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Čínsky znak na obálke znamenajúci 'východ', pochádzajúci od Liu Xie 劉泚 (1781–1840), bol vyrytý do nefritu podľa vzoru zo začiatku nášho letopočtu. · The Chinese character with the meaning 'east' employed on the cover is cut as a seal by Liu Xie, on the basis of models from the beginning of our era.

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Chinese Cultural Renaissance *à la* Lin Yutang

QIAN Suoqiao 钱锁桥

Abstract Under the two banners of “Mr. Democracy” and “Mr. Science” lies the radical iconoclast agenda for the New Culture and May Fourth Movement. To further elaborate the theme in my recent book *Lin Yutang and China’s Search for Modern Rebirth*, this paper explicates the central role Lin Yutang played in heralding “Mr. Democracy” and “Mr. Science” while engaging in a constructive critique of traditional Chinese culture. Unlike Hu Shi or Lu Xun, Lin Yutang did not entertain a radical iconoclastic approach. Instead, he tried to seek for the path towards Chinese cultural renaissance through his literary and cultural practices in various aspects of Chinese culture, whether Confucian, Legalist, Taoist, literary or religious.

Keywords Chinese culture, China, modernity · Lin Yutang 林語堂 (1895–1976)

I Introduction

The New Culture and May Fourth Movement of the latter half of the 1910s was a landmark event in Chinese cultural transformation into modernity. It put forward two banners: Mr. Democracy (De Xiansheng 德先生) and Mr. Science (Sai Xiansheng 賽先生) to call for the nascence of a “new civilization” while debunking Chinese cultural tradition with an iconoclastic zeal—“Down with Confucius!” (*Dadao Kongjia dian* 打倒孔家店). Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962) and Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936) are generally considered two pillars of the New Culture Movement, or the “Chinese Renaissance” as Hu preferred to call. With the rise of another wave of Nationalist Revolution in conjunction with the nascent Communist movement in 1920s China, members of the New Culture camp split up—Hu Shi remained the leader of the liberal intellectuals while Lu Xun eventually emerged as the nominal

Head of the Left League. While Hu Shi and Lu Xun differ in their visions for the kind of “new civilization”, they agree in their iconoclastic approach towards traditional Chinese culture. That has had a lasting impact upon the modernity process of Chinese cultural transformation.

In my recent book *Lin Yutang and China's Search for Modern Rebirth*, I put forward the notion that there is another pillar of the “Chinese Renaissance”—Lin Yutang 林語堂 (1895–1976). What Lin’s cross-cultural practices have revealed to us is that the modern transformation of Chinese culture requires “Mr. Democracy” and “Mr. Science”, but it does not necessarily require a radical iconoclasm; rather, traditional Chinese culture can be reconfigured through constructive critique to provide resources for our shared modern culture and to contribute to the construction of a “new civilization” to be built by East and West together. Throughout his life practices, Lin has set himself as a model for both “Mr. Democracy” and “Mr. Science”. Different from both Hu Shi and Lu Xun, however, Lin Yutang did not entertain a radical iconoclastic approach. Instead, he tried to seek for the path towards Chinese cultural renaissance through his literary and cultural practices in various aspects of Chinese culture, whether Confucian, Legalist, Taoist, literary or religious. The key to such cultural renaissance lies in a critical attitude, a reasonable and constructive critique of a global vision.

Lin Yutang was a westernized intellectual *par excellence* among the May Fourth generation of intellectuals. And his westernized education was home-grown from the start. In early 20th century, Chinese students selected to study abroad would first attend Tsinghua College, a preparatory school for Chinese students abroad at the time. Lin Yutang served as an English Instructor there before he himself also embarked on the studying abroad journey in the US and later in Europe. That was all due to his Christian family background and missionary schooling in Xiamen and Shanghai. Lin Yutang was in every sense a top student at St. John’s University in Shanghai.¹ He published three short stories in English during his college years, in the student journal *The St. John’s Echo*. That was quite a unique debut compared to other modern Chinese writers. Unlike most westernized intellectuals, however, Lin Yutang was concerned with Chinese culture

1 Founded in 1879 by American missionaries, St. John’s was an elite university in Republican China.

throughout his life. In other words, his westernized educational background served as important resources in his intellectual quest for the rebirth of Chinese culture in its modern transformation. This intellectual disposition was already established in Lin's college years at St. John's. Lin not only wrote fictional tales in English, but also many essays in English in which he explored the issue of Confucian revival, as well as essays in classical Chinese and English-Chinese translation. Lin's bi-cultural educational background and intellectual approach afford him a unique advantage in his intellectual quest for the renaissance of Chinese culture through modern transformation.

On 3 January 1930, Lin Yutang delivered a lecture to a group of university students at the World's Chinese Students' Federation, in Shanghai. This lecture, delivered in Chinese, entitled "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" (Lun xiandai piping de zhiwu 論現代批評的職務), can serve as the key to understanding Lin's literary and cultural practices throughout his life.² As Lin points out, what defines traditional culture, whether Chinese or Western, is that, since its value system has already been established by sages and classical savants, what remains then is Biblical exegesis or theology in the West and *belles lettres* in China—great thinkers were no longer necessary. That situation changed in modern times. Modernity means that previous value system has been questioned and interrogated to such an extent that it has lost its unquestionable validity. Now you need the emergence of great thinkers, not by means of a couple of sage thinkers to unify one's thoughts, but rather through constant "critique". This insight was in fact not original to Lin Yutang who quoted Mathew Arnold's (1822–1888) famous dictum: "criticism is the effort to see the object as in itself it really is." What Lin Yutang had done throughout his life was to engage in criticism of Chinese culture in various aspects through an enlightened cross-cultural perspective, seeking for the possibility of a Chinese cultural renaissance towards the rebuilding of a "new civilization".

2 Lin Yutang, "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time", 1-18.

2 *Confucianism and Taoism*

Lin Yutang's critical approach towards Confucianism is to restore its fundamental emphasis on humanity and humanness. That was quite contrary to the New Culturalist iconoclastic strategy of exposing Confucianism as a “man-eating religion” and therefore to be “overthrown”. At the height of the New Culture Movement, for instance, Lin published an essay in English titled “Li: The Chinese Principle of Social Control and Organization” (1917), in which Lin sees *li* (禮, rites) as “the disposition and regulation of the elements of the Chinese social system in a harmonious moral order”, and just as Roman discipline that sustained the Roman Empire, “China, insisting on the reverence for order, stands and survives”.³

To humanize Confucianism, one of Lin's chief strategies is to dethrone Confucius' status as the sage and restore him to be a lively human being, a gentleman—a gentleman with a sense of humour, quite contrary to the image constructed by the Neo-Confucianists since Song Dynasty. Lin's play *Confucius Saw Nancy* was an attempt in this regard followed by a series of writings to reconstruct the image of Confucius. For instance, he delivered a speech “Confucius As I Know Him” in English in 1931, later self-translated into Chinese in 1935, anticipating a number of works—such as *The Wisdom of Confucius*—he later composed in America. Lin was fond of quoting the following passage from “The Biography of Confucius” (Kongzi shijia 孔子世家) in *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian, chapter 47):

Confucius went on to Cheng (in modern North Henan), and the Master and disciples lost track of each other. While Confucius stood alone at the East Gate of the outer city, the natives reported to Zigong, “There is a man at the East Gate whose forehead is like that of Emperor Yao, whose neck resembles that of an ancient minister Gaoyao, and whose shoulders resemble those of Zichan; but from the waist down, he is smaller than Emperor Yu by three inches. He looks crest-fallen like a homeless, wandering dog.” Zigong told Confucius this story (when they met) and Confucius smiled and said:

3 Lin Yutang, “Li: The Chinese Principle of Social Control and Organization”, 109 and 116.

“I don’t know about the descriptions of my figure, but as for resembling a homeless, wandering dog, he is quite right, he is quite right!”⁴

As Lin Yutang points out, a professor today can be rather professorial in front of his students. By contrast, Confucius seems to be quite easy-going in front of his disciples. Otherwise, Zigong would not dare to tell the Master that he was called a “homeless wandering dog” (*sangjia zhi gou* 喪家之狗), and on hearing that, not only was Confucius not angry but he admitted it. That was the best kind of humour, to be able to laugh at yourself. So the Confucius as Lin knows him—“the true Confucius” was “erring, struggling, sometimes elated and sometimes despondent, but always retaining a personal charm and a good sense of humour, and able to laugh at a joke at his own expenses. That is the true Confucius and not the immaculate saint of irreproachable character which the Confucian scholars and the western sinologues would have us believe.”⁵

Lin Yutang also believes that Taoism has a lot to offer to our modern culture. In his book *The Importance of Living*, Lin translates the entire piece of “The Travels of Mingliaozi” (Mingliaozi you 冥寥子遊)⁶ and eulogizes what he calls the “spirit of the scamp”. When World War Two engulfed the whole world, Lin proclaimed that “the Great Vagabond who proudly refuses to give up an inch of his liberties will be the saviour of the world,”⁷ as only this glorious type of human being can uphold human dignity:

In this present age of threats to democracy and individual liberty, probably only the scamp and the spirit of the scamp alone will save us from becoming lost as serially numbered units in the masses of disciplined, obedient, regimented and uniformed coolies. (Lin 1917, 12).

By introducing and translating “humour” into Chinese culture (as *youmo* 幽默) and combining Crocean aesthetics of expression with Yuan Zhonglang’s 袁中郎 (1568–

4 Lin Yutang, *The Wisdom of Confucius*, 64.

5 Lin Yutang, “Confucius As I Know Him”, 80.

6 *The Travels of Mingliaozi* was a fictional tale about a free-spirited wandering Taoist named Mingliaozi, written by the Ming writer Tu Long 屠隆 (1543–1605).

7 Lin Yutang, “The Real Threat: Not Bombs, But Ideas,” *The New York Times Magazine*, (12 November 1939): 2.

1610) literary theory of “xingling” (性靈)⁸ and late Ming familiar essays, Lin Yutang wove together a philosophy of life which he called “a personal lyrical philosophy”. It is a creative synthesis of Confucian and Taoist ideals bent on their modern transformation, emphasizing the humanism and reasonableness of Confucianism and the individualism and tolerance of Taoism against all forms of radicalism. To be tolerant and open-minded, to see through the tragedies of life and yet to be able to enjoy life, that is the essence of Chinese culture. As Lin put it at the beginning of his masterpiece *The Importance of Living* (1976, 12):

[T]he highest ideal of Chinese culture has always been a man with a sense of *detachment* (*takuan*) [達觀] toward life based on a sense of wise disenchantment. From this detachment comes *high-mindedness* (*k'uanghuai*) [寬懷], a high-mindedness which enables one to go through life with tolerant irony [...]. And from this detachment arise also his sense of freedom, his love of vagabondage and his pride and nonchalance. It is only with this sense of freedom and nonchalance that one eventually arrives at the keen and intense joy of living.

The keyword here is “wise disenchantment”. In the West, post-Enlightenment culture is one of disenchantment while China’s process of disenchantment took place much earlier. The question is whether you can still have “wisdom” after disenchantment. In Lin’s personal lyrical philosophy of life, such wisdom is essential. And that is exemplified in the figure of Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037–1101). It was in Su Dongpo, as Lin has it, that “the highest ideal of Chinese culture” is embodied. Lin titled his biography of Su Dongpo as “The Gay Genius”, a joyful genius with a detached sense of high-mindedness, a sense of pride, freedom and nonchalance. During his long years of overseas residency, Lin Yutang kept two items with him wherever he went: a portrait of Li Xiangjun 李香君 (1624–1654)⁹ and cloth-bound books of Su Dongpo. Lin depicts Su as follows in the Preface of his biography:

8 For Yuan Zhonglang’s “xingling”, see Qian Suoqiao 2011, Chapter Five; Also, Diran John Sohigian in Qian Suoqiao (ed.) 2015, Chapter Six.

9 Li Xiangjun was a famous courtesan in Ming Dynasty. Her story was immortalized in Kong Shangren’s 孔尚任 (1648–1718) well-known play *Taobua shan* 桃花扇 (Peach Blossom Fan).

Su Tungpo was an incorrigible optimist, a great humanitarian, a friend of the people, a prose master, an original painter, a great calligrapher, an experimenter in wine making, an engineer, a hater of puritanism, a yogi, a Buddhist believer, a Confucian statesman, a secretary to the emperor, a confirmed winebibber, a humane judge, a dissenter in politics, a prowler in the moonlight, a poet, and a wag. [...] Su Tungpo's personality had the richness and variety and humour of a many-sided genius, possessing a gigantic intellect and a guileless child's heart—a combination described by Jesus as the wisdom of the serpent and the gentleness of the dove. (Lin 1947, vii-viii).

If we change a few words in the above paragraph, it would be quite an accurate portrait of Lin himself. When the highest ideal of Chinese culture is embodied in Lin Yutang, it would be of a special significance—after all, Lin was a model representative of the westernized intellectuals in modern China.

3 *Confucianism and Legalism*

“One writ of *habeas corpus* is worth all the Confucian classics”—this is one of the most important aphorisms from Lin Yutang. *Habeas corpus* is of course generally acknowledged as the founding stone of British parliamentary democracy. However, Lin did not see *habeas corpus* as opposed to Confucian classics. Rather, the two are deemed as complimentary. On the occasion of Franklin Roosevelt's presidential inauguration for the third term, Lin was not joking when he told millions of American listeners on NBC radio: “I can think of no more fitting tribute to America in the home of democracy than to mention the fact that the program of democracy and social justice which Confucius dreamed of 2,500 years ago is gradually being realized in America of today, a dream of peace and freedom and justice for all.”¹⁰

To many Confucian scholars who first witnessed Western democracies such as Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾 (1818–1891), the first ambassador to Britain, their political system in the form of constitutional democracy was the Confucian ideal. It has to be said that, unlike Lin Yutang's generation later on, scholar-officials like Guo Songtao did not have any Western educational background. To Lin Yutang, the difference lies in that Confucian democratic elements had not been able to

10 “World Notables Praise Roosevelt.” *The New York Times*, 21 January 1941.

develop *habeas corpus*. The Englishmen have developed that idea, and all Chinese culture had to do was to connect and follow. Why not? What underlies Chinese culture is a universal outlook in the name of “all under heaven”, which means whoever and whatever is reasonable counts as civilized or cultured, as examples to be followed. It is very difficult to induce from Chinese culture a strict dichotomy of Self/Other.

To Lin Yutang, Confucianism is imbued with democratic elements. After Confucius composed *The Annals of Spring and Autumn* (*Chunqiu* 春秋), “patricides and regicides were scared”—that was an awesome audacious act to check the power that be. The task of modern intellectuals ought not to merely condemn Confucianism as a “man-eating religion” to be downed with. It would be more important to identify its democratic genes as well as its historical insufficiencies, and, following its reasonable universalism of “all under heaven”, to promote the modern evolution and transformation of its democratic elements. Lin’s *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China* was precisely such an attempt. It was one of the earliest studies in the modern Chinese intellectual world not only on the history of Chinese press, but also on the path to democracy for Chinese culture.

Lin made it clear at the very beginning of the book (1936, 2): “the history of the Chinese press becomes interesting to the writer only *as a history of the struggle between public opinion and authority in China*.” In other words, the aim of the book is to identify the seeds of democracy in the history of Chinese culture. It traces and highlights the Confucian resistance movements in Southern Song and late Ming dynasties, particularly on the struggle between the Donglin (東林) scholars and Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1568–1627). Lin’s (1936, 179) conclusion is this:

It is evident from Chinese history that the fact so many upright and brave Confucian scholars risked their lives and eventually lost their fight against despotism is due to the lack of a constitution that could protect human rights and freedom of speech. Waves and waves of upright Confucian scholars dared to stand up to speak truth against power at critical moments of Chinese history, but eunuch despotism prevailed.

Lin Yutang made this point on a number of occasions. In commenting on the “national character” of the Chinese, for instance, Lin pointed out that many of the defects in Chinese character such as roguishness or lack of public morality, all resulted from lack of constitutional protection of individual rights, as the Chinese

knew from their experience that their lives would be in peril if they were to fight for their own rights and uphold the truth. Therefore, Lin (1936, 179) urged modern Chinese to fight “for the constitutional principle of the freedom of the press and of personal civil rights as a principle. Democracy [...] is one of the rarest gifts of Europe to human culture, that mankind must ultimately evolve on the road of progress upon the basis of intelligent individuals, and not of obedient, unthinking herds.”

Lin Yutang also believes that to realize the ideal of “Mr. Democracy”, Legalist ideas would be useful in our modern times. Actually, many of the despotic elements in Confucian culture were in fact transplanted from the Legalists by Han Confucianists. What Legalists propounded was all intended to uphold the absolute despotic rule of the Emperor. That was of course true. But it is also true that Lin Yutang and his generation were contemporary of the Republic of China when Emperor’s head had already been cut off, so to speak. When China had become a republic, the functional intention of the Legalist ideas was less important. When transformed into our modern times, Legalist emphasis on the principle of the rule of law would be a very useful corrective to the “culture of officialdom”, or in Lin’s words, “Han Fei As a Cure for Modern China”.¹¹

In fact, originally that was the title of a speech Lin gave at the American University Club in Shanghai in 1930. Lin believes that Chinese culture has put too much emphasis on the human capacity as a moral being and a fresh look at Legalist ideas may indeed help the modern transformation of Chinese culture. Confucianism propounds inner sagehood and outer kingliness to practice a moral rule—through the agency of Confucian gentlemen. However, such system overrated the moral capacity of gentlemanly scholar-officials. The message to all officials equates to:

In case you turn out to be gentlemen, we will erect stone *pailous* in your honour, but in case you turn out to be crooks, we will not put you in prison.” (But if we follow Han Fei’s ideas, we would say, “We will not exhort you to the path of righteousness, and we will not erect *pailous* in your honour in case you turn out to be gentlemen, but in case you turn out to be crooks, we will send you to prison.” (Lin 2012c, 54).

11 “Han Fei As a Cure for Modern China” is one of the many bilingual essays Lin wrote in Shanghai in the 1930s, see Qian (ed.) 2012, 51-60. For a more detailed discussion on the topic, see also Benická 2011.

Lin Yutang calls Han Fei “very un-Chinese” but very “modern”, “a prophet for modern China”.

4 *Chinese Language and Literature*

The core of the New Culture Movement was Literary Revolution, which consisted of two aspects of language and literature, respectively. It succeeded in establishing the vernacular *baihua* 白話 as the national language and in developing a new literature written in *baihua*. On both aspects, Lin Yutang contributed a great deal in his own unique manner towards a Chinese cultural renaissance.

Lin was a linguist by training and his contributions in the modernization efforts of the Chinese language has been underestimated. In Chinese linguistics field, everybody knows Zhao Yuanren 趙元任 (1892–1982), but not Lin Yutang. Lin started out his academic career as a linguist but later gave up linguistic research. However, he never gave up his efforts to reform and modernize Chinese language. He just shifted his focus from theory to practice.

Lin Yutang completed his doctoral dissertation at Leipzig University on ancient Chinese phonetics in German and wrote extensively on the topic after he returned to China. At Peking University in the 1920s, he proposed and led the initiative on Dialect Survey, employing scientific method to open up a new direction in Chinese dialect research.

It was Lin Yutang who first raised the issue of Chinese indexing, and he was obsessed with the issue throughout his life and tried to find a solution to the issue through practice—by inventing the first Chinese typewriter. The key to the invention of a Chinese typewriter is the keyboard. If we don’t use the alphabetic letters in English, we need to find out the logic of indexing Chinese characters. Lin Yutang proposed the first Chinese character indexing system, which was improved by Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888–1979), who invented the “four corner method” of indexing Chinese characters, and Lin Yutang further improved on Wang’s method to come up with a new “top-down method” of indexing Chinese characters, which was the essential technological innovation of his Chinese

typewriter. For this obsession, Lin Yutang went bankrupt and that seriously affected his mode of living in his later years.¹²

Under the influence of the theory of evolution, many leaders of the New Culture Movement regarded Chinese characters as symbols of Chinese cultural backwardness, and actively promoted the Latinization of Chinese characters by replacing Chinese characters altogether with a phonetic script system. But Lin Yutang (1933, 351) differed: “If China is not going to perish, there will be two scripts in the future: one is the Chinese characters and the other is the *pinyin* notation system.” Such bipolar strategy defines Lin’s approach towards modern transformation of Chinese characters. On the one hand, Chinese characters cannot be abolished as they are central to the Chinese cultural identity. As Lin pointed out, those who called for abolishing Chinese characters did not understand that languages had both utilitarian and aesthetics functions. The “beauty” of Chinese characters would be reason enough for their continual survival. On the other hand, a pinyin 拼音 notation system¹³ has its utilitarian function, but since it was the characters that signified Chinese cultural identity, the pinyin system ought to be designed closely in line with the Romanization system popular in use in the West. In fact, there was already a Romanization system for Chinese characters, the so-called Wade-Giles system, devised by two British sinologists Thomas Wade (1818–1895) and Herbert Giles (1845–1935). Lin believed that the new pinyin system would be ready just by improving a little on the Wade-Giles system.

In the meantime, Lin Yutang acknowledged that Chinese characters must go through a gradual process of simplification. In fact, Lin put that into practice in the 1930s by printing some simplified characters for trial in his journals such as *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects).¹⁴ In his later years, his position on this issue remained strong irrespective of political dissent. He made it known that he believed the simplification of Chinese characters being put forward in the mainland was on the right track. Having experienced first-hand many challenges of Chinese characters

12 For Lin Yutang’s typewriter, see for example Tsu 2010, 49–79.

13 Romanization of the Chinese characters based on their pronunciation.

14 Lin Yutang established several journals during the 1930s, such as *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects; 1932–1948), *Renjianshi* 人間世 (In the Human World; 1934–1935), or *Yuzhoufeng* 宇宙風 (Cosmic Winds; 1935–1947).

in his invention of the Chinese typewriter, Lin insisted that Chinese characters must go through a process of systematization and modernization. To remain unchanged is not to keep the national essence. It takes a critical capability to identify the dregs and get rid of them. If you love your garden, you cannot let the weeds grow out of control.

Perhaps more significantly was Lin's contribution to the growth of modern Chinese literature. As Lin pointed out, literature in the Chinese cultural tradition reached heightened sophistication thanks to the devotion of the educated class once canonical classics had been established by the sage thinkers. Traditional literature, however, consisted largely of "writerly" *belles-lettres*, often in want of original thought and personality. The hallmark of modern literature was on creative impulses and distinctive personalities. Lu Xun certainly had his own disposition and it was Lin who wrote the first critical essay on Lu Xun.¹⁵ However, in absorbing traditional Chinese literary resources, Lin took more from his brother Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885–1967) in promoting late Ming familiar essays, exalting the distinctive styles and personalities of Yuan Zhonglang and Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602), so that the late Ming theory of "xingling" (性靈) as rekindled along with Crocean theory of expression. Thanks to his cross-cultural sensitivity, Lin coined the modern Chinese neologism "youmo" (幽默) to translate "humour" with the attempt to modernize Chinese culture by loosening up its Neo-Confucian moralist grip. Humour is not merely to crack jokes. Lin elevated humour to comic spirit as a philosophy of life. To have a sense of humour is to be able to laugh at oneself, to laugh at high-sounding platitude and extremities, to see through the tragedy in life and be still able to laugh over them. That is the wisdom of humour. In my book *Lin Yutang and China's Search for Modern Rebirth*, I included two essays by Lin protesting Japanese encroachment in China—a topic prohibited by the government at the time. Lin "amused Shanghai" by employing pidgin English to deconstruct the taboo, exposing the absurd and comical logic of the Japanese aggressors.¹⁶

15 See "Lusin". *The China Critic*, I (December 6, 1928), 547–548.

16 See Qian 2017, 107–112.

Lin Yutang's literary personality shined through most brilliantly in the essay, though he wrote many novels in English in America. In Chinese literary tradition, poetry and essay had always been the main genres while novels were regarded as "small talk" (*xiaoshuo* 小說) not to be taken seriously. Nowadays, however, it seems only a novelist counts as a "writer". Lin Yutang was not only a bilingual writer, but also a bilingual writer with bilingual essays in English and Chinese, as many of his essays written in 1930s Shanghai had both English and Chinese versions (most of them in English first and later "self-translated" into Chinese). This must be quite a unique literary practice in world literature. Such bilingual writing must constantly negotiate, compare and adjust between two languages and cultures. Perhaps only those with similar bilingual and bicultural experience can really appreciate the anxiety and joy in such creative cross-cultural journey.

Lin Yutang also had his own critical insight on the development of modern Chinese literary style. While in total agreement with Hu Shi on the validity of the vernacular *baibua*, Lin did not agree with Hu that the vernacular means literally "to write as you speak". In one of his earliest essays published in *The New Youth* (*Xin qingnian* 新青年), Lin warned that the vernacular *baibua* could easily become "a housewife's rattle", and therefore, the vernacular Chinese we promote should strive for "lucidity, perspicuity, cogency of thought, truth and appropriateness of expression" (Lin 1918, 132). In the 1930s, Lin Yutang further clarified his critical insight by promoting the *yuluti* 語錄體, a semi-classical vernacular style of Chinese inherited from the late Ming essayists which Lin identified as corresponding to the criteria he laid out earlier. By promoting *yuluti*, Lin was chiefly targeting the "translation style" already popular then and perhaps even more so nowadays.¹⁷ To write modern Chinese following the grammatical structure and style of expression of western languages, that is not what Lin Yutang had in mind in arriving at a modern Chinese cultural renaissance.

While Lin was adamantly opposed to the "translation style" in Chinese writing, he was certainly one of the best translators modern China had produced. Before he embarked on his American journey in 1936, Lin was a bilingual writer of both Chinese and English works. During his long-term residency in America and Europe, he mainly wrote in English, and a large part of these English writings were in fact translations of Chinese literature and culture. In his most popular work

17 For *yuluti* and "translation style", see Qian 2011, 118-124. See also Wang 2017.

The Importance of Living, for instance, many sections were “translations”. Lin’s contribution in introducing and interpreting Chinese literature and culture to the world was unprecedented and is still unsurpassed. More importantly, Lin’s translation was never a “literal translation” but rather as a cross-cultural practice to modernize Chinese literature and culture. Apparently, more detailed research and scrutiny await in this regard.

5 *Religion*

Born to a Chinese Christian family, Lin Yutang grew up as a Christian and received mission school education. Ever since his college education at St. John’s University, however, he remained critical towards Christianity, particularly towards the missionary enterprise in China. His main charge was that the missionary enterprise separated Christian Chinese from native Chinese culture, disowning their immersion in popular Chinese culture so that he grew up without hearing such Chinese folktales as the tears of Chi Liang’s widow melting away a good section of the Great Wall. After his college years, Lin proclaimed himself as a “pagan”. But that did not mean that he was no longer a Christian. It simply meant he stopped going to the Church regularly. While residing in 1930s Shanghai, for instance, Lin’s family would still celebrate Christmas. After he came to America, he was known as a “Chinese philosopher” interpreting Chinese cultural wisdom, but in the 1950s, he announced he was “returning back to Christianity”, back to the embrace of Jesus Christ. This is also an important aspect of Lin’s cross-cultural critique of Chinese culture. Chinese cultural renaissance also requires the injection of a real religious dimension. In the twentieth century when materialism held sway, the vacuity of a religious realm would necessarily be occupied by pseudo-religious cults. Such personality cult reached its monstrous height during the Cultural Revolution. Lin Yutang believes that the best approach to confront the theory of hatred and violence is to hold onto our belief in God. As Jesus Christ has revealed to us, God is love and compassion. As Lin (1959, 15) put it, “I do not know of anything, certainly not humanism, which will deter man from hatred and violence and cunning and deceit except these very opposite teachings and

assumptions and compulsions of Christianity.” Lin Yutang seldom quotes the Bible in his works. In a worldwide war between good and evil, as he saw it, Lin quoted the words of Jesus Christ here, and warned the world: “If we wish to make the future a world evolving toward making man ‘a paying enterprise for his country,’ reduced to a tool, we can. If we wish to make the future one in which the poor and the lowly shall not be repressed, we can, too. The world must make its choice.” (Lin 1958, 258). The world is still confronted with that choice today.

Lin Yutang’s legacy of cross-cultural critique and practices is certainly very much with us today, as it continues to provide us with rich resources and revelations for a Chinese cultural renaissance.

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Vocabularies of Chinese Pidgin Russian for Kiakhta Trade

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Abstract This paper focuses on the description of the handwritten vocabularies of the Kiakhta pidgin language kept in the Russian collections. Chinese Pidgin Russian was used by the Russian and Chinese traders to communicate on the border between Russian and Qing Empires in 18th–early 20th centuries and was a result of close economic, cultural, and interethnic relations. The Chinese traders of Maimaicheng took in Russian lexemes situationally and adapted them to the phonetic system of their native language. For the purpose of learning Russian, they compiled vocabularies in which Chinese characters were used to convey the sound of Russian words. The vocabularies reflected particularities of both Russian and Chinese languages of that time (including the dialects of Siberia and Shanxi province). They were compiled by the Chinese border merchants from Shanxi, who transcribed the Russian words with the Chinese characters. The intact Kikhta (Maimaicheng) pidgin vocabularies are a unique cultural phenomenon in themselves and the analysis of them can influence the study of all the contact languages, both living and dead. This material is important for the study of the history, and human and cultural relations between Russia and China as a new source.

Keywords Chinese Pidgin Russian, Kiakhta, Maimaicheng 買賣城 · trade language, vocabularies

I Introduction

Kiakhta pidgin was in use from the mid-18th century on the border between the Russian and Qing Empires in the trading towns of Kiakhta and Maimaicheng 買賣城. It came into being as a contact language to facilitate communication between Russian and Chinese merchants and reflected the characteristics of both the contemporary Russian and Chinese (including the dialects of Siberia and

Shanxi 山西 province), and of social, economic, and interethnic relations in the border regions of Russia and China.

The grammatical foundation for Kiakhta pidgin was Chinese, while the vocabulary was mainly Russian. Initially Russo-Chinese border trade was conducted in Mongolian with the aid of interpreters, but gradually the Chinese traders of Maimaicheng began to take in Russian lexemes situationally and to adapt them to the phonetic system of their native language. For the purpose of learning Russian, they compiled vocabularies in which Chinese characters were used to convey the sound of Russian words. The vocabularies contained both individual words and whole grammatical constructions. The vocabulary reflected the immediate requirements of trade and comprised primarily the words for goods offered for barter and also everyday expressions. The vocabularies were arranged along thematic lines.

Vocabularies of pidgin languages are very rarely found. Moreover, it emerges that they were all created on the basis of the Chinese language and are a unique integral part of Chinese culture in particular. At the same time, comprehensive research and publication of them is important for the further study of all contact languages, both the existing, and those no longer in use.

The study of contact languages is a highly topical field in present-day linguistics. The majority of those that have been researched are based on English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish. Chinese pidgins based on English and Portuguese, for which textbooks and phrasebooks were made, have been studied since the mid-19th century. Russian pidgins have been researched particularly actively in the past two decades.¹ Meanwhile the study of the Kiakhta (Maimaicheng) pidgin, even in the relatively recent fundamental papers (Nichols 1980 and 1986; Mi Zhenbo 2003; Musorin 2004; Namsaraeva 2014; Stern 2002, 2005, and 2016; Shapiro 2010 and 2012, etc.), has been carried out almost exclusively on the basis of materials published in the 19th century and first half of the 20th.

Since it was the Shanxi 山西 dialect that served as the phonetic basis for the Kiakhta-Maimaicheng border language, when reconstructing the transcription of the Kiakhta pidgin, we drew upon the pronunciation standards of that particular

¹ See the bibliography in Yelena Perekhval'skaia's work (Perekhval'skaia 2008, 347-363).

dialect.² This is the idiom of Taiyuan 太原, the capital of Shanxi, and belongs to the same subgroup of the Jin 晉 dialect as that of the Yuci 榆次 district, the place of origin of the Kiakhta traders.

2 Sources

The present paper is based on the study of three vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin from Russian collections: (1) 鄂羅斯番語 [*Eluosi fan yu* “Russian Foreign Language”]³ from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (hereafter IOM RAS) (Ref. No. C-59, hereafter: A); (2) the similar, but less extensive “Chinese Vocabulary of the Russian Language”⁴ from the Oriental Section of the Gorky Research Library of Saint Petersburg State University (*Xyl.F-56*, hereafter: B); (3) the unfinished “Russo-Chinese Vocabulary, Manuscript”⁵ from the stocks of the Research Library of Irkutsk State Regional Museum (*Inv.No. 53856*, hereafter: C). Vocabulary A in the collection of the IOM RAS was mentioned in a note by Konstantin Flug (1893–1942) as “a Russo-Chinese thematic vocabulary *Eluosi fan yu*, probably intended for Chinese merchants” (Flug 1934, 92). Vocabularies B and C have never previously attracted the interest of researchers.

Vocabulary A is kept in the NOVA fund of the Department of Manuscripts and Documents of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. Precise information on its provenance has not survived. It is possible to assume that it came into the collection of the Asiatic Museum (forerunner of the IOM RAS) together with the books of Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin (Father Hyacinth, 1777–1853), who mentioned in print the existence of such vocabularies (Bichurin 1831, 143–144). On the cover of vocabulary A, the title in Chinese 鄂羅斯番語 is written vertically on the right at the top, while the name of the shop 凝瑞堂 (*Ning rui tang*,

2 The phonetic reconstruction of the Kiakhta pidgin words suggested in this paper was based on the sources: *Hanyu fangyan zibui* (1989) and Shen, Ming & al. 1994.

3 The titles are given according to the entries in the inventory books, in Russian: “Русский иностранный язык”.

4 In Russian: “Китайский словарь русского языка”.

5 In Russian: “Русско-китайский словарь, рукописный”.

“Hall of the Immovable Sceptre”) appears in the centre. The manuscript has a butterfly binding. It measures 15×27 cm and has 85 sheets of Chinese firm and thin white paper of medium quality. Pasted onto the cover of the vocabulary at the bottom is a piece of white paper 5.7×11 cm, one edge of which (1.5×11cm) is turned inside; the old reference number from the Asiatic Museum is written on that edge. On the upper right corner of the cover, written in Flug’s hand in violet ink on an almost square sticker measuring 6×7.3 cm (with a 4.5×5.5 cm frame on it) is the reference number 1937 No.206 and also its location: *Cabinet IV, Shelf 5, No. 6*. Below the sticker is the stamp of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences with an indication of the year 1953. The number 200 has been inscribed within this stamp in 6×7.3 cm by the hand of Maïia Volkova (1927–2006), curator of the NOVA fund in 1950–1980s. On the title page (f. 1a) the title of the vocabulary and the name of the shop are repeated. Additionally, placed vertically below the title are the two characters 一本 (*yi ben*, “first book”). Each page of the manuscript carries four or five columns of text in Chinese characters. A column contains 1–6 words or a phrase of two to 7 or 8 characters. The text is competently written in regular script.

There is no information about the provenance of vocabulary B, now, in the Gorky Research Library of Saint Petersburg State University. The manuscript takes the form of a brochure measuring 22.5×35 cm on dense white paper of European manufacture, the pages sewn together with thick white thread. A cover of dense light brown paper has been pasted onto the vocabulary. The reference number *Xyl.F-56* is written in blue pencil on the upper part of the cover. Lower down, 11.8 cm from the upper edge, there is a white sticker measuring 7.8×11.3 cm with wavy cut edges bearing the title in Russian: “A Chinese Vocabulary of the Russian Language”. Below, at a distance of 2.5 cm from the sticker and 1.5 cm from the left-hand edge of the manuscript, there is another, yellow-coloured, sticker with an internal double frame 3×3.8 cm. Printed typographically within the frame is the Russian word for “Cabinet” with *XXIX^a* added by hand with a pen and black ink below. The manuscript contains 23 folios, of which 20 carry text. On the second folio the Russian title is repeated, handwritten in black ink. The pages with text each carry 9 lines spaced 2.5 cm apart. A fine ruled line can be seen beneath them. The upper margin above the ruled frame measures 2 cm, the lower margin 1.5 cm. Each line contains between 3 and 7 words or expressions made up

of 1-5 characters written in the standard manner, with a transcription below written in smaller characters with a fine brush in one or two rows. The script is regular. The handwritten folios became mixed up during binding and some may have been lost. The beginning of the manuscript is missing; there is no heading for the first section that lists various goods and types of fabric. This is followed (from f. 3a) by the tenth section, then by sections 2-9 in the correct order.

A copy of vocabulary C was provided to the authors of the present paper by the Research Library of Irkutsk State Regional Museum. A brief description of it is included in the catalogue by Konstantin Yakhontov (1994, 87, No. 127). The cover carries the Russian title “A Russo-Chinese Dictionary, manuscript” (possibly written by a later Russian owner) and below the Machurian title *Baikasingge* (?). Of the 49 folios in the manuscript, ff. 1-24 carry text, while 25-49 are blank. The size is 13.2×25.5 cm. Each page has 5 columns of 4-6 words or expressions, each containing between 1 and 7 characters. The text is competently written in semi-cursive script.

Judging by the selection of words, our vocabularies reflect the state of the Chinese Pidgin Russian in the 18th and 19th centuries. The demotic forms of the characters and peculiarities in the use of phonetics and the lexical elements of the nested lexemes convey the flavour of the dialect of Shanxi province, the homeland of the majority of the Maimaicheng traders and indicate that the vocabularies of Kiakhtha pidgin were compiled and used by inhabitants of that place. Many of the Russian words given in Chinese-character transcription have long since gone out of use, because of which these vocabularies are also of value for the study of local Siberian dialects of Russian.

3 *Trade between Russia and China through Kiakhtha and Maimaicheng*

Kiakhtha played an important role in Russia’s foreign trade as a whole and over a period of a century and a half it was the focal point of economic relations between Russia and China. The “Tea Road” (*Chaye zhi lu* 茶葉之路) connecting China’s southern provinces to European Russia and Western Europe ran through Maimaicheng and Kiakhtha. There is an extensive literature on trade in Kiakhtha in the form of sections of monographs, detailed research papers, expert surveys, and newspaper and periodical reports relating to one or other stage in its development

(Korsak 1857, Krit 1862, Noskov 1862; Krit 1864; *Kratkii ocherk* 1896; Silin 1947; Foust 1969; Sladkovskii 2008; Khokhlov 2015; Liu Zaiqi 2011; Monahan 2016, etc.).

We know that from the 13th century the Chinese conducted trade in Karakorum, where initially the main goods being exchanged were horses, cattle, hides, conveyances, and cereals. There are later reports of Chinese merchants making journeys into Siberia for trade purposes (Alekseev 1941, 284). By the 16th century, a significant place in regional trade was taken by brick tea imported from China, for which the Mongols and Siberians had acquired a liking. At that time control over Russian-Oirat trade in Siberia came into the hands of the Bukharans⁶ and the exchange of goods between the Russian lands and China began to be implemented mainly by Bukharan trading caravans. The 1689 Treaty of Nerchinsk not only officially defined the Russo-Chinese border but also gave a start to regular trade between the two countries. In 1699, a consignment of Chinese fabrics was delivered to Irbit, followed by other similar shipments (Khokhlov 2015, 645).

The foundation of Kiakhta⁷ in 1727 took place in an important period for Russo-Chinese relations, when the two empires were faced with the task of a new demarcation of lands following China's annexation of Khalkha (Northern Mongolia). In August 1725, the Russian government dispatched Sava Lukich Vladislavich-Raguzinskii (1669–1738) as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Beijing to conduct talks on clarifying the line of the border. The long and complicated negotiations ended on 20 August 1727 with the conclusion on the frontier, on the River Bureia, of the Burinsk Treaty defining

- 6 Bukharans was the name that Russians used for Muslims who originated from Central Asia. The main places where the Siberian Bukharans lived were Tobolsk, Tiumen, Tara, Tomsk, and Kuznetsk. By the 18th century there were over 3,000 such colonists, the majority of whom were Uzbeks (cf. Chimitdorzhiev 1987, 35, 198). The vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin give the names of a whole variety of goods that include the adjective “Muslim” (*Hui* 回); while the expressions “Muslim” as a noun (*Huizi* 回子) and “chief among the Muslims (merchants)” (*Huibuinao* 回回撓) are translated by the word 五路史坎 *u-lau-si-k'æ'*, derived from *russkii*, meaning “Russian”. The character *nao* 撓 was used with the meaning of “chief, head” in the Shanxi dialect of Chinese.
- 7 Kiakhta (or Khiakhta) means “a place overgrown with couch-grass”, from the Mongolian *kbiag*—“couch-grass”. In early 18th-century Russian documents, the version “Tiakhta” also occurs (Okhotina-Lind and Meller 2013, 52, 121).

the borders between Russia and China, which stated, among other things: “On the northern side on the little River Kiakhta a guard building of the Russian Empire. On the southern side, on the Orogaite hill the guard sign of the Middle Kingdom. Between that guard post and beacon, the land is to be divided in half. The first demarcation marker to be placed in the middle. And here both countries’ border trade should take place.” (Skachkov and Miasnikov 1958, 11).

As a result, on the Orthodox Feast of the Trinity in the summer of 1727, on the Kiakhta, four *versts* from the border, on the site of the Barsukovskoe winter quarters, where the last Russian guard post was, Raguzinskii founded a fortress that later became known as Troitskosavskaia. The first five Russian merchants arrived there with 25 carts in November 1727 (Artem'iev 1999, 89). The Burinsk Treaty paved the way for the more extensive Kiakhta Treaty of 1728 that established the procedure for diplomatic interaction between Russia and China through the Russian Senate and the China’s Board for the Administration of Outlying Regions (*Lifan yuan* 理藩院). The fourth article of the Kiakhta Treaty called for cross-border trade to be conducted permanently through two places: Tsurukhaita (300 *versts* from Nerchinsk) and Kiakhta. To supervise the trade in Kiakhta, one official was to be sent from the *Lifan yuan*. The number of visiting traders in Kiakhta was not supposed to exceed 200 (Miasnikov 2006, 383).

Construction of the settlement was mostly over by the end of 1728. A *gostinyi dvor* trading complex with 24 stalls and 24 storerooms above them took the form of rectangular building with windowless outside walls and gates on the north and south sides. Later, the Chinese who traded on the border, took to calling it 四合樓 (*sibelou*)—“the chamber closed on all four sides”.⁸

In 1730, opposite Kiakhta, some 100 *sazhens* from it, work began on the construction of a Chinese trading town, which was settled by merchants who mainly came from Shanxi. People from that province were famed for their particular talent for trade. The special terms “Shanxi trader” (*Shanxi shangren* 山西商人) and “Jin trader” (*Jin shang* 晉商; 晉—Jin being the name of an early kingdom that existed on the territory of Shanxi) were used as epithets for those who were particularly adept at commerce. It is considered that the inhabitants of Shanxi were forced to engage in intermediate trade and transit commerce by the difficult natural conditions of the region, which made it unfertile. The merchants who did

8 In the Kiakhta pidgin vocabularies, the word is transcribed as 哦各信旺兒 *yo-kaʔ-eiŋ vɐʔ-ər*.

business on the border were termed in China “traders temporarily living in Mongolia” (*lü Meng shang* 旅蒙商) or else “border traders” (*bian shang* 邊商; *bian ke* 邊客). Men from Shanxi had traded with the Mongols since olden times, obtaining livestock from them in exchange for rice, flour, salt, coal, alcohol, brick tea, simple fabric, and consumer goods (Temole 2009, 122).

The names of the first Chinese merchants of Maimaicheng have been preserved by a bell now displayed in the Kiakhta Local History Museum named after V. A. Obruchev. The bell was cast in the eighth year of the reign of the Qianlong Emperor (1743) for the Maimaicheng temple Laoyemiao 老爺廟, commissioned by men from the Fengyang district 汾陽縣 of the city of Fenzhou 汾州府 in Shanxi province: Wan Longpu 萬隆鋪, Ma Wanlong 馬萬龍, Wang Guozai 王國宰, Zhang Yuan 張元, the smith (金火匠人 (?) Shen 申, Ren Shilong 任世龍, Guo Shilong 郭世龍, Wan Wenquan 王文全, Han Ying 韓瑛, Li Cunhong 李存洪, Li Mingxing 李明星, Zhao Keren 趙可仁, and Tian Deyuan 田得元.

At first the Russians called the Chinese trade town as *Kitaiskaia Sloboda* (“Chinese town”) or Naimachin from the Mongolian *Naimaach* or *Naimaachin*—“trader”, which in turn derived from the Chinese noun 買賣城 *maimaicheng* (a place for buying and selling, a trading place).

All authority in Maimaicheng was vested in the *dzarguchei* (Old Mongolian *ǰaryučī*, a judicial official), “Chinese frontier judge”. As Egor Timkovskii clarified, he held 6th-class rank, was appointed by the *Lifan yuan* and was replaced every three years (Timkovskii 1824, 14). Guard duty in Maimaicheng was performed by a garrison of 50–100 mounted frontier Mongols (Martynov 1819, 61).

The further expansion and construction of Kiakhta and Maimaicheng was a consequence of the rapid development of cross-border trade. In 1743, by order of the Senate, Kiakhta was given the official status of a trading settlement and it became the first official border point for trade between Russia and China. In March 1761, the priest Dorofei Shergin, who was attached to the Trinity Church, sent a report to Irkutsk according to which his congregation numbered 327 people (186 men and 141 women) (Khokhlov 1982, 105).

Supervision of the trade in Kiakhta on the Russian side was initially entrusted to the Troitskosavsk border chancellery. To prevent goods being brought across without duty being paid, a single customs authority and one customs post was established for the whole of the Chinese frontier.

Initially cross-border trade was only by barter. The goods for exchange were on the Chinese side *nankeen* (cotton fabric), raw silk, tea, and livestock; on the Russian side furs, woollen cloth, Russian leather, objects made of iron and copper, livestock, and foodstuffs. At the early stage of the development of trade in Kiakhta, a considerable portion of the Russian exports were actually foreign goods (mainly cloth). In 1801, the proportion of transit goods was 54.5% of the total cost of goods being exported to China (Khokhlov 1982, 136).

Only men engaged in commerce settled in Maimaicheng. The population consisted of merchants, hired hands facilitating trade, and also a small number of craftsmen. In the 18th century, members of trading companies would split into two groups, one of which dealt with the Russians in Kiakhta, while the other travelled to China to fetch fresh wares. After bringing goods, the incoming group set about selling them, while their partners set off for more (Silin 1947, 109). The goods obtained by barter from the Russians were immediately dispatched to China as there were no large storage facilities in Maimaicheng.

Trade in Kiakhta continued almost year-round, intensifying in the winter months, when large consignments of goods arrived from China. Deliveries from Kalgan (Zhangjiakou 張家口) to Maimaicheng took place across Mongolia from September to June. There is a simple explanation for the interruption of traffic in the summer: the main means of transport was the two-humped Mongolian (Bactrian) camel that begins to moult in late March and loses its coat by early June, leaving it weak and incapable of carrying loads (Krit 1862, 41).

Kiakhta's heyday came in the 1850s, when, alongside barter, permission was given for monetary transactions that had previously been forbidden. In the 1850s–60s, the trade turnover came to more than 30 million roubles a year. Kiakhta was called “The town of millionaires” and “Sandy Venice”. Not only commerce, but cultural life flourished in the town. Active there in the 1830s–1840s were the Mongolists Aleksandr Igumnov (1761–1834) and Osip (Józef Szczepan) Kowalewski (1801–1878). In the 1840s and 1850s, the exiled Decembrist brothers Nikolai and Mikhail Bestuzhev often visited Kiakhta-Troitskosavsk.

The Treaty of Nanking concluded between China and Britain in 1842, brought about major changes in the whole structure of Sino-European trade and threatened Kiakhta's prosperity. Besides ceding Hong Kong to Britain, China opened up five ports to international trade: Canton, Amoy (Xiamen), Fuzhou

(Foochowfoo), Ningbo, and Shanghai. The expansion of China's trade with European states led the centres of importation to shift to the south.

The government of the Russian Empire sought to sustain cross-border trade with China: on 20 February 1862, representatives of Russia and the Qing authorities signed a document laying out "The Rules of Overland Trade between Russia and China" (Zhong E lulu tongshang zhangcheng 中俄陸路通商章程), according to which Russian and Chinese subjects gained the right to trade free of duty within a distance of 100 Chinese *li* (50 *versts*) of the borders of the two states (Skachkov and Miasnikov 1958, 42-45).

These measures did not, however, produce significant results. Kiakhta's turnover declined appreciably. The year 1903, when the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway was completed, saw a grave downturn in its commerce and prosperity.

Kiakhta found itself sorely tested by subsequent revolutions and wars. In 1920-21, the town was the centre of the activities of the Mongol statesman and politician Damdinii Sükhbaatar (1893-1923). On 1 March 1921, the first congress of the Mongolian People's Party was held in Kiakhta. In May and June that year, Baron Ungern's forces engaged in fighting for Kiakhta-Troitskosavsk. That same year, a tragic fate befell the Chinese Maimaicheng: it was completely destroyed by a fire.

At the present time Kiakhta is a small town in Russia's Chita region, while the site of Maimaicheng remains a level field on the outskirts of the Mongolian border town of Altanbulaq.

4 *Vocabularies of Kiakhta Pidgin*

The first person to comment in print on the distinctive pronunciation of the Russian-speaking Chinese of Maimaicheng was Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811), a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences whose travel notes were published in German in 1771 and in Russian in 1788:

Here on the border the Chinese traders all of course speak Mongolian, in the same way the Russians either speak that language themselves or through sworn interpreters attached to them; many also speak Russian, but so poorly and with such a soft and

imperfect pronunciation that anyone freshly arrived can barely understand it. They cannot pronounce the letter *R* at all and instead they all say *L*. Syllables made up of several consonants, of which there are no few in Russian, they divide up and spread out with inserted vowels, and both these things are faults that are not in any way noticeable among learners of Russian, neither in Tatar, nor in Mongolia, nor among the Kalmyks, nor other Asiatic peoples. (Pallas 1788, 182).

The strange pronunciation of Russian by Chinese traders on the border was also noted by the eminent linguist Julius Heinrich Klaproth (1783–1835), who visited Kiakhta and Maimaicheng in 1805.⁹ Regarding the Chinese he observed in Kiakhta and Maimaicheng, Klaproth wrote, among others things, that “they almost all speak Mongolian very well. Many of them know sufficient Russian to be able to conduct their business dealings themselves, but their pronunciation is extremely indistinct. For example, instead of *dvadtsat’ piat’ monet* [twenty-five coins] they say *tua-ze-ti piati moniza* and so on.” (Klaproth 1816, 125).

In 1824, Egor Fedorovich Timkovskii, a judicial official who accompanied the 10th Russian Orthodox Mission to China, already pointed not simply to the specific character of the Russian pronunciation of the Maimaicheng Chinese but also to the existence of a separate “Kiakhta Russo-Chinese dialect” (Timkovskii 1824, 184), and further to the existence of vocabularies of that dialect. In the first volume of his *Travels*, Timkovskii writes about:

[...] the corrupted and comical dialect in which the traders from the Chinese province of Shanxi conduct important commercial matters with our own merchants, who never learn Chinese. For example, for “horse” [*losbad’* in Russian] they say *loshka*, for “together” [*vmeste*] *zamesiats*, for “Feodor” *fetel*, for “twenty-five coins” [*dvadtsat’ piat’ monet*] *tuatseti piati monisa*, and so on. The Chinese merchants have even compiled large vocabularies in this unintelligible language.” (Timkovskii 1824, 66).

9 Klaproth’s writings, containing his travel observations and also a historical outline of Russo-Chinese relations and the demarcation of territory between the Russian and Qing Empires, were published first in German in 1809 and 1810, then in Russian in 1816, in an abridged translation by Andrei Efimovich Martynov (1768–1826), and in 1824 as part of a collection of the author’s works in French. In the French translation, a number of terms and names for things are accompanied by Chinese characters.

Vocabularies of Russian compiled by the merchants of Maimaicheng were also mentioned by the Sinologist Father Hyacinth (Bichurin), who in 1831 wrote in his brief article entitled “A Letter from Kiakhta” in the periodical *Moskovskii Telegraf*:

The resourceful Chinese did not ponder long on the difficulties of our language. They resolved among themselves that every boy destined to carry on trade in Kiakhta must without fail learn Russian on coming here. To this end in each stall a small Chinese vocabulary is compiled with a Russian translation written in Chinese letters. But since the Chinese language does not have changes to the ending of words and, furthermore, lacks similar sounding words to transpose our syllables that contain two or three consonants, from the translation of our acquaintances a separate Russian dialect arose in which our words, mutilated in pronunciation, are used in the form in which they were entered in the dictionary without the slightest modification of endings. (Bichurin 1831, 142-143).

Father Hyacinth also included 15 phrases in Kiakhta dialect in the piece.

Bichurin's sojourn in Kiakhta in 1830-1832 was the consequence of his participation in an inspection trip around Siberia by the Orientalist and Russian state official Pavel L'vovich (Paul Ludwig) Schilling von Cannstatt (1786-1837). Schilling, who served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was sent to investigate the dissemination of Buddhism in Transbaikal and the ever-growing number of lamas. Besides researching the position of the Mongol-Buryat clergy, Schilling was given an assignment to study the state of trade on the Russo-Chinese border.

On the basis of what he found, Schilling drew up a whole series of reports and dispatches, including a detailed “Memorandum on the previous and present state of trade in Kiakhta”. In describing the Chinese merchants of Maimaicheng in the Memorandum, Schilling also noted that they had vocabularies of the Russian language:

All subjects of the Chinese state have the right to trade in Kiakhta, but it is used almost exclusively by inhabitants of the province of Shanxi. [...] The inhabitants of the province of Shanxi are respected in China itself as highly skilled in commerce. Subtlety and thoroughness in calculations, unanimity and firmness in actions are their distinguishing qualities. Desiring to do business with the Russians without the intermediacy of interpreters, they all learn the Russian language. To that end in each of their stalls they compile a special book, in which beneath the Chinese words the Russian ones are given, written phonetically also with Chinese letters. Out of this there

has arisen in Kiakhta the strangest and most distorted patois, by means of which the Chinese communicate with the Russians.¹⁰

In January 1830, responding to the long-held wishes of the local merchants, Father Hyacinth began teaching Chinese in Kiakhta. The main aim of this undertaking was to train practical interpreters to serve cross-border trade. The pupils mastered “conversations, the contents of which were the usual subjects between those doing business in Kiakhta”. They first demonstrated this knowledge at an examination on 13 August 1831, in the presence of Schilling von Cannstatt and also of all the members of the 10th Orthodox Religious Mission on its way back from Beijing (Bichurin 1831, 141-142). Officially established by the Emperor himself and subordinated to the Ministry of Finance through the Department of Foreign Trade, the School of the Chinese Language in Kiakhta opened on 28 November 1832.

Specially for teaching purposes, Father Hyacinth composed a *Chinese Grammar* that summarized what Sinologists around the world had gleaned from studying the Chinese language and became for almost a century the main university-level textbook on the subject in Russia. While working on his *Grammar*, Father Hyacinth used one or more vocabularies of the Kiakhta dialect as a source. This is evidenced by an appendix to the *Grammar* containing the names of goods exported and imported through Kiakhta in Russian and Chinese (Bichurin 1835, 220-237). In the foreword to his textbook, Bichurin mentions the “broken Russian dialect” in use among the Chinese in Kiakhta and Maimaicheng (Bichurin 1835, xviii).

Bichurin’s bilingual list of goods traded in Kiakhta was not the only glossary of its kind circulating among the Russian merchants. Semion Nemchinov, a member of a prominent Kiakhta family, “exerted considerable efforts to compile a Russian-Chinese dictionary” (Zhirov 2005, 158). Within the Archives of Orientalists of the IOM RAS, in the fund of the Mongolist Osip Kowalewski, a handwritten vocabulary has survived that contains the Chinese words for objects of cross-border trade and also their Russian transcriptions, following the standard

10 Schilling, Pavel L. 1832. “Zapiska o prezhnem i nyneshnem polozhenii kiakhtinskoi torgovli” [Memorandum on the previous and present state of trade in Kiakhta]. In the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, fund 56, inventory 1, unit 1, ff. 11v-12r.

Beijing pronunciation, and translations.¹¹ Between 1827 and 1831 Kowalewski was in Irkutsk, from where he made journeys into Mongolia and China and at the same time concerned himself with matters relating to the organization of the Russo-Mongol Military School that was opened in Troitskosavsk in 1833. In August 1830, Kowalewski was in Kiakhta at the same time as Schilling's expedition (Polianskaia 2004, 155).

From the 1830s, short magazine and newspaper articles began to appear in the Russian central press describing life in Maimaicheng and mentioning the amazing Kiakhta (Maimaicheng) patois (Erman 1832). One issue of the *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* (*Saint Petersburg Gazette*) newspaper in 1864 carried a brief story on "A Russo-Chinese Language" that gave this characterization of our pidgin:

This language is not Chinese and not Russian, but is known as the Kiakhta trading language, in which negotiations are conducted between the Russians and Chinese. It was invented almost entirely by the Chinese themselves and has become so established that it turned into something canonical, permanent, not subject to random changes".¹²

The Kiakhta dialect became the first Russian-based pidgin to attract the attention of professional linguists. The earliest specialist publication containing a grammatical analysis of the Kiakhta dialect was an 1853 paper by Semion Ivanovich Cherepanov (1810–1884).¹³ Then came papers by Aleksandr Ivanovich

11 Archives of Orientalists, IOM RAS, fund 29, inventory 1, unit 2. Kowalewski's fairly concise handwritten dictionary contains 7 folios on dense white paper measuring 22.5×34.2 cm; the frame being 19.5×23.6 cm. The pages are marked out with black Indian ink into 18 rows, in each of which one word is written. Altogether there are 249 such words in the dictionary (the last page has just 15 entries). Besides the names of goods, arranged by types, the dictionary gives the words for everyday objects, clothing, foods, and so on.

12 National Library of Russia, Manuscript Department, fund 1200, unit 109 (no pagination).

13 Extracts from Cherepanov's paper were published in *Luchi*, a "magazine for young ladies" (1854, vol. IX, 212). It is known that Cherepanov was gathering material for a vocabulary of the Kiakhta dialect. The records of the Imp. Academy of Sciences relating to the Department of Russian Language and Philology for April 1853 state: "Titular Counsellor Cherepanov presented to the Department a compendium of regional words that he had collected in Irkutsk, Yenisei, Tomsk, Tobolsk and Perm provinces. At the same time Mr. Cherepanov informs the Department that he has a collection of words used in Kiakhta. It was resolved to ask Mr. Cherepanov to supply the

Aleksandrov (1861–1918) (1884, 160–163) and Hugo Schuchard (1842–1927) (1884, 318–320). Examples of expressions and short descriptions of the “trading language” of Kiakhta appear in memoirs, works of fiction, and travellers’ notes (Piasetskii 1880, 14–23, 363–368; Maksimov 1909, 276–282).

The history of the compilation and possible sources of the vocabularies that existed in Maimaicheng remain obscure. In his paper on the Kiakhta dialect Semion Cherepanov indicated that the Chinese compiled the vocabularies of Russian with the aid of Mongols who knew Chinese and collected the names of objects and the explanations of words from Russians who knew Mongolian. As a consequence, many Russian words, especially verbs, acquired the ending of Mongolian verbs—*pit’* [to drink] became *pikbu* (Mongolian *ukbu*); *kushat’* [to eat] became *kushakbu* (*zoglukbu*) (Cherepanov 1853, 371–372). It is noteworthy that Semion Cherepanov states that the vocabularies were not handwritten but woodcut printed “following the Chinese method of book printing carved on hard wood and printed for those needing to learn the Russian language” (Cherepanov 1853, 371). Later, evidently influenced by Semion Cherepanov, the linguist Sergei Konstantinovich Bulich (1859–1921) when writing the entry on the *Maimaicheng dialect* for the Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary, mentioned the printing in China of “special guides (using Chinese characters)” for the study of Russian (Bulich 1896, 381). Georgii Mikhailovich Osokin (1906, 58–59) also wrote about the existence of such aids.

The evidences mentioned here intended to describe the period of decline of Kiakhta; and possibly the woodcut printed vocabularies and study books, which came in sight of the researchers, belong to other regions of circulation of the Chinese Pidgin Russian.¹⁴

Kiakhta words”. (Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk po Otdeleniiu russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti [Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences for the Department of Russian Language and Philology], Vol. 2, 1853, 203).

14 At a later time, woodblock and typographically printed textbooks appeared in which Chinese characters were used to transcribe Russian words. Examples included (1) 中俄話本 subtitled in English “Russian and Chinese conversation”, compiled by Russian Kaufmann 俄國高福滿 (Shanghai, 1902); (2) 中俄通俗話本 “A Book of Russian-Chinese Common Conversations”, compiled jointly by a Russian 麥斯克 (Maiskii) and the Chinese 李明清 (Shanghai, 1913); (3) 華俄初語 “Elementary Chinese-Russian Conversations” (6th edition, Harbin, 1927). These editions

Evidently dictionaries of the Kiakhta dialect were never reproduced by printing because of the relatively small (by Chinese standards) number of people for whom they were intended, and they existed only as manuscript copies.

In the works of Russian Sinologists one can find indications of an ordinance being issued in China in the 1820s that obliged any boy working in commerce in Kiakhta to learn Russian (Skachkov 1977, 109). There are mentions of a dedicated Russian-language school in Kalgan with a special passing-out examination (Maksimov 1909, 277). Nevertheless, confirmation of such suggestions regarding government requirements for learning Russian cannot be found in Chinese sources and the present authors have had no success in seeking out printed dictionaries intended for use specifically in Kiakhta—all five vocabularies of Kiakhta trade pidgin known to us are handwritten.

The earliest textbook intended for the study of Russian in China, apart from the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin, is the grammar entitled *A Collection of Most Important Extracts Translated from Russian*¹⁵ (Chin.: 俄羅斯繙譯捷要全書 (*Eluosi fanyi jie yao quanshu*; Manchu: *Oroslame ubaliambuka oiongo babe tuchibube ionii bithe*), a unique textbook that was one of the first attempts in the world to present a European language by means of Chinese and Manchu. This grammar, kept in the manuscript collection of the IOM RAS (Ref. No. C-72) was first mentioned by Paul Pelliot (1932, 109) in 1932 and then in 1963, Maïia Volkova (1963, 154-157) published a brief description of it. The grammar book was compiled to meet the needs of teaching in the School of the Russian Language (*Oluosi wenguan* 鄂羅斯文館) established in Beijing around 1705 attached to the State Chancellery (*Neige* 內閣) of the Qing Empire. The main part of the text is a translation of the grammar of Church Slavonic most commonly used in Russia up until the early 18th century—the *Grammatika slavenskiia pravilnoe sintagma*, published in 1619 by

were mentioned in the notes by linguist Aleksandr Grigor'evich Shprintsin (1907-1974), who also provided a title of another aid: 清俄會論俱全較正無訛 “A Full Collection of Chinese-Russian Conversations. Revised and Corrected, no Mistakes”. Lithograph, no date of edition—by presence of the character 清 published before 1911 (National Library of Russia, Manuscript Department, fund 1200, unit 12, f. 5). The last mentioned edition the writers of this paper could not find, still the title of it should be 俱全較正無訛清俄會話.

15 Russian: “Собрание важнейших извлечений, переведенных с русского языка”.

Meletius Smotrytsky (ca. 1577–1633). The work of translating this book was begun in the winter of 1738 by two teachers of the school, Illarion Rossokhin (1717–1751) and the Manchu chancellor Fulohe. Together they produced ten manuscript notebooks. In 1745, Aleksei Leont'ev (1716–1786) continued the translation and added four notebooks more. Manuscript C-72 contains translations of the Etymology sections and parts of the Orthography and Syntax sections of Smotrytsky's grammar.

The existence of such a textbook is an extremely interesting fact in the history of the teaching of Russian in China, but we have found no direct evidence of this grammar having any sort of influence on the learning of Russian by Maimaicheng merchants. Evgenii Silin suggests that the first teachers of Russian in China may have been Albazianians since until the appearance of Russian caravans and missions in Beijing they performed the functions of interpreters (Silin 1947, 110). Sergei Maksimov (1871, 581) indicated that the Chinese learnt the Russian trading language in Kalgan from teachers drawn from the paupers "living on alms in Kiakhta". There is evidence that for their part, Russian merchants, keen to give the trade with China a broader and more organized character, made attempts to learn the Chinese language and the Chinese merchant caste's system of trading corporations, in order to create their own partnerships along similar lines (Skachkov 1977, 86). The Maimaicheng Chinese sought to learn not only to speak but also to write Russian, which some of them succeeded in doing quite well (Osokin 1895, 44; Osokin 1906, 46).

Due to a large extent to the vocabularies compiled by the Chinese merchants of Maimaicheng, the Kiakhta pidgin was destined to have a long existence. After the conclusion of the Treaties of Tianjin (1858) and Beijing (1860), the geographical area of Russo-Chinese bilateral trade expanded considerably and the Kiakhta pidgin spread along the whole Kiakhta—Urga (Ulan Bator)—Beijing trade route and along the Russian-Chinese frontier. From the late 19th century, the stabilized Kiakhta pidgin was spoken over an area that embraced the whole of Manchuria and since that time, there and subsequently across the entire Russian Far East, the closely related Far Eastern Russo-Chinese pidgin came into use—a modified version of the Kiakhta (Maimaicheng) pidgin adapted to modern circumstances.

In 1927, Aleksandr Georgievskii (1927), a professor of the State Far Eastern University published a study of the Russian dialects of the Maritime Territory that also devoted attention to the characteristics of the Russo-Chinese patois

(Gueorguievsky 1927). A valuable, but sadly unpublished source for research into this language is the field material gathered by Aleksandr Shprintsin, who in the summer and autumn of 1928 made a study of the dialect of the Chinese in Russia's Maritime Territory. His records were deposited in the Archives of Orientalists of the IOM RAS (*Razriad* (collection) one, inventory 1, units 267, 268), and in the Manuscript Department of the National Library of Russia (fund 1200). Among Shprintsin's materials in the National Library are extensive card indices, typewritten drafts of his diploma work "Main Grammatical Observations on the Chinese-Russian Dialect in the Far East" (1929)¹⁶ and also a "Plan for a Monograph on the Chinese-Russian Dialect" (1931).¹⁷

In the most recent conditions of contact between the populations of Russia and China since the 1980s, more modern versions of a Russo-Chinese pidgin language are coming into being along the border (Oglezneva 2007, 35-52; Yang 2007, 67-74; Perekhval'skaia 2008).

5 Contents of *Kiakhta Pidgin Vocabularies*

The contents of the vocabularies of *Kiakhta* (Maimaicheng) pidgin at our disposal reflect the needs of trade and communication on an everyday level. The thematic divisions of the lexicons are based primarily on the classification of the objects of cross-border trade.

The most wide-ranging is vocabulary A, from the collection of the IOM RAS. It is divided into 20 sections:

1. Numbers 應數目等項第壹
2. Colours 應顏色等類第貳
3. Types of silk and satin fabrics 一應紬緞綾羅紗絹等類第三

16 National Library of Russia, Manuscript Department, fund 1200, unit 12. The Chinese-Russian Dialect in the Far East (Preliminary Report) (58 ff.); unit 13 (80 ff.); unit 14 (104 ff.)

17 National Library of Russia, Manuscript Department, fund 1200, unit 64 (21 ff.). According to the plan of work for 1931, Shprintsin also intended preparing for print "texts in the Chinese-Russian dialect" with transcription and a glossary. Shprintsin actually published only two papers on the Russo-Chinese pidgin (Shprintsin 1932; Shprintsin 1968).

4. Types of coarse and fine cloth 各樣梭布平機類第肆
 5. Names of teas, etc. 各樣茶名等類第伍
 6. Types of fine and coarse furs 各樣粗細皮毛等類第陸
 7. Birds, animals, insects, fish, etc. 各樣禽獸走獸蟲魚等類第七
 8. Sky, earth, the calendar, etc. 天地年月日時等類第八
 9. The town, outskirts, temples, roads, mountains, rivers, etc. 城郭廟宇道路山河等類第九
 10. Rulers, civil and military officials, monks, demons and deities, people, etc. 帝王文武僧道鬼神人物類第拾
 11. Relatives by blood and marriage, etc. 宗族親眷等類第拾壹
 12. The body, appearance, aches and diseases, etc. 身體面目瘡疾第拾二
 13. Types of clothing 衣服等類第拾三
 14. State regulations and Russian national customs 回國士俗民情規矩類第(拾)四
 15. Gold, silver, pearls, and other precious wares 金銀珠寶貨類第拾五
 16. Weights and measures, types of goods, etc. 壹概尺寸件色箱等類第拾六
 17. Minor goods, etc. 壹應零星貨物等類第拾柒
 18. Cereals, vegetables, fruits, etc. 五穀菜蔬菓品類第拾捌
 19. Learned words and expressions, etc. 學話提綱等類第拾九
- [Section 20]. Russian geographical names and local wares 俄羅嘶國內地名並所出土產處.

In vocabulary B, in the collection of Saint Petersburg State University, which was evidently bound by a Russian (European?), the sections are mixed up, but the contents are in general the same as in vocabulary A. The first section is not marked out. It lacks a heading and is followed by the tenth: 各樣哈喇回布羽毛毯子回絨金線鏡子鐵頁第十號 (“Cloths, woollen carpets, velveteen, tinsel, mirrors, metal items”).

Then come sections 2 to 9:

2. Town, temples, roads, mountains, rivers, etc. 城池廟宇道路山河類第二號
3. Rulers, civil and military officials, saints, persons, etc. 帝王文武僧道神鬼人物類第三號
4. Relatives by blood and marriage, fellow villagers, etc. 宗族親眷鄉黨類第四號
5. Parts of the body, appearance, illnesses, etc. 身體面目瘡疾患類第五號
6. Clothing, headwear, etc. 衣服冠帶類第六號

7. Colours, etc. 顏色類第七號
8. Names of different teas, etc. 各樣茶名類第八號
9. Different leather and fur goods, etc. 各樣皮毛貨類第九號.

The full content of the vocabularies was published with transcription and translation in 2017 (Popova and Takata 2017).

6 Basic Characteristics of *Kiakhta* Pidgin

6.1 On the history of Chinese pidgins

Chinese trade pidgins were formed on the basis of other languages as well as Russian. In Macao, where the Portuguese began to settle from the late 1500s, a creole language appeared that they used to communicate with the local Chinese population. The subsequent predominance of the British in the region led to the creole language that had developed on the basis of Portuguese transforming into Chinese Pidgin English through a process of relexification. This pidgin spread rapidly in many parts of China following the influx of British and American missionaries and traders. It particularly flourished in Shanghai, in the trading quarters along the Yangjingbang canal, as a result of which the local Chinese Pidgin English became known in Chinese as *Yangjingbang yingyu* 洋涇浜英語 (“Yangjingbang English”).

The Chinese Pidgin Portuguese and the Chinese Pidgin English were written down in vocabularies and phrasebooks that were published in the form of small booklets for sale to the Chinese. These were printed from woodcut blocks and had a fairly wide circulation. In them, the way Portuguese and English words should be spoken was conveyed using Chinese characters following their Cantonese pronunciation. Isolated copies of such publications can now be found in the stocks of European libraries. Thanks to the surviving written sources, Chinese Pidgin English and the Portuguese creole language of Macao have by now been amply studied. *Kiakhta* pidgin meanwhile is not so well known due to the lack of printed evidence. This makes the three handwritten vocabularies in the collections of Russian libraries particularly valuable for the understanding of the phonetic, grammatical, and lexical peculiarities of this contact language.

Most influential and numerous among the Shanxi merchants of Maimaicheng was a clan of tea-traders surnamed Chang 常 from the Yuci county 榆次縣 (Liu 2001, 92-96).¹⁸ The dialect that they spoke (sometimes called Bingzhou 并州 from the old historical name of the area) belongs to the Shanxi (or Jin 晉) dialect of the Chinese language and evidently that was the predominant way of speaking among the Chinese of Maimaicheng during the heyday of Russo-Chinese cross-border trade.

The degree to which Shanxi dialect is a separate dialect from Northern Chinese remains a moot question (Hou 1995; Qiao 2008). Previously seven main dialects of the Chinese were identified: (1) Northern Chinese (Mandarin); (2) the Wu 吳 (including Shanghai) dialect; (3) the Gan 贛 (Jianxi) dialect; (4) the Xiang 湘 (Hunan) dialect; (5) the Yue 粵 (Cantonese); (6) the Min 閩 (Fujian) dialect; and (7) the Hakka or Kejia 客家 dialect. In 2012, the second edition of the *Language Atlas of China*,¹⁹ published by the Institute of Linguistics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, first included Shanxi (Jin 晉) dialect among the independent dialects of the Chinese language. The authors of the present publication believe this to be justified, considering the unarguably distinctive character of the said dialect.

6.2 On the phonetic features of the Taiyuan subdialect

The Chinese merchants transcribed words and phrases of our pidgin manuals according the sounds of a Shanxi (Jin) dialect. When reconstructing words, we drew upon a study of the phonetic system of the Taiyuan 太原 subdialect of the Shanxi dialect, as it is thoroughly studied rather than Yuci 榆次 subdialect. Therefore, it seems reasonable and expedient to take up subdialect of Taiyuan, the capital city of the Shanxi province, as a typical and representative source. As a branch of the Shanxi dialect, Taiyuan subdialect is quite different from the Chinese standard language in phonetics as well as in grammar and vocabulary, and

18 Now part of the city of Jinzhong 晉中 to the north-west of Taiyuan, the capital of Shanxi province.

19 The first edition of *Zhongguo yuyan ditu ji* 中國語言地圖集 (Language Atlas of China) was published in 1987 by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in conjunction with the Australian Academy of the Humanities. The atlas reflects the linguistic situation in China as officially recognized by the authorities of the Chinese People's Republic.

it belongs to the same subgroup of the Shanxi dialect as the Yuci subdialect spoken in the home district of the Kiakhta traders.

There are 21 initial consonants in total, including \emptyset (zero), in the Taiyuan subdialect, which possesses two series of plosives and affricates: $p, p' / t, t' / k, k' / ts, ts' / t\text{ɕ}, t\text{ɕ}'$, namely unaspirated and aspirated voiceless surds. In the same way as the standard Chinese, it lacks a series of voiced. Therefore, there are always difficulties in representing voiced consonants in foreign languages with the Chinese characters.

For the vowels in the Taiyuan subdialect, what attracts our attention at first sight, is the existence of two entering tones, upper and lower, which are the descendants of the *ru sheng* 入聲 of Middle Sinitic. These syllables were once closed by the final stops, $-p, -t, -k$ and now weakened as a mere glottal stop $[-ʔ]$ in Taiyuan. These syllables in abrupt tones are used generally for transcribing foreign short syllables. Taiyuan subdialect tones are five in number: the level tone, *ping sheng* 平聲; the rising tone, *shang sheng* 上聲; the departing tone, *qu sheng* 去聲; and besides the above mentioned, two entering tones. The reflection of the level, rising, and departing tones in the transcription is not clear.

Another peculiarity of the Taiyuan subdialect is that the final consonant $-n$ is dropped in case the preceding vowels are front and high, regardless of being rounded or unrounded. We must pay careful attention to comprehend the phonetic feature in the interpretation of the transcriptions of the Russian words by the Chinese in Kiakhta. The syllables with the final $-n$ and $-ŋ$ are also dropped if the vowels are $[æ]$ or $[e]$, but the preceding vowels are nasalized at the same time, and so the difference is not so big acoustically. On the other hand, the nasal final consonants $-n$ and $-ŋ$ are retained but merged into one $-ŋ$ if the preceding vowels are $[ə], [i], [u], [y]$. The close-mid back unrounded vowel $[ɤ]$ appears in place of $[o]$ of the standard Chinese but works as the same practically in transcribing foreign words, in our case the Russian words of Kiakhta pidgin.

6.3 Dialect forms of the logographic characters

In the vocabularies of the Kiakhta we find obsolete demotic (vernacular) forms of characters that do not appear in lexicons of the modern Chinese language and are therefore very difficult to identify. At the same time, the precise way they should

be read is of fundamental significance for the phonetic reconstruction of the Kiakhta cross-border language.

Among the Chinese characters, the most frequently used to convey the sound of Russian words in the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin is 屮. The lexicon *Yu pian* 玉篇 (“The Jasper Book”) gives its reading as 都穀切 (a cross between *dou* and *gou* = *tuk)—and meaning— “a demotic form of the character for *pig* 豚 (tun²⁰). Similarly, the lexicon *Guang yun* 廣韻 (“Extensive Rhymes”) gives another meaning for the character 屮: “opening beneath the tail” (尾下竅也), which is identical to the meaning customary in the Jin dialect: “buttocks and anal orifice”.²⁰ In the Taiyuan dialect, 屮 is read as *tuəʔ*. In B:16a-06, the Russian word for 祖父 (“grandfather”)—*dedusbka*—is transcribed as 借屮什坎 (*ʔɛie-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'əʔ*); while A:24b-02 conveys the same word in Chinese characters as 借獨什坎, with the same reading *ʔɛie-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'əʔ*. In the Taiyuan dialect, the character 獨 is read as *tuəʔ*, which confirms our hypothesis for the reading of 屮. The interchangeability of 屮 and 獨 is demonstrated by a number of other examples: in vocabulary B (B:16a-06), the word *matusbka* (“mother”) is transcribed as 麻屮什坎—*ma-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'əʔ*, while (B:16a-07) *tiotusbka* (“aunt”) becomes 叫屮什坎 (*ʔɛiau-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'əʔ*); whereas in dictionary A, we find 麻獨什坎 (*ma-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'əʔ* /A:24b-02) and 叫獨什坎 (*ʔɛiau-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'əʔ* /A:24b-04) respectively.

Another demotic character that occurs frequently is 焯. This may be a dialect variant of 癩 [bie] “crumpled, to sag” as can be judged by the expression 杆子焯了 “the pipe has broken” (B:01a-06). In any case, its pronunciation must be *pie*, which is how it is used in the dictionaries of Kiakhta pidgin.

A dialect form of the character 蹄 [ti²] (meaning “hoof”) — 𩇛 — occurs twice in dictionary B: 釘(蹄)力 (*kəʔ-peɪ-tiəʔ*) “to shoe (a horse), a hoof” [Rus. *kopyto*] (B:11b-01), and 馬𩇛(蹄) (*pəʔ-tuəʔ-ko-vai*) “horseshoe(s)” [Rus. *podkova*] (B:11b-01). In the *Supplement to the Dictionary of Characters* (字彙補 *Zibui bu*), the similar character 𩇛 is accompanied by the explanation “an ancient way of writing the character 帝 [di⁴] (“emperor”). In the dictionary *The Mirror from the Dragon Niche* (龍龕手鏡 *Long kan shoujing*) the reading of another similar character 𩇛 is given as 帝 [di].

20 Hou Jingyi and Wen Duanzheng (1993, 9) refer to the *Textbook of Dialect Characters* (*Fangyan za zi* 方言雜字) published in the early years of the Chinese Republic, in which the meaning of this character is given as “the opening from which excrement emerges” (*chu fen men ye* 出糞門也).

In the combinations 你吹(認) (*ti ɣo-tiəʔ-kəʔ-tai*) “you guess” (imperative) [Rus. *ty otgadai*] (B:09b-01) and 吹(認) 見了 (*u-kəʔ-tai*) “guess” (imperative) [*ugadai*] (B:09b-01), the character 吹 is, in all probability, a variant way of writing 認 [ren] since it is very similar to the modern simplified version of the character—認.

The character 托 that occurs frequently in vocabulary A is nothing but a demotic form of 把 [ba], which in B is used in its usual form, for example in 把什年 (*pa-səʔ-nie*), meaning “tower” [Rus. *bashnia*] (B:13b-05).

6.4 Peculiarities of conveying the sound of Russian words

In the majority of cases, the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin use one and the same set of Chinese characters to phonetically convey the syllables of the Russian language.²¹ It is, however, sometimes difficult to determine how they should be pronounced since one and the same character can represent two or three different phonemes. Most revealing in this regard are the characters 哏 and 艮.

The character 哏 with the Shanxi dialect reading *ɣo* is mainly used to transcribe Russian words with an initial vibrant *r*, which, as is well known, does not exist in Chinese and for which a native speaker of that language requires a prefixed vowel:

俄羅棒子 *ɣo-luo-pɛ̃-tsi* “worker” [Rus. *rabotnik*; Chin. 長工] (B:15a-03; C:10a-03)

五路史坎 *u-ləu-si-k'ə̃* “Russian (masculine/feminine)” [Rus. *russkaia*] (A:9b-05, A:13a-04, A:22a-03; B:19b-07, B:20a-05; C:22a-03 and more)

俄路日 *ɣo-ləu-zəʔ*, 俄羅日 *ɣo-luo-zəʔ* “face” [Rus. *rozha*; Chin. 雲, 臉] (B:13a-02, B:16b-06).

The character 哈 [*xaʰ*] is also used as a prefix for an initial *r*:

哈而杜地 *xa-ər-tu-ti* “mercury” [Rus. *rtutʹ*; Chin. 水銀] (B:01b-08)

哈拉史 *xa-la-si* “(one) time, occasion” [Rus. *raz*; Chin. 壹遍] (B:02a-02)

The character 哏 can also be read as *ie* and is used to convey the Russian *r* sound²² when followed by the vowels *e*, *u* or *ɨ* [*e*, *i* or *ɣ*].

21 The compilers (or copiers) of the different vocabularies did have their own preferences. For example, to represent the sound *u* [Rus. *y*], vocabularies A and C favour 悞 *wu*, while B uses 勿 *wu*.

22 In some instances, 哏 is also used to convey the *e* sound. For example, 哏力世內 *ie-lieʔ-si-nuei*

- 哋力各地兒 *ie-liəʔ-kəʔ-ti-ər* “rector” [Rus. *rektor*; Chin. 閣兒] (B:13b-04)
 哋力昔, 哋力細 *ie-liəʔ-ci, ie-liəʔ-ciəʔ* “lynx” [Rus. *rys*; Chin. 猞力猞] (B:20a-04; C:23a-01)
 哋力的坎 *ie-liəʔ-tiəʔ-k'əʔ* “rarely” [Rus. *redko*; Chin. 稀少] (B:08b-09)
 哋煉葡 *ie-lie-pəʔ* “turnip” [Rus. *repa*; Chin. 蔓菁] (A:41a-03)
 哋的古不世克 *ie-tiəʔ-ku-pəʔ-si-k'əʔ* “trader, dealer” [Rus. *perekupščik*; Chin. 商人] (B:14b-09).

At the same time the character 哋 was used in the vocabularies to transcribe the Russian combination *ne*, which may seem strange at first. We should, however, take into account that in the Taiyuan subdialect there is a syllabic reading of this same character: *nie*. Besides, the *nie* sound is also associated with another character, 𠵼, which is visually similar to 哋, being made up of the radical 口 and the phonetic component 乚 [niè]. The *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary (Xiandai Hanyu cidian, 現代漢語詞典)* gives the following meanings for 𠵼: (1) slanting, sloping; (2) the name of an ethnic group. Besides, in the Shanxinese dialect the character 𠵼 is used to designate a nearby object in a three-term system of demonstrative pronouns (Wang 2007, 50-52). The pronunciation is given as *miē* for the first meaning and *niè* for the second. The dictionary *Guangyun 廣韻* gives the reading 彌也切 only for the second meaning, which theoretically should correspond to *miè*, but in actual fact it transmutes to *niè*, possibly as the result of the palatalization of the indistinct initial sound. Thus, in our dictionaries the character 哋 should be read as *nie*, in the same way as 𠵼:

- 哋蜜史坎捧不力 *nie-miəʔ-si-k'əʔ p'əŋ-pəʔ-liəʔ* “European beaver” [Rus. *nemetskii* [literally “German”] *bobr*; Chin. 岡蓋水皮] (B:19b-08)
 哋蜜鰲史坎裡細子 *nie-miəʔ-p'iau-si-k'əʔ li-ci-tsi* “German (i.e. foreign) fox” [Rus. *nemetskaia lisa*; Chin. 小白狐皮] (B:19b-08)
 哋蜜史坎 *nie-miəʔ-si-k'əʔ* “German (i.e. foreign) [cloth]” [Rus. *nemetskoe*; Chin. 金邊哈洛] (B:03a-05)
 哋力(刀) 票史坎 *nie-tau-p'iau-si-k'əʔ* “Arctic fox” [Rus. *nedopiosok*; Chin. 小毛白狐皮] (A:9b-03)
 哋蜜史坎波不力 *nie-miəʔ-si-k'əʔ pə-pəʔ-liəʔ* “European beaver” [Rus. *nemetskii* [literally “German”] *bobr*; Chin. 鍋蓋水皮] (A:9b-04)

“superfluous” [Rus. *lisnii*] (A:63a-03) and 哋煉伏 (*ie-lie-fəʔ*) “drying oil” [Rus. *olifa*] (B:03b-09).

23 The character 力 *li* here clearly should have been 刀 *dao*.

哋力史坎未的兒 *nie-liəʔ-si-k'əʔ vei-tiəʔ-ər* “Nerchinsk otter” [Rus. *nerchinskaia vydra*; Chin. 正板水皮] (A:9b-05).

The character 良 is evidently a variant of 銀 [yin] (Old Chin. **ŋjēn*; *Guang yun*: 語巾切) and in that demotic form it was recorded fairly earlier, among other places, in a Yuan dynasty publication 古今雜劇 (*Gujin zaju*, “Ancient and Modern Drama”) (Liu and Li 1930, 97). In one of our vocabularies the first character in the word 銀匠 (“silversmith”) is written as 良 (C:10a-04).

In the Taiyuan subdialect the literary reading (*wen du* 文讀) of 良 should be *iŋ*, although it can also be read as *niŋ*. It is known that in early times some characters with an initial **ŋ* were pronounced in a vernacular reading (*bai du* 白讀) without the initial consonant and this was common particularly in the south of China (Shen 1994, 4). We can surmise that this was also a feature of the Shanxi (Jin) dialect. Moreover, it has been established that in ancient times the inhabitants of Bingzhou and other places speaking this dialect of Chinese, pronounced the sound **ŋ* as *ŋg* (Qiao 2008, 265). Later this pronunciation may have been supplanted by a plosive consonant and modified to *ŋsiŋ*. Therefore 良 should be read as *niŋ* ~ *iŋ* or even as *ŋsiŋ* in certain cases; and this character has a very wide range of readings in our dictionaries.

Most often in the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin the character 良 stands for the vernacular *niŋ*:

西良各 *ei-niŋ-kəʔ* “snow” [Rus. *sneg*; Chin. 雪] (B:13a-02, B:13a-04)

西良 *ei-niŋ* “snow” [Rus. *sneg*; Chin. 雪] (A:17a-01)

地良 *ti-niŋ* “melon” [Rus. *dynia*; Chin. 甜瓜] (B:04a-06)

不尺定良 *pəʔ-ts'əʔ-tiŋ-niŋ* “respectful” [Rus. *pochtitel'nyi*; Chin. 請安力] (B:07a-01)

洞良坎 *tʉŋ-niŋ-k'əʔ* “thin, fine” [Rus. *tonen'kii* [*tonkii*]; Chin. 細的] (A:42b-03; B:10a-01)

居良 *tɛy-niŋ* “bale [of cloth]” [Rus. *tiun'*; Chin. 壹甬] (A:31b-04; B:01b-08; C:19b-02)

定良十坎 *tiŋ-niŋ-səʔ-k'əʔ* “[half-kopeck] coin, money” [Rus. *denezhka*; Chin. 半個] (A:2b-05)

定良 *tiŋ-niŋ* “shadow” [Rus. *ten'*; Chin. 人影子] (A:75b-01)

義良 *i-niŋ* “hoarfrost” [Rus. *inei*; Chin. 霜] (A:17a-01)

史當兒良坎 *si-kau-ər-niŋ-k'æ̃* “furrier” [Rus. *skorniak*; Chin. 毛兒匠] (A:24a-05)

良昧 *niŋ-me*, 良罵 (*niŋ-ma*) “dumb, mute” [Rus. *nemoi*; Chin. 啞子] (A:23a-04; C:11a-04)

西良染染池 *ɕi niŋ-zæ̃-zæ̃-ts'i* “with respect” [Rus. *s nizbaishim [poklonom]*]; Chin. 領情] (A:64a-04).

A curious example of the use of the character 良 is its employment for the word *den'* [gen. *dnia*] (“day”).

笑文良 *ɕiau-vəŋ-niŋ* “today” [Rus. *segodnia*; Chin. 今日] (A:18b-03, A:68a-03, A:70b-03, A:71b-04; B:13a-08; C:4a-01)

的利吊文良 *tiə̃-li-tɕyʉŋ-vəŋ niŋ*, *tiə̃-li-tiau-vəŋ niŋ* “the day before yesterday” [Rus. *ret'evogo dnia*; Chin. 前日] (A:18b-04; B:13a-09; C:4a-02).

Native speakers of Chinese have difficulty trying to reproduce the cluster of consonants in such combinations as *-dnia* and will replace it with *-nia* which is simpler for them. They are also more accustomed to using one and the same form 良 *niŋ* for day without indication of case or number. In the following examples the cluster *-dni/dnii* is replaced by *-ni/nii*.

昔利良吳裡子 *ɕiə̃-li-niŋ u-li-ts'i* “middle/central street” [Rus. *sredniaia ulitsa*; Chin. 中街] (A:19a-04; B:13b-05; C:6a-02)

不昔利良史勞旺 *pə̃-ɕiə̃-li-niŋ si-lau-vṽ* “final words” [Rus. *poslednie slova*; Chin. 話說盡了] (A:76a-05).

There is also an instance of 良 to be read as *iŋ* as is standard for the Taiyuan locality:

良邊而 *iŋ-pie-ər* “ginger” [Rus. *imbir'*; Chin. 閔薑] (A:40a-05).

The vocabularies contain a number of examples of a non-standard reading of 良 to represent syllables beginning with *g*, *k*, or *ka*, that is to say, in a phonetic form differing from its dialect version *niŋ*. Such instances evidently reference the reading of 良 with an initial plosive consonant [ŋʰ], which brings the dialectal reading close to the original literary *gèn* that derives from the name of the seventh of eight trigrams of the *I Ching*.

勿浪良 *və̃-lə̃-kə̃ŋ* “funnel” [Rus. *voronka*; Chin. 憑針] (A:8a-02).

At the same time the pronunciation of each word was considerably modified in keeping with Chinese phonetic conventions. (This aspect had long been noted by everyone who at any time recorded or studied the lexemes of Kiakhta pidgin.)²⁴

鬧各 *nau-kəʔ* “much, many” [Rus. *mnogo*: the *m* is omitted] (A:66a-05, A:67b-03; B: 05a-07)²⁵

錄抱各 *luəʔ-pau-kəʔ* “deep” [Rus. *glubokii*: the *g* is omitted] (A:52a-01)

史哥而哥夜史 *sɪ-ko-ər-ko ie-sɪ* “however much there is” [Rus. *skol’ko est’*: the soft *t* at the end is omitted] (B:05a-07)

悞麻念启 *u-ma nie-tuəʔ* “senseless, stupid” [from the Rus. phrase *uma net* with the addition of *u*] (B:07b-03)

Again for ease of pronunciation, the *-skii*, *-skaia*, *-skoe* endings of Russian adjectives are reduced everywhere to a single form: 史坎 *-sɪ-k’ə̃*, which Russians who spoke Kiakhta pidgin reproduced as *-ska* (*-cka*):

哦不史坎鱧克 *ɣo-pəʔ-sɪ-k’ə̃ p’iau-k’əʔ* “Ob squirrel” [Rus. *obskaia belka*; Chin. 二白灰鼠皮] (A:10b-03)

必利史坎 *piəʔ-li-sɪ-k’ə̃* “close” [Rus. *blizkii*; Chin. 近] (A:44b-01)

南京史坎少克 *nə̃-tɕiŋ-sɪ-k’ə̃ sau-k’əʔ* “Nanking silk” [Rus. *nankinskii sbiolk*; Chin. 南衣線] (A:6b-01)

五路史坎波不力 *u-ləu-sɪ-k’ə̃-po-pəʔ-liəʔ* “Russian beaver” [Rus. *russkii bobr*; Chin. 長毛水皮] (A:9b-05).

The 史坎 *-sɪ-k’ə̃* ending is also used in words denoting people, states, and ethnicities, which might take the form of an adjective:

24 Regarding the peculiarities of pronunciation by the Maimaicheng Chinese, Georgii Osokin, for example, wrote: “In the majority of cases the stress in words is shifted and one also comes across many words in which the endings have been altered or extra letters inserted. Finally, many words are completely changed and distorted to the point of becoming unrecognizable. The Chinese generally considered the study of conversational Russian difficult, especially as they are virtually unable to pronounce certain letters and sounds correctly. In their letter *r* one hears two sounds – *r/*; they can hardly pronounce a soft *l*; they often replace *k* with a *cb* sound and in general they replace very many sounds arbitrarily and in the way that is easiest for them.” (Osokin 1906, 59).

25 The form 木鬧各 *məʔ-nau-kəʔ* also occurs (A:42a-05; B:10a-06).

哈幾牙史坎, 哈之牙史坎 *xa-tci-ia-si-k'æ̃*, *xv-tsi-ia-si-k'æ̃* “owner, proprietor”, by extension “the Qing State, China” [Rus. *kboziain*; Chin. 大清國] (A:20b-02; B:14a-04, B:14a-05; C:8a-05).

高幹史坎 *kau-kæ̃-si-k'æ̃* Kalgan (Zhangjiakou, 張家口) (A:20b-04; C:20b-04)
滿洲兒史坎 *mæ̃-tsəu-ər-si-k'æ̃* “Manchu” (noun and adjective) [Rus. *man'chzbur(ski)*; Chin. 旗人, 縣人]²⁶ (A:22a-03; B:15a-02; C:9b-02).

It is noteworthy that when dealing with homonyms in the Russian language, the Chinese tried to find different characters for the transcriptions:

The Russian adjective *tonkii*, which has the twin senses of “artful, well made” (Chin. 細的) and “thin, not dense”, is transcribed in the vocabularies as 洞艮坎 *tun-niŋ-k'æ̃* (B:09b-09) and 洞坎 *tun-k'æ̃* (B:10a-01) respectively; *gorkii* in the meanings of “bitter, tart” (Chin. 苦的) and “spicy, pungent” (Chin. 辣的) by 個兒坎 *ko-ər-k'æ̃* and 個力坎 *ko-liəŋ-k'æ̃* (B:04a-04); “wheat flour” (*psbenichnaia muka*, 口白麵) and “bean flour” (*gorokbovaia muka*, 口豆麵) by 木嚇 *məŋ-xa* and 木各 *məŋ-kəŋ* (B:04b-02) respectively; *tolstyj* in the meaning of “thick, coarse” (Chin. 粗的) and “fat, thick” (Chin. 討素太) by 討素太 *t'au-su-t'ai* (B:09b-09) and 道史達 *tau-si-ta?* (B:10a-01).

At the same time, one and the same transcription is sometimes used for words with completely different meanings:

面昔子 *mie-ciəŋ-tsi* for “month” [Rus. *mesiats*; Chin. 月] (A:16b-04) and “together” [Rus. *vmeste*; Chin. 相跟著] (A:45a-03)
迷力彥 *mi-liəŋ-je* for “million” [Rus. *million*; Chin. 百萬] (A:2b-04) and “the grain/pattern on leather”²⁷ [Rus. *mereia*; Chin. 花紋] (C:23a-04)
鬧各 *nau-kəŋ* for “much, many” [Rus. *mnogo*; Chin. 多少] (A:66a-05 and elsewhere) and “leg, foot” [Rus. *noga*; Chin. 足] (B:17a-01; C:14b-01)
謝洛 *cie-luəŋ* for “hay” [Rus. *seno*; Chin. 黃草, 草] (A:20b-02, A:34b-05), “strength” [Rus. *sila*; Chin. 力氣] (A:26b-03) and “raw” [Rus. *syroi*; Chin. 生的] (A:43a-05).

Many words in the vocabularies are given in a form phonetically very close to the Russian: 磨羅個 *mo-luo-ko* (*moloko*, “milk”) (B:04b-03); 把拉古兒 *pa-la-ku-ər* (*balagur*, “joker, jester”) (B:05b-04); 古西 *ku-ci* (*gusi*, “geese”) (B:11b-04); 哦

26 旗人 *qiren*—“banner man”, i.e. a man assigned to the banner forces of the Qing state; 縣人 *xianren*—head of a district, minor official.

27 A:13a-02 gives as a synonym the word “grass” 得拉伏坎 *tiaŋ-la-fəŋ-k'æ̃* [Rus. *travka*].

定 *yo-tij* (*odin*, “one”) (repeatedly); 六地 *liəu-ti* (*liudi*, “people”) (repeatedly) and more.

6.5 Vocabulary

6.5.1 Lexical forms of Shanxi dialect

Among the lexemes included in the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin we find many forms exclusive to the Shanxi dialect. Many of them do not appear in dictionaries of modern Chinese. For example, for the Chinese words in vocabularies frequent use is made of the character 圪 (*kəʔ*), a common prefix in the Shanxi dialect, forming a noun, verb, adjective, numeral, or onomatopoeia without any particular meaning (Hou and Wen 1993, 98; Shen 1994, 277):

圪肘 (B:17a-09; C:15a-03) “elbow”

圪摺 (B:17b-01), 老圪摺 (A:27a-05) “wrinkled”

圪塔 (A:37b-02; B:18a-01) “boil”, “bundle”

圪洞 (A:21a-01)²⁸ “hole, pit”

圪洞子車 (B:11a-08) “deck chair”

繩子圪達 (B:12a-04) “bundle (on a cord)”

圪膝 (C:15a-03) “knee”

圪蔔 (C:15b-01) “to foretell”.

The vocabularies contain some very rare words belonging to the Shanxi dialect. In modern standard Chinese 刮地 (B:16b-03) or 刮弟(地) (A:25a-05) literally means “a place open to the wind”, but in the Shanxi dialect it means “an illegitimate child” (*Hanyu fangyan zibui*, vol. 3, 3417).

牛眼骨 in modern standard Chinese would literally mean something like “cow-eyed bone”; in the Shanxi dialect the combination refers to the ankle joint (*Hanyu fangyan zibui*, vol. 1, 802). In vocabulary B two equivalents are given for this word: 浪克 *læ-k'əʔ* from the Russian *rak* (?)—“crayfish” and 昧史各 *mei-si-kəʔ* from *mysbka* “mouse” (B:17a-09).

倒插 in modern standard Chinese means “to place upside down”; in the Shanxi dialect it has the meaning “trouser pocket” and its equivalent in one of the Kiakhta vocabularies is transcribed as 趕力罵坎 *kæ-liəʔ-ma-k'əʔ* from the Russian *karman* (A:28b-03).

28 B:14a-07 replaces 圪 with 地 (=洞), which accords with standard Chinese.

The expression 後頭 “later” (C:4a-05) is a dialect form.²⁹

6.6 Ethnographic elements

The lexical foundation of Kiakhta pidgin is made up of elements drawn from Russian and it was a specifically Chinese Pidgin Russian or the Kiakhta trading pidgin of the Russian language. The majority of Russian words also appear in the vocabularies in vernacular forms. One can find some quite curious instances of the inclusion of local dialect expressions, many of which came into use in the 18th century if not earlier (Maierov 2011).

The choice of Chinese lexico-semantic variants to convey the meaning of the Russian words gives a number of interesting examples for the study of perception of different culture.

The expression 過年力 “to see in the New Year” is translated in the vocabularies as 臥昔利定內 *vo-eiəʔ-li-tiŋ-nuei*, 臥昔利內定 *vo-eiəʔ-li-nuei tiŋ*, 不旺昔力內定 *pəʔ-vəʔ-eiəʔ-liəʔ-nuei tiŋ* (A:19a-01; B:13b-01; C:3b-03), all deriving from *Vasil'ev den'* or similar expressions meaning Saint Basil's Day.³⁰ 神公報下水 “God orders to enter the water” is the explanation of the term 各力甚泥牙 *kəʔ-liəʔ-səŋ-ni-ia* from *kreshchenie*—“baptism”.

開疋天地 “turning of heaven and earth” is the translation given for 悞則嚇兒內, 吳則嚇兒內 *u-tsəʔ-xa-ər-nuei*, referring to Saint Zacharias' Day (*Zakhanyi*)—5 September (Julian calendar)—a mid-autumn feast (A:19a-01; B:13b-01).

太極圖, the name of a Chinese cosmological diagram divided into *yin* and *yang*, is used to explain 入煉 *zuəʔ-lie*, “earth” [Rus. *zemlia*] (B:14a-09) and 善爾 *səʔ-ər* “globe, sphere” [Rus. *sbar*] (C:7b-01), which means “map”.

換鷄蛋日子 “the day when hens' eggs are exchanged” is the gloss for 合力史道史內定 *xəʔ-liəʔ-si-tau-si-nuei tiŋ* “Easter” [Rus. *kbristosny den'*, i.e. the day when people exchange the greeting “*Kbristos voskres!*”—“Christ is risen!”] (B:12b-04).

29 Compare 咱們後頭再商量—“We will discuss later” (Xinzhou (a city in Shanxi) dialect) (*Hanyu fangyan zibui*, vol. 2, 2084).

30 The feast day of Saint Basil (Basil the Great, Basil of Caesarea, 330–379) falls on 1 January in the Julian calendar and so it was New Year's Day in pre-revolutionary Russia.

出水的日子 “Saviour Day” 史罷史定 *sɿ-pa-sɿ tɿŋ* [Rus. *Spas-denʹ*], 1 August (Julian calendar), the feast of the Procession of the Holy Cross, which includes the “Lesser Blessing of the Waters” (B:13b-02).

走了水 “run for water” is used to explain 不讓兒 *pəʔ-zɸʻ-ər* “fire” [Rus. *pozbar*] (B:11a-04).

麻包 “cloth bag, cloth cover” is the gloss for 爐罷什坎 *ləu-pa-səʔ-kʻəʻ* “shirt” [Rus. *rubashka*] (B:12a-05).

坐子 “seat” is used to translate 納不利 *naʔ pəʔ-li* “on the floor” [Rus. *na polu*] (A:33b-03).

6.7 Chinese Loanwords

The Kiakhta pidgin vocabularies also reflect Chinese words that found their way into local Russian vernacular speech:

ganza (ганза)—pidgin 幹子 *kəʻ-tɿ* (B:01a-05), a Chinese type of tobacco pipe 煙袋 with a metal mouthpiece and bowl [from Chin. 桿子 *ganzi* meaning “stick”]

inzili (инцили)—pidgin 陰吉利 *iŋ-tɿiəʔ-li* (A:03a-06), “English” [from Chin. 英國 *yingguo* “England”]

kanfa (канфа)—pidgin 幹府 *kəʻ-fu* (Chin. 大貢緞) (A:05b-04, B:01a-07) “inwrought silk of high quality”; cf. Turk. **qanfa*, etc. Evidently the word derives from 貢賦 *gongfu* “tribute”, as in Antiquity and Middle Ages silk was a main product for Chinese to ransom from Turks, narrowing them on boarders *piagla* (пéгла)—pidgin 票各浪 *pʻiau-kəʔ-lɸʻ* (Chin. 嫖子) (A:23a-02; B:15a-09) “prostitute” or else “thief” (B:17b-05) [from Chin. 廳客 *piaoke*, “a visitor to brothels; a habitué of dens of iniquity”]. In one vocabulary (B:16a-01), the pidgin term 票各浪 is also used to translate 土條(逃)子, which means “runaway, escaped” and is apparently connected etymologically with a Russian word with the same meaning *beglyi* (беглый).

purzbui-kbao-chai (пуржуй-хао-чай)—pidgin 波而居號才 *pə-ər-tuəʔ-hau tsʻai* (Chin. 帽盒茶) (B:19a-07) “puer tea” [from Chin. 普洱 *pu'er*, 號 *hao* “brand, number” and 茶 *cha* (or Rus. *chai*) “tea”]

saveko (савеко)—pidgin 上未坎 *sɸʻ-vei-kʻəʻ* (Chin. 眼泡) (B:17b-05) “upper eyelid” [from Chin. 上 *shang* “upper” and Rus. *veko* “eyelid”]

- saogan'* (саогань)—pidgin 哨幹 *sau-kæ* (Chin. 說荒(謊)) (B:08a-05) “to lie, tell untruths” [from Chin. 撒謊 *sahuang* “to lie”]
- siiashka* (сияшка)—pidgin 西洋史坎 *ci-iv̄-si-k'æ* (Chin. 番板) (B:9b-05; B:19b-07; C:22a-04) “foreign” [from Chin. 西洋 *xiyang* “Western”]
- sen molit'sia* (сэн молитесья)—pidgin 神磨利之 *səŋ-mo-li-tsi* (Chin. 叩頭) (A:52a-05) “to pray/swear to God” [from Chin. 神 *shen* “deity, spirit”]
- us* (yc) —pidgin 悞糸 *u-si* a five-thread fabric³¹ [from Chin. 五絲緞 *wu si duan* “five-thread satin”] (A:5b-04)
- tsignyi* (цигныйй)—pidgin 奇良內 *te'i-kəŋ-nuei* (Chin. 磁器) (B:03b-06) “porcelain”; (Chin. 假) (A:31a-01, A:42b-01) “artificial” [from Chin. 磁 *ci* “porcelain”]
- shankbai* (шанхай)—pidgin 上海 *sv̄-xai* (B:01b-04) or *da shankbai ta sv̄-xai* 大上海 (A:7a-03) [from Chin. 大上海 *da shanghai* “big Shanghai”, a type of nankeen.

The Russian word *moshennik* (мошенник)³² with the standard meaning of “fraud, swindler” is given a curious treatment in our vocabularies. It becomes connected with the supernatural forces of evil, evidently by association with the Chinese 毛神 *maoshen* “hairy devil”: 忙什泥坎 *mē-səŋ-ni-k'æ* “devil, demon” 毛鬼神 (A:23a-01); 毛什泥各 *mau-səŋ-ni-kəŋ* “evil spirit” 妖精 (B:15a-08, B:15b-07). Evidently it was in this meaning that the word was used in Maimaicheng.

Overall there are not many borrowings from Chinese in Kiakhta pidgin. Researchers into Kiakhta pidgin have previously repeatedly noted the presence of Mongolic loanwords in it and this is borne out by our vocabularies. There are also correspondences with Tungusic languages. The vocabularies also contain hybrid forms that have long since been noted, taking the form of a combination of a Russian verbal root and the Mongol suffix of the non-past participle *-kbu* (<*qu*).

6.8 Grammatical characteristics

The vocabularies give an idea not only of the lexical features of Kiakhta pidgin but also of its grammatical peculiarities.

31 *Us* was a thick fabric of inferior sort plain woven from raw or semi-raw silk.

32 This word itself derives from *moshna*, meaning “pouch” or “purse” (Dal' 1978, 355; Vasmer 1986-1987, vol. 2, 667).

Two particles are used as a verbal suffix indicating the completion of an action: 了 *liao* {*lɿo*} and 力 *liəʔ* {*liu*}. In the Shanxi dialect, as in Standard Chinese, the character 了 is used both as a verbal suffix indicating the completion of an action and as a modal particle. In the first instance it is pronounced *le*; in the second *liao*. It is difficult to say why the vocabularies of pidgin use 了 as the verbal suffix in some cases and 力 in others.

吐力 “to spit, expectorate” *pəʔ-liəʔ-va-tiəʔ* 不力凹潏 [Rus. *plevat'*] (A:27a-03; B:17a-06)

到了 “to arrive” (infinitive and past tense) *pəʔ-liəʔ-sau* 不力少 [Rus. *prishol'*] (B:05b-02)

完了 “to finish” (infinitive and past tense) *kun-tʂ'a-la* 公叉拉 (A:62a-02); 公叉 *kun-tʂ'a* (B:05b-07) [Rus. *konchala, kontsa*]

來了 “to arrive” (infinitive and past tense) *pəʔ-liəʔ-sau* / *pəʔ-liəʔ-iŋ-xəu* 不力少 / 不力應侯 [Rus. *prishol' / briekhal'*] (A:42a-02; B:05b-09)

忘了 “to forget” (infinitive and past tense) *tsəʔ-pu-la* 則布拉 [Rus. *zabyła*] (A:44a-02; B:06a-04).

At the same time 力 is also used to convey the imperative:

治力 “treat [an illness]” *pəʔ-liəʔ-tʂ'i* 不力池 [Rus. *polechi*] (A:27a-02; B:17a-05)

放炮力 “shoot [a weapon]” *paʔ-li* 八利 [Rus. *pali*] (A:64b-01)

拉貨力 “transport the good” *tuəʔ-va-ər pu-vei-tʂi* 呂瓦而布未計 [Rus. *tovar povezi*] (A:65a-02; B:05b-04)

兌賬力 “settle affairs, pay up” *tiəʔ-ləʔ li-si* 潏浪利史 [Rus. *dela resbi*] (B:05b-05)

過秤力 “weigh” *pəʔ-vei-tʂi* 不未西 [Rus. *poves'*] (B:05a-08)

走力 “go” *pəʔ-xo-ti* 不何地 [Rus. *pokbodi*] (B:06a-03).

Besides 力 and 了, the participle 拉 *la* appears in the vocabularies too. It evidently also corresponds to the verbal suffix 了 indicating the completion of an action in Standard Chinese:

晴拉 “[it] cleared up” *pəʔ-luo-ia-si-ni-ləʔ* 不羅牙史泥郎 [Rus. *proiasnilo*] (A:17a-05; B:13a-03)

凍拉 “to freeze [to death]” *tsəʔ-miau-ər-si* 則廟兒史 [Rus. *zamiorz*] (A:20a-01; B:13b-09)

燒拉 “to burn thorough” *pəʔ-luo-zəʔ-kəʔ* 不羅讓各 [Rus. *prozbog*] (A:50a-05; B:09b-06).

In contrast to its vocabulary, the grammatical foundation of Kiakhta pidgin is Chinese. The most striking manifestation of this characteristic is the use of typical Chinese word order in a sentence, in particular the *affirmative-negative question* (反復問句 *fanfu wenju*).

地未力念未力 *ti vei-liə? nie vei-liə?* “you believe, don’t believe” [believe it or not] [Chin. 你信不信 *ni xin buxin*] (A:69b-04)

笑文艮布地念布地 *ciau-vəŋ-iŋ pu-ti nie pu-ti* “Will he come back today?” (literally “Today, will be, won’t be?”) [Rus. *segodnia budet ne budet*; Chin. 今日回來不回來 *jinri huilai bu huilai*] (A:68a-03)

未兒內念未兒內 *vei-ər-nuei nie vei-ər-nuei* “Is that correct [of a calculation]?” (literally “correct, incorrect?”) [Rus. *vernoi-nevernoi*; Chin. 對不對, 兌不兌 *dui bu dui?*] (A:67a-05).

Contact languages spoken in China used possessive pronouns instead of personal pronouns in the nominative. This was a characteristic of both Chinese Pidgin Portuguese and English, and also the Macanese creole language. The possessive pronoun *minba*³³ is used in Macanese creole and *my* in Chinese Pidgin English. Something similar to this phenomenon can be observed in Kiakhta pidgin.

The pronoun *I* [Chin. 我] is expressed as 門牙 *məŋ-ia* in the meanings of the Russian *moia* (first person singular feminine possessive pronoun) and *menia* (first person singular pronoun genitive case).

The pronoun *you* (singular) [Chin. 你] is expressed as 地白 / 地伯 *ti-piə?*³⁴ in the meanings of the Russian *tebe* (second person singular pronoun dative case) и *tebia* (second person singular pronoun genitive case).

However, the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin also use the form 牙 *ia* for the first person singular pronoun [Rus. *ia*] and 地 *ti* for the second person singular pronoun [Rus. *ty*].

33 *Minba*, the feminine form, was the only one used in Macanese creole, although in Portuguese itself there is also a masculine form—*meu*.

34 In this word the character 白, like the alternative 伯, is read as *piə?* in keeping with the vernacular form, but there are other instances in the dictionaries of its literary reading *pai* being used, such as 告白 *kao-pai* “abscess, boil”; 白煉子 *pai-lie-tsi* “finger (white radish)”; 古路白 *ku-ləu-pai* “light blue”; 白各 *pai-kə?* “baize”/“anecdote”.

The materials hitherto published on Siberian pidgins record the existence of the form *tvoia* (the feminine possessive) instead of *ty*, but 地白—*tebe* is not a match for that form.³⁵

The form 門牙 (*menia*) in the meaning of *I* occurs twice in vocabulary B:

門牙下克后瓦而不而代 *məŋ-ia ɕia-k'əʔ tuəʔ-va-ər pəʔ-ər-tai* “I have/sell all sorts of goods” [Chin. 我賣的是雜貨] (B:05a-05)

門牙杜梅念朝旺 *məŋ-ia tu-mei nie-ts'au-vəʔ* “I don’t know” [Chin. 我不是想甚] (B:06a-02).

In all other cases in B 牙 (*ia*) is used for the first person singular pronoun. In vocabulary A 牙 is used for the nominative case of the pronoun and 門牙 for the oblique cases:

地則不拉門牙 *ti tsəʔ-pəʔ-la məŋ-ia* “you forgot me/ you owe me” [Chin. 你賠我的] (A:49a-01)

地門牙史嚇之外 *ti məŋ-ia sɪ-xa-tsɪ-vai ti* “You tell me/ Let me know” [Chin. 你告與我] (A:69b-05)

地門牙念數什 *ti məŋ-ia nie su-səʔ* “You weren’t listening to me” [Chin. 你不聽我] (A:70a-05)

久納笑哦定利六地不兒代不失道門牙念不兒代 *tɕiəu-naʔ ɕiau ɣo-tiŋ li liəu-ti pəʔ-ər-tai pəʔ-səʔ-tau məŋ-ia nie pəʔ-ər-tai* “You sell to everyone at the same price, why don’t you sell to me” [Chin. 樣的價錢賣與人家謂甚不賣與我] (A:73a-01).

In the remaining cases in vocabulary A, 牙 is used for the nominative case, for example:

牙地白念無扛力納 *ia ti-piəʔ nie u-k'v̄-liəʔ-naʔ / ia nie pi-iəʔ-tiəʔ* “I can’t tell you what to do / I’m not [your] mate [You’re no concern of mine]” [Chin. 我不惹你] (A:48a-04);

不各日牙東木得利 *pəʔ-kəʔ-zəʔ ia suəʔ-məʔ-tiəʔ-li* “Show I look” [Let me have a look] [Chin. 那來我看] (A:67a-02).

35 The form *tvoia* does not appear in our vocabularies, but later it was widely used in Russian-based Siberian pidgins. The Japanese linguist Shanori Shiro recorded this dialogue between a Chinese passenger and a Russian on a train from Hailar to Harbin around 1935: (Chin.) *tvaya kuda xodi?* (Rus.) *Xarbin xodi*; (Chin.) *čo delo?* (Rus.) *malo-malo pokupaï*; (Chin.) *no kak tovaya torgui?* (Rus.) *malo-malo* (Hattori 1943, 188-191).

There is an instance of 牙 being used as a possessive pronoun:

牙獨凹兒地未吊 *ia tuəʔ-va-ər ti vei-tiau* “You have seen my goods” [Chin. 我的貨你見過] (A:70a-01).

In the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin there are no obvious rules at all relating to conveying the gender of Russian words, which is explained by the absence of different gender forms in Chinese. Most often though, the masculine gender is used:

哦定把兒 *yo-tiŋ pa-ər* “one pair” [Rus. *odna para*; Chin. 壹對 (B:01b-09)]³⁶

暮的力內勿達 *mu-tiəʔ-liəʔ-nuei vəʔ-taʔ* “muddy water” [Rus. *mutnaja voda*; Chin. 混水] (A:20a-03)

各怪未利坎佃洛 *kəʔ-kuai vei-li-k'əʔ t'ie-luəʔ* “What a great business/ matter” [Rus. *kakoe velikoe delo*; Chin. 甚的大事] (A:49a-01).

7 Conclusion

The handwritten vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin were compiled by the Chinese merchants for their use for conversation with their Russian counterparts. They are full of local colours of their homeland in Shanxi province. It is noteworthy that the vocabularies give us an idea of Kiakhta Pidgin Russian “from the Chinese side”. Using these materials, we can reconstruct the phonetic structure and grammatic elements of the Kiakhta pidgin contact language. On the other hand, the Kiakhta pidgin has so far been lacking in the Chinese material as comparable to the manuals of the Pidgin English. In this sense, our vocabularies deserve more attention and careful study.

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36 Shprintsin observed that the preference for the masculine form *odin* was due to consideration of a phonetic nature, since the feminine and neuter forms of the word have the double consonant *dn* that is difficult for the Chinese (A. G. Shprintsin, “Kitaisko-russkii dialekt na Dal'nem Vostoke” [The Chinese-Russian dialect in the Far East], National Library of Russia, Manuscript Department, fund 1200, unit 12, f. 3).

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How to Negate without Negators in Chinese: The Lexical Inventory of Indirect or Secondary Negators

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Abstract From the perspective of Linguistic Inventory Typology, this paper aims to investigate the words and morphemes in Chinese that have already been conventionalized and recognized as fixed means to express a negative meaning after being frequently used. There are so many such expressions in Chinese that the quantity of them far exceeds the scale of negative lexicon that a language usually has, and some of them have even developed to the extent of being similar to basic negators. However, these indirect negators with distinct implications related to their etymology or the construction in which they evolved, are still somewhat different from the basic negators. In order to properly typologize the negators in Chinese, we refer to the basic negators as Primary Negators and the indirect negators as Secondary Negators. The semantic and pragmatic functions of the latter, as well as the motivations and mechanisms for their negative readings such as metonymy or pragmatic inferencing, are discussed in this paper.

Keywords Chinese, negation; indirect; secondary words; Linguistic Inventory Typology

Introduction

A mystery of human languages is that they are organized according to strict rules, in spite of their great flexibility of expression. Negation is a good example of such a characteristic, particularly of Chinese and other East Asian languages, which are believed to encourage people to indirectly negate or deny the addressee's statement or request. As a result, Chinese is productive in terms of indirect negations in common speech. Technically, linguists have long been aware that negation can be conveyed through various means, e.g. rhetorical questions without negators (direct/Primary Negators). For instance, Jespersen (1924, 323) put forward several questions with meanings contrary to their forms, such as:

(i) Am I my brother's keeper? = I am not.

Isn't that nice? = It is very nice.

Based on that, quite a few linguists studied negative functions of rhetorical questions and Wh-words in Chinese, such as Lü (1982, 290) and Wang (1985, 186), followed by further discussions on this topic by many other linguists including Li (2002, 86-88), Wang (2003, 66-72), Wang (2014, 146-149), Yuan (2012, 99-112), Zhang (2015, 1-12), etc. There is no doubt that these studies provide us with rich and useful references to understand the indirect negations in Chinese. However, most of them only focus on some specific constructions or sentences and pay little or no attention to the ordinary words and morphemes that are conventionalized to convey a negative meaning. What sets these lexical forms apart from the constructions or sentences studied in previous literatures is that they are highly productive in forming words or phrases. Hence, this paper is dedicated to giving a systematic description and analysis of such conventionalized negation words and morphemes which have long been neglected.

The classification and discussion of these indirect negators will be presented in Section 1. In Section 2, the main characteristics of these words and their status as Secondary Negators in Chinese will be further analyzed and interpreted from the perspective of Linguistic Inventory Typology which is aimed at studying the complex relationship between form and meaning of linguistic units. Such indirect negators that are originally irrelevant to negation in forms have been conventionalized to function as negative words due to the influence of Chinese language inventory resources and cultural factors. A summary and some concluding remarks are given in Section 3.

1 *Classes of Indirect Negators in Chinese*

1.1 Class of numerical negation

In Chinese, there is a common lexical construction starting with 零 *líng* “zero” which means “there is no X”, showing a strong predicative property that can be directly used as a predicate, such as 零缺勤 *líng-quēqín* “zero-absence”, 零风险 *líng-fēngxiǎn* “zero-risk”, 零收益 *líng-shōuyì* “zero-income”, 零交流 *líng-jiāoliú* “zero-

communication”, 零投入 *líng-tóurù* “zero-investment”, etc. These recent words are based on the conventionalization of a philosophical and mathematical idea, which means anything that does not exist can also be understood as something that denotes zero quantity. Zhang (2003, 96-103) pointed out that *líng-X* has a specific pragmatic meaning which indicates both existence and negation as compared to the ordinary negation. More precisely, the implication of “existence” as per Zhang (2003, 96-103) mainly refers to a possibility in reality, and it gives a legitimacy for the construction of *líng-X* to be further interpreted as “there is no X though there might have been (a possibility)”.

It is also noticeable that nearly all Xs in *líng-X* construction are disyllabic words¹ in spite of the more commonly-used monosyllabic verbs, which is mainly due to the fact that *líng-X* as a construction with a unified semantic and syntactic function demands the neutralization of distinct Xs (nouns and verbs) in nature. In general, according to Chen (1987, 379-389) and Liu (1996, 112-119), disyllabic verbs share more characteristics with nouns than monosyllabic verbs do, since they are of the same length.

1.2 Class of argument negation

This category includes a few negative nouns and empty nouns, which are used to express indirect negation. Here are the examples:

- (2) 鬼 相信 他 说 的 话
guǐ xiāngxìn tā shuō de huà
 ghost believe 3SG say REL word
 “Nobody believes what he says.”

- (3) 他 说 的 话 我 信 个 鬼
tā shuō de huà wǒ xìn ge guǐ
 3SG say REL word 1SG believe CL ghost

1 As a reviewer pointed out, the word 零和 *línghé* “zero-sum” might be regarded as a counter-example against this rule. However, we argue that this word is in fact a literal translation of *zero-sum* in English and does not fall in the semantic field of other *líng-X*s that are naturally produced in Chinese. Syntactically, it is a non-predicate adjective and can only serve as an attributive in the NPs, which makes it totally different from other constructions starting with *líng*.

“I don’t believe what he says.”

- (4) 关 你 屁 事
guān nǐ pì shì
 relate 2SG fart business
 “It’s none of your business!”

- (5) 你 知道 屁
nǐ zhīdào pì
 2SG know fart
 “You know nothing!”

As shown in the chart above, the words 鬼 *guǐ* “ghost” and 屁 *pì* “fart” are used to express negation, functioning as argument negators like *no/nothing* in English or 莫 *mò* “no, nobody”² in ancient Chinese. In addition, the words 毛 *máo* “hair”, 头 *tóu* “head”, 腿 *tuǐ* “leg”, 妹 *mèi* “younger sister”, and other nouns related to sexual organs that are euphemisms for insulting words, can also act as a substitute for the negator. The insertion of these words affects the truth value of the proposition instead of merely expressing a subjective attitude just as *damned* or *fuck* in English.

The typological differences in linguistic inventory between Chinese and English contribute to the distinct ways of negating. Owing to the shortage of negative determiners (such as *no*) or pronouns (such as *nothing*, *nobody*, etc.) that can be used to negate in the argument position, the negative or empty nouns such as *guǐ* “ghost” and *pì* “fart” provisionally serve as argument negators in some cases, making up for the missing part in the lexical inventory of Chinese to some extent. But they are limited only to some spoken registers due to the vulgar style.

Besides, there are some other differences related to the syntactic position and the animacy between *guǐ* and *pì*. The word *guǐ* is of higher animacy and can therefore freely occupy the subject position, however, when used in the object position, the classifier 个 *gè* needs to be added to show its indefiniteness. By

2 For related analyses, see Liu 2013, 89-128.

contrast, *pì* has much lower animacy, and therefore usually functions as an object preceding the verb, while seldom serves as a subject of a sentence.

1.3 Class of metonymy

Certain words with negative usage conventionalized from the process of metonymy will be addressed in this sub-section.

1.3.1 The word expressing lessening

The word 少 *shǎo* “lessen”, originally denoting a small quantity, can express the action of reducing when preceding the verb, and then further evolves to convey semi-negation or full negation. The extension involves using LESS to metonymize ZERO, which essentially means negation since the amount of action performed is absolutely minimal.

It is quite common for the adjectives that denote a small quantity to be associated with negation, for instance, *few/little* in English can also be used to express a negative meaning. However, *shǎo* in Chinese goes one step further towards being a real negator, with the object of expanding negation from a quantity expression to an action expression. We argue that one of the typological characteristics of these two languages makes the difference. More specifically, Chinese as a verby language arranges more semantic content as modifiers of the verb in the sentences, compared with the nominal modifiers in English which is a nouny language by contrast.³ For example:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|
| (6) | 嫁 | 错 | 了 | 男人 |
| | <i>jià</i> | <i>cuò</i> | <i>le</i> | <i>nánren</i> |
| | marry | wrong | PFV | man |
| | “to marry a wrong man” | | | |
| | | | | |
| (7) | 再 | 吃 | 两个 | 苹果 |
| | <i>zài</i> | <i>chī</i> | <i>liǎng ge</i> | <i>píngguǒ</i> |
| | more | eat | two-CL | apple |
| | “to eat more apples” | | | |

3 The differences between verby languages and nouny languages are discussed in Liu (2010, 3-17).

The imperative negation words precede predicate verbs in Chinese, and *shǎo* shares the same position with these words when being used to express negation, making it possible for them to be further infused with imperative negative meaning and finally used as imperative negators to some extent. However, it does not make sense for *few/little* in English to function as imperative negators to express dissuasion since they are used as modifiers of a noun phrase instead of a verb phrase. (7)-(9) are more examples for our further analysis.

(7) 少 吃 米饭 多 吃 青菜
shǎo *chī* *mǐfàn* *duō* *chī* *qīngcài*
 lessen eat rice more eat vegetable
 “Eat less rice and more vegetables.”

(8) 晚上 少 喝 咖啡 影响 睡眠
wǎnshàng *shǎo* *hē* *kāfēi* *yǐngxiǎng* *shuìmián*
 evening lessen drink coffee affect sleep
 “Less coffee in the evening, or else it will affect your sleep. (Don’t drink coffee in the evening, as it will affect your sleep.)”

(9) 少 骗 人
shǎo *piàn* *rén*
 lessen cheat person
 “Do not cheat me.”

Obviously, *shǎo* in (7) expresses a pure quantity, negative implication is added in (8), which communicates an adverse effect of drinking coffee. When it comes to the situation presented in (9), only the interpretation of negation can be deduced due to the apparently derogatory word *piàn rén* “cheat someone”. Since such words carry a strong negative connotation and further lead to the derivation of a negative meaning, there is little possibility for the speaker to let the addressee engage in such obviously derogatory behavior, and thus the original meaning of *shǎo* is eliminated. The addressee naturally deduces that *shǎo* here can only be interpreted as a euphemism for complete negation according to the common sense.

1.3.2 The word expressing mentality

In Mandarin Chinese, 懒得 *lǎnde* “too lazy to” is used to express “too lazy or unwilling to do something”, resembling a modal verb to some extent. For example:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (10) | 我 | 懒得 | 上街 |
| | <i>wǒ</i> | <i>lǎn-de</i> | <i>shàngjiē</i> |
| | 1SG | lazy-PRT | go.to:street |
| | “I don’t want to go to the street.” | | |

In Cantonese, the word 懒 *lam³⁵* “lazy” itself is used to represent *lǎnde*, indicating that the verb is even closer to a basic negator, with a weakening of modality. For instance:

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (11) | 我 | 懒 | 睬 | 你 |
| | <i>ŋo²³</i> | <i>lam³⁵</i> | <i>tɕ^hoi³⁵</i> | <i>nei³⁵</i> |
| | 1SG | Lazy | care.about | 2SG |
| | “I just want to ignore you.” | | | |

In the Liancheng Hakka dialect, 懒 *la³³* can not only be directly combined with verb phrases but can also be used alone to answer a question, like *no* in English, which means that it is functionally equivalent to a basic negator. The usage of 懒 *la³³* in the Liancheng Hakka dialect indicates a complete loss of modality, which makes it a basic negator with a full membership of the inventory of negators.

We argue that using *lǎn* or *lǎnde* to express a negative meaning also involves the process of metonymy: REASON FOR RESULT. That is to say, someone does not (want to) do something is a natural consequence of his laziness.

1.3.3 The words expressing mode of action

慎 *shèn*, literally “cautiously”, preceding verbs is used to express actions performed with caution such as 慎入 *shèn-rù* “enter cautiously”, 慎吃 *shèn-chī* “eat cautiously”. However, it is in fact a reminder of cautiously CONSIDERING BEFORE acting instead of cautiously performing an action, often used on occasions where it is necessary to express euphemistic dissuasion. Let us look at the following example:

(12)	前方	鬼屋	胆小者	慎	入
	<i>qiánfāng</i>	<i>guǐwū</i>	<i>dǎnxiǎo-</i> <i>zhě</i>	<i>shèn</i>	<i>rù</i>
	ahead	haunted.house	timid-	cautiously	enter
			NMLZ		

“Haunted house ahead, the timid shall not enter it.”

According to the common sense, a haunted house is so horrible that it is not likely to be enjoyed by the timid, thus an implication of dissuading others is produced through a further step of pragmatic inferencing.

Similar to *shèn*, the word 慢 *màn* “slowly” also occasionally behaves as a modifier with the meaning of *not doing something for now* when preceding verbs, which in effect means euphemistic dissuasion by negating the time of action. For example:

(13)	这种	话	慢	信
	<i>zhè zhǒng</i>	<i>huà</i>	<i>màn</i>	<i>xìn</i>
	DEM:CL	words	slowly	believe
	“Do not believe his/her words.”			

In the context of this sentence, someone has been told about something that is suspicious thus *mànxìn* here means “do not believe”, not only for present.

The negative meaning of both *shèn* and *màn* is generated by metonymy, though there is a bit of difference between them. The former is related to taking *how to act* as the source of metonymy, while the latter refers to *when to act* instead.

Metonymy of ***shèn***: MANNER FOR ACTION.

Metonymy of ***màn***: TIME (of acting) FOR ACTION.

1.3.4 The words expressing literal affirmation

In Mandarin Chinese, there are some words that are literally affirmative, yet can be used as imperative negations on some occasions, e.g. 得了 *déle* /行了 *xíngle* /好了 *hǎole* /够了 *gòule* “Alright, (stop...)”, which are often used to interrupt someone’s

speech and express rejection. There are two other variants of these words: reduplications or omissions (of *le*). The former expresses a negative meaning and emphasizes the impatient mood of the speaker, while the latter remains ambiguous: affirmative or negative.

Why can they be used to convey a negative meaning? As words for positive evaluation, *dé*, *xíng*, and *bǎo* contain the meaning of perfection, which is naturally interpreted as implicature of accomplishment (c.f. the Perfect tense in English), facilitating a further extension to termination when integrated with the particle *le*, which functions as a marker of perfect aspect. The realization of negation also involves a process of metonymy: REASON FOR RESULT, which means that the ongoing activity should be halted due to its completion. Long-lasting frequent usage makes this imperative negative interpretation further conventionalized and defined in the dictionary, as in *Modern Chinese Dictionary*.

What's more, these words are prone to function like interjections, which are essentially pro-sentences (pro-forms of sentences) in nature, in other words, they are actually the substitutes of negative statements. As for 得了 *déle*, there is a little bit of difference on occasions depending on whether it conveys agreement or disagreement. When used to convey an affirmative meaning, the vowel of *le* in *déle* is stressed with a high dropping tone, shifting from *e* to *ei*.

1.4 Class of morphemes containing a negative sememe

The words or morphemes with an overtly negative sememe are used as more direct ways of negation with precise negating ways, which will be presented in this subsection.

The word 欠 *qiàn* “owe” denotes deficiency in certain properties or being substandard, which is an euphemistic way to express negation when preceding adjectives, e.g. 欠发达 *qiàn-fādá* means not developed or undeveloped, presupposing that the deficient property can be restored. However, the adjectives that express some innate properties, like 聪明 *cōngmíng* “intelligent” or 漂亮 *piàoliang* “pretty”, do not occur with this word due to their nearly unchangeable attributes.

The lexical construction that starts with 失 *shī* “be out of” is used to express “not...anymore”, with an implication of dynamic negation which emphasizes a contrast with the previous state. The morphemes that follow *shī* are restricted to monosyllabic ones which are rather productive, e.g. 失控 *shīkòng* “not to be

controlled anymore”, 失忆 *shīyì* “not to remember anymore” 失宠 *shīchǒng* “not to be loved (by a superior one) anymore”.

The word 免 *miǎn* “exempt from” means being allowed not to do something, which contains a passive and causative implication. The meaning of getting permission for not doing something is also linked to the modal meaning, which makes *miǎn* more like a modal negator, such as 免考 *miǎnkǎo*, with the meaning of being allowed not to take the test.

休 *xiū* “to rest” and 停 *tíng* “to stop” followed by verbs in Chinese denote interrupting or ending ongoing activities. The word *xiū* has been used as a productive imperative negator in Early Premodern Chinese, but in Modern Chinese, it can only be found in a limited group of words or morphemes, such as 休想 *xiūxiǎng* “stop expecting (that)”.

2 Further Analyses of Indirect Negators

2.1 An overall look of the formation of negative function

The words or morphemes listed above are conventionalized to be included in the inventory of negators at different levels. Some of them participate in word or phrase formation, such as *líng* “zero”, *shèn* “cautiously”, *màn* “slowly”, *qiàn* “owe”, *shī* “lose”, *miǎn* “exempt from”, *xiū/tíng* “cease, stop”, *lǎndè* “too lazy to”. Others are involved in forming a predicate as an independent imperative negator such as *shǎo* “lessen”. As for *xínglè/déle/hǎole* “Alright, (stop...)”, they are even used as pro-sentences. And there are still other words that only behave as functional elements, such as *guǐ* “ghost” and *pì* “fart”. The motivations and mechanisms for them to obtain a negative function are also quite distinct from each other, as shown in the following table.

Table 1
The inventory of indirect negators

Lexicon	Inventory status	Meaning and function	Motivation
líng “zero”	Word formation	Empty quantity negation	conventionalization of a philosophical and mathematical idea
guǐ “ghost” and pì “fart”	Functional elements	Argument negation in spoken genre/discourse	Substitutes of argument negators, as a supplement to the formal means of linguistic inventory
shǎo “lessen”	Forming a predicate	Imperative negation	Metonymy: LESS FOR ZERO, further denotes negation
lǎndè “too lazy to”	Phrase formation	Negation in willingness	Metonymy: REASON FOR RESULT.
shèn “be cautious”	Word formation	Negation for persuading or dissuading others	Metonymy: MANNER FOR ACTION.
màn “slowly”	Word or phrase formation	Negation for present time	Metonymy: TIME FOR ACTION.
xínglè , déle “Alright, (stop...)”	Pro-sentences	Negation for calling for the cessation in dialogues	Metonymy: REASON FOR RESULT.
qiàn “owing”	Word or phrase formation	Mild negation with the presupposition of being perfected	
shī “lose”	Word formation	Dynamic negation with a contrast with past	Containing overtly negative sememe to make

miǎn “exempt from”	Word or set phrase formation	Causative negation with the implication of modality	the negative expression more precise
xiū, tíng “cease, stop”	Word formation	Negation for stopping or interrupting some activities	

As the rightmost column shows, metonymy is the most pervasive way to express negation, which indeed relates to the principle of politeness or the principle of economy. It helps ensure politeness because of the realization of indirect negation, meanwhile the metonymic source and the metonymic target as elements of a circumstance are often relevant in certain ways so that the cognitive association is strong and immediate.

Those with a negative sememe are more specific ways of negation, either to weaken the negative meaning through an affirmative presupposition, or to explain the dynamic process of negation, or to hint at the potential argument in the sentence.

The word *líng* as an indirect negator is based on the conventionalization of a philosophical and mathematical idea, which is not only the product of generalization of modern scientific concepts but also the basis of thinking modes of ancient Chinese, for example, the concept of 零声母 *líng-shēngmǔ* “zero initials” has already existed in the terminology of Traditional Chinese Phonology. In addition, compared with other numbers, zero has the weakest mathematical meaning and the strongest symbolic feature, which refers to “none”. That is why it is easy to be conventionalized and further become an indirect negative expression.

The two argument negators *guǐ* and *pì* are somewhat different from others, being used to express negation partly due to a syntactic factor. In most cases, a Chinese sentence can only be negated through predicative negation since modern Chinese lacks direct negators for arguments, which facilitates *guǐ* or *pì* to fill in the

gap as argument negation operators. However, they can occur on very limited occasions because of their vulgar style.

2.2 The definition and characteristics of Secondary Negators

Negation conveyed in an indirect way is quite universal among languages, for instance, rhetorical questions are commonly believed to have a negative implicature, and words containing a negative sememe are also used as substitutes for basic negators. This paper shows that there are a number of means of indirect negation in Chinese which are productive and semantically stable in different contexts, rather than having a merely temporary interpretation in a particular context. All the indirect negative sentences are functionally interchangeable with their direct counterparts. The alternatives are listed as follows:

零	他们	零	交流	他们	没有	交流
líng	tāmen	líng	jiāoliú	tāmen	méiyǒu	jiāoliú
	3PL	zero	communi-	3PL	NEG.	communi-
			cate		have	cate

“They do not communicate (with each other).”

鬼	鬼	知道	怎么去	没人	知道	怎么去
guǐ	guǐ	zhīdào	zěnmē qù	méirén	zhīdào	zěnmē qù
	ghost	know	how:to go	NEG.	know	how:to go
				have:		
				person		

“Nobody knows how to get there.”

屁	他	知道	屁	他	不	知道
pì	tā	zhīdào	pì	tā	bù	zhīdào
	3SG	know	fart	3SG	NEG	know

“He knows nothing.”

少	你	少	骗人	你	别	骗人
shǎo	nǐ	shǎo	piànrén	nǐ	bié	piànrén
	2SG	lessen	cheat: person	2SG	NEG.I MP	cheat: person

“Do not cheat me.”

懒得	她	懒得	去逛街	她	不愿	去逛街
lǎnde	tā	lǎn-de	qù guàngjiē	tā	bùyuàn	qù guàngjiē
	3SG	lazy-PRT	go.to: street	3SG	NEG. will	go.to: street

“She is not willing to go shopping.”

慎	胆小者	慎	入	胆小者	勿	入
shèn	dǎnxiǎo	shèn	rù	dǎnxiǎo-	wù	rù
	-zhě			zhě		
	timid-	cautious-	enter	timid-	NEG.I	enter
	NMLZ	ly		NMLZ	MP	

“The timid shall not enter it.”

慢	这种话	慢	信	这种话	别	信
màn	zhè	màn	xìn	zhè	bié	xìn
	zhǒng			zhǒng		
	huà			huà		
	DEM:C	slowly	believe	DEM:C	NEG.I	believe
	L:			L:	MP	
	word			word		

“Do not believe it.”

行了 ⁴	行了			别	说	了
xíngle	xíngle			bié	shuō	le
	alright			NEG.IM	say	INTJ
				P		
	“All right, stop talking.”					
欠	他的	管理	欠开明	他的	管理	不够开明
qiàn	tā de	guǎnlǐ	qiàn	tā de	guǎnlǐ	búgòu
			kāimíng			kāimíng
	3SG-	manage-	owe:open-	3SG-	manage-	NEG.enough:
	NMLZ	ment	minded	NMLZ	ment	open-minded
	“His management is not open-minded enough.”					
失	机器	失控	了	机器	不受控	了
shī	jīqì	shīkòng	le	jīqì	bú shòu	le
					kòng	
	machi-	out	of PFV	machine	NEG:	PFV
	ne	control			PASS.	
					control	
	“The machine is out of control.”					
免	他	免修	英语	他	不用	修英语
miǎn	tā	miǎnxiū	Yīngyǔ	tā	bú yòng	xiū Yīngyǔ
	3SG	obviate.	English	3SG	NEG.ne	take:English
		take			-ed	
	“He doesn’t need to study English.”					
休	饭店	暂时	休业	饭店	暂时	不营业
xiū	fàndiàn	zànshí	xiūyè	fàndiàn	zànshí	bù yíngyè

4 行了 *xíngle* is used here to disrupt or dissuade others from saying something, functioning as a pro-sentence with complete dissuasive content.

	restau- rant	tempora- rily	suspend. business	restau- rant	tempo- rarily	NEG:operate
	“The restaurant closed temporarily.”					
停	这个	节目	停播了	这个	节目	不播了
tíng	zhège	jiémù	tíngbōle	zhège	jiémù	bù bōle
	this-CL	show	stop. broadcast	this-CL	show	NEG: broadcast- PFV
	“This show is not broadcasting.”					

As a result, they have entered into the inventory of negators in Chinese as morphemes or words, some of which have even been recognized as negators of some sort, evidenced by their definitions listed in the dictionary. However, these indirect negators are still somewhat different from the basic ones. In order to make a sufficiently clear distinction, we refer to the basic negators as Primary Negators, the indirect negators as Secondary Negators⁵, with the differences between the two outlined below.

Primary Negators are often part of the oldest basic vocabulary, such as the negators with an n-initial in Indo-European languages and those with an m-initial in Sino-Tibetan languages. The form of such negators also undergoes some historical evolution, i.e. the development and alternations of negative markers in a variety of languages described as Jespersen’s Cycle. For example, the cycle of the existential negators in place of basic negators is quite common in Chinese dialects (see Zhang 2002, 571-616 and the references therein). Liu (2005, 1-22) also pointed out that the negators’ constructionalization with other adjacent words might strengthen or weaken themselves, leading to the dropping, merger or evolution of the original forms. But these evolutions or cyclical evolutions all stem from the basic negators. However, Secondary Negators are developed in the contexts of

5 The concept of “secondary” is taken from Poggi (2009, 170-186), which has been further applied in the studies of LIT.

indirect negation independent of the basic negators, and the etymological root of the words has no relationship with negation.

Furthermore, Primary Negators are either basic negators or contain elements of basic negators. For example, the negators in Wu dialects that are used to express the meaning of “haven’t” are regularly encoded with 弗 *fǒ?* “not” and 曾 *ceng* “ever” and so forth, along with some sort of aspect and modality, as Qin (2003, 127-146) and Liu (2005, 1-22) pointed out. While Secondary Negators usually have specific semantics related to their etymology or the construction in which they evolved, which is not in the semantic scope of the basic negators. Most of the Secondary Negators are quite distant from the target category of real negation. Their negative function often goes together with other specific semantic and pragmatic functions. It is worth researching how dictionaries deal with Secondary Negators.

From the perspective of LIT, negation is universally a basic semantic category in a great demand of expression among human languages, and it is also a sensitive category in Chinese due to the cultural mentality, thus adopting such a wealth of Secondary Negators from the lexical inventory of other categories. While for Primary Negators, there is a direct and straightforward correspondence between form and meaning, the relationship can be rather complicated for the indirect negative expressions. For instance, a rhetorical question may have a pragmatic meaning that can be different from its literal meaning. Secondary Negators stand between Primary Negators and indirect negative expressions, with the basis for their negative readings being related to a conventionalized inferencing process that is already part of the semantics of the words, which makes the negative meaning far more context-independent than other indirect negations.

Therefore, it is worth noting that the basic feature of Secondary Negators is that the negative meaning has been conventionalized and is based on some words that are irrelevant to negation and is independent of their original lexical meaning. The intricate relationship between form and meaning is exactly what is meant by “secondary”, which is not at all the neat form-meaning correspondence that we see in the Primary Negators.

3 Conclusion

In this paper, we analyzed various kinds of indirect negations in Chinese, which are already conventionalized and recognized as fixed ways to express a negative meaning after frequent usage over a period of time.

As a supplement to the basic negators, the indirect negations can usually be used to form words or phrases, even short sentences thus obtaining a special status in the inventory of negators. However, these indirect negators are still semantically related to their etymological origin or the construction in which they take part, so are still somewhat different from the basic negators. In order to distinguish them, the basic negators in a language are named as Primary Negators while the indirect negators as Secondary Negators.

The negative meaning of Secondary Negators is gradually formed in the lexical constructions with specific semantics, which makes them richer than simple negation. The abundance of such negators in Chinese may reflect the fact that direct negation in the speech is viewed as impolite among the Chinese and other East Asian societies. Secondary Negators reflect the cultural preference of expressing negation in an indirect way.

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Rearrangement of Time in Ge Fei's Short Stories "Flocks of Brown Birds" and "Whistling"

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Abstract The present study contains a detailed analysis and interpretation of the short stories "Flocks of Brown Birds" and "Whistling" by the Chinese writer Ge Fei. It demonstrates how repetition of certain textual elements within these short stories disrupts the paradigm of linear time and creates fictional worlds featuring an experimental, "multi-linear" temporality capable of providing the reader with alternative ways of making sense of the world. The study then points out the limits of literary language in the construction of such a temporality.

Keywords China, fiction, short story, 1980s, 1990s, avant-garde, Ge Fei 格非 (1964–), *He se niao qun* 褐色鸟群 (Flocks of Brown Birds), *Hushao* 唢哨 (Whistling), time, déjà vu

Introduction

Ge Fei's (格非, 1964–) short story "Flocks of Brown Birds" (*He se niao qun* 褐色鸟群, first published in 1988) is by many in China regarded "as one of the most intricate and esoteric stories of the 1980s" (Zhang 1997, 172) and it has already been interpreted in different ways by different scholars.¹ However, an important aspect of the short story—the way it deals with time—has not been so far explored thoroughly enough. This article aims to focus on the structure of the short story in greater detail than previous studies, and demonstrate how repetitions of certain elements within its text can lead the reader to re-evaluate his notions of time—thus allowing him to find new, unconventional ways of making sense of the world.²

1 Examples of inspiring interpretations can be found in monographs written by Xudong Zhang (1997) and Xiaobin Yang (2002).

2 In their nuclear form, some of the ideas of this article have already been mentioned in my

The analysis of “Flocks of Brown Birds” is complemented by a shorter interpretation of Ge Fei’s short story “Whistling” (*Hushao* 唿哨, first published in 1990), where strategies of text construction and time manipulation similar to the ones used in “Flocks” are further developed.

The reasoning in this article is based on ideas proposed by Frank Kermode in his legendary lectures on the sense-making and consoling function of endings in fiction. Published in book form first in 1967 as *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction*, the basic tenets of this work still hold up today.³ In his work, Kermode (1967, 35-64) describes the actual, non-fictional world we live in as contingent, consisting of disjointed elements which do not make up any coherent whole, and generally devoid of any discernible sense. The human life stretches across a sequence of seconds, minutes, days, months, and years, yet there is no meaningful pattern to the events marked by these time intervals—they do not seem to lead anywhere. In order to *make sense* of the world, people create fictions. Fictions serve as a useful instrument, which helps us organise (and simplify) our experience of the world. It is in the nature of fictions that they have an ending towards which the whole text is oriented, i.e., every point in the text can be meaningfully explained in terms of what bearing it has on the ending of the plot. Time, as it is presented in fictions, is filled with sense. This stands in marked contrast to the chaos that reigns in the actual world around us, where time is a mere chronicity. In other words: in fictions there is a concordance between the beginning, the middle, and the end.

Nevertheless, according to Kermode, it is important that we always regard fictions as something fictive. If we forget about their fictiveness and start regarding them as something true in the actual world, fictions degenerate into myths. Kermode mentions the Third Reich as an example of the dangers such degeneration can pose. Fictions, claims Kermode (1967, 41), “are not hypotheses; you neither rearrange the world to suit them, nor test them by experiment, for

afterword to a collection of Ge Fei’s short stories in Czech translation. See Ke 2017, 231-249.

3 For a criticism regarding some ambivalence in Kermode’s ideas (which, however, has little bearing on the present article), see Pascal 1977, 40-50.

instance in gas-chambers". As a heuristic instrument, a fiction is to be put aside when it is no longer useful:

Fictions are for finding things out, and they change as the needs of sense-making change. Myths are the agents of stability, fictions the agents of change. Myths call for absolute, fictions for conditional assent. Myths make sense in terms of a lost order of time, *illud tempus* as Eliade calls it; fictions, if successful, make sense of the here and now, *hoc tempus*. (Kermode 1967, 39).

This brings us to another feature of fictions according to Kermode (1967, 17-24): they need to be constantly revised and adapted to our needs as the actual world around us changes, and also as our ability to understand fictions changes. For a contemporary reader, older fictions are too naïve and too predictable. Based on our previous reading experience, we have certain expectations as to how the plot of a literary work might develop; we are aware of certain paradigms in fiction. But such paradigms always discredit themselves sooner or later as they are revealed to be an insufficient instrument to grasp the world in accordance with our current level of knowledge. Thus, what good literary fictions tend to do, is to frustrate the expectations of the reader as to the development of the plot: We might start reading with the idea that the plot will unfold according to certain conventional patterns, but as the narrative develops, it reveals the contingency of the world to us instead. However, after the disruption of the old paradigm, a new—not yet discredited—structure of sense is set up in which we find again concordance between the beginning, the middle, and the end: a concordance which allows the reader to make sense of the world again.⁴

Using Kermode's language, China in the 1980s was in dire need of such *revised* fictions. Chinese literary production during much of the 20th century was marked by a conviction that there is a telos in history, and it must find its representation in literature. Numerous Chinese scholars in the 19th and 20th centuries were convinced that modernization (not only institutional and economic but also the modernization of thought) of China was the only way to save the country from decay and humiliation at the hands of Western powers. Literature was to be one of the tools for this project (Yang 2002, 3-6). A prominent reformer at the turn of the 20th century, Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) claimed that "if one intends to

4 For examples of how this is done in different kinds of literary fictions, see Kermode 1967, 35-64.

renovate the people of a nation, one must first renovate its fiction”.⁵ Following the May Fourth Movement, this kind of attitude to literature was taken up by most prominent Chinese writers/intellectuals, who felt it as their responsibility to introduce modernity to China. As Xiaobin Yang (2002, 4) summarizes it, it was expected of the intellectual to

voice the most urgent need of his nation at the time and identify his own subject with the grand historical, national Subject. An imaginary superior, omniscient subject became the ultimate impetus for the writer-as-intellectual to play a role that would convey messages of great historical consequence.

The subservient position of the literary subject to the grand narrative of history was further reinforced in communist literature. After 1949, all literature had to express the communist ideology transparently, no ambiguity was tolerated (Yang 2002, 18).

Yet, as Kermode shows, certain ambiguity and change is necessary for a fiction to be credible—and successful. Chinese fiction, however, was for the better part of a century centred on what Kermode would call a “myth”—an unchanging fiction whose fictiveness is not acknowledged. It was not long before this fiction-become-myth was violently discredited. According to the Marxist teleological view of history, a Chinese citizen was supposed to be living at (or very close to) the desired and meaningful end of the historical process after the People’s Republic had been established. But instead of leading to a prosperous socialist society, the historical process in China led to such upheavals and excesses as the Great Famine and the Cultural Revolution. Not surprisingly, when the grip of the state on cultural production was somewhat loosened in the 1980s, Chinese writers started gradually pointing out the fictiveness of this teleological myth, subverting it and uncovering the historical trauma which it had led to.

The different narrative strategies by which various literary works of the 1980s subvert teleology have already been described in many works of scholarly

5 Liang Qichao’s 梁啟超 “On the Relationship between Fiction and the Government of the People” (Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi 論小說與羣治之關係) was originally published in *New Fiction* (Xin xiaoshuo 新小說) in 1902; this English translation is cited from Denton 1996, 74. See also Benická 2018.

literature.⁶ However, not much attention has thus far been paid to the question of how time itself is represented in these works. Therefore, in the present study, I will focus in detail on the means by which Ge Fei's short stories "Flocks of Brown Birds" and "Whistling" (as representative examples of 1980s experimental fiction) discredit the very prerequisite of teleology: the notion that time always moves linearly, in an unvarying direction from one unequivocal moment to another. More importantly, I will also attempt to answer the question whether, upon discarding the paradigm of linear time, these short stories are able to set up a new and more successful sense-making fiction which would be genuinely devoid of linearity.

1 *Construction of Uncertainty through Repetition of Textual Elements*

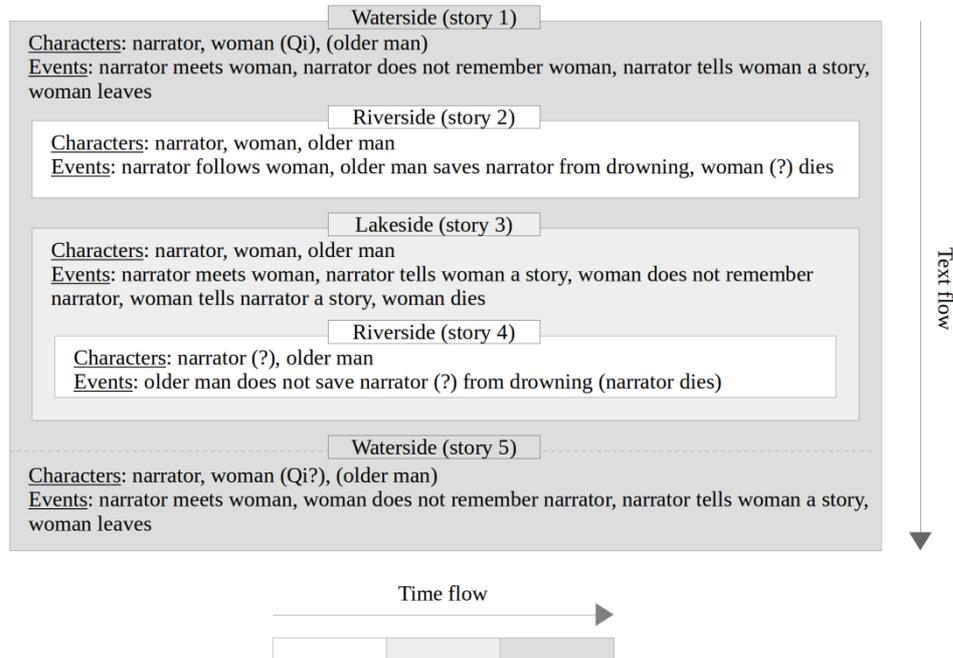
Trying to understand the plot of the short story "Flocks of Brown Birds"⁷ can be quite perplexing. The main reason is that the short story is suffused by a repetitiveness which has the potential to confuse the reader as to the identity of the characters and the believability of the events and situations described. There are similarities in vocabulary, phrase structure, as well as descriptions of situations, characters and events which reoccur in different, seemingly unrelated parts of the short story. Since it is this repetitiveness which is crucial to the way in which the short story manipulates time, the following analysis will therefore focus in particular on this feature of the text.

In order to facilitate our orientation within the short story, I have depicted the main elements constituting its storyline in Diagram 1. The short story follows a narrator who resides in a place known as the Waterside (*shuibian* 水边), on the bank of an unspecified body of water. The events which take place at the Waterside form a frame story (labelled as Story 1 in the diagram), into which other storylines are inserted.

6 Xudong Zhang's (1997) and Xiaobin Yang's (2002) monographs mentioned above can be taken as examples.

7 Excerpts from the two Ge Fei's short stories under scrutiny are cited from Ge 2014, 48-77 ("Flocks of Brown Birds") and 256-278 ("Whistling"). The English translations are my own.

Diagram 1
Schema of story elements



In the first couple of paragraphs of the short story, there are a few interpretative keys which focus the attention of the reader on certain motifs through which he might be then prompted to understand the short story. The ambiguity of time is introduced quite explicitly: The Waterside has some very peculiar characteristics; it is described as a kind of a timeless place. The weather never changes at the Waterside, one day is indistinguishable from another. The only way in which the narrator can tell the season of the year, is the direction of the flight of flocks of migratory birds passing overhead. However, the ability of these birds to tell him

anything about the seasons seems dubious—since they are said to be passing overhead with regularity every single day (Ge 2014, 48).⁸

Moreover, at night the narrator observes strange celestial phenomena, one of which is a shooting star which “moves across the sky at a constant velocity in circular motion.” (Ge 2014, 48).⁹ That is, instead of falling in a straight line from one point in the sky to another point at the horizon, it repeats its motion over and over. The linear time leading from the past to the future—and to a telos, perhaps—is replaced here with a time leading nowhere, always repeating itself. As we will see below, we could easily say that the motif of futile repetition, which is hereby introduced permeates the whole short story.

The last thing worth mentioning—as far as the opening paragraphs of the short story are concerned—is that the narrator is described here as a writer, who has withdrawn to the secluded Waterside in order to “write a book similar in kind to John’s Revelation” (Ge 2014, 48),¹⁰ i.e., a text which stands at the end of time, at the very moment when a meaningful end, a telos, has been reached. The theme which is central to my interpretation of the short story is implied here: the disintegration of time as we know it and the advent of a domain where time is remade into a new, different form.

However, as the story continues, one day the narrator is shaken out of the timelessness he resides in by the arrival of a woman called Qi (棋). She claims to be an acquaintance of his, but the narrator has no recollection of her. She then stays in his house overnight and the narrator tells her two mutually related stories about how he met and later lost his wife.

In the first of these stories (Story 2), the narrator appears as a young man charmed by a mysterious woman in a city street. He follows her on a bicycle all the way from the city to the countryside until she disappears from his sight onto a snow-covered bridge. The bridge has partially collapsed, and the narrator is only saved from falling into the icy river by an old, bearded man. On the way back to

8 “幸好，每天都有一些褐色的候鸟从水边的上空飞过，我能够根据这些褐色的鸟飞动的方向（往南或往北），隐约猜测时序的嬗递。” [Luckily, every day there are some brown migratory birds flying over the Waterside, and based on the direction these birds fly (towards the south or towards the north) I can roughly guess the changing of the seasons.]

9 “在漆黑如鸦的深夜我还能观察到一些奇异的天象，诸如流星做匀速圆周运动 [...]。”

10 “我蛰居在一个被人称作“水边”的地域，写一部类似圣约翰预言的书。”

the city, the narrator discovers the dead body of another cyclist by the side of the road. It is not stated explicitly in the text who the dead person is, but a logical explanation is that it might be the mysterious woman.

Back at the Waterside in Story 1, Qi is not convinced that Story 2 has really ended and the mysterious woman is dead, so after a while the narrator is compelled by her to start telling another story (Story 3) which follows on from Story 2. In this story, the narrator is already a middle-aged man who lives by the side of a lake. One day he meets a woman who he thinks is the woman from Story 2. However, this woman disputes that the events in Story 2 could have taken place and that he could have seen her in the city before, because she has not been there since she was little. Nevertheless, she remembers a story involving her husband, an old, bearded man.

In that story (Story 4), the husband comes across footprints in snow leading onto a collapsed bridge as he is returning home at night. He is drunk and therefore does not go and check whose those footprints might be. In the morning, a bicycle and a drowned cyclist are fished out of the river.

Back in Story 3, the husband eventually drowns in a tank of manure and the woman marries the narrator. However, she dies on their wedding night.

Back in Story 1, Qi leaves the house of the narrator promising that she would drop by again. The narrator keeps waiting for her for a long time (Story 5). One day he sees Qi coming again to the Waterside. However, as they meet, the woman denies being called Qi and ever having met the narrator before. This said, she leaves again, and the narrator remains alone.

As it is apparent from the diagram and my summary of the plot, the repetitiveness mentioned above manifests itself already quite clearly in the main constituents of the different stories which together make up the short story. There are a number of features that these individual stories share: All of them are about an encounter. The encounter always takes place by the side of a river, a lake, or another unspecified body of water. In some of the stories, there is the motif of drowning, and in all of them, there is departure or death of at least one of the characters. The characters who meet each other in the stories do not know or do not remember each other. And they always tell each other tales about past events which the other person should remember but does not. In most of the stories,

there is a similar set of characters. The encounter happens mostly between the narrator and a woman, sometimes there is also a third, older man (although in Story 1 and 5 this man is only present in the speech of the woman).

The identity and individuality of these characters, however, is very dubious. Firstly, because they have practically no names which would help the reader identify them as distinct persons. The narrator and protagonist of the whole short story is addressed as Ge Fei (格非) on three occasions by other characters (Ge 2014, 50 and 61). Although that could be considered as a personal name of the character, it is also the name of the author of the short story itself. This fact immediately discredits the identity of the narrator character. As a character in a fantastic work of fiction, he clearly is not the real author of the short story. Yet he shares certain characteristics with the author (e.g. the fact that he is a writer) which together with the author's name draws the reader's attention to the process of literary writing. Hence, rather than an ordinary character, the narrator character could be regarded as something partially outside the fictional world of the short story: a representation of an organising principle, of the creative force of the author.

As for the female characters, only the woman in the frame story has a name: Qi (棋). In the context of the short story, this name can take on meanings which complement the function of the name Ge Fei. The character *qi* (棋) means "chess" (or a similar kind of board game) or "chess piece". Since the different stories within the short story come to be narrated because of the interaction between the narrator Ge Fei (the creative force) and the woman Qi, we could assume that the name Qi hints at the notion that the female characters are all just pieces which are moved by the narrator across the board of his literary game.

However, this does not exhaust all the possible interpretations which the name Qi motivates. The syllable *qi* is quite frequent in the Chinese language and can be written by many different characters with different meanings. Among others, there is the morpheme *qi* (奇) meaning "strange" or "marvellous". This could refer to the fantastic qualities of the short story or the mysterious nature of the woman. Another, quasi-homophonous morpheme, is *qi* (妻), meaning "wife". When Qi arrives at the narrator's house in Story 1, the narrator makes the following observation, in which the morpheme "wife" (*qi* 妻) is used:

她见到我并未遵循两个陌生人相遇应有的程序，而是表现出妻子般的温馨和亲昵。

When she saw me, she did not in the least follow the codes of behaviour which two strangers should abide by on their meeting, instead she exhibited a *wife*-like warmth and intimacy. (Ge 2014, 49; my emphasis).

The nature of the connection between Qi and the narrator character is never actually revealed by the text because the narrator does not seem to remember her, yet a certain intimate relationship is hinted at by Qi's behaviour, as well as her name. On the other hand, the mysterious woman in the other stories does not have any name at all, she is just called "woman" (*nüren* 女人). However, this woman—with the exception of the woman in Story 5—is quite explicitly the narrator's wife: she is married to him at the end of Story 3. And since a recurring label for all the female characters is "woman" or "wife", then—in an analogous way—the label for the narrator in all of the constituent stories within the short story could be thought of as "man" or "husband". Apart from the narrator, the woman in Story 3 is also married to the character of an old man, who could be therefore be labelled as "husband" (and "man") too.

Because of the scarcity of other distinguishing features between the characters apart from these general labels (their physical features are almost never mentioned), the reader could easily get the impression that there are in fact only two main characters in the whole short story: a man and a woman, between whom there is a romantic or marital relationship.

However, the absence of personal names and their replacement by general labels alone would probably not be enough to make the reader doubt whether he is dealing with a single character only, or a number of distinct characters. Such a doubt is nevertheless reinforced by the way the characters are described and into what kind of situations they are placed. For instance, the text describes the moment of Qi's arrival at the Waterside in this way:

有一天，一个穿橙红（或者棕红）色衣服的女人到我“水边”的寓所里来，她沿着“水边”低浅的石子滩走得很快。[...] 她怀里抱着一个大夹子，很像是一个画夹或者镜子之类的东西。

One day, a woman wearing orange (or reddish-brown) clothes arrived at my "Waterside" abode, she was walking quickly along the shallow stone beach of the "Waterside". [...] In her arms, she was carrying a big folder, which very much resembled something like an artist portfolio or a mirror. (Ge 2014, 49; my emphasis).

Later, towards the end of the short story in Story 5, as the narrator observes again a woman coming towards the Waterside, a very similar description appears:

有一天，我终于看见棋沿着水边浅浅的石子滩朝我的公寓走来。她依旧穿着橙红色（或者棕红色）的罩衫，[...] 她怀里抱着那方裹着帆布的画夹，而远远地看起来，那更像一面镜子，[...]。

One day, I finally saw Qi coming towards my abode along the shallow stone beach of the waterside. As before, she was wearing an orange (or a reddish-brown) top, [...]. In her arms, she was carrying that artist portfolio containing canvases, although from the distance it resembled a mirror, [...]. (Ge 2014, 75; my emphasis).

These two passages of text are representative of a technique of “correspondence” which is used in several places within the short story. The passages, as we can clearly see, are not entirely identical, yet they contain a number of words and expressions which are. The first passage contains 68 Chinese characters whilst the second one 70 Chinese characters. In the citation above, I have highlighted all the identical characters the passages share, and their exact number is 37. This makes more than half of the characters in each of the individual passages. Moreover, the characters which the two passages have in common are mostly the key words (or their parts), which carry the meaning of the sentence.

Most likely, when the reader comes across the second of the passages, it will give him a feeling of uncertainty. He might ask himself whether he has not read about the same character or situation already earlier in the short story. Yet, unless he has a very good memory, he will not be certain of it, since the passages are separated by many pages of text and (as we have noted) they are not completely identical either. Even if he goes back in the text and checks that there are in fact differences between the two passages, the unsettling connection between the two characters and situations will have been made and will be difficult to ignore. The two characters and situations will now overlap in the mind of the reader.

There are several other, more subtle variations on this technique of correspondence in the short story. In Story 2, as the narrator follows the mysterious woman across the snowy countryside, the woman is compared to an ink blot:

她像一摊墨渍在米色的画布上蠕动。

She wriggled like an ink blot on a creamy-white canvas. (Ge 2014, 56; my emphasis).

This corresponds to a passage in Story 3:

女人像一摊墨渍一样卧在反射出酒店暗绿色灯光的地上。

The woman lay sprawled like *an ink blot* on the floor that reflected the dim green light of the liquor parlour. (Ge 2014, 65; my emphasis).

In this case, the association between the two female characters is not made via a direct, external resemblance of their clothes or the surroundings in which they appear. Rather, it is the image of an ink blot in the mind of the narrator, a single shared metaphor produced by the act of narration which creates the correspondence between them.

Another type of correspondence is created when the short story introduces the character(s) of the old man. In Story 2, as the old man saves the narrator from falling off a collapsed bridge, he is described thus:

他是一个花白胡须的老人。他在我跟前停下来，他的长须上结满了玻璃碴似的冰凌。

He was an *old* man with a grizzled beard. He stopped in front of me, his long *beard* was *completely* covered with icicles which looked like pieces of shattered glass. (Ge 2014, 57; my emphasis).

And again, in another encounter with the old man in Story 3, we find this description:

黧黑的脸上刻着衰老的沟纹。他的胡须卷曲着，沾满了晶莹的酒滴。

[His] dark face was engraved with wrinkles of *old* age. His *beard* was curly and *completely* soaked with glistening drops of liquor. (Ge 2014, 65; my emphasis).

In this case, the correspondence between the two passages is much more subtle. There is neither a single, shared metaphor which would stand out of the text, nor is there an absolutely clear resemblance in the description of the character. The Chinese characters shared between the two passages (which by extension point to the shared physical characteristics of the two characters) highlighted in the citation above—"old" (*lao* 老), "beard" (*xu* 须), "full/completely" (*man* 满)—probably just on their own would not be sufficient to create a correspondence. However, if the whole sentence is taken as a whole, the analogy between the image of a beard full of icicles and the image of a beard full of glistening drops of liquor becomes quite striking. Still, in this case and in many other similar examples of such correspondences within the short story, the response will vary greatly from reader to reader, depending on his reading experience and the degree of the reader's attentiveness during the process of reading: many readers will probably not notice the correspondence at all, at least not consciously.

Whilst such subtle correspondences might go unnoticed in a different work of fiction, the reader of “Flocks of Brown Birds” is actively led by the short story to look for them. The following example illustrates this: In a crucial moment of Story 2—the narrator’s first encounter with the mysterious woman—she is shown to be picking up a stud which has fallen from her boot (Ge 2014, 54). Later, during the first encounter with the female character of Story 3, the narrator observes her picking up a fallen scarf from the ground. As he is looking at her, the narrator realizes:

我的眼前一遍一遍地重现她刚才俯身捡头巾的动作，它仿佛和我早已在眼帘的屏幕上成为定格的捡靴钉的姿势叠合了。

The movement of her stooping down and picking up the headscarf appeared again and again in front of my eyes, and it seemed to merge with the posture of picking up a boot stud which had already become a freeze frame on the screen of my eyes. (Ge 2014, 63).

By connecting the two encounters with the woman in the mind of the protagonist, the narrative gives a strong interpretative key to the reader. Because the narrator, who has an authenticating authority over the facts of the fictional world of the short story,¹¹ confirms that such correspondences can indeed exist within the fictional world of the short story, the reader is also encouraged to look for them.

In addition to the correspondence between particular, relatively short passages of the text, there is a more general correspondence which unifies the atmosphere across different parts of the short story. For example, whenever a female character is present in the narration, only a certain range of colours is used with regard to her. We have already come across the colours “orange” (*chenghong se* 橙红色) and “reddish brown” (*zong hong se* 棕红色) used in the description of Qi cited above. Looking at other places in the text where a female character appears, a few more could be added: “chestnut” (*li shu se* 栗树色), “coffee” (*kafei se* 咖啡色), “light red” (*qian hong se* 浅红色), “light yellow” (*qian huang se* 浅黄色), “pomegranate” (*liu hong se* 榴红色), or “dark brown” (*shen zong se* 深棕色). It is always the same, warm range of colours spanning yellow, orange, red, and brown. We should not forget “brown” (*he se* 褐色) from the title of the short story either. This colour is never used in direct connection with a female character, but by its similarity to the other colours in the range it may—as we will see below—create a

11 For a short discussion on the question of authentication see below in this article.

correspondence between the passing birds, and the appearing and disappearing women in the individual constituent stories of the short story.

Contrary to the female characters, the countryside and other settings of the short story are generally described using colder colours including blue, green, black, and white. It is also notable that most of the action takes place in the dark: the storytelling between the narrator and Qi in Story 1 takes place at night; it gets dark as the narrator follows the woman in Story 2; there are several nighttime conversations between the narrator and the woman in Story 3; Story 4 also takes place at night; and so does a part of Story 5, when the narrator walks along the Waterside as he keeps waiting for Qi. Another factor that adds to the bleak aspect of the setting of the short story is the weather. There is a great amount of precipitation (of both rain and snow) accompanying many of the events described in the short story. Stories 2 and 4 take place during a snow storm, and the whole of the climax of Story 3 (the development of a relationship between the narrator and the woman after the death of the woman's husband) takes place under an incessant pounding of rain.

2 *The Déjà vu Experience and Its Relationship to Time*

Based on the examples given above, we have seen thus far that the short story "Flocks of Brown Birds" abounds in corresponding passages of text which cross-reference to each other. However, these passages are not completely identical, and they are usually separated from each other by a large amount of text which makes remembering of the exact wording of the earlier passages difficult. Therefore, although the passages may remind the reader of each other strongly, he can never be absolutely certain whether he can afford to regard the characters and events described by these passages as equivalent. Such an uncertainty can easily remind the reader of an experience most of us have probably encountered at some point in our lives, the experience of *déjà vu*. During a *déjà vu* experience, a person is—similarly to the reader of "Flocks"—convinced that he has seen the same thing or situation before, but he has no means of verifying his conviction. I therefore propose to call the principal effect these correspondences create in the reader the

“déjà vu effect”. In the following paragraphs I will discuss what bearing the déjà vu effect has on our conceptions of time.

Déjà vu is a phenomenon of great interest to scholars. That being said, most scholarly articles and books regarding this phenomenon come from the fields of medicine or psychology. One of the authoritative monographs on the topic is the psychologist Alan S. Brown's *The Déjà Vu Experience*. It lists 34 different explanations of the phenomenon, interpreting it each time as an error in either the functioning of memory, the neurological system or human perception (Brown 2004, 199-201). To mention an example, one of the common interpretations of the phenomenon among psychologists—as well as among the lay public—claims that déjà vu happens when certain elements in our current experience correspond to something we have previously imagined: We might think, for instance, that we are experiencing an identical situation for a second time, but in fact the current situation only *reminds* us of something we have seen in a dream, a day-dream or heard in a story (Brown 2004, 157-159). No matter which of the interpretations of the déjà vu experience we pick from Brown's book, it is interesting to note that they all tend to avoid the most simple explanation which would present itself: What if we experience déjà vu because we have *actually* “already seen” (*déjà vu*) the same situation before?

I assume that the reason behind our reluctance to consider such a straightforward explanation and prefer to dismiss the experience of déjà vu as an error, is closely related to the way we perceive the passing of time. If we consider how our perception of time works, we realize that the human body has no obvious sensory organ for time. We can neither see time, nor can we hear it or touch it.¹² This means that when we need to process our experience of time (or at least when we do so consciously), we necessarily resort to our experience of space, which we can clearly perceive using the senses of sight, hearing and touch. That is to say, we deduce the passing of time through changes of space. This practice also impacts

12 By this I mean that we cannot sense time consciously. Modern science has in fact discovered that there are some internal mechanisms in the human body, as well as the body of many other organisms, which regulate its metabolism roughly in correspondence to different natural cycles. For instance, one of such mechanisms, the so-called “circadian rhythms”, causes us to feel sleepy at a specific time of day even if we are locked up in a dark room with neither the sun nor a clock to see. For more information on this topic, see Foster and Kreitzman, 2005.

how we describe time. It has been noted by scholars, that whenever we speak about time, we need to resort to metaphors of space (Miller 2003, 87). For example, I have already used the expression “passing of time” a couple of times in this paragraph, as if time were a person or an object *passing* through space. In the English language, time can also “flow” or “fly”, and can as well do many other things—but it would be difficult to find a word referring exclusively to time, devoid of its spatial aspect.

The simplest image that springs to our mind when we imagine time is the image of the clock. Within the 12-hour span of time, which the clock aims to represent, every single moment is assigned a specific spatial position of the clock hands in relation to the numbers on the dial. If the hands show 6 o’clock, we assume that it is not 7 o’clock. And if, after all, we find out that it was really 7 o’clock, even though the clock showed 6 o’clock, it means that the clock is either broken or not set correctly.

The world around us, whilst much more complex, is perceived functioning in a manner similar to the clock: Imagine yourself sitting in a café, with a book in your hand, a cup of coffee and a piece of cake on the table. There are also various other people sitting at the tables around you. Each of these persons and objects occupies an exact place specific to that very moment in time. Imagine then, that you come to the same café a couple of weeks later. And suddenly you realize that you are holding the same book in your hand in exactly the same way as you did at that moment a couple of weeks earlier. The cup of coffee and the piece of cake are also in exactly the same place, and when you look up, you notice that there are the same people sitting in the same chairs and there is even the same song playing on the radio. I dare say that in such a situation most of us would feel that something was genuinely *wrong*, that we are witnessing something paranormal or supernatural: Does not that spatial set-up belong to a different moment in time? Have we travelled in time? In such a situation, we would in fact be experiencing the same unsettling uncertainty with regards to the identity of the circumstances we found ourselves in as the reader of “Flocks of Brown Birds” vis-à-vis the similarities between the characters and situations recurring throughout the short story.

Since we can only describe time in spatial metaphors, our thinking is configured in such a way as to identify a single spatial set-up with a single moment in time. If a certain spatial set-up is repeated, it is the same as when the clock shows 6 o'clock although it should actually be 7 o'clock. We assume something is incorrect or broken. This is why we tend to regard the *déjà vu* experience as a kind of error—we cannot possibly imagine that we could have experienced the same situation twice because it defies time as we perceive it. In other words, it defies our paradigm of linear time.

There are two corresponding passages of text in “Flocks of Brown Birds” which point to our perception of the *déjà vu* effect as error through a representation of a breakdown of conventional temporal logic in the very structure of the sentence. The first of these passages appears in Story 2 when the narrator sees the mysterious woman for the first time, and notices her seductive way of walking:

她的栗树色靴子交错斜提膝部微曲双腿棕色——咖啡色裤管的褶皱成沟状圆润的力从臀部下移使褶皱复原腰部浅红色——浅黄色的凹陷和胯部成锐角背部石榴红色的墙成板块状向左向右微斜身体处于舞蹈和僵直之间笨拙而又有弹性地起伏颠簸。

The mellow and gulley-shaped force resulting from her chestnut boots alternately both lifting and tilting the slightly curved brown—coffee-coloured folds of the trouser legs on both her knees in a shifting movement down from her buttocks made her board-shaped body leaning now slightly to the left and now slightly to the right resulting from the sharp angle of the pomegranate-coloured wall of her back resulting from her hips and the light red—light yellow depression of her waist being restored by a fold of her dress find itself clumsily and elastically rising and falling in a jolting movement somewhere between dance and rigidity. (Ge 2014, 53).

It is not accidental that such an unusual sentence is found at a crucial point of the plot—the encounter between the narrator and the mysterious woman is the basis for the narrator's tale. Later, when the narrator finds out that the woman in Story 3 owns exactly the same brown boots as the woman in Story 2, he has a *déjà vu* experience, which is represented in a flashback of the narrator's memory by the repetition of a virtually identical passage of text.¹³

13 “她的栗树色靴子交错斜提膝部微曲双腿棕色——咖啡色裤管的褶皱成沟状圆润的力从臀部下移使褶皱复原腰部浅红色——浅黄色的凹陷和膝部成锐角背部石榴红色的墙成板块状向左向右微斜身体处于舞蹈和僵直之间笨拙而又有弹性地起伏颠簸”。(Ge 2014, 66; my emphasis). The

The woman's walk was perceived by the imagined narrator all at once. Yet its conventional representation in language makes the reader observe it only piece by piece. For example, he would perceive first the *boots* and only then the *trousers* because the word “boots” comes in the sentence before “trousers”. The syntax of the sentence and its graphical representation in text as a line going from left to right determines that the reader perceives the experience described by the narrator as a sequence plotted on a timeline.

However, the cited sentence seems to disrupt this principle in some aspects. At first sight, the sentence seems to be only a random jumble of Chinese characters hardly comprehensible as a meaningful whole. Only with focused reading does it become apparent, that the sentence actually is grammatical. However, even after becoming aware of its grammaticality, the sentence is still too long in order to be taken in by the reader all at once—it lacks the structural elements that would split it into smaller chunks which would be easy to digest: there is almost no punctuation, it is difficult to find the main verb of the sentence, to identify the subject and the predicate. Due to the lack of these structural elements, it is difficult to perceive the sentence as a sequence of units that follow each other on a line in the conventional direction from left to right. Instead, the

two passages, nevertheless, are not exactly identical. The character highlighted in the citation above is different in the first passage: there is *kua* 胯, “hip”, in the first passage, whereas there is *xi* 膝, “knee”, in the second one. The two characters have the same radical (*rou* 月/肉) and they are visually very similar. The presence of *xi* in the second passage instead of *kua* could easily be regarded as a typographical error. Thus, we find ourselves with a seeming double error: first, the error of having the same passage repeated, and then the error of the passage not being actually the same—as we had thought it would be, if the repetition was there on purpose. In this way, these two passages are characteristic of the way corresponding pairs are constructed in the short story. Within such a pair, we are never confronted with exactly the same image, exactly the same situation, exactly the same plot of a story, or a character described in exactly the same way. Although similarities between the two constituents of the pair are unsettling, they could always be explained in a natural way: as mere accidents or coincidences, albeit very improbable. In short, such explanations would very much resemble the aforementioned scientific explanations of déjà vu.

reader gets lost while following the line, the meaning escapes him, and he is compelled to return to what he has already read in order to *make sense* of the whole. The sentence can only become meaningful if we take it *non-linearly*. In this way, it captures the narrator's overwhelming experience of witnessing the woman's charming walk in the whole of its profusion of colours and shapes. At the same time, it reveals that the language of temporal linearity is an insufficient tool to fully represent the protagonist's perception of the image of the woman, and tries to find another kind of language which would be able to represent it.

3 *Towards a Multi-linear Model of Time*

One of the features of the *déjà vu* effect created by "Flocks of Brown Birds" and the challenge it poses to the paradigm of linear time are the seeming logical contradictions which appear within the chain of cause and effect, which we conventionally expect to constitute a plot of a narrative. Various literary scholars have previously noted these contradictions and interpreted them in a way that tries to disallow the possibility that such contradictory statements could refer to "fictional facts" within the world of the short story. Xudong Zhang (1997, 175) writes:

"A Flock of Brown Birds" is hallucination about hallucinations, which are the normal situation of writing. [...] [It] can be read as a detailed imaginary exercise of the process of writing, which consists of the working out of images and events. The various self-contradictory scenes of the narrator's encounter with the strange woman is nothing particularly novel if viewed as a set of narrative options and solutions alternating in a prenarrative form of writing.

Another scholar, Xiaobin Yang (2002, 172), summarizes his interpretation of the short story as follows:

Ge Fei calls our attention to the crisis of narrative sufficiency by incessantly denying or contradicting the previous statements so that, eventually, the seemingly integrative narrative becomes fragmentary and inconsistent. In this sense what Ge Fei parodies is not a specific narrative genre or topos but narrative unity or soundness in general, especially the rigid homogeneity of the grand narratives.

Looking at the vocabulary which Xudong Zhang and Xiaobin Yang use, we see that they both interpret the short story in much the same way as psychologists

would interpret the phenomenon of *déjà vu* (as described above). For Xudong Zhang, the short story is a “hallucination”, an error, a medical condition. And if not an error, then according to Xiaobin Yang, it is a parody—Ge Fei “parodies” the homogeneity of grand narratives.

What both of these scholars emphasise is how the short story thematises the process of writing and depicts the illusionary nature (or the impossibility) of representation. In this way, both Zhang and Yang basically set the seeming inconsistencies in the short story aside, claiming they do not represent the facts of the fictional world. According to them, the *déjà-vu*ish fictional world which the narrative constructs could not possibly exist as something logically consistent. Whilst they do not deny the short story its subversive character, the mindset they use when interpreting it is precisely the one which the short story aims to subvert. Their interpretations are firmly situated in the temporal linearity that the short story challenges. On the following pages, I will show how the reader could instead choose to respond to the narrative of “Flocks” by changing his patterns of thinking, and reintegrate the seeming inconsistencies into the fictional world of the short story.

We can indeed find many contradictions in the narrative of “Flocks”. If the *déjà vu* effect leads us to think that, for example, all the female characters are in fact just a single character, then we are faced with the discrepancy that the single female character of the short story both knows (Story 1) and does not know the narrator (Story 5), the narrator has both met (Story 2) and has not met (Story 3) her in a city street, or that she has both died or disappeared in a snow storm (Story 2) and died at home after marrying the narrator (Story 3). On a smaller scale, even within one sentence, the text of the short story presents different contradictory descriptions of things, persons, or events. We have already seen above that the character Qi was described as wearing a single piece of clothing which was both *orange* and *reddish brown* (Ge 2014, 49, 75). Such descriptions abound in the short story. Often, it is as if there was a choice of options laid out for the reader:

棋说完了这些话，静静垂手而坐，像是等待我沉入往事的梦境，又像是等待我从冥想中挣脱出来。

After she had said it, she quietly let her hands drop and sat down, as if both waiting for me to sink into a dream of things past, and as if waiting for me to extricate myself from deep contemplation. (Ge 2014, 51).

Hence the claim by Xudong Zhang, cited above, that the different stories in the short story could be viewed as “a set of narrative options and solutions alternating in a prenarrative form of writing”. In other words, Xudong Zhang is saying that a meaningful narrative must consist of a sequence of elements linked by the rules of cause and effect running along a single timeline. If these elements do not comply with this ideal, they do not qualify to be called “narrative” and are demoted to a “prenarrative” status. However, it is undeniable that the *narrative* of the short story exists, therefore does it make sense to claim that some (or all) of its parts are prenarrative?

To answer this question, let us take a short excursion into the theory of possible worlds. This theory, as applied to worlds of fiction by Lubomír Doležel (1998, 145–168), claims that facts of fictional worlds can possess different degrees of authentication. That is to say, it can be verified to a greater or a lesser degree that statements about a fictional world are indeed “facts” (albeit fictional). An important role in such authentication is given to convention. Conventionally, the narrator has the authority to authenticate. If he claims something to be a fact, the reader tends to accept it as such. However, since many literary works try to break with convention, unreliable narrators can appear. If we are dealing with a first person narration where the narrator is also a character within the plot, the reader can eventually find out that the narrator has been lying or that he does not have all the correct information about his own fictional world. The narrator of “Flocks” exhibits features of such an “unreliable” narrator and this certainly adds to the element of uncertainty in the short story.

Moreover, authentication can be subverted, according to Doležel, if there are apparent *illogicalities* in the way the building blocks of the fictional world are put together. If a fictional world does not make sense logically, it goes without saying that we cannot use logic to authenticate or disprove the facticity of any statement about this world. Such worlds are termed “impossible worlds” by Doležel. According to this theory, the world of “Flocks of Brown Birds” could clearly be identified as such a world. Hence, if we regard only a “possible world” as a genuine narrative, we can indeed see “Flocks” as a form of “prenarrative” writing (in Zhang’s terminology). There are certain chunks of logically consistent narrative in

the short story, but they would need to be rearranged in order for the *whole* text to function as a coherent narrative and create a logical, “possible world”.

However, could we not say that logic is—as in the case of the narrator’s authenticating authority—also a matter of convention? Our logical assumptions are inevitably based on how we understand the world around us. The fictional world of “Flocks of Brown Birds” can be regarded as impossible only as far as we judge it by our conventional views of time. The moment we accept that the short story is an experiment, that is wants to upset conventional knowledge, we can start looking for ways of changing our logic, in order to find out whether such an experiment can be successful.—The success being measured by the extent to which the short story enables us to find new, viable alternatives to our conventional patterns of thinking.

The attempt to change our conventional logic will inevitably bring us to the following question: If we wanted to approach the world of “Flock of Brown Birds” as “possible”, what would such a world look like? As a point of departure, we can draw an analogy between the layout of “Flocks” and Borges’ labyrinth¹⁴ from his famous short story “El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan” (The Garden of Forking Paths). In this short story, a character called Ts’ui Pên undertakes both to write a book and to construct an infinitely intricate labyrinth. After his death, nobody realises that the jumble of notes which he has left behind, and which look like mere (“prenarrative”?) drafts of an incomplete novel, are actually both the book and the labyrinth. Only, it is not a spatial labyrinth, but a labyrinth in time. It is a novel where each strand of the plot is played out in an endless number of variations, possibilities, and outcomes, so that the reader moves through it like through a labyrinth while reading it. (Borges 2017).

Although “Flocks of Brown Birds” is not as infinitely intricate as Ts’ui Pên’s novel, its plot does nevertheless contain a few forking paths. The expression “forking paths” is, of course, another example of how we need to resort to spatial

14 Ge Fei (as well as many of his literary peers) has acknowledged the great amount of influence Borges had on his literary works. For a discussion of this influence, see for example Lin 2015. The similarity of the plot of “Flocks” to a Borgesean labyrinth has also been noted by Xudong Zhang 1997, 173.

metaphors when discussing time. Our conventional view of time coincides with a narrative on a single, unequivocal path—a single timeline. Therefore, in a temporal maze of forking paths, there would have to be a *multiplicity* of timelines. Is it even possible to imagine anything like that?

There have definitely been people who have tried to imagine such a multi-linear temporality. In modern physics, a hypothesis of the so-called “multiverse” has been proposed.¹⁵ This hypothesis has been used speculatively to solve certain paradoxes regarding the idea of time travel,¹⁶ and we can use it as a thought model to help us eliminate the contradictions present in the short story “Flocks of Brown Birds” as well.

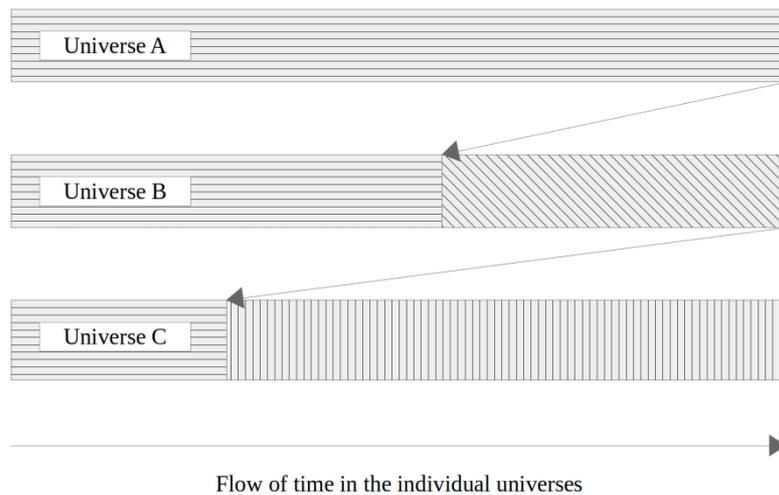
For a reader of science-fiction, such paradoxes in time travel are well-known: If a time traveller travels in the past, any change he makes in there, no matter how small, can have profound consequences on the future. An example which springs to mind is Ray Bradbury's (1980, 231-240) short story “A Sound of Thunder” in which the time-travelling protagonist changes 20th century USA into a fascist dictatorship only by having accidentally killed a butterfly in prehistoric times. In a similar fashion, if a hypothetical time traveller caused the death of one of his ancestors in the past, he would not be born. Thus, he would not be able to travel in time and change the past. He would, therefore, be born, travel in the past, change it and would not have been born, therefore, would not have travelled to the past... And so on in an endless loop. The multiverse hypothesis, on the other hand, claims that our actual universe is not all there is, that we might in fact be living in a “multiverse”—an ensemble of all possible universes of which there is an endless number, and every conceivable alternative is played out in each of them. Whilst some of these universes might have completely different physical laws and might be absolutely different from the universe we live in, other universes might differ only by a slight detail. If we wanted to travel back in time, we would not need to move to a previous point on a timeline within our universe of origin—we would instead travel to a different, parallel universe where everything would be identical to our original universe—until the point of our arrival. Our arrival would inevitably alter the subsequent course of events in this new universe, but that would have no effect on our original universe where the original timeline would

15 A variant of this hypothesis has been expounded for instance in DeWitt and Graham 1973.

16 See the chapter “Time Travel” in Dainton 2010, 121-144.

still run its course—the point of our departure in the original universe would not be affected. A graphical representation of such time travel is shown in Diagram 2.¹⁷

Diagram 2
Time travel in a “multiverse”



I propose that we regard the narrator of “Flocks of Brown Birds” as such a time traveller—as somebody who jumps between parallel, coexisting universes. The fictional world of “Flocks” resembles the layout shown in Diagram 2 in the sense that it retains the linearity of time within its constituent parts (the individual Stories 1–5), yet there is a multiplicity of such timelines. In such a “multi-linear” model of time, there is nothing contradictory about the female character dying in one story and being alive again in another one, because in each of the stories we find ourselves in a different universe with its own chain of cause and effect. If we

¹⁷ This diagram was inspired by a similar one in Dainton 2010, 126.

stayed within the framework of single, linear time, we would indeed be inclined to think that the same woman cannot be both alive and dead. However, if we acknowledge the possibility of the multi-linear model, we can regard the entire fictional world of the short story as logical and consistent.

The role of the narrator is crucial in keeping the fictional world of “Flocks” together, since he is the only element which is able to travel between the separate universes/stories which constitute the multiverse of the short story. He exists in all of them, therefore perceives them as something co-existing, and, as a consequence, the reader does so as well.

Of course, I am not trying to claim that the narrator of “Flocks” of *Brown Birds* is a science fiction character with a time machine, pressing buttons and levers, and thus moving between dimensions. It is imperative to stress that the expression “time travel” serves here rather as a designation of a thought model, a metaphor for a particular way of thinking which the short story induces.

If there is anything comparable to a time machine in the short story, it is *narration*. At the beginning of the short story, the narrator states the following about his place of residence:

“水边”这一带，正像我在那本书里记述的一样 [...]。

This strip of land called “Waterside” looked very much like what I recorded in my book [...]. (Ge 2014, 48).

Already from the start of the short story, the reader is led to imagine that the book which is being written by the narrator character at the Waterside is in fact the short story “Flocks of Brown Birds” itself. As has already been mentioned above, this notion is further reinforced by the fact that when Qi arrives at the Waterside, she calls the narrator by the name Ge Fei—the actual author of the short story. Yet later, when the narrator starts recounting stories about his encounter with the mysterious woman, it is Qi who keeps urging him to go on narrating, the narrator himself seems reluctant to do so. On a few times, it seems as if the story has finished and the reader would not find out anything more about the fate of the mysterious woman. Yet Qi is never satisfied with such endings, claims she does not believe the story has finished and compels the narrator to take up his narration again. After one such moment, the narrator asks Qi:

不过，我说，你是怎么知道事情还没完呢？

根据爱情公式，棋说。

爱情公式？

我想事情远未了结并不是棋所说的所谓恋爱公式的推断，它完全依赖于我的叙述规则。

Anyway, I said, how did you know that the matter had not finished yet?

According to the formula of love, said Qi.

Formula of love?

I thought the fact that the matter had not been concluded yet was not at all due to this formula of love that Qi spoke about, it depended entirely on the rules of my narration. (Ge 2014, 54-55).

The narrator hereby affirms that it falls entirely under his control how a certain constituent story within the short story develops or whether it comes into existence at all. Since the narrator claims at first that the story had finished, only to continue narrating it after being persuaded by Qi to do so, the reader will become even more convinced that the narrator is creating the story on the spot. As a narrator, he has the authority to utter performative speech acts which construct fictional worlds (Doležel 1998, 146-148). And as a metafictional narrator, he has the special characteristic that he can himself become a character in these fictional worlds. Through the narration of multiple stories in which he himself is a character, he transports himself from one universe to another, from timeline to timeline. As he does so, the reader is transported along with him. Thus, in the absence of a mechanical time machine in the actual world, this narrative time machine is a unique opportunity for the reader to glimpse what an existence within multi-linear time could be like.

The narrator character—as he has been described thus far—is therefore a time traveller with a powerful narrative time machine which frees him from the constraints of linear time. Hypothetically, he would be able to move instantly to any point on the timeline of any imaginable universe/story. Within multi-linear time, the rules of causality do not apply to him and he thus possesses an extraordinary freedom to shape his life. Such a character should probably be content with his lot, if not outright happy. Yet this is not so.

The timelessness of the place called Waterside, where he weaves his narration, makes the narrator uneasy. Being used to linear time, it is difficult to find sense in a place where events do not move towards a final, meaningful point. The narrator misses this kind of linearity and clings to the last remnants of time

which are accessible to him. In particular, he watches every day anxiously for the passing of migratory birds in order to find out what season it is.

However, it is only with the arrival of Qi that time gains any recognizable shape again. It is finally she who tells him what season it is (autumn), not the birds (Ge 2014, 48). But above all, it is the arrival of Qi which triggers the narration. As the narrator's tales unfold, they do so in a linear fashion. There are suddenly events which happen *before* other events, and events which happen *after* other events. Different time markers begin to appear in the text.¹⁸ Linear temporality seems to be restored.

I agree here with Xudong Zhang (1997, 176) who writes that the pursuit of the mysterious woman in Story 2 signifies "libidinal desire for more stories that keeps narratives moving towards their 'end'". It is the encounter with the mysterious woman and her pursuit which gives rise to the plot of the short story, and which then drives it forward.

Libidinal desire is the first impetus to procreation and preservation of life. If the narrator continued to reside in the entropic, timeless world of the Waterside, his self would inevitably dissolve in it and his existence as an individual would be over. It is Qi through whom the narrator hopes to retain his individuality. Qi is an "embodiment of otherness", continues Zhang (1997, 178), an otherness which breaks from the outside into the world of the Waterside. It could indeed be said that Qi (as well as the mysterious female characters in the other stories) are the *other* against which the narrator's *self* can be delimited. It is through the relationship between the self and the other, the subject and the object that the conventional, linear language comes to existence and, by extension, also the linear narrative with a beginning and an end.

The narrator's libidinal drive and his relationship with the other seem at first to be able to rescue him from the disquieting timelessness and preserve his

18 For instance, Story 3 is said to take place in 1992 (Ge 2014, 61), which puts the events in the story on a timeline, but simultaneously reveals the fantastic nature of the chronology of the short story: If the short story mimics the actual world by calling the narrator character by the name Ge Fei and suggests that what this narrator is writing at the Waterside is actually the text of the short story "Flocks of Brown Birds" itself, then this logic is subverted by the fact that the short story was published in the actual world already in 1988, i.e. at least four years before the events described by it took place.

individuality. However, as the reader continues reading the story, he is shown that it is just an illusion. As we have seen, there is a lot of overlapping and correspondence between the different characters and events in the short story, therefore the characters' existence as individualities is limited. Moreover, the linear sequence of events does not lead to any meaningful end. No matter in how many stories the narrator engages, they always result in him losing the woman he craves, until his movement in time seems not so much linear as circular. He himself becomes very much like the disquieting shooting star moving in circular motion across the night sky of the Waterside.

This circularity is inherent to the driving force of his narration. Although, hypothetically, he would be free to move between any imaginable universes, the only thing which motivates his narration (i.e., the time machine) is his libidinal desire directed towards the female other. This obsession with the female other always causes his narration to follow a similar pattern.¹⁹ Since the female other is impermanent and unattainable, much like the telos of linear time, the narrator is inevitably frustrated in his expectations. Hence his sigh in the last sentence of the short story, where the image of the brown birds signifies both the female, brown-clad object of his desire, and the passing of time:

这些褐色的候鸟天天飞过“水边”的公寓，但它们从不停留。

These brown birds fly over my abode at the “Waterside” every day, but they never stop.

(Ge 2014, 77).

By creating the *déjà vu* effect, the short story constructs a compelling multi-linear model of time. However, the narrator character clings too strongly to his habitual modes of thinking and acting, and therefore he is not able to abandon the world of temporal linearity and take advantage of the freedom multi-linear time offers. The short story abounds in images of water: all its stories take place on riversides and lakesides. It is as if the narrator was waiting on the bank, hesitating whether to cross over a mysterious body of dark water and transcend the habitual mode of his existence. He pursues the mysterious woman onto a bridge, but when her

19 Thus, perhaps without the narrator character being aware of it, the narration also follows Qi's “formula of love” (爱情公式) after all.

illusionary, unattainable image disappears in front of his eyes, he is not able to cross to the other side—the bridge is broken.

4 *Limits of Literary Language in Representing Alternative Temporalities*

In the above discussion of “Flocks of Brown Birds”, I claimed that the protagonist of the short story is reluctant to accept the possibility of existence in “multi-linear” time, and thus stays trapped in the futile impasse of linear temporality. Coming back to Kermode’s ideas about the purposes of literature, should we then say that since the protagonist fails to embrace this new mode of approaching the world, the short story itself also fails in its sense-making and consoling function? Not really. Even if the outlook of a work of literary fiction is bleak and tragic, it presents a *pattern* by which it orders its fictional world and rescues the reader (at least for a while) from the bleakness of contingency. In the case of “Flocks of Brown Birds”, we are presented with a pattern of “multi-linearity” which is not invalidated by the protagonist’s failure to embrace it. Rather, his failure can make even more sense for the reader since it serves as a kind of moral. This moral seems almost Buddhist: We could assume that the narrator would be able to transcend his boundaries into a more meaningful form of existence, if only he could abandon his libidinal desire for the mysterious woman—i.e., the material craving²⁰ which causes him to repeat the same story in endless variations over and over again.

In “Whistling” (*Hushao* 唿哨), another short story by Ge Fei, however, we are given a character contrasting to the narrator of “Flocks”: a protagonist who *is able* to transcend the boundaries of linear time. In this short story, published two years after “Flocks”, Ge Fei seems to take his experiments with alternative time models one step further. As in “Flocks”, the reader finds the protagonist—an old, withered man called Sun Deng—residing in a place which seems to have been taken out of time. Yet unlike in “Flocks”, even the semblance of a linear plot has disintegrated here. Sun Deng engages in a disjointed dialogue with his guest Ruan Ji, looks at a painting on the wall, plays a game of *weiqi*, breaks a teapot, and through a half-opened door of his house observes the things outside: a swallow,

20 The word “craving” is used by Rupert Gethin as a translation of the Buddhist term *taṇhā* (in Pāli) / *trṣṇā* (in Sanskrit). For an explanation of this term, see Gethin 1998, 68-74.

people working in the field, children playing on a bridge. Nothing else happens in terms of action (Ge 2014, 256-278).

As in the case of “Flocks of Brown Birds”, it is difficult to tell whether there are several different characters in the short story, or whether they are identical characters who appear over and over again. Also, similarly to “Flocks”, the reader is often presented with two contradicting versions of the same situation: the bridge Sun Deng observes is about to collapse in one paragraph of the text, only to be brand-new in the following one; the river is both dried up and flowing; the teapot is both shattered and intact; Sun Deng’s *weiqi* opponent is both a man and a woman. In terms of space, Sun Deng never moves out of his house. Yet it seems that his mind wanders in time, and it is for this reason that his vision can perceive the objects around him and outside the door of his house simultaneously in these seemingly contradictory states.

At first sight, Sun Deng could be regarded as a typical protagonist of Ge Fei’s fiction: a male character who delves into dark corners of his memory in order to find a key with which to unlock the sense of his life.²¹ However, Sun Deng’s memories are such fragmented, jumbled shards of the past that it leads Jing Wang (1996, 253) to state that “for the first time in Ge Fei’s fictional world we encounter a character who does not remember”.

The names of the characters of the short story—Sun Deng and Ruan Ji—refer to Taoist personae living in 3rd century CE, whose alleged encounter is the subject of a well-known anecdote. According to this anecdote, Sun Deng and Ruan Ji are both masters of the Taoist art of transcendental whistling. Ruan Ji visits the hermit Sun Deng in the mountains where he lives and tries to talk to him, but the latter does not reply. In the end, Ruan Ji lets out a whistle and then leaves. As he is descending the mountains, he hears the mighty whistling of Sun Deng, which tells him that it is in fact Sun Deng, who is the master-whistler and a great sage.²²

21 Apart from “Flocks”, Ge Fei’s “The Lost Boat” (Mi zhou 迷舟), “Green Yellow” (Qinghuang 青黄) or “The Ornamented Zither” (Jin se 金色) could be regarded as examples.

22 For a detailed account of the different versions of this story, and the notion of transcendental whistling, see White 1964.

The original historical anecdote lends itself to literary reworkings because of the gaps its plot contains: neither does it say what questions Ruan Ji posed to Sun Deng, nor does it describe what went on in Sun Deng's mind as he faced his guest in silence. Such gaps can therefore be creatively filled in a fictional narrative. In her interpretation of "Whistling", Jing Wang (1996, 248-254) claims that by filling the gaps in the story by seemingly unimportant details, Ge Fei chooses to avoid representation relative to any master narratives. Although the story of Sun Deng and Ruan Ji evokes a certain historical context (the Wei-Jin period), the short story neither embraces the significance Sun Deng's silence would conventionally have in Taoist thought, nor does it try to infuse it with any new significance relevant to the socio-historical processes of Ge Fei's time. Instead, Sun Deng stays silent not because he is an immortal and thus a guardian of higher truths inexpressible by words, but because his character is in fact an old, senile man, whose mental faculties are on the point of disintegration. "Ge Fei's aesthetic choice is to portray 'the very periphery where Deng's will and consciousness is about to reach its own extinction'", writes Jing Wang (1996, 252), citing a phrase from the short story itself (Ge 2014, 278),²³ and adds that this engenders a turn towards the postmodern "commitment to surface". However, we could argue that a representation of the periphery of the protagonist's will and consciousness might in fact be the exact opposite of such a commitment to surface: we might see the short story as an attempt to embrace the spirit of the original anecdote and recreate in fiction the workings of the mind of a Taoist immortal.

In order to get an idea of how the mind of an immortal can be imagined, we can cite an example from the book of *Liezi* 列子:

Only then, when I had come to the end of everything inside me and outside me, my eyes became like my ears, my ears like my nose, my nose like my mouth; everything was the same. My mind concentrated and my body relaxed, bones and flesh fused completely, I did not notice what my body leaned against and my feet trod, I drifted with the wind East and West, like a leaf from a tree or a dry husk, and never knew whether it was the wind that rode me or I that rode the wind. (Harbsmeier, n.d.).²⁴

23 "[...]把孙登恍惚的神志带到了意念行将终止的边缘。"

24 "內外進矣，而後眼如耳，耳如鼻，鼻如口，無不同也。心凝形釋，骨肉都融；不覺形之所倚，足之所履，隨風東西，猶木葉干殼。竟不知風乘我邪？我乘風乎？"

The *Liezi* describes a state in which the immortal has lost the awareness of his self, where the self is no longer important to him, and the differentiation between the personal interior and impersonal exterior disappears. And since there is no difference between the sage and the outside world, he begins—as a matter of course—to move in accord with the *natural* “flow”²⁵ of the world. Basically, the world and him become one and inseparable.

Similar to *Liezi*’s immortal, the character of Sun Deng in “Whistling” also seems to be moving in accord with some kind of a smooth and unimpeded universal “flow”. The unimpeded character of the movement seems to be related to Sun Deng’s attitude to *objects*: In “Whistling”, as in “Flocks of Brown Birds”, there is a character of a young woman. But whilst in “Flocks”, as well as many other Ge Fei’s fictions, the woman is a seductive femme fatale who awakens the libidinal desire in the male protagonist, triggers his excursion into his past and memory, and causes him to try and reassemble (in vain) his fragmented self,²⁶ in “Whistling” she has none of these functions. She repeatedly appears and disappears from the scene and Sun Deng stays quite indifferent to her passing. He has no urge to get up and pursue her as the narrator of “Flocks” pursues the mysterious woman. (In fact, she is described as Sun Deng’s daughter in several places in the short story, and it is therefore quite natural that the protagonist does not direct any sexual drive towards her). In general, Sun Deng not only does not seem to crave the female character(s) of the short story, he does not seem to want for anything at all. Thus, unlike the narrator character in “Flocks”, he has no regrets about his past. With no regrets and no cravings, his interior is never in conflict with the outside world—on the contrary, it seems to be in tune with it.

Hence, it is not that Sun Deng does not remember, as Jing Wang claims, it is rather that he does not care about possessing an object. Therefore, his actions and thoughts do not lead to the construction of a coherent subject. Since the

25 Flowing in accordance with the changes of the universe is an important feature of many a description of a Taoist immortal. See Kohn 1990, 629-631.

26 Such a female character appears for example in Ge Fei’s aforementioned short stories “The Lost Boat”, “Green Yellow” or “The Ornamented Zither”.

protagonist does not have the urge to pursue any *ends*, neither does the narrative seem to be a linear one, plotted on a temporal line stretched towards an *end*.

Sun Deng's vision therefore continuously shifts from one image to another. As the reader follows the text of the short story, it is impossible for him to distinguish the moment in time to which the different paragraphs (or even sentences) refer.

The following paragraph may serve as an example:

他的女儿嫁到外向之后，已经好久没有回来过了。在一遍又一遍幻想中，她的身影终于在眼前变得清晰起来 [...]。她沿着苏门山下那条狭窄的小路朝村子走来，坦荡如砥的麦子中央突然止住了脚步。女人一动不动凝视着墙上的那幅画， [...]

Since his daughter got married off to another village, he has not seen her for a long time. In his repeated fantasies, her silhouette finally became distinct in front of his eyes [...]. She was walking towards the village along a narrow path at the foot of the Sumen Mountains, she abruptly stopped in the middle of the vast wheat lands. The woman stared motionlessly at the painting, [...]. (Ge 2014, 277).

At first, it seems that this paragraph describes one of Sun Deng's memories of his daughter, and that in his mind Sun Deng sees the image of her walking at the foot of the mountains. In the following sentence, however, the narrative jumps to another image, a woman staring at a painting. The reader could ask: Is that another memory of the daughter? If it is, why is she being referred to only as "woman"? Or if it is not the daughter, can we be sure that the woman walking at the foot of the mountains is the daughter? Could it not be yet another woman? Suddenly, we do not know if these three images refer to the same person or to various persons. It also becomes uncertain, which of the images is a memory of the past, and which is the present time of the narrative.

As there is no continuous chain of events in the short story, it is impossible to identify any reference point the reader could label as *now*. There is no frame story, like for example in "Flocks" where we had a now from which the narrator recounted the other stories as the *past*. And neither does the bulk of the short story describe events within a certain period of time, where the digressions from these events would simply be regarded as Sun Deng's thoughts and memories. The various images presented to the reader by the short story all have equal weight: they are all *now* and factual in the fictional world of the short story. Because there is no difference between a factual, objective event and memory or fantasy, there is also no difference between Sun Deng's interior and the world outside. Like the

immortal in *Liezi*, he might claim that he “never knew whether it was the wind that rode me or I that rode the wind”.

The reader could make the effort, of course, and try to plot the images of the short story on a timeline in order to reconstruct a linear account of the events in Sun Deng’s life. However, such an effort is bound to fail because there would be just too many gaps in the story left to fill so as to create a logically coherent, linear narrative. Rather than that, it is easier for the reader to follow the gaze of the protagonist and try to fathom a pattern by which these images are associated to each other to create the “flow” of the protagonist.

As mentioned above, this “flow” of the (archetypal) sage is supposed to be the *natural* flow of the world. Yet in the short story, the “flow” is clearly not the linear flow of time, which we would regard as natural in our everyday experience of the world. Again, as in “Flocks of Brown Birds”, the short story takes the reader into a fictional world which does not abide by the same rules of conventional temporal logic as our actual world, and reveals to him the conceivability of a universe which is organised in a different type of pattern than the one we regard as matter-of-course.

Nonetheless, it would be difficult (if not impossible) to describe in precise terms what this pattern is. Whereas the plot of “Flocks” was still ordered in a linear fashion (albeit in a multiplicity of linearities), in “Whistling”, any outward semblance of linearity disappears. It is also important to remember that as this alternative temporality is created through the language of literature, it is difficult to access it through a conventional language of everyday use, such as is used in this article. Since conventional language of everyday use is inextricably tied to temporal linearity, it is in general an insufficient tool for the description of any non-linear notion of time. The language of literature, on the other hand, “exists precisely as an effort to say what the ordinary language does not and cannot say.” (Todorov 1970, 27). In our actual, everyday lives, we are bound by physical laws and are fated to live in temporal linearity. It is therefore only through the literary language of such literary works as “Whistling” that we can—to a certain extent—experience any alternative modes of temporality. Or, in other words, construct consoling fictions, which help us order the contingent world around us in a fresh, intellectually stimulating and seemingly sensible manner.

The “whistling” (*bushao* 唿哨) that the title of the short story refers to, supposedly serves as a kind of metaphysical, transcendental language, which allows the Taoist sages to convey higher knowledge which would be ineffable in the conventional, mundane language (Wang 1996, 250). Such a notion of whistling bears striking resemblance to the notion of literary language as I have described in the previous paragraph. We can assume that the short story is called “Whistling” not only as a reference to the story of Sun Deng and Ruan Ji, but also because its whole structure is an attempt to let out a transcendental whistle in the form of literary language. And yet, for all the power of whistling to relate the unrelatable, the Sun Deng of Ge Fei's short story (unlike the Sun Deng of the original story) seems incapable of giving such a whistle:

孙登环顾了一下四周，将拇指和食指悄悄伸进嘴里——身体的极度虚弱和牙齿的战栗使他发不出任何声音。

Sun Deng looked all around, then inserted his thumb and index finger into his mouth—his withered body and shaking teeth prevented him from uttering any sound whatsoever. (Ge 2014, 278).

The question is, should we take the text literally and see (as Jing Wang does) only an image of an old, withered man who is not able to produce a whistling sound with his toothless gums? Or does Sun Deng's inability to whistle have any metaphorical meaning? Perhaps it points to the aforementioned physical limits which constrain our possibility to exist in worlds with an alternative kind of temporality. Or perhaps we are being told that with a genuine sagehood, a genuine understanding of the world (which results in an abandonment of linear temporality), even whistling itself is not sufficient any more.

If whistling serves here as a representation of the language of literature, then we should assume it possesses certain common features with this language: Whilst the language of literature has a wider range of expression than ordinary language, it is still not free of linear temporality. According to convention, we expect a short story to have a beginning and an end; its middle is meaningful only because it leads to an ending (as discussed in the introduction to this article). When a reader picks up the short story “Whistling”, he would tend to read it in a linear fashion, from the beginning to the end. Thus, the reading process would create a sequence of images stretched over an interval of linear time in the reader's mind. Indeed, I could have only interpreted the short story in the way I have in this article because I read it linearly: Paradoxically, only when read linearly, we can actually see how

the structure of the short story frustrates our expectations of a conventional, linear plot.²⁷ We could object that since the short story is composed of a large number of short, disjointed images, an alternative mode of reading would be possible: The reader would be able to jump between these images in a non-linear fashion, or perhaps even perceive a whole page of the short story at once as if it was a painting. However, the lexical elements of the text would still need to be read in the proper order along the line (and therefore, linearly from the first moment to the second one) in order to make sense. The existence of the syntax of language itself predetermines that not only the ordinary but also the literary language has to operate within linear time.

We can thus see that Ge Fei's experiment circumscribes a circle. It attempts to subvert our paradigms of time, and modes of thinking about the world in general, yet as it tries to show us an alternative to these paradigms in one of the most experimental of Ge Fei's short stories, the narrative paradoxically resorts to an archetypal image of a sage. In a similar circular movement, the reader can perceive that the text constructs fresh and exciting non-linear temporalities for him to experience, only to subsequently realize that it was all an illusion and that he has all along been absorbing the narrative by means of a language anchored firmly in linear temporality.

Seen in this light, it is quite understandable that the protagonist of "Flocks of Brown Birds" was unable to cross the metaphoric bridge into a domain of alternative temporality. As we have determined, his time machine is narration. And narration is powered by a language we have determined to be necessarily linear. If we attempted to break up this fuel and rid it of its obligatory aspects like subject, object, and syntax, there would be nothing left to propel the time machine. Yet if we do not break it up, such a fuel will still not be powerful enough to propel the time machine beyond its own, lingual boundaries. Nevertheless, that is not to say the experiments in these short stories are futile. At the least, they reveal to us the boundaries of literary language, and help push

27 Also, the inability of Sun Deng to whistle is described at the end of the short story. It provides a very conventional closure and—precisely because of its important position at the end—suggests to the reader that this might actually be the key to the interpretation of the whole work.

them further from ordinary language towards new ways of generating sense. And although it seems impossible to cross these boundaries, Ge Fei's narratives can still offer the reader a flickering glimpse of what lies behind them: That with a better set of tools for imagining the world, an alternative temporality would be conceivable. Or in other words: For the archetypal sage, the only way of making a fresh sense of the world would be to abandon language altogether, even if it is the language of literature, or the language of whistling.

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Czechoslovakia-North Korea Relations within the NNSC from the Late 1960s Until 1979

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Abstract The article deals with the analysis of the Czechoslovakia-North Korean relations within the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC) from the late 1960s until 1979. Author focuses on assessing these bilateral relations and their mutual impact on joint activities reflecting not only relations confirming common ideology but also vice versa, relations between the countries seeking to apply their (different from its' partner party) political lines within but also outside the Commission. Relating to the Sino-Soviet split, the situation between Czechoslovak delegation in the NNSC and Korean People's Army in the 1970s resembles the previous decades, however, Czechoslovakia started to be more active in attempting to suppress the strengthening the DPRK's Juche ideology and trying to persuade the DPRK to be in the "right" circles—Soviet community circles, not in Non-Aligned Movement circles. In the 1970s, Czechoslovak delegation in the NNSC also often express their complaints related to "one-sided" relationship with Korean People's Army, described as beneficial for North Korea only. However, in spite of different views related to peaceful coexistence, reduced armament, unification etc. and approaches to the main mission of the NNSC, the CSSR and the DPRK still shared a common vision (albeit in a slightly different sense) of the fight against imperialism, and both sides considered each other as a supportive means to achieve their authority in negotiations with the southern side of the NNSC.

Keywords Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC), Armistice Agreement, Armistice Agreement violation, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, political line

Introduction

The beginnings of Czechoslovak-North Korean relations date back to the late 1940s, but even today, access to information on bilateral relations between the

CSSR and the DPRK is still very limited. Until recently, the Czech and Slovak Republics have focused on cooperation between Czechoslovakia and North Korea in terms of non-military, economic assistance, and to a limited extent we also find information regarding this bilateral cooperation during the Korean War. One of the historically most important milestones in the relations of Czechoslovakia and DPRK, however, represents the entry of Czechoslovakia into the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea which remains yet almost unknown to public but academic circles as well.

The Korean War ended with the so-called “fragile truce” signed on 27 July 1953, leaving the North and South of the Korean Peninsula separated by the Demilitarized Zone existing to this day. Based on the Armistice Agreement, the Military Armistice Commission and the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission were established to observe the ceasefire on the Korean Peninsula. One of the four member countries admitted to the NNSC was Czechoslovakia, nominated by the Korean People’s Army Party and the Chinese People’s Volunteers Party. Poland was also partner delegation to the North, the South was represented by Switzerland and Sweden nominated by the United Nations.

Till the end of Czechoslovakia’s activity in the NNSC (in 1993), Czechoslovakia offered non-military and military aid to North Korea and was presented as a supporter of North’s strong policy line, however, this seemingly friendly relation was disturbed by misunderstandings and different point of views, for example relating to the communication with the southern side of the Commission or relating to approach to unification of Korean Peninsula. North Korea also applied its strong policy and “Beijing Line” policy to Czechoslovakia, on the other hand Czechoslovakia due to its’ strengthening of authority emphasized the dominance of Soviet Union and its’ politics.

In our previous research, we focused on the CSSR and DPRK relations within the NNSC from the 1950s until the half of the 1960s, the information gained from the archival documents from the end of the 1960 was limited. After our last research, we managed to gain access to the documents from the end of the 1960 and from the 1970s. Thus, this article is focused on the newly gained information related to this problematic and analysis of the relations of Czechoslovakia and DPRK in the NNSC mainly in this period (the end of the 1960s and the 1970s).

As we know from our previous research,¹ since the very beginning, Czechoslovakia acted in the Commission as a “friend”, not only as a participating partner. Czechoslovakia and Poland as a strong ally of the DPRK in the fight against the South focused on accusing the southern side of Commission and the US as a violator of the NNSC’s activities and importer of war material in Korea. This, of course, caused enormous tension throughout the whole Commission. However, except of the tensions between North and South, there were controversies in the North as well (e.g. North Korean and Chinese side requested from Czechoslovakia and Poland cessation of relationship with Sweden and Switzerland, also to distort facts or indicate exaggerated figures in reports, which Czechoslovak and Polish delegation did not agree with). Despite disagreements and tensions in the North, however, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the DPRK were associated with the common goal and ideology, therefore, both delegations continued to act as loyal partners of the DPRK. More intense statements from the Czechoslovak side on the actual mutual relations with the DPRK come from the NNSC reports in the 1960s. Regarding North Korea’s strong relation with China, the CPVA started to be more involved in the Commission’s disputes. Czechoslovakia highlighted too strong North Korea’s political line unity with the Chinese political line.

The tension between the Czechoslovak delegation and the KPA was caused also due to forced isolation of the Czechoslovak team. This resulted in Czechoslovakia’s initially secret visit of Seoul in 21 September 1964. Since North Koreans feared that Czechoslovakia will change the object of interest and replace them with the Southern side what they regarded as a threat to their own authority, they made an effort to improve the relations with Czechoslovakia.

Based on our further research,² relatively friendly atmosphere persisted until 1967 when Czechoslovakia launched the criticism of the DPRK’s attitude and

1 Vavrincová 2014. The same research was also presented as an output of my unpublished master degree thesis written in Korean in 2012 entitled *Czechoslovakia-North Korean Relationship in the 1950s Seen through Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission Documents in Czech Republic* (Title in Korean: 50nyöndae chungnipguk kamdokwiwonhoerül t’onghae pön ch’ek’osüllobak’iawa pukhanüi kwangye yöngu 50년대 중립국 감독위원회를 통해 본 체코슬로바키아와 북한의 관계 연구. Seoul: Seoul National University).

2 See my doctoral thesis: Zuzana Vavrincová, *Československo-severokórejské vztahy v kontexte Dozorní*

behaviour again. North Korea didn't demonstrate positive approach to peaceful reunification of Korea and compared to the previous period, DPRK's anti South Korean propaganda gained even more intense dimensions. The DPRK proclaimed the state of full combat readiness, so as to break the American aggressors, highlighted the military industry, relying on the strength of independent national economy, which made different kinds of military hardware and equipment necessary for modern war. Czechoslovakia immediately responded with disagreement justifying that such statement can greatly complicate negotiations in the NNSC, in case that the KPA would protest against the import of new weapons to South Korea. In conclusion, Czechoslovakia said that the North Koreans probably cease to believe in the possibility of peaceful reunification and show that their ideas about the unification of the country are associated with an armed march to the South.³

1 *The Divergence of Opinions is Deepening*

As we have indicated above, in 1967 Czechoslovakia re-launched criticism of the DPRK. North Korea has not shown a positive approach to Korea's peaceful unification and compared to the previous period, the DPRK's anti-South Korean propaganda was even more intense. The CSSR delegation also stated that despite all its efforts, it had to evaluate the mutual relations as formal, cold and, as in the previous period, the Koreans have shown considerable disinterest in the whole Commission. Very limited receipt of information for the Czechoslovak delegation members by the North didn't also contribute to the cooperation of Czechoslovak and Korean side. The daily press and other materials were received by the Czechoslovak delegation through the Americans, what the North Korean side knew, but in spite of that the North Korean side didn't resolve the situation. At

komisie neutrálnych štátov v Kórei (1953–1979) [Czechoslovakia-North Korea relations in the context of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea (1953–1979)]. Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta UK.

3 VHA/ MNO 1967, sign. 31/7/7, k. 10, p.10-11.

the same time North Korean side made clear that it disagrees with the contact of Czechoslovakia with members of the UNC, even if the contact is very sporadic and had purely protocol character.

Vilém Toman, the head of the Czechoslovak NNSC team (from February 1967 to August 1970), also added, that relations with the CPV was also formal, limited only to the meetings during social events. The Chinese side did not take any initiative to establish closer cooperation, nor Czechoslovakia manifested interest in Chinese side. In this period, the Korean side continued the usual practice of organizing for example movie performances separated separately for the Chinese side and separately for the Czechoslovak and Polish side. Unfortunately, the purpose of this procedure, according to Toman, was not known to both member delegations.⁴

Another problem for the Czechoslovak (and Polish) delegation was the repeated isolation from any life in the DPRK, the possibility of movement in the country (except the mentioned trips organized by the KPA) was limited to occasional visits to the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Pyongyang, but even when traveling by car only under the control of a Korean driver. During this period, they were not even allowed to make contact with visits from their own countries coming to Panmunjom during their stay in the DPRK. Vilem Toman claimed that the reason was probably the Korean side's fear that delegations after the visit to Panmunjom could hear from the Czechoslovakia a different interpretation of the situation.⁵ Also, based on the number and nature of the incidents, Toman identified 1967 as the most difficult period in Korea since the Armistice Agreement was signed and indicated the danger of a new conflict. He considered that there were little prospects to improve the situation and that the danger of greater conflict remained acute.⁶ Given the turbulent upcoming year of 1968, a year that is often referred to as the period when the military conflict almost broke out on the Korean Peninsula, his prognosis was unfortunately successful.

4 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965-1969 Korea I, č.j. 041/67—DKNS, p. 7.

5 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965-1969 Korea I, č.j. 041/67—DKNS, p. 7.

6 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965-1969 Korea I, č.j. 041/67—DKNS, p. 10.

1.1 1968—Peak of tension

At the beginning of 1968, there were two conflicts on the Korean Peninsula, which caused the most serious crisis in Korea since the signing of the ceasefire in 1953. 19 January 1968 was the date of the first conflict or incident referring to the Blue House⁷ raid when the group of 31 North Korean commando soldiers planned to commit an assassination of the South Korean President Park Chung-hee and the other government officials. However, the case of the Blue House raid and the failed assassination attempt on President Pak Chung-hee was soon overshadowed by the incident of detention of the US warship Pueblo.

Relating to the Pueblo incident,⁸ the NNSC played the connecting channel in negotiations. North Korea did not show high interest in Czechoslovak or Polish NNSC team (most of time both delegations gained information from their southern NNSC partners) but used both of them as referees in communication with southern delegations. During the incident resolution, the head of Czechoslovak team, Vilém Toman, emphasized that in terms of the North Korea's plans towards South Korea, the NNSC is a burden to the DPRK, however, Czechoslovakia would continue to show a good will to cooperate.⁹ Despite the fact that the NNSC only acted as an referee during the Pueblo negotiations, the Commission was the one which made both (northern and southern) sides closer. The NNSC report of February 1968¹⁰ says that through the Commission, more active contacts were established between the two sides and after the exchange of "strong words" negotiations have been launched. At the same time, Toman pointed out that the NNSC is not entitled to engage in any way in the Pueblo matter (NNSC regarding its competences could not do more so it served at least as a "good service"), but nevertheless both sides have used the NNSC members to transmit certain information. The NNSC also lent rooms for secret meetings

7 Blue House (Ch'òngwadae 청와대)—the seat of the South Korean President.

8 US ship Pueblo with 83 men on board was detained by KPA forces on 23 January 1968; DPRK officials said that Pueblo was a spy ship engaged in hostile activity (gathering information on the deployment of troops and coast defense) in the coastal waters of the DPRK. The ship is still held by North Korea today.

9 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965–1969 Korea DKNS, kartaon 6, č.j. 02/68—DKNS, p. 4.

10 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965–1969 Korea DKNS 6, č.j. 05/68—DKNS, p. 4.

between Gen. Pak¹¹ and Smith¹² in Panmunjom, which were launched 2 February 1968. Despite the fact that Czech and Slovak delegations served as referees, both delegations had to take the initiative to ask for detailed information from the KPA. KPA provided them only very fragmentary and irrelevant announcements about the secret negotiations of Pak and Smith. As before, the information meetings in Kaesong, to which both delegations were invited from time to time, had according to the Czechoslovak group a character of “training”, which consistently repeated the claim that the Americans were preparing a new war in Korea.¹³ At the same time, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation stated very openly that the active behaviour of the Czechoslovak and Polish groups in cases of complaints by the KPA (related to the import of new weapons to South Korea) became more difficult. Toman clearly noted:

The reality is now that, contrary to the Armistice Agreement, there is ardent armament in both the South and the North. Modernization of KPA is not a secret, the local sources themselves speak very often and in detail about it and even images of a series of weapons are published which are officially claimed not to be in the North. In such circumstances, it is not a pleasant activity for the delegation, when it is supposed to be blind to these facts at a meeting of the NNSC and to pretend that no new equipment from abroad was imported into the DPRK after 1953. This does not, of course, contribute to the delegation’s dignity, notwithstanding the fact that our involvement in these issues cannot bring any positive result [...].¹⁴

Since mid-April there was a maximum restriction of Czechoslovak and Polish delegations’ freedom of movement around the camp. For walks by members of both delegations, only the section of the road from the entrance to the zone from Kaesong to the Panmunjom Bridge was defined. Restrictions on movement were justified by the actions of the Americans, which allegedly caused a deterioration of the situation in the vicinity of Panmunjom, for which it is not possible to ensure the security of delegations outside the section of the defined road. According to the Czechoslovak delegation, however, this explanation lacked any justification,

11 Park Choong-guk—Senior member of the KPA / CPVA from 2 September 1964 to 18 February 1969.

12 John V. Smith served in UNC from 27 October 1967 to 9 April 1968.

13 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965–1969 Korea DKNS 6, č.j. 05/68—DKNS, p. 5.

14 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965–1969 Korea DKNS 6, č.j. 05/68—DKNS, p. 9.

because even on the previous route was under the supervision of military guards of KPA. The real reason, according to the Czechoslovak group, was the launch of building various military equipment, including the installation of weapons that the Czechoslovak and Polish group should not see.¹⁵

In addition to the restricted movement of Czechoslovak and Polish team, there was a further restriction of their contact with the Swiss and Swedish delegations. Contact with KPA was also limited to social gatherings and movie nights where North Korean side showed movie on Pueblo repeating the scene where Americans confessed to espionage and the scenes related to the friendly conditions in which US crew lived. According to the Czechoslovak delegation, the excessive thoroughness with which some parts of the movie were made, especially the constant confession of the crew didn't look very credible.¹⁶

The Czech archival documents state that in the end of August there were several articles in North Korean newspapers *Rodong Sinmun* and *Pyongyang Times* directed against the politics of Czechoslovakia before the entry of Soviet troops to Czechoslovakia. We couldn't find more detailed information related to these articles, the report of the NNSC from the third quarter of 1968 only briefly states that despite this criticism, KPA's approach to the Czechoslovak delegation was, to say, correct and there was no discussion related to the situation in Czechoslovakia.¹⁷

15 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965–1969 Korea 1, č.j. 013/68—DKNS, p. 1.

16 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965–1969 Korea 1, č.j. 011/68—DKNS, p. 7.

17 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965–1969 Korea 1, č.j. 020/68—DKNS, p. 6). Park; Koh and Kwak briefly portray the attitude of the DPRK to the "Prague Spring". In terms of Juche ideology, Soviets' attack on Czechoslovakia was a gross breach of sovereignty, nevertheless the DPRK assessed this attempt for normalization led by Alexander Dubček just as exaggerated, radical movement. North Koreans disagreed with the Czechoslovak reform policy, abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle, what was in their opinion the cause of the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary Marxism and revisionism. The reason of such DPRK's approach to Czechoslovakia was the North's military dependency on the Soviet Union which ruled out the open criticism of the mentioned breached sovereignty of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union. See Park, et al. 1987, 221.

Year 1969 continued in the spirit of different attitudes to communication within the Commission. KPA was writing protest letters against the southern side (related to the violation of the Armistice agreement and import of new weapons to South Korea) filled with undesirable, expressive expressions. Czechoslovak team kept saying that this would make the discussions very complicated. Since these expressions appeared more often, Czechoslovakia expressed the opinion that North Korea probably desires to liquidate the Commission.¹⁸

Communication between Czechoslovak and North Korean side was still superficial. The information on negotiations made from August to November 1969 was provided to Czechoslovak team in December, not earlier. However, information was limited to phrases about the growing danger of war¹⁹, frequent visits by US military officials and politicians to South Korea, and their preparation for a new war in Korea.

The head of the Czechoslovak delegation in connection with the danger of new war in Korea repeatedly mentioned by North Korean side stressed that the delegations still do not know where is the bomb proof or atomic bomb shelter. To the objection that the commander is required not only to know where the shelter is located but also to practice a quick entry into the shelter, the Gen. Rhee replied that there will be enough time for this if necessary. However, when the head of the Czechoslovak delegation pointed to the words of the General, i.e. that the war can break out at any time, Gen. Rhee replied as follows: "When the war outbreaks, we will know about it in time, then neither the MAC nor the NNSC will be needed anymore. And we will move you away in time."²⁰

18 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965-1969 Korea 1, č.j. 07/69—DKNS, p. 4.

19 The NNSC report in the fourth quarter of 1969 (p. 11) says that the CPVA was informed about the situation in MAC and DMZ in a different way than the Czechoslovak and Polish delegation. It resulted from an interview between Miao and the members of the Czechoslovak delegation who outlined this period as the most comfortable of the year in terms of the number and quality of incidents, as Miao confirmed. Based on this, the Czechoslovak delegation concluded that, unlike its members, who are constantly alerted by the KPA to the outbreak of the new war, the CPVA receives other information from KPA.

20 DKNS ve IV. čtvrtletí 1969 [The NNSC in the 4th quarter of 1969], AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/6) 1965-1969 Korea 1, č.j. 035/69—DKNS, p. 8.

2 *Czechoslovakia and DPRK in the 1970s of the 20th century*

In comparison with the last years, the first quarter of the 1970 may be described as the one of the calmest periods in the DMZ. The real reason was unfavorable weather conditions that prevented the infiltration of both sides, but also the delegations' attention to matters out of the NNSC.²¹

Czechoslovak delegation characterized relationship with the North Korean side in this period as more useful to the KPA. A report capturing the events of the early 1970s²² claims, that the contact of the Czechoslovak delegation with KPA was slightly more frequent than in the previous period, however, it was a one-sided transmission of information about the UNC side by the head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the senior general Rhee. The relations of Czechoslovak delegation and the CPVA within the Commission also suffered from lack of information. CPVA in the first quarter of the 1970 expressed its effort to normalize relations with the Czechoslovak delegation, the relationship could be described as correct, however, during the meetings, the CPVA did not comment on the situation on the Korean Peninsula and attempted to conduct only general interviews.²³ The Czechoslovak delegation also didn't know the real state of personnel of the CPVA delegation, which was neither informed by the KPA nor the Chinese party itself. Czechoslovakia had the only one information that until October 1969 there were only six people in the CPVA delegation, later it relied only on estimates to identify other new CPVA members.²⁴

The provision of information from the KPA to the Czechoslovakia was reviewed by Czechoslovak delegation as remaining insufficient, not based on the actual situation, and pursuing purely promotional goals. Czechoslovak delegation took the view that these facts don't allow both northern delegations to advance in negotiations with the southern delegations in the interests of the KPA side itself.²⁵ Czechoslovak team regularly provided information related to the views of UNC

21 MZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 08/70—DKNS, p. 4

22 MZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 08/70—DKNS, p. 4.

23 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 023/70—DKNS, p. 7.

24 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 08/70—DKNS, p. 7.

25 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 08/70—DKNS, p. 7.

on the presence of US troops in South Korea at that time and in the future, information on the possible reaction of the UNC and the South Korean Army to possible DPRK actions in the DMZ, on the preliminary intentions of the UNC during the meetings of the senior members and secretaries of the MAC, the delegation also provided KPA with photocopies of the latest US military maps from across the DMZ. Despite KPA's expressed gratitude, there was no mutual exchanging of information and according to Czechoslovak delegation, the KPA did not take any measures to improve the information of the delegation members. Thus, Czechoslovak team members portrayed the relations in the beginning of the year 1970 as improved social relations, however, they stressed again that nothing has changed with regard to the level of informedness of delegation members and that KPA remains reserved.²⁶ The information coming from KPA did not go beyond the content of General Rhee's speeches at MAC meetings, which Czechoslovak and Poland delegation had already recorded (according to them, more detailed and more objective) on the tape.²⁷

The one-sided but still loyal relationship between the CSSR and the DPRK within the Commission was also reflected in the serious disputes concerning the deployment of nuclear weapons in the territory of the Korean Peninsula. The reason of negotiations was the letter of General Rhee dated 1 April 1970 claiming that UNC illegally imported various types of nuclear weapons and their carriers into the South Korean Peninsula and placed them near the DMZ. During unofficial meeting with the southern delegations, the Czechoslovak and Polish groups convinced the southern partners of the need for a joint condemnation of the UNC behaviour and the need for the Commission's express of its concern about the establishment of a nuclear base in South Korea. The official negotiation started on 7 April 1970 at 1011st NNSC meeting, which was held under the chairmanship of the head of Czechoslovak delegation. The head of Czechoslovak delegation pointed out that his delegation had already strongly criticized in 1955,

26 Czechoslovak delegation informed in detail (as before) also the USSR embassy in DPRK. In addition to providing information, the Czechoslovak delegation provided the South Korean press and other available materials from the South for the USSR embassy, also as in case of the KPA, Czechoslovak team provided to Soviet side copies of military maps from the entire DMZ area (see DKNS v 1. čtvrtletí 1970 [NNSC in the 1st quarter of 1970], p. 8).

27 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970-1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 014/70—DKNS, p. 7.

1957 and 1958 the location of nuclear weapons and their carriers in South Korea as the beginning of the creation of a nuclear base in the South. He claimed that at that time the Southern delegations had denied the existence of these weapons, but further development confirmed by the US Senate showed that these warnings were justified. Head of the Swiss delegation Gen. van Muyden argued, however, that the content of the letter provided very little factual information and that, in this case, it was mostly conjecture. After the suspension of the session, during the unofficial exchange of views, the head of Czechoslovak delegation emphasized that the southern side was trying to deny what neither the US Senate dared deny nor what the older UNC member, Gen. Skeldon denied and which during the MAC meeting only responded that UNC is forced to strengthen the defence capabilities of South Korea, because the DPRK is constantly strengthening its military modern technology too. However, after more efforts of the head of Czechoslovak delegation, the sending of a joint letter signed by all four NNSC delegations was enforced, in which for the first time since 1956, the classification of the negotiations was expressed, that is the NNSC discussed the letter with concern, which from the Czechoslovak delegation's point of view was the maximum that could be achieved.²⁸

In the third quarter of 1970, there were several personnel changes throughout the Commission, which Czechoslovak delegation positively evaluated. A senior member of the UNC and KPA was replaced. However, there was a change in the Czechoslovak delegation as well, Vilém Toman was replaced by a new head of team, Zdenko Páv.²⁹ General Han Yong-ok³⁰ took the place of the former senior member of the KPA/CPV Gen. Rhee, whose members of the Czechoslovak delegation considered more proactive in terms of MAC negotiations and cooperation with Czechoslovak team. At the same time, they rated the relations as not only official but also friendly. More intensive contact of Gen. Han with the Czechoslovak delegation was followed by a high appraisal of the delegation's

28 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 023/70—DKNS, p. 1–2.

29 Zdenko Páv (born 1921)—head of the Czechoslovak delegation from 18 August 1970 to 2 May 1972 (after Toman, until 14 August, colonel Rudolf Malík was in the position of deputy head).

30 Han Yong-ok (birth and death unknown)—KPA/CPVA senior member from July 1970 to November 1972.

activities by Kim Il-sung, who ordered an excursion of the leaders of the Czechoslovak and Polish delegations to Pyongyang and the DPRK.³¹

The Czechoslovak delegation also saw a positive in the arrival of the new senior member of UNC, major General Felix M. Rogers³² whom they portrayed as an supercilious but appreciated him as an intelligent, bright general with good overview of international policy issues.³³ Despite different views on the situation on the Korean Peninsula and the issue of reducing US troops in South Korea, Czechoslovak delegation appreciated Rogers's activity, in particular in terms of his efforts to improve relations between all NNSC delegations. Based on more relaxed atmosphere in the Commission, North and South delegations contacted each other more frequently. Czechoslovak delegation members considered more frequent contact with Southern side of delegation a benefit in terms of obtaining various press materials and reports on South Korea and UNC, which they obtained not just for themselves but also for the Embassy of the Soviet Union.³⁴ During the joint meetings, the heads of the southern delegations assured the Czechoslovak and Polish side that the attack by the South and the UNC against the DPRK is at present or in the near future out of the question. The southern side justified this by the fact that the South Korean army has obsolete weapons and the modernization of the South Korean army is to take place in the next five years, not earlier. The Southern delegations also emphasized that the US try to avoid another conflict in Asia and in the sense of Nixon's doctrine they try to withdraw their military units from Asia and to replace them with national units while simultaneously arming them with modern combat technology. Conversely, however, they expressed concerns about a possible conflict by the DPRK, in particular after a visit by the Chief of General Staff and the commanders of the DPRK troops in the PRC and about that the DPRK would to pursue China's policy as one of the articles of the Asian front against the US.³⁵

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the DPRK, Kwon Chi-kyong, in contrast to Rogers's point of view, stressed during the meeting with Páv that the

31 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970-1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 023/70—DKNS, p. 7.

32 Felix Michael Rogers (1921-2014)—senior member of the UNC from 3 August 1970 to 23 July 1971.

33 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970-1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 023/70—DKNS, p. 5.

34 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970-1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 019/70—DKNS, p. 2.

35 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970-1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 019/70—DKNS, p. 5.

reason of the tension on the Korean Peninsula is the provocation of the UNC and its dispatching military spies to the DPRK, the daily shooting of Americans in the DMZ towards the northern part and the continued import of modern weapons into South Korea. Kwon claimed that only in 1970 there were 5600 provocations in DMZ by UNC³⁶ and the deputy minister of the DPRK National Defense Kim Dae-chong³⁷ said that over the period since the signing of the ceasefire to the present, the US has violated more than 87,000 times the provisions of the Ceasefire agreement, and only during 1970 the KPA / CPV counted around 5600 such cases.³⁸ Both on behalf of Kim Il-sung and the entire government of the DPRK highly rated the work of the Czechoslovak delegation. General Han at a joint meeting with Páv stressed that cooperation of Czechoslovak delegation and the KPA/CPV should be more intensive than before, and both delegation leaders need to coordinate their combat activities (that is Han's activities in the MAC and Páv's activities in the NNSC). At the same time, he expressed his belief that while general Páv's stay, there will be a peaceful unification of Korea and he added that the primary task for the Korean people was to expel American imperialist aggressors from the southern part of the Korean Peninsula.³⁹

Despite some improvement in communication within the Commission, given the overall mutual communication of Czechoslovakia with the KPA, but also the relations of delegations in the NNSC, the Czechoslovak delegation expressed scepticism over resolving the Korean issue peacefully. Kim Il-sung claimed that in order to realize the unification, in addition to withdrawing US troops from the South, it is also necessary to liquidate the colonial regime, overthrow the military-fascist dictatorship and win the revolution. He added that only when genuine people's government would be established in South Korea, the unification of the country without hindrance will be achieved through the seizure of the power of the socialist forces of the northern part of the Republic and the patriotic

36 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 023/70—DKNS, annex no. 1, p.1.

37 Name unclear, could not be found even in Korean sources, we present the most likely version of the transcription (the document contains only an incorrect transcription of the Korean name—Te Chong).

38 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 023/70—DKNS, annex 2, p.1.

39 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 023/70—DKNS, annex 2.

democratic forces of South Korea. Czechoslovakia was also not very fond of North Korea's focus on military industry. North invested 25 percent of national income in arms and politically inclined more and more to China.⁴⁰ However, despite the occasional differences of opinions or overall view of the situation in the DMZ, Czechoslovakia continued defending the interests of North Korea during Commission meetings and referred to paragraph 13(d)⁴¹ during negotiations.⁴² Czechoslovakia also promoted its own political line and the Communist party politics during the social gatherings with the KPA. The Czechoslovak team also propagated its' alliance with the Soviet Union.⁴³

Relatively calmer period in Panmunjom came with the "July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué" from 1972. The NNSC provided rooms for preliminary but also main Red Cross talks organized during the passing of Red Cross delegated from South to North and vice versa.⁴⁴ In the context of the Joint Declaration, there were often unofficial discussions between heads and members of delegations on further missions and options for other activities for the Commission. The range of views was considerably broad, ranging from the unnecessary further existence of the NNSC to the Commission's mandate to supervise the liquidation of all military measures carried out by both parties in the DMZ in previous years. Over time, the views of all delegations have stabilized that the NNSC continues to have its place in the area of supervision of the ceasefire on the Korean Peninsula.⁴⁵

Despite the calm atmosphere KPA continued to emphasize that the reason of tension on Korean Peninsula is the US army stationed in South and also the anti-human regime of South Korean President. North came with plan to invite

40 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970-1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 036/70—DKNS, p. 5.

41 Par. 13(d) prohibits "[...]the introduction into Korea of reinforcing combat aircraft, armored vehicles, weapons, and ammunition; provided however, that combat aircraft, armored vehicles, weapons, and ammunition which are destroyed, damaged, worn out, or used up during the period of the armistice may be replaced on the basis piece-for-piece of the same effectiveness and the same type [...]."

42 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970-1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 013/71—DKNS, p. 1-9.

43 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970-1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 011/72—DKNS, p. 3.

44 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970-1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 039/72—DKNS, p. 5.

45 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970-1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 039/72—DKNS, p. 2.

South Koreans to the DPRK to persuade them to change South's policy but after Czechoslovak team asked how they practically imagine it, the North Korean side did not come with more detailed, exact vision. Another problem was that the meetings were not meant to be reciprocal, thus, the plan failed. North also claimed that in case that South Korean President would not cooperate, unification must be realized by military force.⁴⁶ Czechoslovak delegation preferred more diplomatic approach and said it is in contrary to the July 4th Joint Communiqué. According to Czechoslovakia and Poland the DPRK didn't connect its' interests with interests of whole Socialist bloc and considers its' interests as higher or even the priority in the entire Socialist Bloc.⁴⁷ Czechoslovakia also complained about limited communication via phone, in many cases North didn't respond to phone calls. Czechoslovak team members also pointed out the lack of its' contact with the UN committee.⁴⁸ The different approach to neutrality between Czechoslovakia and North Korean side continued too. General Park Yong-gu⁴⁹ in an interview with Lieutenant Zdeněk Pagáč said that the Czechoslovak and Polish delegations are neutral, but it is only neutrality on the surface and in fact, everyone is in the same positions, so it is their common duty to fight against imperialism.⁵⁰ The different views on unification of the Korean Peninsula continued too. General Kim Bung-söp⁵¹ during the interview on 11 December 1973 with the head of Czechoslovak delegation, Miroslav Šmoldas, said as follows:

We must see the difference between diplomacy and reality. Of course we are diplomatically and externally presenting this version. However, as soldiers, we must look at the problems differently. We must believe in our own strength and count with

46 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 08/73—DKNS—T.

47 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 069/73—DKNS—T, p. 3.

48 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 069/73—DKNS—T, annex 1, p.1.

49 It is unclear whether the name is correctly spelled (it may be another name), even if the transcript itself is correct (could not find information about General Park in other domestic, Korean or other foreign sources).

50 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 017/74—DKNS—T, p. 1.

51 Kim Bung-söp (birth and death unknown)—KPA/CPVA Senior member from November 1972 to December 1975. In Czech reports, his name is transcribed as Kim Poong Sup.

the fact that in case of major resistance actions against Park, we will contribute in a military manner and we will carry out the coup d'état in South Korea and the unification of both parts of the country by the forces of the DPRK army.⁵²

Šmoldas pointed out that Kim did not come for the first time with the statement that North Korea would use the armed forces in due time, but he had never spoke as openly as in the present case. Relating to the significant changes in the Commission competences but also to the way of communication and cooperation among the delegations, Czechoslovakia came with new guideline proposal (since the previous one was from 1964) including two important articles.⁵³ Czechoslovak team also continued criticizing superficial arguments of North on nuclear weapons in South and emphasized that it is important to come with arguments confirming that the South really possess nuclear weapons.⁵⁴

2.1 Czechoslovakia and KPA in 1975–1979: DPRK and Non-Alignment Movement

In the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, we discovered the Czechoslovak NNSC delegation reports dealing with the practice of the DPRK and the WPK policy diverting from the Socialist bloc countries and intensive efforts to develop the ideology of the “juche” at home and abroad. Czechoslovakia portrays 1975 in the DPRK as a period of deepening of the “whipped” cult of Kim Il-sung referred as the “the direct successor of Lenin’s work”.⁵⁵

52 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 019/74—DKNS—T, p. 2.

53 article no. 2—Czechoslovak delegation respects the interests and statements of KPA/CPV but in order to progress correctly the decisive criterion is the interest of Czechoslovakia and socialist community.

article no. 3—the delegation is governed solely by the instructions of the Czechoslovak Government and is not subordinate to the DPRK authorities (see Směrnice pro činnost čs. delegace v Dozorčí komisi neutrálních států v Koreji / Směrnice ze dne 20. června 1974 [Guidelines for the activities of the Czechoslovak delegation to the NNSC / Guideline of 20 June 1974]), AMZV ČR, TO-T (V/4) 1955–1964 KOREA, č.j. 025.636/54–7.

54 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/7) 1970–1974 KOREA Panmundžom, č.j. 0157/74—DKNS—,T⁶, p. 1.

55 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/10) 1975–1979 KLDL II., č.j. 018.367/75-3, p. 3.

In August 1975 North Korea joins Non-Alingment Movement⁵⁶ and its' policy becomes a priority policy since 1977. Socialist states, including the USSR, were not mentioned in the context of the anti-imperialist struggle in the DPRK and were not included among the revolutionary forces of the world. The diversion from the socialist community countries can be seen in the slogans that the DPRK applied to its policy at that time. Two defined slogans stood opposite each other— “We develop friendship and cooperation with socialist countries” and “In the fundamental problems of our era we stand on a common platform with the people of the Third World”. According to Czechoslovakia, the relationship of the DPRK with the Soviet Union, which was its main trading partner, was the coldest in the past ten years.⁵⁷ Kim Il-sung kept postponing repeated invitations to the USSR,

56 An international organization involving member states not involved in power blocs. The movement originated in 1961 as a reaction of selected countries (Yugoslavia, India, Egypt, Cuba and selected Asian and African states) to the polarization of the world during the Cold War. Representatives of this movement decided to build their own block. Since 1977, the policy of this movement has become a priority policy of the DPRK, thus taking first place before working with the socialist countries. /DPRK's policy towards non-participants became active in 1977-1978 after the visit of Yugoslavia President Josip Broz Tito to the DPRK when it made efforts to ideologically influence the movement and to gain leadership at the expense of Vietnam and Cuba. This has also resulted in the efforts of the DPRK to influence developments in Indochina and to thwart the holding of the Sixth Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana (3-9 September 1979). Since summer 1979, DPRK's interest has turned to imposing global requirements (disarmament, dissolution of blocks, atom-free zones, new economic order) on behalf of non-participating countries in order to reduce the importance of the success of USSR peace policy and socialist countries in the class conflict between “forces of progress and imperialism”. Despite this, however, Kim Il-sung tried to keep relations with the USSR and other countries of real socialism in a friendly position. See also: Triwibowo 2015.

57 However, the DPRK argued that it considered the relationship with the USSR to be very valuable and that the reports of their cold relations did not correspond to reality. DPRK justified close relations with China by fighting together against a common enemy in Asia. At the same time, DPRK stressed that the socialist countries had a total of 1.2 billion people and if they had no good relations with 800 million China, they could not claim to have good relations with the socialist countries, but that doesn't mean that they support any Chinese policy. DPRK

on the contrary, relations between the DPRK and China experienced constant support and development, which was reflected by the DPRK in its support of the “Cultural Revolution” in China.⁵⁸ North Korea showed greater interest in Soviet Union after it didn’t succeed at Colombo Conference in Sri Lanka in 1976⁵⁹ and started to strive for direct contacts with the USA. Czechoslovakia pointed out that from this period Kim Il-sung stopped using expressions “Marxism-Leninism” or “proletarian internationalism”, which apparently was linked to further defining the concept of independence of the DPRK and the sign that it is no longer possible to bind oneself to learning and principles from abroad.⁶⁰

Czechoslovakia also pointed out North Korea’s focus on China and compared the amount of articles focused on Soviet Union. Czechoslovak delegation concluded that North Korean reader has no chance to know detailed info on Soviet Union society.⁶¹ The inclination of North Korea to China was probably the reason of suddenly closer relationship to the US and Japan. That time China was becoming closer with the US and Japan, thus North Korea followed China’s path. China maintained its’ closer relationship with North Korea also because it desired to prevent the influence of Soviet Union and other socialist bloc countries on North Korea.⁶²

representatives emphasized that there are many internal political problems that they doesn’t understand, but they don’t want to interfere in the PRC’s internal affairs and they are against instigating contradictions between socialist countries and in the international communist movement (see Aide memoire, Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych RP [Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland]. KOREA IV., 1976 9 Azja i Pacyfik 1976–1989), 11/79, KOR. 2413, AB.10, p. 2).

58 AMZV R, TO-T (IV/10) 1975–1979 KLDŘ II., .j. 018.367/75-3., p. 5.

59 5th Summit of Heads of State or Government in the Non-Aligned Movement (Colombo, Sri Lanka, 16–19 August 1976), See more: “5th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement: Colombo, Sri Lanka, 16–19 August 1976.” Accessed July 1, 2020. http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/5th_Summit_FD_Sri_Lanka_Declaration_1976_Whole.pdf.

60 AMZV R, TO-T (IV/10) 1975–1979 KLDŘ I., .j. 01123/77, p. 2.

61 AMZV R, TO-T (IV/10) 1975–1979 KLDŘ I., .j. 01102/77, p. 2.

62 AMZV R, TO-T (IV/10) 1975–1979 KLDŘ I., .j. 011472/79, p. 7–8.

Relating to diversion of North Korea from the states of Socialist bloc, Czechoslovakia paid attention to the coordination of mutual relations and analyzed problematic factors of DPRK's policy. These factors from Czechoslovakia's point of view were following: strong influence of Maoism, Korean nationalism, moving away from Marxism-Leninism and increasing trend of non-alignment. Czechoslovakia decided the methods which would help to influence the policy of DPRK, for example sending outstanding athletes to DPRK, ministerial visits in DPRK and inviting North Korean delegations to Czechoslovakia. But along with friendly approach method CSSR chose also more strict methods as well, for example postponement of the reciprocal visit by a military delegation led by the minister of DPRK Armed Forces. The reason was the reprint of an anti-Soviet article in Rodong Sinmun, originally published in an unnamed Chinese periodical.⁶³

Czechoslovak NNSC team had also difficulties to work efficiently, the information they received from North was usually very superficial or none. As a part of strategy, Czechoslovakia also decided not to establish relationship with political regime in South Korea and not receive South Korean visits, only in exceptional cases, for example non-government organizations.⁶⁴ During this period, Czechoslovak NNSC team had also serious problems with personnel establishment. In summer 1976 there wasn't dispatched any new head of Czechoslovak team nor the chief of the secretariat, only one diplomat remained in the delegation. This kind of difficulties remained until 1979. The last documents we focused on were related to the evaluation of Czechoslovakia's effort to influence DPRK's policy. Report from March⁶⁵ says that Czechoslovakia wasn't successful, however, the report from September 1979 says the opposite and gives examples of this success. According to Czechoslovakia, thank to their influence, together with partner countries, the DPRK has refrained from organizing a Third World Youth Congress which could seriously jeopardize the unity of the World Movement for Advanced Youth, furthermore, the DPRK was forced to abandon

63 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/10) 1975-1979 KLDL I., č.j. 011.472/79-3/II. ref., p. 10.

64 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/10) 1975-1979 KLDL II., č.j. 017 546/75-3, p. 2.

65 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/10) 1975-1979 KLDL I., č.j. 011.472/79-3/II. ref., p. 14.

its original efforts to thwart the non-participating countries' summit in Havana,⁶⁶ in summer of 1976, peace was maintained on the Korean Peninsula⁶⁷ etc. The Czechoslovak party said it continued to support the efforts of the DPRK government to ease tensions on the Korean Peninsula, but used the phrase “constructive efforts”.⁶⁸

66 See footnote no. 53.

67 Incident called “Korean Ax Murder Incident” dated 18 August 1976—murder of two US Army officers (Arthur Bonifas and Mark Barrett) during cropping of poplar in DMZ area, which prevented UN viewers from seeing. The senior member, Park Cheol (known for his confrontations in the past) demanded to stop trimming the tree, stating that the tree was planted by Kim Il-sung himself, who personally oversaw its growth. However, Captain Bonifas ignored Pak Cheol and continued to work with others which resulted in the attack of North Koreans on both officers (at the command of Park Cheol). The assailants murdered with axes that were laid down by members of the southern side. The incident led to the so-called. “Operation Paul Bunyan”, when a tree was cut and a military operation to warn or intimidate an opponent by demonstrating the ability or willingness to act in case of provocation (See more: Friedman, Uri. 2018. “The God Damn Tree That Nearly Brought America and North Korea to War.” *The Atlantic*, Jun 10, 2020. <http://https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/06/axe-murder-north-korea-1976/562028/> and Gabriel Jonsson, p. 293-312). Unfortunately, we did not find any detailed information about the incident in the available documents of the Czechoslovak NNSC delegation. The incident is mentioned only in the available document *First information on the implementation of the conclusions of the College of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of 25 November 1975 on the procedure in relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea* (AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/10) 1975-1979 KLDL I., č.j. 017 879/76-3), as follows: “In August 1976 at the request of the DPRK, 28 Korean interns and aspirants were admitted in Czechoslovak Socialist Republic outside the medical cooperation plan. Referring to the situation in Korea after the incident of 18 August 1976, DPRK postponed he admission of our experts from the Ministry of Education and Health to a later time”.

68 AMZV ČR, TO-T (IV/10) 1975-1979 KLDL I., č.j. 016.741/79-3, p. 8.

3 *Conclusion: Outputs of Research Questions*

Based on the information appearing in archival materials, the relationship between the CSSR and the DPRK within the NNSC can be assessed as a formal and strategic. Czechoslovakia joined the Commission as a “friend” of the DPRK with the combat task of stopping imperialism, on the other hand, already in the late fifties, we discover in Czechoslovak documents of the Czechoslovak NNSC delegation the conflict of views between two parties or criticism of KPA’s activities, which practically continued in the next two decades. The reasons for the critical view of Czechoslovak delegation to KPA were different views on the functioning of the Commission, different approach to the unification of the Korean Peninsula or the DPRK’s departure from the countries of the socialist community in a period of more intensive application of the “juche” ideology to its political system. According to Czechoslovakia, North Korea didn’t show a positive approach to Korea’s peaceful unification. In the reports of Czechoslovak delegation, we find frequent comments that the DPRK has declared a state of full combat readiness against the United States, which caused DPRK’s massive focus on the military industry. The Czechoslovak delegation did not share a common opinion with KPA on the so-called liberation of South Korea, if necessary in military form and unlike KPA, Czechoslovakia preferred solving problems in a more diplomatic and peaceful way. The Czechoslovak group expressed the opinion that in contrast to its good will to cooperate and a positive approach to the existence of the Commission, the NNSC was a burden for the North Korean side. The documents of the Czechoslovak delegation evaluating the relationship with the DPRK claim that for the KPA it was only a strategy for ensuring the security of cooperation and support from the Czechoslovak as well as the Polish delegation and their loyalty in sending protest letters and negotiating during the NNSC meetings in North Korea’s favour. At the end of the 1960s, the Czechoslovak delegation began to point more strongly to the import of military equipment into the DPRK, which confirms to us that unauthorized armaments were carried out by both sides, i.e. by the southern but also by the northern side. Relations between the CSSR and KPA within the Commission in the 1970s were assessed by the Czechoslovak side itself as one-sided and beneficial only for the KPA. Czechoslovak team regularly informed North Korean side on situation in

South Korea, provided South Korean daily press or held North Korea's views at the joint meetings of the NNSC, however, they did not receive the same support from the North Korean side.

Relating to the mentioned one-sided relationship or benefit between the Czechoslovak team and the KPA in the NNSC, our first question—To what extent had KPA impact on activities and decisions of the Czechoslovak delegation and vice versa (To what extent had Czechoslovakia impact on activities and decisions of the KPA within the NNSC? can be answered as follows: Although the Czechoslovak delegation claimed to support the fight against imperialism as long as it was conducted by the KPA in accordance with the interests of the socialist camp, reality often ended with enforcing the KPA's needs with an absence of deeper discussion with the CSSR and breaking down the image of neutrality of the Czechoslovak delegation within the Commission.

The Czechoslovak group often claimed that it was forced to act against its convictions, thus helping, for example, to cover the DPRK's plans in relation to South Korea. A significant influence of KPA on the activities of the CSSR can also be seen in the communication and approach of the Czechoslovak delegation to the southern partners of the Commission. The UNC party very often offered Czechoslovak delegation a visit to South Korea but the Czechoslovak party preferred to reject this proposal due to the North Korean party's negative opinion. The only exception was the trip of the Czechoslovak delegation to Seoul in 1964, about which the CSSR did not inform the DPRK in advance on the grounds that the KPA ignores the need for mutual discussion. The accompanying feature of such KPA's approach was the repeated isolation of Czechoslovak members of the Commission in the form of limited movement and communication with southern partners only in the case of permission from the KPA. Members of the Czechoslovak delegation also made efforts to regulate the activities or guide the views of the KPA, for example during discussions concerning the form of protest letters dealing with violations of the Armistice Agreement by the UNC, they also draw the attention of the KPA party that the use of expressive, offensive expressions or word signs in letters is not the best method of cooperation, indicated several times their opposition to this practice, but on the other hand, in the context of maintaining loyalty, they defended the North Korean side during the negotiations. Another example of the minor influence of the CSSR on the overall activities or decisions of the KPA within the Commission is the fact that

despite knowledge about the import of weapons to the DPRK, Czechoslovakia argued during the NNSC meetings that the armaments problem concerns only the southern side of the Commission. Czechoslovakia's loyalty to the KPA was also reflected in the joint accusation of South Korea and the UNC of violating paragraph 13(d) of the Armistice Agreement. This issue relates to our second research question—Which questions / issues or problems related to the Commission's activities and the situation on the Korean Peninsula were the most frequent for both sides (Czechoslovakia and DPRK)? The answer is as follows:

Violation of the Armistice Agreement by the UNC was one of the most frequent topics by the CSSR and the DPRK during joint NNSC meetings. Another very frequent topic coming from the KPA and the Czechoslovak side was the departure of American troops from the southern side of the Peninsula. Czechoslovakia shared its views with the DPRK regarding the consideration of US troops in the South as a problematic element, but after a significant intensification of the DPRK's propaganda including the training of Czechoslovak delegation concerning the preparation of Americans for a new war in Korea, the Czechoslovak side held different view. The Czechoslovak side in the 1960s and 1970s tended more and more towards a diplomatic settlement of conflicts, on the contrary, the KPA party (despite calmer periods) emphasized that in the event of larger resistance actions, the use of military forces was needed on the spot. Other differences between Czechoslovak side and the KPA can be observed in the promotion of their political lines also within the activities of the NNSC.

This leads us to the answer to the last question—Did the promoting of the different political lines (Soviet line vs. Beijing line) disrupt the cooperation process of the Czechoslovak team with the KPA within the NNSC? Czechoslovak delegation criticized the DPRK's reluctance to strengthen alliance and close cooperation with Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist camp and their armies and isolation due to focus exclusively on China. Czechoslovakia pointed to the unity of the Chinese political line with the North Korean line and compared the almost identical strong influence of China on North Korean policy with the influence of the domestic policy, i.e. the DPRK policy. Thus, a lower level of positive neutrality occurred not only within the communication of the northern and southern sides but also within the northern group itself. Despite this fact, however, it cannot be claimed that the cooperation between the Czechoslovak

delegation and the KPA within the NNSC was significantly disrupted due to the promotion of their own political lines. A similar example can be given at the DPRK's entry into the "Non-Aligned Movement" in 1975. The Czechoslovak side made efforts to strengthen the influence of socialist countries in order to maintain the political, economic and social development of the DPRK within the socialist community, but on the other hand it should be noted that the USSR was the DPRK's largest trading partner at that time. For this reason, too, the DPRK sought to maintain relations with the USSR and other so-called real socialism countries in a friendly position and to preserve the original forms of relations in case of personal need. According to the CSSR, despite maintaining correct relations with the USSR, the DPRK's differing views on the political issues promoted by the USSR and the representatives of the socialist parties (e.g. alleviation of international tension, resolution of contentious issues by peaceful means, reduction of armaments, disarmament and mutual coexistence) prevented a more positive change in the DPRK's relations with the countries of the socialist community. As we have indicated above, on the other hand, the CSSR and the DPRK still shared a common vision (albeit in a slightly different sense) of the fight against imperialism, and both sides considered each other as a supportive means to achieve their authority in negotiations with the southern side of the NNSC. This concludes our endless research. As we emphasized before, it would also be beneficial to compare the research outputs of archival documents located in individual archives, helping us in a more comprehensive analysis of relations between the CSSR and the DPRK. It is also impossible to omit the still unexplored issue of relations between the KPA-CPVA and the CSSR (in terms of the influence of the CPVA on the activities and decisions of the KPA but also on the CSSR). We discovered many reports related to the relationship between the KPA and the CPVA, on the other hand, we learned little about the specific activities of the CPVA within the NNSC. We also still have open possibilities within the analysis of activities and mutual relations of all member countries involved in the activities of the NNSC.

Abbreviations

AMZV ČR Archiv Ministerstva zahraničních věcí České republiky
[Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic]

CPVA	Chinese People's Volunteer Army
CSSR	Czechoslovak Socialist Republic
DMZ	Demilitarized Zone
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Gen.	General
IT	Inspection Team
JSA	Joint Security Area
KPA	Korean People's Army
MAC	Military Armistice Commission
NNSC	Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROK	Republic of Korea
UN	United Nations
UNC	United Nations Command
US	United States
WPK	Worker's Party of Korea

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“Rebels” in Koryŏ Biographies In the Chronicle *Koryŏsa*

Markéta Popa

Abstract The political and social circumstances of the Koryŏ period gave rise to the phenomenon of the so-called rebels. The official chronicle *Koryŏsa* (History of Koryŏ) recorded their cases in thirty-eight biographies that were supposed to serve as negative exempla for posterity. The origin of the rebels ranged from the lowest classes to aristocracy and most of them were persons with closer ties to the king. Their biographies clearly demonstrate what was perceived as rebellious by the compilers of the chronicle, and that such deeds deserved the ultimate punishment, however, in some cases the rebels avoided it or the punishment was mitigated. The aim of this paper is to classify the rebels according to the circumstances and the nature of rebellions as depicted in *Koryŏsa*. That presumes a necessity to evaluate the notion of rebelliousness according to the compilers of the chronicle, conditions enabling the occurrence of rebels, their motives, punishment, and message contained in their biographies.

Keywords rebel, revolt, Koryŏ (918–1392), biography, *Koryŏsa* (History of Koryŏ)

Introduction

When it comes to rebellions, revolts, and revolutions, they are phenomena as old as the mankind and keep attracting our attention as they symbolize courage to change *status quo* in the society; risking one’s life, standing, or well-being, they represent the hope of success. Through the history, they have been approached in many different ways. What they have in common, is resistance- be it resistance to the authority or a specific policy of the authority, resistance of certain groups or the society as a whole, and resistance more or less violent.

In this paper I will use the conception of rebellion and revolution of Theda Skocpol (1979, 17): “rebellion is a high level of political violence directed against

the state by the civilian population. Rebellion or ‘revolt from below’ is a necessary but not a sufficient cause of social revolution.”¹ According to Skocpol, rebellion does not have to aim necessarily at the overthrow of the regime, often it is a manifestation of resistance to certain political or social matters in the state, and as such it makes an effort to gain concessions from the central power. As for revolt, it strives to topple the government and establish a new one, which is, in most cases, connected with seeking a revolution. Walt (1992, 324) specifies revolution as a process which “[...] supposes more than just a rearrangement of the administrative apparatus or the replacement of the old elite. Instead, a revolution creates a new state resting on different social groups, new social and political institutions, different legitimating myths, and novel conceptions of the political community.”

In the history, exemplary cases were of utmost importance for Korean society. When it came to rebels/traitors (*pan'yōk* 叛逆), they had to be included in the official chronicles as they posed a threat to the established order in the society, meaning of course, a threat to the ruling class. In *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (History of the Three Kingdoms), the oldest extant Korean chronicle, there are cases of exemplary bad subjects in the end of the biographical section.²

At the time of the compilation of *Koryōsa* 高麗史 (History of Koryō), the society (at least most of the educated part of it that held governmental posts) rested, *inter alia*, on principles of *daoxue* 道學 (learning of the Way) which were contained in classical Chinese canonical books, allegedly written or compiled by Confucius and other important representatives of the *Ru* 儒 school of thought (*rujia* 儒家). These works were selected and commented by Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279) philosophers and as such accepted by *literati* of late Koryō and Chosŏn period. Therefore, what was or was not perceived as rebellious by the ruling strata in Chosŏn, referred to the classics and denoted one’s concrete actions or even

- 1 Another definition of rebellion and revolution is presented e.g. by Diana Russell’s (1974, 6) definition: “rebellion is defined as a form of violent power struggle in which the overthrow of the regime is by means that include violence [...]. A successful revolution may be said to have occurred when substantial social change follows a rebellion”.
- 2 These persons are namely Ch’ang Jori 倉助利 (?–?), Yŏn Kaesomun 淵蓋蘇文 (603–666), Kung Ye 弓裔 (869–918), and Kyŏn Hwŏn 甄萱 (867–936).

plots with the aim to violate one of the highest principles of the society represented by the relationship between ruler and subject.

The entries in the purposely written³ chronicle *Koryŏsa* imply the Confucian *Weltanschauung* of historians of the Koryŏ and Chosŏn period on the Koryŏ history. It is of importance to be aware that *Koryŏsa* contains entries which could be distorted, some facts omitted⁴ and the choice of materials for the compilation pragmatic, in order to achieve its mission.

The aim of this paper is to present and analyze the phenomena of rebels as described by the compilers of the official chronicle *Koryŏsa*, which almost at the very end of the part of Biographies (*yŏljŏn* 列傳) contains a section, Biographies of Rebels (*pan'yŏk yŏljŏn* 叛逆列傳). According to the foreword to the section, thirty-eight⁵ biographies of rebels included in six volumes of the chronicle (*kwŏn* 127-132, *yŏljŏn* 40-45) were compiled in order to warn later generations. In this manner, biographies followed the established patterns of Confucian historiography beginning with the Spring and Autumn (*Chunqiu* 春秋). This paper is primarily based on *Koryŏsa*, and as such attempts to reveal the perspective on rebels by scholars-historians in early Chosŏn period and their representation in

- 3 The chronicle had to fulfil three basic roles: record the historical facts; present both positive and negative exempla to the posterity and in this way help the king and ministers to govern; and legitimize the new dynasty. The last mission of the chronicle has to be highlighted, as the scholars-historians of the early Chosŏn period who compiled it had to clarify the decline of the previous dynasty and the virtue of the new dynasty, which was rather problematic given the circumstances under which Yi Sŏnggye 李成桂 (1335-1408) seized the throne. For more, see e.g. Sohn 2000, 138 and 159.
- 4 The Foreword to *Koryŏsa* (Chin Koryŏsa chŏn 進高麗史箋) states explicitly that the compilers “[...] strived to present the deeds of the preceding generations as impartially as possible.” However, they admit that they “tried to replace and correct omitted and incorrect entries”.
- 5 I will refer to thirty-eight individual biographies of rebels, but into five of them the compilers integrated also nine stories of other persons, mostly accomplices of the rebels. For example, the biography of Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn 崔忠獻 (1149-1219), a sole biography of a significant military leader in the *kwŏn* 129, which also includes stories of his three descendants. The examples of relatively less significant rebels will be mentioned in the footnotes. The reason for that is to provide better clarity as the text would contain many names and dates.

the official chronicle.⁶ It does not focus on the phenomenon of historical rebellion itself.

In accordance with the definition above, I will refer to all the persons included in the Biographies of Rebels as “rebels”, to all their deeds against the established order as “rebellions/treasons”, and to the deeds which aimed at seizing the power of the king as “revolts”. As there is no case of successful revolt followed by social changes, the term “revolution” will not be applied. In relation to the military leaders in Koryŏ, I will use the term “coup d'état”, as it applies to the seizure of power by non-civilian segment of the population. The third large type of rebellions was basically “collaborations”.

In this paper, I will attempt to classify the rebels according to two basic aspects which are decisive for the overall character of rebellions: the factors of rebelliousness and the nature of rebellions (according to the scholars-historians who compiled *Koryŏsa*). After that I will try to evaluate and answer the following questions: what exactly was perceived as rebellious by the compilers? What conditions enabled the occurrence of rebels? What were their motives? What models of rebels existed? What was their punishment and what is the message contained in their biographies?

6 Kang Sŏngwŏn argues that due to the deliberate choice of persons for the biographical section by the compilers, it lacks objectivity. Some persons, e.g. Myoch'ŏng 妙清 (?-1135), were included, but their evaluation as the rebels seems rather problematic; some were not included, e.g. Cho Wich'ong 趙位寵 (?-1176), the minister of war and magistrate of the Western Capital, who revolted against the first military leaders in 1174-1176. As for the military leaders and their main supporters, almost all of them were labelled as rebels because the compilers did not want to acknowledge the legitimacy of the military rule. (Kang 1989, VII).

1 *Factors of Rebelliousness*

The characteristic features of the early Koryŏ period⁷ are its relatively strong kings with marital ties to members of powerful aristocratic clans. It changed in two hundred and fifty years when the kings of Koryŏ were practically removed from their power by leaders of military regime (*musin chŏnggwŏn* 武臣政權, 1170–1270). The power of the king had been overshadowed and it was possible to rule via him.⁸ Furthermore, this situation was worsened by the reality of Mongolian invasions. In the late Koryŏ period⁹, the kings were weakened, dependent on the Yuan 元 court decision-making, and this era offered the most propitious conditions for social mobility, by which one could gain power and privileges as the power of particular aristocratic clans had remained more or less untouched. Therefore, due to merits and loyalty to the king or ruling individual(s) there was a possibility to gain official posts and influential position not only for members of aristocracy but also for descendants of provincial officials or lowborn. These circumstances could be taken advantage of by rebels who proceeded with their rebellions.¹⁰

According to *Koryŏsa*, the vast majority of the rebellions can be considered as revolts against the king and treasons against the state (represented by the king). Therefore, the main factor that enabled the rebellions in Koryŏ is the person of the king. The other factors, such as influential position of rebel, his motives, and

7 As early Koryŏ period I will refer to the era from the beginning of the Koryŏ kingdom (918) to the beginning of the military rule (1170).

8 It should be noted that this had been done before; once by the military (1009), often by powerful nobles (like Yi Chagyŏm, see below).

9 As for the late Koryŏ period I will be referring to the era from the end of the military regime (1270) to the end of the Wang 王 dynasty (1392).

10 Despite more social mobility, the number of rebellions from the period of the military regime and Mongolian rule recorded in *Koryŏsa* is much higher than before. In my opinion, the reason for that may be the general awareness of this phenomenon at that time and one's effort to gain the same privileges like the others, achieving it (not only) by merits and loyalty, and then abusing one's position. On the other hand, a high number of rebellions could also serve, to the compilers, as evidence of the gradual loss of virtue and final loss of the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming* 天命) of the Wang dynasty.

influence of Khitans and Mongols, can be understood partially as a consequence of improper rule of the Koryŏ kings.

1.1 The person of the king

The Foreword to *Koryŏsa* states that the period from the beginning of Koryŏ till the reign of king Injong 仁宗 (r. 1122–1146) was propitious and the kings were ruling properly (except for king Mokchong 穆宗, r. 997–1009). During Injong's reign, influential vassals started gaining control over the state matters and this situation became even worse after his rule, when powerful subjects usurped the power and were enthroning and dethroning the kings at will as if they were just changing boards for *paduk*. Although king Wŏnjong 元宗 (r. 1259–1274) managed to preserve the country in the critical times, by the reign of the last kings the foundations of the state became very unstable.¹¹

According to Confucian principles, the virtue of the king is connected with the fortune of the state. Therefore, the main factor for rebelliousness is the person of the king whose dignity and position was bound to the occurrence of rebellions. During the reigns of the kings Mokchong and Injong, five of nine revolts in the early Koryŏ period emerged. Instead of the young king Mokchong, power was wielded by Queen Dowager Ch'ŏnch'u¹² as his regent, alongside her distant relative and lover Kim Ch'iyang 金致陽 (?–1009). Later, they were eliminated by general Kang Cho 康兆 (964–1010).¹³ King Injong was entirely under the influence of Yi Chagyŏm 李資謙 (?–1126), his father-in-law and grandfather at the same time.

The period of the military rule was preceded by the reign of king Ŭijong 毅宗 (r. 1146–1170). At that time, military aristocracy which excelled at fights against

11 Chin Koryŏsa chŏn (Foreword to Koryŏsa).

12 Ch'ŏnch'u t'aehu 千秋太后 (964–1029), also called Queen Hŏn'e (Hŏn'e wanghu 獻哀王后). Her father was the eighth son of king T'aejo 太祖 (r. 918–943) by his fourth wife.

13 Kang Cho came from the powerful Kang 康 clan from Sinch'ŏn 信川 in the Hwanghaedo 黃海道 province. His father was a maternal relative of king T'aejo and they belonged to descendants of the first ancestors of king T'aejo: Kang Hovyŏng 康虎景 (?–?) in the seventh generation before T'aejo and Kang Ch'ung 康忠 (?–?) in the sixth one. Having been classified as a rebel by compilers of *Koryŏsa*, his name was removed from the genealogies.

nomadic tribes started being discriminated in favor of civil officials. Furthermore, king Ŭijong, rather than ruling, preferred various kinds of entertainment and feasts (Shultz 2000, 19), which resulted in the seizure of the ultimate power by general Chŏng Chungbu 鄭仲夫 (1107–1179) and his clique, when the rule of the Koryŏ kings was merely nominal, and they were deposed and enthroned at will during the following hundred years. In this way, the first representative of the military regime created a precedent for his followers, for whom afterwards it was relatively easier to seize power for they could pass their deeds off as meritorious elimination of a rebel (the previous military leader) and reinstating the kingly authority. Therefore, in the beginning of the military rule, favorable conditions for coup d'état were created due to the weak kings Ŭijong¹⁴ and Myŏngjong 明宗 (r. 1170–1197), who shared similar preoccupations. Later, the conditions were rather facilitated by the fact that the Koryŏ court was “isolated” in the Kanghwa island while in the mainland private troop units of the military leaders (besides Koryŏ militia units) were fighting for Koryŏ against Mongolian army because the royal army of Koryŏ had been demolished.

The kings during and after the military regime are mostly presented as lacking virtue and ruling in chaos. In this situation, Koryŏ was endangered by Mongols and had to deal with Mongolian rule. Beginning with king Ch'ungyŏl 忠烈 (r. 1274–1298, 1299–1308) to the beginning of the reign of king Kongmin 恭愍 (r. 1351–1374), the kings of Koryŏ were imperial “sons-in-law”¹⁵ rather than sovereign monarchs. Moreover, they were often deposed and enthroned according to the then existing situation in Yuan China. That is why they tended to be susceptible to bonding with their loyal subjects who could strengthen their power on one hand, but on the other hand these allies could turn this power against the kings themselves. The

14 Chŏng Chungbu and Yi Ŭibang banished the king to the Kŏje 巨濟 island and the military clique put king Myŏngjong on the throne. Three years later they sent their subordinates to Kŏje, who got the former king drunk, killed him, wrapped him in a mat and threw him in a lake. One of the men was Yi Ŭimin 李義旼 (?–1196).

15 King Ch'ungyŏl was a crown prince when he married a Mongol princess in 1274 and in the next hundred years seven marriages of Mongol princesses to Koryŏ royal family took place. Crown princes were forced to spend some time, often several years, at the Yuan court, and hostages were taken not only from the royal family but also from the families of high officials until 1283. (Henthorn 1971, 123).

best example of a rebel of this era who availed himself of the disadvantaged position of the kings, was Ki Ch'öl 奇轍 (?–1356), a member of the powerful clan of Ki 奇 from Haengju 幸州 and also of a pro-Mongolian clique against king Kongmin.¹⁶

1.2 Influential position of the rebel

Although rebels could be of low origin (a lower provincial or military official, slave, or Buddhist monk), an important factor which was common for most of them was their influential position shortly before and at the time of their rebellions. Most often, the influential position of a rebel was based on close ties to the king or representative of the ultimate power, which were accorded by the rebel's merits, his blood relation to the royal family, or trust gained from the king. The meritorious deeds could be based on successful fights against nomadic tribes, such as in the case of Kang Cho or Yi Chagyöm's relative Ch'ök Chun'gyöng¹⁷, or on suppression of the king's opponents in the kingdom, which especially applies to the period of military rule (Ch'oe Ch'unghön or Yi Ŭimin, the fourth military leader). The merits could also be gained through the rebels' assistance to the founder of the Wang dynasty (T'aejo's close and loyal subjects Hwan Sön'gil 桓宣吉 (?–918) or Wang Kyu 王規 (?–945) or owing to their allegiance to the kings of the late Koryö period (Cho Chök 曹嶼 (?–?) who was favored by the kings Ch'ungyöl and Ch'ungsön 忠宣, r. 1298, 1308–1313).

Rebels, especially in the early Koryö period, attempted to marry their daughters or sisters to the members of the royal family, preferably to the king in order to get a direct influence on him, however, this tendency was present during the whole Koryö period. A typical example is Yi Chagyöm who at the time of his growing power at the court married his second daughter to king Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1105–1122). Then he greatly promoted the enthronement of young king Injong, Yejong's son and his grandson, and forced him to get married to his third and fourth daughter. Among other rebels with marital ties to the king are Wang Kyu

16 Other examples are two favoured subjects of king Kongmin, Cho Ilsin 趙日新 (?–1352) and Kim Yong 金鏞 (?–1363).

17 Ch'ök Chun'gyöng 拓俊京 (?–1144) was father-in-law of Yi Chagyöm's youngest son.

(his two daughters became consorts of king T'aejo), Yi Chaŭi¹⁸ in the early Koryŏ period, and Chŏng Chungbu's accomplice to the coup d'état in 1170 Yi Ŭibang 李義方 (1121–1174) whose daughter got married to king-to-be Kangjong 康宗 (r. 1211–1213). An interesting example is probably the most significant military leader Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn. He refused the possibility of kinship of his family with the royal one as he did not consider his own clan to be noble enough.

In the late Koryŏ period, it is apparent that some rebels also strove for kinship with the imperial family in Yuan China. In this respect, the most successful rebel may be Ki Ch'ŏl, whose sister was chosen as concubine for the last emperor of Yuan Togon Temür (r. 1333–1370), she became his favorite, and in 1340 Empress Qi 奇皇后 (1315–1369/70). Related to her status, the clan of Ki gained ranks and wealth from both Yuan and Koryŏ court and her influence on the royal family of Koryŏ kept growing.¹⁹ Two Buddhist monks, Myoch'ŏng and Sin Ton 辛暉 (1322–1371), won the confidence of the king without previous merits or high standing particularly owing to their personal charisma, rhetoric, and the positive attitude of the kings Injong and Kongmin to Buddhism.

Otherwise, the rebels could be members of a powerful clan whose ancestors had held significant posts, that is why they also gained an easier access to them, such as Yi Chagyŏm or Ki Ch'ŏl. The influential clans were making efforts to keep their posts and status, which is shown not only in the frequent mutual marriages but mainly by the endeavor to marry their daughters to members of the royal family or, as the case may be, to members of the imperial family, which could provide them with even stronger influence.

18 Yi Chaŭi 李資義 (?–1098) was cousin of Yi Chagyŏm, both of them came from an influential aristocratic clan Yi 李 from Inju 仁州. Their grandfather Yi Chayŏn 李子淵 (1003–1061) held a position of high governmental official. All three Yi Chayŏn's daughters became consorts of king Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083). His son Yi Sŏk 李碩 (?–?) married his daughter, Yi Chaŭi's cousin, to king Sŏnjong 宣宗 (r. 1083–1094). Then, Yi Chaŭi's sister as Sŏnjong's concubine gave birth to Marquise of Hansan 漢山侯 Wang Yun 王昀 and Yi Chaŭi made efforts to put him on the throne.

19 Two other members of Ki Ch'ŏl's faction, Ro Ch'aek 盧頊 (?–1356) and Kwŏn Kyŏm 權謙 (?–1356), sent their daughters to the Yuan court too (for the same purpose of gaining greater influence).

1.3 Motives for rebellion

As the rebels were considered low persons from the point of view of the official chronicle (in respect of the moral imperative), it is obvious that the incentives to rebellions, as depicted in *Koryŏsa*, were mostly despicable and could be realized in context of the above mentioned factors.

Motives for rebellion are rarely stated explicitly. If so, they are related to the sense of undervaluation (Hwan Sŏn'gil),²⁰ loyalty to a preceding king (Yi Hŭn'am²¹), discontent of military aristocracy as a result of discrimination (Chŏng Chungbu, Yi Ŭibang), concern about presenting registers of rebelling *sambyŏlch'o* 三別抄 (lit. three special units) to Mongols (Pae Chungson 裴仲孫, ?-1271), hatred for one's father and older brother (Kim Munhyŏn²²), fear of the king (Hong Ryun²³), and grudge against one of the Ming 明 emissaries (Kim Ŭi 金義, ?-?).

More frequently, the motives for planning or carrying out a rebellion remain unspoken, but it is possible to deduce them from the description of the character

- 20 Hwan Sŏn'gil could not but help thinking of revolt after his wife told him: "Your abilities exceed [the abilities] of others and soldiers are devoted to you. Also, your merits are great but others are being in power, how could that not [make you] resentful?" *Koryŏsa* 127, yŏljŏn 40, Hwan Sŏn'gil. 子才力過人士卒服從 又有大功而政柄在人可不懊乎。
- 21 Yi Hŭn'am 伊昕巖 (?-918) was a brother of Hwan Sŏn'gil's wife. He served in the army of Kung Yŏ as a great general of cavalry (magun taejanggun 馬軍大將軍) and was a friend of Wang Kŏn.
- 22 Kim Munhyŏn's 金文鉉 (?-1388) biography starts with short episodes which illustrate his despicable intentions, such as seduction of a concubine of his brother or rape of his dead friend's wife. His father could not stand him for these deeds and in order to prevent him from committing something even worse, he asked Sin Ton to banish him. However, Kim Munhyŏn came to know, sought out the monk, and tried to win his favour.
- 23 Hong Ryun 洪倫 (?-1374) was the grandson of one of the king's advisers and was selected by king Kongmin for his group of young and handsome boys—chajewi 子弟衛, lit. guard of boys, who "[...] by means of lascivious and vulgar [deeds] gained the favour of the king." *Koryŏsa* 131, yŏljŏn 44, Hong Ryun. 以淫穢得幸. They were on guard in the palace and also fulfilled special tasks given by the king. Kongmin ordered them to have sexual intercourse with his consorts and concubines and then he wanted to make a potential son his successor. Later, the third consort of the king, Queen Ik 益 from the clan of Han 韓, really conceived with Hong Ryun.

and conduct of a particular rebel. The most typical characteristic is longing for power which is common for the majority of the rebels. A frequent motive is cunningness or obscenity (Sin Ton²⁴). During the Mongolian raids, the rebels were motivated by enhanced opportunity to enrich themselves (Han Sun 韓恂, ?-1220)²⁵, by fear of Mongols and longing for their own (not only material) benefit (Hong Pogwŏn)²⁶, and by greed related to their hunger for power (Ki Ch’ŏl).

1.4 Influence of Khitans and Mongols

The chaotic rule of the military regime with the frequently changed kings that had to deal with Khitan and Mongolian invasions and the subsequent rule of the Yuan dynasty over Koryŏ, created more favorable circumstances for rebellions. During the invasions, local rebellions emerged, often driven by desire to enrich oneself, such as in the case of Chŏng Pangŭi 鄭方義 (?-1201) who instigated a slave uprising in Chinju 晉州 in 1200. Although, a more common case of rebelliousness was collaboration and assistance to Mongolian army during the invasions (Hong Pogwŏn or Cho Sukch’ang 趙叔昌 (?-1234) who surrendered to Mongols and became their guides). Others left for a career of an official to Yuan China, which was facilitated in some cases by the previous cooperation with Mongols, such as that of Ch’oe T’an 崔坦 (?-?).²⁷

24 Sin Ton gradually became king Kongmin’s closest adviser, seized power in the country, and there were no state affairs the king would not consult about with him. Therefore, Sin Ton gained not only many flatterers but also enemies from powerful clans. First, he used his rhetoric for confusing and seducing widows, later wives of aristocrats as well. Koryŏsa 132, yŏljŏn 45, Sin Ton.

25 Also Cho Wŏnjŏng 曹元正 (?-1187) who instigated an uprising in 1187 in the capital.

26 Hong Pogwŏn 洪福源 (1206-1258) not only helped Mongols during their raids but also initiated an uprising in the Western capital and then he fled to Yuan China. There he was administrating as a darughachi around forty seized forts. Because he was defaming Koryŏ at that time, Ch’oe U 崔瑀 (1166-1249), son and successor to Ch’oe Ch’unghŏn, was afraid of him and bestowed the rank of great general on his father. Koryŏsa 130, yŏljŏn 43, Hong Pogwŏn. It is stated in this biography that the following Mongolian invasions to Koryŏ and their consequences were caused by him. Cho Hwi 趙暉 (?-1273) was another rebel who joined the Mongolian army, tried to persuade Korean forts to surrender and then became the administrator of the seized areas.

27 Similar example can be Cho I 趙彝 (?-?).

The rule of Yuan over Koryŏ contributed to the weakening of the Koryŏ kings. Although towards the end of the Yuan dynasty it was facing internal problems during the reign of king Kongmin, the power of Empress Qi was still relatively strong. A rebel who availed himself of this situation was Ki Ch'ŏl.²⁸ Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of revolts in this period is related to king Kongmin. Even though his position as the king was stronger compared to the previous kings (in relation to Yuan), the biographies point to his attachment to the circle of loyal subjects, some of whom betrayed him.

2 Nature of Rebellions

If we take a closer look at the rebellions, it is possible to recognize the intention of the compilers in relation to what deeds they wanted to highlight, mark as absolutely unacceptable, and give a warning to the future generations. Out of the thirty-eight biographies of rebels, twenty-four can be considered as treasons against the king (eighteen revolts and six coups d'état), ten treasons against the state (collaborations with Khitans or Mongols), and four rebellions pursued different goals.²⁹ In this respect, *Koryŏsa* followed also *Samguk sagi* which presents four exemplary biographies containing three revolts and one coup d'état.³⁰

28 Or Ch'oe Yu 崔濡 (?–1364) who plotted with Empress Qi against Kongmin. After the king eliminated Ki Ch'ŏl and most of his pro-Mongolian faction, she dispatched him with an army to Koryŏ, but they were defeated.

29 Kang Sŏngwŏn distinguishes four types of rebellions: betrayal of state (kukka paeban hyŏng 國家背叛型), usurpation of the throne (wangwi ch'ant'al hyŏng 王位篡奪型), usurpation of power (chŏnggwŏn t'alch'wi hyŏng 政權奪取型), and conflicts among powerful vassals (kwŏnsinganŭi kaldŭng hyŏng 權臣間의 葛藤型). For more details, see Kang 1989, 35–43.

30 Ch'ang Jori deposed Koguryŏ king Pongsang 烽上 (r. 292–300), as a consequence of which, the king and his two sons committed suicide; Yŏn Kaesomun assassinated king Yŏngnyu 榮留 (r. 618–642) in the coup d'état in Koguryŏ and placed the king's nephew on the throne; Kung Ye and Kyŏn Hwŏn destroyed their country, proclaimed themselves the kings of new kingdoms, and Kyŏn Hwŏn made king Kyŏng'ae 景哀 (r. 924–927) of Silla commit suicide. Kim Pusik 金富軾

The treasons against the king, the highest authority and symbol of the state, were conducted in the early Koryŏ period particularly by persons with close relations to the king. The most frequent factor was the kinship of the members of the rebels’ families directly with the king who became the rebel’s son-in-law or brother-in-law, which granted them various benefits, such as ranks, noble titles, or other privileges related to them. These rebels strove to depose the king, and by enthroning a new one to reassert and strengthen their authority (Kang Cho³¹, Yi Chagyŏm). Other two rebels, Hwan Sŏn’gil and Yi Hŭn’am, defied or planned to defy king T’aejo, however, the question is whether they intended to dethrone him directly. As for the last rebel of the early Koryŏ period, it was the Buddhist monk Myoch’ŏng; it is not clear whether he was the main planner of moving the capital to the Western capital (and later of revolt) with the strongest influence on king

(1075–1151), scholar, high-ranked official, and compiler of *Samguk sagi*, condemns in his commentary the latter two, labelling them as the worst of all rebels in the waning years of Silla. Also, in these two biographies, an effort to emphasize the contrast between them and T’aejo Wang Kŏn 太祖王建 as Kim Pusik’s ruler is obvious. As an example of a revolt from the Chosŏn period, the 1728 Musin rebellion (Musillan 戊申亂) can be mentioned. Here the rebels who supported the Southerners’ faction strove to depose king Yŏngjo 英祖 (r. 1724–1776) and his faction. Eventually, the revolt was suppressed by royal troops after thirteen days. For more details on Musillan, see e.g. Jackson 2014, 53–75.

- 31 Kang Cho was the commander of the garrison in the Western capital. King Mokchong summoned him to help get rid of Kim Ch’iyang’s threat, although, Kang Cho eliminated not only Kim Ch’iyang, Queen Dowager Ch’ŏnch’u and her clique but also the king, and with the consent of the army and the powerful clan of Kim from Ansan he claimed the son of the queen dowager and Kim Ch’iyang to be the last lineal descendant of the royal dynasty and put him on the throne to become king Hyŏnjong 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031). Breuker suggests that Kang Cho is treated relatively favourably in his biography. Being depicted as a loyal and brave warrior, his integrity and gullibility were taken advantage of, resulting in the death of king Mokchong. Then, he was killed by a Khitan commander because he decided not to switch his allegiance to Koryŏ. (Breuker 2012, 366). I agree with that, however, according to the biography, it was he who made the decision to depose Mokchong and when Mokchong was leaving the palace, Kang Cho sent an official after him to give him poison.

Injong, or whether he was merely an agent of the ministers of the king who wanted to reach their goals by means of him.³²

During the military rule, the role of the king was being repressed. If a new king was enthroned, he would feel indebted as well as fearful of the military leader, and he would invariably bestow higher authority on him. As the first military leaders, Chǒng Chungbu and Yi Ŭibang, removed many civil officials from power so that they could not plot against them; a possible opposition from this group was obviated almost entirely. The rule of the first leaders took from four to five years per each, then the power was seized by the members of the Ch'oe clan (Ch'oe Ch'unghǒn³³, Ch'oe U, Ch'oe Hang and Ch'oe Ŭi) for sixty-two years. After ten-

32 Breuker agrees with a theory that Myoch'ǒng was used by some members of the capital elite that were different from his direct supporters located in the Western capital. At the outbreak of the revolt in the Western capital, none of his supporters in the capital seemed to have known about it, suggesting that Myoch'ǒng might have been aware of the way he was used and stopped trusting them. Nevertheless, they adapted to the situation and decided not to side with Myoch'ǒng anymore. During the negotiations between the emissaries of the court and high-ranking officials from the Western capital, the position of Myoch'ǒng as a leader of the revolt was largely ceremonial (Breuker 2012, 427-429, for more on this topic, see Breuker 2012, 407-445). Another opinion about Myoch'ǒng as rebel is presented by Kang Sǒngwǒn who suggests considering him a reformer, who, along with his supporters, wanted to reform the society, eliminate its ills, and solve the problems of the Western Capital caused by a sycophantic diplomacy towards Jin 金 which was pursued by influential and powerful officials hoping that it would keep them in power. One of its impacts was that people from the Western Capital were burdened with an extra tax on local products paid in kind to Jin. Because of this and other political inconsistencies, Myoch'ǒng and others made an independent diplomacy and suggested moving the capital to the Western Capital, and people from the Western Capital were supportive of them (Kang 1989, 67-85).

33 After Ch'oe Ch'unghǒn eliminated Yi Ŭimin and the rest of his opponents, he established a stable dictatorship during the nominal rule of the frequently replaced kings. He was successful in carrying out marriage politics with the most influential clans of Koryǒ and the authority of his clan lay in its strong private army, vast ownership of land, and slaves. His son Ch'oe U had to face the reality of Mongolian invasions and moved the capital to the Kanghwa 江華 island. However, during the rule of his son Ch'oe Hang 崔沆 (1209-1257), the system of military rule established by

year rule of Kim Chun who was eliminated and succeeded by Im Yŏn 林衍 (1221–1270) and his son Im Yumu³⁴, the authority of the military regime was in decay, especially because of Koryŏ’s surrender to Yuan and the relocation of the capital back to Kaegyŏng 開京.

In the late Koryŏ period, in one case, the revolts against the king were aimed at king Ch’unghye 忠惠 (r. 1330–1331, 1340–1344), when Cho Chŏk defied the king on the pretext of protecting princess Kyŏnghwa and wanted to depose him in favor of his ally, king of Shen Wang Ko³⁵. Other revolts were against king Kongmin. Two of them were caused by his supposed loyal subjects, four of them were supported by Empress Qi, one case was basically about ruling via him, and the last one was an attempt on the king’s life.³⁶

Ch’oe Ch’unghŏn started to decline and Hang’s son Ch’oe Ŭi 崔頊 (1238–1258) was assassinated just after one year of being in power by troops led by Kim Chun 金俊 (?–1268) who was originally a slave serving to Ch’oe Ch’unghŏn. For this act, he was rewarded by king Kojong 高宗 (r. 1214–1259), but although he turned the power over to the king, the real power was concentrated in his own hands.

- 34 The biography of Im Yumu 林惟茂 (1252–1270), the last military leader, was incorporated into the biography of his father.
- 35 Wang Ko 王髡 (?–1345), the grandson of king Ch’unghyŏl 忠烈 (r. 1274–1308), carrying the title of king of Shen (*shenwang* 藩王), strove for the throne several times. The title was subsequent to the title of king of Shenyang 瀋陽王 that was bestowed on king Ch’unghsŏn 忠宣 (r. 1298, 1308–1313) in 1307 or 1308 for the first time. The holder of the title was selected from the deposed kings of Koryŏ or from the blood-related princes who could make a claim to the throne, in order to weaken the authority of the Koryŏ kings. (Grayson 1989, 121).
- 36 King Kongmin came to know from the eunuch Ch’oe Mansaeng 崔萬生 (?–1374) that Queen Ik became pregnant with Hong Ryun, and wanted to kill whole the group of chajewi including the eunuch so that nobody would find out. Ch’oe Mansaeng, Hong Ryun, and others decided to eliminate Kongmin who became a threat to them. “[...] In the night at the third watch they entered the king’s bedchamber. They used the opportunity of his strong drunkenness and [Ch’oe] Mansaeng struck him with sword [so strong that] his skull spurted on the wall”. (Koryŏsa 131, yŏljŏn 44, Hong Ryun. 夜三更入寢殿乘王大醉萬生手劒擊之頭髓濺壁) Ch’oe Mansaeng, Hong Ryun, and their accomplices were proved guilty due to the blood on Ch’oe Mansaeng’s clothes and almost all of them confessed to the murder.

Other treasons depicted in *Koryŏsa* are treasons against the state, basically collaborations with “barbarians” (Mongols or Khitans). The first group of rebels was of assistance to the Mongolian army and became their guides when conquering Koryŏ forts during the Mongolians invasions (Hong Pogwŏn, Cho Sukch’ang). Some of them received the rank of *darughachi* and were administrating the seized areas by Mongols in Koryŏ (Ch’oe T’an). Han Sun enriched himself with public means in the chaotic situation of the first Mongolian raids and even collaborated with Khitans. The other group of traitors left voluntarily to Yuan China for a career of the officials, but on top of that, there they were also defaming Koryŏ.³⁷ The hatred for his father and older brother and leaving for Yuan China were the reasons to classify Han Hongbo 韓洪甫 (?-?) as a rebel.

One of the four rebellions pursuing different goals was the treason of Chŏng Pangŭi. He made use of the slave uprising in Chinju for his own benefits. During the uprising, he with his gang killed more than six thousand people in the county and bribed a high official at the court with stolen silver vessels in order to avoid punishment. Pae Chungson’s treason lay in the fact that he along with other rebelling members of *sambyŏlch’o* impeded the relocation of the capital back to the mainland where they wanted to install a new king and government. However, they had to face Mongolian troops, escaped, and were looting the areas close to the offshore islands they had made their base on. Kim Munhyŏn violated the relationship between father and son and older brother, in consequence, his father and older brother were killed. The remaining treason is the one of Kim Ŭi. He killed Ming emissaries for the reason of mutual grudge and by order of the member of a powerful aristocratic clan Yi Inmin 李仁任 (?-1388) stole the tribute they were taking to the Yuan court, and eventually served the Ming court that blamed Koryŏ for the death of the emissaries.

37 For example, interpreter U Chŏng 于琤 (?-?) who during his diplomatic mission to China decided to stay there.

3 *Omens, Prophecies and Dreams as Part of Biographies*

A natural and explicitly assessing part of the biographies are various kinds of omens and portents which follow one of the historiographical models of the chronicle, the *Chunqiu*, where these mostly natural or celestial phenomena are depicted.³⁸ It is probable that the occurrence of these phenomena is not random but purpose-built as they denote the speech of Heaven and its warning that certain events are happening/going to happen which are/will be or more frequently are not/are not going to be in accordance with its principles. Typical inauspicious omens in the biographies are e.g. deflection of the trajectory of celestial bodies,³⁹

38 The cosmological system of the omens, portending natural and celestial phenomena, had been developed in Han times. The compilers of *Koryŏsa* became acquainted with it through the official chronicles History of the Former Han (Hanshu 漢書) and History of the Later Han (Hou Hanshu 後漢書). The former contains among others the omenology of one of the most significant *ru* 儒 scholars of the Former Han dynasty, Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BC), which was based on a concept centred on the role of the Emperor and his virtue, and on responses from Heaven dependent on that. Dong Zhongshu distinguished between destructive calamities (*zaibai* 災害) that serve as admonition from Heaven if the Emperor is losing his authority, and prodigies (*quaiyi* 怪異) that warn the ruler who did not reflect the calamities. In addition, Dong’s memorial states: “When a state is about to suffer a defeat because [the ruler] has strayed from the proper path, Heaven first sends forth disastrous and harmful [signs] to reprimand and warn him. If the [ruler] does not know to look into himself [in response], then Heaven again sends forth strange and bizarre [signs] to frighten and startle him. If he still does not know [that he should] change, only then will he suffer ruin and defeat. From this, we observe that Heaven’s heart is humane and loving toward the people’s ruler and that Heaven desires to keep him from chaos [...]” (Hanshu 56.2498, translation borrowed from Dong 2016, 292, 622).

39 In the biography of Wang Kyu, an official in charge of celestial phenomena warned the king: “Shooting star violated the Purple Forbidden Enclosure. Certainly there are rebels in the country”. *Koryŏsa* 127, yŏljŏn 40, Wang Kyu. 流星犯紫微國必有賊. The Purple Forbidden Enclosure (*chamiwŏn* 紫微垣) is a term of ancient Chinese astronomy and denotes the realm of Celestial Emperor and his family. Its counterpart is a city of Terrestrial Emperor. In Zhou times, a divinatory method known as “Starfield theory” (*fēnye* 分野) developed. It was founded upon a system of correspondences between the sky and the earth. The sky was divided either into twenty-eight unequal segments (*xiu* 宿, “lunar mansions”) or twelve equal segments

which is a clear ill omen that can be linked to the occurrence of a rebel or weather calamities such as thunderstorms, rain, strong wind and frost, alternatively fire and floods, which announce or reflect the rebels' actions. If auspicious natural phenomena are part of the biographies, they are few and related to elimination of a rebel (e.g. the sky cleared up after being overcast during the last ten days of Im Yŏn's life).

Prophecies were used by the rebels to justify their efforts for taking over the power. Two of them appear twice in three biographies. The first one is connected with the character of the clan name Yi 李 and predicted that a person of this name was supposed to become king (Yi Chagyŏm, Yi Ŭimin). The other one said: "The descendants of dragons will be exhausted in the twelfth generation"⁴⁰ and appears in the biographies of Yi Ŭimin and Pae Chungson. Similar to prophecies, dreams also could be of assistance to the rebels, as they mostly predestined them to obtain a high rank and influence,⁴¹ but for example in the biography of Kim Chun the

(*ci* 次, "Jupiter stations"), which corresponded to parallel divisions of the earth. (Lippiello 1995, 96).

40 Koryŏsa 128, yŏljŏn 41, Yi Ŭimin. 龍孫十二盡. The descendants of dragons were meant to be the rulers of the Wang dynasty. The king in the twelfth generation would be king Wŏnjong who ascended to the throne sixty-three years after Yi Ŭimin's death though. If we also include three ancestors of Wang Kŏn into the royal dynasty, it would correspond to the reign of king Myŏngjong who was ruling at the time of Yi Ŭimin's rising authority.

41 "When [Yi] Ŭimin was a small child, [his father Yi] Sŏn saw him in a dream dressed in blue attire and climbing up the nine-story pagoda in the Hwangnyong temple. He thought that surely the child would become a [person] of high standing" Koryŏsa 128, yŏljŏn 41, Yi Ŭimin. 義叟少時善夢見義叟衣青衣登黃龍寺九層塔以爲此兒必大貴. Yi Ŭimin came from Kyŏngju 慶州. Therefore, I assume that "blue attire" is related to the bone rank system in Silla. The highest level of the bone rank was the "sacred bone" (*sŏnggol* 聖骨) which was followed by the "true bone" (*chin'gol* 眞骨). Below the true bone there were head ranks (*tup'um* 頭品) where the highest sixth, fifth, and fourth ranks belonged to aristocracy and the third, second, and first ranks to commoners. Members of the sacred and true bone were entitled to wear purple attire, members of the sixth rank wore scarlet attire, and the blue attire was worn by members of the fifth rank. The nine-story pagoda in the Hwangnyong temple 皇龍寺 was a symbol of victory of Silla over nine

dream about his son foreshadowed his own unfortunate ending. In the biographies we can also find elements of popular beliefs and cults which are represented in the most cases by shamanism, other examples introduce various local cults, such as belief in local gods, supernatural beings, and ghosts.

In comparison to natural phenomena, it is difficult to assert definitely about prophecies, dreams, and popular cults that they were purposely added to the Biographies of Rebels in order to reinforce their negative message. It is probable though that their function could be informative, in conformity with the historiographical principle *suri pujak* 述而不作 (“to hand down without inventing”)⁴² and with the reality of the then society which considered these phenomena to be a part of everyday life. This view is supported by the fact that in some biographies, these elements are distributed rather randomly, unsystematically, and in more than half of them they are not included at all. A similar consideration can be applied to Buddhism which was officially strictly rejected by early Chosŏn scholars. Its function in the biographies can be both purposive and informative, but at the same time, except for the biographies of both Buddhist monks, we cannot talk about purposive overuse in its case either.

4 *Punishment*

Confucius created Chunqiu in which he [was opposed] very strongly to traitors and to those who seized control over a certain area and rebelled. Their punishment without mercy was supposed to serve as a warning for posterity. After all, if subjects were loyal and gentle, they lived in nobleness, their clans were retained, and their names became known to the future generations. But those who rebelled, underwent without exception a cruel ultimate

nations in Eastern Asia and climbing up to its top meant that Yi Ŭimin would seize the ultimate power.

42 Originally a part of a quote from Lunyu (The Analects) 7:1. The Master said: “A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old Peng.” 子曰：「述而不作，信而好古，竊比於我老彭。 Translation borrowed from James Legge: Chinese Text Project [online]. Available at: <https://ctext.org/analects/shu-er>. (Accessed 21 December 2019).

punishment, their families were wiped out and ancestral rites terminated, how can this not be a warning? [That is why] we created the Biographies of Rebels.⁴³

An inseparable part of the Biographies of Rebels was their punishment which had to be strict, as stated in the foreword to this section, in order to create the intended negative example. The rebels and their closest followers were executed (most frequently by sword), their families enslaved, and their property confiscated. To reinforce the effect of the punishment, in serious cases, the rebel was cut up into pieces (Hong Ryun) or his limbs were cut off and the torso of his body was dragged through the city for shame (Sin Ton). Executions were performed mostly at the market and the heads were subsequently exposed as a deterrent example. Their accomplices were punished according to their engagement in the rebellion by death, flogging by stick, banishment to islands or demoting to provinces. In some cases, especially when it came to persons of old age, they were allowed to buy themselves out of a minor offence.

The king was depicted as benevolent and virtuous, particularly in the biographies of the early Koryŏ period, and could mitigate sentences for some rebels. In case of Yi Chagyŏm, because of loyalty and respect of king Injong for his father-in-law the king did not have him executed (although Yi Chagyŏm attempted to kill him). Instead, he banished him and Yi Chagyŏm died in exile. Following the precedents from Chinese history, king Injong summoned his wife and bestowed posthumous titles on Yi Chagyŏm. His accomplice and relative Ch'ŏk Chun'gyŏng was exiled, but after several months his sentence was forgiven. Also Wang Kyu who broke into the chambers of king Hyejong 惠宗 (r. 943-945) was not punished immediately by the king for he was a meritorious subject of his father, king T'aejo, and at the same time double father-in-law of Hyejong. Rarely, a rebel was punished, but the king decided not to interrogate anyone involved in the rebellion. This could be caused by nostalgia of close ties between them.

If a rebel was not punished by state authorities, he could become a victim of other rebel, an external force, or in some cases he could avoid the punishment

43 Koryŏsa 127, yŏljŏn 40, pan'yŏk 1. 孔子作春秋尤嚴於亂臣賊子及據地以叛者其誅死者而不貸所以戒生者於後也 夫人臣忠順則榮其身保其宗而美名流於後叛逆者未有不脂潤鼎鑊赤其族而覆其祀者可不戒哉 作叛逆傳。

completely. A typical example of elimination by other rebel are some of the military leaders (Chŏng Chungbu, Yi Ŭibang, Yi Ŭimin). An external force, Khitans, caused the death of Kang Cho and Han Sun, whereas punishment from the side of Yuan authorities became fatal for others (Hong Pogwŏn). Some of the rebels were not punished, such as Cho Sukch’ang or Kim Ŭi; the latter became a military commander in Ming China. It is not possible to learn anything specific about the destiny of Ch’oe T’an and Han Hongbo according to *Koryŏsa*.

5 *Evaluation of Rebellions*

Having analyzed all recorded rebellions in *Koryŏsa*, it seems obvious that the majority of them were against the king as the highest state authority, followed by treasons against the state. Even though it could be just a plan which was found out somehow, the initiator was questioned and labelled as rebel. As for the revolts against the king, in some cases it is possible to estimate, according to the character of a rebel and his deeds, what he was about to do. Other biographies state explicitly that the rebel decided to revolt at the highest level, more precisely “to raise/accomplish a great matter” (kŏ/haeng taesa 舉/行 大事). According to the biographies, the rebels were mostly seeking to depose the king and enthrone a favored person to gain stronger power and exert bigger influence over the king. They do not seem to have striven to reform the society or the social order,

similarly to Yŏn Kaesomun in Koguryŏ,⁴⁴ but their intentions are difficult to guess as most of the revolts were thwarted.⁴⁵

In the Biographies of Rebels, there is no case where a rebel deposed the king and claimed himself king. Yi Chagyŏm, who put king Injong on the throne and probably became the most influential subject at that time, was trying to remove the king later, but his relative Ch'ŏk Chun'gyŏng defied him and it is likely that without his intervention Yi Chagyŏm's revolt would have been brought to a conclusion. Kang Cho dethroned king Mokchong whom he had killed on the way to exile, though, he did not ascend the throne. The throne was not usurped directly by the representatives of the military rule either. It is of interest that among the rebels, none of low social status at the time of the revolt, e.g. slave, was listed.

The essence of revolts and the reason for their incorporation into the section of Rebels was obviously the fact that they were against the king, because according to Confucian principles, the key question was not whether "someone killed" but

44 As for the other exemplary persons, according to the biography of Ch'ang Jori, he seems to have opposed the tyranny of king Pongsang and might have pursued a new order under a new king, but the overthrow of Pongsang was the reason why he should serve as a negative example. The biographies of Kung Ye and Kyŏn Hwŏn point to their cruelty and longing for power, resulting in claiming themselves the rulers of new kingdoms, and it can be guessed that they would have continued their dictatorial way of ruling. Similarly, also the rebels of the 1728 Musin rebellion were likely just to gain power (Jackson 2014, 53-58). As for the rebels of Koryŏ, the ten-article declaration of Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn to king Myŏngjong can be mentioned, in which he criticized, inter alia, the king's frequent travels outside the royal palace, excessive number of government officials, immoderate taxes and greed of local officials, growing influence of Buddhist monks who were lending grain to the court at interest, etc.

45 Kang Sŏngwŏn argues that in some cases the rebellions could have a positive impact, especially when someone eliminated an incompetent king or an exploitative person in power (Kang 1989, IX). This rather positive evaluation can be noticeable in some biographies implicitly (e. g. Kang Cho), however, from the perspective of the compilers, it does not change the label of a person as rebel. In general, the rebels in Koryŏsa were to transmit a negative example of behaviour, therefore they could not be presented as reformers of social abuses.

“whom he killed”, and only murder or overthrowing the highest authority was considered the most serious crime. The king was supposed to be a man of virtue par excellence and as such he gained the Mandate of Heaven. Taking over the Mandate could be rather problematic as the new aspirant to the throne would have to prove the loss of virtue of the predecessor and justify actions taken against him, but enthroning a preferred king (while preserving the dynasty), exerting influence over him, and making the most important decisions could be explained as a loyal subject’s advising the king, which was absolutely legitimate. The rebel could also pass his deeds off as preventing other subject from revolt and protecting the king.

None of the revolts led to a revolution as that would mean comprehensive political and social arrangements. Therefore, none of the revolts can be deemed successful, however, it should be noted that relatively closer to this were the military leaders Chŏng Chungbu, Yi Ŭibang, and Ch’oe Ch’unghŏn. Chŏng Chungbu and Yi Ŭibang carried out the 1170 coup d’état and started the period of the military rule when they replaced a substantial part of the civil officials by military officers. Ch’oe Ch’unghŏn as the fifth military leader implemented reforms that stabilized his rule and changed the established system of military regime to a certain extent. As partially successful, from the point of view of exerting one’s influence over the king and the total power, we can also consider the revolts of Kang Cho, Yi Chagyŏm, Myoch’ŏng, and some other representatives of the military regime, Ki Ch’ŏl and Sin Ton. The majority of collaborations were successful and the rebels were not punished for them, except Hong Pogwŏn, Yi Hyŏn, and Ch’oe Yu. Among four rebellions pursuing different goals, only Kim Ŭi went unpunished.

Failure of rebellions was caused most often by their revelation before they even started (Yi Hŭn’am), thwarting in their course (as in most cases) or intervention of an external power in their course (Kang Cho). In this respect, also loyal subjects are presented in the biographies as they create an opposing force to the rebels. Some of them revealed the rebellions, some were entrusted by the king to suppress them, such as e.g. Kim Pusik⁴⁶, but we can also find exemplary cases of personal bravery when a subject risked his life to protect the king, e.g. in the

46 He opposed to Yi Chagyŏm’s growing power and was in charge of putting down Myoch’ŏng’s revolt.

biography of Kim Yong where a eunuch saved king Kongmin by carrying him away on his back and hiding him from the rebels. Loyal subjects are also depicted as patient advisers who point out mistakes of the ruler and suggest a proper solution. This role is apparent in the biography of Kim Munhyŏn where the king refused to punish him despite repeated and ardent urgings of his advisers. The role of loyal subjects is rather stronger in the final part of some biographies from late Koryŏ, which is related to the punishment of the rebels.

In general, when describing kings in the biographies of the late Koryŏ period, the effort of the compilers to portray them as obscene and liable to the favor of exemplary bad subjects is apparent, such as in the case of king Ch'unghye and strictly speaking also of king Kongmin. This endeavor is undoubtedly connected with the chronicle's function of legitimation, meaning that the compilers serving to the Yi dynasty wanted to point out the loss of virtue in the last rulers of the Wang dynasty needed for holding the Mandate of Heaven. As for the previous Koryŏ rulers, their negative characteristics were referred to as well but not that intensively.

The following table will present briefly the main aspects of the rebellions; the order of the rebels corresponds to the order in the chronicle *Koryŏsa*.⁴⁷

Early Koryŏ period	Length (number of characters)	Motives for rebellion	Type of rebellion	Number of omens (celestial or natural)	Punishment/originator of punishment (or death)
Hwan Sŏn'gil	389	not fully appreciated	revolt	none	executed /king
Yi Hŭn'am	239	disloyalty to a new king	revolt	none	executed in the market /king

47 The table includes thirty-eight individual biographies. As for nine persons integrated into five individual biographies, they are taken into consideration only with respect to the categories-length and number of omens.

Wang Kyu	302	hunger for power	revolt	1	beheaded on the way to exile /king
Kim Ch'iyang	339	hunger for power	revolt	none	killed /Kang Cho
Kang Cho	1350	hunger for power (partly incited to revolt)	revolt	none	killed /Khitans
Yi Chaüi	441	enriching oneself and hunger for power	revolt	none	executed /king
Yi Chagyŏm	3763	hunger for power and later for the throne	revolt	2	banished /king
Ch'ök Chun'gyŏng	730	hunger for power and assistance to Yi Chagyŏm	revolt	none	banished, then forgiven /died of tumor
Myoch'ŏng	2843	hunger for power (or possibly a puppet of others)	revolt	3	beheaded, head exposed /king
Period of military regime					
Chŏng Chungbu	4329	discrimination of military ranks	coup d'état	2	beheaded, head exposed /Kyŏng Taesŭng
Yi Ŭibang	1089	discrimination of military ranks	coup d'état	none	beheaded /Chŏng Chungbu's son

Yi Ŭimin	1963	hunger for power, partly influenced by prophecy	coup d'état	1	beheaded, head exposed /Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn
Chŏng Pangŭi	375	hunger for power, elimination of rivals	rebellion	none	killed /people of Chinju
Cho Wŏnjŏng	796	enriching oneself	revolt	none	beheaded /king
Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn	1638 ¹	hunger for power and partly for reforms	coup d'état	5	not punished /died old aged
Han Sun	726	enriching oneself and hunger for power	collaboration	none	beheaded /Khitans
Hong Pogwŏn	1488	fear of Mongols, own benefit	collaboration	1	kicked to death /Yuan
Yi Hyŏn	241	fear of Mongols, own benefit	collaboration	none	executed in the market /king
Cho Sukch'ang	257	fear of Mongols, own benefit	collaboration	none	not punished /later beheaded for another rebellion
Cho Hwi	580	fear of Mongols, own benefit	collaboration	none	not punished /?
Kim Chun	2534	hunger for power	coup d'état	none	killed /Im Yŏn

Im Yŏn	1969	hunger for power	coup d'état	2	not punished /died of tumor
Cho I	1002	career of an official in Yuan	collaboration	none	not punished /died in Yuan
Han Hongbo	606	hatred for brother, own benefit	collaboration	none	not punished /?
U Chŏng	299	own benefit	collaboration	none	executed /Yuan
Ch'oe T'an	1230	hunger for power fear of	collaboration	none	not punished /?
Pae Chungson	783	Mongols, hunger for power	rebellion	none	killed in a fight /king, Yuan
Late Koryŏ period					
Cho Chŏk	995	own benefit	revolt	none	killed by arrow /king
Cho Ilsin	1775	own benefit and hunger for power	revolt	1	throat cut /king
Kim Yong	1200	own benefit and hunger for power	revolt	1	limbs cut off, head exposed /king
Ki Ch'ŏl	2242	enriching oneself and hunger for power	revolt	none	killed by iron club /king
Ro Ch'aek	385	enriching oneself and hunger for power	revolt	none	executed /king

Kwŏn Kyŏm	178	enriching oneself and hunger for power	revolt	none	killed by iron club /king
Ch'oe Yu	1512	hunger for power	collaboration	none	executed /Yuan cut up into pieces in the market /king
Hong Ryun	998	threat of king Kongmin	revolt	none	banished, then hung /king
Kim Munhyŏn	623	obscenity and greed, hatred for father and older brother	rebellion	none	not punished /?
Kim Ŭi	191	hatred for a Ming emissary	rebellion	none	limbs cut off, head exposed /king
Sin Ton	5955	hunger for power and own benefit	revolt	2	

4 Conclusion

A ruler who carries the oppression of his people to the highest pitch, will himself be slain, and his kingdom will perish. If one stops short of the highest pitch, his life will notwithstanding be in danger, and his kingdom will be weakened. He will be styled “The Dark”, or “The Cruel”, and though he may have filial sons and affectionate grandsons, they will not be able in a hundred generations to change the designation.⁴⁸

48 A part of a quote from Mengzi 7:2. 暴其民甚，則身弑國亡；不甚，則身危國削。名之曰『幽厲』，雖孝子慈孫，百世不能改也。 Translation borrowed from James Legge: Chinese Text Project [online]. Available at: <https://ctext.org/mengzi/li-lou-i>. (Accessed 21 December 2019).

According to Mencius, it was possible to remove a ruler who did not rule properly and oppressed the people. The core of this thought, that could serve as a justification of usurpation of the throne, appears e.g. in *Samguk sagi*, where king Mobon 慕本 (r. 48–53) of Koguryŏ was presented as an exemplary bad ruler, mistreating even his close subjects to the extent that one of them named Turo 杜魯 (?–?) killed him.⁴⁹ In the Biographies of Rebels in *Koryŏsa* this is not stated explicitly, however, the last Koryŏ kings are documented in favor of T’aejo Yi Sŏnggye.⁵⁰

The biographies clearly demonstrate which kinds of actions were undesirable and opposing the basic principles of the society from the perspective of early Chosŏn scholars-historians, among which the most important one was the relationship between the ruler and the subject based on loyalty. Therefore, the most often presented type of treason was revolt against the king as it represented the betrayal of the king. Collaborations stood for a betrayal of the state, which was symbolized by the king, meaning that they had to be counted among the most serious crimes as well. The biographies show that the rebels were driven mostly by their personal incentives, be it hunger for power, enriching oneself, improving one’s status, fear of Mongols, discrimination, hatred for someone, etc. These motives were described in some of the biographies explicitly; in the most of them it can be guessed from the narrative.

49 The justification for the regicide before it happened said:

Someone said [to Turo, who was crying as he was afraid of the king]: “Man, why are you crying? People of the antiquity said: ‘[If someone] soothes me, it is a king, [if someone] mistreats me, it is an enemy’. Now the king is carrying out harsh deeds by killing people, it is the enemy of the people. You can handle such a king”.

或曰：大丈夫何哭爲？古人曰：撫我則后，虐我則讎。今王行虐以殺人，百姓之讎也，爾其圖之。
Samguk sagi 14, Koguryŏ pongi 2, king Mobon.

50 Subsequent to the section of rebels the compilers incorporated the biography of king U 禡 (r. 1374–1388). They believed that U was not the son of king Kongmin, but of his favored Buddhist monk Sin Ton. Therefore, they decided not to include him among other kings into the part of Hereditary Houses (*sega* 世家) but in a humiliating manner at the very end of the biographical section, along with his son, king Ch’ang 昌 (r. 1388–1389), and devoted five volumes to them. This decision is mentioned also in the Foreword to *Koryŏsa*.

However, it should be borne in mind that the choice of rebels for the biographical section of the chronicle was deliberate and was made by the scholars-historians who compiled *Koryŏsa*, which was supposed to fulfil its historiographical role that was to legitimize the rule of the Yi dynasty. Yet, there are persons, who are mentioned in the biographies and their involvement in rebellions was considerable, but they were not incorporated into the section of Rebels with individual biographies, or possibly were not added to the biographies of their fellows. They appear neither in the sections of Cruel Officials (*bongni yŏljŏn* 酷吏列傳) nor Wicked Subjects (*kansin yŏljŏn* 姦臣列傳). The most distinct example is the eunuch Ch'oe Mansaeng in the biography of Hong Ryun, who instigated a plot resulting in the assassination of king Kongmin, in which he was the first to strike him with sword. Among other cases, there are: the third military leader Kyŏng Taesŭng 慶大升 (1154–1183), however, his individual biography is found in the section of unclassified biographies; the leader of a big slave uprising Manjŏk 萬積 (?–1198); the poet and active supporter of Myoch'ŏng Chŏng Chisang 鄭知常 (1068–1135); the last commander of *sambyŏlch'o* Kim T'ongjŏng 金通精 (?–1273); the leader of an uprising against the first military leaders Cho Wich'ong; and others.

A reason for that could be a concern that the volumes of the Biographies of Rebels would grow to large size, and as such it was sufficient to serve as instructions for potential future rebellions.⁵¹ We can just argue that some of the participants in rebellions were not included among the rebels due to the possible sympathies of the compilers.

According to the definitions above, all revolts described in *Koryŏsa* were unsuccessful as none of them resulted in revolution. Only few military leaders, especially Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn, happened to get closer to the stage where they started changing the established political system, but the majority of rebels were

51 In that case, the compilers could be referring to Lunyu (The Analects) 7:21. “The subjects on which the Master did not talk, were: extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings.” 子不語怪，力，亂，神。The character *nan* 亂 often refers to disorder or rebellion. Translation borrowed from James Legge: Translation borrowed from Chinese Text Project [online]. Available at: <https://ctext.org/mengzi/li-lou-i>. (Accessed 21 December 2019).

more likely to gain power or personal profit than reform the society. None of the rebels, despite often having a considerable influence on the king, power, or other favorable circumstances, ascended the throne themselves in actual fact. Not even the representatives of the military regime dared to do so as they knew they would have to justify taking over the Mandate of Heaven, which required not only the most virtuous candidate of all but also political actions for legitimation of a new dynasty.

However, as relatively more successful revolts could be considered those where the rebels dethroned the king, and as partially successful could be deemed those where the rebels did not dethrone the king but exerted significant influence over him. Most of the rebellions were revealed in their course and the rebels were punished, but in eight cases the rebels avoided the punishment. A positive example for the readers of the chronicle was created via loyal subjects who assisted the king when dealing with rebels. Usually, they were advisers to the king and as such emphasized the importance for the king to listen to his wise advisers.

The rebels were chronologically ordered, their order of appearance in the chronicle does not provide any hint of which of them was considered the worst by the compilers. A certain clue to this can be the fact that two of them, Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn and Sin Ton, were given individual volumes and these are the most extensive biographies (but at the same time, their length could also be related to the availability of historical materials at the time of the compilation). Furthermore, more serious cases of revolts could be identified by the assassination of the king, frequently mentioned despicable characteristics of the rebel and his family, crueler ways of punishment (such as cutting off limbs, extermination of Yi Ŭimin's family members and relatives in Kyŏngju from the side of his mother, father and wife), or alternatively more frequent occurrence of omens in the biography. The entries on shamanism, local cults, prophecies, etc. can also be considered to a certain extent to be added intentionally, the same could be applied to Buddhism.

The cases of thirty-eight rebels included in the section Biographies in *Koryŏsa* were supposed to serve as a “mirror” to the posterity, presenting the negative examples of behavior. The moral message for the readers of the chronicle, implied in the rebels' cases, was based on demonstrating proper values anchored in the historical tradition, and was created by merely documenting their stories in the Biographies of Rebels. The role of the official historiography was to stress the virtuous deeds and point out those one ought to learn lessons from. This was

emphasized by the employed narratives in certain parts of the biographies, especially when describing the rebels' characteristics. However, in general, the biographies were supposed to be written in an objective way, but clear enough for educated people in the early Chosŏn period to decode them correctly.

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Macuo Bašó [Matsuo Bashō]. *Haiku*, translated by Ján Zambor and František Paulovič. Kordíky: Skalná ruža. 2019—128 pp. ISBN:9788089816286.

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Perhaps the most sublime of all Japanese poets is Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694). He laid the foundations of *haiku*, now popular around the world, with his abundant emotions expressed within the restraints of the 5-7-5 syllabic form. Last year published *Haiku* presents 221 of Bashō's poems, painstakingly selected and translated into Slovakian by Ján Zambor and František Paulovič.

Zambor writes in this book, "To create this selection, first I handed over (existing) direct translations in Russian and Spanish and a selection of Czech translations to my colleague (Paulovič) for him to track down the original texts and do the research. Thereafter, I had him translate from Japanese the candidate poems chosen from the existing translations, based on the research results." (p.113) This book is, in fact, notable as the first book of Matsuo Bashō's works and the first collection of *haiku* to be translated directly from Japanese into Slovak language.

Naturally, the translation of poetry is no easy task, the more with regard to classical poetry. For instance, the many homophones in Japanese tend to lead to mistranslations based on a lack of understanding of context. Conversely, when a single word carries a double meaning, only half its import can be translated. And yet the stumbling blocks for translators of *haiku* or *waka* (Japanese poetry) in general are not limited to these linguistic issues alone. Zambor discusses the difficulty of translation at the end of the book in his study as well. First, the translator must be well informed about the era in which the poems were written, as well as the famous *kanshi* (Chinese poetry) and *waka* (Japanese poetry) they may reference. The seasonal words *kigo* used in *haiku* often draw on uniquely Japanese flora, fauna, and traditional festivals and customs, giving rise to decisions about whether to leave them in Japanese or translate (replace) them with something similar in the target language. (With the Internet in mind, the translators in this book have left these words untranslated.) Further, there is the task of imbuing the translation with the images symbolized or hinted at by these animals and plants. Finally, as poetry, the translations must partake of the requisite sense of rhythm and literary aesthetic.

While translations into Slovakian so far have always come through other languages, *Haiku* is the first collection of Matsuo Bashō's haiku to be directly translated from Japanese to Slovakian, overcoming the obstacles mentioned above with regard both to interpretation and to the beauty of the final translation

through a collaboration between the Japanese literature scholar František Paulovič and the experienced translator and poet Ján Zambor.

The *haiku* are listed in the order in which they were written by Bashō. Here I will introduce only Bashō's particularly well-known "Natsu-kusa ya / tsuwamonomo ga / yume no ato" ("The summer grasses / all that remains / Of the warriors' dreams" Blyth, R. H. 1963). The "ya" of "Natsu-kusa ya" is a *kireji* (punctuation word in *haiku*. "keri", "kana" is another) which brings out the dynamism of the original text; throughout the book, *kireji* is rendered consistently with an exclamation point or dash. This translation method effectively renders the *haiku* characteristic of expressing emotion in the minimum number of words, directly conveying in Slovakian Bashō's sense of being struck by the impermanence of this world. However, even more commendable is Zambor and Paulovič's commitment throughout the book to respecting the *haiku* form and regulating the translation, not only in *kireji* but in the number of syllables permitted to each poem, the elimination of punctuation to express the openness and multilayered quality of *haiku*, and so on. As one can see from the references, they should have studied translations in several languages published in Czech and other countries and derived the best possible translation into Slovak. This book is certain to be a valuable aid in enhancing the understanding of the original text on the part of Slovakian-speaking learners and scholars of Japanese.

The included *haibun* (prose combined with haiku) translated by Paulovič are also worthy of note. They include information on the situations and locations in which the *haiku* were written as well as the people Bashō met along the way. Bashō wrote *haiku* – on his way to Nara (p.24), while playing with children (p.59), and upon the death of a friend (p.79). His world is familiar to us in some ways and strange in others, but the combination of *haiku* and *haibun* provides us between the lines with a more three-dimensional sense of who he was.

The *haiku* collection is followed by Paulovič's supplementary information on the *haiku* and biographical notes on Bashō. While many of his *haiku* were written while traveling, place names frequently appear in his *haibun* as well. In Japan, guidebooks or television programs introducing the places along Bashō's routes are common. This book may also provide Slovakian readers with the new concept of reading *haiku* along with a map or photographs. As well, in the supplementary information, Paulovič introduces the symbolism of various features of nature and the quotations from the classics used in Bashō's *haiku*. The composition of the book as a whole provides the reader with diverse ways to read and enjoy *haiku*.

Ján Zambor's *Lessons of Matsuo Bashō* [Lekcie Macua Bašóa] is also fascinating. As well as introducing the development of *haiku* from the long history of *tanka* (the 5-7-5-7-7 syllabic form Japanese poetry) on, he also touches on form and seasonal words *kigo*. The simplicity and minimalism of Japan are often reduced to their relations to Zen Buddhism as well as *haiku*, but Zambor addresses this stereotype critically, drawing on the work of multiple scholars for a painstaking discussion of Shinto and Buddhist outlooks in addition to Zen.

Zambor also writes that Bashō's story cannot be told based simply on a few of his best-known works. Zambor's respect and empathy for Bashō are palpable in his discussion of the heartfelt and lovely *haiku* Bashō wrote on his travels, evoking people of various classes, genders, and professions as well as architecture and natural phenomena. It was likely due to this unique quality of Bashō's inspiration, drawn from the whole universe around him as well as the passage of time, that led the translators to arrange the *haiku* chronologically rather than by topic or season. The reader is thus enabled to savor the *haiku* not as individual works but within Bashō's perspective as a whole. This section also includes analysis of various objects and moments within the *haiku* and should be of great interest to general readers as well.

If the supplementary information and biographical notes on Bashō provided by Paulovič serve as hints for enjoying the *haiku*, these Lessons are the translator's consideration of Bashō's gaze on his world, as well as a straightforward letter to the reader on the translator's principles.

There would be no *haiku* without Matsuo Bashō. This form, with its abundance of emotions contained within just a few words, has become an inspiration to the visual arts as well as engendering new *haiku* around the world. This book promises to serve as a guide taking us deeper into the world of *haiku*, to the enjoyment of reading and creating.

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Longing for the Landscape: Reading Landscapes in Chinese Art.—An exhibition of Chinese painting. Zurich, Museum Rietberg, 11 September 2020–17 January 2021.

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The concept of landscape in Chinese art is significantly different from the Western understanding. While in European art it was primarily figural painting that attracted all the attention, Chinese painting emphasises landscape. Traditional Chinese landscape painting presents essentially an artistic deception of nature, however, it often has a much more profound, philosophical meaning. The landscape represents the universe and the attitude of the author, the aesthetic views of the artist or even his/her political opinions hidden in symbols. The exhibition *Longing for the Landscape*, opened at Museum Rietberg in Zurich on 10 September 2020, presents more than eighty works of art from the Drenowatz collection of the Rietberg Museum and other important European museums, such as Museum of Far Eastern Culture/ National Museum of World Culture in Sweden, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne, as well as many private collectors, which are not often available to the public. The exhibition features more than eighty artworks and covers six hundred years of Chinese art history carefully chosen by the curators, Kim Karlsson and Alexandra von Przychowski.

The exhibition consists of five thematic panels. Each of them is exhibited with a brief introduction. Viewers outside the German-speaking region will be significantly delighted to find that all the texts are also in English. In addition to traditional ink paintings, the works of contemporary artists are exhibited side by side with the ancient masters, allowing to discern landscape from a different point of view. This concept is not unusual in the major museums around the world, and it offers us a unique opportunity not only to get acquainted with traditional Chinese painting but also to see the latest trends in Chinese art. The comparison of the best works from the past with the excellent works of contemporaries underlines the beauty and uniqueness of both ancient and modern works of art. Images of ancient landscape paintings enter into a dialogue with modern works, which are not always paintings in the traditional sense. In addition to the paintings and some photographs, installations and video shots of events also give us a new perspective of landscape. Visitors will find some correlations between traditional and contemporary art and realise that the heritage of distant centuries still

resonates in the minds and hearts of artists living in the modern world and is appealing to them.

The first panel, *Mountains and Water: Cosmic Order and Earthly Paradises*, reveals spiritual and cosmological aspects of Chinese landscape painting. The purpose of the ancient artist was not to offer the realistic deception of a particular scenery but rather a concept of mountain, or the idea of cosmological categories described in philosophical texts. It reveals the relationship between humankind and nature, a philosophical notion of paradise expressed in early proto-philosophical thoughts as mythological mountains and islands inhabited by immortals. The idea of paradisiacal islands was later transformed into the concept of mystical mountains surrounded by water covered in mist. There originated the term *shanshui* 山水—mountains and water, which is a style of Chinese landscape painting. Painting a landscape therefore means much more than recording the real shape of the landscape; it captures its cosmological features and represents a kind of spiritual experience. Besides the traditional landscape by Fa Ruozen and the vessels covered by landscape from the Han dynasty, there are artworks by contemporary artists, such as an abstract painting by Zhang Yu 張羽 and an oil painting by Qiu Sihua 邱世华 inspired by Daoism.

Longing for Nature: The Landscape of Reclusion presents another essential aspect of Chinese landscape painting. Painting images of distant mountains was often a way of seeking personal freedom and escaping the reality of the “dusty world”. Life in reclusion presents an idea of a Daoist “hidden sage”, a scholar who abandoned his post and escaped to the mountains, living free, modest, and unrestrained life in harmony with nature. For the majority of scholar artists, it was nothing but a dream, therefore painting distant mountains represents a spiritual escape into the world of their paintings. The traditional paintings in this section are represented, for example, by the works of individualists, such as Gong Xian 龔賢, Hongren 弘仁, and Bada Shanren 八大山人; their modern followers seeking for individual freedom are represented by photography of Lin Tianmiao 林天苗 & Wang Gongxin 王功新, a statue by Shi Jinsong 史金淞, and a painting by Gao Xingjian 高行健 who is more famous as a writer.

Poetry in Painting—Painting Becoming Poetry shows another vital aspect of Chinese painting, which is its connection with poetry. Su Shi 苏轼, one of the *literati* painters used to merge painting with poetry by adding poems to his paintings. The association and close contact of painting and poetry later became one of the typical features of Chinese landscape paintings. Su Shi's paintings cannot miss here, and they are exhibited side by side with the paintings of Wen Zhenming 文徵明, Shen Zhou 沈周, Jin Nong 金農, and also with traditional landscapes by masters of the 20th century, such as Fu Baoshi 傅抱石 and Li Keran

李可染. The contemporary counterparts are Lee Chun-yi's 李君毅 poem in painting, Liang Shaoji's 梁绍基 installation made of silk fibres, and other.

Wanderlust: Painting "Famous Mountains and Unexcelled Places" explores the desire to travel, which was one of the typical elements of Chinese landscape painting. The motif of a lone traveller in the mountains has been very common since the first landscape paintings. Travelling and using paintings to record the memories of the visited sceneries was one of the reasons for painting landscapes. It characterised the scholar painters such as Su Shi, and later Dong Qichang 董其昌, who advocated wandering ten thousand miles. For many artists living in the sixteen century, travelling became a part of their sophisticated lifestyle. They visited beautiful sceneries of famous mountains, like Huangshan, beautiful sceneries of Suzhou and Hangzhou, which in the past was compared to paradise on earth. Some artists painted real mountains or sceneries; some presented their imaginative landscapes. Painting landscapes was a means to travel to many artists, at least in their dreams. Paintings by Mei Qing 梅清, Gao Qipei 高其佩, but also contemporary Wang Jin 王晋, and others show us an essence of wanderlust in Chinese art.

The last part of the exhibition *"Lofty Antiquity": Learning from the Masters* introduces one of the essential differences between Western and Chinese paintings, which is their attitude to the originality of a work of art. While in Western countries, originality is a fundamental issue in art, in China, learning from ancient masters was not only widely accepted but also a highly appreciated method of expressing admiration to them. It was customary to paint in the style of famous artists, and "learning from ancient masters" was the last of the Six Principles by the ancient artist and art theorist Xie He 謝赫. During the Ming dynasty, Dong Qichang expressed his opinion that it was impossible to establish a unique individual style, because everything had already been done, and the artist could only find himself in combining the elements of ancient masters. This almost postmodernist statement was denied by Shitao, whose works are paradoxically incorporated in this panel, too. Besides Dong Qinchang and his adversary Shitao 石濤, there are paintings by Huang Binhong 黃賓虹, prints from *Painting Manual of the Mustard Seed* 芥子園畫譜, and other artworks. Contemporary art is represented by Wucius Wong, Lui Shou-Kwan (Lü Shoukun) 呂壽琨, Liu Guosong 劉國松, Huang Yan 黄岩, Yang Yongliang 楊泳梁, and others.

The exhibition will be open to the public until 17 January 2021. Unfortunately, because of travelling restrictions caused by Covid, it will not be easy to visit it, but

a catalogue from the exhibition is available. In the catalogue, the authors offer more elaborate articles with a detailed explanation of each panel.

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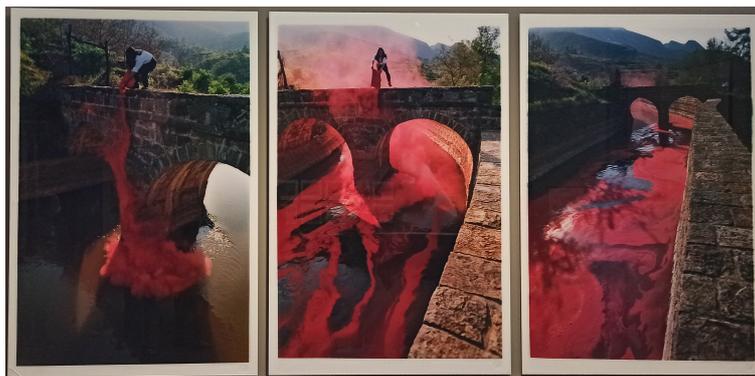


Plate 1

Wang Jin (b. 1962) Fighting the Flood—Red Flag Canal, 2001, C print, 3 parts, each 197 x 127 cm, DSL collection.



Plate 2

Gong Xian (1619–1689), A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines, Qing dynasty, ca. 1670, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 62 × 102 cm, donation Charles A. Drenowatz, © Museum Rietberg, photos: Rainer Wolfsberger.



Plate 3

Huang Yan (b. 1966), Chinese Landscape—Tattoo, No. 7, dated 1999, C-Print, 80 × 100 cm, © the artist, courtesy Fondation INK.



Plate 4

Liu Guosong (b. 1932), Snow, dated 1967, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, gift of Charles A. Drenowatz, Museum Rietberg.



Plate 6

Shitao (1642–1701) Landscapes, Qing dynasty, dated 1702, Album 8 leaves, 18.6 x 29.5 cm, Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, National Museum of World Culture, Sweden.



Plate 7

Lin Tianmiao (b. 1961) and Wang Gongxin (b. 1960) Here? Or There? Dated 2004, Silver gelatine print, 35 x 42 cm Fondation INK.

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