MIČ 49 194
ISSN 1335-1257

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

Slovak Academy of Sciences

Volume 6/1997 Number 1

CONTENTS

Articles

Editor in Chief:
Viktor KRUPA
Associate and Managing Editor:
Jozef GENZOR

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.

The Editors

Address of the Editorial Office
Institute of Oriental and African Studies
Slovak Academy of Sciences
Klemensova 19
813 64 Bratislava
Slovakia

tel/fax: (004217) 32 63 26
e-mail: koholla@klemens.savba.sk

Book Reviews

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

Slovak Academy of Sciences

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

SAP – SLOVAK ACADEMIC PRESS, LTD.
BRATISLAVA
SLOVAKIA

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, *6*, 1997, 1, 3-8

TREE ANATOMY AS A COGNITIVE MODEL*

Viktor KRUPA
Institute of Oriental and African Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences,
Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia

The comparative study of lexical semantics reveals the existence of a variety of widespread conventionalized if not universal cognitive paths that contribute to a more or less loose structuring of vocabulary. The study of this structurating may shed light upon so-called naive or common sense linguistic thought. Knowledge of it would obviously make the understanding of relations between words in the lexicon easier.

The word stock of numerous languages throughout the world, just like the mythology of many peoples, bears witness to the importance of several fundamental cognitive models for the expansion of terminologies as well as for the advancement of abstract thought. Alongside kinship (more precisely family) organization, human (and to some modest extent animal) anatomy, or atmospheric phenomena, it is the tree (or plant) anatomy model that cannot be overlooked in this connexion. Tree as a cognitively useful idea has been known throughout human history, as witnessed, and A. Demandt illustrates this with numerous examples; Johann Gottfried Herder, Wilhelm von Humboldt, L. von Ranke, Theodor E. Mommsen and others compare mankind to a tree (Demandt 1978: 107–109).

In mythology – and languages seem closely linked to it since their beginnings – things that grow from the earth, bloom and bring forth seeds, which happens in more or less regular cycles, invariably arrest the attention of the naive observers. And thus the plants and trees supply them not only with fruits but also with insight into the working of nature and existence in general. In New Zealand cosmogony it was the tree (personified as the god of the forest Tane) that was active in raising the sky from the earth, and throughout Europe (just as elsewhere) the tree may symbolize life, the succession of generations, or even the structure of the whole world including heaven, earth, and Hades.

Tree anatomy as one of the cardinal cognitive models is generally believed to be ubiquitous but this assumption so far seems to have rested upon rhapsodic impressions, and perhaps the time has come to pass from speculative conjectures to convincing evidence, which can only happen through collecting and evaluating pertinent data from various languages.

* This paper was supported by Grant agency: grant No. 2/1007/96.

This paper introduces findings from several genetically and typologically very different and geographically very distant languages, namely, English (Hais – Hodek 1984–1985), Japanese (Masuda 1985), Indonesian (Echols – Shadily 1961; Korigodskiy 1990), as well as Maori (Williams 1957) and Hawaiian (Pukui – Elbert 1957). Their comparison leads to interesting if not surprising conclusions.

The semantic field labelled *tree anatomy* includes the following basic terms: *root, stem* (*trunk*), *bark, branch* (*twig*), *leaf, flower, seed, fruit, tree top.*

ROOT

In English it is applied to natural objects (*r. of a hill, of the sea, of water*); to human anatomy (*r. of nose, tongue, hair, nerve*); to family history and cultural identity; to man-made objects (*r. of thread, gem, dam*); to abstracts (*root* in mathematics, linguistics, astrology, music, philosophy – in the sense of cause, origin, essence).

In Japanese root (*ne*) is extended to include natural and spatial meaning (base of a hill, lower part); to human anatomy (nucleus of a boil); to abstracts – in the sense of source, foundation, origin, essence).

The Indonesian *akar* "root" may be applied to anatomy (r. of legs "behind, bottom") and to abstractions – especially in the meaning of cause.

In Maori *take, puutake* or *more* (the latter meaning "taproot") may be applied to the lowest part of a spatial configuration (e.g. "bottom of a pit"), to what moves the whole community (e.g. "chief", "head of a subtribe"), in Hawaiian to the very beginning of a family ("womb", "ancestral root"), and, finally, to abstracts (cause, reason, source, foundation).

Now it has turned out that the most mythological application is that one viewing the rise of a family line as akin to vegetable growth (cf. Hawaiian *a'a* "womb", "offspring" or Maori *puutake* "ancestor"); applications based upon spatial configuration (in the sense of the lowest part of something (either in human body, in nature or in artefacts) are quite widespread and even more so are applications to the causal domain.

The idea of root as the lowest part of the plant body inevitably interferes with the spatial notion of "below". The latter is invariably associated with a negative evaluation (being a position of weakness, disease, defeat, and death) while the notion of root is regarded positively since it marks the starting point of an upward movement of growth in space and time. The collision with the spatial domain and, more specifically, with the negative value of "below", however, may occasionally endow some metaphorical extensions or root with somewhat mysterious or enigmatic overtones. In the case of a genealogical tree the root as the lowest position corresponds with the past while its branches obviously strive in the direction of the future. We tend to view the chief as someone in a position of power, that is, above. However, among the Maori, the chief may be equated with the root because he is, in addition to other things, the eldest in rank and thus linked to the past of the tribe more than anybody else.

TRUNK

Trunk in English is the bulkiest overground part of the tree, the visible continuation of its roots. Its applications in the various domains of human or animal anatomy, of man-made objects (*trunk* of a mill; of a road; of long-distance communication and various technical parts) share the property of being the most voluminous part of a whole, its support.

Indonesian *batang, pokok*, or *tunggul* also find applications in genealogy (meaning lineage, dynasty), in the terrain configuration (*batangan* main stream of a river), in meteorology (*pokok hujan* rain cloud) or even in the temporal domain (*batangan hari* "noon").

In Polynesian, the temporal meaning is likewise present (cf. Hawaiian *kumu* beginning) or refers to the body without head (Maori *tumu*). In Hawaiian, *kumu* "trunk" takes over some functions of the term *a'a* "root".

BRANCH, TWIG, BOUGH

Lexemes with the meaning branch, twig, bough display very similar applications in various conceptual domains. The common denominator of most of these applications may be characterized as "subordinate part of a whole linked to the rest", whether it is a branch road (Japanese *edamichi*, Indonesian *cabang jalan* crossroads), a branch of a river (Japanese *edagawa*, *cabang sungai* fork of a river, Maori *kaapeka* branch of a river), or a branch of a mountain range, of a story (Japanese *edabanashi*), of science, or whether it is employed in the terminology of kinship (cf. Maori *kore kaupekapeka* childless, literally "without branches" or *kaawai* pedigree, lineage, Hawaiian *laalaa 'ole* a childless person, literally "without branches" versus *laalaa ola* person with offspring, literally "living branch"). In modern languages, the use of branch for branch offices of various institutions is a near-universal.

Lexical metaphors such as Japanese *edazuno* antlers (literally "branch-shaped horns"), Japanese *edaniku* leg of meat, Hawaiian *laalaa* barb of a hook, Maori *manga* snare for birds are based upon external similarity. Hawaiian *manamana* (reduplication of *mana* branch) means finger, which may be viewed analogically both as an appendage of hand and as an object of similar shape.

LEAF

The true function of leaves is obviously inaccessible to naive linguistic philosophy and their common sense definition makes use chiefly of their flat shape, light weight, location at the end of twigs, mobility in the wind. This is obvious when evaluating metaphorical applications of the leaves in all investigated languages, cf. English *leaf of the door* or *of window, of tin, of a board*, Indonesian *daun dayung* oar (literally "leaf of a paddle") or *daun telinga* auricle (leaf of the ear), Maori *rau* leaf as well as blade of a weapon, Hawaiian *lau* leaf or tip of tongue, etc.

FLOWER

Flowers are the most strikingly attractive constituents of trees and are accordingly employed in lexical (not to speak of poetic) metaphors. It is their transient beauty, colour and fragrance that make them desirable for metaphorization. Perhaps that is why the "flower" metaphors are relatively frequent in most languages. The metaphorical basis of flower as a rule includes decorativeness: English *flowers of speech*, Japanese *hanabi* fireworks (literally "flower fire"), Indonesian *bunga api* or *kembang api* fireworks (literally "flowers of fire"), Indonesian *bunga bibir* flattery (literally "flowers of lips"); climax of growth: English *flower*, Japanese *hana* flower; anything or anybody remarkable: Japanese *hanagata* star actor, popular person, Indonesian *bunga tanah* humus (literally "flower of the soil"); something done just for the pleasure of it: Japanese *hanazumó* amateur wrestling; what is the most precious: Indonesian *bunga desa* village beauty (literally "flower of the village"), *bunga modal* capital interest (literally "flower of the capital"), Indonesian *bunga uang* money interest (literally "flower of money"), Indonesian *kembang gula* candy, sweets (literally "flower of sugar"), and perversely Indonesian *bunga tahi* dirty words (literally "flowers of dirt"). Flower is often used as a near-synonym of woman or of anything typically feminine: English *flowers* menstruation, Japanese *hana* geisha's spirit, Indonesian *bunga latar* or *kembang latar* prostitute (literally "prostrate flower"), Indonesian *bunga desa* village beauty (literally "village flower"), Indonesian *bunga raya* prostitute (literally "Chinese rose"), Indonesian *kesuma* beautiful woman, Hawaiian *pua* girl (literally "flower"). Superficial similarity is responsible for metaphors as Japanese *hanagóri* flowers frozen in ice, Maori *puawai* grey hair, Maori *pua* foam of the sea.

FRUIT

The meaning of metaphorical extensions of "fruit" fixes mainly the fact that fruit is the final product of one whole vegetative cycle, at least from the viewpoint of the consumers. It may apply to fruits of work, business, to results in most of the investigated languages. In Indonesian the semantic scope of metaphorical fruits is wider as illustrated by *buah bibir* subject of conversation (literally "fruit of the mouth"), *buah hati* sweetheart (literally "fruit of the heart") or *buah tangan* a gift brought back from visiting (literally "fruit of the hand"). In Maori, *hua* fruit may refer to progeny and, on the other hand, also to waxing of the moon or to the full moon. The latter meaning is perhaps not motivated only by the similarity of round shape to prototypical fruits but also by the process of ripening, to some extent paralleled by the growing moon.

The meanings easy-going person, gay person, loose girl recorded in English are semantically not transparent and no explanation of their motivation is known to me.

SEED

While fruits may be regarded by the consumers as the very raison d'être of many trees, the goal of the whole vegetative annual cycle lies in producing seeds which mark at the same time the beginning of the next cycle. It is therefore far from surprising that the seeds symbolize concentrated vital force and promise of future life. These meanings are inherent in English where the lexeme *seed* includes such meanings as source, kernel, origin, inoculation, etc., in the Japanese word *tane* (a breed, a strain, a stock, news, dope, food for thought, a cause, a source), in Indonesian words *bibit* and *biji* (cause, origin, prospective, future), in Maori *kano* (colour, sort, kind, stock, descent) and *kanokano* (relative living among a distant tribe) or in Hawaiian *'ano* (progeny, offspring). Due to its causal connotations seed overlaps, at least to some extent, with another word from this semantic field, i.e., with root.

"Seed" metaphors based on superficial similarity are fairly rare, cf. English *seed* bubble in glass or Indonesian *biji mata* eyeball, pupil of the eye. Interestingly enough, both Japanese *tane* and Maori *kano* may refer to kind, species, variety.

Other kinds of tree metaphor occur occasionally; among them it is the tree top that seems to be fairly frequent, c.f. Maori *taauru* metaphorized as head or source of a stream, Maori *koouru* the first puff of a breeze. Likewise the equivalents of bud, budding may be found useful when speaking of offspring, descendants, children, cf. Maori *miha* young fronds of a fern > distant descendant; calf of a whale; Maori *parito* centre shoot of endogenous plants > offspring, Hawaiian *liko* leaf bud; newly opened leaf, to bud > a child, esp. of a chief; youth.

Both in Maori and Hawaiian *wana* to bud, shoot, young shoot, seedlings may be applied to mean ray of the sun, just like Maori *tara* with the basic meaning of thorn (in these instances the similarity in appearance seems to play a role). The latter, however, displays a wider semantic scale including shafts of light, horn of the moon, and even courage or membrum virile.

The metaphorical route of Maori *teetee* young shoot, frond of a plant or fern is more complicated. The similarity of appearance has led to the meaning figurehead of a canoe which again, due to its ornamentality and anterior location, could secondarily be metaphorized as chief.

Quite a few authors reject the idea of similarity as the basis of metaphorization and maintain instead that similarity of two objects or phenomena is created by the particular metaphor. Perhaps this may be true in (especially modern) poetry. However, in lexical metaphors, similarity (perhaps presented as identity) of one kind or another is obviously present, being based upon salient features of the interrelated objects and thus may be akin to simile.

The main lines of metaphorical modelling are (1) external, superficial similarity (similarity of shape), (2) similarity of spatial configuration, (3) similarity of temporal configuration (rare), (4) functional similarity.

Tree anatomy is, however, no static model. It includes several chronologically ordered phases. This inherent dynamism makes the tree a welcome model for expressing the phenomena of growth, prosperity, bloom, ripening, bringing

fruits and finally losing its vigour with the falling leaves in a variety of notional domains. Perhaps the winter tree with its bare branches, without leaves and flowers, when its vital force is sleeping, might be labelled as the zero phase. It is superseded by the phase of awakening signs of life, when the young leaves are budding and flowers start developing. Subsequently the season of ripe fruits sets in, followed by the phase of mature seeds that are ready to put initiate the foundations of a new cycle, where the idea of eternal return certainly cannot be ignored.

REFERENCES

DEMANDT, A. 1978. *Metaphern für Geschichte. Sprachbilder und Gleichnisse im historisch-politischen Denken*. München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung

ECHOLS, J. M. – SHADILY, H. 1961. *An Indonesian-English Dictionary*. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press

HAIS, Karel – HODEK, B. 1984–1985. *English-Czech Dictionary (Velký anglicko-český slovník)*. 3 Vols. Prague, Academia

KORIGODSKIY, R. N. (ed.). 1990. *Kamus besar bahasa Indonesia-Rusia (Bol'shoy indoneziysko-russkiy slovar')*. 2 Vols. Moscow, Russkiy Yazyk

MASUDA, Koh (ed.). 1985 (12th Impression, 4th Edition). *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*. Tokyo, Kenkyusha

PUKUI, M. K. – ELBERT, S. H. 1957. *Hawaiian-English Dictionary*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press

WILLIAMS, H. W. 1957. *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*. Wellington, R. E. Owen

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, *6*, 1997, 1, 9-20

STRUCTURE AND ORIGIN OF THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY IN ROMA'S LANGUAGE

Svetislav KOSTIĆ
Institute of Indology, Faculty of Philosophy,
Charles University, Celetná 20, 116 42 Prague 1, Czechia

Romani, a New Indo-Aryan language spoken about thousand years outside India, is a typical contact language; it has been shaped by the influence of genetically and typologically different languages. Many of its features are mixed (some of them inherited, others adopted) and appear on all language levels, but chiefly upon the lexical and semantic levels.

0.1. Romani is a NIA language already spoken for one thousand years outside India. As for its typological features, it is a contact language which is formed by the influence of genetically and typologically different languages. Many of its features are mixed; some of them are genetic or *inherited* (Indian) and some others are adopted from other languages during the periods of Roma migration through Asia and Europe. These *contact-features* appear on all language levels, but the lexical, as well as semantic levels, are particularly significant.

0.2. Dealing with some Romani lexical and *onomastic phenomena* concerning human beings, *individuals* and their relations inside the *family*, clan, *ethnos* and *caste,* in Indian terms *jāti,* we will not consider them by particular dialects, but as a common Romani phenomenon, since they occur in more or less all dialects in a similar way.

We have divided the naming units concerning human beings and social groups into several classes.

The *first* class includes terms and naming units concerning family members and relatives, which can be original or inherited from the Indian stage of Romani history. An important layer of this onomasiologic system consists of loan terms from contact languages (Persian, Turkish, Greek, Slavic etc.) There are also terms (monolexemic and polylexemic units) coined in Romani after terminological models in the contact languages.

The *second* class consists of names of Roma individuals (anthroponyms) which are interesting from the sociolinguistic viewpoint. A mimicry of the surrounding society and language is apparent. The Roma's first names and surnames are mostly adopted from the contact and environment people. On the other hand, there is a Roma's segregation from the *gadže's* communities. Hence there are (nick)names current only inside the Roma community and family.

The *third* class includes naming units designating social groups distinguished by their genetic origin and profession.

A) Ethnonyms and gentonyms (names by genetic features), which are either original i.e. inherited from the Indian stage (Roma, Dom, Sinti, Džat etc.) or adopted from the contact languages and peoples: Athinganos, Cigan, Zigeuner, Gypsy, Gitano etc. Some of them are considered to be *abusive appellatives* (e.g. Cigan). This is, of course, connected with the social status of the Roma people in different European states.

B) Socionyms and professionyms are adopted according to the Roma's social position, lifestyle, 'caste' and profession. Such names are e.g. Gurbets (nomadic Roma), Arli, Jerli (settled Roma), Kalderaš ('kettle-repaires)', Lovars ('horse-traders', 'chanters') etc.

0.3. In this paper we deal only with one segment of this onomastic system: with kinship terminology. We describe the structure of this system with respect to the origin of different types of onomastic units and the history of particular terms.

The Roma's family system has many common features with the Indian one. For thousands of years the *joint family system* has been typical for India and it is still preserved today. Most Roma communities in Europe also live in such families, where more than one brother lives together with wives, children, parents, uncles etc. The similarity is apparent not only in structure of the family and in the regulations by which its distinct members are governed, but also in the terminology. There are many *naming units* of Indian origin preserved in Romani, besides the *new naming units* coined in the manner typical for the Indian Linguistic Area.

This kind of terminology is a very stable part of the language and, judging by IE terminology, it is of long historic duration. All IE language groups contain the same corpus of terms. Romani, as a migrating language, did not preserve the system to that extent. There are only a few terms belonging to the oldest lexical layer.

The second layer consists of Indian nouns developed in Romani as terms by significant semantic shift.

A newer and very extensive layer is that of relative-denoting-terms borrowed from different contact languages: Persian, Turkish, Greek, Slavic, Hungarian etc.

The last onomasiologic type presents monolexemic and polylexemic onomastic units *coined* in Romani after Indian or after European language manners.

1.0. Terms from the oldest stage, genetic (inherited) lexical layer (Indic terms)

The original PIE terms like *pater/ pitar/ πατήρ* (father), *mater/ mātar, μήτηρ* (mother), *duhitar/ θυγάτηρ* (daughter), *svasar/ soror* (sister) etc. which occur in many IE languages are not present in Romani.

1.1. The oldest terms denoting relatives in Romani are those derived from the Old and Middle Indian terms: *phral* < *bhrātar* (brother), *phen* (sister), *bori* (daughter-in-law), *džamutro* < *jāmātar* (daughter's husband), *sastro* < *śvaśura* (father-in-law), *sasvi/sasuj* < *śvaśrū* (mother-in-law).

1.1.1. *Phral* is a directly derived noun from the Skt. *bhrātar (*nom. *bhrātā).* During the development the following derivative phonological changes were performed:

A) Voiced root sounds (sonants) lost their voicedness: [bh] > [ph]. This change is typical for the West Indic language Panjabi and some adjacent dialects, where *bhrā (*pronounced *p'rā)* is developed from *bhrātā.*

B) Weakening and *cerebralization* of the dental consonant [t] between two vowels. This change arose in Prakrits, where [d] and [t] became sometimes [l] or [ɭ], e.g. *Sātyavāhaṇa* > *Sālavāhana.* Similar changes occurred during the development of Skt. to *devel (Rom).*

C) Weakening and elision of the final vowel [ā]: [ā] > [a] > [0], like in *devatā* > *de(ve)l.*

1.1.2. *Phen* arose in the similar way. From Skt. *bhāginī* by the weakening and disappearance of *[g]* arose *bha'inī* and after elision of the final *[-ī]* and by metathesis of the root aspirated labial *[bh]* arose Hindi *bahin, bahan.* In western NIA, e.g. Panjabi and Lahnda, the metathesis did not take place, but only voiced aspirated [bh] became unvoiced and unaspirated. Instead of the aspiration a shift of tone took place. Thus Panjabi *bhain* (pronounced *p'ein*) arose. In Romani deaspiration did not take place and thus the noun *phen* arose.[1]

1.1.3. *Bori* developed from Skt. past passive participle of the verb *vah-* ('to lead', 'to carry away', 'to bear') > *voḍha/uḍha.* The feminine form of this participle is *voḍhī* ('carried [away]'; of course carried to the bride-groom's home). The Indic voiced cerebral consonants as a rule give in Romani *[r].* A change [v] > [b] is not unusual in NIA. Other lexemes denoting 'bride' and 'daughter-in-law' are *vaḍhūṭī* in Skt., *vahuliā*[2] in Prakrits and *vadhū* in Skt. and Hindi. Here the etymological relation with the root *vah-* is also evident. The nouns: *vivāha* ('marriage', 'wedding') in Skt. and *vivāh* ('marriage', 'wedding', lit. 'carrying away') in Hindi which consists of the prefix *vi-* ('away, out') and the strengthened stem *vāha* are also connected with this verb root.This is the basis of the Romani *bijav* ('wedding'). Here the change *[v]* > *[b]* also took place. The changes occurred in the following order: *vivāh* > (elision of the intervocalic [v]) *vi'āh* > *vyāh* > *byāh* > (glide) > *byav* > *biyav.*

1.1.4. *Džamutro* ('son-in-law') corresponds to the Skt. and Hindi *jāmātā (jāmātar).* Hindi also has a variant form *jamāī* and Persian loan-word *dāmād.* The noun *jāmātar* developed from the verb root **jam-* which means 'to marry sb.' and the suffix *-tar* (Romani variant is *-tro).*

The noun *jāmātar* is not related to the root *jan-/gen-* 'to generate', 'to produce', since there is a stronger argument for **jam-*. It is paralleled in Greek *γαμ-βρός* ('son-in-law') < *γαμέω/γαμώ* ('to marry') and no hypothetical historic change of Latin *gener* < **gemer* can serve as an argument for the verb root *jan-*. Admittedly, the Greek form has an inserted consonant [*β*], but this is a usual

---

[1] See also *phral* in 1.1.1.

[2] This is one more example for the change of the occlusive cerebral [ṭ] to liquid consonant [l]. Cf. *devatā* > *devel* (1.1.1.), *bhrātar* > *phral* (1.1.1.) and *yuvatī* > *džuvli* (1.2.4.).

phenomenon accompanying labial nasal [μ]. Instead of expected γαμρός or γαμερός we have there γαμβρός. Maybe the Latin term *gener* really originates from the verb *gigno* (?) and it designates the *'genitor' or 'parent'*, an 'agent engaged in the generative/production process', or the two verb roots (*jan-* and hypothetical **jam-* 'to marry') had been contaminated.

The Greek γαμέω/ γαμώ also means 'to have sexual intercourse', 'to copulate' and has a parallel verb in Skt. *yabh-* ('to have sexual intercourse', 'to copulate') with its variants *jabh-/jambh-* and derived noun *jambhana* ('sexual intercourse', 'copulation', a variant of *yabhana*). From this **jāmbhātar* could be developed (?).

1.1.5. *Sastro* – 'father-in-law' is etymologically connected with Skt. *śvaśura* from the oldest form **svaśura*. The term belongs to the oldest stage of PIE. We suppose its original meaning to be 'housholder', *'pater familias'*. Thus we have Latin *socer*, Greek *ékυρός hekyros*, Slavic *svekrŭ* (Russ. - свёкор, Serb. свекар, Slovak *svokor*), Lith. *šėšuras*, Germ. *sweher, Schwäher*. This compound noun arose from: *sva-* ('own', cf. Lat. 'suus', Gk. *é-* from **sve-*) + *śūra* ('hero', 'man'; 'master', 'householder', which corresponds to the Greek κύριος [from κύρος – 'decisive power']). The consonant [t] in Romani *sastro is* only to simulate the other agent-nouns in Indic, like *kartar* ('agent'), *śāstar* ('ruler') or kinship nouns *mātar* ('mother') and *pitar* ('father'). In other Indic languages the corresponding terms are *sasura* in Prakrits, *sasur* in Hindi, *sasro* in Gujarati, *sāsrā* in Marathi etc.

1.1.6. *Śvaśrūh* – 'mother-in-law' is only the female counterpart of the *śvaśura*. Greek parallel is *ékυρά*, Latin *socrus* and Slavic *svekry* (Russ. свекровь, Serb. свекрва, Slovak *svokra*). Skt. *śvaśrūh* developed in Prakrit *sussū* and in Hindi *sās*. Romani terms *sasvi, sasuj*, both being developed from Skt. *śvaśr-* > *sas-*. To the older suffix -[*u*] a new NIA and Romani suffix [-*i*] has been attached. This vowel caused the previous vowel [*u*] to become the consonant [v]: *sasu-i* > *sasvi*, or after the vowel [u] it itself changed into consonant [j]: *sasu-i* > *sasuj*.

1.2. The terms denoting persons according to age (*raklo, rakli, čhavo, čhaj*) as well as to life-style and caste-origin (*rom, romni, das, dasni, gadžo, gadži* etc.) are derived from nouns of the middle Indian stage.

By *semantic shift* and *specialization* over time these common nouns became special relative-terms instead of the related lost ones.

1.2.1. The terms *raklo* and *rakli* ('boy' and 'girl', sometimes used instead of 'son' and 'daughter' or non-Roma children) recall formally and semantically the Hindi homologous nouns *laṛ'kā* and *laṛ'kī*. They are of the same origin, from the Old Indian *lāḍakā* or *lāḍikā* ('boy', 'servant', 'slave'). This is connected with the verb root *lāḍ-, laḷ-* ('to play', 'to sport'). In Hindi the noun is developed from the modified root *laṛ-* (the cerebral [ḍ] is developed in the cerebral of the new quality – [ṛ]) and the substantivizer suffix *kā-* (masc.) and *kī* (fem.). The Romani variants are younger, since there is evident deformation of the original noun: *la-ṛa-kā* > *rak-l-o*. Three kinds of changes are apparent: a) change of the syllable order, b) decerebralization of *ṛ (ṛ> r)*, and c) masc. gender marker [*-o*] instead of [*ā*] in Hindi.

1.2.2. Romani terms denoting 'son' and 'daughter' of Roma parents are not typical OIE relative naming units, but MIA and NIA nouns with the common meaning 'child', i.e. 'boy' *(čhavo)* and 'girl' *(čhaj)* are used instead. There are also Hindi, Panjabi, Bengali and other NIA appellatives of similar origin. Thus in Hindi we have *beṭā/beṭī* < Skt. *baṭu/vaṭu* ('boy, lad'), Prakrit *biṭṭā.* Nouns *baccā* ('male child, boy') and *baccī* ('female child, girl') developed from the Sanskrit *vatsa* 'calf, young animal', through Prakrit *baccaa.* From the social point of view it is interesting that the *čhavo* and *čhaj* denote only Roma children. This *semantic shift* and *specialization* is very important, since it reflects the Indian caste-like-differentiation inside the Roma communities.

1.2.3. The etymology of *čhavo* ('male child') is rather vague. Some authors (e.g. Turner,[3] Boretzky[4] etc.) connect it with the Prakrit *chāva* ('young animal'), Pali *chāpa* and *sāva* ('child, boy') and with Hindi *chāvā, chāvṛā,* Marvari *sāv,* Nepali *chāva,* Bihari *chāvā* and Asami *sāv, sāvā,* all of the same meaning. These nouns are evidently derived from the Sanskrit verb – *sū-, su- (sūte, sauti)* – 'to give birth'. Forms in *sāv-* are derived from the quoted verb root, but if the lexemes in *chāv* were derived from it too, how to explain the reason for the great phonologic shift – palatalization of the sibilant [s] > [ch]?

1.2.4. The same principles of *semantic shift* and *specialization* concern the terms for husband and wife, developed from nouns *man* and *woman*, and from nouns designating Roma and non-Roma persons. The main dinstinction is between terms of Roma husband/wife (*rom/romni*) and non-Roma husband and wife (*gadžo/gadži, das, dasni, džuvli*).

The term *gadžo* designates any person of non-Romani origin, but it is used especially to distinguish 'husband of non-Roma wife' (*gadži*) from Roma husband. Its feminine counterpart *gadži* denotes 'gadžo's wife'.

Most authors of Romani etymological dictionaries have said nothing of the etymology of *gadžo,* e.g. Calvet and Turner. Others try to derive it from MIA word denoting 'house', 'household' etc., e.g. Boretzky[5] derives *gadžo* < ai. *gārhya*, mi. **gajjha*-? nach sa. < *gaya* 'Haus(halt)'.

We consider the noun *gadžo* to be *developed* from the Indic compound noun *grāmaja* < *grāma* 'a village' (Hindi *gā̃v*, Romani *gav*) + morpheme *-ja* (at the end of the compound nouns denoting a person according to his birth, from *jan-, jāyate* 'to be born'). The morph *-o* is a typical marker of Romani and some other West NIA masculine nouns. The *gadžo* is probably *inherited* from MIA [Skt. *grāmaja* > *grā̃ja* > *gā̃vaja* > *gā̃ja* > gadžo]. The noun *grāmaja* really does occur in Old Indian, as Boethlingk has shown, also quoting its synonyms *grāmya* and

---

[3] TURNER, R. (1966), *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London.

[4] BORETZKY, Norbert/IGLA, Birgit (1994), *Wörterbuch Romani-Deutsch-English für den südosteuropäischen Raum*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

[5] BORETZKY, op. cit., p. 316.

[6] BÖHTLINGK, Otto und ROTH, Rudolph (1855-1875), *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, p. 2/857.

[7] BÖHTLINGK, op. cit., p. 869.

grāmina. In Boethlingk's Dictionary[6] we find: *grāmaja (grāma + ja),* adj. im Dorfe geboren, auf bebautem Boden gewachsen, also:[7] *grāmya = grāmina = grāme jātah = grāmabhavo janah* = a) im Dorfe u.s.w. im Gebrauch seiend, dort entstanden, dort bereitet b) im Dorfe lebend, Dorfbewohner, in Dörfern, unter Menschen lebend, von Menschen gezogen, kultiviert, c) im Dorfe gestattet, auf die im Dorfe erlaubte Geschlechtslust gerichtet.

1.2.5. The terms *das m, dasni f, džuvli f,* denoting non-Roma 'husband' and 'wife' do not occur in the northern Romani dialects (Lovary, Slovak etc.) We have found them in Gurbet, Arli and Kalderaš dialects in the Balkans (see Uhlik's and Boretzky's dictionaries).

The origin of the appellative *das* should be searched in Old Indic *dāsa, dasyu* 'servant', 'slave'. During the time of language contacts its meaning was significantly shifted to any non-Roma persons, or rather to those who belong to the **ruling** population in the related period and region. It designates subordinate people!

The term *dasni* ('non-Roma wife') is only a female counterpart of the term *das*.

As for the noun *džuvli,* it developed from Skt. *yuvatī* ('young woman') by means of the palatalization: *[y] > [j]* and by the mentioned cerebralization: *[t] > [ṛ]* and its change in the liquid consonant: *[ṛ] > [l].* (See also the change *bhrātā > phral* in the paragraph 1.1.1. and *vahuliā* in 1.1.3.)

1.2.6. The reason why only *čhavo, čhaj* and *rom, romni* designate Romani, and *raklo, rakli, gadžo, gadži* non-Romani 'son', 'daughter', 'husband' and 'wife', is not obvious. It is fixed more or less by accident. There is only an ethno-social, but no etymological or historical reason to ascribe one term to the Roma and the other to the non-Roma person. Nevertheless we find several cases, e.g. in Lovari and Kalderari, when the word *raklo* is used for Roma children, esp. in overt address: *Mro rakloro!* ('My boy'), the same as *Miri gadži!* ('My wife').

1.3. Several relative appellatives are also inherited from the oldest stage of emigration from India, i.e. from their dwelling in Persia.

1.3.1.'Mother' – *daj* (*dej, de*) originates in the OIA verb root *dhe-/dhai-(dhayati-* 'to suck') and it has parallels in New Persian *day* ('mother'). In other New Iranian languages it designates either 'mother' or 'nurse'. The 'mother' is its primary meaning. From this is derived also the appellative *dayo/dayi* ('mother's brother').

Etymologically *dhayati* is related to OSlav. *dojiti,* Russ. *доить,* Lot. *dét* - 'to suck milk from the breast'. Also Armenian *diem* means 'I drink milk from the breast'. The same word occurs in Kurdish – *dae* and in Ossetian – *dejin, dejun*. Also the Hindi *dāī* ('nurse', 'midwife') is of Persian origin, as well as many other words.

1.3.2. *Dad* ('father', the vocative case sounds: *dade! dado!*) can also be classified as an Iranian word, because it occurs there, but generally its origin seems to be vague and rather of the *Lallwort* (or 'baby's babble') origin. As a Lallwort it sounds similar in many languages of the world. To this class belong many relative appellatives, e.g. Czech *táta* ('daddy'), *máma* ('mammy'), *děda* ('grandpa'), *baba* ('grandma, granny'), also in Sanskrit *tāta (*Eng. *'daddy').* It is most

obviously similar to the Iranian appellative *dād* or *dód* and hence we suppose that it is borrowed from there, rather then from Hindi. In Hindi *dādā* denotes 'father's father', whereas Bengali *dādā* means 'elder brother'. (Compare also Slav. *děda, děd* 'grandfather' and Russ. *ďaďa дядя* = 'uncle'.).

1.3.3. Some other terms are connected etymologically with the terms in NIA, e.g. *mami* ('grandmother'), *kak, kako* ('uncle, father's brother'), *bibi* ('aunt') correspond to the Hindi appellatives: *māmā, kākā, bībī* ('woman, wife') of the same meaning too.

These terms are sometimes marked as loan words (see also below) by the *loan-morph-marker*, e.g. *ňaňus* (grandfather), cf. Hindi *nānā*.

1.3.4. Also *rom* ('Rom', 'man') and *romni* ('Rom woman', 'woman') are of Indian origin. As has been mentioned many times by other authors, their 'ancestor noun' designated an Indian caste *Doma*. The two nouns in Romani are also used as terms for 'husband' and 'wife'.

2.0. The second and the largest group includes loan-words from different contact languages. These denote: 'grandfather', 'grandmother', 'grandson', 'granddaughter', as well as other relatives. It is an interesting phenomenon that Roma have forgotten their original Indic appellatives denoting 'grandfather', 'grandmother', 'grandson' etc. and *adopted* terms from contact languages. Why have Roma, as a constantly migrating people, leading nomadic life, in their *joint families*, lost these most significant appellatives?

Some of these terms are borrowed nouns from Greek, other from Rumanian, Hungarian, Slavic or other contact languages. In this paper we deal mainly with the Roma dialects in the Balkans (Arli, Gurbet, Kalderar and other Vlax dialects) as well as with the dialects in Czechia and Slovakia (Ungrika, Lovary, Servika or Slovak). In these dialects the loan terms occur as follows. Often, esp. in northern dialects (Slovak Servika, Ungrika, Vlaxika etc.) loan-words end in *-os, -as, -is, -us*. These *distinctive* morphs are neither of Romani nor of Indian origin. They **serve to mark a loan-word as a *foreign element*.** Morphs of **original** Indian/Romani provenance **serve to *'assimilate'* loan-words**, to make them similar to the Romani words by adding a NIA and Romani marker *-o* for masc. and *-i* for fem., etc. They belong to the Indian morphematic system.

The mentioned 'distinctive' morphs *-os, -us, -as, -is* are probably of Greek origin. A very interesting phenomenon is that in the Balkanic Romani dialects they occur very rarely, but are far more frequent in Hungarian, Slovak, Czech Romani and other northern groups. This fact can be explained as follows: In the vicinity of the Greek language it was clear what was Greek and what was Romani. There was no need to stress this difference by any marker. But now (in Slovak, Hungarian, Lovari and other northern Romani dialects) in the new contact environment, Greek suffixes are felt as foreign ones and thus serve as *markers* of words of foreign origin.

These borrowings are analysed here as a phenomenon, not by their distribution in the particular dialects. Our aim is to show the ability of Romani dialects to adopt different types of foreign terms of this kind.

Romani appellatives borrowed from non-Indic languages:

2.1. South Slavic: *prababa* ('grandmother'), *kumos, kumo* ('godfather'), *tetka* ('aunt'), *ujkus* ('mother's brother').

The *kumos* is from the South Slavic *kum,* which is a corrupted form of the originally Latin *commater* ('mother by baptism, spiritual mother, godmother') or *compater* ('father by baptism, spiritual father, godfather'). The word was corrupted in the Balkanic Vulgar Latin dialect and adopted in other languages as *κουμπάρος* (in Modern Greek) < compater, *кьmotrь* < commater in Pannonian and West Slavic, as well as in some South Slavic dialects (kunpar, kumpar < compater).

The *ujkus* is from South Slavic 'ujak'. Cf. with the loan term *ujcus* (read: ujtsus) from WSlav. (Slovak) 'ujec'.

The term *krestňakos* is borrowed probably from Serbian or Slovak. It means 'godchild boy' and it is derived from the verb *krstiti/krestiti* ('to baptize').

It is not clear whether the originally Romance *familija* ('family') came directly from Rumanian or if it was mediated by a Slavic language. Similarly *pristašis* ('son-in-law', living in his wife's parents' household), Slavic by origin, seems to be mediated by Rumanian.

Murš ('male'), used to denote 'a male child', is probably an amalgamated form from Slavic *muž* ('man, male') and Indic/Romani *manuš* (of the same meaning).

2.2. The following terms, mainly in the *Servika* and *Ungrika* dialects, are of **West Slavic** origin: *ujcus* ('uncle') < Slovak 'ujec, ujo' , *striko* ('uncle') < Slovak 'strýko', *teta* ('aunt') < Slovak 'teta', *sestreňica* ('cousin girl') < Slovak 'sestrenica', Czech 'sestřenice', *dvojňički* ('twins' < Slovak 'dvojčatá', colloqu. 'dvojičky' and Czech 'dvojčata', *otčimos* ('stepfather') < Slovak 'otčim', Czech 'otčím', *macocha* ('stepmother') < Slovak 'macocha', *šougoris* ('wife's/husband's brother') < Slovak 'švagor', *šougorkiňa* ('wife's/ husband's sister'), *bratňakos, bratrancos* ('male cousin') < Slovak 'bratranec', *(v)nuki* or *(v)nučata* ('grandchildren') < Slovak 'vnuk' – pl. 'vnuci', 'vnúčatá'.

Mainly Slavic vocative forms in ***-o*** of the noun 'mother': *mamo*! *(matko!, maminko*!) are borrowed, whereas in other cases the Romani *daje* is used.

2.3. Hungarian also brought some important relative terms into some Romani dialects: *bačis* ('uncle') < Hung. 'bácsi', *nena* ('aunt') < Hung. 'néni', *čalad* ('family' < Hung. 'család' < Slav. čeľaď, *fajta* ('clan, family, sort') < Hung. 'fajta'.

Also *apo!* is a Slavic-like-vocative of the borrowed appellative *apa* ('father') from Hungarian.

2.4. In our Central European Romani dialects only a few nouns of this kind have been adopted from **Greek**: *papus, papo, papici* < Gr. *παππούς* 'grandfather', *kirvo* ('godfather') < Gr. *κύριος, kirvi* ('godmother').

This is clearly a word of the Greek origin. We consider that it developed from the Greek *kyrios* only by the assimilation of ending suffix Romani/Indic *-o* instead of Greek *-os* and by *glide* of *-rio* > **ryo* > *rvo*. V. Černý in his article[8] says that it had also been mediated by an Armenian loan-word from Greek – *kiwro*

(denoting non-Armenians – Kurds, Turks etc.). He explains the development of *iw* from [y] (labial vowel [ü]) and by metathesis of the liquids [w] and [r]: *kiwro* > *kirvo.* Nevertheless Černý does not exclude that *kiwro* in Armenian may also be a loan-word mediated by Romani.

The term *papus* is taken either in its Greek form or it is assimilated by the Romani marker *-o*, e.g. *papo.*

Although the *godfather* does not belong among relatives, his social role in the traditional family, including the Roma's family, is very important. Apart from this noun borrowed from Greek, there are also other loan terms, e.g. the Latin one mediated by South Slavic, i.e. *kum,* and adopted and assimilated as *kumo(s) etc.*

2.5. From Rumanian *cumnat* ('wife's brother, husband's brother'), *cumnata* ('wife's sister, husband's sister') arose *kumnato/ kunato* and *kunata/ kumnata.*

2.6. Loan terms from Turkish also accur, e.g. *laľi* ('aunt') and *hanamiko* 'daughter-in-law's parents/relatives', which has different forms in different dialects: *anamiko, henamik, hanamik, anamiko, chenamig.* Its female counterpart *henamika* is rarer.

Some authors (e.g. Boretzky) explain the noun *xanamik* ('daughter-in-law's brother or relative') as a loan-word from Armenian *xmami,* but we consider it to be borrowed from Tur. *hanım* - 'lady' and *hanımlık*, which is derived from *hanım* and the Tur. suffix *-lık. Hanımlık* means in Turkish 'the status of a Lady, the behaviour of a Lady' and 'a Lady's or wife's relatives'. The same borrowed word *hanumluk* also occurs in some Balkan languages (Serb., Bulg., Alb.).

3.0. The third group includes words and onomastic units **coined in Romani** from different indigenous or loan-words, after the Indian model or after some contact language model.

3.1. Terms coined **in accordance with the Indian manner** of naming units:

In NIA as well as in Romani there are no special terms to express paired relative nouns like 'parents', 'brother and sister'. Romani onomastic units consist of more than one noun. They are polylexemic and strongly recall the Indian ones: *(e)daj (o) dad* ('parents', lit. 'mother and father'). The related Hindi naming units seem as follows: *mā̃-bāp* or *mātā-pitā* and Bengali ones: *mā-bābā, mātā-pitā.*

'Brothers and sisters'- *phrala-pheňa* is rather more similar to the Indian 'compound' form *bhāī-bahin* in Hindi, *bhāī-bon* in Bengali, *bhrā-bhain (p'rā - p'en)* in Panjabi etc.

Other syntagmas recalling Indian naming units: *bari phen* – 'eldest (first born) sister', *baro phral* – 'eldest (first born) brother' etc. are significant from the point of view of the traditional family life style. (Cf. Hindī *baṛā bhāī* and *baṛī bahin,* with the same signification in family relations). They suggest the importance of the elder family members and the value of interpersonal relations in the traditional societies.

---

[8] Černý, V. (1994), *Odkud kam se ubírá "kirvo"?* In: Romano džaniben, 2/94, pp. 34-37.

3.2. Many terms are coined after European models, monolexemic, as well as polylexemic or syntagmatic, naming units. They are calques or translated loan-words from the contact languages.

The syntagmas *dujto phral, aver phral, dujevlastengero phral* ('cousin, uncle's brother') and *dujto phen, aver phen, dujevlastengeri phen* are coined perhaps after some Slavic model, cf. Russ. 'dvojurodnyj brat' (*двоюродный брат)* and 'dvojurodnaja sestra' (*двоюродная сестра),* where the relation is defined by the attribute 'other', or 'not direct' (related to 'brother' or 'sister').

In the same manner 'stepfather' and 'stepmother' in Servika and Ungrika Romani are named: *moštovno*[9] *dad* and *moštovno daj* ('present/current father and/or mother'), after Hung. *most* [read *mošt*] – 'now, nowadays' + adjectivizer suffix *-ovno* (< Slav. *-ovn-* + Romani *-o*) + Rom. *dad, daj.* Other synonymous designations of 'godfather' and 'godmother' are syntagmas (*krestno dad/daj*) of the Slavic origin: Slav. *krest* ('baptism') + Slav.-Rom. *-no* + Rom. *dad, daj.*

Dead parents are designated as *čoro/nebošťičko dad/daj* < Rom. *čoro* ('poor') or Slovak and Czech *nebožtík* ('deceased person') + Rom. *dad/daj.*

Adjective *terno*[10] (lit. 'young male') and *terňi* (lit. 'young female') are used as Romani terms denoting 'bride' and 'bridegroom'. They seem to be calqued after the related terms in some Balkan languages, e.g. in Serb. we have also *mlada* ('young female') as a term for 'bride'.

The term *terňi bori* is very interesting. We can consider it to be coined according to the Slavonic and Balkan term denoting the 'young daughter-in-law', but the status of young wife (several months or even years in the new home) is similar in Indian society, as well as in every traditional society.

3.3. Other onomastic units are also formed syntagmatically, i.e. from the basic relative terms with certain attributes, which determine them:

- *Phuri baba* ('great grandmother'), *phuro papus, phuro bapus* ('great grandfather') < Rom. 'old' + Slav. 'grandmother'/'grandfather'.
- *Cikne/ churde*[11] *čhave* ('little children') < Rom. 'small, little/tiny' + Rom. 'children'.

These attributes are often possessive adjectives, or rather the genitive case of the 'relative' terms: *čhavengere čhave* ('grandchildren'), *le čhaskero čhavo* ('son's son'), *le čhaskeri čhaj* ('son's daughter'), *la čhakero čhavo* ('daughter's son'), *la čhakeri čhaj* ('daughter's daughter'), *romnjako phral* ('wife's brother'), *pejako čhavo/raklo* ('sister's son/boy'), *pejaći čhej/rakli* ('sister's daughter', sister's girl').[12]

- Morphologically, and after non-Indian manner are formed the naming units *prapapus* and *dujore.*

---

[9] *Moštovno* is not from Hung. *második* ('other, second'), but just from *most* ('now').

[10] The adj. *terno* corresponds to Sanskrit adj. *taruṇa* ('young').

[11] Cf. Skt. *kṣudra* – 'little, tiny'.

[12] The last three units are from Romani dialects in the Balkans, the others are from Servika, i.e. from the Slovak Romani.

Prapapus is a combination of morphemes, genetically different – Slav. *pra-* ('before') + Gk. *papus* ('grandfather'). The term *dujore* (pl. of the number *duj* – 'two'), expressing 'twins', seems to be calqued after Slovak 'dvojičky' ('twins').

4. CONCLUSION

The Romani onomastic units are based on the following historical layers and linguistic principles of development:

1. There are inherited terms from the Indian stage, slightly modified in Romani (*phen, džamutro* etc.)
2. Generated terms from IA (MIA) by semantic shift and specialization: *rom, romni, gadžo, gadži, raklo, čhavo* etc.
3. Borrowed terms from contact languages, either entirely adopted by assimilative markers (e.g. suffix *-o* m.sg.) or adopted with marking of their foreign origin – by *distinction markers* – e.g. Gk. suffix *-os, -is* etc.).
4. Coined onomastic units in Romani after models of its own (and Indian) onomastic units, or after contact language models.
5. Even in a single dialect we find many synonymous expressions denoting the same individuals within the family system. Often one of them may be 'pure' Romani and the other *borrowed* or *calqued syntagma*. We cannot say that the Romani terminology is a poor one. If the source of terms is not Indic, then there are plenty of loan-words. The Romani lexicon and onomasiologic system seems to be very flexible and productive one. This fact indicates to what extent it is a typical *contact* language.

REFERENCES

BÖHTLINGK, Otto und ROTH, Rudolph (1855-1875), *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Zweiter Theil, St. Petersburg.

BORETZKY, Norbert/IGLA, Birgit (1994), *Wörterbuch Romani-Deutsch-English für den südosteuropäischen Raum*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

CALVET, Georges (1993), *Dictionnaire Tsigane-Français, dialect kalderash,* L'Asiathèque, Paris.

ČERNÝ, Václav (1994), *Odkud kam se ubírá "kirvo"?* In: Romano džaniben 2/94, pp. 34-37.

HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, Milena (1996), *Šaj pes dovakeres*, Můžeme se domluvit, Vydavatelstvo Univerzity Palackého, Olomouc.

KOSTIĆ, Svetislav (1996), *Původ romských příbuzenských terminů.* In: Romano džaniben 1-2/ 1996, pp. 83-87.

PETROVSKI, Trajko (1986), *Nekrvnoto srodstvo kaj Romite v SR Makedonija.* In: Makedonski folklor 38/1986, pp. 177-182.

TURNER, R. (1966), *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages,* London.

UHLIK, Rade (1947), *Srpskohrvatsko-ciganski rečnik (Romane alava)*, Sarajevo.

UHLIK, Rade (1983), *Srpskohrvatsko-romsko-engleski rečnik, Romengo alavari,* Svjetlost, Sarajevo.

Abbreviations

Alb.	Albanian	**m(asc.)**	masculine gender
ai.	altindisch	**mi.**	mittelindisch
Bulg.	Bulgarian	**MIA**	Middle Indo-Aryan
Eng.	English	**NIA**	New Indo-Aryan
f(em.)	feminine gender	**OIE**	Old Indo-Aryan
Gk.	Greek	**OSlav.**	Old Slavic
Germ.	German	**PIE**	Proto Indo-European
Hung.	Hungarian	**Rom.**	Romani
IA	Indo-Aryan	**Russ.**	Russian
IE	Indo-European	**Serb.**	Serbian
Lat.	Latin	**Skt. (sa.)**	Sanskrit
Lith.	Lithuanian	**Slav.**	Slavic
Lot.	Latvian	**Tur.**	Turkish

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, *6*, 1997, 1, 21-44

EROTIC IMAGERY IN CLASSICAL ARABIC POETRY

Ladislav DROZDÍK
Institute of Oriental and African Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences,
Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia

Woman's charm is an everlasting source of poetic inspiration. With the unlimited variety of its manifestations, it is a challenge to the pagan poet of the Arabian desert, as it is to the author of refined mystical odes. The small collection of terms, belonging to the lexical stock of erotic imagery, draws on exactly these two poles of the Arabic classical poetry.

> *Whenever there emerged a poet in an Arab tribe, other tribes would come to congratulate, feasts would be prepared, the women would join together playing on lutes as they do at weddings, and old and young men would all rejoice at the good news.* [1]
>
> *
>
> *Poetry is the archive of the Arabs; in it their genealogies have been preserved; through it we can learn the glorious deeds of the past; with it we learn the Arabic language. It sheds clarity on the darkest and strangest things found in the Book of God and in the tradition of God's apostle and that of His companions and successors.* [2]

1. As widely known, classical Arabic poetry is dominated by convention. The overwhelming power of convention seems to threaten the very creative essence of what is usually understood as love poetry. Within the broad outlines of convention even the classical love poetry underwent many changes, but one essential feature always remained the same – its impersonal anonymity. One has to be very much on one's guard in applying Western concepts to Arabic literary phenomena. When identifying the Arabic love poetry with lyrics, for instance, one has simultaneously to admit that this lyricism has no recognizable trace of the poet's inner self. The creative interplay between convention and the poet never assumes the form of a revolt against the imposed patterns, it is rather a search for excellence within their

[1] Ibn Rašīq (d. 1070), *ʿUmda*, quoted by as-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *Muzhir*, vol. ii, Cairo 1958: 473. The English translation is that of Cantarino (1975: 23).

[2] Ibn Fāris (d. 1005), *Fiqh al-luġa*, quoted ibid.: 470. For the English translation see ibid.: 26.

limits. The Western image of the poet as a creative subject with a deep emotional experience finds no parallel in classical Arabic poetry. As elaborate as it may ever be, it rarely goes beyond the limits of impersonal craftsmanship. The archaic Arabic *qaṣīda,* in Ahlwardt's terms, is a product of "descriptive lyricism" (*beschreibende Lyrik*: Bräunlich 1937:244, in: Enderwitz 1955:4, n. 6). The impersonal ring of the archaic Arabic poetry may produce, on the part of an unacquainted reader/hearer, a disturbing impression of monotony. Stetkevych perceives this phenomenon as a problem of the poet's self that "becomes, in effect, a fallacious "I" which outside of a specific form would have no existence. Its burdensome presence "by definition" becomes oppressive and monotonous. One soon realizes that it is not the monorhyme or the absence of stanza-determined relief space between verses or verse groups which produces monotony in Arabic poetry: it is the predictable, unreal "I" which pervades Arabic lyricism. It is the categorical elimination of experience – precisely of the subjective lyrical experience – through an *a priori* constrainment of the poet's presence into a formal conceit." (Stetkevych 1975:57-77, in: Enderwitz: ibid.).

Much the same holds true of the sophisticated poetry of the great Arab mystics who use erotic images to express their spiritual messages. These undergo the same or nearly the same convention-imposed constraints as those of the nomadic poets of the Arabian desert.

The proper aim of this paper is to present a selection of the frequently recurring lexical means used to visualize woman's beauty and alluring charm within the limits of the Arabic poetic tradition. As already hinted at, two types of convention-dominated poetry will be taken into account:

(1) The orally transmitted archaic (or pre-Islamic) poetry, i.e. the production of the first known generation of the Arab desert poets from roughly the sixth century A.D., as preserved in the famous eighth-century collection *al-Muᶜallaqāt.* Five poets, selected from this collection, are: Imru'u l-Qays (IQ), Ṭarafa (Ṭ), Zuhayr (Z), Labīd (L), and ᶜAntara (ᶜA). The poetic samples will be presented in the system of writing adopted by Bateson (1970) and they will be followed by a literal word-for-word translation, due to the same author. The verses quoted will be marked by the symbol referring to the poet's name, as given above, and the serial number of the verse in accordance with the numbering of Arnold (1850), substantially identical with that of Bateson.

The erotic prelude (*nasīb*), the inseparable introductory part of any archaic *qaṣīda*, is of quite specific relevance to the subject of this paper.[3] The *leitmotiv* of a traditional *nasīb* is always the same: a nomadic tribe, constantly moving, is departing in search of new pastures, together with the poet's beloved; the reminiscence of the lost mistress, real or imaginary, is usually associated with a nostalgic description of the deserted encampment that was, many years ago, the tacit witness of their love.

(2) The samples drawn from archaic poetry will be accompanied with parallels found in another famous piece of classical Arabic poetry, *Targumān al-*

[3] For a formal and semantic analysis of *nasīb*, see Lichtenstädter (1932).

'ašwāq ("Interpreter of Desires"), by Muḥyiddīn Ibn al-ᶜArabī (1165-1240 A.D.), one of the greatest Arab mystics. This collection of poems, written sometimes between 1202 and 1215 A.D., does not cease to be subject of controversial interpretations: love poems in a mystical disguise or true spiritual odes merely using erotic imagery? Most of the poems in this collection are composed on the mold of the archaic *nasīb*. The samples quoted may be identified by two numbers separated from each other by a colon. The first refers to the serial number of the poem in the Nicholson's edition of the collection (1911), the second to that of the verse within this poem. The quotations will be transcribed in the way adopted for the former set.

2. The units collected will be subdivided into two formally different, semantically close and relatively permeable main classes:

(1) terms referring to the poet's mistress (PM), and

(2) those related to her lady-companions (LC) or, more generally, to the tribe's beauties, inclusively of the poet's beloved, in some contexts, or without her, in some others. An unambiguous distinction between the last two subsets is mostly impossible.

Poetic attributes, related to the PM, i.e. attributes with individual, one-person reference, are formally signalled by singular forms and, in phrasal structures, also by a singular concord. Non-singular units may sometimes occur in contexts referring to several mistresses of the poet-lover, irrespective of whether simultaneously existing or successively emerging, as e.g. in the case of the following dual reference: (*'umm alḥuwayriṯ & 'umm arrabāb*) *'iḏā qāmatā taḍawwaᶜa lmisku minhumā:* ('Umm al-Ḥuwayriṯ & 'Umm ar-Rabāb) when they (two) arose musk diffused-itself from them (IQ:7-8).[4]

The LC-related attributes may formally be identified, in most contexts, by non-singular forms and concords.

2.1. The lexical material collected includes terms – single words or words with their amplificatory items – of very various types and phrasal structures:

- terms referring to the PM/LC as their identity markers, such as *ḥabīb:* beloved (IQ:1), for PM, or *'aḏārā:* maidens (IQ:11), for LC, irrespective of whether used figuratively or not; [5]
- variously structured PM/LC-related attributes (modifiers in head-modifier phrases, nominal predicates /following, typically, elided subjects/, *ḥāl*-type circumstantial modifiers, etc., as in *ẓaby mubarqaᶜ:* veiled gazelle (11:11) or *niswa ᶜaṭirāt:* perfumed women (7:7);

---

[4] Bateson's unorthographic hyphenation, marking the Arabic-English word-for-word correspondences, will be maintained in her verse translations, but not in our entry-signalling key-words.

[5] Figurative terms, such as *'aḥwā* : dark (-lipped gazelle) (Ṭ:6), for PM, or *ṭawāwīs* : peacocks (2:1-2), for LC, will be listed together with nonfigurative units within the same class of terms. This way of presenting figurative terms has been adopted for the whole lexical corpus collected.

- attributes conveyed in terms of body features, gestures, hints, states of mind, as well as any other manifestations of the beloved's charm and its impact on her lover, as in *tarā'ibuhā maṣqūlatun kassanğanğali:* her breasts were polished like the silver-mirror (IQ:31), or in terms derived from the sun-smile simile in *tašruqu ššamsu 'iḏā btasamat:* the sun rises when she smiles (30:23);
- attributes that may be deduced from the emotively significant PM/LC's activities, gestures, attitudes, etc. and their impact on the poet-lover, as in (*ḥisān:* beauties) *fātikatun biṭarafī 'aḥwara:* murdering with their black eyes (22:4), or even the (30:23) verse quoted above.

All the terms collected will be introduced by pausally written Arabic key-words, arranged on a word (not root) basis, according to the Latin alphabet order. Diacritical marks, in the Romanized transcription of the Arabic terms, will not influence the alphabetic order. [6]

3. PM-related terms in *al-Muᶜallaqāt* (6th century A.D.):

'aḥwā: dark (-lipped gazelle) – *wafī lḥayyi 'aḥwā yanfuḍu lmarda šādinun * muẓāhiru simṭay lu'lu'in wazabarğadi:* and in the tribe is a dark (-lipped gazelle) who shakes-down the arak-fruit, well grown, showing (two) necklaces of pearl and topaz (Ṭ:6);

'almā: blackened (gums /of a gazelle/) – *watabsimu ᶜan 'almā ka'anna munawwiran * taḥallala ḥurra rramli diᶜṣun lahu nadi:* and she smiles from blackened (gums) as-though her smile were a blossoming (flower) which appears amidst the sand, a hillock which has moisture (Ṭ:8);

'asīl: smooth (face) – *taṣuddu watubdī ᶜan 'asīlin watattaqī * bināẓiratin min waḥši wağrata muṭfili:* she turns-away and uncovers a smooth (face) and guards-herself with a glance from an antelope of Wağra with-young (IQ:33);

ᶜawāriḍ / ᶜawāriḍuhā: her side-teeth – *waka'anna fārata tāğirin biqasīmatin * sabaqat ᶜawāriḍahā 'ilayka mina lfami ḳ* it is as-though the musk-bag of a merchant in a perfume-container preceded her side-teeth to you from the mouth (ᶜA:14);

ᶜayn / ᶜaynāki: your eyes – *wamā ḏarafat ᶜaynāki 'illā litaḍribī * bisahmayki fī 'ašᶜāri qalbin muqattali:* for your eyes did not flow except so you (could) sport with your (two) arrows in the ten-fragments of a slain heart (IQ:22);

bayḍa / bayḍatu ḫidrin: egg of a curtained chamber – *wabayḍati ḫidrin lā yurāmu ḫibā'uhā * tamattaᶜtu min lahwin bihā ġayra muᶜğali:* and-many-an egg

---

[6] In order to avoid too atomized presentation of the Romanized sequences, the alphabetic arrangement adopted will assume the following picture (alphabetic symbols, merging together, are enclosed in brackets as hyphen-linked sequences): *a, b, (d-ḍ-ḏ), f, (ġ-ğ), (h-ḥ-ḫ), i, k, l, m, n, q, r, (s-ṣ-š), (t-ṭ-ṯ), u, w, y, (z-ẓ).* Further, the symbols for *hamza*, i.e. glottal stop (') , and *ᶜayn*, i.e. pharyngeal fricative (ᶜ) , will not influence the alphabetic order. The same holds for the prothetic *(i)*. In order to facilitate the identification of the subject, the verbal key-words will be presented in their person-, gender- and number-related forms.

of a curtained-chamber, whose tenting is not dared, I have enjoyed some dalliance with her, not rushed (IQ:23);

bikr: virgin; pearl /first-born of the depths/ – *kabikri lmuqānāti lbayāḍi biṣufratin * ġaḏāhā namīru lmā'i ġayru lmuḥallali* – (her body is) like the pale first-born of the depths, (mingled) with yellowness, whom the unsullied (part) of the water, not camped-at, nurtured (IQ:32);

farᶜ: lock (of hair) – *wafarᶜin yazīnu lmatna 'aswada fāḥimin * 'aṯīṯin kaqinwi nnaḥlati lmutaᶜaṯkili:* and a lock which decks the back, jet black-hair, luxuriant as the clustered bunch-of-dates of the date-palm (IQ:35);

fawd / fawdā ra'sihā: (two) tresses of her head – *haṣartu bifawday ra'sihā fatamāyalat *ᶜalayya haḍīma lkašḥi rayyā lmuḥalḥali:* I pulled at the (two) tresses of her head and she swayed above me, slender flanked and fleshy of the ankleted (place) (IQ:30);

ġadā'ir / ġadā'iruhā: her plaits – *ġadā'iruhā mustašzirātun 'ilā lᶜulā * taḍillu lᶜiqāṣu fī muṯannan wamursali:* her plaits are twisted-withershins to the top (of her head), the red-ties stray in a doubled-back and a loosed (portion) (IQ:36);

ğanan: fruits (saliva) – *faqultu lahā sīrī wa'arḫī zimāmahu * walā tubᶜidīnī min ğanāki lmuᶜallali:* then I said to her, "Travel-on and loosen his /your camel's/ nose-rein and don't banish me from your twice-tasted saliva..." (IQ:15);

ğīd: neck – *wağīdin kağīdi rri'mi laysa bifāḥišin * 'iḏā hiya naṣṣathu walā bimuᶜaṭṭali:* and a neck like the neck of the white-antelope, without grossness when she displays it, nor unornamented (IQ:34);

ġurūb: sharp teeth */ ḏū ġurūbin:* mouth with sharp teeth – *'iḏ tastabīka biḏī ġurūbin wāḍiḥin * ᶜaḏbin muqabbaluhu laḏīḏi lmaṭᶜami:* when she captivates you with a shining mouth possessing sharp-teeth, whose kiss is sweet, pleasant of taste (ᶜA:13);

ḥabīb: beloved – *qifā nabki min ḏikrā ḥabībin wamanzili * bisiqṭi lliwā bayna ddaḫūli faḥawmali:* halt (you two) and let us weep for the memory of the beloved and an abode at the edge of the dune's winding, between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal (IQ:1);

ḥublā: pregnant (woman) – *famiṯliki ḥublā qad ṭaraqtu wamurḍiᶜin * fa'alhaytuhā ᶜan ḏī tamā'ima muḥwili:* and-many-a pregnant (women) like you have I night-visited, and many a nursing (mother), and diverted her from a one-year-old with amulets; *'iḏā mā bakā min ḫalfihā nṣarafat lahu * bišiqqin wataḥtī šiqquhā lam yuḥawwali:* when he cried from behind her, she turned-away to him with a half, and under me, half of her was not turned (IQ:16-17);

kašḥ: waist – *wakašḥin laṭīfin kalğadīli muḫaṣṣarin * wasāqin ka'anbūbi ssaqiyyi lmuḏallali:* and a delicate waist, like the leather-thong, slender, and a leg, like the stalk of the overshadowed waterplant (IQ:37);

liṯāt: gums (of a gazelle) – *saqathu 'iyātu ššamsi 'illā liṯātihi * 'usiffa walam takdim ᶜalayhi bi'iṯmidi:* (a mouth) which the rays of the sun have drenched, except for its gum, which has been smeared, while she does not bite on it, with antimony (Ṭ:9);

manāra / manāratu mumsan: lamp of a night-cell – *tuḍī'u ẓẓalāma bilᶜišā'i ka'annahā *manāratu mumsā rāhibin mutabattili:* she illuminates the darkness at

dusk, as-though she were the lamp of the night-cell of a monk, dedicating-himself (IQ:40);

muhafhafa: slender – *muhafhafatun bayḍā'u ġayru mufāḍatin * tarā'ibuhā maṣqūlatun kassağanğali:* a luminous, slender (body), not buxom, her breasts were polished like the silver-mirror (IQ:31);

na'ūm / na'ūmu ḍḍuḥā: slumberer of the forenoon *watuḍḥī fatītu lmiski fawqa firāšihā *na'ūmu ḍḍuḥā lam tantaṭiq ᶜan tafaḍḍuli:* when she wakes-in-the-forenoon, crumbs of musk are over her bedding; a slumberer of the forenoon, she did not gird-herself rather-than wearing-a-single-garment (IQ:38);

raḫṣ: tender (hand) – *wataᶜṭū biraḫṣin ġayri šaṯnin ka'annahu * 'asārīᶜu ẓabyin 'aw masāwīku 'iṯili:* and she takes (her due) with a tender (hand), not calloused, as-though it were red headed-worms of Ẓaby, or tooth-sticks of tamarisk-wood (IQ:39);

rawḍa: watery meadow (her mouth) – *'aw rawḍatan 'unufan taḍammana nabtahā * ġayṯun qalīlu ddimni laysa bimaᶜlami:* (her mouth is like the musk-bag) or a watery-meadow, untrodden, whose plants a rain guarantees, (a rain-meadow) scant of dung, not a marked place (i.e. untrodden) (ᶜA:15);

waǧh: face – *wawağhun ka'anna ššamsa ḥallat ridā'ahā * ᶜalayhi naqiyyu llawni lam yataḥaddadi:* and (she has) a face, as-though the sun had loosed its mantle on it, clear of colour, not wrinkled (Ṭ:10).

3.1. Other terms of relevance, co-occurring with the key-words, in the textual samples quoted (alphabetically arranged):

ᶜaḏb: sweet (kiss) > *ġurūb* (ᶜA:13); *'anbūb:* stalk (of an overshadowed waterplant:leg) > *kašḥ* (IQ:37); *'alhaytuhā:* I diverted her (from her baby) > *ḥublā* (IQ:16-17); *'arḫī /zimāmahu/*: loosen his (your camel's) /nose-rein/ > *ğanan* (IQ:15); *'asārīᶜ:* red-headed worms (her hand is unlike) > *raḫṣ* (IQ:39); *'aswad / 'aswad u fāḥimun:* jet-black (hair) > *farᶜ* (IQ:35); *'aṯīṯ:* luxuriant (hair) > *farᶜ* (IQ:35); *bayḍā'*: white; luminous (body) > *muhafhafa* (IQ:31); *ḏarafat / wamā ḏarafat ᶜaynāki:* your eyes did not flow > *ᶜayn* (IQ:22); *ḏikrā / ḥabībin:* the memory (of a beloved) > *ḥabīb* (IQ:1); *diᶜs (lahu nadi):* a hillock which has moisture (smile of a gazelle) > *'almā* (Ṭ:8); *ḏū ġurūbin:* mouth with sharp teeth > *ġurūb* (ᶜA:13); *fāḥim:* jet-black (hair) > *farᶜ* (IQ:35); *fam:* mouth > *ᶜawāriḍ* (ᶜA:14); *fāḥiš /laysa bifāḥišin:* without grossness (neck of a white antelope) > *ğīd* (IQ:34); fāra: musk-bag > *ᶜawāriḍ* (ᶜA:14); *fatīt / fatītu lmiski:* crumbs of misk > *na'ūm* (IQ:38); *firāš / firāšuhā:* her bedding > *na'ūm* (IQ:38); *ğadīl:* plait, tresse; leather-thong (waist) > *kašḥ* (IQ:37); *haḍīm:* slender (flank) > *fawd* (IQ:30); *ḫibā' / ḫibā'uhā:* her tent > *bayḍa* (IQ:23); *inṣarafat /lahu:* she turned away /to him (to her baby) > *ḥublā* (IQ:16-17); *ᶜiqāṣ:* red ties > *ġadā'ir* (IQ:36); *'išā':* evening, evening dusk > *manāra* (IQ:40); *'iṯil / masāwīku 'iṯilin:* toothsticks of tamarisk-wood (her hand is unlike) > *raḫṣ* (IQ:39); *'iṯmid:* antimony > *liṯāt* (Ṭ:9); *'iyāt / 'iyātu ššamsi:* rays of the sun > *liṯāt* (Ṭ:9); *kašḥ / haḍīmu lkašhi:* slender-flanked > *fawd* (IQ:30); *lahw:* dalliance > *bayḍa* (IQ:23); *laṭīf:* delicate (waist) > *kašḥ* (IQ:37); *lu'lu':* pearls > 'aḥwā (Ṭ:6); *masāwīk:* toothsticks > *raḫṣ* (IQ:39); *maṣqūla:* polished (her breasts); *maṭᶜam / laḏīḏu lmaṭᶜami:* pleasant of taste (kiss) > *ġurūb* (ᶜA:13); *matn:* the back > *farᶜ*

(IQ:35); *misk / fatītu lmiski:* crumbs of musk > *na'ūm* (IQ:38); *muᶜallal:* twice-tasted (saliva) > *ǧanan* (IQ:15); *mufāḍa / ġayru mufāḍatin:* not buxom > *muhafhafa* (IQ:31); *muᶜaṭṭal / ġayru muᶜaṭṭali(n):* not unornamented (neck of a white antelope) > *ǧīd* (IQ:34); *muᶜǧal /ġayru muᶜǧalin (lahw):* not rushed (dalliance) > *bayḍa* (IQ:23); *muḫalḫal:* ankle (adorned with an anklet */ḫalhāl/) > fawd* (IQ:30); *muḫaṣṣar:* slender (waist) > *kašḥ* (IQ:37); *muḫwil:* one-year-old (baby) > *ḥublā* (IQ:16-17); *mumsan:* night-cell (of a monk) > *manāra* (IQ:40); *munawwir:* blossoming (flower) – (smile of a gazelle) > *'almā* (Ṭ:8); *muqabbal:* part of the body kissed, kiss > *ġurūb* (ᶜA:13); *muqattal / qalb:* slain / heart > *ᶜayn* (IQ:22); *murḍiᶜ:* nursing (mother) > *ḥublā* (IQ:16-17); *mustašzirāt:* twisted withershins (her plaits) > *ġadā'ir* (IQ:36); *muṭfil:* having a young (*waḥš:* antelope) > *'asīl* (IQ:33); *nadan (nady / nadi):* moisture > *'almā* (Ṭ:8); *naḫla:* date-palm > *farᶜ* (IQ:35); *naṣṣat:* she displays (her neck*:* white antelope) > (IQ:34); *nāẓira:* glance, look (of an antelope) > *'asīl* (IQ:33); *qalb:* heart > *ᶜayn* (IQ:22); *qasīma:* perfume-container > *ᶜawāriḍ* (ᶜA:14); *qifā / nabki:* halt (you two) /and let us weep > *ḥabīb* (IQ:1); *qinw:* bunch of dates (her hair) > *farᶜ* (IQ:35); *rāhib:* monk > *manāra* (IQ:40); *rayyā:* abundant, rich; fleshy (her ankle) > *fawd* (IQ30); *ri'm:* white antelope > *ǧīd* (IQ:34); *šādin:* well-grown (gazelle) > *'aḥwā* (Ṭ:6); *sağanğal:* silver-mirror > *muhafhafa* (IQ:31); *sahm / bisahmayki:* with your (two) arrows > *ᶜayn* (IQ:22); *sāq:* leg > *kašḥ* (IQ:37); *saqat / saqathu 'iyātu ššamsi:* (a mouth) drenched by the rays of the sun > *liṯāt* (Ṭ:9); *saqiyy:* rain-cloud, waterplant > *kašḥ* (IQ:37); *simṭ:* necklace / *simṭā lu'lu'in wazabağadi:* (two) necklaces of pearl and topaz > *'aḥwā* (Ṭ:6); *šiqq / šiqquhā:* half of her (nursing mother) > *ḥublā* (IQ:16-17); *ṣīrī:* travel on > *ǧanan* (IQ:15); *tabsimu:* she smiles (gazelle) > *'almā* (Ṭ:8); *taḍribī(na) (bisahmayki):* you sport (shoot) with your (two) arrows > *ᶜayn* (IQ:22); *tamā'im:* amulets / *ḏū tamā'ima:* protected by amulets (baby) > *ḥublā* (IQ:16-17); *tamāyalat ᶜalayya:* she swayed above me > *fawd* (IQ:30); *tantaṭiq / lam ~ ᶜan tafaḍḍuli:* she did not wear (gird herself with) but a single garment > *na'ūm* (IQ:38); *tarā'ibuhā:* her breasts > *muhafhafa* (IQ:31); *ṭaraqtu / qad ~:* I visited by night (a pregnant woman) > *ḥublā* (IQ:16-17); *tastabīka / ('iḏ) ~:* (when) she captivates you > *ġurūb* (ᶜA:13); *tubᶜidīnī / walā ~:* don't banish me > *ǧanan* (IQ:15); *tuḍḥī:* she wakes in the forenoon > *na'ūm* (IQ:38); *'usiffa / ~ bi'iṯmidi:* (gum*:* of a gazelle) has been smeared with antimony > *liṯāt* (Ṭ:9); *wāḍiḥ:* shining (mouth) > *ġurūb* (ᶜA:13); *waḥš:* antelope > *'asīl* (IQ:33); *yazīnu:* (a lock of hair) adorns (her back) > *farᶜ* (IQ:35); *zabarǧad:* topaz > *'aḥwā* (T:6); *ẓalām:* darkness > *manāra* (IQ:40); *zimām:* nose-rein > *ǧanan* (IQ:15); *yazīnu:* (a lock of hair) adorns her back > *farᶜ* (IQ:35); *yuḥawwili / lam ~:* (another half of her) did not turn away > *ḥublā* (IQ:16-17).

4. LC-related terms in *al-Muᶜallaqāt:*

ᶜaḏārā: maidens (playing catch) – *wayawma ᶜaqartu lil'aḏārā maṭiyyatī * fayā ᶜağaban min kūrihā lmutaḥammali:* and the day I hamstrung my mount for the maidens – oh, wonder of its trappings (to be loaded)! *faẓalla lᶜaḏārā yartamīna bilaḥmihā * wašaḥmin kahuddābi ddimaqsi lmufattali:* so the maidens spent-

the-day playing-catch with its meat and fat like the fringes of twisted white-silk (IQ:11-12);

'aǧzāᶜ / 'aǧzāᶜu bīšata: windings of Bīsha – (*ẓuᶜnu lḥayyi:* litter-borne women of the tribe) – *ḥuzifat wazāyalahā ssarābu ka'annahā * 'aǧzāᶜu bīšata 'aṯluhā wariḍāmuhā:* they were pressed-on, and the midday-mirage quit them, as-though they were windings of Bīša (Valley), its tamarisks and basalt-blocks (L:15);

dall: coquetry – (*ẓaᶜā'in:* litter-borne women) *wawarrakna fī ssūbāni yaᶜlūna matnahu * ᶜalayhinna dallu nnāᶜimi lmutanaᶜᶜimi:* and they swerved in al-Sūbān, mounting to the top of it, (with) on them the coquetry of the easy-liver enjoying life (Z:10);

malhan: playground – *wafīhinna malhan lillaṭīfi wamanẓarun * 'anīqun liᶜayni nnāẓiri lmutawassimi:* while among them was a playground for the refined (man) and a pretty view to the eye of the discriminating viewer (Z:12);

niᶜāǧ / niᶜāǧu tūḍiḥa: the ewes of Tūḍiḥ – *zuǧalan ka'anna niᶜāǧa tūḍiḥa fawqahā * waẓibā'a wağrata ᶜuṭṭafan 'ar'āmuhā:* (they travelled) in groups, as-though the ewes of Tūḍiḥ were on them (i.e. the litters) and the gazelles of Waǧra, their antelopes bending-over (L:14);

ẓaᶜā'in: litter-borne women – *tabaṣṣar ḫalīlī hal tarā min ẓaᶜā'inin * taḥammalna bilᶜalyā'i min fawqi ǧurṯumi:* look, my friend, do you see some litter-borne-women, going-off in the heights above Jurthum? (Z:7);

ẓuᶜn / ẓuᶜnu lḥayyi: litter-borne women of the tribe – *šāqatka ẓuᶜnu lḥayyi ḥīna taḥammalū * fatakannasū quṭnan taṣirru ḫiyāmuhā:* the litter-borne-women of the tribe excited you when they loaded-up and then withdrew-under the cotton (cover) whose tents creaked (L:12).

4.1. Other LC-related terms in the § 4 – samples:

ᶜanīq / manẓarun ᶜanīqun: pretty view (at the travelling women) > *malhan* (Z:10); *ᶜaqartu / maṭiyyatī:* I hamstrung (my mount) > *ᶜaḏārā* (IQ:11-12); *ᶜaṯl / ᶜaṯluhā:* its (Bīsha-Valley's) tamarisks > *'aǧzāᶜ* (L:15); *ḫiyām / ḫiyāmuhā:* their (litter-borne-women's) tents > *zuᶜn* (L:12); *ḥuzifat:* they (women) were pressed on (parting away) > *'aǧẓāᶜ* (L:15); *laḥm / laḥmuhā:* its (their companion's hamstrung mount's) meat > *'aḏārā* (IQ:11-12); *laṭīf:* refined (man) > *malhan* (Z:12); *manẓar / manẓarun laṭīfun:* pretty view (at the travelling women) > *malhan* (Z:10); *maṭiyya:* mount, riding animal > *ᶜaḏārā* (IQ: 11—12); *mutawassim / annāẓiru lmutawassimu:* discriminating (viewer) > *malhan* (Z:12); *nāẓir:* viewer > *malhan* (Z:12); *riḍām / riḍāmuhā:* its (Bīsha Valley's) basalt-blocks > *'aǧzāᶜ* (L:15); *šāqat / šāqatka:* they (litter-borne-women) excited you > *ẓuᶜn* (L:12); *šaḥm:* fat (of the lover's hamstrung mount) > *ᶜaḏārā* (IQ:11-12); *sarāb:* mirage > *'aǧzāᶜ* (L:15); *taḥammalna:* they (litter-borne women) departed > *ẓaᶜā'in* (Z:7); *taḥammalū:* they (women) loaded up (before departing) > *ẓuᶜn* (L:12); *takannasū / ~ quṭnan:* they (women) withdrew under the cotton (cover) > *ẓuᶜn* (L:12); *taṣirru* / they (tents) creaked > *ẓuᶜn* (L:12); *ᶜuṭṭaf / ᶜuṭṭafan:* (their antelopes) bending over > *niᶜāǧ* (L:14); *yartamūna / ~ bilaḥmihā:* (maidens spent the day) playing catch with its meat (of their companion's / lover's slaughtered mount) > *ᶜaḏārā* (IQ:11-12); *ẓibā' / ẓibā'u waǧrata:* gazelles of Waǧra > *niᶜāǧ* (L:14); *zuǧal / zuǧalan:* (they /women/ travelled) in groups > *niᶜāǧ* (L:14).

5. As against the pre-Islamic poetry, more or less rigidly observing line boundaries in creating each line-verse as an autonomous functional unit, Ibn al-ᶜArabī's ode *Tarğumān al-'ašwāq*, even if substantially observing basic principles of the archaic poetry, by far more frequently transcends this one-line constraint. In order to prevent the loss of information that might result from a too atomized presentation of poetic samples, a greater number of them will be quoted in several-verse groupings than was done in the previous section.

Tarğumān al-'ašwāq is a relatively small collection of poems (61 poems with a total of 586 verses). Nevertheless, the whole textual corpus, composed in the tradition of the archaic *nasīb*, is relevant from the point of view of erotic imagery. In contradistinction to the pagan poetry, *Tarğumān al-'ašwāq* makes use of symbols derived from Islamic rites and institutionalized manifestations of the way of life in Islam. The poet's beloved may take the form of "a moon that appeared in the circumambulation" – *qamarun taᶜarraḍa fī ṭṭawāfi* (29:22) or may appear as "a veiled gazelle" – *ẓaby mubarqaᶜ* (11:11). In spite of the spiritual reinterpretation of these images, provided by the author himself,[7] the veil is presented as a protection of the lover from his beloved's "terrible beauty" – *ğamāl 'arwaᶜ* (28:18), "killing magic" – *siḥr qatūl* (22:8) or "murderous glances" – *laḥz fātik* (59:22).

Christianity and Judaism have also left some traces in the poetry of Ibn al-ᶜArabī. Some of them may even be perceived as blasphemous, at first sight, as e.g. the peacock (poet's mistress) – Jesus simile in: *yuḥyī 'iḏā qatalat billaḥẓi manṭiquhā * ka'annahā ᶜindamā yuḥyī bihi ᶜīsā:* when she kills with her glances, her speech restores to life, as tho' she, in giving life thereby, were Jesus (2:4), or the beloved's leg compared to Torah and the poet-lover himself to Moses, in: *tawrātuhā lawḥu sāqayhā sanan wa'anā * 'atlū wa'adrusuhā ka'annanī mūsā:* the smooth surface of her legs is (like) Tora[8] in brightness, and I follow it and tread in its footsteps as tho' I were Moses (2:5).

The samples selected will be presented in the way adopted for the pre-Islamic poetry. In view of the huge mass of data, relevant to the matter, only a part of them can be related to the verse-long samples quoted while another part of them will simply be referred to the unquoted parts of Ibn al-ᶜArabī's ode.

6. PM-related terms in *Tarğumān al-'ašwāq* (13th century A.D.):

ᶜaqrab: scorpion (-like tress) – *'arsalat ᶜiṭfa ṣudġayhā ᶜalayhā ᶜaqrabā:* she lets down (to conceal herself) a scorpion-like tress on each side of her temples (30:22);

badr: full moon – *ṭalaᶜa lbadru fī duğā ššaᶜari * wasaqā lwarda narğisu lḥawari:* the full moon appeared in the night of hair, and the black narcissus bedewed the rose (44:1); *taᶜālayta min badrin ᶜalā lqalbi* [9] *ṭāliᶜin * walaysa lahu*

---

[7] Cf., e.g. items like "veiled gazelle", interpreted as "divine subtlety" (*laṭīfa*), veiled by a sensual state (*ḥāla nafsiyya)* (Nicholson 1911: 68).

[8] Nicholson's orthography and archaic wording will be maintained.

[9] In the anonymous Beirut edition (1981: 191): *ᶜalā lquṭbi:* over the pole.

baᶜda ṭṭulūᶜi 'ufūlu: thou art exalted, a full moon rising over the heart, a moon that never sets after it hath risen (58:5);

bayḍā': the sun – *turīka sanā lbayḍā'i ᶜinda ttabassumi* – (she) shows thee the radiance of the sun when she smiles (3:10);

bayḍā': white, bright (-faced) – *bibayḍā'a ġaydā'a bahtānatin * taḍawwaᶜu našran kamiskin fatīqi:* (we were robbed) of a bright-faced lissome damsel sweet of breath, diffusing a perfume like shredded musk (23:12);

bint: girl, maid – *bintu ᶜašrin wa'arbaᶜin ṭalaᶜat lī badrā:* a maid of fourteen rose to my sight like a full moon (40:1);

burquᶜ: veil – *law 'annahu yusfiru ᶜan burquᶜihi * kāna ᶜaḍāban falihāḍā ḥtaǧabā:* had she (she: full moon) removed her veil, it would have been a torment, and on this account she veiled herself (25:6);

ḍaw' / ḍaw'u nnahāri: daylight – *fanaḥnu billayli fī ḍaw'i nnahāri bihā * wanaḥnu fī ẓẓuhri fī laylin mina ššaᶜari:* through her we are in daylight during the night and in a night of hair at noon (39:8);

durr: pearls – *naẓama lḥusnu mina ddurri lahā * 'ašnaban 'abyaḍa ṣāfin*[10] *kalmahā:* beauty strung for her a row of fine pearly teeth, white and pure as crystal (42:5);

fanan: branch, twig – *'iḍā mālat 'aratnā fananan * 'aw ranat sallat mina llaḥẓi ẓubā:* and whenever she bends she shows to us a (fruitful) branch, or when she gazes her looks are drawn swords (30:26);

fatāh / fatātun ᶜarūbun: fond maiden – *falaw kunta tahwā lfatāta lᶜarūba * lanilta nnaᶜīma bihā wassurūrā:* but hadst thou been in love with the fond maiden, thou wouldst have gained, through her, happiness and joy (16:15);

ġadīra / ġadīratuhā: her plaited lock -*saḥabat ġadīratahā šuǧāᶜan 'aswadan * lituḫīfa man yaqfū biḍāka l'aswadi:* she let down her plaited lock as a black serpent, that she might frighten with it those who were following her (22:10);

ġādira: traitress – *waġādiratin qad ġādarat biġadā'irin * šabīhi l'afāᶜī man 'arāda sabīlā:* Oh, the traitress! She has left bitten by her viper-like locks one who would fain approach her (50:1);

ġazāl / ~ rabīb: God-nurtured gazelle – *bi'abī ṭumma bī ġazālun rabībun * yartaᶜī bayna 'aḍluᶜī fī 'amāni:* may my father and I myself be the ransom of a God-nurtured gazelle which pastures between my ribs in safety (20:6);

ġurra: white spot on a horse's face; whiteness / *ġurratuhā:* whiteness of her forehead – *liššamsi ġurratuhā lillayli ṭurratuhā * šamsun walaylun maᶜan min 'aᶜǧabi ṣṣuwari:* the whiteness of her forehead is the sun's, the blackness of the hair on her brow is the night's: most wondrous of forms is she – a sun and a night together! (39:7);

ḥamal: Aries (astr.) – *ka'annahā šamsu ḍuḥan fī ḥamalin * qāṭiᶜatun 'aqṣā maᶜālī ddarağı:* as though she were the morning sun in Aries, crossing the degrees of the zodiac at their farthest height (48:8);

ḫarāb: desert -*fakullu ḫarābin bihā ᶜāmirun * wa kullu sarābin bihā ġādiqu:* by her is every desert peopled, and by her is every mirage transformed to abundant water (31:9);

---

[10] *ṣāfiya*, in the Beirut edition (1981: 160).

ḥasnā': beautiful – *ḥasn ā'u ḥāliyatun laysat biġāniyatin * taftarru ᶜan baradin ẓalmin waᶜan šanabi:* beautiful, decked with ornaments; she is not wedded she shows teeth like hailstones for lustre and coolness (46:4);

ḫumsāna: slender (girl) – *bimuhğatī ḫumṣānatun:* may my life-blood be the ransom of a slender girl (29:13);

ḥuqqa: small box, pyx – *ḥuqqatun 'ūdiᶜat ᶜabīran wanašran * rawḍatun 'anbatat rabīᶜan waẓahrā:* thou art a pyx containing blended odours and perfume, thou art a meadow producing spring-herbs and flowers (40:5);

ᶜīsā: Jesus (2:4);[11]

laḥẓ: look(s), glance(s) – *tuḥayyī fatuḥyī man 'amātat bilaḥẓihā:* she greets and revives those whom she killed with her looks (38:4);

lamyā: dark-lipped – *lamyā'u laᶜsā'u maᶜsūlun muqabbaluhā:* dark-lipped and swart is she, her mouth honeyed (46:2);

layl: night – *yaṭluᶜu llaylu 'iḏā mā 'asdalat * fāḥiman ġaṭlan 'aṯīṯan ġaybahā:* night appears when she lets fall her black, luxuriant and tangled hair (30:24);

luᶜba: plaything, toy; phantom of delight – *luᶜbatun ḏikruhā yuḏawwibuhā:* she is a phantom of delight that melts away when we think of her (44:4);

lu'lu'a: pearl – *lu'lu'atun maknūnatun fī ṣadafin * min šaᶜarin miṯli sawādi ssabağī:* she is a pearl hidden in a shell of hair as black as jet (48:5);

mabsim: smile, smiling mouth – *yā mabsimu 'aḥbabtu minhu lḥababā * wayā ruḍāban ḏuqtu minhu ḍḍarabā:* O smiling mouth whose bubbles I loved! O saliva in which I tasted white honey! (25:4);

mahāh: piece of crystal, sun – *hiya 'asnā mina lmahāti sanan:* she excels the sun in splendour (44:10);

muḫalḫal: place on the leg where the anklet (*ḫalḫāl*) is worn, ankle – *rayyā lmuḫalḫali dayğūrun ᶜalā lqamari * fī ḫaddihā šafaqun ġuṣnun ᶜalā kuṯubin:* full-ankled, a darkness o'er a moon; in her cheek a red blush; she is a bough growing on hills (46:3);

mukaḥḥal: smeared with kohl (the eyelids), eyes – *bilġunği wassiḥri lqatūli mukaḥḥalin * bittīhi walḥusni lbadīᶜi muqalladin:* her eyes are adorned with languishment and killing magic; her sides[12] are girt with amazement and incomparable beauty (22:8);

misk: musk – *yā misku yā badru wayā ġuṣna naqan * mā 'awraqā mā 'anwarā mā 'aṭyabā:* O musk! O full moon! O bough of the sand-hills! How green is the bough, how bright the moon, how sweet the musk! (25:3);

muḥayyan: face, mouth – *'in 'asfarat ᶜan muḥayyāhā 'aratka sanan * miṯla lġazālati 'išrāqan bilā ġiyari:* if she unveils her mouth, she will show to thee what sparkles like the sun in unchanging radiance (39:6);

nady: assembly – *yafūḥu nnadyu ladā ḏikrihā * fakullu lisānin bihā nāṭiqu:* the assembly is filled with fragrance at the mention of her, and every tongue utters her name (31:6);

---

[11] See § 5.

[12] It seems to be more appropriate to speak about "her neck", viz. "her neck is adorned with pride and unequalled beauty" cf. KAZIMIRSKI (1875): *muqallad (aḏḏahab)*: endroit du cou où passe le collier.

naḥl: bees – *yatağārā nnaḥlu mahmā tafalat:* the bees compete with one another whenever she spits (30:25);

raḫṣ: soft (hand) – *taᶜṭū biraḫṣin kaddimaqsi munaᶜᶜamin * binnadi walmiski lfatīqi muqarmadi:* she takes with a hand soft and delicate, like pure silk, anointed with *nadd* and shredded musk (22:6);

riyāḍ: meadows – *wakullu riyāḍin bihā zāhirun * wakullu šarābin bihā rā'iqu:* and by her is every meadow bright, and by her is every wine made clear (31:10);

šams: sun – *ṭalaᶜat fī l'iyāni šamsan falammā * 'afalat 'ašraqat bi'ufuqi ġanānī:* she rose, plain to see, like a sun, and when she vanished she shone in the horizon of my heart (20:4);

šams / šamsu ḍuḥan: morning sun – *šamsu ḍuḥan fī falakin ṭāliᶜatun * ġuṣnu naqan fī rawḍatin qad nuṣibā:* she is the morning sun rising in a heaven, she is the bough of the sand-hills planted in a garden (25:7);

sihām: arrows – *ramat bisihāmi llaḥẓi ᶜan qawsi ḥāğibin:* she shot the arrows of her glances from the bow of an eyebrow (50:2);

suwaydā': black bile (one of the four humours of ancient medicine); black clot of blood – *sakanat suwaydā ḫilbi 'akbādi:* she dwells in the black clot of blood in the membrane of my liver (61:8);

ṭafla / ṭafla laᶜūb: tender playful girl – *bi'abī ṭaflatun laᶜūbun tahādā * min banāti lḥudūri bayna lġawānī:* may my father be the ransom of a tender playful girl, one of the maidens guarded in howdas, advancing swayingly among the married women ! (20:3);

tawrāh / tawrātuhā: (her) Torah;[13]

tuḍī'u: (her fairness) illuminates, gives light – *yā ḥusnahā min ṭaflatin ġurratuhā * tuḍī'u liṭṭāriqi miṭla ssuruği:* Oh, her beauty – the tender maid! Her fairness gives light like lamps to one travelling in the dark (48:4);

ᶜunnāb: henna-tipped fingers – *waḥayyat biᶜunnābihā lilwadāᶜi * fa'aḏrat dumūᶜan tahīğu ssadīrā:* and she saluted with her henna-tipped fingers for the leave-taking, and let fall tears that excited the flames (of desire) (16:3);

warda: rose – *wardatun nābitatun min 'admuᶜin * narğisun yamṭuru ġayṭan ᶜağaban:* she is a rose that springs up from tears, a narcissus that sheds a marvellous shower (30:21);

ẓaby / ẓaby mubarqaᶜ: veiled gazelle – *wamin 'aᶜğabi l'ašyā'i ẓabyun mubarqaᶜun * yušīru bi'unnābin wayu'mī bi'ağfānī:* and one of the most wonderful things is a veiled gazelle, who points with red finger-tips and winks with eyelids; *wamarᶜāhu mā bayna ttarā'ibi walḥašā * wayā ᶜağaban min rawḍatin wasṭa nīrānī:* a gazelle whose pasture is between the breast-bones and the bowels. O marvel! A garden amidst fires! (11:11-12);

6.1. Other terms of relevance:

'ab / bi'abī: may my father be the ransom (of) > *ġazāl* (20:6); *ᶜabīr:* fragrance, perfume > *ḫuqqa* (40:5); *'abyaḍ:* white (teeth) > durr (42:5); *ᶜaḏāb:* torment > *burquᶜ* (25:6); *'aḍluᶜ:* ribs > *ġazāl* (20:6); *'admuᶜ:* tears > *warda* (30:21); *'aḏrat*

[13] See § 5.

(dumūᶜan): she let fall tears > *ᶜunnāb* (16:3); *'afāᶜin:* vipers > *ġādira* (50:1); *ᶜağab (ġayṯ):* marvelous (shower) > *warda* (30:21); *'aḥbabtu:* I loved (bubbles of the smiling mouth) > *mabsim* (25:4); *'akbād:* liver > *suwaydā'* (61:8); *'amān:* safety > *ġazāl* (20:6); *'amātat:* she killed (her lovers with her glances) > *laḥẓ* (38:4); *ᶜāmir:* inhabited, peopled (desert) > *ḫarāb* (31:9); *'anbatat:* (a meadow) producing (spring-herbs) > *ḥuqqa* (40:5); *'aratka (alġazālata):* she showed you (the sun) > *muḥayyan* (39:6); *'arsalat (ᶜaqraban):* she let down (a scorpion-like tress) > *ᶜaqrab* (30:22); *ᶜarūb (fatāh):* fond, dear, tender (girl) > *fatāh* (16:15); *'asdalat:* she let fall (her hair) > *layl* (30:24); *'asfarat (ᶜan muḥayyāhā):* she unveiled (her mouth) > *muḥayyan* (39:6); *'asnā (mina lmaḥāti sanan):* she excels (the sun) in splendour > *maḥāh* (44:10); *'ašnab:* brilliant and sharp teeth > *durr* (42:5); *'aswad:* black (serpent): her plaited lock > *ġadīra* (22:10); *'aṯīṯ:* luxuriant (hair) > *layl* (30:24); *'awmaḍa (bāriqun):* (a levin) flashed > *ṯanāyā* (4:5); *badīᶜ:* unprecedented, incomparable (beauty) > *mukaḥḥal* (22:8); *badr:* full moon > *misk* (25:3); *bahtāna:* supple, lissome (girl) > *bayḍā'* (23:12); *banān:* fingers / *maḥḍūbatu lbanāni:* (girl) with dyed fingers (49:1); *banātu lḥudūri:* (one of) the maidens guarded in howdas > *ṭafla* (20:30); *barad:* (teeth like) hailstones > *ḥasnā* (46:4); *bāriq:* levin, lightning > *ṯanāyā* (4:5); *bi'abī:* may my father be the ransom (of) > *ṭafla* (20:3; 20:6); *ḍarab:* white honey (her saliva) > *mabsim* (25:4); *daraǧ:* course, degrees (of the zodiac) > *ḥamal* (48:8); *dayǧūr:* darkness (hair) > *muḫalḫal* (46:3); *ḏikruhā:* thinking of her (*yuḏawwibuhā:* makes her vanish) > *luᶜba* (44:4); (*ladā ḏikrihā*)*:* at the mention of her > *nady* (31:6); *dimaqs / raḫṣ kaddimaqsi:* (her hand) soft and delicate like (pure) silk > *raḫṣ* (22:6); *ḍuḥan / šamsu ḍuḥan:* morning sun > *ḥamal* (48:8) & > *šams* (25:7); *dumūᶜ:* tears > *ᶜunnāb* (16:3); *falak:* celestial orbit, heaven > *šams* (25:7); *ġāda:* tender girl (44:2); *ġadā'ir:* (viper-like) locks > *ġādira* (50:1); *ġādarat:* she (has) left > *ġādira* (50:1); *ġādiq:* abundant, copious (water, rain) > *ḫarāb* (31:9); *ġāniya:* beautiful woman, pretty girl; virtuous and righteous (married) woman > *ḥasnā'* (46:4); *ǧaṯl:* thick, dense (hair) > *layl* (30:24); *ġawānin:* (plur. of *ġāniya*) virtuous (married) women, etc. > *ṭafla (laᶜūb)* (20:3); *ġazāla:* rising sun, disk of the sun > *muḥayyan* (39:6); *ġayhab:* dark, darkness (hair) > *layl* (30:24); *ġaydā':* young and delicate (girl, lady) > *bayḍā'* (23:12); *ġayṯ:* rain, shower > *warda* (30:21); *ġurratuhā:* her beauty, brightness of her face > *tuḍī'u* (48:4) & > *ġurra* (39:7); *ġuṣn:* bough (growing on hills: *ᶜalā kuṯubin*) > *muḫalḫal* (46:3) & *ġuṣn / ġuṣnu naqan:* bough of the sand-hills > *misk* (25:3) & > *šams* (25:7); *ḥabab:* bubbles > *mabsim* (25:4); *ḫadduhā:* her cheek: *muḫalḫal* (46:3); *ḥāǧib:* eyebrow / *qawsu ḥāǧibin:* the bow of an eyebrow > *sihām* (50:2); *ḥāliya:* adorned, decked with ornaments > *ḥasnā'* (46:4); *hayfā':* slender (woman) (31:5); *ḥayyat (biᶜunnābihā):* she saluted (with her henna-tipped fingers) > *ᶜunnāb* (16:3); *ḫilb:* lobe of the liver (Wahrmund 1898: Lappen der Leber), liver > *suwaydā'* (61:8); *ḫudūr:* howdas / *banātu lḥudūri:* (one of) the maidens guarded in howdas > *ṭafla* (20:3); *ḥusn:* beauty / ~ *badīᶜ:* incomparable beauty > *mukaḥḥal* (22:8); *(i)ḥtaǧaba:* she (*badr:* full moon) veiled herself (masc.) > *burquᶜ* (25:6); *ᶜīsā:* Jesus (see §5); *'išrāq:* radiance (of the sun) >*muḥayyan* (39:6); *ᶜiṭf / ᶜiṭfu ṣudġayhā:* each side of her temples > *ᶜaqrab* (30:22); *kuṯub:* dunes, sand-hills, hills > *muḫalḫal* (46:3); *laḥẓ:* glances > *sihām* (50:2); *laᶜsā':*

swart, red-lipped > *lamyā'* (46:2); *lawḥ / lawḥu sāqayhā:* the (smooth) surface of her legs > *tawrāh* (2:5), see §5; *layl:* night (hair) > *ḍaw'* (39:8); *lisān:* tongue / *maᶜsūlatu llisāni:* (girl) with honeyed tongue (49:1) & > *nady* (31:6); *maᶜālin:* heights > *ḥamal* (48:8); *mahāh:* (pieces of) crystal (teeth) > *durr* (42:5); *maḥḍūba / maḥḍūbatu lbanāni,* see *banān* (49:1) above; *maknūna:* hidden (pearl) > *lu'lu'a* (48:5); *ma'sūl:* honeyed (*muqabbal:* mouth) > *lamyā'* (46:2); *maᶜsūla / maᶜsūlatu llisāni,* see *lisān* (49:1) above; *misk (fatīq):* (shredded) musk > *raḥṣ* (22:6) & > *bayḍā'* (23:12); *muhğa:* heart, life-blood > *ḫumṣāna* (29:13); *munaᶜᶜam (dimaqs):* pure (silk) > *raḥṣ* (22:6); *muqallad:* place on the neck where the necklace is worn (Kazimirski 1875) > *mukaḥḥal* (22:18); *nābita (warda):* (a rose) that springs up (from tears) > *warda* (30:21); *nadd:* frankincense > *raḥṣ* (22:6); *nahār / ḍaw'u nnahāri:* daylight > *ḍaw'* (39:8); *naᶜīm:* happiness > *fatāh* (16:15); *naqan:* sand-hill > *šams* (25:7) & > *misk* (25:3) & > (48:7); *narğis:* narcissus > *warda* (30:21); *našr:* perfume > *bayḍā'* (23:12) & > *ḥuqqa* (40:5); *nāṭiq:* (every tongue) utters (her name) > *nady* (31:6); *naẓama:* to string (pearls) > *durr* (42:5); *nilta:* you (would have) gained (happiness and joy) > *fatāh* (16:15); *nuṣiba:* (the bough) planted (in a garden) > (25:7); *qamar:* moon > *muḫalḫal* (46:3); *qāṭiᶜa* (*šams:* the sun / maid*:* the zodiac) > *ḥamal* (48:8); *qatūl (siḥr):* killing (magic) > *mukaḥḥal* (22:8); *qaws / qawsu ḥāğibin:* the bow (of an eyebrow) > *sihām* (50:2); *rabīᶜ:* spring, spring-herbs > *ḥuqqa* (40:5); *rabīb:* foster-child, nurse-child, nursling > *ġazāl* (20:6); *rā'iq:* clear, pure > *riyāḍ* (31:10); *rawḍa:* meadow > *ḥuqqa* (40:5) & > *šams* (25:7); *rayyā:* fleshy (her ankle) > *muḫalḫal* (46:3); *ruḍāb:* saliva > *mabsim* (25:4); *šaᶜar:* hair > *lu'lu'a* (48:5); *sabağ:* jet > *lu'lu'a* (48:5); *šabīh:* similar, resembling, like / *šab'ihu l'afāᶜī:* viper-like (her plaited locks) > *ġādira* (50:1); *ṣadaf:* shell > *lu'lu'a* (48:5); *sadīr / sadir:* affected by vertigo, dizziness (Kazimirski 1875); flames (of desire) > *ᶜunnāb* (16:3); *šafaq:* red morning/evening sky; red blush on her cheek > *muḫalḫal* (46:3); *ṣāfin:* pure (as crystal: teeth) > *durr* (42:5); *saḥabat:* she let down (her plaited lock) > *ġadīra* (22:10); *šams:* sun (whiteness of her forehead vs. *layl:* her hair) > *ġurra* (39:7) & *šamsu ḍuḥan:* morning sun > *ḥamal* (48:8); *sakanat:* she dwelt > *suwaydā'* (61:8); *sanā, sanan:* radiance (of the sun) > *bayḍā'* (3:10); *šanab:* lustre, freshness (of teeth) > *ḥasnā'* (46:4); *sanan:* white spot on a horse's face; splendour, sparkle > *mahāh* (44:10); *sāq:* leg > *tawrāh* (2:5), see §5; *sarāb:* mirage > *ḫarāb* (31:9); *siḥr (qatūl):* (killing) magic > *mukaḥḥal* (22:8); *ṣudġ:* temple / *ᶜiṭfu ṣudġayhā:* each side of her temples > *ᶜaqrab* (30:22); *šuğāᶜ:* serpent, Hydra (astr.); her plaited lock > *ġadīra* (22:10); *suruğ:* lamps > *tuḍī'* (48:4); *surūr:* joy > *fatāh* (16:15); *tabassum:* smile, smiling > *bayḍā'* (3:10); *taḍawwaᶜu (< taṭaḍawwaᶜu) / ~ našran:* she diffuses perfume > *bayḍā'* (23:12); *tafalat:* she spits > *naḥl* (30:25); *tahādā (< tatahādā):* she advances swayingly > *ṭafla* (20:3); *tahiğğu:* (tears) excited (the flames of desire) > *ᶜunnāb* (16:3); *ṭāliᶜ (badr):* rising, ascending (full moon) > *badr* (58:5); *ṭāliᶜa (šams):* (sun) rising (in a heaven) > *šams* (22:7); *tarā'ib:* breast(bones) > *ẓaby* (11:11-12); *ṭāriq:* nocturnal visitor, traveller > *tuḍī'u* (48:4); *tīh:* pride; amazement > *mukaḥḥal* (22:8); *tuḥayyī:* she greets > *laḥẓ* (38:4); *(li)tuḫīfa:* (that) she might frighten > *ġadīra* (22:10); *tuḥyī:* she revives > *laḥẓ* (38:4); *ṭulūᶜ:* rise (of the full moon) > *badr* (58:5); *turī-*

ka: she shows you (the radiance of the sun) > *bayḍā'* (3:10); *ṭurratuhā:* her forelock, hair (night) vs. *ġurratuhā:* her forehead (sun) > *ġurra* (39:7); *'ūdiᶜat / ḥuqqatun ~ ᶜabīran:* (a pyx) containing (blended odours) > *ḥuqqa* (40:4); *'ufūl:* setting (of the moon) > *badr* (58:5); *ᶜunnāb:* red finger-tips, henna-tipped fingers > *ẓaby* (11:11-12); *wadāᶜ:* leave-taking > *ᶜunnāb* (16:3); *warda:* rose > *ẓaby* (11:11-12); *yafūḥu:* (*nady:* the assembly) exhales a pleasant odour; is filled with fragrance > *nady* (31:6); *yamṭuru:* (narcissus) sheds (a marvellous shower) > *warda* (30:21); *yartaᶜī:* (gazelle) pastures (between my ribs) > *ġazāl* (20:6); *yatağārā (naḥlu):* (the bees) compete with one another > *naḥl* (30:25); *yaṭluᶜu (llaylu):* (night) appears > *layl* (30:24); *yuḍawwibuhā (ḍikruhā):* she melts away when we think of her; lit.: remembering her makes her vanish, melt away > *luᶜba* (44:4); *yu'mī:* (a veiled gazelle) winks (with eyelids) > *ẓaby / mubarqaᶜ* (11:11-12); *yusfiru (ᶜan burquᶜihi):* she (full moon) removes her veil > *burquᶜ* (25:6); *yušīru:* (a veiled gazelle) points (with red finger-tips) > *ẓaby / mubarqaᶜ* (11:11-12); *ẓaby / ẓabyu naqan:* gazelle of the sand-hills (48:7); *zāhir:* bright > *riyāḍ* (31:10); *zahr:* flowers > *ḥuqqa* (40:5); *ẓalm:* radiant whiteness > *ḥasnā'* (46:4); *ẓuhr:* noon > *ḍaw'* (39:8).

7. LC-related terms in *Tarğumān al-'ašwāq:*

'awānis / ~ muᶜtağirāt: friendly women with veiled faces – *wazāḥamanī ᶜinda stilāmī 'awānisun * 'atayna 'ilā ttaṭwāfi muᶜtağirāti:* as I kissed the Black Stone, friendly women thronged around me; they came to perform circumambulation with veiled faces; *ḥasarna ᶜan 'anwāri ššumūsi waqulna lī * tawarraᶜ famawtu nnafsi fī llaḥaẓāti:* they uncovered the (faces like) sunbeams and said to me, "Beware! for the death of the soul is in thy looking at us..." (7:1-2);

'awānis / ~ nuhhad: friendly full-breasted damsels – *walᶜab kamā laᶜibat 'awānisu nuhhadun * wartaᶜ kamā rataᶜat ẓibā'un šurradu:* and play as friendly full-breasted damsels played, and pasture as shy gazelles pastured (26:3);

bīḍ / ~ 'awānis: friendly damsels, bright of countenance – *bīḍun 'awānisu kaššumūsi ṭawāliᶜun * ᶜīnun karīmātun ᶜaqā'ilu ġīdun* – friendly damsels, bright of countenance, rising like the suns, large-eyed, noble of generous race, and limber (9:5);

bīḍ / bīḍ ġīd ḥisān ḫurrad: bright-faced damsels and fair lissome virgins – *warfaᶜ ṣuwaytaka bissuḥayri munādiyan * bilbīḍi walġīdi lḥisāni lḫurradi:* and lift thy voice at dawn to invoke the bright-faced damsels and the fair lissome virgins; *min kulli fātikatin biṭarfin 'aḥwarin * min kulli ṯāniyatin biğīdin 'aġyada:* who muder with their black eyes and bend their supple necks (22:3-4);

bīḍ / ~ḫurrad ᶜurub: fair-complexioned and coy virgins – *nafsī lfīdā'u libīḍin ḫurradin ᶜurubin* laᶜibna bī ᶜinda laṯmi rrukni walḥağari:* my soul be the ransom of fair-complexioned and coy virgins who played with me as I was kissing the pillar and the Stone! (i.e. in the holy shrine of Mekka); *mā tastadillu 'iḍā mā tihta ḫalfahum * 'illā birīḥihim min 'aṭyabi l'aṯari:* when thou art lost in pursuit of them, thou will find no guide but in their scent, the sweetest of traces (39:1-2);

burūq / ~ suyūf: flashes of swords – *(liṯāriqin) burūqu suyūfin min burūqi mabāsimin * nawāfiğa miskin mā 'ubīḥat lināšiqi:* (to the traveller by night)

appear flashes of swords from the lightnings of smiling mouths like musk-glands, the odour whereof none is permitted to smell (51:2);

duman: dolls; marble statues -*ḥamalna ᶜalā lyaᶜmalāti lḥudūrā * wa'awdaᶜna fīhā ddumā walbudūrā:* they (women) mounted the howdas on the swift camels and placed in them the (damsels like) marble statues and full moons (16:1);

ġadā'ir: plaited locks (of hair) – *almursilātu mina šŝuᶜūri ġadā'iran * allayyināt u maᶜāqidan wamaᶜāṭifā:* (boughs: maidens) loosing plaited locks of hair; soft in their joints and bends (29:2);

ğālibāt: attracting, luring (by their witchery) – *alğālibātu bikulli siḥrin muᶜğibin * ᶜinda lḥadīṯi masāmiᶜan walaṭā'ifā:* luring ears and souls, when they converse, by their wondrous witchery (29:7);

ġuṣūn (mā'isāt): (swaying) boughs – *li'abī lġuṣūnu lmā'isātu ᶜawāṭifā * alᶜāṭifātu ᶜalā lḫudūdi sawālifā:* may my father be the ransom of the boughs swaying to and fro as they bend, bending their tresses towards the cheeks (29:1);

ḥisān: fair women – *'inna lḥisāna ṯafalnahā min rīqihā * kalmiski ğāda bihā ᶜalaynā lḫurradu:* verily, the fair women scattered it (*sulāfa:* pure wine) from the water of their mouths like musk and the virgins bestowed it on us without stint (26:9);

ḫurrad / ~ 'awānis: friendly maidens – *yā ṭalalan ᶜinda l'uṯayli dārisan * lāᶜabtu fīhi ḫurradan 'awānisā ḳ* o mouldering remains (of the encampment) at al-Uṯayl, where I played with friendly maidens!; *bil'msi kāna mu'nisan waḍāḥikan * walyawma 'aḍḥā mūḥišan waᶜābisā:* yesterday it was cheerful and smiling, but today it has become desolate and frowning; *na'aw walam 'aᶜšur bihim famā daraw * 'anna ᶜalayhim min ḍamīrī ḥārisā:* they went far away and I was unaware of them, and they knew not that my mind was watching over them (19:1-3);

ḫurrad / ~ 'awānis (ṭawāwīs): friendly maidens (peacocks) – *mā nazalū fī manzilin 'illā ḥawā * mina lḥisāni rawḍuhu ṭawāwīsā:* they did not halt at any place but its meadow contained forms beautiful as peacocks; *walā na'aw ᶜan manzilin 'illā ḥawat * min ᶜāšiqīhim 'arḍuhu nawāwīsā:* and they did not depart from any place but its earth contained tombs of their lovers (19:7-8);

liḥāẓ / ~ alġīd: looks (of lissome women) – *ᶜinda lkaṯībi min ğibāli zarūdi * ṣīdun wa'usdun min liḥāẓi lġīdi:* at the hill among the mountains of Zarūd are haughty lions, by the looks of lissome women (overthrown); *ṣarᶜā wahum 'abnā'u malḥamati lwaġā * 'ayna l'usūdu mina lᶜuyūni ssūdi:* overthrown, though they were bred in the carnage of war; what match are the lions for the black eyes?; *fatakat bihim laḥaẓātuhunna waḥabbaḍā * tilka lmalāḥiẓu min banāti ṣṣīdi:* the women's looks murdered them; how sweet are those looks from the daughters of kings! (34:1-3);

mubdiyāt: (boughs*:* friendly maidens) displaying (teeth like pearls) – *almubdiyātu mina ttuġūri la'āliyan * tašfī birīqatihā ḍaᶜīfan tālifā:* displaying teeth like pearls, healing with their saliva one who is feeble and wasted (29:9);

mu'niqāt: (boughs*:* ~) charming – *almu'niqātu maḍāḥikan wamabāsiman * aṭṭayyibātu muqabbalan wamarāšifā:* which charm by their laughing and smiling mouths; whose lips are sweet to kiss (29:5);

munši'āt: (boughs*:* ~) creating (rain-clouds from tears) – *almunši'ātu mina ddumūᶜi saḥā'iban * almusmiᶜātu mina zzafīri qawāṣifā:* causing tears to

flow as from rain-clouds, causing sighs to be heard like the crash of thunder (29:12);

muṭliᶜāt: (boughs*:* ~) making rise (new moons) – *almuṭliᶜātu mina lġuyūbi 'ahillatan * lā tulfayanna maᶜa ttamāmi kawāsifā:* making rise from their bossoms new moons which suffer no eclipse on becoming full (29:11);

nafas: breath (of their love) – *wamā lī dalīlun ᶜalā 'iṯrihim * siwā nafasin min hawāhum ᶜaṭir:* I had no guide in pursuing them except a perfumed breath of their love ; *rafaᶜna ssiǧāfa 'aḍā'a dduǧā * fasāra rrikābu liḍaw'i lqamar:* the women raised the curtain, the darkness became light, and the camels journeyed on because of the moonshine (41:5-6);

nāᶜimāt: (boughs*:* ~) with dainty (limbs) – *annāᶜimātu muǧarradan walkāᶜibā * tu munahhadan walmuhdiyātu ṭarā'ifā:* whose bare limbs are dainty; which have swelling breasts and offer choice presents (29:6);

niswa (ᶜaṭirāt): (perfumed) women – *hunālika man qad šaffahu lwaǧdu yaštafī * bimā šāqahu min niswatin ᶜaṭirāti:* there everyone whom anguish hath emaciated is restored to health by the love-desire that perfumed women stir in him; *'iḏā ḫifna 'asdalna ššuᶜūra fahunna min * ġadā'irihā fī 'alḥufī ẓẓulumāti:* when they are afraid they let fall their hair, so that they are hidden by their tresses as it were by robes of darkness (7:7-8);

rāmiyāt: (boughs*:* ~) shooting (glances) – *arrāmiyātu mina lᶜuyūni rawāšiqan * qalban ḫabīran bilḥurūbi muṯāqifā:* darting from their eyes glances which pierce a heart experienced in the wars and used to combat (29:10);

sātirāt: (boughs*:* ~) covering (their faces) – *assātirātu mina lḥayā'i maḥāsinan * tasbī bihā lqalba ttaqiyya lḫā'ifā:* covering their faces for shame, taking captive thereby the devout and fearing heart (29:8);

šumūs (ṭullaᶜ): (rising) suns – *hal 'aḫbaratki riyāḥuhum bimaqālihim * qālat naᶜam qālū biḏāti l'aǧraᶜi:* did their (departing women's) winds tell thee where they rested at noontide? She said – yes, they rested at Dhāt al-Aǧra; *ḥayṯu lḫiyāmu lbīḍu tušriqu billaḏī * taḥwīhi min tilka ššumūsi ṭṭullaᶜi:* where the white tents are radiant with those rising suns within (24:10-11);

ṭawāwīs: peacocks (tribe's beauties, departing women) – *mā raḥḥalū yawma bānū lbuzzala lᶜīsā * 'illā waqad ḥamalū fīhā ṭṭawāwīsā:* on the day of parting they did not saddle the full-grown reddish-white camels until they had mounted the peacocks upon them; *min kulli fātikati l'alḥāẓi mālikatin * taḫāluhā fawqa ᶜarši bilqīsā:* peacocks with murderous glances and sovereign power: thou wouldst fancy that each of them was a Bilqīs on her throne of pearls (2:1-2);

ᶜurub: coy beauties – *lā ᶜaǧabun lā ᶜaǧabun lā ᶜaǧaban * min ᶜarabiyyin yatahāwā lᶜurubā:* do not wonder, do not wonder, do not wonder at an Arab passionately fond of the coy beauties (25:19);

ẓibā': gazelles (maidens, tribe's beauties) – *biḏī salamin waddayri min ḥāḍir alḥimā * ẓibā'un turīka ššamsa fī ṣuwari ddumā:* at Dhū Salam and the monastery in the abode of al-Himā are gazelles who show thee the sun in the forms of marble statues (12:1).

7.1. Other LC-related terms in the samples quoted*:*

ᶜābis: frowning > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *'aḍā'a (dduǧā):* (the darkness) became light > *nafas* (41:5-6); *'aḍḥā:* (the deserted encampment) has become (desolate) > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *'aġyad:* supple (neck) > *bīḍ* (22:3-4); *'aḫbaratki / hal ~ riyāḥuhum:* did (their winds) tell you? > *šumūs* (24:10-11); *'ahilla:* new moons > *muṭliᶜāt* (29:11); *'aḥwar / ṭarf ~:* black (eye) > *bīḍ* (22:3-4); *'alḥuf:* covers, wraps; robes > *niswa* (7:7-8); *alyawma:* today > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *'amsi > bil'amsi* ; *ᶜaqā'il:* the best ones, of generous race (friendly damsels) > *bīḍ* (9:5); *'arḍ:* earth > *ḫurrad* (19:7-8); *ᶜarš:* throne / ~ *durr:* throne of pearls (i.e., the throne of Bilqīs, Queen of Sheba, according to Muslim legends) > *ṭawāwīs* (2:1-2); *'asdalna / ~ ššuᶜūr:* they (friendly women) let fall (their hair) > *niswa* (7:7-8); *ᶜāšiqū(hum):* (their) lovers > *ḫurrad* (19:7-8); *'aṯar:* trace > *bīḍ* (39:1-2); *'atayna ('ilā ttaṭwāfi):* they (friendly women) came (to perform circumambulation) > *'awānis* (7:1-2); *ᶜāṭifāt / ġuṣūn* ~ bending boughs > *ġuṣūn* (29:1); *ᶜaṭir / nafas ~:* perfumed breath (of love) > *nafas* (41:5-6); *'aṭyab:* the sweetest (trace: scent) > *bīḍ* (39:1-2); *'awānis:* friendly damsels; mostly in combination with other attributes, such as *bīḍ* ~ (9:5), *ḫurrad* ~ (19:1-3; 19:7-8), etc.; *'awāṭif* / ~ *sawālifa:* bending (their tresses) > *ġuṣūn* (29:1); *'awdaᶜna:* they (women) placed (damsels in howdas) > *duman* (16:1); *bān:* Nicholson's bān-tree; ben tree (*Moringa*) also horse-radish tree (*Moringa oleifera*) or Egyptian willow (*Salix aegyptiaca*); the term is frequently occurring in classical poetry; *bīḍ:* fair-complexioned, bright-faced, etc. women, maidens, damsels, etc., frequently used in combination with other attributes, like *'awānis, ġīd, ḫurrad,* etc., cf. (9:5; 39:1-2; 22:3-4, etc.); *bil'amsi:* yesterday > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *bilqīs:* Bilqīs, the legendary Queen of Sheba, noted for her beauty > *ṭawāwīs* (2:1-2); *budūr:* full moons (damsels) > *duman* (16:1); *buzzal:* full-grown camels > *ṭawāwīs* (2:1-2); *ḍāḥik:* smiling > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *ḍaᶜīf:* feeble, weak (lover) > *mubdiyāt* (29:9); *dalīl:* guide > *nafas* (41:5-6); *ḍamīrī:* my mind (is watching over them: friendly maidens) > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *dāris:* mouldering, decayed (*ṭalal:* remains of a deserted encampment) > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *ḍaw':* light / *ḍaw'u lqamari:* moonshine > *nafas* (41:5-6); *dayr:* monastery > *ẓibā'* (12:1); *duǧan:* darkness / *'aḍā'a dduǧā:* the darkness became light > *nafas* (41:5-6); *duman, dumā:* dolls; marble statues > *ẓibā'* (12:1); *dumūᶜ:* tears > *munši'āt* (29:12); *durr:* pearls / *ᶜarš ~:* throne of pearls > *ṭawāwīs* (2:1-2); *fatakat bihim:* (women's looks) murdered them > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3); *fātika:* murdering (with their/her eyes) > *bīḍ* (22:3-4) & > *ṭawāwīs* (peacocks with murderous glances) (2:1-2), etc.; *fidā':* ransom / *nafsī lfidā'u liḳ:* may my soul be the ransom of > *bīḍ* (39:1-2); *ǧāda / ~ bihā ᶜalaynā:* (fair women) bestowed it (wine) on us > *ḥisān* (26:9); *ġadā'iruhā:* their tresses > *niswa* (7:7-8); *ǧibāl:* mountains > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3); *ǧīd:* neck / ~ *'aġyad:* supple neck > *bīḍ* (22:3-4); *ġīd:* lissome women > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3) & limber, supple (friendly damsels) > *bīḍ* (9:5; 22:3-4; etc.); *ǧuyūb:* bossoms > *muṭliᶜāt* (29:11); *ḫabīr / bilḥurūb: qalb:* (heart) experienced (in wars) > *rāmiyāt* (29:10); *ḥāḍir:* tribe; steady abode > *ẓibā'* (12:1); *ḥadīṯ:* conversation > *ǧālibāt* (29:7); *ḫā'if:* fearing (heart) > *sātirāt* (29:8); *ḥamalna:* they (women) mounted (the howdas on camels) > *duman* (16:1); *ḥamalū:* they (departing tribesmen) mounted (the peacocks /women/ up-

on camels) > *ṭawāwīs* (2:1-2); *ḥāris:* (my mind) is watching (over them: departing maidens) > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *ḥasarna:* they (friendly women) uncovered (faces like sunbeams) > *'awānis* (7:1-2); *ḥawā:* (meadow) contained (beautiful peacocks: maidens) > *ḫurrad* (19:7-8); *ḥawan / ḥawāhum:* their (*'aḥibba*: the loved ones') love > *nafas* (41:5); *ḥayā':* shame > *sātirāt* (29:8); *ḫifna / 'iḍā ~:* (when) they (perfumed women) are afraid (they let fall their hair) > *niswa* (7:7-8); *ḥisān:* beautiful women, the beauties > *bīḍ* (22:3-4) & (26:9), etc.; *ḫiyām* (*bīḍ*)*:* (white) tents > *šumūs* (24:10-11); *ḫudūd:* cheeks > *ġuṣūn* (29:1); *ḫudūr:* howdas, litters (mounted on camels) > *duman* (16:1); *ḫurrad / bīḍ ~ ᶜurub:* fair-complexioned and coy virgins > *bīḍ* (22:3-4) & > *ḥisān* (26:9), etc.; *ḥurūb:* wars > *rāmiyāt* (29:10); *ᶜīn / ~ 'awānis:* large-eyed (friendly damsels) > *bīḍ* (9:5); *ᶜīs:* yellowish, reddish-white (camel) > *ṭawāwīs* (2:1-2); *'iṯr / ᶜalā 'iṯrihim:* following their traces; in pursuit of them > *nafas* (41:5-6); *kāᶜibāt:* (boughs: maidens) with swelling breasts > *nāᶜimāt* (29:6); *karīmāt:* noble (friendly damsels) > *bīḍ* (9:5); *kaṯīb:* hill > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3); *kawāsif:* eclipsed (new moons) > *muṭliᶜāt* (29:11); *lāᶜabtu:* I played (with friendly maidens) > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *(i)lᶜab / walᶜab:* (and) play! > *'awānis* (26:3); *laḥaẓāt:* looks, looking > *'awānis* (7:1-2) & > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3), etc.; *laᶜibat:* (friendly damsels) played > *'awānis* (26:3); *laṭā'if:* witticisms, niceties; souls > *ġālibāt* (29:7); *laṯm:* kissing (the Pillar and Stone: i.e. in the holy shrine of Mekka) > *bīḍ* (39:1-2); *layyināt:* (maidens) soft (in their joints and bends) > *ġadā'ir* (29:2); *maᶜāqid:* joints > *ġadā'ir* (29:2); *maᶜāṭif:* bends > *ġadā'ir* (29:2); *mabāsim:* smiling mouths > *mu'niqāt* (29:5); *maḍāḥik:* laughing mouths > *mu'niqāt* (29:5); *maḥāsin:* here: beautiful faces > *sātirāt* (29:8); *mā'isāt:* swaying (boughs) > *ġuṣūn* (29:1); *malāḥiẓ:* looks > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3); *malḥama:* massacre, carnage > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3), *malḥamat alwaġā:* carnage of war (ibid.); *manzil:* halting place > *ḫurrad* (19:7-8); *maqāl:* midday rest > *šumūs* (24:10-11); *marāšif:* lips > *mu'niqāt* (29:5); *masāmiᶜ:* ears > *ġālibāt* (29:7); *mawt:* death / *mawtu nnafsi:* death of the soul > *'awānis* (7:1-2); *misk:* musk > *ḥisān* (26:9); *muġarrad:* bare (limbs) > *nāᶜimāt* (29:6); *muᶜġib:* amazing, wondrous (witchery) > *ġālibāt* (29:7); *muhdiyāt:* (boughs: maidens) offering presents > *nāᶜimāt* (29:6); *mūḥiš:* desolate > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *munahhad:* having swelling breasts > *nāᶜimāt* (29:6); *mu'nis:* cheerful > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *muqabbal:* place of the kiss (lips. mouth); kiss > *mu'niqāt* (29:5); *mursilāt:* (maidens) loosing (plaited locks of hair) > *ġadā'ir* (29:2); *musmiᶜāt:* (boughs: maidens) causing (sighs) to be heard > *munši'āt* (29:12); *muᶜtaġirāt / 'awānis ~:* (friendly women) with veiled faces > *'awānis* (7:1-2); *muṯāqif:* fencing, combatting (with swords) > *rāmiyāt* (29:10); *na'aw:* they (friendly maidens) went far away > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3; 7-8); *nafsī:* my soul > *bīḍ* (39:1-2); *nawāwīs:* sarcophagi > *ḫurrad* (19:7-8); *nazalū / mā ~ fī manzilin:* they (friendly maidens) did not halt (at any place) > *ḫurrad* (19:7-8); *nuhhad / 'awānis ~:* full-breasted (friendly damsels) > *'awānis* (26:3); *qalb:* heart > *rāmiyāt* (29:10) & > *sātirāt* (29:8), etc.; *qawāṣif:* thunders > *munši'āt* (29:12); *rafaᶜna (ssiǧāfa):* they (departing women) raised (the courtains) > *nafas* (41:5-6); *raḥḥalū / mā ~:* they (departing tribesmen) did not saddle (camels) until... > *ṭawāwīs* (2:1-2); *rataᶜat:* they (friendly damsels)

pastured > *'awānis* (26:3); *rawāšiq:* piercing (arrows) > *rāmiyāt* (29:10); *rawḍ:* meadows > *ḫurrad* (19:7-8); *(i)rfaᶜ / warfaᶜ:* and lift (your voice)! > *bīḍ* (22:3-4); *rīḥuhum:* their (departing women's) scent > (39:1-2); *rikāb:* riding camels, mounts > *nafas* (41:5-6); *rīq:* saliva > *ḫisān* (26:9); *rīqa:* saliva > *mubdiyāt* (29:9); *(i)rtaᶜ / wartaᶜ:* (and) pasture! > *'awānis* (26:3); *šaffahu (lwağdu):* (anguish) has emaciated him > *niswa* (7:7-8); *saḥā'ib:* rain-clouds > *munši'āt* (29:12); *šāqahu:* (the love-desire) excited him > *niswa* (7:7-8); *sawālif:* tresses > *ġuṣūn* (29:1); *ṣīd:* hunters; lions; kings: *banātu ṣṣīdi:* daughters of kings > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3) & *ṣīdun wa'usdun:* haughty lions > *liḥāẓ* (ibid.); *siǧāf:* courtains > *nafas* (41:5-6); *siḥr:* magic, witchery > *ǧālibāt* (29:7); *sūd (ᶜuyūn ~):* black (eyes) > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3); *sulāfa:* choicest wine (26:8*:* the beloved's saliva) > *ḫisān* (26:9); *šumūs:* suns (damsels) > *bīḍ* (9:5); *šurrad (ẓibā' ~):* shy (gazelles) > *'awānis* (26:3); *šuᶜūr:* hair > *niswa* (7:7-8); *ṣuwar:* forms > *ẓibā'* (12:1); *ṯafalnahā:* they (fair women) scattered it (choicest wine*:* from the water of their mouths) > *ḫisān* (26:9); *taḫāluhā:* you (would) believe that she...> *ṭawāwīs* (2:1-2); *taḥwī:* (white tents) enclose, contain (rising suns: bright-faced damsels) > *šumūs* (24:10-11); *ṭalal:* remains (of a deserted encampment) > *ḫurrad* (19:1-3); *tālif:* wasted, ruined (lover) > *mubdiyāt* (29:9); *tamām / maᶜa ttamāmi:* (new moons suffer no eclipse) on becoming full > *muṭliᶜāt* (29:11); *ṯāniya (biǧīdin 'aġyada):* bending their supple necks > *bīḍ* (22:3-4); *taqiyy:* devout (heart) > *sātirāt* (29:8); *ṭarā'if:* choice presents, rarities > *nāᶜimāt* (29:6); *ṭarf ('aḥwar):* (black) eye > *bīḍ* (22:3-4); *tasbī:* they (boughs: maidens) captivate (hearts of their lovers) > *sātirāt* (29:8); *tašfī:* they (boughs: maidens) heal (their lovers with their saliva) > *mubdiyāt* (29:9); *tastadillu / mā ~:* you will find no guide > *bīḍ* (39:1-2); *taṭwāf:* circumambulation > *'awānis* (7:1-2); *ṭawāliᶜ (kaššumūs):* (friendly damsels) rising (like the suns) > *bīḍ* (9:5); *tawarraᶜ:* beware! > *'awānis* (7:1-2); *ṭawāwīs:* peacocks (maidens) > *ḫurrad* (19:7-8); *tihta / 'iḍā mā ~:* (when) you have gone astray, (when) you are lost in pursuit of > *bīḍ* (39:1-2); *ṯuġūr:* front teeth, mouths > *mubdiyāt* (29:9); *tulfayanna / lā ~ kawāsifa:* (new moons) suffer no eclipse > *muṭliᶜāt* (29:11); *ṭullaᶜ / šumūs ~:* rising (suns) > *šumūs* (24:10-11); *turīka:* (gazelles) show you (the sun) > *ẓibā'* (12:1); *ᶜurub / bīḍ ḫurrad ~:* fair-complexioned and coy virgins > *bīḍ* (39:1-2); *ᶜuyūn:* eyes > *rāmiyāt* (29:10) & *ᶜuyūn sūd:* black eyes > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3), etc.; *'usd , 'usūd:* lions > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3); *waġan, waġy:* tumult, uproar; war > *liḥāẓ* (34:1-3); *waǧd:* tormenting love, anguish > *niswa* (7:7-8); *yaᶜmalāt:* swift camels > *duman* (16:1); *yaštafī:* (the lover) is restored to health > *niswa* (7:7-8); *zafīr:* sighing, sighs > *munši'āt* (29:12); *zāḥamanī ('awānis):* (friendly women) thronged around me > *'awānis* (7:1-2); *ẓibā' (šurrad):* (shy) gazelles > *'awānis* (26:3).

8. Basic PM-related identity terms in an English-Arabic arrangement:

- subject-slot units (i.e., in the [ ] marking: [PM] is ...; [PM] does ...; etc.);
- predicate-slot attributes (i.e., PM is [ ]; PM is like [ ]; as though she were [ ]; etc.);

– vocative expressions (i.e., o [PM] !) ;
– amplifiers related to any of these items.

The contextually written terms in entry-slots will be presented in nominative forms, irrespective of their case value in the verses quoted, and the bracketed word-final elements, occurring with some verses, signal either superfluous or – on the contrary – missing endings, enforced by metrical patterns as cases of the poetic licence.

For the verse-marking see §§ 1.1. and 1.2., i.e.: (name-symbol*:* number) = *al-Muᶜallaqāt*, (number*:* number) = *Tarğumān al-'ašwāq*.

antelope*: waḫš* / ~ of Wağra with young*: waḫšu wağrata muṭfilu(n) > 'asīl* (IQ:33);
beloved*: ḥabīb > ḥabīb* (IQ:1);
bough*: ġuṣn* / ~ growing on hills: *ġuṣnun ᶜalā kuṯubi(n) > muḫalḫal* (46:3);
bright-faced lissome damsel > damsel;
damsel / bright-faced lissome ~*: bayḍā'u ġaydā'u bahtānatun > bayḍā'* (23:12);
egg*: bayḍa* / ~ of a curtained chamber*: bayḍatu ḫidrin > bayḍa* (IQ:23);
fond maiden > maiden;
full moon*: badr > badr* (44:1); ~ rising over the heart*: badrun ᶜalā lqalbi ṭāliᶜun > badr* (58:5);
garden*: rawḍa* / ~ amidst fires*: rawḍatun wasṭa nīrāni(n) > ẓaby* (11:12);
gazelle / dark (-lipped gazelle): *'aḥwā > 'aḥwā* (Ṭ:6);
gazelle*: ġazāl* / God-nurtured ~*: ġazālun rabībun > ġazāl* (20:6);
gazelle*: ẓaby* / veiled ~*: ẓabyun mubarqaᶜun > ẓaby* (11:11);
girl / tender playful ~*: ṭaflatun laᶜūbun > ṭafla* (20:3);
Jesus*: ᶜīsā*, see § 5;
lamp*: manāra* / ~ of a night-cell of a monk*: manāratu mumsā rāhibin > manāra* (IQ:40);
lissome / bright-faced ~ damsel > damsel;
maid / tender ~*: ṭafla > tuḍī'u* (48:4);
maiden*: fatāh* / fond ~*: fatātun ᶜarūbun > fatāh* (16:15);
meadow*: rawḍa* / ~ producing spring herbs and flowers*: rawḍatun 'anbatat rabīᶜan wazahrā > ḥuqqa* (40:5);
moon > full moon;
morning sun > sun;
musk*: misk* / o musk !*: yā misku! > misk* (25:3);
narcissus*: narğis* / ~ that sheds a marvellous shower*: narğisun yamṭuru ġayṯan ᶜağaban > warda* (30:21);
night*: layl* / a sun and a night together*: šamsun walaylun maᶜan > ġurra* (39:7);
pearl (first-born of the depths)*: bikr > bikr* (IQ:32);
pearl*: lu'lu'a* / ~ hidden in a shell of hair*: lu'lu'atun maknūnatun fī ṣadafin min šaᶜarin > lu'lu'a* (48:5);

phantom of delight: *luʿba* > *luʿba* (44:4);
pyx: *ḥuqqa* / ~ containing blended odours and perfume: *ḥuqqatun 'ūdiʿat ʿabīran wanašran* > *ḥuqqa* (40:5);
rose: *warda* / ~ that springs up from tears: *wardatun nābitatun min 'ad-muʿin* > *warda* (30:21);
slumberer: *na'ūm* / ~ of the forenoon: *na'ūmu ḍḍuḥā* > *na'ūm* (IQ:38);
sun: *šams* > *šams* (20:4);
sun: *šams* / morning ~: *šamsu ḍuḥan* > *šams* (25:7);
sun: *šams* / morning ~ in Aries: *šamsu ḍuḥan fī ḥamalin* > *ḥamal* (48:8);
sun: *šams* > night;
tender maid > maid;
tender playful girl > girl;

9. LC-related identity terms in an English-Arabic arrangement (selected on the same principles as the PM-related items in the previous paragraph):
basalt-blocks: *riḍām* / its (Bīša Valley's) tamarisks and basalt-blocks (litter-borne women of the tribe): *'aṯluhā wariḍāmuhā* > *'aǧzāʿ* (L:15);
beauties / coy ~: *ʿurub* > *ʿurub* (25:19);
boughs: *ġuṣūn* / swaying ~: *ġuṣūnun mā'isātun* > *ġuṣūn* (29:1);
bright-faced damsels and fair lissome virgins > damsels > *bīḍ* (22:3);
bright of countenance (friendly damsels) > damsels > *bīḍ* (9:5);
coy beauties > beauties;
coy virgins > virgins;
damsels / bright-faced ~ and fair lissome virgins: *bīḍ ġīd ḥisān ḫurrad* > *bīḍ* (22:3);
damsels / friendly ~: *'awānis* / ~ bright of countenance: *bīḍun 'awānisu* > *bīḍ* (9:5);
damsels / friendly ... damsels: *'awānis* / friendly full-breasted damsels: *'awānisu nuhhadun* > *'awānis* (26:3);
daughters: *banāt* / ~ of kings (lissome women): *banātu ṣṣīdi* > *liḥāẓ* (34:3);
ewes: *niʿāǧ* / ~ of Tūḍiḥ: *niʿāǧu tūḍiḥa* (litter-borne women of the tribe) > *niʿāǧ* (L:14);
fair-complexioned and coy virgins > virgins;
fair women > women;
friendly damsels, bright of countenance > damsels;
friendly full-breasted damsels > damsels;
friendly maidens > maidens;
friendly women with veiled faces > women;
full moons (damsels like ~): *budūr* > *duman* (16:1);
gazelles: *ẓibā'* (maidens, tribe's beauties) > *ẓibā'* (12:1);
gazelles: *ẓibā'* / shy ~: *ẓibā'un šurradun* > *'awānis* (26:3);
gazelles: *ẓibā'* / ~ of Wağra: *ẓibā'u wağrata* (litter-borne women of the tribe) > *niʿāǧ* (L:14);
lissome women > women;

litter-borne women > women;
litter-borne women of the tribe > women;
maidens: *'aḏārā* (tribe's beauties) > *'aḏārā* (IQ:11-12);
maidens / friendly maidens: *ḫurrad 'awānis* > *ḫurrad* (19:1);
maidens: *banāt* / ~ guarded in howdas: *banātu lḥudūri* > *ṭafla* (20:3) in § 6.
marble statues (damsels like ~): *dumān* (definite: *dumā*) > *dumān* (16:1);
moons > full moons;
peococks: *ṭawāwīs* (friendly maidens) > *ḫurrad* (19:7-8);
perfumed women > women;
rising suns (tribe's beauties, departing women) > suns;
shy gazelles > gazelles > *'awānis* (26:3);
suns: *šumūs* (friendly damsels) > damsels > *bīḍ* (9:5);
suns: *šumūs* / rising ~: *šumūsun ṭulla'un* > *šumūs* (24:11);
swaying boughs (friendly maidens) > boughs;
tamarisks: *'aṯl* / its (Bīša Valley's) tamarisks and basalt-blocks (litter-borne women of the tribe): *'aṯluhā wariḍāmuhā* > *'aǧzā'* (L:15);
virgins: *ḫurrad* / coy ~: *ḫurrad 'urub* / fair-complexioned and coy virgins: *bīḍun ḫurradun 'urubun* > *bīḍ* (39:1);
windings: *'aǧzā'* / ~ of Bīša (Valley): *'aǧzā'u bīšata* (litter-borne women of the tribe) > *'aǧzā'* (L:15);
women / fair women: *ḥisān* > *ḥisān* (26:9);
women / friendly women: *'awānis* / ~ with veiled faces: *'awānisu (mu'tağirātun: 'atayna mu'tağirātin)* > *'awānis* (7:1);
women / lissome ~: *ġīḍ* > *liḥāẓ* (34:1);
women / litter-borne women: *ẓa'ā'in* > *ẓa'ā'in* (Z:7);
women / litter-borne women: *ẓu'n* / ~ of the tribe: *ẓu'nu lḥayyi* > *ẓu'n* (L:12);
women: *niswa* / perfumed ~: *niswatun 'aṭirātun* > *niswa* (7:7).

REFERENCES

ARNOLD, F. A. 1850. *Septem Mo'allakāt. Carmina antiquissima Arabum.* Lipsiae: Sumptibus Fr. Chr. Guil. Vogelii.

BATESON, M. C. 1970. *Structural Continuity in Poetry. A Linguistic Study of Five Pre-Islamic Arabic Odes*. Paris–The Hague: Mouton & Co.

Beirut Edition (Anonymous). 1981: *Tarğumān al-'Ašwāq,* by Ibn al-'Arabī, Beirut: Dār Bayrūt.

BRÄUNLICH, E. 1937. *Versuch einer literargeschichtlichen Betrachtungsweise altarabischer Poesien* . In: *Der Islam* 24, 201-269 (see Enderwitz 1995: 4, note 6).

CANTARINO, V. 1975. *Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

ENDERWITZ, S. 1995. *Liebe als Beruf. Al-'Abbās ibn al-'Aḥnaf und das Gazal.* Beirut: In Kommission bei F. Steiner Verlag Stuttgart.

JACOBI, R. 1971. *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

LICHTENSTÄDTER, I. 1932. *Das Nasīb der altarabischen Qaṣīde.* In: *Islamica* 5, 17-96.

NICHOLSON, R. A. 1911. *The Tarjumān al-Ashwāq. A Collection of Mystical Odes by Muḥyiddīn Ibn al-ᶜArabī.* London: Royal Asiatic Society.

STETKEVYCH, J. 1975. *The Arabic Lyrical Phenomenon in Context.* In: *Journal of Arabic Literature* 6, 57-77; (requoted after Enderwitz 1995: 4, note 6).

LEXICONS CONSULTED:

WEHR, H. 1979. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic.* Edited by J. Milton Cowan, 4th ed. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

KAZIMIRSKI, A. DE BIBERSTEIN. 1875. *Dictionnaire arabe-français,* i-iv vols. Revu et corrigé par Ibed Gallab. Caire: Imprimerie Khediviale de Boulac.

WAHRMUND, A. 1898. *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache.* i-ii vols GIESSEN: J. Ricker'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung.

Ibn Rašīq: ابن رشيق:

وكانت القبيلة من العرب إذا نبغ فيها شاعر أتت القبائل فهنأتها بذلك، وصنعت الأطعمة، واجتمعت النساء يلعبن بالمزاهر كما يصنعن في الأعراس، وتتباشر الرجال والولدان.

Ibn Fāris: ابن فارس:

والشعر ديوان العرب، وبه حفظت الأنساب وعرفت المآثر، ومنه تعلمت اللغة، وهو حجة فيما أشكل من غريب كتاب الله، وغريب حديث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وحديث صحابته والتابعين.

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, *6*, 1997, 1, 45-75

THE SONG OF SONGS (*ŠIR HAŠŠIRIM*) AND *THE BOOK OF SONGS* (*SHIJING*): AN ATTEMPT IN COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS*

Marián GÁLIK
Institute of Oriental and African Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences,
Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia

For Professor Wu-chi Liu at his 90th birthday on July 22, 1997

The aim of this study is to analyse the lyric(al)ness of the two great specimens of the ancient and Chinese poetry *Song of Songs* and *The Book of Songs*. The different specificity of the lyricism is underscored in the *poematis personae* of two poetic works: more metaphoric language of the first and more synecdochic of the second, with attention to aesthetic sides of the depicted reality in first, and more restrained ethical values highlighted in the second. The first book is extrovertly and the second introvertly oriented. For both is typical the use of similes, although of different character.

This is a part of a series of articles devoted to the relationhips and affinities between the *Bible* and Chinese literature.[1] Since the stress of my studies is usually on genetic-contact relationships, this study is an exception (so far), as there are no connections, direct or mediated, between the *Song of Songs* and *Shijing* [1] *The Book of Songs* whatsover, and this kind of research could be labelled either as typological or parallel study. In comparative literature, typological (or parallel) studies are of the

* This writer would like to thank Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung for scholarship during the three months' stay at the Sinological Institute of Bonn University, November 1996-January 1997, which enabled him to collect the material for and to finish this study. He feels also very much indebted Professor Wolfgang Kubin and Miss Nicola Heitkamp for their manysided and sincere help.

[1] GÁLIK, M.: *The Bible and Chinese Literature as Seen from the Angle of Intercultural Communication.* AAS 2, 1993 (new series), 2, pp. 113-133, *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: VI. Young Bing Xin (1919-1923).* AAS 2, 1993 (n.s.) 1, pp. 41-60, *Die junge Bing Xin, der alte Tagore und der gute Hirte. Ein Fallbeispiel aus der modernen chinesischen Geistesgeschichte.* In: KRÜAMANN, I., KUBIN, W. and MÖLLER, H.-G. (eds.): *Der Abbruch des Turmbaus. Studien zum Geist in China und im Abendland. Festschrift für Rolf Trauzettel.* Nettetal, Steyler Verlag 1995, pp. 211-225. *The Reception of the Bible in the Mainland China (1980-1992): Observation of a Literary Comparatist.* AAS 4, 1995 (n.s.) 1, pp. 24-46, *Wang Meng's Mythopoeic Vision of Golgotha and Apocalypse.* Annali (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli), 52, 19892, 2, pp. 61-82), *Mythopoetische Vision von Golgatha und Apokalypse bei Wang Meng.* Transl. into German by R.D. Findeisen. Minima sinica (Bonn), 2, 1991, pp.

same value as the genetic-contact (or influence) studies. Sometimes they could be even more important. According to Dionýz urišin: "We can say that typology is that stage in the investigation of interliterary relationships and affinities at which practical comparison presents its results to the theoretical aspect, in which scholarly practice goes hand in hand with theory, constructing at the same time a bridge between the national-literary and the interliterary historical approach."[2] This means that these studies could supply us with new informations concerned with the substance of the "literary fact", its specificities, which is one of the most important targets of the study of literature. In our case it will be the specificity of poetic lyricism.

This is not the first attempt of its kind. Comprehensive articles, such as that by Pei Boyan [1] *Shijing bijiao yanjiu* [ ] The Comparative Study of *The Book of Songs* and the *Song of Songs*[3] and a very instructive study by Christoph Herbsmeier: *Eroticism in Early Chinese Poetry. Sundry Comparative Notes*,[4] together with two other studies, as Zhou Lianhua [5]: *Shijing yu Yage* [6] *The Book of Songs and the Song of Songs,*[5] or Zhang Longxi: *The Letter or the Spirit: The Song of Songs, Allegoresis, and The Book of Poetry*,[6] partly or mostly analyse the allegorical aspects of both books, which is not my concern.

I shall look after presumably original meanings and literary explanation of the love songs they really had after their textual editing known to us and still now they possess.

1

The Book of Songs is a volume of 305 poems which has been divided into three or four sections, of which 160, named *Guofeng* [8] Airs of States and *Xiaoya* [9] Small Refined Songs, a total of 80 pieces, are relevant to the *Song of*

55-82, *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 Wolgang Bauer zum 65. Geburtstag.* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag 1995, pp. 449-461, *Gu Cheng's Novel Ying'er and the Bible.* AAS 5 1996, (n.s.) 1, pp. 83-97 and *Three Modern Taiwanese Poetesses (Rongzi, Xia Yu and Siren) on Three Wisdom Books of the Bible.* AAS 5 1996, (n.s.) 2, pp. 113-131. Four other studies are to be published soon: *Matres Dolorosae: Wang Duqing's before the Madonna and Guido Reni's La Crocifissione dei Capuccini* (for the *Festschrift* Lionello Lanciotti), *Mythopoeic Warrior and Femme Fatale: Mao Dun's Version of Samson and Delilah*, originally read at the international workshop: *The Bible in Modern China. The Literary and Intellectual Impact.* Jerusalem, June 23-28, 1996 and *On the Necessity of the "Third Covenant" and Interreligious Understanding: Confessions of an Idealist,* read ibid., and *Gegenwärtige taiwanesische Dichterin Rongzi über den Kohelet.*

[2] DURIŠIN, D.: *Theory of Interliterary Process.* Bratislava, Veda 1989, p. 145.

[3] Zhongwai wenxue [4] Chinese and Foreign Literature, 11, 1982, 8, pp. 4-37 and 9, pp. 4-55.

[4] SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, H. (ed.): op. cit. pp. 323-380.

[5] Funu zazhi [7] Women Journal (Taipei), 173, Feb. 1, 1980, pp. 110-118.

[6] Comparative Literature, 39, 3, 1987, pp. 193-217. This is an excellent study for those interested in allegorical aspects.

Songs, which is known as one poem of 117 verses, but it was probably composed from more individual poems, maybe bridal songs. Traditionally it has been divided into eight chapters, but these do not coincide with the original poems. The number of songs varies according to the modern researchers and translators: e.g., W.O.E. Oesterley found there 28 different poems[7] and Liang Gong [10], of Henan University, only six, which he overtook exactly from *The Living Bible* (1971) or the Chinese translation entitled: *Xiandai Shengjing* [11] Contemporary Bible (1980).[8]

The traditional authorship of the *Song of Songs* attributed to the King Solomon (reigned 961-922 or 965-931 B.C.) is groundless, in spite of plausibility of the existence of its parts during or even before Solomon's era. Its final redaction took place probably only in the 4th-3rd cent. B.C. as indicated by the presence of Persian and Greek loanwords in the text.[9]

The poems of *The Book of Songs* were written, collected and edited approximately between the 11th and 6th cent. B.C. If we do not know the editor(s) of the *Song of Songs*, the editor of *The Book of Songs* seems to be Confucius (571-479 B.C.), although there are suspicions whether it is true.[10] Allegedly Confucius selected more than 300 from the available more than 3000 poems.[11] We know this book from the *Maoshi* [14] Mao Version of *The Book of Songs*, although originally three other versions were in circulation.

The poems of the *Song of Song* were written down in the Palestine during the Persian-Hellenist times. S.R. Driver in the book entitled *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* supposes that they were a product of northern origin due to the geographical names, as Sharon, Lebanon, Tirzah, Damascus, Carmel, etc.,[12] although En-gadi, which is in the south, is also mentioned. In any case, it was half agricultural country with gardens and towns, and half nomadic country with its pastures. It was extraordinary country with different climactic areas with extremely fertile soil but also with deserts. Gilead on the eastern side of the river Jordan, was considered as the paradise for the nomads, and Shulamite, the beloved girl most important among the female representatives among the *poematis personae* of the *Song of Songs*, had the hair that was "as flock of goats, that appear from mount Gilead" (*4*, 1). The plain of Sharon was, and still is, very rich coastal country south of Mt. Carmel: the first famous for its fertility in crops, and the second for its wines.

---

[7] OESTERLEY, W.O.E.: *Song of Songs*, 1936. Taken from *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary. Part 3.* Sydney and Auckland, Tyndale House Publishers 1980, p. 1473.

[8] LIANG GONG: *Shengjing shige* [12] *Poetry from the Bible.* Tientsin, Baihua wenyi chubanshe [13] 1989, pp. 216-236.

[9] Cf. LANDY, Fr.: *The Song of Songs.* In: ALTER, R. and KERMODE, Fr. (eds.): *The Literary Guide to the Bible.* Cambridge (Mass.). The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1987, p. 319.

[10] HARBSMEIER, Chr.: op. cit., pp. 343-345.

[11] Ibid., p. 345.

[12] DRIVER, S.R.: *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* Cleveland, Meridian 1957, p. 449.

According to a short introduction preceding the translation of the *Song of Songs* in *The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha. Revised Standard Edition:* "Symbols and motifs derived from early mythology are still recognizable, but their original reference has been forgotten and they have become part of the special language of human love and courtship." Here we also read that this poetry "is graceful, sensuous, and replete with erotic imagery and allusions to the ancient myth of the love of a god and a goddess on which the fertility of nature was thought to depend."[13] These words are very wise and undogmatic, although they are too general and unconcrete. The love *liason* between god and goddess was analyzed in the works of German scholars, as W. Wittekindt on the cult of Ištar[14] and H. Schmökel on the cult in general, or the sacred marriage and their connections to the *Song of Songs.*[15]

It is good that the ancient Hebrew literature, including poetry, have been sufficiently studied within the framework of the ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian interliterary community which certainly existed between approximately the third millennium and 3rd cent. B.C.

The interliterary community of the Far East came into being much later than the era when both the *The Book of Songs* and the *Song of Songs* have been collected and edited. It began to be formed only in the first centuries of A.D., when first the kingdom of Paekche (18 B.C.- 660 A.D.), on the territory of the present-day Korea, and later Japan, followed China, i.e., *Zhongguo* [15] The Middle Kingdom, or *Zhonghua* [16] The Middle Civilization, at first fully and later partly, in literary endeavours within the Sinocentric world order.[16]

The Book of Songs was the first anthology of poetry in Chinese history and it became a paradigm for the poetic creations of the Far Eastern countries in the first centuries of the existence of this interliterary community. Both the contents and forms of *The Book of Songs* and the *Song of Songs* are relatively different, although thematically, as love poetry, in the case of the first partly and in the case of the second fully, are near to each other. *The Book of Songs* was a product of the vast agricultural areas of north China of the central plains of the Huanghe [17] Yellow River nearly without nomadic life, with hunting as one alternative. The flavour of these lands, the people living there for the centuries, left its imprint on this poetry and on its lyric qualities that are different from those in the *Song of Songs.*

2

There is no study, as far as I know, which traces the rise and development of the Near Eastern and Egyptian interliterary community, i.e., the literatures of

---

[13] Oxford 1965, p. 815.

[14] *Das Hohelied und seine Beziehungen zum Ištarkult.* Hannover, H. Lafaire 1925.

[15] *Zum kultischen Deutung des Hohenliedes.* Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 64, 1952, pp. 148-155 und *Heilige Hochzeit und Hoheslied*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1956.

[16] GÁLIK, M.: *Some Theoretical Problems of the Interliterary Community of the Far East.* In: *Proceedings of the XIIIth Congress of the ICLA/AILC. The Force of Vision. Vol. 6. Interasian Comparative Literature*, Tokyo 1995, pp. 222-228.

Mesopotamia and Egypt, Hittite and Hurrian, Ugaritic and Phoenician, and ancient Hebrew literatures, following the regularities of the interliterary process. The first chapters of the monumental (finished but only partly published) *Istoriya vsemirnoi literatury* (A History of World Literature) tried to do that but partly owing to the inaccessibility of some materials in the former Soviet Union, the inadequacy of the methodical instructions in this kind of research, or maybe even the faulty decision to discuss the ancient Hebrew literature within the chronological framework of ancient Chinese, Indian and Iranian literatures, resulted in its treatment not being fully adequate.[17] Apart of the fact that the manuscript of this great *oeuvre*, intended for 9 volumes, is much older that its partly published form, and was finished in the 1960s when the important works from the Near Eastern and Egyptian interliterary community known to us, were not studied or did not appear, or were not treated in relation to the *Song of Songs*.

As far as is known up to now the *Bible* is most indebted to the Ugaritic literature. But in very well documented and carefully written article by J.C. Greenfield entitled *The Hebrew Bible and Cannanite Literature*[18] the relationship to the *Song of Songs* is not even mentioned and in the learned book *Yahweh and the Gods of Cannan. A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* by W.F. Albright, we find only one which is worth mentioning: "The Shulamite of Canticles (another name of the *Song of Songs*, M.G.) goes back almost certainly to *Shulmanîtu*, name of the goddess of love and war, as well as a figure with underworld associations."[19] On another place W.F. Albright connects Shulmanîtu with two another goddessess Astarte and Ištar, the first one from the Canaanite and the second one from the Babylonian pantheon.[20] Here we are probably on the track of the unnamed goddess mentioned by the translators and commentators of *The Oxford Annotated Bible.* H.P. Müller shows us the description of an Ugaritic princess that is similar to that of Shulamite.[21]

Recently Gwendolyn Leick without having the *Bible* explicitly in mind, helped interested researchers of the *Song of Songs* a lotb with her book *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature.* She followed in this well-documented work the history of erotic literature beginning with the Sumero-Akkadian tradition of the third and early second millennia and ending with the sources of the second and first millennia B.C., practicallly up to the final version of the *Song of Songs.*

In the erotic poetry of Mesopotamia the closest parallels to the *Song of Songs* are bridal songs. According to G. Leick, the ideal framework was created for these songs, where the "young persons of both sexes were able to meet in public and form romantic attachments, although there is an air of furtiveness to their

---

[17] *Istoriya vsemirnoi literatury* (A History of World Literature). Vol. 1. Moscow, Nauka 1983, pp. 271-302. Pages 143-271 are devoted to the ancient Chinese, Indian and Iranian literature.

[18] ALTER, R. and KERMODE, Fr. (eds.): op. cit., pp. 545-559.

[19] London, The Athlone Press 1968, p. 131.

[20] Ibid., pp. 116-117.

[21] MÜLLER, H.-P.: *Vergleich und Metapher im Hohenlied.* Freiburg-Göttingen, Universitätsverlag-Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht 1984, pp. 24 and 31.

meetings. The main figure of authority for the girl is her mother, but the brother also plays an important role. The emotional state of the girl is a major theme. She dreams of her lover, she longs to meet him, in secret, and she looks forward to her wedding day, primarily in anticipation or even reminiscence of sensual pleasure".[22]

The main woman protagonist of these bridal songs is the Sumerian goddess Inanna, the forerunner of later Babylonian-Assyrian Ištar and Canaanite Shulmanîtu or Astarte (Ashtarot). Her boy-friend is the Sumerian shepherd Dummuzi (later Tammuz) "who operates in the *edin*, the semi-desert beyond the cultivated land."[23] The abode of Inanna is the garden, just like that of Shulamite from the *Song of Songs.*

Let us quote here the words of Inanna according to the text entitled the *Manchester Tammuz*:

> [He] brought joy into the garden,
> I am the girl, the lady, where are you, my man?
> [The shepherd(?)] brought joy into the garden,
> I am [the girl (?)], the lady, where are you, my man?
> Into the garden of apple trees he brought joy,
> For the shepherd (?) the apples are loaded
> with attractiveness (*hi-li*),
> Into the garden of grapes he brought a joy.[24]

Plant imagery abounds in the *Song of Songs*. Here is one example:

> I *am* the rose of Sharon, *and* the lily of the valleys.
> As the lily among thorns, so *is* my love among the daughters.
> As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so *is*
> my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow
> with grand delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste...
> Stay me with flagons, conform me with apples: for I *am* sick of love (*2*, 1-3 and 5)

According to Francis Landy the garden "is the longest episode as well as the central image in the poem; its relation to the poem corresponds to that of the garden to the world."[25] As we shall see later, if not exactly the garden, then the

---

[22] LEICK, G.: *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature.* London and New York, Routledge 1994, p. 67.

[23] Ibid., p. 69.

[24] Ibid., p. 73.

[25] LANDY, Fr.: *The Song of Songs*, p. 317.

woods, the nature will also be an overwhelming factor in the poetry of the "Airs of States" and of the Small Refined Songs in *The Book of Songs.*

In some other text devoted to Inanna, she is a "bride" and "consort" of different Sumerian kings. "My consort, maid Inanna, Lady, voluptuousness of Heaven and Earth"[26] is a quotation from a hymn eulogizing King Šulgi (ca. 2094-2047 B.C.) and his ritual connection with the goddess of love and fertility. Šulgi is here another "shepherd Dumuzi", which evokes in us the triangular relation between the unnamed shepherd in the *Song of Songs*, Shulamite and King Solomon. Here "marriage" occurs between Šulgi and Inanna, which in another composition (or royal hymn) dedicated to King Iddin-Dagan of Isin (ca. 1953-1935 B.C.) is delineated as follows:

> The day is named, the day is fixed, the day the lord
> arouses the woman.
> Give life to the lord! Give the lord the staff and
> crook!
> She demands it, she demands it, she demands the bed,
> The bed that rejoices the heart
> She demands it, she demands the bed...
> By the bed that makes the embrace delicious, by him
> (making it delicious); by his delicious bed of the
> delicious embrace.[27]

In the *Song of Songs* the wedding bedchamber of Solomon is depicted:

> King Solomon made himself a chariot (a bed, according to the note, M.G.) of the wood of Lebanon.
> He made the pillows thereof *of* silver, the bottom thereof *of* gold, the covering of it *of* purple, the midst thereof being paved *with* love, for the daughters of Jerusalem (*3*, 9-10).

In most of Mesopotamian love songs of different genres too much stress is put on the act of love-making or on the pleasure derived from this encounter. This is not the case of the *Song of Songs* and of the biblical poetry in general. There are, of course, other differences, too. E.g. the genitals of the lovers are never mentioned openly in the second, but they are often praised in the first. The royal hymns mentioned above had an impact on the courtly love poetry, where there are more resemblances to the *Song of Songs* than in the bridal songs, namely the description of the male lover:

> O my (beloved), fair of locks, my (beloved) fair of locks,

---

[26] LEICK, G.: op. cit., p. 97.

[27] Ibid., p. 100.

My sweet one, tree well grown
O my (beloved), fair of locks,
O my (beloved), fair of locks, like a date-palm!
O my (beloved) fair of shaggy neck - like date
fibres!...
My (beloved) with a lapis lazuli beard!
My (beloved) with a beard mottled like a slab
of lapis lazuli,
My (beloved) with locks arranged ropewise![28]

The description of the girl is simpler and is concerned with other qualities:

'My beloved bride makes my fame appear in all mouths!
As sweet as her mouth is her vulva
And as sweet as her vulva is her mouth' (gap)
You are truly a sweet one to talk with!
You are truly one producing a reign of pleasant days!
You are truly one establishing prime counsel and
honest judgment!
You are truly establishing (in the cult) purity
and clean hands!
Beloved of Enlil, may the heart of your personal god,
Should it become embittered, again relax!
Come with the sun!
Go with the sun![29]

Both kinds of descriptions of male and female protagonists in the *Song of Songs* are more excellent from literary point of view and aesthetically more valuable. Especially that of Shulamite, taking over some of the feature belonging to a man in the Sumerian love song:

Behold, thou *art* fair, my love; behold, thou *art* fair,
thou *hast* doves' eyes within thy locks: thy hair *is*
a flock of goats, that appear from mount Gilead...
Thy neck *is* like the tower of David builded for an
armoury, wherein there hang a thousand bucklers, all
shields of mighty men.
Thy two breasts *are* like two young roes that are
twins, which feed among the lilies...
Thou *art* all fair, my love, *there is* no spot in
thee (*4*, 1, 3-5 and 7)

---

[28] Ibid., p. 119.

[29] Loc. cit.

Only two places allude the female genitals in the *Song of Songs:* the first one where Shulamite acknowkledges that she was appointed as a "keeper of the vineyards" but her own "vineyard" she was not able to keep (*1*, 6), and the second where her navel is depicted as "a round goblet which wanteth not liquor" (*7*, 2). In the case of the vineyard, this is the opinion of Marwin Pope in the *Anchor Bible*, No. 7c, published in Garden City, New York 1977, who means it literally, which probably is not the case. What navel is concerned, quite a few researchers take it as a euphemism for pudenda, e.g. Paul Haupt in *The Book of Canticles*, American Journal for Semitic Languages and Literature, 18, 1902, p. 239, or Daniel Lys in *Le Plus Beau Chant de la Création*, Paris 1968, and once again Pope, according to whom "navels are not notable for their capacity to store or dispense moisture" (cf. Michel V. Fox: *The Song of Songs and the Egyptian Love Songs*. Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press 1985, pp. 102 and 158-159).

If more dogmatic experts on the *Bible* denied the impact of Tammuz (Dumuzi) cult on the *Song of Songs*,[30] they certainly did not take into account the regularities of the interliterary and intercultural process within the specific interliterary or intercultural community. If we may believe at least partly in the biblical history (although very mythopoeized within the theocratic framework), concerning the descent of the Hebrew people from the Patriarch Abraham (fl. ca. 1700 B.C.), which clearly points to its Mesopotamian cradle, beginning with the City of Ur in the south and ending in Haran in the north, then to Canaan (Shechem and Negeb) and Egypt, we make take into account that the people of Israel had the possibility to become acquainted in the course of the centuries, even millennia, with the literature and culture of the places they wandered through or lived in. Maybe the act attributed to God in the prophecy: "Then he brought me to the gate of the Lord's house which was toward the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz," (Ezekiel, *8*, 14), is not a proof of Dumuzi's impact on the *Song of Songs*, but it is a direct evidence of his cult among the Hebrew women right at the entrance of the Lord's sanctuary! We can find even greater manifestations of admiration towards Ashtaroth we may find in different places in the *Bible* (*Judges*, *2*, 13, *10*, 6 and *I. Samuel*, *7*, 4), but probably in the relation to the *Song of Songs* most important is that pertaining to King Solomon himself:

> For it came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods:... For

---

[30] *The Illustrated Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 1473. Here the secondary sources abound, e.g. MEEK, Th.: *Canticles and the Tammuz Cult.* American Journal of Semitic languages and Literatures, 39, 1922, pp. 1-14, HALLER, M.: *Die fünf Megilloth. Ruth, Hoheslied, Klagelieder, Esther (Der Prediger Salomo vom K. Galling).* Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr 194, pp. 22, 24 and 45, WIDENGREN, G.: *Sakrales Königtum im alten Israel und in Judentum.* Stuttgart, Kohlhammer Verlag 1955, pp. 78-79. We mentioned SCHMÖKEL's works in the note 15. There are critical views concerning this opinion, but they are mostly of theological character, see WÜRTHWEIN, E.: *Zum Verständnis des Hohenliedes. Otto Eißfeldt zum 80. Geburtstag.* Theologische Rundschau, Neue Folge, 32, 1967, pp. 177-212, esp. 291.

Solomon went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the
Zidonians (Sidonians, M.G.) and after Milcom
(Moloch, M.G.) the abomination of the Ammonites
(*I. Kings*, *11*,5).

I think that W.F. Albright was right when he asserted that "repetitive parallelism" which we had the possibility to observe in the quotations, were the "archaic survivals" in some later books of the *Bible*, or "picked up from the mouth of the people, where they had been handed down without change for centuries (as in the Canticles)". [31] And in another place he affirmed that some "of the names of pagan divinities have simply become secular Hebrew words with no pagan meaning; mythological expressions are used as poetic symbolism without indicating the slightest reverence for the original pagan deities, just as many Christian poets of the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries A.D."[32]

The examples from the Mesopotamian and Hebrew literature we have used in this contribution, are a good illustration of the so-called integrational and differential functions[33] of literature within the interliterary community. Mesopotamian love songs in different genres helped to form the Hebrew love songs, but the Hebrew love songs were created on a higher level: they integrated some elements of these songs into their structure, but they surpassed them and made them axiologically more valuable and aesthetically more perfect. The same process, may also be observed in relation to the Egyptian songs, although according to my opinion not to such a great extent. These were diligently studied by Michael V. Fox in the extensive monograph *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs*, mentioned above, and therefore the reader is advised to consult this book.

3

In the Far East the situation was different from that of Near East and Egypt. China could not cherish any cultural or literary gains of its neighbours, since they were uncultured barbarians. She was the only country with *wen* [18] culture, literature, the germs of philosophical thought, having its own script, great art (exquisite bronzes, bronze and bone inscriptions, etc.).

It is not strange that the first Chinese poetry was either without great artistic values, as the *Song* [19] Odes section of the *Book of Songs*, or originally very simple poems or songs from the Airs of States. Some of them preserved their simplicity, some of them are more elaborate, and many of them are comparable to the *Song of Songs,* if they are concerned with love or mariage.

China did not have its Inanna or Dumuzi, Ištar or Tammuz, its Astarte or Shulmanitu. A goddess of love and her lovers were out of the question in China,

---

[31] ALBRIGHT, F.: op. cit., p. 221.

[32] Ibid., pp. 163-164.

[33] DURIŠIN, D.: *Communautés interlittéraires spécifiques 6. Notions et principes.* Bratislava, Institut de Litterature Mondiale. Academie Slovaque des Sciences 1993, pp. 40-41.

or next to impossible and if they existed in some form, unknown to us, they were never passed on to posterity. The Odes from the *Book of Songs* are "typical sacrificial and commemorative dance songs, there are a number of songs on miscellaneous subjects - moral exhortation, agricultural life, etc.",[34] or they "sing of the grandeur of their ancient kings, (as in the *Lu* [20] Odes,M.G.), in conformity with the universal standard of filial piety".[35] There is no trace of sexuality and eroticism of the bridal songs and their successive poetic forms in Mesopotamian or Egyptian literature.

In the second division of the *Book of Songs,* organized into two sections called *Daya* [21] Great Refined Songs and in Small Refined Songs the situation is different. Whereas in the first section we find the songs comparable to the Odes and mainly concerned with offerings to gods and ancestors, feasting and drinking, eulogies of warriors and their battles, the legends about the founders and ancestors of the Zhou [22] Dynasty (1122-255 B.C.), in the second section, which is much more refined from the artistic point of view, we find authentic examples of restrained, typical Chinese lyricism. By the way, *Yage* [23] i.e. Refined Song is the Chinese name for the *Song of Songs.*

The first highly prizing remark by Confucius is concerned with the song No. 1 in the Mao Version entitled *Guan ju* [24].[36] In this contribution I shall use (with minor changes) the best translation of the *Book of Songs* available: that of Bernhard Karlgren in his *The Book of Odes*, although I believe, just as this distinguished Swedish scholar, that the translation does not have sufficient literary value:[37]

Guanguan [25] cry the *jujiu* [26] birds
on the islet of the river.
The beautiful and good girl
is a good mate for the lord.

The *xing* [27] waterplants are of varying length,
we gather them to the left and right.
The beautiful and good girl,
waking and sleeping he thought for her.

He wished for her but he did not get her.

---

[34] CH'EN SHOU-YI: *Chinese Literature. A Historical Introduction.* New York, The Ronald Press Company 1961, p. 18.

[35] Ibid., p. 19.

[36] "The Guanju Ode is about joy without excess, grief without harm." See LAU, D.C. (transl.): *Confucius: The Analects.* Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1983, pp. 24-25. A. WALEY in *The Analects of Confucius.* Fourth impression. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1964, p. 99, translates these words as follows: "The Ospreys! Pleasure not carried to the point of debauch; grief not carried to the point of self-injury."

[37] *The Book of Odes. Chinese Text, Transcription and Translation by Bernhard Karlgren.* Stockholm, The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 1950, p. 1.

Waking and sleeping he thought of her.
Longing and desiring,
he tossed and fidgeted.

The *xing* waterplants are of varying length,
we gather them to the left and to the right.
The beautiful and good girl,
guitars and lutes hail her as a friend.

The *xing* waterplants are of varying length,
we cull them to the left and to the right.
The beautiful and good girl,
bells and drums delight her.[38]

In the *Song of Songs* we find a different start:

Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth:
for thy love *is* better than wine.
Because of the savour of thy ointments thy name *is*
as ointment poured forth, therefore do the virgins
love thee. Draw me, we will run after thee... (*1*, 2-4)

We see here at first glance that in the *Song of Songs*, the girl or bride is active, she longs for the kisses, and she compares the love with wine. In China it was certainly seldom the case, and in the *Book of Songs* I have found only two songs where active girls were presented, although never in such an open way. In No. 147 called *Su guan* [30], the girl expresses her inner demand:

Would that I could see the white robe,
my heart is pained.
I wish that I could go with you to your home.

Or even more explicitly:

I wish that I could become as one with you.[39]

As to the female inactivity, both in the social and private matters, we find relatively more examples in the *Book of Songs*. Probably the best one is No. 145 *Ze po* [31] where, for example, the second stanza reads as follows:

---

[38] *Mao Shi Zheng jian* [28] Commentaries to Mao's Version of the *Book of Songs* by ZHENG XUAN [29] (127-200). Juan 1, SPPY ed. Taipei, n.y., pp. 2B-3B and B. KARLGREN: op. cit., p. 1.

[39] ZHENG XUAN, juan 7, pp. 7AB and KARLGREN, p. 92.

By the shore of that marsh there are sedges and lotus fruits.
There is a certain beautiful man,
grandly large and handsome.
Waking and sleeping I know not what to do
In the core of my heart I am grieved.[40]

The mode of *wuwei ziran* [32] *laissez faire, laissez passer*[41] was a kind of *condition humaine* which was left to the Chinese girls and women in the strict patriarchal society. Among the ancient Hebrews the situation was similar but in their literary works there was more freedom and in the *Song of Songs*, as we may observe, Shulamite is as active as both her male partners. It is necessary to say that the *Song of Songs* was an exception in the Hebrew poetry which, in general, was also erotically quite restrained.

Both similarities and dissimilarities are important for the study of literature within its typological framework. One of those similarities is concerned with the concept of nature, mostly outer nature, or even the world. Fr. Landy remarked rightly in her reflection concerned with the *Song of Songs* that the discourse of love in it "draws into its orbits things, plants, animals, geography. It can do nothing else: lovers communicate only through metaphor. The lover explores the other person and finds in the body affirmation, response, and also attitude."[42]

In the *Book of Songs* we may see it as clearly as in the *Song of Songs*, although on a different literary, aesthetic and developmental level. In No. 1 the *jujiu* [26] birds and *xing* [27] waterplants (Arthur Waley translates them as the ospreys and water mellows respectively)[43] are prototypes for later poetic creations during the whole course of Chinese literature up to the modern poet Li Ji [34] (1922-), as far as I know.[44] Herein the *Book of Songs* and in Tian Jian's work, natural facts (mostly plants and animals) are similes and their descriptions induce the inner moods and the outer appearance and characteristics of the characters involved, in our case the lovers of both sexes. In this book the simplest kind of poetic expression is used: plant or animal imagery precedes the description of the human characters involved which, as a rule immediately and schematically, follows. As in No. 118 called *Chou mou* [35] , where the first stanza begins as:

Tied round is the bundled firewood,
the Three Stars are in the heavens,

---

[40] ZHENG XUAN, juan 7, p. 5B and KARLGREN, p. 92.

[41] More about this see in CREEL, H.G.: *On the Origin of Wu-Wei.* In: *Symposium in Honor of Dr. Li Chi on His Seventieth Birthday.* Vol. 1. Taipei, Qinghua xuebaoshe [33] 1965, pp. 105-137. Also FUNG YU-LAN: *A History of Chinese Philosophy.* Vol. 1. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1952, pp. 331-334 and passim.

[42] LANDY, Fr.: *The Song of Songs,* p. 305.

[43] *The Book of Songs.* Transl. from the Chinese by Arthur WALEY. Third Impression. London, George Allen Unwin Ltd. 1969, p. 81.

[44] PRŮŠEK, J.: *Die Literatur der befreiten Chinas und ihre Volkstraditionen.* Prag 1955, pp. 155-156 and 568-588.

the second stanza as:

> Tied round is that bundled hay,
> the Three Stars are in the corner,

and the last one as:

> Tied round is the bundled thornwood,
> the Three Stars are seen in the door.[45]

According to the explanation given by Karlgren, the bundled firewood (and its variation) is a "standing metaphor for the cohesion and solidarity of the family",[46] this time a newly founded family, or marriage at its start, and the Three Stars symbolize the three beautiful girls, probably one first-rank wife and two secondary wives. Not too many if compared with Solomon's harem where:

> There are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines,
> and virgins without number (*6*, 8)

The similes in the *Song of Songs* are different, more personal, symbolic in another way, graphic and sublime. This is as Shulamite describes herself:

> I *am* black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem,
> as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon
> (*1*, 5)

or:

> I *am* a wall, and my breasts like towers (*8*, 10)

The same could be said about the assertions of the unnamed shepherd addressed to Shulamite:

> Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins,
> which feed among lilies (*4*, 5)

or:

> Thy two breasts *are* like two young roes that *are* twins
> (*7*, 9)

or:

> This thy stature is like to a palm tree, and thy breasts
> to cluster of *grapes* (*7*, 7)

and lastly:

---

[45] ZHENG XUAN, juan 6, pp. 3B-4A and KARLGREN, p. 76.

[46] B. KARLGREN, loc. cit.

I said, I will go up to the palm tree, I will take
hold the boughs thereof; now also thy breasts
shall be as clusters of the wine... (*7*, 8)

The similes, even if they are close to each other as we have just observed in the case of the two young roes or clusters of grapes (wine), are not so monotonously and more or less mechanically dispersed through the text, as in the *Book of Songs*. By the way, the breasts of Shulamite, are mostly delineated part of feminine body. Probably one simile is not understandable for us, Westerners, that concerned with Shulamite's breasts and the young roes. Roe was in Hebrew a synonym for beauty and might suggest the timidity and delectation.[47]

We find a roe in one of the most beautiful poems of the *Book of Songs*, in No. 23 entitled *Ye you si qun* [36]:

In the wilds there was a dead roe,
wrapped with white grass.
There was a girl with spring feelings (*you nu huai chun)* [37], a fine gentleman enticed her.

In the forest there were shrubby trees,
in the wilds there was a dead roe.
With white grass one wrapped and bound it.
There was a girl like jade (*you nu ru yu*) [38].
Slowly, gently!
Do not move my kerchief!
Do not make the dog bark![48]

This song probably remained unfinished. The roe here and the young roes in the *Song of Songs* are very different. This one symbolizes a girl, seduced, and later probably abandoned by the impatient fellow. The dead roe alludes to the personal tragedy of the chaste and lovesick girl. It was certainly mainly for moral reasons that the editor(s) included this song into the *Book of Songs*.

Let us return again to the feminine breasts. Breasts are not mentioned in the *Book of Songs*. And not only breasts, if we have in mind the necessary physical endowments of the young bride. The fullest and most typical also for later Chinese poetry is the description of Zhuang Jiang [39], daughter of the Lord Qi [40], who married Lord Wei [41] in 757 B.C.:

Her hands were like soft young shoots,
her skin like lard.
Her neck was like the tree-grub,
her teeth like melon-seeds.

---

[47] Cf. LANDY, Fr.: *The Song of Songs*, p. 310.

[48] ZHENG XUAN, juan 1, pp. 17AB, KARLGREN, p. 13.

Her head was cicada-like,
her eyebrows moth-like (*e mei*) [42].
Her smiling mouth was red,
her beautiful eyes well-defined black and white.[49]

The description begins with the soft hands, passes to the face and head, and ends with her neck. Other parts of the feminine body, not to speak about those which are so important for the love life of young people, are not even hinted at. The lips, the first medium for this kind of more intimate communication, and mentioned at the beginning of the *Song of Songs* are here adumbrated only as smiling and red, as a means of primarily social intercourse.

The bodies of the lovers, spouses or newly married couples are never described in the *Book of Songs* in their erotic or sexual meanings.[50] Other parts of the woman body, except of those mentioned above, were taboos for the editor(s) of this book. The readers of this anthology, and from 136 B.C., practically to the beginning of the 20th cent. A.D., the students were obliged to learn them by heart and thus were taught to follow the moral and social norms and not to indulge in sexual intoxication.[51]

In the *Song of Songs* were only the genitals and buttocks were taboo.[52] The enamoured shepherd adores Shulamite in the following way:

How beautiful are thy feet with shoes, O prince's
daughter! the joint of thy thighs *are* like jewels,
the work of the hands of a cunning workman (*7*, 1).

About her navel we quoted already the relevant text, and about belly her lover has to say:

thy belly *is like* a heap of wheat set about with lilies (*7*, 2).

Even the beloved male is differently described in the *Book of Songs* than in the *Song of Songs*. We can find the best depiction in three stanzas of the poem No. 55 entitled *Qi yu* [47]:

---

[49] This is from the poem entitled *Shi ren* [43]. See ZHENG XUAN, juan 3, pp. 10B-11A and KARLGREN, p. 38.

[50] This could be said in general about the traditional Chinese literature and art, with the exception of later erotic and even pornographic parts, cf. HAY, John: *The Body Invisible in Chinese Art.* In: ZITO, A. and BARLOW, T.E. (eds.): *Body, Subject and Power in China*. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press 1994, pp. 42-77. For the description of the female body in the traditional Chinese poetry see, CHEN HONGSHI [44]: *Lun gudian shi fu zhong de nuxing xingti miaoxie* [45] Descriptions of the Female Bodies in the Classic Chinese Poetry. Jianghan luntan [46] Hankou Review, 10, 1995, pp. 79-85.

[51] CH'EN SHOU-YI: op. cit., p. 32.

[52] According to M.V. FOX, op. cit., p. 158, *hammuqey y 'rekayik* from *7*, 1, means either the place where the thigh turns, or the buttocks which are curved.

Elegant is the lord,
his ear-plugs are of precious stones.
Hair-fastening leather cap is shining as a star.
How imposing, how conspicuous!
Elegant is the lord, never can I forget him.[53]

This kind of beauty and elegance has nothing to do with a living male body, it is a beauty of the statue. In the eyes of Shulamite her lover

is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand.
His head *is* as the most fine gold, his locks *are*
bushy, *and* black as a raven.
His eyes *are* as the eyes of doves by the rivers of waters,
washed with milk *and* fitly set.
His cheeks are as a bed of spices,
as sweet flowers: his lips *like* lilies dropping sweet myrrh.
His hands *are as* gold rings set with beryl: his belly
is as bright ivory overlight *with* sapphires.
His legs *are as* pillars of marble, set upon sockets of fine gold:
his countenance *is* as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars.
His mouth *is* most sweet: yea, he *is* altogether lovely.
This is my beloved, and this is my friend, O daughters
of Jerusalem (*5*, 10-16).

This description corresponds to that of Shulamite from the mouth of the shepherd. It highlights their common characteristics, as black colour, eyes of doves, milk, spices, lilies, myrrh and sweetness of the kisses, but also those which are the properties of kings, even gods. His body from head up to feet evokes in her the forgotten images of mythical ancestors. The impact of the cult of statues of earlier "pagan" origin here could be clearly documented.[54] Inspite of that the beauty of her friend has more male characteristic features than the Chinese gentleman.

4

"What will ye see in the Shulamite?" asks probably the shepherd and responds, at first, enigmatically: "As it were in the company of two armies," and then enumerates we have partly met in this contribution, or such that seem to be congenial to our European taste, and partly not, as we have seen in the "young roes and the Shulamite" metaphor:

---

[53] ZHENG XUAN, juan 3, pp. 9B-10 and KARLGREN, p. 37.

[54] Cf. MÜLLER,H.-P.: op. cit., p. 27, HERMANN, W.: *Gedanken zur Geschichte des altorientalischen Beschreibungsliedes.* Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 75, 1963, pp. 177-179 and GERLEMAN, G.: *Ruth - Das Hohelied.* Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag 1965, p. 65.

Thy neck *is* as a tower of ivory; thine eyes *like*
fishpools in Heshbon, by the gate of Bath-rabbim:
thy nose *is* as the tower of Lebanon which
looketh toward Damascus.
Thine head upon thee *is* like Carmel, and the hair
of thine head like purple... (*7*, 4-5)

Here the face and head of Shulamite evokes in the reader the land of the Hebrews and its northern neighbours. Lebanon, Heshbon, Carmel are the metaphors of her eyes, nose and head.[55] But immediately after the quoted passage, there follow likewise enigmatic words: "a king is held in tresses", which according to Fr. Landy alludes to the sacred marriage of the Shulamite and the king.[56] If this is right assumption, then Shulamite is here put into the Near Eastern mythological framework and similar to Inanna in her relationship to Sumerian kings.

Shulamite is not only the long forgotten goddess and queen and paragon of beauty, she is also a model of moral purity. In Jewish tradition she represented the Hebrew people as the spouse of God and later in Christian era the Church as the bride of Jesus Christ.[57] In the Catholic Church, the Shulamite as "all fair" and without "spot" (*mum 'en*) on the body and soul, became an *epitheton ornans* of Saint Mary, Mother of Christ.[58]

In the Shulamite and in her *unum et duum* lover we find the highest hypostasis of human love, with even divine traits. Divine also in the "pagan" meaning, as its antecedents in the Near Eastern and Egyptian literary legacy show. Its erotic and ethical purity compatible even with the strict and high Jewish and Christian standards is new. The Hebrew editor(s) of the *Song of Songs* certainly managed to purge its text from all elements which might pose a danger to sexual morals. The editor(s) of the *Book of Songs* did just the same, although using different literary devices and even stricter ethical postulates.

---

[55] In Chinese poetry and literature in general, woman is often depicted in different way. In the song No. 264 entitled *Zhan yang* [48] we read: "A clever man builds a city wall,/ a clever woman overthrows it./ Beautiful is clever woman,/ but she is an owl, a hooting owl;/ a woman with a long tongue,/ she is a promoter of evil./ Disorder is not sent down from Heaven,/ it is produced by women./ Those who cannot be taught or instructed are women and eunuchs." (ZHENG XUAN, juan 18, pp. 24 AB and KARLGREN, p. 237). Cf. also the opinion of Confucius in the text related to the note 70.

[56] LANDY, Fr.: *The Song of Songs*, op. cit., p. 315. By the way, The King James' version (which is used in this study): "the king *is* held in galleries", is in this case, not appropriate.

[57] Cf. e.g., UFFENHEIMER, B..: *Myth and Reality in Ancient Israel.* In: EISENSTADT, S.N.(ed.): *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilization.* Albany, State University of New York 1986, pp. 151-152 and the commentaries to the translation in the King James' version. The first of them reads as follows: "The church's love unto Christ", which should be the basic meaning of the *Song of Songs.*

[58] van den OUDENRIJN, M.A.: *Von Sinne des Hohenliedes.* Divus Thomas Freiburg (Schweiz), 31, 1953, p. 279.

Let us now return once again to the song No. 23. There the girl like a jade was similar in her purity to the Shulamite. Maybe she was not "fairest among women" (*5*, 9 and *6*, 1) and certainly not beautiful "as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem" (*6*, 4): On the other hand the words of the shepherd could be applicable for the Chinese girl: "How fair and how pleasant art thou, O love, for delights" (*7*, 6). The girl with spring feelings in her bosom is a disguised expression for a lovesick, but timid, ethically and socially responsible girl. She is holding *(chi)* [49] her feelings *(qing)* [50] within the boundaries prescribed at least by the social norms of her community.[59] In contrast to the Shulamite, she is not depicted in the nude, but in her "nakedness". When her minion tries to unfasten her girdle, she asks him to be slow and gentle and to undress her only to the most inevitable measure and not to make the dog bark. Her body is invisible but her amorous longing is clearly to be seen. All other is left to the imagination of the reader or hearer.

Another girl in the poem No. 76 *Jiang Zhongzi* [51] tries to persuade the boy to be more careful when trying to woo her and not to break *qi* [52] willows, mulberries and the *tan* [53] trees, and not to provoke her parents, brothers and neighbours to intervene, since she loves him.[60]

In one another simple song No. 87 *Qian shang* [54] a girl teases a boy before a possible *randez-vous*:

> If you lovingly think of me,
> I will lift my skirt and wade the Chen.
> But if you do not long for me,
> is there no other man?
> Oh you most foolish of foolish fellows![61]

In the poem No. 94 *Ye you man cao* [55] is not possible to decide whether the main *poematis persona* is *masculini* or *feminini generis*. The protagonist says:

> In the open grounds there is a creeping grass,
> the filling dew is plentiful.
> There is a beautiful person (*you mei yi ren*) [56]
> with clear and rounded forehead.
> We met carefree and happy
> and my desires were satisfied (*shi wo yuan xi* [57][62]

We, of course, cannot know what desires were meant in the last line. This song ends with marriage and living together.

---

[59] Cf. GÁLIK, M.: *The Concept of Creative Personality in Traditional Chinese Literary Criticism*, Oriens Extremus, 27, 1980, pp. 183-202, esp. 196.

[60] ZHENG XUAN, juan 4, pp. 7B-8A and KARLGREN, p. 51.

[61] ZHENG XUAN, juan 4, p. 14A and KARLGREN, p. 57.

[62] ZHENG XUAN, juan 4, p. 18A and KARLGREN, p. 61.

The love in the *Book of Songs* and in the *Song of Songs* is very different. In the *Song of Songs* we do not see the souls, the psychology of the loving couple. The love is put on the very top of the value ladder and probably the most beautiful words about love in the whole world literature were said here. But these words do not care what love in human life really represents:

> Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon
> thine arm: for love *is* strong as death; jealousy *is* as
> cruel as the grave: the coals thereof *are* coals of fire,
> *which hath* a most vehement flame.
> Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods
> drawn it: (*8*, 6-7)

But in spite of this:

> if a man would give all the substance of his house for
> love, it would be utterly contemned *(8*, 7).

Mainly for these lines was the *Song of Songs* included by some into the Wisdom books of the *Bible* along with *The Proverbs, The Ecclesiastes, The Book of Job*, *Ecclesiasticus* and some others.[63] What was wisdom for the sages of ancient Israel, was folly for those of China. Confucius would certainly condemn such a kind of love as pleasure carried to the point of debauchery[64] and overstepping the boundaries of the right path or of the golden mean.[65] The old Hebrew sons and daughters of God were different from those of China. The dictates of the heart[66] were the same, only the measure of their fulfilment and their delineation in the works of literature and art was divergently defined and realized.

In the poem No. 228 *Xi sang* [58] a young girl meets the lord of her heart under the mulberry trees and feels very happy. The end of the poem may be understood as follows:

> Love that is in my heart, (*xin hu ai yi*) [59]
> why it should not be expressed? (*xia bu wei yi*) [60]
> To the core of my heart I preserve it (*zhong xin zang zhi*) [61]
> Could I ever forget it? (*he ri wang zhi*) [52] [67]

---

[63] According to *Rediscovering the Bible* by L. GROLLENBERG, London, SCM Press Ltd. 1978, p. 211, to this group belong also the *Psalms, Proverbs* and the Five Megilloth or Scrolls, i.e. except of the *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes,* also *Ruth, Lamentations* and *Esther*. As to the question of belonging to the wisdom books of the *Bible*, the opinions slightly differ.

[64] See note 36.

[65] Cf. A. WALEY: *The Analects of Confucius:* "At seventy I could follow the dictates of my heart; for what I desired no longer overstepped the boundaries of right" (p. 88).

[66] Loc. cit.

[67] ZHENG XUAN, juan 15, p. 8B and KARLGREN, p. 181.

Where love is concerned, these lines are probably the most beautiful in the whole *Book of Songs* and comparable to that "as strong as death" or as "a most vehement flame", but expressed with simplest means: "how great is my joy! (*qi luo ru he*) [63], "how should I not be happy" (*yun he bu luo*) [64] or as we have just seen: "Could I ever forget it?" The loving encounter of the unnamed Chinese lady was situated in a field with mulberry trees comparable to the garden in the *Song of Songs.*

The garden is the most important *topos* of the surrounding nature and the world in the *Song of Songs.* In this garden lies probably a green bed where Shulamite and her favourite boy made love (cf. *1*, 16).[68] The Chinese girl does not say a word about herself and the boy is also silent, but Shulamite's lover begins with a geyser of epithets and similes concerning her and her bodily charms:

> A garden inclosed *is* my sister, *my* spouse; a spring
> shut up, a fountain sealed.
> Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates with
> pleasant fruits, camphire, with spikenard,
> Spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all
> trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes, with all the
> chief spices: a fountain of gardens, a well of living
> waters, a stream from Lebanon.
> Awake, O north wind; and come south; blow upon my
> garden, *that* the spices thereof may flow out. Let my
> beloved come into his garden, and eat his fruits (*4*, 12-16).

Here is the naked body of Shulamite presented in all her nudity, only wrapped up into the exotic plants, spices and perfumes.

Invitation to love is quite clear from the 16th verse which is the last in the Chapter 4. The 1st verse of the Chapter 5 is its consumnation:

> I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse; I have
> gathered my myrrh with my spice, I have eaten my honeycomb
> with my honey. I have drunk my wine with my milk: eat,
> O friends; drink, ye, drink abundantly, O beloved (*5*, 1)

In China such a long chain of plant and other metaphors concerned with a woman would be unimaginable. "*Ai* [65] was not a proper subject of discourse in pre-Han China,"[69] wrote Chr. Harbsmeier. And if there was a concept of love, it was the ordinary love among the sexes inevitable for the prolongation of *humani generis* in a well-ordered and strictly ethical society.

---

[68] According to G. GERLEMAN: op. cit., p. 72: "It is not possible to deny that in these poems the love life is presented in a way that is unique in the whole *Old Testament.*"

[69] HARBSMEIER, Chr.: op. cit., p. 350.

Amor uxoris, yes, *amor puellae*, no. There was neither *amor Dei,* nor *amor divae* in China. Love was a part of manners, ethics and of social rites, a part of human feelings that should be in agreement with *xing* [66] human nature led by the reason and held within the proper boundaries, just as everything else, poetry inclusive, as we have seen above. By the way, Confucius despised women as low and shallow people: "The master said, Women and people of low code of moral and manners are very hard to deal with. If you are friendly with them, they get out of hand, and if you keep your distance, they resent it."[70] (*17, 25*)

For this Sage, god-like love between women and men could be only incomprehensible and even dangerous.

5

God-like love in the *Song of Songs* and its aesthetic expression had much to do with the religious spirit and the literature or art of Near Eastern and Egyptian peoples. The poetic experience about two millennia long we mentioned above, has been at least to some extent interwoven into the texture of this magnificient *chef d'oeuvre.* The language of the *Song of Songs* is beautiful and sublime through the magic of the words as shown by H.P. Müller on the example of the garden sequence quoted above.[71] "A beautiful word metaphorically suggests a beautiful thing"[72] and "words similar in sound are drawn together in meaning",[73] these two phenomena are often to be met in this work, e.g. in the request of the lover: *pithi-li 'a hoti ra 'jati jonati tammati*[74] which means in English: Open to me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled (*5*, 2), or (*shelahayikh*) *pardes rimonim 'im peri megadim keparim 'im neradim nerd wekarkom qaneh weqinamon,*[75] i.e., (Thy plants) *are* an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire, with spikenard, spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon (*4*, 13-14). In the first the magic of euphony is formed with its use of the end morpheme *-ati*, i.e. my; in the second, a "cluster of consonants are nearly permutated, alliterate tandem"[76]: *prd* of *pardes* in *p*er*i* mega*d*im im ke*p*arim 'im ner*a*dim, *p* drops 'im ner*a*dim ner*d*, two *k*s in *k*ar*k*om are coupled with two *q*s in *q*aneh we*q*inamon, and two *w*s in *w*ekarkom and *w*eqinamon.

---

[70] Quoted according to A. WALEY's translation in *Analects of Confucius*. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., fourth impression 1964, pp. 216-217.

[71] MÜLLER, H.-P.: *Poesie und Magie in Cant 4, 12-51*. Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Geselllschaft. Suppl. III/1, 1977, pp. 157-164.

[72] LANDY, Fr.: *The Song of Songs,* p. 307.

[73] Loc. cit. Taken over from Roman JAKOBSON: *Linguistics and Poetics.* In: *Selected Writings*. Vol. 3. Paris, Mouton 1981, p. 43.

[74] Cf. MÜLLER, H.-P.: *Vergleich und Metapher im Hohenlied,* p. 19.

[75] LANDY, Fr.: *The Song of Songs,* p. 307.

[76] Loc. cit.

There are many repetitions and parallelisms in the *Song of Songs*. The famous image of tender and caressing love: "His left hand *is* under my head, and his right hand does embrace me", is repeated twice (*2*, 6 and *8*,) and it is good example for parallelism, too. Another one concerned with the daughters of Jerusalem as the witnesses of the love, is repeated three times in completely the same wording: "I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor awake *my* love, till he please" (*2*, 7, *3*, 5 and *8*, 4). In the garden sequence already mentioned twice we find the following parallelisms: "a garden inclosed" and "a spring shut up" (*4*, 12), "spikenard and saffron", "calamus and cinnamon" and "myrrh and aloes" (*4*, 14).

The highest literary and aesthetic achievements of the *Song of Songs* are its similes and metaphors. Since at least two excellent works[77] to my knowledge appeared concerning this question, and we pointed to it *passim* in this contribution, probably a few remarks only would be sufficient. In particular the similes are very rich. Among them the similes concerned with the objects of the exquisite material culture and the persons depicted, are most numerous. Such are, for instance, the Shulamite's thighs that were "like jewels, the work of the hands of a cunning workman" (*7*, 1), or her neck like "a tower of ivory" (*7*, 4) and the "tower of David" (*4*, 4). Some are related to geographical terms, like "the tower of Lebanon" (*7*, 4) which was connected with Shulamite's nose and "the tents of Kedar" (*1*, 5) alluding to the black colour of her skin. Plant and animal similes also abound and they usually have a very strong symbolic value, as a roe or young hart (*2*, 9,17 and *8*, 14) attributed always to the male and alluding to quickness and timidity, and young roes, if they are twins, are compared to female breasts, the dove symbolizes the chastity and undefiled state of the body and probably also of the soul. But the soul or spirit are not among the *topoi* of the *Song of Songs*. Plant images, like that of the apple tree in relation to the boy were used in the Sumerian religious texts for the girls, the girl here is compared to the palm tree (*7*, 8-9).[78] Both symbolize their slim bodies. Some geographical similes put the sign of equality between the Shulamite and the land of Hebrews and their immediate neighbours and thus make out of her the metaphor for Israel.[79] One simile at least with her majestic portrait "*that* looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as *an army* with banners" (*6*, 10) reminds the researchers of Astarte or Syrian-Phoenician goddess Aphrodite *parakyptusa*.[80]

---

[77] MÜLLER, H.-P.: *Vergleich und Metapher im Hohenlied* and LANDY, Fr.: *Paradoxes of Paradise: Identity and Difference in the Song of Songs*. Sheffield, The Almond Press 1983.

[78] MÜLLER, H.-P.: *Vergleich und Metapher im Hohenlied*, p. 25.

[79] Cf. the text belonging to the note 55.

[80] FAUTH, W.: *Aphrodite parakyptusa. Untersuchungen zum Erscheinsbild der vorderasiatischen Dea Prospiciens*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen des geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jahrgang 1966, Nr. 6, 1967, pp. 44 ff. and 72.

Metaphors are not so common in the *Song of Songs*, but they are very impressive as to their utterance and creative twist. "A bundle of myrrh *is* my beloved unto me," says Shulamite about the shepherd, and then proceeds: "he shall lie all night betwixt my breasts" (ibid.). Or: "I am the rose of Sharon, *and* the lily of valleys," (*2*, 1) she says about herself. The shepherd says about her: "A garden inclosed *is* my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed" (*4*, 12). Here we may see not only "mimesis" (imitation, representation) of the nature, but also *poiesis* (creation) in Paul Ricoeur's interpretation.[81]

If Western poetry (and the literature in general), including the poetry of Near Eastern peoples, Egypt and Hebrew literature, operated within the premise of Aristotle: "Art follows Nature" (*he techne mimetai ten phusin*),[82] in China and in the Far East in general, the literary traditions followed to a great extent, the premise from the *Da xu* [67] *Great Preface* to the *Book of Songs*, attributed to Wei Hong [68] (1st cent. A.D.): "Poetry is where the intent *(zhi)* [69] of the heart/mind goes."[83] Manifesting the same meaning, but even closer semantically to Aristotle's utterance is that by the later poet Lu Ji [70] (261-303) who wrote that "poetry originates in emotions" *(shi yuan qing)* [71].[84] The *topos* of poetry, according to Aristotle, is Nature, and Nature is also the *topos* of the *Song of Songs*: in the *Book of Songs* the *topos* is emotion, or better to say emotions, or the souls of the delineated persons, while the bodies, as we have shown, are very roughly sketched. In the *Song of Songs* there is a direct and intimate connection between nature and the lovers, mostly involving their bodies. The nature is also in the *Book of Songs*, but something as *xing* [74] stimulus in Pauline Yu's translation,[85] and a source of imagery. If the bodies are the chains linking the lovers with the nature and the world

---

[81] Cf. RICOEUR, P.: *Stellung und Function der Metapher in der biblischen Sprache.* In: RICOEUR, P. und JÜNGEL, E.: *Metapher. Zum Hermeneutik religiöser Sprache.* München, Ch. Kaiser Verlag 1979, p. 53.

[82] There are also different views. E.g., H.-P. MÜLLER follows W. WOLF and his work *Die Kunst Ägyptens. Gestalt und Geschichte,* Stuttgart, Kohlhammer Verlag 1957, and asserts that in the Near Eastern art there was not a tendency to "follow Nature", but to create ideal images (Denkbilder), i.e. not only to imitate that which could be grasped by the senses and the reason, but to go behind them. Aristotle premise comes from his work *Meteorology*, IV, 3. More about this see in WIMSATT, Jr., W.K. and BROOKS, C.: *Literary Criticism. A Short History.* New York, Alfred A. Knopf 1966, pp. 21-56.

[83] ZHENG XUAN, juan 1, p. 1A and YU, Pauline: *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition.* Princeton, Princeton University Press 1987, p. 31.

[84] LU JI: *Wen fu* [72] *Essay on Literature.* In: *Lu shi heng ji* [73], SPPY ed., juan 1, p. 2A and YU, Pauline: op. cit., p. 33.

[85] YU, Pauline: op. cit., pp. 47 and 57. For a different explanation concerning *xing*, see TSE YIU-MAN [75]: *Fu, Bi, Xing.* Tamkang Review, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 3-4 (Spring-Summer 1994), pp. 53-85, esp. 63 ff., CHOU YING-HSIUNG: *The Linguistic and Mythical Structure of Hsing as a Combinational Model.* In: DEENEY. J.J. (ed.): *Chinese-Western Comparative Literature. Theory and Strategy.* Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980, pp. 51-78, KAO, Karl S.Y.: *Rhetorical Devices in the Chinese Literary Tradition.* Tamkang Review, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1-4 (Autumn-Summer 1983-1984), pp. 325-337 and DAI WEN-QUN: *Xing Again: A Formal Re-investigation*, Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews, 13, 1991, pp. 1-14.

in the *Song of Songs*, in the *Book of Songs* it is done the majority of cases through the inner qualities and values of the involved characters. The nature in this case serves only as the background for the "emotions" (better to say "inner nature"), in evoking or alluding to them. The natural images are preceding the depictions of the inner states, or they are put between them.

Let us take once again the song No. 23 as an illustration. In it the first two lines: "In the wilds there was a dead roe/ wrapped with white grass/", is clearly divided from: "There was a girl with spring feelings/ a fine gentleman enticed her." In the *Book of Songs* the words of the Shulamite addressed to the shepherd: "My beloved is like a roe or a young hart: behold, he standeth behind our wall, he looketh forth at the windows, shewing himself through the lattice" (*2*, 9) is a perfect simile, but it would be unimaginable in the *Book of Songs* for moral reasons as an invitation to the improper love and also incompatible with the lyric code of the early Chinese poetry. If the poem No. 76 depicts us the scene with the boy coming secretly to the garden of girl's family and she asks him to be careful, she is doing that in order to warn him not to transgress decorous behaviour.[86] Probably for this reason only was this splendid piece, often translated into foreign languages, included into the *Book of Songs*. In the *Song of Songs* the shepherd meets the Shulamite and probably stays with her during the night, since his "looking" and "shewing" ends with the short but wonderful *alba*:

> Until the day break, and the shadows flee away, turn,
> my beloved, be thou like a roe or a young hart
> upon the mountains of Bether (*2*, 17)

Confucius said about the *Book of Songs* the following statement: "The Odes are three hundred in number. They can be summed up in one phrase, 'Swerving not from right path'."[87]

The literary theory of Confucius was strictly ethical. But within its expressive and emotional framework, there was enough place for the aesthetic demands. It worked, just like the creative poetry itself, within the formula *wen rou dun hou* [76] which can be translated as "moderate, gentle, sincere and deep".[88] Similarly the *Book of Songs* is characterized by Bei Boyuan as *wen rou shen zhi, bao liu er han xu* [78] "moderate, gentle, deep and grasping, conservative and allusive". *Song of Songs* is according to her *ri lie fen fang, chi luo er fang lu* [79] "enthusiastic and full of fragrance, erotically provocative and of loose morals".[89] The last judgement is probably too strong. In one of his most pregnant statements, Burton Watson, described the poems of the *Book of Songs* as "often pure vignettes of feeling. Some-

---

[86] See text concerning the note 60.

[87] LAU, D.C.: op. cit., pp. 10-11.

[88] A good exposition see in WANG HONGTU [77] : *Wenroudunhou (Gentleness and Kindness)*. Tamkang Review. Vol. XXIV, Nos. 3-4 (Spring-Summer 1994), pp. 87-98.

[89] BEI BOYUAN: op. cit., 9, 1982, p. 50.

times they describe a scene, sometimes they tell a story, but more often the scene and the story are outside the poem, or merely hinted at within it, the body of the poem being given up to an expression of the emotions they arouse."[90] This characteristic probably derives from the definitions of Chinese poetry presented above, where both intent(s) of the heart or feeling(s) only partly reflect the contents of poetry. Its greatness lies in the capacity to depict the inner scenes of human beings, their hearts and souls, and this is clearly visible especially in comparison with the completely different, mostly extrovertly oriented poetry of the *Song of Songs*. As for as love poetry is concerned, in the *Book of Songs*, we find the plant and animal imagery around or among the delineated human characters and closely connected with woing, lovesickness, desire, sorrow, wedding, marriage, separation and desertion. Probably except of lovesickness of the Shulamite, there is no other aching emotion in her heart, and this was only of a short duration. The love in the *Song of Songs* is presented as that among supernatural beings, its surroundings are similar to that of the Garden of Eden from the *Genesis, 2*, 1-25, or to some forgotten identities of the "pagan" gods and goddesses. The poems from the *Book of Songs*, we have analysed in this contribution, were mostly collected in the northern feudal states of China, and reflected the life of people, including the aristocracy of those times (mostly of the 8th-7th cent. B.C.), but they did not have the slightest connection with anything godlike, divine or paradisiacal. We do not find a superhuman aspect in the *Wirklichkeitsaussage* (reality-utterance) of this lyric poetry. God created Adam and Eve naked and they remained so up to their expulsion from the Garden of Eden after the Fall.[91] Erotic imagery of the *Song of Songs* is audacious, but still within the framework of the ethically sound and decorous, as an *opus* created in a theocratic realm and quite early regarded as the allegory of God's Love to his people. We know that it was without great difficulties integrated into the biblical canon.[92]

---

[90] WATSON, B.: *Early Chinese Literature*. New York and London, Columbia University Press 1962, p. 215.

[91] *Genesis, 1*, 27, *2*, 15-25 and *3*, 10-24.

[92] But how it exactly happened we do not know. See FOX, M.V.: op. cit., pp. 250-252. One of the reasons for its canonization might be its recitation at the festivals among the Hebrews which "were not days of prayer, sacrifice and ritual alone. From various evidence, early and late, we know that they were joyous, even raucous, festivities in which the people ate, drank and made merry both in the sanctuary area ('before the Lord') and in private homes ('in your gates')..." Later "during the Second Temple period (after 516 B.C., M.G.) on the 15th of Ab (probably at the beginning of the grape harvest)... the girls would dress up, dance in the vineyards, and flirt with the eligible young men", according to Mishnaic *Taanit, 4*, 8) (pp. 251-252). This last is very similar to ancient China in the times of writing down and probably also editing of the *Book of Songs*. In the song No. 95 entitled *Zhen Wei* [80] we read:

> The rivers Zhen and Wei are amply flowing,
> knights and girls
> are holding *jian* [81] plants in their hands.
> The girl says: "Did you look around?"
> The knight responds: "Yes, I did."
> "Shall we proceed and look again?"
> Beyond the Wei,

In China there was no almighty *fiat* and also not the love of god or gods for mankind or its part. In the Zhou era, Tian [84] Heaven was the highest god there, but maybe he was of an anthropological origin, probably the ancestor of the ruling dynasty.[93] If in the poem No. 260 entitled *Zheng min* [88] the first verse reads: "Tian gave birth to the multitude of people," it meant only that these Zhou people were his natural progeny, and originally he was one of them. The poem then proceeds thus:

> He endowed them with bodies and rules.
> The people hold fast to moral norms,
> because they love those beautiful virtues.[94]

The poetic imagery of the *Book of Songs* is much simpler than that of the *Song of Songs*. Due to its main mission, to be the guide to moral life and a well-ordered society, more was not necessary. The main characteristics of the *Book of Songs* by Confucius quoted above, were taken from animal imagery: *poematis personae* should follow the example of the sturdy stallions, not swerving from their road,[95] the right path of ethical and socio-political life. On the other hand, in the *Song of Songs*, which presented much more complex and developed imag-

---

> there is truly good and pleasant.
> The knight and the girl
> merrily sport together (*xiang xue*) [82].
> Then they present each other a peony. (SEE ZHENG XUAN, juan 4, p. 18A and KARLGREN, pp. 61-62).

According to A. WALEY: *The Book of Songs*, p. 28, this was a custom in the State of Zheng [83], the present Northern Honan Province, and it took place in the third month, i.e. during the spring and not in July or August, as in Israel. Ancient China concerned, see also GRANET, M.: *Chinese Civilization*. Transl. by K.E. INNES and M.R. BRAILSFORD. New York, Meridian Books 1958, pp. 162-164.

It is necessary to say that in the time of canonization the connections of the *Song of Songs* with older "heathen" practices were already forgotten.

[93] Cf. ELVIN, M.: *Was There a Transcendental Breakthrough in China?* In: EISENSTADT, S.N. (ed.): op. cit. p. 327, who states that the "Zhou conquest of the Shang towards the end of the second millennium B.C.E. brought the appearances of another supreme God (i.e. different from Di [85] or Shangdi [86] of the Shang-Yin [87] Dynasty, ca. 1766-1122), M.G.). This was Tian [84], usually translated 'Heaven', a rendering that has the defect of concealing what was originally a clearly anthropomorphic being." See also CREEL, H.G.: *The Origin of Deity T'ien.* In: *The Origins of Statecraft in China*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1970, pp. 493-506. For different opinion see ALEXANDER, D.L.: *The Concept of T'ien in the Confucian Thought and Its Ethical Implications.* Ph.D. thesis. University of California at Santa Barbara 1980, pp. 11-12 and 26-176. Cf. also ENO, R.: *The Confucian Creation of Heaven. Philosophy and Defence of Ritual Mastery.* Albany, State University of New York 1990, esp. pp. 1-29, 181-189, 205-214 and 285-289.

[94] ZHENG XUAN, juan 18, p. 15B and KARLGREN, p. 228.

[95] Cf. *Lu* Ode No. 297 named *Jiong* [89] in ZHENG XUAN, juan 20, pp. 1A-2A and KARLGREN, p. 254.

ery from the literary point of view, the Shulamite was compared to a mare, due to her beauty, from the chariots of Pharaoh (*1*, 9).[96]

The language and imagery of the *Book of Songs* was not enough studied from literary point of view.[97] Something different could be said about the *Bible* (including the *Song of Songs)*, where especially since the revival of interest in the *Bible* in the Renaissance era, much have been done. Some contemporary researches were mentioned above. Here I would like to point out only the opinion of Robert Lowth, the discoverer of the *parallelismus membrorum* in the Hebrew literature, who in his book *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (1753, 2nd ed. 1763) highlighted its *sublimitas* (hypsos) following the ideas attributed to Cassius Longinus (3rd cent. A.D.). Lowth wrote there about the "force of composition, whatever it be, which strikes and overpowers the mind, which excites the passions, and which expresses ideas at once with perspicuity and elevation".[98]

*

I think that in these years the researchers in the ancient Chinese lyric poetry should devote more energy in the study concerned with the question of the "lyric fact" and its specificity. The problem of "lyric(al)ness" in ancient Chinese poetry should be followed both in the intra- as well as in the interliterary way.

Here I would like to call the attention of both the Chinese and Western students to the book entitled *Literaturnaya mysl Kitaya na rubezhe drevnosti i srednikh vekov* (The Literary Mind of China at the Turn of Ancient Times and the Middle Ages)[99] by the Russian Sinologist I.S. Lisevich. Here, among others, two important modes of the lyric tropes of ancient Chinese poetry, were treated with a high degree of success. These are *bi* [90] simile, or analogy, and *xing* [74], mentioned above. By their meaning, they belong among the most problematic concepts of Chinese poetics in general. When analysing them, Lisevich remarks, that Western researchers commit an error if they try in their explication to bring the terms closer to the Euro-American reader with the aid of concepts of European poetics, for thereby they tear them out of the system of traditional Chinese poetics which is considerably different. Thus, while the second of them, comes closest to the European metaphor, allegory or symbol (although it does not fully agree with any of them), in poetry it is considered to be a "spontaneous growth of *qi* [75]" (i.e. vapour, primordial matter-energy) or as "the words of response of the mind" to some external or internal stimuli (p.

---

[96] "I have compared thee, O my love, to a company of horses in Pharaoh's chariots" in the King James's version, is more approximately translated in M.V. Fox: op. cit., pp. 83 and 104: "To a mare of Pharaoh's chariotry/ I compare you, my darling."

[97] Among the rare and valuable exceptions we may find Pauline Yu: op. cit., but she devotes, according to my opinion, too much attention to the allegorical explanation of the poems.

[98] Quoted according to Kugel, James L.: *The Idea of Biblical Poetry.* New Haven and London, Yale University Press 1981, p. 279.

[99] Moscow, Nauka 1979.

119). The same is also valid for the concept of *bi* [90] which could be defined as a certain metaphor with the traits of allegory and mainly of the comparison. Traditional Chinese poetics, as graphically evident from the two examples just cited, is not primarily concerned with an investigation of the verbal texture of a work, with an exact differentiation or definition of poetic tropes or figures of speech, but is interested in understanding the essential phenomena standing behind the work, or making its origin possible, in determining the philosophico-ethical hotbed on which or from which it originates. Like ancient Chinese literature, its literary poetics was also philosophically oriented, with its world outlook. Unfortunately, it was also less lucid, far more inexact in its expression than that in European antiquity or in later European literary criticism. Precisely thanks to the philosophical and ideological orientation, it was possible to assign the genre *song* [19] to the highest degree of the genre hierarchy in ancient Chinese literature, for this genre presented allegedly "in the very highest measure an imcorporation of the Absolute – Dao [91]" (p. 129). If we return once again to the well-known premise of "swerving not from the right path" as *pium desiderium* of the *Book of Songs* and the Chinese poetry or literature in general as requested by Confucius, then we see that "literality" was prevailing over "figurality" (terms used by Michelle Yeh),[100] since for the editor(s) of these works it was not important what colour the "sturdy stallions" of the state Lu were (grey-and-white, brown-and-white, red, light-yellow, bay, flecked, even hair-legged or fish-eyed):[101] they had only to gallop vigorously stright away along the right path, i.e. the Absolute or Dao in Confucian apprehension.

We may slightly correct Lisevich's view. Committing of an error, he speaks about, has its positive features, too. One should study the problem simultaneously from both its sides, the foreign and the Chinese. The history of its study is relatively long and has brought positive results. This history starting with A. Waley's assertion that the "'figures of speech', devices such as metaphor, simile, and play on words, are used by the Chinese with much more restrain than by us",[102] proceeds with J.L. Bishop's remark that both similes and metaphors "are sufficiently rare and usually of such an elementary nature",[103] and continues up to our days with the researches made by Wai-lim Yip, S. Owen, Shan Chou, Pauline Yu and Michelle Yeh, who following mainly Owen's researches, came up with the idea that "Chinese metaphor is metonymic or synecdochic in nature or, to put it differently, it is metonymically or synecdochically derived."[104]

---

[100] YEH, Michelle: *Readings of Metaphors in Classical Chinese Poetry.* In: WONG TAK-WAI (ed.): *East-West Comparative Literature: Cross-cultural Discourse.* Hong Kong, Department of Comparative Literature of the University of Hong Kong 1993, pp. 337-363, esp. pp. 345 and 354.

[101] Cf. note 95, esp. KARLGREN's translation.

[102] WALEY, A.: *Introduction.* In: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems.* New York. Alfred A. Knopf 1919, p. 21.

[103] See YEH, M.: op. cit., pp. 338-339.

[104] Cf. ibid., p. 354 and OWEN, S.: *Transparences: Reading the T'ang Lyric.* Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 39, December 1979, 2, p. 244.

Synecdoche, as we know, is the most important species of metonymy, or according to J.T. Shipley "metonymy is a form of synecdoche".[105] Be it as it may, the prominent Czech literary theoretician Josef Hrabák is right when qualifying every literary work as synecdochic because it "informs us only about a part of the reality, i.e. it explicitly shows only some things, all other we have to create with the help of our imagination".[106] The measure of this "lyric(al)ness" is always conventional and in ancient and traditional Chinese literature it was always obligatory, as was shown in this contribution.

This "lyric(al)ness" was not studied enough in different literary and cultural areas, but certainly more is known about it in the Western part of the world, see, for example, the first part of the excellent book by E. Staiger's *Grundbegriffe der Poetik*.[107] It is true, as stressed by Michelle Yeh, that the Chinese poetic imagery places heavier demands on the reader[108] and, of course, on the literary critic, too, especially on such that are judging it from the angle of Western poetics.

The first words of Staiger's book reminded me that in "one of the purest example of lyric style", i.e. *Auf allen Gipfeln ist Ruh* (1780) by Johann Wolfgang Goethe,[109] we do not find any metaphor, and the last quoted poem in the book on the *Song of Songs* by H.-P. Müller ends with Paul Celan's *Atemwende (Turn of Breath)* (1967) with "Dröhnen" (noise) of "Metapherngestöber" (blizzard of metaphors).[110] Certainly not the quantity of metaphors makes the lyric poetry great but the quality of its lyric spirit. The literary images of the *Book of Songs*, as has been shown in this contribution, are much more simple than those of the *Song of Songs,* but they are more introvert and albeit not so beautiful as concerned the style and art, they are great products of the literary genius of Chinese people at the dawn of its literary history. The more synecdochic character of Chinese poetry make its reading more difficult for Westerners accustomed to more metaphoric language of Near Eastern or later European literatures. Although very different, "lyric(al)ness" of both *Song of Songs* and the *Book of Songs* present two apogees of the literary creativity of the Near and the Far East in the last millennium of the B.C. times.

---

[105] SHIPLEY, J.T.: *Dictionary of World Literature.* Totowa, New Jersey, Littlefield, Adams & Co. 1972, p. 271.

[106] HRABÁK, J.: *Poetika* (Poetics). Prague, Československý spisovatel 1973, p. 136.

[107] Zürich, Atlantis-Verlag 1946, pp. 13-88.

[108] YEH, M.: op. cit., pp. 359-360.

[109] STAIGER, E.: op. cit., p. 13.

[110] MÜLLER, H.-P.: *Vergleich und Metapher im Hohenlied*, p. 56.

1. 詩經 2. 裴溥言 3. 詩經比較研究 4. 中外文學 5. 周聯華
6. 詩經與雅歌 7. 婦女雜誌 8. 國風 9. 小雅 10. 梁工 11. 現代
圣經 12. 圣經詩歌 13. 白花文藝出版社 14. 毛詩 15. 中國
16. 中華 17. 黃河 18. 文 19. 頌 20. 魯 21. 大雅 22. 周
23. 雅歌 24. 關雎 25. 關關 26. 雎鳩 27. 行 28. 毛詩鄭箋
29. 鄭玄 30. 素冠 31. 澤陂 32. 無為自然 33. 清華學報社
34. 李季 35. 綢繆 36. 野有死麕 37. 有女懷春 38. 有女如玉
39. 莊姜 40. 齊 41. 衛 42. 蝦蟆 43. 碩人 44. 陳宏碩
45. 論古典詩賦中的女性形体描寫 46. 江漢論壇 47. 淇奧
48. 瞻卬 49. 持 50. 情 51. 將仲子 52. 杞 53. 檀 54. 褰裳
55. 野有蔓草 56. 有美一人 57. 適我願兮 58. 隰桑 59. 心乎
愛矣 60. 遐不謂矣 61. 中心臧之 62. 何日忘之 63. 其樂如何
64. 云何不樂 65. 愛 66. 性 67. 大序 68. 衛宏 69. 志
70. 陸機 71. 詩緣情 72. 文賦 73. 陸士衡集 74. 興 75. 謝靈文
76. 溫柔教厚 77. 王宏圖 78. 溫柔深摯,保留而含蓄 79. 熱烈
芬芬,赤裸而放肆 80. 秦宥 81. 開 82. 相謔 83. 鄭 84. 天
85. 帝 86. 上帝 87. 商殷 88. 無民 89. 鬲 90. 比 91. 道

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, *6*, 1997, 1, 76-91

THE BURDEN OF CULTURE: GLIMPSES AT THE LITERARY RECEPTION OF NIETZSCHE IN CHINA[1]

Raoul David FINDEISEN
Sinologisches Seminar der Universität Zürich,
Zürichbergstr. 4, 8032 Zürich, Switzerland

The present paper briefly discusses the role Friedrich Nietzsche's (1844-1900) thought played for the Chinese writers Mao Dun [1] (1896-1981), Guo Moruo [2] (1892-1978), Lu Xun [2] (1881-1936), and Yu Dafu [4] (1895-1945) who, sociologically speaking and in Karl Mannheim's terms, all belonged to the same generation of intellectuals, commonly grouped under the label of "May Fourth". This means neither enjoyed specialized philosophical training according to Western models of academe, nor were they staying in the splendid isolation of traditional scholarly studies in China, but have absorbed some of Nietzsche's ideas and works as committed intellectuals with a strong sense for political practice.

0. Introduction

There are many reasons to investigate the ways Nietzsche's thought took with Chinese intellectuals from the beginning of this century on. First of all Nietzsche was among the Westerners who were at source of the most important catch-word for May Fourth Movement: His "transvaluation (of all values)" (*Umwertung der Werte,* in Chinese *chongxin guding jiazhi* [5]) was frequently applied to the Confucian tradition, then regarded as the most impeding obstacle to any social modernization; and his "overman" (at the time usually rendered as "superman" in English; *Übermensch,* Chinese *chaoren* [6]) focused all hopes that the morally developed individual might initiate liberation from traditional values, furthermore integrating a concept of progress as taken from natural sciences, namely from Darwinism. None among those modern authors who were to become labelled as "noted" (*zhuming* [7]) had not read Nietzsche, and many of them have drawn considerable inspiration from his works, most prominently the four authors I shall discuss here: Mao Dun, Guo Moruo, Yu Dafu and Lu Xun. And last but not least as a more recent event, Nietzsche's philosophy has been largely discussed again since the late 1970s, to the extent that in the aftermath of June 4th, 1989, party

[1] The formula of the title is taken from a Nietzsche's aphorism in *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches,* quoted in full below. – The present article is a grossly abridged version of my "Die Last der Kultur: Vier Fallstudien zur chinesischen Nietzsche-Rezeption", *minima sinica* 2/1989, 1-42, and 1/1990, 1-40.

ideologists identified Nietzsche's ideas, along with Sartre's and Freud's thought as prototypes of Western "bourgeois liberalism" that had allegedly turned an inspiration for the "counter-revolutionary rebellion" just bloodily oppressed.[2]

Others, as Bing Xin who in 1921 wrote a story "Chaoren" [The Overman], or the philosopher Li Shicen who has been labelled "the first Chinese Nietzschean author", are deliberately excluded from this inquiry. The latter's works reflect a more individualized pattern of discussing Nietzsche, not very common for his time.[3] Bing Xin as a writer did not leave any critical remarks on the German philosopher, whereas Li Shicen was a professional philosopher who underwent a Western-style systematic education in his field. In this respect he already belongs to the generation of Chinese intellectuals next to May Fourth, whereas the former represents a transitional *litteratus* attitude of universally oriented scholarship and strong social commitment.

As for many other Western thinkers likewise, the first Chinese to have ever mentioned Nietzsche is probably Liang Qichao who in 1902, when in his Japanese exile journal *Xinmin congbao* [8] he wrote on the then popular British tempered social Darwinist Benjamin Kidd as a synthesizer of idealism and materialism. Surprisingly, his example for idealism is Marx, whereas Nietzsche is called a materialist "whose teachings of social Darwinism and egoism are very influential all over Europe and can be considered a *fin-de-siècle* religion".[4] It was just the time when "Aesthetic Life Debate" was going on in Japanese papers and periodicals, provoked by an article from Takayama Chogyû [9] (1871-1902) and in fact mainly concentrated on Nietzsche and some of his basic concepts, though his name was hardly referred to.

It was Wang Guowei [10] (1877-1927), however, who as the first took serious and philosophically well-based interest in Nietzsche, i.e. as a sort of successor and adversary of Schopenhauer in his own set of philosophical ideas that could be generalizingly subsumed as pessimistic. In 1904 he wrote several articles on Nietzsche's philosophy, mainly contrasting it with Schopenhauer's ideas.[5] Among the writings on Nietzsche published before 1919, we also find a text by the pre-May Fourth his-

---

[2] See Wenyi bao [67] June 19, 1989, & passim.

[3] Cf. my contribution "Evolution, Superman, Overman, chaoren: Nietzsche's Concept as Transitional Idea of Change", in Notions et perceptions du changement en Chine, eds. V. Alleton and A. Volkov (Paris: Collège de France. Institut des hautes études chinoises, 1994), 105-118.

[4] Zhongguo zhi xinmin [68] ['New Citizen of China', i.e. Liang Qichao], "Jinhualun gemingzhe Jiede zhi xueshou" [69] [The Teachings of Kidd, a Revolutionary of the Evolution Theory], *Xinmin congbao* no 17 (Sep 15, 1902), 17-28; repr. in *Yinbingshi wenji* [70] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 2nd ed. 1925), 12: 78-86.

[5] One of these articles, "Nicai shi zhi xueshuo" [71] [Nietzsche's Teachings], *Jiaoyu shijie* [72] no 78 (July 1, 1904), 13-26, is basically an abridged translation from *Nîche-shi rinrisetsu ippan* [73] [Essentials of Nietzsche's Ethical Thought] (Tôkyô: Ikuseikai, 1902) by KUWAKI GENYOKU [74] (1874-1946). For details on this very first book-length critical study on Nietzsche in Japan, see H.-J. BECKER, *Die frühe Nietzsche-Rezeption in Japan (1893-1903). Ein Beitrag zur Individualismusproblematik im Modernisierungsprozess* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 151-171.

torian of Chinese literature (1918) and philosophy (1919) Xie Wuliang [11] (1884-1964), and by Cai Yuanpei [12] (1868-1940) who during his stay in Germany had personally experienced the then virulent Nietzsche fever there and therefore could not help but taking ambiguous position towards one of the sources abused for German propaganda during a war sometimes dubbed "Anglo-Nietzschean".[6]

1. Mao Dun

In one of his earliest articles on "Students and Society",[7] Mao Dun makes use of Nietzsche's concepts of "master morality" (*Herrenmoral, guizu daode* [13]) to describe the qualities enabling an individual to be independent and courageous. He contrasts this attitude "expressed by the great German philosopher Nietzsche" to traditional modesty and obedience as "slave morality" (*Sklavenmoral, nuli daode* [14]). The role of an avantgarde Mao Dun had attributed in particular to the young generation, thus taking up the very core ideals of the May Fourth Movement, now began to shift gradually to the writers. As their most important duty he sees the propagation of "new ideas" and the introduction of the works by great authors, i.e. Western writers, such as Rousseau for individualism, Nietzsche for the philosophy of overman, and Shaw and Gerhard Hauptmann for socialism.

"When new ideas are emerging, it is mainly due to writers (*wenxuezhe* [15]) who form their avantgarde, rousing the deaf and awakening those sleeping by means of their stories and prose (*sanwenxue* [16])."[8]

It is out from this context that Mao Dun himself writes a lenghty article on Nietzsche, published in four installments in the beginning of 1920.[9] In his introduction he elaborates his understanding of a "critical" approach, proposing eclecticism and pragmatism towards Nietzsche's teachings from which "only those of common use should be selected and kept, whereas the useless one should be left out". Regarding the former teaching he repeatedly refers to them as "weapons", mainly as "weapons against traditional morality" *(wuqi fandui jiudaode* [17]). Therefore he pinpoints Nietzsche's iconoclasm and considers the concept of "transvaluation" as instrument for "destroying the old morality", i.e. those then labelled "Confucian". In Mao Dun's view "overman" is the most important postulation in Nietzsche's ethical ideas. He equates this ideal with a "progressive man", an overtly Darwinian character since, in Mao Dun's words, "The overman has the same relation to the present man, as the present

---

[6] D. THATCHER, *Nietzsche in England, 1890-1914* (Toronto & Buffalo, 1970), 44.

[7] "Xuesheng yu shehui" [75], *Xuesheng zazhi* [76] 5,1 (Jan 1918), 1-5; repr. in *Mao Dun quanji* [77], Ye Ziming [78] & al. eds. (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1986ff), 14: 9-13.

[8] Peiwei [79] [pseudon.], "Xianzai wenxuejia de zeren shi shenme" [80] [Which Is the Duty of Present-Day Writers?], *Dongfang zazhi* [81] 17, 1 (Jan 10, 1920), 94-96; repr. in *Mao Dun quanji* 18: 8-11.

[9] "Nicai de xueshuo" [82] [Nietzsche's Teachings], *Xuesheng zazhi* 7, 1-4 (Jan-Apr, 1920), 1-12, 13-24, 25-34, 35-38; not reprinted yet and likely to be excluded from *Mao Dun quanji,* if judging from the editors' proposed division of that edition according to genres of writing.

man has to the ape." In other words: Mao Dun requires a biological, i.e. scientific legitimation for any morality, and clearly rejects Nietzsche's conclusions rendered as "The masters become stronger, the slaves weaker." Nevertheless, Mao Dun attempts to draw a positive meaning from Nietzsche's concept of "will to power" (*quanli yizhi* [18]), saying that the weak should be inspired by it and then implement a "transvaluation", opposing it to the Darwinian "struggle for life" which finally results in adaptation and surrender, i.e. in the passivity of "slave morality". – Unlike Nietzsche, Mao Dun comprehends "will to power" as a normative concept with the namely including "will to political power", not as an analytical one that might contribute to the understanding of social processes.

This understanding of Nietzsche's "overman" as a basically political concept comes also out clearly when Mao Dun selects a section from *Zarathustra* for translation. The chapter "Of the New Idol" is commonly considered the most important source for anarchist ideas in Nietzsche and concludes as follows:

"Only there, where the state ceases, does the man who is not superfluos begin [...]. / There, where the state ceases, look there, my brothers. Do you not see it: the rainbow and the bridges to the Superman [overman]."[10]

It is certain that such an understanding of Nietzsche as socio-political author (Mao Dun's article has a section "Nietzsche as a Sociologist") traces back to the sources Mao Dun consulted, first of all Anthony Ludovici, then "the hard core of Nietzschean writers in England",[11] and his book *Nietzsche. His Life and His Work* of 1910.

Although from the 1920s on Mao Dun began his thorough inquiries in literary criticism and theory, Nietzsche did not completely disappear from his view. In 1922, using his pen-name Xi Zhen [19] he translated an article discussing Nietzsche's philosophy and its impact on the German dramatist Hauptmann,[12] precisely the author Mao Dun had previously called an important representative of socialist ideals.

2. Guo Moruo

One verse of Guo Moruo's early poem "Hymn to Bandits", written at the end of 1919 and to enter his famous collection "Goddesses" (*Nüshen* [20] 1921), reads as follows:

"Nietzsche, ye madman and propagator of the philosophy of overman, you have smashed idols and destroyed saints.

[...]

Live long! live long! live long![13]

---

[10] Quoted from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra,* tr. by R. J. HOLLINGDALE (Harmondsworth/England: Penguin, 1961), 77-78.

[11] D. THATCHER, *Nietzsche in England,* 239.

[12] "Huopudeman yu Nicai zhexue" [83], Xiaoshuo yuebao [84] 13, 6 (Jun 10, 1922), 20-26; trans. from *Poet Lore* no 24 (Sep 1913), 341-347.

[13] "Feitu song" [85], *Xuedeng* [86] [*Shishi xinbao* fukan [87]] Jan 23, 1920; repr. in *Guo Moruo quanji. Wenxue bian* [88] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982), 1: 111-117. – Probably the only complete translation into a Western language is by A. BUJATTI as "Inno ai banditi", in Guo Moruo, Le dee (Pesaro: Flaminia, 1987), 104-106.

This poem, healing as "bandits" Cromwell, Washington, José Rizal, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Tagore among others by enumerating their respective merits, is explicitly declaring its debt to reading of Carlyle's *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (1841) and probably the most unmediated expression of Guo Moruo's Romantic heroicism that would eventually make him assimilate also Walt Whitman's concept of the "hero-poet" – an author who has once been called the "democrat counterpart of Nietzsche".[14] Furthermore, the poem is some practical work of "transvaluation", since Chinese students actively opposing Japanese politics of imperial expansion had been labelled "student bandits" by the Taishô (1913-25) government in Japan. An additional "transvaluation", taken from the Chinese literary tradition is imbedded in the poem since Guo Moruo, as a sort of prologue, quotes extensively from the "Quqie" [21] chapter in *Zhuang Zi* [22]. Here the bandit Zhi [23] declares, as for the cardinal values of Confucianism, that the bandits' notion of "sage" (*sheng* [24]), "courageous" (*yong* [25]), "righteous" (*yi* [26]), "intelligent" (*zhi* [27]) and "benevolent" (*ren* [28]) is the real morality ("acting accordance withdao [29]"). Hence, according to Guo Moruo's view, the true heroes are those who transvaluate Confucian values, i.e. iconoclasts as those mostly Western ones he lists in his poem.

Guo Moruo's most weighty contribution to Nietzsche's reception in China, however, is his translation of the first part and of portions of the second part of *Also sprach Zarathustra,* published irregularly in 24 installments in the first 39 issues of *Chuangzao zhoubao* [30], i.e. over more than half the total publication period of this important Creation Society magazine.[15] In addition to this fairly prominent position accorded to Nietzsche in the Creation Society's activities, another of its publications carried a bilingual Chinese-German quotation from *Zarathustra* as an epitaph, thus almost elevating the author to an intellectual point of reference. It reads:

"Go apart and be alone with your love and your creating, my brother; and justice will be slow to limp after you."[16]

The partial *Zarathustra* translation by Guo Moruo carries the title "Zarathustra's Lion-Roaring", alluding to the chapter "Of the Three Metamorphoses" in which Nietzsche stresses unlimited creativity as the only force capable to destroy and reconstruct values. In this chapter the antagonist of the lion is the dragon – a metaphor more appropriate to represent traditional Chinese values than Nietzsche ever could have had in mind.

In late 1923 Guo Moruo writes an article exclusively devoted to Nietzsche's philosophy[17] intended as an answer to the "numerous letters" asking for expla-

---

[14] Cf. C. Stavrou, *Whitman and Nietzsche. A Comparative Study of Their Thought* (Chapel Hill/NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1964).

[15] "Chalatusiqula zhi shizixiao" [89], *Chuangzao zhoubao* nos 1-37 (May 13, 1923-Jan 20, 1924); collected as *Chalatusiqula* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1928).

[16] Chapter "Of the Way of the Creator", quoted from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra,* 90.

[17] "Yayan yu zili" [90], *Chuangzao zhoubao* no 30 (Dec 2, 1923), 1-4; repr. in *Guo Moruo quanji,* 15: 186-190. The mistaken dating to "1924" reproduced up to *Wenyi lunji* [91] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1979), 1: 75-79, even enjoys a critical annotation here (190n2).

nations. Guo Moruo declares himself not competent for any interpretation, not without adding that his translation was, in fact, an interpretation of Nietzsche's text. He suggests a two-fold method to understand the text, with a critical and a interpretative approach:

"To him who waits until he has progreeded in his own experiences the text will finally reveal itself [*chuxian* [31]] thoroughly. [...] He who has progreeded in his understanding, may not stay indifferent, but needs a critical view, as well as the ability to negate [*fouding* [32]] the work as well as he can. Only then the work's life turns to one's own life, and the author's heart's blood transforms into the blood of one's own heart."

This represents an interpretative method in three steps: (1) contemplation leading to (2) an intuitive understanding based upon individual experience which finally results in (3) the revelation and identification directed by "critical view" and "negation". Frequently misunderstood or consciously distorted as "refutation", these three steps in fact do quite precisely correspond to basic elements of Wang Yangming's [33] (1472-1529) epistemology beginning with "contemplation" and characterized as "paradialectical method". It also reminds the sort of "close reading" suggested by Zhu Xi [34] (1130-1200) in a saying transmitted in his *Zhu Zi yulei* [35] (1270):

"(1) read little but become intimately familiar with what you read; (2) don't scrutinize the text, developing your own farfetched views of it, but rather personally experience it over and over again; and (3) concentrate fully, without thought of gain."[18]

Guo Moruo could even refer to *Zarathustra* as a witness since there is greatness equated with the ability to refutate.

Thus Guo Moruo's image of Nietzsche evidently concentrates on the rebelling individual in search for perfection, once again emphasized in a "Letter on Chinese and German Culture"[19] addressed to his Creation Society colleague, the expert on aesthetics Zong Baihua [36] (1897-1986), then studying philosophy in Germany, in which he parallels Nietzsche and Lao Zi [37]:

"Both were rebelling against religious ideas of theism and the established morality obstructing the individual's personality. Both had their basis in individuality and strived for a positive development of themselves."

3. Yu Dafu

The story "Chenlun" [38] which made Yu Dafu known as *baihua* story-writer bears direct reference to Nietzsche. Yu Dafu illustrates the *megalomania* (expression used within the Chinese text) of his protagonist by saying:

---

[18] Quoted from CHU HSI, *Learning to Be a Sage: Selections from the Conversations of Master Chu, Arranged Topically,* tr. by D. GARDNER (Berkeley & Los Angeles/CA: University of California Press, 1990), 132 (#4.21).

[19] "Lun Zhong-De wenhua shu" [92], May 20, 1923, *Chuangzao zhoubao* no 5 (Jun 6, 1923); repr. *Guo Moruo quanji,* 15: 148-158.

"Sometimes, when he ran into a peasant in the mountain, he would imagine himself Zarathustra and would repeat Zarathustra's sayings before the peasant."[20]

The nameless protagonist is one of the most Wertherian characters in early modern Chinese fiction. His alienation becomes manifest as an abandon towards his own emotions, while knowing about the possibility of rational self-control, but uncapable to exert it. He strives for action but cannot act, is periodically exposed to his own emotional excesses, subsequently conflicting with traditional patterns of values, and over and again painfully thrown into his existential experience of alienation from them. The protagonist seeks deliverance, both in the contemplation of nature and self-abandon of carnal pleasures, but cannot escape his sense of alienation.

When Yu Dafu wrote "Chenlun" he had at least read *Also sprach Zarathustra* by Nietzsche and probably knew the *Birth of Tragedy* (Die Geburt der Tragödie) as well, also for the fact that his close friend Tian Han [39] (1898-1968), also from the Creation Society, in 1919 had translated an article on this work of Nietzsche.[21]

The Japanese literary genre of *shishôsetsu* [40] ("Ich-Erzählung"), then quite popular in the country where Yu Dafu lived, and published and discussed mainly in periodicals, had been one of the sources of inspiration for Yu Dafu's "Chenlun". The *shishôsetsu* shares, as a matter of fact, a number of common traits with the ancient Greek tragedy as speculatively seen by Nietzsche in his *Birth of Tragedy:* Life means suffering. The "action on stage", i.e. the aesthetic sublimation of action that has become impossible, is one possible way to escape. As for the Greek tragedy, the aesthetic sublimation has as its core technique creation of the "Apollonian illusion". This is close to the Buddhist concept of *mâyâ* also evoked by Nietzsche who had, by the way, developed his own concept in close contact to the Buddhist *mâyâ* such as he had become acquainted with it by reading Schopenhauer. On the other hand, the *shishôsetsu* has highly refined formalized devices of self-description in which emphasis lies on the means of creating authenticity, rather than on the subjective experience itself. At the time, Japanese Buddhists had made attempts to merge Nietzschean thought with their own religion;[22] and Yu Dafu, in his youth strongly under the influence of Buddhism, probably knew them.

---

[20] *Yu Dafu wenji* [93], 12 vols., eds. WANG ZILI [94] and CHEN ZISHAN [95] (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 1984-86), 1: 21; quoted from "Sinking", tr. by J. LAU and C. T. HSIA, in *Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature,* eds. J. LAU and H. GOLDBLATT (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1995), 47.

[21] "Shuo Nicai zaoqi de "Beiju de fasheng"" [96], *Shaonian Zhongguo* [97] 1,3 (Sep 15, 1919), 39-41. This text is probably by IKUTA NAGAE [98] and was originally a review of *Nietsches Philosophie* (1904) by Arthur DREWS, published in *Shin shôsetsu* [99]15,9 (Sep 1910).

[22] Cf. G. PIOVESANA, *Recent Japanese Philosophical Thought,* 1862-1962. *A Survey* (Tôkyô: Enderle, 2nd ed. 1968), 70-181.

[23] "Beiju de chusheng. Zizhuan zhi yi" [100], Renjian shi [101] 2,17 (Dec 5, 1934), 11-14; repr. in *Yu Dafu wenji,* 3: 352-357.

So the frequently expressed assumption, referring to his own invocation of Anatole France's famous credo, Yu Dafu's work was merely autobiographical is easily resolved in a rather precise concept of tragedy. It is bearing this aesthetic concept in mind that Yu Dafu titles the first section of his autobiography "The Birth of Tragedy".[23] Even though declared as an autobiographical text it cannot be a compilation of data that could be empirically reliable since the "mask" is an outcome of the unescapable *mâyâ* essential to Yu Dafu's aesthetics. This goes as well for his series of diaries written during the same period in the mid-1930s and later compiled as *Dafu riji ji* [41] (1935).

This kind of polyvalent self-expression, temporarily striving for a political application and as such a crucial pattern of approach for the Creation Society, is also closely linked to Nietzsche when Yu Dafu gives, ten years earlier, a brief introduction to the ideas of Max Stirner (1806-56)[24] whom he calls "a master of the ideology of overman [*chaorenzhuyi* [42]]"– although Stirner had developed his philosophy of the Ego some half-century before Nietzschean "overman" came into living. This connection, however, was frequently insinuated not only in China, but has evidence only in a vague genealogy of intellectual history. Yu Dafu points out both Stirner's and Nietzsche's radical iconoclasm and their strive for individual freedom, as he does immediately afterwards in his article "Art and the State".[25] Here Art is representing the Truth of self-expression, whereas the State as its antagonist is the place where alienation takes place, in brief: the source of all evils of modern civilization, and therefore has to be destroyed – statements fairly similar to the aesthetic anarchism expressed by Nietzsche in the *Zarathustra* chapter "Of the New Idol" translated by Mao Dun.

According to Yu Dafu, it is in this context that the genius, the capable individual, i.e. the artist, takes an important role as the one who gives expression to Truth and acts as a leader of the masses until they jointly destroy the State and its falseness.

Among the sources of Yu Dafu was undoubtedly the English poet John Davidson (1857-1909) who was not only belonging to the circle of The Yellow Book on which Yu Dafu had written an article[26] but also a co-founder of the *Journal of Egoistic Philosophy* devoted to the propagation of Stirner's, Nietzsche's, Emerson's and Thoreau's thought. Yu Dafu calls Davidson "a student of Nietzsche" and believes his works should be propagated all over China.

The focus of Yu Dafu's interest, however, soon shifted back from political practice to the individual's and namely the artist's role and position in society, and here

---

[24] "Max Stirner de shengya ji qi zhexue" [102], *Chuangzao zhoubao* no 6 (Jun 16, 1923), 6-12; repr. in *Yu Dafu wenji,* 5: 141-148.

[25] "Yishu yu guojia" [103], in *Yu Dafu wenji,* 5: 149-154. Cf. the exhaustively annotated translation in B. RUSCH, *Kunst- und Literaturtheorie bei Yu Dafu* (Dortmund: Projekt, 1994).

[26] "The Yellow Book ji qita" [104], *Chuangzao zhoubao* nos 20-21 (Sep 23 & 30, 1923), 1-10 & 1-7; repr. in *Yu Dafu wenji* 5: 169-188; see also M. GÁLIK, *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism* (London: Curzon Press & Bratislava: VEDA, 1980), 110-119.

more precisely to biographical writing as an exemplification of "tragedy". How complex Yu Dafu's concept of identity is and how obviously embedded in his aesthetics clearly comes out when he gives the title "An Aspect of Overman" to his own translation of some letters by Nietzsche.[27] Yu Dafu compares these letters to a woman Nietzsche admired and probably was in love with to the *fu* [43] written by Song Guangping [44] (Song Yu [45], 3rd/2nd cent. BCE) and was certainly also attracted by the erotic tension and the sense of "tragedy" both authors express.[28] There is still additional evidence for Yu Dafu's lasting interest in Nietzsche's life and in 1932 he even planned to write a biographical novel on the thinker:

"This time [I have] taken with me several books on the German philosopher Nietzsche. In his genial and unhappy life there are many episodes I really admire. I would like to study them more thoroughly in order to write a story with him as the protagonist."[29]

The plan was not executed but postponed, in favour of the translation of Rousseau's *Les rêveries d'un promeneur solitaire* (1782). Although Nietzsche for Yu Dafu is by far not as important Ernest Dowson (1867-1900), the leading poet of the The Yellow Book group, or Turgen'ev with his creation of the character of the "superfluous man", or the Japanese *shishôsetsu* authors with their aesthetically tempered models of self-expression. Yet Yu Dafu still frequently refers to Nietzsche as an individualist and at the same time a "great individual" who not only developed a theory of tragedy but lived it.

4. Lu Xun

Academic philosophy has for long considered Nietzsche not a really serious thinker, reproaching him with being not systematic, classifying him as a mere culture critic. The appropriation of a Nietzsche distorted towards Aryan racism by German Nazi ideologists later on did also a great deal to contribute to this ambiguous position of Nietzsche's. It is only when in the 1960s the not less ambiguous philosophy of Heidegger was discussed in France that Nietzsche became established in philosophical discourse.

So the Nietzsche whom Lu Xun read during his stay in Japan basically was the cultural critic: An adherent of Darwin's evolutionary thought as most of his contemporaries, and originally a believer in the progressive potential of natural sciences whose faith gradually became shaken, Lu Xun in his early essays extensively discussed the possible implications of a China modernized according to Western models. He believed that matter and mind are antithetic and that industrialization would inevitably result in serious conflicts. That is why he calls for an "ethical

---

[27] "Chaoren de yi mian. Nicai gei Madame O. Louise [*sic*, i.e. Louise OTT] de qi feng xin" [105], *Beixin banyuekan* [106] 4,1/2 (Jan 16, 1930); in *Yu Dafu wenji*, 12: 103-110.

[28] Cf. "Shennü fu" [107] [Rhapsody on a Goddess] in the *Wenxuan* [108]; in *Wen xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature*, tr. by D. R. Knechtges (Princeton/NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 3: 331-349.

[29] Diary entry of Oct 7, 1932, in *Yu Dafu wenji*, 9: 187.

evolution" (*lunli jinhua* [46]) in order to form a counter-weight to a purely material civilization. In his "Shortcomings of the Culture"[30] written in 1907, he declares that such an ethical evolution should start from the individual and gives an overview of the history of Western individualism, starting with Luther and mentioning Nietzsche among many other representatives. To Lu Xun, Nietzsche's ideal of the "overman" appears the paramount of such an ethical evolution: "Only when the overman appears, there will be peace on earth." (*wei chu chaoren, shi nai taiping* [47]).[31] Lu Xun drafts the emergence of a future *élite* of "independent and autonomous humans" (*liren* [48]), of "genuine men" (*zhen ren* [49]) who are capable to define moral ideals and to contribute thereby to the awakening of common people, the masses, characterized as passive and subordinating because of the burden of tradition.

In "On the Power of Marâ Poetry"[32] Lu Xun further elaborates his ideas, mainly based upon the Promethean revolt in romantic poetry, in particular the so-called "satanic poetry" of Shelley. Lu Xun argues that revolutionary changes also imply destruction, i.e. destruction of old values and old beliefs. (What he had in mind was, of course, the whole set of *lijiao* [50] values.) This is the meaning of his "satanism". By connection the rebellion to poetry and to poets as prototypes of "genuine men", he clearly expresses his conviction that any "ethical evolution" leading to the "overman" should start from an *élite* of *litterati,* from men of letters, i.e. in Lu Xun's own words: from "fighters in the spiritual world".

At the same time Lu Xun seems quite aware of the dangers of such a destructive work. Iconoclasm can lead to despair, to a world-view in which no relevant ethical values are left. He therefore vividly defends the human experience and ideals (*shensi* [51]) as embodied in mythology and in other forms of the literary tradition, at that time – and even more so during May Fourth – frequently attacked as a whole for being superstitious and an obstacle to scientific progress.[33]

On the other hand, Lu Xun is everything but uncritical towards natural sciences, and warns they may also result in irrationalism if not properly guided by ideals:

"Nietzsche [...] adopted Darwin's theories of evolution to attack Christianity and created an entirely different philosophy, that of the *Übermensch* or overman. The proposals of [...] Nietzsche, albeit based on science, were still tainted by distinctly religious and fantastic elements, and thus implied an alteration in, not the elimination of faith."[34]

---

[30] "Wenhua pianzhi lun" [109], *He'nan* [110] no 7 (Tôkyô, Aug 1908); repr. in Fen [111] (1927), in *Lu Xun quanji* [112], 16 vols. (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), 1: 44-62.

[31] *Lu Xun quanji,* 1: 52.

[32] "Moluo shi li shuo" [113], *He'nan* nos 2 & 3 (Jan & Feb 1908); repr. in Fen; in *Lu Xun quanji,* 1: 63-115.

[33] For an inspiring discussion of Lu Xun's early essays see M. GÁLIK, "Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: III. Young Lu Xun (1902-1909)", *Asian and African Studies* 21 (1985), 37-64; and his *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation* (1898-1979) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1986), 19-42.

Hence it is quite early that Lu Xun had assimilated the Nietzsche's ideal of "overman", as a concept meeting the requirements of an evolutionary *Weltanschauung,* but understood it as a call for ethical ideals. In his "Random Thoughts" (*suiganlu* [52]), regularly published between 1918 and 1920, Lu Xun repeatedly refers to Nietzsche. Because of these articles, some critics labelled him a "Chinese Nietzsche". Among his many translations made during this period, there are also some from the "Prologue" of Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra,* one translated into classical Chinese, the other into written vernacular.[35]

However and more important, it is not exaggerated to say that Nietzsche had stood at the cradle of modern Chinese literature. Many obvious borrowings from Nietzsche's writings are made in Lu Xun's famous story "Diary of a Madman" ("Kuangren riji" [53]) of 1918 in which many motives are taken from the Prologue of *Zarathustra* – striking to the extent that the Japanese sinologist Niijima Atsuyochi [54] called Lu Xun's "Diary of a Madman" a mere "translation variant" (*fanyi bianzhong* [55]) of Nietzsche's text.[36] Lu Xun himself, in retrospect, admitted that, when writing his story, the most important sources were the novel of the same name by Nikolaj Gogol' and Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* from which, by the way, he produced his vernacular translation of the prologue parallelly.[37]

Above of all, it is noteworthy that traditional Chinese literature had already connected "madness" to a critical or even rebellious attitude towards the established dominant ideology, usually *lijiao.*[38] In Western tradition, madness of a *persona* in literature traces back to Gogol's work where madness forms the framework of a generally critical perspective. But it is only Maksim Gorkij who introduced a type of "clinical literature" in which madness is not simply a literary technique but becomes precisely the symptom of specific social conditions. Nietzsche uses the concept in very a similar context when writing, under the heading of "In the Neighbourhood of Madness", yet adding an implicit draft of his theory of decadence:

---

[34] *Lu Xun quanji,* 8: 28-29; quoted from the translation by J. KOWALLIS, *Renditions* no 26 (Hong Kong, autumn 1986), 113-114.

[35] The version in *wenyan* [114] ("Chaladuosideluo xuyan" [115], parts 1-3), probably translated betwen 1904 and 1906, thus chronologically preceding his series of early essays, was never published during Lu Xun's lifetime, but only in *Lu Xun yiwen ji* [116] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1958), 773-778; the *baihua* translation as "Chalatusitela de xuyan" [117] under the pseudonym of Tang Si [118], in *Xin chao* [119] 2,5 (Jun 1, 1920), [repr.] 954-973, followed by some brief notes and repr. in *Lu Xun yiwen ji,* 10: 439-458. – I disagree with the editors of *Lu Xun yiwen ji* in dating the *wenyan* translation to 1918, also for the remark by Lu Xun's brother Zhou Zuoren [120] who considers "the brush-style might indicate it [i.e. the translation] dates back to Sendai"; see ZHOU XIASHOU [121] [i.e. ZUOREN], *Lu Xun de gujia* [122] [Lu Xun's Home, 1953] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1981), 207.

[36] Quoted from KAWAKAMI TETSUMASA [123], "Lu Xun Nicai chutan" [124] [A Preliminary Inquiry on Lu Xun and Nietzsche], tr. by GAO PENG [125], in *Lu Xun yanjiu* [126] vol. 10 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 1987), 310.

"The sum of sensations, items of knowledge, experiences, the whole burden of culture, that is to say, has become so great than an over-excitation of the nervous and thinking power is no a universal danger."[39]

In *Zarathustra,* Nietzsche takes up the motif again:

"Not only the reason of millennia the madness of millennia too breaks out in us. It is dangerous to be an heir."[40]

There is no question that Lu Xun had in mind such a kind of "madness of aeons" when he wrote his story, creating a madman who, by the very means of his madness, unveils dominant *lijiao* values as "cannibalistic morals". In Nietzsche it is also a madman who comes to the market place and makes the well-known declaration: "God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him."[41] – "a diagnosis of quite a similar range as Lu Xun's, and related to the "burden of Culture" as well.

In one of his "Random Thoughts", published during the same year as his "Diary of a Madman", Lu Xun declares that geniuses can perfectly well be labelled as "mad".[42] Should be noticed observed that Lu Xun, in his aforementioned early essays, had used the expression "genius" (*tiancai* [56]) as a synonym for the "genuine man" *(zhen ren)* and for the "independently acting man" *(liren)* who were, as he expected, those to realize "overman".

There are much more parallels between the Prologue of *Zarathustra* and "The Diary of a Madman": Both pieces have about the same length. The writers use their respective protagonists to propagate an utopia, Zarathustra calls for the "overman", whereas Lu Xun's madman expresses his hope for the "true man" *(zhen de ren* [57]). Nietzsche's polemics are directed towards Christianity,

---

[37] "Zhongguo xin wenxue daxi' xiaoshuo er ji xu" [127] [Preface to the "Anthology of New Chinese Literature": Fiction, Part 2; 1935], in *Lu Xun quanji,* 6: 238-239. Studies on Lu Xun's debt to these authors, not least for his own testimony, are of course numerous. I just mention two, i.e. J. D. CHINNERY, "Influence of Western Literature on Lu Xun's "Diary of Madman", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23 (1960), 309-22; and WANG RUNHUA [128], "Xiyang wenxue dui Zhongguo di yi pian duanpian baihua xiaoshuo de yingxiang" [129] [The Impact of Western Literature on China's First Vernacular Story], in *Zhong-xi wenxue guanxi yanjiu* [130] (Taibei: Dadong tushu gongsi, 1978), 207-26, *& passim;* revised English version in WONG YOON WAH [i.e. Wang Runhua], *Essays on Chinese Literature* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1988).

[38] See G. MARGOULIÈS, *Le Fou dans le "Wen-hsuen"* (Paris: Geuthner, 1929).

[39] "In the proximity of madness.", aphorism 244 in *Human,* All Too Human, tr. by R. J. HOLLINGDALE (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 116. German version in *Sämtliche Werke,* eds. G. COLLI and M. MONTINARI (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag & Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 2: 204.

[40] Quoted from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra,* 102.

[41] "The madman", aphorism 125, in *The Gay Science,* tr. by W. KAUFMANN (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 181.

[42] "Suiganlu 38", in *Lu Xun quanji,* 1: 311. The dichotomy of "genius" and "madman" can be traced back to *Genio e follia* (1864) by Carlo LOMBROSO. Cf. MIN KANGSHENG [131], "Kuangren riji' zhong Nicai de shengyin" [132] [Nietzsche's Voice in the "Diary of Madman"; 1986], *Lu Xun yanjiu* vol. 12 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 1988), 299-315.

whereas Lu Xun's target are the *lijiao* values and its "cannibalism". Both protagonists are loners and marginalized. They are exposed to the indifference and the mocking of their environment, and in both cases the source of their isolation appears as the result of a highly developed sensitivity and insight.

Another very prominent place in Lu Xun's work that bear a number of imprints of its indebtedness to Nietzsche's motifs are the prose poems in "Wild Grass" (*Yecao* [58], 1927) in which a number of characters make their appearance that are overtly taken from *Zarathustra,* namely the allegory of nihilism such as it becomes imminent when iconoclasm – as propagated during May Fourth – succeeds, i.e. the Last Man (*letzter Mensch, moren* [59]). This allegorical character did not fail to exert a lasting fascination with traces up to present concerns of Chinese intellectuals.[43] Yet in this context I shall not discuss the complex presence of Nietzschean ideas in *Yecao* since it has been done comprehensively, in a recent monograph that was preceded by a number of detailed individual studies.[44]

5. Conclusions

Yan Fu's [60] (1854-1921) introduction of Western thought not only prepared the ground for the key demands of May Fourth intellectuals, but can also hardly be overestimated as far as Nietzsche's reception is concerned. Darwin's concept of biological perfectibility, together with traditional ideas of "self-cultivation" (*ziyang* [61], *zixiu* [62]) were the soil on which Nietzsche's ideal of the "overman" fell. Lu Xun very generally emphasized the concept of human moral progress, whereas Mao Dun considered the "overman" rather as a scientific concept with a vague idea of sociological application. The creative individual, as opposed to the traditional social order, or to any existing order, however, is more important for Guo Moruo's and Yu Dafu's reception of Nietzsche.

All authors I discussed were attracted by Nietzsche's spirit of iconoclasm and easily adopted his quest for a transvaluation which they wanted to see applied to values of the Chinese tradition. Their Darwinian predisposition, typical for their generation, merged with the Romanticist cult of the genius when referring to the "overman". But none among them showed such a life-long appreciation for Nietzsche as Lu Xun who, during his last year, even took care of the proof-reading for translations from Nietzsche.[45]

---

[43] See LIU ZAIFU [133], "Lun moren" [134] [On the Last Man], in his *Renlun ershiwu zhong* [135] (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1992), 53-60.

[44] MIN KANGSHENG, *Lu Xun de chuangzuo yu Nicai de zhenyan* [136] [Lu Xun's Literary Creation and Nietzsche's Aphorisms] (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996).

[45] They were made by XU FANCHENG [137] (1909-) and included in *Ecce homo* (published as *Nicai zizhuan* [138] [Nietzsche's Autobiography], Shanghai: Liangyou tushu gongsi, 1935) and *Also sprach Zarathustra (Suluzhi yulu* [139], 2 vols., Shanghai: Shenghuo shuju, 1935-36). After several reprints under various translator's names hiding Xu Fancheng's identity, the *Zarathustra* translation closely supervised by Lu Xun is republished again (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1994, 2nd printing 1995). – See also Lu Xun's letters to Zhao Jiabi [140] (1908-) of Dec 12, 1934, and to Xu Shiquan [141] [i.e. Xu Fancheng] of Aug 17, 1935, and his diary entry of Nov 14, 1935, in *Lu Xun quanji,* 12: 597-598, 13: 190-191, 15: 254, *& passim.*

The obvious eclecticism dominant in all four authors enjoys, without any important exception, a very positive judgement by Chinese critics and is even honoured by attributes like *wei wo suo yong* [63] or *qu qi suo xu* [64]. Nietzsche's writings with their essayistic mood were much more influential in literary than in academic circles that were anyway only in emergence as an independent realm at the time, and it is not by mere chance that the eclecticism focused on Nietzsche's work *Zarathustra* which in certain respect bears resemblance with the dialogical or even homiletic patterns of discourse in which traditional Chinese philosophical writing is transmitted, with its flavour of *argumentum ad hominem* and the strong relationship between teacher-master and student-disciple.

In a striking analogy to Western criticism of Nietzsche that often showed high esteem for his language but rejected his ideas as immoral and nihilist, Confucian orthodoxy had always appreciated Zhuang Zi's and Lao Zi's style, but not accepted their individualist and anarchist mood. In this respect there are two controversial opinions on the reasons for the fascination by Nietzsche with Chinese intellectuals: one saying only ideas already pre-shaped in Chinese tradition could be received so vigorously, the other saying Nietzsche was only interesting because China previously had not known similar concepts of individualism. Such models, whether applied to Nietzsche or to any other set of ideas and ideology, are certainly too simplistic since in the exchange of ideas any new idea always meets an existing intellectual environment, transforming it and in turn being transformed by it at the same time.

Among the concepts creating favourable conditions for Nietzsche's impact in China was of course the traditional idea of the *litteratus* and scholar-official, closely linked to an overwhelming esteem of literature, as well as to a strong sense of social responsibility. It is within this frame that we might discern two pairs among the four authors: Lu Xun and Mao Dun mainly interested in the ideological content of (Western) literature, with the former attracted by the "overman's" individualistic morality and the latter by the inherent concept of progress. On the other hand we find Guo Moruo and Yu Dafu who had an Romanticist obsession with the artist's role within the likewise unquestioned need for social changes, with Yu Dafu stressing the archetypical tragic experience he saw embodied in the "overman" as well as in Nietzsche's biography. After all, however, Lu Xun's affinity to Nietzsche was the strongest. His discussion and use of Nietzsche, covering three decades, is even more comprehensive and goes deeper than with many later academic philosophers.

After the pioneering studies by Marián Gálik in the West and by Yue Daiyun in China,[46] and after a number of scattered hints to previously unnoticed intercultural exchanges as early as in the 1930s and 1940s, quite a great number of articles on various aspects of Nietzsche's reception in China have been pub-

[46] M. GÁLIK, "Nietzsche in China (1918-1925)", *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 110 (1972), 5-47; and YUE DAIYUN [142], "Nicai yu Zhongguo xiandai wenxue" [143] [Nietzsche and Modern Chinese Literature], *Beijing daxue xuebao* [144] 3/1980, 20-33.

lished, usually focusing on his importance for modern literature and with a first ideological breakthrough in the year of the centenary of Lu Xun's birth, in 1981. The first book-length historical survey, however, is "Nietzsche in China" by Cheng Fang [65].[47] One year before, Cheung Chiu-yee (Zhang Zhaoyi [66]) had published his bibliographical manual aiming at tracing any Chinese text published on Nietzsche up to the early 1990s and presents an extremely useful instrument for further research.[48] Moreover, publication business in the PRC has known a true craze in matters of Nietzsche recently, resulting in, apart of wide range of selections, two competing three-volume editions of his selected works[49] that even gave way to a public controversy not on Nietzsche's work, but on copyright issues that ended with a lawsuit[50] and almost equals the style of conflict-management in which the pre-war Nietzsche archives in Weimar excelled.[51]

---

[47] *Nicai zai Zhongguo* [145] [Nietzsche in China] (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 1993).

[48] *Nietzsche in China. An Annotated Bibliography* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1992). See my review article in *Monumenta Serica* 42 (1994), 547-554.

[49] *Nicai wenji* [146], 3 vols.: (1) ed. WANG YUECHUAN [147] (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1995), (2) eds. XIA GUANGMING [148] and LU HUI [149] (Haikou: Hainan guoji xinwen chuban zhongxin, 1996).

[50] Cf. WANG FENGCHENG [150], "Xuezhe Zhou Guoping jiekai 'Nicai wenji' zhenxiang" [151] [The Scholar Zhou Guoping Reveals the Truth About the "Selected Works of Nietzsche"], *Fazhi ribao* [152] Dec 11, 1995; ZHANG XIAOLI [153], "Dao ji wu dao" [154] [Robbery Is Immoral], *Sanlian shenghuo zhoubao* [155] no 7 (Apr 15, 1996), 32-34; and many others.

[51] For details and documents see D. M. HOFFMANN, *Zur Geschichte des Nietzsche-Archivs* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991).

[1] 茅盾 [2] 郭沫若 [3] 魯迅 [4] 郁達夫 [5] 重新估定價值 [6] 超人 [7] 著名 [8] 新民叢報 [9] 高山樗牛 [10] 王國維 [11] 謝無量 [12] 蔡元培 [13] 貴族道德 [14] 奴隸道德 [15] 文學者 [16] 散文學 [17] 武器反對舊道德 [18] 權力意志 [19] 希真 [20] 女神 [21] 胠篋 [22] 莊子 [23] 跖 [24] 聖 [25] 勇 [26] 義 [27] 智 [28] 仁 [29] 道 [30] 創造週報 [31] 出現 [32] 否定 [33] 王陽明 [34] 朱熹 [35] 朱子語類 [36] 宗白華 [37] 老子 [38] 沉淪 [39] 田漢 [40] 私小說 [41] 達夫日記集 [42] 超人主義 [43] 賦 [44] 宋廣平 [45] 宋玉 [46] 倫理進化 [47] 惟超人出，世乃太平 [48] 立人 [49] 真人 [50] 禮教 [51] 深思 [52] 隨感錄 [53] 狂人日記 [54] 新島淳良 [55] 翻譯變種 [56] 天才 [57] 真的人 [58] 野草 [59] 末人 [60] 嚴復 [61] 自養 [62] 自修 [63] 為我所用 [64] 取其所需 [65] 成方 [66] 張釗貽 [67] 文藝報 [68] 中國之新民 [69] 進化論革命者頡德之學說 [70] 飲冰室文集 [71] 尼采氏之學說 [72] 教育世界 [73] 倫理說一斑 [74] 桑木嚴翼 [75] 學生與社會 [76] 學生雜誌 [77] 茅盾全集 [78] 葉子銘 [79] 佩韋 [80] 現在文學家的責任是甚麼 [81] 東方雜誌 [82] 尼采的學說 [83] 霍普德曼與尼采哲學 [84] 小說月報 [85] 匪徒頌 [86] 學燈 [87]《時事新報》副刊 [88] 郭沫若全集：文學編 [89] 查拉圖斯屈拉之獅子哮 [90] 雅言與自力 [91] 文藝論集 [92] 論中德文化書 [93] 郁達夫文集 [94] 王自立 [95] 陳子善 [96] 說尼采早期的《悲劇的發生》 [97] 少年中國 [98] 生田長江 [99] 新小說 [100] 悲劇的出生——自傳之一 [101] 人間世 [102] 的生涯及其哲學 [103] 藝術與國家 [104] 及其他 [105] 超人的一面——尼采給 Madame O. Louise 的七封信 [106] 北新半月刊 [107] 神女賦 [108] 文選 [109] 文化偏至論 [110] 河南 [111] 墳 [112] 魯迅全集 [113] 摩羅詩力說 [114] 文言 [115] 察羅堵斯德羅緒言 [116] 魯迅譯文集 [117] 察拉圖斯忒拉的序言 [118] 唐俟 [119] 新潮 [120] 周作人 [121] 周遐壽 [122] 魯迅的故家 [123] 川上哲正 [124] 魯迅尼采初探 [125] 高鵬 [126] 魯迅研究 [127]《中國新文學大系》小說二集序 [128] 王潤華 [129] 西洋文學對中國第一篇短篇白話小說的影響 [130] 中西文學關系研究 [131] 閻抗生 [132]《狂人日記》中尼采的聲音 [133] 劉再復 [134] 論末人 [135] 人論二十五種 [136] 魯迅的創作與尼采的箴言 [137] 徐梵澄 [138] 尼采自傳 [139] 蘇魯支語錄 [140] 趙家璧 [141] 徐詩荃 [142] 樂黛雲 [143] 尼采與中國現代文學 [144] 北京大學學報 [145] 尼采在中國 [146] 尼采文集 [147] 王岳川 [148] 夏光明 [149] 魯輝 [150] 王豐誠 [151] 學者周國平揭開《尼采文集》真相 [152] 法制日報 [153] 張曉莉 [154] 盜即無道 [155] 三聯生活週報

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, *6*, 1997, 1, 92-102

THE PARADIGM OF INHIBITED ACTION CONCERNING THE 20TH CENTURY CHINESE THEATRE*

Wolfgang KUBIN
Sinologisches Seminar der Universität Bonn,
Regina-Pacis-Weg 7, 53113 Bonn 1, Germany

The aim of this study is to point out to the tendency of modern Chinese drama towards Westernization and to a certain opposition to the traditional Chinese opera on one hand, and also to realization of the paradigm of *inhibited action* on the stage or to the inability of the protagonists to act which is typical of drama as a literary genre.

Introduction

In a minor, recently published contribution[1] I tried to draw attention to the extraordinary fact that the renewal of modern Chinese lyric had taken place by a reversion to precisely that lyricist who had been inspired by the principles of classical Chinese poetry to establish a new form of Western poetry, namely Ezra Pound. A similar phenomenon can be observed not only in Eastern theatre but also in Western. Two of the best known examples are Bertolt Brecht and Antonin Artaud, both of whom turned to East Asian and Southeast Asian theatre in seeking a solution to the crisis of Western theatre. On the other hand, an orientation to Western drama can be observed in China since the turn of the century, an orientation which stands in a certain opposition to its traditional opera.[2] In both cases the reversion to a foreign form of art construes itself as either the attainment of a lost or the anticipation of a future form of expression. In the following deliberations the paradigm of *inhibited action*[3] – to be understood as the disappearance of action on stage on the one hand and as the inability or unwillingness of the protagonist to act on the other hand – will

* Translated from German: Wolfgang KUBIN, "Das Paradigma der Handlungshemmung. Zu einer Theorie des chinesischen Theaters im 20. Jahrhundert", in *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 10 (1987), pp. 143-159.

[1] Wolfgang KUBIN, "The Voyage of Death. Comments on the Imaginative Geography in Schiller's Play 'Turandot'" (Die Todesreise. Bemerkungen zur imaginativen Geographie in Schillers Stück 'Turandot'). In: *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung*, 1986, pp. 272-286.

[2] Cf. Bernd EBERSTEIN, *The Chinese Theatre in the 20th Century* (Das chinesische Theater im 20. Jahrhundert). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1983, pp. 21-32.

[3] I owe this term to Wolf LEPENIES, *Melancholy and Society* (Melancholie und Gesellschaft). Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1949, p. 188ff.

be the main point of discussion. And, in order not to neglect Western parallels, Artaud's attitude of theatrical adaption will be discussed critically.

I The Example of Antonin Artaud

In his work *The Theatre and its Double* (French: 1938) Artaud's main concern is the separation of language and gesture observable since Aristotle and culminating in the "Gedankendrama" (drama of reflection).[4] By turning to non-European cultures – to Mexico, Bali and the Orient in general – he calls for body instead of language, images instead of morals,[5] in short, he calls for a theatre of gestures through the revival of the magical.[6] The points to be questioned are not only the fascist tendencies appearing here and there in his reflections on the theatre of cruelty,[7] but also the search for the archaic which is disguised in an attitude antagonistic to civilization. What Artaud might regard as the expression of an authentic life,[8] for instance, China's "musical drama with its dancing movements and formal, symbolic way of representation", was regarded as barbaric by the intelligentsia of the May 4th movement.[9] In a "country of coldness, darkness and musty odour, in short: of loathesome germs of disease"[10] this theatre is an expression of a society that is a "pile of grit",[11] a place where life is adjusted to the role rather than the role to life.[12] The general Chinese opinion of the time, however, was that traditional drama was devoid of a sense of truth and reality.[13] Concealed behind a theatre of gestures is the concept of an archaic unity understood as a mode of repression. Instead of reconciling everything in a happy-end, the painful reality of man has to find its reflection in the tragic.[14] Ibsen became the model of the new theatre at that time, a theatre which was understood as a means of liberating the individual imprisoned in the family and clan systems and which was bereft of that magic called for by Artaud.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood here: I am not arguing against the adoption of ideas from geographically or historically distant cultures, but merely

---

[4] Erich FRANZEN, *Forms of Modern Drama. From the Illusionary Stage to the Anti-theatre* (Formen des modernen Dramas. Von der Illusionsbühne zum Antitheater). 3rd unrevised ed. Munich, Beck 1974, pp. 43 and 49.

[5] Antonin ARTAUD, *The Theatre and its Double* (Das Theater und sein Double). Frankfurt am Main, Fischer 1969. p. 72 (Oriental and Western theatre).

[6] Ibid., pp. 58 and 65 (on Balinese theatre).

[7] Cf. statements ibid., pp. 27ff, 29, 31ff and 33 (Theatre and the Plague), p. 44 (Staging and Metaphysics) and p. 90 (Theatre and Cruelty).

[8] Ibid., p. 11 (Theatre and Culture).

[9] EBERSTEIN, p. 38.

[10] Ibid., p. 38 (XIONG FOXI).

[11] Ibid., p. 35 (FU SINIAN).

[12] Ibid., p. 41.

[13] Ibid., pp. 35 and 37 (HU SHI, CHEN DUXIU).

[14] Ibid., p. 37 (HU SHI).

against an uncritical and unhistorical debate which, as is the case with Artaud, leads to playing East and West off against each other and to romanticizing those cultures destined to wither under the onslaught of imperialism. In the case of China, what appears necessary is to investigate the problem of the widely described reception of Ibsen, the so-called Ibsenism in China.[15] I would like to begin with Peter Szondi's views concerning the crisis of Western theatre[16] and then procede to the theory of Chinese theatre in the 20th century thereby making its inherent differences to modern Western theatre more apparent.

II Peter Szondi's Theory of Drama and Modern Chinese Literature

Szondi described three characteristics of the crisis of Western theatre at the end of the 19th century. While the classical drama of the Renaissance was characterized by an appreciation of tenderness and sensitivity in human relationships as well as dialogue and the unfolding of events in the absolute present, these criteria were replaced by inner human issues, monologue and an orientation to the past in the works of Ibsen, Chekhov, Strindberg and others;[17] in short, the quick-paced sequence of present actions of the classical drama come to a halt in the self's reflection on the past. Instead of making decisions,[18] the subject dwells in contemplation and is thus inhibited to undertake any kind of action. It may therefore appear paradoxical that 20th century Chinese drama with its theatre of the liberation of the individual (family, love, marriage) and of political agitation[19] is bent on engendering social change and catalyzing action, stems in large measure from Ibsen. This contradiction, however, is not surprising when one regards social motives and dramaturgical representation separately. One of the essential and up to now hardly noticed characteristics of the Chinese literature of the 1920s and 1930s is the inhibited action, being particularly discernible in the works of Yu Dafu and the early Ding Ling. At the same time, the May 4th movement's call for the re-evaluation of all values – even though I understand it as an escapist fantasy[20] – deserves to be taken seriously, at least as a vision.

---

[15] Elisabeth EIDE, "Ibsen's Nora and Chinese Interpretation of Female Emancipation". In: Göran MALQVIST (ed.), *Modern Chinese Literature and Its Social Context*, Stockholm 1977, pp. 140-151. By the same author, "Optimistic and Disillusioned Noras on the Chinese Literary Scene, 1919-1949". In: Anna GERSTLACHER et al. (ed.), *Woman and Literature in China*. Bochum, Brockmeyer 1985, pp. 193-222 and *China's Ibsen. From Ibsen to Ibsenism*. London, Curzon Press 1987. See also KWOK-KAN TAM, "Ibsen and Modern Chinese Dramatists: Influences and Parallels. *Modern Chinese Literature*, 2, 1986, 1, pp. 45-62 and EBERSTEIN, pp. 45-49.

[16] Peter SZONDI, *Theory of Modern Drama (1880-1950)*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1963.

[17] Ibid., pp. 14-17 and 75.

[18] Ibid., p. 14.

[19] Bernd EBERSTEIN, *Modern Plays from China* (Moderne Stücke aus China). Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1980, p. 11.

[20] Cf. my contribution "Escapist Phantasies. Comments of the Spirit of the May Fourth Movement of 1919" (Aufbruchsphantasien. Bemerkungen zum Geist der 4. Mai-Bewegung von 1919). *die horen* 138, 1985, pp. 80-82.

What becomes apparent in the reception of Ibsen is not only the above mentioned aspect of liberation, but also the quality of reminiscing and actionless lingering so that both elements, action leading to departure and inhibited action, come together in the new Chinese theatre. Tian Han's one-act-play "Return to the South" of 1929[21] represents a particularly clear example of inhibited action and eventual departure.

III Tian Han: The Return to the South

Of all the plays to be discussed here, *The Return to the South* highlights most vividly the crises pointed out by Szondi owing to its close following[22] of Ibsen's *Woman of the Sea* and *Doll's House.* The four persons of the play, the mother, the young man, the daughter and the wanderer have neither anything to do with one another nor have they anything to talk about. Obliged to the present reality, both the mother and the young man are totally fixated on the daughter who in turn lives in the past memory of the wanderer. Her life consists of waiting, her world of the remaining memories of the encounter with the wanderer: the tree with the poem and the poignant verse "The memory will be the guest of the two of us" and the old pair of shoes left behind that serve as a pillow. That her aspiration is a place far away is to be understood in a twofold way: firstly, as the unreachable goal of the wanderer's roaming and, secondly, as the north where he is at home. From this distant place the wanderer returns to her every night in a dream. Instead of a secure life in the present as promised to her by the young man the daughter has consciously chosen a life of nostalgia. An intimate rapport with him as with her mother is impossible since both remain critical of her attitude. Yet the different kind of separation from reality which characterises the daughter in her allegiance to the past as well as of the wanderer in his pining for a far-off world prevents an encounter in the end. After having just returned from one year's roaming, the wanderer has to put up with the daughter's questions about the north that she formulates in the same kind of metaphoric language he had left to her before his previous departure. But, as the wanderer's story reveals, death lies over the north, the world of metaphors has lost its meaning. The daughter's urging him to stay and occupy himself domestically does not penetrate into his reality: while in the south he is craving for the north, and vice versa. This time his departure is final: nothing is left, not even the shoes or the poem. Even though the daughter rushes after him pleading, "I'll accompany him to that distant place", this act merely indicates the grip of her fantasies, for that place is unclear so that it is completely uncertain what the lovers would do there. The departure does not go beyond being a mere gesture. The opting for one's own world of fantasy remains without further impact on the drama itself, it does not open up any new field of action. In spite of this apparent absence of action-

[21] German by Bernd EBERSTEIN. In: EBERSTEIN, *Modern Plays,* pp. 301-309. The page numbers quoted in the following refer to this translation.

[22] EBERSTEIN, p. 439.

based cohesion, there is still something keeping the play knit together, namely the symbolism reflected by the metaphor of the distant place as a yearned for realm of unrequited love and by the metaphor of shoes, construable in Chinese as the vagina and in the west as the phallus.

IV Cao Yu: Peking Man

The symbolic act of departure at the end of the play is a feature common to *Return to the South* by Tian Han as well as Cao Yu's three-act play *Peking Man (Beijing Ren)*[23] written in 1940. The two plays share a kind of symbolism that encompasses and binds the acts which appear otherwise hardly connected for they almost entirely lack a sequence of action and thereby suspense.[24] A first symbolic motive – one might as well speak of a leitmotif – can be recognized in the title. First of all, "Peking Man" refers to the *Homo Pekinensis* discovered near Peking by Teilhard de Chardin in 1928, secondly, to the traditional official *literatus* residing in Peking and, thirdly, to the departing youth, that is, the Peking Man of tomorrow. In the Peking Man then and now two antipodal life-styles confront each other: a natural one in the sense of following immediate, physical needs, whereas the other is a refined way of living regulated by norms, and is hence Confucian. They reflect the opposites of nature and civilization, of liberty and suppression, happiness and self-torture. So it is by no means coincidental that the anthropologist, Yuan Rengan, who pursues research of the *homo pekinensis,* calls his lively daughter with her somewhat Western appearance "little monkey" whereas she, in turn, calls him "old monkey" (p. 203, 208). Both of them thereby oppose the degenerated version of the "Peking Man" whom they meet on the Zeng family estate. The head of the family, Zeng Hao, his son Zeng Wenqing and his son-in-law Jiang Tai all stand for an unproductive way of life. They as well as the whole clan live off the family heritage and would be incapable of earning their own keep. Zeng Wenqing's and Jiang Tai's pursuits in this area fail completely. Instead of possessing practical abilities they have masterfully cultivated specific life-styles. Zeng Hao's love for his casket which, in accordance with gentry customs, has been stored in the house for 15 years and is varnished every year, attains a symbolic meaning. This casket, which to Zeng Hao is a sign of his future (p. 229) and his life (p. 202), eventually falls into the hands of Zeng Hao's opponents, the Du family, whose power is not based on academic merits but rather on industrial acumen. The "wandering corpse" Zeng Wenqing, being physically weak and tired of life, is an outstanding representation of the indolent Pekinese way of living. Besides painting and playing with caged pigeons – a symbol of his loneliness, imprisonment and departure fantasies, the pastime of tea– tasting is where his true abilities flourish. Particularly notable is his extraordinary ability to discriminate between various kinds of tea:

---

[23] German by Bernd EBERSTEIN et al. In: EBERSTEIN, pp. 143-299.

[24] This conclusion was already stated by John Y.H. HU, *Ts'ao Yü.* New York, Twayne Publishers 1972, pp. 93-95.

"His tongue does not only discriminate between the various sorts of tea leaves, use, age, origin as well as the way of preparation, he can even discern whether the water came from the mountains, a river, a well, ice or faucet and whether the water was heated by charcoal, coal or twigs." (p. 221)

And similar to his son-in-law, Jiang Tai, a gourmet with a highly refined palate, he can merely digest, but not produce (p. 222f). Apathy is the feeling towards life accompanying these kinds of abilities:

"The only thing we are capable of is sighing, dreaming, and being bitter. We take food away from useful people, we are thus like the living dead, dead living beings: our life is dying." (p. 221).

The scene of action, the flower hall (p. 145-7), is comparable to Ibsen's salon and shows the signs of decline particularly vividly during the third act (p. 247). The crows (p. 247, 276), chrysanthemums with hanging buds (p. 247, 261), broken mirrors (p. 249), the parting of wild geese, the caved-in wall (p. 295, also compare the image of the caved-in sky) and rats are all signs of death. Along with the father and the daughter, Yuan, only the women, desparate for a new life, attempt to leave this place where Zeng Wenqing eventually commits suicide by overdosing on opium. Since there is basically no action except for the airing of a battery of complaints, and since the dialogue neither initiates any new actions nor leads to any real clarification of standpoints, the three acts seem to be a picture-like representation of passive and apathetic living circumstances, comparable to the figures in Chekhov drama.[25]

V Yan'an und the Verdict against Inhibited Action

Mao Zedong's aesthetic theory, developed in 1942 in Yan'an, can also be viewed as a contribution to the discussion on the phenomenon of inhibited action observable in Chinese literature since 1919. The necessity for an active rearrangement of Chinese society returned the concept of action to literature. This holds particularly true for the theatre which had to contribute mainly to political and social change at that time.[26] The return of action in this case does not have the same kind of meaning for China as it had for Western theatre where it was related to the concept of human relationships (Zwischenmenschlichkeit) since the Renaissance. Action is thus not construed as a matter of decision, but as the necessary result of social conditions. Man himself does not act, but rather the situation compels him to do so. Because of this mechanistic view, the individual is determined by his activity. He is not the exploiter of the exploited, nor the oppressor of the oppressed, etc. As important and successful as political theatre of that time might have been for China, there is very little left which can claim aesthetic value today. The same holds true for the first

[25] Regarding Chekhov's influence on Cao Yu, see Joseph S.M. LAU, *Ts'ao Yü*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1970, pp. 57-74, and HU, p. 96.

[26] Cf. EBERSTEIN, pp. 102-187.

three decades after 1949 of which in this context only Lao She's (1899-1966) play the *Teahouse*[27] (originally staged in 1958) seems to be worth further examination.

VI Lao She: The Teahouse

In an interview on the *Teahouse*, Lao She declared that the aim of his play was the burial of three historical periods,[28] namely, the denouement of Qing dynasty, the commencement of the Republican regime and the time following the victory against Japan.

Corresponding to the three acts of the play, these periods, three historically important points of time were chosen that are separated from each other by 20 years. The first act takes place in 1898 when China attempted to set out on the way to modernization by the 100 day reform; the second in 1918, the eve of the May 4th movement, and the third in 1948, just before the communist seizure of power. The aim as well as the structure of the play reveal an epic character. An important question in this context is what actually ties these different historical periods together theatrically. The author regards the main characters as the unifying elements,[29] so that the slew of people (over 70!) and the disparate events are not a mere jumbled account. In this sense one can hardly speak of a nature-like imitation of reality as a review of the play in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine" put it.[30] So Bernd Eberstein was quite correct in stating that the coincidental meeting of the characters with each other is convincing and that they are well connected by the flow of time.[31] Thus one can only speak of the "appearance of continuity" to which Volker Klöpsch refers in this context.[32] The director of the play, Xia Chun, also saw the focus of the play in the peculiarities of the times.[33] Since momentary events act through man, neither man as such is the hero of the play, nor the main characters in a wider sense, nor Wang Lifa, in a narrower sense. On the contrary, the one and only hero of the play is the teahouse itself as is already intimated by the title. In other words, the events surrounding the teahouse represent the hero. To put it simply: we are concerned here with a series of events which Erwin Piscator had intended and which Szondi regards as an attempt to solve the crisis of Western theatre.[34] Piscator, too, aims for an overcoming of the exclusive individuality of the figures through a "connection

---

[27] German translations: Volker KLÖPSCH (ed.), LAO SHE, *Das Teehaus.* Reinbeck 1980, Uwe KRÄUTER and HUO YONG (eds.), *Das Teehaus. Mit Aufführungsfotos und Materialien,* Frankfurt am Main 1980. The quotations are taken in the order. The third quotation refers to *Lao She juzuo xuan* (A Selection from Lao She's Theatrical Works). Peking 1978.

[28] KRÄUTER, p. 112.

[29] Ibid., p. 110.

[30] Gerhard ROHDE, "A Teahouse as a Focus on History" (Ein Teehaus als Brennpunkt der *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Oct. 8, 1980, p. 27.

[31] EBERSTEIN, p. 447.

[32] KLÖPSCH, p. 12.

[33] KRÄUTER, p. 132.

of the action on stage and the great historically effective forces";[35] in other words: the aim is "to elevate the scenic to the historical level".[36] By this "the figure on stage" gains "in importance of social function where the focus is on his relationship towards society". Wherever he appears, his class or social stratum appears with him".[37] It is the question about the epic "I", the question about the idea behind the scenes.[38] This idea can be found on the level of form as well as on that of content. What is experienced on a sensual level is – aside from the increasingly fierce prohibition of political talk – the change of the teahouse from act to act. In the second act, the teahouse, having once been a place of cultural encounters *(wenhua jiaoliu de suozai,* p. 28, 16, 78), has experienced a "new bloom" *(xin de fazhan,* p. 52, 35, 92) by renting out part of its space and by reduction of its services. In actual fact, the teahouse had declined. This decline is demonstrated rather well in the third act: although it had been made of rattan (a discardable in Chinese eyes) in the second act, the furniture now consists of the most primitive seating arrangement. A poster of Rita Hayworth decorates the wall[39] and it is no longer the tea which attracts the customers but rather the bar hostesses. Impressions like this suggest that conditions are deteriorating from generation to generation. Thus the concepts behind the images is not merely the burial of the three historical periods but also their farewell, an historical view that ties in with tradition[40] and is, moreover, shared by the persons in the play.

This is, on one hand, reflected in the expectation of decline expressed in the first two acts ("the great Qing dynasty comes to an end", p. 41, 27, 86; 64, 46, 101; "China must go down", p. 75, 58, 110), on the other hand, by the basic and (in the course of the last two acts) repeatedly voiced doubt in any kind of reform *(gailiang;* p. 52, 36, 93; 111, 92, 136; 114, 95, 138; 120, 101 and 142) and in revolution *(geming* p. 74, 52, 109 as self-deception). Rather than improving business, the reform, i.e. the adoption of the teahouse to the changing needs of the time, ends up contributing to its decline. A similar fate befalls the efforts of the capitalist Qing Zhongyi as those of the teehouse's host. His contribution to the salvation of China through the strengthening of its national industry (p. 41f, 27f, 86, 74f, 57, 109) ends up with his factory being torn down (p. 112, 93,

---

[34] SZONDI, pp. 109-115. During the Seventh Meeting of the International Brecht Society, December 1986 in Hong Kong, Huang Zuolin stated that in 1951 he had given an introduction on Brecht and Piscator's during a six-hour talk in Shanghai, yet without any success. Although, according to Huang, Lao She was in Peking at that time, I still consider it a possibility that the author was familiar with Piscator's *oeuvre* either through newspaper articles or reports from friends.

[35] Ibid., p. 111.

[36] Ibid., pp. 112ff.

[37] PISCATOR, quoted in SZONDI, p. 111.

[38] SZONDI, pp. 114ff., FRANZEN, p. 80.

[39] KRÄUTER, p. 138.

[40] Cf. my work *The Lyrical* Oeuvre *of Du Mu (803-852). An Attempt at Interpretation* (Das Lyrische Werk des Tu Mu, 803-852). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz 1976, pp. 39-49.

136). During this historic period dominated by Guomindang and American military forces when the Peking opera and the Chinese art of cooking are condemned to decline, the only economically possible undertaking is a "trust" of dancing girls, prostitutes, jeep-girls and waitresses (p. 91f, 70f, 120). By scattering paper money in the last scene the emphasis is put on decline even though the narrator, a street musician who appears before and in between the acts to entertain the audience and prepare them for upcoming events, mentions in his last song that the communist Eighth Route Army and thereby the imminent communist takeover. The play itself adheres strictly to the idea that everything Chinese is doomed to decline.

VII Gao Xingjian: The Bus Station

At the outset of my deliberations I attempted to discuss briefly the reception of Ibsen's theatre in a society which is bent on change. In the light of Gao Xingjian's rejection of just this theatre, it becomes clear that its reception in China was not consciously linked with the phenomenon of the inhibited action even though this played an essential role in its original conception, but with the structure of the spoken theatre. In his deliberations about the nature of theatre *(Tan xijuxing),*[41] Gao Xingjian characterizes Ibsen's and Strindberg's dramatic art as a theatre in which a problem lies at the centre of the play. This kind of problem-centred-theatre *(wentiju)* would basically take place in one room (a salon) whereby the situation as well as the plot are pre-determined in a specific way. The most crucial medium is language, which makes all persons on stage – independent of their particular role – philosophers, "giants of language" *(yuyan juren).* Su Shuyang's *Neighbours (zuo lin you she* of 1979/80) as well as Li Longyun's *The Xiaojing Lane (Xiaojing Lutong* of 1980/83) are regarded by Gao Xingjian to be in line with this tradition.[42] As can be seen from his review *My Relation to Brecht,*[43] Gao drew away from Ibsen and his theatre based on language when he discovered Brecht's epic theatre, a theatre that does not attempt to imitate a nature-like reproduction of life on stage and does not connect conflicts to a *leitmotif.* Although the method of "distancing", so typical of Brecht, is apparent in the difference between actor and role as well as in the idea of the narrative and commentating actor who can step out of his role (highly evident in the *Bus Station*[44]), one should not overlook the fact that the influence of various playwrights come together in Gao Xingjian's theatrical work

---

[41] GAO XINGJIAN, "Tan xiju xing". Suibi, 3, 1983, p. 118.

[42] Roswitha BRINKMANN (trans.), SU SHUYANG, *Nachbarn (1979/80). Zuo lin you she.* Bochum, Brockmeyer 1984. Regarding the original and the discussion on Li Longyun's play, see *You zhengyi de huaju juben xuanji.* Peking, Zhongguo xiju 1986. Vol. 2, pp. 107-279.

[43] GAO XINGJIAN, "My Relationship with Brecht" (Mein Verhältnis zu Brecht). *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch,* 3, 1986, pp. 319-320.

[44] GAO XINGJIAN, *Bus Stop. A Life-like Comedy in One Act.* CHANG HSIEN-CHEN and Wolfgang KUBIN (eds.), with an Epilogue by Wolfgang KUBIN. Bonn, Yazhima 1987.

such as Ionesco, Beckett, Artaud (theatre as movement[45]) and Grotovski (the abolition of the distance of spectator and actor[46]). One should furthermore not overlook the fact that the inhibited action plays an important role in the *Bus Station.* Although in his stage directions Gao explicitly speaks up against Ibsen, his attempt to realize a multi-voiced theatre in the style of a sonata or a rondo with the variations in atmosphere illuminates a special problem. The theme of waiting ten years at a bus station for a bus which never comes suits Gao's concept of a unity of drama and poetry. In this way the play almost escapes the problems with which an actionless theatre is confronted: For, as Szondi exemplifies with Hoffmannsthal's lyric dramas, the central category of the "atmosphere" creates the unity of subject and object and the unity of time.[47] In his stage direction Gao Xingjian speaks not only of the principles of stasis but also of the principles of dynamism reflected in the title *(chezhan:* che/vehicle/ dynamic, and *zhan*/station/stasis). During a lecture at Bonn University on November 12, 1985 Gao explained the momentum of action *(dongzuo)* as a decisive trait of the bus station, a movement which results from a transition from waiting to departure, which means a psychic process of transition.[48] This concept of movement brings to mind the decision for departure from the existing conditions that crop up at the end of the *Return to the South and Peking Man.* The inhibited action here is expressed by the passivity of waiting, which on the formal level as well as on that of content constitutes the essence of the *Bus Station* (although never mentioned directly, the ten years of waiting evoke the association with the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976). The waiting itself leads to the eventual departure for the city after 10 years, but this kind of action is nothing more than an empty gesture and remains more or less irrelevant for the plot (also compare Chekhov's *The Three Sisters* and their longing for Moscow). In the subtitle of the *Bus Station* there is talk of a "life-like lyrical comedy". The comic moment in the stage instructions is defined as speaking for the sake of speaking and waiting for the sake of waiting. Thus, neither the waiting nor the speaking of the persons on stage is to be considered meaningful. The dialogue, consisting of various stereotypical patterns, is impersonal in style and atmosphere. The focus of the conversation is – very much like in *Beckett's Waiting for Godot* – merely an attempt to rescue a theatre that is handicapped by inhibited action and is thus caught in a crisis.[49] But dialogue is by no means a solution for a theatre floundering in the inhibited action.The dialogue as well as the characters are type-cast, but, unlike "Godot" they are nameless, being more or less archetyped as "mother", "girl", "craftsman", abstract type without personal identity[50] that come close to Ionesco's the-

---

[45] GAO XINGJIAN, "Tan shijian yu kongjian" (On Space and Time). *Suibi* 5, 1983, p. 108.

[46] GAO XINGJIAN, "Tan juchang xing" (On the Character of the Stage). *Suibi* 2, 1983, p. 92.

[47] SZONDI, p. 81.

[48] *Wenyibao*, 3, 1984, p. 29.

[49] SZONDI, pp. 88-90.

[50] FRANZEN, p. 128.

ses about theatre as comprising "interchangeable figures of mankind".[51] In this regard, one may not fully believe the author because the characters on stage are not only talking at cross purposes and are not only occupied with problems which are absurd in view of their waiting, but they do understand each other, especially well in their search for shelter from the rain and in the final departure. In the view of his relation to Brecht, Gao Xingjian contends that reason is supposed to be evoked from the audience in epic theatre. In the case presented, the reasoning of the audience is appealed to in a twofold way: firstly, by the figure of the silent man, who was already searching for a bus station when the bus went by the first time without stopping. He and his melody, which pervades the whole play somewhat like a *leitmotif,* represent the "call of the age" *(shidai de zhaohuan).*[52] On the other hand, the futile quality of the crowd's action is demonstrated by their waiting at the bus station for ten years instead of just following the example set by the silent man. The spectator in the audience who does not immediately gain insight into the action of the silent masses will do so at the latest when the masses finally rise up. It is not the conversation which initiates a cognitive process in the audience but rather the sensual impression conveyed by the melody and the eleven approaches of the bus that never stops.

VIII Conclusion

If one was to forward a theory of 20th century Chinese theatre based on the four plays discussed here, it could be said that, apart from the reception of Western theatre at the turn of the century that was employed solely for strengthening the motherland, the hope for social change to be impacted by dramatical means could not evade the problem discussed by Peter Szondi, namely, that the inhibited action in a China striving for revolution has social causes which lie in the weakness of the individual before and after 1949. It is interesting to note that the one play which, in contrast to the plays by Tian Han, Cao Yu and Gao Xingjian, abandons the departure fantasy, that is Lao She's *Teahouse,* is the only play which solved the problem of the plotless drama resulting from the crisis discussed above. But this was achieved only at the expense of the illusion of social engagement.

[51] Ibid., p. 132.

[52] Cf. *Xijubao,* 3, 1984., p. 4.

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, *6*, 1997, 1, 103-108

THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE EARLY TURKS FROM POINT OF VIEW OF ZİYA GÖKALP

Xénia CELNAROVÁ
Institute of Oriental and African Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences,
Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia

The year 1996 was the 120th anniversary of the birth of Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), the Turkish sociologist who stood in the beginning of the new Turkish nationalism. He was the main ideologist and spokesman of Turkism (*Türkçülük*) which replaced the ephemeral idea of Ottomanism with the idea of a united nation of Turks, bound together by a common ethnic origin, language, customs, culture and religion.

Like the majority of the young Turkish intelligentsia of the end of the 19th century, Ziya Gökalp, a native of Diyarbakir, was originally a supporter of the idea of of Ottomanism. The Balkan Wars shook his faith in the integrating power of Ottomanism.[1] A member of the secret Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihad ve Terakki Komitesi*), in 1909 Gökalp became one of its leaders and the most important representative of Turkism. In his articles in the periodicals of Turkism (*Genç Kalemler, Türk Yurdu, Tanin, Yeni Mecmua* etc.) and from 1914 also at the University of Istanbul Gökalp propagated the national idea, in which the conception of a modern and secular Turkish state was beginning to be outlined.

Gökalp was not only equipped with enthusiasm for the spreading of the idea of the Turkish nation and its culture. He also had extensive knowledge from the areas of Oriental and European philosophy, and the latest findings of sociological research. Apart from Gustave de Bons, Gabriel Tarde, Friedrich Nietzsche and other European authors, a French sociologist, the positivist Emile Durkheim had most influence on Gökalp. Durkheim's "apotheosis of society" suited him because it enabled him to see the ethnic group with language and culture as its differentiating feature, to understand it as a supra-individual entity possessing integrating forces.[2]

In agreement with Durkheim, Gökalp regarded religion and religious cults as one of these integrating forces. In his work *Les formes élementaires de la vie religieuse*, Durkheim sees the main social function of religion as cementing or unifying society, and stimulating social development by raising ideals. In his understanding, religion be-

[1] YAVUZ, K.: *Der Islam in Werken moderner türkischer Schriftsteller.* Freiburg im Breisgau , p.56.

[2] YAVUZ, K.: *Der Islam*, p. 291.

comes synonymous with ideology. Gökalp also looked at the religious ideas and cults which the Turkish ethnic group created or identified with over the centuries of its existence, from a similar point of view. However Gökalp's work was not only an automatic adoption of Durkheim's model. The Turkish sociologist not only attempted to interpret the social behaviour and cultural expressions of the Turkic nations in harmony with the theories of Durkheim and other European authors, he also attempted to reach his own formulations and conclusions.

Gökalp defined Turkism as revival of the nation, raising of its consciousness.[3] However in the interest of serving this essentially noble-minded aim, Gökalp gave priority to ideological constructions rather than to objective truth in some of his formulations and conclusions.

This also concerned to a significant extent his interpretations of the religious ideas of the Turkic nations, to which he devoted attention in his works *Türkçülüğün esasları* (1923, Principles of Turkism), *Türk Töresi* (1923 Turkish Customs) and *Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi* (1924 History of Turkish Civilization).

Gökalp's approach to religion from the point of view of the ideology of Turkism already appeared in his collection of verse stories *Kızılelma* (1914, Red Apple).[4] Religion together with the homeland and nation are the three ideals which every Turk should carry in his heart.[5] Like Durkheim, Gökalp saw the collective consciousness of society as the mediator of religious, ethnic, legal and political ideals for individuals. But in contrast to the French sociologist, Gökalp did not replace the position of God with this collective consciousness, and he placed religious values on the highest level of his scale of values.[6]

Gökalp regarded religion as the basic factor in the formation of personality and the most important component of spiritual life. In a man, as in a nation, the

---

[3] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları.* Istanbul 1976, p. 12.

[4] *Kızıl-Elma* (or *Kızıl-Alma* = "Red Apple") is an expression which refers to a legendary city – the ultimate goal of Turco-Muslim conquests. See: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam.* Vol. V. Leiden 1986, paragraph KIZIL-ELMA, pp. 245-6. Gökalp interpreted it as the *Turan*-Empire in which the Huns' leader Mete united all the Turkish tribes. The ideal of a greater homeland of all the Turks was later achieved by the Avars, Gök Türks, Oguzs, Kirghizes, Chinggis Khan and finally Timur. GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları,* p. 23-*24.*

[5] For analysis of the views of Gökalp on Islamism, patriotism and nationalism see: YAVUZ, K.: *Der Islam,* pp. 296-325.

[6] Ibid., pp. 301-302.

[7] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları,* pp. 34-35.

[8] The description of Tengri in the encyclopedia corresponds to this idea of Gökalp: "Tengri schirmt das türkische Volk, sichert dessen nationales Fortbestehen und verleiht den türkischen Fürsten den Sieg über ihre Feinde: in dieser Eigenschaft, als spezieller Schützer der Türken, wird er mit dem Terminus *Türk Tengrisi* bezeichnet." The paragraph TANRI in: *Enzyklopaedie des Islam.* Vol. IV. Leiden–Leipzig 1934, p. 707; "The active sky god is an imperial creation that concerns only the imperial religion...The Turco-Mongol emperor first wanted to gather all those of his race, then the entire world. His god was national (the Tengri of the Turks and Mongols), then universal and unique." The paragraph TENGRI in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion.* Ed. by M. ELIADE. Vol. 14, p. 402.

spiritual stands above the material. Therefore no nation can accept foreign religious, ethical and aesthetic ideas without reservation.[7]

In accordance with this conception of the nation, determined by spiritual and not by material values, Gökalp in all three named works also developed the idea of the sky god (*Gök Tanrı, Tengri*) as the national god of all Turks.[8] Since Gök Tanrı was a god who rewarded and protected and did not punish, the early Turks felt only love towards him.[9] In accordance with this Gökalp understood the acceptance of Islamic monotheism by the Turks as a continuation of this tradition of one God of heaven.[10] The strong feelings of the Turks towards the sky god found its fulfilment in Sufism with its idea of divine love.[11] The mythical origin of the nation is associated with the lovingness of *Gök Tanrı*. During the blessed night of love the sky god descended to earth in the form of a golden ray (*Altın Işık*) and fertilized a virgin or a tree. This was the origin of the *il*. Gökalp interpreted the term *il* not only in the sense of "country" or "people", but also as "peace". The *il* is the shadow of the sky god on earth, just as the ruler of the *il* – the *ilhan* is also his shadow.[12]

The Kül Tegin inscription confirms that the old Turks regarded their sovereigns as heavenly-mandated, "sacred persons who served as intermediaries between the supernatural powers and their people".[13] Everything which the monarch did was understood as an act of the divine will, a fulfilment of orders given by God. One of the first acts of an *ilhan* after coming to power was to formulate the traditional customary law (*töre, törü*). According to Gökalp *töre* represented the national culture of the old Turks and they merged it with their idea of the homeland.[14]

Gökalp considered that a basic article of the customary law of the Turks was the obligation of the ruler to maintain and extend peace. The aim of the Turkish *ilhans* was not to conquer foreign territory, but only to unite the Turkish nations.[15] Gökalp who regarded the Huns (Hsiung-nu) as predecessors of the

---

[9] "In the pre-Islamic period, Gök Tanrı was the god of reward for the Turks... Since Tanrı manifested himself only in pleasant ways, the old Turks felt only love and not fear towards him... In the religion of the old Turks, Tanrı was the god of peace and quiet life." GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları*, p. 35.

[10] Ibid., p. 35. Compare: "Turkish shamanism no doubt included a community of Tengris, inevitable in polytheism. After the early stages, faith arose in the supreme position of the sky god (*Gök Tengri*), and so the idea of one god was born. The old Turks used the word *Tengri* in two senses: the sky, which could be seen and the highest spirit, that is divinity. After the acceptance of Islam, the word *sema* began to be used instead of *gök* and the word *Allah* in place of *Tengri*." TURAN, S.: *Türk kültür tarihi*. Ankara 1990, p. 103.

[11] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları*, p. 35.

[12] Ibid., pp. 145-7.

[13] GOLDEN P.: *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*. Wiesbaden 1992, p. 147. Compare: "In den Inschriften kommt *Tengri* fast immer als eine göttliche Macht vor: nach seinem Willen gelangt der König zur Regierung: dieser König selbst ist Tengri-gleich und Tengri-geboren (*tänritäg tänridä bolmish)* und von Tänri eingesetzt (*tänri yaratmish*)." *Enzyklopaedie des Islam*, p. 707.

[14] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları*, p. 146.

[15] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları*, p. 147; GÖKALP, Z.: *Türk medeniyeti tarihi*. Istanbul 1976, pp. 180-1.

Turks, also saw their leaders Mete (Mao-tun who ruled 209-174 B.C.) and Attila (434-453) as representatives of the Turkish love of peace.[16] However the historical truth is the precise opposite of this claim. In the words of P. B. Golden, author of the unique monograph devoted to the Turkish nations, "like all the Eurasian nomads, the Huns were fierce warriors... The raids were often conducted with deliberate terror to break resistance and make the opponent more malleable".[17]

The same Mete or Mao-tun, who Ziya Gökalp regarded as a "representative of Turkish love of peace" (*Türk sulhperestliğin müessiri*),[18] usurped power by killing his father, then waged extensive campaigns to the west and east. However Gökalp's claim about the unifying efforts of the Huns is confirmed by the Chinese sources, according to which Mao-tun united the nomads into "one family".[19] Gökalp regarded Mete as the founder of the first Turkish state[20] and tried to prove that Mete and the mythical Oguz Han were one and the same person.[21]

As was already said, Gökalp regarded the Huns as a Turkish ethnic group, but he did not regard the Turkish or Turkic nations as members of an Altaic or Ural-Altaic family. In this he followed the Swiss anthropologist Eugène Pittard. According to Gökalp, the features which led scholars to place the Turks among the Altaic nations derived only from long term coexistence in the framework of a state formation or civilization.[22]

Gökalp supported his thesis that the Turks were a separate race with an original culture with their religious ideas. He did not agree with the French historian Léon Cahun, according to whom the Turks had the most natural inclination to Buddhism. He argues using the words of Bilge Kagan's father in law,[23] that Buddhism is unacceptable to the Turks, firstly because in contrast to the vegetarian Buddhists, Turks eat meat, and secondly because the warlike nature of the Turks is a contrast to the pacifism of Buddhists.[24]

The first argument agrees with the view of M. Eliade, expressed in his History of Religious Ideas, that the Turks like the Indo-Europeans and Mongols were hunters and therefore meat eaters.[25] In addition the mythological animal ancestor of the Turks was the grey she-wolf (*bozkurt*). However the argument of Bilge

---

[16] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları,* pp. 35-6, 147.

[17] GOLDEN, P.: *An Introduction,* p. 66.

[18] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları,* p. 36.

[19] GOLDEN, P.: *An Introduction,* pp. 60-61.

[20] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türk medeniyeti tarihi,* pp. 53, 247-256.

[21] Ibid., pp. 53, 58-9.

[22] Ibid., pp. 35-36.

[23] This especially concerns Tongukuk, the chief minister of Bilge Kagan, who was the father of Kagan's wife Po-fu. GOLDEN, P.: *An Introduction,* pp. 137-8, 150.

[24] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türk medeniyeti tarihi,* p. 24.

[25] ELIADE, M.: *Dejiny náboženských predstáv a ideí.* Vol. I. Bratislava 1995, p. 51.

Kagan's father in law is in conflict with Gökalp's thesis about the Turks (and Huns) as peace makers, as proclaimed in the Principles of Turkism.

"European scholars think that the religion of the early Turks consisted of 'shamanism'," wrote Gökalp in his History of Turkish Civilization, and he continues: "Nevertheless shamanism was not the religious system of the early Turks, it was their magic system."[26] The arguments by which Gökalp justified his claim can be summarized in two key theses: that in contrast to religion, which is connected with the nation or race, shamanism is "cosmopolitan", and that while religion rests on the masculine principle, the feminine principle is dominant in shamanism.[27] According to Gökalp, shamanism developed from the "primordial" (*ilkel*) totemism, which all the Turkish tribes passed through in their matriarchal and "democratic" stage. Totems and guardian spirits are mostly female in gender, the shaman gains their spiritual power by dressing as a woman or by changing sex.[28]

From shamanism based on the feminine principle, and also from the democratic structure of nomadic society, Gökalp derived the feminism of the early Turks. In principle he designates them "the most democratic people in the world" (*dünyanın en demokrat kavmi*) and "the most feminist race" (*en feminist nesli*).[29]

Gökalp compares the Taoist dialectic *yang-yin* with the Turkish principles *ak/yahşı – kara/yaman* (white/good – black/bad), which the Turks in contrast to the Chinese did not divide into masculine and feminine.[30] He explained this with the idea that while the Chinese as members of a settled culture practiced the division of labour, among the Turkish nomads only the joint effort of men and women could bring success. While the rights of women in settled Chinese society were limited, among the Turkish nomads women were equal to men.[31]

By emphasizing the equal position of men and women in the society of the old Turks, Gökalp indirectly supported the emancipation tendencies, which culminated after the origin of the Turkish Republic, when they found support in the person of the first president Kemal Atatürk, as a phenomenon accompanying westernization.

When looking at the works of Ziya Gökalp, we have to bear in mind the period in which these works originated. It was a strained period when the existence or non-existence of the Turkish nation was being decided. It was a nation which had only recently began to emancipate itself after whole centuries when the majority of its members were aware of themselves only as part of the Islamic world, with its culture and civilization.

---

[26] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türk medeniyeti tarihi,* pp. 116-7.

[27] Ibid., p. 123; GÖKALP, Z.: *Türk töresi.* Istanbul 1976, pp. 76, 82.

[28] Ibid., p. 77.

[29] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları, p. 148.*

[30] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türk medeniyeti tarihi,* p. 153.

[31] Ibid., pp. 384-386.

Gökalp strictly distinguished between culture (*hars*) and civilization (*medeniyet*).[32] In the framework of the civilization of the Islamic world, the Ottoman Empire held an important place. While Ottoman representatives appropriated and cultivated a culture which was cosmopolitan in origin and character, the Turks of Anatolia developed an original culture built on ethnic foundations.

Gökalp's definition of the nation as a community with its own culture placed before the Turkish intelligentsia, the demanding role of raising this culture, teaching the nation to be aware of its value and leading its development.[33] While his Principles of Turkism was essentially conceived as the manifesto of this movement, widely conceived work History of Turkish Civilization set the aim of documenting the culture of the Turkish nation in the course of its development through the ages. Unfortunetely Gökalp was only able to finish its first volume, covering the pre-Islamic period, which was published posthumously.

Turkification, Islamization, modernization were the three basic principles by which Gökalp thought the emancipated and prospering modern Turkish nation should be directed.[34] By Turkification, the greatest of these, he understood especially a return to the roots, to the ethnic culture of the Turks. For Gökalp, modernization meant the incorporation of Turkey into Western civilization. In between stood Islam with its spiritual and moral values, which the spiritual outlook and way of life of many generations of Turks had formed. However he did not demand an uncritical acceptance of Islam with all its anachronisms, but its consistent modernization.

---

[32] GÖKALP, Z.: *Türkçülüğün esasları,* pp. 25-41, 96-102.

[33] Ibid., pp. 41-46.

[34] DAVISON, R. H.: *Turkey. A Short History.* Walkington, Beverley 1981, p. 113.

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, *6*, 1997, 2, 109-116

BOOK REVIEWS

LEE, Sang-kyong: *West-östliche Begegnungen. Weltwirkungen der fernöstlichen Theatertradition.* Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1993. 218 pp.

The book under review is an introduction to the problem of interliterary relationships between the Western and Far Eastern theatre traditions, enriched by the impact of the Balinese theatre. I do not know why one kind of Indonesian theatre was put into the volume entitled *Fernöstliches Theater*, ed. by Heinz Kindermann, Stuttgart 1966, but it seems that Professor Lee has taken over this fact into his conception, although Indonesia is not regarded as a part of the Far East from the geographical point of view. The chapter devoted to Antonin Artaud and Balinese theatre is one of the best in the book, at least according to my apprehension. In these passages which form the second half of the part concerned with France (after *Japonisme* and the theatrical conceptions of other French theatre directors), the author follows an intriguing history of Artaud as a theoretician and director on the background of the stimuli he found in Balinese theatre, its tones, noises, music, rhythms and its message. I read these passages after studying, word after word, the *Conclusion* to Michel Foucault's book *Madness and Civilization. A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, New York, Vintage Books 1988: "Artaud's *oeuvre* experiences its own absence in madness, but that experience, the fresh courage of that ordeal, all those words hurled against the fundamental absence of language, all that space of physical suffering and terror which surrounds or rather coincides with the void – that is the work of art itself, the sheer cliff over the abyss of the work's absence" (p. 287). Artaud's "theatre of cruelty" is a product of an ingenious but half-mad mind. Professor Lee does not stress this feature of Artaud's work and with the exception of one short mention of his illness just before the publication of Artaud's book *Le Théâtre et son double* (1938) he does not analyse his mental condition. I do not assert that this is a shortcoming, but I suppose that by pointing out this fact Mr. Lee could perhaps better explain the peculiar features of Artaud's contribution.

It seems to me that the book under review is even stylistically and from the point of view of its construction under the impact of modern avantgarde theatre and its Oriental antecedents or models. It uses shorthand in analysing the theatre situation in France, England, Germany, Russia and America and its most important representatives such as Artaud, Jean-Louis Barrault, Bertolt Brecht, Jacques Copeau, Edward Gordon Craig, Charles Dullin, Sergei Eisenstein, Vsevolod Meyerhold, Max Reinhardt and Robert Wilson. Pleasant exceptions for the reader can be found only in the last passages of the book connected with the American theatre where instead of an expressive style a more narrative one is used.

Mr. Lee, born in Korea in 1934, student of German and English, accustomed to Japan and its literature since his childhood, and therefore very good in Japanese studies, devoted in this book, of course, to the influence of Japanese stimuli on Euro-American theatre from the end of the 19th century up to our time. It seems to me that the Chinese contribution to this intertheatrical process (if we may use this probably new and unusual

term) was neglected to some extent. Maybe that was the reason that Bertolt Brecht's deserts was not so highlighted as those of Craig, Reinhardt, Meyerhold or Eisenstein. As to the last mentioned, I enjoyed very much Lee's exposition of his film theory on the background of the impulses coming from the Chinese characters, *ukiyo-e, haiku* and the method adopted by the Japanese film director Kinugasa Teinosuke. Lee did not use the results of Brecht's study by Antony Tatlow, namely his monograph *The Mask of Evil. Brecht's Response to the Poetry, Theatre and Thought of China and Japan. A Comparative and Critical Evaluation,* Bern 1977.

An interliterary process is always mutual, bilateral or multilateral. Therefore in spite of admiration for the work of Eisenstein, it is not possible to agree with the opinion of this great Russian film director addressed to his Japanese contemporaries:

"Instead of learning how to extract the principles and technique of their remarkable acting from the traditional feudal norms of their materials, the most progressive readers of the Japanese theater throw their energies into an adaptations of the spongy shapelesness of our own 'inner naturalism'. The results are tearful and saddening. In its cinema Japan similarly pursues imitations of the most revolting examples of American and European entries in the international commercial film race.

To understand and apply her cultural peculiarities to the cinema, this is the task of Japan! Colleagues of Japan, are you really going to leave this for us to do?" (p. 142 quoted from *Film Form*, trans. by Jay Leida, New York, p. 44).

It is good that the Japanese did not follow Eisenstein's advice. As seen from the *Preface* to the book under review, Professor Lee did not follow him either. The East-West synthesis is probably the best solution. At least for our days. *West-östliche Begegnungen* is a good introduction to this extremely important topic in literary relations.

Marián Gálik

BAUER, Wolfgang – CHANG PENG – von MINDEN, Stephan (eds.): *Das chinesische Deutschlandbild der Gegenwart. Teil A: Deutsche Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft im chinesischen Schrifttum. Teil B: Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels im chinesischen Schrifttum. Eine Bibliographie 1985-1986.* Stuttgart. Franz Steiner Verlag 1991. 792 pp.
BAUER, Wolfgang – von MINDEN, Stephan (eds.): *Das chinesische Deutschlandbild der Gegenwart. Teil A: Deutsche Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft im chinesischen Schrifttum. Teil B: Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels im chinesischen Schrifttum. Eine Bibliographie 1986-1988.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1992. 820 pp.

The books under review are the works of several collaborators organized by the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of Munich, under Professor Wolfgang Bauer, and are the fourth and fifth in the series that have been published in more than twenty years of research and searching for materials dealing at first with the influence of German culture (or better to say intellectual history) in the twentieth century and later on with the image of Germany in Chinese writings in relation to culture, politics and economy.

The last two bibliographies show a relative progress in comparison with the two preceding ones and especially the introductions by Chang Peng and Stephan von Minden in the fourth and the last mentioned in the fifth, are excellent guides analysing the *topoi* of the bibliographies and overall situation in China, mostly in the PRC.

The first volume under review offers the interested readers the bibliography of books, articles and translations of the years 1985–1986 which present the climax of the Chi-

nese "open door policy" in culture after its start at the end of the 1970s. It holds for the whole world, not only for Germany, and researchers may find there many data confirming this reality. They can be informed here about the materials coming from more than a thousand newspapers, journals and publications of a similar kind. Altogether 5,273 different titles are bibliographically processed here involving philosophy, language, religion, literature, art, economy and society, psychology, education and science, politics, history, military science, law and sports from the German speaking countries.

The greatest attention has been paid to philosophy and literature, and since it is in these two branches of scholarship that I am mainly interested, they will constitute the subject of this review. In the years 1985–1986 liberal tendencies achieved their apogee and therefore both these realms, as most important from ideological point of view, especially in the PRC, were widely used when searching for new possibilities of the development after the intellectual cataclysm of the "Cultural Revolution"(1966–1976). Except for a great number of German philosophers, repeatedly or for the first time introduced into China, two series concerned with German philosophy only, appeared in the Chinese book market: *Deguo zhexue (German Philosophy)* and *Kangde Heigeer yanjiu (Studies in Kant and Hegel)*. When browsing through the few accessible issues of the first series, I found that these are also mostly analysing the works of Kant and Hegel, who after Marx and Engels, are the most studied foreign philosophers in China. Nietzsche seems to be on the third place among the German philosophers after Hegel and Kant, where Zhou Guoping, working in the Philosophical Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, was certainly most productive; even in his essays we may find the traces of Nietzsche's impact. Before him and together with him the well-known introducer of Nietzsche both to Taiwan and PRC was Chen Guiying, who was the main initiator of Nietzsche-*Fieber* in the PRC in the 1980s, where Nietzsche was up to that time always regarded as a reactionary and proto-Nazi thinker. It is interesting that Chen was very much under the impact of Walter Kaufman's existentialist book entitled *Nietzsche. Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* from the year 1950. I should like to be allowed to inform the readers that on the other end of the Eurasian continent, in Munich in 1970, I was working on my long study *Nietzsche in China (1918–1925)*, Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (Hamburg), 110, 1971, pp. 5–47, using Kaufman as the *Kronzeuge* of my contribution. Walter Kaufman, Professor of Princeton University, famous scholar on Nietzsche and Goethe, became the first *spiritus movens* of interest in Nietzsche both in Eastern and Western Sinology. On the Chinese Mainland to write about Nietzsche in positive way was allowed only at the beginning of the 1980s, see Yue Daiying's article: *Nicai yu Zhongguo xiandai wenxue (Nietzsche and Modern Chinese Literature)*, Beijing daxue xuebao (Learned Journal of Peking University), 3, 1980, pp. 20–33, later quite a few times reprinted in China and translated into English in slightly shortened form in the Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, vols. 20–21, 1988–1989, pp. 199–219.

In literature Goethe was more analysed than other German classics. This became a tradition in Chinese literary criticism. Old Feng Zhi, the most important student of German literature until his death in 1993, found in 1986 the possibility to publish a booklet *Lun Gede (On Goethe)*, with his contributions to the life and work of Goethe in the years 1941–1947 and 1978–1984. The thin volume shows relatively deep understanding of the treated subjects, but shows, especially with its *lacuna* nearly forty years long, the miseries of literary criticism and history on the mainland, where due to some not very sound opinions of the "classics" of Marxism-Leninism, often a most valuable literary topic could not be properly discussed for decades. From modern literature in German, it was Franz Kafka

who was more translated and studied than others, but also Erich Maria Remarque, Gerhart Hauptmann, Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Reiner Maria Rilke, Hermann Hesse, Stephan Zweig, Bertolt Brecht and Elias Canetti, Nobel Laureate for 1981.

The second volume under review shows the same character as the first one and analyses even more items, altogether 5,465. In the years 1987–1988, before the Tiananmen Incident on June 4, 1989, the Chinese were also mostly interested in German philosophy. It is necessary to point out that its framework was slightly broader, e.g. the first Chinese translation of Martin Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* and Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Wahrheit und Methode* appeared in this period. In the steps of Soviet philosophers, Chinese scholars began to devote their attention to the problems of *rendaozhuyi (humanism)* of the socialist kind, which was impossible during the "Cultural Revolution", and also to Neo-Marxist theories. Erich Fromm, as a Neo-Marxist socialist humanist, was translated more than other German-writing philosophers and psychologists, including Sigmund Freud. According to the *Introduction* to this volume, altogether fourteen of his books, were published in the years 1987–1988 in the PRC (p. xxiv).

The situation in literature was likewise similar to that in the years 1985–1986; once again Goethe and Kafka were in the centre of attention. The first Chinese book devoted to Goethe's *Faust* by Dong Wenqiao appeared in this year. Between them was put Heinrich Heine, probably as a kind of return to the older taste before the "Cultural Revolution", when Heine was highlighted as a paragon of the socialist literature of Marx's time.

In the *Preface* to the second volume written by Professor Wolfgang Bauer we read that it is the "recent and so far the last result of the detailed inquiry into the Chinese image of Germany as reflected in Chinese writings" (p. xiii). It is hard to believe that after twenty years of the successful work on the prolonged project his chief manager should declare anything like that in front of the researchers in many branches of Sino-German relations. But there is still a sparkle of hope. According to Bauer, the end of the bibliography of such a great extent does not mean the end of all bibliographic work concerned with Germany and China. It would be a loss for all sinological researches in regard to these countries and would make scholarly work extremely difficult in the years to come due to the great extent of materials to be bibliographically processed, searched for, found and finally studied. This is completely impossible to do on the basis of the endeavour of individual researchers.

Perhaps financial difficulties or the duration of the project created this *impasse,* but it is necessary, by any adequate means to find the way out from this blind alley, as soon as possible. The delay in proceeding with the project will cause only new difficulties and damage the good name of German scholarship in the world. The splendour of German culture, the successes in econony and politics will remain in shadow which is certainly not the intention of those who are responsible for distributing the financial means for scientific and scholarly purposes.

Both volumes are wholeheartedly recommended to Western and Chinese Sinologists and interested persons.

Marián Gálik

WUNSCH, Cornelia (Hrsg.): *XXV. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 8. bis 13.4.1991 in München. Vorträge.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1994. 540 pp.

This volume of selected papers read at the 25th Conference of German Orientalists in Munich, April 8–13, 1991, forms the 10th Supplement of the famous Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Its arrangement follows the organizational framework of the conference and is divided into nine sections: Ancient Oriental Studies and Semitology, Christian Orient and Byzantium, Arabic and Islamic Studies, Turcology and Central Asian Studies, Iranic Studies, Indology, East Asian Studies, African Studies, South East Asian and Pacific Studies, and last but not least, Oriental Art and Archaeology.

For obvious reasons I shall devote attention only to the topic which reflects my own scholarly interests and I am obliged to put aside the majority of other subjects.

I was impressed by hearing during the conference and by reading later the keynote speech entitled *Europa und die islamische Welt im Dialog durch die Jahrhunderte* by Paul Kunitzsch (Munich). According to him the Judeo-Christian world now approaches the year 2000, but Moslems are only in their 1400. The Renaissance, Enlightenment, French Revolution, human rights, democracy and the technical revolution were quite remote from the world of Islam, and if the Muslims are enjoying at least partly their fruits, they are often negating them now by their fundamentalist aspirations. At the beginning of its 15th century, the world of Islam, quite aware of its shortcomings in technical and scientific matters, tries to compete with the Judeo-Christian realm while searching for the roots of its great age long before the year 1492 (fall of Granada and discovery of America), and hopes to find a remedy of remedies in the *Koran* and Islamic tradition. The Islamic *'umma* (Community of the Faithful), or great parts of it, defends its supposedly original values against human rights, bourgeois democracy and the position of women. In otherwise critical paper, Professor Kunitzsch highly extolls the contributions of Arabian countries to European philosophy, mathematics, medicine and international trade in previous centuries.

A very similar spirit is found in two other contributions to the volume under review: *Säkularismus und Islam in Ägypten* by Alexander Flores (Erlangen) and *Die Korrektur der Irrtümer: Innerislamische Debatten um Theorie und Praxis der islamischen Bewegungen* by Gudrun Krämer (Munich). The first mentions the assasinations of President Anwar as-Sadat and of the journalist Farağ Fōda, who lost his battle against the fundamentalist Ğādalḥaqq 'Ali Ğādalḥaqq. The second one is more broad taking into account the fundamentalist vs. secularist movements in different Muslim countries.

The topic of death, an eternal theme of humankind, is a subject of the contribution entitled *Die Vorstellungen vom Tode und dem Zustand danach in den Hymnen des Rgveda* by Annemarie Etter (Bern). Thanatology is much discussed now in the Judeo-Christian world, e.g. in the works of Philippe Ariès *Western Attitudes toward Death*, or *The Hour of Our Death* and other scholars. For good reason it is in India and in other countries, such as China, different. According to A. Etter there is no concept of *saṃsāra* (ever-recurring transmigration of souls) before the *Upaniṣads*. From her study of *Ṛgveda-Samhita* it ensues that there is no trace of the idea of metempsychosis. In the earlier version of the *Ṛgveda* death is mentioned, but the place where dead persons are going to, is not specifically indicated, and it seems that *pitṛ* may be more or less identified with the area where they lived. In the later version only heaven is specified with Yama as its ruler. The existence of hell is on the basis of *Ṛgveda* (12th–8th cent. B.C.) uncertain, although possible, and at least suggested. The Immortal soul or Atman is known only to *Upaniṣads* and later. The same is the opinion of S.V. Shastri: *The Concept of Death in*

the Upaniṣad. In: Filippi, G.G. (ed.): *Salute, malattia, morte. India ed Europa a confronto.* Milano 1991, p. 281.

Das Böse nach Kitarō Nishida by Johannes Laube (Munich) is an impressive study concerning such an important problem of mankind as Evil. Evil is an everlasting phenomenon of life and has its theory and history. Here just as in the problem of death, the Judeo-Christian world is also more interested than other religions and cultures. In the study under review a representative of Mahayana Buddhism from Japan tries to put a new light on the ethical message of this great Buddhist school, or better to say, of its many branches: Jōdo-shin-shū by Shinran Shōnin (1173–1262). Shinran is understood by Nishida as a silly, stupid (*gu*) and powerless (*toku*) man. He is a good specimen of a human being, of his existential impotence in the face of Buddha or God (both hypostases of the Absolute). As such he is just fitting to be the object of salvation. The origin of Evil is self-deception. Nishida puts together the selfishness and wrath of human beings. "Man is a self-negation of God" (p. 142). If it is so, then world is bad and his world is a world of devil. He asserts also that God is negating himself and his love reaches the most mean evil-doer and is prepared to save even the most depraved rogue. Nishida partly follows the ideas of Nicolas Cusanus and Immanuel Kant, but from Laube's exposition does not ensue his treatment of Jewish or Christian theologians who pondered much about this very open question of ethics and ontology.

The analysis of 5 papers in this review makes only a very small part of more than 50 papers in the volume. More than 200 were announced by about 400 scholars participating at the conference held for the first time after more than 40 years of separation of German Orientalists. The colleagues from East Germany could be present for the first time, and many foreigners, including those from Eastern Europe, followed the invitations and came to deliver their contributions. German Orientalists in the City with Heart (Stadt mit Herz) proved to be good hosts and companions.

Marián Gálik

KROPÁČEK, Luboš: *Islámský fundamentalismus* (Islamic Fundamentalism). Praha, Vyšehrad 1996. 263 pp.

Islamic scholar of today can hardly ignore the political connections involved in his field of research. The new social and political dynamism of Islam and its growing presence in the Western environment are more and more often perceived as a political, social and demographic threat. The most common diagnosis of the danger reads Islamic fundamentalism (IF).

Luboš Kropáček is certainly qualified to provide an educated reader with a well-informed and balanced picture of this highly complex phenomenon. As the term *fundamentalism* itself is vague and can mean different things to different people, the author starts his study with an attempt to elucidate the basic concepts currently used by both Islamic scholars and political writers. He comes to the conclusion that the basic principle of all kinds of fundamentalism is the conviction of the exclusive possession of truth. As a result, fundamentalism is intolerant, unyielding and insensitive. IF uses the Koran to justify its own position, not so much religious as political. It is highly critical of what it sees as anti-Islamic elements within the Islamic societies of today, and above all, of all kinds of Western influence. Islamism, in turn, is an effort to establish a totalitarian Islamic society. Extremism and terrorism represent the radical, violent forms of Islamism. In this context, the author looks for the roots of fundamentalism in Islam. He

rejects the idea of fundamentalism as inherent in the religion, as a tendency which, under certain conditions, erupts to the surface. He seems to believe that IF is unthinkable outside the context of the modern Euro-American civilization and its global influence. IF has become the ideology of the urban, predominantly technical intelligentsia, deeply disappointed with the state of their own society and, at the same time, distrustful of what modernism has to offer. These people find the solution in sticking to Islam as they understand it, that is, to Islam in its strict legalistic form.

Part Two – *Themes of disagreement* – is the core of the monograph. The author analyses basic concepts as they have been formulated in the Euro-American culture and are being imposed on the rest of the world, such as democracy, human rights, women's rights, etc., and tries to map the main differences between values predominant in the West and those rooted in the tradition of Islam. With stress being laid on the nomocratic character of contemporary Islam, the cleavage between the two sets of values has become more visible than before. In the past, Islam showed a considerable degree of adaptability and elasticity of thought in assimilating many elements of culture and many varieties of legislation from the neighbouring peoples. Rejecting all foreign influence and foreign values has always been seen as a radical position in Islam. Today, this position is taken over by fundamentalists who, however, differentiate between Western science and technology which they accept and make use of, and Western cultural climate they reject. Islam, unlike Christianity, has from the very beginning been a self-governing polity. It does not differentiate between religious and secular, between what is God's and what is Caesar's. In the wording of Hasan al-Bannā, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, even Caesar himself belongs to God. Most Muslim thinkers positively value this phenomenon. In theory, Muslim community is governed by the Law, *sharīᶜa*, equally applied to all its members. It is the duty of government to order. The system, however, has no legal possibility of replacing the government in case the ruler acts against the Law and tyranizes his subjects. In the past, the Law was applied to Muslims only while the religious minorities stayed under the jurisdiction of their own communities. Extension of the Law over the whole population of the state has been taken over from the West. According to Sayyid Qutb, the project of the Islamic order – *niẓām islāmī* – is the situation where the Law is applied in full to all subjects of the state regardless of the form of the government, be it republican, monarchic or other.

The author explains both traditional and fundamentalist attitudes to the themes examined and points to solutions offered by the Koran. Although there are some Western concepts compatible with the *sharīᶜa*, there are also spheres where such a compatibility is rather difficult to achieve – religious rights, equal rights for men and women, corporal punishment – to name the most obvious ones.

Part Three presents the state of the Muslim community, the *'umma*, in the Islamic states and those Western countries where Muslims form important minorities. The author is aware of the fact that the Western public perceives Islam as a monolith, as a united and potentially dangerous force. Muslim countries, however, display a quite amazing diversity - linguistic, ethnic, social, political. They span the whole range from the richest to the poorest countries of the world, from the countries developing at a high rate to those lagging behind. The core of the *'umma* itself, the Arab countries, are torn by significant political and ideological differences. Scanning the whole spectrum of situations and their reflexes in thinking and in political and social practice, the author helps the reader to arrive at a better understanding of the world of today.

IF is undoubtedly a phenomenon of global importance. In Part Four the author ponders the choices open to the West in dealing with the problem. Islam with its inner ten-

sions and ambitions can easily be interpreted as a likely source of global conflict. Such negative expectations are stressed by the mass media and are deeply implanted in the minds of the public. There is, however, another possibility: taking IF for what it really is, for merely one section, although the most conspicuous, of the modern Islamic reality. Looking beyond fundamentalism, we can see the rich texture of Islam as an authentic religious system, the way of life of hundreds of millions of men and women all over the world. Extremists, using Islamic slogans to perpetrate heinous crimes, have to be exposed and prosecuted. Totalitarian aspirations of Islamism require an adequate political approach. It is the ideological background of these phenomena that represents the real challenge to the cultural potential of the West, both religious and secular. Although fundamentalism is, by definition, a negation of a dialogue, such a dialogue is, no doubt, in the interest of all.

In his effort to show the problem of IF in its complexity, the author could hardly avoid certain fragmentation, which can be a disadvantage for a less informed reader. On the other hand, it enabled him to present some less currently known connections. The monograph is more than a valuable source of information and ideas. It invites the reader to overstep the boundaries of the environment he takes for granted and try to see the world through the eyes of another culture. The benefit of this kind of exercise cannot be overestimated.

Jarmila Drozdíková

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
phone and fax: -421-7-21 17 29

Registr. No. 679/92

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Manuscripts submitted for publication in ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES should conform to international standards now generally recognized as regards presentation and format.

If possible, the contributions should be sent on floppy discs, nonformatted, in ASCII (WP, Win-Word, T602). The authors are requested to give their full name and institutional affiliation. The contributors from abroad should submit their papers in English.

References should be used as follows: author's name and year are given in brackets inside the text and the final References are arranged in alphabetical order.

Footnotes should be written on a separate sheet.

Illustrations, Figures, Diagrams, Tables must be numbered in Arabic figures and marked in pencil at the back with the author's name. Relevant notes should be typed on a separate sheet. Illustrations must be drawn neatly on white paper and lettering must be legible after reduction in size for printing. Photographs must be submitted unmounted on white glossy paper. A note in the margin should indicate the approximate place for the illustrations to be inserted.

Electronic version is available via Internet,
URL http://www.savba.sk/logos/journals/ap/ap.html

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.

The Editors

SAP
SLOVAK ACADEMIC PRESS