially at the forefront of science) and in the early phases of the existence of pidgins. Here we have to do with lexical metaphors that on the whole serve practical purposes of communication and their basis is chiefly cognitive, perhaps with the exception of stylistically marked expressions where emotional factors are in the foreground.

The poetic metaphor is largely dominated by emotional factors and may be described as a manifestation of additional linguistic creativity, that is creativity that exceeds or transcends the standard level of creativity hidden perhaps behind most if not all utterances (if speech activity is defined as generating utterances from a ready-made inventory of units by means of the application of a set of rules that are given in advance).

Poetry is an ideal medium for extra creativity the level of which may gradually rise because what has been achieved before can and ought to be surpassed in order to deserve the label of being creative.

Creatively valuable conceptual associations or configurations expressed in metaphors correlate with hidden, profound and/or surprising links. The functions of cognitive and poetic activities diverge, and the aim of metaphorical creativity in poetry is to achieve adequate (and individual) self-expression and at the same time to arrest the attention of the recipient as well as to produce in him a desirable reaction to the poetic work. This holds for non-anonymous poetry.

I think we can accept Embler's view that poetry is an expression of the internal world of the poet through the external world (Embler 1966). Thus especially human feelings and moods are very frequently described via images borrowed from nature (e.g. storm of excitement), just as admiration, joy, sorrow, loneliness, desire.

In non-anonymous poetry the highest ambition of the poet is to be original and therefore unusual metaphors, metaphors that stimulate thought on the part of the recipient and provoke his creative approach during the process of inter-

pretation, are valued. In the lexicon, however, elementary and more straightforward and conventional metaphors are preferred (often based upon human anatomy, natural phenomena, social organization, family, etc.).

Traditional poetry ought to be carefully distinguished from non-anonymous, individual verse. The former tends to be essentially stereotypical and canonized. A fairly restricted inventory of elementary metaphors displays a high frequency of occurrence in folk poetry. Here metaphor strives to carry out a comparison with the conventionally accepted standard of the society. This gives us a fairly reliable insight into the naive "philosophy" of the people concerned and into their system of values and attitudes to their surroundings and nature.

There are other differences between traditional and non-anonymous poetry (one important remark: In New Zealand there is traditional Maori poetry written by known authors since the early 19th century). The author of traditional poetry usually borrows his metaphorical images from his immediate environment with which all recipients are familiar so that there are no serious problems involved in their process of interpretation. Since traditional poetry is passed from generation to generation orally, variation is known to occur but generally the degree of such variation tends to be low.

Another typical feature of Maori traditional poetic metaphor is its heavy reliance on nature as the main source of poetic imagery. This, by the way, seems to be its universal feature throughout the world. There is a question, however, to what extent this could be interpreted as a confirmation of the non-alienation of the traditional poets from their natural environment and of their individual involvement with nature. This attitude to nature seems to be mediated through their religion.

In Maori poetry of the pre-contact era the feeling of unity with the cosmos was obviously very strong. Maori religion is, after all, a natural religion. Heaven and Earth were parents of the gods and these gods were identified with particular natural phenomena: Tane with the trees and forests (as well as with birds), Rongo with cultivated plants, Tangaroa with the sea and its creatures, Tawhirimatea with the wind, Tuu with the man and war, etc.

Maori examples confirm the assumption that the cultural orientation of a society finds its reflection in the inventory of canonical metaphors.

A careful investigation of the representative selection of Maori traditional poetry published under the title *Nga Moteatea* (1959) betrays the importance of the sea and everything linked to it. Additional examples of both poetic and lexical metaphors are quoted after M. Orbell's book *The Natural World of the Maori* (Orbell 1985) while the bulk of the lexical metaphors comes from the *Dictionary of the Maori Language* by H. W. Williams (Williams 1957).

The sea (unlike the land) was always regarded as a threatening, strange and dreadful element and this finds manifestation in metaphors too. There was a kind of war between the children of the land and those of the sea. That is why fishing was linked with various rituals and observances and women were not allowed to go fishing. People conquered in war are often spoken of as fish caught in a net, and in the love poetry a woman may be a canoe and her lover a paddler

(Orbell 1985: 135). In the 19th century a number of sayings identified the Maori with the land and the encroaching Pakehas with the sea, or sea winds: *Inaianei kua haa te haahaa tai* "Now the sound of the waves has gone far inland". The ebb tide was associated with misfortune. A warrior takes leave of his dying comrade with these words:

*Haere ra, e tama e! Moou te tai ata,
Mooku te tai poo!*

Farewell, friend! The morning tide is for you,
The evening tide will be for me!

(After Orbell 1985: 138)

Poet's tears were often likened to crashing waves. And when the mourning has been done, he is singing:

*Kaati te tangi, aapoopoo taatou ka tangi anoo.
Aapaa ko te tangi i te tai, e tangi roa, e ngunguru tonu.*

We have cried enough, for soon we will cry again.
It is not like the crying of the waves, which ever cry, ever sound.

This, by the way, proves that the poet is aware of the difference between crying of human beings and waves.

The most frequent metaphorical image is represented by the key word *ika* "fish". Most human "fish" were the victims of warfare. Any person who crossed the path of a war party must have been killed... and such a person was called *he maroro kokoti ihu waka* "a flying fish that cuts across the bow of a canoe". The first enemy to be slain was *maataaika* "the first fish". *Ika*, "fish", occurs, e.g., in the following metaphorical expressions: *He ika ano au ka haehae* "A fish I am ripped in pieces"; *Kai parahua ai te ika ki te mounu* "A fish nibbles at the bait". While the former is readily accessible through the lexicalized meaning of *ika* as victim, the latter metaphor refers to a lover who does not take his mistress too seriously. A slightly different prototypical meaning of *ika* "fish" is contained in the following metaphor: *He mea i motu mai i te waha o te ika* "Scarcely escaped from the mouth of the fish", meaning really "He barely escaped from death". Here death is metaphorized as *te waha o te ika* "the mouth of the fish". The metaphorical expression *Ko he ika whakawera no roto i te kupenga* "You, the most combative fish in the net" fuses the unfavourable shade of meaning of *ika* ("victim" in general) with the image of a wriggling fish helpless in the fisherman's net. Fish may also be specified, e. g., as *kaharoa*, namely in the metaphor *tautenga o te kaharoa* "the kaharoa harvest" where *tautenga* ought to be understood as "hauling ashore the nets, and scaling, gutting, drying and roasting the victims killed in the battle", which is a treatment similar to that of a fish. The dead chief Te Heuheu is described metaphorically as *Koe ika pawhara na te atua*, as a "disembowelled fish offered to the gods". In another verse the

image of a disembowelled fish, i.e., *ika tuaki*, is complemented with that of a stray fish or *he ika pakewha*. Sharks were seen as fighters and chiefs killed in a battle as stranded whales. *Pakake* "whale" is a metaphor for chiefs and *kakahi* "whale" may be metaphorically used for the beloved person, e.g. in the verse *Tena te kakahi ka tere ki te tonga* "Verily their whale has drifted to the south". Enemies, on the other hand, could be compared to small and harmless fish.

Other sea creatures are sometimes metaphorized. Thus *kekeno* "seal" in a derogative way symbolizes a woman who seduces men; A chief successful in battle is called *he honu manawa-rahi* "a great-hearted turtle".

The kingfish could also be regarded as a chief and because red was a highly valued colour, red-eyed mullet could be a description of a chief (cf. Orbell 1985: 146).

Many sea creatures were associated with particular habits and characteristics. Slander and malicious gossip could be likened to the dangerous sting of the sting-ray.

A traveller is "like the garfish" (*ihe*) which moves about fast on the surface of the sea.

The butterfish is a night creature and thus someone committing murder in the dark was "a butterfish that feeds at night" (*he rarii kai po*).

Obstinate warriors were like mussels or *paua* clinging tightly to rocks or crayfish that keep to their holes (Orbell 1985: 146–147).

Karoro "seagulls", *kawau* "shags" and *toroa* "albatrosses" are likewise part of the marine world, cf. the expression *karoro tipi one* "startled beach sea-gulls", *Kawau aroarotea, ka tu tenei kei te paenga i o riri* "The white-breasted shag has come and gazes on your many fields of battle" where the white-breasted shag is an omen of death, as is the *paenga toroa* "a stranded albatross".

One of the favourite images referring metaphorically to someone left alone and suffering is that of a canoe (*waka*) that may be shattered or overturned. Cf. the following examples: *He mea nei hoki au ka pakaru rikiriki te waka ki te akau* "I am a canoe shattered to fragments on the breakers"; *He waka tenei au ka huripoki* "I am now a canoe overturned"; *Tia te tinana, he waka pakaru kino* "Age will come upon me, a derelict canoe".

To describe a situation of helplessness, *tawhaowhao* or *maero* "driftwood" may be employed, e.g. *Ka whanatu, ka haere, Hei karoro tipi one, Hei tawhao-whao paenga tai* "Arise, go forth and be As startled beach sea-gulls, Or as driftwood from the sea; *He maero au nei* "Like flotsam am I".

Sea as such may undergo metaphorization reminiscent in some ways of mythology, as in the expression *Kei te whaonga o te maara na Tangaroa* "Put in the field of Tangaroa", in other words drowned in the ocean.

The canoe is often metaphorized as a lover who obeys the whims of his/her partner or as an unreliable partner but these metaphors are mentioned here only briefly because the canoe is not a natural object even if it is directly linked to sea, cf. the following examples: *Nau te waka nei he whakahau ki te awa* "I heeded your every wish like your canoe by the river"; *E mahara iho ana, he waka ka urutomo, He waka he ika rere ki Hikurangi ra ia* "Me thought the canoe

was securely moored, The canoe, alas, became a flying fish to Hikurangi yonder”.

Sea may be personified as crying, e.g. *E tangi haere ana nga tai o te uru* “The waves of the western sea are moaning” or, in very much the same spirit, *Whakarongo ki te tai e tangi haere ana* “Listen to the tides lamenting as they flow”.

Wind is another element that undergoes metaphorization in Maori traditional poetry and it sometimes produces negative associations: *Haere ra, nga rata whakaruru hau ki muri* “Farewell, o thou sheltering rata from the north wind”. Tears are often represented as rain or deluge, e.g. *Ko au ki raro nei riringi ai te ua i aku kamo* “Whilst I here below pour forth a deluge from mine eyes”.

Birds of all sorts were a kind of mediators between land and skies, they could freely move about and above and thus were qualified to be messengers of gods or spirits. Therefore they were metaphorized predominantly for their positive qualities.

He kootuku rerenga tahi “A white heron of a single flight”. An orator may honour a distinguished visitor by comparing his visit to that of a white heron: such an important man comes as seldom as that bird.

The white heron could represent the male, just as the *huia*, another remarkable bird, could be associated with the female. Because herons stand motionless in the water and await their prey, a proverb spoke of *he kootuku kai whakaata*, “a white heron that feeds upon its reflection”. William Colenso explains that this proverb was used of a chief who concerned himself with feeding his guests and of one who quietly and courteously awaits the arrival and sitting of others to their repast before he eats his own food. Such manners were a sign of good birth (Orbell 1985: 207–208).

Bitterns were expressing their loneliness and melancholy; a woman unhappy in love might view herself as a bittern:

*Me he huuroto au kei roo repo,
Me he kaaka, e whakaraaoa ana!*

I am like a bittern in the swamp,
A bittern with its choking cry!

(After Orbell 1985: 208–209)

The singing of birds at dawn was a sign of the triumph of light over darkness, and it was associated with oratory. Departed chiefs might be praised as *taku manu whakaoho i te ata* “my bird that woke the dawn”.

Someone with bad manners could be said to have been hatched by a bird, and a babbler might be accused of making as much noise as a baby bird. Usually, however, images based upon birds were favourably appreciated. Brave warriors were “flapping birds” and “stubborn birds”.

Birds’ nests are metaphorized (as elsewhere in the world) as birthplace or safe abode. Young mothers lived with their newly born children in a separate hut

termed a nest house. A talkative person was sometimes labeled as *kaakaa*, i.e., a large gregarious parrot, as *he kaakaa waha nui* "a big-mouthed parrot"; boasting enemies were chattering *kaka* who would soon meet their fate.

Eloquent orators and accomplished singers were said to sound like the *tui* and the bellbird (*koopara*).

Bellbirds are restless creatures and therefore suitable to characterize a frivolous woman (*he koopara kairerere*).

A chief whose death was mourned in a lament might be called by the poet *he huia tuu rae* "a huia plume on my brow", and in love songs a sweetheart was sometimes *te huia kai-manawa* "the huia that consumes my heart".

Strangely enough, the morepork (*ruru*), as elsewhere in the world, was associated with the night and with spirits of ancestors. Its presence was taken as a warning of a death in someone's family.

According to George Grey, the hawk was a symbol for a great chief and the falcon for a treacherous, cruel man. High chiefs might be spoken of as white hawks, cf. the saying *Me haere i raro i te kahu koorako*, "Travel under the protection of a white hawk": which meant a good reception for everybody.

Cosmic imagery is by no means exceptional in Maori poetry and even rhetoric abounds in cosmic metaphors. Many of them tend to be applied to chiefs, especially to their death. Thus the verse *Naana i horo te whetuu te maarama* "It is him who swallowed the stars and the moon" refers to fights where the warriors are identified with the stars (*whetuu*) and the chiefs with the moon (*maarama*) when they were killed by the Tuuhourangi. When a warrior or a chief dies, the poet declares *I whati ai te maarama* "The moon was broken". The same meaning is delivered by the metaphor *I makere iho ai te tara o te maarama* "The point of the riven moon has fallen" as well as by an analogous expression *Kaa whati raa, ee, te tara o te maarama* "Alas, severed now is the point of the crescent moon".

In the forest the Maori saw a hierarchy of trees similar to that in human society, and they distinguished the most stately ones as *raakau rangatira*, "chiefly trees", from the common trees, the so-called *raakau ware*. The class of the chiefly trees includes above all the *tootara*, *kauri*, *kahikatea*, *rimu*, *rata*, and *maire*.

A tree may symbolize a tribe, but it is usually viewed as representing an individual; a distinguished person who died was metaphorized as a majestic tree in poetry. Cf. the following poem by Te Wharerangi:

Ehara i te tangata koe, maahuri tootara!
He waa kahikatea i rutua e te hau,
Pae ana ki te one, ngaa tuakirikiri i waho Wairehu.

You were not a man, you were a young totara!
A Kahikatea forest uprooted by a gale
Lies cast up on the sand, on the gravel beaches beyond Wairehu.

The noblest of all trees was the totara with its red wood and thus fitting for chiefs. Since the best timber is found within a forest, not on its borders, a chief

was likened to a totara growing inside the woods – his proper place is in the midst of his people, says M. Orbell.

Cosmic metaphor may be used to underline the brilliancy of someone's eyes, e.g. *Ko aaku mata i rehu, e whakawhetuu mai ana roto* "My misty eyes are quite bedimmed and shine forth from within like stars".

The philosophical basis of cosmic metaphor derives from mythology. This is the case of the following verse: *He maarama kia mate, kaa ea mai ki runga i ee* "Thou art the waning moon which dies, later again is seen on high".

Other kinds of metaphor witness to the imaginative variety of Maori traditional poetry. The verbal expression *taakohutia* "being wrapped in mist" refers to sorrow; *rima* "seaweed" may refer to internal emptiness, e.g. *Waiho au kia pooaha ana, he rima puka kei te aakau* "So let me remain empty, (like) the porous seaweed on the shore"; *poo* "night" hints at death, cf. *te tira o riri poo* "the company of the battle of night", i.e. the dead ones; and *huka moana* "sea foam" is a metaphorical reference to something valueless.

Maori poetry abounds in sequences of metaphors that characterize their tenor from several points of view. This perseverance of emotional effect makes the semantic interpretation of verse easier. A dead chief may be wept over in the following way: *Kaa whati raa, ee, te tara o te maarama* (1), *Taku ate* (2) *hoki raa, taku piki kootuku* (3), *Teenaa te kaakahi* (4) *kaa tere ki te toonga* "Alas, severed now is the point of the crescent moon (1), You were my heart (2), my kotuku plume (3), Verily the whale (4) has drifted to the south". It is usually deep sorrow that provokes such an outburst of emotions as the next poetic sequence: *Tirohia mai au he ika tuaki* (1), *Paenga toroa* (2) *he koroirirangi, He ika pakewha* (3) *'hau na Rehua, e tama ma ee! He huka moana* (4), *paringa-a-tai akahu ki te whanga* "Look and see me here a disembowelled fish (1), A stranded albatross (2), tossed by the whirlwind; A stray fish (3) of Rehua am I, o youthful ones! Like the sea foam (4), faintly seen at the inlet". A mournful seaside scenery is metaphorically applied to the mood of loneliness and old age as follows: *Tia te tinana, he waka pakaru kino* (1), *kaa ruha* (2) *noa au ki te aakau* (3), *ee* "Age will come upon me, like a derelict canoe (1), discarded (2) I shall be upon the strand (3), ah me."

Metaphorical and periphrastic expressions abound in Maori ritual and rhetoric (called metaphorically *te kai a ngaa rangatira* "the food of chiefs"), that rank among the finest in the whole of Oceania. The motivating mechanisms behind them are euphemism, eulogy and mythical inspiration.

Death is sometimes described as *haere ki tua o te aarai* "to go beyond the veil or screen" or *te uurunga tee taka, te moenga tee whakaarahia* "the pillow which does not slip, the bed from which there is no arising". Just as easy to decipher is the expression *te ringa kaha o aituaa* "the strong hand of misfortune", or even *te iwi wahanguu i te Poo* "the silent people of the Night" meaning the deceased ancestors.

Not a few metaphorical expressions can only be properly understood within the conceptual framework of Maori mythology where an outsider can hardly separate natural images from mythological beliefs. In the expression *Kua hinga*

te tootara o te wao nui a Taane “A totara tree of the great forest of Tane has fallen down”, mankind is metaphorized as a forest (of which, as we know, Tane is a god) and the expression itself can be translated as “The great chief has died”. Burial is often described as *ngaro ki te koopuu o Papatuanuku* “having disappeared within the bowels of the Mother Earth” – perhaps as a hint at the unsuccessful attempt of Maui to enter the bowels of the goddess Hine-nui-te-poo and thus, reversing the normal procedure, to gain immortality for mankind – or simply as a return to the Mother Earth.

And yet death is not interpreted as an event leading to an irrevocable separation. Just as visitors to the tribal house (*whare whakairo*) were greeted by their hosts as *ngaa kanohi ora o ngaa tiipuna* “the living faces of the ancestors” or as *ngaa moorehu o te hunga mate* “the survivors of the dead”, those who had died were present at the moment when their descendants were entering the tribal house. This house was viewed as the ancestor’s body and the entry was equated to the return to the cosmogonical past. The past could not be isolated from either present or future and the unity of the living with the dead was repeatedly emphasized. Even the cosmogonical parents, Rangi (Heaven) and Earth (Papa), were ever present with each generation, for the creation was no closed or terminated process. The God Tane who as the only one from the circle of divine brothers managed to push their heavenly father Rangi to its proper position, away from mother Earth (Papa), is actually identical with the trees that incessantly grow and (perhaps) are supporting the sky with their very heads and limbs. Clouds were regarded in Hawaii as bodies of the god of crops (and rain, of course) Lono and likewise, rain was interpreted as the tears of Heaven: *Uwe ka lani, ola ka honua* “When Sky weeps, Earth lives”.

Nature is massively represented in the Maori lexicon as documented by the W. H. Williams’ dictionary, the most exhaustive lexicographic description of the language (Williams 1957). About half of all lexical metaphors in Maori take their vehicles from the realm of nature and majority of them come from the domain of fauna, flora or animal and plant anatomy.

Just as in poetry, sea animals take up the first position in metaphorical productivity:

angaanga /anga shell > elder, chief

ika fish > prized possession, fighting man, warrior, victim

ika a Whiro /Whiro god of evil and darkness/ > old, tried warrior

ika toto nui /toto blood, *nui* great/ > a chief of high birth

ika nui a god (syn. with *atua*)

ika paremo /paremo to drown/ > a victim slain to propitiate

Tangaroa /god of the ocean/

ika takoto a Tiki /takoto to lie down, *Tiki* god of creation/ > a corpse

ika purapura /purapura seed/ > human victim buried during erection of a house

ika wheua /wheua bone, to be firm/ > main range of hills

ika iri /iri a spell/ > object of a love charm

Ika Wheua o te Rangi Bone Fish of the Sky = *Te Ika o te Rangi* Fish of the Sky =
Ika Roa Long Fish > The Milky Way
Te Ika a Maui Maui's Fish > North Island
kaakahi a whale > large porpoise chief
kekeno sea-lion > chief
kina sea-urchin, sea-egg > a globular calabash, stomach distended with food
ngohi fish > victim, person slain in battle
nguu sepia, squid > a person unable to swim (?), ghost, silent, dumb, speechless
pae wai a species of eel > person of importance
paraaoa sperm whale > chief, well born, aristocratic
ika paremo /ika fish, *paremo* drowned/ > a human victim killed to secure good
 luck
poorohe > a large species of mussel, chief
taniwha a fabulous monster, shark > chief, prodigy
unahi o Takero /unahi scales, *Takero* a fish/ > shooting stars
unahi roa /roa long/ > ignis fatuus, comet
Te whai a Titipa /whai sting-ray/ > The Coalsack
haku kingfish, *Serida grandis* > chief

Another very rich productive domain is that of birds or flying creatures:
huia *Heteralocha acutirostris*, a rare bird, the tail feathers of which are prized as
 ornaments, its feathers > anything much prized
kaaeaea bush hawk, to act like a hawk fool > to look rapaciously, wander (as the
 eyes)
kaahu hawk, harrier > chief, kite for flying
kawau pu *Phalacrocorax carbo*, shag > a chief
koohanga nest > birthplace, fort
kahu koorako /an old hawk with light plumage/ > chief
kootare kingfisher > beggar, sponge
kura red, glowing, ornamented with feathers > precious treasure, valued posses-
 sion, darling, chief, man of prowess, knowledge of *karakia*, ceremonial
 restriction
manu bird > person held in high esteem
manu kura /kura something precious/ > chief, leader in council
manu a Tane /Tane a deity/ > man
manu a Tiki /Tiki a deity/ > man
manu waero rua /waero tail, *rua* two/ > violent wind
moho *Notornis hochstetteri*, blockhead, trouble, stupid
muri manu /manu bird/ > inferior or secondary wife
piipii /pii young, of birds/ > the young fighting men of an army
pokai tara /pokai swarm, flock, *tara* a bird, thorn/ > band of warriors
weu a tuft of hair, feather > chief

The domain of animal anatomy is dealt with separately:

angaanga /*anga* shell, husk, skeleton, stone of fruit, vessel; *angaanga* head/ > elder, chief

hiku tail of a fish/reptile > rear of an army on march/company of travellers, tip of a leaf, headwaters of a river, eaves of a house; *hiku tau* (literally the tail of the year) end of a season; *hiku toto* (literally the tail of blood) expedition to avenge murder; *hiku wai* (the tail of water) source of a stream, light early rains.

The domain of plants including trees is underrepresented:

kahika Podocarpus excelsum (white pine), chief, ancestor

kiokio a fern, palm lily the moon on the 26th day lines in tattooing

tumatakuru a thorny shrub, spear-grass > to show consternation, be apprehensive

harore an edible fungus growing on decayed timber > shell of the ear

Plant anatomy is a conceptual model quite frequently employed by lexical metaphors:

hua fruit > egg, roe, product, progeny, abundance, number, to be full (of a moon), wax

kaapeka branch of a tree > branch of a river

karihi stone of a fruit, kernel > testes

kakau stalk of a plant > handle of a tool

kau ati the piece of wood to produce fire > chief, man of importance

kore kaupeka /branchless; *kaupeka* branch/ > a childless person

kaawai shoot, branch (of a creeping plant) > pedigree, lineage; tentacles of a cuttlefish, loops or handles of a *kete*, strand in plaiting

koouru o te matangi /*koouru* top of a tree, head of a river; *matangi* wind/ > first puff of a breeze

mahurangi > flesh of a *kumara* > used to denote importance; applied to persons, food, etc.

manga branch of a tree > branch of a river, brook, rivulet, watercourse, ditch, snare

miha young fronds of fern > distant descendant

more tap-root > cause, extremity, promontory; bare, plain, toothless, blunt

parito centre shoot or heart of endogenous plants > offspring

peka branch, faggot, fernroot > chief

wana to bud, shoot > ray of the sun

wanawana spines, bristles > fear, thrill, fearsome, awe-inspiring, to quiver, shiver, trill

whaa leaf > flake, feather

mae withered > languid, listless, struck with astonishment, paralysed with fear, etc.

Natural elements (fire, water, sea, wind, etc.) are far from rare in lexical metaphors, obviously because of their ability to be active:

ahi tere /*ahi* fire, *tere* swift, active, hasty/ > causing discord

aho rangi /*aho* radiant light, cf. also above, *rangi* heaven, sky/ > teacher of high standing in the school of learning

amai swell on the sea > giddy, dizzy; *aamaimai* nervous

aawangawanga /*awanga* SW wind/ uneasy in mind, disturbed, undecided, distress

hau wind, air, breath, dew, moisture > vital essence of man, of land, etc., food used in ceremonies, portions of a victim slain in battle, used in rites to ensure good luck

huene swell of the sea > to desire

huka foam, froth, frost, snow, cold > trouble, agitation

whakakaa /*kaa* to burn, take fire/ > to incite, inflame

kahu kura rainbow > butterfly, a garment

kare ripple > lash of a whip, object of passionate affection, to long for, desire ardently; *kakare* agitated, stirred, emotion, agitation

karekare surf, waves > agitated, disturbed, eager

koohengi(*hengi*) breeze, light wind > yearning, feeling (for absent friends)

komingo to swirl, eddy > to be disturbed, be in a whirl, agitate

koomingomingo whirlpool > to be violently agitated

koorehu haze, mist, fog > regret, disappointment

kootonga cold south wind > misery

maapuna to well up, ripple, sway, undulate, form a pool > to grieve, sigh

whakamarama /*marama* moon/ > crescent-shaped top of a *ko*

marau meteor, comet > raiding party

mumu baffling, boisterous wind > valiant warrior

muri breeze > to sigh, grieve

nawe to be set on fire > to be kindled or excited (feelings)

pahunu fire, to burn > anxiety, apprehension

pakiwaru settled fine weather > person of high birth

paoa smoke > gall, bitterness (e.g. *tupu te paoa ki tona ngakau* "smoke is rising to his heart")

ahi paaraweranui widespread fire > war

pii source, headwater > origin

poo > night, season > place of departed spirits

whakapoo to darken > to grieve

poko to go out, be extinguished > to be beaten, defeated

pouri dark > sorrowful, sad, distressed

puna spring of water, hole, oven > wife, ancestor

rangi heaven, upper regions, sky, weather, day, period of time > stanza, air, tune
head, chief, sir, seat of affections, heart

roku to wane (of the moon) > to grow weak, decline

taahuna a tara /shoal, sandbank, *tara* tern/ > an assemblage of chiefs

taahurihuri to rock (like a canoe at sea) > to be perturbed, be at a loss

tai sea > anger, rage, violence
tai tamatane /*tai* sea, *tamatane* virile/ > the sea on the west coast
tai tamawahine /*tamawahine* feminine/ > the sea on the east coast
tai /in phraseology/: *Ka hura te mata o te tai* “The tide has begun to flow”; *Ka ara te upoko o te tai* “same meaning as above”; *Ka paa te upoko o te tai* “The tide is at its highest”; *tai whawhati rua* /*whawhati* be broken, *rua* two, double/ > error in reciting a spell
take root, stump, base of a hill > cause, reason, means, origin, beginning, chief, head of a *hapu* or *iwi*
tarakaka southwestern wind > fierce, boisterous
taawhati to ebb > to die
taumata okiokinga /*taumata* resting place on a hill, *okiokinga* resting/ > a great chief
tore to burn > to be erect, inflamed
toretore rough sea > rough, bad, unpleasant
tua o rangi /*rangi* sky, day/ > distant time, past or future
Tuahiwi o Ranginui /*tuahiwi* hill, *Ranginui* Great Heaven/ > The Milky Way
tuarangaranga rough, boisterous (of sea), broken, rough (of country) > unsettled, perplexed
tutae whatitiri /*tutae* excrement, *whatitiri* lightning/ a net-like fungus
wairua shadow, unsubstantial image > spirit
wairua atua /*atua* god/ > butterfly

Inert objects, however, are less attractive as metaphorical vehicles:

hiwi ridge of a hill > line of descent
kaweka ridge of a hill > indirect line of descent
maakoha soft slaty rock > tranquil, undisturbed
maara o Tane /plot of ground under cultivation, *Tane* a deity of forest/ > singing of birds together at dawn and dusk
maataarae headland, promontory, spur of a hill > person of importance
pari kaarangaranga echoing cliff, echo > uncertain, deceptive talk
tara point, spike, thorn, tooth, peak of a mountain, papillae > horn of the moon, rays of the sun, shafts of light, membrum virile, courage, mettle, to wane (throw out horns), shoot out rays, disturb
taratara spine, spike, prickly, rough, barbed > offensive
tongarewa greenstone > darling, treasure, precious
tuumu whakarae /*tuumu* promontory, headland, *whakarae* prominent/ > chief
tutae atua /*tutae* dung, *atua* god/ > puff-ball fungi
tutae ika moana /*ika moana* whale/ > New Zealand spinach
tutae kaahu /*kaahu* a bird/ > a plant
tutae kehua /*kehua* ghost/ > a net-like fungus
tutae kereruu /*kereruu* pigeon/ > a climbing plant
tutae kiore /*kiore* rat/ > a plant
tutae kurii /*kurii* dog/ > a grass
tutae manu /*manu* bird/ > an inferior variety of flax

tutae tara /tara tern/ > an opprobrium
tutae whatitiri /whatitiri lightning/ > a net-like fungus
wanawana spines, bristles > fear, thrill, fearsome, awe-inspiring, to quiver, shiver, trill
waro deep hole, pit, abyss > abode of the dead
whatu stone, hailstone > pupil of the eye, eye, core of a boil, victim slain at the dedication of a house or a *pa*
whenua land, country, ground > placenta, afterbirth

Natural features and properties of physical objects are often used as metaphorical vehicles in the lexicon:

aaio calm (as sea) > at peace
anuanu /anu cold/ > offensive, disgusting, disgusted
aranga to rise to the surface, appear > to become famous, known
auheke surf, short descent > giving to difficulties, climbing down
hiamo to be elevated (like a *paa*) > to be thrilled, excited
hinapouri very dark, darkness > very sad, sadness
huene swell of the sea > to desire
huurangi to fly > unsettled
ii to ferment, turn sour > to be stirred (of the feelings)
whakakaa /kaa to burn, take fire/ > to incite, inflame
kare ripple; lash of a whip > object of passionate affection, to long for, desire ardently; *kakare* agitated, stirred, emotion, agitation
karekare surf, waves > agitated, disturbed, eager
kiwakiwa black, dark > gloomy, sad
kohara to split open, gleam, shine > to be enraptured, feel passion for
komingo to swirl, eddy > to be disturbed, be in a whirl, agitate
koomingomingo whirlpool > to be violently agitated
kororiko black, dark > angry, lowering
mae withered > languid, listless, struck with astonishment, paralysed with fear, etc.
maapuna to well up, ripple, sway, undulate, form a pool > to grieve, sigh
whakamaapuna to float > to be at a loss, be in doubt
maarama light, not dark, clear, transparent > easy to understand, plain
maataotao cool, cold > to die out, extinguished
mata poorehu mistiness, obscurity > sadness
nawe to be set on fire > to be kindled or excited (feelings)
pahunu fire, to burn > anxiety, apprehension
paawera hot, sore, tender to the touch > stirred, affected
whakapoo to darken > to grieve
poko to go out, be extinguished > to be beaten, defeated
pouri dark > sorrowful, sad, distressed
puuraurau covered with sharp points, bristling > bitter, offensive
puuwhero reddish > of high rank, important
roku to wane (of the moon) > to grow weak, decline

taahurihuri to rock (as a canoe at sea) > to be perturbed, be at a loss
taimaha heavy > oppressed in body or mind
taitea pale, white > fearful, timid
taratara spine, spike, prickly, rough, barbed > offensive
tarakaka southwestern wind > fierce, boisterous
tatuu to reach the bottom > to be at ease, be content, consent, agree
taawhati to ebb > to die
tiketike lofty, high > important, exalted
toka firm, solid > satisfied, contented
tore to burn > to be erect, inflamed
toretore rough sea > rough, bad, unpleasant
tuarangaranga rough, boisterous (of sea), broken, rough (of country) > unsettled, perplexed
tuatea pale > distressed, anxious
uraura /ura red, brown, glowing/ > angry, fierce

Lexical metaphorization may also be judged from the viewpoint of its target, i.e., the tenor of the metaphor. Here it ought to be remarked that natural imagery is very frequently steered to the human domain, chiefly to social structure as well as to the psychic and mental spheres; the anatomical terms (especially terms referring to parts of trees and plants) are often applied to parts of various objects outside the domain of nature itself. Neither are transfers within the natural domain exceptional. The role of natural metaphors within the Maori lexicon is far from negligible; these metaphors are estimated at about half of all lexical metaphors in Maori.

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THE IMPACT OF HONORIFIC STRATIFICATION ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ELIDED SUBJECT IN KOREAN

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Elision of the subject is a self-regulating linguistic process that aims at reducing the sentence depth in regressively shaped languages, like Korean. The loss is partly compensated by the honorific and speech-level stratification. Its impact upon the identification of the omitted subject is limited by several factors some of which will shortly be examined in what follows.

1. One of the conspicuous characteristics of a language is the way of organizing its constitutive elements, particularly on the sentence level. In progressively oriented languages, like English, Russian or, say, Arabic, there are no clearly identifiable limits to the length of a sentence, a fact that can easily be demonstrated on any randomly selected sentence in these languages. Here, there is no such sentence, whatever its length might be, that could not be further expanded. The point may be illustrated on an example quoted by V.H. Yngve (1960): *He cried because she hit him because he called her names because she wouldn't give him any candy*. It is evident that the sentence would tolerate a practically unlimited number of further expanding elements.

The situation is somewhat different in regressively organized languages, like Korean, Japanese or, say, the Finno-Ugric Hungarian, distantly related to the former two on the structural basis of the Ural-Altaic agglutination. An English sentence, structurally close to that previously quoted: *We were visited by a neighbor who just returned from America where he called on his daughter (who was) married to a deputy for the Democratic Party that gained no access to the Parliament*, is virtually untranslatable into Korean while maintaining its regressive structures of subordination. The following three native speaker's attempts to translate it, all the same, convincingly illustrate the structural limits of the regressively shaped languages as to their capability for expansion. The translator, with a reliable linguistic training as well as with an excellent knowledge of English, proceeded from a relatively complex, though extremely obscure transfer of the English sentence, through a moderately dissected one into two co-ordinated clauses, up to its splitting, finally, into three formally independent sentences. Apart from this, each variant has at least one co-ordinated non-final predicate and, in some of them, even anaphoric elements may be found.

Note: All Korean examples will invariably be presented in McCune-Reischauer system, in order to prevent undue collisions between various widely differing systems of Romanization, most frequently transliteration (Keedong Lee, 1993, e.g. *issta*, *anhda*), sometimes alternating with transcription (Hansol H. B. Lee, 1989, e.g. *anhda* (127), *anta* (139, 140), etc.)

For the sake of simplicity, for three McCune-Reischauer digraphs and two trigraphs new symbols have been introduced: *ä* (for *ae*), *ü* (for *wi* and Lewin-Kim's *ui*) and *ö* (for *oe*), as well as *yä* (for *yae*) and *wä* (for *wae*). Further, for typographical reasons, the Yale *u* and *e* will be rendered by *ú* and *ó* respectively.

Symbols used:

- RM – regressively structured modifier complex coextensive with a subordinate clause;
 NFP – non-final predicate signalling boundaries between co-ordinated clauses;
 FP – final predicate marking the end of a sentence;
 A – anaphoric term: apart from cases of true word repetition, the symbol A (with the indexed serial number) will also denote correlated noun-pronoun (*i-sarami* / *kúnún*) and noun-adverb (*migugesó* / *kú-gosesó*) sequences.

i. *úihöe túró-gaji mot-han minjudang täüiwón-gwa kyórhon-han ttarúl pangmun-hago migugesó mak tora-on ius-sarami uri-jibe watta.*

Literally:

<i>úihöe</i>	<i>túró-gaji mot-han</i> (RM ₁)	<i>minjudang</i>	
to the Parliament	(that) gained no access	(for) the D.P.	
<i>täüiwón-gwa</i>	<i>kyórhon-han</i> (RM ₂)	<i>ttarúl</i>	<i>pangmun-hago</i> (NFP)
to a deputy	(who was) married	daughter	he called on (his)
<i>migugesó</i>	<i>mak tora-on</i> (RM ₃)	<i>ius-sarami</i>	<i>uri-jibe watta</i> (FP)
from America	just returned	a neighbor	to our house came

That is:

FP – 1, NFP – 1, RM – 3, A – 0

ii. *ttarúl pangmun-hago migugesó mak tora-on ius-sarami uri-jibe wannünde kú-ttarún úihöe túró-gaji mot-han minjudang täüiwón-gwa kyórhon-hässótta.*

Literally:

<i>ttarúl</i> (A ₁)	<i>pangmun-hago</i> (NFP ₁)	<i>migugesó</i>	<i>mak tora-on</i> (RM ₁)
daughter	he called on (his)	from America	just returned
<i>ius-sarami</i>	<i>uri-jibe</i>	<i>wannünde</i> (NFP ₂)	<i>kú-ttarún</i> (A ₁)
a neighbor	to our house	came and	that daughter
<i>úihöe</i>	<i>túró-gaji mot-han</i> (RM ₂)	<i>minjudang</i>	
to the Parliament	(that) gained no access	(for) the D.P.	
<i>täüiwón-gwa</i>	<i>kyórhon-hässótta</i> (FP)		
to a deputy	(was) married		

That is:

FP – 1, NFP – 2, RM – 2, A – 1

iii. *ius-sarami uri-jibe wannunde kúnún mak migugesó tora-watta. kú-gosesó ttarúl pangmun-hännunde ttarún minjudang täüiwón-gwa kyórhon-hässótta. kúróna minjudangún üihöe túró-gaji mot-hätta.*

Literally:

ius-sarami (A₁) *uri-jibe* *wannunde* (NFP₁) *kúnún* (A₁) *mak*
a neighbor to our house came and he just
migugesó (A₂) *tora-watta* (FP₁). *kú-gosesó* (A₂) *ttarúl* (A₃)
from America returned at that place (his) daughter
pangmun-hännunde (NFP₂) *ttarún* (A₃) *minjudang* (A₄) *täüiwón-gwa*
he called on and (his) daughter (for) the D.P. to a deputy
kyórhonül-hässótta (FP₂) *kúróna minjudangún* (A₄) *üihöe*
(was) married but the D.P. to the P.
túró-gaji mot-hätta (FP₃)
gained no access

That is:

FP – 2, NFP – 2, RM – 0, A – 4

(The three Korean versions of the English sentence will also be given in Hangúl-script at the end of this paper).

2. The set of devices, used to reduce the sentence depth, also seem to include the elision of subject in the communicative space between the author of the message (Ai) and its addressee (Aii). The Ai – Aii axis has to be completed by the spoken-of member of the communication process, irrespective of whether of a human or an extra-human reference (Aiii).

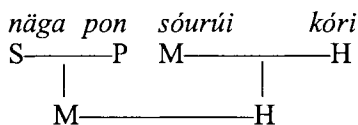
But exactly the latter type of sentence depth reduction obscures the orientation at the crucial communicative axis between the author of the message and its addressee. The loss is partly compensated by honorific and speech-level stratification. Despite the fact that both these devices are closely inter-linked with each other, the following remarks will deliberately be restricted to the honorific/neutral *-si-(-üsi-)/zero*¹ opposition. All other means of conveying the honorific/neutral contrast will be disregarded. As for the speech-level stratification, it will be assumed, in the context of this discussion, to be automatically adapted to the honorific/neutral contrast.

2.1. The assumption that the elision of subject is motivated by a self-regulating process, aiming at reducing the sentence depth, is not quite free of problems, for in true regressive head-modifier (H-M) structures the subject is usually maintained, as in: *uriga-baranún kót* “the thing which we want” (175);²

¹ The honorific marker (Hm) occurs in two allomorphs: *-si-*, appended to verb stems ending in a vowel, and *-üsi-*, appended to those ending in a consonant, as in *ka-* “to go”: *ka-si-mnida* or *ilk-* “to read”: *ilg-üsi-nda*. Other honorific markers will appear only exceptionally (cf., *-sosó*, a honorific imperative ending: “please, do!” in 4.3.1.2).

² Unless otherwise indicated, the examples quoted are those of Hansol H. B. Lee. The transcription is modified in accordance with the McCune-Reischauer system.

näga-bon sóurúi-góri “the streets of Seoul that I saw” (121), i.e.



as against e.g.:

* (*näga/nanún*) *sóurúi-górirúl poatta* “(I) saw the streets of Seoul”.³

The elision of subject typically occurs in subject-predicate (S-P) rather than H-M sequences, i.e. in structures involving two basic constituents of a clause or sentence: an expressed or unexpressed subject (S) and a predicate (P), final (FP) and/or non-final (NFP).

The difference between utterances with an expressed and those with an omitted subject may clearly be seen on the respective English translations:

The subject is expressed:

näga hagesso “I will do it” (91);

nanún onúl móríga ap’úda “I have a headache today” (148);

uríga nãil sagessúmñida “we shall buy (it) tomorrow” (91); etc.

The subject is elided:

sinmunúl ponda “(I) am reading the newspaper” (152);

hakkyoe núkkessúmñida “you/he may be late for school” (91);

núlgó-boinda “(he) looks old” (125);

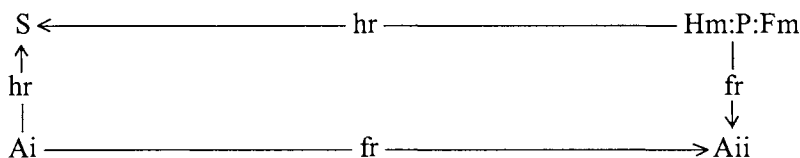
chibe itta “(she) is at home” (146), etc.

2.2. Adopting the theory of an elided subject as the result of a sentence-depth reduction would present no descriptive problems if identifying the S-P relationship with that of H-M, as done by Hansol H. B. Lee (1989, 148): “The clause may be defined as an endocentric construction which consists of a predicate as its head and one or more elements preceding the head as its expansion.” The subject is subsequently listed among the expanding elements of the predicate (ibid., 149).

Even when rejecting the interpretation of the crucial topic-comment S-P relationship as a subordinate one, the elision of subject still seems to be in harmony with the general trend towards sentence-depth reduction as a parallel echo-process, co-occurring with other, more specific mechanisms which aim at reducing the number of constitutive elements in regressively structured messages. The priority accorded to co-ordination over subordination, at the most general scale, is the most efficient method that may be applied to this purpose (cf. also three tentative translations of an artificial English sentence in §1).

3. The part played by the honorific (deference) and formality stratification in compensating the loss of information, inherent in the subject, may be illustrated on the following diagram:

³ The examples marked by an asterisk are due to the author of this paper. Most are free structural variants of the source-quoted examples.



Symbols used:

- S – expressed or unexpressed subject;
- P – predicate, occurring as final (FP) or nonfinal predicate (NFP); while the Hm may occur with both the FP and NFP, the Fm only with the FP; apart from verbal predicates, the Hm may also occur with verbo-nominal predicates (see the examples quoted in § 3.2. below: *hasinún* (participle); *osigirúl* (verbal noun), etc.).
- Hm – honorific marker *-si-(-úsi)/zero* appended to the verb stem in FP and/or NFP, expressing speaker's (Ai) deference to the entity conveyed by the subject of the sentence (or clause) in which it occurs (see also note 1);
- Fm – formality marker, coinciding with the inflectional ending of FP in any of the 1-5 speech-level classes,⁴ expresses the speaker's (Ai) attitude towards the addressee of the message (Aii);
- hr – honorific relationship (for the hr-part of the diagram see Hansol H.B. Lee, 87);
- fr – formality relationship (the fr-part of the diagram was inspired by the formulation of Seok Choong Song 1988, XVI);
- Ai, Aii – participants in the communication process: author of the message (speaker); addressee of the message (spoken-to), respectively (see also §2 above).

3.1. As previously stated, the information lost with the elided subject can, in a way, be compensated by the honorific/neutral distinction that, together with the speech-level hierarchy, reflects the Korean social custom. Although far from being able to restore the subject-related information to the full, it is still able to mark the distinction between the Ai and Aii, indirectly even Aiii, participants of the communication process. Nevertheless, this distinction is not quite specific, since the *-si-(-úsi)* pole of the honorific/neutral opposition merely signals that the omitted subject is different from Ai. Typically, however, the elided subject has to be identified with Aii. The *zero* pole of the opposition is even less specific: it merely suggests that the message does not involve any person (rarely object, see further on) worthy of special deference. Typically, however, the elided subject coincides, in this case, with Ai, although Aiii, or even Aii participants cannot strictly be excluded as potential partners.

⁴ For the traditional 1 – 5 speech-level classification, see LEWIN, B. – TCHONG DAE KIM, 1978, p. 232. The examples quoted in the present paper are mostly restricted to the 5th (*hapsyo*) and 2nd levels (*hāra*). The numbering of speech levels is rather arbitrary and may differ with other authors.

Before embarking on details, the functioning of the honorific/neutral distinction will be illustrated on a number of sentences with an expressed subject:

honorific: *-úsi-* in: *ilk-*(to read)-*úsi-nda* (FP):

sónsāngi ch'ägúl ilgúsinda “a teacher is reading a book” (45);

neutral: *zero* in: *ilk-zero-núnda*:

sonyóni ch'ägúl ingnúnda “a boy is reading a book” (45).

Similarly:

harabó-nimi change kasinda (-si-) “(My) grandfather is going to the market” (58);

* *aiga chibe kanda (zero)* “the child is going home”.

3.2. In sentences with an elided subject, the honorific/neutral distinction helps to identify the subject (Ai, Aii or Aiii) in relation to the remaining members of the communication act, as in:

hasinún ire sónggong ikkirúl paramnida “I wish you success in your work” (Lewin-Kim 1978, 89), i.e.

HR=S ₁ (Aii: you)	<i>hasinún ire</i>	lit.: that (you) are doing -
<hr/>		in the work
	hr=gr (-si-)	

HR=S ₂ (Ai: I, we)	<i>sónggong ikkirúl paramnida</i>	
<hr/>		
	hr=gr (zero)	lit.: of success – the becoming – (I) wish

New symbols used:

HR – honorific referee including both values of the honorific/neutral opposition: *high*, marked by the *-si-(-úsi)* allomorphs of the honorific morpheme, and *low* (or neutral), unmarked or, alternatively, *zero*-marked;
gr – grammatical S-P relationship, coinciding here with the honorific one (hr).

Similarly:

* *osindanún iyagirúl túróssúmnida (túrótta)*

you (-si-) I, we (zero)

“I heard (the news) that you are coming”, etc.

chal tanyó-osigirúl paramnida “I hope you enjoy your trip”

you (-si-) I (zero) (GSK, 277);

3.2.1. The situation is somewhat different in some types of complex sentences, involving subordinate clauses, where several subjects (with various A-indexed values) have to be distinguished from each other. Whenever the (high-valued) honorific referee is other than *you* (Aii) and whenever the subject of the sentence does not coincide with the author of the message (Ai), the subject of the subordinate clause that occupies the Aiii position from the point of view of the FP-related subject of the sentence, has to be explicitly stated, as in:

* *näga ondanún kibyórúl padúsyóssúmnikka?*

S₁:I (zero) S₂: you (-úsi-)

"Have you received the news of my coming?" ; or

* *kúnún osindanún iyagirúl túrossúmnida (túrótta)*

S:he -si-:he zero:I

"I heard (the news) that he (honor.) is coming", etc.

3.2.2. Neither can the subject be elided in close contrasting comparisons where the distinction between two entities, immediately opposed to each other, cannot reliably be derived from the Ai-Aii axis, as in:

kúnún na-boda naún wólgúbúl pannúnda "he gets a better salary than I do" (Essence, 374);

kúnún näga sāngak-hattón-got-poda k'iga k'ótta "he was taller than I thought he would be" (ibid., 906), etc.

3.3. The -si-(-úsi)/zero markers may be incorporated into verb stems as lexically bound morphemes, in true honorific verbs of the type *chumusida* "to sleep" (in contrast to the neutral *chada*) or *kyesida* "be, stay" (in contrast to *itta*).

3.3.1. A somewhat different combination of morphemic and lexical elements occurs with a pair of highly productive, lexically contrasting verbs *chu(si)da* and *túrida* (auxiliary verbs of group I, in Hansol H.B. Lee's classification, p. 128). They combine with what Lee classifies as *concatenating forms* of full verb stems (ending I: -a/-ó), corresponding to Lewin-Kim's *Konverbalform* (1978, § 5.3.1. and § G2.2).

With *chu(si)da*, the marker -si- behaves as a free morpheme according to the rules briefly exposed in § 3.1., while with *túrida*, in harmony with its lexical characteristic, only zero-value seems to be possible in this application.

Both auxiliaries are used to specify the I/not-I orientation of the process conveyed by the full verb, they are combined with, in the following way:

chusida:

The S-related person, typically Aii, is doing something as a favor for (instead of) the author of the message (Ai).

túrida (honorific opposite of *chusida*):

The S-related person, the author of the message (Ai), is doing something as a favor for the addressee of the message (Aii).

E.g.:

chusida:

ch'odä-hä-jusyósó kamsa-hamnida "thanks for inviting me", i.e.:

S₁: you -si- NFP S₂: I zero FP (GSK, 278);

Similarly:

i-p'yónji chom t'aja ch'yó-jusigessúmnikka "would you type this letter for me, please?" (GSK, 298);

osip tallórúl wónhwaro pakuó-jusipsio "change 50 dollars for won currency for me, please!" (LK, 70);

túrida:

ne, pakuó-dúrigessúmnida "O.K., I'll change them for you" (ibid.);

ómóni irúl towa-dúryóra "help your mother with her work!" (Essence, 584);

kú-bun-kke kirúl karik'yó-dúryóttá “I have shown the gentleman the way” (ibid.);

muósúl túril-kkayo “what can I show you, sir (ma'am)?” (ibid.);

3.3.1.1. Whenever the I/not-I contrast does not correspond to the Ai – Aii relationship, the subject cannot be omitted, as the loss of the subject-related information cannot be compensated by any of these non-specific substitutes. E.g.:

chuda (zero):

kúga naege sop'orúl ponä(ó)-juóssúmnida (LK, 314) “he sent a packet for me”;

chusida (-si-):

kú-buni naege p'yónjirúl ponä(ó)-jusyóssúmnida (ibid.) “he (honor.: high) sent a letter for me” (ibid.);

túrida (zero):

näga kúege sop'orúl ponä(ó)-dúryóssúmnida (ibid.) “I sent a packet for him” (ibid.);

4. The discriminative power of the -si-(-úsi-)/zero opposition is even more restricted by a frequent lack of correspondence observable between grammatical and honorific relationships. From this point of view, honorific relationships may be subdivided into two distinct classes:

(1) honorific relationships coincident with grammatical ones (all cases so far examined), as in:

hasinún ire sónggong ikkirúl paramnida (see § 3.2.), i.e.: hr = gr, i.e. HR = S;

(2) honorific relationships different from grammatical ones:

hr ≠ gr, i.e. HR ≠ S.

4.1. Honorific relationship of the hr ≠ gr type, by rejecting the formal subject of a clause or a sentence as its referee, creates a dichotomic distinction between a *formal subject* (expressed), different from HR, and an *actual subject* (typically elided), identical with HR. The point will be illustrated on the following example:

	FS—gr—FP	
AS	<i>*pyóngi nasimnida</i>	“(you) are (became, fell) sick”
HR—	<i>hr—si-</i>	lit.: a disease comes into being;

the same holds for:

	FS—gr—FP	
AS	<i>*pyóngi namnida (nanda)</i>	“(I) fell ill”
HR—	<i>hr—zero</i>	

Symbols used:

AS – actual subject;

FS – formal subject;

HR – honorific referee: typically *you*, or any entity of human, rarely non-human (see later on) reference worthy of respect; whenever the HR is different from *you* (Aii), in the -si-marked, and from *I* or *we* (Ai), in the zero-marked honorific relationship, the AS has to be explicitly stated;

FP – final predicate;
gr – grammatical relationship;
hr – honorific relationship;

Similarly:

móriga tchogä-jil-túsi ap'úda “I have a splitting headache” (Essence, 1315);

4.2. In view of the instability of the subject (S), Korean bilingual dictionaries steadily oscillate between S-related and S-unrelated renderings of the items quoted. In the structural domain examined, this somewhat disturbing alternation affects what we call *actual subject* (AS), too. The difference between the two may clearly be seen in the English equivalents of the examples quoted. Some examples:

4.2.1. S-related interpretations:

móriga tchogä-jil-túsi ap'úda “I have a splitting headache” (see above);

on momi-ttóllinda “I feel chilly all over” (Essence, 739); lit.: (the) whole: *on*; body: *momi*; quivers: *ttóllinda*;

chinan-bam miyóri issóssúmnida “I had a slight fever last night” (GSK, 160); lit.: last night: *chinan-bam*; a slight fever: *mi-yóri*; came into being, emerged: *issóssúmnida*;

núlgú-myón nuni óduwó-jinda “our sight grows dim with age” (Essence, 1379); lit.: when (one) grows old: *núlgú-myón*; (the) sight: *nuni*; grows dim: *óduwó-jinda*; etc.

momi tu-gä-rado mojaranda “if I cut myself into four quarters, they would not be sufficient” (ibid., 739); lit.: body: *momi*; two pieces: *tu-gä*; (even) if: *-rado*; (they will) be not sufficient: *mojaranda*; etc.

4.2.2. S-unrelated interpretations:

móriga (päga) ap'úda “feel a pain in one’s head (stomach)” (Essence, 1315);

momi ap'úda “be sick” (ibid., 739);

momi cho(h)a-jida “get well” (ibid.);

nuni ódupta “have bad eyes” (ibid.); etc.

4.3. With entities of non-human reference, the choice between a honorific high (*-si-/úsi-*) and honorific low, or neutral, classification (*zero*) is highly subjective, since it has no immediate support in Korean social custom. It merely reflects personal value hierarchies and individual attitudes towards phenomena of the outer and inner world, as viewed from the angle of any single act of actual communication. The exclusively subjective nature of the high-low choices may be illustrated on a number of randomly selected examples:

-si-:

piga osinda “rain is falling (coming)” (58);

zero:

piga omnida “it is raining” (189);

hāga ónje-ttúmnikka “when does the sun rise?” (187);

t'āyangún uridúrege pit-kwa yóruł chunda “the sun gives us light and heat” (Essence 1836); etc.

4.3.1. Entities of non-human reference, closely related to an expressed or an unexpressed honorific referee, may adopt the deference class value of the latter

or may not. The difference between the two cases may be inferred from the following examples:

4.3.1.1. The HR-related honorific expansion is limited to one single phrase within a single clause or a simple sentence, as in the following two phrases (-si-/zero) drawn from a verse of the popular Arirang song:

kasinún nimún “(the) departing beloved”

-si- S₁:HR

pal-ppyóng nanda “a foot ache developed”

S₂ zero

The whole verse consists of three clauses:

(1) *narúl pórigo kasinún nimún* (2) *sim-ni-do mot-kasó* (3) *pal-ppyóng nanda* “the departing beloved is deserting me, no sooner he passed ten miles than (his) feet hurt him”.

4.3.1.2. The HR-related honorific impact is not prevented by clause boundaries, as might be observed with honorific referees of high and highest deference class membership. The HR-related honorific expansion, in this case, may progress either directly, with reference to the HR that has initiated the honorific process (cf., lines 1, 6, 7/8, 9, 10 below), or indirectly, through an HR-related entity (cf., lines 2, 3, 4/5 below):

1. *hanüre kyesin uri abóji* (k(y)esin)

2. *abójiúi irúmi kóruk'i pin-nasimyó* (-si-)

3. *kú-naraga im-hasimyó* (-si-)

4. *abójiúi-ttúsi hanüresó-wa-gach'i*

5. *ttangesó-do iruó-jisosó* (-sosó-)

6. *onúl uriege iryong-hal yangsigúl-jusigo* (-si-)

7. *uriga chal-mot-han irúl uriga yongsó-ha-dúsi*

8. *uri-jörúl yongsó-hasigo* (-si-)

9. *urirúl yuhoge-ppajiji malge hasigo* (-si-)

10. *agesó ku-hasosó* (-sosó-)

1. Our Father who art in heaven, 2. Hallowed be thy name. 3. Thy kingdom come. 4/5. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. 6. Give us this day our daily bread. 7/8. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. 9. And lead us not into temptation, 10. but deliver us from evil. (The Lord's Prayer).

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Symbols Used

- A – anaphoric element (§ 1);
- Ai, Aii, Aiii – participants in the communication process (§ 2);
- AS – actual subject (§ 4.1);
- Fm – formality marker (§ 3);
- FP – final predicate (§ 3);
- fr – formality relationship (§ 3);
- FS – formal subject (§ 4.1);
- gr – grammatical relationship (§ 3.2);
- H – head, in a head-modifier relationship (§ 2.1);
- Hm – honorific marker (§ 3);
- hr – honorific relationship (§ 3);
- HR – honorific referee (§ 3.2);
- M – modifier, in a head-modifier relationship (§ 2.1);
- NFP – non-final predicate (§ 3);
- P – predicate (§ 3);
- RM – regressively structured modifier complex coextensive with a subordinate clause (§ 1);
- S – subject (§ 3).

Re § 1 (i - ii - iii)

(i) 의회에 들어가지 못한 민주당 대의원과 결혼한 딸을 방문하고 미국에서 막 돌아온 이웃사람이 우리집에 왔다.

(ii) 딸을 방문하고 미국에서 막 돌아온 이웃사람이 우리집에 왔는데, 그 딸은 의회에 들어가지 못한 민주당 대의원과 결혼했었다.

(iii) 이웃사람이 우리집에 왔는데 그는 막 미국에서 돌아왔다. 그곳에서 딸을 방문했는데 딸은 민주당 대의원과 결혼을 했었다. 그러나 민주당은 의회에 들어가지 못했다.

WORTLÄNGEN IM KOREANISCHEN

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Aufgabe dieser Untersuchung ist es, am Beispiel des Koreanischen die generelle Hypothese zu überprüfen, daß die Häufigkeit, mit der Wörter verschiedener Länge in Texten verwendet werden, durch Gesetze geregelt ist. Es wird gezeigt, daß mit der Dacey-Poisson-Verteilung und mit der Hyperpoisson-Verteilung gute Ergebnisse bei koreanischen Texten erzielt werden.

0. In dieser Untersuchung stellen wir Wortlängenhäufigkeiten in koreanischen Texten vor. Bisher wurden erst 24 koreanische Prosatexte (Erzählungen, Presse, Schulbücher) bearbeitet (Kim/Altmann 1996). Ausgehend von der Hypothese, daß die Häufigkeiten, mit denen Wörter verschiedener Länge in Texten vorkommen, sich gesetzmäßig verhalten (Wimmer u.a. 1996), wurde dort nach geeigneten Modellen gesucht; es stellte sich heraus, daß an die meisten dieser Texte die Conway-Maxwell-Poisson-Verteilung, z.T. mit Modifikationen, angepaßt werden konnte. Bei drei Texten versagte dieses Modell allerdings.

1. Da sich also in Kim/Altmann (1996) herausgestellt hat, daß es im Koreanischen einige Probleme mit der Modellierung von Texten geben kann, haben wir eine weitere Textsorte bearbeitet, die sich bisher in vielen Sprachen als besonders unproblematisch erwies: die Textsorte Brief. Im Vordergrund unserer Untersuchung stehen daher 20 Briefe aus zwei verschiedenen Sammlungen (Shin 1988; Hausfrauenbriefe 1989); darüber hinaus wurden aber auch weitere 16 Presstexte aus der Zeitung „Hankyöle“ bearbeitet, also insgesamt 36 Texte.

2. Die Bearbeitung der Texte erfolgte nach den in Best/Zhu (1994: 20) genannten Prinzipien: Als „Wort“ gilt das orthographische, durch Umstellbarkeit oder Interpunktion abgetrennte Wort. Im Koreanischen werden Bindestriche ebenso wie Punkte auch als Zeichen für die Einheit des Wortes verwendet und entsprechend gewertet. Arabische Zahlen wurden als orthographische Wörter behandelt.

Als Kriterien für die Wortlänge gilt die Zahl der in ihnen enthaltenen Silben, wobei die Silbenzahl sich nach der Zahl der Vokale im Wort bestimmt. Bei der Auswertung der Texte wurde nur der laufende Text berücksichtigt. Besondere Bestimmungsprobleme traten nicht auf.

3. An die erarbeiteten Daten konnten mit Hilfe des Altmann-Fitters (1994) die Dacey-Poisson-Verteilung und die Hyperpoisson-Verteilung angepaßt werden, deren Formeln wie folgt lauten: die Dacey-Poisson-Verteilung:

$$P_x = \frac{(1-\alpha)\alpha^{x-1}e^{-a}}{(x-1)!} + \frac{\alpha(x-1)a^{x-2}e^{-a}}{(x-1)!}, x=1,2,\dots$$

die Hyperpoisson-Verteilung:

$$P_x = \frac{a^{x-1}}{b^{(x-1)}F(1;b;a)}, x=1,2,\dots$$

Die Ergebnisse dieser Anpassung finden sich in den folgenden Tabellen; dabei bedeuten: a, b, α : Parameter; x : Wortlänge; n_x : beobachtete Häufigkeit; NP_x : nach der Dacey-Poisson-Verteilung und NP_x^* nach der Hyperpoisson-Verteilung berechnete Häufigkeit. X^2 ist das Chiquadrat; der Index dazu gibt die Freiheitsgrade an. P ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, daß der entsprechende Chiquadratwert überschritten wird; C ist der Diskrepanzkoeffizient. Eine Anpassung gilt als zufriedenstellend, wenn $P \geq 0.05$ oder $C \leq 0.02$ ist. Eine Anpassung mit $0.01 \leq P < 0.05$ gilt als noch akzeptabel.

1. Briefe von Shin, Joung-Bok

Text 1:

Text 2:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	16	15.71	14.79	3	2.72	2.67
2	55	56.99	58.21	14	16.17	16.47
3	56	52.00	51.82	23	20.17	20.00
4	23	26.22	26.00	13	13.64	13.47
5	11	9.07	9.08	8	6.29	6.28
6	1	2.38	2.43	0	2.19	2.24
7	1	0.63	0.67	0	0.61	0.64
8				1	0.21	0.23
a = 1.0705 a = 1.1503 α = 0.7187 b = 0.2922 X_3^2 = 1.5164 X_3^2 = 1.7419 P = 0.68 P = 0.63				a = 1.4163 a = 1.5132 α = 0.8190 b = 0.2459 X_3^2 = 2.5350 X_3^2 = 2.7501 P = 0.47 P = 0.43		

Text 1: Brief v. 19.6.1980

Text 2: Brief v. 7.7.1980

Text 3:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	1	0.24	1
2	20	20.38	20.01
3	22	24.12	23.54
4	18	14.35	14.26
5	4	5.69	5.82
6	1	1.69	1.79
7	1	0.53	0.58
		$a = 1.1924$ $\alpha = 0.9881$ $X_2^2 = 1.6458$ $P = 0.44$	$a = 1.2499$ $b = 0.0625$ $X_3^2 = 1.6987$ $P = 0.64$

Text 3: Brief v. 16.9.1980

Text 4:

n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
9	9.41	10.11
20	18.04	17.82
17	17.29	16.83
10	11.04	10.85
4	5.29	5.31
2	2.02	2.09
2	0.91	0.99
		$a = 1.9162$ $\alpha = 0.0004$ $X_3^2 = 1.0602$ $P = 0.79$
		$a = 2.0345$ $b = 1.1544$ $X_3^2 = 1.0776$ $P = 0.78$

Text 4: Brief v. 20.10.1980

Text 5:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	3	0.00	3.29
2	41	48.73	46.88
3	55	45.90	44.13
4	18	21.61	21.48
5	6	6.78	7.05
6	2	1.98	2.17
		$a = 0.9419$ $\alpha = 1.0000$ $X_2^2 = 2.9609$ $P = 0.23$	$a = 1.0079$ $b = 0.0708$ $X_3^2 = 4.1729$ $P = 0.24$

Text 5: Brief v. 20.11.1980

Text 6:

n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
4	4.03	3.98
16	15.67	15.92
17	16.38	16.19
8	9.55	9.44
6	5.37	5.47
		$a = 1.2449$ $\alpha = 0.7255$ $X_2^2 = 0.3603$ $P = 0.84$
		$a = 1.3643$ $b = 0.3411$ $X_2^2 = 0.3138$ $P = 0.85$

Text 6: Brief v. 22.12.1980

Text 7:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	12	11.45	11.17
2	31	34.31	34.87
3	34	30.26	29.97
4	15	15.07	14.93
5	5	5.18	5.24
6	0	1.35	1.41
7	1	0.38	0.41
		$a = 1.0746$ $\alpha = 0.6576$ $X_3^2 = 1.1078$ $P = 0.78$	$a = 1.1860$ $b = 0.3800$ $X_3^2 = 1.4004$ $P = 0.71$

* Text 7: Brief v. 9.2.1981

Text 8:

n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
3	2.94	2.97
29	28.57	28.77
29	31.89	31.63
23	18.54	18.44
8	10.06	10.19
		$a = 1.1887$ $\alpha = 0.8951$ $X_2^2 = 1.7545$ $P = 0.42$
		$a = 1.2406$ $b = 0.1283$ $X_2^2 = 1.8126$ $P = 0.40$

Text 8: Brief v. 4.2.1981

Text 9:

Text 10:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	7	6.80	7.38	7	7.64	6.06
2	33	34.67	34.82	35	29.32	30.29
3	36	34.64	33.89	29	30.77	31.36
4	20	18.64	18.39	11	18.04	18.11
5	6	6.82	6.92	10	7.28	7.25
6	2	2.43	2.60	2	2.23	2.22
7				2	0.72	0.71
$a = 1.1228$ $a = 1.2267$ $\alpha = 0.7989$ $b = 0.2602$ $X_3^2 = 0.4067$ $X_3^2 = 0.6339$ $P = 0.94$ $P = 0.89$				$a = 1.2549$ $a = 1.3055$ $\alpha = 0.7205$ $b = 0.2611$ $X_3^2 = 5.4135$ $X_3^2 = 5.2948$ $P = 0.14$ $P = 0.15$		

Text 9: Brief v. 23.3.1981

Text 10: Brief v. 13.7.1981

2. Privatbriefe, hg. v. HongSunSa-Verlag

Text 11:

Text 12:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	20	0.84	4.73	23	21.96	24.84
2	16	42.42	41.45	74	80.79	79.92
3	61	53.40	50.41	79	73.16	70.54
4	39	33.90	32.93	41	36.52	36.08
5	11	14.37	14.71	10	12.49	12.99
6	3	4.57	4.99	2	4.08	4.63
7	1	1.50	1.78			
$a = 1.2750$ $a = 1.4122$ $\alpha = 0.9800$ $b = 0.1613$ $X_3^2 = 4.5529$ $X_3^2 = 7.6449$ $P = 0.21$ $P = 0.02$ $C = 0.05$				$a = 1.0576$ $a = 1.2163$ $\alpha = 0.7238$ $b = 0.3780$ $X_3^2 = 3.1766$ $X_3^2 = 4.4271$ $P = 0.37$ $P = 0.22$		

Text 11: Brief einer Frau an ihren Ehemann (S. 88; namp'yönül hyanghan anaeüi p'yönji)¹

Text 12: Brief eines Mannes an seine Ehefrau (S. 89; anaege jöghanün namp'yönüi dabsin)

¹ Transkription n. HAARMANN 1990: 359.

Text 13:

Text 14:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	28	25.05	24.41	24	23.02	21.17
2	58	61.84	62.66	95	104.52	106.80
3	63	69.90	69.75	116	100.68	100.57
4	67	50.01	49.57	48	52.62	52.22
5	17	25.93	25.87	16	18.75	18.72
6	11	10.49	10.67	7	6.41	6.52
7	3	3.47	3.63			
8	1	1.31	1.44			
		$a = 1.7524$	$a = 1.9655$			$a = 1.0954$
		$\alpha = 0.4172$	$b = 0.7657$			$\alpha = 0.7750$
		$X_5^2 = 10.2606$	$X_5^2 = 10.9340$			$X_3^2 = 4.1076$
		$P = 0.07$	$P = 0.05$			$X_3^2 = 4.8241$
						$P = 0.25$
						$P = 0.19$

Text 13: Brief eines Sohnes an seinen Vater (S. 100–101; aböjikke jöňhanün adülüi p'yönji)

Text 14: Brief eines Vaters an seinen Sohn (S. 102–103; adülül uihan aböjjiüi p'yönji)

Text 15:

Text 16:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	27	25.31	24.23	18	30.00	30.00
2	81	93.89	95.63	108	84.70	86.14
3	100	82.24	81.74	72	86.16	84.98
4	38	39.52	39.18	53	51.44	50.61
5	8	12.99	13.04	22	21.51	21.58
6	2	3.24	3.32	5	6.89	7.17
7	2	0.81	0.86	5	2.30	2.52
		$a = 1.0148$	$a = 1.0910$			$a = 1.3310$
		$\alpha = 0.7293$	$b = 0.2764$			$\alpha = 0.5988$
		$X_3^2 = 7.6952$	$X_3^2 = 8.6259$			$X_1^2 = 3.5447$
		$P = 0.05$	$P = 0.03$			$X_1^2 = 2.9493$
			$C = 0.03$			$P = 0.06$
						$P = 0.09$

Text 15: Brief eines Schwiegervaters an seine Schwiebertochter (S. 106–107; myönüliege jöňhanün siaböjjiüi p'yönji)

Text 16: Brief eines Dienstmädchens an seine Arbeitgeberin (S. 96–97; p'ach'ulbuga juinajumönikke ttüiunün p'yönji)

Text 17:

Text 18:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	28	28.97	26.52	39	37.92	35.84
2	72	66.92	68.20	102	109.55	111.99
3	72	73.41	74.81	96	86.89	86.64
4	47	51.90	52.15	38	38.53	38.25
5	29	26.86	26.64	11	11.76	11.81
6	15	10.92	10.74	2	3.35	3.47
7	1	5.02	4.94			
$a = 1.7929$ $a = 1.9128$ $\alpha = 0.3408$ $b = 0.7439$ $X_4^2 = 5.8055$ $X_4^2 = 5.9169$ $P = 0.21$ $P = 0.21$				$a = 0.9491$ $a = 1.0282$ $\alpha = 0.6598$ $b = 0.3290$ $X_3^2 = 2.0952$ $X_3^2 = 2.8477$ $P = 0.55$ $P = 0.42$		

Text 17: Brief einer Schwiegertochter an ihre Schwiegermutter (S. 94–95; Siömöniege buch'inün myönüliüi p'yönji)

Text 18: Brief einer Schwiegermutter an ihre Schwiegertochter (S. 92–93; myönüliege jöňhanün siömöniüi p'yönji)

Text 19:

Text 20:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	17	18.32	18.09	25	21.93	9.92
2	49	50.69	52.15	51	72.66	75.92
3	72	59.46	59.33	91	68.38	74.10
4	31	42.84	42.05	33	36.16	38.63
5	32	22.04	21.64	12	13.18	13.73
6	4	8.78	8.74	3	3.65	3.70
7	1	3.87	4.00	2	1.04	1.00
$a = 1.6882$ $a = 1.8795$ $\alpha = 0.5188$ $b = 0.6521$ $X_2^2 = 6.2262$ $X_2^2 = 6.0658$ $P = 0.04$ $P = 0.05$ $C = 0.03$				$a = 1.1360$ $a = 1.1188$ $\alpha = 0.6851$ $b = 0.1462$ $X_3^2 = 1.9604$ $X_1^2 = 5.9115$ $P = 0.58$ $P = 0.02$ $C = 0.03$		

Text 19: Brief einer Tochter an ihre Mutter (S. 90; ömmaege jöňhanün ttalüi p'yönji)

Text 20: Brief einer Mutter an ihre Tochter (S. 91; ttalül uihan ömmaüi p'yönji)

3. Texte aus der Zeitung "Hankyole"

Text 21:

Text 22:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	21	19.70	20.37	18	16.90	16.62
2	67	76.71	78.91	73	82.97	85.01
3	117	100.93	99.57	126	108.28	107.40
4	71	76.89	75.04	72	78.64	77.41
5	39	40.81	40.32	40	39.26	39.02
6	16	16.56	16.83	12	14.89	15.13
7	5	5.43	5.74	3	4.55	4.76
8	3	1.97	2.22	3	1.51	1.65
$a = 1.6769$ $a = 1.8716$ $\alpha = 0.6891$ $b = 0.4833$ $X_5^2 = 5.0391$ $X_5^2 = 5.5693$ $P = 0.41$ $P = 0.35$				$a = 1.5494$ $a = 1.6779$ $\alpha = 0.7706$ $b = 0.3281$ $X_5^2 = 7.4057$ $X_5^2 = 7.9014$ $P = 0.19$ $P = 0.16$		

Text 21: Mit neuer großer Hoffnung (k'ün hüimangül gajigo tto gidaehanda; 16.7.93)

Text 22: Hoffnung auf Verbesserung der Beziehungen zwischen Nord- und Südkorea (nambukkangye gaesönüro iöjigilül; 21.7.93)

Text 23:

Text 24:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	20	2.19	1.27	17	19.67	15.60
2	77	110.13	110.65	89	79.26	81.68
3	161	133.49	133.93	112	107.66	109.90
4	72	81.56	81.62	75	84.63	84.84
5	30	33.29	33.24	44	46.34	45.91
6	11	10.20	10.16	15	19.40	19.13
7	1	2.50	2.48	9	6.56	6.48
8	2	0.64	0.65	1	1.86	1.85
9				2	0.45	0.45
10				1	0.09	0.09
11				0	0.01	0.01
12				1	0.07	0.06
$a = 1.2271$ $a = 1.2275$ $\alpha = 0.9800$ $b = 0.0141$ $X_3^2 = 9.2741$ $X_3^2 = 8.9829$ $P = 0.03$ $P = 0.03$ $C = 0.02$ $C = 0.02$				$a = 1.7297$ $a = 1.8109$ $\alpha = 0.6968$ $b = 0.3459$ $X_5^2 = 7.5446$ $X_5^2 = 6.6392$ $P = 0.18$ $P = 0.25$		

Text 23: Erwartung an die neue demokratische Partei (sae minjudange balanda; 13.8.93)

Text 24: Entlassene Arbeiter sollen zurück zur Arbeitsstelle (haegonodongjanün ilt'ölo dolryö bonaeja; 28.9.93)

Text 25:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	22	20.96	20.28
2	100	110.84	112.79
3	137	121.72	120.83
4	69	72.37	71.62
5	29	29.32	29.34
6	7	8.99	9.18
7	2	2.21	2.32
8	0	0.45	0.49
9	1	0.14	0.15
10			
		$a = 1.2446$ $\alpha = 0.8017$ $X_4^2 = 3.6534$ $P = 0.45$	$a = 1.3269$ $b = 0.2386$ $X_4^2 = 4.3813$ $P = 0.36$

Text 26:

n_X	NP_X	NP_X^*
10	0.00	12.17
79	99.42	96.22
148	123.69	114.83
60	76.94	74.11
35	31.91	32.78
6	9.92	11.03
4	2.47	2.99
2	0.51	0.68
0	0.09	0.13
1	0.05	0.06
	$a = 1.2441$ $\alpha = 1.0000$ $X_2^2 = 9.8994$ $P = 0.007$ $C = 0.03$	$a = 1.4057$ $b = 0.1779$ $X_3^2 = 16.1251$ $P = 0.001$ $C = 0.05$

Text 25: Einer der Feiertage für unglückliche Nachbarn (yönhyujung harunün bulu:haniuse; 29.9.93)

Text 26: Erhöhung der öffentlichen Gebühren destabilisiert die Inflationsrate im kommenden Jahr (gonggongyöğum insani södahal naenyöüi mulgabulan; 29.9.93)

Text 27:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	10	23.85	9.32
2	87	77.53	81.11
3	111	100.48	111.42
4	75	78.45	83.08
5	39	43.36	42.52
6	16	18.47	16.56
7	5	6.38	5.20
8	1	1.85	1.37
9	3	0.46	0.31
10	0	0.10	0.06
11	2	0.02	0.01
12	1	0.00	0.00
13	0	0.00	0.00
14	1	0.05	0.04
		$a = 1.7876$ $\alpha = 0.5938$ $X_2^2 = 1.9874$ $P = 0.37$	$a = 1.6312$ $b = 0.1875$ $X_3^2 = 2.8272$ $P = 0.42$

Text 28:

n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
21	24.58	22.60
71	80.33	76.43
123	101.31	97.64
64	76.27	76.89
32	40.49	43.77
23	16.53	19.50
8	5.47	7.14
2	1.52	2.22
0	0.36	0.59
0	0.07	0.14
1	0.01	0.03
1	0.00	0.00
1	0.06	0.05

$a = 1.7069$	$a = 2.0534$
$\alpha = 0.6095$	$b = 0.6073$
$X_2^2 = 8.4163$	$X_5^2 = 14.4756$
$P = 0.0149$	$P = 0.01$
	$C = 0.04$

Text 27: Protektionistische Aktion der Bauern (nojoga p'yönün uri nongsanmul jik'igi undong; 18.3.94)

Text 28: Offenlegung des Bedarfs an Agrarprodukten (nongsanmul ihaegkyehoeksö sasildaero balghyö ya; 27.3.94)

Text 29:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	16	15.46	17.76
2	88	94.12	94.48
3	138	117.69	114.43
4	61	79.61	78.20
5	37	36.68	37.22
6	17	12.79	13.59
7	2	3.58	4.02
8	2	1.07	1.30
9			
10			
11			
		a = 1.4148	a = 1.5683
		$\alpha = 0.8237$	b = 0.2948
		$X_4^2 = 9.7424$	$X_5^2 = 11.5551$
		P = 0.045	P = 0.04
		C = 0.03	C = 0.03

Text 30:

n_X	NP_X	NP_X^*
1	0.99	0.97
17	16.12	16.58
25	27.78	27.86
27	24.85	24.64
12	14.97	14.77
10	6.79	6.70
1	2.47	2.44
1	0.74	0.74
0	0.19	0.19
0	0.04	0.04
1	0.06	0.07
	$a = 1.8259$	$a = 1.8652$
	$\alpha = 0.9347$	$b = 0.1097$
	$X_3^2 = 2.6766$	$X_3^2 = 2.7297$
	$P = 0.44$	$P = 0.44$

Text 29: Gefährdung einer korrekten Wahl (kkaekkuhan sönköü siljong uigi; 27.3.94)

Text 30: Ein himmlischer Urlaubsort (inchönsang yukjakjöndui tongje chönhyetüi gangangji)

Text aus der Zeitung „Hankyöle“ vom 24.8.94.

Text 31:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	3	4.94	7.91
2	19	17.36	17.56
3	30	24.30	21.59
4	13	20.50	18.36
5	11	12.24	11.94
6	5	5.63	6.28
7	3	2.10	2.77
8	3	0.66	1.05
9	1	0.27	0.54
10			
11			
12			
		a = 1.9315	a = 2.7598
		$\alpha = 0.6121$	b = 1.2444
		$X_3^2 = 6.4378$	$X_2^2 = 5.5710$
		P = 0.09	P = 0.06

Text 32:

n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
8	7.93	7.63
30	28.03	28.62
46	40.39	40.24
20	35.30	34.81
30	21.91	21.75
7	10.49	10.63
4	4.08	4.27
4	1.33	1.45
0	0.37	0.43
0	0.09	0.11
0	0.02	0.02
1	0.06	0.04

$a = 2.0167$	$a = 2.2491$
$\alpha = 0.6023$	$b = 0.5998$
$X_3^2 = 10.5489$	$X_3^2 = 10.3917$
$P = 0.01$	$P = 0.02$
$C = 0.07$	$C = 0.07$

Text 31: Beginn der Bauarbeiten an der 18. Brücke über den Han-Fluß (hangang 18 böntchae dali gajangdaegyo 12 wöl chökgang). Textquelle: wie 30.

Text 32: Kriterien nicht erfüllt (banpumchöli üimuögin jejoöbch'e 72kosdo). Textquelle: wie 30.

Text 33:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	9	10.05	7.86
2	69	58.79	60.28
3	65	70.92	71.75
4	41	46.30	46.30
5	18	20.59	20.49
6	8	6.93	6.90
7	4	1.87	1.87
8	2	0.55	0.55
		$a = 1.3659$ $\alpha = 0.8176$ $X_3^2 = 5.6473$ $P = 0.13$	$a = 1.4091$ $b = 0.1838$ $X_3^2 = 5.3385$ $P = 0.15$

Text 34:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
6	6	6.58	5.38
31	31	26.83	27.79
33	33	30.58	31.07
11	11	19.53	19.47
9	9	8.59	8.47
4	4	2.87	2.82
0	0	0.77	0.76
2	2	0.25	0.24
		$a = 1.3698$ $\alpha = 0.7302$ $X_3^2 = 5.8090$ $P = 0.12$	$a = 1.4264$ $b = 0.2761$ $X_3^2 = 5.5415$ $P = 0.14$

Text 33: Leichtere Gangart an Inhaftierte der Militärakademie (gyuyul ömgyök yöksa budülöwöjinda) Textquelle: wie 30.

Text 34: Nordkorea läßt zwei inhaftierte südkoreanische Besucher frei (banjung 2 myöng bukhan öklyudyaessda p'ul yöna). Textquelle: wie 30.

Text 35:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
1	7	7.38	9.64
2	18	14.84	14.41
3	13	14.90	13.48
4	8	9.96	9.18
5	5	4.98	4.91
6	3	1.99	2.16
7	0	0.66	0.81
8	1	0.29	0.41
9			
10			
		$a = 1.9320$ $\alpha = 0.0733$ $X_3^2 = 1.7293$ $P = 0.63$	$a = 2.5024$ $b = 1.6747$ $X_4^2 = 2.13362$ $P = 0.71$

Text 36:

x	n_x	NP_x	NP_x^*
2	2	1.63	2.76
7	7	10.76	10.26
21	21	18.33	16.04
18	18	17.31	15.88
10	10	11.22	11.50
6	6	5.52	6.57
1	1	2.19	3.09
1	1	0.72	1.24
1	1	0.20	0.43
1	1	0.12	0.23
		$a = 2.0093$ $\alpha = 0.8209$ $X_4^2 = 2.1932$ $P = 0.70$	$a = 2.6987$ $b = 0.7258$ $X_5^2 = 5.4205$ $P = 0.37$

Text 35: 50 Millionen Won Sachschaden bei Brand in Textilfabrik (sömyugongjang bul Schönmanwön p'ihae)

Text 36: Exportsteigerung nach Malaysia bei PKV (hangukhyöng janggabch'a malleisia ch'ügasuch'ul)

4. Als Ergebnis der Untersuchung hat sich gezeigt, daß die Dacey-Poisson-Verteilung die hier vorgestellten Texte gut modelliert; nur an Text 26 läßt sich

diese Verteilung überhaupt nicht anpassen. Für die Briefe ergab sich nur eine nicht ganz zufriedenstellende Anpassung. Die Anpassung an die Presstexte erwies sich – auch abgesehen von Text 26 – als problematischer. Bei einer Reanalyse der Texte in Kim/Altmann (1996) zeigte sich, daß auch diese Texte alle – mit Ausnahme von Text 8, dessen C-Wert mit $C = 0.022$ knapp über der kritischen Grenze liegt – mit der Dacey-Poisson-Verteilung modelliert werden können.

Die Anpassung der Hyperpoisson-Verteilung auf die Texte dieser Untersuchung ergab nur unwesentlich schlechtere Ergebnisse: Nur Text 26 ließ sich wieder nicht damit darstellen. An 6 der 24 Texte in Kim/Altmann konnte die Hyperpoisson-Verteilung ebenfalls nicht angepaßt werden.

Es ist naheliegend, die Dacey-Poisson-Verteilung als ein gutes Modell für koreanische Texte anzusehen; die Hyperpoisson-Verteilung scheint Briefe fast genauso gut zu modellieren, nicht aber die anderen bearbeiteten Textsorten. Auch die Conway-Maxwell-Poisson-Verteilung sollte bei weiteren Untersuchungen zum Koreanischen beachtet werden, zumal Text 26 unserer Untersuchung mit ihr modelliert werden kann. Insgesamt ergibt sie aber bei unseren Texten wesentlich schlechtere Anpassungen als die beiden anderen Modelle. Es bedarf aber weiterer Texte und Textsorten, um ein differenziertes Bild des gegenwärtigen Koreanischen zu gewinnen.

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MELANCHOLY IN EUROPE AND IN CHINA: SOME OBSERVATIONS OF A STUDENT OF INTERCULTURAL PROCESS*

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The aim of this paper is to characterize the different modes of melancholy in the West and in China during the ages beginning with the 8th cent. B.C. in Greece and 3rd cent. B.C. in China up to the beginning of the 20th cent. within the framework of intercultural process.

There are the men who are wanting in the comparative,
they are as a rule the most interesting.

(Søren Kierkegaard: *The Journals*)

The subject I am just beginning to talk about, is probably the most difficult and debatable topic during more than 35 years of my scholarly career. To solve adequately or at least approximately the question of “melancholy” in two parts of the world, that is Europe and China, is certainly not possible in the contemporary state of research, and even to try it, could be characterized as an adventure. One should have the “measures” of the bird Peng [1] from the book *Zhuangzi* [2], which “with a back like Mount Tai and wings like clouds filling the sky”¹ would roam through the space under the blue and grey skies of the Eurasian continent to study variegated processes within the broad frameworks encompassing that which our Western world labelled as *melancholia*, *mélancolia*, *Melancholie*, *melenconie*, *malinconia*, *acedia*, *tristitia*, *tristesse*, etc., just to name a few terms, concerned with this concept, and be good in or to understand enough from the ancient Greek and Roman philosophy, medicine, psychology,

* This paper was delivered at the international conference: Melancholy and Society in China, organized by Professor Wolfgang Kubin, Bonn, July 3–6, 1995.

¹ *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. Transl. by Burton Watson. New York and London, Columbia University Press 1968, p. 31. Original text see in *Zhuangzi yinde* [3] *A Concordance to Chuang Tzu*. Peking, Yenching University 1947, p. 1.

Medieval Arabic and European astrology, literature and art, and modern development practically in all realms of social, political and cultural life.

My abilities are more comparable to that little quail or dove, although I do not laugh at the bird Peng, since I think that in the world of ours, in our *chronotopos*, we need to transcend the time and space we just live in, or to which we devote our mental capacities, and to study the problems within the widest possible framework of reference. I agree with the book *Zhuangzi* and specifically with the chapter *Qiu shui* [4] *Autumn Floods*, and with musings of one of its protagonists: "Calculate what man knows and it cannot compare to what he does not know. Calculate the time he is alive and it cannot compare to the time before he was born. Yet man takes something so small and tries to exhaust the dimensions of something so large!"² Or: "You can't discuss the ocean with a well frog – he's limited by the space he lives in. You can't discuss ice with a summer insect – he's bound to a single season. You can't discuss the Way with a cramped scholar (*qu shi*) [5] – he is shackled by his doctrines."³ One has to transgress his bank and borders, similarly to the god of the Yellow River, who during the autumn time, also a season of Melancholy, as we shall see presently, reached the Ocean in order to understand his own pettiness but also the greatness of the world beyond his narrow space and time. The image of a "cramped scholar" is a *caveat* for all of us.

1

I did dare to choose this topic after three years of deliberations, when I observed that up to the beginning of March 1995, four months before the conference, no one of the invited scholars, proposed a similar issue. I suppose that without doing that or attempting to accomplish it, we would fish in the muddy waters and search for something that can be named melancholy but not easy to define in relation to that rich and variegated canvas of meanings subsumed under this extremely important concept of European (and Arabic) intellectual history and its different realms. The Chinese intellectual history what is the topic of our conference concerned, is different from that of ours.

Wolfgang Kubin, organizer of this conference, named it at last as *Melancholy and Society in China* after the well-known book by Wolf Lepenies entitled: *Melancholie und Gesellschaft*,⁴ which presents the history of melancholy in the modern West. The history of melancholy does not begin with Robert Burton's (1577–1640) *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), probably the most important and in the last years most studied *opus magnum* of "Dame Mérencolye", but about two thousand years before, at the time of the compilation for the future times of the extremely important *Corpus Hippocraticum*, attributed to

² Ibid., pp. 177–178 and p. 42.

³ Ibid., pp. 175–176 and p. 42.

⁴ Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag 1969.

Hippocrates (ca. 460–ca. 370 B.C.), Greek physician, who lived approximately in the time of Chinese philosopher Mozi (ca. 479–381 B.C.), or even more probably to his pupil and son-in-law, Polybus. The nuclei of this history are even older, reaching back to Pythagorean philosophy and numerology (Pythagoras was the contemporary of Confucius and lived ca. 580–500 B.C.) and Empedocles (ca. 495–435 B.C.), combining then, about 400 B.C., the “four roots” (Empedocles), or “four elements” (Democritus) of macrocosm: fire, water, air and earth with “quattuor humores” in microcosm (human body): blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegma. Of these, black bile (*melaina chole*) became linked with autumn among the four seasons of the year and with the adult age of men between 40 and 60. Hippocratean physiological psychology developed a theory according to which melancholy is a kind of illness with the symptoms including fear, depression and even different forms of madness. Melancholy as a sickness will be a part and parcel of a great part of Medieval and also of modern medicine up to the 18th century.

What we said in the last sentences is nothing else than the first part of the explanation of three different meanings of the concept of “melancholy” preceding the outstanding work by three eminent German emigrant authors Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl entitled *Saturn and Melancholy. Studies on the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art*: “In modern speech the word ‘melancholy’ is used to denote any of several somewhat different things. It can mean a mental illness characterised mainly by attacks of anxiety, deep depression and fatigue – though it is true that recently the medical concept has largely become desintegrated.”⁵

This is the first and probably most common meaning of the word *melancholia* in the course of its long history in the Western world.

The second meaning is defined by the authors’ trio as follows: “It may mean a type of character – generally associated with a certain type of physique – which together with the sanguine, the choleric and the phlegmatic, constituted the system of the ‘four humours’, or the ‘four complexions’ as the old expression was.”⁶ This kind of melancholy began to be scholarly treated in the 4th cent. B.C. and was concerned with deeper study of Greek tragedy by Aristotle (384–322) and with the “mania” concept of Plato (427–347), e.g., in his *Phaidros* or *Timaeos*. Its best treatment is the text called *Problemata Physica XXX, I*, attributed to Aristotle but probably finished in the 1st cent. B.C. Here *melancholia* is understood as one of the “four temperaments”, as psychic hypostasis of some qualities (cold and dried) of the “four elements” together with taking into account the earlier medical knowledge and with observations from literature and society. According to this text: “This union found expression in what for the Greeks was the paradoxical thesis that not only the tragic heroes, like Ajax, Heracles and Bellerophon, but all really outstanding men, whether in the

⁵ London, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd 1964, p. 1.

⁶ Loc. cit.

realm of the arts or those of poetry, philosophy or statemanship – even Socrates and Plato – were melancholics.” We may find this statement in the first passages of the *Problemata Physica* XXX, I, together with a well-known quotation from *The Iliad*:

...the day soon came
when even Bellerophon was hated by all the gods.
Across the Alean plain he wandered, all alone,
eating his heart out, a fugitive on the run
from the beaten tracks of men.⁷

I used this quotation at the beginning of the paper entitled *Über die Melancholie im Traum der Roten Kammer (and in einem anderen “Traum”)*, delivered in this hall at the symposium *200 Jahre Traum der Roten Kammer* on April 22, 1992,⁸ although at that time I did not have an idea, that it was used in the document of such great value for the history of the concept of melancholy. I neither analysed Homer’s lines, nor my assertion that we may find the pendants to this aspect of melancholy in the works of Qu Yuan [6] (ca. 340–278 B.C.) and his followers. It is interesting that typologically very similar stories were either remembered or written nearly at the same time in southern Greece and in southern China.

Bellerophon’s story is narrated in the Book 6 entitled *Hector Returns to Troy*. Glaucus, grandson of Bellerophon, delineates the story of his ancestor back to the famous Sisyphus, Aeolus’ son and grandfather of Bellerophon. We all know Sisyphus’ myth: in the Underworld he must in vain push a stone eternally up a hill. He was allegedly the most cunning man in the Greek world, the founder and the first King of Corinth. Bellerophon’s case was similar to that of Sisyphus, although it remained less known, but not less tragic. Bellerophon was born as a man without fault, with gallant traits and because he was richly endowed by beauty, he became the target of seduction by Antea, wife of the King Proetus at Tiryns. Bellerophon, just as the chaste Joseph of Egypt, fled forth not only once from the Greek “Potiphar’s wife”, but at the end he was accused by her of temptation to commit adultery. He was not killed by Proetus, since they were good friends, but sent to Iobates, Antea’s father, king of Lycia, with a letter that its bearer should be put to death. As many great heroes of Greek myths, he was ordered to accomplish superhuman deeds, such as to kill Chimaera, to fight the Amazons, to slaughter all the best soldiers of Lycia, who set an ambush for him. At the end Iobates did not follow the instruction of Proetus and vile wish of Antea. He offered to Bellerophon another daughter as the wife. Bellerophon became the King but for some unknown reason he was left by

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17 and HOMER: *The Iliad*. Transl. by Robert Fagles. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books Ltd. 1991, p. 202.

⁸ The proceedings of this symposium, edited by Wolfgang Kubin, will be published later.

gods, whose favourite he had previously been: now they sent Pandora to his cost, and he went mad.

Qu Yuan's story in *Lisao* [7] *Encountering Sorrow*⁹ is delineated by the poet himself. His lineage, just like that of Bellerophon, reaches up to Gao Yang [10], divine ancestor (in Chinese meaning of the word) of the Chu [11] and Qin [12] reigning houses. His father Bo Yong [13] is mentioned in the elegy, just like the name of Belerophon's father – another Glaucus – was in Homer's epic. Like Bellerophon, Qu Yuan was proud of his "inward beauty" (*nei mei*) [14] and "outward adornment" (*xiu neng*) [15].¹⁰ Qu Yuan's great deeds did not consist of adventures on the battle fields. He followed, as a good Confucian, the instructions and examples of the "Three Kings" of ancient times: Yu [16], Tang [17] and Wu [18], founders of the three first Chinese dynasties, and two legendary Sage-kings: Yao [19] and Shun [20]. He was never tempted by a woman comparable to Antea, or Meixi [21], the beautiful and deprived consort of King Jie [22], the last "bad" ruler of the Xia [23] dynasty, or Taji [24], the infamous concubine of Zhou Xin [25], another last "bad" ruler of the Shang [26] dynasty, but he was betrayed by the Fragrant One (*quan*) [27], very probably King Huai of Chu [28], who tried to establish a political alliance with King Hui of Qin [29], in spite of Qu Yuan's advices not to do so, since "Qin was a country of wolves and tigers, and not to be trusted."¹¹ King Huai of Chu and other powerful men in his native country, did not hear to his admonitions, and this was the most weighty reason of his sorrow, despair and melancholy. The very complicated character *yu* [34], which probably more than any other in Chinese script implies the depressed anxiety of human beings harassed by melancholy, is used only once in the poem with 376 lines, one of the longest in Chinese poetry:

Tun *yu* yi *yu* tuoji xi,
wu du qiong kun *yu* ci shi ye.
Ning ke si yi liu wang xi,
yu bu ren wei ci tai ye. [35]

In translation of these verses, I follow D. Hawkes', otherwise excellent rendition, only partly:

I am depressed by heavy melancholy and lost my self-reliance,
I am alone and at loss in this age.

⁹ The best translation by David HAWKES may be found in *Ch'u Tz'u. The Songs of the South*, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press 1959, pp. 22–34. Original see in Ma Maoyuan [8] (ed. and comment.): *Chuci xuan* [9] A Selection From the Songs of the South, Peking, People's Publishing House 1958, pp. 1–59.

¹⁰ HAWKES, D.: op. cit., p. 22 and MA MAOYUAN: op. cit., p. 4.

¹¹ HAWKES, D.: op. cit., p. 14. Originally in *Qu Yuan Jia Sheng liezhuan* [30] Biographies of Qu Yuan and Jia Yi. In: SIMA QIAN [31] (145–ca. 86 B.C.): *Shiji* [32] *Historical Records*, *juan* [32] 84. SPPY ed. Taipei 1966, p. 2B.

I would rather quickly die and become extinct,
before I ever would to consent to ape its behaviour.¹²

In the first line of above Qu Yuan's text, the first three characters, i.e., the half of the full verse (with the exception of the meaningless "carrier-sound" *xi* [36], are different expressions for sadness in the form of poetic pyramid, where the second component, i.e., *yu* [34], presents the climax of the melancholic moods.

There are similar and different features in both stories. Their background is mythological and literary processing mythopoeic. Bellerophon is more a prey in the hands of gods and their descendants, he is completely within the reach of the nearly almighty Fate. His madness is a lot bestowed upon him by the immortal inhabitants of Olympus. We should have in mind that it was written in a fully mythical milieu between about 725 and 675 B.C. Qu Yuan, as the author and protagonist of the story, lived in different setting. There were no gods of Olympian kind in Chu and religion there "was a mixture of ancestor-worship and animism".¹³ He did not need to be afraid of the gods of his country, but he did not put much hope in them either. His "far-away journey", leading him going up and down in the heaven and earth of his universe, was different from that over Greek Alean plain. Qu Yuan was a "poeta doctus", not a lonely madman, maybe with the exception of the moments preceding his death. The Chinese never believed in the concept of Fate similar to that of Greeks and Lao Zi's [37] (4th cent. B.C.) persuasion that "Heaven and earth are ruthless, and treat the myriad creatures as straw dogs",¹⁴ never found the adequate echo in the *Weltanschauung* of Qu Yuan's countrymen, at least not in traditional China.

2

Similarly to Greeks, the Chinese had their five (not four) elements *wu xing* [39] including: water, fire, wood, metal and earth. If we compare them with those of old Greece, i.e., fire, water, air and earth, we see that three of them were the same: water, fire and earth. In China they were probably applied to even more numerous branches of study than in Greece: we find them in astronomy and astrology, in the calendar and its calculations, philosophy, prophecy, divination, numerology, proto-scientific thinking, law, medicine and even in the art of rule under different dynasties.¹⁵ However China has never developed a theory of "four humours", although its medicine knew about five fluids in the

¹² HAWKES, D.: op. cit., p. 25 and MA MAOYUAN: op. cit., p. 13.

¹³ HAWKES, D.: op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁴ *Tao Te Ching*. Transl. by D.C. Lau. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1982, pp. 8–9, together with original Wang Bi's [38] (226–249) text.

¹⁵ *The Shorter Science and Civilisation in China: 1. An Abridgement* by Colin A. Ronan of Joseph Needham's Original Text. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1978, pp. 142–159, esp. 147.

body: tears, the thin watery saliva, the dense saliva, the lung-fluid and sweat. "Black gall" in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* in Greek and later in European tradition, was a purely speculative invention and it did not correspond to the fluids in the human body. The Chinese notions had much more in common with natural sciences. In China, and certainly in its medicine, gall (*dan*) [40] was connected with the liver (*gan*) [41] and its element was wood, and not earth as in Greece. In contrast to Greek medicine and psychology, gall as a part of the liver, was responsible for audacity (*dan*) [40], and only due to the insufficiency of its "air of life" (*qi*) [42], the fear, the opposite of the audacity, or sleep disorders may appear.¹⁶ The last may have, but need not, be connected with melancholy. In spite of its speculative character and its virtual non-existence, the "black bile" had an enormous impact in the Western world in literature, art, psychology and ethical teachings for about two millennia.

The Chinese never had a god comparable either to Greek Cronus or to Roman Saturn. Cronus, youngest son of Uranus and Gaia, castrated his father, cut off his testicles and threw them into the sea. But Cronus was not very different from his parent. He devoured the children he had with his wife Rhea immediately after their birth. The youngest of them Zeus, was saved and later when he reached his adulthood, he forced Cronus vomit up his older brothers and sisters, fought against him, won the battle, and became the ruler over the universe including heaven, earth and the underworld.

The god swallowing his children and fearing his own progeny, in order not to lose his rule over the universe, was according to Greco-Roman and later medical and psychologic notions, the paradigm of melancholy and possibly also paranoia. Melancholy became one of the divine properties, although the heathen gods lost their attraction in the whole of Europe during the first millennium A.D. or later.

The divine sanction, whether coming from the God of Jews, Christians, Moslems, or Greco-Roman gods, had quite strong impact on the psychological and ethical habitus of the believers or the inhabitants of the Near East and Europe. The application of the natural and medical knowledge (or at least speculation) on psychological processes left a deep imprint in the literary and artistic realms, especially in Greek tragedy and partly also in sculpture. Later the Christian epoch took over the legacy of the "four humours" and applied it in a broad manner wherever possible, even in education and the ethical sphere.

In Christian Europe and in basically Confucian (but also Taoist and Buddhist) China, the deepest and most sthenic (sturdy and strong) feelings, desires or passions had to be suppressed or at least held under control. Christian Europe, especially for some time after Martin Luther's (1483–1526) Protestantism, looked at melancholy as the weapon of Satan, although among the Christians it

¹⁶ LIU, Frank and LIU JAN MAU: *Chinese Medical Terminology*. Hong Kong, The Commercial Press, Ltd 1980, pp. 45–47 and ANDO, V.: *Klasická čínská medicína, I* (Classical Chinese Medicine, I), Prague, Světání 1995, pp. 258–261.

was usually called *acedia*, sloth, or better to say, one of the seven of deadly sins, i.e. laziness or indifference in religious matters. They followed, among others, the Pauline instruction which was Janus-like: "For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: but the sorrow of the world worketh death."¹⁷ The first kind of melancholy (or sorrow) – *tristitia salutaris* – was followed by Luther and later creators of the *Theatrum diabolorum* of Baroque epoch, or by the authors of the first editions of *Dr. Faustus*, the second kind – *tristitia mortifera* – was typical for some of the greatest men of letters, art and philosophy or psychology of modern times: Byron and Baudelaire, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, Schnitzler and Hoffmannsthal, Rilke and D'Annunzio, van Gogh and Artaud, Sartre and Benjamin, and many others. In the works of the just mentioned, of course, the Pauline meaning of the term was highly surpassed, although more or less always present.

Due to the Chinese concept and demand of *zhi* [43] restraint, or better to say, self-restraint, the Chinese philosopher, writer and artist, should behave just like a player of chess. Neither reason nor feelings were allowed to go in for combinations that would go counter to the rule of the game. Everything positive and creative had been codified by ancient Sages and the sthenic or depressive feelings might be dangerous for the social and ethical order. *Acedia* or *tristitia* as a form of melancholy was forbidden in Christian Utopias. Only asthenic feelings were allowed to participate at the construction of Chinese literature, art and philosophy.¹⁸ According to the greatest among Chinese literary theoreticians Liu Xie [44] (ca. 465–522), the old poems (he thereby meant those from *Shijing* [45] *The Book of Poetry*) "were created on the basis of feelings" (*wei qing er zao wen*) [46],¹⁹ but at the same time he insisted that the word *shi* [49] poetry is the same as *chi* [50] to hold. Poetry, and not only poetry, but also literature as a whole, art, philosophy, etc. "hold the human feelings (*qing*) [51] and nature (*xing*) [52] (within proper boundaries)".²⁰

In the traditional Chinese literature and art there was no place for Oedipus or Iphigenia, for Hamlet or young Werther, for *Melencolia I* by Albrecht Dürer (1514), *Melancolia* by Mathias Gerung (1558) or another *Melancholy* by Edward Munch (1891). In China the feelings, desires or passions had to be held in check or toned down or blunted, in accordance with the needs and requirements of various teachings (not only orthodox Confucianism) or their representatives.

¹⁷ II. Corinthians, 7, 10.

¹⁸ GÁLIK, M.: *The Concept of Creative Personality in Traditional Chinese Literary Criticism*. Oriens Extremus, 22, 1980, 2, pp. 183–202, esp. 194 ff.

¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 196 and Wenxin diaolong zhu [47] *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*. Commentaries by FAN WENLAN [48]. Vol. 2. Peking 1958, p. 538.

²⁰ Cf. vol. 2, commentaries by FAN WENLAN, loc. cit. and vol. 1, p. 65, and CHOW TSE-TSUNG: *The Early History of the Chinese Word Shi (Poetry)*. In: CHOW TSE-TSUNG (ed.): *Wen-lin. Studies in Chinese Humanities*. Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press 1968, p. 193.

There are two places in *St. Matthew's Gospel*, where melancholic thoughts of Jesus Christ are manifested shortly before his death: in the garden called Gethsemane where he said to his three disciples: "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death..."²¹ or: "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me..."²² and on the Golgotha, when dying on the cross, he "cried with a loud voice: 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'"²³

A similar kind of venting of the inner melancholy or sorrow, is typical for Chinese literature of its traditional period. In the sentences just quoted, probably with the exception of the "loud voice", all is expressed in a way that could be characterized as *wen rou dun hou* [53], i.e. as "moderate, gentle, sincere and deep",²⁴ just like in old Chinese poetry and in the whole of Chinese literature acknowledged by the orthodox literary criticism.

In *Lunyu* [54] *The Analects of Confucius*, we read in the translation by Arthur Waley: "... the Songs (i.e., *Shijing*, M.G.) will help you to express your grievances (i.e., *Shi...ke yi yuan*) [55]."²⁵ In 1980 Qian Zhongshu [57] (1910–), the famous Chinese literary scholar, read at the Waseda University, Tokyo, a paper of the same title as Confucius words which later appeared in English in two versions, one of them being *Poetry as a Vehicle of Grief*.²⁶ This is probably the deepest study of melancholy in Chinese literature. I would like to point out here one idea not mentioned in Qian Zhongshu's great piece of criticism. It is from the same chapter as Confucius' above premise and it reads as follows: "The Master said, By nature, near together; by practice far apart."²⁷ This was probably understandable for the Master Waley, but not for everybody. The translation by Wing-tsit Chan is more up to the point: "Confucius said, By nature men are alike. Through practice they have become far apart."²⁸

As to their physiological, biological and psychological dispositions, all human beings, notwithstanding their place and time, are really very much alike. Melancholy, whether understood as "*type of character*" or even as "*mental illness*", is a common feature for all members of *humani generis*. Only the forms

²¹ *St. Matthew*, 26, 38.

²² *Ibid.*, 26, 39.

²³ *Ibid.*, 27, 46.

²⁴ LIU, James, J.Y.: *The Art of Chinese Poetry*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1962, p. 67.

²⁵ Cf. WALEY, A. (transl.): *The Analects of Confucius*. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1964, p. 212 and *Lunyu*. In: *Sishu jizhu* [56], juan 9. SPPY ed. Taipei 1966, p. 3B.

²⁶ Cf. Renditions, 21 & 22, Spring and Autumn 1984, pp. 21–40 and Cowrie, 3, 1986, pp. 1–15.

²⁷ Cf. WALEY, A. (transl.): *op. cit.*, p. 209 and *Sishu jizhu*, juan 9, p. 1B.

²⁸ WING-TSIT CHAN (transl.): *A Source Book of Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1963, p. 45.

of its expression are different. The enormous knowledge of Qian Zhongshu, both in the Chinese and Euro-American worlds of literature, art, philosophy, religion, etc., helped him to elucidate especially the connecting links between grief or sorrow (he rarely uses the term melancholy or melancholic) in these two great cultural areas. I am trying to show something else: the difference in emphasis in the literary or artistic manifestation of melancholy. In reality, I follow him to some extent but not fully. What I treat in another way, our German friends usually call: *der kleine Unterschied*. This “small difference” has its *raison d'être*. Its analysis will help us better to understand *artes poeticae* of two great literatures at both ends of the Euroasian continent.

At first, let me give you two examples, one from ancient Greek and one from Chinese literature. The first was presented to the audience of Athens in 431 B.C. and entitled as *Medea* by Euripides (480–406). The second was written during the reign of the Emperor Chengdi [58] (32–8 B.C.) in Chang'an, probably around the year 20 B.C. Her authoress was Ban Jieyu [59], Lady Ban, a favourite concubine of the one of the “last” Emperors of the Earlier Han Dynasty.

Medea is a great tragedy about a barbarian woman of melancholic character, a daughter of Aetes, King of Colchis, who helped Jason, the famous hero of Greek myths, to win the Golden Fleece. He promised to marry her after the success of the enterprise. After taking her to Greece, he had two children with her, but then he decided to marry a daughter of Creon, King of Corinth. Medea with her strong passions, who knew how to love and hate, after terrible inner struggle, dipped a beautiful dress in poison and together with jewels, delivered it to the bride of her treacherous husband, and killed both the royal girl and her father with her presents. After that she contrived to murder her two sons with a sword and left their father and herself to mourn over the death of his two boys and their unreasonable deeds. Probably the most tragic moment of the whole work and the most deep expression of her melancholy, are the verses delineating her *etat d'âme* just before stabbing her innocent children:

Why wait, then? My accursed hand, come, take the sword;
Take it, and forward to your frontier of despair.
No cowardice, no tender memories; forget
That you once loved them, that of your body they were born.
For one short day forget your children; afterwards
Weep; though you kill them, they were your beloved sons.
Life has been cruel to me.²⁹

Lady Ban, whose personal name we do not know, was regarded as one of the two Ban *nusheng* [60] Women Sages of the Ban Family, together with Ban Zhao [61], China's first and up to now most famous woman scholar, who helped her

²⁹ EURIPIDES: *Medea and Other Plays*. Translated with an Introduction by Philip Vellacott. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books 1963, p. 55.

brother Ban Gu [62] (died 92 A.D.) to finish his monumental *Hanshu* [63] History of the (Earlier) Han. Lady Ban should be an extraordinary woman, excelling both in beauty and talent. She succeeded in defending herself against the vile accusations of the newcomers into imperial seraglio Zhao Feiyan [64] and her younger sister Hede [65] before and after dethroning the Empress Xu Huanghou [66]. She had to leave imperial harem but she was allowed to serve as a lady-in-waiting to the Empress Dowager in another palace. There existed in ancient times a volume of her poems, now lost. Only three of her works are preserved to our days: two *fu* [67] rhyme-proses and one *shi* [49] lyric poem.

The last one has different names in various editions. Here *Yuan shi* [68] *Melancholic Poem*, according to Tan Zhengbi [69], is quoted:

Xin lie qi wan su, jiao jie ru shuang xue,
cai cheng he huan shan, tuan tuan si ming yue,
chu ru jun huai xiu, dong yao wei feng fa.
Chang kong qiu jie zhi, liang biao duo yan ri,
Qi juan qie si zhong, en qing zhong dao jue [70].³⁰

From five different English translations, I chose that by W.A.P. Martin, the president of the Imperial University of Peking (after 1897), one of the most zealous promoters of Sino-Western intercultural understanding. If not its wording, then certainly its spirit, is most congenial to the original:

Of fresh new silk all snowy white
And round as harvest moon;
A pledge of purity and love,
A small, but welcome boon.

While summer lasts, borne in the hand,
Or folded on the breast;
'Twill gently soothe thy burning brow.
And charm thee to thy rest.
But ah! when autumn frosts descend,
And winter winds blow cold,
No longer sought, no longer loved,
'Twill lie in dust and mould.

This silken fan then deign accept,
Sad emblem of my lot;
Caressed and fondled for an hour,
Then speedily forgot.³¹

³⁰ TAN ZHENGBI: *Zhongguo nuxingde wenxue shenghuo* [71] Literary Life of Chinese Women. Shanghai, Guangming shuju [72] 1930, p. 26.

³¹ LÜ SHU-XIANG [73] and XU YUAN-ZHONG [74] (eds.): *Gems of Classical Chinese Poetry in Various English Translations*. Hong Kong, Joint Publishing Co. Ltd. 1988, pp. 80–81.

If we read the original we do not find there any word expressing melancholy or sadness. There are only two terms connected with the feelings of a woman afraid of loss of her consort's love: *kong* [75] manifesting this anxiety and foreseeing the end, i.e., *jue* [76] of their *en qing* [77] intimate intercourse. No poison, no sword or its sheath, no hate, no complaint, no saturnine sentiments, no revenge, no killing, only *he huan shan* [78] doubled fan of union and joy, made of two layers of precious silk, glittering as frost or snow, and glued together, and put forever into a wooden box. The melancholy of the "deserted woman" is expressed in the form usual for the best Chinese poetry: *yanwai* [79] beyond the words, and *xiangwai* [80] beyond the images.

The love of Lady Ban, her fate and inner pains, were comparable to that of Medea, but their literary processing was quite different in the ancient Greek and Chinese traditions.

4

Not Lady Ban but Medea was the granddaughter of Helios, i.e., The Sun, who travelled across the sky in a chariot of fire drawn by four swift horses. Let us use her grandfather's means of transport and visit Western Europe more than one millennium later. In the 12th century lived there a certain "poeta doctus" comparable to Qu Yuan. His name was Bernardus Silvestris and he liked to ponder over the macrocosm and microcosm in his work entitled *De mundi universitate* (On The World as a Whole). He wrote a poem allegedly about Saturn, god of melancholy, his abode and his impact over the world and human beings. In Latin, of course, which used to be the common literary language of that age in Europe, just like *wenyan* [81] and its local variations in the Far East. Here we read:

Illic fervet hiems, aestas algescit et aestus
 friget, delirat splendor dum flamma tepescit.
 Hic tenebrae lucent, hic lux tenebrescit, et illic
 nox cum luce viget, et lux cum nocte diescit.
 Illic Saturnus spatium percurrit avaro
 motu, progressuque gravi, longaque diaeta.
 Hic algore suo praedatur gaudia veris,
 furatur decus pratis, et sidera florum,
 algescitque calens, frigens fervescit, inundat
 aridus, obscurus lucet, iuvenisque senescit...
 Hic dolor et gemitus, lacrimae, discordia, terror,
 tristities, pallor, planctus, inuria regnant.³²

(There rules winter, summer is cold and hot weather
 is freezing. Splendor loses its charm and flame becomes tepid.

³² Quoted according to *Saturn und Melancholy*, p. 186.

Darkness sheds its light, light its shadow,
 Night is full of light and light is full of night.
 There Saturn walks slowly through the space, moves clumsily
 and with gauche steps.
 With frost he prevents the blooming in spring,
 Steals the beauty of meadows and of flowers.
 There he makes ice among the thaw, he let things freeze
 and simultaneously grow warm,
 To be arid and to flow, to spark in dark and make young grow old...
 Here reign sorrow and weeping, tears, disorder, terror,
 Melancholy, pallor, complaint and injustice.)

Here we find the vivid description of saturnine scenery. It has nothing to do with the planet Saturn, the sixth in order from the sun but with the melancholic vision of daily life in late medieval epoch in Christian society and nature. The last two lines remind us of *Psalm 116, 3* where we may read: "The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell got hold up on me: I found trouble and sorrow."

Nearly at the same time another *poetessa docta* – Li Qingzhao [82] (1084–1151) lived in China. In 1129, in her middle years, after happy marriage with her husband Zhao Mingcheng [83], she became a lonely widow. Left alone amidst the disorder caused by the Jurchen then invading China's South, she wrote some of her most beautiful melancholic poems. One entitled *Sheng sheng man* [84] *To the tune Andante*, is as follows:

Xunxun miaomiao,/ lengleng qingqing,/ qiqi cancan qiqi./ Zha nuan hai han shihou,/ zuinan jiangxi./ San bei liang zhan tan jiu,/ zen di ta, wan lai feng ji!/ Yan guo ye,/ zheng shang xin,/ que shi jiu shi xiangshi.

Mandi huanghua tuiji,/ qiaocui sun,/ ru jin you shui kan zhe./ Shouzhe chuanger,/ du zi zen sheng de hei. Wutong geng jian xiyu,/ dao huanghun,/ diandian didi./ Zhe ci di,/ zen yi ge chou zi liao de?! [85]

From four different English versions accessible to me, I have selected the most literal rendition by the Taiwanese modern poetess Hu P'in-ch'ing [86] (1921–):

Searching, searching
 Seeking, seeking,
 Alone, alone,
 Solitary, solitary,
 Sad, sad,
 Grieved, grieved,
 Mournful, mournful.
 The season is now warm, now cool,
 The most difficult to bear.

Two or three cups of light wine
Resist not the rapid evening wind.
The wild geese pass by
And grieve my heart,
For they are old acquaintances.

The soil is loaded with yellow chrysanthemums.
Withered and spoiled,
Who cares to pluck them?
Alone I wait by the window,
How can the day get dark?
At dusk, the fine rain on the plane tree
Falls drop by drop, drop by drop.
To express all this,
Can the mere word "sadness" suffice? ³³

If we look more carefully at both poems, especially at their original Latin and Chinese versions, we see that they are more descriptive than that left to us by Lady Ban. Li Qingzhao's is more lyrical, although Bernardus Silvestri's has its charms, too. Silvestri's poem plays skillfully with antiphrases and Li Qingzhao's with onomatopoeias and *redoublements emphatiques* for the first time used in such rich measure in the history of Chinese poetry. In contrast with Lady Ban, Li Qingzhao reaches out for different words expressing some aspects of melancholy and she is quite sure that the *chou* [89] usually translated as sadness, is not able to convey all sorrow or grief felt in the recesses of the human heart after the death of a beloved husband. The European poem is more philosophical, the Chinese more literary in its peculiar Chinese way. The first could be very long within the macrocosm and microcosm of Medieval European world, the second should certainly finish its course at the point of the ineffability of this kind of human feeling, after reaching the abyss between the reality of the human psyche and the possibility of its artistic processing.

Li Qingzhao's poem starts almost as a lulling song. More than eight centuries later, in the first decade of the 20th cent., the modern Chinese poet Wang Duqing [90] (1898-1940), being on the knees of her illiterate mother, he taught her to learn it by heart. Wang Duqing's mother, at first maid and later despised concubine of his father and hated rival of father's first wife, was according to his own reminiscences, a "contemplative and melancholic (*yoyu*) [91]" kind of woman, whom he never saw with a "very happy smile on the face".³⁴ When

³³ Cf. HU PIN-CH'ING: *Li Ch'ing-chao*. New York, Twayne Publishers, Inc. 1966, pp. 37-38 and SUN CHONG'EN [87] (ed.): *Li Qingzhao shici xuan* [88] A Selection From Li Qingzhao's Poems and Songs. Peking, People's Literature Publishing House 1988, pp. 98-99.

³⁴ WANG DUQING: *Chang'an chengzhongde shaonian* [92] A Youth From Chang'an. Shanghai, Guangming shuju 1935, p. 9.

later after her death, he had the opportunity during his Italian trip to look at the famous painting *La Crocifissione dei Cappuccini* by Guido Reni (1577–1642) and observe the beautiful, melancholic face of St. Mary under the Cross, he began to cry and wrote one of his most moving poems, entitled *Shengmu xiang-qian* [93] *Before the Madonna*. Although his mother is not mentioned there (only the Mother of Jesus and the mother of Confucius), her Southern beauty, the life full of sorrow and his deep and never fully enjoyed love for her, certainly left some imprint upon this work.³⁵ Wang Duqing was one of the most melancholic poets of modern China after the May Fourth Movement of 1919.

5

Now we may turn to the third meaning of the melancholy according to the trio of the writers of *Saturn and Melancholy*: “It may mean a temporary state of mind, sometimes painful and depressing, sometimes merely mildly pensive or nostalgic. In this case it is a purely subjective mood which can then by transference be attributed to the objective world, so that one can legitimately speak of ‘the melancholy of evening’, ‘the melancholy of the autumn’...”³⁶

For the reason of space and time, only “the melancholy of autumn” will be shortly analysed here. It is a pity that Professor Chen Peng-hsiang, of the Taiwan National Normal University, Taipei, is not present here. His book *Thou Hast Thy Music Too: An Autumn in Classical English and Chinese Poetry*,³⁷ is a rich source of information on the subject. Earlier in this paper, we mentioned that in China the “five elements” were applied probably even in more branches of study and human expression, but probably the most weighty reason for its literary application was different: deeper interest of Chinese for nature and for the flux of time. In Europe the impact of Judeo-Christian views on nature and time as secondary to God and depending on his grace, was too strong. Therefore not enough attention was paid to them up to the beginning of modern era, or even up to the 17th or 18th centuries. In ancient Greece, it was partly different, but there, as we have seen in *Medea*, dramatic and tragic vision overcame the calm and meditative observation of natural flux outside of human society.

Without the necessity to pay attention to divine sanction of any kind, or even its presence in nature and in time, the Chinese had more possibilities of rumination over their cyclical understanding of the natural phenomena and its specificities, like in *Zhuangzi*, in the chapter *Zeyang* [94], where we read: “The yin and yang shine on each other, maim each other, the four seasons succeed

³⁵ GALIK, M.: *Matres Dolorosae: Musings Over Wang Duqing's Before the Madonna and Guido Reni's La Crocifissione dei Cappuccini*, to be published later in *Festschrift* for Lionello Lanciotti.

³⁶ *Saturn und Melancholy*, p. 1.

³⁷ Taipei, Lucky Bookstore 1981.

each other, give birth to each other, slaughter each other.”³⁸ Or: “The seasons have their end and beginning, the age their changes and transformations.”³⁹ Zhuangzi seemed to have no preference for any of four seasons, but the majority of Chinese poets highlighted *qiu* [95] autumn and *chou* [89] sadness, the feeling connected etymologically and phonetically with this third among the four year seasons. Word composites containing *qiu* abound in Chinese language and literature, and Professor Chen is right when he insists that in English “whether in its isolated or compound form, the word ‘autumn’, derived from the Latin ‘autumnus’, does not carry with it so intricate a web of associations”.⁴⁰ Autumn, is treated there too, but relatively late, in the poetry by William Blake, Percy Bysshe Shelley or John Keats, the romanticists, where melancholy is also prevalent. The same also holds for old Chinese poetry, and already in Qu Yuan’s pupil Song Yu’s [96] *Jiu bian* [97] *The Nine Arguments*, we find some of the best specimens of melancholic poetry. One of them is even reminiscent of English spleen of the 18th century and of “unhappy consciousness” (unglückliches Bewußtsein) by Georg W.F. Hegel of the 19th century:

Jing miao qiu zhi yao ye xi,
xin liao lei er you ai.
Chun qiu zhao zhao er ri gao xi,
ran chou chang er zi bei.
Si shi di lai er zu sui xi,
yin yang bu ke yu li jie.
Bai ri wan wan qi jiang ru xi,
ming yue xiao shuo er jian hui.
Sui hu hu er qiu xin xi,
lao ran ran er yu shi.
Xin yao yue er ri xing xi,
ran chao chang er *wu ji*.
Zhong can ce zhi qican xi,
chang tai xi er zeng xi.
Nian yang yang yi ri wang xi,
lao shan kuo er *wu chu*.
Shi wei wei er ji jin xi,
jian yan liu er chouchu [98].

Here follows the translation by David Hawkes with minor changes corresponding to my understanding of some places in the text:

³⁸ *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, p. 291 and *A Concordance to Chuang Tzu*, p. 72.

³⁹ Loc. cit.

⁴⁰ CHEN PENG-HSIANG: op. cit., p. 81.

When I think of the long nights of late autumn,
 My heart is tormented and full of sorrow.
 Springs and autumns are growing in number,
 And sadly I grieve and feel self-pity.
 Four seasons come and go and fulfil the year;
 Yin and yang alternate: I scarce can keep abreast.
 The white sun reddens towards his setting,
 The bright moon pines and wastes away.
 All too quickly the year will be ended,
 And old age comes creeping on apace.
 My heart is distraught, in spite of daily fortune.
 I am disappointed and there is *no hope*.
 My breast is bitter with grief and anguish,
 And sigh after long sigh I heave heavily.
 Swiftly the years roll by, ever receding,
 And old age finds me alone, with *no place* to go.
 My affairs press upon me and urge me forward;
 But I linger on here in uncertainty.⁴¹

Nobody knows exactly where the idea of “unhappy consciousness” in Hegel’s philosophical system came from. As we know from his *History of Philosophy*, the history of the world “is not the theatre of happiness, periods of happiness are blank pages in it”.⁴² The possible source is Hebrew antiquity, late Roman or medieval Christianity, even Protestantism or Romanticism.⁴³ Roland Lambrecht sees a possible source in *The Confessions of St. Augustine* (354–430).⁴⁴ Probably the most famous words from this great book addressed to God: “our heart is restless, until it repose in Thee”,⁴⁵ put at its beginning, or another in Book Ten, Chapter Forty, used Hegel when writing about the “unhappy consciousness” as one important part of our *conditio humana*: “Here (in this world, M.G.) I can stay, but would not, there (in Heaven, M.G.) I would, but cannot, both ways miserable.”⁴⁶

The situation with the *persona* of Song Yu’s poem is similar. For Song’s “lyrical hero” as well for the Church Father, there was “no hope” and “no place” to go. Whether forever, or during the lifespan in this *vallis lacrimarum*. “Any-

⁴¹ HAWKES, D.: op. cit., p. 97 and MA MAOYUAN: op. cit., p. 242.

⁴² Quoted according to Will DURANT: *The Story of Philosophy*. New York, Garden City Publishing Co., Inc. 1943, p. 224.

⁴³ LAMBRECHT, R.: *Melancholie. Vom Leiden an der Welt und den Schmerzen der Reflexion*. Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rowohlt Taschenbuchverlag GmbH 1994, p. 133.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 134–139.

⁴⁵ *The Confessions of St. Augustine*. Transl. by Edward Bouverie Pusey. New York, Quality Paperback Book Club 1991, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 270.

where out of the world”⁴⁷ by Charles Baudelaire expresses the same conviction, although the modern French decadent poet would probably have a different ambition than St. Augustine. On the other hand, Søren Kierkegaard, both pupil and rival of Hegel, and according to one authority, “the profoundest interpreter of the psychology of the religious life... since St. Augustine”,⁴⁸ would agree, although the melancholic disposition of his psyche, pressed him to manifest his thoughts in a more existential way, in the form of a “philosophy of despair”, or the “sickness unto death” unthinkable for Song Yu, St. Augustine or even Baudelaire.

*

In one of his seminal works entitled *Either/Or* Kierkegaard presented his readers with a peculiar dream:

“Something wonderful happened to me. I was carried up into the seventh heaven. There all the gods set assembled. By special grace I was granted the favor of a wish. ‘Will you,’ said Mercury, ‘have youth, or beauty, or power, or a long life, or the most beautiful maiden, or any of the other glories we have in the chest? Choose, but only one thing.’ For a moment I was at a loss. Then I addressed myself to the gods as follows: ‘Most honorable contemporaries, I choose this one thing, that I may always have the laugh at my side.’ Not one of the gods said a word, on the contrary, they all began to laugh. Hence I concluded that my request was granted, and found that the gods knew how to express themselves with taste...”⁴⁹

Not only the gods knew it. Kierkegaard himself discovered “laughter” in the midst of woe and melancholy, in his high “castle of grief” built like an eagle’s nest high up among the clouds, when he heard by chance the minuet from *Don Juan*, or when he imagined being himself in the company of nice girls, or enjoying the pleasures of dance. From time to time, as he confessed, his soul was also “joy-intoxicated”.⁵⁰

Melancholy and joy, grief and laughter are joined together, they are, if not steady, then more or less frequent companions of life. Even the “discoverer” of “trouble and sorrow” and the “pains of hell” in the *Psalm 114*, manifested simultaneously his thanks to God who delivered his soul from death, his eyes from tears and his feet from failing.⁵¹ There were pleasant moments in the life

⁴⁷ BAUDELAIRE, Ch.: *Le Spleen de Paris*. In: *Œuvres Complètes de Charles Baudelaire*. Neuilly-sur-Seine, Éditions de Saint-Claire 1974, p. 485.

⁴⁸ This is the opinion of Reinhold Niebuhr, well-known modern Protestant theologian, quoted from: *A Kierkegaard Anthology*. Ed. by Robert Bretall. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1973, p. xxvii.

⁴⁹ *A Kierkegaard Anthology*, p. 36.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵¹ *Psalm 114*, 8.

and work of those we have mentioned above: Medea, Qu Yuan, Song Yu, Ban Jieyu, St. Mary, Jesus Christ, St. Augustine, Li Qingzhao, Luther, Hegel, Baudelaire, even the mother of Wang Duqing. Her son certainly saw her with laugh or smile when she hugged or played with him. -

But still, in the literary or artistic processing of melancholy or grief, there is usually more value than in the manifestation of joy or laughter. Just as in the *Ecclesiastes*, or *The Preacher*: "To every *thing* there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven:... A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance;... Sorrow *is* better than laughter, for by the sadness of countenance the heart is made better."⁵²

I tried not to be a "cramped scholar" in my exposition. Whether I succeeded or not, is a question I am not authorized to answer. If I "gave my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness" (and melancholic phenomena in the corners of the world under consideration are part and parcel of both), I do not think, in contradiction to the *Ecclesiastes*, that my efforts could be characterized as "vexation of spirit".⁵³ Europe and China are different realms of human expression due to many reasons caused by the mythological, historical, philosophical, religious, psychological, literary and artistic development. Melancholy is an all-human phenomenon, and both in China and Europe, in history and in our age, has its specific features that are still waiting for further and deeper research.

⁵² *Ecclesiastes*, 3, 4.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1, 17.

1. 騷 2. 莊子 3. 莊子引傳 4. 秋水 5. 曲士 6. 屈原 7. 離騷 8. 馬茂元
9. 楚辭選 10. 高陽 11. 楚 12. 秦 13. 伯庸 14. 內美 15. 修能 16. 禹
17. 湯 18. 文 19. 楚 20. 姊 21. 妹喜 22. 楚 23. 夏 24. 但已 25. 紂辛
32. 史記 33. 卷 34. 卷
26. 商 27. 至 28. 楚懷王 29. 秦思王 30. 屈原賈生列傳 31. 司馬遷
35. 純 36. 他 37. 他 38. 他 39. 他 40. 他 41. 肝 42. 寬 43. 執
44. 劉 45. 詩經 46. 為情而造文 47. 文心雕龍 48. 范文瀾 49. 詩
50. 持 51. 情 52. 惺 53. 溫柔敦厚 54. 偷語 55. 詩. 可以怨 56. 四書
- 集注 57. 錢鍾書 58. 成帝 59. 班婕妤 60. 女 61. 班昭 62. 班固
63. 漢書 64. 趙飛燕 65. 合德 66. 許皇后 67. 賦 68. 苑詩 69. 譚正璧
70. 新裂齊紈素,皎潔如霜雪,
- 出入君懷袖,動搖微風發.
- 常恐秋節至,涼風奪炎熱.
- 棄捐廢司中,恩情中道絕!
71. 中國女性的文學生活 72. 光明書局 73. 呂叔湘 74. 許淵沖 75. 恐
76. 絕 77. 恩情 78. 合歡扇 79. 言外 80. 像外 81. 文言 82. 李清照
83. 趙明誠 84. 聲聲慢
85. 尋覓見,冷冷清清,淒淒慘慘戚戚.
- 乍暖還寒時候,最難將息.
- 三杯兩盞淡酒,怎敵他,晚來風急!
- 雁過也,正傷心,卻是舊時相識.
- 滿地黃花堆積,憔悴損,如今有誰堪摘!
- 守着窗兒,獨自怎生得黑!
- 梧桐更兼細雨,到黃昏,點點滴滴.
- 這次弟,怎一個愁字了得!
88. 李清照詩詞選 89. 愁 90. 王獨清
91. 憂鬱 92. 長安城中的少年 93. 聖母像前 94. 則陽 95. 秋 96. 宋玉
97. 九辨
- 然憫情而自悲. 四時遞來而卒歲兮,陰陽不可與經偕.
- 白日晚晚其將入兮,明月銷鑠而滅毀. 歲忽忽而逝兮,
- 老冉冉而愈邁. 心搖悅而日幸兮,然怛悵而無冀. 中
- 惻之懷兮,長太息而增歎.
- 年洋洋以日往兮,老峽斷而無處. 事隨興而毀進兮,
- 衰淹留而躊躇.

THE OPPOSITION OF THE *LITERATI* TO THE GAME OF *WEIQI* IN ANCIENT CHINA

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With the development of Neo-Confucianism during the Song dynasty (960–1279 AD), the orthodoxy of Chinese society was gradually redefined. However, as board games, which have often been considered as of secondary importance, do have their place in social studies, we may now ask ourselves how this redefinition of epistemological values influenced the attitude of the cultivated Chinese *élite* towards games.

The game of *weiqi* [1] is examined in this paper, in order to demonstrate the radical change in thinking which occurred with regard to the game in Song times. Although it had been violently attacked by the *literati* before Neo-Confucianism, with the advent of the new orthodoxy – which allowed many Taoist and Buddhist elements to be inserted in a new framework – *weiqi* too gradually became accepted, thanks to the new cultural atmosphere.

Fragments from the Warring States period (453 – 222 BC) criticizing the game of *weiqi* are analysed in the first part of this essay. Then two texts devoted to criticism of *weiqi* are considered and translated. One of these was written by Wei Yao [2] (fl.: 252 AD) in the Three Kingdoms period (220 – 265 AD), the other by Pi Rixiu [3] (834?–883? AD) in Tang times (618 – 906 AD). In the second part of this essay, excerpts from *Qijing Shisanpian* [4] (The Classic of *Weiqi* in Thirteen Chapters) (circa 1050 AD) are translated in order to show how former criticisms based on the “amorality” of *weiqi* were overcome.

1

The game of *weiqi* is *par excellence* the game of Chinese *literati*. The first European to report it was the Macerata-born Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552 – 1610 AD), who wrote:

“The deepest of all the [Chinese] games is one with more than two hundred pieces, white and black for each side, on a board with more than three hundred squares [...]. The mandarins have become so absorbed in this game that some of them occupy most of the day playing it, each match lasting more than one hour. And those who are good at this game, even if they have no other ability, are ap-

preciated by everybody and invited everywhere, and some are chosen as masters to teach this game.”¹

It therefore seems quite strange to us nowadays that there was a time when *weiqi* was considered disreputable by the cultivated Chinese *élite*. The essays that criticize this game and its players and the reasons their authors give will be analysed here. Then we will see how, in the Song (960 – 1279 AD) dynasty, in a Neo-Confucian environment, these motivations were overcome, with the full rehabilitation of *weiqi*.

A negative attitude may be noted already from the first quotations about *weiqi* in Chinese literature. Confucius himself considered it just one step above total passiveness:

“The Master said: ‘To stuff oneself with food all day without worrying about anything, is difficult indeed! But what about *weiqi* players then? It is better to be one of them than to do nothing!’”²

Mencius (*circa* 372 – 289 BC) later recognized that the game required concentration and attention, but he relegated *weiqi* to the “small arts”.³ He explained his aversion to this game in a passage in his *Mengzi* [11]:

“The second [of behaviours devoid of filial virtues] consists of indulging in alcoholic drinks and in playing *weiqi*, and therefore omitting to care for one’s parents.”⁴

For Mencius, the amorality of *weiqi* was therefore linked with wasting time and undermining the family structure of society, the most important concern from a Confucian point of view.

Weiqi was also criticized by the Mohists from a significantly different stance. A passage concerning the game occurs in a late chapter of *Mozi* [13]:

“Nobody must dare to sound musical instruments or play *weiqi* in the army: otherwise he will be punished with arrows.”⁵

The prohibition against musical instruments can be clearly understood because of the notorious opposition of the Mohists to music, while the cause of the prohibition against *weiqi* was rather obscure. More light can be thrown on the matter thanks to an admonishment contained in *Guanzi* [19] (4th–2nd centuries BC):

¹ Ricci, Matteo, 1942, *Storia dell'introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, Roma, La libreria dello Stato, vol. I, p. 146.

² Lunyu (Confucian Analects), 17th Chapter “Yanghuo” [5], passage 22, in RUAN YUAN [6] (ed.), 1991, *Shisanjing Zhushu* [7], Beijing [8], Zhonghua Shuju [9], vol. II, p. 2526.

³ *Mengzi* (Mencius), 11th chapter, “Gaozi shang” [10], passage 9, in RUAN YUAN (ed.), 1991, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 2751.

⁴ *Mengzi* (Mencius), 8th chapter “Lilou” [12], passage 30, in RUAN YUAN (ed.), 1991, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 2731.

⁵ This reference probably indicates some kind of punishment like that meted out to St. Sebastian. *Mozi*, book 15, *ju.*: 70 “Haoling” [14], in: CAI SHANGSI [15] (ed.), 1991, *Zhuzi Jicheng* [16], Shanghai [17], Shanghai Shuju [18], vol. IV, p. 364.

“[...] in the third month of autumn, on the day *gengxin* [20], there are five prohibitions. The first is not to play *weiqi*: it is prohibited.”⁶

Now, the calendrical characters *gengxin* are Celestial Stems connected with the metal phase, like the “western” season of autumn, considered in the light of the *wuxing* [23] theory. The third month of this season is the peak of this process and therefore the culmination of the metal phase. The explanation is that *weiqi* must have been related to metal too, so that playing it at a moment when this phase was already prevalent was counterproductive. But, if *weiqi* is linked with metal, it must also be connected with war and in general with fighting. So the result of this analysis, if applied to the statement in *Mozi*, indicates “in the army”, in a combat phase, so that if another fighting factor – *weiqi* – is added, the natural tendency towards *equilibrium* sought by Chinese thinking would be negated. The same reasoning can be found in Han () times when, in case of heavy rains (*Yin*) [24], woman (*Yin*) were forbidden to go to the market, the northern gates (*Yin*) of towns were closed and southern ones (*Yang*) [25] left open, and officials had to wear red (Fire) clothing.⁷

Another criticism of *weiqi* may be found in *Fayan* [26] (Exemplary Sayings) (circa 5 AD) by Yang Xiong [27], in which the author contests the acritical acceptance of spontaneity in Taoism:

“Some believe that criminal law corresponds to *Dao* [28] because it too is spontaneous. But I say that criminal law, like *weiqi*, like fencing and magic practices which confuse the eye, although they are all spontaneous (*ziran*) [29], still have a true *Dao* only generally speaking, but in their particulars they have a perverse *Dao*.”⁸

Here, the presence of terms like “criminal law” clearly indicates that the object of criticism is also Legalism. This is therefore the first passage which openly associates *weiqi* with Legalist theories.

The silence of Taoist texts on *weiqi* leaves open the possibility that the game may be connected with this philosophical school. The real way of playing *weiqi* recalls *Yin-Yang* theories very closely, so that Confucius’s criticism in reality may be due to the fact that this classification system was alien to him. Later, when *Yin-Yang* theories were absorbed by Taoism, Mencius’s opposition to the game and his denouncing of its “amorality” became more articulated and was modelled on his condemnation of the Taoist free attitude towards society’s obligations. So, whereas for Confucius and Mencius the object of debate was the *Yin-Yang* classification system, for Yang Xiong there was a different element: the negativity of *weiqi* was similar to that of Legalist government systems, i.e., the criminal law. In *Mozi* and *Guanzi*, the game was associated with war, and

⁶ *Guanzi Jiaozheng* [21], ju.: 40, ch. “Sishi” [22], in: CAI SHANGSI (ed.), 1991, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 240.

⁷ LOEWE, Michel, 1994, *Divination, mythology and monarchy in Han China*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., p. 156.

⁸ *Fayan*, ju.: 5, “Wendao” [30], in: CAI SHANGSI (ed.), 1991, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 12.

thus with Legalism and “Horizontal and Vertical” theories, supporting war as a solution to the political anarchy of the Warring States. Therefore, the latter two authors had a significantly different approach to the condemnation of *weiqi*.

A third reason for criticism may have been due to the early relations between *weiqi* and divination. This point of view is perhaps subtended to all pre-Han writers who mention *weiqi* in their texts; in *Fayan*, it may be seen in the association of the game with “magic practices”.

Only after the fall of the Han dynasty did an essay appear totally devoted to criticism of *weiqi* and its players. The author was a strictly orthodox Confucian: Wei Yao [31] (fl.: 252 AD). He died in jail because he refused to write in an official history that the father of the founder of the Wu dynasty was himself an emperor.⁹ This biographical note helps us to understand better Wei Yao’s intransigent point of view, expressed in his *Boyi Lun* [35] (Speech on *weiqi*). Given the importance of this text, its full translation is given below:

“It has been said of the *literati* that, ashamed of present times and failing their examinations for a place in the imperial administration, they are afraid of reaching the end of their days without being remembered by posterity. Therefore: ‘Study as if you could not reach your goal, and even as if you feared losing it’.”¹⁰

If these straits have been reached, it is because nowadays the *literati* are very different from those of the past. The latter feared not to obtain fame with the passing of years, so, conscientiously and with determination, they studied from the first ray of light at dawn, when they awoke, until nightfall, when they lay down to sleep. With no free time or moments of rest, they submitted themselves to this for months and years, accumulating knowledge with daily labours. The examples of Ning Yue’s [37] commitment and Dong Sheng’s [38]¹¹ sincerity incited them to plunge into virtue’s abyss and to live in the citadel of arts and of the *Dao*. Even with Xi Bo’s [40] sanctity and Ji Gong’s [41]¹² ability, constant daily toil is necessary. This attitude allowed the Zhou dynasty (11th century – 255 BC) to be exalted and made it famous for a hundred million years.

So how could ministers and common people stop studying?!

If we recall ancient as well as more modern *literati* who – in the course of history – became renowned, we will find that all of them accumulated remarkable and extraordinary experiences of study. Spending most of the time ab-

⁹ GILES, Herbert A., 1898, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, Taipei, Literature House, n° 2297; ZANG LIHE [32], 1940, *Zhongguo Renming Daxidian* [33], Shanghai, Shangwu Yinshuguan [34].

¹⁰ Lunyu (*Confucian Analects*), ch. ‘Tai Bo’ [36], 8.17, in RUAN YUAN (ed.), 1991, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 2487.

¹¹ The first is unknown, the second is a Han writer, author of *Dongzhongshu* [39] (Dong’s Book of Loyalty).

¹² Ji Gong is better known as King Wu, founder of the Zhou dynasty. Xi Bo, “The Lord of the West”, was the title of Ji Gong’s father during the Shang dynasty.

sorbed in books, they exhausted their spirits and tired their bodies. Even when they did not obtain a public office they did not desert their duty and, even in poverty and tribulation, their determination did not waver. Such was Bu Shi's [42] iron will when he planted fields and grazed flocks; such was Huang Ba [43]¹³ when he received the *Dao* in jail. At the end they both reached the renown that made their names imperishable.

With this goal in mind, Shan Fu [45] was engaged from dawn to sunset and Wu Han [46] did not leave the common gate.¹⁴ How could they have travelled for pleasure or have abandoned their responsibilities?

Instead, the members of the present generation do not pay attention to the Five Classics and the art of government, but amuse themselves playing *weiqi*. They are negligent of their tasks, desert their professions, forget to eat and drink, spend the whole day until daylight fails playing, and then go on by the light of oil-lamps.

Fighting on game-boards, when it is still unclear who is stronger and who will be defeated, players concentrate all their attention and are completely enraptured by the game. Their spirits are exhausted and their bodies are fatigued, social relations are neglected, the duties of hospitality are omitted, so that the host no longer welcomes his guests. Even when there is the meat of the sacrificial ox, and even Shao [49] and Xia [50] music, it seems that nobody has time to care about them.

Limits are so exceeded that some even bet their clothes and personal objects. Following the evolution of the game, hand after hand, tempers change, honesty and correctness are abandoned and expressions became not only choleric but even violent.

In such circumstances, the object of players' desires never transcends the game-board and their attention never goes beyond its squares. But if the adversary is beaten there is no official place assigned to the winner, "territories" are "conquered", but in reality no plot of land is gained, ability in this game is not included among the Six Arts,¹⁵ and playing it is not comparable to administering state affairs. Even those who exercise their bodies to reach longevity never dare to consider their activity among the Arts!

¹³ Bu Shi lived in the times of Han Wudi (140–86 BC). He was a landowner famous for having provided the Chinese army with supplies in its expedition against Xiongnu [44]. Huang Ba (?–51 BC) was a governor, unjustly imprisoned. Once in jail, he spent his time studying poetry. Thanks to his attitude, when he was released from prison, he was promoted to minister.

¹⁴ Shan Fu, second son of Xiang Gong ruler of Lu [47], was famous for his good administration of state affairs. Wu Han (?–44 BC) was a horse dealer who became a general in the Han army. The phrase "he did not leave the common gate", *bu li gong men* [48], means that he held public office.

¹⁵ The "Six Arts", *liuyi* [51], were: rituals, music, mathematics, writing, archery and chariot driving.

Furthermore, the imperial examiners chosen to select candidates for places in the state administration do not accept *weiqi* as a discriminating choice.

If we search for the principles of *weiqi* in armies drawn up in fighting order, we do not find them in the rules of Sunzi [52] or Wu Qi [53]. Looking for those principles in the Arts or in *Dao* is not in the tradition of Confucius's school. Adopting inconstancy and fraud as methods of play is a demonstration of the use of incorrect and disloyal principles, employing technical terms like "invasion", *jie* [54], and "killing", *sha* [55], means being devoid of Humanity, *ren* [56]. Lastly, spending the day deserting one's occupations brings no advantages, and so we may wonder if there is any difference between placing pieces on a game-board and simply throwing stones.

In the house of a cultivated man, if he is still outside the public administration he must exercise himself so as to enhance longevity; if he does have a place in the administration he must act so as to serve with loyalty, postponing private business until dinner time, but, even so, wherever is the advantage of playing *weiqi*?

Conforming oneself to the above, filial conduct and the respect due to friends will be correct and pure, and well-deserved fame will be manifested.

The glorious Wu [57] dynasty (220 – 265 AD) has now received from Heaven the mandate to rule; but, because inside the Four Seas peace is still not achieved, the dynasty is constantly engaged in the duty of selecting military officers brave enough to impose order and ready to bear responsibilities like bears and tigers, and choosing *literati* like dragons and phoenixes to undertake official duties. Thus, the one hundred behaviours will all be fixed, those with public duties will obtain a universal goal, in order to be rewarded with gold and even higher positions. This will improve society for one thousand years and one hundred generations will gain virtue.

In this way, the *literati* of the present generation will be encouraged to direct their attention in the right way and, loving merit and appreciating power, thanks to the present brilliant period, they will have their names inscribed in the official chronicles and will receive government positions. These are the most important duties of the *junzi* [58] and of the utmost urgency.

Let us now consider the *weiqi* board: where can we find on it any relation with a prefecture? And the three hundred pieces with an army of ten thousand soldiers? Imperial robes, bells and musical stones are much more important than pieces and game-boards: who would exchange one for the other?

In the event of scholars willingly turning the diligence they now squander in *weiqi* towards poetical texts, they will obtain a strength like that of Yan [59] and Min [60]¹⁶ and, by employing it in wisdom they will have the capacity of Liang [61] and Ping [62], by bestowing it in goods they will be rich like Yi Dun [63], using it in archery and driving war-chariots, they will be generals.¹⁷

¹⁶ Both were disciples of Confucius.

¹⁷ The above quoted persons are unknown.

When circumstances correspond to what I have said, then fame will be gained and no-one will be inept any longer.”¹⁸

Wei Yao's criticism against *weiqi* is very detailed and may be considered as a *summa* of all the preceding arguments. He condemns the amorality of *weiqi*, like Mencius, but adds a vivid description of unrespected guests and depicts the players as furious gamblers, ready to lose their shirts for a game, thus extending the Mencian accusation of unfiliality. Wei Yao also used to criticize the game because of its close link with war, but he denied that this aspect may somehow be ennobled by the contiguity with Sunzi's theories. What is definitely new in his accusations is his analysis of the intrinsic amorality even of the technical terms, like “killing”, used by the players. Instead, he follows Confucius when he states that playing *weiqi* is meaningless, like “throwing stones”, recalling the words “without worrying about anything” of the Master. Another aspect is Wei Yao's refusal to consider *weiqi* among the “arts”. The reason for this may have been the players' appropriation of Mencius's statement, which denigrates *weiqi* by placing it among the “small arts” turning it into official recognition. Therefore Wei Yao correctly restores the original meaning by blaming the players.

Another author who wrote an essay against *weiqi* was Pi Rixiu (834?–883? AD). He was born in Xiangyang [66] in modern Hubei [67], became a *jinshi* [68] in 867, and is famous for his poetic anthologies and for an edition of *Chajing* [69] (The Classic of Tea).¹⁹

His text on *weiqi*, entitled *Yuanyi* [70] (The Origin of *Weiqi*) is part of his work *Shiyuan Jimi* [71] (The Interconnected Mysteries of the Ten Origins). *Yuanyi* exists in two versions: one is in *Wenyuan Yinghua* [72] (Anthology of the Garden of Literature)²⁰ and criticizes *weiqi*; the other is in *Xuanxuan Qijing* [74] (The Very Mysterious Classic of *Weiqi*)²¹ and is in favour of the game. This second version is clearly a forgery, because it quotes the book *Qijing Shisanpian* (The Classic of *Weiqi* in Thirteen Chapters), which was written much later during the Song dynasty. The following is therefore a translation of the first version:

“If somebody is asked about the origin of *weiqi*, he will surely answer: ‘Yao [78] taught Dan Zhu [79] how to fight, and Dan Zhu invented this [game], so that is its origin.’

But I maintain that even if *weiqi* is an art, its practice is the following: if I take the initiative my adversary is the loser, but if my rational capacity is im-

¹⁸ CHEN SHOU [64], 1963, *Sanguo Zhi* [65], Shanghai, Zhonghua Shuju, “Wushu” [66], biography of Wei Yao, *ju.* 65.

¹⁹ GILES, Herbert A., *op. cit.*, n° 1648.

²⁰ LI FANG [73], 1966, *Wenyuan Yinghua*, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, vol. III, pp. 1877, 1878.

²¹ WANG RUNAN [75] (ed.), 1988, ‘*Xuanxuan Qijing*’ *Xinjie* [76], Beijing, Renmin Tiyu Chubanshe [77], pp. 30ff.

paired and my adversary exploits this, then I am at a disadvantage. If I want an inner gain, first I have to invade the outer; if what I want to obtain is far away, first I have to occupy what is near, and this means being false.

The unmodified method of placing pieces that leads to victory is an elastic defence, the way that leads to defeat is not to fight when necessary and to run away. Conflict occurs every time the winner does not accept a [local] defeat and the loser does not want it either. Defending one territory and abandoning another one, occupying one territory and leaving another one: this is like He Zong [80] and Su Qin's [81]²² methods and to Chen Zhen's [82]²³ speeches and is deceitful.

In such a situation, if you do not pay attention to what is important, if you are not deceitful, if you do not fight you lose. In *weiqi*, if you do not cheat, you fall into chaos. Even if you are a good player like Yi Qiu [83] you must use such methods.

My opinion is the following: Yao had a nature gifted with humanity, rectitude, formal courtesy, wisdom and honesty [just as] man needs to use his hands, feet, ears and eyes. But is not it typical of inferior people to apply their poor plans and scarce intelligence to strategies to fight until they win or lose?

In Yao's times, the numerous tribes of Miao [84] were not yet subjugated to him and, in spite of Yao's humanity, they did not behave towards him with due respect. Therefore Yao's army could have been [justified in] invading them, to civilize them. [Such an action would have been like] a hunter trying to trap an owl in a net or a fisherman trying to cook the fish Kun [85]. So Yao did not want to employ the army and instead ordered Shun [86] [to solve the problem]. But even Shun, not tolerating [the idea of using violence] to subjugate the Miao, proclaimed the civic virtues, so that social structures could develop even among Miao's tribes. He did not employ the army either, even when the Miao did not respect him. Consequently, how could Yao ever have employed a deceitful attitude which damages others, or false and warlike wisdom as fighting methods, and even teach them to his son with the aim of conquering other states?!

Hence, the origin of *weiqi* must go back to the Warring States period, because its harmful, false, warlike and cheating *Dao* is typical of those who promoted "Horizontal and Vertical" theories.

How can it be ascribed to Yao?! Who dares say that?!"²⁴

Pi Rixiu bases his approach to *weiqi* on the assumption that, according to the legend, the game was developed by Dan Zhu after receiving instruction in combat from his father, the mythological emperor Yao. The story is actually slightly different. In the Warring States period, this legend is reported in *Shi Ben* [87] (The Origin of History) and simply states that Yao invented *weiqi* and taught it

²² Founders of the "Horizontal and Vertical" political school of thought in the late Warring States period.

²³ Chen Zhen is otherwise unknown.

²⁴ LI FANG, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 1877, 1878.

to his son. One explanation of this legend is that *weiqi* was originally connected with divination, traditionally given to man by Yao. Later, Zhang Hua [88] (fl. 280 AD) wrote in his *Bo Wu Zhi* [89] (Records of Investigation of Things) (270–290 AD) that the real object of inventing this game was to improve the mentally retarded Dan Zhu.²⁵ Here, Pi Rixiu seems to follow a different tradition, which ascribes the real origin of the game to Dan Zhu, following Yao's principles.

In any case, Pi Rixiu denies this possibility, refuting any connection between Yao, sanctified by Confucians in the light of their values, and the very practice of *weiqi*. He suggests instead Su Qing and He Zong, political theoreticians of the Warring States period, who proposed two different and antithetic systems of alliance but who were considered in Han times as members of the "Horizontal and Vertical" school, as inspirers of the values on which *weiqi* is based. Here we have the same criticism already present in *Guanzi*, *Mozi* and *Fayan*, which states that the *Dao* of *weiqi* is "perverse".

The reason for this change of attitude among *weiqi* opposers may be related to the peculiar atmosphere of those times. Due to Buddhist and Taoist predominance in the Chinese world of thought during the Tang dynasty, Mencian criticism lost a good deal of its strength. Moreover, any opposition to the *Yin-Yang* had been forgotten ever since the syncretism of Han times, so that these arguments to denigrate the game could no longer be used.

Hence, the opposition of the *literati* changed weapons to attack *weiqi*, emphasizing its close coincidence with the political theories of the Warring States which had been completely rejected by Chinese intellectuals since those times. The players themselves have claimed a certain connection between *weiqi* and *Sunzi's* war wiles, as seen in Wei Yao's essay. But *Sunzi's* positions overlap those upheld by Legalists and Su Qing and He Zong, to the point at which all of them accept war as a useful solution to controversies among states – a solution which may become excellent if used in an unscrupulous and Machiavellian way, with no concern for morality or rituals.

By attacking *weiqi*, the Chinese *literati* were attacking a philosophical attitude which was not only contrary to official ideology, but also opposed to the most deeply rooted values of social harmony, outside which they could only see the predominance of violence over honesty. This does not mean that the *literati* were not fascinated by *weiqi*: as many as thirty-five poems about the game have come down to us since Tang times,²⁶ showing how much the Tang cultivated *élite* enjoyed spending time playing *weiqi*. It is significant that there are no prose essays in praise of *weiqi* from this period. This suggests a possible dichotomy between public official condemnation and private enjoyment of the "weiqi vice". Aesthetic thoughts embodied in poems, going beyond rational argument, became the only way to express the subtle pleasure of being absorbed

²⁵ LIU SHANCHENG [90] (ed.), 1988, *Zhongguo Weiqi* [91], Chengdu [92], Sichuan Kexue Jishu Chubanshe [93], p. 256.

²⁶ All this poems are published in: LIU SHANCHENG (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 407 – 425.

in one's thoughts in front of the *weiqi* board. But this dichotomy was about to be solved, thanks to Song Neo-Confucianism.

2

Song Neo-Confucianism has its roots in the political reforms proposed by Fan Zhongyan [94] (989–1052 AD). His aim was to increase the number of public administrators among the *literati* by means of examinations and to restrict the possibility of nobles entering such a career. During the period of his influence at court (1043–1044), he proposed that the *literati* should express their ideas and criticisms in prose essays instead of being examined in the composition of meaningless poems, at that time mandatory. His political point of view was summed up in a sentence from *Yijing* [95] (The Classic of Changes): anything which causes problems must be changed, since only after change can there be constancy.²⁷

His views were also later held by Ouyang Xiu [97] (1007–1072 AD) who wrote in his *Benlun* [98] (On Bases) that only the *literati* have the right to administer the empire. This right derives from their understanding of the “bases” of good governments of the past. Only cultivated people were able to distinguish between empty formalism and the profound meaning of ritual.²⁸ Thanks to these views, it became possible to re-interpret all preceding historical periods and ideological systems. This obviously also influenced the debate about *weiqi* and made possible its complete rehabilitation through analysis of its “bases”.

The work in which this new perspective appeared is entitled *Qijing Shisanpian* (The Classic of *Wei* in Thirteen Chapters) by Zhang Jing [102] (fl.: circa 1050 AD), otherwise unknown. Chapter seven includes the quotation of *Yijing* that was the motto of Fan Zhongyan, so that the link with his position is explicit.

In *Qijing Shisanpian*, Taoism and Sunzi's theories are accepted as ways of interpreting the game and as useful in playing it, but they are subordinate to a wider ethical horizon. The references to Sunzi are given in the same structure of *Qijing Shisanpian*, divided into thirteen chapters as *Sunzi Bingfa* [103] (The Art of War of Sunzi) and in many quotations taken from it. Quotations from *Laozi* [104] clearly explain the relations of *weiqi* with Taoism. But the main achievement was the setting up of a moral standard for *weiqi* players, so that preceding criticisms were overcome. This is openly stated in chapter nine:

“It has been said: ‘*Wei* provides deceits and tricks as necessary; invasion and killings as technical terms: is not it false *Dao*?!’ But I answer: absolutely not! As a matter of fact, in *Yijing* it is written: ‘when an army goes into battle it

²⁷ *Yijing*, ch. ‘Xici Xia’ [96], in RUAN YUAN (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 89.

²⁸ SMITH JR., Kidder, (et al.), 1990, *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, Princeton, Princeton U.P., pp. 26–32.

needs fixed rules, otherwise there is danger.²⁹ The army must not be deceived: cheating speeches and betrayal are typical of the 'Horizontal and Vertical' doctrine of the Warring States.³⁰

The chapter continues with an explanation of what players must not do:

"Although the *Dao* of *weiqi* is small, it is identical to that of fighting. So there are many levels of play and not all the players are the same. At the lowest level, there are those who play without thinking or reflecting; then there are those who use their fingers to point to the positions on the board; others even speak and reveal their plans.

But those who have reached a high standard of play do not behave like this at all. On the contrary, they think very deeply and ponder on the consequences of their moves. They use the possibilities given by the positions of the pieces and direct their thoughts towards the board before they lay down a piece. They calculate winning moves before they are manifest in play, and prevent the adversary from placing a piece where he would like. Do *they* base their play on speaking too much or on frantic gestures?!

Zuozhuan [105] states: 'Be honest, not dishonest!'³¹ Are not we speaking precisely about this?'³²

Other chapters of *Qijing Shisanpian* contain more details about the moral standards which that must be maintained when playing *weiqi*:

"Do not pride yourself on victory, do not complain about defeat. A *junzi* is modest and generous; it is typical of vulgar persons to give way to irascible and furious expressions. It is good for the best players not to exalt themselves and for beginners to have no fear. Be calm and breathe regularly. If you do this, your battle is already half won, while if your face reveals your disturbance, you are already losing. No shame is worse than that due to change of feelings, no action is more base than to cheat others.

[...] When the pieces are counted [at the end of the game], do not worry about knowing the real extent of [your] victory."³³

Once it was clear that *weiqi* was acceptable because of its high moral standard, *Qijing Shisanpian* could go on to explain that war and combat may occur on the board but that this is only a possibility, not a goal or a necessary condition. Avoiding the open direct fighting also was recommended also by Sunzi's theories. "The winner is he who by not fighting, subdues his adversary."³⁴ This

²⁹ *Yijing*, ju. 2, hexagram n° 7 shizhen [99], xiang [100] commentary to the first line, in RUAN YUAN, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 25 zhong [101].

³⁰ *Qijing Shisanpian*, ch. 9, in WANG RUNAN (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³¹ This quotation is not in *Zuozhuan* but in *Lunyu*. See: *Lunyu*, ju. 14, in RUAN YUAN (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 2511 zhong.

³² *Qijing Shisanpian*, ch. 9, in WANG RUNAN (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³³ *Qijing Shisanpian*, ch. 13, in WANG RUNAN (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³⁴ *Qijing Shisanpian*, ch. 6, in WANG RUNAN (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 11.

quotation is similar to Sunzi's: "The winner is he who knows when to fight and when to avoid fighting."³⁵

Qijing Shisanpian also stated that "the winner is he who knows his own weak points".³⁶ This is close to self-knowledge, and later in the text in fact the words of Laozi are quoted: "He who knows himself is enlightened." Victory is therefore sought more over oneself than over one's adversary.

So it cannot be denied that, although *weiqi* is a game in which a player who cheats can beat his honest adversary, it is clear that the true player is principled, because he has understood the ethics of the game. The way of playing thus becomes a reflection of the human nature of the players, just as calligraphy and painting show the integrity of an artist's values.

In his *Homo Ludens* Huizinga wrote that games are outside the moral sphere, being neither good nor evil. But, he added, in the case of an action which is admitted by the rules but which contrasts with moral conscience, the latter must always prevail.³⁷

In ancient China, as we have seen, games were not outside the moral sphere, because of the Confucian position about the predominance of ethics above all other considerations. It was therefore much more important to determine whether *weiqi* could be considered as enhancing players' principled conduct or whether it was harmful to them. The negative attitude prevailed, for different reasons, from the Warring States period until the Tang dynasty, so that there was no possible answer to criticisms of *weiqi*. The reasons were due to the various interpretations of *weiqi*: a game of *Yin-Yang*, war, amoral or shamanistic.

When *Qijing Shisanpian* was written the situation changed completely, thanks to formalization of standard behaviour which allowed rule-abiding players to be recognized. And these were the players who "even if they have no other ability, they are appreciated by everybody and invited everywhere"³⁸ described by Matteo Ricci: people accepted by the upper classes only because of their ability at *weiqi*, a clear sign of their morality. *Weiqi* had become a part of Neo-Confucianism and all former opposition was forgotten.

Very ironically, this integration into the world of the Chinese *literati* was so perfect that, during the Cultural Revolution, *weiqi* was persecuted precisely because it promoted "feudal ideas".³⁹

³⁵ Sunzi Bingfa, ch. 3, in AI QILAI [106], 1991, *Sunzi Bingfa Jingyi* [107], Beijing, Guangbo Dianshi Chubanshe [108], p. 75.

³⁶ *Qijing Shisanpian*, ch.6, in WANG RUNAN (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 11.

³⁷ HUIZINGA, Johan, 1946, *Homo Ludens*, Torino, Einaudi, p. 251.

³⁸ RICCI, Matteo, 1942, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 146.

³⁹ From August 1966 until July 1978 no magazines devoted to *weiqi* appeared, and from 1966 to 1974 no national championships were held in mainland China. See: LIU SHANCHENG, *op.cit.*, pp. 837ff., p. 1184.

1]: 圍棋 2]: 韋曜 3]: 皮日休 4]: 棋經十三篇 5]: 陽貨 6]: 阮元 7]: 十三經注疏 8]: 北京 9]: 中華書局 10]: 告子上 11]: 孟子 12]: 離婁 13]: 墨子 14]: 號令 15]: 蔡尚思 16]: 諸子集成 17]: 上海 18]: 上海書局 19]: 管子 20]: 庚辛 21]: 管子校正 22]: 四時 23]: 五行 24]: 陰 25]: 陽 26]: 法言 27]: 揚雄 28]: 道 29]: 自然 30]: 問道 31]: 韋曜 32]: 臧勵蘇 33]: 中國人名大詞典 34]: 尚務印書官 35]: 博弈論 36]: 泰伯 37]: 寧越 38]: 董生 39]: 董仲書 40]: 西伯 41]: 姬公 42]: 卜式 43]: 黃霸 44]: 匈奴 45]: 山甫 46]: 吳漢 47]: 魯瑗公 48]: 不離公門 49]: 韶 50]: 夏 51]: 六藝 52]: 孫子 53]: 吳起 54]: 劫 55]: 殺 56]: 仁 57]: 吳 58]: 君子 59]: 顏 60]: 閔 61]: 良 62]: 平 63]: 倚頓 64]: 三國志 65]: 吳書 66]: 襄陽 67]: 湖北 68]: 進士 69]: 茶經 70]: 原弈 71]: 十原繼密 72]: 文苑英華 73]: 李昉 74]: 玄玄棋經 75]: 王汝南 76]: 玄玄棋經新解 77]: 人民體育初版社 78]: 堯 79]: 丹朱 80]: 合從 81]: 蘇秦 82]: 陳軫 83]: 弈秋 84]: 苗 85]: 鯤 86]: 舜 87]: 史本 88]: 張華 89]: 博物志 90]: 劉善乘 91]: 中國圍棋 92]: 成都 93]: 四川科學技術初版社 94]: 范仲淹 95]: 易經 96]: 繫辭下 97]: 歐陽修 98]: 本論 99]: 師真 100]: 象 101]: 中 102]: 張靖 103]: 孫子兵法 104]: 老子 105]: 左傳 106]: 艾其來 107]: 孫子兵法精義 108]: 廣播電視初版社

GU CHENG'S NOVEL *YING'ER* AND THE *BIBLE**

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The aim of this study is to show some important and less known facts from the last year of the contemporary writer Gu Cheng and to analyse the relations between *Bible* and his novel *Ying'er* from comparative point of view.

We may be quite sure that Gu Cheng [1] (1956–1993), the well-known Chinese contemporary poet, read the Bible and was acquainted with it. He certainly had some knowledge of other works, philosophical, religious and literary and critical, where the biblical topoi were discussed. The *Bible* was among the last books he read in his short life before he killed his wife and committed suicide. This reading certainly did not remain without an impact (positive or negative) in his literary work, philosophical opinion and in his *Weltanschauung*.

1

I had the opportunity to discuss the religious and biblical topic with Gu Cheng in Professor Wolfgang Kubin's apartment in Berlin, Wartenburg Street 7, on Good Friday, April 16, 1992. At these solemn moments, Gu Cheng inspired by my remark concerning the importance of Jesus Christ's death for the Christian world, praised his "blood sacrifice", following the explanation by Wang Guowei [2] (1877–1927) in his *Renjian cihua* [3] *Talks on Ci in the Human World*: "Nietzsche said, 'Of all that is written I love only that which the writer wrote with his blood.' Li Yu's tz'u can truly be said to have been written with blood." Li Yu in this way "expressed the concept of responsibility for the evils of mankind, a concept that is reminiscent of the Buddha and Jesus".¹ Dur-

* This paper was originally read in Chinese at the international conference entitled: Religion and Chinese Fiction, organized by Professor Chan Wing-ming, Hong Kong Baptist University, February 5–7, 1996.

¹ Wang Guowei's *Jen-chien tz'u-hua. A Study of Chinese Literary Criticism*. Transl. by Adele A. Rickett. Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press 1977, p. 45.

ing our meeting, Gu Cheng admitted that he revered Li Yu [4] (937–978) as the great Chinese poet most of all and Buddha and Jesus in second place, putting them on an equal footing on a high pedestal. Gu Cheng said to me: “I know something about Jesus Christ, his teachings, his life and death. But I am not Christian, I am Chinese. I look with intercultural eyes... Even if Li Yu killed nobody and never shed a drop of his blood for other people, for both Li Yu and Jesus was common the spirit of self-sacrifice. This spirit connected them with Buddha.”²

It is very probably that during our dialogue Gu Cheng had not even an idea of writing *Ying'er* [5].

Three days later, on Easter Monday, April 19, 1992 we met once again. On the way to Kubin's flat from the flea market at Potsdam Square near the State Library, we walked along Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's Park. I did not know much about Gu Cheng's unfinished poetic collection *Cheng* [6] *City*, but Gu Cheng and Xie Ye [7] (1958–1993), his wife, informed me, that the title of the latter is a pars pro toto for Peking, Gu Cheng's *guxiang* [8] birthplace and the character cheng is also his own name. In *Cheng* Gu Cheng used famous historical sites, monuments and scenic spots, such as lakes, streets and squares, gates of old Peking, and even Peking Library, to present his poetic autobiography. Just before crossing the Schöneberg Bridge, I remarked: “Maestro Gu, you speak so often about Jia Baoyu [9], comparing yourself to him. Why don't you write a *Chengloumeng* [10] *The Dream of Gu Cheng Chamber?*” I was alluding to Cao Xueqin's [11] (ca. 1724–1764) *Hongloumeng* [12] *The Dream of the Red Chamber*.³

My remark about *The Dream of Gu Cheng Chamber* was received by Gu Cheng and Xie Ye without any comment. Perhaps both of them were embarrassed by the novelty of an idea, or maybe Gu Cheng already planned to write a book of “confession”, as *Ying'er* was called by them in its not yet finished stage.⁴ Gu Cheng and Xie Ye were sometimes extremely restrained in their judgements and overcautious not to betray their secrets. Probably *Ying'er* was Gu Cheng's most concealed work during his creative life. “In the middle of April 1993 Gu Cheng and Xie Yeh”, recollected Kubin in his extensive obituary, “moved into my flat in Kreuzberg, Berlin. At that time they began with narrow-minded secrecy, they wrote behind the closed doors, the note-book was always shut up or hidden from

² GÁLIK, M.: *Berliner Begegnungen mit dem Dichter Gu Cheng*. Minima sinica (Bonn), 1, 1993, pp. 55–56.

³ GÁLIK, M.: *Postscript. Reflections of a Reader and Friend*. In: GU CHENG and LEI MI [13] (Xie Ye): *Ying'er. The Kingdom of Daughters*. Transl. by Li Xia [14]. Stuttgart, Projekt Verlag and Huayi chubanshe [15] Publishers 1995, p. 277. Henceforth only Gu Cheng and Xie Ye for original *Ying'er* that appeared at mentioned publishers in Peking 1993, and Xie Ye for translation. This is used partly with slight corrections.

⁴ KUBIN, W.: *Splitter. Erinnerungen an Gu Cheng und Xie Ye*. Minima sinica, 1, 1994, p. 137. Also GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 97 and LI XIA, p. 86.

the view when I asked to call on the phone. When I wanted to see the sport news on the TV, they changed the room for writing. They did not have patience for any interruption. Later they told me that they are writing *The Confessions (Chanhuilu)* [16]. Gu Cheng who began to read the *Bible*, spoke about the evilness of his own personality and about self-hate.”⁵

Be it as it may, I suppose that the first part of the novel called *Ying'er meiyou la* [17] *Ying'er Has Disappeared* was written in Gu Cheng's flat Storkwinkel 12, near Rathaus Square, where he lived together with Xie Ye nearly the whole period after coming to Berlin on March 16, 1992 up to the half of April 1993. It is possible that Gu Cheng began to read the *Bible* here, if not even earlier, and not later in Kubin's flat, although I did not observe it during my visits to the Storkwinkel flat in April and July 1992. I found three traces in the first part and they might be taken over from the direct reading of the *Bible*.

Chronologically the first is the allusion to the story of deception of Eve by the serpent, which “was more subtle than any beast of the field which the **Lord God** had made”⁶ in the Garden of Eden. “Ying'er holds an apple in her hand”⁷ means the beginning of the temptation, where both, Gu Cheng and his lover Ying'er are like “two poisonous snakes betraying each other's treasure.”⁸ Ying'er after loving Gu Cheng for a comparatively short period, she left him, but he knew that he had deserved it for the considerable suffering he had inflicted on her. At least he admitted it in one of his clear moments.

The second one was concerned with the Prophet Daniel. It is to be found in another chapter, one of those that were the products of his half-mad mind. Here Gu Cheng asserts that there is no one good male existing in this world: “If Daniel was like that it would be fine. But it was not so.”⁹ Gu Cheng self-hate had many reasons. One of them was an inferiority complex because he was born as a boy, not as a girl. He did not like his son Samuel (*Muer*) just because of this. Maybe Gu Cheng knew the story of Susanne and the two lustful elders from deuterocanonic supplement to the *Book of Daniel*.¹⁰

The third was connected with the mentioning of the Last Supper from the *Gospels*. After the words by Gu Cheng addressed to Ying'er: “Let us die,” Ying'er at first agreed and said: “Let us. We can eat our last supper.”¹¹ Their last supper was not taken because Ying'er did not want to die. Last Supper for many

⁵ KUBIN, W.: op. cit., p. 177.

⁶ *Genesis*, 3, 1.

⁷ See GU CHENG and XIE YE, pp. 41 and 103, and LI XIA, pp. 37 and 91.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41 and 37.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22 and 19.

¹⁰ Deuterocanonic books of the *Old Testament* are acknowledged as a part of the canon by the Catholic Church.

¹¹ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 70 and LI XIA, p. 62.

readers, and for contemporary Chinese, too, alludes to Judas' kiss, where honeyed words hide treachery and induce opprobrious death.¹²

2

The second part of *Ying'er* begins with the chapter entitled: Shizi [22] The Cross. Here are the words:

I live opposite the church, facing the cross.
The church is there and the cross is there, but the
person who died on the cross is no longer there.
He wanted to walk around and not to go back to the cross.
My boredom with the whole story had already started.¹³

Gu Cheng saw this church and cross for the first time on March 22, 1992 early one afternoon just coming back from two old cemeteries at Kreuzberg (which in German means something similar to Golgotha, or Calvary), he visited together Xie Ye, Kubin and me.¹⁴ We all set together in the kitchen of the flat at Wartenburg Street 7 and discussed "Lin Daiyu's" poems from *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, especially these lines and their literary merits:

Awake, to whom can I describe my grief,
The infinite melancholy of cold mist and withered grass.¹⁵

Or:

We may fill a page with a sorrow and self-pity,
But who can express what the spirit of autumn means?¹⁶

Or:

Nought's left now but the waning frosty light.
By the steps, dew-drenched hibiscus blooms at dawn...¹⁷

¹² Cf. "Xifang zongjiao diangu xuanji" zhaideng [18] A Selection of "Allusive Phrases from Western Religions", Zongjiao [19], 1, 1980, p. 63 and ZHUO XINPING [20]: *Shengjing jianshang* [21] Appreciation of the Bible, Peking, Chinese Social Sciences Publishing House 1992, p. 314.

¹³ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 104 and LI XIA, p. 93.

¹⁴ GÁLIK, *Berliner Begegnungen*, pp. 33–34.

¹⁵ CAO XUEQIN and GAO E [23]: *Honglouloumeng*. Vol. 1. Peking, People's Literature Publishing House 1982, p. 528 and *A Dream of the Red Mansions*. Vol. 1. Transl. by Yang Hsien-yi [24] and Gladys Yang [25]. Peking, Foreign Languages Press 1978, pp. 562.

¹⁶ CAO XUEQIN and GAO E, Vol. 1, p. 525 and Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, Vol. 1, p. 561 (slightly corrected by me).

¹⁷ CAO XUEQIN and GAO E, Vol. 2, p. 1090 and Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, Vol. 2, p. 625.

In the meantime Kubin prepared his delicious sharp *miantiaoer* [26] soup, asking us to eat and speak. Kubin likes to listen to other people. Therefore his reports about Chinese contemporary writers are full of important information.

The cross delineated above reminded me (with a little imagination) during my six months' stay there, a work of a Zenist artist, but which was probably suggesting nothing to Gu Cheng on that gloomy, quite cold early spring Sunday.

After April 15, 1993 the whole *état d'âme* of Gu Cheng changed and also his attitude to the cross and everything connected with it, preceding or following it, went through a radical metamorphosis.

Gu Cheng was an avid and quick reader. After our conversation on religious matters on Good Friday 1992, some time later as mentioned above, Gu Cheng for some reasons, read, or better to say, browsed in a hurry, some books from the *Bible*, being interested mostly in Jesus Christ and in his history, and then in some of his predecessors or successors according to Christian conviction: Abraham, then St. Joseph and Peter, and of course, St. Mary, Jesus' Mother.

Why did just Jesus Christ arrest Gu Cheng's interest almost exclusively? I personally think that there were some weighty reasons for this attention. Even in modern Chinese literature after the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Jesus Christ was always the main protagonist among all representatives of the Christian faith.¹⁸ Maybe, it was also caused by Gu Cheng's inner demands: to know something more about the founder of Christianity and co-founder of the Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian civilization. Maybe, it was also *genius loci* peculiar for the back courtyard of Wartenburg Stret 7. The everyday possibility to look at the sign of Christian faith on the opposite wall, at people coming in and going out of the church during the Sundays and evenings, certainly had some impact on him. Even if the words he told me in relation to Jesus, Buddha and Li Yu, were really impressive, Gu Cheng felt that his knowledge, especially where Jesus Christ was concerned, was rather inadequate in comparison with the other two. Gu Cheng observed that Ying'er's father was fond of Wang Guowei, Fr. Nietzsche (1844–1900) and A. Schopenhauer (1788–1860), and maybe it served as a stimulus for his interest especially in the first of them, who, among others, wrote about Jesus or his teaching.¹⁹

Another important source, not mentioned as yet, as far as I know, was *La commedia divina* by Dante Alighieri (1265–1321). Among many mostly Germanistic books, left in the sitting room at Kubin's flat by Raoul David Findeisen, there were also three volumes in Chinese, one of them being a prose translation of the *Divine Comedy*. Gu Cheng read it, whether quickly or partly, April 12–19, 1992, and in our discussion on April 24, 1992, this time in the flat

¹⁸ See the excellent monograph by L.S. ROBINSON: *Double-Edged Sword. Christianity & 20th Century Chinese Fiction*. Hong Kong, Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre 1986.

¹⁹ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 236 and LI XIA, p. 207.

on Storkwinkel 12, he used his own apprehension of the last two sentences of the 33rd Canto of the *Divine Comedy*, where the highest form of love in the feminine form is highlighted in the words:

In even motion by the Love impell'd,
That moves the sun in Heaven and all other stars.²⁰

By the way, Dante was one of Gu Cheng's favourite writers before the year 1984.²¹

I am quite sure that when Gu Cheng discussed with me the problem of *nüerxing* [31] maidenhood,²² he had in mind not only the young girls from Daguan Yuan [34] Grand View Garden of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, but also his intimate girl friend Li Ying [35], i.e. Ying'er. And not only that! When at the end of our dialogue, Gu Cheng remembered Jia Baoyu, the main hero of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, boy friend of Lin Daiyu [36], he mentioned also just those lines in the above quotation by Dante, of course, in his own rendition: "In the moment when Jia Baoyu left this human world of ours, he turned his steps towards light (*guang*) [37]. Dante also ascended to the highest sphere of the Universe observing the stars fairly moving by the force of Love and the things on this world where we temporarily live..."²³ Here it is extremely interesting that Gu Cheng in his crazy associative thinking combined his own "heaven" with Ying'er, Cao Xueqin's wordly Buddho-Taoist heaven of Jia Baoyu in the Grand View Garden and Dante's 32nd and 33rd Cantos with "girls" of the Paradise of *Old and New Testament*: Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Ruth, Judith, Virgin Mary and Dante's own idealized lover – Beatrice.²⁴

Everything is transitory. Even Gu Cheng's concept of "maidenhood". The Twelve Beauties of Jinling (*Jinling shier chai*) [38] are always changing manifestations of natural spirit. Once they are like faded and fallen roses, at another time they are similar to eternal spring reigning forever on this earth.²⁵

Speaking about Lin Daiyu's companions and alluding to the informed readers to *Mater Dei* and saintly women, Gu Cheng had certainly in mind his

²⁰ Cf. *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Hell, Purgatory, Paradise*. Transl. by Henry F. Cary. 56th printing. New York, P.F. Collier & Son Corporation 1965, p. 426 and *Shenqu* [27]. 2nd printing. Taipei, Yuanjing chuban shiye gongsi [28] Publishers 1972, p. 563. The name of translator is not given.

²¹ GU CHENG: *Shihua lu* [29] Poetic Records. In: GU CHENG: *Hei yanjing* [30] Black Eyes. Peking, People's Literature Publishing House 1986, p. 202.

²² GU CHENG and GÁLIK, M.: "Fushide", "Honglouloumeng", *nüerxing* [32] "Faust", "The Dream of the Red Chamber", Maidenhood. Shanghai wenxue [33] Shanghai Literature, 1, 1993, pp. 65–68.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

²⁴ See Dante's *Paradise*, Canto 32, p. 419.

²⁵ GU CHENG and GÁLIK: *op. cit.*, p. 68.

Ying'er, although she was his and Xie Ye's great secret during the first months of their Berlin stay. Ying'er was a part of a "far-away dreamy scenery".²⁶

3

"Far-away dreamy scenery", either of the Grand View Garden, or of the highest sphere of Paradise, or in the unspecified elevator of a building in New Zealand,²⁷ is present in Gu Cheng's mind, even if he is pondering over the cross in the back courtyard in Berlin. A part of this scenery is always Ying'er, another *pars pro toto* of Gu Cheng. She is present even in his thought about the Son of God who descended from the cross and went for a walk. "She is still here, in my dreams, but her face is blurred,"²⁸ wrote Gu Cheng. He did not like blurred things. For him, at least for the time being, probably at the beginning of his stay at Wartenburg Street, a box with Ying'er's letters was enough.

Certainly one of Gu Cheng's last letters to Ying'er, if not the last but one, was written in March 1993, only some weeks, or more than fourteen days before moving to the bare cross.²⁹ "Thinking about it now, being able to see you would be like a dream," wrote Gu Cheng to his already lost love. "I am too extreme. Writing the book has opened me up page by page, to know that I have been mad for a long time."³⁰ The first chapters of the second part entitled *Yingzi shou shang you yige pingguo* [39] *Ying'er Has an Apple in Her Hand*, namely those connected with the Bible or its stories, are a mixture of parody, irony, allusions and Gu Cheng's blurred visions connected with his half-mad reasoning and concerned with himself and Ying'er. Sceneries of Golgotha and others connected with the life of Jesus Christ make the background for the metafictional elaboration of the plot. The motif of water seems to be most important and Gu Cheng is obsessed with it. The second chapter of the second part called *Xin yue* [40] *New Testament* begins in the following way:

"I am thirsty, he said on the cross the other day. In fact, the scenery looks quite good from above. From below people can see him like a big tree before a storm, or half a lamb steak hanging from a wooden rack. People on the rack have all stopped talking, but he still says he is thirsty. People down below pass him water via a sponge, but they think for a while before they withdraw it because someone says water is expensive. In any case he is not useful anymore. In fact, they simply don't like to watch him sucking water from the sponge. Other people suggest that such a great person would not be thirsty. When people like him say they are thirsty, they are just making fun. People like him can drink wa-

²⁶ Loc. cit.

²⁷ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 104 and LI XIA, p. 93.

²⁸ Loc. cit.

²⁹ Loc. cit.

³⁰ This letter was dated April 25, 199... (i.e. 1993). See *ibid.*, pp. 98 and 87.

ter directly from the clouds and no matter how much they drink, they will not pass water.”³¹

This part of Jesus’ crucifixion was one of the most important moments of the story. Gu Cheng partly understands it when he says that from this time on “the schemes of the devil will be exposed”,³² but he also suspects that it is not as it is written in books, the *Gospels* are meant. Gu Cheng is frustrated, Jesus Christ is alienated, Gu Cheng makes poor jokes of his readers, many of whom read the *Scriptures* probably more attentively than him; Jesus Christ is allegedly sick of watching the scenery below him and has nothing to do during one hour and three quarters when nailed on the cross. He is thirsty all the time, from his birth till his death. Water is good, beautiful, can make reflections. It was not created by God, it existed always. Gu Cheng had probably thought about the first words of the *Genesis*, according to which “the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters”³³ or the thesis by Thales of Miletus, according to which water is the original substance (*arché*) of all existing things. Even God made a few steps on the water. He had in mind Jesus Christ from *St. Matthew*, 14, 22–33, where he, after John the Baptist was beheaded in Herod’s prison, and Jesus’s disciples were on the ship, he “went unto them, walking on the sea.” Water can even be a mad girl. In this case Gu Cheng pondered over Ying’er. They met at the water near Peking for the first time. Allegedly he asked water from her and she somehow gave it to him. And then he knew that she was his and he would get thirstier drinking her water. He did not specify this kind of water. Here is clear allusion to their contemporary and later sexual relations.

The last story happened in summer 1986, three years after his marriage with Xie Ye. It was slightly similar to the Samaritan woman and Jesus in *St. John*, 4, 1–30. Jesus on his way from Judea to Galilee came to the town of Sychar in Samaria and sat down at the Jacob’s well. There came a Samaritan woman (*Mulier Samaritana*) to draw water and Jesus asked her to give him to drink. The woman who later became one of the representative of the Eternal Feminine in Goethe’s *Faust*, was astonished, since the orthodox Jews never asked anything like that from Samaritans. Jesus said to her: “If thou knewest the gift of God, and what it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink; thou wouldest have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.” And then he added: “Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again: But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water spring up into everlasting life.”

³¹ Ibid., p. 107 and 95.

³² Loc. cit.

³³ *Genesis*, 1, 2. It happened during the conference in Changping [41] on “*menglong shi*” [42] “misty poetry”. Cf. WEN XIN [43]: *Gu Cheng jueming zhimi*. “Ying’er” *jiemi* [44] A Riddle of Gu Cheng’s Death. Solution of “Ying’er’s” Enigma. Peking, Huayi Publishing House 1994, pp. 22–24.

It is better to assert that Gu Cheng did not ask Ying'er for water. They both threw the stones on the water surface and the stones became alive when bouncing. She was better than him in this "magical skill".³⁴

Gu Cheng's associative devices go even further. Slowly Jesus Christ changes into Gu Cheng himself and it is him who is walking on the Gennesaret sea, or the thirsty man hanging on the cross. The last terrible moments of Crucifixion, just like sublime or touching sceneries on the stormy sea or at the Jacob's well, were only the opportunities for Gu Cheng's self-expression. This self-expression is not like self-expression of the writers of the May Fourth Movement generation, for example of Yu Dafu [45] (1896–1945) or Guo Moruo [46] (1892–1978). They usually tried to delineate their *neixinde yaoqiu* [47] inner demands.³⁵ Gu Cheng by his self-expression at first parodied the old stories and then negated them by his own inner conviction. After so many words used in connection with the water motif, he said that he was not thirsty at all because in his heart "there was a large lake abundant in water and roaming waves",³⁶ or that his wife (Xie Ye or Ying'er) who compared him to some of the characters from the *Bible* made a mistake when asserting something like that; "I am not the man from that book. I never asked you to draw water for me and a big herd of my camels. I've never owned a big herd of camels. I go to work by bicycle, a native of Peking. It's true I am from the East. But there are many countries in the East. Not everyman from the East is Abraham."³⁷ This is a rather simple kind of parodic irony. Here Gu Cheng also made a small mistake, as sometimes when writing about the biblical subjects: it was not Abraham who asked Rebekah to draw water for him and camels, but his servant Eliezer of Damascus.³⁸

Nevertheless, Gu Cheng plays with the idea to be at least one of the biblical characters, namely Jesus Christ. At the end of the chapter under analysis, he is walking "everywhere" and "clothed", and asks people to touch the openings of his wounds.³⁹ This also applies to Ying'er whose role is peculiar woman of Samaria. When Gu Cheng met her she "did have lake water in her eyes or she had just melted water from snow".⁴⁰ The *Bible*, especially some parts of the *New Testament*, are for Gu Cheng the sources of his postmodernist literary images comparable to the narcissist metafictional products of contemporary Western authors.

³⁴ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 109 and LI XIA, p. 96.

³⁵ About the "inner demands" of post-1919 Chinese writers see more in: GÁLIK, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (1917–1930)*. Bratislava–London, Veda–Curzon Press 1980, pp. 69, 79, 121–122, 124, 126–127 and 129.

³⁶ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 109 and LI XIA, p. 97.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 110 and 97.

³⁸ *Genesis*, 15, 2.

³⁹ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 110 and LI XIA, p. 97.

⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.*

In the chapter *Shangkou* [48] *Wounds, or Openings of the Wounds*, Gu Cheng slightly follows the well-known episodes of Christ's scourging, crowning with thorns and crucifixion. Gu Cheng after the inner monologue in relation to Ying'er says: "But you are gone. It is like when you are in habit of holding a cup in your hand and now the hand is missing. It is like losing your heart in surgery. Blood is still flowing out of my heart, but there is no way for my blood to return to my body... I am a wound all over. I am no longer a whole person. The longer I live, the deeper are the scars of the knife."⁴¹

If after coming to Berlin a box with Ying'er's letters was a source of consolation for Gu Cheng, during his stay in the Wartenburg flat, it was not so. "Far-away dreamy scenery" was slowly changing into a depressive situation and he felt that he had to express himself in this way: "This is for you to read because I can't find you, and the letters I find in the letter box are my own... I now write all this because I can see only you, see you in all things... I don't really believe you are still somewhere, alive and able to read every character I write. Between us, there is always the gulf of death and the sea. I don't quite believe that the sun shining on me may shine on you, your hair and the street where you lived. I don't quite believe that you can still speak Chinese, the language that enabled us to live together. I don't believe your heart can still see me. But I still write, day and night. Write with disbelief."⁴²

Gu Cheng wanted to have Ying'er at his side in life and death. He alluded to death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and after recollecting his and Ying'er's love life, proceeded in his deliberations as follows: "You are gone, but you are still alive. I did not know whether it was you, or it wasn't. I was hoping it wouldn't be you, because my *you* wouldn't do such things, because it knows my soul, because it had to walk such a long distance to find the flower-like tomb. We were to be buried together in the soil of life, silent, not resting, singing and complaining. We should live in this happy death. *We don't need resurrection or broken up, fragmented nightmares* (stressed by me, M.G.). We lived enough, it is time to rest."⁴³

In his imagination or meditation Gu Cheng through the nearly whole *Passio Christi*, was hoping for his and Ying'er's salvation. Death was part and parcel of it, at least since the time of their dialogue concerned with the Last Supper on the Waiheke Island, but not the resurrection. Gu Cheng did not believe in the last, he seemed to believe in the metempsychosis.⁴⁴ Broken up, fragmented

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 112 and 100.

⁴² Ibid., p. 111 and 99.

⁴³ Loc.cit.

⁴⁴ SUIZI ZHANG-KUBIN: *Das ziellose Ich. Gespräch mit Gu Cheng*. Minima sinica, 1, 1993, pp. 21–22.

nightmares *zhili posuide emeng* [49] were caused by Gu Cheng's at first schizophrenic and later paranoid symptoms of which he was a victim in the last years of his life.

The next chapter *Pangwan* [50] *At the Dusk*, at first glance does not seem to have any connection with the *New Testament*. But if we look at it in relation to the preceding chapter, then its affinity with three hours of Christ's suffering on the cross is evident, which according to *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* took place between 12 and 15 p.m. with the beginning of the darkness at the noon. Here Gu Cheng analyses his own half-madness and the darkness of his mind, probably very conspicuous, although always carefully hidden, in summer 1993 when he wrote the following sentences: "I know I am already insane on a certain level, and I can show people the sane part. The minute you leave me (addressed to Xie Ye, M.G.), I relapse into madness (*fengbing*) [51]. It makes me run wild everywhere, to stare at every street, every window, every tree. It happened twice when you went out only for a short while. I am no longer a human being. I don't have the slightest rationality. I have only a thin shell, a smile, some words to say to people as if sitting at the window of a booking office. The rest (*qitade bufen*) [52] is completely mad."⁴⁵

In his private life and his dialogues or conversations with friends, including me, Gu Cheng would never admit the irrational compounds in his psyche. What is smile concerned, he was very fond of, if he had the appropriate mood. Just look at one of the photos in the *Ying'er* published at the Huayi chubanshe, where he is dedicating me his first collection of poems *Black Eyes*, on the scarlet couch opposite the table where he and Xie Ye wrote a great part of the novel. Gu Cheng enjoyed very much to speak and discuss with friends, even if the content of the discourse was sometimes very shallow, and I had to leave the room since I regarded it as waste of time. His own remark about the booking office was not right. What could be regarded as the product of his half or completely mad soul, he would never say. He was a master in hide-and-seek. He knew how not to betray his secrets, including the schizophrenic-paranoid state of his mind.

We do not know whether Gu Cheng took "every night dangerous drugs" that should be applied to prevent the decay of his psyche. Although he visited a medical doctor once in Shanghai,⁴⁶ he never asked for the help of a psychiatrist. But when he wrote in the analyzed chapter that he was a dead man who can't rest, who became already putrid and mad, he was right in his own way. His words addressed to Xie Ye: "Staying alive is an interest (*xingqu*) [57], it is not a

⁴⁵ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 114 and LI XIA, p. 103.

⁴⁶ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 115 and LI XIA, p. 103. See also WU FEI [53]: *Gu Chengde ai yu si* [54] Gu Cheng's Love and Death. In: Chen Zishan [55] (ed.): *Shiren Gu Cheng zhi si* [56] Death of the Poet Gu Cheng, Shanghai, People's Publishing House 1993, p. 23. Medical doctor diagnosed Gu Cheng's illness as hysteria. Gu Cheng evidently informed him unsufficiently about his psychic condition.

faculty (*benneng*) [58]. Lei, it is so. When you are no longer interested in life, then it is time to die.”⁴⁷ He was permanently dying during the second half of his life. He had to die to keep him from dying.

Gu Cheng pondered over death (or dying) on the summer streets of Berlin in 1993 and what he did not betray to his readers, also in the garden of the nursery school behind the church in the courtyard of the Wartenburg Street 7. Little German and Turkish boys and girls (Kreuzberg is Turkish Haarlem in Berlin) were allegedly happy to look at the “uncle” with jeansy hat. They smiled at him when he helped to pick up the ball for them. Nobody knew, as he mentioned, what was going on in the head of this seemingly jovial and ludicrous stranger, who was taking a nap on the benches usually occupied by their teachers.⁴⁸

It is likewise problematic whether the chapter *Ding yue* [59] Making a Testament has connection with the “new testament” from the Last Supper, or from Mao Zedong he mentioned once in similar context during our first meeting in the Kreuzberg cemeteries on March 22, 1992.

In *Ying'er* more heaven (*shangtian*) [60] than God (*Shangdi*) [61] is the most basic power of the universe. “There is nothing more frightening than to go on living,”⁴⁹ is an assertion that is only a continuation of the story depicted in *At Dusk*. Gu Cheng was angry with this world, he hated life, the world, or at least its masculine species, and also himself.⁵⁰ Here, like at the Waiheke Island, *Ying'er* is a heroine. The villain is her elderly English lover. Gu Cheng is very unhappy that he doesn't know her hiding place in the ocean of human beings. He cannot really die, he treasures his death for the future. He would like “to see her in the end, no matter whether it was to be her soul or her body.”⁵¹ The death he has in mind, possibly in relation with *Ying'er* or with *Xie Ye* (or with both) is “beautiful like colours and should be used to paint a picture.”⁵² He never saw *Ying'er* again, he killed *Xie Ye* with an axe and hanged himself at the end. These deaths, caused by his hands, were most horrible and ugly.

According to Gu Cheng's admission, heaven has punished him when asking him to write this book. Heaven in Gu Cheng's understanding presents here (but not in all of his work) a kind of divinity mainly within the framework of fate. Maybe my words about the *Dream of Gu Cheng Chamber* were superfluous. At first he allegedly refused to write it down. He could, of course, write his “confessions” in another way, more axiologically valuable and socially broader, similar to that of Cao Xueqin. Gu Cheng who for a long time did not make a testament with heaven (or his own conception of God, since both often run parallel

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 115 and 104.

⁴⁸ Cf. KUBIN, W.: op. cit., p. 138.

⁴⁹ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 118 and LI XIA, p. 105.

⁵⁰ Cf. KUBIN, W.: op. cit., pp. 137–139.

⁵¹ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 118 and LI XIA, p. 105.

⁵² Ibid., p. 118 and 106.

in his *Weltanschauung*) made a compromise: he agreed to write this book on the condition that he will be rewarded for this deed according to his wish (*ruyuan yi chang*) [62].⁵³ We do not know what was precisely his inner demand expressed in front of heaven and God before writing *Ying'er*. Very probably it was Ying'er herself, their reunion after his and Xie Ye's coming back to New Zealand, which for ever remained unfulfilled.

*

After the chapter just analysed Gu Cheng lost all interest in the *Bible*, and if by chance *Bible* is mentioned there, it has nothing to do with him but, for instance, with Ying'er's joking about an old priest who read it, but allegedly did not believe in it.⁵⁴ During the weekend May 14–16, 1993, Gu Cheng said to Kubin that his real Bible was probably a simplified Chinese edition of *Souvenirs entomologiques* by Jean Henri Fabre (1823–1915). He criticized the Chinese translation of the *Bible*. According to him both the texts of the *Old* and of the *New Testament* are badly translated.⁵⁵ This opinion is debatable if we take into account better experts in the *Bible* and even in Chinese or world literature than Gu Cheng.⁵⁶

On the other hand it is necessary to stress that the *Bible* is a *Kronzeuge* in *Ying'er*, although not one Gu Cheng agrees with. Except of those living friends and relatives described in the novel, Jesus Christ was his most frequent companion, even his double, with whom he was in intensive confrontation. His story, of course, was not that of Saul-Paul.⁵⁷ Other great writers or their works, Chinese and foreign, are mentioned or alluded to only in a hurry, for instance, *Jane Eyre* by Charlotte Brontë (1816–1855),⁵⁸ short stories by Anton P. Chekhov (1860–1904)⁵⁹ and Pu Songling [68] (1649–1715),⁶⁰ the novels by Wu Cheng'en [69] (ca. 1500–1582)⁶¹ and Cao Xueqin.⁶² Cao Xueqin's novel, as I tried to show

⁵³ Loc. cit. Cf. also p. 202 and pp. 175–176.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 186 and 163.

⁵⁵ KUBIN, W.: op. cit., p. 138.

⁵⁶ Cf. the opinions of ZHOU ZUOREN [63] (1885–1967) in *Shengshu yu Zhongguo wenxue* [64] Bible and Chinese Literature. In: *Zhongguo bijiao wenxue yanjiu ziliao, 1919–1949* [65]. Peking, Peking University Press 1989, pp. 382–385 and ZHU WEIZHI [66] (1905–): *Zhongguo wenxuede zongjiao beijing* [67] Religious Background of Chinese Literature, ibid., pp. 397–399. It is, of course, possible that Gu Cheng read another translation of the Bible into Chinese and not the Mandarin Union Version as Zhou and Zhu.

⁵⁷ The Acts, 9, 1–31 and 13, 9.

⁵⁸ GU CHENG and XIE YE, p. 19 and LI XIA, p. 17.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 179 and 158.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 95 and 83.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 25 and 21. The Monkey is alluding to Sun Wukong [70], one of the main protagonists of the novel.

⁶² Ibid., p. 183 and 161.

elsewhere, had the greatest impact on Gu Cheng's life and of *Ying'er*.⁶³ If there was one sole most influential book in his life and work, it was surely *The Dream of the Red Chamber*.

It is a pity that Gu Cheng did not know himself deeply enough. *Si se noverit* (cf. Ovidius Naso's wording in relation to Narcissus),⁶⁴ he would read the *Bible*, and especially its *New Testament*, and the words attributed to Jesus Christ, with greater attention. Gu Cheng was almost as proud of himself as Nietzsche.⁶⁵ Gu Cheng did not understand Christ's teaching of the need to be humble, to love himself in harmony with loving others. After rejecting God (Jesus Christ inclusive) as the highest paradigm of Goodness, he took the side of God's opponent – the Devil, as the most plausible ethical and philosophical alternative. An author able to write a series of poems entitled *Gui jin cheng* [71] Devils Enter City, or Devils Enter Gu Cheng, or the *Prologue* and *Epilogue* to *Ying'er*, had to take the side of the Devil in the struggle between Good and Evil.⁶⁶ Gu Cheng's highlighting of violent features in Sun Wukong, or The Monkey in the novel *Xiyouji* [72] *Pilgrimage to the West*, and Mao Zedong's "sweeping out monsters and demons" (*niugui sheshen*) [73] during the Cultural Revolution, as seen in the *Ying'er* elsewhere in the last year (or more) of his life,⁶⁷ and the "blood sacrifice" of Xie Ye a few minutes before his suicide, demonstrate his misunderstanding of Christ's "descending from the cross". This Christ's "walking around" certainly will not have such an impact as Nietzsche's "death of God" in the world's cultural history, but it was a part of Gu Cheng's and Xie Ye's personal tragedy.

It is likewise a pity that in using the biblical sources Gu Cheng was not able to follow the high art standard of his older contemporary Wang Meng [74] (1934–) and his *Shizijia shang* [75] *On the Cross*,⁶⁸ just to mention one work of modern Chinese literature concerned with the impact of this most influential book of the world literature.

⁶³ GÁLIK, M.: *Postscript*, pp. 280–290.

⁶⁴ *Metamorphoseon. Libri XV*. In: *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera*. Vol. 2. Vindobonae, J.V. Degen 1803, p. 112.

⁶⁵ I never wrote in the *Postscript* to *Ying'er*: "Gu Cheng proudly compared himself to Nietzsche" (p. 295). This wording comes from the English speaking reader of my text before its publication.

⁶⁶ See GÁLIK, M.: *Gu Cheng and Xie Ye: Two Chinese Poets Who Died Too Early*. Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), 3, 1994, 2, pp. 134–137.

⁶⁷ GÁLIK, M.: *Postscript*, pp. 291–292.

⁶⁸ Zhongshan [76], 3, 1988, pp. 45–58, translated into English by Janice Wickeri under the title: *On the Cross*, Renditions, 37, Spring 1992, pp. 43–68. Cf. also GÁLIK, M.: *Wang Meng's Mythopoeic Vision of Golgotha and Apocalypse*, Annali (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples), 52, 1992, 1, pp. 61–82 and his *Parody and Absurd Laughter in Wang Meng's Apocalypse. Musings over the Metamorphosis of the Biblical Vision in Contemporary Chinese Literature*. In: SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, H. (ed.): *Das andere China*. Festschrift für Wolfgang Bauer. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz 1995, pp. 449–461.

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 7. 謝*華 8. 故鄉 9. 賈寶玉 10. 城樓夢 11. 曹雪芹
 12. 紅樓夢 13. 雷米 14. 李俠 15. 華藝出版社 16. 懺悔錄
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 20. 桌新平 21. 聖經鑒賞 22. 十子 23. 高鸚 24. 楊憲益
 25. 載乃疊 26. 麵條兒 27. 神曲 28. 遠景出版事業公司
 29. 詩話錄 30. 黑眼睛 31. 女兒慳 32. "浮士德", "紅樓夢",
 女兒慳 33. 上海文學 34. 大觀園 35. 李英 36. 林黛玉
 37. 光 38. 金陵十而釵 39. 英子手上有一個蘋果 40. 新約
 41. 昌平 42. 朦朧詩 43. 文所 44. 顧城絕命之迷, "英兒"
 解秘 45. 郁達夫 46. 郭沫若 47. 內心的要求 48. 傷口
 49. 支離破碎的噩夢 50. 傍晚 51. 瘋病 52. 其它的部分
 53. 吳斐 54. 顧城的愛與死 55. 陳子善 56. 詩人顧城之死
 57. 興趨 58. 本能 59. 訂約 60. 上天 61. 上帝 62. 如願
 以償 63. 周作人 64. 聖書與中國文學 65. 中國比較文學
 研究資料 一九一九 - 一九四九 66. 朱維之 67. 中國文學底
 宗教背景 68. 浦松齡 69. 吳承恩 70. 孫悟空 71. 鬼進城
 72. 西遊記 73. 牛鬼蛇神 74. 王蒙 75. 十子架上 76. 鍾山

WALKING OUT OF OTHER PEOPLE'S PRISONS:
LIU ZAIFU AND GAO XINGJIAN ON CHINESE LITERATURE
IN THE 1990s

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Sydney, N.S.W. Australia 2006

In the early 1980s the names of Habermas, Derrida, Foucault were suddenly familiar to Chinese intellectuals, along with those of other Western writers and thinkers who had been banned for half a century. Western creative works and literary theories played an important role in subverting the authority of the literary principles of Mao Zedong which had been progressively implemented until they became cast iron orthodoxy during the Cultural Revolution. By the end of the Cultural Revolution, in Chinese literature and criticism, the writer, reader and the works had been ideologically "sanitized" of human odour: criticism, harassment, imprisonment and even the threat of loss of life were effective deodorants. The rigid conformity imposed upon minds during that period, created symptoms of spiritual deprivation. The response was a voracious appetite for the rations of personal freedom which allowed for a modicum of individual diversity and difference: this diversity and difference was to be found both in foreign literature and art, and in China's pre-Marxist cultural heritage. As liberalization was promoted by the Party primarily as a means to achieve economic modernization, it was the culture of the modernized West which was accorded official sanction; at the same time, the marketing of Western capitalism was highly attractive to a society weary of conformity. For reflective minds in society, the appeal of Western literature was equally attractive.

Established as a semi-autonomous non-government organization on the campus of Peking University in 1980, the Institute of Comparative Literature saw as its mission the introduction of world literature to China. It was due to Yue Daiyun, Professor of Chinese, whose efforts, persistence and creatively working around bureaucratic obstacles succeeded in launching the Institute,¹ and subsequently encouraged the growth of similar units on university campuses throughout the country. Usually there was a close liaison with the foreign language departments on campuses and many young students began to eagerly study West-

¹ Yue Daiyun's biography is documented in Carolyn Wakeman, *To the Storm: the Odyssey of a Revolutionary Chinese Woman* (University of California Press, 1985). Yue's personal experiences as the revolutionary portrayed by Wakeman is consistent with her achievements in the area of comparative literature studies in China since 1980.

ern literature and literary discourse because it answered a psychological need to understand why the developments of the Cultural Revolution had taken place. Some students gradually had opportunities to go abroad to study.

Various Western theories were passionately embraced for a time by intellectuals, depending on their relevance to the rapidly changing Chinese context.² The times were charged with the exhilaration and excitement of learning about new things. Xiaobing Tang, a young intellectual who has continued his studies in the West, discusses in retrospect the literary trends of those times, applying the analytical tools of cultural studies. He notes the inherent contradiction dur-

² See Xiaobing Tang, "The Function of New Theory: What Does It Mean to Talk about Postmodernism in China", Liu Kang and Xiaobing Tang (eds), *Politics, Ideology and Literary Discourse in Modern China* (Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 278–99, which presents an analysis of how New Theory became part of the literary discourse in China during the 1980s and the political and practical reasons for its remaining at the margins. Tang maintains that New Theory succeeded to establish itself because it fitted in with the government's agenda of modernization: it "implicitly endorsed the official ideology of modernization, of catching up with, in every possible way possible, the strange modern world of science and technology." It was only when Liu Zaifu began to enunciate his theories on subjectivity in literature that new thinking on literature ran foul of the bureaucrats: this challenged the orthodoxy and those in entrenched positions of power in the Chinese literary world. Tang notes that the impact of "New Criticism, Psychoanalysis, Structuralist Poetics, Semiotics, Reception Aesthetics, Reader's Response, Hermeneutics, Archetypal Criticism, Deconstruction, and Poststructuralism, all the way to Feminist Theory, Western Marxism, and Postmodernist Critique, the entire course of literary criticism of the twentieth century West and more is frantically crammed into scores of introductory essays, dozens of translated selections, all in a matter of a few years", while maintaining that the New Theory remained impotent because of the inadequacy of practitioners in the face of the hegemonic influence of the old structures of orthodox literary thinking.

See also Yue Daiyun, "Western Literary Theory in China, 1985–1995" (unpublished manuscript, 1995) which maintains that different theories exerted different influences in China, because of their particular relevance, and even because of historical accident, at particular points in time. She notes that (American) New Literary Criticism had a substantial effect because it demanded close reading of the text and discounted both effect on the reader and author intent which during the Cultural Revolution constituted the nub of criticism. There was a revival of interest in Marxism, as young Chinese intellectuals came to read Benjamin, Adorno and Habermas, peaking in 1985 when Frederic Jameson gave a series of lectures at Peking University. Yue also notes that some Western concepts, particularly Freud's psychoanalysis, opened new areas in contemporary Chinese literary criticism. Freud's psychoanalysis was known much earlier, and exerted some influence in the 1930s but it subsequently disappeared during the War of Resistance; then in the 1980s there was a revival in Chinese literature. Some Western theories attracted attention in China because of their affinity with traditional Chinese literary analysis: hermeneutics was central to traditional Chinese scholarship with its attention to textual commentary and annotation; and Western reception aesthetics with its relativity and multiple perspectives in aesthetic appreciation and the subjective understanding of the reader based on personal experience, for a long time have been a part of traditional Chinese aesthetics. Postmodernism, postcolonialism, gender studies, historicism were all introduced as theories for academic study and have exerted varying degrees on the literature produced.

ing the 1980s when New Theory was a “general intellectual effort to translate the text of contemporary China into a supposedly world language”:

...while the counterhegemonic enterprise of instituting a new theoretical framework has to challenge political repression by resorting indiscriminately to classical humanism, liberal pluralism, or a postmodern ideology of heterogeneity, the haunting specter of a market economy, on the other hand, hardly appears any more charitable or desirable when it reveals its mercantile face and elects to ignore all these intellectual concerns. Between political unfreedom and market indifference there is no real choice.³

These comments were made in the 1990s but it is unlikely that Chinese writers and critics of the 1880s, including Xiaobing Tang, would have been aware of the contradiction. Nevertheless, the New Theories of the West progressively assisted in the process of “deconstructing” the tenacious hold of intellectual habits which became entrenched, reinforced and established as tradition during the Cultural Revolution. In the same period, there was simultaneously a phenomenal growth in the publication of translations of Western literature as well as in the study of various Western languages.

Just as it was hoped that China’s economic development would quickly catch up with the rest of the world, so Chinese intellectuals, including writers, wanted accelerated development in their areas of specialization: access to reading across an international spectrum of writing, provided intellectual experiences previously denied to them and created a tension, a need for expression within, and as a legitimate part of, the international community to which they had been projected through their exposure to global literary trends. In the Chinese literary world this response occurred first as an instinctive response to the gradual lifting of restraints on freedom of artistic expression by writers in their creative works. This was followed by critical works which sought to explain the changed literary processes as universities began to train students in Western literary theories.

Although the custodians of revolutionary purity in literature were to launch campaigns against the spiritual pollution of the West, liberalization on other fronts coupled with China’s earnest endeavours to gain acceptance, approval, and acknowledgment by the rest of the modernized world, ie. an identity as a modern nation, made it difficult to stem the import of Western culture. During the decade of the 1980s creative literature and literary theory gradually diversified and globalized, in tandem with the new developments in the economy and society. The liberalization policies of Deng Xiaoping had generated an irreversible dynamics with a life of its own and which was to culminate in the student movement of 1989.⁴

³ Xiaobing Tang, “The Function of New Theory”, p. 292.

⁴ For example as Liu Kang argues, the decade saw the emergence of a civil society within the political reality, in the realm of culture and ideas. A major problem was therefore the crisis of identity of the intellectuals who had for decades been associated to the Party as “cul-

More than half a decade has passed since 1989 which is clearly a watershed year in which the Party reasserted its authority, even while allowing greater liberalization in certain areas of life. In the period of a decade and a half, Chinese literature has changed substantively. A significant number of Chinese writers have taken the option of permanent residence overseas where they are continuing to publish in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, or in other countries where there are Chinese communities large enough to sustain Chinese literary activities. Participation in local and international literary activities is also common. Today in the mid-1990s, the integrated PRC, Hong Kong and Taiwan publications scene provides an important and lively international forum for “undirected” and uncensored literary discourse for Chinese writers and academics, regardless of their place of residence. Physical distance in fact provides space for detached evaluation and reflection on literature and on the developments which have taken place in Chinese literature in the present century, and this intellectual freedom is keenly cherished.

In the same period, talented young academics such as Liu Kang, Xiaobing Tang and others have mastered Western theories and have emerged in Western cultural studies circles, armed with the empirical evidence provided by their knowledge of the Chinese literary scene to adequately substantiate their paradigmatic claims. Many of their perceptions are keen and incisive, but they unavoidably adopt the aggressive, militant stance symptomatic of cultural studies. This paradigmatic trap is missing in the writings of the two middle-aged writers and cultural critics, Liu Zaifu and Gao Xingjian, who are the focus of this paper. The seniority in age differences accounts for personal experiences superimposed on a more lengthy historical period of time. Their analyses of the 1990s Chinese literary scene, and the creative act in general, are unique and original. Gao Xingjian keeps abreast of the most recent European literary trends and Liu Zaifu has devoted himself to the study of cultural and intellectual history and recent literary analytical theories. The fact that their literary views do not employ Western analytical theories in their discussions of literature does not mean that they are ignorant of them, nor that their literary analyses are any the less valid. From the 1990s they are consciously “walking out of other people’s prisons”. However the directions they have subsequently taken lead in opposite directions.

Their works discussed in the paragraphs below enunciate a new awareness and self-confidence which they claim, is now possible for Chinese literature after almost a century of intellectual insecurity brought about by China’s contact

tural workers”: the separation of cultural activities from the Party’s political agenda left intellectuals feeling “immensely liberated... but disoriented as to their new social identity in an increasingly open, commodified and contradictory society, where power still remains in the hands of the Party.” See Liu Kang, “Subjectivity, Marxism, and Cultural Theory in China” in Liu Kang and Xiaobing Tang (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 31.

with the industrialized nations of the West and Japan. The ruminations on Chinese literature by playwright and novelist Gao Xingjian (b. 1940)⁵ and the literary theorist, cultural historian and essayist Liu Zaifu (b. 1941)⁶ will be examined alongside one another and in the context of some points raised by their younger contemporaries who have seemingly become enamoured of the collective stance of Western theoretical discourse.

While a part of the Chinese diaspora, the experiences of these two writers, are quite different as will be evident in the biographical sketches in the paragraphs below. However there is considerable similarity in their assessments of the developments which have taken place in the history of Chinese literature during the present century. Their perceptions of China's literature and history has been derived from lived experiences, as are their perceptions of creative processes, for both are creative writers.

There are of course also substantial differences in the modes of reflection on literature by Liu Zaifu and Gao Xingjian. As writers, both have their own unique prose style and artistic sensitivities; both are master stylists but the genres they choose are different, as are the issues they seek to explore in their writings. However, they share a belief that literature is a matter of the individual and not the collective; and that Chinese writers have voluntarily sacrificed Chinese literature for the collective. They also share the view that in the 1990s Chinese writers should re-assert themselves as writers, that literature should no longer be linked to politics. Their similar ages mean that they were born soon after the beginning of the War of Resistance and that they have personally experienced the birth and the growing pains of the People's Republic.

The choice of focussing on these two writers is neither arbitrary nor accidental, but has arisen simply because the opening lines of Gao Xingjian's "Without Isms" (Meiyou zhuyi, 1993)⁷ refers to Liu Zaifu's essay "Farewelling the Gods" (Gaobie zhu shen, 1990).⁸

⁵ For biographical details and analysis of *Lingshan*, see the following two works: Torbjorn Loden, "World Literature with Chinese Characteristics: On a Novel by Gao Xingjian", *The Stockholm Journal of East Asian Studies*, 4 (1993), pp. 17-39, which contains a bibliography of Gao Xingjian's works; and also Mabel Lee, "Without Politics: Gao Xingjian on Literary Creation", *The Stockholm Journal of East Asian Studies*, 6 (1996): 82-101.

⁶ For biographical details see Mabel Lee, "Rethinking Literature in the Post-Mao Period: Liu Zaifu's Theory of the Subjectivity of Literature", *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 18 & 19 (1986), pp. 101-125, which summarizes the essential arguments presented in Liu Zaifu's early works on subjectivity and human character: "On the Subjectivity of Literature" (Lun wenxue de zhutixing) in Hongqi zazhi bianjibu wenyizu (ed.), *Collected Essays on the Debate on Subjectivity in Literature* (Hongqi chubanshe, Beijing, 1986), pp. 1-68, and his book *On the Composition of Human Character* (Xingge zuhe lun; Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1986). See also Liu Kang, "Subjectivity, Marxism, and Cultural Theory in China", for a theoretical analysis of Liu's subjectivity.

⁷ *Proceedings of the Chinese Literature in the Past Forty Year Conference*, pp. 1701-7. This Conference was held in Taipei, December 1993 and sponsored by the Lianhebao Cultural Foundation.

Gao Xingjian was launched to fame in China when his “experimental” plays *Alarm Signal* (Juedui xin hao) and *The Bus Stop* (Chezhan) were performed to capacity audiences in Beijing in 1982 and 1983. However, being “experimental” was not strong enough an excuse: the authorities stopped the performance of *The Bus Stop* which the Deputy Head of the Propaganda Department called “the most poisonous play written since the establishment of the People’s Republic.”⁹ Gao in fact had been under surveillance since 1981 when his book *Preliminary Explorations in the Art and Technique of Modern Fiction* (Xiandai xiaoshuo jiqiao chutan) was published by Huacheng Publishing House in Guangzhou and opened the debate on modernism in literary circles. By early 1983 a formal criticism of modernism was announced, linking it with capitalism and bourgeois liberalization. It was in this context of anxiety and uncertainty for writers in the immediate aftermath of the Cultural Revolution that *The Bus Stop* nevertheless was brought to the stage, and then closed down. At this point Gao decided to abscond from Beijing, undertaking his ten-month odyssey through the Chinese hinterland which was to form the fabric of his novel *Lingshan*.¹⁰ By absconding, ie. fleeing Beijing, he escaped the venomous attacks unleashed on him during the “eradicate spiritual pollution” campaign and at the same time restored himself to a good state of mental and physical health.¹¹ In 1985 he accepted invitations to Germany and France. Apart from a brief return to China in 1986, Gao has been resident continuously in Paris since 1987.

⁸ Liu Zaifu, *Expelling the Gods* (Fangzhu zhu shen; Tiandi tushu youxian gongsi chubanshe, Hong Kong, 1994), pp. 293–307.

⁹ Gao Xingjian, “Stale chrysanthemums” (*Geye huanghua*), in *Minzhu Zhongguo*, 2 (1992): 80. This article is the most detailed account of Gao’s recollections on the circumstances of his writing and staging of *Alarm Signal* and *The Bus Stop*. See also Geremie Barmé, “A Touch of the Absurd: Introducing Gao Xingjian, and His Play *The Bus Stop*”, *Renditions*, 19 & 20 (1983): 373–9 and in the same volume, his translation of *The Bus Stop*, pp. 379–86, and Chan Wai-sim’s “Postscript: On Seeing the Play *The Bus Stop*: He Wen’s Critique in *Literary Gazette*”, pp. 387–92. See also Josephine Riley and Michael Gissenwehner, “The Myth of Gao Xingjian” in *Berichte des Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institut für China- und Südostasien-Forschung*, Number 27 (Engelhard-Ng Verlag, Bonn, 1989), pp. 129–151; and William Tay, “Avant-garde Theatre in Post-Mao China: *The Bus Stop* by Gao Xingjian”, in Howard Goldblatt (ed.), *op cit.*, pp. 112–118.

¹⁰ Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, Taipei, 1990. Gao makes maximum use of the 560 pages of the novel, *Lingshan/Soul Mountain*, to fully explore the unique features of the Chinese language for providing artistic dimensions not as easily achieved in other languages. It is a work reflecting many years of development in both reading, reflecting on techniques, and the actual writing of fiction and drama. His acute artistic sensitivity, innovative techniques, and compelling story-telling expertise, is used to recreate simultaneously his autobiography and the story of China during from his childhood days until the late 1980s.

¹¹ See *Lingshan*, Chapter 2, which tells of his illness and his unhealthy life-style in Beijing at the time.

To some extent because of his background in French language and literature, Gao Xingjian has slipped with considerable success into the French literary milieu. In 1993 he was honoured with the French award Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres, an acknowledgement of his literary achievements.

The plays Gao Xingjian has written since settling in Paris, show a considerable maturity. For Western critics who adopt the "orientalist" stance and demand that Chinese drama must remain static and unchanging in order to be Chinese, Gao's plays are disturbing as they bear no semblance to traditional Chinese drama. Their minimalist stage presentation, however, suggests modern Western drama, and yet they are distinctly foreign for Western audiences. However his plays are to be classified is perhaps less relevant than the fact that fate or destiny had decreed that Gao Xingjian was to take residence in Paris and that his plays were to enjoy considerable success in the theatres of Paris and elsewhere in Europe.

The fact that much of Gao Xingjian's creative works are plays means that performed on stage, they are provided with an additional dimension for accessibility to Western audiences. The unique and highly experimental techniques he employs have in fact found acceptance and acclaim in Europe and have been translated into various languages for stage productions.¹² In 1994 the Swedish translations of ten of Gao's play by the distinguished scholar Professor Goran Malmqvist were published by the Swedish Royal Theatre to honour Gao's appointment as playwright of the Theatre. Gao Xingjian's novel *Lingshan* (Lian-jing, Taipei, 1990) has been acclaimed by an élite Chinese readership but the widest acclaim has been in Europe, first with Malmqvist's Swedish version, *Andarnas berg* (Forum, Stockholm, 1992), and recently with the French version, *La Montagne de l'Ame*, by Noel and Liliane Dutrait (Editions de l'Aube, Paris, 1995) which has had rave reviews. It would seem that Gao Xingjian has been able to sustain a highly meaningful creative life, enjoying acclaim both in the Chinese and European context. In addition Gao has been able to subsidize his literary endeavours by the sale of his black ink paintings which are highly prized, particularly in Europe and in Taiwan.¹³

A stark contrast, is Liu Zaifu who has been living in exile after the events of June 1989. While director of the Literature Research Unit of the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing and chief editor of the journal *Literary Criticism* (Wenxue pinglun), his analysis of subjectivity in literature and human character brought him under heavy criticism from the authorities and he was placed under

¹² Gao's plays have also been translated into French, German, Italian and English and have been performed on various stages including those of the Theatre National de Chaillot (Paris), the Wiener Unterhaltungs Theatre and Theatre des Agenblicks (Vienna), Thalia Theatre (Hamburg), Royal Lyceum Theatre (Edinburgh), Dionysia (Rome), and Teatr Polski (Poznan) and Teatr Powszchny (Warsaw), and he has in fact directed some of these performances.

¹³ His most recent solo exhibition was at the Taipei Municipal Art Gallery, December 1995.

house arrest for several months in 1985.¹⁴ His critical writings on Chinese culture during the student movement of 1989 saw him black-listed, and he reluctantly left “the yellow earth which loves me and yet has abandoned me”.¹⁵ Liu’s life in exile has not been as comfortable as Gao’s and he has been living on the support of visiting research fellowships (University of Chicago, the University of Colorado and the University of Stockholm) and on the royalties from his prolific writings. A recent interview by a Hong Kong reporter reveals an anguished soul deeply scarred by personal experiences but still deeply agonizing over the plight of his homeland. His writings confirm this anguish.¹⁶ Two years after living in exile, he recalls in graphic images the ravages of the Cultural Revolution with a poignancy typical of his creative writings:

Life was accompanied by hunger and fear but also by barbarity and insanity. Ours was truly a generation with a fondness for fighting and an addiction to killing, a generation guilty of a multitude of crimes. Each of our hearts contains a book of crimes, the whip lashes inflicted by others and those we have inflicted upon others.¹⁷

...The spiritual food we ate was not only coarse but infused with the gunpowder of revolutionary words so that our bodies contained linguistic toxins and the smell of gunpowder. Our bellies were full of barbed thoughts and if we couldn’t work these off by killing we would have suffocated.¹⁸

In Liu Zaifu’s analysis, it was poverty that made people callous, gave them the guts to swallow rats, birch trees, and even the flesh and soul of the same species. The great primeval forest of his native village had once provided shade and protection for generations. The villagers had turned it into red soil, but could he blame them for chopping down the forest, could he blame them for wanting to live? He confesses that in 1958 he had been one of the red ants which in a few days denuded the mountain: “In that year everyone turned into poets, revolutionaries and crazed red ants.... I was also a crazed red ant carrying a red flag on my shoulder and singing battle songs.”¹⁹ The graphic symbolism of the destructive hordes of crazed red ants and the green mountains turned red was not missed by

¹⁴ Liu Kang presents an excellent analytical account of Liu Zaifu’s understanding of subjectivity within the context of Li Zehou’s creative aesthetics and philosophy. Li Zehou’s writings which have influenced a generation of Chinese intellectuals, represent a critical and creative appropriation of Kant and other Western philosophers, including Liu Zaifu as he himself acknowledges. See Liu Kang, “Subjectivity, Marxism and Cultural Theory in China”, pp. 23–55.

¹⁵ Liu Zaifu, “Dirge to the Great Forest” (Da senlin de wange) in *Notes While Drifting in Exile* (*Piaoliu shouji*; Tiandi tushu youxiangongsi chubanshe, Hong Kong), p. 52.

¹⁶ See Dai Ping’s interview, “Anguish Clutches the Heart of Liu Zaifu” (Liu Zaifu beikunanzhuazhu xinling) in the one-page *Ming Pao* Sunday Supplement.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 45–6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46–9.

PRC critics and Liu is called “a whore scheming to get a chastity arch erected” for himself, and charged with slandering the land which had given him birth.²⁰

However, it is not only PRC critics who are capable of exerting strong pressures on the writer. The circumstances surrounding Gao Xingjian’s two-act play *Absconding* (Taowang, 1990) is a good example.²¹ The play is set in a disused warehouse after tanks were ordered into Tiananmen on 4 June 1989. The play is coldly cynical and contains no impassioned rhetoric for either the demonstrators or the authorities. A young man and young woman who were in the Square find refuge in the warehouse. In the darkness and confronted by death they are drawn physically close to each other, even though they are complete strangers. They are interrupted by the arrival of a middle-aged man, also a fugitive from the authorities. Gao speaks through the cynical comments of the middle-aged man. The young man makes a break from the warehouse and gunshots are heard; the couple left in the warehouse imagine that he is dead. In the darkness it is the young woman who takes the initiative, although the middle-aged man makes a feeble attempt to resist. They make love there and then. A critic in the PRC attacked the play as the “irresponsible” work of a writer who was overseas and “had not personally experienced the events of June 4”. The behaviour of the protagonists in the play is pronounced decidedly “decadent”.²² Worse still, the American drama group which had commissioned the writing of the play was dissatisfied with the lack of student heroes and asked for revisions. Gao paid the translation fees and withdrew his manuscript. For Gao there is a clear separation between literature and politics: literature is the concern of the individual, of the self, whereas politics is concerned with the collective will and the abnegation of the self. The incident caused him to publish his thoughts on literary creation, especially Chinese literature. “Jottings from Paris” (Bali suibi; 1991),²³ “The Myth of the Nation and Insanity for the Individual” (Guojia shenhua yu geren diankuang; 1993),²⁴ and “Without Isms” (1993).

²⁰ Shancheng ke, “Let’s Look at Liu Zaifu as he ‘Drifts in Exile’” (Qie kan piaoliuzhong de Liu Zaifu), *Wenyi lilun yu piping*, 3 (1994), p. 28.

²¹ *Jintian* 1 (1990), pp. 41–64. Gao states that he had been invited to write a play about the events in Tiananmen. The resulting work, *Taowang* took out specific reference to the events which occurred in Tiananmen and there were no heroes; he had written the play as a politico-philosophical play. “The Americans wanted me to change it, so I withdrew the manuscript, and paid the translation fee myself. When I write I have what I want to say, I do not want to please anyone’s tastes. The solitary and independent writer confronts society and speaks and expresses himself in the voice of the individual, it is this voice which is more truthful.” See “Without Isms”, pp. 1706. Gao Xingjian’s plays have recently been published as a collection, *Gao Xingjian liu zhong* (Tijiao chubanshe, Taipei, 1995).

²² See Yu Sanniu, “An Irresponsible Book” (*Xinkou cihuang zhi shu*), in *Lost “Heroes”: the Persons and about Them* (Wangming “jingying” qi ren qi shi; China Youth Publishing House, 1991), pp. 235–7. See also Zeng Huiyan’s review of the articles contained in this volume, in *Baixing* Fortnightly 224 (June 1991), pp. 6–7.

²³ *Guangchang zazhi*, 4 (1991): 14–15.

²⁴ *Mingbao yuekan*, 8 (1993): 114–121.

On the issue of separation of literature and politics, Liu Kang's "Subjectivity, Marxism and, Cultural Theory in China" presents a brilliant analysis of Liu Zaifu's notion of subjectivity in literature and particularly of the influence of Li Zehou's aesthetics on Liu Zaifu, and on a whole generation of intellectuals. Liu Kang however asserts that the emphasis on the self in literature by Liu Zaifu and others promoted the importance of the self for a devious political purpose, namely for self-empowerment.²⁵ While the paradigms of the theorists are useful as tools of analysis, the paradigms sometimes discount human differences and differences in time: the paradigm subsumes reality and seeks to make reality fit the paradigm, regardless of the person under scrutiny. It would seem that yet another collective view has been established to encroach upon the self of the individual.

In "The Myth of the Nation and Insanity for the Individual" Gao Xingjian argues how patriotism has plagued the development of China's literature in modern times. From the May Fourth period Chinese intellectuals, including writers, have regarded themselves as spokespersons of the people, and in doing so abnegated their rights as individuals.²⁶ Chinese nationalism and patriotism have made the achievement of human rights, particularly the recognition of freedom of thought, extremely difficult. Chinese intellectuals have been able to courageously oppose the traditional ethical system and the political power of the bureaucracy yet have been helpless when confronted with the modern superstition of the nation. This superstition is founded in a national collective subconsciousness which is more deeply entrenched than ethical phenomena. Its strength is based on the primitive instinct for survival. "Following the disintegration of the feudal imperial system, the feudal ethics based on loyalty to the ruler turned into a patriotic nationalism possessed of moral and ethical powers."²⁷

In Gao's analysis of events in Deng Xiaoping's China, the relaxation of control and loss of control over literature meant that Chinese intellectuals had gained a limited amount of space, and that in the process of their political struggle for democracy, emancipation of the individual and awareness of the self had re-emerged. Nietzsche's philosophy of the superman and romantic sentiments of saving the world reached a high tide and Chinese intellectuals once again enacted their historical role as either people's heroes or martyrs. Gao is not opposed to intellectuals participating in politics but argues that political participation should be for the individual to choose. If all Chinese intellectuals become

²⁵ Liu's "generation of intellectuals has become disillusioned with politics, and they try to distance themselves from it as much as possible. Yet politics inevitably intervenes at the very moment of depoliticization. Liu Zaifu tries to transcend politics by proposing aesthetic universals, but his aesthetic enterprise betrays the political intent he is unwilling to acknowledge." Liu Kang, "Subjectivity, Marxism, and Cultural Theory in China, pp. 46-7.

²⁶ *Mingbao yuekan* 114 (1993), n.p.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

involved in politics then the fate of intellectuals would be the same as during the May Fourth period, a mass suicide. While he expresses deep reverence for those many intellectuals who had sacrificed themselves for the nation and the well-being of the people, he also sympathizes with those who had entered politics, and in so doing, sacrificed their academic and creative lives.²⁸

It was a misfortune for literature that the writer Lu Xun was crushed to death by the politician Lu Xun. Clearly, for Lu Xun it was not necessarily a misfortune but it may have been a source of regret.²⁹

As a creative writer Gao Xingjian sees only one option, to abscond. Against power politics, public opinion, ethical preachings, the benefit of the party and the collective, in order to preserve personal worth, personal integrity, and intellectual independence, ie freedom, the individual has no option but to flee. It is only by fleeing that one can preserve one's self integrity and autonomy. The alternative is either to rot in gaol, to be crushed by the criticism of the masses, to drown and be swept along by the flow of traditional practice, or to be tortured to the end of one's days by empty glory, oblivious to what the self is all about.³⁰

The notion of fleeing recurs frequently throughout Gao Xingjian's work. It is his solution for the individual in socialized existence, even in its smallest unit of two persons. The 560 pages of the novel *Lingshan* allows him to examine many aspects of the meaning of socialized existence for the individual but it is in the play "Absconding", described earlier that it is brilliantly captured in drama. The tragic events of Tiananmen, 1989, were shown internationally on television day after day: these visual images therefore provide a setting in addition to that in the text of the play. The additional setting for readers who were in the Square at the time is of course not limited to the images captured by the television cameras. This short one-act play succeeds in examining many facets of human behaviour but it is the relationship between the individual and the collective which concerns the present discussion. The middle-aged man comments that to go on the attack without understanding the strategies of organization and retreat, one shouldn't get involved in politics, otherwise one would only be a sacrifice in the gamble. He is angrily rebuked by the earnest young man for not coming forward as a leader, if he foresaw all this. This is his simple reply:

(MIDDLE-AGED MAN) I've already told you that I'm a bystander, sometimes I pass by, sometimes I'm pulled into things, sometimes I get worked up, sometimes I speak out, and that's it. I've got my own things to do! I got sick of politics a long time ago. I don't have what it takes to be a leader nor do I have any urge to be a leader. What's more there are already so many leaders out there, I'm afraid of getting my hands dirty.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ "Jottings from Paris" (Bali suibi) No. 32 in *Guangchang zazhi*, 4 (1991) p. 15.

³⁰ *Ibid.* "Jotting" No. 1 and 2.

The young man clearly sees himself in a heroic role and (correctly) accuses him of not being one of the democracy movement, that he is only a bystander. He is showing off to the young woman who is intellectually attracted to what the older man is saying (and physically drawn to him by their circumstances: the darkness, confrontation with death).

(YOUNG WOMAN) So what if he is a bystander? Aren't we all fugitives?

(MIDDLE-AGED MAN) That's exactly it. To be on the run is your, my, and also his fate. To be on the run is the fate of human beings.

As the middle age man goes on about not wanting to be a pawn in a game, not wanting to be manipulated, and that it is because he insists on his own freedom of action that he has no option but to flee, the young man becomes hostile and (correctly) accuses him of avoiding the democracy movement. The middle-aged man's response is that he avoids all situations involving so-called collective will. This provokes the young man to righteous anger: But what about the nation and the people, are you going to just look on as the nation and the people are destroyed?

(MIDDLE-AGED MAN) What is nation? Whose nation? Does it take responsibility for you or for me? Why do I have to take responsibility for it? I take responsibility for only myself.

.....
(MIDDLE-AGED MAN) I'll only save myself. If the race is destroyed then it deserves it! Isn't that what you're trying to get me to confess? What other questions do you have? Has the interrogation ended?³¹

These questions leave the young man perplexed. Implicit are the questions: Is this not harassment and infringement on individual rights? Is this not precisely the object of the protests of the democracy movement?

The conflict between the individual will and the collective will, and the implications for the writer, are examined in depth in "Without Isms" which Gao Xingjian presented at the Chinese Literature in the Past Forty Years Conference held in Taipei. He notes that Lu Xun's principle of "bring-it-here-ism" (*nalai zhuyi*) is not a bad thing in itself, regarding Western ideas; only that Chinese writers have been over-zealous in trying to bring in every existing Western "ism". There is no need follow the same road as Western literature; once the writer has internalized an "ism", it is no longer the same as the original. It is therefore pointless to discuss the "ism" any further, and quite futile "to insist on shouldering other people's placards".³²

Again, these are conclusions derived from Gao Xingjian's personal experiences. He had been labelled in turn a "modernist" in 1981 with his *Preliminary*

³¹ The above excerpts from the play are from *Jintian/Today*, 1 (1990): 50-1.

³² "Without Isms", pp. 1701-2.

Explorations in the Art and Technique of Modern Fiction, “Theatre of the Absurd” in 1983 with *The Bus Stop*, “nativist” in 1985 with *Wild Man* (Yeren) and “reactionary” in 1990 with *Absconding*. He rejects all of these labels and declares that he owes allegiance to no “ism” in either politics or literature.

In the present period of ideological disintegration, for an individual to maintain spiritual independence the only attitude to adopt to question. This is also my attitude to what is highly prized or fashionable. In my experience mass movements and popular taste—just like what is known as the self—are all not worthy of worship and certainly not worthy of superstitious belief.

As a writer living in exile he sees his only means to self-redemption as the creation of literature and art. This does not mean that he is an advocate of pure literature which he calls “an ivory tower totally divorced from society”. For him literary creation is the challenge of an individual’s existence to society. The size of the challenge is irrelevant: it is the stance which is important.

Gao acknowledges that literature achieves freedom only when it can detach itself from considerations of material benefit. It is a human luxury after basic needs for survival are met and it is a source of pride for both the writer and the reader that the need for literature exists. This is the social nature of literature. Literature, for Gao, enlightens, criticizes, challenges, overturns and transcends. However the limiting of literature to the narrow confines of a set of political functions or ethical rules and the turning of literature into political propaganda and ethical teachings and even into a weapon of rival political parties has been the misfortune of literature. Mainland China’s literature still has not been able to free itself from this. From the beginning of this century China’s modern literature has been utterly worn out by political struggles. Now for the first time Chinese writers are able to speak with their own voices.³³

Literature is essentially an individual’s personal affair. The important thing is that it should not be forced upon others and of course it cannot tolerate restrictions being imposed upon it, regardless of the name of the restriction, be it nation or political party, the race or the people. To empower these abstract collective wills, results in the death of literature.³⁴

As mentioned earlier, Gao Xingjian’s “Without Isms” opened with a reference to Liu Zaifu’s statement in “Farewelling the Gods” (Gaobie zhu shen, 1990):³⁵ that it is time for Chinese literature to “emerge from the shadows of others—to farewell the gods”. Liu Zaifu comments that modern Chinese literary criticism which used to be idealistic and progressive, has been replaced by a

³³ Ibid., p. 1702.

³⁴ Idem.

³⁵ Written at Duke University 1990 and published in the collection *Expelling the Gods*, pp. 293–307.

sense of impoverishment, absurdity and perplexity. This is because the various schools of literary theory in the present century from Liang Qichao's on fiction at the turn of the century to that of Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren during the May Fourth period, almost without exception have been "stolen"(touqie) from abroad. Liu concedes that this may sound harsh but insists that this is in fact the case. He cites Lu Xun's essay "'Hard Translation' and the 'Class Nature of Literature'" to justify his use of the word "stolen":

People often compare the revolutionary to the mythological figure Prometheus. When tortured by the Emperor of Heaven, he feels no remorse in stealing fire for the people. They are equal in their determination. However when we steal fire from other countries, our intention is to cook our own flesh, thinking that if the taste can be improved it will be of greater benefit to the person eating it and we on our part will, to a lesser degree, have squandered our bodies in vain.

Liu Zaifu affirms that Lu Xun was an honest man and had acknowledged that he had "stolen fire"; furthermore, the early acts of stealing fire had been to enlighten the people. Therefore even though it was stealing it was honourable. However, subsequent "stealers of fire" only "steal skin" and use various foreign "isms" to embellish their faces so that they can intimidate people. What results is absurd and ridiculous.³⁶

The literary debates in China, Liu observes, have been the quarrels of other countries: either between Plato and Aristotle, Zola or Hugo or Chernyshevsky and Freud. These are not genuinely Chinese academic debates. No creative changes have been made to the foreign literary theories because the Chinese lack their own theoretical language for an independent deconstruction of these theories; they even lack their own topics and narratives for these.

In other words China's modern literary theories, for virtually a century, have lived in the shadows of others and wandered irresolutely within the prisons of other people's concepts and parameters. Sartre's existentialism enjoyed a period of popularity in China because people liked his concept of "the other is the prison of the self".³⁷

This, says Liu Zaifu, "uncovers a basic psychological phenomenon of 20th century China: in the present century there is a shared perception amongst Chinese intellectuals, including writers and theorists, that they are often living in the various omniscient prisons of others. Therefore "walking out of the shadows of other people's prisons" is one of the major goals of Chinese literature at the end of this century. He observes that many PRC writers have already gone through the ritual of "farewelling the gods" which he defines as farewelling the basic intellectual and behavioural modes prevalent in the middle of this century and which have been integrated into hearts and minds.

³⁶ "Farewelling the Gods", p. 294.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 294-5.

To farewell the gods is to farewell the god of revolution, ie. head-butting against the tyranny of the Heavenly pillars. This has been the use of class struggle methodology to find "basic solutions" models for social problems, including cultural problems. In literary theory it has been the use of rough and vulgar class struggle modes of thought to understand literature and to destroy literature. Secondly, it is to farewell the god who "mends heaven", ie the patching up of old regulations. In literary theory this has been bringing in basic frameworks "stolen" from the literary theory textbooks of Soviet Russia and patching up these derelict literary theories for use. Thirdly it is to farewell Prometheus, the god who steals fire. This has been upholding certain foreign "isms" to solve problems. In literary theory this has been the mode of regarding certain imported political ideologies and literary theories as a means to salvation.

Liu asserts that Chinese literary critics have already come to the realization that the spiritual emperors of 20th century China are all the creations of foreigners, some are German and others are Russian. It is the same with literary theory: these are mainly German or Russian but there are also those made in France and America. This has robbed Chinese literary theories of creative energy and the result is that theoretical discussions of literature are often the discussions of other people's problems; they are characteristically "duplications". Liu's call to farewell the gods is a call to cease living in the shadows of other people's gods and instead to live an independent existence which transcends these gods. In this way it will be possible "to initiate" things and "to discuss our own problems". Liu writes with conviction and with optimism on the future of Chinese literature:

In our future, we will of course more effectively learn from and absorb the results of mankind's achievements but I do not think that it will be possible any longer for us to be controlled by the spiritual emperors manufactured by the people of other countries.³⁸

Liu Zaifu has further developed his views on "walking out of other people's prisons". His recent recorded conversations with Li Zehou have been transcribed and published as *Farewelling Revolution* (Gaobie geming; Cosmos, Hong Kong, 1995). Liu Zaifu has argued strongly for subjectivity in literature and for the separation of literature from politics. If he has not abandoned his own guidelines, and I suspect that he has not, it would mean that he has now made a choice to commit himself to politics and to further ration the time he devotes to creative literature. He has clearly "walked out of other people's prisons" by his rejection of Western solutions to China's problems,³⁹ but on the other hand he has voluntarily chosen to re-enter the self-imposed "prison" of the traditional Chinese intellectual who is committed to playing a political role in society. For Liu Zaifu, it will therefore only be in those fleeting intervals snatched to write creatively, that he will achieve the personal freedom of literature.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 295-6.

³⁹ Liu Zaifu, Preface (November 1994), p.12.

Published by

Institute of Oriental and African Studies
Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava

Text set by
ACADEMIC DTP

Subscription information

SAP – Slovak Academic Press, Ltd.
P.O. Box 57
Nám. slobody 6
810 05 Bratislava
Slovakia

Distributed by

SAP – Slovak Academic Press, Ltd.
P.O. Box 57
Nám. slobody 6
810 05 Bratislava
Slovakia

Registr. No. 679/92

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