
ASIAN

MIČ 49 194
ISSN 1335-1257

AND

Slovak
Academy
of Sciences

AFRICAN

STUDIES

Volume 6/1997

Number 2

CONTENTS

Articles

- ALDRIDGE, A. Owen: *The Vindication of Philosophical Optimism in a Pseudo-Confucian Imitation of Voltaire's "Candide"* 117
- FRÜHAUF, Heiner: *Urban Exoticism and its Sino-Japanese Scenery, 1910-1923* 126
- FUEHRER, Bernhard: *The Court Scribe's Eikon Psyches. A Note on Sima Qian and his Letter to Ren An* 170
- SLOBODNÍK, Martin: *The Early Policy of Emperor Tang Dezong (779-805) towards Inner Asia*..... 184
- YIP, Terry Siu-han: *Texts and Contexts: Goethe's Works in Chinese Translation Prior to 1985*..... 197
- ZETZSCHE, Jost O.: *Cultural Primer or Bible Stories in Contemporary Mainland China* 217

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: kaorhola@savba.sk

The editors bear no responsibility whatsoever for the views expressed by the contributors to this journal.

THE VINDICATION OF PHILOSOPHICAL OPTIMISM IN A PSEUDO-CONFUCIAN IMITATION OF VOLTAIRE'S "CANDIDE"

A. Owen ALDRIDGE

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Program in Comparative Literature
707 South Mathews Ave., Urbana IL 61801, U.S.A.

The aim of this essay is to analyze a short fiction entitled *L'Aventurier chinois*, written by an anonymous writer, published in 1773, not known as yet among the sinologists and literary scholars, in relation to Voltaire's *Candide*, as well as to then European and ancient Confucian philosophy. In the realm of Chinese studies, *L'Aventurier chinois* belongs to the category of *chinoiserie* and in its time it was a part of the French literary and philosophical "mirage" of China.

In the year 1773 there appeared in Paris a work of short fiction bearing the title *L'Aventurier chinois*, presumably published at Peking, but available at a Parisian bookstore. According to the titlepage, it was printed in Peking and sold for "Merigot le jeune Librairie." Not treated in previous East-West scholarship, this work reveals that before the end of the eighteenth century the influence of China on Western literature had extended into popular literature beyond the confines of theology, drama, and the essay. The work has additional importance as a reply to Voltaire's *Candide*, partly imitation and partly refutation, that has so far not been mentioned in studies or bibliographies concerning Voltaire. Finally, the work is in itself a lively and entertaining narrative, providing an original perspective on one of the major philosophical notions of the Enlightenment, the doctrine of optimism. In modern times, moreover, it may also be considered as a defense of feminism, parallel to Voltaire's *Femmes, soyez soumises à vos maris*.

Voltaire did not use China as a setting for *Candide* or for any of his tales or short prose satires even though he treated the Chinese nation and its people extensively in his other works, poetical, historical and dramatic. The single possible exception is his retelling the story of the unfaithful widow of Chong Tse in his tale *Zadig*, but in doing so he completely removed the Chinese element by transferring the setting and characters of the narrative to Persia.

The author of *L'Aventurier chinois*, although also responding to the Chinese mania of the times, knew considerably less than Voltaire about the real China.

The names of his characters, for example, Myredorb and Doliverte, have no resemblance whatsoever to those current in Canton, where they presumably reside; Doliverte is described as a fetching blonde; and reference is made to a Chinese ambassador to Paris, a non-existent functionary in the eighteenth century. *L'Aventurier chinois* belongs to a class of works which are not designed to reveal China as it is, but by using China as a background to illustrate Western conditions, circumstances, or attitudes and to promote various domestic or private concerns. Although not a document of historical authenticity such as the European translations of Confucius, the compilations of Du Halde, or the narrative of *Le Compte*, *L'Aventurier* illustrates the pervasive influence of China in Western imagination, in this sense parallel to the erecting of pagodas in eighteenth-century Munich and London. Although its narrative structure and its ideological purpose of defending optimism are mutually supportive, the two strands are not essential to each other in the same way that the adventures of *Candide* depend upon the philosophy of Pangloss. *L'Aventurier* therefore, may be considered from three separate perspectives, as an illustration of the appeal of China in Western popular culture, as an example of the influence of *Candide*, and as an independent defense of philosophical optimism. In the realm of Chinese studies, however, it belongs to the category of *chinoiserie* rather than to that of serious cross-culturalism.

According to its preface, the narrative derives from the manuscript of a Chinese philosopher and teller of allegories, Xien-Chang-Yen, which is stolen and delivered to a European supercargo, who translates it. At his next designation, Alexandria, the supercargo purchases a mummy, which he wraps in the pages of the manuscript. He sends the package by freight to Paris, where it is seized by the customs. When he arrives personally in Paris somewhat later, he is placed under temporary arrest. His mummy is eventually restored, but not his manuscript, which makes the tour of the world. It finally returns to China in a vessel of the French East India Company, where it has been used as wrapping for an indecent miniature painting. When the supercargo happens to be once again in China, he sees the manuscript pages, claims them, and has them printed in Europe.

L'Aventurier chinois has escaped previous notice as a descendent of *Candide* probably because of its title, which suggests picaresque or erotic situations and has no clue to draw the attention of Voltairean researchers. Apart from *L'Aventurier chinois*, bibliographers have located over a dozen posterity of *Candide*, the exact number depending on which literary genres are accepted for inclusion – continuations, imitations, comedies, operas, vaudevilles, or poems.¹

¹ Works related to *Candide* are treated by Christopher Thacker: "Sons of *Candide*". In: *Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 58, 1967, pp. 1515–1531; J. Rustin: "Les 'Suites' de *Candide* aux XVIII^e siècle." *svec* 90, 1972, pp. 1395–1416 and J. Vercruysse: "Les Enfants de *Candide*." In: Jean Macary (ed.): *Essays on the Age of Enlightenment in Honor of Ira O. Wade*. Geneva 1977, pp. 369–376. Basil Guy in his *The French Images of China before and after Voltaire*, Geneva, Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1963, lists *L'Aventurier* in his bibliography on p. 445, but does not mention it in his text or associate it in any way with Voltaire.

These works are presumed to be influenced by *Candide* when they incorporate allusions to the personages in that narrative, recapitulate the misfortunes of the protagonists, and introduce motifs such as that of smallpox and the recruiting of soldiers. "At times they effectively suggest *Candide* in its general narrative line and in particular events; at times they refer to it disparagingly without revealing sufficient grounds for affirming actual imitation."² Most of these followers of Voltaire portray an optimistic philosophy as does *L'Aventurier chinois*.

Many narrative and philosophical connections between *Candide* and *L'Aventurier chinois* may be noted, but the direct line is established in two passages in the latter work. In one of them a character "qui venoit de finir le fameux *Candide*, dernièrement traduit en langue savante" (in this context the Mandarin language) quotes the line "*Tout est au mieux*." In another passage, one of the protagonists learning of the harrowing experience of a mandarin remarks that "*tout étoit au pis dans le plus bizarre des mondes possible*." The Confucian patina is applied early in the narrative when one of the female characters compares her religious views with those of the Chinese sage and at the end when the hero quotes Confucius to confound the doctrines of both Pangloss and the latter's detractors. Confucius is introduced not because he figures prominently in *Candide*, for he does not, but because Voltaire praises him extensively in his other works, where he is treated as a symbol of rational morality, deism, and antique wisdom. In a quatrain in the *Almanac des Muses*, 1771, two years prior to the publication of *L'Aventurier*, Voltaire affirms

He speaks only as a sage, never as a prophet,
But he is believed even in his own country.³

The opening chapter of *L'Aventurier* on hazard or chance seems to be a commentary on the portrayal of philosophical necessity in *Candide* although the first sentence of the work, which functions as a quasi-epigraph, restricts coverage to women alone. Apparently directed toward Voltaire, this sentence affirms, "Non, Monsieur, les femmes ne sont pas toutes aussi légères, aussi inconséquents que vous venez de les peindre." The narrative itself begins immediately after this introductory sentence. The protagonist, loosely modeled on *Candide*, is a young soldier, who is known in the narrative only by his military title, Soupdar, which, according to a footnote, is a term from the Near East. In a café in Canton, he encounters an adventurer, Schouwia-Kan, who is posing as a mandarin of the first rank. Soupdar invites Schouwia to his home in order that the latter may meet his mother, Myredorb, and his sister, Doliverte, who, as I have already noted, is described as an attractive blonde. The mother and daughter conspire to arrange a match, and Schouwia is only too willing to cooperate.

² J. Rustin: op. cit., p. 1398.

³ See "Voltaire and the Mirage of China". In: A.O. Aldridge: *The Reemergence of World Literature*. Newark, Del., University of Delaware Press 1986, pp. 141-166.

When Doliverte is conveniently left alone in the company of Schouwia, she expresses a philosophy of hedonism and self-interest. “Toujours notre intérêt est le principe primordial de toutes nos actions: si nous sommes le plus souvent malheureux, c’est que nous avons fait des fautes contre nos vrais intérêts & notre bonheur ne commence qu’au point où nous découvrons avec plus de sagesse, ce qui y est le plus conforme.” A footnote, presumably from the pen of an objective editor, gives her words wider application. “Un Déiste, un Athée, un esprit-fort, est une autre Doliverte qui arrange des mots, nie une Puissance supreme, succombe, l’invoque dans sa détresse, & l’adore par une impression irrésistible.” As the narrative continues, Doliverte maintains that chance had nothing to do with the original meeting between Schouwia and her brother which led to the conversation then taking place. To the contrary, efficient causes were responsible for Schouwei’s having complained about women and of his desire to have them less frivolous. At this point Schouwia interrupts to ask Doliverte how she can associate her ideas with religion, for “Confucius n’enseigne assurément pas cette morale.” Her answer, which has nothing to do with Confucius, seems to be a rejection of free will and a reaffirmation of Pangloss’s insistence that things cannot be any otherwise than they are. “J’ai compris que ce que je suis; je le tiens d’un autre, je n’ai rien appris de moi-même; & si la nature, une bonne constitution, des causes secondes sans nombre, m’ont laissés quelques charmes, il est évident que je ne les ai pas de moi. Si l’étude m’a donné quelque espèce de raisonnement, je l’ai aussi pris dans les Auteurs ou chez tel autre personne. Du reste, Monseigneur, je n’ai de la religion que l’extérieur; et je puis, je crois, sans déroger au titre d’honnête, dire comme un Païen, ‘Je sers ni Baal ni le Dieu d’Israel.’” A footnote points out that the latter sentiment is practically the same as that expressed by Racine in *Athalie*. Adopting a tone of extreme disapproval, the presumed editor castigates Doliverte as “une inconséquente petite-maîtresse, qui enveloppe, sous des grands mots, les faiblesses de son cœur.” Although the passage cannot be considered as a direct reflection from Voltaire, it certainly reveals his frequently-expressed opinion that no such thing as a religion of Confucius exists – that he merely taught traditional beliefs while recommending virtue and avoiding mystery.

After this philosophical interlude, the narrative gives some biographical details about Doliverte, who has much in common with Voltaire’s Cunegonde. At the age of nineteen, she has already had several sexual encounters, but pretends to virginity in order with her mother’s complicity to entrap Schouwia in a marriage. The sham mandarin and Doliverte are two of a kind, however, for Schouwia in addition to parading his alleged noble lineage boasts of wealth and influence, which are also illusory. Doliverte is consequently delivered to him without a marriage ceremony, and he lives with the bride’s family at the family’s expense. His pretext for the emptiness of his own purse is that he is waiting for funds to be forwarded from his own family and that he prefers to travel incognito rather than in the state to which his position entitles him. In an aside on the poor remuneration accorded to the literary profession, the narrator remarks that “A Kanton, comme dans notre Europe, l’esprit s’estime au poids de l’or; un thé-

sauriseur, ou un Fermier-Général en a beaucoup plus qu'un Baile [sic] qui vit aux dépens de son Librairie; ou qu'un Jean-Jacques persécuté parcequ'il a dit de fort bonnes choses, & fait des sophisms en bon français." Unlike most of the other replies to *Candide*, this one does not place Rousseau in opposition to Voltaire, but considers them as on an even plane.

From this point on, the structure of *L'Aventurier* resembles that of *Candide* as the narrative embraces the travel theme. The two main characters, however, are not matched like Pangloss and Candide as teacher and student, but in the persons of Schouwia and Soupdar as a sharper and his dupe. In the end Schouwia is regenerated, honesty carries the day over deceit, and virtue triumphs. Soupdar is not completely innocent like Candide, however, nor is he completely exempt from faults, the chief of which is vanity. He is incessantly proud of his lower limbs and his fine clothes, especially shoes. A somewhat lubricious passage, clearly in the vein of Voltaire, describes his masculine endowments. "Il fut, dit-on, le premier à imaginer les grands flots que sont actuellement sur le devant des caleçons de nos petits Adonis de Kanton. Ces flots étoient dispendieux quand l'étoffe étoit riche; mais ils laissoient chez les femmes une agréable *supposition* à faire, & cette supposition-là avoit un grand mérite." Needless to say, the notion of a Chinese codpiece is ludicrous.

As the narrative proceeds, Myredorb receives a letter from a son-in-law in Peking desperately pleading for financial assistance. She turns to the sham mandarin Schouwia, who instantly gives her a letter of credit, which later proves to be worthless, but at the moment produces an emotional response. "*Tous est au mieux* disoit l'éloquent Myredorb, qui venoit de finir le fameux *Candide*, dernièrement traduit en langue savante." This transaction seems to indicate Myredorb's dominance over the household. The narrator immediately affirms that the daughter Doliverte holds the mandarin in her net and that there is no indication that he would ever free himself from her "*talens singuliers* pour fixer un cavalier."

In a quasi-digression, the narrator introduces an "Auteur celebre" who had written successfully on the feminine heart. This author had maintained that among all created beings women occupy a distinguished place by virtue of their manner of being and their way of governing men, even those for whom they have shown contempt. This author of excellent things was hanged at Peking, however, because the emperor Yao, who frequently became embroiled with his empress, proved that his work perpetuated in the feminine sex the empire which women had over him. This may possibly be a reference to Voltaire's *Femmes, soyez soumises à vos maris* since immediately following the passage concerning women manipulating their husbands, a dominant theme of Voltaire's bagatelle, the narrator observes that Myredorb had frequently maintained that the Abbé Bazin (Voltaire's pseudonym in *La Princesse de Babylone*, a companion piece to *Candide*) was at fault for going to great lengths to prove that the princesses he wrote about were chaste. It is somewhat ironical that the author of a work obviously indebted to *Candide* should also cite *La Princesse de Babylone*, in which Voltaire castigates those authors who have imitated or plagiarized *Can-*

dide and his other tales.⁴ Myredorb, who is not particularly chaste, but who has great talents in handling her husband, uses her sexual powers to obtain money from him to gratify the sham mandarin's taste for luxury goods.

The latter finally decides to go to Peking, ostensibly to obtain money to satisfy his creditors. He takes Soupdar on the voyage, promising to place him in charge of a company of palace guards and to obtain for him the title of Mandarin Lettre, despite the circumstance that even a minimum acquaintance with letters had never graced his own mind. Even though Soupdar and the mandarin have insufficient funds at their disposal, they are able to travel by teaming up with a band of smugglers. The latter offer to share the boat on which they are to make their way up the river in exchange for free use of Schouwia's title of mandarin first grade as protection against official inspections. They set off with a retinue of a broken-down palanquin, a horse, and three carriers. When they are stopped at one city, Schouwia with his usual boldness declares that his class of mandarin is higher than that of the local official, and they are allowed to proceed. When they arrive at Peking, Schouwia persuades Soupdar to lend him his swords and rings so that he may appear in a suitable state before his father. He leaves the boat at the outskirts of Peking and directs Soupdar to continue on to the city, giving him the name of an inn for their future rendezvous. Here Soupdar orders an expensive costume and shoes, promising to pay for them on the next day. At the common dining table while reciting his adventures and anticipations, he encounters two sympathetic Europeans, but learns that Schouwia has been exposed as an impostor and forced to leave the city. The sham mandarin's real name is Xienxi, and he is the offspring of a Chancellor who had accompanied the emperor to Paris and a French woman of easy virtue whom the Chancellor had encountered in the Botanical Gardens. As a young man in Paris, Schouwia had acquired from his father the art of Chinese hairdressing and made a fortune from the profession. But spoiled by luxury and high society, he returned to China, where he sought to maintain his elevated life style by passing himself off as a nobleman from various parts of the world. The concept of a Chinese official in Paris excelling in the oriental art of hairdressing is certainly a novel misrepresentation.

The narrator weaves another reference to *Candide* into moralizing comments on the problem of evil. "Je ne sais quel Philosophe a prétendu donner une égalité parfaite aux biens & maux. Je ne sais non plus comment il s'en seroit tiré, s'il avoit dû prouver cette assertion. Un autre dit de fort bonnes choses sur la vivacité avec laquelle des peines se succèdent. Jamais dit ce judicieux Auteur, un malheur ne vient seul." I do not know of any French author who argued for an absolute balance between good and evil although Benjamin Franklin did so in an early work, *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain* (1725). There is almost no possibility, however, that the author of *L'Aventurier* could have been aware of Franklin's work, but it is quite possible, even likely,

⁴ René Groos (ed.): *Romans et contes*. Pléiade edition. Paris, Gallimard 1954, p. 431.

that he knew another English treatment of optimism, Alexander Pope's *An Essay on Man*, with which Voltaire was familiar. Although Pope does not assert an absolute equality of pleasure and pain throughout the universe, he maintains an absolute equality of pleasure and pain in each individual.

ORDER is Heaven's first law; and this confess
Some are, and must be, greater than the rest,
More rich, more wise; but who infers from hence
That such are happier, shocks all common sense
Heaven to Mankind impartial we confess,
If all are equal in their Happiness. IV, 49–54

While conceding that equality of pleasure and pain does not exist in external elements that can be measured, Pope affirms that intangible elements work to produce a psychological equality. A man who is outwardly happy may be internally miserable and one who is outwardly miserable may be blessed with interior happiness.

Fortune her gifts may variously dispose,
And these be happy called, unhappy those;
But Heaven's just balance equal will appear,
While those are placed in Hope, and these in Fear.
Nor present good or ill, the joy or curse,
But views of better, or of worse. IV, 67–72

These lines follow a long tradition originating with Plato which considers pleasure as the negation of pain. Montaigne summarized the doctrine by remarking "Our well-being is nothing but the not being ill" (*Essais*, 2:12). The English philosopher John Locke had also affirmed that "in reference to the passions, the removal or lessening of a pain is considered, and operates, as a pleasure: and the loss or diminishing of a pleasure, as a pain" (*Essay concerning Human Understanding*, II, xx, 16). Voltaire's contemporary, Pierre Maupertuis, who was also Voltaire's personal foe, had a much different view from Pope's, but one essentially the same as Voltaire's. He affirmed in his *Essai de philosophie morale* that the pleasures of body and those of spirit may balance each other, but they are not equal, that in ordinary life the sum of the evil surpasses the sum of the good. (*Œuvres*, 1: 214) (Lyon 1756). The "judicious author" quoted in *L'Aventurier* who remarked on "la vivacité avec laquelle les peines ses succèdent" is certainly Voltaire, who in *Candide* established the convention of recapitulating the harrowing misfortunes of his characters. Candide, for example, challenges his mentor Pangloss "quand vous avez été pendu, disséqué, roué de corps, et que vous avez ramé aux galères, avez-vous toujours pensé que tout allait le mieux du monde? (Chap 28).

When Soupdar learns the truth about his erstwhile patron Schouwia, he recounts his own mishaps and exclaims bitterly "que tout étoit *au pis dans le plus*

bizarre des mondes possible." Hearing another inhabitant of the inn refer to him in opprobrious terms, Soupdar demands to know why he is being insulted after the great misfortunes he has suffered. The other replies that he finds it extraordinary that a person without status would dare to ask for an explanation and that he would provide one only at sword's point. They accordingly fight a duel in which Soupdar is victorious. In this fictional Peking, duels customary take place in a kind of arsenal where the combatants receive their weapons and sign their names. They are required to keep up the contest until one of them is dead. The one deemed the aggressor must serve three years of public service if he is the winner, but if he loses, his estate must pay five thousand ounces of gold, of which four thousand go to the state and one thousand to the winner. As the victor, Soupdar immediately collects his thousand ounces. In the conflict he receives a minor wound, which is dressed by the two sympathetic Europeans who, motivated by their virtue and benevolence, have accompanied him to the dueling place.

At this point narrative emphasis shifts from Schouwia to Soupdar and from the shady dealing of the sham mandarin to the benevolence and virtuous behavior of the two Europeans. The latter are described in glowing terms. Under the influence of these benevolent souls, Soupdar develops an anti-Voltairean philosophy. He learns from the mixture of misfortune, loss and success he has experienced that man is sometimes attached to his faults, but also that when these faults have led him to the edge of an abyss, he may sometimes by his self-will leave the path that has led him to the precipice and return to the highway of good fortune. The Europeans offer to take him under their protection for two years, to travel with him, and to establish him in a social and economic position that will eventually allow him to return with honor to his family. Soupdar gladly accepts the offer.

After sailing for three weeks, he and his companions run into a storm during which one of the Europeans is washed overboard and perishes. The other, named Francville, is overwhelmed with grief. He learns that reason and philosophy cannot efface in a moment the memory of a friendship conserved over twenty years of acquaintance and mutual conformity of character.

Continuing their voyage, Soupdar and Francville lay anchor at Ceylon where they are able to compare the customs of the Ceylonese with those of the Chinese, giving Francville the occasion to air his view on tolerance. "Ne blâmez point les usages des peuples chez lesquels vous aborderez, car vous n'en avez le droit, & tous les peuples de la terre vous verront avec joie, vous recevront avec considération, & se feront un plaisir de vous être utile." After Ceylon, Francville goes back to his homeland, leaving Soupdar free to return to Canton. Francville gives Soupdar an order on all his property there, to be returned only in the event that he should revisit the city at a later date.

Just as Soupdar is on the point of sailing for home, he receives a communication from the King of Ceylon, requiring his immediate presence. He has been recommended to the king's good graces by one of the latter's sisters, and the king in recognition offers to grant him any favor which it is in his power to be-

stow. At that moment one of the soldiers in attendance presents Soupdar a letter, which the king orders him to read. It is from the sham mandarin Schouwia, who is also in Ceylon expecting to be impaled alive on that very day for the crime of passing himself off as a mandarin and by that means seducing another of the king's sisters. When Soupdar asks the king to grant Schouwia his life, the king does so on the condition that Schouwia serve seven years in the royal troops. Soupdar then returns to Canton, rich and virtuous.

In his conclusion the author unites virtue with happiness.

“Un événement triste peut conduire à des événements heureux: le Soupdar le disoit, Confutzé a mis ce proverbe en morale; je l'ai mis en histoire. J'avois mes raisons; le lecteur qui ma'aura lu, aura les siennes; car tout est dans l'ordre.”

The real Confucius, of course, has no such proverb in his ethical writings although he nowhere denies the notion that distressing events may lead to pleasant ones. For the author, the figure of Confucius, who appears also in the first chapter, is primarily a means of lending verisimilitude to the Chinese background. The introducing of Confucius at the beginning of the narrative and reintroducing him at the end may also be considered as a device to bring together the opening and close of the story in order to create the impression of unity and compactness, a technique that scholars have previously noted in *Candide*. It could also be interpreted as an admission that since no Western philosophy has found the answer to the human condition, there might be some reason to seek it in the older civilization of the East.

L'Aventurier chinois is not a work which attempts to gain notoriety by associating itself with the author of *Candide*; rather it is one which attempts to refute the pessimistic philosophy of Voltaire's narrative by bringing it into contact with the humanistic tradition of China as symbolized by Confucius.

Although not a battle of wits between Leibniz and Confucius, *L'Aventurier* recognizes Confucius as a universal sage whose authority in matters of virtue is paramount.

URBAN EXOTICISM AND ITS SINO-JAPANESE SCENERY, 1910-1923

Heiner FRÜHAUF

National College of Naturopathic Medicine,
11231 S.E. Market, Portland, OR 97216, U.S.A.

The aim of this study is to show the beginnings of the Sino-Japanese exoticism in the Late Meiji, Taishō and May Fourth periods on the background of Euro-American, mainly French symbolist and decadent vision of the Other, using much material unexplored as yet in contemporary scholarship, and covering different genres of literature, art, architecture and living styles.

The Western perspective of viewing "the Other" as exotic has received ample attention in literary criticism of the past decade. Edward Said's 1978 monograph, *Orientalism*, precursored a series of academic studies and critical reflections on the West's image of the Beyond. The unanimous result of this bustling activity is easy to anticipate: the white man's literary accounts of the Orient are reflections of his superior warfare and economical power. The Orientalized fairy tale starring the handsome adventurer unpacking the mysteries of a foreign land is thus an internal function of a society that rekindles the narcissistic passion of a fatigued self. The Orient is but the screen for the West's projection of a redefined identity: "Orientalism responded more to the culture that produced it than to its putative object, which was also produced by the West."¹

This summary is highly simplified, of course, and this study is hardly intended to challenge a basically reasonable definition with a disparate approach. However, my reading of early 20th century Chinese and Japanese literature suggests that the fixation on the unilateral picture of the exoticist Occident and the exoticized Orient misses several aspects. The literary world of modern China and Japan encompassed a sizable exoticist scene. Like their European counterparts, these casually connected groups committed themselves to the artistic subjugation of the Exotic, and elevated their avant-garde cognition of "the Other" to an aesthetic cult.

In addition, there is more to be discovered than just an exoticist enclave of Sino-Japanese cast. Evidently, the "Orientalist" approach adopted by some Eu-

¹ E. Said: *Orientalism*, New York, Vintage Books 1979, p. 22.

ropean artists, particularly those of French origin, served as a direct model for the Chinese exoticist looking westwards. In the course of this study, I will focus on an assessable circle of Shanghai and Tokyo writers who ventured to emulate, transform, and eventually supersede the French example of literary exoticism.

“Yiguo qingdiao”[1] or “Ikoku jôchô”: Occidentalism: Beginnings in China and Japan

The inclusion of exotic imagery in Chinese and Japanese art and literature is not a new phenomenon. One could even assert that artistic exotica are as old as the transmitting genres – painting, sculpting, and literature – themselves. Ever since the formation of the *zhiguai* [2] genre (brief prose entries discussing out-of-the-ordinary people and events) during the period of the Eastern Jin (317–420), the topicalization of the “Strange,” the “Foreign,” and the “Supernatural” has been a standard element of Chinese, and consequently Japanese, literature.

The evolution of an “exoticist” consciousness, however, which elevates the exotic image from its traditional function of narrative ornamentation to the pivot of artistic motivation is a relatively recent phenomenon. As a vital expression of the modern Oriental predicament of being caught between East and West, tradition and modernity, it played a pronounced role in the development of modern Chinese and Japanese literature. Very similar to eastward-looking European exoticism, it reflects the struggle for aesthetic reinvigoration by initially employing new content in order to elicit new forms of expression. But while Western “Orientalism” has attracted close attention, the phenomenon of “Occidentalism” has not yet appeared on the map of cross-cultural criticism. A crucial element of the celebrated era of modernity has thus been neglected.

The mechanisms of exoticist aesthetics in an Asian context, however, are complex. The researcher soon finds himself trapped in a mirrored room where images of the exoticist, the exoticized and his own perspective are reflected back and forth; he finds himself confronted with a subject that rejects confrontation and renders its analyst powerless by integrating his image(s) into the kaleidoscope of endlessly reflecting mirages. The creative products of the exoticist mind-set thus cannot be sufficiently described via a one-way approach.

To clarify this assertion, I would like to utilize the image of a window through which the beholder views selected pieces of “exotic” scenery at an angle determined by his own position. While contemporary research on European Orientalism has described just that – a sovereign beholder peeking through a limiting frame – it has been unaware of the possibility that through the same window the self-assured spectator could himself be made the subject of intent scrutiny. “The palaver about exoticism has replaced exoticism,”² one critic

² J.M. Moeller: “Orient der Seele” (review of the Stuttgart Exhibition series *Exotische Welten–Europäische Phantasien*), *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, Sep. 27, 1987, p. 29.

commented recently, relating the ironic fact that the oblivious position of the 19th century exoticist has now been taken by the contemporary “exotologist.”

I am not planning on duplicating this approach by portraying Sino-Japanese exoticism as an isolated phenomenon. As the procedures of watching and being watched were both essential to the exoticist motivation of Chinese and Japanese artists, I will try to define both perspectives by illuminating the “window” in between; the prismatic matter which blends see-through images with a hunch of the mirrored self.

The Chinese and Japanese conception of exoticism as a counterpoint to its Western prototypes becomes evident by simply observing the terminology involved. The search for verbal equivalents for the term ‘exoticism’ yields a phrase which dominates the respective literary scene in both countries: *yiguo qingdiao*, or, in Japanese transliteration, *ikoku jôchô*. While this term translates literally as ‘exotic sentiments’ or ‘exotic mood,’ there are numerous texts in both languages which directly equate this expression to the foreign word ‘exoticism’ – either by inserting the French or English letters after the Chinese characters, as often seen in the Chinese context, or by the Japanese superscription of *furigana* (side *kana* to show the pronunciation of characters).

The term *yiguo qingdiao* signals the presence of a specific artistic “mood” signified by a reservoir of specific “exotic” signs – just as Western exoticism depends on recurrent clichés such as silky fabrics, intoxicating perfumes, uninhibited savage women, or, more specifically, verbal signals of the Exotic like KIMONO, GEISHA, or MANDARIN.³ My investigation begins with a definition of the contents of this reservoir and a simultaneous look into the sites of its creation. Kinoshita Mokutarô’s [3] (1885–1945) poetic cycle *Ikoku jôchô* (1910) apparently marks the earliest occurrence of the term in a creative context:

Cherry blossoms, among them red bricks: foreign mansions.
With a sudden blaze of gold setting sun pours down on
Roof beyond roof, and window glass,
On the red American flag that flutters
Atop the three-story watchtower of the **Consulate**;⁴
Down on the vapor of the open sea;
Down on the golden lions adorning the eaves of No. 33:
The American Wainlead Mansion.
On window-sills lined with flowers:
Foreigners, but dear;

³ Words that are capitalized throughout, such as CAFÉ, PARIS, and CIVILIZATION, signify recurrent motifs of the Exotic which are illusory rather than tangible in nature; within titles, quotations, and blocks of translation, the feature indicates the presence of Latin letters in the Chinese or Japanese original.

⁴ Within translations from the Japanese, letters in bold face indicate the presence of newly introduced “exotic” words that stand out from the original due to the use of *katakana* (Japanese syllabary used primarily for the transliteration of “foreign” words).

Young Englishmen who whistle
 Soft and melancholy tunes,
 Their song blends with the rhythmic strain that
 trickles from the bowels of factories.
 To make the most of a fore-shortened spring
 The Harbour, the Concession, the tree-lined avenues,
 The Dutch stores, the customs building, the post office,
 The square in front of the Catholic church, and the Park
 Are brimming with crowds of madly chanting people
 from here and from there.⁵

The poem's definition of exotic landscape is unmistakably tied to the city of Yokohama. Only a small fishing village before the port's opening in 1859, the city rapidly developed into the stronghold of Western traders and, followed by Nagasaki and Kobe, grew to become Japan's most important "Window to the West." Within close range for Tokyo's artists, Yokohama quickly assumed a crucial position in the development of Japanese exoticism. The new city not only offered the intriguing material of a foreign facade on Japanese soil, but also the presence of about 8,000 foreigners who served the artist's inspiration as living exotica. The exoticist mind set out by initially recording "new," "strange," or "alien" phenomena in a traditional mode of expression: the woodblock print (*ukiyo-e*) [4] of the early Meiji period is the first artistic medium which sought to capture this "bizarre" world. The verses of Kinoshita Mokutarô, who once described his poetry as "*Ukiyo-e* copied in oil," thus mark a more advanced – "modern" – stage of exoticist activity as he packages his glimpses at the unfamiliar in the non-traditional form of Modern Poetry (*gendai shi*) [5].

For a definition of Kinoshita's exoticist outlook, however, his aspirations to modernity are the less important message encoded in the self-evaluation of his poetry. It is the adherence to the bright colors of the *ukiyo-e* and the medium of painting itself, which bespeak his credo as exoticist writer. The physical surface of Yokohama left the Japanese beholder with an overwhelming sense of the tangible presence of an unfamiliar materiality which emanated new sights, new sounds, and new smells. Kinoshita felt that in order to reproduce this attack on the totality of the senses – thereby creating the "exotic mood" desired – he had to convey the images three-dimensionally.

Kinoshita gained recognition both as a painter and a poet, possessing a combination of artistic interests which is common among interpreters of the Exotic in East and West. His work is strongly influenced by French symbolism and impressionism, those corresponding currents that play such an important role in the development of Japanese and Chinese exoticism. For him, the synesthetic

⁵ Kinoshita Mokutaro: "'Ijinkan embô no kyoku' no jo" (Preface to 'Song of Viewing the Ijinkan from Afar'). In: *Kinoshita Mokutarô zenshû*, 25 vols. Tokyo, Iwanami 1981–1983, vol. 1, pp. 163–164.

aesthetics of symbolism offered a way to “paint” with language. Only by amassing clusters of sensuous imagery, unrestrained by the rigid rules of traditional poetics, could his pastiche of Yokohama achieve its “exotic,” that is, its three-dimensional, tangible, sensually detectable flavor. Kinoshita did not write much else on the city of Yokohama, but his early “definition” of exotic scenery set the tone for artists to come.

Visions of the Beyond: Yokohama in the Eyes of the Taishō Artist

The tradition of poetic interest in Yokohama was continued by Kitamura Hatsuo's [6] (1897–1922) anthology *Gosai to haru* [7] (Five Year Old and Spring, 1917). A young painter-poet with symbolist tendencies like Kinoshita, Kitamura drew a series of scenic sketches which, due to their simple lines and bright colors, come across like the poetic version of a children's picture-book. Images of square red brick buildings, azure skies, and spotlessly white sail boats fulfill the promise of the title by conjuring up the author's boyhood memories of the harbor town. It is a deliberately naive portrait of Yokohama, which reinforces the impressionist vision of the Exotic as pioneered by Kinoshita Mokutarō.

Kitamura was also one of the three contributors to *Kaikō* [8] (Harbor, 1918), a poetic anthology that is probably the most prolific literary project centering on the fascination with exotic Yokohama. In fifty-two poems Kitamura and his friends Yanagisawa Ken [9] (1889–1953) and Kumada Seika [10] (1898–) spread out a poetic map of Yokohama which leaves none of the city's sites untouched: the Grand Hotel, the French and British consulates, the church towers, the shops and cafés, the parks and tennis courts, blond hair and blue eyes, the ocean liners towering over the harbor.

Placed in a superjacent context, however, this collection offers more than just the literary exploration of a specifically intriguing locale; *Harbor* permits the most extensive insight into the ubiquitous reservoir of generic “signs” which have come to define the outlook of Asian exoticism in general. A look at the scenery conjured up by the trio presents a preview of the images which we will encounter in the Japanese and Chinese visions of other cities with exotic appeal, specifically Tokyo, Paris, and Shanghai. A close reading of this collection, augmented by related materials, thus marks the first step toward the delineation of a standard set of exotic images and forms of presentation.

Harbor's sense of facade is pervasive. As illustrated by the following examples, it is often the towers of Yokohama's architectural landmarks which preface a close-up of the city's spatiality:

- 1) A peek out of the window yields
Red Buildings: the **Grand Hotel**;
Mountain top scenery: the French **Consulate** in light mist.⁶

⁶ Yanagisawa Ken: “Horanda fune” (Dutch Steamship). In: Yanagisawa Ken, Kumada Seika, and Kitamura Hatsuo: *Kaiko*, Tokyo, Bumbudō 1918, p. 10.

- 2) A leaden ocean as background, images congealed by frosty skies:
Dome of the customs building and tower of the club house,
 Sun color washing away their rusty green.⁷
- 3) Distant green,
 Wafting bells,
 The twin towers of the Catholic church faintly stretching into the blue sky.⁸
- 4) Yes, the building there on the mountain top:
 The French **Consulate**.
 The fluttering **Tricolore** –
 Try once to sing the **Marseillaise**.⁹

In concordance with the panorama evoked by Kinoshita, the corner stones of Yokohama's landscape are marked by "official" buildings which serve as symbols of Western civilization itself. In the eyes of the poets they have no function, but are entirely representative facades without interiors. Unlike their poetic close-ups of shops, hotels, or cafés, the authors' depictions of these facades are not detailed. They never venture beyond the red brick fronts of the consulates or the custom house: these are empty signs, filled only with the poet's individual sense of the Exotic. "The Tower attracts meaning," as Roland Barthes once commented on the Eiffel Tower, "the way a lightning rod attracts thunderbolts; for all lovers of signification, it plays a glamorous part, that of a pure signifier, i.e., of a form in which men unceasingly put meaning (which they extract at will from their knowledge, their dreams, their history)."¹⁰ Amorphous dreams are also unloaded upon the flags which, as the most prominent indices of the Exotic's presence, are fluttering atop the towers. The colors of the Stars and Stripes, the Tricolor, and the Union Jack are frequently evoked in Yokohama poetry, as "pure signifiers" meaning everything and nothing. On a subjacent level, however, they are always perceived as what they basically are: colors signaling a colorful life which is imaged "inside."

Historic significance is attached to the image of the church towers and the implements of Christian everyday life. The first Japanese contacts with Western culture were, after all, initiated by Jesuit missionaries during the period 1540–1640. The legacy of this short-lived "Christian century," as ethnocentric Euro-American historians have labeled this period, contributed significantly to the artistic perception of foreign man and his culture. In the exotic universe of the *ukiyo*e, the portrait of the bearded priest had soon become the stereotypical image of the "Southern Barbarian" (*namban*) [11]. It thus is no coincidence that

⁷ Kumada Seika: "Nigatsu" (February), *ibid.*, p. 51.

⁸ Kumada Seika: "Sangatsu" (March), *ibid.*, p. 55.

⁹ Yanagisawa Ken: "Kaikai" (Ocean Scenery), *ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰ R. Barthes: *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, trans. Richard Howard. New York, Hill and Wang 1984, p. 5.

modern, symbolist exoticism also draws from this traditional reservoir of exotic imagery.

Kinoshita Mokutarô's interest in exotic themes, for instance, had first been awakened during a journey to Kyushu in July, 1907. His fascination with the Namban period when Portuguese and Spaniards created a Christian culture around Nagasaki is best illustrated by *Jashûmon* [12] *The Heretics*, 1909, the famous maiden work of his travel companion Kitahara Hakushû [13] (1885–1942). Regarded as one of the pioneering attempts of Japanese symbolism, Hakushû's verse avails itself of Christian imagery to express the author's youthful infatuation with fin de siècle decadence. The church ruins in *The Heretics*, therefore, figure less as religious symbols than as an aesthete's marker of European civilization itself – temples of worship to a decadent God. Hakushû's opening lines explicitly conjoin the poet's exoticist credo with Christian imagery:

I believe in the heretical teachings of a degenerate age, the witchcraft of a
Christian God,

The captains of the black ships, the marvelous land of the Red Hairs,

.....

I have heard their cosmetics are squeezed from the flowers of poisonous
herbs,

And the images of Mary are painted with oil from rotten stones.

.....

Oh, vouchsafe unto us, sainted padres of delusion,

Though our hundred years be shortened to an instant, though we die on the
bloody cross,

It will not matter; we beg the Secret, that strange dream of crimson:

Jesus, we pray this day, bodies and souls caught in the incense of yearning.¹¹

Modern Japanese exoticism customarily utilizes the material facets of Christianity as standard indices of a highly aestheticized Other. The paintings of Takehisa Yumeji [14] (1884–1934), another modern poet/painter of the Exotic, corroborate this assertion. His famous series of Nagasaki portraits typically features a cross-bearing foreigner side by side with his Japanese mistress. Similar to the poetic apparition of the church towers, Yumeji's crosses became standard emblems of the Exotic – the inchoate utopia which in his case, again, represents the cosmos of the European fin de siècle. The painter's crosses thus carry erotic connotations rather than messages of moral constraint or ethical hypocrisy. Along these lines, Christian imagery also constitutes one of the main pools of exotic topoi used by Kitamura, Yanagisawa, and Kumada. *Harbor's* Yokohama scenery is in good part defined by church towers, monastery walls, Catholic

¹¹ Trans. Donald Keene. In: *Dawn to the West*. 2 vols. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1984, vol. 1, pp. 243–244.

priests and nuns, the image of Christ, crosses of different sizes and materials, and the Bible, which characteristically attracts attention due to its striking materiality rather than its spiritual contents: prolifically illustrated and bound in golden cloth, it constitutes the archetypal image of the “decadent” book. Among the three collaborators, Kumada Seika most frequently avails himself of Christian imagery. On one occasion, he even ventures beyond the secretive facade of the Catholic church:

Peaceful afternoon inside the church:
Christ, God’s Son, sleeping in his crib,
The three Magi,
Johannes Pieta –
Smiling faces on stained glass,
Bright rays dancing upon them;
Even the altar’s golden vessels shine with a joyful light.¹²

The awe-inspiring exterior of the consulates, the customs building, and the Catholic church generally reflect the poet’s vision from afar, that is, from the mountains overlooking Yokohama, or from the ocean, utilizing the perspective of the world traveller arriving by boat. A literary close-up of the city’s spatiality usually diminishes the dominant images of towers and flags, and often turns to the shop facade of Water Street, which Yanagisawa Ken had declared to be “Japan’s finest boulevard” in 1917.¹³

As a professional chronicler of Yokohama life recorded, this commercial area right below the Bluff (known in Japanese as Yamate, the residential area most favored by foreign merchants) displayed “a long line of shops providing the obligatory amenities of the Westerner’s daily life: cafés, bakeries, tailors, furriers, stores retailing flowers, ladies’ hats, Western furniture, phonographs, and the like.”¹⁴ Almost exclusively catering to the foreign inhabitants of Yokohama and a small circle of fashionable Japanese customers from Tokyo, Water Street offered a glimpse behind the merely representative front of the Exotic. Through its gallery of translucent show-windows, the pedestrian could not only savor materialized samplings of the colorful life promised by the foreign flags – such as bright clothing or imported flowers – but also have his non-visual faculties partake in the process of inspiring poetic imagery. Here, amidst an abundance of new sensual images, the synesthetic features of symbolist poetry could best be employed. Among the boulevard’s shops, the institution of the café must have especially appealed to the sensually oriented Yokohama poet. Yanagisawa

¹² Kumada Seika: “Jûichigatsu” (November). In: Yanagisawa, Kumada, and Kitamura: *Kaikô*, p. 79.

¹³ Yanagisawa Ken: “Yokohama yori” (From Yokohama). In: Yanagisawa Ken: *Indoyô no kôkon*. Tokyo, Yanagisawa Ken ikô kankôkai 1960, p. 462.

¹⁴ Inoue Ikutarô: *Yokohama monogatari*. Tokyo, Chômonkaku 1925, pp. 24–25.

Ken's poem "Café" highlights the sensuously charged atmosphere of this subject:

Calmly I connect cup with lips:
Hot **cocoa**, fragrant **cognac**, gold-coppered setting sun, dazzling gold.
Beyond the **curtain**: evening breeze settles on dusky streets,
Embroidered patterns on the **carpet** of sunset –
Glittering **straw hats**.
Joyfully I separate lips from cup.¹⁵

By amassing an array of multisensual imagery experienced during a sip of cocoa laced with cognac, the author not only comments on the synesthetic potential of the locale, but also highlights the stimulating faculties of its major retail items, caffeine and alcohol. Since CAFÉ and COFFEE belong to the most recurrent countenances in the exoticist reservoir of Japan and China, a more detailed analysis of coffee as *the* symbolist – or exoticist – “drug” will evolve as we venture through the three other centers of café-culture that feature so prominently in the Asian artist's mind, namely Tokyo, Paris, and Shanghai.

The sensation of potent smells features particularly prominently in the records created by the literary explorers of Water Street. Tanizaki Junichirō [15] (1886–1965), perhaps Yokohama's most famous portraitist, provides us with a prose version that is subtly reminiscent of Yanagisawa's synesthetic café impressions; exoticism has a “flavor,” an “aroma,” just as it has a visual side to it:

“Just as the lanes of Chinatown leave the visitor with the impression of a unique scent, this street, where foreigners hustle to and fro and where shops exclusively retail imported goods, exudes a highly original smell. There is the smell of cigars, the smell of chocolate, the smell of flowers, the smell of perfume – among those, the scent of the strongest cigars merges with the aroma of boiled cocoa and coffee and stealthily blends itself into the passing air.”¹⁶

While the literary topicalization of the cafés and stores on Water Street designated the first step toward a portrayal of the Exotic's inside, it was the majestic interior of the hotel which came to represent the ultimate nucleus of “exotic” civilization. The Western style hotel in Asia – and this is true even today – is the foreign traveler's harbor; an artificial space which, by shielding the occupants from the unfamiliar Outside, creates the reality of a familiar Inside. To Japanese artists, the HOTEL embodied the true temple of the Exotic, the sanctum where the essence of Western civilization could be savored.

In order to accommodate the many foreign diplomats, merchants, sailors, and tourists who lodged here upon their arrival, Yokohama of 1920 had close to 150 hotels. Many of them were emblazoned with evocative names such as THE UTOPIAN HOTEL, SHAKESPEARE HOTEL, or NEW YORK HOTEL. Most

¹⁵ Yanagisawa Ken: “Café”. In: Yanagisawa, Kumada, and Kitamura: *Kaikô*, pp. 19–20.

¹⁶ Tanizaki Junichirō: “Nikkai” (Flesh). In: *Tanizaki Junichirō zenshû*, 28 vols., Tokyo, Chûô kôron 1966–1968, vol. 9, p. 5.

prominent among them was undoubtedly the Yokohama Grand Hotel which, overlooking the harbor, was one of the city's most distinguished landmarks. It belonged to the era of great Asian Hotels which has created such temples of stately luxury as the Raffles in Singapore or Fujiya Hotel in Hakone.

The Grand Hotel was most renowned for its annual New Year's Ball when its jazz band – reportedly the best in the Kantô area – drew party guests from as far as Tokyo, Kamakura, Zushi and Hakone. During the year, the popularity of its Wednesday and Saturday soirees apparently outdid the seasonally limited entertainments of horse racing, tennis, and boat cruising. In a lyrical piece entitled “Dansu monogatari” [16] “Dance Stories,” the essayist Inoue Ikutarô [17] has preserved his impressions of this event:

“Electric lights, with a softness as if filtered through red silk, floating the beautifully polished **hall**. Through two entrances gentlemen in swallowtails and **tuxedos** have trickled into the building and settled down to red cocktails and other drinks in two **waiting rooms** and **salons** facing the ocean. An **orchestra** plays on the second floor; enraptured by the joyful sounds, the men take women with translucent skin by their hands and enter the rhythm of the **foxtrot** that drifts down the corridor. In an instant the wide **hall** is crowded with tens, maybe hundreds of entangled pairs. The interior of the hall becomes an ocean of dresses tinged with an abundance of forms, lights, and colors like red, yellow, or purple.”¹⁷

Again, the synesthetic qualities of the scene are striking: clusters of colors, lights, and sounds define the atmosphere of the innermost core of the hotel, the dance hall. More than any particular features, it is the intensity of sensuous stimulation which often defines the “exotic mood.” “To foreigners who can't be a single day without intense stimulation and dense colors,” explains Inoue, “the [Grand] Hotel dance offers optimal consolation.”¹⁸ Akin to the café and its intensifying stimulants, MUSIC and DANCE stood for the exotic concept of impassioned fervor, sharply contrasting with the traditional notion of harmonious tranquility and its superjacent aesthetics.

Inoue, however, was a professional celebrity reporter. While it was part of his job to observe foreign aristocrats, business magnates, or illustrious artists amidst their very own, most Japanese at first avoided the weekly dance spectacles at the Grand Hotel. They felt more comfortable around the Bluff and the popular hotel district Hommoku, where many establishments were managed by Japanese owners and thus promised a preponderantly Japanese clientele. Here the timid beginner could initiate himself in the rituals of social dancing without being embarrassed by an audience of professionals.

The Temburu Kôto on the Bluff, for instance, became the gathering place for a Japanese circle of Yokohama's high society. Among its frequent visitors was Tanizaki Junichirô, who had moved from Tokyo in 1921 to immerse himself in

¹⁷ Inoue Ikutarô: *Yokohama monogatari*, p. 122.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

the exotic ambience of Yokohama. During his two years of residence, he was known for his tuxedo bedecked excursions into the hotel world of Hommoku and the Bluff.

For Tanizaki, too, DANCE and HOTEL undoubtedly were definitive elements of the exotic sensation. As a writer, of course, he liked to assume the position of the passive voyeur rather than that of the participating dancer. The short piece “Minato no hitobito” [18] “Harbor People” describes the intriguing scene which the Kiyo House, a famous *chabuya* [19] small-scale hotel serving foreign customers, adjacent to his Hommoku residence, revealed to the nightly onlooker:

“My study on the second floor was directly facing the dance hall of the [Kiyo] House: every evening, until very late at night, I could see the shadows of madly gyrating dancers, hear the sustained sound of stamping feet, hear the alternating cries of women and the strumming of the **piano**... I somehow felt as if I had left Japan and was now looking at the scenery of exotic lands, very far away.”¹⁹

One of Tanizaki’s contemporaries interprets this spectacle in more unabashed terms: “In the Kiyo House foreign drunkards were dancing, holding naked *rashamen* in their embrace; to a young man like me, watching from the adjacent courtyard, the sight of this scene meant tormenting stimulation.”²⁰

The *rashamen* – an initially derogative term for the mistresses of foreigners – constitute another characteristic element of Yokohama’s exotic landscape. Employed by *chabuya* such as the Kiyo House, they spoke English, danced, and frequently combined curly red hairdos with foreign dress. Popular opinion about the *chabuya onna* (chabuya women), as they were also called, was mixed. They were either despised as unpatriotic harlots or revered as “high-collar” trend-setters of modern fashion. In any case, they were subjects of tremendous curiosity among the Japanese communities of the port cities.

Inoue, who appears to have been rather positively intrigued, dedicated a series of tableaux to these harbingers of the “Hommoku look.” Asserting that many *chabuya onna* were “daughters from rich and highly esteemed families,”²¹ he envelopes them in an aristocratic air that sets them apart from ordinary uneducated prostitutes. His portraits bear the curious double-features of the highly sophisticated and the Dionysian: on the one hand, they are liberal women yearning for freedom, love, and the “sweet males evoked by Heine’s poems,” sufficiently enlightened to discuss such pioneers of the modern day as Nietzsche, van Gogh, or Chopin;²² on the other hand, they are portrayed as “gip-

¹⁹ Tanizaki Junichirô: “Minato no hitobito” (Harbor People). In: *Tanizaki Junichirô zenshû*, vol. 9, p. 432.

²⁰ Kon Tôkô: “Hommoku jidai” (The Hommoku Era). In: *Tanizaki Junichirô zenshû geppô*, vol. 8, p. 3.

²¹ Inoue Ikutarô: *Yokohama monogatari*, p. 53.

²² Ibid.

sy women,” carelessly intoxicating themselves with red wine and the wild rhythms of modern jazz.²³ A fellow artist who also drew inspiration from the *chabuya* girl was Takehisa Yumeji. His famous conception of the “Taishô look,” prolifically defined by his countless female sketches, is undoubtedly based on his impressions of the *rashamen* type.

The *rashamen*, *chabuya onna*, or *ijin musume* [20] foreigner’s mistress, are also standard protagonists in Western exoticist literature. Ever since Pierre Loti’s *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887), the image of the compliant Japanese mistress has become the frontispiece of European-style Japonaiserie. Popular works like Puccini’s opera *Madame Butterfly* or James Mitchener’s novel *Sayonara* have kept her stereotype alive even to the present day. However, while in Western literature the *chabuya* girl assumed the crucial role of the personified Other, to native eyes she was still of Japanese stock and not quite “different” enough to appeal to the exoticist mind as a subject worthy of full-blown literary treatment.

Recent research on European exoticism has appropriately singled out the foreign female as the most compelling emblem of an otherwise faceless Other. According to Edward Said and Wolfgang Kubin, for instance, the rendezvous of the European man and the Oriental woman constitutes an *in nucleo* representation of Western-Oriental relationship.²⁴ Although I agree that the focus on the foreign female is one of the definitive elements of literary exoticism, I would like to remove the one-sided edge from this theory. In other words, just as an exoticizing by the Western colonial writer took place, there was also the Sino-Japanese topicalization of the blond, blue-eyed woman being preyed upon by an Oriental male protagonist.

Yokohama assumes an important role in providing this centerpiece for a full-fledged exoticism of Japanese cast. As the port-bound phenomenon of the *chabuya* girl illustrates, the city was one of the first places where Japanese and Westerners would become amorously involved. But while the *chabuya* already flourished during the Meiji period, the only Western women residing in Yokohama at the end of the 19th century were the wives of foreign merchants. As many woodblock prints from this period document, their dress and comportment aroused voyeuristic interests, but there was no fully exotic, that is, sensual depiction of the Western female before 1917.

This situation changed drastically with the Russian revolution and its consequent exodus of Russian refugees. The October Revolution in Russia became a major event in the development of modern Chinese and Japanese thought. In a completely non-ideological way, it also played a crucial role in the development of Sino-Japanese exoticism. Due to its pathetic byproduct of thousands of destitute – and thus “available” – Russian females, November 7, 1917, marks an important date in the formation of “Occidentalism”: “Of all those Russian made

²³ Ibid., p. 54.

²⁴ See Said: op. cit. and W. Kubin: “Die fremde Frau, der fremde Mann.” In: B. Mensen (ed.): *China: Sein neues Gesicht*, Zürich, Steyler Verlag 1987, pp. 9–25.

masterpieces of art,” comments a delighted Inoue, “the beauties who are just now being chased from Siberia to Yokohama, certainly appear to the Japanese eye as Russian art’s most perfect specimen.”²⁵

By 1923, reportedly 2,000 White Russians lived among the 8,000 foreign residents of Yokohama. Many more were constantly coming through on their way to Paris, Berlin, and the United States.²⁶ During the years 1917–23, Inoue related the arrival of many Russian celebrities such as the ballet dancer Anna Pavlova or General Ataman Semionov. In hastily stowed crates and suitcases they brought with them mementos of imperial Russia, often family heirlooms that were now reduced to plain monetary value. The majority of the refugees, however, arrived with no lasting assets. Inoue has stories about them, too; we have heard them all, from Parisian and New York newspaper columns of the 1920’s when fugitive barons turned waiters and czarist bureaucrats became chauffeurs.

Most eye-catching, however, is the recurrent motif of the solitary Russian female – the forlorn figure, invariably of self-styled aristocratic descent, who now made a living in the demi-monde of dance parlors, cafés and hotel bars around the world. For many of them, Yokohama’s Hommoku was the first stop on a life-long journey. Here they made possible what many Japanese men had longed for: romance with a foreign woman. While Westerners were seeking exotic gratification in their quest for the almond-eyed Oriental GEISHA, the Japanese dandy tried to consummate the Exotic’s essence in affairs with blond or red-haired femmes fatales from Europe: “I have grown tired of fastidious Japanese females,” jots down Inoue, “I have developed a penchant for these truly lascivious, truly erotic Western women; the girls at the Western style hotels of Hommoku thus fill me with great contentment.”²⁷

The figure of the Russian woman is omnipresent in the artistic cosmos of modern Japanese exoticism. It pervaded the feuilletons of the day, in the form of touching interviews with the “baroness turned bar girl,” or inside reports on the “exotic double-bed of Maria Mikhailovna.”²⁸ The work of the avant-garde photographer Nakayama Iwata (1895–1949) would not be the same without the theme of the female Russian drifter, and neither, of course, would the early novels of Tanizaki Junichirô. When Tanizaki moved to Hommoku and, shortly thereafter, to the Bluff, many of the stately brick buildings had been abandoned by their original owners. The First World War had summoned many of the Yokohama expatriates to their homelands. Destitute Russians and eccentric Japanese took over the houses left behind.

While in 1910 Kinoshita Mokutarô could marvel at those mansions on the Bluff only “from afar,” Tanizaki, eleven years later, was able to experience the Eu-

²⁵ Inoue Ikutarô: *Yokohama monogatari*, p. 316.

²⁶ For an insightful parallel study focusing on the fate of exiled White Russians during the years 1918–1923, see Fr. Mierau (ed.): *Russen in Berlin 1918–1923: eine kulturelle Begegnung*. Berlin, Quadriga-Verlag 1988.

²⁷ Inoue Ikutarô: *Yokohama monogatari*, p. 4.

²⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 175–176 and 316–319.

ropean life-style from inside. He not only moved into a house featuring a "fire-place encased in marble,"²⁹ but also had himself initiated into the exotic arts of speaking English, dancing, and playing the guitar. Needless to say, most of his tutors were Russian women living in the immediate vicinity. Imitating the dandy attire of his early idol Oscar Wilde, the enthusiastic student reportedly strolled to his lessons "in a light brown business suit bedecked with a red necktie."³⁰

These neophytes of Western etiquette in Japan apparently inspired many a character in Tanizaki's early work. A typical example is a dance instructor in his first important novel, *Chijin no ai* [21] "A Fool's Love", 1924:

"The Russian dance teacher was a countess named Aleksandra Shlemskaya. Her husband, the count, had disappeared during the Revolution. There'd been two children, but she didn't know where they were, either; she'd barely managed to escape to Japan by herself. Having no other means of support, she finally decided to teach social dancing."³¹

The synesthetic features of the Exotic, as I have identified them above, are often associated with the Russian female. She represents sensuality *per se*. Different from the somber tints of the Japanese woman, she is usually all color and light: radiant white skin, glowing golden hair, sparkling blue eyes, blazing red lips. Even more evocative of a figurative Other are the distinct smells attributed to her. "In a symphonic sensation, the exotic odor particular to Russian women... gushed out at me,"³² reads the climax of Inoue's anecdote about Maria Mikhailovna's boudoir, and Tanizaki's "Fool" marvels at Countess Shlemskaya's perfume: "Ah, that scent – it evoked in me thoughts of lands across the sea, of exquisite, exotic flower gardens."³³

Again, to the typical exoticist, the Exotic is "aroma," an intoxicating, atmospheric essence found in its most concentrated form in the body odor of the foreign lover. As Baudelaire's *Fleur du mal* demonstrate, olfactory images also feature prominently in European poetics. Reminiscent of the evocative powers of smell as perceived by his admirer Tanizaki, it is the "parfum exotique" of Baudelaire's mulatto lover Jeanne Duval that summons the poet's vision of idealized, "exotic" regions:

When, with my eyes both closed, my nostrils sense
Your breast's warm odor, on a warm fall night,
My shores of blessedness loom into sight
Beneath white sunlight's dazzling opulence.³⁴

²⁹ See Tanizaki Junichirô: "Ave Maria" (1923). In: *Tanizaki Junichirô zenshû*, vol. 8, pp. 503–589.

³⁰ Torii Tami: *Yokohama Yamate: Nihon ni atta gaigoku*. Tokyo, Sôshisha 1982, p. 214.

³¹ Tanizaki Junichirô: *Naomi*, trans. A.H. Chambers. Tokyo, Tuttle 1986, p. 58.

³² Inoue Ikutarô: *Yokohama monogatari*, p. 319.

³³ Tanizaki Junichirô: *Naomi*, p. 212.

³⁴ Charles Baudelaire: "Exotic Perfume". In: *The Flowers of Evil*. Trans. Fr. Duke. Charlottesville, The University of Virginia Press 1961, p. 45.

The Russian October Revolution of 1917 and the devastating Kantô earthquake of 1923 thus frame Yokohama's short-lived heyday. During six brief years the city's facade was accessible to one and all, regardless of nationality, and no longer was the realm of the Exotic an exclusive one. Everybody – Europeans, Americans, Chinese and Japanese alike – could savor the materiality of the city from a multiplicity of angles. Like Tanizaki, fashion-conscious eccentrics from Tokyo came here to shop, dance, love, live, and write. While pre-earthquake Tokyo was still engaged by the commanding spirit of Edo, Yokohama was “completely free of tradition,” rising on the doorsteps of Japan like “a mirage in the desert,”³⁵ a world of unprecedented material density but void of prescribed meaning; every visitor could inflate this contemporary “**hollowness**,” this “**blank** beauty”³⁶ with his individual visions of the Exotic.

Yanagisawa Ken disclosed the chimerical nature of *Harbor* on several occasions. He repeatedly expressed his first impressions of Yokohama, after being appointed acting director of the local post office, as being “frightful and perplexing.”³⁷ The noisy commotion of the city seemed much different to the former student of French literature and law than his prepossessed knowledge of Western atmospheres had prognosticated. He apparently had envisioned the “graceful ambience” and “refined classicism” which permeates not only the verse of his favorite poetic models, Albert Samain and Henri de Régnier,³⁸ but also the paintings of the impressionists whom he had reviewed in his essay collection *Inshôha no gaka* [22] *Impressionist Painters* the previous year.

In *Harbor*, however, we find no trace of Yanagisawa's initial distress. His YOKOHAMA, as he occasionally highlights this imaginary realm, is without the frenzied flicker of neon lights, the abrupt screeches of car brakes, or the stench of booming industrial production. To the contrary, it is exclusively imbued with scenes of natural luminescence and harmonious sounds.

Yanagisawa once praised his friend and collaborator Kitamura Hatsuo for the “fairy-tale character” of his *Five Year Old and Spring*: “The author's dream world... is pervaded with the sounds of reverberating pianos softly passing time, peaceful conversations, and dinner tables where graceful smiles are exchanged.”³⁹ In *Harbor*, this visionary notion of civilization is brought to conceptual maturation. YOKOHAMA is the location of eternal spring, an invariably bright world where the shades of nature gracefully blend with the unadulterated aroma of CIVILIZATION. Just as in Yumeji's paintings, the colors are plain and lucid (bright gold, deep blue, lily white, baby pink, crimson red, etc.), the smells are subtle, and the sounds are gentle. Whether it is the misty harbor front, the

³⁵ Yanagisawa Ken: “Yokohama yori”, p. 462.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ See, for instance, idem, “Yokohama futô kara” (From Yokohama Pier). In: *Gendai no shi oyobi shijin*. Yokyo, Shôbundo 1920, p. 255.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 256.

rhythmic beat of a tennis game in Yamate Garden, or quiet evening bells over maroon roofs, the tableaux consistently produce a gay, nature-bound atmosphere. YOKOHAMA is “cultivated” nature, deliberately harmonized with its organic surroundings: electric lights, glowing softly, emulate the evening sun; domesticated cats animate shops while birds and worms swarm the tree-topped hills; imported flowers in parks, on lawns and behind show-windows rival their regional counterparts in the wild; the aroma of coffee blends into the redolent polyphony of spring; and the resplendent tints of clothing or jewelry correlate to the colors of SKY, OCEAN, and FOREST which encompass this synesthetically perfect domain.

To more closely define the nature of *Harbor's* Yokohama, let us briefly examine the opening poem of the collection. Yanagisawa's “Kaisuiyoku” [23] “Sea Bathing” could well serve as the group's programmatic statement:

People, flocking into the ocean
 To enjoy a swim on a gay afternoon.
 Brilliant blue, flickering gold, a light breeze cuts the waves,
 Cheerful laughter tinges the water.
Pink infants, like shells, glow on the surface,
 To the bodies – snow-white like flowers – of their naked mothers they
 cling.

.....
 A flock of athletic youths, red and hardy
 Buoyantly rise from the swell, cheering, then submerging again.
 Flower-like virgins float holding hands. Gleam-like virgins:
 Fragile lilies, softly blooming and withering on blue water.
 Zipping by: a **yacht**; oh, quivering in the sea breeze, the sail's shade hides
 Flaxen hair and **straw hats**, lips impassioned by smiling eyes.⁴⁰

“Observed at Hommoku” reads Yanagisawa's subscript to the lengthy poem, but the author's intentions evidently go beyond the portrayal of contemporary beach scenery. In a subtle manner, he associates the conventions of modern life with the simple beauty of a primeval age. The beach, one of the therapeutic inventions of the Western life-style, reinstitutes mankind in an archaic setting: reminiscent of the ancient Greeks, modern humanity – as typified by the Western bathers – is “naked,” in this case communicating with the waves of the ocean, which figures as the ultimate symbol of the all-encompassing aesthetics of nature. Likened to shells and flowers, the bodies are part of a sublime macrocosm. The newfangled yacht, rather than contrasting with the primal picture of the gleeful bathers, comprises a vital component of the “organic” scenery: by constructing this useless, purely pleasure-facilitating commodity, Western man's love for exhilaration has come full circle.

⁴⁰ Idem: “Kaisuiyoku” (Sea Bathing). In: Yanagisawa, Kumada, and Kitamura, *Kaikô*, pp. 3–5.

Though the golden age of unadulterated antiquity has long ago disappeared, the consciously devised refinements of modernity – exemplified by sea bathing and yachting – have brought about the renaissance of a pristine state wherein humankind, not yet conscious of its inherent quest for enchantment, instinctively danced about in self-forgetful bliss. The tuxedo bedecked soiree attendant and the unadorned bather thus represent two faces of the same exotic entity: CIVILIZATION, that is, the “archetypal” ideals of Greek antiquity reinstated in the modern age.

Harbor exhibits both faces profusely. Yanagisawa’s vignettes of ocean liners, hotels, and tennis courts are offset by mythological scenery, most obtrusively developed in his last two poems, “Kodaishô” [24] “In Praise of Ancient Times” and “Zoku kodaishô” [25] “Continued Praise of Ancient Times”:

Golden sunlight scorches upon sounds of laughter:
A string of forest, mist-like tangle,
Bronze age ancients inebriated by wine
Laughingly pound their bodies – those sounds.⁴¹

Clearly, Yanagisawa’s vision of sun, wine, and dance-infused “ancient times” relates a Japanese interpretation of Greek mythology, specifically the realm of the Dionysian, which had so markedly engaged his European models. Works from all fields of creative activity come to mind: Nietzsche’s *Geburt der Tragödie*, Wagner’s *Ring des Nibelungen*, Debussy’s *Triomphe de Bacchus*, Mallarmé’s “L’Après-midi d’un Faune,” or Matisse’s *Bonheur de vivre*.

Yanagisawa’s enthrallment with Western mythology and its modern interpretations reaches back to his high school days. As early as 1907, he had publicized his perception of the “True, Good, and Beautiful” in a student journal. Forecasting the ambience of *Harbor*, the keynotes of his youthful discourse are the countervailing forces of Dionysian and Appollonian, the *Nibelungenlied*, and the “Nietzschean characters of [Izumi] Kyôka [1873–1939].”⁴² During the ensuing years he further developed this penchant for the renaissance of Western mythology and its most prominent interpreters. He read intently Tobari Chikufu’s [26] (1873–1955) introductory writings on Nietzsche, and, together with his poet friends in Yokohama, made it a social ritual to listen to the music of Wagner and Debussy.⁴³ A more direct source of inspiration for the *Harbor* collaborators were Paul Fort’s *Les idylles antiques*, a poetic cycle appended to the volume in a partial translation by Yanagisawa.

Yanagisawa Ken thus introduces a specific brand of fin de siècle aesthetics which is distinctly different from, for instance, Hakushû’s method of displaying

⁴¹ Idem: “Kodaishô” (In Praise of Ancient Times), *ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴² See idem: “Bundan no kinkyô o danzuru sho” (Pondering the Modern Literary Stage). In: *Indoyô no kôkon*, p. 46.

⁴³ See idem: “Saijô Yaso no geijutsu” (The Art of Saijô Yaso). In: *Gendai no shi oyobi shijin*, p. 127.

portentous decay. In marked contrast to the ostentatiously “decadent” tone of his early poetic role model, Yanagisawa’s contributions to *Harbor* exhibit an atmosphere of incandescent health.

This distinct turn from the melancholy autumn scenario flaunting gloom and decay toward the cheerful exuberance of spring keenly reflects a vital trend within the contemporary European scene. Just as the Parnassian movement had separated symbolism from its deliberately decadent origins (Baudelaire, Verlaine) by summoning the “healthful” spirit of a primeval world, *Harbor* strikes a markedly different tone than Yanagisawa’s poetic maiden work, *Kajuen* [27] *Orchard*, 1914. Though the typically “decadent” colors gold and red persist, the melancholy tableaux of moonlit autumn nights that characterized his early work have been replaced with an orgy of spring days and bright smiles.

Yanagisawa Ken, considering his age, social status, and poetic accomplishments, was doubtless the most distinguished among the *Harbor* originators. But all three were consistently weaving the colorful canvas of YOKOHAMA, characteristically imbued with the double features of modern life and pristine resilience. “Doesn’t a host of ancient Greek heroes reside in this sky,” exclaims Kitamura Hatsuo right next to scenes of urbane glitter, “just as if there was a miniature **Homeros** present.”⁴⁴ Even Kumada Seika, the trio’s most observant beholder of modern life and its curious appliances, joins in the duet. Sometimes, he represents the city’s environs in terms of a timeless garden:

Much purple, soaked into leaves,
Creaks of wooden doors opened by someone,
Harvesters’ song fading along the path to the vineyard,
Leaves of trembling weeds,
Blossoms in full bouquet contemplating fruition,
Ocean scenery bathed in sunlight.⁴⁵

And elsewhere, articles of supreme fashion embellish this image, like a hotel excursion yielding exotic delights. Note how the “Mediterranean” imagery is sustained even here:

On a happy breakfast table: Neapolitan **marmalade** and
Six **crackers** each,
Fresh **napkins** for two, folded like geese,
With tiny **initials** at the beak.⁴⁶

Kumada blends pictures of a mythical past with voguish curiosities in almost every one of his seasonal tableaux of the city. There is the nostalgic Ukiyoe

⁴⁴ Kitamura Hatsuo: “Hirusugi” (Afternoon). In: Yanagisawa, Kumada, and Kitamura: *Kaikō*, pp. 146–147.

⁴⁵ Idem: “Kugatsu” (September). In: *ibid.*, pp. 72–73.

⁴⁶ Idem: “Sangatsu” (March). In: *ibid.*, p. 55.

shop in Water street, for example, or stories of Sheherazade, mention of cubism/futurism, and the movies.

YOKOHAMA represents the materialized utopia where mankind has finally transposed the downfall from a state of inadvertent joy and regained its natural elegance: a realm where past and present, the fantastic and the tangible have been consolidated in one world. Paradoxically, it is by way of perfect erudition that modern man has recovered the grounds of blissful naiveté and self-forgetful grace.

Borrowing the masterful conclusion of Heinrich von Kleist's famous essay "On the Puppet Theater," YOKOHAMA becomes the (modern) realization of an (archetypal) ideal – after its image has passed through "infinity":

We see how, in the organic world, as reflection grows darker and weaker, grace emerges ever more radiant and supreme. But just as two intersecting lines, converging on one side of a point, reappear on the other after their passage through infinity, and just as our image, as we approach a concave mirror, vanishes to infinity only to reappear before our very eyes, so will grace, having likewise traversed the infinite, return to us once more, and so appear most purely in that bodily form that has either no consciousness at all or an infinite one.⁴⁷

Two "modern" items are especially suited to illustrate *Harbor's* synthesizing of contemporary man and nature: the steamship and glass windows.

Inoue Ikutarô had captured the high-society glitter affiliated with the ocean liner, but Yanagisawa was fascinated by the aesthetic ramifications of the object itself. Three months after his arrival in Yokohama he proclaimed: "I already remember not only the names of many ships, but also their shapes. Now I truly understand the beauty of ships, something I have never known before."⁴⁸ *Harbor* flaunts the poetic repercussions of his seaport gazings, as at the sight of the imposing Marusia: "Askant this ship my chest abounds./ Oh, **grand château**, mirage of the sea! Gigantic sculpture!"⁴⁹

To Yanagisawa Ken and his friends the awe-inspiring silhouettes of foreign steamers comprised an integral part of the exotically charged dominions OCEAN and HARBOR, and thus were a definitive element of the land- and seascape of YOKOHAMA. Rather than being portrayed as antagonistic conquerors of the sea, the ships' colors and sounds "organically" embroider the brilliant carpet of SKY plus OCEAN and produce a picture of mellifluous congruity. To the creators of YOKOHAMA, 'artificial' and 'organic' are not yet perceived as antagonistic qualities. In *Harbor*, plants, water, and sky appear to be "artificially" colored, just as man and his contraptions seem imbued with "natural" luminosity.

⁴⁷ Heinrich von Kleist: "On the Puppet Theater". In: *An Abyss Deep Enough: Letters of Heinrich von Kleist with a Selection of Essays and Anecdotes*. Ed. and trans. Ph. B. Miller. New York, Dutton 1982, p. 216.

⁴⁸ Yanagisawa Ken: "Yokohama yori", p. 463.

⁴⁹ Idem: "Kaikai", p. 14.

As Paul Morand's printed postal collection, *Rain, Steam and Speed* (1926), or John Dickson Carr's mystery novel *The Blind Barber* (1934) and an abundance of other writings indicate, the large-scale steamship and its dense facsimile of modern society was a topic of universal interest during the 1920's and 1930's. In *Harbor*, the ocean liner becomes the looming symbol of CIVILIZATION, aptly representing its twofold characteristics. On the one hand, it is a floating hotel equipped beyond the standard luxuries of its counterparts on land. It features elegant restaurants, movie theaters, and the nucleus of Western evening culture, the dance parlor. To the beholder ashore, on the other hand, it moves from and to "infinity," eventually submerging into all-encompassing nature at the meeting point of sky and ocean.

Most of all, this elaborate construction bears witness to the contingent "super-human" qualities of mankind: "What an astonishing thought, that this gigantic yet elegant entity has been created by human hands," remarks Yanagisawa elsewhere.⁵⁰ More than any other man-made object, it is this majestic carrier traversing East and West that suggests the presence of the Exotic and evokes visions of the journey abroad. At night, Yanagisawa used to listen to "the lonely wails of steamship whistles resounding from the harbor. It was quite an **exotic** sound; it instantly made my mind sail off to foreign shores."⁵¹ Another recurrent motif in the polyphony of exotic images is the object GLASS, and, more specifically, its function as window glass. Though not as arresting an entity as the ocean liner, the WINDOW is a standard exoticist metaphor permeating not only *Harbor*, but also many other works created during the Taishô period. Tani-zaki's sketches of Yokohama are full of shop-windows and reflected sunlight, and Kinoshita Mokutarô composed as many as three pieces which specifically deal with the allure of this material.⁵²

"There are hardly any mirrors or glass windows in Shanghai, Hongkong, Singapore, or Penang,"⁵³ a Japanese traveler distinguishes the "civilized" look of Parisian boulevards and Tokyo's Ginza in 1912, and concludes: "Mirrors and glass are the symbols of civilization."⁵⁴ Again, the obsession with this imported commodity goes beyond the surface aspects of the newfangled and the curious. Like the steamship, glass encompasses a figurative meaning that points the way to an understanding of Sino-Japanese exoticism in general.

YOKOHAMA is a world perceived through windows. Yanagisawa, Kumada, and Kitamura draw their sketches of the city mostly via the windshields of moving cars, through portholes of anchored boats, and from behind the glass fronts

⁵⁰ Idem: "Yokohama yori", p. 463; see also idem: "Yokohama futô kara", p. 258.

⁵¹ Idem: "Yokohama yori", p. 465.

⁵² Kinoshita wrote a poem, a play, and an essay, all entitled "Garsu donya" (The Glass Merchant); see Kinoshita Mokutarô: *Kinoshita Mokutarô zenshû*, vol. 1, pp. 118-120, or vol. 2, pp. 256-258, vol. 4, pp. 197-219 and vol. 5, pp. 141-142.

⁵³ Hashimoto Kunisuke: *Pari e-nikki*. Tokyo, Hakubunkan 1912, pp. 141-142.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 142.

of cafés or hotel windows. This method of depiction endows the poems with a subtle frame effect: the singular exotic image becomes disengaged from its surroundings and appears as an aesthetically manipulated picture encased by discerning hemlines. Its contents are controlled by the selective perspective of the author's eye. He decides what is aesthetically pleasing to the exoticist taste: "No need for sharp scrutiny, it's me who is the possessor of it **all**./ Stronger than seascape, anyhow, I am," thus Yanagisawa's emphatic statement regarding the authority of the poetic voice.⁵⁵

The group's penchant for photography and the "moving pictures" is related to the window-qualities of these new-fashioned arts. The camera is perceived as an artistic window which cuts and frames selected images, a conducive paraphernalia in the process of creating the "world of signs" delineated above.

As Kumada circumscribes his method of image compilation: "Through the window of a car dashing along a level road,/ We stealthily peek outside: a picture of harbor, **movie-like**."⁵⁶ The swiftly moving car takes the enraptured "I" and his lover Annabel Lee (a reference to Edgar Allan Poe's love poem "Annabel Lee") from a concert at the Gaiety Theater on the Bluff, a famous landmark further commemorated by Kumada in his two closing poems. This cultural sanctuary of "exotic picture land," as Yanagisawa once characterized Yokohama,⁵⁷ was solely constructed for the purpose of showing "pictures": lined by the ridges of a movie screen, or framed by curtain and stage lights, the Gaiety Theater engulfed the visitor in an ever more copious kaleidoscope of images, and Kumada's lyric grows breathless with exotic utterances encompassing stage and audience: **orchestra stall, ladies, overture, curtain, chorus girl, costume, harlequin, castanets, Pierrot**.⁵⁸

The Gaiety Theater was what was for many Japanese intellectuals of the Late Meiji and Taishō periods the site of the first direct contact with Western performance and evening gala ambience. In 1891, the prominent Meiji enlighteners Tsubouchi Shōyō [28] (1859–1935) and Kitamura Tōkoku [29] (1868–1894) had come here to witness the Japanese première of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*; in 1912, the young Akutagawa Ryūnosuke [30] (1892–1927) made the trip from Tokyo to marvel at Oscar Wilde's *Salomé* and her life-size counterparts in the audience; in 1921, the ubiquitous Inoue Ikutarō covered the week-long performance of a Russian opera troupe staging Bizet's *Carmen*, Puccini's *La Bohème*, and a string of Verdi classics; and Tanizaki, who initially had come to Yokohama as a script writer for a newly founded movie company, habitually attended the Tuesday and Friday movie showings offered at the Gaiety in 1922. To all of them, the Gaiety Theater was a box in a treasure chest, a mirage in wonderland, a window within a window.

⁵⁵ Yanagisawa Ken: "Kaikai", p. 13.

⁵⁶ Kumada Seika: "Jūnigatsu" (December). In: Yanagisawa, Kumada, and Kitamura: *Kaikō*, pp. 83–84.

⁵⁷ See Yanagisawa Ken: "Yokohama yori", p. 463.

⁵⁸ See Kumada Seika: "Jūnigatsu", pp. 82–83.

Moreover, all Japanese authors of the new-sprung urbane milieu appear to be intrigued by the reflective qualities of glass, this “artificial” crystal which so forcefully multiplies the brilliant qualities of nature. This double feature of translucency and mirror function makes GLASS and WINDOW perfect insignia for the exoticist mind-set. The Exotic never represents the completely Alien (observed through glass), but in most cases the rediscovery of a reinvigorated Self (reflected by a mirror). *Harbor’s* emulation of Paul Fort’s spring eulogies, for example, rather than simply opening a window to the Unfamiliar, can be interpreted as the revitalized theme of eternal spring mirroring the colorful world of the *ukiyo*.

In sum, the modern Japanese concept of the Exotic (*ikoku*) [31] is clearly linked to the phenomenon CITY (*tokai*) [32]. The “exotic mood” (*ikoku jôchô*) consequently becomes transparent as an “urban mood” (*tokai jôchô*). However, all of the authors quoted above portray the harbor town in the romantic tradition of city within landscape, and do not yet employ the modernist method of portraying city as landscape. In YOKOHAMA, man-made constructions comprise part of the scenic texture and are often likened to organic phenomena. Roofs of foreign mansions “bloom” amidst the green of the Bluff, the sounds of strumming pianos blend with the chirping of birds, and coffee aroma merges with the scent of forest flowers.

Another preliminary result of these initial probings into the Sino-Japanese notion of the Other is a clear indication that the different shades of Japanese exoticism – and this is just as true for the Chinese scene – are modelled after French prototypes. In 1918, to Chinese and Japanese onlookers THE WEST generally meant EUROPE; but while the Union Jack stood for military power and the German eagle signaled pragmatic vigor, FRANCE designated the sanctum of Western art, the cultural Innermost of the foreign sphere. FRANCE – and this holds true even today – stood for all of the essential properties that are generally attributed to the Exotic: sensuous romanticism, synesthetic sensations, symbolist image compilation. It thus is no coincidence that most Chinese and Japanese exoticists emerged from the comparatively small group of French-educated intellectuals.

Yanagisawa Ken’s literary vocation represents a typical case. The former French major from Tokyo University devoted a major part of his lifetime to the introduction of the West as epitomized in French art and literature. On many different occasions throughout his career as a poet, essayist, and literary critic he recorded his love for things French. “I loved everything French since high school,”⁵⁹ he once began a literary critique, elaborating elsewhere:

“There were about forty people in my [college] class, but only a rare two of us chose French as our first foreign language. Later on, I was the only one left,

⁵⁹ Yanagisawa Ken: “Nagai Kafû shi to Akutagawa Ryûnosuke shi to o kataru” (On Nagai Kafû and Akutagawa Ryûnosuke). In: *Indoyô no kôkon*, p. 95.

while everybody else studied English or German... In a word, I was the only pure, genuine Francophile.”⁶⁰

After graduation, Yanagisawa not only continued to cultivate his eccentric erudition, but clearly aspired to join the ranks of the preeminent harbingers of 19th century French aesthetics in Japan. In 1924 he published *Gendai Furansu shishû* [33] *An Anthology of Modern French Poetry*, thus following the lead of Ueda Bin [34] (1874–1916), Nagai Kafû [35] (1879–1959), Yosano Hiroshi [36] (1873–1935), and Horiguchi Daigaku [37] (1892–1981), who pioneered the translation of French poetry into Japanese.⁶¹ Accentuating the work of Albert Samain, Henri de Régnier, and Paul Fort, this collection appears to be a belated canonization of the aesthetic substructure underlying his youthful experiments in *Harbor*. At the same time, it marks his definitive credo in the lofty realm of French aesthetics which, to him, seemed superior to its British and German counterparts. More than Nietzsche, Wagner, and Greek mythology itself, it apparently was their integration into the dynamic sphere of the Parisian art world which interested Yanagisawa. “Poets like Whitman and Carpenter are second rate,” he proclaimed, dealing a vigorous blow to contemporary Japanese taste, and emphatically commended his French models: “Oh, here is my love, here are my *maitres*.”⁶²

Considering Yanagisawa’s steadfast position, it is not surprising to discover that his acquaintances stem almost exclusively from the Francophile intelligentsia. This applies to early poetic role models like Kitahara Hakushû and Miki Rofû (1889–1964) as well as to his close personal and literary guide, Shimazaki Tôson [39] (1872–1943), and his intimate poet friends Saijô Yaso [40] (1892–1970), Horiguchi Daigaku, Kitamura Hatsuo, Kawaji Ryûkô [41] (1888–1959), and Hinatsu Kônosuke [42] (1890–1977).⁶³

YOKOHAMA, undoubtedly, means FRANCE – the cosmopolitan refinement of Paris as well as the timeless Eden of Southern France’s Mediterranean scenery; the stately old parks and dwellings and the “Symbolisme des Centaures” found in the works of Régnier and Samain;⁶⁴ Paul Fort’s infatuation with the gleeful month of May and the copious smiles of spring.

⁶⁰ Idem: “Osekihan” (Red Bean Rice), *ibid.*, p. 417.

⁶¹ See Ueda Bin: *Kaichô’on* (*Sound of the Tide*, 1905); Nagai Kafû: *Sangoshû* (*Corals*, 1913); Yosano Hiroshi: *Rira no hana* (*Lilac Flowers*, 1914); Horiguchi Daigaku: *Kinô no hana* (*Yesterday’s Flowers*, 1918). All of these collections highlight the tradition of the symbolist school.

⁶² Yanagisawa Ken: “Kinô no hana o yomu: Horiguchi Daigaku chi no yakushi” (Upon Reading Yesterday’s Flowers: Horiguchi Daigaku’s Poetry Translations). In: *Gendai no shi oyobi shijin*, pp. 209 and 211.

⁶³ Though Hinatsu Kônosuke was a poet who predominantly translated English literature, his aesthetic preferences were very similar to his French-educated friends. He was best known for his adaptations of Oscar Wilde and his promotion of “aristocratic art” at a time when naturalism was in vogue; see, for instance, his poetry collection *Kokui no seibo* (Black-draped Madonna) from the year 1921.

⁶⁴ “Symbolisme des Centaures” is the critic Henri Clouard’s classification of the symbol-

My analysis might leave the impression that Yanagisawa and his colleagues created a dense labyrinth of hidden references, undecodable to anybody but themselves. The authors, however, did not intend their source of inspiration to be a secret. To the contrary, their affinity is placarded right on the frontispiece of the volume: *Yokohama sentimental: A Paul Fort* reads the subtitle to *Harbor*, clearly displaying the trio's aspiration to create a Japanese counterpart to their idol's poetic cycle, *Paris sentimental*.

Yokohama is thus explicitly linked to Paris, and implicitly its landmarks become "reflections" of the Parisian "originals": Water Street and the boulevard Sébastopol, the Union Church and Notre-Dame, Yamate Park and the Jardin du Luxembourg are but a few of several apparent correlations.

And just as the author of *Paris sentimental* reminisces about his first love (subtitle of this sixth series of the *Ballades françaises: Le roman de nos vingt ans*, so do the creators of *Harbor*. Kumada Seika's twelve-piece series "January" to "December" pivots around his love for a fictitious Annabel Lee, and Kitamura Hatsuo nostalgically ponders his pubescent passions in the poems "Juliet" and "Marie." In concordance with Fort's paragon and the "healthy" spirit of a revitalized symbolist movement, it is the pureness and naiveté of the Maria image, not the decadent properties of the femme fatale which characterize these figures.

Paul Fort himself had a decisive opinion about France's role in Japan's encounter with the West: "Hasn't France become the first godmother in the process of Japan's Occidental baptism?" he rhetorically asks in the preface to *Harbor*.⁶⁵ While the old symbolist guard had employed the Chinese/Japanese curio as their favorite artifact, the new generation – like Fort and Valéry – detected a reciprocal affinity between the two cultures. The creation of YOKOHAMA meant mounting this axis of aesthetic propensity from the Oriental end, and thus prepared, the transposition to France was not far away.

Tokyo's Ginza and the "Urban Mood"

Confronted with the postmodern facade of contemporary Tokyo, it is hard to imagine that neighboring Yokohama once drew the creative attention of the Taishô avant-garde to such a remarkable degree. Back then, however, Tokyo hardly displayed any of the urban glitter which so markedly distinguishes its post-earthquake and post-war faces. In Yokohama – a foreign enclave sprung from the precepts of extraterritoriality – everything was new, that is, "Western," "modern," "exotic." Tokyo, on the other hand, was a city still evocative of Edo (as Tokyo had been known until the Meiji emperor moved there from Kyoto in

ist's penchant for Greek mythology as exemplified by Régnier's famous poem "Le vase" or Mallarmé's "L'après-midi d'un Faune"; see H. Clouard: *Histoire de la littérature française*, 2 vols. Paris, Michel 1947, vol. 1, p. 241.

⁶⁵ Paul Fort. In: Yanagisawa, Kumada, and Kitamura: *Kaikô*, p. 2.

1867), a scattered panoply of cultural traditions and architectonic layers. To illustrate the uninspiring state of the capital, we might best turn to the disillusioned testimony of Tanizaki Junichirô, an *edokko* (son of Edo) turned Yokohama “émigré”:

“I doubt that in those years, the years of prosperity during and immediately after the [First] World War, there was anyone even among the most ardent supporters of Tokyo who thought it a grand metropolis. The newspapers were unanimous in denouncing the chaotic transportation and the inadequate roads of “our Tokyo.” I believe it was the *Advertiser* which in an editorial inveighed against the gracelessness of the city... I remember the editorial because I was so completely in agreement. Foreigners and Japanese alike denounced our capital city as “not a city, but a village, or a collection of villages.”... Old Japan had been left behind and new Japan had not yet come.”⁶⁶

Tanizaki’s disenchantment with Tokyo was felt by many Japanese artists of the day. Not everybody, however, followed his example and left the city for Yokohama. More typically, the Tokyo writer devoted himself to a nostalgic search for the “old Japan left behind,” and a selective hunt for edifices forecasting the “new Japan which had not yet come.”

In fact, most of the artists active in Yokohama had previously explored the scenery of urban Tokyo, and it was by way of composing pastiches on the somber capital’s “exotic” pockets that their aesthetic concepts had initially evolved. The making of YOKOHAMA, however much “purer” the exotic qualities of its subject might have been, is thus inextricably intertwined with the poetic scrutiny of Tokyo. Kinoshita Mokutarô, for instance, published two Tokyo poems under the heading *Tokai jôchô* [43] Urban Mood in 1909; their title and content clearly make them the precursors to his series *Exotic Mood*:

Boat: just as it passes beneath the bridge,
Thunderously, the tempest of an electric train...
Smug look of the streets, it’s sad! Glass stores
Adjoining cloisonné shops, the cornices of the
Three-story draper: a line of **illumination**.
Night. Fastened the bank doors, alone
The **stained glass** windows’ dreary reflections in the water.⁶⁷

This definition of urban mood was published in the literary magazine *Okujô teien* [44] *Roof Garden*, experimental outlet for the effervescent clique of poets and painters who called themselves *Pan no Kai* [45] Devotees of Pan. As Donald Keene has pointed out, the group’s designation bears threefold connota-

⁶⁶ Tanizaki Junichirô: “Setsuyô zuihitsu” (Osaka Essays). Trans. E. Seidensticker. In: *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake: How the Shogun’s Ancient Capital Became a Great Modern City, 1867–1923*. San Francisco, Ellis 1985, pp. 283–284.

⁶⁷ Kinoshita Mokutarô: “Rokugatsu no shigai no jôchô” (Street Mood in June). In: *Kinoshita Mokutarô zenshû*, vol. 1, p. 127.

tions: obviously derived from the frolicsome Greek demigod, the name may also suggest the concept of an “all-embracing” society of artists, or even the artists’ preference for (exotic) bread over (domestic) rice.⁶⁸

Centered around the pioneer translators of French poetry such as Ueda Bin and Yosano Hiroshi, and the main pacesetters of Japanese symbolism such as Kitahara Hakushû and Kinoshita Mokutarô, the Devotees of Pan constituted the first artistically oriented organization of Japanese Francophiles. Almost a decade before the salon meetings of the *Harbor* collaborators, Kinoshita recalls how this self-styled Sturm und Drang circle of young artists would meet in Tokyo’s entertainment quarter to “day dream about the life of Parisian painters and poets.”⁶⁹

Immense importance was attached to the setting of their meeting place. Since the institution of the café had not yet been adopted by the city’s entrepreneurs, the group’s search for an adequate club house turned out to be a protracted process. Eager to emulate the flamboyant life-style of their Parisian idols, the Devotees finally declared the Maison Kônosu, a Western style restaurant in the depths of the Low City (known in Japanese as Shitamachi, the eastern sections of the city where the traditional entertainment quarter was located), to be Tokyo’s first café. Meetings were henceforth to be held here.

The Maison Kônosu thus came to be the original Japanese “Parnasse,” a life-sized counterpart to the typical gathering places of the French artist crowd of Montparnasse or the Quartier Latin. Parisian ditties were intoned here, taught to eager disciples by Ueda Bin, and books by the first “pilgrims” to France such as Iwamura Tôru’s [46] (1870–1917) *Pari no geijutsu gakusei* [47] (The Art Students of Paris, 1902) and Nagai Kafû’s *Furansu monogatari* [48] *French Stories*, 1909, were handed around. The wine-inspired meetings were sometimes attended by Kafû himself, and the young Tanizaki also made frequent appearances.

One of the inspiring urban pockets sought out by the Devotees was the foreign settlement at Tsukiji, which, although on a much smaller scale, resembled the Bluff in Yokohama. Kitahara Hakushû has left us an emphatic account of this isolated terrain which he used to explore with his friend and co-Devotee Kinoshita:

“EAU-DE-VIE DE DANTZICK, and the print in three colors of a Japanese maiden playing a samisen in an iris garden in the foreign settlement, and the stained glass and the ivy of the church, and the veranda fragrant with lavender paulownia blossoms, and a Chinese amah pushing a baby carriage, and the evening stir, “It’s silver it’s green it’s red,” from across the river, and, yes, the late cherries of St. Luke’s and its bells, and the weird secret rooms of the Metropole, and opium, and the king of trumps, and all the exotic things of the

⁶⁸ See D. Keene: *Dawn to the West*, vol. 2, p. 241.

⁶⁹ Kinoshita Mokutarô: “Pan no Kai no kaisô” (Reminiscing the Devotees of Pan). In: *Kinoshita Mokutarô zenshû*, vol. 13, p. 156.

proscribed creed – they are the faint glow left behind from an interrupted dream.”⁷⁰

Today, St. Luke’s Hospital remains the only memento of the settlement as Hakushû saw it. Like most of Metropolitan Tokyo, the exotic quarter vanished in the flames of the great earthquake in 1923. Ironically, the district owed its existence to one of the city’s notorious firestorms in the first place. Tsukiji is located at the eastern end of Ginza, an area that was destroyed by a large blaze in 1872. The governor, apparently weary of this continuous threat, thereupon decided that the city was to be made fireproof. The newly charred Ginza was an obvious place to begin the ambitious project. The English architect Thomas Waters was hired to erect an entire district in brick. After the construction of “Bricktown,” as it was called by the locals, was finished, there were about a thousand brick buildings in Kyôbashi Ward, which included Ginza, and fewer than twenty in the rest of the city.

Ginza was also the place for the new brightness which came to symbolize the new Japan of “Civilization and Enlightenment.” The Meiji authorities installed gaslights in 1874, and the first electric signs illuminated Tokyo’s most prominent boulevard as early as a decade later. Everybody came to see this prototype of modernized Tokyo, and especially at night when the rest of the city lay enveloped in the sullen darkness of Edo, large crowds streamed toward an incessantly irradiated Ginza. So evolved the custom of Gimbura (the Ginza stroll) which came to be the hallmark of an era.

For many of the curious wayfarers, Ginza was synonymous with Tokyo and a future of newfangled thrills. As one of the many Ginza chroniclers summarizes the appeal of the fancy thoroughfare just before the earthquake: “To the sight-seeing tourist, Tokyo’s single most thrilling sight is neither... Nihonbashi, nor Asakusa, nor Hibiya Park. At the bottom of the visitor’s yearning to return was an infatuation with urban things, its object being the Ginza night, the Ginza lights, the Ginza mood.”⁷¹

The phenomenon ‘Ginza’ resembled an atmosphere rather than a discernible conglomerate of mansions and shops. Similar to the entity of Yokohama, Ginza stood for “exotic atmosphere” and “urban mood.” Not surprisingly, Kinoshita’s definition of urban mood eventually develops into a poetic tune about the Ginza:

The mood of an urban summer night starts
To Howl with the pain of dissatisfaction.
Idle strollers on the nightly Ginza, impatient
Some enter Masamune Hall, others lead their girls

⁷⁰ Kitahara Hakushû: “Shitamachi” (The Low City). trans. E. Seidensticker. In: *Low City, High City*, pp. 41–42; EAU-DE-VIE DE DANTZICK is a reference to Kinoshita’s poem “Kimpunshu” (Gold Dust Liqueur). In: *Kinoshita Mokutarô zenshû*, vol. 1, pp. 170–171, which topicalizes this exotic drink.

⁷¹ Matsuzaki Tenmin: *Ginza*. Tokyo, Gimbura gaidosha 1927, pp. 51–52.

Up the stairs for a sip of **soda water**.
From the shadow of a flower-lined **balcony**
Red, blue, and all of a sudden: yellow
Electric lights flash their impulsive glares,
While a phonograph blasts wanton foreign tunes.⁷²

Among the “modern” Ginza things which especially appealed to the Devotees of Pan were the many cafés that started to pop up here around 1910. While the Maison Kônosu may have offered Western delicacies introduced via Yokohama – ice cream and soda, for instance – there were no “waitresses,” the later hallmark of the typical Tokyo café. By Mid-Taishô, the heyday of the geisha culture was over and the era of the “café lady,” the “waitress,” the “madame” – in short: the “Ginza girl” (*Ginza onna*) [49] – was in full swing.

In other words, the Ginza offered a “high-collar” environment where the educated Taishô elite could not only read, write, and discuss the latest products of the Japanese avant-garde, but also look for romance. Consequently, the café girl evolved as one of the favorite protagonists of Taishô literature. Nagai Kafû was known for his literary portraits of the café girl, and Tanizaki’s name should also be mentioned in this context. Naomi, his childlike femme fatale whose carefully cultivated resemblance to Mary Pickford evokes the “fool’s love,” first meets her paternal lover as a hostess at Tokyo’s Café Diamond before she eventually moves to a European style mansion on the Bluff.

But different from the situation in Yokohama, the Ginza girl was always Japanese. Only one source reports the existence of a “singular exotic flower” among Tokyo’s waitresses; Nina was a Russian refugee who was employed – where else – at Ginza’s Café Russia.⁷³

The Ginza was also the main location for Tokyo’s newspapers and publishers. The many cafés offered an ideal gathering place for their employees. Before the massive rebuilding in the wake of the earthquake and the consequent introduction of modern mass culture took place, the Ginza café was enveloped in a rather snobbish aura. It constituted the literati’s exclusive “Parnasse,” but was also visited by students, bankers and upwardly mobile office workers. As most of the writings by typical chroniclers of Ginza café culture – such as Kikuchi Kan [50] (1888–1948), Nii Itaru [51] (1888–1951), or Ogawa Mimei [52] (1882–1961) – indicate, the Taishô café was hardly frequented by the earthy folk of Tokyo’s day-laborers. Similar to the hotels in Yokohama, the Ginza café was patronized by the intellectual elite of the day. The names of Hakushû, Kinoshita, Kafû, and Tanizaki even appear on the list of an exclusive “Café Club.”⁷⁴

⁷² Kinoshita Mokutarô: “Rokugatsu no shigai no jôcho”, pp. 128–129.

⁷³ See Matsuzaki Tenmin: “Roshia ni onna: Ginza ni ikoku no hana” (A Russian Woman: Ginza’s Exotic Flower). In: *Ginza*, pp. 99–102.

⁷⁴ See Hirano Imao: *Ginza no shijô* (Poetic Ginza), 2 vols., Tokyo, Shirokawa 1966, vol. 1, p. 68.

Kinoshita's poetic treatment of the "urban mood" thus represents no isolated phenomenon. The art of capturing the special ambience of Tokyo's finest district again and again from a multiplicity of angles apparently was among the Devotees' favorite literary exercises, and the poetic pastiche commemorating the Ginza mood soon evolved into a genre of its own. In order to more closely define the group's fascination with the boulevard, one of Hakushû's lyrical image collages may be the most telling example:

Rain.....Rain.....Rain.....
Fresh rainfall on the Ginza
Solemnly it pours, drip-drop,
With a scent of unripe apples,
Onto the pavement, onto the snow.
Black derby hats, otter furs,
Young gentlemen walking in the rain.
Tiny old women clutching parasols walking in the rain.
...Black mourning dresses and feather hats.
Janomen-umbrellas over charming girls.
Solemnly it pours, drip-drop,
A scent of apples in the rain.
Fastened to bare willows, silver-green
Winter's gaslights flicker on,
On glass shelves: Spring knitwear, fluffy-white.
A tubercular child, weak moan
Behind his scarf.
Persian rugs, and
Golden letters on exotic books: the spirit of winter rain,
HENRI DE RÉGNIER, their gloomy jewel,
Breath is visible, and
Rain means: silent tracks of kisses,
And the green, the gems, the clocks, the compasses –
their loneliness;
Deep thoughts of the young **Loti**.
Ceaseless shuddering: busy
Whispers of Madame Chrysanthème's puppet sewing machine;
Snow-white gleam of a bare shoulder,
Hairdos shine in style, coquettish moves, at the beauty-shop
Blue-black strains of hair smell afresh.
A white **Pierrot**'s tear-stained face.
A bear and toy boots:
Santa Claus presents
Desired by childish hearts.
Outside, gloomy rain threads
Mingle gently with light snow.
The rain, with a scent of apples

Solemnly pours, drip-drop,
Soaking through doors, it is
The light rain of VERLAINE;⁷⁵

Hakushû's lyrical portrait flaunts two obvious messages. First, there is the familiar string of decadent imagery which again emulates the atmosphere of the French fin de siècle. Hakushû's Ginza is dark, rainy, and chilly, animated only by sickly, mournful pedestrians. We are compellingly reminded of Baudelaire's gloomy tableaux of wintry Paris. Furthermore, the author attempts a direct linkage of Tokyo's Ginza with the streets of Paris. "Ginza rain" becomes "Verlaine's rain," that is, the rain of Paris as seen by Verlaine. Inductively, Hakushû not only associates the two metropolises, but also identifies his own status as urban poet with that of his French idol.

Even the planners and entrepreneurs of the Ginza might actually have had visions of the Parisian model in mind. The willow trees, as one of the symbols of Taishô Ginza referred to by Hakushû, furnished the boulevard with the distinct look of a French allée. Moreover, the proprietors of the Ginza cafés typically chose French names for their enterprises. From the trend setting Café Purantan (Café Printemps) to the later Kuro Neko (Chat Noir),⁷⁶ most cafés utilized the alluring air surrounding their Parisian prototypes as the most important means of self-promotion.

In other words, just as poetic Yokohama was ardently construed as a pendant to Paris, so was Tokyo's Ginza. But not only their "French" quality affiliated the two exotic domains with each other. From the beginning, Yokohama and Ginza were closely connected by means of Meiji infrastructure. Ginza was the terminal of the Yokohama railway. If the harbor town was Japan's window to the West, Ginza represented Tokyo's window to Japan's exotic frontier. Until the terminus was replaced by Tokyo Central Station in 1914, foreign goods and fashions reaching Yokohama infiltrated the capital almost exclusively via Ginza. It thus does not seem surprising that the *Harbor* authors perceived Tokyo's fanciest district to be an extritorial appendage to their YOKOHAMA.

Striking proof of this assertion is Yanagisawa's "Ginza gai" [53] (Ginza Boulevard), the only Tokyo tableau included in the trio's Yokohama collection:

March. Slightly past noon, the Ginza.
Blossoming faces. Faces of candy-like charm.
A wafting scent of light-green **chartreuse**. Sweet stickiness.
What a lucid profile. Fruit juices. Lovely toys.

⁷⁵ Kitahara Hakushû: "Ginza no ame" (Ginza Rain". In: Miyasu Hiroshi (ed.): *Ginza*, Tokyo, Shiseidô 1921, pp. 250–253.

⁷⁶ The Café Purantan was Ginza's first café; the French letters "Café Printemps" were soon replaced by Japanese transliteration (Seidensticker's translation, "Café Plantain" is incorrect; see *Low City, High City*, p. 1). The Chat Noire was the legendary gathering place of a group of Parisian artists who tried to keep the memory of Verlaine alive.

The laughing sun. Tinged smoke. Halting sandals.
 Black eyes with a delicate touch of dust. Dainty
 handkerchief, catching eyes and a trace of sweat.
 Gentlemen emerging from the cigar store, smoke of a
Havana. Dazzling gold. Smile-bearing glances.
 Oh, skirt hems tousled by a sudden breeze.
 "IT'S A LONG WAY TO TIPPERARY"
 A young student whistles, standing by the postcard store.
Emily Samunomu and, ah, like a picture of roses: **Betty Compson**.⁷⁷
 Gentle somebody cuing from behind. His turning head.
 There, a blossoming face. Face of candy-like charm.
 March, Japan's Ginza. What splendid weather, what beautiful spring.
 Even more lovely: their twosome profile. Youthful spring. March.⁷⁸

Evidently, Yanagisawa's poetic treatment of Tokyo's Ginza fits seamlessly into the luminous world of YOKOHAMA. As a possible challenge to "Ginza Rain," he contests Hakushû's morose imagery with his newly founded canon of exuberant spring, smiles, and sunlight. Under Yanagisawa's pen, Ginza – just like Yokohama's Water Street or Yamate Park – becomes another counterpart to Paul Fort's Paris.

My investigation of the exoticist scene of late Meiji and Taishô Japan thus yields two generations of poets, both extensively writing on Yokohama and the Ginza. The Devotees of Pan, like Hakushû, Kinoshita, and the Yosanos, pioneered a France-bound exoticism by adopting the creative method of the early symbolists, while their self-assured disciples, like Yanagisawa Ken and his friends Kawaji Ryûkô and Saijô Yaso, introduced a more contemporary mood to the Japanese notion of the Exotic.⁷⁹ Their differences, however, are differences of degree, not of direction. Whether YOKOHAMA and GINZA are designed to evoke Verlaine's Paris or Fort's Paris, both point toward the same imaginary object; PARIS, Roland Barthes' "Eiffel Tower" which can be inflated by the individual artist's exoticist vision.

Chinese Images of a Hedonistic Utopia: Tokyo, 1910–1923

In purely spatial terms, the exotic sphere of the Ginza was not more than a few blocks long. But the repercussions of the "Ginza mood" were felt far be-

⁷⁷ Betty Compson (1896–1974) is a leading American actress of the 19s, who first starred in Christie comedies in 1915; I was unable to ascertain the correct English spelling for Emily "Samunomu".

⁷⁸ Yanagisawa Ken: "Ginza no kai" (Ginza Boulevard). In: Yanagisawa, Kumada, and Kitamura: *Kaikô*, pp. 21–23. When "Ginza Boulevard" was composed in 1917, "It's a long way to Tipperary" was apparently the most popular foreign song in Japan; Seidensticker: *Low City, High City*, p. 269.

⁷⁹ All of the writers mentioned here composed poems about Ginza during the Taishô period.

yond its limited physical boundaries. Not only did other Japanese cities model their urban development after this prototype of modern architecture, but it was also the playground and preeminent subject of the first Chinese exoticists.

Most of the Chinese writers with a penchant for the Exotic had steeped themselves in the characteristic Ginza atmosphere of urban excitement, Civilization and Enlightenment, and in its literary representation by Japanese writers like Tanizaki. Based on this premise, my preceding analysis of the early Japanese exoticist scene goes beyond the delineation of an isolated local phenomenon. As we shall see, it sheds indispensable light on the aesthetic status quo which conditioned the development of Chinese exoticism.

But did the Ginza, to the Chinese pioneers of the Exotic, really grant a much more remarkable insight into outlandish urban scenery than the facade of Shanghai's foreign settlements? In order to answer this question, we have to take a glance at China's intellectual predicaments of that time. For various reasons, the exoticist exhilaration of many Chinese intellectuals was initially obstructed by a variety of ideological and formal impediments.

Japan was the closest "exotic" frontier for Chinese writers in quest of wondrous sights. As a result of the reform drive of the Meiji period, Japanese cities, however traditional they remained, had adopted more "modern" things than their counterparts on the Asian mainland; this was especially true for the Ginza. But more importantly, this Western-style spatiality had been introduced by the Japanese themselves, a fact that made it much easier for Chinese artists to indulge in its exotic allure.

Photographs taken in Shanghai between 1910 and 1923 already show the stately facade of the Bund – even today the most distinguished skyline in Asia. Sassoon House, for instance, the harbor front landmark housing the legendary Cathay Hotel (today's Peace Hotel), had been built in 1906. And contemporary writing like Zeng Pu's [54] (1872–1935) prolific novel, *Niehai hua* [55] *A Flower in an Ocean of Sin*, 1905, offers additional proof that Shanghai was a fairly modern – and thus exotic – city by the turn of the century. But China's most important window to the West strongly reminded the Chinese of the humiliating situation created by the unequal treaties. During the first quarter of the 20th century, Shanghai was predominantly a sore reminder of national disgrace rather than a catalyst for exoticist excitement.

The Western-style enclaves of Tokyo, however, could be commented upon freely. Since about 1903, large numbers of Chinese students travelled to Japan in order to acquire the secrets of their neighbor's affluence; an affluence that had been speedily brought about by the reforms of the Meiji period. Most of them lived and studied in Tokyo. Underlying the travelogues produced by these first Chinese adherents of modern Japan there is characteristically a tone of childlike marvel, a two-sided attitude of awe and apprehension toward the new-fangled things encountered.

"Dongjing zashi shi" [56] "Tokyo Miscellanea", 1904, published as "tea talk" by an anonymous author in *Zhejiang chao* [57] *Tides of Zhejiang*, the magazine for Zhejiang students abroad, is a typical example. In six poems and their

subsequent commentaries a self-declared Chinese “reformer” cautiously explores the institutions of Meiji Civilization: Ueno Park, the Tokyo Museum, Japanese university life, book stores, taverns, and a train ride to Yokohama.⁸⁰

The student’s observations are rudimentary and riddled with prejudice. But just when Hakushû and Kinoshita were beginning their poetic exploration of Tokyo’s urban texture, Chinese images of the metropolis reached a more complex level of representation. In 1910, for instance, another student from Zhejiang rekindled the “Tokyo Miscellanea” motif by publishing a lengthy series of poems under the same title. But while the earlier version was still heavily spiced with Confucian resentment against debauched aspects of modernity, the new rendition comprises an elated account of the city’s urban facets. Yu Mantuo [58] (1884–1939), one of the more obscure members of the distinguished poetry association *Nanshe* [59] Southern Society, reflects his fascination with various aspects of Tokyo life in seventy-three poetic vignettes, i.e., “exotic” motifs such as photography, make-up, Red Cross nurses, jewelry, cafés, automobiles, bicycles, or electric trams. Here is a glimpse into Yu’s perception of “modern” Tokyo:

Coffee is sold under pearl screens aslant,
A rouged face as brazier, feather hairdo as shawl;
When the night watch strikes four and the moonlight is bright
Shadows of headgear bedeck sumptuous clothes.⁸¹

With a keen eye for the contemporary, the author records the institution of the Ginza café which was just about to develop into a fashion. In contrast to his fellow student who expressed a marked uneasiness about the Japanese practice of co-ed window shopping, Yu passes no judgement on the erotic aspect of the café enterprise. Even he, however, is far from implementing elements of form or imagery which would justify the attributes “modern” or “exoticist.” Yu’s poem is clearly dominated by conventional imagery: pearl screens (*zhulian*) [60], kingfisher feathers (*cui*) [61], or night watch (*geng*) [62] are key words from the canon of traditional Chinese poetry, evoking nostalgic scenes from the Late Song entertainment quarters rather than a modern phenomenon of exotic allure. From the pen of the Zhejiang poet, the French-style Ginza café thus emerges as a Chinese invention; an offspring of the traditional wine tavern by the shores of the author’s native West Lake.

Even a different angle of presentation, however, would not have eliminated the traditional flavor of Yu Mantuo’s prolific effort. Befitting a Chinese *literatus* of his time, Yu’s tableaux of the Japanese capital are composed in strict adherence to the rules of the classical *lǔshi* [63] regulated verse poem. Before the

⁸⁰ See Tai Gong (pseudonym): “Dongjing zashi shi” (Tokyo Miscellanea), *Zhejiang chao*, 2, February, 1904, pp. 161–164; recently reprinted by Shanghai shudian.

⁸¹ Yu Mantuo: *ibid.*, 43rd poem of this cycle. In: *Yu Mantuo Chen Bicen shichao*, ed. by Yu Feng. Shanghai, Xuelin 1983, p. 100.

radical reform of the written language took place in the wake of the May Fourth Movement, it was hardly possible for a Chinese writer to experiment with new, “exotic” forms of expression. Much more obviously than in the Japanese case, the development of exoticist writing in China is therefore tied to a concrete date. Although there are numerous accounts of “strange” or “foreign” things preceding the legitimization of creative vernacular in 1919, their form and content make them the offspring of genres which traditionally illustrated the world of the Supernatural and the Fantastic.

It was only the following generation of Chinese writers who explicitly indulged in the exotic mood of French symbolism, café ambience, and fin de siècle decadence. For example, Yu Dafu [64] (1896–1945), the famous sibling of Yu Mantuo, spent the years 1913–1921 in Tokyo and Nagoya, and consequently set his early vernacular short stories in Japan. His writings, usually topicalizing an erotically deprived “étranger’s” state of emotional confusion in the vein of the Japanese *shishōsetsu* [65] I-novel have earned him the reputation of a Wertherian romantic. The same controversial label was applied to the *Chuangzao she* [66] Creation Society, the avant-garde circle which Yu established together with a small group of Chinese students in Japan. Since much has already been written on the aesthetic convictions of Yu Dafu and the Creation Society, I intend to limit my focus to the group’s perception of the Exotic.

Tian Han [67] (1898–1968), in his later novel *Shanghai* [68] (1927), has left us a vivid account of the Creationists’ student life in Tokyo. Among brief portraits of thinly disguised figures from the contemporary Shanghai literary scene, Tian reminisces on his first meeting with Yu Dafu:

“Ke Han [Tian Han] and Yu Zhifu [Yu Dafu] had started their literary career during their student sojourn in Tokyo... They immediately became good friends who discussed Lafcadio Hearn and ERNEST DOWSON; DOWSON’s life made them think of the French decadents, the decadent poets’ indulgence in wine and women led to a discussion of the modern café mood, the café mood alerted them to their own ennui, and their ennui, in turn, made them think of a bar nearby where beef stew could be ordered; once they had arrived at the bar, they met a waitress that Zhifu was well acquainted with. This waitress was a woman of dazzling erotic appeal, with big, black eyes, a pair of red, voluptuous lips, soft, white hands and this intoxicating scent which flowed from her lush tangle of hair, this alluring aroma which emanated from her protruding bosom... And, ah, Zhifu dared to sit with her, dared to take her hand and to stroke her hair, even dared to slip his hand up her wide sleeves and caress her breasts.”⁸²

When Tian Han and Yu Dafu first met each other at Tian’s Hōgō dormitory in 1920, the “Ginza mood” had evidently spread beyond the Ginza boundaries and infiltrated other areas of Tokyo. Like their Japanese colleagues, the Creationists tried to utilize this progressively urbanizing landscape for a palpable

⁸² Tian Han: “Shanghai”. In: *Tian Han wenji*, 14 vols. Peking, Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 1983–1987, vol. 14, pp. 124–125.

taste of the Exotic. As Tian Han's anecdote illustrates, the discussion of French decadent poets – presumably Baudelaire and Verlaine – and their lifestyle of “wine and women” led the animated interlocutors directly to a “wine tavern” where a compliant “woman” was waiting.

Tian's terse account suggests that the Creationists' method of celebrating the “exotic mood” is basically analogous to the Japanese trends defined above. There is the ardent discourse on foreign authors, particularly the heroes of the French fin de siècle, the café excursion, and life-sized romance – with an exotic female, no less, since the Japanese waitress was a foreigner from the perspective of the Chinese visitors. Significantly, as in Tanizaki's – or Baudelaire's – portraits of the “personified Other,” it is her “aroma” which most strikingly identifies the exotic mistress.

Yu Zhifu, the ennui-ridden protagonist of Yu Dafu's early short stories corroborates Tian's account of Chinese student life in urban Japan. In the novella “Fengling” [69] “Aeolian Bells”, 1922, for instance, the author's alter ego reflects on his “dissolute adventures” in the Café Sans Souci, an establishment adjacent to the university;⁸³ he then searches for English, French, and German publications at the Maruzen Bookstore, eagerly perusing the pages of the latest Verlaine biography by Harold Nicolson,⁸⁴ and Rémy de Gourmont's essays on decadence which had just been translated into English.⁸⁵

Even the Zhifu of “Qiuliu” [70] “Autumn Willows”, 1922, who has already returned to China, nostalgically contemplates the tangible pleasures of Japanese cafés. While glancing at the waitress of a local restaurant, he recalled the passionate ambience of the cafés abroad:

“If this were a foreign [Japanese] café, I could pull this girl on my lap and snuggle up to her. From mouth to mouth we would pass each several glasses of wine, and I could fondle her everywhere. Ah, this reincarnation was a mistake, I should not have been born in China.”⁸⁶

The fascination with the French-style café, or its Japanese version, is a recurrent feature among the writings published in the group's literary mouthpiece, *Chuangzao jikan* [71] *Creation Quarterly*. “Bihua” [72] “The Wall Painting”, 1922, Teng Gu's [73] (1901–1941) sketch of a neurasthenic Chinese art student who falls in love with his Japanese model, features yet another character who spends a good portion of his stay abroad in Tokyo cafés.⁸⁷

⁸³ Yu Dafu *xiaoshuo ji*, 2 vols. Hangzhou, Zhejiang renmin 1982, vol. 1, p. 155; the original title was later changed to “Kongxu” (Ennui).

⁸⁴ See H.G. Nicolson: *Paul Verlaine*. London, Constable 1920.

⁸⁵ See Rémy de Gourmont: *Decadence and Other Essays on the Culture of Ideas*. Trans. W.A. Bradley. London, Richards 1921.

⁸⁶ Yu Dafu: “Qiuliu” (Autumn Willows). In: Yu Dafu *xiaoshuo ji*, vol. 1, p. 303.

⁸⁷ See Teng Gu: “Bihua” (The Wall Painting). *Chuangzao jikan*, vol. 1, No. 3 (November 25, 1922), pp. 42–54. The magazine has been reprinted by Shanghai shudian in 1983.

The Chinese writer who most ardently absorbed Tokyo's exotic ambience was probably the young Tian Han. Chinese researchers have left the famous playwright's early years in Japan shrouded in convenient obscurity, so as not to scratch the revolutionary image of the eminent party model. Tian's Tokyo diary has never been reprinted, and some of his early essays were even excluded from the recent edition of *Collected Works of Tian Han*. More than merely illuminating the exoticist outlook of Chinese writers, a brief glance at these materials adds a colorful shade to the stalwart icon of a canonized left-wing writer.

Particularly *Qianwei zhi lu* [74] *On a Path of Roses*, 1922, Tian's daily notes taken in 1921, reveal a strong penchant for the exoticist vogues of contemporary Tokyo. In early October he mentioned reading *The French Impressionists*⁸⁸ – perhaps Yanagisawa Ken's recent synopsis of the subject? Later the same month, he visited Ginza's Café Paulista,⁸⁹ previously one of the gathering places of the Café Club where Nagai Kafû had once created a scandal by courting a waitress who later attempted to blackmail him. Tian also expressed open admiration for the harbingers of fin de siècle thought in Japan; for the symbolist poetess Yosano Akiko [75] (1878–1942), for instance,⁹⁰ or for the painter, poet, and novelist Satô Haruo [76] (1892–1964), whom he paid a respectful visit to on October 16, 1921.⁹¹

The cinematophile Satô apparently not only introduced Tian to his Japanese idol, Tanizaki Junichirô, but also initiated the young playwright's passion for “the moving pictures,” the urbane art form that was just making its debut at Ginza and Asakusa theaters. While Yu Dafu remembers having devoured “approximately 1,000 foreign works of fiction” during his student sojourn in Japan,⁹² Tian Han once proudly confessed to his reputation as a “CINEMA FAN who watched more than 100 movies” in Tokyo.⁹³

Although Tian Han was officially registered as a student of English at Tokyo Teacher's College, he showed a distinct predilection for French poetry and the environment of its procreation. Particularly during the years 1921–22, he immersed himself in the Francophile enthusiasm fostered by the Japanese symbolists. Late in 1921, he published a biography of Baudelaire in which he attested to a recent change in his literary interests:

“In the first issue of this magazine I once wrote on the 100th anniversary of the populist poet Whitman, and consequently, my own artistic thoughts inclined toward populism. Now, for about one year, my attention has radically turned to

⁸⁸ Tian Han: *Qianwei zhi lu*, Shanghai, Taidong 1922, p. 8.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 47.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 29.

⁹² Yu Dafu: “Wuliunian lai chuangzao shenghuo de huigu” (Reflections on My Literary Life of the Last Five or Six Years). In: *Yu Dafu wenji*, 12 vols. Canton, Huacheng 1982–1984, vol. 7, p. 178; originally published in 1927.

⁹³ Tian Han: “Xuezi” (Shoes). In: *Tian Han sanwen ji*. Shanghai, Jindai shudian 1936, p. 103.

Allen Poe, Oscar Wilde, and Paul Verlaine,... and my recent creations are adopting a Parnassian style.”⁹⁴

Earlier in the year, Tian had already translated Wilde’s *Salomé*, the one-act tragedy which, though authored by an Englishman, can be viewed as one of the representative pieces of artistic “*décadence*” in France. Written during the last years of 19th century Paris, in highly stylized French, *Salomé* was first performed at the capital’s Théâtre de l’Oeuvre in 1896. As related earlier, the play had already intrigued some of Tian’s Japanese colleagues when it was first shown at the Gaiety Theater in Yokohama.

Sometime in 1922, Tian Han attended a salon meeting in honor of the poet Verlaine at Ueno in Tokyo – possibly a Japanese emulation of the poetic gathering that, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the great decadent’s death, had been held at the Jardin du Luxembourg during the previous year. Since the early soirees of the Devotees of Pan, the poet of rain and autumn had become the symbolist movement’s most prominent representative in Japan. Shortly thereafter, Tian jolted the readers of the newly founded *Creation Quarterly* with an enthusiastic essay about Verlaine: “Poets of the Young China! You should get to know “*Pauvre Lelian*,” this pacesetter of DECADENT MODERNISME, this pioneer of SYMBOLISME.”⁹⁵

Significantly, Tian’s account suggests a compelling link between the phenomenon ‘Verlaine’ and the locale of its genesis, Paris:

“If we take Verlaine to be the son of Paris, the Paris he saw was indeed a very beautiful mother... Her open plazas, her art galleries, her cafés where leisurely talks could be held, her secluded gardens where even birds do not enter, her Quartier Latin where poets intoxicate themselves with the bouquet of heavy wine, her bookstores stretching along the murmuring Seine, her placid MORGUE, her sacred and stately churches, her splendid theaters – there was no site that didn’t induce a glimmer of passionate affection in the eyes of her sons.”⁹⁶

To further augment the Parisian flavor of his essay, Tian interlarded the text, in Latin letters, with a colorful array of lexical pictures that generally epitomize the atmosphere of the French capital: QUARTIER LATIN, AVENUE, ABSINTHE, SEINE, FETES GALANTES, etc. – verbal signifiers of the Exotic, which, assuming relief quality, stand out from the homogeneous flow of Chinese characters.

Though the Verlaine article further illustrates Tian Han’s literary preferences at the time, it does not account for what he had earlier called the “Parnassian

⁹⁴ Tian Han: “E’mo shiren Botuolei’er de bainian ji” (Honoring the 100th Birth Anniversary of the Demonic Poet Baudelaire), *Shaonian Zhongguo*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (November 1, 1921), p. 3.

⁹⁵ Tian Han: “Kelian de Lüliyan – PAUVRE LELIAN” (Wretched Lelian), *Chuangzao jikan*, vol. 1, No. 2 (August 22, 1922), Section Pinglun, p. 3; “Pauvre Lelian” was an alias used by the aging Verlaine.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

tendency” of his own creative work. Most probably, this self-acclaimed membership in the circle of international symbolists refers to his youthful attempts at poetry, which were later garnered in the collection *Jianghu zhi chun* [77] *Edo Spring*, 1922. As the title suggests, Tian’s verse ponders Tokyo from much the same angle which his Japanese predecessors had assumed, i.e., the nostalgic perspective that had so markedly defined the verse of Kitahara Hakushû and Kinoshita Mokutarô. Just like the Devotees of Pan, Tian’s poetic eye searches for the relics of Edo behind the cacophonous facade of modern Tokyo. Here is a telling specimen from the collection, allusively entitled “Ginza wen shakuhachi” [78] “On Hearing a Bamboo Flute at Ginza”:

Intense light
 Poisonous colors
 Stream of carts and horses
 Mountains of people!
 High collars beckoning the gentlemen
 Western hairdos escorting the beauties
 Right here on the Ginza:
 Sounds of a bamboo flute, where do they come from?
 Like a battered man’s lament
 Like a gaffer’s sobs –
 Amidst this noisy symphony:
 Forlorn and ready to die.
 Hey! Enduring restless wanderers’ feet
 Unworthy of your elegy,
 Try telling your grief to the wintry moon in the midnight sky
 Or to the waters running beneath Kyôbashi Bridge.⁹⁷

Tian’s Ginza poem subtly confirms the author’s obsession with Parisian atmospheres – here creatively transposed onto an Oriental backdrop. Just like the Devotees’ yearning for a vanished Edo had paralleled the French indulgence in an imaginary past, Tian’s evocations of the pre-industrialized state of the Japanese capital echo Verlaine’s melancholy memories of an euphonious Paris. His image of the “battered old man” is clearly a reference to “Pauvre Lelian,” Verlaine’s self-perception as a broken oldster who, at the verge of death, spends the last years of his life vagabonding through a rapidly mutating Paris.

Tian Han’s poetic style is marked by the juxtaposition of modern and traditional images and language patterns. The first word, “intense” (*qianglie*) [79], inevitably invokes the scenery of modern Tokyo. *Kyôretsu*, its Japanese prototype, occurs in Taishô literature as one of the most widely used verbal signifiers for the upbeat rhythm of modern life. Similarly, “poisonous colors” refers to the

⁹⁷ Tian Han: “Ginza wen shakuhachi” (On Hearing a Bamboo Flute at Ginza). In: *Tian Han wenji*, vol. 12, pp. 40–41.

abundance of artificial stimuli exhibited on the Ginza, such as eye-catching fashions or lavishly decorated show-windows. The evocation of contemporary excitement is contrasted by the introduction of two four-syllable idioms (*chēngyu*) [80] – “stream of carts and horses” and “mountains of people” – which illustrate the dense commotion in the narrow alleys of Edo rather than the automobile packed Taishō boulevard. In the following stanza, Tian’s Ginza profile turns around to show her modern face again – the Tokyo dandy on a date, a theme that Yanagisawa had so elaborately treated in his “Ginza Boulevard.” The bamboo flute, finally, swings the balance between voguish and antiquated imagery back to the distant environs of a quasi-exotic past.

The lament for the days of bygone Edo, of course, is a fashionable pose. Tian Han, the “cinema fan,” was never opposed to the modernization of Tokyo. But like the work of his romantically inclined Japanese colleagues, his urban tableaux are not yet dominated by the hectic hammering of car engines or the glares of neon lights. Tian Han’s poetic metropolis is all “city within landscape,” a world where the Modern is not only imbued with the remnants of Edo, its immediate predecessor, but with spawns of a natural state found only in the legendary abysses of pristine antiquity.

“Yuchang de wuta” [81] “Dance at the Bath House” is one of the spot lights that Tian throws on the “mythical” chambers of Tokyo:

Into the realm of obscuring vapor
Bounces a lively little girl!
Her body not covered by a single stitch
She waits for her daddy to enter the bath.
And many a bather
Throws smiles at her;
Not a bit shameful
She is only playful dance in the mist:
Streaks of glossy dark hair
Veil part of her velvety face.
A gas light flickering in the steam
Brightens her winding curves.
Ah, exotic girl
You’ve come to dip into these tepid waters!
Let me – an exotic poet –
Extol your stark-naked beauty!⁹⁸

Like the newfangled pastime of sea-bathing, the bath house was among the Japanese institutions of high exotic allure for Chinese students. By choosing to celebrate the “winding curves” of an innocent young girl, however, Tian Han shows extreme caution to avoid being labeled a radical decadent. He strove to

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 34.

be a Parnassian – a “lofty dancer” (*gaodaopai*) [82], as his Japanese colleagues had termed the movement’s followers – without the dismal *Weltanschauung* which usually characterizes Baudelaire’s dandy ideal.

Tian’s poetry is thus far from emulating either the *état sauvage* of a debauched humankind as defined in the *Fleurs du mal*, or the explicit sexuality which Yu Dafu’s protagonist experiences during a bath scene in “Ennui.” Tian emphasizes the naive, pristine qualities of the naked body. Very similar to the nudes of YOKOHAMA, his dancing girl reinstates the feeling of mythological ebullience in a modern, civilized world.

Not surprisingly, an inventory of Tian’s favorite reading materials during the period in question locates Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* right next to the works of Poe, Swinburne, Baudelaire, and Verlaine.⁹⁹ Like Yanagisawa and his peers’, Tian’s ideal notion of the poet’s “Parnasse” fuses the café existence of the prototypical Parisian artist and the Olympian spirit of Greek mythology into the lofty scenario of his own exotic world.

The aesthetically transposed fascination with the nude body, in correlation with a “foreign” setting, is a frequently reappearing motif in Chinese accounts of the Exotic. Mu Mutian [83] (1900–1971), one of Tian’s fellow Creationists, once broached this subject in a more experimental manner:

Resurrection Day
(Poem en prose)

The sound of Sunday bells. The priest ascends to the pulpit, heaves a voluminous book, and addresses the audience: “We will read John 20:1.” It is the day of the Lord’s resurrection.

The priest says: “The Lord has given his life for us, and for us he has been restored to life; the Bible offers proof, alert eyes will see.”

The audience listens in awed silence; “Amen!” here and there.

The priest opens the Bible, his wooden gaze roams the audience; there are no letters on the first page, he sees, only a picture of a naked girl nailed to the cross.

The priest closes the Bible and prays to God for forgiveness.

The priest, after finishing his prayer, opens the second page; but again, there are no letters, only the picture of a naked boy, clasping the naked body of a dead girl in his arms.

The priest closes the Bible and prays to God for forgiveness.

The priest, after finishing his prayer, opens the third page; yet again, there are no letters, only the picture of a naked boy, kissing the naked girl who has now been resurrected.

The priest says: “Amen!” He glares at the audience.

⁹⁹ Tian Han: *Qiangwei zhi lu*, p. 13; diary entry is dated October 11, 1921.

The parishioners embrace and kiss each other; boys clasping girls;

... ..

Another "Amen!" by the priest.

From afar ring the sounds of angelic psalms; the heavens rain flowers; butterflies dance atop the parishioners' heads; the pack of people envisions a naked girl, locked in tight embrace with a naked boy, sitting on the Lotus Throne: "I just now have been resurrected," her smiling ruby cheeks declare.¹⁰⁰

Once again, the sphere of the foreign is represented by a combination of the exotic signifiers CHURCH and NUDITY. Corroborating the assumption about the "erotic" crucifixes of the Taishô painter Takehisa Yumeji, the accessories of Christianity – in Mu's case the Bible – stand for a notion of the Exotic that is highly sensually charged. In the eyes of the Chinese writer abroad, the awe for the "pure erotic project" of Tokyo everyday life, as Roland Barthes once worded his over-generalization of Japanese culture,¹⁰¹ blended with a mythologically transfigured worship of the nude body and yielded the sensuous amalgam of the exotic mood. *Nude and Steamship*, the cover illustration for the first issue of *Creation Quarterly* is thus a suitable emblem for the Chinese idea of exotic themes.

Another Chinese author who, from yet another angle, utilizes the exotic effect of Christian spatiality in Japan is the poet Feng Naichao [84] (1901–1983). Feng, like Tian Han a prominent member of the Creation Society, had actually grown up in Yokohama and seen its exotic scenery unfold just when Yanagisawa Ken and his friends created their poetic picture-book of the harbor town. In 1928, his anthology *Hongsha deng* [85] *The Red Gauze Lantern* still employs familiar remnants from the stock of Yokohama images. Different from his Japanese predecessors, however, Feng declares an anonymous "atmosphere" his exotic protagonist and renders the famous tower of the city's Catholic Church, for instance, an unidentified entity; an image that remains situated in symbolist no-man's-land unless the reader happens to be informed about the author's biography:

Mist misty misty mist
Street corners Falling leaves Arch-headed street lamps
People passing Quivering landscape
Cars passing Speckled tableau
SANTA MARIA tiptoes by
As woeful ladies undo their wide coats
Winter Dark winter is here
With fatalist gloom and ruthless grumble

¹⁰⁰ Mu Mutian: "Fuhuori" (Resurrection Day), *Chuangzao jikan*, vol. 1, No. 3 (September 14, 1921), section Chuangzuo, pp. 22–23.

¹⁰¹ R. Barthes: *The Empire of Signs*. Trans. R. Howard. New York, Hill and Wang 1987, p. 10.

The church tower renounces the suffering of life
Parnassian style its cross soars to the highest of heavens
HOLY NIGHT HOLY NIGHT
ALL IS CALM ALL IS BRIGHT
Bright as paradise sparkles the church
Night colors settle on street corners like ink.¹⁰²

In sum, the Chinese concept of the Exotic has two major roots in Japan. First, there is the aesthetic prototype of the “exotic mood” as preconceived by Japanese artists during the Late Meiji and Taishô periods. And secondly, there is the spatiality of Japan, which as the most readily accessible stretch of foreign soil, was established in Chinese writings as a sort of second hand exotic sphere. Clearly, to a large segment of the Chinese student populace in Tokyo, ‘Abroad’ originally meant Europe or the United States. It was mostly for financial reasons that they eventually enrolled at an institution in their progressive neighboring country.

Tian Han once explicitly stated that student life in Japan was only a surrogate for his original dream of traveling to Europe.¹⁰³ He compensated for his unfulfilled aspiration by poetically transforming Japan into visions of European land- and cityscape. The Japanese metropolis, or certain urbane parts thereof, became his Paris, and the rustic outskirts of Tokyo inspired images of “first degree” exotic scenery: “When we left the forest there was only a glistening white,” reads one of his travelogues, “just as if we were entering the boundless, snow-covered wilderness of Siberia; or as if we were actors in a movie shot in Alaska; a scene that made us long for the drifting life of the perpetual *étranger* like the gypsies lead it.”¹⁰⁴

The same feature applies to the early prose of Yu Dafu. In the short story “Nanqian” [86] “Moving South”, 1921, the protagonist leaves Tokyo for a vacation on a rural peninsula. Yu describes the Japanese countryside in terms of the bucolic domains of Southern France:

“This peninsula might not exactly display the radiant and enchanting scenery of the boot-shaped island in the Mediterranean, but the billowing waves, the azure sky, the mild air, the rolling hills, the fishing nets along the shores, and the peasants plowing the countryside, altogether bestow on this place an atmosphere akin to the shores of Southern Europe and let the foreign traveler forget

¹⁰² Feng Naichao: “Suimu de ANDANTE” (Year’s End Andante). In: *Hongsha deng*. Shanghai, Chuangzao she 1928; reprinted in Sun Yushi (ed.): *Xiangzhengpai shixuan*. Peking, Renmin wenxue 1986, p. 219. More on Feng Naichao, see M. Gálík: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation, 1898–1979*. Bratislava-Wiesbaden, Veda-Otto Harrassowitz 1986, pp. 135–151.

¹⁰³ Tian Han: “Lixiang de ziwei” (The Taste of Leaving Home). In: Xiao Mei (ed.): *Tian Han chuanguangzuo xuan*. Shanghai, Fanggu 1936, p. 122.

¹⁰⁴ Tian Han: “Baimei zhi yuan de neiwai” (Around the White Plum Garden). In: *Tian Han sanwen ji*, p. 20.

that he is roaming extraneous terrain. In English one would call this region a HOSPITABLE, INVITING DREAM LAND OF THE ROMANTIC AGE.”¹⁰⁵

It appears that the Chinese search for the Exotic went beyond the sphere of the strictly urban. The Japanese countryside was also used to draw visionary bridges to an idealized DREAM LAND, which was again associated with France or other cradles of Latin culture. Even though Chinese students in Japan generally understood little French, most of them adhered to the quixotic paradigm of the French *artiste*. Cheng Fangwu [87] (1897–1984), the English and German specialist among the Creationists, intended to name his first short story “Nouvel an et l’étranger” before he finally settled for the Chinese equivalent “Yige liulangren de xinnian” [88]. And “Muxi” [89] (Sweet-Scented Osmanthus), maiden work of his colleague Tao Jingsun [90] (1897–1952), was originally published under the heading “Croire en destinée” (sic). Just like the creators of YOKOHAMA and the Ginza mood, the Chinese avant-garde in Japan compressed their multi-faceted visions of the Exotic into the representative emblem of FRANCE, the utopian land of wine, women, and poetry.

¹⁰⁵ Yu Dafu: “Nanqian” (Moving South). In: *Yu Dafu xiaoshuo ji*, vol. 1, p. 51.

1. 異國情調 2. 志怪 3. 木下木太郎 4. 浮世畫 5. 現代時
6. 北村初雄 7. 五歲と春 8. 海港 9. 柳澤健 10. 熊田精華
11. 南蠻 12. 邪宗門 13. 北原白秋 14. 竹久夢二 15. 谷崎
- 潤一郎 16. ダンス物語 17. 井上^立太郎 18. 港の人人 19. 茶
- 巫屋 20. 異人娘 21. 痴人の愛 22. 印象派の畫家 23. 海
- 水浴 24. 古代頌 25. 續古代頌 26. 兇張竹風 27. 果樹園
28. 坪内逍遙 29. 北村^述谷 30. 芥川龍之介 31. 異國
32. 都會 33. 現代佛蘭西詩集 34. 上田敏 35. 永井荷風
36. 與謝野寬 37. ^ト屈口大學 38. 木露風 39. 島崎藤村
40. 西條八十 41. 川路柳虹 42. 日夏耿之介 43. 都會情調
44. 屋上庭園 45. パンの會 46. 岩村透 47. パリの^サ芸術學生
48. フランス物語 49. 銀座女 50. 菊池寬 51. 新居格
52. 小川未明 53. 銀座街 54. 曾朴 55. 孽海花 56. 東京
- 雜事詩 57. 浙江潮 58. 郁曼陀 59. 南社 60. 竹廉 61. 翠
62. 更 63. 律詩 64. 郁達夫 65. 私小説 66. 創造社
67. 田漢 68. 上海 69. 風鈴 70. 秋柳 71. 創造季刊
72. 壁畫 73. 藤古 74. 薔薇之路 75. 謝野晶子 76. 佐騰
- 春夫 77. 江戸之春 78. 銀座聞 79. 強烈 80. 成語
81. 浴場的舞蹈 82. 高蹈派 83. 穆木天 84. 馮乃超
85. 紅紗燈 86. 南遷 87. 成方吾 88. 一個流浪人的新年
89. 木樨 90. 陶晶孫

THE COURT SCRIBE'S *EIKON PSYCHES* A NOTE ON SIMA QIAN AND HIS LETTER TO REN AN¹

Bernhard FUEHRER

East Asia Department, School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London, Thornhaugh Street/Russell Square
London WC1H 0XG, England

The aim of this study is to analyse the literary rhetoric connected with the letter of Sima Qian to Ren An, its connection with epistolary and other traditions of antiquity and the later critical evaluation through history.

Sima Qian (c. 145 – c. 86 B.C.) is well known as “astrologer”, “astronomer”, “historian”, or “scribe” at the court of Liu Che (156–87 B.C.), Han Wudi (r. 141–87 B.C.). Inheriting his father’s, Sima Tan’s (d. 110 B.C.), position at the imperial court, he followed a family tradition which he knew traced back more than two millennia to the times of the legendary ruler Zhuangxi.² Due to his full access to the historical source material and documents, local histories and philosophical treatises collected in the court archives and the imperial library he was able to continue his father’s historical enterprise. The *summa* of these insights known today as *Shiji* or *Records of the Court Scribe* is an impressive ex-

¹ I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung. The scholarship (1995–1996) granted by the Humboldt-Foundation enabled me to pursue a research project on various aspects of rhetorical devices in the writings of Sima Qian at the Department of Chinese Language and Literature, Faculty of East Asian Studies, Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany. This article is partly based on papers presented at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and at the biannual EACS-Conference in Barcelona 1996. See also my “Zur Selbstdarstellung des Sima Qian”, in: Christiane Hammer, Bernhard Führer (eds.), *Chinesisches Selbstverständnis und kulturelle Identität: “Wenhua Zhongguo”*. [Chinese self-image and cultural identity – “Wenhua Zhongguo”. *Collected papers of the 6th annual meeting 1995 of the German Association for Chinese Studies (DVCS)* (Dortmund: Projekt, 1996)], 35–49.

² See *Shiji* (10 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua, [1959] 1982), 130: 3285. In this genealogy, a preamble to the self-descriptive part of his postface of the *Shiji*, Sima Qian analogized the mantic task deriving from the earlier priest’s (*shi*) observation of the celestial sphere and the scribe’s (*shi*) responsibility of recording terrestrial events with a twofold origin of his family in early legendary times.

position of the history of the *orbis terrarum* (*tianxia*) as known in China in those days, and its interrelated cosmic aspects from the mythological beginnings up to the author's lifetime.³

The general image of the court scribe is also associated with the consequences which Sima Qian had to suffer in the aftermath of the defeat of the Han-warrior Li Ling (d. 74 B.C.).⁴ His advocacy for the military leader, who surrendered to the arch enemy, is commonly reported as having triggered off his own humiliating punishment.⁵ Further, we are reminded of Sima Tan's fateful legacy to his son, namely to continue and complete the historical narrative. In this context, it seems obvious that it was precisely his father's request which kept Sima Qian from suicide – considered the only adequate choice of a nobleman (*shi*) to avoid humiliation – to escape castration. In order to fulfil the bequeathed duty, he preferred to accept the degradation to a eunuch's existence.⁶

³ Concerning the earlier titles, such as *Taishigong shu* (*Shiji*, 130: 3319), *Taishigong ji*, and the later title *Shiji*, which seemingly derived from the traditional technical term for regional histories and chronicles, see Sima Zhen's (fl. 745) *suoyin*-commentary in *Shiji*, 130: 3320, Chen Zhi, "Taishigong shu ming kao", in: Wang Guowei et al., *Sima Qian – qi shu ji qi ren* (Taipei: Chang'an, 1985), 187–194, and Wang Shumin, "Shiji mingcheng tanyuan", in: Huang Peirong (ed.), *Shiji lunwen xuanji* (Taipei: Chang'an, 1982), 181–198. On the rather complex question of authorship of the *Shiji*, which, I think, might also be understood as "Records of the Court Scribes", see Timoteus Pokora, "Shi chi 127. The Synopsis of Two Historians", in: Charles Le Blanc, Susan Blader (eds.), *Chinese Ideas about Nature and Society. Studies in Honour of Derk Bodde* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University, 1987), 215–234. For the *Shiji*, its translations and relevant secondary material see also the apprehensive introductory articles by Stephen W. Durrant, "Shih-chi" and "Ssu-ma Ch'ien", in: William H. Nienhauser Jr. (ed.), *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1986), 689–692, 720–723, and by A.F.P. Hulsewé, "Shih chi", in: Michael Loewe (ed.), *Early Chinese Texts. A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: Society of the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993), 404–414. For a survey on more recent studies on the *Shiji* see William H. Nienhauser Jr., "The Study of the Shih-chi (The Grand Scribe's Records) in the People's Republic of China", in: Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer (ed.), *Das andere China. Festschrift für Wolfgang Bauer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 381–403.

⁴ According to an account in *Xijing zaji* (*Sibu congkan*-ed.), 6: 3b–4a, Elfie Heeren-Diekhoff, *Das Hsi-ching tsa-chi. Vermischte Aufzeichnungen über die westliche Hauptstadt* (Weilheim: private publication, 1981), 237, parts of the *Shiji*, especially the description of his father's reign, aroused Han Wudi's displeasure. Accordingly, the Li Ling incident might well have been a welcomed pretext to punish its critical author.

⁵ According to his own account, Sima Qian was found guilty of "deceiving the emperor" (*wu shang*), a term which does not seem to be a proper technical legal but merely a literary expression for a variety of *lèse-majesté*; for *wu shang* see also chapter Yueji in *Liji* (*Shisan jing zhushu*-ed.), 37: 7a [665], Séraphin Couvreur, *Li Ki ou Mémoires sur les Bienséances et les Cérémonies* (2 vols., Ho Kien Fou: Mission Catholique, 1913), II, 49–50.

⁶ Theoretically, i.e. in terms of the official hierarchy, the office he held after castration was ranked higher than the position of a *taishigong* or *taishiling* (head of the imperial scribe office). Nevertheless, the point of reference of Sima Qian's evaluation was beyond the official hierarchy of the administrative system.

“Vegetating in disgrace and shame” he finds himself unable to become reconciled to his eunuch position.⁷ Consequently, he dedicated the rest of his days to the completion of his historical records. From his choice of words, we perceive not only the shadow of a deeply disappointed and demoralized scholar who channelled his resentment into his narrative of the past, but also his full awareness of the necessity to express himself covertly in order to avoid to be handed over to the prison officers once again. The silhouette of the frustrated scholar criticizing the emperor and the ruling dynasty grew to be omnipresent in the history of Chinese literature. His writings, known for their alleged clear diction and archaic expression of the author’s inner feelings, modelled historiographical as well as literary criteria.⁸

Even though we do have this widespread and seemingly accurate perception of Sima Qian, I would like to raise the question “Which Sima Qian are we actually talking about?”⁹ An investigation into the divergent images of the scribe-historian should distinguish the following main images:

Sima Qian – as presented in his biography written by the Han-historian Ban Gu (32–92), whose *History of the Han-dynasty* or *Hanshu* shows an entangled intertextual relationship with the material given in the *Shiji*, and whose background obviously differs from that of Sima Qian.¹⁰

Sima Qian – as an archetype in the glorification through later generations of Chinese writers and in the mind of his imitators and emulators. His literary style, considered the *ne plus ultra*, became an archetypal *exemplum antiquitatis* and the model for their *imitatio*.¹¹

Sima Qian – as a narrative person and story-teller behind the texts attributed to him.

Sima Qian – as presented by Sima Qian himself, including the narrator who makes his pronouncements after the well-known formula *taishigong yue*.¹² In

⁷ Paraphrasis from Sima Qian’s letter to Ren An.

⁸ For a convincingly not outdated comment on this aspect see Gu Yanwu (comm. by Huang Rucheng), *Rizhilu jishi* (2 vols., Taipei: Shijie, 1991), *juan* 26 [II, 590–591].

⁹ A closer look at the reception and the evaluations of the historian and his writings reveals crucial problems. For a handy compilation of traditional comments on the various chapters of the *Shiji* see Yang Yanqi et al., *Lidai mingjia ping Shiji* (Beijing: Shifan daxue, 1986 [rpt.: Taipei: Boyuan, 1990]).

¹⁰ See Ban Gu, *Hanshu* (12 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua, [1962] 1987), 62: 2707–2739. This “biography” of Sima Qian is basically a slightly enlarged and revised copy of Sima Qian’s postface to the *Shiji* and includes a copy of his letter to Ren An.

¹¹ In, e.g., Lin Shu’s (1852–1924) Chinese adaptations of Western literature, this stylistic tradition survived until quite recent times.

¹² See *Shiji*, 130: 3285–3322. On the, in part, autobiographical nature of the relevant documents see Stephen W. Durrant, “Self as Intersection of Traditions: The Autobiographical Writings of Ssu-ma Ch’ien”, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 106.1 (1986), 33–40. See also Manfred W. Frühauf, *Frühformen der chinesischen Autobiographie* (Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1987), Wolfgang Bauer, *Das Antlitz Chinas. Die autobiographische Selbstdarstellung in der*

addition to the postface to the *Shiji* and his letter to Ren An – the two central documents of Sima Qian's self-description – valuable supplementary information is provided in his comments integrated in the *Shiji*, namely the *Biography of Qu Yuan*, the *Hereditary House of Confucius*, parts of the *Biographical Treatise on the Xiongnu* etc., and in his various references to his own extensive travels throughout the Han-empire.¹³ In accordance with the traditional pedagogical function of history (*historia docet*), Sima Qian's intended evaluations of personalities as well as of ethical standards can be deduced from his portrayals.¹⁴ This essay focuses on his narrative of his life and work on the *Shiji* which are presented mainly in analogy to the vita of Confucius and his compilation of the *Chunqiu*, attributed to the sage by Mencius.¹⁵ We are therefore investigating into Sima Qian's letter to his acquaintance, Ren An (Ren Shaoqing), who was imprisoned and awaited execution having been found guilty of opportunist attitude in connection with the palace intrigue, the witchcraft case, and the attempted revolt of crown prince Li against the old and ailing Han Wudi in 91 B.C.¹⁶ Regardless of the disputed date of this letter, 91 or 93 B.C. (?), and the exact circumstances which lead to Ren An's condemnation, this letter is traditionally considered a milestone in the stylistic development of Chinese epistologra-

chinesischen Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis Heute (München: Hanser, 1990), 79–81, 83–89, and Wu Pei-yi [Wu Baiyi], *The Confucian's Progress. Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1990), 42f. Concerning more theoretical aspects of the literary genre of autobiography see also Günter Niggel (ed.), *Die Autobiographie. Zu Form und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989), Helmut Winter, *Der Aussagewert von Selbstbiographien* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1985), and Jürgen Lehmann, *Bekennen – Erzählen – Berichten. Studien zu Theorie und Geschichte der Autobiographie* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1988).

¹³ In his description of the Xiongnu-federation Sima Qian gives a cogent indication of his narrative freedom being conditioned and restricted by the political circumstances. Note that he describes his situation by drawing an analogy with his conception of Confucius' work as an historian; see *Shiji*, 110: 2919, and Hans van Ess, "Die geheimen Worte des Ssu-ma Ch'ien", in: *Oriens Extremus*, 36.1 (1993), 5–28. For a – in the light of the *Shiji* – incomplete account of his travels see *Shiji*, 130: 3293, and *Hanshu*, 62: 2714–2715.

¹⁴ For the *Shiji* as a demonstration of "the Chinese of the view that *historia docet*" see A.F.P. Hulsewé, "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period", in: W.G. Beasley, E.G. Pulleyblank (eds.), *Historians of China and Japan* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1961), 36.

¹⁵ For a literary study of Sima Qian's self-perception, his self-portrayal and intellectual background see Stephen W. Durrant, *The Cloudy Mirror. Tension and Conflict in the Writings of Sima Qian* (New York: State University of New York, 1995). See also Ruan Zhisheng, "Sima Qian de xin", in: *Wenshizhe xuebao*, 23 (1974), 197–220, and Jean Levi, "Sima Qian, Han Wudi et l'éternité", in: Jean-Pierre Diény (ed.), *Hommage à Kwong Hing Foon. Études d'histoire culturelle de Chine* (Paris: Collège de France, 1995), 43–75.

¹⁶ For Ren An and his involvement in this incident see Chu Shaosun's (c. 30 B.C.) interpolation in *Shiji* 104: 3779, *Hanshu*, 66: 2881, the annotations in *Liu chen zhu Wenxuan* (Sibu congkan-ed.), 41: 9b–19a, 11b [763–764].

phy.¹⁷ Further, it is traditionally believed, that Ren An asked Sima Qian for help in his desperate situation and that Sima Qian's letter was written answering Ren An's request for assistance.¹⁸ Although no such letter of Ren An has survived, Sima Qian refers to a letter he presumably had received from Ren An.¹⁹ Besides Ren An's rather generalized suggestion to introduce and recommend worthy gentlemen to the court, as reported by Sima Qian, only little is known about the content of this letter.²⁰ Notwithstanding, there is not nearly enough concrete evidence for Ren An's plea for assistance in his own plight, but in case he did so, "it would appear that Jen An was singularly naive in asking help of Ssu-ma Ch'ien",²¹ who had lost the emperor's favour himself. Despite the well-articulated motivation for the letter and consideration of the addressee, i.e. the fulfilment of the *apte dicere*, the skilful references to traditional formulae and anecdotes are much more concerned with the author's complaints than with the receiver's affairs.²² Aside from its heart-moving vent of personal frustration, this letter shows passages which, in terms of content, re-phrase ideas expressed more formally in the postface (*zixu*) to the *Shiji*. Whereas the author's description of his ego, credo, and work on the historical narrative in chapter 130 of the *Shiji* is bound by the stylistic criteria of the *zixu*, the form of a letter – despite its polite formulaic opening and ending – offered more ample scope for voicing his genuine feelings. Basically, a letter is supposed to be a one-sided expression aiming at a certain effect on the receiver, but due to its (occasional) fictional dialogue the letter is considered (by Western rhetoricians) to be very near to the *oratio*.²³ Sima Qian's letter shows this device as well as the simulation of the addressee's reaction, a variety of the *sermocinatio*, in an astonishing way.²⁴ As a self-description, this document does not only mirror its author's state of mind. Besides the account of his own experience and sufferings, the letter also demon-

¹⁷ Concerning the date of the letter see the summary in Burton Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien. Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University, 1958), 194–198, and Édouard Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* ([5 vols., Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895–1905] rpt: 6 vols., Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1967), I, xlii. For an excellent general study on the letters of Han times see Eva Yuen-wah Chung, *A Study of the "shu" (letters) of the Han Dynasty* (2 vols.; Ph.D.Diss. University of Washington, 1982 [Ann Arbor: UMI, 1995]).

¹⁸ See e.g. Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, I, xliii.

¹⁹ The use of the word *bao* (answer, reply) in the letter's title given in *Hanshu* and *Wenxuan* emphasizes its answering aspect: "A Letter in Reply to Ren An / Shaoqing".

²⁰ See the short summary of inconsistent data concerning Ren An's letter in Dzo Chingchuan [Zuo Jingquan], *Sseu-ma Ts'ien et l'Historiographie Chinoise* (Paris: Orientalistes de France, 1978), 182.

²¹ Frank Algerton Kierman Jr., *Ssu-ma Chien's Historiographical Attitude as reflected in four Late Warring States Biographies* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962), 52.

²² In this context it is also noteworthy that in chapter 130 of the *Shiji* Sima Qian gives a more detailed account of his father than of himself.

²³ See Wolfgang G. Müller, "Brief", in: Gert Ueding (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* (3 vols. hithero; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992–1996), II, 61.

²⁴ Note also the extensive use of rhetorical questions and affective exclamations in the letter.

strates a typical trait of self-descriptive writings, i.e. the writer's apology of himself and his accusation against all those who made him feel misunderstood. By presenting an account of the circumstances and reasons that lead him to submit to the legal sanctions, the author justifies his decision reached in the classic dilemma between the duties of filial obedience or piety (*xiao*) and the socially imposed last resort, i.e. suicide. The question whether he would have been appeased and satisfied by revealing himself to a person close to him or would rather aim at explaining himself to posterity, leads to the issue of his targeted audience. By writing a private letter (*epistula familiaris*) in its strict sense, the author excludes the public. The purpose of writing would therefore be restricted exclusively to the communication between Sima Qian and Ren An.²⁵ Whereas genuine private letters exclude or at least pretend to exclude public, literary letters are addressed, *pro forma*, to a specified receiver but written with an eye to the public. However, the borderline between these two sub-genres is in flux. What seems noteworthy about the relationship between the writer and the receiver of this letter is the fact, that besides Ban Gu's term *guren* (friend) we hardly find evidence for Ren An being very intimate with Sima Qian.²⁶ Quite apart from this objection, a serious difficulty stems from the fact that the two known versions of the letter show significant divergences. The Eastern-Han historian Ban Gu based himself primarily on Sima Qian's self-descriptions by compiling Sima Qian's *zixu* (chapter 130 of the *Shiji*) and his letter to Ren An (*Bao Ren An shu*) into his account of the vita of Sima Qian.²⁷ A slightly different version was regarded as a literary text and selected by Xiao Tong (501–531) in his *Selections of Refined Literature*, the *Wenxuan*, under the title *Bao Ren Shaoqing shu*.²⁸ Much scholarship was spent on the textual accuracy of these two versions. Supposedly in virtue of its antecedency, most translators consider Ban Gu's version more accurate and therefore follow the *Hanshu*-edition.²⁹ However, we do not know whether Sima Qian actually sent the letter to Ren An

²⁵ Tradition has it, that some highly ambiguous passages of the text point to this conclusion.

²⁶ See Ban Gu's short introduction to the letter in *Hanshu*, 62: 2725.

²⁷ See *Hanshu*, 62: 2725–2736.

²⁸ See Xiao Tong, *Wenxuan* (Taipei: Hanjing, 1983 [Hu Kejia-ed. in: *Sibu kanyao*]), 41: 7b–18b [576–581], and *Liu chen zhu Wenxuan*, 41: 9b–27a [763–772].

²⁹ For more useful English translations of the letter see Burton Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien. Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University, 1958), 57–67, 214–220 (notes), James Robert Hightower's version in: Cyril Birch (ed.), *Anthology of Chinese Literature. From Early Times to the Fourteenth Century* (New York: Grove, 1965), 95–102, and Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature. Beginnings to 1911* (New York: Norton, 1996), 136–142. See also the French translations by Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, I, ccxxvi–ccxxxviii [i.e. appendix I to his introduction], and Dzo, *Sseu-ma T'sien et l'Historiographie Chinoise*, 153–167, and the partial German translations by Ernst Schwarz, *Der Ruf der Phönixflöte. Klassische chinesische Prosa* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, [1973] 1984), 175–191, and Wolfgang Bauer, *Das Antlitz Chinas. Die autobiographische Selbstdarstellung in der chinesischen Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis Heute* (München: Hanser, 1990), 84–87. Note that only Chavannes and Watson (partially also Dzo) discuss textual variants.

and whether the latter received it in prison or not. And we know nothing about the fate of this document until Ban Gu's edition.³⁰ But in the light of some similar textual divergences between the postface of the *Shiji* and its copy in the *Hanshu*, Ban Gu's version appears likely to be some kind of (deliberately?) toned down criticism towards the Han-régime.³¹ Regardless of earlier unfortunately unsubstantiated statements, such as "Je ne crois pas à l'authenticité de la lettre de Sseu-ma Ts'ien à Jen Ngan",³² I tend to assume that this letter, though formally addressed to Ren An, was in fact written by Sima Qian in order to explain himself to posterity.³³ Thus, I think, it can be read to a large degree as a genuine self-portrayal.

Let us shift our focus and proceed to a microscopic inquiry of some rhetorical devices used by Sima Qian in painting a specific image of himself. His allusions to both historical and pseudo-historical events as well as persons, his arrangement of precedents, and his evaluations of personalities are analysed as instruments of his "literary rhetoric". By referring to "literary rhetoric" or "literarische Rhetorik", I mean the use of rhetoric as a system of hermeneutics. This approach was developed out of rhetoric as a system of rules for the composition of speeches and writings laid down by the Greek and Roman rhetoricians. Thereafter, the system of the rules of composition was inverted into a system of the analysis of texts. In other words, the theoretical apparatus of this investigation is primarily based on the methodical use of rhetoric as a means of the analysis of literary texts found, e.g., in Heinrich Lausberg's study of Greek and Roman rhetoric.³⁴ Recollecting Hans-Georg Gadamer's claim for the "unlimited

³⁰ I may remark, in passing, that we do not know how the textual divergences arose. Furthermore, *ignoramus et ignorabimus*, I surely do not know which edition might represent a "more authentic" version of the letter.

³¹ Compare Sima Qian's description of the duties and functions of the historian's enterprise in *Shiji*, 130: 3297, with Ban Gu's version of the relevant passage in *Hanshu*, 62: 2717. Whereas the *Shiji*-version describes the critical evaluation of the emperor's performance (*bian tianzi*) as one of the duties of the historian, this sensitive task is omitted in Ban Gu's copy. Note also, that the entire relevant passage is presented as a quotation from Dong Zhongshu (c. 179–104 B.C.) and is therefore understood as an application of a rhetoric strategy of self-protection.

³² Paul Pelliot, "Review of: Arthur W. Hummel, *The Autobiography of a Chinese historian*", in: *T'oung Pao*, 29 (1932), 132.

³³ See also Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, I, xlii (note 1), and J.J.L. Duyvendak, "Review of: John K. Shryock: *The Origin of the State Cult of Confucius*", in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 55 (1935), 332–333.

³⁴ See Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft* (2 vols., München: Hueber [1960] 21973), Heinrich Lausberg, *Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik*, (München: Hueber, [1963] 101990), Heinrich F. Plett, *Einführung in die rhetorische Textanalyse* (Hamburg: Buske, [1971] 81991). Based on Lausberg's approach, a noteworthy catalogue of rhetorical devices collected from classical Chinese texts was published by Ulrich Unger, *Rhetorik des klassischen Chinesisch* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994); see also my "Review of: Ulrich Unger, *Rhetorik des klassischen Chinesisch*", in: *Oriens Extremus*, 39.1 (1996), 119–123.

ubiquity of rhetoric”, the illustrative analysis of the following textual samples is based on the thesis that rhetorical devices of Chinese literary texts can be used as a system of exegesis. Sima Qian believed that personal experience is a potent factor for bringing significant emotions into literary creativity, as can easily be derived from his laudatory tribute to Qu Yuan (c. 340 – c. 278 B.C.) and other references.³⁵ The investigation of the scribe’s choice of words designed to show his inner feelings, his motivation for creativity, his frustration, as well as his mournful lamento, intends to provide a practicable key for the appreciation of his covert meaning, frequently verbalized through suggestions and overtones.

Sima Qian, the “groom of the honoured Court Scribe” – thus the self-humiliating formulaic salutation used in the opening of his letter, rejected the request “to introduce wise men [to the court] and to promote noble men”.³⁶ As stated above, it is widely believed, that Ren An’s reminding Sima Qian of this duty of the civil servant enunciated by imperial edict ought to be understood as a plea for assistance in his own unlucky affair. Whatever purpose Ren An had in mind in proclaiming this general maxim, Sima Qian, in rejecting his request, relies on amending the passage

There are no true men in the state: no one to understand me (*guo wu ren mo wo zhi xi*).³⁷

from Qu Yuan’s epilogue (*luan*) to his *Lisao*. Besides, the verse

Alone with my misery, I had no one to confide in (*du yu jie qi shei yu*).³⁸

from *Yuanyou* in the *Chuci* may also have served as a model in his choice of words, when he says:

With whom should I talk [about my grief and sorrow] (*yu shei yu*)?³⁹

The emphasis of this sentence, which occurs in the letter’s *Hanshu*-version as factual statement *wu shei yu* (Nobody I could talk [about] with), is further intensified by an answering question vested with the authority of a proverb (*yan*).⁴⁰ By replying

³⁵ See the masterly compiled biography of Qu Yuan (and Jia Yi) in *Shiji*, 84: 2481–2504. For Qu Yuan see also Laurence A. Schneider, *A Madman of Ch’u. The Chinese Myth of Loyalty and Dissent* (Berkeley: University of California, 1980).

³⁶ For these two citations see both *Wenxuan*, 41: 7b [576], and *Hanshu*, 62: 2725. My reading of the highly obscure opening formula explained differently by traditional exegetes follows the *Wenxuan*-edition and is primarily based on Li Shan’s (c. 630–689) commentary. Compare also the abridged version in *Hanshu*.

³⁷ Hong Xingzu, *Chuci buzhu* (Sibu congkan-ed.), 1: 49a [26], transl. by David Hawkes, *Ch’u Tz’u. The Songs of the South. An Ancient Chinese Anthology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), 34.

³⁸ Hong Xingzu, *Chuci buzhu*, 5: 1b [87], transl. by Hawkes, *Ch’u Tz’u*, 81.

³⁹ *Wenxuan*, 41: 8a [576].

⁴⁰ *Hanshu*, 62: 2725.

For whom should [one] do something (*shei wei wei zhi*)? Who would listen to (*shu ling ting zhi*)?⁴¹

Sima Qian takes use of the *argumentum ad verecundiam*. The pseudo-dialogue or “dialogical monologue” (Lausberg) of this Answer-Question-Play (*subiectio*) echoes the words of Qu Yuan, who plummeted from celebrated adviser to *persona non grata*. Qu Yuan’s “free fall” resulted in his lowering himself together with his grief and sorrow in the river, whereas Sima Qian refused suicide as a means of escaping the mutilating punishment. The degradation of Qu Yuan was, of course, caused by intrigues of his colleagues, which was considered one of the main sources of personal frustration by Sima Qian. What seems to be even more interesting in this context is the fact that Qu Yuan’s king was not enlightened enough to recognize the inner qualities of his loyal and honest adviser. In analogy to the pattern of Qu Yuan created and laid down in the *Shiji*, Sima Qian’s phrasing focuses on the emperor’s and the imperial entourage’s incomprehension of his point of view. No wonder that none of these close to Han Wudi received a positive evaluation in the *Shiji*. The fact that he could find no one at the court willing to give him an opportunity to express his loyal and honest thoughts is one of the central themes throughout his letter addressed to a man, who also may have been – or seems to have been – wrongly accused. The author’s conclusions are constantly presented through numerous historically, mythologically and literarily defined precedents (*exemplum*, *paradeigma*). The first paradigm presented in a series of examples is the story of a divinely gifted musician, who destroyed his zither (*qin*) after the death of the only recipient sensible enough to understand the inner feelings, emotions, ambitions and even ideas of the musician beyond his tunes. The legend of Bo Ya and Zhong Ziqi, which of course is transmitted in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the *Liezi* and the *Huainanzi* is one of the outstanding traditional anecdotes exemplifying the concept of *zhi-yin*, the understanding listening or the sympathetic reception.⁴² In later Chinese thought on arts and literature it developed into such an eminent concept that in the early 6th century Liu Xie (c. 465–522) devoted a whole chapter of his *Wenxin diaolong* to it.⁴³ Sima Qian’s claim for the understanding sympathetic recipient finds also a significant parallel in a description of the ambitions of Con-

⁴¹ *Wenxuan*, 41: 8a [576], and *Hanshu*, 62: 2725.

⁴² For the story of Bo Ya (var.: Boya) and Zhong Ziqi see Lü Buwei, *Lüshi chunqiu* (Sibu congkan-ed.), 14: 4b–5a [81], Richard Wilhelm, *Frühling und Herbst des Lü Bu We* (Düsseldorf: Diederichs, [1971] 1979), 180f, Zhang Zhan, *Liezi zhu* (Taipei: Yiwen, 1972), 77, Angus Charles Graham, *The Book of Lieh-tzu. A Classic of Tao* (New York: Columbia University, 1990), 109–110, Richard Wilhelm, *Liä Dsi. Das wahre Buch vom quellenden Urgrund* (Düsseldorf: Diederichs, [1967] 1980), 112–113, and Liu Wendian, *Huainan honglie jijie* (2 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua, 1989), II, 654.

⁴³ See Fan Wenlan, *Wenxin diaolong zhu* (rpt.: Taipei: Minglun, 1974), 713–718, and Vincent Yu-chung Shih [Shi Youzhong], *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (Hongkong: Chinese University, 1983), 502–511. See also the relevant remarks in Bernhard Führer, *Chinas erste Poetik. Das Shipin (Kriterion Poietikon) des Zhong Hong* (Dortmund: Projekt, 1995).

fucius by He Xiu (129–182) in his commentary to *Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan*.⁴⁴ By the same phrasing, Sima Qian also expresses his yearning to be subject to a “wise king” or “wise emperor”, i.e. the sovereign who has such qualities as *ming*, *zhe* or *zhi* at his disposal. As a consequence of these qualifications, the idealized ruler is supposed to be able to see and to appreciate the hidden positive qualities of his subjects. Furthermore, he would naturally treat his subjects in the way prescribed in the codified ritual relationship between the superior (*shang*) and his inferiors (*xia*). In other words, Sima Qian calls for the wise ruler (*zhi jun* and *hou sheng*) styled on idealized legendary models such as Yao and Shun.⁴⁵ Consistently, Sima Qian continued his series of references to meaningful anecdotes by naming Bian He, who, according to the famous story given in the *Hanfeizi*, was blamed for cheating the king and cut off his two legs before he finally met a wise king, who knew to appreciate the offered stone-covered jade symbolizing the hidden inner qualities of this exemplary servant.⁴⁶ By referring to this anecdote, Sima Qian does not lament the physical nor the social mutilation caused by castration. Especially in connection with the concepts concerning the appropriate relationship between ruler and servant as described in chapter *Benwei* of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, his critical statement is directed towards Han Wudi, whose moral qualification as an emperor is questioned in a remarkably straight way.⁴⁷

Throughout this letter, we find various historical or semi-historical examples, the description of which differs in part from the account in the *Shiji*. In his short references, Sima Qian names the central characters, and sometimes outlines relevant aspects of their life in few words. But, *prima facie*, the occasionally vivid remarks of these *dramatis personae* which mostly follow humiliation and injustice – further important sources of deep frustration for Sima Qian – seem to be frequently omitted in the letter. But these remarks, which form the thrust of the whole anecdote and therefore represent the quintessence of the reference, must be understood as an integral part of the associations evoked by the author. Hence, it is seminal to localize the source texts of these references. Their study shows explicitly that Sima Qian frequently paraphrased these remarks in his conclusions of textual sequences, sometimes even cited them verbatim. Deduced from the historical event, the at times highly vigorous sayings of the cheated and humiliated get a new *emphasis* after integration into Sima Qian’s text.

⁴⁴ See *Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan* (*Shisan jing zhushu*-ed.), 28: 15a [339].

⁴⁵ On the concept of the ideal ruler in the *Shiji* as developed in the *Wudi benji* see Zhou Xianmin, “Jin shan jin mei de lixiang diwang”, in: *Wenxue yichan*, 1995.3, 13–21.

⁴⁶ For the story of Bian He see Chen Qiyong, *Hanfeizi jijie* (2 vol., Taipei: Shijie, 1984), I, 238, W.K. Liao [Liao Wenkui], *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu. A Classic of Chinese Political Science* (2 vols.; London: Probsthain, 1959), I, 113.

⁴⁷ On the implications of correct and incorrect relationship between ruler and subject see chapter *Benwei* of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, loc. cit.

As an example, I would like to select the remark of an imperial adviser who was turned down because of the emperor favouring a eunuch. Following Confucius, who considered this kind of preference to be symptomatic (*signa*) for the ruler's inability and insincerity as well as for the decline of a state, and seeing the eunuch Zhao Tan, one of his intimate personal enemies, sitting together with the emperor in the carriage of state, Yuan Ang prostrated himself in front of the emperor's carriage and said:

I heard that only the most distinguished men under the heaven (*tianxia haoying*) have the privilege to sit in the carriage with his majesty. Although [the house of the] Han today lacks [worthy] men (*jin Han sui fa ren*), your slave cannot imagine why your majesty [sits] in the same carriage with a remnant of the knife and saw (*daoju zhi yu*)!⁴⁸

This is the text given in the biography of Yuan Ang in *Shiji*. Referring to this anecdote which itself, of course, refers to Confucius' leaving the state of Wei after the well-known similar incident in the year 495 B.C., Sima Qian writes in his letter to Ren An:

Although nowadays the court lacks [worthy] men (*ru jin chaoting sui fa ren*), what should be the use of asking a remnant of the knife and saw (*daoju zhi yu*) to introduce the most distinguished men under the heaven (*tianxia haojun*) [to the imperial court]?⁴⁹

Whereas in Yuan Ang's statement, the word "today" (*jin*) refers to the time of the reign of Liu Heng (202–157 B.C.), Han Wendi (r. 180–157 B.C.), in Sima Qian's answer to Ren An the same word refers to their own times, extends the given diagnosis of the Han to the present, and thereby makes his indictment of Han Wudi and his entourage topical.

One of the high points of the letter consists of Sima Qian's description of the emperors reaction following his argumentation and pleading in behalf of Li Ling, whose defeat by the Xiongnu was the result of strategic mistakes by a brother of the emperor's favourite concubine and the emperor himself. As far as we know from his own report, Sima Qian extolled Li Ling's merits by stressing his outstanding moral qualification and – despite his defeat – elevated him into the ranks of the most famous generals of antiquity. After declaring his most honest, sincere, and loyal intentions in a very unambiguous way, his description of the emperor's reaction, following the *Wenxuan*-edition, culminates in the sentence:

⁴⁸ For this story see *Shiji*, 101: 2739, translation adapted from Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian* (3 vols., Hong Kong, New York: Columbia University, [1961] 1993), I, 456. See also *Hanshu*, 49: 2270, where Yuan Ang's (*zi*: Si) clan-name is written slightly different. Concerning the intimate relationship between the eunuch Zhao Tan and the emperor see also Ulrike Jugel, *Politische Funktion und soziale Stellung der Eunuchen zur Späteren Han-Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), 123.

⁴⁹ *Wenxuan*, 41: 9b [577]; see also the slightly different wording in *Hanshu*, 62: 2727.

Before I could make myself clear (*wei neng jin ming*), the enlightened emperor did not understand [me] (*ming zhu bu xiao*).⁵⁰

Following the *Shuowen jiezi*, the words *ming* (bright, dawn, [to make] clear, perspicuous etc.) and *xiao* (dawn, light, bright, to understand, to enlighten) are synonyms.⁵¹ The phrasing *ming zhu bu xiao* is therefore understood as a *contradictio in adiecto*. From a syntactical point of view, we can make out an *anadiplosis* or *reduplicatio* of the word *ming* which occurs as the last word of the first sentence and the first word of the second syntactical unit and adds an additional stress on the aspect of contradiction. It is plausible, I think, that the nexus of the epitheton *ming zhu* with the antithetical *bu xiao* constitutes an oxymoron (*synoikeiosis*). If we consider furthermore the relevant glosses in Yang Xiong's *Fangyan*, which explain *xiao* as a synonym of *zhe* (wise) and *zhi* (wise, to know), the sentence *ming zhu bu xiao* can be read as "the wise emperor is not wise".⁵² Obviously, this brings a distinct political dimension of Sima Qian's critical judgement into focus. I would also like to point out, however, that in the text-corpus of the *Shiji* as well as in the letter to Ren An the emperor Han Wudi is normally addressed as *jin shang* or *zhu shang*. In addition, based on the various concordances, we can perceive a preference for the term *ming zhu* in the works associated with so-called legalist (*fajia*) thinkers.⁵³ The administration of the Qin as well as its main representatives, its law and the impartial implementation of the system of rewards and punishments, are characterized by Sima Qian not only in a negative, (occasionally) sarcastic way, but – *poetis mentiri licet* (Plinius) – also in a historically not perfectly reliable manner. The epitheton *ming zhu* may therefore also be understood as a coded reference to parallels between Qin Shihuang (259–210) and Han Wudi suggested by Sima Qian.⁵⁴ In his self-descriptive narrative, the very fountainhead of his self-created legend, Sima Qian presented himself as a prototype of the wrongly convicted and therefore frustrated loyal subject suffering a Draconian punishment under a "non-enlightened" (*bu ming / bu xiao*) despotic ruler.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the sentence discussed above reads

⁵⁰ *Wenxuan*, 41: 12a [576].

⁵¹ See Xu Shen (comm. by Duan Yucan), *Shuowen jiezi zhu* (Shanghai: Guji, 1981), 7A: 3a [303].

⁵² See Yang Xiong (comm. by Qian Yi), *Fangyan jianshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1991), 2.

⁵³ See Esson M. Gale, *Discourses on Salt and Iron. A Debate on State Control of Commerce and Industry in Ancient China* (rpt.: Taipei: Ch'eng-wen, 1967), 36.

⁵⁴ Concerning the description of Qin Shihuang in *Shiji* see Stephen W. Durrant, "Ssu-ma Ch'ien's portrayal of the first Ch'in emperor", in: Frederick P. Brandauer, Chun-Chieh Huang (eds.), *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1994), 28–50.

⁵⁵ See Levi, "Sima Qian, Han Wudi et l'éternité", 48.

Before I could make myself clear (*wei neng jin ming*), the enlightened emperor did not understand [me] completely (*ming zhu bu shen xiao*).⁵⁶

in Ban Gu's version. Obviously, the additional word *shen* (deep; completely) fitted into this sentence draws a rather different light on Sima Qian's statement. It moderates his testimony in essence by acknowledging that the emperor at least partially understood his subject's remarks.

Bao Ren An shu 報任安書
Bao Ren Shaoqing shu 報任少卿書
Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書
Benwei 本味
Bian He 卞和
bian tianzi 貶天子
Bo Ya 伯牙
bu ming 不明
bu xiao 不曉
Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷, *Hanfeizi jijie* 韓非子
集解
Chen Zhi 陳直, "Taishigong shu ming kao"
太史公書名考
Chuci 楚辭
Chu Shaosun 褚少孫
Chunqiu 春秋
Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan 春秋公羊傳
daoju zhi yu 刀鋸之餘
Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒
du yu jie qi shei yu 獨鬱結其誰語
Fangyan 方言
guren 故人
Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, Huang Rucheng 黃汝成,
Rizhilu jishi 日知錄集釋
guo wu ren mo wo zhi xi 國無人莫我知兮
fajia 法家
Fan Wenlan 范文瀾, *Wenxin diaolong zhu*
文心雕龍註
Han Wudi 漢武帝
Han Wendi 漢文帝
Hanfeizi 韓非子
Hanshu 漢書
Huanghe tang 黃鶴堂
He Xiu 何休
Hu Kejia 胡克家
hou sheng 後聖
Huainanzi 淮南子

Huang Peirong 黃沛榮, *Shiji lunwen xuanji*
史記論文選集
Jia Yi 賈誼
jin 今
jin Han sui fa ren 今漢雖乏人
jin shang 今上
juan 卷
Li 戾
Li Ling 李陵
Li Shan 李善
Liji 禮記
Lisao 離騷
Liao Wenkui 廖文奎
Liezi 列子
Lin Shu 林紓
Liu Che 劉徹
Liu chen zhu Wenxuan 六臣註文選
Liu Heng 劉恆
Liu Wendian 劉文典, *Huainan honglie jijie*
淮南鴻烈集解
Liu Xie 劉勰, *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍
luan 亂
Lü Buwei 呂不韋, *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋
Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋
ming zhu 明主
qin 琴
Ren An 任安
Ren Shaoqing 任少卿
ru jin chaoting sui fa ren 如今朝廷雖乏人
Ruan Zhisheng 阮芝生, "Sima Qian de xin"
司馬遷的心
shang 上
shen 深
shei wei wei zhi zhi 誰爲爲之
shi 史
shi 士
Shi Youzhong 施友忠
Shiji 史記

⁵⁶ See *Hanshu*, 62: 2730.

shu ling ting zhi 孰令聽之

Shuowen jiezi 說文解字

Shun 舜

Sima Qian 司馬遷

Sima Tan 司馬談

Sima Zhen 司馬貞, *suoyin* 索隱

taishigong 太史公

Taishigong shu 太史公書

Taishigong ji 太史公記

taishigong yue 太史公曰

taishiling 太史令

tianxia 天下

tianxia haojun 天下豪俊

tianxia haoying 天下豪英

Wang Guowei 王國維, *Sima Qian - qi ren ji*

qi shu 司馬遷 - 其人及其書

Wang Shumin 王叔岷, "Shiji mingcheng tan-

yuan" 史記名稱探源

wei neng jin ming, ming zhu bu shen xiao

未能盡明, 明主不深曉

wei neng jin ming, ming zhu bu xiao

未能盡明, 明主不曉

Wenxin diaolong 文心雕龍

Wenxuan 文選

Wu Baiyi 吳百益

wu shang 誦上

wu shei yu 無誰語

Wudi benji 五帝本紀

Xijing zaji 西京雜記

xia 下

xiao 孝

xiao 曉

Xiao Tong 蕭統, *Wenxuan* 文選

Xiongnu 匈奴

Xu Shen 許慎, Duan Yucai 段玉裁,

Shuowen jiezi zhu 說文解字注

yan 諺

Yang Xiong 揚雄, Qian Yi 錢繹, *Fangyan*

jianshu 方言箋疏

Yao 堯

Yuan Ang 袁盎 (Si 絲)

Yuanyou 遠遊

Yueji 樂記

Zhang Zhan 張湛, *Liezi zhu* 列子注

Zhao Tan 趙談

zhe 哲

zhi 知 / 智

zhiyin 知音

zhi jun 知君

Zhong Ziqi 鍾子期

Zhou Xianmin 周先民, "Jin shan jin mei de

lixiang diwang" 盡善盡美的理想帝王

zhu shang 主上

Zhuanxu 顓頊

zixu 自序

Zuo Jingquan 左景權

THE EARLY POLICY OF EMPEROR TANG DEZONG (779–805) TOWARDS INNER ASIA*

Martin SLOBODNÍK

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

This article deals with the political strategies of the Tang Emperor Dezong towards the Tibetan Empire and the Uighur Empire and some reasons which lay behind his preferable treatment of the Tibetans before the year 787. It shows the dilemma of Chinese statesmen after the An Lushan rebellion when they were obliged to make alliances with foreign powers from Inner Asia in order to stabilize the situation within China.

The trilateral relationship between Tang [1] Dynasty China (618–907), the Tibetan Empire (629–842, *Tubo* [2]) and the Uighur Empire (744–840, *Huihe* [3]) was born during the course of the An Lushan [4] rebellion (755–762) when

* I still remember that it was during the first or second lesson in the winter school-term of 1988 when Mr. Gálík recommended to our Chinese teacher Li Keqian to find for us, fresh students of Sinology, the appropriate Chinese names. I was given the name Ma Wenbo, i.e. that of “broad culture”. I don’t know why he chose this name, but later when I came to China, all my Chinese friends liked it very much. The character “wen” has much to do with literature and it was the idea of Mr. Gálík that I should devote myself to his most proper subject: modern or contemporary Chinese literature. We, the students of Sinology, had at an early stage the rare opportunity to participate in the symposium *Interliterary and Intraliterary Aspects of the May Fourth Movement of 1919 in China* (Smolenice, March 13–17, 1989) organized by Mr. Gálík. Although our knowledge in this field was very limited, it was a very inspiring experience to see many well-known Sinologists, including our teacher, and hear what academic Sinology looks like. However later, while in China, I focused my interest on the topic of Sino-Tibetan relations. Maybe Mr. Gálík was not very happy about it at first, but when he saw (at that time he made one of his research trips to China) that I was seriously studying the relevant sources, he later always supported me: he made (and still makes) the books from his personal library available to me, he enabled me to contact his colleagues abroad who are working in this field. This study, which I present to the interested readers now, also contains traces of Mr. Gálík’s good will. At my request, he sent me two articles, which I could not obtain in the course of writing it, during his stay in Taipei at the end of 1995.

According to my experience the most important thing in Mr. Gálík’s relation to students is not his own preference, but the whole framework of their knowledge, ethical attitude and abili-

the weakened Imperial Court turned for help to its Inner Asian neighbours.¹ The Uighurs sided militarily with the Imperial Army and helped to suppress the rebellion. From that time “nomadic people [especially Uighurs] became intricately involved in internal Chinese politics. No longer were dynasties [in this case Tang] interacting with nomad rulers simply to achieve the political objective of stabilizing the frontier; now, they cultivated nomadic support to aid them in securing and maintaining power within China.”² As a result of this development the economic aspect of Sino-Uighur relations developed – the trade in Chinese silk for Uighur horses which was a form of payment for Uighur services.³ The

ties. Frequent use of maxims in Latin or in classical Chinese is typical of Mr. Gálik (and between these two civilizations he almost always led the intellectual thread of his university lectures). A few times we saw on the blackboard the well-known saying, attributed to Laozi, written by our teacher's hand: Zhi, bu zhi, shang. Bu zhi, zhi, bing. In D.C. Lau's translation it sounds as follows: To know yet to think that one does not know is best. Not to know yet to think that one knows will lead to difficulty. And he proceeded to his explanation: “There were two great men of knowledge among the Ancients: Laozi and Socrates. Socrates said just before his death: ‘One thing only I know, and that is that I know nothing.’ This maxim is understandable within the mythical world Socrates was still living in. He said this when he allegedly heard that the oracle of Delphi declared that he was the wisest man among the Greeks. Laozi's saying is much more human. It places knowledge against stupidity of half-knowledge and their different consequences. The first part is a manifestation of, let us say, the scholar's humble attitude, the second one the expression of unfounded self-pride which shall lead, sooner or later, to the espousal and to condemnation by others having greater knowledge. Wisdom and modesty go together. The second one is the greatest adornment of the scholar or teacher. The worst are those with half-knowledge. They spend their whole life cheating others and themselves.”

Although the *Jubilar* (who will be 65 years old on 21 February 1998) never wrote about Sino-Tibetan relations, he introduced me to the field of Chinese history and historiography, he tried to point out to me and my school-fellows its peculiar specificities. The Chinese and their neighbours, their mutual stories and interactions during history also belong to intercultural communication which represents an important part of Mr. Gálik's scholarly work. Whether the knowledge in this essay is “broad” or “narrow”, “deep” or “shallow”, I let others, including my mentor, arbitrate. I hope that he will receive it as a sign of my thanks and appreciation of his life's work (I am also part of it, as his *famulus*).

¹ On the political, military, economic and foreign affairs implications of the An Lushan rebellion see E. G. PULLEYBLANK, *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan* (London: Oxford University Press: 1955).

² S. JAGCHID, V.J. SYMONS, *Peace, War, and Trade Along the Great Wall, Nomadic-Chinese Interaction through Two Millennia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 68.

³ On the problem of the Sino-Uighur silk and horse trade see S. JAGCHID, “The ‘Uighur Horses’ of the T'ang Dynasty,” in *Gedanke und Wirkung, Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Nikolaus Poppe*, ed. W. HEISSIG, K. SAGASTER (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), 175–88 and CH. I. BECKWITH, “The Impact of the Horse and Silk Trade on the Economies of T'ang China and the Uighur Empire: On the Importance of International Commerce in the Early Middle Ages,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 39 (1991): 183–98. According to T. J. BARFIELD, *The Perilous Frontier, Nomadic Empires and China*, Studies in Social Discontinuity (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 9, the Uighurs “were so dependent on this revenue that they even sent troops to put down internal rebellions in China to maintain a

Tibetan Empire used this period to extend its territory at the expense of China. Their Eastern conquests reached the peak in the 10th month of 763, when, for a few weeks, they captured and plundered the Chinese capital, Chang'an [5].⁴ After the An Lushan rebellion, the economically and militarily weakened Chinese Dynasty⁵ had to cultivate the support of Inner Asian empires in order to receive aid to preserve its power in China. Sino-Uighur-Tibetan relations were further complicated during the rebellion of Pugu Huai'en [19] (?–765),⁶ the Military Commissioner (*jiedu shi* [21]) of Shuofang⁷ [22] in 764–765.⁸ The Tibetans as well as the Uighurs⁹ first joined the rebels but after the death of Pugu Huai'en, the Chinese, in particular the general Guo Ziyi¹⁰ [28] (697–781), managed to

compliant dynasty in power.” However S. JAGCHID, op. cit., 176 states that “this trade agreement was more economically and militarily profitable to the T'ang side, and was more effective for the maintenance of peace”.

⁴ On the Tibetan conquest of China see for example LIU XU [6], ZHANG ZHAOYUAN [7], *Jiu Tang shu* [8], hereafter *JTS* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju [9], 1991), 5238–39; SONG QI [10], OU YANGXIU [11], *Xin Tang shu* [12], hereafter *XTS* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju [9], 1991), 6087–88; SU JINREN [13], *Tongjian Tubo shiliao* [14], hereafter *TJ* (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe [15], 1982), 108–14; and SU JINREN [13], XIAO LIANZI [16], *Cefu yuangui Tubo shiliao jiaozheng* [17], hereafter *CFYG* (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe [18], 1981) 170–76.

⁵ As a result of the An Lushan rebellion and the invasion of the Tibetan army that followed it, “the taxes had not been collected in a satisfying quantity for a long time; at least the taxes were not enough to keep an army of sufficient number, beside of maintaining the officers.” H. ECSEDY, “Uigurs and Tibetans in Pei-t'ing (790–791 A.D.),” *Acta Orientalia* 17 (1964), 89.

⁶ Pugu “is a well known Turkic tribal name which appears as one of the T'ieh-le or T'e-le tribal confederation.” M. R. DROMPP, *The Writings of Li Te-yu as Sources for the History of T'ang Inner Asian Relations*, (Indiana University: Unpublished doctoral thesis, 1986), 80 (n. 20). The Tiele [20] (Tölös) tribal confederation was part of the Uighur empire. See L. W. MOSES, “T'ang Tribute Relations with the Inner Asian Barbarians,” in *Essays on T'ang Society, The Interplay of Social, Political and Economic Forces*, ed. J. C. PERRY (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 75 and C. MACKERRAS, *The Uighur Empire (744–840), According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra: Centre of Oriental Studies, 1968), 127 (n. 11).

⁷ In the northern part of today's Autonomous Region Ningxia. Place names are identified according to TAN QIXIANG [23] et al., *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* [24], vol. V – *Sui Tang Wudai Shiguo shiqi* [25] (Shanghai: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe [26], 1989).

⁸ On Pugu Huai'en's rebellion see for example *TJ*, 120 ff. and *XTS*, 6088–89.

⁹ Because two of the Pugu Huai'en's daughters were married to the then acting Uighur leader Mouyu [27] (the first daughter was already married to him before he became the ruler of Uighurs), his armies supported his father-in-law in the fight against the Tang Imperial Court. See C. MACKERRAS, “The Uighurs,” in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. SINOR (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 325; T. J. BARFIELD, op. cit., 153 and C. MACKERRAS, “Sino-Uigur Diplomatic and Trade Contacts (744 to 840),” *Central Asiatic Journal* 7.3 (1969): 217.

¹⁰ On the life of Guo Ziyi see J. EDKINS, “Kwo Tsi Yi, An Eminent Military Commander of the Tang Dynasty,” *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 34 (1901–2): 1–19.

secure an alliance¹¹ with the Uighurs and to defeat the rebels and Tibetans. He designed the so-called “ally with Uighurs, restrain Tibetans” policy (*lian Hui zhi Tu* [29]).¹² Until the death of the Emperor Daizong [33] (r. 762–779), the Uighurs proved more or less loyal allies of the Tang and the Tibetans raided the northwestern frontier region of Tang Dynasty China, but because of the Sino-Uighur alliance could not conquer large parts of the Tang territory.¹³ When Daizong’s successor, Dezong [34] (r. 779–805), became the Son of Heaven in the year 779, the trilateral relationship reached a new level.

During the first half of the reign of the Emperor Dezong Sino-Tibetan relations were quite turbulent. After he ascended the throne, Dezong had his clear priorities in the Inner Asian policy of the Chinese Empire. He rejected the *lian Hui zhi Tu* political strategy and proposed the “ally with Tibetans, restrain Uighurs” (*lian Tu zhi Hui* [35])¹⁴ policy. Dezong’s standpoint was caused by his personal experience. In the 11th month of the year 762, Dezong, then heir apparent Prince of Yong [36], led a mission which met the Uighur khaghan (*kehan* [37]) Mouyu [27] (r. 759–779) who camped with his army north of Shanzhou¹⁵ [38]. At this crucial point of the Tang Dynasty, Mouyu “even started for China with his army with the intention of co-operating with the rebels”.¹⁶ The Prince of Yong’s task was to persuade the Uighur force to ally with the struggling Tang Dynasty against the rebel leader Shi Chaoyi [39] (?–762) in the course of suppressing the An Lushan rebellion. But “unlike his father [emperor Daizong] who has been quite skillful in dealing with the nomads, Li Kua [i.e. Dezong] proved obstinate in matters of form and provoked trouble”¹⁷ as he refused to salute the khaghan and then became embroiled in a controversy over performing a ceremonial dance for the Uighur leader. “In accordance with the divine authority they believed was theirs, the Uighurs khagans expected both their subjects and foreigners to show respect by an act of ritual.”¹⁸ This ceremonial dance was considered by Uighurs as a sign of reverence to the khagan. Four of Dezong’s advisers were beaten as a result of his behaviour, but finally the Uighur help was secured.¹⁹

This accident, however, remained on Dezong’s mind for a very long period and that is why later, as the Emperor of China, he favoured the policy of ap-

¹¹ See *TJ*, 132–34 and C. MACKERRAS (1968), op. cit., 43–49.

¹² See REN YUCAI [30], *Tubo yu Tang chao guanxi zhi yanjiu* [31] (Taipei: Zili chubanshe [32], 1971), 47.

¹³ See REN YUCAI, op. cit., 51.

¹⁴ See REN YUCAI, op. cit., 60.

¹⁵ About 100 km northeast of today’s Xi’an.

¹⁶ R. GROUSSET, *The Empire of the Steppes, A History of Central Asia* (New Brunswick-New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 121.

¹⁷ T. J. BARFIELD, op. cit., 153.

¹⁸ C. MACKERRAS (1990), op. cit., 326.

¹⁹ On Prince of Yong’s mission to Mouyu see C. MACKERRAS (1968), op. cit., 33–36.

peasement with Tibet with the future possibility of making an alliance and attacking the Uighurs. Emperor Dezong immediately proclaimed that his aim was to use the “imperial virtue (*de* [40]) to pacify the four directions”,²⁰ and he focused his interest mainly on the Tibetan Empire. To show his good will and grace he ordered all the Tibetan captives to be gathered (altogether about 500 persons) and sent back to their country. In the 8th month of 779 he appointed Wei Lun [41] as Chamberlain for Ceremonials (*tai chang shao qing* [42]) and dispatched him on a mission to Tibet.²¹ Wei Lun’s task was to use this opportunity and discuss with the Tibetan king Khri-sroñ lde-btsan²² (r. 754–797) the possibility of an agreement between the two sides. In spite of the suspicion on the part of the Tibetans who at first did not believe that the emperor was really ready to return their countrymen, Wei Lun reached Tibet and negotiated with Tibetan king about the establishment of peaceful relations. Khri-sroñ lde-btsan agreed with this proposal and sent with Wei Lun a Tibetan envoy. These diplomatic activities of the Emperor Dezong met with disapproval on the part of the generals. In particular, generals stationed in the area of Shu²³ [44] protested against the way Emperor handled Tibetan captives and suggested that the “Tibetans are fierce and the captives cannot be returned” but should be “treated as slaves, according to the traditional practice”.²⁴ But the Emperor, with the long-term strategy of appeasement in mind, refused to accept their criticism and pushed through his policy. The Tibetan military operations on the Chinese border did not cease immediately, but the tendency on the Tibetan side was to ease the pressure and prepare the circumstances for signing a peace treaty. When in the 3rd month of 780 general Liu Wenxi [45] seized the power in Jingzhou²⁵ [46] and rebelled, he sent his son to Tibet with a demand for military assistance. The Tibetans decided not to harm the delicate relationship with the new Emperor Dezong and did not intervene in this internal affair of the Tang dynasty. As a result Liu Wenxi was killed after a few weeks.²⁶ The diplomatic activities between the Chinese and Tibetan court continued and envoys from both countries were busy travelling between Chang’an and Lhasa. During this period of negotiations, an incident occurred at the end of 781, when the Chinese official Palace Vice Director (*dian zhong shao jian* [47]) Cui Hanheng [48] arrived as an envoy in Tibet.²⁷ The Chinese Imperial Court, as far as the relationship with “barbari-

²⁰ See *JTS*, 5245 and also *XTS*, 6092.

²¹ See for example *TJ*, 157.

²² His name is recorded in Chinese sources as Qilizan [43].

²³ The territory west of today’s Chengdu, capital of Sichuan province.

²⁴ On the protests of generals see *TJ*, 162. The reason for their disapproval with the new policy of Dezong was a massive invasion in that area of Tibetans in conjunction with their Nanzhao allies made just a few months prior to that. See *JTS*, 5245 and *XTS*, 6272.

²⁵ Ca. 110 km northwest of today’s Xi’an.

²⁶ See *TJ*, 161.

²⁷ See *XTS*, 781.

ans” was concerned, always strengthened the ceremonial factor of the bilateral relationship, not only as represented by the ritual of tribute presentation but also in connection with the wording of correspondence between the Chinese Emperor and his non-Chinese – as viewed by him – “subjects”. The use of words, obviously, suggested the hierarchical or equal character of the particular relationship. Even earlier, in the years 714²⁸ and 727²⁹ the Tibetans repeatedly asked for “rites as between the enemy countries” (*di guo li* [49], i.e. an equal footing) and their words were according to Chinese historians “perverse and rude”³⁰ (*bei ao* [50]).³¹ So there was a tradition of Tibetan rulers asking for an equal footing with Chinese emperors which was further strengthened by two dynastic marriages of the Chinese princesses Wencheng³² [51] and Jincheng³³ [52] to Tibetan kings in 641 and 710 respectively. So in 781, the Tibetan king after reading the correspondence from Dezong protested to Cui Hanheng against the use of words which suggested the inferior status of Tibet in relation to Tang China – to quote Khri-sroñ lde-btsan’s words “how come you treat us with rituals for subjects (*chen li* [53]).”³⁴ The Chinese side soon realized that the time was not suitable for quarrelling over matters which were superficial in the discourse over the strategic interests of Tang China and according to the request of Tibetan emperor changed “to offer as a tribute” (*gong xian* [54]) into “to present” (*jin* [55]), “to bestow” (*ci* [56]) into “to send” (*ji* [57]).³⁵ The Chinese side even accepted the Tibetan request to move the proposed border from the prefecture Lingzhou³⁶ [58] to the Helan³⁷ [59] mountains, which were more defensible for Tibetans. This problem did not stop the diplomatic activities which resulted in the signing of a peace alliance³⁸ between China and Tibet on the 15th day of the 1st month

²⁸ See *JTS*, 5229 and *TJ*, 59.

²⁹ See *TJ*, 67.

³⁰ See *XTS*, 6062.

³¹ See LIEN-SHENG YANG: “Historical Notes on the Chinese World Order,” in *The Chinese World Order. Traditional China’s Foreign Relations*, ed. J. K. FAIRBANK (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 12. “Politically and militarily, in several periods, China recognized neighboring peoples as equal adversaries (*ti-kuo*). Note, for example, the relations between Han and Hsiung-nu; T’ang and T’u-chüeh or later T’u-fan; Sung and Liao, Chin and Yuan.”

³² See for example *JTS*, 5221–22.

³³ See for example *JTS*, 5227.

³⁴ *XTS*, 6093; see also *CFYG*, 213.

³⁵ See *JTS*, 5246.

³⁶ In the northern part of today’s Autonomous Region Ningxia.

³⁷ On the left bank of Huanghe river, the border between today’s Autonomous Region Ningxia and Autonomous Region Inner Mongolia.

³⁸ Some officials at the Chinese court viewed this act with suspicion and did not trust the Tibetans. See for example D. TWITCHETT, “Lu Chih (754–805): Imperial Adviser and Court Official,” in *Confucian Personalities*, ed. A. F. WRIGHT, D. TWITCHETT (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 95.

of 783 in Qingshui³⁹ [60]. The treaty ceremony was held three times – first on the Sino-Tibetan border and then in the capitals of both treaty partners. The treaty fixed a new boundary between the two empires.⁴⁰ The acute danger was removed from the Chinese northwestern region and this event enabled the Tibetans to secure the territories conquered mainly in the second half of the 8th century by a bilateral treaty. The treaty “confirmed Tibetan dominion over East Turkestan, Kansu, and a large part of Szechwan.”⁴¹ Emperor Dezong, who was the *spiritus agens* behind this document, had fulfilled the first aim of his Inner Asian policy – that is, the appeasement of Tibet.

The peace, however, did not last for a long time. The harmonious relations between the Chinese and Tibetan courts were stirred by political development which were beyond the control of both rulers. In the 10th month of 783 the Military Commissioner (*jiedu shi* [21]) of Jingyuan⁴² [61] Zhu Ci [62] (742–784) who was granted the rank Defender-in-chief (*taiwei* [63]) rebelled after having served to Emperor Dezong loyally. He seized control of Chang’an and proclaimed himself the new Emperor. At this crucial point of Dezong’s reign, the traditional Tang allies – the Uighurs – sided militarily with the rebels in an effort to overthrow the weakened dynasty. The Imperial Court (then at Fengtian⁴³ [64]) immediately dispatched the envoy Cui Hanheng, who played a decisive role in the negotiation of the Qingshui treaty from 783, with a request for military assistance against the rebels.⁴⁴ Tibetans were ready to provide military help to the Chinese Court, with which they had made a treaty just a few months before. The Chinese and the Tibetans had signed a separate bilateral agreement for Tibetan military assistance against the Zhu Ci rebellion. The Chinese side agreed that in the event of the recapture of Chang’an, they would cede to Tibet the territories of Lingzhou⁴⁵ [57], Jingzhou⁴⁶ [46], Anxi⁴⁷ [65] and Beiting⁴⁸ [66] (Beshbalik). Under these conditions the Tibetans agreed to provide soldiers and generals. In the second month of 784, the Tibetan statesmen shang⁴⁹ [67]

³⁹ In the eastern part of today’s Gansu province, ca. 170 km from Chang’an.

⁴⁰ See *JTS*, 5247–48. For the English text of the treaty see LI FANG-KUEI, “The Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821–822,” *T’oung Pao* 44 (1956), 7–8.

⁴¹ H. HOFFMANN, “Early and Medieval Tibet,” in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. SINOR (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 383–84.

⁴² In the eastern part of today’s Gansu province, ca. 170 km northwest of Xi’an.

⁴³ 35 km northwest from today’s Xi’an.

⁴⁴ See *TJ*, 172.

⁴⁵ See note 36 above.

⁴⁶ See note 25 above.

⁴⁷ In the area of today’s Kuche in Autonomous Region Xinjiang.

⁴⁸ Northeast of today’s Urumqi, capital of Autonomous Region Xinjiang.

⁴⁹ Chinese transcription of Tibetan surname (Tib. *zhañ*), which shows that he was related to the family of the rulers of Tibetan Empire through the matrilineal line. See WANG YAO, *Tubo jin shi lu*. (Beijing. Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), 50–51 (n. 14).

Jiezan⁵⁰ [68] met with Cui Hanheng, but refused to lead the army to China because the letter which requested Tibetan military assistance did not include the signature of the general Li Huaiguang [69].⁵¹ Li Huaiguang was against the idea of using the Tibetan army in this internal struggle. He had three arguments supporting his standpoint: in the event that the Tibetan army helped to recapture the capital, they would plunder the city; according to the imperial order, the soldiers who helped to recapture Chang'an would each be granted 100 strings of cash, but it would be difficult to get such huge amount of money to reward the Tibetans; they could not be trusted because they would not fight in the first lines but would wait aside and watch the result and then either claim our merit or breach the treaty and attack us.⁵² Li Huaiguang declined to sign the letter and later in the year 784 he also rebelled against Emperor. Lu Zhi⁵³ [70] (754–805), then the “Inner Chief Minister” (*nei xiang* [71]), who discussed this matter with Li Huaiguang did not support the idea of Tibetan engagement in this internal affair either.⁵⁴ The Tibetans were persuaded by Cui Hanheng only in the 4th month of 784 when they finally dispatched 20 thousand soldiers to China under the command of shang Jiezan. They joined the Imperial army and together attacked the rebels. The Tibetans crushed the rebel troops at the river Wuting⁵⁵ [72] which was near Wugong⁵⁶ [73].⁵⁷ The battle proved decisive because it later enabled the Imperial army to recapture the capital Chang'an from the hands of the rebels. However, the Tibetans did not participate in the liberation of Chang'an. Although the Chinese sources admit their crucial role in the suppression of the rebellion, they were accused, that the rebels had bribed them and so they retreated. Emperor Dezong, who was the architect of the Sino-Tibetan alliance was worried about this development. He discussed this matter with Lu Zhi. Lu Zhi described the Tibetans as having been “greedy and tricky” and persuaded the Emperor, that he was lucky that the Tibetans retreated. According to Lu Zhi everybody was opposed to the idea of Tibetan military assistance to China: generals and soldiers loyal to the Emperor feared that the foreigners would deprive them of their merits (and rewards, of course), rebels were afraid that Tibetans would capture and enslave them and common people were worried about the

⁵⁰ Beckwith identifies him as *Zan Rgyal-btsan*. See CH. I. BECKWITH, “The Tibetans in the Ordos and North China, Considerations on the Role of the Tibetan Empire in World History,” in *Silver on Lapsis, Tibetan Literary Culture and History*, ed. CH. I. BECKWITH (Bloomington: The Tibet Society, 1987), 4.

⁵¹ See *TJ*, 172.

⁵² Loc. cit.

⁵³ On his career on Tang court see D. TWITCHETT, op. cit., 84–122.

⁵⁴ See *TJ*, 176.

⁵⁵ Small tributary of river Wei [74], ca. 70 km west of Xi'an.

⁵⁶ Ca. 70 km west of today's Xi'an.

⁵⁷ On this battle see *XTS*, 6094; *JTS*, 5249; *TJ*, 174–75; and CFYG, 220.

fact that Tibetan army would plunder everything.⁵⁸ Lu Zhi even warned the Emperor that he “should not feel any sentimentally attachment to the hords of dogs and sheep [i.e. Tibetans].”⁵⁹ Lu Zhi supported the idea that the Chang’an should be seized using only the Chinese army. In the 6th month of 784 the rebels escaped from Chang’an and Zhu Ci was soon killed by one of his generals. The aftermath of this rebellion embittered the Tibetan generals and marked the abrupt end of a short peaceful period in the Sino-Tibetan relationship. After the accusation of bribery, Li Bi [76], the high-ranking official later in 787 appointed Chief Minister (*zaixiang* [77]), who supported the anti-Tibetan faction, suggested to the Emperor that he should not cede the territories of Anxi and Beiting to the Tibetans because the Western region was of vital strategic importance for the Tang dynasty, as the Chinese military presence would tie a part of the Tibetan contingent on the western border of the Tibetan Empire and so would prevent the Tibetans from uniting their military force and focusing on the raids in China.⁶⁰ Emperor Dezong finally decided not to cede the territory to Tibet and repaid Tibetan military assistance in silk,⁶¹ thus ruining the period of the promising trend in Sino-Tibetan relations which started with his rise to ascendancy. The Tibetan raids on Chinese frontier territories started again.

The Tibetan statesmen did not forget the unfair treatment they received from the Chinese Court and were preparing a retaliation. They wanted to capture some of the high-ranking Chinese generals, who, they felt, were responsible for Dezong’s refusal to cede territories in 784. In the 3rd month of 787 Tibetan army led by Shang Jiezan occupied Yanzhou⁶² [78] and Xiazhou⁶³ [79] and started to frequently send envoys to the Imperial Court with requests for a new peace treaty.⁶⁴ At first the Emperor did not agree with this project. Afterwards the Tibetans contacted the high Chinese general Ma Sui [80] with the proposal for an agreement. They even promised that after the treaty was signed they would return the two recently conquered prefectures (that is Yan⁶⁵ [78] and Xia⁶⁶ [79]) to China. Ma Sui trusted the Tibetans and started, together with another general Zhang Yanshang [81], to promote this idea in discussions with

⁵⁸ However, this was not a danger which was typical solely for the Tibetan army. The Uighurs also plundered Luoyang twice (in 757 and 763) when they were allies of Tang China in the fight against the rebels. See L. W. MOSES, “T’ang Tribute Relations with the Inner Asian Barbarians,” in *Essays on T’ang Society, The Interplay of Social, Political and Economic Forces*, ed. J. C. PERRY (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 78–79.

⁵⁹ *Bu yi shang juan juan yu quan yang zhi qun* [75]. *TJ*, 176.

⁶⁰ See *TJ*, 177–78.

⁶¹ See *XTS*, 6094.

⁶² In the northwest corner of today’s Shaanxi province.

⁶³ In the northern part of today’s Shaanxi province.

⁶⁴ On Tibetan missions to Tang Court see for example *XTS*, 6095; and *TJ*, 189 ff.

⁶⁵ See note 62 above.

⁶⁶ See note 63 above.

Emperor.⁶⁷ However, there was a strong anti-Tibetan faction, who looked at this development with suspicion. General Li Sheng [82] argued that “one cannot trust the barbarians, there is nothing better than to attack them”.⁶⁸ Another general, Han Youxiang [83], wondered: “When the Tibetans are weak, they ask for an alliance, when they are strong, they invade, now they have penetrated deep into our territory and they ask for a treaty, they certainly want to cheat us.”⁶⁹ General Han Huang [84] also did not favour the idea of making an alliance with Tibetans and he proposed the plan to wall the four prefectures Yuan⁷⁰ [85], Shan⁷¹ [86], Tao⁷² [87] and Wei⁷³ [88], dispatch there soldiers and in this way strengthen the defence. As for the financial resources needed for such an operation, he assumed the responsibility.⁷⁴ The Emperor again declined the proposal to make a new peace treaty with the Tibetans, and wanted to accomplish Han Huang’s plan. However, Han Huang soon died, and Ma Sui, Zhang Yanshang, together with the Tibetan envoy lun⁷⁵ [89] Jiare [90] persuaded Emperor Dezong, who still considered the Uighurs to be his greatest enemies, to make an alliance with Tibetans and attack the Uighurs. The preparatory work for this treaty was marked by the suspicion from the side of a group of Chinese generals and officials who did not trust the sincerity of Tibetan intentions. The Tibetans first proposed Qingshui as the treaty site but later in 787 they wanted to change it for Tulishu [91], which was closer to Tibetan border. The Chinese generals disagreed with this dangerous place and then both parties agreed on Pingliang⁷⁶ [92] which was on a flat plain and so less dangerous. Li Sheng, who did not trust the Tibetans, wanted to make some secret preparation and encamp troops so they could be used in case of emergency, but Zhang Yanshang suspected that he wanted to prevent the conclusion of the peace treaty with Tibetans.⁷⁷ On the 24th day of the 5th month 787 the representatives of both sides met in Pingliang. The meeting resulted in the ill-fated Pingliang incident in which the Tibetans laid an ambush and attacked the Chinese. Many high-ranking Chinese officials and generals were killed or captured (most of them were later released). This accident marked the end of Dezong’s strategy of appeasement towards Tibet. The first eight years of his reign, when he tried (not always suc-

⁶⁷ See *CFYG*, 227; and *TJ*, 189–90.

⁶⁸ *TJ*, 190.

⁶⁹ Loc. cit.

⁷⁰ In the southern part of Autonomous Region Ningxia.

⁷¹ Ca. 120 km northwest from today’s Lanzhou in Gansu province.

⁷² In the southern part of today’s Gansu province.

⁷³ In the central part of today’s Gansu province.

⁷⁴ Loc. cit.

⁷⁵ Chinese transcription of the Tibetan word blon po, “minister”. See *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo – Han zang da cidian*, (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1982), 1927.

⁷⁶ In the eastern part of Gansu province. Near today’s Pingliang.

⁷⁷ See *TJ*, 193 ff.

cessfully) to achieve good terms with Tibet, in spite of the opposition from some military and official circles, were over. The Inner Asian policy had to be reshaped.

In the year 787 Li Bi [76] became the chief minister with full powers. Even earlier, he objected to the Sino-Tibetan alliance. Li Bi's so called "Grand Alliance"⁷⁸ strategy's aim was to isolate Tibet by forming an alliance with the Uighurs, Arabs (*Dashi* [93]), Nanzhao [94] kingdom and Tang China and together crush Tibetan Empire. Due to the reluctance of Dezong, who had not yet forgotten his previous experience with the Uighurs, his task was not easy. In discussion with the Emperor in the 7th month of 787 Li Bi did not dare yet to reveal to the Emperor, what was behind his words "Without using Chinese soldiers, I can cause trouble to Tibetans."⁷⁹ However, in the next month, the Uighurs sent an embassy to the Imperial Court, requested marital alliance and asked for peace.⁸⁰ At that time Li Bi made his proposal to the Emperor. Dezong had supported the idea but he objected against the participation of Uighurs in such an alliance. To Li Bi it was clear that the Uighurs played a crucial role in this project and finally he managed to persuade the Emperor. The Emperor then in 788 granted his daughter, the princess of Xian'an [95] to the new Uighur khaghan Mohe [96] (r. 779–789)⁸¹ and later Chinese officials, in particular the Military Commissioner of Jiannan⁸² [97] Wei Gao [98] (745–805) "chiselled the road to Qingxi"⁸³ [99] in order to make peace with the Man [100] hordes⁸⁴, that is he reestablished the alliance with Nanzhao⁸⁵ in years 793–794. The Chinese statesmen managed to ease the immediate danger of Tibetan attacks and partly recovered their strategic interests on the northwestern frontier of Tang China.

Frequent Tibetan invasions into Chinese territory after the An Lushan rebellion were the subject of discussion among high-ranking officials for a longer period. For example Lu Zhi, then acting as Chief Minister, in his memorials from the 8th month of 792 and the 5th month of 793 while dealing with the problems of the requirements of frontier defence was drawing the conclusions

⁷⁸ See CH. I. BECKWITH, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia, A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during early Middle Ages*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 151.

⁷⁹ *TJ*, 200.

⁸⁰ See C. MACKERRAS (1968), *op. cit.*, 67.

⁸¹ As mentioned by S. JAGCHID, V.J. SYMONS, *op. cit.*, 141, "intermarriage proposals were sometimes the first thing requested by nomadic rulers seeking to normalize relations with China".

⁸² Area in the northeastern part of Sichuan province.

⁸³ A pass in the southern part of today's Sichuan province, ca. 70 km southwest of Mount Emei.

⁸⁴ *XTS*, 6027.

⁸⁵ On relations between Nanzhao, Tibet and Tang China see CH. R. BACKUS, *The Nan-chao Kingdom and Frontier Policy in Southwest China during the Sui and T'ang Periods*, (Princeton University: Unpublished doctoral thesis, 1977), 109–61.

from the experience with Tibetan raids, which revealed some mistakes in Chinese defence organization. First of all, Lu Zhi argued, the problem was the decision making process. The Chinese frontier generals had to wait for orders from the Imperial Court, while the Tibetan generals had the competence to issue orders immediately and so they could act more quickly and flexibly. In his first memorial from the 8th month of 792, Lu Zhi saw this as the main problem of the Chinese defence policy.⁸⁶ The second memorial was devoted again to the matters of frontier policy with the aim of reducing the cost of maintaining the armies. He advocated the settlement of frontier troops with their families on their own lands and making them self-sufficient (so-called *tuntian* [101] system). Lu Zhi admired the strict discipline of the Tibetan army which was, according to him, the reason why it was so effective. Lu Zhi stated that although the whole Tibetan army was equal to the soldiers of 10 Chinese commanderies, thanks to their discipline and the autocratic system of command in the army, they were strong and dangerous. One of the main problems of the Chinese defence was, according to Lu Zhi, that the soldiers were scattered around large territories, and authority was divided among too many generals and soldiers, and so the orders were sometimes controversial and the force of the Chinese army was not used properly.⁸⁷

Relations between China, Tibet and the Uighurs in this period were based on power politics and economic interests. The different relationships between these three parties involved had had some specific features. In the Sino-Uighur relations, the economic aspect played an important role – “because of China’s dependence on their military support, the Uighurs were in position to dictate terms to the Chinese emperors, and some of their rulers exploited this advantage to the full”.⁸⁸ The Chinese statesmen favoured in the long run the “ally with Uighurs, restrain Tibetans” strategy probably because “the Turks, unlike the Tibetan Empire, were no real danger to a united China; they were never able to penetrate very far into the country, nor held any territory; moreover, they were separated from China by the Gobi.”⁸⁹ On the other hand, the political contacts between the Tibetan Empire and Tang China were characterized by the attempts of both parties to strengthen their respective strategic interests in the border territories.⁹⁰ The Chinese statesmen during this period were not interested in theoretical discussions about the character of the Sino-“barbarian” relationship, but their comments were related to the practical issues. The Tibet appeasement

⁸⁶ See *TJ*, 219–20.

⁸⁷ See *TJ* 222–24.

⁸⁸ C. MACKERRAS, *op. cit.*, 317.

⁸⁹ CH. I. BECKWITH (1987), *op. cit.*, 9.

⁹⁰ As stated by Jagchid and Symons “unlike relations between steppe nomads and the Chinese, which were initiated by nomads primarily for economic reasons, intermarriage and tributary ties between Tibet and China were maintained more for political purposes”. S. JAGCHID, V.J. SYMONS, *op. cit.*, 192.

strategy designed by Dezong worked only for a short period. The reasons for its failure were diverse but the main problem was that the long-term strategic interests of parties involved were antagonistic. The Chinese Imperial Court did not have a lasting Inner Asian policy and their strategy was shaped by the necessity to avert the immediate danger which was coming either from inside (the internal rebellions in China) or from outside – from the Uighurs and/or the Tibetans. Chinese statesmen had only a limited choice of possibilities for diplomatic manoeuvring because they were pushed by circumstances which occurred after the An Lushan rebellion to make an alliance with one of these partners. According to the development, the Chinese court flexibly switched alliances⁹¹ and in this way annoyed its former (and future) allies.

- 1。唐 2。吐蕃 3。回紇 4。安祿山 5。長安 6。劉昫 7。張昭遠 8。舊唐書 9。北京中華書局 10。宋祁 11。歐陽修 12。新唐書 13。蘇晉仁 14。通鑑吐蕃史料 15。拉薩西藏人民出版社 16。蕭鍊子 17。冊府元龜吐蕃史料校証 18。成都四川民族出版社 19。僕固懷恩 20。鐵勒 21。節度使 22。朔方 23。譚其驤 24。中國歷史地圖集 25。隋唐五代十國時期 26。上海中國地圖出版社 27。牟羽 28。郭子儀 29。聯回制吐 30。任育才 31。吐蕃與唐朝關係之研究 32。臺北自立出版社 33。代宗 34。得宗 35。聯吐制回 36。雍王 37。可汗 38。陝州 39。史朝義 40。得 41。韋倫 42。太常少卿 43。乞立贊 44。蜀 45。劉文喜 46。涇州 47。殿中少監 48。崔漢衡 49。敵國禮 50。悻傲 51。文成 52。金城 53。臣禮 54。貢獻 55。進 56。賜 57。寄 58。靈州 59。賀蘭山 60。清水 61。涇原 62。朱泚 63。太尉 64。奉天 65。安西 66。北庭 67。尚 68。結贊 69。李懷光 70。陸贄 71。內相 72。武亭川 73。武功 74。渭水 75。不宜尚蕃蕃於犬羊之群 76。李泌 77。宰相 78。鹽州 79。夏州 80。馬燧 81。張延賞 82。李晟 83。韓游瓌 84。韓滉 85。原州 86。鄆州 87。洮州 88。渭州 89。論 90。頗熱 91。土梨樹 92。平涼 93。大食 94。南詔 95。咸安 96。莫賀 97。劍南 98。韋皋 99。青溪 100。蠻 101。屯田

⁹¹ According to some authors it shows the capacity of skilful and imaginative diplomacy of the Chinese Imperial Court. See M. NG-QUINN, "National Identity in Premodern China: Formation and Role Enactment", in *China's Quest for National Identity*, ed. S. S. KIM, L. DITTMER (Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 53–54.

TEXTS AND CONTEXTS: GOETHE'S WORKS IN CHINESE TRANSLATION PRIOR TO 1985

Terry Siu-han YIP

Department of English Language and Literature, Hong Kong Baptist University
224 Waterloo Rd., Kowloon, Hong Kong

The aim of this article is to evaluate most of the translations of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's works into Chinese beginning with 1902 or 1903 and ending 1984 in the Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. The greatest attention is devoted to *The Sorrows of Young Werther* and *Faust*.

The reading and critical study of German literature in China before the present century have been relatively insignificant owing to a number of factors which hinder a successful transposition of the foreign literature on the Chinese soil. The traditional "insularity" of the Chinese, the "close door" policy of the government, the Chinese ignorance of the German language, the lack of able mediators and translators, together with the meager commercial transaction between China and Germany in past centuries all account for the inadequate knowledge of German literature in China in the past centuries. It is not until the second half of the nineteenth century when the "new" climate for China's diplomatic relations with the foreign powers created by various treaties that China was forced to come into closer contact and more frequent cultural exchanges with countries like Germany and the result was a gradual increase in interest among the Chinese intellectuals in German culture and literature.

According to the observations and study of Wang Guangchi (1898-1936), the founder of the Young China Association [Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui], who studied and later died in Germany, Chinese students staying in Germany amounted to a few dozen in the first decade of the twentieth century. The First World War, however, brought the number down to approximately ten, when most of the Chinese students chose to leave Germany for their homeland. As soon as the war was over, the number of Chinese students attending German universities increased again, reaching a record high of over a hundred in 1920. This trend continued right into the 1930 (441-444). This steady flow of Chinese students to Germany marked not only an increasing interest on the part of the Chinese toward Germany, but also the growing cultural contact between the two countries as a whole -

the result of which was reflected in the Chinese interest in various aspects of German culture and the significant literary influence exerted by Germany upon China in the twentieth century.

In the cultural exchange between China and Germany, translation plays a very important role. A good example is Goethe's contact with Chinese culture more than a century ago. It is well known that Goethe was greatly interested in Chinese culture and geography as evidenced in his borrowing of such books about China as *A Narrative of the British Ambassador to China 1792-1794*, *Erzaehlung der Reise und Gesandtschaft des Lord Macartney nach China, 1792-1794*, *Voyages a Peking 1784-1801*, *Neuer Atlas des grossen Reichs Sina*, *Philosophique sur les Egyptiens et les chinois*, and Marco Polo's *Reise in den Orient* (1272-1295) from the Library of Grossherzog Karl August in Weimar in 1813. Through English, French, and German translations, Goethe was also introduced, in 1827, to Chinese poetry, fables, and novels such as *The Fortunate Union* [Haochiu zhuan], *The History of the Flowery Billet* [Huajian ji], and *The Two Fair Cousins* [Yu jiaoli]. Interestingly enough, the readers in China, too, relied heavily on Chinese translations for their initial knowledge of Germany and Goethe in particular.

According to Bauer's Wolfgang bibliographic research published in 1982, the translation and study of German culture in China can be roughly classified into eleven categories, consisting of philosophy, natural sciences, religion, literature, fine arts, economics, education, politics, history, military sciences, and law (xiii). Bauer's study indicates that of the 2,935 Chinese translations of German monographs and articles included in the bibliography, 687 of them were on German literature, which constituted the largest of the eleven categories. Chinese translations of German works in the fields of natural sciences came next in the scale, with a total of 465. These were followed in order by economics (376), philosophy (357), military (309), politics (224), history (187), education (141), fine arts (74), religion (59), and law (56).

Publications of monographs and articles by Chinese authors on German works are equally numerous according to Bauer's research. The total number reached 2,327, with Chinese publications on German politics (453) in the lead, followed by those on German philosophy (384), economics (382), literature (303), education (242), history (232), military (104), law (82), natural sciences (79), fine arts (58), and religion (8). These figures indicate very clearly that German literature indeed occupied the most prominent and significant position in the cultural exchange between Germany and China. The translation and study of German literature alone constitute nearly one-fifth of the total of all German studies and translations in China (Bauer xiv).

One must bear in mind, however, that any study of this kind is in no way complete and that Bauer's study is no exception. Its focus is primarily on the listing of German monographs and articles translated into Chinese and of Chinese monographs and articles on German culture written by Chinese authors. Many Chinese translations of German literature, poetry in particular, published in various Chinese periodicals and anthologies are omitted so that the picture

presented is merely an approximation and does not represent the full impact of German culture upon modern China. Nevertheless, Bauer's rough figures are sufficient data to show the extent of Chinese interest in German culture as a whole and the tremendous impact of German literature on Chinese readers in twentieth-century China.

As the selection of works to be translated in itself reflects not only the value judgement and personal preference of the translators and the publishers but also the general taste and interest of the reading public at the time, a review of the Chinese translations of Goethe's works should prove relevant and significant to those interested in comparative literature and cross-cultural studies. Such a study will elucidate how translation of Goethe's works has been related to the changing cultural climate and shifting ideology in modern China. It also addresses the "fortune" of Goethe's works in China by taking a close look at the reception of Goethe's works, especially *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* and *Faust* in China in the past eighty years through translation.

Of the many German writers introduced into China, including Heine, Storm, Hauptmann, the Grimm brothers, Marx, and Engels, Goethe was undoubtedly one of the literary authors most widely honoured by translations. Although it is apparent that he must have been one of the first German authors known to the Chinese students abroad in Japan and Germany as well as to those Chinese intellectuals who knew foreign languages at home by the turn of the nineteenth century, the exact historical moment of his inception remains unknown to date. According to Richard Wilhelm and Archer Taylor, Chinese paintings of Werther and Lotte managed to reach Holstein in northern Germany at the close of the eighteenth century. It is presumed that the Chinese must have already had some vague knowledge of Goethe's book then when they made paintings and china plates for foreigners in Canton back in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet it is not until more than a century later that concrete evidence of the Chinese contact with and study of Goethe's works is available.

Ma Junwu (1881–1940) was probably the earliest Chinese translator known today to have paid attention to Goethe's works and spread German culture among the Chinese through translation. As an engineering student at Tokyo Imperial University and as the first Chinese student to receive a doctoral degree from a German university (Berlin, 1916), Ma Junwu was among the early admirers of German culture. He regarded *Werther* as Goethe's masterpiece about society. According to A Ying's short article "Early Chinese Translations of Goethe's Works" [Guanyu Gede zuopin chu qi de zhongyi], Ma translated a portion of *Werther* as early as 1902 or 1903 (100). In elegant classical Chinese, Ma reproduced the scene of Werther's and Lotte's last meeting and the last portion of the included songs of Ossian, which Ma entitled "A Ming's Weeping over his Daughter by the Sea" [A Ming lin haian ku nu shi].

This translation, though a very free and brief one, reveals the sensitivity and mastery of Ma Junwu as a poet-translator. His Chinese version on Armin is a delineation of the sorrows of Armin over the death of his beloved daughter. In highly poetical images and in an archaic rhyming scheme, Ma Junwu recreates

the sense of hopelessness and deep sorrow felt by the aged Armin at the loss of his daughter and son. Presented as a lonely figure, Armin lingers at the shore, lamenting the deaths of his children and contemplating his own imminent death. In terms of the overall mood and tone, Ma's translation faithfully echoes those of the original; but since Ma's translation covers only a portion of *Werther* and merely a part of the Ossian songs, it is quite impossible for readers to arrive at a thorough understanding of the German novel as a whole. His conversion of a fragment of the Ossian songs, which is included in *Werther* in German translation, into a Chinese poem makes the latter seem more like a conscious free adaptation than an actual translation.

Besides translating a portion of *Werther*, Ma Junwu was also the author of the earliest Chinese version of Goethe's "Mignon", a song taken from *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. In the Chinese translation entitled "The Song of Mignon" [Milijung ge], Ma carefully preserves the essence and rhythm of the original and produces a beautiful love poem written in a natural and simple way in Chinese classical form. At a time when German literature was virtually inaccessible to the Chinese readers, Ma Junwu has indeed done a commendable job in introducing through translation Goethe's work to his country.

Throughout the first decade of the present century, one saw only a few occasional Chinese translations of Goethe's works, or fragments of his work, but no lengthy translation of any decided significance. Ma Junwu remained the only person of the time to have made an attempt to translate Goethe's works. Although his translations prove to be of some literary merit, they received no immediate response in China then. This is not at all surprising as it takes time for a nation like China, which was caught in the transition between traditionalism and modernism then to get familiar or acquainted with such a remote culture as the German, which is so different from Chinese.

If the first decade of the twentieth century signified the inception or germination of interest in Goethe in China, the following ten years or so denoted a period of relative indifference on the part of the Chinese scholars toward Goethe. Wolfgang Franke's and Dschang Schau-dien's *A Bibliography of Chinese Translations of German Texts* [Dezhi hanyi congmu] published in 1942 (21–31) and Bauer's bibliography mentioned earlier indicate no translation or writings devoted solely to Goethe in China in the 1910s. Only in a few general works such as Zhou Zuoren's *A History of European Literature* [Ouzhou wenxue shi] may one find brief sketches of Goethe and short discussions of *Werther* and *Faust* (72–75). The reasons for such a negligence of Goethe are apparent. With the death of the liberal Manchu emperor Guangxi in 1908, China once again found herself caught in a state of political and social unrest. The upheavals leading to the epochal event of the political revolution of 1911, the language reform of 1919, as well as China's declaration of war against Germany in 1917 all tended to divert the attention of Chinese intellectuals from serious attention to German literature.

With the end of the First World War and the victory of the Literary Revolution accomplished, translation entered a new era. To meet the need of the new

mood, a great number of foreign writings in Russian, French, German, and English were introduced. In line with this new climate came a revival of interest in Goethe in the 1920s. Two decades after the initial attempt of Ma Junwu to transplant Goethe on the Chinese soil through translation, the first complete rendition of Goethe's *Werther* finally appeared in China in 1922. It was Guo Moruo's translation of *Werther*, which he entitled *Young Werther's Troubles* [Shaonian Weite zhi fannao]. Guo began reading Goethe's works while he was a student at Kyushu Imperial University at Fukuoka in the late 1910s. As a student of medicine, he was required to learn German and as a consequence was introduced by his German teachers to the works of Goethe and Heine, whose poems and short stories were frequently used as reading materials or comprehension exercises in the German language classes. It was during this time that Guo started reading Goethe's autobiography and became a warm admirer of the German writer.

Although Guo Moruo found himself greatly attracted to Goethe's works and had conceived the idea of translating *Werther* for more than four years, he did not actually start his translation work until some time in 1919 (2). Urged by his friends, he started translating Goethe's revised version of *Werther* during one of his trips to Shanghai. He planned to finish his draft during his summer vacation in Shanghai but failed owing to an illness which suddenly struck him. It was later, back in Japan, that he managed to complete the translation and have it published in 1922. The first edition of the *Werther* translation was far from satisfactory. Guo detected more than 500 printing errors in his published translation largely because of poor proofreading. Despite these technical defects, his translation of *Werther* was an instantaneous success, and Chinese interest in Goethe was greatly enhanced as a result. Overnight *Werther* became a friend to many Chinese, and for years to come the novel remained the most widely read and appraised Western novel and "the bible of modern Chinese youths" (Lee 188). Guo's translation of *Werther* was so well received that it became the most frequently reprinted translation of the German novel in the country. Not only did his Chinese title of *Werther* become the standard title for the novel in China up to the present, but his text also remained the most authoritative translation, upon which many later editions and new translations of *Werther* were based.

The original publication of Guo's translation of *Werther* was accompanied by the publication of the first issue of the *Creation Quarterly* [Chuangzou jikan], of which he was editor-in-chief. This magazine was the second devotedly to literature at that time, with *The Short Story Monthly* [Xiaoshuo yuebao] being the first purely literary journal of modern China. If the *Creation Quarterly* was designed to provide a garden for the cultivation of literature advocating art for art's sake, then the translation of *Werther* was meant to be in effect a manifesto of the view of the chief editor of the *Creation Quarterly*. In his preface to the *Werther* translation, Guo Moruo clearly states his intention to "create" in China, through his translation of the German work, a universe of love and freedom out of a decadent and paralysed environment. He shared Werther's pantheistic view of life, his love of nature, and his admiration for primitive existence.

In the preface to the 1955 revised edition, Guo again explicates the reasons for his translating *Werther* for he discovered great resemblances, in spirit and social situation, between Werther's time and that of his own. For him *Werther* represents a realistic novel of an anti-feudalistic nature, depicting the general spirit of the young generation at the transitional period when Germany began to move away from her feudal and medieval past to a new age of capitalism. The novel fully portrays the restlessness, aspirations, as well as frustrations of the new age when the young revolted against all established systems and old moral standards. Known in German history as the "Sturm und Drang" period, young Goethe's time is highly comparable to the May Fourth period in China.

Similar in spirit to the "Sturm und Drang" period, the May Fourth era represents a time in modern Chinese history when young intellectuals rebelled against Confucianism and feudalism, and upheld the importance of democracy and science. Individualism, freedom, talent, vitality, and nature were highly treasured, while well-established norms and arbitrarily imposed rules were often rejected. Free expressions of one's emotions and feelings were in vogue at the time; and a total break from the literary norms and traditional forms and classical language was welcomed by the young generation. It is thus not at all surprising to find *Werther* warmly received in China, for many Chinese found echoes of their own aspirations and problems in Goethe's protagonist. Besides, not only did Werther the character embody the sentiments, frustrations, uncertainties, and sensitivity of an average young man, but his love for freedom and nature, his emphasis on individuality, his hatred for traditions and social bondage, his romantic inclination, as well as his new socio-intellectual consciousness were also admired by many youths in China at the time.

What is more, Werther's unrequited love and disillusionment in life are universal experiences which easily find resonances among young people in Germany, as well as in China. As the Danish critic George Brandes says, Werther "gives expression not merely to the isolated passion and suffering of a single individual, but to the passions, longings, and sufferings of a whole age. The hero . . . is more than the spirit of the new era, he is its genius" (20). In short, the impact of *Werther* upon the Chinese readers at the time was tremendous. In a speech delivered in July 1931, Cai Yuanpei commented on the effect of translations of foreign novels on the literary reform in China, and he alluded to *Werther* as the first concrete example of the profound influence of a foreign novel upon the psychology of youth (627). For Cai who held an authoritative position in the country to make such an important statement clearly confirms the significant and pronounced effect of *Werther* in China.

As for Guo Moruo, the translator of the novel and a poet and writer himself, Goethe's novel struck him as a piece of lyrical prose poetry rather than as a novel *per se*. In his translation, one finds a great deal of care devoted to the recapturing of the poetic quality, the strength and simplicity of the narrative. Guo succeeds in conveying the spirit of the original in equally poetical, natural, and, at times, lyrical language so that the Chinese translation itself stands as a highly readable piece of poetic prose written in elegant modern Chinese. In order to

aid his Chinese readers in their appreciation of the novel, Guo provides annotations at the end to give further explanation of certain classical or personal allusions, and to offer additional information essential for a better understanding of Goethe's *Werther*. Although the exact text on which Guo Moruo based his translation is unknown, one can, by examining his notes, conclude that his Chinese translation was a direct translation from a German edition of *Werther* and not a "re-translation" based on a Japanese or English edition.

Of the many translators of Goethe's *Werther* in China, Guo Moruo is undoubtedly the most famous and influential one. The year of 1922 may be considered a *Werther* year for the first appearance of Guo's translation of the German novel was so enthusiastically received that it went through four printings in the first year of publication. In the following ten years, there were at least fifteen editions of his translation published by the Creation Society [Chuangzuo she], ten editions by Modern Book Company [Xiandai shuju], seven editions by United Book Company [Lianhe shuju], and several editions by Public Good Publishing Company [Chuanyi chubanshe] according to the research conducted by the Library of Shanghai in 1980 (121–123). The editions and re-editions of Guo's translation provide impressive evidence of the continued popularity of Goethe's novel in the Chinese community. In 1947 there came the revised edition by Guo, followed by yet another ten or so printings based on the revised version before the end of 1960. It has also been reprinted by numerous presses in Hong Kong from the 1960s onwards when the publication industry on the Mainland was carefully controlled by the government.

The warm reception of *Werther* in China is an incontrovertible fact, for, in addition to the many editions of Guo's translation, there were a considerable number of other translations and editions of the novel by other translators. Fu Shaoxian published at least three editions of *Werther* by 1931. Luo Mu, too, published a bilingual (English and Chinese) text of the novel by the Beixin Book Company in Shanghai in 1931, and had four editions in press in the next four years. Da Guansheng provided a new Chinese translation of the German novel which he published in 1932 and 1936. Qian Tianyou's translation in the 1930s also became the blueprint for a reprint in Taipei later in 1956. Another translation by Huang Lubu also appeared in three editions published by Chunming Book Store in Shanghai by 1949. Thus there were at least 60 editions, or reprints of *Werther* circulating in China by the middle of the present century.

From 1949 on, Taipei and Hong Kong rivaled the former centres of Shanghai, Beijing, and Tianjin for translations of *Werther*. In the year 1956 alone, one saw four different *Werther* translations by Dong Liu, Lin Chun, Lai Siliu, and the Translation Division of the Enlightenment Bookstore [Qiming shudian] in Taiwan. At least two translations of unknown authorship were also available to readers in Hong Kong. *Werther* continued to appear in new translations printed in Hong Kong and Taiwan in the 1960s and 1970s. Seven translations by known translators, and a bilingual edition by Li Muhua appeared in Taiwan, while two more new translations were circulated in Hong Kong.

The most outstanding and authoritative translator of this later period was perhaps Zhou Xuepu, who was a critic of Goethe as well as a translator. He had been a professor in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at the National Taiwan University for twenty-six years. His translation of *Werther* is, on the whole, faithful to the original; yet, it fails to recapture the poetic and lyrical quality or preserve the mood of the original. In terms of its style, Zhou's translation is prose rather than poetic prose as in Guo's translation. Although Zhou's translation is interesting and inspired, it lacks naturalness. Compared with Guo's translation, which is written in natural and fluent Chinese, and as poetical and lyrical as the original German, Zhou's language tends to be less poetical and stiff at times, with some awkward expressions. Sometimes, his sentences are so structured that they would unsettle the general Chinese reader by their Westernized linguistic constructions.

The presence of these blemishes somewhat hampers a Chinese reader's full appreciation of Goethe's work. It is unfortunate that similar weaknesses are also discernible in many translations by other translators. On the whole, however, the translators of *Werther* in China are conscientious and faithful. The plot of *Werther* is often accurately preserved although the lyrical note and poetical sentiment characteristic of the original may not be adequately represented in some cases. The awkward and non-Chinese sentence patterns frequently remind one that the novel is of a foreign origin—an awareness which often affects one's full appreciation and enjoyment of the text. Perhaps it requires the sensitivity and poetic competence of a poet-writer-translator like Guo Moruo to note the essence of the original and to reproduce that accurately in Chinese.

Despite the flood of translations and editions of *Werther* on the mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong after 1949, the novel never again reached the same sweeping popularity among Chinese readers which it succeeded in securing in the 1920s and 1930s. In Mainland China, translation works carried out by individual translators and publishers in the first half of the present century were taken over by organized translation done by translation bureaux. Although *Werther* was still occasionally reprinted, no new translation of the German novel appeared on the mainland for twenty years or so mainly because the attention of the group translators was directed to translating Russian and Marxist literatures and the writings of the Third World countries.

It was not until the late 1970s that one saw a rising trend of Chinese interest in Goethe in Mainland China. Compared with the translation work done on Goethe in Hong Kong and Taiwan in the 1980s, the accomplishment on the mainland is certainly noteworthy. In the early 1980s, at least four new translations appeared in the region. In the second volume of *A Series of Foreign Short Novels* [Waiguo zhongpian xiaoshuo congkan] published by the People's Publishing House of Anhui in 1981, *Werther* was one of the seven works of fiction included. In another new translation by Yang Wuneng, published by People's Literature Publishing House [Renmin wenxue chubanshe] in Peking in 1981, the story of *Werther* was accompanied by introductory essays which adopt a general historical-biographical approach to discuss Goethe's relationship with *Werther*, the significance of the

novel for its time, and its artistic excellence. The novel's tremendous influence in China was addressed in the form of an appendix. In the following year *Werther* was again collected in Jin Zixin's edition of *Foreign Short Fiction* [Waiguo zhongpian xiaoshuo] in Yunan. On the basis of Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun Leipzig edition of *Goethes sämtliche Werke*, Hou Junji, too, provided a translation of *Werther* in Shanghai in 1982. He included a discussion of the novel as an epistolary novel depicting an individual's love of freedom and his conflict with the existing feudal class system. The translator commends Goethe for his simplicity of style and conciseness of language in his delineation of a young man's spiritual crisis and agony in love, as well as his frustrations at seeing the hypocrisy, corruption, and injustice in society.

The widespread popularity of Guo Moruo's translation of the German novel in the early 1920s led to a more general interest in Goethe and his other writings in China. Indeed it brought about a blossoming period in the translation of Goethe's works in the country. By the mid-1920s Goethe's position as one of the most frequently translated and widely known European authors was firmly established in China. The most enthusiastic attempt to popularize Goethe and German literature as a whole was undertaken by the members of the Chinese-German Society [Zhong De xuehui] at Tongji University, an institution devoted to German studies in Jiangsu. Published in their journal *German Monthly* [Dewen yuekan] were translations of such poems of Goethe as "Gott" and "Des Dichters Vaterland" by Yu Dunpei, "Erlkönig" by Huang Guangchi, and "Der Schatzgraber" and "Gefunden" by Liang Junqing. Guo Moruo also contributed a translation of "Der Fischer" and "Mignon" to the journal in the mid-1920s. Yu Dafu, too, did a translation of "Mignon" which, despite its elegance and faithfulness, tends to be long-winded and rather clumsy in style. In comparison, Ma Junwu's first Chinese version of "Mignon" in 1902 or 1903 is more precise despite his excessive brevity and minor mistranslation. It is generally accepted by scholars that Guo's translation is the most faithful representation, fluent and accurate, of the original.

Generally speaking, Goethe's poems are welcomed in China. The readers find in Goethe's lyrics echoes of their own feelings. As succinctly expressed by the noted Chinese poet Xu Zhimo in *Morning Post Supplement* [Chenbao fukan] in 1928, "the messages in Goethe's [poems]. . . are so close to our heart that they seem to express for us those deep feelings which we fail to put into writing ourselves. This [experience in reading Goethe's poems] is like a meeting an old friend in the spiritual world."

Prompted by the success and popularity of Guo Moruo's translation of *Werther*, the Commercial Press [Shangwu yinshuguan], the largest publishing company in China then, also joined in the promotion of Goethe's works by releasing a translation of *Stella* by Tang Yuanji in 1925, and of *Clavigo* and *Reineke Fuchs* by Wu Guangjian in 1926. It is known that *Stella* was staged several times in China. According to Wang Bosheng, it was performed once at the Academy of Arts [Yishu xueyuan] and another time at Tsinghua University in Peking in 1925. In 1930 it was put on stage again at the Provincial College of

Drama Workshop in Shandong (1). The same play was staged again at the Drama Institute in Guangdong [Guangdong xiju xueyuan] in the 1930s (Zhang 16). However, no further information is available as to the extent of its popularity or influence upon the Chinese stage, nor does one have a clear account of its reception among the Chinese readers as a piece of literature for lack of written documentation on the subject. Whether or not the work was known only among the intellectuals in the country cannot yet be ascertained, but it is clear that it never receives the same kind of attention and popularity enjoyed by *Werther* in the Chinese soil.

Before the close of 1926, another important Goethe translator appeared in China. Chen Chuan started publishing translations of Goethe's poems in *Xueheng*, a relatively conservative magazine. As a full supporter of tradition, Chen was more interested in the study of the influence of Chinese culture on Goethe – an interest which distinguished him from the other Goethe enthusiasts of the time. His interest in Goethe's contact with Chinese literature represents the Chinese awareness of Goethe's high opinion of oriental culture. It also partially accounts for the Chinese incessant interest in Goethe, a literary giant who openly admires the artistic merits and literary achievement of oriental culture.

In the same year 1926 the first translation of *Faust* by Mo Su was published by the Enlightenment Bookstore [Qiming shudian] in Shanghai; yet not much is known about this translation nor the extent of its popularity. In the following year, a collection of German poetry translated jointly by Guo Moruo and Cheng Fangwu was published in 1927 by the Creation Society under the title *Selected Poems from Germany* [Deguo shixuan] in which poems of Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Storm, Lenau, and Hille were presented in translation.

The year 1929 marks another significant date in the history of Goethe translations in China, for Guo Moruo published a complete translation of *Faust, Part I*, which he entitled *Fushide*. As a matter of fact, Guo started translating *Faust* as early as the autumn of 1919, when he was still a student of medicine in Japan. Fragments of his translation were published, thanks to his friend Zong Baihua's suggestion and encouragement, in the literary supplement to the newspaper *The China Times* [Shishi xinbao wenxue fukan] in 1919 and 1920. In the summer of 1920 Guo received an invitation from Zhang Dongsun, the chief editor of *The China Times*, to supply a complete translation of *Faust* to be published in a series of Western masterpieces. For about four weeks, working from five in the morning to late into the night, Guo completed his draft on *Faust, Part I*, which he wrote and recopied with a Chinese brush on a special kind of Japanese paper known as improved *hanshi*.

As he relates in the postscript to the translation later, this first draft was done with great care, in a neat and tidy way, in order to increase legibility and to avoid mistakes in typesetting. Since he had to make preparations for the beginning of his new academic term in the university, he put aside, for the time being, his completed translation in a closet only to find weeks later, to his dismay and great disappointment, that more than one third of his manuscript had been nibbled to pieces by some mice entering the closet through a hole in the wall (87–

92). This incident had such a traumatic effect on Guo that he virtually stopped translating *Faust* and turned his attention to *Werther* and Goethe's poetry in the following few years.

Nearly ten years had elapsed after the loss of his first draft of *Faust* to the mice before Guo decided to "mend" his damaged *Faust* manuscript. In a few days' time, Guo finished retranslating the lost scenes, which were "Night; Faust's Study," "Outside the City Gate," and "Faust's Study". As he stated in his postscript, he felt grateful to those mice after rereading the whole manuscript: "I felt very ashamed when I re-read my old draft again. . . . I considered myself fortunate that the mice had partially destroyed my first draft. In fact, the mice became my benefactor for they had saved me from public disgrace" (383-383). Guo was so dissatisfied with his first draft of *Faust* that he redid the whole draft. In the new translation, the original German verses remained in verse form in their Chinese version. The final product of this re-translation, which Guo completed in November, 1928, proves to be an elegant piece of Chinese rendering the essence of Goethe's masterpiece.

Although Guo has put in more effort in the translation of *Faust* than he did with *Werther*, his rendition of the poetic drama was not as successful, literarily and aesthetically, not because of any major fault of his but largely because of the greater difficulties in language and the greater complexity of thought in the German poetical play. In *Werther* Guo has done a praiseworthy job when he succeeded in preserving the essence and mood of the original, while presenting a highly enjoyable piece of literary work in fluent and well written Chinese. His translation of *Faust*, however, is less interesting and less captivating, although it remains a faithful version of the German text. Despite these artistic shortcomings, Guo's translation of *Faust* was warmly received by the general reading public, partly because of his fame as a poet and the previous success of his *Werther* translation. His *Faust* translation ran through two printings in the first year of its publication; and reprints by different publishers, were regularly issued in the years that followed, according to the statistics provided by the Library of Shanghai (130-134).

The year 1947 saw the completion and publication of the second part of *Faust*. While it took Goethe sixty years to complete his writing of *Faust*, it has also taken Guo Moruo nearly thirty years to produce a complete translation of the German play in China. As he openly admits in his postscript to the second part of *Faust*, it was as a worshipper of Goethe that he had undertaken such a difficult and challenging task. By introducing the first and second part of *Faust* during two outstanding periods in the literary history of modern China, Guo draws the readers' attention to the resemblance between Germany at Goethe's time and his own contemporary society – both being at a stage in history when a society was being transformed into a modern state. In translating *Faust*, Guo further shows his own aspiration as a conscious intellectual as well as his zest for self-liberation. Like Faust, who wanted his actions to be uncontrolled in the play, the young intellectuals in China were eager to free themselves from the bondage of the prevailing feudal system and Confucian ideology. In their yearn-

ing for absolute freedom and for the total liberation of the individual self, the Chinese found a comrade in Faust.

While the first part of *Faust* was translated in the midst of the Literary Revolution, when the young intellectuals including Guo himself were emotionally in alliance with the Faustian desire for freedom and progressive view in life, the second part of the German play was rendered at a time when the Chinese shared a tragic fate comparable to Faust's. As Guo clearly notes in his postscript to the translation of the second part of *Faust*, there shows a strong similarity in the socio-ideological conditions in China and Germany and general expectation for the country: "Seriously speaking, our road today is very clear. . . . The Fausts in China would never get old again, nor would they be blind folded and die. They would never feel satisfied with reclaiming the shoreland, nor with the feudal-lord-type of granted democracy, until they have changed the whole of China into an ocean of democracy where people become their own masters" (42).

From a basic yearning for freedom of the 1920s, Guo manifests in his translation of the second part of the German play his growing desire to see a transformed and progressive China. He saw the reactionary forces which worked against Faust in the course of his self-expansion; and, he realized that Faust's ideal society could only be possible after he made concessions to these powers. Faust's failure to establish an entirely free country, owing to the persisting feudal forces, also leads Guo to feel impatient with the slow disintegration of the traditional feudal system in China. It is thus not surprising to find Guo Moruo feeling strongly akin to Faust. What is more, his translation of *Faust* illustrates Guo's own metamorphosis from his former romantic sentiments of the early 1920s to his earnest advocacy of socialism. Like Faust, Guo emerges from his personal world of love and uncertainty to a conscious and active life after 1924 when he became a socialist convert. He involves himself in the battle against the warlords, the Japanese, and all other forces which hinder the development of the country and the liberation of the people. From Guo Moruo's translation of *Werther* in 1922 and his rendition of *Faust* in 1929, one sees how Guo the intellectual developed from his early individualistic romantic sentiments to become a revolutionary with a romantic spirit.

Besides the translations of *Werther* and *Faust* in the 1920s, the next of Goethe's works to be presented to the Chinese public was *Egmont*, which achieved considerably less notice. It was translated by Hu Renyuan and incorporated into the series *The Complete Library* [Wanyou wenku] in 1929.

In addition to Guo Moruo's translation, *Faust* was frequently in press under the translations of Zhang Yiulin in Tianjin (1933), Zhou Xuepu in Shanghai (1936) and Fujian (1944), and Liu Shengya in Chongqing (1942). Excerpts from the first and second parts of *Faust* were included in the first volume of the *Selected Readings of Western Literary Works* [Xiyang wenxue zuopin xuazndu], a literary series published in Hong Kong in 1961 for the self-cultivation of university students. In the same year, Stewart S. Mo's English-Chinese bilingual edition of *Faust*, which was published as the second volume of the *World Literature Series* [Shijie wenxue daxi], was also released by the Qiming Book Compa-

ny. Two years later in 1963, another English-Chinese edition of *Faust* by Lu Jinhui appeared in Taipei under the title *Faust and the Devil* [Fushide yu mogui], with annotations provided as a help in reading. Both bilingual editions were based on Bayard Taylor's English translation, with the original metres retained.

In the succeeding years, more *Faust* translations were issued in Taiwan – the most popular being those by Ai Ren (1967), Gan Kechao (1968), Cao Kaiyuan (1969), and Zhou Xuepu (1978 and 1982). Of these many translations of *Faust* on the island, Zhou Xuepu's edition is perhaps the best and most popular. Zhou was a graduate of the Department of Foreign Literatures at University of Kyoto. As early as the 1930s, when he was still teaching on the mainland, Chou already planned to provide a translation of the German work as an alternative to Guo's to the Chinese readers. He started translating *Faust* in 1933 and in one and a half years' time he completed the first draft of both parts of the work, but decided not to publish his translation at the time for fear of negative criticism. His work was first published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai in 1936 and later by the Dongnan Book Company in Fujian in 1944. According to Zhou himself, his first translation was far from satisfactory.

It was only years later, after the civil war, that he found time to rewrite and improve the first translated version. While his first translation was written in prose, his revised version, published twice in 1978 and 1982, was in rhymed verse. Later on he further improved his work by turning it into a line-by-line translation, following the numbering of the original exactly and thus allowing easy cross-reference for the readers. Zhou's translation was based on several texts – the major ones being those of Meyer and Witkowski. He has further referred to translations in English by Bayard Taylor and Latham, to Japanese translations by Mori Ogai, Hata Toyokichi, Sakurai Takamasa, and Sagara Morio, and to Guo Moruo's Chinese translation in the preparation of his manuscript. His work indeed turned out to be a close and careful reproduction of the German play in the Chinese language. For the benefit of readers who may not have known very much about the German writer, Zhou included in his volume two pictures of Goethe – the first being the youthful poet and the other, the old sage. Provided in his edition were also a sketch of Goethe's birthplace and a photograph of a page of the original German manuscript, and photographs taken from a stage version of *Faust*. A painting delineating a scene in the play, which is now kept in Goethe's Museum in Frankfurt, and Goethe's own sketch of the witches' kitchen scene are also found in Zhou's translation. In addition, a brief summary of Goethe's life and the history of the writing of the play are incorporated in the text as well. As Zhou noted in his preface, it was his aim to give the Chinese a deeper understanding and better appreciation of the German writer and his masterpiece. Through the study of this great piece of literature, he wishes to enlighten the spirit of his people, heighten their appreciation of literature, and improve their critical and analytical faculty (42).

While Guo Moruo's translation of *Faust* represents the successful early introduction of *Faust* into China, especially to the readers on the mainland, it was primarily the publication of Zhou's translation in the late 1970s that marks the

popularity of the German poetic drama on the island of Taiwan. Guo's *Faust* shows the admirable effort of an individual writer merely to introduce a German work into China, whereas Zhou's translation illustrates the meticulous care and detailed investigation of a single scholar in presenting a scholarly edition of the same work in Chinese.

A few years shortly after the publication of Zhou's translation in 1978 one saw yet another boom in the translation of *Faust* in China. In the year 1982, at least three new editions of the play appeared in Taiwan and the mainland. Hai Ming's translation, based on Philip Wayne's English translation, was included into the *Series of World Literature* [Shijie wenxue congshu]. It was released by the Distant View Publishing Company [Yuanjing chubanshe], one of the largest commercial presses in Taiwan. On the mainland, two experts of German literature, Qian Chunyi and Dong Wenzhao, contributed two new translations of *Faust* which were printed in simplified Chinese characters. Dong was a scholar of German literature back in the 1930s. He had studied the original text of *Faust* and had seen stage versions and movies adapted from Goethe's work while he was in Germany. As a matter of fact, he spent thirty years on the translation of the play, the first draft of which he finished in the 1960s. Dong's translation shows his painstaking care not only as a responsible and faithful translator but also as a serious *Faust* scholar, who wishes to present a more complete, if not definitive, Chinese text of the German poetic play. In order to help the readers, Dong includes elaborate comments and explanations to the "Prelude", in addition to careful annotations and notes to the text. In fluent and, at times, poetic Chinese, he presents a readable Chinese version of the German work to the Chinese readers today, keeping as close as possible, in meaning, rhythm, and images, to the original without sacrificing the beauty and special structure of the Chinese language.

Qian's translation was published by the Translation Press [Yiwen chubanshe], an authoritative publisher as important as the Foreign Languages Press [Waiwen chubanshe] in China, whereas Dong's *Faust* was issued by Fudan University Press. It is interesting to note that Shanghai remains one of the most important places in the introduction of Western literatures in China, both in the early stage of modernization as well as in the recent re-emphasis on modernization of the country through Western learning and technology.

Although Goethe's great accomplishment in *Faust* has been generally recognized and lauded by most Chinese, the work never gained the same degree of popularity among the readers as that enjoyed by *Werther* in the Chinese soil. The complexity of the plot, the many digressions and classical allusions, as well as the remoteness of the incidents and the legend tend to make Goethe's play more difficult and less interesting to the general reading public. *Werther* is considered by Germany, by the Western World as a whole, and by China as their common heritage, as a work dealing with universal issues of human experience easily understood, deeply felt, and commonly shared by readers in the world; whereas the spiritual and intellectual disturbances of *Faust*, his philosophical speculation, his quest for ultimate knowledge and meaning of life, his search for

happiness, and his pact with the devil are generally regarded as philosophical issues too remote from the immediate experience of an average reader in China. Probably it is due to the difficulty of the text, with its digressions and allusions, and poetic diction, as well as to the profundity of thought which demands from the reader a sound and solid knowledge of Western civilization as a whole, that has hindered many Chinese readers' full understanding and appreciation of the German work. Despite of all these problems, *Faust* and *Werther* have, nonetheless, remained Goethe's best known and most widely read works in China.

While *Werther* and *Faust* were first introduced in the 1920s, it was only in the succeeding decade that more of Goethe's other works were introduced to the Chinese reading public through translation. Goethe's fame and popularity continued to grow in China in the 1930s and translations of his works flooded the Chinese literary world. In 1930 his autobiographical work *Poetry and Truth* [Dichtung und Wahrheit] was translated by Zhang Jingsheng in Shanghai. Yang Bingchen also attempted a new translation of the "Prologue" of *Faust* in the *Tsinghua Weekly* [Qinghua zhoukan] in 1931, while Xi Yi published his Chinese translation of "Erlkönig", "Der Sänger", and "Das Veilchen". In the same issue of the *Tsinghua Weekly*, there were also Li Pengzhou's "Goethe's Poems" and Beixin's translations of "Schäfersklagelied", "Mailed", and "Neue Liebe, neues Leben".

An extract from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* [Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre] was translated by Yu Wenbing under the title Mignon [Meiliang] in Shanghai in 1932. This was followed by an abridged edition of *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* by Wu Lifu in the succeeding year. A general work on famous German poems was also made available in Chinese translation by Zhang Jiamou in 1934; and in the same year a collection of Goethe's poems translated by Zhang Zhuanpu was published under the title *Selected Poems of Goethe* [Gede ming shi ji]. *Goetz von Berlichungen mit der eisernen Hand* was also introduced to the Chinese in a translation Zhou Xuepu in 1936. In the same year, one also saw the publication of Si Mu (penname for Yao Simu)'s two-volume translation of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in Shanghai. His rendition has been for many years the only complete translation of Goethe's autobiography in China. In September of 1936 Wu Guangjian's abridged version of *Wilhelm Meister* was published in a Chinese-English text by the Commercial Press. In 1937 Zhou Xuepu made yet another contribution to the introduction of Goethe's works by translating *Hermann und Dorothea*, which was also published by the Commercial Press.

Before the end of World War II in China, the major literary journal to carry on the publicity of Goethe was *Research and Progress* [Yanjiu yu jinbu], a journal published quarterly in Peking in 1939. Inspired by a similar quarterly journal *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, which was published by the State Centre for Scientific Research Development [Reichszentrale für wissenschaftliche Berichterstattung] in Germany, this Chinese journal was established with the intention of promoting cultural exchanges between Germany and China. With the help of Dr. Karl Kerkhof, the chief editor of the mentioned German journal at the time,

the editors of the Chinese journal were able to introduce to the literary circles in China new research findings in the fields of humanities and natural sciences currently carried out in Germany. The emphasis was primarily on the translation of scholarly German studies, but Chinese studies of German culture were also welcomed.

A year later, the journal changed its name to *Chinese-German Journal* [Zhong De xuezhì], which appeared with a German title *Aus deutschem Geistesleben*. As one saw in the first issue of the re-named journal, not only was the title changed, but the nature of the Chinese journal also underwent modification. Realizing that most of the readers in the field of natural sciences could read German essays in their original without much difficulty, the editors of the journal decided to do away with Chinese translations on natural science. They devoted all of their attention to translating German literary works by such great writers as Goethe and Schiller, and to presenting biographical sketches of these famous German literary figures. The journal further informed readers of news on translation, publication, and teaching of German in China, as well as lectures and books associated with German studies that might be of interest to the Chinese. Their sole aim was to cultivate a better knowledge and appreciation of the German culture in the country. Translations of *Elective Affinities* [Die Wahlverwandschaften], *Wilhelm Meister's Wandering Years* [Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre], Goethe's poems, his correspondence with Schiller, his own study on *Faust*, and Guo Moruo's translation of *Hermann und Dorothea*, were all published in the journal in the 1940s.

The flourishing of Goethe's works in China, involving a considerable number of translators and such major publishers as the Commercial Press, the Creation Society Press, the Beixin Book Company, the Chuanyi Bookstore, the Enlightenment Bookstore, the Oriental Book Company [Yadong tushuguan], and the Kaiming Bookstore not only reflects a high degree of popularity of the German writer among his Chinese readers, but also the close relationship between Germany and China in cultural exchanges. Although not all of the Chinese translations did justice to Goethe's works, they represent, nonetheless, an entirely new source of inspiration and power of expression to the Chinese readers and writers, enriching the cultural life of the Chinese intellectuals as a whole.

The change of the political situation in China in 1949, however, brought about a decline of Goethe translation in China mainland on the one hand, and a sudden boom in the Goethe translation enterprise in Taiwan and Hong Kong on the other. In addition to the numerous translations of *Werther* and *Faust* mentioned, Goethe's poetic works were also published in more than eight different editions by Lin Fan (in Hong Kong, 1956), Lo Xian (in Hong Kong, 1958), Hua Sheng (in Taipei, 1958), Wu Shouren (in Taipei, 1963), Xing Jizhang (in Hong Kong, 1968), Lu Mingxia (in Taipei, 1969), and Li Guisheng (in Taipei, 1970). Reprints of *Die Wahlverwandschaften*, *Stella*, *Clavigo*, *Wilhelm Meister*, and *Hermann und Dorothea* were also made accessible to readers in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Collections of German short stories in which Goethe's shorter literary works were included, as well as Goethe's love letters, his conversations with Eckermann, his selected works, and his aphorisms and maxims were frequently published in Taiwan and Hong Kong. The more well known titles were Zhou Xuepu's *Conversations with Goethe* [Gede duihua lu], Xuan Zheng's *Selected Short Stories from Germany and Austria* [De Ao duanpian xiaoshuo xuan], Gan Kechao's *Gleams from Goethe* [Gede zhenyan lu], and Ru Xin's *Goethe's Aphorisms* [Rensheng juyu]. In 1975 there appeared a new translation of Goethe's autobiography in Taipei. Its translator Zhao Zhen considers *Dichtung und Wahrheit* a masterpiece of biographical literature, in which the wisdom of a great writer is reflected. By introducing this work to the readers, Zhao believes that his readers can have a deeper understanding of Goethe and be enlightened in the pursuit of truth, love, and happiness.

The situation on the mainland at the time was, however, quite the opposite. From the 1950s to the middle of the 1970s, translation of Goethe was definitely on a decline. During the Cultural Revolution period in particular, the translation of such a Western author as Goethe was nearly equal to committing an unpardonable 'crime'. Liang Zongdai's translation of *Faust*, for example, was purged and destroyed in a fire; and Shang Zhengzi, who was a professor of German literature, was also purged and died before he could fulfil his wish of writing a critical study of *Faust*. It was only with the end of the Cultural Revolution and later the fall of the 'Gang of Four' that the translators of Goethe once again resumed their active role as major promoters of Goethe's works in China. Using Hans T. Kroeber's and Franz Deibel's editions, Zhu Guangqian translated Goethe's conversations with Eckermann and published them in Peking in 1978. Wang Yiju also involved in the translation of selections of Goethe's and Schiller's narrative poems.

From the 1980s on, more of Goethe's poems, short fiction, short stories, and maxims, together with the new translations of *Werther* and *Faust* mentioned earlier, have been repeatedly published by various publishers throughout the mainland as well as in Taiwan. These translations reveal that it is primarily the romantic elements, the rich ideas, the sincere feelings, and the portrayal of nature in Goethe's works as well as his progressive and optimistic view of life that the Chinese readers find most appealing and fascinating. Goethe's own personality, his individuality, his genius as a writer and a scientist, his experience as a minister of a state, and his relationships with women also tend to put him in a more glamorous light than most of other Western writers. At a time when the Chinese government is reemphasizing modernization in the country and welcoming foreign ideas, the renewed interest in Goethe as reflected in the many translations of his works clearly shows his importance. The popularity of *Werther* and *Faust* throughout the years further sheds light on the general taste, temperament, as well as expectation of the Chinese at different stages in her intellectual, social, and political history.

The popularity of *Werther* clearly illustrates the universal appeal of Werther's love and related problems. It further draws one's attention to the resem-

blance between the German novel and the Chinese literary tradition of “talented youth and beautiful maiden” [caizijiaren]. The Chinese find the artistic and talented Werther, with his incurable love sickness, very much in line with their own traditional concept of a gifted student in love. Lotte’s calm and modest composure, her tender feelings, lively spirit, dignified bearing, and graceful movement put her in a very favourable light in the eyes of the Chinese as the ideal type of woman. Taken as a whole, Werther and Lotte agree perfectly with the Chinese conception of an ideal pair of lovers; thus, their inability to marry and the death of Werther greatly move the Chinese emotionally. The yearnings, the intensity of feelings, the frustrations of ambitions, and the unfulfilment in love, as well as the delicate romantic atmosphere heavily laden with lovers’ sighs and tears, and, in many cases, the suicide of one or both of the lovers, are shared features in many Chinese plays, short stories, and novels dated as early as the Tang dynasty (ca. 618–907). “The Story of Ying Ying” [Yingying zhuan] of the T’ang period, *The Romance of the West Chamber* [Xixiang ji] of the Yuan dynasty, and *Dream of the Red Chamber* [Honglou Meng] of the Qing dynasty are some of the more notable examples of this tradition of “gifted youth and charming maiden” in China. The analogy between *Werther* and this tradition of romantic love, dedicated lovers, and unfulfilled love in Chinese literature is apparent. And it is probably the presence of these familiar traits in *Werther* which partially accounts for the easy passage and warm reception of the German novel in China.

Although the German novel is a rich work, touching on many issues besides love, it is basically the sentimental and lyrical qualities of the tragic tale of love that have attracted the general reading public in China. Besides associating Werther and Lotte with their classical conception of ideal lovers, many readers further find the German novel agreeable to their own romantic inclination and to their preoccupation with nature. In a highly artistic and lyrical style, Goethe succeeds in depicting not only the boundless love and frustrations of a young man, but also an idyllic world of peace, harmony, and scenic beauty. The general sense of uncertainty, boredom, and pointless existence characteristic of youths in the world and the indictment of the corrupt social order and conventional morality in the German novel further find resonance in the Chinese youths of the May Fourth era. They shared with Werther in their yearning for the liberation of the self, for spontaneous overflow of feelings, and for individual freedom. Introduced at a time when China was battling against feudalism and Confucianism, the social significance of Goethe’s work was as distinctive as the introduction of Ibsen’s *Nora* or Marx’s theories in twentieth-century China.

While *Werther* appeals to the emotional and aesthetic sides of Chinese readers, it is primarily the Faustian view of life in Goethe’s great poetic drama that holds the attention of Chinese intellectuals. Owing to the national need for progress and development and for perseverance and persistence in times of adversity, the Chinese intellectuals in general tend to see *Faust* as the celebration of a progressive and positive attitude of life—an attitude appropriate and essential in the building and strengthening of a modern nation. Although many inci-

dents and ideas in the play seem remote even to the Chinese readers today, the latter never fail to recognize or hail its progressive approach to life, emphasizing the necessity for action, the human strife toward truth and perfection, and the efforts in establishing a free and happy place for all people. These notions are indeed desirable to all Chinese living on the mainland, in Taiwan, and Hong Kong who realize that the country is still in the process of modernization. This also explains the recent revival of interest in Goethe in mainland China, for readers there saw in Goethe's works, *Werther* and *Faust* in particular, social significance that could help in the education of the people and the development of the nation. While the enthusiasm involved in translating Goethe's works can be taken as a friendly gesture on the part of the Chinese, showing their desire for cultural understanding and intellectual exchange with the Western world, the promotion of Goethe's works through the circulation of these translations in the Chinese milieu definitely mirrors the Chinese recognition of the German author's significance and accomplishment in world literature and their endeavour for intellectual betterment in the country.

WORKS CITED

- A Ying, "Early Chinese Translations of Goethe's Works" [Guanyu Gede zuopin chu chi de Zhong yi] *People's Daily* [Renmin ribao], April 24.
- Bauer, Wolfgang and Hwang Shen-chang, eds. *German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History: A Bibliography of Chinese Publications* [Deutschlands Einfluss auf die moderne chinesische Geistesgeschichte: eine Bibliographie chinesischsprachiger Werke]. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982.
- Brandes, George. *Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature*. London: William Heinemann, 1906.
- Cai Yuanpei. "China's New Culture in the Past Thirty-five Years" [Sanshiwu nian lai zhi Zhongguo xinwenhua]. In *The Complete Works of Mr. Cai Yuanpei* [Cai Yuanpei xian-sheng chuanji]. Taipei: Commercial Press, 1968.
- Franke, Wolfgang and Dschang Schau-dien, eds. *A Bibliography of Chinese Translations of German Texts* [Dezhi Hanyi congmu]. Peking: Deutschland Institute, 1942.
- Guo Moruo. *Faust II* [Fushide]. Peking: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1959; 1978.
- . *Shaonian Weite zhi fannao* [Young Werther's sorrows]. Hong Kong: Fuxing tushu gongsi, 1922; 1961.
- . *Ten Years of the Creation Society* [Chuangzou shinian]. Hong Kong: Huiwenge shudian, 1972.
- Library of Shanghai, comp. *A Bibliography of Kuo Mo-jo's Creative Writings and Transactions* [Guo Moruo zhu yi shumu]. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1980.
- Wang Bosheng. "From the Performance of Translated Plays to the Japanese Dramatic Techniques" [Cong yiju de yanfa shuo dao Riben de juyi]. *Drama Monthly* [Juxue yuekan] 1. 6 (June 1932): 1.
- Wang Guangchi. *Wang Guangchi's Writings during His Stay in Germany* [Wang Guangchi liu De congkao]. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuzhu, 1937.

- Xu Zhimo, "The Quatrains of Goethe Have Not Been Well Translated" [Gede de si heng shi hai weiyou fanhao]. *Morning Post Supplement* [Chenbao fukan], October 8, 1925.
- Yang Wu-neng, "Goethe and Modern Chinese Literature" [Gede yu zhongguo xiandai wenxue]. *Dushu* 36 (March 1982):100.
- Zhang Fuguang, "Sketches of Early Drama Performance in Guangdong" [Guangdong zhao chi huaju kaishu]. *Materials On Dramatic Art* [Xiju yishu ziliao] No. 3 (1980):16.
- Zhou Xuepu, trans. *Faust* [Fushide]. Taipei: Chi wen ch'u-pan she, 1978; 1982.
- Zhou Zuoren. *A History of European Literature* [Ouzhou wenxue shi]. III. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1919.

CULTURAL PRIMER OR *BIBLE STORIES* IN CONTEMPORARY MAINLAND CHINA

Jost O. ZETZSCHE

1205 Front Street, Lynden, WA 98264, U.S.A.

In the PRC, where the *Bible* can only be bought through the church, and religious propaganda is prohibited, are *Bible Stories* read as a substitute for the *Bible* or for its literary and historical value. The aim of this study is to analyze some of approximately twenty collections of these stories, which seem to be in favor with Chinese readers.

The publication of *Bible Stories* is a topic that does not generally spawn academic interest or analysis. *Bible Stories* are traditionally published by church-related institutions for the propagation of Christianity, and most of them are written for children in a simplified language which makes these stories more accessible than the actual Bible. China's situation, however, is unique: though the propagation of religion is illegal, there have nevertheless been a great number of Bible story collections published throughout the last years, and, indeed, they prove to be significantly different from the prototype versions of American or European *Bible Stories*. These Chinese *Bible Stories* are published by distinctly secular publishing houses like the *Red Flag Publishing House* (*Hongqi chubanshe* [1]) or the *China Social Sciences Publishing House* (*Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe* [2])¹ and written exclusively for an adult audience. The Bible itself is available in China – since 1980 it is again being printed and sold² – but it can only be bought through the church and in the somewhat antiquated *Union Version* (first pub. 1919).³ These conditions raise the following questions, among others: Who is reading these stories and why? Are *Bible Sto-*

¹ The only versions known to the author that show any connection with the church are Wu (see below) and *Peitu shengjing gushi* [3] (*Bible Stories with Pictures*) (Chengdu: Sichuan meishu chubanshe [4] 1992) by Jin Ping [5] and Shi Qinfen [6], who acknowledge the help of a pastor of the “Three-Self-Church” in Chengdu for their version.

² By April 1997, 15 million Bibles had been issued by the Amity Press in Nanjing (see *China heute* 16, 1997, 3–4, pp. 77 f.

³ In Hong Kong there are presently at least seven different Protestant Bible translations available, many of which are sold both in religious and secular book stores.

ries in China being read as a substitute for the Bible? What picture of the Bible is represented in these books? In a country like China where Christianity has experienced such an immense growth in recent years, these questions are loaded with significance.

Common Features

Throughout the last two decades, approximately twenty collections of Chinese *Bible Stories*, *Shengjing gushi* [7], have been published in widely differing formats.⁴ While some are mere translations of existing *Bible Stories*,⁵ most are newly written and collated; some are slim volumes without any introduction or illustration,⁶ while others have elaborate introductions or illustrations. In fact, some have so many accompanying pictures that they are reminiscent of comic strips or the Chinese form thereof, *lianhuanhua*. From 1982 to 1994, one of the earliest and the most successful of all versions, ZHANG,⁷ went through 13 editions and more than 1.1 million published copies.

The various versions of *Bible Stories* can be grouped according to their different approaches, for which typical examples have been chosen for this study. However, there are common attributes to almost all of the *Bible Stories*. One is the justification of their existence. ZHANG writes in the preface to his first edition:

In other countries, *Bible Stories* of this kind are written for children, with easily understandable language. Adults are hardly interested because they for the greatest part have read the Bible. China is different. The greatest part of its people have not had any contact with Christianity, therefore it is very unlikely that they would be so enthusiastic to carefully read the Bible with its more than a million characters from beginning to end.

And then he continues:

If we Chinese want to understand Europe's and America's literature, history, economics, and law we cannot but want to be acquainted with the Bible.

⁴ The apparently first version was Wu Guorui's [8] *Shengjing de gushi* [9] (*Bible Stories*). Beijing: Waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu chubanshe [10] 1980. (see Gálik, M.: "The Reception of the Bible in Mainland China (1980–1992): Observations of a Literary Comparatist." *Asian and African Studies* ns 4.1 (1995), p. 24–46: 44).

⁵ See *Manhua shengjing* [11] (*Random Talk about the Bible*) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian [12] 1988) which is a translation of the very critical *Story of the Bible* by H. van Loom (New York: Boni & Liveright 1923), or *Xinyue de chuanshuo* [13] (*Legends of the New Testament*) (Harbin: Haerbin heilongjiang renmin chubanshe [14] 1992), a translation of a Polish original.

⁶ See for instance the version by Shi Fuzong [15] (*Shengjing gushi xinbian* [16] (*New Compilation of Bible Stories*)). Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe [17] 1993).

⁷ Zhang Jiuxuan [18]: *Shengjing gushi* [7] (*Bible Stories*). 1st ed.: Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [2] 1982, rev. ed.: 1987; Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe [19] 1993; 2nd rev. ed.: Beijing: Hongqi chubanshe [1] 1994.

This argumentation can be found in almost all versions: the importance of the Bible for China lies in the fact that it is a medium for understanding Western culture and civilization.

As ZHANG mentioned, *Bible Stories* in the West are usually for children; however, there are also English editions for adults. In one of them, written by P. S. Martin,⁸ the preface contains a completely different reason for the publication:

If the book is to be written for young children, one may easily justify his effort – the Bible contains language and symbolism which must be “translated” into a child’s language in order for him to understand them. In the case of older children or adults – the group for which this book is intended—the situation is somewhat different. One might suggest that the Bible itself is sufficient for them. On the other hand, I have found that even intelligent teenagers and adults find it difficult to grasp immediately the plot and message of certain scriptures. For them, a clearly-written story can lead effectively to a deeper study of the Bible itself.

The difference between these two approaches is striking. The Chinese authors see their effort as a contribution to a deeper understanding of the West, whereas the Western author hopes to contribute to a deeper understanding of the Bible itself.

Another common feature of the Chinese *Bible Stories* is the Protestant perspective.⁹ This becomes apparent in their view of the canonization of biblical books – though the Apocrypha is included in some of the versions, it is marked as the Protestant Apocrypha and not as part of the Catholic Old Testament. The Protestant perspective also becomes apparent in the use of Protestant terminology for theological terms as well as proper names, the areas in which Catholic and Protestant terminology differ the most.¹⁰ “God” is interestingly translated in all versions with *shangdi* [22] (“Emperor above”), one of the two terms in Protestant use. The other term, *shen* [23] (“spirit” or “god”), predominantly

⁸ Martin, Patricia S.: *Bible Stories That Live*. Nashville: Southwestern Company 1966. A newer, somewhat different form of *Bible Stories* for adults is Wangerin, W.: *The Book of God: The Bible as a Novel*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan 1996.

⁹ Only one exception is known to the author. *Ai de qishi* [20] (Revelation of Love) by Xiao Xiao [21] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [2] 1994) is based on the Catholic Bible. Its stated intention is to distinguish it from the “selectiveness” of existing *Bible Stories* and to present a more comprehensive and objective picture of the Bible. Though the poetic books of the Old Testament are not included and the New Testament section only consists of the Gospels, Xiao still succeeds in giving a more comprehensive and at the same time more positive picture of the Bible than most of the other authors.

¹⁰ See Zetzsche, J.: “Aspekte der chinesischen Bibelübersetzung.” In: “*Fallbeispiel China*”: *Ökumenische Beiträge zu Religion, Theologie und Kirche im chinesischen Kontext*. Ed. R. Malek. St. Augustin: China-Zentrum; Nettetal: Steyler Verlag 1996: p. 29–88; “*Tianzhu, Shangdi oder Shen?* Zur Entstehung der christlichen chinesischen Terminologie.” In: *Chun (Chinesischunterricht)* 13 (1997): p. 23–34.

used in mainland China, apparently did not fit as well with the concept of a God of stories, being somewhat too spiritual and impersonal.¹¹

Most of the versions pay some tribute in their preface to the *Union Version*, by far the most commonly used Chinese Protestant Bible translation; however, they also criticize its somewhat stilted language. As a result, the authors of the *Bible Stories* strive for greater comprehensibility through the use of a more modern style.

The beginning of the New Testament narrative starts in all versions with the story of Elizabeth and Zechariah (Luke 1). Though the opening sentence of this story does not contain any relevant theological information, the stylistic differences from the *Union Version* become readily apparent. Luke 1:5 in the *Union Version* reads:

Dang Youtai wang Xilü de shihou, Yabiya ban li you yige jisi, ming jiao Sajialiya; ta qizi shi Yalun de houren, ming jiao Yilishabai.
[24]¹²

The *Bible Stories* read as follows:

Da Xilü wang zai Youtai zhizheng de shihou, Yabiya ban li you yiwei jisi, ming jiao Sajialiya, ta you yige qizi, ming jiao Yilishabai, shi Yalun de houdai. [25]¹³ (ZHANG (1994), p. 435)

Xilü wei Youtai guowang shiqi, zai Yabiya you yi ming jiao Sajialiya de jisi, ta he yiwei Yalun jisi de houdai, ming jiao Yilishabai de nüren jie le hun. [26]¹⁴ (GUO¹⁵ : p. 379)

Xilü wei Youtai guowang shiqi, zai Yabiya you yi ming jiao Sajialiya de jisi, ta he yiwei ming jiao Yilishabai de nüren jie le hun.
[28]¹⁶ (JIANG¹⁷ : p. 301)

¹¹ The translation of “God” into Chinese was one of the most controversial questions in the history of the Chinese church. Though today both terms, *shangdi* and *shen*, are used, the Bibles sold in mainland China employ only *shen*.

¹² “In the time of Herod, king of Judea, there was a priest in the division of Abijah with the name of Zechariah; his wife was a descendant of Aaron with the name of Elizabeth.”

¹³ “In the time that Herod the Great was ruling in Judea, there was a priest in the division of Abijah with the name of Zechariah, he had a wife with the name of Elizabeth who was a descendant of Aaron.”

¹⁴ “In the period when Herod was king of Judea, there was a priest named Zechariah in Abijah. He was married to a woman named Elizabeth who was a descendant of the priest Aaron.”

¹⁵ Guo Chenghui [27]: *Shengjing gushi* [7] (Bible Stories). Shanghai: Sanlian shudian [12] 1995.

¹⁶ “In the period when Herod was king of Judea, there was a priest named Zechariah in Abijah. He was married to a woman named Elizabeth.”

¹⁷ Jiang Weidong, Liu Zhao, Feng Lan, Xiao Yuan, Wei Qing [29]: *Shengjing gushi* [7] (Bible Stories). Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe [19] 1996.

Xilü wang tongzhi Youda de shihou, you yiwei ming jiao Sajialiya de jisi, ta qizi ming jiao Yilishabai. [30]¹⁸ (ZENG,¹⁹ p. 526)

Zai Youda guowang Xilü nianjian, you yige ming jiao Sajialiya de jisi, ta de qizi jiao Yilishabai . . . [32]²⁰ (XIAO,²¹ p. 485)

Zhengdang Da Xilü zuo Yutai wang shi, Youda zhipai de Yuta cheng, you yiwei jisi, ming jiao Sajialiliya, quqi Yilishabai, . . . [36]²² (WU,²³ p. 266)

The language of the *Union Version* is far more literary than the style of the other versions. That of Zhang is very similar, yet the use of *zhizheng* [40] in the first part of the sentence shows the preference for modern terminology (comparable is *tongzhi* [41] in ZENG or *jiehun* [42] in GUO and JIANG), as well as the syntax used. In GUO, JIANG, and XIAO, modern genitive constructions with *de* [43] are used. The only version which tends to use more literary language is WU (see below). In the versions of ZHANG, GUO, and JIANG, *Elizabeth* is not transliterated in the traditional Protestant way ([44]) but in the revised form ([45]).²⁴ Changes of this kind are applied to names which are misunderstandable, such as *Yilishabai*'s old form as "Uncle of Yilisha".²⁵

To differentiate between the various versions of *Bible Stories*, it is illuminating to discover what stories in the Bible are considered worthy of inclusion – or exclusion – by the Chinese authors. In the process, clues to the motivation behind the publication can also be detected.

¹⁸ "As King Herod reigned over Judah, there was a priest by the name of Zechariah, his wife's name was Elizabeth."

¹⁹ Zeng Chuanhui, Qiu Fengxia, Zhong Li, Zhang Lingling [31]: *Shengjing gushi* [7] (Bible Stories). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [2] 1994.

²⁰ "In the years of king Herod of Judah, there was a priest named Zechariah, his wife was called Elizabeth . . ."

²¹ Xiao Lianbing, He Nong, Cheng Ying [33]: *Quanyi huihua shengjing gushi* [34] (Completely Translated Bible Stories with Pictures). Beijing: Beijing shifandaxue chubanshe [35] 1991.

²² "When Herod the Great was the king of Judea, in the city Juttah of Judah, there was a priest with the name Zechariah who had married Elizabeth. . ."

²³ Wu Enpu [37]: *Shengjing chuanqi* [38] (Bible Legends). Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe [39] 1994.

²⁴ This can be found in the revised edition of the *Union Version* (*Chinese Union Version with New Punctuation*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Bible Society 1989), as well as in other modern Bible translations (see for instance *Today's Chinese Version*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Bible Society 1980, 1984 and 1995). In mainland China, a moderately revised edition of the New Testament that was published in 1996 also has some revised transliterations (*Shengjing jianshiben* [*Xinyue*] [46]. Nanjing: Zhongguo jidujiao xiehui [47] 1996).

²⁵ For some reason the adoption of new transliterations was not done consistently in the *Bible Stories*. *Nigedimu* [48] for instance, understandable as "Mother of the Elder Brother of Ni," was left as such and not in its modern form *Nigedemu* [49].

The Popular Approach

The version of ZHANG, by far the most popular and successful of the Chinese *Bible Stories*, served as a model in its choice of stories for the versions of JIANG and GUO. In the Old Testament, the stories from creation to the founding and division of Israel are covered almost identically in the three versions.²⁶ For the kings of the divided kingdom, the story of Ahab and Jezebel (1 Kings 21; 2 Kings) is most prominently covered (the story of the evil queen Jezebel only too obviously fits the pattern of the evil empress in Chinese historiography).²⁷ The captivity in Babylon and the restoration of the temple (2 Kings 25, 2 Chron 36, Ezra-Esther) are again described in great length.

Most revealing about the method of retelling the Old Testament is the way the prophets are handled. Elijah and Elisha, whose stories form part of the historical books in the Old Testament, are treated elaborately; of the others prophets, only the stories of Daniel and Jonah are told. Only in ZHANG is a short chapter devoted to the Messiah prophecies of Isaiah.

Of the poetic books of the Old Testament, Job appears in all three, even completely translated in its poetic form in ZHANG.²⁸ Only GUO leaves out the Song of Songs, which is completely translated by both ZHANG and JIANG. None of the other poetic books, such as the Psalms, Proverbs or Ecclesiastes, appear.

The Old Testament is thus for a great part presented as a historical book. Much of the spiritual content – in the prophetic as well as in the poetic books – is lost. Though the stories give a picture of people who are in a relationship with God (or lack thereof), it emphasizes people and their actions rather than God, an emphasis that differs significantly from what the Old Testament stands for in Christian or Jewish understanding.

²⁶ The stories include creation (Gen. 1–2), original sin (Gen. 3), Cain and Abel (Gen. 4), Noah (Gen. 6–9), tower of Babel (Gen. 11), the patriarchs (Gen. 13–50), Moses and the Exodus (Exod. 2–18), laws (Exod. 20–39), bronze serpent (Num. 21), Balaam (Num. 22–24), crossing of the Jordan (Josh. 1–3), Jericho (Josh. 6), Joshua's battles (Josh. 7–12), Deborah (Judg. 4–5), Gideon (Judg. 11–13), Samson (Judg. 14–16), murder of Levite's concubine (Judg. 19–21), Ruth (Ruth), Samuel, Saul and David (1–2 Sam.), Solomon (1 Kings 1–11), and the division of the kingdom (1 Kings 12).

²⁷ Other stories include that of Jeroboam (1 Kings 12–13), Menahem (2 Kings 15) (not in Guo), or Hezekiah (2 Kings 18–20, 2 Chron. 29–32).

²⁸ The preface to the second edition points to this as the major change from the first edition of 1982, where the story of Job was only retold, to the second edition in 1985, where the new translation appears for the first time. The first and later editions differ in more significant ways, however. The first edition has much more the character of a mere collection of coherent stories by the exclusion of all the poetic parts (like the Song of Deborah or the Song of Songs), some of the "obscure stories" (like the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38), the murder of the Levite concubine (Judg. 19–21), or Absalom (2 Sam. 13–18)), the laws (Exod. 20–39), or the stories of Ruth and Jonah.

Additionally, the prophetic books—many of which provide very lively storytelling material²⁹—build an important bridge between the Old and the New Testament, a bridge which is lost in these *Bible Stories* versions. The authors of ZHANG, JIANG, and GUO try to compensate for this by adding the Apocrypha. ZHANG's preface to the second edition (and similar remarks in JIANG and GUO) explains that

the importance of these works [the Apocrypha] lies in their lively reflection of Jewish history, life, thinking, worship and religion in the centuries before the begin of the Common era. Only with this historical and cultural background can one have an easy understanding of Jesus's life and teaching.

Again, the historical and cultural background is emphasized rather than any spiritual connection between the Old and New Testaments. Of course, Zhang Jiuxuan, the author of ZHANG, may have had a special motivation for the inclusion of the Apocrypha as its first modern Chinese translator (from a Protestant perspective).³⁰ Still, the length of the narrative (more than 100 pages) and the fact that in both JIANG and GUO a relatively large space is reserved for the Apocrypha (75 and 67 pages respectively) indicate a significance of including the Apocrypha beyond Zhang's personal preference.

The New Testament narrative is dominated by two stories, that of Jesus's life and teaching and that of the early church. The stories of the New Testament are nearly identical in GUO and JIANG. This similarity, along with the fact that GUO was printed in Changchun, where JIANG was printed and published a year later,³¹ suggests a likelihood that GUO was plagiarized during that time. This is also supported by the fact that GUO has several chapters that JIANG does not in-

²⁹ English *Bible Stories* prove this by integrating the stories of the prophets into their tale. See Martin and Wangerin (see fn. 8) as well as the "classical" children's *Bible Stories* by E. E. Egermeier (*Bible Story Book*. 1st ed. 1922. Anderson, Ind.: Warner Press 1955) or A. S. Maxwell (*The Bible Story*. 10 vol. 1st ed. 1953. Mountain View, Ca.: Pacific Press et al. 1979).

³⁰ Zhang Jiuxuan [18]: *Shengjing houdian* [50]. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan [51] 1987. In his first edition of 1982, the Apocrypha is not only not included but are mentioned as only belonging to the Catholic Bible (p. 1).

The very first Protestant translation of the Apocrypha into classical Chinese was undertaken by the Anglican missionary Montgomery Hunt Throop and Waung Yih-t sien in the twenties; in 1933, the first Mandarin edition, based on the earlier classical edition, was published by H. F. Lei (see Spillett, Hubert W.: *A Catalogue of Scriptures in the Languages of China and the Republic of China*. London: British and Foreign Bible Society 1975, pp. 48, 102). In 1995 another translation of the Apocrypha was published in China (Zhao Peilin, Zhang Jun, Yin Yao [52]: *Shengjing cijing* [53]. Changchun: Shidai wenyi chubanshe [54] 1995). Both modern versions of the Apocrypha were translated on the basis of the English *Good News Bible with Deuterocanonicals/Apocrypha* (New York: American Bible Society 1979).

³¹ JIANG's publishing house also republished ZHANG in 1993, *Jilin wenshi chubanshe* (see fn. 7).

clude.³² These chapters not only include the Epistles (see below), but also the chapter on the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5–7, GUO p. 397–404) and the story of Peter’s confession and Jesus’s teaching on discipleship (Matt. 16:13–28, GUO p. 455–457), both of which are of great theological relevance.

The story of Jesus’s life is retold quite similarly in the three (or rather two) versions,³³ with the exception that in ZHANG Jesus’s life and teaching is additionally summarized in a chapter (entitled: *qiankun zuji* [55] – “footprints in heaven and on earth”, p. 567–575). The story of the disciples and the early church also is similarly retold (only that for some reason the authors of GUO (/JIANG) insist on calling Paul (Chin. *Baoluo* [56]) Saul (Chin. *Saoluo* [57]), the name used in the Bible before his conversion (see Acts 13:9).³⁴ However, ZHANG’s and JIANG’s narratives end with the story of Paul in Rome (Acts 28), whereas GUO’s continues with a summary of nine of the 21 Epistles.³⁵

The historical books of the New Testament, the Gospels and Acts, obviously contain more material for *Bible Stories* than the Epistles or Revelation, but Revelation particularly contains a great number of images which have even found their way into Chinese literature.³⁶ The choice of the Gospels and Acts for use in the *Bible Stories* has an effect similar to the choice of the Old Testament stories. Theological and prophetic aspects, which obviously form an important part

³² See also the quoted passage from the story of Elizabeth and Zechariah where the authors of JIANG edited the text of GUO.

³³ In ZHANG the narrative includes: birth of Jesus and John the Baptist (Luke 1), flight to Egypt (Matt. 2:13–23), twelve year old Jesus in the temple (Luke 2:41–52), Jesus’s baptism and temptation (Matt. 3:13–4:11, et al.), call of the Apostles (John 1:35–51, Matt. 4:18–22, et al.), wedding in Cana (John 2:1–11), cleansing of the temple (John 2:13–22, et al.), Nicodemus (John 3:1–21), Samaritan woman (John 4:1–42), several (chapters on) healings (John 4:46–54, Matt. 8:5–13, et al.), sermon on the mount (Matt. 5–7), Jesus and the woman sinner (Luke 7:36–39), Jesus’s return to Galilee (Luke 4:14–30, 8:19–21, et al.), feeding of the 5,000 (Matt. 14:13–21, et al.), walk on the water (Matt. 14:22–36, et al.), transfiguration and questions concerning Jesus’s identity (Luke 7:18–35, 9:18–45, et al.), Jesus and the Pharisees (Luke 10:1–12, Matt. 22 et al.), several parables (Matt. 9:14–17, 10:25–37, et al.), parables on the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 13 et al.), in Bethany (John 11:1–12:11, Luke 10:38–42, et al.), entry into Jerusalem (John 12:12–12:26 et al.), announcement of the second advent (Matt. 24 et al.), last supper (Matt. 26:20–46, et al.), betrayal (Matt. 26:47–56, 27:3–10 et al.), suffering (26:57–68, 27:1–56, et al.), and the resurrection (Matt. 28 et al.).

³⁴ GUO first uses “*Baoluo*” in the Epistles of Paul, where Paul is identified as Saul in the story of the Apostles (p. 605).

³⁵ GUO includes a short chapter each on the Epistle to the Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, 1 Timothy, Hebrews, James, 1/2 Peter, 1 John.

³⁶ See Gálik, M.: “Parody and Absurd Laughter in Wang Meng’s *Apocalypse*. Musings over the Metamorphosis of the Biblical Vision in Contemporary Chinese Literature.” *Das andere China. Festschrift für Wolfgang Bauer zum 65. Geburtstag*. Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer (ed.). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1995, 449–461.

In the English versions of Martin, Egermeier, and Maxwell, Revelation is included, and the Epistles are mentioned.

of the New Testament, are considered only to a minor degree. And though Jesus talks about the Heavenly Kingdom in all three versions, it is merely as a part of a story, without the personal approach of the Epistles or the dramatic vision of Revelation.

In the beginning of the story of Elizabeth and Zechariah quoted above, an important difference between ZHANG and the other two versions becomes apparent. ZHANG's style is much more exalted and more similar to that of the *Union Version*, making this version the only Chinese collection of *Bible Stories* to be praised by Chinese critics for its "beautiful style and graceful language".³⁷ The same quotation also points to a discrepancy in the biblical scholarship of the other versions: ZHANG has the correct "division of Abijah" of the *Union Version*, whereas the authors of GUO (and JIANG) misunderstand it as a place name ("in Abijah").

The version of ZHANG also includes other information. Its first chapter (*Shengjing genggai* [60]) is an introduction to the biblical books, and its appendix contains historical overviews of biblical times and of the translation history of the Bible.³⁸ The 1994 edition also has 120 well-reproduced woodcuts by Julius Schnorr von Carlsfeld (1794–1872).³⁹

GUO's preface also includes a short introduction to the biblical books, but has none of the other supporting materials of ZHANG's version. JIANG has only a very short introduction to the biblical books, but he does have 12 full-color pictures of Western origin at the beginning of the book (which are interestingly not all correctly labeled: "The Crucifixion of Saint Peter" by Rubens (1577–1640) is labeled as "The Sufferings of Jesus" (*Yesu shounan* [61])).

The common features of these three versions are that the chosen stories are very similar – ZHANG surely served as a model for the other two – and that they have no overt agenda connected with their publication (although it could be shown that the Bible is not adequately represented). However, these versions differ significantly in their levels of scholarship. In his choice of language, his understanding of the original texts, and his supporting materials, the author of ZHANG displays a much more scholarly approach to the Bible than the other two.

The Scientific Approach

The respected *Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe* [2] (China Social Sciences Publishing House) published ZHANG in the early eighties; in 1994 its publication of ZENG added the most voluminous version of *Bible Stories* to the Chinese mar-

³⁷ See Liang Gong [58]: *Shengjing wenxue daodu* [59] (Introduction of Biblical Literature). 2nd vol. Taipei: University of Wisdom 1992, p. 224.

³⁸ The 1982 edition does not have an appendix.

³⁹ In the 1987 edition the 60 reproductions are so unclear that they are barely intelligible.

ket.⁴⁰ Besides an overview of the biblical books and a survey of Bible translation in China, the introduction includes an explanation of the importance of the Bible for China. A century ago, the explanation states, Chinese either “blindly believed (*mixin* [62]) or resisted (*kangju* [63])” the Bible: for those who placed their blind faith in it, the Bible was one with the West and thus with modernity and progress; in the eyes of those who rejected it, on the other hand, the Bible was introduced with the help of gunboats and opium traders. But, according to the authors, who identify themselves as scholars of religious studies, none of the above opinions is suitable for an open and internationally oriented society. Today it is obvious that knowledge of the Bible is essential for the understanding of spiritual ethics (*jingshen daode* [64]), literature, philosophy, religion, language, and art. Of course, it continues, everybody knows that the biblical story of creation is not compatible with modern science, yet people still enjoy talking about the story of the Garden of Eden and other legends. The Bible has so many facets that Engels could see its revolutionary character, Freud its psychological value, and the famed Chinese author Ba Jin [65] (b. 1904) could draw from it inspiration for creating literature.⁴¹ Besides, according to the authors, the Bible does have some value in its inherent wisdom, and knowledge of it would help China to prevent misunderstandings with the West, which bases its entire culture on the Bible. The value of this version, conclude the authors, lies in the new systematization of the stories and reduction of the original text (from approximately 1.6 million to 1 million characters), both efforts to make the Bible more comprehensible.

On the next 11 pages a timetable provides the reader with information about the biblical events in comparison to “real” (scientifically proven) events.

The actual narrative is somewhat different from the other *Bible Stories*. The biblical books each form a chapter containing the retold stories. Besides the books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, all the historical books appear as separate chapters.⁴² The poetic books, with the exception of Job, are copied from the *Union Version*,⁴³ Proverbs and the Song of Songs completely, Psalms and Ecclesiastes only in a selection. Of the prophetic books, the major prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel) are given as a short summary, of the twelve minor prophets only three (Hosea, Jonah, and Zechariah) appear. Five of the 15

⁴⁰ The same publishing house additionally published the Catholic version by Xiao (see fn. 9).

⁴¹ For Ba Jin and Christianity, see Robinson, L.S.: *Double-Edged Sword. Christianity & 20th Century Chinese Fiction*. Hong Kong, Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre 1986, pp. 154–171.

⁴² The books of Chronicles are not separately covered, for many of their stories are told in the books of Samuel and Kings.

⁴³ The copyright to the original *Union Version* text ran out in 1979, 60 years after its publication.

books of the Apocrypha – though barely mentioned in the introduction – are included.⁴⁴ The New Testament section consists of one chapter for the four Gospels, one for Acts, and one for Revelation.

A different emphasis than in the other *Bible Stories* is apparent. The authors have a more analytic approach to the Bible, organizing its stories according to the order of the biblical books and including much more than other authors have done, especially in the poetic part of the Old Testament. At the same time, however, it is a more distanced approach to biblical writing. This becomes evident not only in the introduction, where the authors so clearly state their view of biblical writing as inferior in comparison to modern science, but also in their actual narrative where they use phrases like “according to the biblical view”.⁴⁵ With this they identify themselves as commentators rather than storytellers, a role which complements their perspective on the (lack of) “truthfulness” of biblical writing.

Despite the authors’ “analytical approach,” much of the theological contents of the Bible is excluded with the omission of the New Testament Epistles. The isolated book of Revelation loses much of its prophetic character and mutates into the poetic realm, making it more consistent with this version’s poetic emphasis.

The Political Approach

The version of XIAO represents yet a different perspective in the stories that it includes and the way its goals are defined. A paragraph in the introduction to Genesis points out that this version, based on the Bible and several other earlier published *Bible Stories*, intends to cleanse the Bible from its superstitious aspects and reveal its true character as a book of fairytale-like stories. This was apparently not enough of a preface, and so each copy was later furnished with a loose leaflet entitled “Explanation of Publication” (*chuban shuoming* [67]).⁴⁶ The authors of XIAO put the ubiquitously quoted statement that the understanding of the Bible is fundamental for an understanding of the West (see above) into a new context, by pointing out that even the great revolutionaries like Marx and Engels used biblical allusions (the literary examples quoted in ZHANG, for example, include Shakespeare, Dante, Milton, Goethe, and Tolstoy). Another important reason given for its publication is the systematization of the Bible.

⁴⁴ Tobias, Judith, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and 1 Maccabees.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, the summary of Hosea (p. 462–463) where the authors talk about unrest in the time of the reign of Jeroboam and then continue: “According to the biblical view this was because the Israelites had abandoned the agreement with the Lord . . .” (*Anzhao shengjing de kanfa, zhe shi yinwei Yiselieren beiqi le yu zhu de liyue* [66])

⁴⁶ The book was issued in August of ’92, and the “Explanation” was added two months later, at the end of October.

This version is the only one which positively denies any possible truth in biblical writing, thus – according to the authors – allowing a deeper understanding of the biblical truths than the actual superstitious Bible. Though this version relies much more on its pictures than its text, which in comparison to the other versions is extremely meager,⁴⁷ it covers more biblical books than any other (an implication contained in its title: *Completely Translated Bible Stories*). It makes mention of the prophetic books of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, as well as most of the New Testament Epistles and Revelation. However, XIAO's attempt at "systematization" means that those books are integrated in the stories surrounding them, often investing them with a new meaning, especially in the case of the prophetic books (including Revelation). They are stripped of their prophetic contents and turned into "non-superstitious" stories – very much like Elijah and Elisha in the other *Bible Stories*.

The illustrations in XIAO, which, according to the "Explanation," are added "to increase the artistic and tasteful character of this book," are most revealing. In the front there are eight full-colored reproductions of paintings by European artists, mostly Italian renaissance painters. Only three of the eight reproductions have biblical content; others, like the "Birth of Venus" by Botticelli (1445–1510) or the "Flower Goddess Flora" by Titian (1477–1576), display figures of Greek and Roman mythology rather than the Bible. In the authors' eyes Western culture is synonymous with Christianity and therefore even Greek and Roman mythology have their place in a book of *Bible Stories*. The approximately 300 drawings that accompany the actual stories are done by two Chinese artists, Liu Xueli and Wang Zhixue, in a Western painting style. The mixture of somewhat romanticized ink-drawings and more pictures resembling figures from Greek and Roman mythology⁴⁸ adds to this version's appearance as a collection of fairytales.

In XIAO an interesting and – given the somewhat delicate position of Christianity in mainland China – highly political picture of the Bible is presented. Its authors attempt to strip the Bible down to its essence – a collection of fairytales – and declare Christians either to be highly romantic people who could as well believe in Greek or Roman mythology, or people who are simply misled by "false" teaching.

⁴⁷ See quotation from the story of Elizabeth and Zechariah, which is the comparatively shortest of all versions. In this quotation, XIAO (as well as ZENG) makes no distinction between "Judah" (*Youda* [68]) and the Roman form "Judea" (*Youtai* [69]). However, during the time period of Herod the difference is significant, because "Judea" then denotes an area including all of Palestine, beyond the borders of Judah.

⁴⁸ Many of the chapters in the New Testament end with a picture of Cupid, depicted as a winged child with a bow.

The Evangelical Approach

The very opposite approach motivates Wu's volume of *Bible Stories* (here: *Bible Legends*). The author, Pastor (as is explicitly stated) Wu Enpu [70], was commissioned in 1961 by a conference of evangelical Christian authors in Hong Kong to write a *Shengjing yanyi* [71], a "Historical Novel (*yanyi* [72]) of the Bible".⁴⁹ The *Sanguo yanyi* [74], the "Historical Novel of the Three Kingdoms" by Luo Guanzhong [75] (c. 1330–1400), written in a mixture of the colloquial Chinese of early Ming China and literary Chinese, was to serve as a model for this enterprise.⁵⁰ The intention of this publication is clearly stated to "enhance the interest of non-Christians in the Bible," for which the popular indigenous Chinese form of the *yanyi* was chosen.

The prologue (*xiezi* [76]) supports this aim very strongly. Two quotations from classical Chinese sources – *Liezi* [77] and the *Yijing* [78] – stating that the being came out of the void are confronted with the first verse from Genesis: "In the beginning God created the world" (*qichu shangdi chuangzao tiandi* [79]), followed by quotations from the book of Romans (1:20) and Psalm 104, both supporting the biblical view on divine creation. The actual story of creation does not start with the biblical first day of creation, but explains how Satan came into being (before the creation of the world): as a Cherub whose pride caused his fall.⁵¹

The story from creation to the restoration of the temple is similar to the accounts in the "popular" versions, and yet there are distinct differences. Wu has more specific information that goes beyond the character of a story (but is very well in the spirit of a *yanyi*): for instance the number of each tribe of Israel going to war (p. 105, Num. 1) or a list of kings of the Northern Kingdom (p. 205). The stories of the kings of the divided kingdoms are not retold in detail (the story of Jezebel, for example, is omitted), but a long prophetic quotation from Deuteronomy 28 is included explaining why God made Israel fall because of the corruption of its kings.⁵² The prophets also are treated differently. In a separate

⁴⁹ See foreword by Ye Guxu [73] in Wu. The foreword is dated May 1974, 20 years before the publication date. There certainly can be no doubt that this version could not have been published in mainland China during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). An interesting question is whether the choice of the somewhat remote publisher (Neimenggu renmin chubanshe – Inner Mongolian People's Press) of today's edition has anything to do with the religious content of this book.

⁵⁰ The *Sanguo yanyi* was interestingly most often quoted as an ideal model for a Bible translation into Chinese in the history of Chinese missionary Bible translation (see Zetzsche, Jost: *The Bible in China: History of the Union Version*. Publication pending with Monumenta Serica Monograph Series).

⁵¹ Apparently an interpretation of Ezek. 28.

⁵² "But it shall come about, if you will not obey the LORD your God, to observe to do all His commandments and His statutes with which I charge you today, that all these curses shall come upon you and overtake you . . ." (Deut. 28:15ff.) (translation from *New American Standard Bible*).

chapter (*Xianzhi liezhuan* [80] – “Biographies of the Prophets”), the stories of Elijah, Elisha, Daniel, and Jonah are narrated individually, giving them more emphasis than in other *Bible Stories*. The New Testament ends with an 11-page account of Revelation, again investing more significance in the prophetic books than the other versions do.

Other features of the *Bible Legends* are also reminiscent of the *Sanguo yanyi*. In the New Testament, as in the *Sanguo yanyi*, the headlines of the chapters consist of two verses.⁵³ Even more outstanding is the common use of poems. In Wu’s Old Testament part, David recites Psalms⁵⁴ and Solomon recites from the book of Ecclesiastes (pp. 199–201). In the New Testament, poems and church hymns are inserted,⁵⁵ most of them introduced with phrases like *shi yue* [81] (“the poem says”) or *houren zuo shi yue* [82] (“later generations wrote a poem which said”) – exactly the way the numerous poems in the *Sanguo yanyi* are introduced. Wu’s language has a strong literary tendency, like that of the *Sanguo yanyi*. The above-quoted introduction to the story of Zechariah and Elizabeth continues as follows:

... liangkou zi xiang qin xiang ai, shuo bu jin changsui zhi le; you
fu tongxin shifeng Shangdi, zunshou lüfa, qinqi pengyou, mo bu
chengzan tamen de weiren. [83]⁵⁶

Not only does the storyteller seem to know more about this couple than the biblical writer, he truly states it in a very literary manner.

The author of Wu is very clear in stating his evangelical agenda, and he attempts to fulfill this agenda by reaching his audience with a new form of biblical narrative, one that is well-known and -liked and that is truly indigenous. His purpose – to convince his audience of the truth of Christianity – is also conveyed through a slightly different choice in stories. The prophetic books, especially the book of Revelation in the New Testament, are given a greater emphasis, and he tries to explain what God chose to do with his people rather than what the people did, an approach that is exactly opposite that of the other *Bible Stories*.

Summary

There is a great variety of *Bible Stories* available now in China, and, as shown in this paper, it is possible to form different groups of these versions by

⁵³ With the exception of the last two chapters.

⁵⁴ See p. 171 where David sings a song of lamentation from 2 Sam. 1, or p. 191 where Psalm 30 is cited.

⁵⁵ See pp. 270, 298, 303, 306f., 311, 313, 325, 316, 330, 336f., et al.

⁵⁶ “... this couple loved each other devotedly and had the most harmonious life (verbatim: one could not say enough about their joy of antiphonal singing); with one heart they served God and kept the law, and relatives and friends could not but praise their conduct.”

categorizing them according to their distinct agendas. Still, there are some agendas that are common to all the versions with the exception of WU. WU presents an indigenous “Chinese Gospel” in the hope of convincing his reader of Christianity. None of the other versions shares that goal. Christianity, or rather Protestantism, is defined by their authors as a matter only of Western culture (which apparently is understood to be the culture of Protestant North America and northern Europe). According to their definition, this culture can only be comprehended by the knowledge of the Bible which is, therefore, primarily considered as a cultural rather than a religious book. The fact that Christianity is certainly not confined to the Western world and has indeed found a strong expression in many parts of the world, including China, is ignored and to some degree denied.⁵⁷

The method of this message’s conveyance differs. Most outspoken in their aim are the authors of XIAO, who claim to reveal the true character of Christianity as a superstitious collection of stories. They try to demonstrate this by the presentation of the stories as fairytales as well as by removing any religious content of the Bible. ZENG seems to be the most thorough version of Chinese Bible stories, but its authors also distance themselves very much from the Bible as a religious book. They expend a great deal of effort in portraying the Bible as an important piece of literature by including the poetic parts of the Bible but neglecting the theological ones. The author of ZHANG has a somewhat similar approach to that of ZENG, but accomplishes it with a less distanced and analytical approach and a greater emphasis on good (and well-informed) writing. GUO and especially JIANG are the most commercial versions considered in this study, demonstrating a certain lack of scholarship and care in their production. However, they also represent a cultural rather than a religious picture of Christianity.

Indeed, the large editions of *Bible Stories* point to considerable commercial motivation for their publication. For several decades it was illegal in China to own or read the Bible, a prohibition which naturally created great interest in the Bible among the Chinese public and makes the publication of *Bible Stories* a profitable enterprise. However, this study suggests that there are more considerations for their publication.

What can be learned from the *Bible Stories*? For the reader who wants to have a quick glance at fascinating stories of world literature, these versions will be very helpful. The same accounts for the reader who desires to learn about Bible stories for a better understanding of Western (and Chinese) literature and

⁵⁷ An exception to this is *Jidujiao gushi tushuo* [84] (Illustrated Stories of Christianity) by Yan Kejia and Ge Zhuang [85] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe [86] 1995). Its authors devote a great deal of its preface to the history of Christianity in China and the importance of the Christian church in contemporary China. This may be explained by the fact that this version not only contains Bible stories, but also stories of the Christian church, including two concerning the Catholic mission to China of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1610).

possibly other aspects of Western culture. Though they represent a limited picture of the Bible, many of the well-known stories are retold. Finally, for the reader who turns to these versions as a substitute for the Bible – which, considering the fact that the Bible in China is not easily available, will often be the case – the stories may be not entirely satisfying. The Bible as the basis for Christianity is not adequately represented, and, with the somewhat extreme exception of Wu, these books do not picture Christianity as a “believable” religious system for their Chinese audience. But, after all, it has been proven that providing such a tool of faith was surely not the purpose of the Chinese *Bible Stories*. In fact, the exact opposite may very well have been the motivating reason for their publication.

[1]紅旗出版社[2]中國社會科學出版社[3]配圖聖經故事[4]四川美術出版社[5]金平[6]史勤奮[7]聖經故書[8]吳國瑞[9]聖經的故書[10]外語教學與研究出版社[11]漫話聖經[12]三聯書店[13]新約的傳說[14]哈爾濱人民出版社[15]時富宗[16]聖經故書新編[17]中州古籍出版社[18]張久宣[19]吉林文史出版社[20]愛的啓示[21]蕭蕭[22]上帝[23]神[24]當猶太王希律的時候，亞比雅班裏有一個祭司，名叫撒迦利亞。他妻子是亞倫的後人，名叫以利沙伯。[25]大希律王在猶太執政的時候，亞比雅班裏有一位祭司，名叫撒迦利亞，他有一個妻子，名叫以伊麗莎白，是亞倫的後代。[26]希律為猶太國王時期，在亞比雅有一名叫撒迦利亞的祭司，他和一位亞倫祭司的後代，名叫以伊麗莎白的女人結了婚。[27]郭程惠[28]希律為猶太國王時期，在亞比雅有一名叫撒迦利亞的祭司，他和一位名叫以伊麗莎白的女人結了婚。[29]姜偉東，劉釗，風嵐，曉園，魏青[30]希律王統治猶大的時候，有一位名叫撒迦利亞的祭司，他妻子名叫以利沙伯[31]曾傳輝，邱鳳俠，鐘莉，張靈靈[32]在猶太國王希律年間，有一個名叫撒迦利亞的祭司。他的妻子叫以利沙伯。。。[33]肖連兵，何農，程瑩[34]全譯繪畫聖經故書[35]北京師範大學出版社[36]正當大希律作猶太王時，猶大支派的於他城，有一位祭司，名叫撒迦利亞，娶妻以利沙伯。。。[37]吳恩溥[38]聖經傳奇[39]內蒙古人民出版社[40]執政[41]統治[42]結婚[43]的[44]以利沙伯[45]伊莉莎白[46]聖經簡釋本（新約）[47]中國基督教協會[48]尼哥底母[49]尼哥德慕[50]聖經後典[51]商務印書館[52]趙沛林，張鈞，殷耀[53]聖經次經[54]時代文藝出版社[55]乾坤足跡[56]保羅[57]掃羅[58]梁工[59]聖經文學導讀[60]聖經梗概[61]耶穌受難[62]迷信[63]抗拒[64]精神道德[65]巴金[66]按照聖經的看法，這是因為以色列人背棄了與主的立約[67]出版說明[68]猶大[69]猶太[70]吳恩溥牧師[71]聖經演義[72]演義[73]葉谷虛[74]三國演義[75]羅貫中[76]楔子[77]列子[78]易經[79]起初上帝創造天地[80]先知列傳[81]詩曰[82]後人作詩曰[83]兩口子相親相愛，說不盡唱隨之樂；又復同心侍奉上帝，遵守律法，親戚朋友，莫不稱贊他們的為人。[84]基督教故書圖說[85]晏可佳，葛壯[86]上海書店出版社

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

Orders from abroad should be sent to
SLOVART G.T.G. Ltd., Krupinská 4,
P.O. Box 152, SK-852 99 Bratislava
Tel.: 421-7-839472
Fax: 421-7-839485
e-mail: gtg@internet.sk

Electronic version is available via Internet,
URL <http://www.savba.sk/logos/journals/ap/ap.html>

© SAP – Slovak Academic Press, Ltd.

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.

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