

STUDIA ORIENTALIA SLOVACA

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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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Štúdie · Articles

In Memoriam of Raoul David Findeisen (1958–2017): Obituary.....	I
<i>Marián Gálik</i>	
Oriental Philology in the Service of Bettering Man: Rudolf Dvořák's Czech Translation of the <i>Daodejing</i>	17
<i>Olga Lomová</i>	
China and Yiddish: Contacts between Cultures.....	37
<i>Irene Eber</i>	
Ye Chucang and the <i>Juewu</i> (Awakening; 1919–32) Supplement to <i>Minguo ribao</i> (Republican Daily).....	49
<i>Sun Hantian</i>	
<i>Fresh Ghosts</i> —Walkabout in Australia with Lu Xun.....	73
<i>Jon E. Kowallis</i>	
Qian Mu's View on Intuition.....	93
<i>Gad C. Isay</i>	
Chinese Dream Captured on Paper: Drawings by Jaroslav Slovák.....	105
<i>Lucie Olřivová</i>	
Two Tungusic Etymologies.....	125
<i>Alexander Vovin</i>	
O autoroch · List of Contributors with Contact Details.....	135

Raoul David Findeisen (1958–2017)



Poem for Raoul

Raoul Findeisen 馮鐵 was a great light in our field and a wonderful friend to me. I will miss him for the rest of my life. A week or so after I had learned of his death in Beijing, after I had returned to Sydney I wrote an old-style poem in Chinese mourning him which runs:

瑞士出奇才，
馮鐵鑽中文。
魯迅振其心，
夭折五洲哀。

寇志明於悉尼哭學兄馮鐵

Switzerland has brought forth wonderous genius,
Findeisen mastered Chinese and researched its literature.

Lu Xun stirred his heart,
Dying before his time, the Five Continents mourn.

Jon Eugene von Kowallis, mourning Raoul David Findeisen in Sydney

In Memoriam of Raoul David Findeisen (1958–2017): Obituary

Marián Gálik

Professor Raoul David Findeisen was born on May 17, 1958 in Signalégier, Switzerland. He studied Sinology, Japanology, philosophy and comparative literature in Berlin, Taipei, Peking and in Bonn. For some years after finishing his studies, he was not able to find a job at the universities around, and for his living he had to work as a taxi driver in Berlin and later as an employee in the pharmaceutical industry in his own country. He also spent one and a half years (1988–August 19, 1989) in Peking working as a translator from Chinese to German for one journal. In 1987, he finished his M.A. thesis on Nietzsche and also completed his PhD thesis on Lu Xun during his stay in Bonn.

His first *epiphany* to the Sinological world was the organization (together with Thomas Fröhlich) of the International Symposium on Nietzsche and East Asia, September 26–29, 1998, in Hotel Waldhaus, Sils-Maria, Switzerland. This symposium held in a small town in Upper Engadin where Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) wrote his best works, was a place, where for the first time 13 papers were read by the well-known scholars from Europe, US, China, Taiwan, Japan, and Australia in addition to 4 who could not participate for various reasons. The symposium was introduced by Professor Wolfgang Kubin, Findeisen's teacher, and his provocative paper »Du gehst zum Chinesen? Vergiss die Peitsche nicht! Was Nietzsche in China hätte sein können, aber niemals war«, was the first among his many later critical attacks against the situation in the different fields of Chinese culture. I shall mention some of the participants whose contributions, in my opinion, were most important: Attilio Andreini (Italy), Takeda Sumio 竹田純郎 (Japan), Mabel Lee 陳順妍 (Australia), Chiu-yee Cheung 張釗貽 (Australia), Cheng Fang 成芳 (China), Zhou Guoping 周國平 (China), Tran Wan Doan 陳文團 (Taiwan) and Cai Zong-qi 蔡宗齊 (USA). It is a pity that these papers remained

unpublished into book form despite the wish of the organizers. The probable cause was the lack of financial resources. As far as I know, Raoul Findeisen never explained it to the participants.

Nine years before this event I had invited Raoul Findeisen as one of the most talented young Sinologists in Europe to come to Bratislava. He spent one month in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences, during winter semester of 1989, most of the time studying different materials in my private library that he could not find at least in Germany or in Switzerland. He became a friend of my students Martin Slobodník and Jana Benická who became his colleagues in Comenius University during the last years of his life. He himself regarded this stay as very important for his further development as a scholar. At the beginning, even before the Sils-Maria symposium, especially my extensive study »Nietzsche in China, 1918–1925«¹ meant much to him and in his later essay he regarded it as »einen bahnbrechenden und wegbereitenden Aufsatz über die Auseinandersetzung der wichtigsten chinesischen Rezipienten mit Nietzsche vorgelegt und seine Untersuchungsergebnisse in zahlreichen Einzeluntersuchungen und Abhandlungen verarbeitet und ausgebaut.«² I cannot remember what materials he searched for, but it was, among others, probably Lu Xun to whom he devoted more time, even compared to Nietzsche. Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881–1936) was the subject of his PhD thesis from the year 1996 and to him he later devoted his voluminous book.³

It seems that at first Raoul Findeisen was interested in philosophical questions, the literary came later. At the beginning of 1990s, he published the essays on John Dewey (1859–1952), Bertrand Russell (1872–1970), and Henri Bergson (1859–1941), but most of them were concerned with Nietzsche. In the

1 Marián Gálik, »Nietzsche in China, 1918–1925«, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 110 (1971), 5–48.

2 Raoul D. Findeisen, »Die Last der Kultur. Vier Fallstudien zur chinesischen Nietzsche-Rezeption (Erster Teil)«, *Minima sinica* 2 (1989), 18–19.

3 Raoul D. Findeisen, *Lu Xun. Texte, Chronik, Bilder, Dokumente* (Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld Verlag, 2001).

second half of the 1990s followed partly his literary but also historical studies. The first one was again connected with Nietzsche's famous poem »On the bridge I stood/ in that sweet ripe dusk...« in »Xu Zhimo's Dreaming in Sawston (England)—On the Sources of a Venice Poem«,⁴ bringing its history and its slight changes. Original of Nietzsche's text of the poem »An der Brücke stand/jüngst ich in brauer Nacht...« is from the booklet *Ecce homo (Warum ich so klug bin)*, translated into English in a volume compiled by Anthony M. Ludovici and translated by an unknown translator in *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*.⁵ »Two Aviators: Gabriel D'Annunzio and Xu Zhimo«⁶ is another of his interesting essays. We have already shown that Lu Xun and Nietzsche were Findeisen's most studied authors. Such was also his essay written immediately after Nietzsche's Venice bridge poem »"With Apology to Nietzsche!"—Lin Yutang's Adaptations from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*«. ⁷ In the journal *Asian and African Studies* he published »The Burden of Culture: Glimpses at Literary Reception of Nietzsche in China«. ⁸ It is, to some extent, the continuation of my study on Nietzsche in China in the years 1918–1925, but with emphasis on literary and not philosophical aspects, paying attention to Lu Xun, Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896–1981), Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978) and Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (1896–1945). Two of his essays appeared in 1994: »Evolution, Superman, Overman, *chaoren*—Nietzsche's Concept as Transitional Idea of Change«⁹ and »A

- 4 Raoul D. Findeisen, »Xu Zhimo's Dreaming in Sawston (England)—On the Sources of a Venice Poem«, *Asiatica Venetiana* 1 (1996), 27–42.
- 5 Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche* (Edinburg; London: T. N. Foulis, 1911), Vol. XVII, p. 46.
- 6 Raoul D. Findeisen, »Two Aviators: Gabriel D'Annunzio and Xu Zhimo«, in *Cultural Dialogue and Misreadings*, ed. by Mabel Lee and Meng Hua (Sydney: Wild Peony, 1997), 75–85.
- 7 Raoul D. Findeisen, »"With Apology to Nietzsche!"—Lin Yutang's Adaptations from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*«, in *Parody, Pastiche and Mimetism*, ed. by Paola Mildonian (Roma: Bulzoni, 1997), 275–290.
- 8 Raoul D. Findeisen, »The Burden of Culture: Glimpses at Literary Reception of Nietzsche in China«, *Asian and African Studies* 6,1 (1997), 76–91.
- 9 Raoul D. Findeisen, »Evolution, Superman, Overman, *chaoren*—Nietzsche's Concept as Transitional Idea of Change«, in *Notion et perceptions du changement en Chine. Textes présentés au IXe congrès de l'Association Européenne d'Etudes Chinoises*, ed. Viviane Alleton and Alexei Volkov (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises, 1994), 105–118.

Sino-German Venture of the '40s: Fascist Reception of Nietzschean Philosophy and the Zhanguopai». ¹⁰ My last essay on Nietzsche was published in 2013 in Chinese version in the volume *Nicai yu Huawen wenxue lunwenji* 尼採與華文文學論文集, ¹¹ and his was published under the title: »Repeated Modes According to Dame aux Camélias and Copyright Infringements: Nietzsche Translations in China« in the same collection. ¹² If I published five studies on Nietzsche, ¹³ he published much more learned and sophisticated studies. The meaning of the work and the thought of Nietzsche was for Raoul Findeisen him as that of »turning-point into Modernity« for Jürgen Habermas (see his proposal for an International Symposium to be held in Sils-Maria).

Much of his work I have mentioned so far was done during his stay as an assistant at Free University of Berlin beginning with 1988 till January 1993, and at the Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies of Zürich University from February 1993 to September 1999 working as a Senior Lecturer. Among the works written at the end of these years, I am especially obliged to mention his and Robert H.

- 10 Raoul D. Findeisen, »A Sino-German Venture of the '40s: Fascist Reception of Nietzschean Philosophy and the Zhanguopai«, in *Chinese Literature and European Context*, ed. by Marián Gálik (Bratislava: Slovak Academy of Sciences, 1994), 73–81.
- 11 Marián Gálik, »Wo de “Nicai zai Zhongguo” sishi nian 我的“尼採在中國”四十年 (1971–2011)« [My “Nietzsche in China” after 40 Years (1971–2011)], in *Nicai yu Huawen wenxue lunwenji* 尼採與華文文學論文集 [Nietzsche and Chinese Literature], ed. by Chiu-yee Cheung 張釗貽 (Singapore: Bafang wenhua chuanguzoshi, 2013), 3–17.
- 12 Raoul D. Findeisen, »Chongfu de “Chahuanü” fangshi yu qinfan banquan: Nicai fanyi zai Zhongguo 重複的《茶花女》方式與侵犯版權：尼採翻譯在中國 [Repeated Modes According to Dame aux Camélias and Copyright Infringements: Nietzsche Translations in China]«, in *Nicai yu Huawen wenxue lunwenji* 尼採與華文文學論文集 [Nietzsche and Chinese Literature], ed. by Chiu-yee Cheung 張釗貽 (Singapore: Bafang wenhua chuanguzoshi, 2013), 273–302.
- 13 See the Chinese version: Marián Gálik 馬立安·高利克, *Cong Gede, Nicai dao Lierke: Zhong De kua wenhua jiaoliu yanjiu* 從歌德，尼採到裡爾克：中德跨文化交流研究 [From Goethe, Nietzsche to Rilke. Studies in Sino-German Intercultural Process] (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2017), 155–281.

Gassmann's *Autumn Floods*.¹⁴ The *Festschrift* consists of 56 studies along with Raoul Findeisen's »Against the Frog's Perspective. An Introduction« (pp. XV–XIX). He extolls the broad view presented in my works up to my 65th birthday with the citation from the philosopher Zhuangzi 莊子 (4th–3th cent. BCE): »You can't discuss the ocean with a well frog—he's limited by space he lives in. You can't discuss ice with a summer insect—he's bound to a single season. You can't discuss the Way with a cramped scholar—he's shackled by his doctrines.« According to him, I, reaching at that time the autumn of life, have produced a rich and sometimes provocative flood of publications. I am very much indebted to him for this work consisting of five different parts of essays written by the scholars of different nations in six languages, some even unknown to me, most of them concerned with modern Chinese literature and intellectual history, and with interliterary and intercultural networks. Raoul Findeisen also compiled a full list of my publications containing my monographs, scholarly essays, articles in encyclopaedias and in dictionaries, popular articles, book reviews, translations, edited books and publications about me up to the year 1997. The *Festschrift* is concluded with an index of personal names with glossary.

It is necessary to mention that the first essay from the twelve that appeared on Raoul David Findeisen until 2011, was written by the Slovak journalist Ida Bibelová.¹⁵

Later in the century, Findeisen proceeded to prepare two new *Festschrifts*. The first one, together with Gad C. Isay, Amira Katz-Goehr, Yuri Pines and Lihi Yariv-Laor, was under the title *At Home in Many Worlds. Reading, Writing and Translating from Chinese and Jewish Cultures: Essays in Honour of Irene Eber* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009). In introduction of the book Findeisen recollected: »It is only when I met Irene Eber in person at Smolenice Castle, Slovakia [in 1993 during the preparation of the International Workshop, »The Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact«, Jerusalem, 1996,

14 *Autumn Floods. Essays in Honour of Marián Gálik / 秋水—慶祝高利克先生六十五壽辰論文集*, ed. by Raoul D. Findeisen and Robert H. Gassmann (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998).

15 Ida Bibelová, »Švajčiarsky sinológ R. D. Findeisen o zborníku vydanom na počesť slovenského vedca M. Gálíka« [Swiss Sinologist R. D. Findeisen Talks about the Volume Edited in Honour of the Slovak Scholar M. Gálik], *Sme*, March 13, 1998, 9.

M.G.] that I got to know some detail about the high price she had paid for her broad linguistic horizon. With ever more admiration did I read her memoir *The Choice* (2005; 3.1) in which the perspective acquired thanks to a language that is the core of what has become her profession...« He especially highlights the impact of Irene Eber on biblical studies of her friends and students, such as Gad C. Isay, Cao Jian 曹坚, Sze-kar Wan 温司卡 and Lihi Yariv-Laor.

The second one was *Talking Literature*.¹⁶ According to the first page of the book »This Volume is Published on the Occasion of the Eightieth Birthday of Marián Gálik and is Dedicated to Irene Eber, Marián Gálik, Věnceslava Hrdličková, Oldřich Švarný, Tang Yijie 湯一介, Yan Jiayan 嚴家炎, Yue Daiyun 樂黛雲.« This *Festschrift* has a relatively long history. On April 10–15, 2008, sinologists from nine countries gathered in Bratislava and Vienna to discuss the problems of modern and traditional Chinese culture. In accord with my original proposal, the aim of the symposium was to follow the idea from Confucius's *yi wen bui you, yi you fu ren* 以文會友以友輔仁 ('to share the culture with friends and in this way to improve our humanity', *Lunyu* 論語 12.24). In traditional China this was a prerequisite of noble minds. To call the *Festschrift* in this way did not seem appropriate to Raoul Findeisen and during his stay in Jerusalem, after some evenings and nights of discussions with Amira Katz-Goehr and her husband Professor Alexander Goehr (Cambridge), he decided to change the title into *Talking Literature*, something similar to the traditional *lun wen* 論文 discourses about literature. It was probably also because only two essays in the collection are concerned with traditional philosophy and religion and the majority of them, seven in all, are related to modern literature and linguistics. Two more subjects are the part of this *Festschrift*: three essays concerned with traditional literature and five with Bible, Christianity and intercultural studies.

The last one of the above-mentioned volumes contains probably the best of Findeisen's studies on biblical topic »“God Was Their Souls' Love, Women Their Bodies”—Two Chinese Versions of the *Song of Songs* (1930/32)«¹⁷ analysing two

16 *Talking Literature: Essays on Chinese and Biblical Writings and Their Interaction*, ed. by Raoul D. Findeisen and Martin Slobodník (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013).

17 Raoul D. Findeisen, »“God Was Their Souls' Love, Women Their Bodies”—Two Chinese Versions

translations of this jewel of biblical scriptures by Wu Shutian 吴曙天, a not very well-known woman writer, published in 1930 under the simple title *Yage* 雅歌 in two printings of 2000 copies together, and the second by a well-known poet Chen Mengjia 陈梦家 under the title *Ge zhong zhi ge* 歌中之歌, published in 1932 in 8000 copies. »God was their souls' love, women their bodies'« is Findeisen's interpretation of Chen Mengjia's introduction (p. 2), though the literal translation of the second part of the sentence should be »women were their carnal God«. In his analysis he prefers the rendition of Wu Shutian, but I cannot agree with him. Of course, my opinion may not be the better than his, since *de gustibus non est disputandum*.

The first among his biblical studies appeared in the *Bible in Modern China. The Literary and Intellectual Impact* under the title »Wang Jingzhi's "Yesu de fenfu" (The Instructions by Jesus): A Christian Novel?«¹⁸ The question mark was to some extent meaningful since the novel has anti-Christian tendency. Another of his studies with a likewise question mark was read on October 24, 2007 at the International Symposium Encounters between Chinese Literary Works and the Old Testament, Mount Scopus, Maiersdorf Faculty Club, Jerusalem, under the title »A Transposition of Mao Dun in Christian Spirit? The French Adoption of *Huanmie* (1927) by Jing Yinyu (1929)«. In any case it had nothing to do with the Old Testament, but he was not quite sure about his assertion and later published it in *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung*.¹⁹ In Raoul Findeisen's library there is a book *Biblische Geschichte für Schule und Haus* (Basel, 1970) bought on April 24, 1973 when he was 15 years old and published on order of the Calvinistic Church of Switzerland towards which he later had quite critical attitude. For obvious reasons, *Song of Songs* is not even mentioned in this book. It has nothing to do with real history.

of the *Song of Songs* (1930/32)«, in *Talking Literature: Essays on Chinese and Biblical Writings and Their Interaction*, ed. by Raoul D. Findeisen and Martin Slobodnik (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), 125–140.

18 Raoul D. Findeisen, »Wang Jingzhi's "Yesu de fenfu" (The Instructions by Jesus): A Christian Novel?«, in *Bible in Modern China. The Literary and Intellectual Impact*, ed. by Irene Eber, Sze-kar Wan and Knut Walf (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999), 279–300.

19 Raoul D. Findeisen, »A Transposition to Redress Mao Dun's Flaws? Jing Yinyu's French Adaptation (1929) of *Huanmie* (1927)«, *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 34 (2010), 145–158.

Except *Lu Xun. Texte, Chronik, Bilder, Dokumente* mentioned presently, which was Findeisen's *summa cum laude* PhD thesis from February 1996 with Wolfgang Kubin as adviser; he wrote or published three books: *Nietzsche-Reception in China* (1902–1937), M.A. thesis (Free University Berlin, 1987, 137 pp., unpublished), *An einem Tisch schreiben, auf einer Bank lesen—Schreibende Paare im modernen China*, Venia legendi thesis (University of Zürich, 2000, 266 pp., unpublished) and the most extensive in Chinese translation *Zai Napoli de hutong li—Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu lunji* 在那坡裡的胡同裡—中國現代文學研究論集.²⁰ It includes 17 of his essays from 86 that he published altogether. It is impossible to judge the impact of this book and its content on Chinese readers since only one review appeared in China written by Professor Li Yi 李怡 published in widely read *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan* 中國現代文學研究叢刊 (9, 2012, 211–214), and in English in *Studia Orientalia Slovaca* (10,2, 2011, 446–452). It is a pity that these studies, which appeared in different journals, were never published in original languages as one book in Germany or in Switzerland. It is my wish for the future. Maybe here we may mention two books edited together with Thomas Fröhlich and Robert H. Gassmann *Chinesische Reisen in der Schweiz. Aus dem »Garten Europas«* (Zürich: NZZ Verlag, 2000) and the Chinese version *Zoujin Zhongguo. Ruishiren zai Hua jianwen lu* 走進中國，瑞士人在華見聞錄 [Entering into China. Accounts by Swiss Travellers in China] (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe zhongxin, 2000).

In the last years of his life beginning with 2009, Raoul Findeisen was interested in different aspects of translation and authors' manuscripts. The first essay of this kind was devoted to Lu Xun's translation of Nikolai Vasilyevich Gogol's *Dead Souls* under the title »A Translator's Testament: Lu Xun and His Si linghun (Dead Souls, 1935–36)«. ²¹ One of the last in relation to Nietzsche and *La*

20 Raoul D. Findeisen 馮鐵, *Zai Napoli de hutong li—Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu lunji* 在那坡裡的胡同裡—中國現代文學研究論集 [In the *butong* of Naples—Collected Studies on Modern Chinese Literature], trans. by Huoyuan 火源 *et al.* (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe 2010).

21 Raoul D. Findeisen, »A Translator's Testament: Lu Xun and His Si linghun (Dead Souls, 1935–36)«, in *At Home in Many Worlds. Reading, Writing and Translating from Chinese and Jewish Cultures: Essays*

Dame aux Camélias from the year 2013 has already been mentioned above. In his essay on the two Chinese versions of the *Song of Songs*, shortly analysed above, he wrote the following: »...it is my strong and well-founded belief that second-hand, i.e. mediated translation has probably been and still is the most influential mode of interliterary communication, not only in China but all over the world.«²² One of his last articles, entitled »‘Upper Hungary’ - Zhou Zuoren’s 1909 Translation, Revised by Lu Xun of Mikszáth’s Szent Péter esernyője (1895)« (*Studia Orientalia Slovaca* 15,2, 2016, 157–188), is about Slovakia in the work of famous Hungarian writer. Hungarian and Slovak were two languages he could read and also speak, at least to some extent, just as well Polish, Russian and Hebrew. He spoke French, German, English, Schwyzertüütsch, mastered Italian, could read Japanese, and, of course, speak and write perfectly in Chinese. The introductory essay into the problem concerning the manuscripts of modern Chinese writers, but to some extent, in general, e.g. that of Paul Valéry, V. V. Nabokov and the theoreticians A. Gressillon and L. Hay, was published in Findeisen’s extensive paper »Modern Chinese Writers’ Manuscripts Or: When Did Authors Start to Keep Their Drafts?« (*Asian and African Studies*, 18,2, 2009, 265–292). It was read partly on the occasion of his presence as a Visiting Professor at the Department of East Asian Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem during the winter term 2008/2009. Some essays followed, of which, we may mention his »Towards a critical Edition of Feng Zhi’s Last Poem: Considerations Drawn from Three Draft Manuscripts«²³ and probably the last one published before his premature death »Chinese Manuscript Studies and Perspectives of ‘manuscriptology’« (*Studia Orientalia Slovaca*, 15,2, 2016, 189–195). At the end of this essay he expressed his belief that »the most convincing way to establish manuscriptology are examples, that is critical editions based on the manuscripts of representative modern texts that display the whole range of potential of this newly emerging discipline to elucidate writers’ creative process, not only to a scholarly audience, but also to a broader readership« (Ibid., 195).

in Honour of Irene Eber, ed. by Gad C. Isay, Amira Katz-Goehr, Yuri Pines and Lihí Yariv-Laor (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 189–202.

22 Findeisen, »‘God Was Their Souls’ Love, Women Their Bodies’«, 123.

23 Raoul D. Findeisen, »Towards a Critical Edition of Feng Zhi’s Last Poem: Considerations Drawn from Three Draft Manuscripts«, in *Studies in Chinese Manuscripts: From the Warring States Period to the 20th Century*, ed. by Imre Galambos. (Budapest: ELTE University, 2013), 249–271.

Raoul Findeisen's translations, published and unpublished, are also rich and manifold. He translated 9 stories by Lu Xun for *Lu Xun: Werke*²⁴ (6 vols., ed.). He also translated Wang Xirong 王禘榮 »New Achievements in Lu Xun Studies and the New Edition of His Complete Works« (*Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 29, 2005, 135–150), and his »The 1980s As Seen Across the Annotation of the "Complete Works of Lu Xun"« (*Studia Orientalia Slovaca* 13,1, 2014, 27–54). One shorter essay by Yan Jiayan was also on the subject of Lu Xun: »A Pioneer Raising Issues Against the Mainstream—On Lu Xun's "Fundamental Difference Between Literature and Politics"« (*Studia Orientalia Slovaca* 10,2, 2011, 283–290). Another longer one »An Enquiry into "Wholesome Anti-Traditionalism" of May Fourth« appeared in the volume *Talking Literature* (pp. 141–161) translated by Raoul Findeisen. Together with Michaela Goecke-Amelung, he translated one article by Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓, a well-known Chinese sympathizer of Christianity and his best friend from Basel time: »Freude in China und Sünde im Christentum—Ein Vergleich« (*Minima sinica* 1, 1991, 1–20). Although he mainly preferred the literature of mainland China, his first translation seems to be Lin Huaimin's 林懷民 »Abschied von der Heimat« in the collection of short stories *Der Ewige Fluss. Chinesische Erzählungen aus Taiwan* (München: Minerva-Publikation, 1986, 173–194). Eight stories by Zhao Shuxia 趙淑俠 under the title *Eine Chinesin in der Schweiz* remained, as far as I know, unpublished. It is necessary to mention one issue of *Studia Orientalia slovaca* (11,1, 2012), which brought Taiwan Literature Off the Mainstream to the interested readers. It was edited by Henning Klöter with Raoul Findeisen as Editor-in-Chief and was originally presented at an international symposium held at Ruhr University of Bochum in 2010. I am very much indebted to Raoul Findeisen for translating my first paper on the reception of the Bible in contemporary China from English into German. It was read at the International Conference on Contemporary Chinese Fiction and Its Literary Antecedents, Harvard University, John King Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, May 11–13, 1990 under the title »Wang Meng's Mythopoeic Vision of Golgotha and the Apocalypse«, and published soon later as »Die mythopoetische Vision von Golgotha und die Apokalypse bei Wang Meng« (*Minima sinica* 2, 1991, 55–82).

24 *Lu Xun: Werke*, 6 Bände, ed. by Wolfgang Kubin (Zürich: Unionsverlag 1994).

From his contributions to the dictionaries and encyclopaedias, »Rezeption ausländischer Literatur in China« is the most extensive entry. It appeared in *China-Handbuch*,²⁵ and later as a reprint »Rezeption ausländischer Literatur (2. Hälfte 20 Jh.)« in *Das grosse China-Lexikon*.²⁶ It was published together with my essays with a similar title (on pp. 632a–634a). The only distinction was that his were concerned with the second half and mine with the first half of the 20th century. Raoul Findeisen published only 9 book reviews of which two were on two books written by his friend as well as his rival in studies concerning Nietzsche and Lu Xun: »Cheung Chiu-yee: Nietzsche in China« (*Monumenta Serica* 42, 1994, 547–554) and »Cheung Chiu-yee: Lu Xun. The Chinese “Gentle” Nietzsche« (*ORIENTierungen* 14,2, 2002, 152–158). Here it is also possible to mention »Doctoral Dissertations on China and Inner Asia, 1976–1990: An Annotated Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages, ed. by Frank J. Schulman« (*Asiatische Studien* 54,2, 2000, 450–453). Twelve relatively short news or accolades given to Raoul D. Findeisen’s work have also been published. The first article by the Slovak journalist written in 1998 was followed by others in 2005 and later. The first of them was about Findeisen’s detective story searching for materials concerning Li Jieren 李劫人, a translator of French literature into Chinese living in Chengdu; and was published in the newspaper *Huaxi dusbi bao* 華西都市報 (March 17, 2005, B04). From his stay during the winter and summer 2006–2007 at Sichuan University as a visiting professor on the invitation of Professor Cao Shunqing 曹順慶, there are four interesting talks with the Chinese journalists telling much about his attitude towards life. These talks appeared as: »Working in Leisure, Pleasure in Work« (*Chengdu ribao* 成都日報, August 16, 2007, A7), »A New Understanding of “Leisure”« (Ibid.), »Leisure Talk: A Foreigner Also Speaks Liberally About “Old Chengdu”« (*Chengdu wanbao* 成都晚報, August 16, 2007, 11), and the last one »A Relaxed Foreigner: Both Tasting Tea and as a Consultant for Popular Culture« (*Huaxi dusbi bao* 華西都市報, August 16, 2007, 21). In the same year Raoul Findeisen together with me participated in the 1st Qinghai Lake International Poetry Festival at Xining, Qinghai Province; and together with me he was asked

25 *China-Handbuch*, ed. by Brunhild Staiger et al. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003), 634a–636a.

26 *Das grosse China-Lexikon*, ed. by Brunhild Staiger, Stephan Friedrich and Hans-Wilm Schütte (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), 634a–636a.

to express his impressions in »Chinese Culture Has Attracted Me—An Interview with the Sinologists Gálik and Findeisen« (*Xining dusbi bao* 西寧都市報, August 8, 2007, D31). It seems that the last piece of his contribution to Slovak Sinology was »Chinese Studies in Contemporary Slovakia« (*Guowai shehuikexue* 國外社會科學, 4, 2011, 55–62).

After March 2009, when he became Professor at the Department of East Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava, apart from teaching he took over the responsibility of Editor in Chief of *Studia Orientalia Slovaca*. All numbers, with the exception of Vol. 11, No. 1, 2012, were edited entirely by him with the contributions in English and partly in Slovak and Czech languages. Absolute precision was typical of him and among his colleagues he was feared for his »Fanatismus in der Typographie« as he remarked in his last meeting with Martin Slobodník on the deathbed in October 2017.

All that is written above is only a part of what he has done in the field of Sinology. For writing the obituary it is also necessary to take into account his human side based on his correspondence and the friendly talks with him. The first letter I received from him was from Peking, dated September 18, 1988, after our meeting, thanking me for the recommendation to meet Professor Yue Daiyun, one of the first in the People's Republic of China who wrote about Nietzsche, and about his visit of Peking Library where he could read and make photocopies of different and hardly accessible Chinese philosophical journals. In that letter he also expressed his wish to continue his studies in Bratislava. After the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia in June 1990, Findeisen received an official letter from the Department of Languages, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, agreeing with his wish to study comparative literature at the Comenius University and in the Literary Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. I do not remember about his visits to the Literary Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, but he appreciated the theory of comparative literature by the Slovak literary theorist Dionýz Ďurišin (1929–1997) very much. From one of his letters dated January 16, 1990, I know that he bought »ein Slowakisch Lehrbuch« and even found a Slovak teacher who was prepared to teach him this language. In his second essay on Nietzsche »Die Last der Kultur. Vier Fallstudien zur chinesischen Nietzsche-Rezeption« mentioned above, Raoul Findeisen quoted and mentioned

my works 42 times. When I wrote to him that I regard it as strange, he answered in his letter dated August 13, 1990: »Nehmen Sie es einfach als Ausdruck davon, dass ich nicht anders kann, als Sie als meinen Lehrer zu betrachten, und ich niemanden wüsste, der ähnlich Wichtiges zu meinem Thema gesagt und geschrieben hat. Aber ich verspreche Ihnen, Sie künftig nur noch pauschal zu nennen...« In his letter dated December 29, 1990, he wrote: »Ich möchte Ihnen von ganzem Herzen für den Monat in Bratislava danken. Es war für mich eine wunderbare Zeit, anregend and fruchtbar.« He was a very enthusiastic writer of letters. On March 13, 1991 before my visit and reading a paper in Basel I received two of them in one day! He was interested about the life of my students at Peking University in two of his letters from June 21 and September 18, 1991. On Stephen's Day that year he met Jana Benická and Martin Slobodník at Shaoyuan Hostel at Peking University (according to his letter dated December 29, 1991). In my letter dated August 1, 1992, I informed him again about Martin Slobodník who after coming back from China had begun with the study of Tibetan history and about Jana Benická who had not been sure what she would do but later decided for Chinese Buddhism. From December 26-30, 1992, he was invited to visit my house. In reality, he stayed there until January 1, 1993, and was an eyewitness to the birth of the Slovak Republic participating at the gathering of the masses on the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava. Shortly before he was asked by Professor Gassmann to work as an Assistant Professor of modern Chinese literature at Zürich University. One of his letters dated September 9, 1993, 3 pages long, reached me at the Department of Indian and Far Eastern Studies in Venice, concerned mostly with the suicide of the poet Gu Cheng 顧城 (1956-1993) and the murder of Xie Ye 謝燁 (1958-1993), his wife. At that time I was enjoying four months of study of modern Chinese Decadence at Ca' Soranzo on the invitation of Professor Mario Sabattini. From the beginning of the next year, I remember January 25, 1994 when my paper entitled »Chinese Literature in Its European Context. Musing over Its Importance in Comparative Literature« was read in Uni Zentrum, Far Eastern Department of the Zürich University. It presented to the teachers and students information about the conference and the proceedings of the aforementioned Sinological Symposium where Raoul Findeisen too participated. It was my first visit to this institution, which in the first half of the 1990s with a great financial support from the government came to be one of the most excellent institutions in European Sinology. In 1994, he together with Tak-

wai Wong 黃德偉, Hong Kong University, was working on a common project, which due to Mr. Wong was never completed, but for which I had prepared a long study entitled »Feng Zhi 馮至 and Goethe's *Faust*: From Mephistopheles to Helen«. My study has not been published to this day. One of the reasons of this was his teaching responsibilities at the University and at one High School, but also his endeavours to publish works under his own editorship. He was a workaholic whole of his life, trying to do much more than he was able to. In a letter dated July 8, 1995, he wrote to me about his projects in the future. One was *Kanonisierungsprozesse* in modern Chinese literature, about which nothing has been written, and which would be a monograph on Wu Shutian and her husband; wives and their husbands in Chinese literatures who found place in his essays. He seems to have had a new encouragement from Taiwanese Bo Yang 柏楊 (1920–2008) and Zhang Xianghua 張香華 (b1939) in this respect, but though he received enough materials from them, he never wrote about them in this respect (Taipei, December 23, 1995).

On June 2, 1996, Findeisen wrote a proposal for an International Symposium on »Nietzsche and East Asia« which was, according to me as mentioned above, his *epiphany* to the Sinological world. But what great difference it was between the reality in 1998 and his *mythos* in the proposal. 45 scholars from the world should be invited, but as shown above, only 13 were present and 4 papers were read *in absentia*. This kind of megalomania was typical for him. And this was the cause of Wolfgang Kubin's satirical remark on his address during the International Workshop »The Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact«, held in Jerusalem, June 23–28, 1996, where high up on the Mount Scopus he said in front of me and my wife Marta: Raoul Findeisen has got big shoes but making short steps. It meant that his visions were always beyond his possibilities. In 1997, I wrote to him 26 and he only 7 letters to me probably because, apart from his other work, he had much to do with the *Festschrift* dedicated to me in 1998, which I was not informed about earlier. His year 1998 was similar and very much taken up by the *Festschrift* I received and also by preparations for the International Symposium »*Fin de siècle* (Decadence) in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation«, Vienna University, June 9, 1999. The unexpected suicide of Professor Helmut Martin on June 8 after the severe attacks of depression changed the situation in German Sinology and

Findeisen, from September 1999 until June 2001, was promoted to extraordinary Professor of Chinese Language and Literature at Ruhr University, Bochum. In July 2001, he was promoted to full Professor of Chinese Language and Literature; in October 2003, he was appointed as Vice Dean of the Faculty of Far Eastern Studies; and between October 2004 and September 2008 he served as its Dean. From his stays at universities outside of Germany, it is necessary to mention the winter and summer term 2006–2007 he spent at Sichuan University, Chengdu as a Visiting Professor, and winter term 2008 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem as Forchheimer Visiting Professor in the Humanities. In March 2009 followed his teaching obligations at the universities in Bratislava and Vienna. It seems that his most preferred places for teaching and scholarly work outside of German speaking countries was Bratislava and Jerusalem.

After 1999, Findeisen's letters to me became rare. It was due to his new responsibilities at Ruhr University. Nevertheless, we met often in different places in Europe and in China. In one letter not dated, but from 2003, I wrote to him that in the past two years I had not received any letters from him. In my letter dated August 28, 2003, I complained that he for one month had not answered to my call. I am not able to supply my readers with more information since the e-mails, at least from beginning of 2005 up to the end of 2008, were destroyed when the hard disc of my computer suffered a »heart attack«. The situation was better after his stay in Bratislava and Vienna.

Being a 'workaholic' all his life, Findeisen needed *qi* 氣 ('life energy'). Like so many people of our modern civilization, he found only little time for relaxation and leisure. He smoked a lot of cigarettes without filter, drank several cups of coffee, worked industriously during the days, and even some hours past the midnight. He probably did not change such kind of lifestyle for whole decades.

At the beginning of of 2017, he sent letters to his friends, colleagues and students inviting them to celebrate his 60th birthday at the Swan Hotel, opposite the Lu Xun Park, Shanghai in the week of 12 to 19 May, 2018. In early March he could not have foreseen that at the end of the same month lung cancer will be diagnosed in his body. On October 29, 2017, he telephoned to Wolfgang Kubin that he would not survive the Christmas. He passed away 6 days later on November 4, 2017. His last dream to meet as many Sinologists of the world as possible at Shanghai, in the city of Lu Xun, the Chinese »gentle« Nietzsche, did not realize. According to me, Nietzsche was Raoul Findeisen's most studied and

admired European philosopher of the 19th and Lu Xun Nietzsche's best student among Chinese in the 20th century.

His remains were buried in the Sieveringer Cemetery, Vienna on November 18, accompanied by the speeches of Professor Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, the Vice Rector of the University of Vienna and Professor Martin Slobodník, the Vice Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava, in the presence of Findeisen's wife Dr. Eveline Wollner and his sister Gerda Schiess-Findeisen, who sang one Bach aria for the funeral guests.

Dear Raoul, I don't know what to say on the premature end of your life. It seems to me that the last verse of Publius Ovidius Naso's poem from *Amores*, III, 9, written after the death of his friend poet Tibullus, would be appropriate on this occasion: »Et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo« ('May humus lie light upon your ashes').

Slovak Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Bratislava

Oriental Philology in the Service of Bettering Man: Rudolf Dvořák's Czech Translation of the *Daodejing*

Olga Lomová

Abstract The article introduces the first Czech Sinological translation of the *Daodejing* published by Rudolf Dvořák (1860–1920) in 1920. It explores Dvořák's understanding of Chinese philosophy, in particular the *Daodejing*, in terms of traditional Oriental studies and rigorous philological work, and at the same time as a response to the particular historically determined personal experience of the scholar. Analysis of Dvořák's relevant publications, his translation strategy, and his interpretation of the 'teachings of Laozi' presented both in the translated text and in accompanying commentary and other writings about Chinese thought reveal how an accomplished philologist and scholar aiming for objectivity eventually projected his own concerns and the concerns of his time into his 'scientifically objective' research.¹

Key words Rudolf Dvořák · *Daodejing* · Confucius · Oriental philology · Czech national revival · Sinology

Introduction

The first of the more than twenty Czech translations of the *Daodejing* 道德經 that have been produced so far was published by Rudolf Dvořák (1860–1920) in 1920.²

- ¹ The work was supported by the European Regional Development Fund-Project »Creativity and Adaptability as Conditions of the Success of Europe in an Interrelated World« (No. CZ.02.1.01/0.0/0.0/16_019/0000734).
- ² An earlier free adaptation by František Čupr (1821–1882) exists, which was forgotten already by Dvořák's time.

It received a warm welcome from Czech readers and had a lasting impact on further Czech renderings of the *Daodejing*. This translation also influenced Czech writers and artists, many of whom were fascinated by the *Daodejing* since 1920s, not unlike readers in other Western countries, particularly in Germany.³ As Bohemia was until 1918 part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and thus part of the German-speaking world, Czech intellectuals routinely read in German and continued to do so even after Czechoslovakia gained independence and Czech has become the main official language of the country. At the time there were several German translations available, the first of which was produced by Victor von Strauss and published in Leipzig in 1870.⁴ Despite access to the text, it seems there was demand for a Czech version, perhaps as a legacy of the national revival pride in Czech as a language capable of expressing anything that German could,

- 3 The reflection of the Dao in modern Czech art was the subject of an exhibition by Věra Jirousová held in Kladno in 2008. A catalogue was also published for the exhibition, see *Hluboká tajemnost Tao* [Deep Mystery of Dao] (Praha: International Sinological Center, 2008). Dvořák's translation had an impact also on further research of the *Daodejing* by Czech Sinologists, as represented by the work of Berta Krebsová (1909–1973). See Marán Gálik, »One of the Czech Translations of *Tao-te-ching*: A Contribution to an Interliterary and Interphilosophical Understanding«, *Archiv Orientální* 61 (1993), 291–302.
- 4 Victor von Strauss, *Lao-Tse's Tao Tè King* (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1870). For a bibliography of German translations of the *Daodejing* see Knut Walf, *Westliche Taoismus-Bibliographie* [Western Bibliography of Taoism] (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1992). Knut Walf gives further details about the German translations published through 1945 in his »Reading and Meaning of Daoist Texts in Nazi Germany«, in *At Home in Many Worlds: Reading, Writing and Translating from Chinese and Jewish Cultures. Essays in Honour of Irene Eber*, ed. by Raoul David Findeisen, Gad C. Isay, Amira Katz-Goehr, Yuri Pines and Lihi Yariv-Laor (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 149–163. The Western reception of the *Daodejing* has been explored by Adrian Hsia, *Tao, Reception in East and West* (Bern: P. Lang, 1994), Livia Kohn and Michael Lafargue in *Lao-tzu and the Tao-te-ching* (New York: SUNY, 1998), Karl-Heinz Pohl in »Play-thing of the Times: Critical Review of the Reception of Daoism in the West«, *minima sinica* 1 (1998), 1–23, J. J. Clarke in *The Tao of the West: Western Transformations of Taoist Thought* (London: Routledge, 2000), and Oliver Grasmück in *Geschichte und Aktualität der Daoismusrezeption im deutschsprachigen Raum* (Münster: LIT, 2004).

including the meaning of this Chinese classic.⁵ But as we shall see, Dvořák published his own Czech version of *Daodejing* also because he had arrived at his own distinct understanding of it and was convinced about the importance of its teachings for the betterment of Europe after the World War I.

1 *The Translator*

Rudolf Dvořák was an old-style Orientalist and as such he is rarely referred to in scholarship today. However, in his time he was a much respected scholar, who held the first chair of Oriental studies at the Czech university in Prague,⁶ and he was an active, prominent member of the Czech academic community. Between 1887 and 1904 he published extensively about Chinese topics, for both domestic and international audiences.

Rudolf Dvořák was born into the family of a village teacher in South Bohemia.⁷ His family background inspired his interest in culture and in the Czech national cause. Upon his graduating from gymnasium in 1879, he continued his education at the Faculty of Arts of the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague, where he studied Classical and Oriental philology. There he devoted himself to the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages; the religion of Islam; and Hebrew

5 For a brief historical background, including the nineteenth century Czech national revival briefly see Mikuláš Teich, *Bohemia in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), chapters 9–12, 182–243.

6 Before Czechoslovakia became an independent state, today's Charles University (Univerzita Karlova) was officially called Karl-Ferdinand University.

7 Biographical data are based on the following sources: Dvořák's obituary by Rudolf Růžička in *Lao-tsiouva kanonická kniha o Tao a ctnosti* [Laozi's Canon of the Dao and Virtue] (Kladno: Jar. Šnajdr, 1920), 121–128, *Masarykův slovník naučný* [Masaryk Educational Dictionary] (Praha: Československý kompas, 1925–1933), and Felix Tauer, »Rudolf Dvořák. Zum hunderdsten Geburtsjahr und vierzigsten Todesjahr«, *Archiv orientální* 28 (1960), 529–546. Dvořák's own publications were also consulted. Only after this article was finished, I discovered another obituary by Rudolf Růžička, which contains further details on Dvořák's research and publication. Rudolf Růžička, »Prof. dr. Rudolf Dvořák«, *Nové Atheneum* [New Atheneum] 2 (1920–1921), 1, 34–45; 2, 89–94.

language and literature. At the time, all courses were still taught in German at the Prague university; this changed only after it was divided into a German and a Czech university in 1882. Since entering the university Dvořák was sympathetic to the Czech national movement and closely collaborated with his teacher, Czech patriot Jaromír Břetislav Košut (1854–1880). After Dvořák defended his habilitation thesis, a monograph on Semitic philology, he received a government scholarship to continue his broad-ranging Orientalist education in Leipzig and Munich (between 1882 and 1888). There, besides further study of Near Eastern languages, he also familiarized himself, if only briefly, with other subjects, such as Assyriology, Egyptology, and the Japanese language. However, the most important new subject Dvořák embraced in Leipzig was Chinese language and culture, which he studied with Hans Georg Conon von der Gabelentz (1840–1893).⁸

In 1890, two years after he returned to Prague from his studies in Germany, Dvořák became the first regular professor of Oriental philology at the Czech university. By then he was already a respected scholar, he was elected a member-correspondent of the newly established Emperor Franz Joseph Czech Academy of Sciences, Letters and Arts (est. 1890),⁹ and in 1900–1901 he served as the dean of the Faculty of Arts. During the war, in 1915–1916, he was the rector of the Czech university.

As a Sinologist Dvořák was considered an expert on Chinese ‘religion’, which he explored in the manner of intellectual and cultural history based on the study of the classical texts of Confucianism and Daoism. He became internationally acknowledged in this field, presenting the results of his research at World Orientalist Congresses and also publishing in Germany. After 1904 for unknown reasons Dvořák ceased publishing about China; the only exception was the second volume of his *Shijing* 詩經 translation, which he had completed earlier. Only in 1920, the year of his death, Dvořák did return to Sinological pursuits, preparing

8 Gabelentz also instructed him in Manchurian, but Dvořák refers to Manchu sources only rarely.

9 Dvořák would later become a regular member of the Academy and also serve briefly as its secretary general. He was also active within an older academic association based in Prague, the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences (est. 1764).

for publication his translation of the *Daodejing*.¹⁰ The publication was both the outcome of his previous long-time research and a response to current events in Europe.

Throughout his entire Orientalist career, Dvořák was also dedicated to the Czech national cause. He frequently addressed the public with the aim of bettering education of the Czech nation. Such activities had been widespread in Bohemia since the earliest days of the national revival. In Dvořák's time the Oxford University Extension movement was influential as well and referred to in Czech sources from at least 1890.¹¹ Dvořák gave many public lectures about China on a variety of topics from Confucius to silk production and household management. Many of them were also published either as journal articles or in book form.

Dvořák addressed the general public already in his first book which dealt with Confucius and Confucianism.¹² Another early book by Dvořák was dedicated to the cultural history of food in China, with broader information about everyday life and agriculture in the country.¹³ In 1900 he published a general introduction to China that covered its geography, history, economy, and manners.¹⁴ With the exception of the book on Confucius, these publications are mostly based on numerous secondary French, German, and English sources, duly cited by the author. In his writings Dvořák expressed admiration and respect for Chinese civilization and for what he saw as its unique contribution to mankind.

A distinct section of Dvořák's works popularizing ancient Chinese thought consists of poetry translations; rendering verse from different languages was an

10 The publisher included in the book an obituary to Dvořák written by his student Rudolf Růžička, who later succeeded Dvořák as professor of Semitic philology at the Czech Charles University in Prague.

11 On the history of the Oxford University Extension movement see Lawrence Goldman, *Dons and Workers: Oxford and Adult Education Since 1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004).

12 Rudolf Dvořák, *Čína a Konfucia život a nauka* [The Life and Teaching of Confucius] (Praha: J. Otto, 1887).

13 Rudolf Dvořák, *Z čínské domácnosti: obraz z kulturní historie čínské* [From the Chinese Household: A Picture of the Chinese Cultural History] (Praha: Nákladem spolku Domácnost', 1891).

14 Rudolf Dvořák, *Čína—Popis říše, národa, jeho mravů a obyčejů* [China: A Description of the Empire, the Nation, Its Morals and Customs] (Praha: J. Springer, 1900).

activity generally popular in the Czech national revival circles. While still a student Dvořák started publishing in Czech literary journals poetry translated from Near Eastern languages (Persian, Turkish, and Arabic). In the mid-1890s he turned to Chinese poetry as well, and in collaboration with Jaroslav Vrchlický (1853–1912), the poet laureate of his day, completed a Czech translation of the *Shijing*.¹⁵ Dvořák also published translations of several poems by Li Bai 李白 (701–762) and a short article about the famous poet.¹⁶ His poetry translations proved him to be an excellent philologist with a keen interest in linguistic detail and formal features of the source texts, who always strove to represent also the original metre in his Czech versions.

Besides, Dvořák made important contribution to the Czech national encyclopaedia, *Ottův slovník naučný* [Otto's Educational Dictionary], a large project consisting of articles by dozens of leading contemporary Czech scholars and authors, published in twenty-eight volumes between 1888 and 1908. Dvořák wrote a majority of the entries on the Orient, including all entries on China, Chinese history, language, and literature, religion, and crafts; they surpass in scope anything else that would be contained in Czech encyclopaedic literature about China to this day. For nearly seven years (1892–1898) he also served as the lead editor of the encyclopaedia, a project regarded as an important achievement in the emancipation of Czech national science. Dvořák's position as the main editor at a time when the work on the encyclopaedia was plagued by nationalistically motivated ideological disputes threatening its success attests to his scholarly reputation and the general respect he received as a scholar across different factions.¹⁷

15 *Ši-king* [Book of Songs], Vol. I (Praha: J. Otto, 1897), Vol. II (Praha: J. Otto, 1912). The two volumes comprise a complete translation of the Guofeng 國風 ('Airs of the States') section.

16 Rudolf Dvořák, »Li-tai-pek, čínský Anacreon« [Li Bai, Chinese Anacreon], *Zvon* [The Bell] 2 (1902), 507–509, 527–528.

17 For a brief summary of the history of Czech encyclopaedias, see Dagmar Hartmanová, »Historie československé encyklopedistiky do roku 1945« [History of Czech Encyclopaedias Prior to 1945], *Národní knihovna* [National Library] 11,1 (2000), 15–21. Some sources suggest that Dvořák initially

2 *The Daodejing: research and translation*

Dvořák's translation of the *Daodejing* was born of his sustained interest in China's intellectual traditions. Dvořák mentions Laozi for the first time in a long article about Chinese thought serialized in 1899 in a journal published by the liberal democratic Young Czech Party.¹⁸ One year later he wrote a detailed entry on Laozi in Otto's encyclopaedia; in the same year Dvořák also published an extensive article serialized in *Česká mysl* [Czech Thought], a newly established Czech philosophical journal, the first of its kind. In it Dvořák brings together Confucius and Laozi;¹⁹ he adopted the same comparative approach at the Twelfth Congress of the Orientalists shortly afterwards.²⁰

The crowning achievement of Dvořák's scholarship on Laozi is his German book *Lao-tsi und seine Lehre* published in 1903 (the preface is dated 1901).²¹ It is the second volume of Dvořák's *China's Religionen* commissioned by a Münster publisher for a series dedicated to the histories of non-Christian religions.²² Dvořák's last Sinological publication, from 1904, is again dedicated to Laozi. This is a detailed study of the philosopher and his teachings with many bibliographic references, mostly to Western scholarship, and it already contains translations from the *Daodejing*.²³

accepted the editing job for financial reasons, because as a young *Privatdozent* he had a very low income.

18 Rudolf Dvořák, »Myšlenková povaha Číny« [The Thought Nature of China], *Česká revue* [Czech Revue] 2 (1898–1899), No. 7, 1039–1048, 1172–1180, 1338–3346. On the Young Czechs, see Bruce M. Garver, *The Young Czech Party: 1874–1901 and the Emergence of a Multi-Party System* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

19 Rudolf Dvořák, »Konfucius a Lao-tsi—srovnávací studie z filosofie čínské« [Confucius and Laozi—a Comparative Study in Chinese Philosophy], *Česká mysl* [Czech Thought] 1 (1900), 164–262.

20 *Actes du XII Congrès international des orientalistes* (Rome, 1899). Dvořák published a detailed report from the congress in *Věstník české akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění* [Journal of the Czech Academy of Emperor Franz Joseph for Sciences, Literature and Art] 9 (1900), 6–22.

21 Rudolf Dvořák, *Lao-tsi und seine Lehre* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1903).

22 The first volume was about Confucius and his teachings. Rudolf Dvořák, *China's Religionen, 1. Confucius und Seine Lehre* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1895).

23 *Věstník České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění* [Journal of the Czech

The 1920 translation of the *Daodejing* was published as the first volume of the Books from the East series edited by Vincenc Lesný (1882–1953), a respected Sanskrit and Bengali scholar. It features an extensive introduction containing comprehensive information about the book in broader historical context. Here, Dvořák first summarizes the history of European translations of the *Daodejing* before presenting Laozi's biography in historical context. He then discusses the formation and circulation of the text in China, including considerations of authenticity and edition used;²⁴ existing Chinese commentaries;²⁵ and the language and style of the text. The last part of the prolegomenon is dedicated to Laozi's teachings and concludes with a short historical overview of Daoism, including a brief and highly idealized description of its position in contemporary China side by side with Confucianism.

Throughout the introduction Dvořák refers to numerous sources, some Chinese, but mainly Western ones. He quotes from Sima Qian 司馬遷 and briefly from some traditional commentators of the *Daodejing*; the most important source for the argument in his exposition is the text of the *Daodejing* itself. He also makes frequent short remarks about a number of Western translators, either praising or criticizing them.²⁶ Of the existing Western renderings of the *Daodejing* Dvořák

Academy of Emperor Franz Joseph for Sciences, Literature and Art], 13 (1904), No.1, 41–53, No.2, 105–118, No.4, 263–276, No.6, 409–415, No.7, 494–524, No.8, 647–657.

24 Unfortunately he is too brief on this issue and only says that he adhered to the Heshanggong 河上公 edition, which he wrongly dates to the Western Han.

25 Dvořák particularly valued Xue Hui 薛蕙 from the Ming (*Laozi ji jie* 老子集解 [Laozi with Collected Commentaries]); it is not clear how Dvořák obtained this particular edition. Xue Hui might have inspired the Czech scholar with his understanding of Daoism and Confucianism being not mutually exclusive, but complementary. On Xue Hui, see Jiang Shujun 江淑君, »Laozi zhi xue fei du ren xuwu: yi Xue Hui Laozi Jijie wei guancha zhi hexin 老子之學非獨任虛無:以薛蕙《老子集解》為觀察之核心« [The teaching of Laozi is Not Just Emptiness: Observation Based on Xue Hui's Laozi Jijie], *Dongya Hanxue yanjiu* 東亞漢學研究 [East Asian Studies] 1,1 (2011), 43–53.

26 The references are rich, altogether seventeen scholars are mentioned: Couplet, Remusat,

particularly valued Julien's 1841 French translation,²⁷ calling it the highest achievement »hard to overcome, though perfectible in details«. ²⁸ He also praises Victor von Strauss's German »congenial« version, despite his criticism of Strauss' Christian bias. Another translation Dvořák mentions with particular approval is a 1894 Russian translation by »Konissi, a Japanese«. ²⁹

In his well-informed dialogue with his predecessors Dvořák defends traditional views of Laozi's historicity and authorship as well as the traditional dating of the *Daodejing* to the sixth century B.C. Besides, he rejects speculations about the *Daodejing's* Western origins, which were widespread at that time, and defends the originality of Laozi's thought. He occasionally refers to Christianity, such as when he claims that »Laozi rises up to the highest moral demands of Christianity«; ³⁰ unlike many other scholars of his time, however, Dvořák does not seek parallels between these two teachings and explores the *Daodejing* on its own.

The introduction essentially comprises an abridged version of Dvořák's 1903 German monograph on Daoism and his 1904 extensive Czech research article. His historical summary proves his essentialist understanding of Daoism and Chinese civilization as a whole as coherent entities that have existed continuously from ancient time to the present day (he calls the *Daodejing* the »pure expression of the spirit of the Chinese«³¹). The changes that had been underway in China since the fall of the Qing dynasty and Chinese intellectuals' zeal to modernize since the 1910s are completely ignored. Interestingly, unlike many of his contemporaries

Schelling, Julien, Chalmers, Edkins, Wutke, Douglas, Plaenckner, Legge, Strauss, de Harlez, Konissi, Carus, Edkins, Grube, and Vasilyev.

²⁷ Stanislas Julien, *Le Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1842).

²⁸ *Lao-tsiouva kanonická kniha*, 15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 16. D. P. Konissi, »Laosi: Tao te king«, *Voprosy filosofii i psichologii* [Issues in Philosophy and Psychology], Moscow, 1894. The translator was Konishi Masutaro, known also under his Russian name, Daniil Pavlovich (1862–1939), a Greek Orthodox convert who lived for some time in Russia; his translation was admired by Lev N. Tolstoy, despite the critical opinions of some Russian Sinologists. Back in Japan, Konishi promoted Tolstoy. See Derk Bodde and Galia Speshneff, *Tolstoy and China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 35–36. Dvořák valued this work so highly that he included a summary of it in his German monograph on Daoism.

³⁰ *Lao-tsiouva kanonická kniha*, 27.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

Dvořák avoids denouncing contemporary Daoist religion as a condemnable superstition.³²

Dvořák's approach reveals his philological background, which lead him to his meticulous interest in the language and style of the text he explores and translates. Even though the book is not written for an audience capable of reading Chinese, in the introduction he goes into detail on matters such as »the relative dearth of particles and auxiliary words« and individual characters that have »a thoroughly unusual meaning which has to be deduced from the context«; he even mentions that some »are not recorded in the *Sbuowen jiezi* 說文解字«. ³³

Dvořák characterizes the language of the *Daodejing* as »laconically terse, which makes Laozi's text hard to understand, not seldom dark and obscure«. ³⁴ Yet he refutes »Grube's idea« that the text is corrupted and incomprehensible to such an extent that translating it is impossible. ³⁵ Instead Dvořák notes that the style of the *Daodejing* is »concise and vigorous«, and speaks about its »richness of thought« which is »[i]n direct opposition to the poverty of expression«. ³⁶ He also speaks about the complexity of rhetorical devices used in the *Daodejing*, such as paradox; parallelism; repetition; questions, including rhetorical questions; and exclamations. He does not neglect the verse and rhyme of certain passages either. In some passages Dvořák, echoing von Strauss, observes a more elaborate and »warm« form of expression, such as when Laozi depicts the ideal society in Chapter 80. Dvořák also comments on the overall structure of the book and reiterates his opinion that it is not a coherent, well-structured text, but rather an anthology of wise sayings, »a collection of grains of profound wisdom which Laozi sowed around

32 On the polarization of views among European scholars dividing Daoism between noble teaching contained in ancient Daoist texts, and later degradation of Daoist superstition see J. J. Clarke, *The Tao of the West*, 44–46.

33 *Lao-tsiouva kanonická kniha*, 35.

34 *Ibid.*, 34.

35 *Ibid.*, 32.

36 *Ibid.*, 34.

himself during his lifetime«.37 Here he disagrees with von Strauss, who saw a coherent system binding the seemingly fragmented text together.

In the prolegomena Dvořák also considers the different translation strategies adopted by his predecessors, ranging from Carus's (1898) »analytical« approach in his translation in which the Chinese text is analysed character by character, to Parker's free adaptation in modern colloquial idiom (1903).38 Dvořák did not favour adaptations that strayed too far from the wording of the original; hence in a slightly disapproving tone he says of Legge that he »cares more about the meaning than about the wording«.39 He praises Carus for making every detail of the text available, and it is possible he used the German-American's book, which contains a dictionary and copious linguistic notes, as a reference. Dvořák, however, had his own approach to translating the *Daodejing* as he wanted the Czech rendering to speak for itself as much as possible.

Dvořák was aware of the organic relationship between the meaning and the form of expression, and like in his earlier poetry translations he projected his awareness into his efforts to reproduce as literally as possible the original's formal aspects. Dvořák largely employs a literal translation strategy, albeit without violating the rules of good, naturally flowing Czech. He uses simple, compact language, which is mostly easy to understand, at least superficially. When a word not explicitly present in the original has to be added to make the translation comprehensible, Dvořák always places it in brackets, but he does not use this device too often. One can read the translated text side by side with the Chinese original and easily recognize each word and phrase.40 Given the radical differences between the isolating nature of the Chinese language and the inflectional Czech, this is in itself a notable achievement. It does not mean that Dvořák is always correct (whatever it means 'to be correct' in translating the *Daodejing*), but shows

37 *Ibid.*, 33.

38 *Lao-tsiouva kanonická kniha*, 16–17. The books mentioned are Paul Carus, *The Canon of Reason and Virtue* (Chicago: The Open Court, 1898), and Edward H. Parker, *The Taoist Religion (Reprinted from the Dublin Review, with a Translation of the Tao-T'eh King)* (London: Luzac & Co, 1903).

39 *Lao-tsiouva kanonická kniha*, 16.

40 This is actually how my generation studied the *Daodejing* with Zlata Černá in the evening courses at Prague Language School during the 'normalization' period in post-1968 Czechoslovakia, when classes about Laozi were not allowed at Charles University.

how much he tried not to impose his own words and cultural bias upon the Chinese original.

When necessary the translator helps the reader by inserting short glosses in brackets directly into the text; with a few exceptions Dvořák avoids footnotes. A brief lexical gloss is also inserted when the translator encounters a passage he felt needed explanation or that could be read in multiple ways. The glosses consist of either a Romanized Chinese word,⁴¹ or a short explanation of the meaning, or an alternative translation; sometimes these devices are combined. Glosses usually comprise of one or two words; in rare cases a short sentence is inserted for explanation if a literal translation might be misleading. Take, for example, a passage from chapter 10 that reads »*Tianmen kai he, neng wei ci bu* 天門開闢，能為雌乎?«, which Dvořák translates as »Nebes brány se otvírají a zavírají (=vše běře se přirozeným během), my můžeme dělat samičku (ptačí=seděti klidně)« [Heavenly gates open and close (=everything takes its natural course), we can be a female (bird =sit quietly)]. However, such cases are not many.

The resulting Czech text retains a solemn simplicity and natural flow that are occasionally disrupted by glosses that contribute to creating an overall impression of an encounter with an ancient text from alien culture. The style reminds the reader that the *Daodejing's* meaning can only be yielded by struggling with a different language medium and learning about a different culture, yet comprehension is within reach.⁴² Unlike footnotes, which the reader can skip, glosses engage reader's minds in thinking alongside the translator about the meaning of the text and the culture it represents.

The alienness Dvořák evokes, however, does not mean that he intended to present the *Daodejing* as a book of mystery. Quite the contrary, his version of the

41 Dvořák uses Gabelentz's German transcription system, but modified with three letters borrowed from the Czech alphabet: č for tsch, š for sch, ž for 'French j'; and with y for j. It is interesting to note that he uses the same modified system in two volumes of his *China's Religionen* published in German language.

42 In some instances Dvořák's explanatory notes are heavy-handed, e.g. when he explains simple, universally comprehensible metaphors or idiomatic expressions. The redundancy and pedantry of such glosses disturb the reader, but fortunately they are rare.

Chinese classic is permeated with rationalism and down-to-earthiness. The translator carefully avoids any possible religious implications, as evident, for example, at the end of the first chapter in the rendering of the famous sentence describing the Dao as *xuan zhi you xuan, zhong miao zhi men* 玄之又玄，眾妙之門. The key term here, *xuan* 玄, has been often translated as ‘mystery’ or ‘mysterious’,⁴³ but Dvořák avoids this type of meaning and instead renders it, in the manner of Stanislas Julien, as »hluboký« (‘deep, profound’).

Dvořák's this-worldly reading of the *Daodejing* is also apparent in his systematic avoidance of abstract terms whenever possible. Unlike other translators, Dvořák always prefers concrete equivalents. To give just two examples, he translates *xin* 心 as »srdce« (‘heart’), never as »mysl« (‘mind’), and *gou* 垢 as »špína« (‘dirt’), not as »calamity« (Julien), »reproach« (Legge)⁴⁴ or »sin« (Carus). Similar concreteness is achieved by systematically using verbs to render words that can have both verbal and nominal meanings, such as *sheng* 生 (‘to be born’, ‘to give birth’, rather than ‘life’), and *si* 死 (‘to die’, not ‘death’).

3 Dvořák's Dao

In the exegesis provided by the translator there is an apparent effort to present ancient Chinese teaching on its own terms and with respect to its distinctiveness. This was Dvořák's programmatic goal as can be seen in his recurring rejection of theories about *Daodejing*'s Western origin and his rebuttal of all speculation about the Christian dimension of Laozi's teaching.⁴⁵ The translation's literary style, which is terse, detached, and free of embellishment or attempts at free adaptation, reflects also his effort to present the *Daodejing* on its own. Dvořák is careful about terminology possibly implying Western notions and keeps the word ‘Dao’ untranslated (similarly to von Strauss, but unlike Julien who translates it as ‘way’ or Carus as ‘reason’).⁴⁶

43 Cf. Carus, *The Canon of Reason and Virtue*, 97.

44 Lao-tze, *The Tào Teh King: Or, the Tào and Its Characteristics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891).

45 He devotes considerable space to disputing Christian readings of the *Daodejing* in his earlier German monograph (*China's Religionen. Lao-tsi und seine Lehre*).

46 In the case of *de* 德, Dvořák proceeds differently and translates it unproblematically as ‘ctnost’

Dvořák developed his own distinct understanding of the text, nevertheless his scholarship was part of broader long-term European interest in the *Daodejing*, which he contested, or embraced. Studies on the *Daodejing*'s European reception outline several interpretational approaches that came in stages; the earliest involved variations on the Figurist's belief that the Chinese book contains revelations of Christianity. Although by Dvořák's time earlier speculations about Christianity being encoded in the text had already been rejected, Western scholars still commonly discussed and interpreted the *Daodejing* in terms of the Christian religion.⁴⁷ Beginning in the late nineteenth century the *Daodejing* also became a favourite book of the new religion of Theosophy, which influenced its reading for many years to come.⁴⁸

Unlike most of his contemporaries, and despite being regarded as a scholar of Chinese religion, Dvořák avoids any religious interpretation. He presents the *Daodejing* as a moral teaching based on mundane, rationalistic arguments. Since Dvořák first wrote about this topic in the 1890s, he consistently understood »the teachings of Laozi«, as he calls it, in terms of individual and social ethics that were a response to depravity and social evil; hence in his view they carried a universal message for mankind. In the prolegomena to his translation Dvořák describes the general deterioration of the social order and morality during the Eastern Zhou dynasty, which resulted in a lavish life style for those in power, and poverty for the masses. The people of Laozi's time, according to Dvořák, were not only victims of injustice, but they were also as depraved as their bad rulers with whom they shared the same incorrect understanding of life; they were misguided by desires, inclined

[virtue]. However, in an earlier article he was more cautious and felt necessary to explain it saying in a footnote at least that it has »a broader meaning than virtue in our understanding referring to life proper in every aspect«. Rudolf Dvořák, *Z čínské domácnosti*, 51.

47 Julia Hardy, who works exclusively with English language translations, makes this observation. Oliver Grasmück also speaks about the religious approach to the reception of the *Daodejing* in the same period in the German speaking world, but he emphasizes Theosophy's dominance. Grasmück, *Geschichte und Aktualität der Daoismusrezeption*, 24–25.

48 Given the popularity of Theosophy in Central Europe, it is surprising that Dvořák never even mentions this.

to violence, and ignorant about true humanity. Dvořák presents Laozi as a thinker who responded to the gloomy social and political conditions of his time and formulated thoroughly humanistic ideals. He extols the utopian self-enclosed society of chapter 80 as the fulfilment of these ideals, where people live humble, harmonious, socially just lives, free of excesses and violence.

Dvořák compares the moral and social values expressed in the *Daodejing* with Confucius's teachings and claims that Laozi was, like the Sage, a moralist and social reformer dissatisfied with the current state of affairs. He then speculates that Laozi's utopian vision is fully compatible with the five virtues of Confucianism, filial piety in the family, and loyalty to the state.⁴⁹

Dvořák sees the main distinction between Laozi and Confucius in their different aims and accomplishments. Confucius was preoccupied with social reform: »while traveling around China with his pupils, he zealously preached and spread his teaching« in order to restore ancient institutions and cultivate good social norms and a sense of duty. Confucius's 'noble man' was a man within the society.⁵⁰ In contrast, Dvořák approves of Laozi's non-respect for the conventional understanding of virtues related to social organization. Instead, Dvořák emphasises, the Old Master formulated moral teachings that demanded personal cultivation and sincere individual identification with the virtues substantiated by the Dao, that is, »the natural order of things«.

In Dvořák's understanding the profundity of Laozi's ethics stems from the fact that its source is the Dao, an »abstract and timeless principle«, the »source of the physical as well as the ethical world«⁵¹ and »the eternal principle determining the nature of the world«.⁵² According to Dvořák, the Dao is the ultimate source of both material and spiritual reality and is close to nature; Laozi »likes to derive ethical principles from physical conditions that can be observed in nature, or at least finds confirmation therein«.⁵³ The spontaneity of natural processes helps Dvořák find an explanation for the difficult concepts of *wu wei* 無為 ('non-action') and *bu yan zhi jiao* 不言之教 ('teaching without words'). Because the Dao is a

49 *Lao-tsiouva kanonická kniha*, 45.

50 *Ibid.*, 44.

51 *Ibid.*, 51.

52 *Ibid.*

53 *Ibid.*, 43.

spontaneous process, the true realization of morality is achieved only in unity with the Dao, which for Dvořák means an individual's sincere and spontaneous adoption of the moral teachings of humility and peacefulness, not enforced from the outside and free of any institutional framework. Hence, Laozi's teachings must be timeless. As a result, despite Dvořák's high opinion of Confucius, about whom the scholar wrote his first book, at the end of his life he extolled Laozi as »the most penetrating thinker of the Chinese nation and one of the most profound spirits in the whole world«.⁵⁴

4 Conclusion

Dvořák's education, academic interests and methodology made him a typical nineteenth century Orientalist preoccupied with the science of philology.⁵⁵ This outlook is reflected also in his translation of the *Daodejing*, including its carefully considered style, and effort not to impose any subjective interpretations therein. Such a meticulous and humble approach to the Chinese original stemmed as much from Dvořák's philological positivism, as from his conviction about the superiority and originality of Laozi's thought and from his general admiration for Chinese culture.

Through carefully contemplating every single word and carefully considering style and formal aspects of the translation, he managed to present the original as an intelligible, yet alien text open to the scrutiny of his readers and possible further dialogue about its meaning. Such a dialogue was actually held after Dvořák's death,

54 *Ibid.*, 52. Dvořák also expressed a similar opinion twenty years previous in Otto's encyclopaedia, where we can read that Laozi was »an extraordinary fruit of the spirit of China«, »a proponent of the teachings of the Dao, morally strict and peace-loving« and even »one of the greatest philosophers in the world«. »Lao-tsi«, *Ottův slovník naučný*, Vol. 15 (1900), 651–653.

55 For a recent appraisal of the methodology of the nineteenth-century German Oriental studies, in which Dvořák was educated and which he practiced, see Vishwa Adluri and Joydeep Bagchee's monograph, *The Nay Science: A History of German Indology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

when his translation became an important source for numerous translators who had their hand at new renderings of the *Daodejing* into Czech.⁵⁶

Despite all his efforts Dvořák, of course, could not avoid projecting himself into his translation. Dvořák's distinct interpretation of Laozi's thought was determined by his cultural and historical environment. In other words Dvořák, despite his careful philological work and sober reading of the Chinese original, eventually slipped into a specific appropriation of the text for the needs of his time.

His *Daodejing* is an idealised project, a book of rationalistic ethics derived from universal law of nature, emphasizing humility and peacefulness as the highest virtues. In his understanding of the spontaneous Dao as the guidance to a proper life, as well as in his respect for the distinctiveness of the Chinese tradition, Dvořák anticipated later translators who sought in Daoism an antidote to »the sickness of the West«. ⁵⁷ Dvořák's naturalistic understanding of the Dao also precludes Needham's much later organismic interpretation.⁵⁸

Dvořák started to work on the *Daodejing* quite early in his career, when he was involved in the national revival project of uplifting the Czech nation. However, he only published his translation in response to the unprecedented material and spiritual destruction of Europe brought about by the World War I. He thematizes the immediate historical context in a short, passionate preface whose diction is in stark contrast with the sober style of the Introduction and the translation itself.

56 These attempts were often conceived, contrary to Dvořák's original intent, as part of a new interest in mysticism. Exploring this aspect of the *Daodejing*'s Czech reception is beyond the scope of this paper.

57 For the 'antidote' approach see Julia M. Hardy, »Influential Western Interpretations of the Tao-te-ching«, in Kohn and Lafargue, *Lao-tzu and the Tao-te-ching*, 169–174. Hardy also writes about the A. Waley's 1934 translation that it »marked the beginning of the text as a manual explicating the value of a particular way of life«, and enumerates the virtues of humility, stillness, etc. coinciding with Dvořák's interpretation. See Arthur Waley, *The Way and Its Power: A Study of the Tao Tè Ching and Its Place in Chinese Thought* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1934). It has to be kept in mind that unlike Waley, Dvořák was still very much primarily a nineteenth-century scholar, rigorous in philological detail.

58 Joseph Needham, Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation in China 2: History of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956).

Here, Dvořák places Laozi side by side with Nietzsche, speaking of them as men who had envisaged the imminent destruction brought about by the self-asserting Western civilization. He writes: »Nietzsche saw fifty years into the future. Laozi was ahead of his time by two and a half millennia. There is no doubt that Laozi's teachings, which before the war seemed to many to be fantastic, paradoxical, nonsensical, have become during the war timely and truthful«. ⁵⁹

In the preface Dvořák elaborates on the idea of wisdom coming from the East, bringing together Laozi and Confucius as two equally great moralists and quoting with approval Gu Hongming 辜鴻銘 (1857–1928), who during the war preached Confucianism as a means for Europe's salvation.⁶⁰ Similarly, Dvořák also mentions the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) as a man who »rejected European civilization based on its unstable foundation of indulgence and senseless materialism« and hails the future »spiritual civilization of Asia based on equality of all humans«. He ends the preface by referring to Tolstoy's death-bed vision of great bloodshed followed by eternal peace brought by »a Mongol coming from the East«. »It is to be wished«, concludes Dvořák, »that the Mongol who will realize the peace, will be descendant of the practical school of Confucius and the noble school of Laozi«. ⁶¹ Particularly by referring to Tolstoy, who was widely read by the Czechs at the time, Dvořák joins a broader discussion of the time about the decline of Western civilization. As mentioned, the Russian writer was interested in Laozi, and this fact might have been one of the impulses that stimulated Dvořák to publish his translation of the *Daodejing* after many years of sinological silence.⁶²

59 *Lao-tsiova kanonická kniha*, 8.

60 *Ibid.*, 9. Dvořák mentions Gu Hongming's »book published in Jena during the war«. In fact two of Gu Hongming's books were produced in Jena during the war: *Der Geist des chinesischen Volkes und der Ausweg aus dem Krieg* (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1916), and *Chinas Verteidigung gegen europäische Ideen. Kritische Aufsätze* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1917), with an introduction by Alfons Paquet.

61 *Lao-tsiova kanonická kniha*, 10.

62 Tolstoy included Laozi's saying in *A Calendar of Wisdom*, which was first published in Moscow in 1903 and translated into Czech shortly afterwards by classical philologist Gabriel Šuran: *Myšlenky moudrých lidí na každý den v roce* [Wise Men Thoughts for Every Day in the Year] (Praha: B. Kočí, 1910). Other essays by Tolstoy containing quotations from Laozi were published in Czech in *Krub*

For the modern reader of Dvořák's *Daodejing*, there is a startling discrepancy between his serious philological achievement, still impressive today despite the progress in the study of ancient China of the last hundred years, and the irrational claims contained in the preface that culminate in a vision of utopia born out of the light from the East. His belief in the impersonal objective science of philology notwithstanding, Dvořák in his translation primarily responded to the society he lived in. Like in his early years when he devoted much time to public education and the cultural enlightenment of the Czech nation, he was an 'engaged scholar', this time serving not only his nation but all humankind by interpreting Laozi as a reformer espousing moral wisdom needed in Europe in the post-war confusion and despair. The question arises of to what extent can (and should) a scholar escape his time and worldly concerns.

Charles University in Prague, Institute of East Asian Studies

China and Yiddish: Contacts between Cultures

Irene Eber

Abstract One would not expect Central European Yiddish speakers to be readers of Chinese history and thought. Yet this is precisely what happened in the 1920s. For reasons that still await further exploration, Yiddish writers at the time began writing about Chinese history, thought, and literature. There was obviously a readership, though no doubt a limited one, out there. The Yiddish writers' interests ranged widely over political and social issues as well as cultural ones. The thought of Confucius, for example, was attractive for being grounded in a realistic tradition. Parallel to several Yiddish writers' interest in China was some Chinese writers' interest in Jews and their current literature. In the 1920s and as part of the current 'literary revolution' of the time major Chinese literary figures translated both dramatic works and short stories of Yiddish writers into Chinese. Thus transculturalism functioned both ways and their interest in each other reflected issues that concerned them at the time.

Key words Yiddish language · Chinese history · Confucius · Daoism

When exploring intercultural occurrences surprises are often encountered. One of these is, without question, the encounter between China and Yiddish, both as literary translations of prose and poetry and historical narratives. I am using the term Yiddish¹ purposefully here because the contact between both cultures in the

1 Yiddish was a widely spoken and written language among Jews of Central and Eastern Europe since the Middle Ages. Written with Hebrew letters, Hebrew, German, and Slavic as well as Old French and Italian are its four major components. Modern Yiddish has developed since the mid-18th century and a rich literature of prose, poetry, and drama was produced in Yiddish thereafter. Yiddish culture was nearly wiped out together with its representatives during the Holocaust.

early years of the last century was not only between Jews who spoke and wrote in various languages of the countries where they lived but also between Yiddish speaking Jews and Chinese. Although it is doubtful that many Chinese or Jews would have visited one another's countries, each gleaned information about the other mostly from secondary sources. Still, mention must be made of the famous writer, Meylekh Ravitch (1893–1976) who visited the Middle Kingdom in 1935. Aside from a sheaf of poems which he wrote about the various cities and places he visited,² he also wrote a travel diary on a portable typewriter he had carried along on the journey. Unfortunately, the travel diary remains unpublished, nor has it been translated thus far.³

However, the major question, before we take a closer look at what these Yiddish writers wrote about China, is why write about China in the first place? What is it about that country that can possibly benefit the Jewish population of Eastern Europe? In an excellent essay Kathryn Hellerstein informs us that Eastern Europeans were 'fascinated' by China. And for Yiddish writers »China represented the ultimate "Other". Thus Chinese culture, its history and society, introduced a new element into Yiddish literature, the writers of which were searching at the time for ways to become part of modern literature.«⁴

One additional element might be mentioned here and that is religion. Writing about Chinese religious beliefs, a Yiddish author needed not be concerned about possibly offending religious readers by stressing the absence of faith in an omnipotent god.

Finally, it is an interesting fact that whereas renditions into Chinese consisted almost entirely of translations of Yiddish literature, there were relatively few

2 Meylekh Ravitch, *Di Lider fun Mejne Lider*, 1909–1954 [The Songs of My Songs, 1909–1954], (Montreal: M. Ravitch Book Committee, 1954).

3 See my brief essay about the travel diary, »Meylekh Ravitch in China, A Travelogue of 1935«, in *Transkulturelle Rezeption und Konstruktion, Festschrift für Adrian Hsia* ed. by Monika Schmitz-Emans (Heidelberg: Synchron, 2004), 103–117.

4 Kathryn Hellerstein, »China in Two Yiddish Translations: Ethnographic and Modernist Appropriation«, in *Un/Translatables*, ed. by Catriona McLeod and Bethany Wiggin (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2016).

translations into Yiddish and these were almost all of poetry. The bulk of China writings were histories and summaries of thought. The translation of the retelling of Lafcadio Hearn's Chinese legends seems the single exception.⁵

I *Histories of China*

Taking now a closer look at how Chinese history was interpreted for the Yiddish reader, it seems quite remarkable that one of the earliest histories appeared already in 1913 as a 39-page portion in a four volume work of world history.⁶

After a brief geographical sketch and a mention of the five mythic emperors,⁷ the author launches straight into Confucius (551–479 BCE) and his importance in Chinese history. A Chinese, he asserts, »does not owe him [Confucius] only its religion, but also much of its uniqueness and belief in life.«⁸ From Confucius he moves directly to the first emperor of the Qin dynasty, that is Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 (259–210 BCE).⁹ The accomplishments of the dynasties following the Qin do not concern the author much, except for some brief discussion about China's trade with the Roman Empire. He is far more interested in what he calls the »Mongol-Tatars«, Genghis Khan (ca. 1167–1227), and his »Tatar Tribes«.¹⁰ But his real hero is Khublai Khan (1260–1294), who built the Grand Canal and who did not disparage Christianity, allowing Christians to live in China.¹¹

5 Bernard Witt, Trans., *Khinesishe Legenden fun Lafcadio Hearn* [Chinese Legends by Lafcadio Hearn] (New York: Tarts, 1930).

6 Ya'akov Dinesohn, *Di Velt Gesbikhete, fun di eltste Zajtn biz oif di Gegenvart, bearbajtet un zusamangeshtelt nokh di najeste kvelen* [World History, from the Oldest Times to the Present. Composed According to the Most Recent Sources] (Warsaw: Publisher Unknown, 1913), 4 Vols.

7 Best known among the five are the last two, Yao 堯 and Shun 舜.

8 Dinesohn, *Di Velt Gesbikhete*, 32.

9 The Qin dynasty, although short lived from 221 BCE to AD 220, was important for unifying China.

10 Dinesohn, *Di Velt Gesbikhete*, 39.

11 *Ibid.*, 40–41. The Grand Canal, a waterway connecting north and south China, was of major importance to the Chinese economy. It was actually not built by Khublai, but under a much earlier dynasty. Khublai extended it.

Although he discusses the last two dynasties and the recent disturbances caused by Western encroachments, his remarks about Chinese culture are especially interesting. »Of all the peoples in the world, the Chinese are nearly the only ones that are almost not at all interested in religion and in God,« writes Dinesohn. A Chinese person is only concerned with improving his life and livelihood here. Eternal life after death is of little concern.¹²

He brings the problem of the Chinese language to the readers' attention and the great quantity of available reading matter. Still, he has little to say about the system of Chinese government or the organization of society. However, he raises an interesting point about Jews in China who, he writes, have lived there since ancient times without ever being persecuted for their beliefs. Far from being ever unheard of, a description of Kaifeng 開封, »the city of Jews« is well known. The missionary, Matteo Ricci,¹³ according to Dinesohn, told rabbi Moshe ben Israel about Kaifeng Jews and the rabbi wrote about it in his book, *Mikve Israel* [Hope of Israel].¹⁴

Some confusion, possibly the result of misprints, seems to have occurred here. The author of the well known *Hope of Israel* was Menasseh ben Israel and not Moshe ben Israel. Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657) hailed from Portugal, lived in Amsterdam, but apparently did not travel to China. Might Ricci have been able to read the early English translation of the book? This is uncertain, for Ricci's name does not occur in *Hope of Israel* or in Ricci's journals.

From the Other Side of the Chinese Wall by I. Rimoni is very different from Dinesohn's work. Where the latter tries to introduce the reader to various aspects of China, Rimoni at the very beginning lets the reader know that China is the poorest country in the world, consisting of coolies and rickshaws as well as ravaged by bloody civil wars. »China today,« he writes, »is filled with hundreds of millions of poor and dissatisfied people.«¹⁵

¹² *Ibid.*, 52.

¹³ Ricci (1552–1610) lived in China toward the end of the century and died there. He is best known for his meeting with a Jew from Kaifeng.

¹⁴ Dinesohn, *Di Vêlt Geschichte*, 61.

¹⁵ Itzhak Rimoni, *Fun Jener Seit Khinesisher Vant* [From the Other Side of the Chinese Wall] (Kiev:

The author is clearly interested in China's political and social history. Considering that the book was published in Kiev and that he acknowledges his indebtedness to Russian authors explains the different perspective. Thus he pays considerable attention to the common people and the growing industrial work force whose thinking is increasingly revolutionized.¹⁶ He points out China's exploitation by European imperialists and pays attention to the activities of the Nationalist (Guomindang 國民黨) party. His description of Shanghai and several other cities suggests that he visited China and describes what he saw. This is an attractive little volume with numerous photographs of street scenes, theaters, village life, and the like, giving the reader glimpses of what he might actually see were he to visit China.

Jews, who have come to live in China too occasionally wrote about their sojourn in the country. A business man, Avraham Vishanski, had made his home for four years in Shanghai and is able to give a reporter bits and pieces of information. There are in China two Jewish communities, he tells him, European and Arab Jews.¹⁷ Those from Europe are mostly Russian Jews and there are 40,000 of these in Harbin 哈爾濱. The Sephardim look down on the Russian Jews, causing the latter to create their own communal organizations. European Jews make their living from export companies. Zionism is strong among Shanghai Jews.¹⁸

2 Chinese Philosophy

In addition to the interest in Confucius and his views, there was also some interest in the book of Daoism (the *Dao De Jing* 道德經), but less so in Buddhism. Apparently, the several later developments assumed by Confucius' thought were of no particular interest to Yiddish writers.

Cooperative Publisher 'Culture League', 1927). Neither dates nor biographical details are available for this writer.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁷ Because Sephardi Jews came from Arab lands they were often called Arab Jews.

¹⁸ Sh. L. (full name is not available), »Dos Lebn fun di Yidn in Khine« [Life of the Jews in China], *Hajnt* [Today] 143 (June 23, 1926), 3.

Clearly, M. Holzblat¹⁹ admired Confucius for a number of reasons and his book length discussion of Confucius reveals the mind of a learned man. In the introduction to his book *Confucius, His Life and Work*, he states that in antiquity entire peoples have disappeared from history and are barely mentioned, but the Chinese have continued to develop in every way.²⁰ To Confucius, he attributes the editing and transmission of the ancient writings, especially the *Book of Changes*.²¹

To this day the teaching of Confucius is rooted firmly in Chinese society, this despite the fact that Confucius did not advocate a new teaching: »Everything he taught and talked about was already thought of earlier...«, writes Holzblatt. »My teaching, he [Confucius] used to say is the teaching which was parallel to that of our fathers.«²² The author admires the sage for being Chinese in every way; for being entirely connected to reality and rejecting that which is unrealistic. Confucius did not like to talk about unrealistic matters disconnected from life and he avoided metaphysical abstractions like the immortality of the soul. Holzblat marvels at the fact the Chinese people are Confucians, who accept the master's teaching. »All Confucius' thoughts are characterized by life's wisdom without transcending the daily natural aspects of human life.« According to Holzblat, Confucius's teachings can be summarized under three main headings: the relationship between king and subject, between parents and children, and between men and women.²³

Finally, Confucius also advocated moderation and avoidance of extremes. Human beings should not express too much joy nor too much sorrow, and certainly not lose their temper. The basis of Chinese life is moderation. It is the purpose of ceremonial behavior, indeed ceremonies take the place of religion. But

19 Mordekhai Holzblat (1904–1939) was born in Warsaw. He studied journalism and history at Warsaw University and he published many articles and translations. He fled Warsaw at the outbreak of war, but was killed on the way by German bombs.

20 M. Holzblat, *Konfuzius, Zajn Lebn un Tetigkeit* [Confucius, His Life and Work] (Warsaw: Biographical Library, 'Orient', 1926), 8–9.

21 *Ibid.*, 51.

22 *Ibid.*, 79–80.

23 *Ibid.*, 80–83.

the king too must exercise moderation in his behavior and avoid extremes. Thus Confucius was not the founder of a new religion. He reaffirmed that which already existed.²⁴

3 *Chinese Philosophy and Poetry*

A. Almi's (1892–1963) work resembles that of Holzblat, but is also different.²⁵ Like Holzblat, he admires Confucius for his 'earthbound' thoughts about the human being. He wanted a person to be honest, loving justice, and knowing his duty. Yet Confucius did not found a religion, he was not a prophet and not an apostle.²⁶ Still, Confucius was not a materialist or atheist either. He believed that a higher power filled the universe, but the human being should not serve this power. He put it succinctly: if one cannot serve men, how can one serve the spirits.²⁷

To Almi it was apparently significant to show that the absence of religion did not mean the absence of morality. Morality occupies a significant place in Confucian thought as it does in Daoism and the Daoist classic, the *Book of the Way and Its Virtue*.²⁸ Although he attempted to summarize the various ideas contained in the book, his discussion concerning Daoism is far less successful than that about Confucius' thought. Thus, while he tells the reader that the Dao we can talk about is not the eternal Dao, or that the nameless is the beginning of heaven and earth, he avoids interpretations.²⁹

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

²⁵ Almi's name was Eliyahu Haiim Ben Shlomo Zalman Sheps and his book is entitled *Di Khinesishe Filozofye un Poezye* [Chinese Philosophy and Poetry] (New York: Max N. Meizel, 1925). His initial writing career began in Warsaw with poetry written for newspapers. Almi emigrated to America in 1912 and there continued writing for Yiddish newspapers. He has written many books which included poetry, Buddhism, and Chinese philosophy.

²⁶ Almi, *Di Khinesishe Filozofye un Poezye*, 25, 34.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 20–21.

²⁸ This Daoist classic, the basis of the Daoist teaching, has been translated many times into a variety of languages. Portions of the book seem to have existed at an early date, but scholars have found it difficult to give a precise date to the complete book's appearance.

²⁹ Almi, *Di Khinesishe Filozofye un Poezye*, 20–21.

Possibly the idea of Dao, which permeates everything there is, but which has no attributes and about which one cannot say anything, was not a subject the Yiddish writers wanted to speak about or could tackle. A 1923 translation of the *Dao De Jing* by R. Seligman is unsatisfactory. The author's major thought, the translator believed, was his idea of leading the people back to nature due to the disturbed times in which he lived.³⁰ However, the major problem with this book is that it is not actually a translation, as promised on the title page, but commentaries to about half of the chapters of the *Dao De Jing*. Seligman has rearranged forty chapters according to topics and written commentaries on these. Unfortunately, the meaning has become so distorted that it is impossible to tell which chapters of the book he intends to discuss.

Finally, there is Almi's discussion of Buddhism. Actually, he states, neither Confucians nor Daoists had anything they could borrow from Buddhism. All three shared similar basic ideas. Buddhists, asserts Almi, consider Dao as Nirvana.³¹ Buddhism, moreover, »in its pure form... is also not a religion, but an ethical moral philosophy.«³² Most important, Almi points out, the various religions in China co-exist peacefully and tolerate one another. Nor does the government interfere in the people's beliefs, thus revealing the disciplined and philosophical character of the great Chinese people.³³

4 *Poetry and Travel*

Almi's discussion of Chinese poetry³⁴ reveals his great admiration for China's poetic tradition. He was not alone, there were, for example, Moshe Nadir (1885–

30 R. Seligman, ed., trans., *Laozi, der Bukh oif Getlikhn Gezetz* [Laozi, the Book of Divine Law] (Berlin: Klal Verlag, 1923), 10.

31 Almi, *Di Khinesishe Filozofye un Poezye*, 51, 53.

32 *Ibid.*, 56.

33 *Ibid.*, 59.

34 I was unable to find any prose fiction translations into Yiddish, although I assume some were prepared. More research is needed to gain a more complete picture.

1943) and Nahum Bomze (1906–1934) who published a book of Chinese poems in Yiddish in 1937.³⁵

Chinese poetry, Almi explains, existed already 4000 years ago and King Salomon can be compared to Emperor Minghuang 唐明皇 (712–756) of the Tang dynasty (618–907), both men being poets and philosophers.³⁶ He points especially to the discipline the Chinese poet brings to his vocation. The poet does not »allow himself to be overcome by impulsiveness, by passion.« The poet controls these emotions, remains polite, for politeness is a major characteristic of the Chinese people.³⁷

The poems which Almi quotes by such Chinese Tang dynasty poets as Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), or Li Bai 李白 (701–762) were translated by Almi from various languages into Yiddish. His translations were, therefore, prepared from secondary languages and the translators most likely also did not prepare their translations from originals.³⁸

Apparently, however, Yiddish writers were eager to offer their readers more than just the literary features of China. Even if we have only travel accounts by writers who visited China, these first-hand glimpses are invaluable. The first is by Peretz Hirshbejn (1880–1948) who was in China in the 1920s, and the other is by Meylekh Ravitch (Zakhavia Khone Bergner) who was in China during the first half of 1935. Arriving by the Transsiberian Railway in the North, he traveled south to Guangdong (Canton) and Shanghai. Thus he managed to see large parts of the country including its major cities like Beijing and Tianjin. Whereas his travel diary often gives fascinating descriptions of areas and scenes he saw,³⁹ in his published articles he confined himself to specific topics directed at the Jewish reader.

35 Nahum Bomze, *Iberdikhtungen fun Li-Tai-pe* (699–762) [Translations of Li Bai (699–762)] (Warsaw: Pen Club, 1937). See also the enthusiastic review in *Literarische Bleter* [Literary Pages] 12,671 (February 19, 1937), 193, and the several printed poems in the same journal: 8,667 (March 19, 1937), 124.

36 Almi, *Di Khinesische Filozofye un Poezye*, 63.

37 *Ibid.*, 68–69.

38 Almi does not cite the titles of the books from which he collected the poems, nor does he indicate which poem was first translated by which translator.

39 See Eber, »Meylekh Ravitch in China, A Travelogue of 1935«.

In a lengthy article about Shanghai Ravitch tells us more about Shanghai Jews than about the city itself, despite the fact that the metropolis could be ranked already then among the world's largest cities. He was especially impressed by the Jewish military contingent, the Jewish company, of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps and wrote that Shanghai is the only city in the world which has a Jewish army with guns, officers, and swords.⁴⁰ Moreover, a British officer is the commander of the Jewish unit. When there is a parade the Jews march with guns and the star of David on their uniform collars. The nicest part is, however, that a German company is not in the Shanghai Volunteer Corps.

He was also impressed by the Shanghai Jewish School, considering the building a veritable palace. Sephardic and Ashkenazi⁴¹ children attend the school together, he wrote, but they don't want to mix. Ravitch visited the school and even sat in some of the classes. He found it quite amazing that by looking at faces he could tell the country the child came from. Ravitch's reaction is not otherwise surprising. There were not many Sephardic families in Poland and their color was generally darker than that of Ashkenazim. Jewish theater invited his attention and he remarks that when an actor from Russia or from the West ends up in Shanghai, he generally finds only amateur actors.

In the 1920s and earlier it was taken for granted that if China was to become a modern nation she had to learn from the West. However, on the first page already of Almi's book a different sentiment was expressed. In a letter sent by the head of China's Legation to Washington, he wrote: »The Western world has much to learn from Chinese philosophy and poetry.«⁴² And this indeed is the impression the reader of the Yiddish works obtains. Whereas history is not a dominant theme, a variety of subjects are pursued such as politics, thought, poetry, travel,

40 Meylekh Ravitch, »Yidn in Shanhai« [Jews in Shanghai], *Neye Folkszeitung* 22 (January 22, 1936) 3. (Archive, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Meylekh Ravitch, ARC 4*1540 2:354, p. 23).

41 Sephardic refers to Jews who originally hail from Africa or the Middle East whereas Ashkenazi Jews generally originated in the West and Europe. Between the two groups there are some major differences regarding liturgy, customs, and the like.

42 Almi, *Di Khinesishe Filozofye un Poezye*. The letter is dated June 17, 1925 and signed Shi Zhaoji 施肇基 (1877-1958). He was also known as Alfred Sao-ke Sze and was head of the Chinese delegation.

and Jewish life. No doubt, the topics largely reflect the interests of the writer. Yet, they must have been stimulating and of interest to readers as well. Unfortunately, none of the works cited supply references and we, therefore, have no way of knowing which works they might have consulted to write these books.

5 *Yiddish Literature in China*

But transculturalism was by no means a one-way road. In the 1920s, that is about the same time as Yiddish writers wrote about China, Chinese writers turned to Yiddish literature. What were they looking for in Yiddish literature? How was their search similar, yet also different to that of the Yiddish writers?⁴³ In China this was the time when the movement to write literature in the spoken language got under way. To summarize briefly, the proponents of the movement looked to Western literature as models and as guides for their own endeavors. Chinese, like Western literature, was concerned with the creation of ‘human literature’ (*ren de wenzue* 人的文學) and human literature must be concerned with the universal experiences of men and women, they argued. More than that, this kind of literature can serve as a tool for transforming society,⁴⁴ according to the proponents of new literature.

The major writers concerned with Yiddish literature, like Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896–1981) and Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885–1967)⁴⁵ believed as did many others that Yiddish was the common language (*bai hua* 白話) of the Jews. Similar to the Chinese case, where the literary language (*wen yen* 文言) was being replaced, Yiddish was replacing Hebrew. Therefore, Yiddish literature was translated into Chinese not necessarily to inform readers of Jewish life. Its purpose was to demonstrate the prevalence of human values as a goal in literary creation. In short,

43 For a discussion about translations from Yiddish into Chinese see my earlier article, »Translation literature in Modern China: the Yiddish Author and his Tale«, in Irene Eber, *Chinese and Jews, Encounters between Cultures* (London: Valentine Mitchell, 2008), 123–147.

44 *Ibid.*, 125.

45 Mao Dun was the pen name for Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰, a major intellectual, writer, literary critic, and translator of the period. Zhou Zuoren was an essayist and translator, brother of the famous Lu Xun 魯迅.

in Yiddish literature they found confirmation of their own aims. A look at the authors they chose to translate further confirms this. For the most part they chose short stories and dramatic pieces by such writers as Isaac Leib Peretz (1852–1915), or David Pinski (1872–1959). Whereas writers like Sholem Aleichem (Solomon Naumovich Rabinovich, 1859–1916) were not neglected, other popular writers were. Writers, furthermore, did not translate at random, but apparently carefully selected themes that served their purpose. Thus stories that dealt with romantic love, or the content of which was wholly unfamiliar tended to be avoided. Of special appeal to translators were the stories that dealt with the lives of the common people, their suffering or their few joys. The theme of war and its effects on the lot of the little people, their suffering and death, found powerful echoes in translated literary works.

Significantly, therefore, the Chinese writers' interest in Yiddish literature, like those of the Yiddish writers, reflected their own concerns of the period. That the Chinese writers translated whereas the Yiddish writers wrote about the Chinese apparently reflected to a large extent the availability of sources. In either part of the world, writers were necessarily forced to work from whatever materials were available to them. Briefly they were able to provide glimpses of strange and intriguing places and people. But these glimpses did not grow into prolonged looks and profound observations. Wars intervened and views shifted to killing and dying. When it all ended another era was beginning. Nonetheless, whether investigating major or minor topics in history, intercultural encounters play a role and are worth considering.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Asian Studies

Ye Chucang and the *Juewu* (Awakening; 1919–32) Supplement to *Minguo ribao* (Republican Daily)

Sun Hantian 孫漢田

Abstract As an editor-in-chief of *Minguo ribao*, since the founding of the newspaper, Ye Chucang had a great influence on this newspaper and its supplement. In 1916, he helped the journal recover from its financial problems and supported the development of *Juewu* together with Shao Lizi. In 1925, however, he changed his political opinion in both *Minguo ribao* and *Juewu*, and subsequently the achievements of the journal and its supplement culminated in their disappearance.

Keywords China, 20th c., Journals and Newspapers, *Minguo ribao* 民國日報 (1916–1932), Supplement *Juewu* 覺悟 (1919–1932) · Political History, Right-Wing in GMD · Ye Chucang 葉楚傖 (1887–1946) · Shao Lizi 邵力子 (1882–1967)

Introduction

As an independent subject, journal and newspaper supplement research in Chinese modern literature field is not a prolific topic, at least not in China today. Since 1951 to the present (June 2017), there is a total of 272 articles in the CNKI journal database listed under the subject »Zhongguo wenxue« 中國文學 [Chinese literature] which contain the word *baokan* 報刊 [newspapers and journals] in their topics. To get the approximate number of articles in academic journals related to the newspaper and journal research, the CNKI system uses some common words to search through the topics of articles under the subject of Chinese literature. Because of this, some of the articles in this field may be missed. Nonetheless, the number of these articles is not big, and we can be sure that no articles are recounted in the statistics because all key words are distinct from each other. The following table displays this simple statistics.

Table 1

Word in the Topic	Number of Articles
<i>baokan</i>	272
<i>baozhi</i> 報紙 ('newspaper')	82
<i>ribao</i> 日報 ('daily newspaper')	152
<i>kanwu</i> 刊物 ('periodical publication')	136
<i>fukan</i> 副刊 ('supplement')	183
<i>zoubao / zhoukan</i> 週報/週刊 ('weekly journal')	82
<i>yuebao / yuekan</i> 月報/月刊 ('monthly journal')	265
<i>nianbao / niankan</i> 年報/年刊 ('annual')	14
<i>qikan</i> 期刊 (journal)	404
Total	1,590

It is safe to say that the total number of articles in the academic journals in this field of generalized research on newspapers and journals is more than one thousand considering there are still a few more articles without all these words in their topics. The number of articles in this field is definitely less than 2000, which is much less than the number of articles in Chinese literature published in 2016 (total 11,194). Even though the number does not directly reflect on anything about monographs, it still speaks about the basic situation in the field.

It is hard to tell clearly what common queries Chinese researchers have focused on in this short boom of journal and newspaper supplement research. The number of academic articles and monographs on this topic is still not very large and that makes it impossible to sum up in a few sentences. However, there are some common features that may fit to most of the research. A great amount of research has been presented in certain well-known newspapers or journals that are considered to be »essential« for the study of modern literature history. Under these circumstances, the lack of the research about Ye Chucang's journalism and his literary work is obviously a problem as he was one of the important editors (if not the most important editor) in the beginning of *Minguo ribao* 民國日報, which is clearly one of the essential newspapers in the modern literature history. Even today, Ye Chucang 葉楚傖 (1887–1946) is inconspicuous in this field of research.

Compared to the amount of research on *Minguo ribao* and the attention Shao Lizi 邵力子 (1882–1967) received by some editors and writers in this relation, the research on Ye Chucang is totally unbalanced regarding the amount of work he has done.

This current state of the research on Ye Chucang was caused by the historical events after his death. Firstly, even though he personally saw himself as an editor over any other identity he had had, he was primarily seen as a politician by Guomindang (GMD) even after his death. Secondly, because of this political affiliation attributed to him, he became a typical ‘anti-communist’ after 1949 in the PRC. As a result, he became forgotten in Mainland China and was seen as an anti-communist politician in Taiwan after 1949. Thus, his journalistic and literary work got forgotten on both sides of China. To this day, even when there is no ban imposed on research on Ye Chucang in both mainland and Taiwan, almost all research on him is biographical, no matter whether from the mainland, like *Collection in Commemoration of Ye Chucang* which contains a chronology of his life;¹ or *A Master Among Ten Thousand Authors: Biography of Ye Chucang*² and *Collected Works by [Ye] Chucang*³ from ROC. This kind of research has constructed the basic frame of historical facts in Ye Chucang’s life. However, as it has been mentioned earlier, all the biographical research is based on Ye Chucang’s life and more accurately his political life.

When we come to the research of *Minguo ribao* in Shanghai and its most famous supplement *Juewu* 覺悟, we soon discover that though this newspaper and its supplement were widely studied and there is a lot of research done on them, little research was done either on the founder of both *Minguo ribao* and *Juewu*—Ye Chucang or his famous works. The first article in academic journals which saw *Juewu* as a research subject, and not only as a simple resource, is Shi He’s article titled »The Four Famous Newspaper Supplements During the May Fourth

- 1 *Ye Chucang jinian ji* 葉楚儉紀念集 [Collection in Commemoration of Ye Chucang], ed. by Shi Huiqun 施惠群 (Shanghai: Shanghai shi Zhengxie wenshi ziliao bianjibu, 1996).
- 2 Liu Pinghua 劉蘋華, *Bixiong wanfu: Ye Chucang zhuàn* 筆雄萬夫：葉楚儉傳 [A Master among Ten Thousand Authors: Biography of Ye Chucang] (Taipei: Jindai Zhongguo chubanshe, 1986).
- 3 Ye Chucang, *Chucang wencun* 楚儉文存 [Collected Works by (Ye) Chucang] (Nanjing: Zhengzhong shuju, 1948).

(Movement)».4 After Shi He's article was published in 1982, there were several responses to it, they were not direct, but it is clear that meantime in the next year 1983 some new articles, which focused on *Juewu* were published. For the new researchers in the field of literature after Cultural Revolution, Shi He's work may be one of the few ways young students or even teachers came to know about *sida fukan* 四大副刊 and the meaning of this term because it was very likely that one of the few articles mentioned the term 'the four big supplements' after 1976. Likewise were Chen Duo's article »The Contribution of the Supplement "Awakening" in the Propagation of Marxism-Leninism«5 and Min Dihua's (b1934) work »The Discussion about the Founding Date of "Awakening"«.6 It should be said that all these three articles focused on the early time of *Juewu* or more accurately, the left-wing time of *Juewu*. A pattern can also be traced in this development in 1983. Almost all research on *Juewu* or related to *Juewu* were in the field of left-wing period of *Juewu*. For instance, Zhou Zhongli's article »Fang Zhimin and the Supplement "Awakening" of "Republican Daily"«7 was published in three journals after 1999. Actually, because of the history of this supplement, discovering the history between the departed leaders of Chinese Communist Party and *Juewu* was a popular topic in the last few decades.

This situation has changed since 2009 with Shi Jianguo's 史建國 (b1981) »From the Public Space of New Culture to the Party's "Own Garden": The Research of the Supplement of "Republican Daily Awakening"«8, which was

- 4 Shi He 史和, »Wusi shiqi de sida fukan« 五四時期的四大副刊 [The Four Famous Newspaper Supplements during the May Fourth (Movement)], *Xinwen daxue*, 5 (1982), 126.
- 5 Chen Duo 晨朵, »*Juewu* fukan dui chuanbo Ma-Lie zhuyi de gongxian« 《覺悟》副刊對傳播馬列主義的貢獻« [The Contribution of the Supplement »Awakening« in the Propagation of Marxism-Leninism], *Fudan xuebao* 復旦學報 [Journal of Fudan University], 2 (1983), 75-78, 85.
- 6 Min Dihua 閔迪華, »Shilun *Juewu* de chuangkan riqi« 試論《覺悟》的創刊日期« [The Discussion about the Founding Date of "Awakening"], *Xueshu yuekan* 學術月刊 [Academic Monthly], 6 (1983), 25.
- 7 Zhou Zhongli 周重禮, »Fang Zhimin yu Minguo ribao Fukan *Juewu* 方志敏與《民國日報》副刊《覺悟》« [Fang Zhimin and the Supplement "Awakening" of "Republican Daily"], *Dangshi Wenyuan* 黨史文苑 [Literary Circles of CCP History], 6 (1999), 47.
- 8 Shi Jianguo 史建國, *Cong xin wenhua gonggong kongjian dao dangpai "ziji de yuandi": "Minguo ribao*

published as a monograph in 2014. However, even with this (and other) helpful and valuable changes, the diverse research on *Minguo ribao* and *Juewu* is still quite rare.

Because of the above-mentioned background, this article is going to follow the timeline of Ye Chucang's work as an editor, manager, and writer during his time in *Minguo ribao* by inspecting historical facts and articles closely. Through this, a clear picture of the relationship between Ye Chucang and *Minguo ribao* with *Juewu* will be shown.

I *Ye Chucang and the Founding of Minguo ribao and Juewu*

The beginning of *Minguo ribao* can be traced back to the ending of an older newspaper in Shanghai called *Minli bao* 民立報 ('People's Independence Journal'; 1910-1913) and the short history of Ye Chucang's editorial work in Shanghai before *Minguo ribao*.

Ye Chucang was born in 1887 in Jiangsu province. His family lived in Zhouzhuang 周莊 which is a small Water Town like Venice. Ye Chucang's family was a typical successful example of the traditional time. Ye family had become a family of government officials and intellectuals since the time of Ye Chucang's great grandfather. After that, it became one of the rich families in the town based on the pickles business. In the early 20th century, Ye Chucang's family provided the financial foundation for his education and the later revolutionary experience.

However, Ye Chucang's childhood was quite difficult because of his father's bankruptcy and his mother's death when he was 11. The early life of Ye Chucang and his sister was mainly supported by their aunt. The educational experience of Ye Chucang showed a typical pattern between the two centuries. He went to numerous family private schools near his hometown when he was a child. At that time, the teaching content of these traditional schools were comprised of the Chinese classical books (*jingshu* 經書) and knowledge related to them. Ye Chucang

Juewu "yanjiu 從新文化公共空間到黨派"自己的園地"——《民國日報·覺悟》研究 [From the Public Space of New Culture to the Party's "Own Garden": The Research of the Supplement of "Republican Daily Awakening"] (Xinbei: Huamulan wenhua chubanshe, 2014).

even entered the traditional exam system and achieved a few successes until the Qing government abandoned the traditional exam system in 1905.

From the journey of a student in the traditional exam system to a revolutionist against Qing government, the influences of the new education on Ye Chucang since he was 17 cannot to be ignored. Firstly, contact to modern knowledge and revolutionary works gave him the idea. Secondly and more personally to Ye Chucang, a false accusation against him being a revolutionary leader before his graduation at the age of 21, directly triggered him to fight against the government to clear his name. Thus, he became an editor of *Zhonghua xinbao* 中華新報 ('Chinese New Newspaper'; 1907–1911) right after he escaped from this accusation in 1908. As an editor of a revolutionary newspaper, he came closer to the revolution sooner and finally joined The League⁹ in 1909. Ye Chucang's early experiences are a typical example of the traditional and modern mixed history. He had more traditional knowledge than modern when he started to work as an editor, and moreover, this first job of his was by the invitation of his hometown fellow Chen Qubing 陳去病 (1874–1933).

After the sudden success of the revolution in 1911,¹⁰ as one of the revolutionaries in Tongmenghui (The League), Ye Chucang's life entered a new period. Before the uprising in Wuchang, he had been the editor-in-chief in *Zhonghua xinbao* in Shantou 汕頭. The newspaper had done propaganda for the revolution before the final success in 1911, such as shown in the following article »What is Revolutionary Party«:

This two characters 'revolution' (geming 革命) have been seen in classical books. Zhouyi 周易 said, »Thang changed the appointment (of the line of Xia to the throne), and Wu (that of the line of Shang), in accordance with (the will of) Heaven, and in response to (the wishes of) men«. The original meaning of this word is no more than the concept of reform. That is why we said a revolution in agriculture, business, and

9 For The League see the next footnote.

10 The revolution is called *Wuchang qiyi* 武昌起義 (Wuchang Uprising) in China. In 1911, a series of uprisings planned by Tongmenghui 同盟會 (The League) took place in China. The final success was in Wuchang 武昌. The success was quite sudden, even Sun Zhongshan 孫中山 (Sun Yat-sen), the leader of Tongmenghui, did not know many details of it. And he was not even in China when it happened.

industry. However, the main meaning of revolution is not like this. The word revolution can also be used in political and ethnic sense. The people who want a revolution in political and ethnic field can be called a revolutionary party.¹¹

After the time in Shantou, Ye Chucang went to Shanghai to continue his work in the revolution. It is safe to say that his previous working experience had an impact on him when he came to Shanghai. He voluntarily asked to start a new newspaper to help enlighten people. With the financial help from the captaincy of Shanghai revolution army Chen Qimei 陳其美 (1878–1916), he started *Taipingyang ribao* 太平洋日報 ('The Pacific Ocean Daily'; 1912) in Shanghai. However, this newspaper was not successful commercially. Chen Qimei had to support it financially many times. In Pan Gongzhan's 潘公展 (1895–1975) *Chen Qimei zhuan* 陳其美傳 [Biography of Chen Qimei] we read:

Taipingyang ribao was under financial stress all the time. Many times, Qimei walked into the editor's office as if taking a walk. He said to the editor-in-chief Ye Chucang with a smile: »Chucang, short on money again?« Then he gave Chucang a check from his coat, usually 1,000 to 2,000 yuan at a time. He did this many times until the newspaper closed.¹²

After *Taipingyang ribao*, in December 1912 Ye Chucang went to *Minli bao*, hosted by another important person in revolution—Yu Youren 于右任 (1879–1964)—as a regular editor. After the failure with *Taipingyang ribao*, Ye Chucang's work as a regular editor and writer for the newspaper was much more successful. Ye Chucang even met and worked with his future partner in *Minguo ribao*—Shao Lizi during this time. *Minli bao* did quite well in business until the failure of the second revolution. In the struggle against Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859–1916), this newspaper had to close down under the political pressure. The circulation of *Minli bao* had dropped to less than 1,000 copies before the final closure.¹³

Ye Chucang's working experience in *Taipingyang ribao* and *Minli bao* developed his ability to work for a newspaper. After two years' silence (from

11 The original copy of *Zhonghua xinbao* is not available now. This article is from a reprinted version in another newspaper in 1911. Zhaoyi 召裔, »Gemingdang Jie 革命解« [The Explanation of Revolution Party], *Kefu xuebao* 克復學報, 2 (1911), 1–2.

12 This part of the book quotes from the biography of Ye Chucang. Liu Pinghua, *Bixiong wanfu*, 28.

13 *Ibid.*, 55.

March 1914 to January 1916), he started a new newspaper *Minguo ribao* with support from Chen Qimei. This time he worked for the newspaper as an editor-in-chief again. It is easy to see that the friendship between Ye Chucang and Chen Qimei was important to the founding of *Minguo ribao*. As a rather powerful person in the revolutionary party, Chen Qimei's (financial) support was essential to the establishment of the newspaper.

Further support for Ye Chucang came from his old work connections, which was from the members of the Nanshe 南社 ('South Society').¹⁴ Ye Chucang joined Nanshe in 1910.¹⁵ The manager of *Minguo ribao*, Shao Lizi, was a member of Nanshe. Furthermore, many writers who wrote articles for *Minguo ribao* and its supplements were also members of Nanshe, such as Liu Yazhi 柳亞子 (1887–1958), Hu Pu'an 胡樸安 (1878–1947), Yu Shimei 余十眉 (1885–1960), Cheng Shewo 成舍我 (1898–1991; editor of important newspapers and supplements before 1917) and of course Shao Lizi, who wrote many articles for *Juewu*. The founding date of *Minguo ribao* was the January 22, 1916.

The founding of *Juewu* took place in a background, similar to the newspaper. In 1916, *Minguo ribao* had a political purpose that was aimed against Yuan Shikai's ambition of becoming an emperor. In 1919, the struggle changed. Many citizens in China were dissatisfied with the international situation, and the government, which was unable to do anything about it. The new revolution in Russia raised the interest of many of the intelligentsia. In this new phase of the struggle, the founding of *Juewu* symbolized that *Minguo ribao* would get into this new fight. In 1919, the newspaper, as a matter of fact, had been the official newspaper of GMD. As a sympathizer of revolutionary party, it also represented at least part of GMD's opinion of the May Fourth Movement in 1919 (the founding date of *Juewu* was 16th June 1919). The following is from an article written by Shao Lizi in 1920 in *Juewu*:

That is why our reformers will have to wake people and obtain the knowledge at the same time. In Russia, after the successful revolution, the most difficult problem was

14 Nanshe 南社 [Southern Society] (1909–1923) was a literary society founded by several writers from Tongmenghui in 1909. This group published several journals and collections of poetry, essays and novels in traditional style of Chinese, with the ideology of national revolution

15 Liu Pinghua, *Bixiong wanfu*, 17.

that that they had too few experts among their own people to work. They had to use experts in the bourgeoisie. And they had to face too many difficulties and danger in this. »The failure of Yin 殷 is not far from us«. It is the one thing that our youth must see.¹⁶

In many articles like this (Shao Lizi wrote a lot for *Juewu*), it can be seen clearly that the revolution in Russia was a good example for GMD at that time. It is not a big surprise, because GMD was also a revolutionary party against the government in Beijing. The May Fourth Movement and the revolution in Russia were decidedly the good news to GMD at that time. And it is hard to believe that the editor-in-chief Ye Chucang was holding an extremely opposite opinion against *Juewu*. The special column »Suigan lu 隨感錄« [Feuilletons], mainly run by Shao Lizi before 1925, was always a symbol of *Juewu*. As the editor-in-chief of *Minguo ribao*, Ye Chucang at least had to acquiesce the new movement of his manager and the most successful supplement in his newspaper. In fact, though less frequently than Shao Lizi, Ye Chucang had also written for »Suigan lu« in *Juewu*. In his short article called »Talk No Politics« in 1920, he said that every Chinese person should at least know and talk politics just as a monk should at least recite sutras.¹⁷

2 *Ye Chucang and the Development of Minguo ribao and Juewu*

There is an event hardly mentioned in the history of *Minguo ribao*, namely the assassination of Chen Qimei. It has been mentioned earlier in this article that Chen Qimei, as a powerful man in Shanghai, was a generous sponsor of *Minguo ribao* in Shanghai. The day of the founding of *Minguo ribao* was January 22, 1916, and the day of Chen Qimei's death was May 18, 1916.¹⁸ It is easy to see the difficulty, which Ye Chucang and the new *Minguo ribao* would face at that time. As the newspaper had just been published for 5 months, losing the financial

16 Shao Lizi, »Gaizao shehui di zui zhongyao de shi 改造社會底最重要的事« [The Most Important Thing in Social Transformation], *Juewu* 7,1 (July 1920), 3.

17 Ye Chucang, »Butan zhengzhi 不談政治« [Talk No Politics], *Juewu* 9,2 (September 1920), 3.

18 Mo Yongming 莫永明, *Chen Qimei zhuan 陳其美傳* [Biography of Chen Qimei] (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1985), 182-189.

support was almost fatal because the newspaper might not have survived until the time it gained new readers. In the mourning article for Chen Qimei written by Ye Chucang (first published in *Minguo ribao*), he said:

I once met Mr. Chen in the spring of 1911 in the office of *Minli bao*. He dropped his bamboo pipe to the ground and said: »You know how to write a poem about young heroes, but do you know what is the real meaning of young heroes« I said: »on the horse those who can defeat enemies, under the horse those who can write the victory news.

In days to come you defeat enemies, and I write the victory news, sounds good?«¹⁹

This reminiscence, shows that Chen Qimei was essential to Ye Chucang's newspaper career before 1916 in Shanghai, no matter whether in *Taipingyang ribao* or *Minli bao*. The support from him had always been behind Ye Chucang's work since he started the first newspaper in Shanghai. At that time, the death of Chen Qimei was a big blow to the new *Minguo ribao*, which had been in business for less than 6 months. The financial situation during the beginning of *Minguo ribao* can be seen in Ye Chucang's biography:

At the beginning, Republican Daily was short on both finances and manpower. All the work within the newspaper belonged to all editors without divisions. The income from the market was shared with the editor-in-chief only when there was any left after the payment and fee for the new paper. Therefore, there was hardly any payment for the editor-in-chief in the beginning.

Sometimes there was no money for paper, he had to borrow it from close companies. Once he could borrow from no one, and he had to pawn his own leather coat for the money to keep the newspaper running.²⁰

It is difficult to find a precise number of circulating copies of *Minguo ribao* in the historical records available in Chinese.²¹ However, considering it has been called a big newspaper of the 1920s in any history, it is safe to say that in good time (more

19 Ye Chucang, »Dao Chen Yingshi xiansheng 悼陳英士先生« [Mourning Mr. Chen Yingshi], in Ye Chucang, *Chucang wencun*, 36–37.

20 Liu Pinghua, *Bixiong wanfu*, 58.

21 There are some records about the circulation of newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s. However, Lin Yutang, who found these records, judges that these numbers were highly likely to be bigger than the true numbers of copies in circulation. Lin Yutang, *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1936), 145.

than ten years at least), the circulation of *Minguo ribao* was more than 10,000. As the circulation of other big newspapers in China at that time was of more than 10,000 copies, like *Minli bao*, the circulation of *Minguo ribao* might have been of more than 20,000 copies in its prime before Yuan Shikai's crackdown.²² So, this story of 'pawning his own leather coat' was highly likely to have happened in the short time after Chen Qimei's death.

However, Ye Chucang and his co-workers in *Minguo ribao* were lucky. The same that destroyed many other big newspapers like *Minli bao* in 1913 could not hurt the new *Minguo ribao* anymore. In 1915, the whole number of newspapers in Shanghai was down to five because Yuan Shikai was closing down any newspapers that dared to stand between him and his ambition to the throne of the emperor.²³ In June 1916, the final failure and death of Yuan Shikai at least saved *Minguo ribao* from getting closed down. Even though the political environment was safe for the newspaper after June, Ye Chucang had done a lot to make the newspaper get through the hard times in the beginning.

It has been mentioned that the founding of *Juewu* itself was a sign that *Minguo ribao* wanted to join this new propaganda battle in 1919, and that before that, Ye Chucang edited *Minbu* and *Minyu*, fighting against Yuan Shikai. As a editor-in-chief who is responsible for the whole newspaper, Ye Chucang did a great job to make this move. As it has been shown earlier, *Juewu* was a quick response to the May Fourth Movement, both political and cultural. The art and literature supplements were in the newspaper on the very first day. However, before 1919, these supplements had no stable name or style. Compared to *Juewu*, it was more like a simple way to get more readers with some generalized entertaining content. In the first days of *Minguo ribao* in 1916, it displayed the advertisement of *Qingnian zazhi* 青年雜誌 ('Youth Journal') which is the predecessor of famous *Xin qingnian* 新青年 ('New Youth').²⁴ It can be considered as the cultural tendency of *Minguo ribao*.

However, before the time of *Juewu*, main writers who wrote for the literature supplement in *Minguo ribao* were still the members of Nanshe. Therefore, before

22 Liu Pinghua, *Bixiong wanfu*, 30-34.

23 Lin Yutang, *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*, 116.

24 Shi Jianguo, *Cong xinwenhua gonggong kongjian dao dangpai "ziji de yuandi"*, 18-25.

1919, the attitude to new literature and new culture in *Minguo ribao* was still quite traditionalist. After 10 September 1918, the supplement of *Minguo ribao* changed the name to *Minguo xiaoshuo* 民國小說 ('Republican Novels'). In the first phase of this supplement, Ye Chucang wrote *xiaoshuo zalun* 小說雜論 ('Miscellaneous Discussions on Novels'). On one hand, he confirmed the value of novel in both political and cultural life, like Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) before him. On the other hand, he also showed a different opinion than *Xin qingnian* on the topic of (new) vernacular literature or new literature:

People from Guangdong 廣州 and people from Suzhou 蘇州 use different dialects. However, they can both read the vernacular novel, because the language is still the same, and the different thing here is only accents. The new vernacular novel today cannot be understood by people from both Guangdong and Suzhou, because what they read is what they see. That is why the opinion that written language should be the same as spoken language is an unreasonable idea.²⁵

From these sentences, it is clear that Ye Chucang holds an objection to the new literature concept from *Xin qingnian*²⁶. The same opinion can also be found in his own novel. The language he used in his literary work is basically the old vernacular or even partly classical language, which is closer to *Dream of Red Mansions* than the new literature at that time. Such of his short stories are »Ms. Yunhui«,²⁷ »Jia Baoyu«,²⁸ or »Sister in Law«.²⁹

As an editor-in-chief of *Minguo ribao*, even with his personal opinion about

25 Ye Chucang, »Xiaoshuo Zalun 小說雜論« [Miscellaneous Discussions on Novels], *Minguo xiaoshuo*, 10,2 (October 1918), 1; quoted from Shi Jianguo, *Cong xin wenhua gonggong kongjian dao dangpai "ziji de yuandi"*, 29.

26 The 'new literature' concept proposed by the journal *New Youth* is mainly based on Hu Shi's 胡適 (1891–1962) opinion in his article »Wenxue gailiang chuyi 文學改良芻議« [On Discussion on Literary Reformation], first published in *New Youth* in January 1917. The article asked writers to do eight things to create a new Chinese written language, including writing under more pragmatic titles, stopping using ancient literary allusions and starting to use modern vernacular in everyday life to write.

27 Ye Chucang, »Yunhui Furen 雲迴夫人« [Ms. Yunhui], in Ye Chucang, *Chucang wencun*, 85–95.

28 Ye Chucang, »Jia Baoyu 賈寶玉« [Jia Baoyu], in Ye Chucang, *Chucang wencun*, 99–102.

29 Ye Chucang, »Saosao 嫂嫂« [Sister in Law], in Ye Chucang, *Chucang wencun*, 102–105.

new literature, he still did a lot for the foundation and development of *Juewu* because it was a new attempt to establish the newspaper in the new situation after 1919. The most important contribution of Ye Chucang to *Juewu* is the fact that he made Shao Lizi its editor-in-chief. In the beginning of 1916, there was hardly any clear division of work in *Minguo ribao*. According to some memoirs, Ye Chucang certainly did much of the managerial work. Furthermore, the manager Shao Lizi also did a lot more than management. He was one of the main writers in *Minguo ribao* from the beginning and the soul of *Juewu*.

There are three main facts that make Shao Lizi the person closest to *Juewu*. First, Shao Lizi was the longest-serving editor-in-chief of *Juewu*. Second, his writings were more numerous than any other writers in *Juewu*. Third, the ideas and ideology of *Juewu* were mainly from him before 1925. And the foundation of all these is the trust and cooperation with Ye Chucang who was the highest leader of the newspaper because of his political status in the GMD. In 1916, Shao Lizi focused on Yuan Shikai. Things were still easy for them, like this article from Shao Lizi in *Minguo ribao* in 1916 shows:

The crown has not been on his [Yuan Shikai] head, but the reign title has been published. He used the reign title Hongxian 洪憲 to admit his ambition for the emperor. For those who do not admit this reign title, he always forces them to. He thinks his idea is clever, but the jokes start here after. In diplomacy, his official documents were sent back. Inside our country, his power gave him just four characters in size 6 (equals roughly 7.5 pt). It has been clear that no one wants a new emperor in China. I feel sorry for him that he has no capable men to use.³⁰

One thing to be highlighted in this article is that it is written in half classical language, or, more precisely *baokan ti* 報刊體 ('newspaper language'), which was a common written language in journals and newspapers from late Qing dynasty to 1949, including resources both from classical language and vernacular.

After 1919, the attitude about the new culture and new literature of Shao Lizi and *Juewu* had started to show the clear difference with Ye Chucang, like this article in *Juewu* in 1923:

30 Shao Lizi, »Wuhu Hongxian 嗚呼洪憲« [Die in Peace, Hongxian], *Shao Lizi wenji* 邵力子文集 [Collected Works of Shao Lizi], 2 Vols, ed. by Fu Xuewen 傅學文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju chubanshe, 1985), 1: 6.

From what I see, I believe vernacular is what people speak right now, and vernacular literature is what people write following their speech. People's thoughts keep evolving, so does people's language. That is why the language today should not be restricted by the classical language. And that is why vernacular does not have to be vulgar.³¹

In many articles like this, Shao Lizi clearly said that he agreed on the concept of new literature, and he believed in the final goal of the vernacular movement to build the national language, which was seen as impossible and unreasonable by Ye Chucang in 1918. Furthermore, this article in 1923, like many others written by Shao Lizi in *Juewu* were written in (new) vernacular. After the founding of *Juewu*, the influence from Shao Lizi was getting stronger not just in the supplement, but also the newspaper itself, because articles from Shao Lizi appeared in both publications. Considering what happened in 1925 after Shao Lizi's leaving, it is highly possible that the differences of opinion between these two old partners were not just on culture, but also on politics. Nevertheless, as a editor-in-chief of the whole newspaper, Ye Chucang did a good job to work with Shao Lizi. It brought them the success of *Minguo ribao* and *Juewu*. This is how *Juewu* became one of the four big newspaper supplements in the 1920s, and *Minguo ribao* became the official newspaper (which made it safe from normal financial problems) of the central bodies of GMD with a commercial success. As a battlefield of propaganda, the newspaper did a great job to help defeat the enemies of GMD at least twice, in 1916 (against Yuan Shikai) and 1919 (against the government in Beijing).

3 *Ye Chucang and the Change of Juewu after 1925*

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the cooperation between the newspaper and the supplement, or the cooperation between the two important editors Ye Chucang and Shao Lizi, was the basis of the success of *Juewu* in the 1920s. Even though the number of his articles is lower than those of Shao Lizi, Ye Chucang also wrote quite a lot for the supplement. However, as the cited passages have shown, most of Ye Chucang's articles in *Juewu* had only few ideas to debate,

31 Shao Lizi, »Duiyu baihuawen de taolun (3) 對於白話文的討論 (三) « [The Discussion about Vernacular (3)], *Shao Lizi wenji*, ed. by Fu Xuewen, 2: 839.

moreover, he wrote in *baokanti* style, which is older than the language used in the texts of new literature. Even with all the differences pertaining to *Juewu*, Ye Chucang managed to keep the newspaper in balance.

In 1925, the political attitude and personnel structure in *Minguo ribao* and *Juewu* started to change. Ye Chucang was never a simple writer or editor. As a member of Tongmenghui since 1909, he had always been an old politician of the GMD.

3.1 *Juewu in Shao Lizi's Time*

As we will see in tables 2 and 3, in May 1924, Shao Lizi was still the editor-in-chief of *Juewu*. Many of his articles were published in *Juewu*, like in previous five years. These newspaper supplements had a great reputation within the circles supporting new culture and revolution. It has been shown that Shao Lizi had expressed his full support to the new literature in 1923. As one of the organizers of the Communist group (before foundation of the CCP) in Shanghai, together with Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879–1942), Shao Lizi also published Marxist theories almost since the beginning of *Juewu*. More specifically, Shao Lizi, Chen Duxiu and a few more future member of the CCP organized a group called Marxist Studies (*Makesi zhuayi yanjiuhui* 馬克思主義研究會) in Shanghai in 1920. A member of this group Chen Wangdao 陳望道 (1891–1977) helped to translate the first edition of *The Communist Manifesto* in Chinese in the same year.³² This article in January 1920 in the column »Feuilletons« in *Juewu* called »The Truth about Bolshevism« can give a clear image of Shao Lizi and *Juewu* at that time:

Yesterday, the editorial in *Dalu bao* 大陸報 ('Mainland Newspaper') said that there is a possibility that the Allies do business with Russia and made peace with them, too. The editorial also said: »Back then, no country in the world knew the truth of Bolshevik. [...] Everyone thought that Bolshevik has no organization and no discipline. Now we know that they are fully organized and disciplined. The number of their army is small, but this army has right leaders and discipline, so it gets success everywhere. The factories they own are also developing. News from Paris Meeting said that the agricultural harvest last year in Russia was the best in last 30 years.« In our country,

32 Zhu Shunzuo 朱順佐, *Shao Lizi zhuan* 邵力子傳 [Biography of Shao Lizi] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 1988), 102–103.

there are many people who call Bolshevik a radical party imitating others. And when they mention ‘radical party’, an image of flood and beasts is in their head. Now they can open their eyes and read this editorial in *Dalu bao* and I do not know what they could say.³³

Articles like this appeared in *Juewu* in great number in Shao Lizi’s time. The left-wing thought in *Juewu* is not only about Russia and Bolshevik, but also about things like worker schools (*gongdu xuexiao* 工讀學校).

The number of Shao Lizi’s articles in *Juewu* was reduced to only one in November 1924. However, it did not mean that Shao Lizi’s influence was decreasing since November 1924. As a matter of fact, Shao Lizi’s quit his chief-editorship of *Juewu* because he got several significant political positions in November 1924. The political and social positions of Shao Lizi since November 1924 included Secretary of the Department for Workers and Peasants in Executive Department of GMD in Shanghai (he actually took charge of this department because the head of this department, Yu Youren, hardly attended), Vice-Principal of Shanghai University and Acting Principal, Head of the Department of Chinese Language and Literature of Fudan University, manager of *Minguo ribao* and editor-in-chief of *Juewu*.³⁴ At that time, Shao Lizi had almost the same status in the central bodies of GMD in Guangzhou as Ye Chucang (Head of the Department of Propaganda).

After the last article written by Shao Lizi in November 1924 (technically, he still was the editor-in-chief), there were several people actually doing the editor-in-chief’s work for *Juewu*. Even though the list of names could not be found directly, thanks to Shi Jianguo’s work,³⁵ it is safe to say that there are mainly two people, Shi Cuntong 施存統 (1899–1970) and Shen Zemin 沈澤民 (1900–1933), who had done the chief-editor’s work before July 1925. The following text is from an article written by Shen Zemin called The Development of Feminism in *Juewu* in 1920:

33 Shao Lizi, »Buershiweike de Zhenxiang 布爾什維克的真相« [The Truth about Bolshevism], *Shao Lizi wenji*, ed. by Fu Xuewen, 1: 204.

34 Zhu Shunzuo, »Shao Lizi Nianpu Jianbian 邵力子年譜簡編« [The Simple Version of the Yearbook of Shao Lizi], in *Shao Lizi zhuan*, 386–387.

35 Shi Jianguo, *Cong xin wenhua gonggong kongjian dao dangpai “ziji de yuandi”*.

The basic meaning of feminism is simply the liberation of females' personality. The purpose of feminism is to get a better, purer and happier life. This life will make females and males better at the same time. In short, the highest purpose of a feminist is to make the world no longer need the concept of feminism.³⁶

This article is about the history of feminism since the French Revolution. However, considering the situation in the 1920s, feminism was a part of the left-wing movement. Shao Lizi also wrote several articles against traditional marriage in *Juewu*. In 1924, Shen Zemin translated Koizumi Yakumo's 小泉八雲 (1850–1904) article »Literary Theory«³⁷ in Chinese in *Juewu*. The article was published in 55 instalments over more than two months. It is safe to say that Shao Lizi was in charge of *Juewu* (and partly even of the newspaper) before July 1925, that is before he left Shanghai because of the May Thirtieth Movement. The May Thirtieth Movement, which was triggered by the death of Gu Zhenghong 顧正紅 (1905–1925) who was killed by a Japanese factory manager during negotiations about a strike in the factory on May 15, brought a storm of anti-imperialism in the whole country. During 24 and 30 May, a series of demonstrations broke out in Shanghai. The use of violence and deaths that occurred during the repression of these demonstrations by the concession intensified the angry movement against the colonists after 30 May. In this national movement, Shao Lizi did a lot to help workers and young students, which made him face a lawsuit and possible arrest from the government of the concession. At that time, Shao Lizi was basically thrown out of Shanghai by the government of the concession.

The following table shows changes in the attitude of *Juewu*, demonstrated on the basis of selected articles.

36 Shen Zemin, »Funü zhuyi de fazhan 婦女主義的發展« [The Development of Feminism], *Juewu*, 7:3 (July 1920), 1–2.

37 Koizumi Yakumo, »Literary Theory«, translated by Shen Zemin, *Juewu*, 2–4 (February to April 1924).

Table 2
Selected Articles from Juewu

Chief-editorship	Example of Articles & date
Shao Lizi	Lenin (1870–1924), »Shiyue Geming 十月革命« [The October Revolution], translated by Deng Chaolin 鄧超麟, November 7, 1924
Shao Lizi ³⁸	Chen Tong 沉痛, »Sheping: Kongqiande Fei Jidujiao Yundong 社評：空前的非基督教運動« [Editorial: Unprecedented Anti-Christian Movement], January 8, 1925
Shao Lizi	Yao Tianyu 姚天宇, »Zagan: Sun Zhongshan xiansheng sile 雜感：孫中山先生死了« [Feelings: The Death of Mr. Sun Zhongshan], March 13, 1925
Ye Chucang	Dai Jitao 戴季陶 (1891–1949), »Sunwenzhuyi zhi zhexue de jichu 孫文主義之哲學的基礎« [The Philosophical Foundations of Sun Yat-sen's Doctrines], July 27, 1925
Xu Shaodi 許紹棣 (1900–1980)	Ru 如, »Fucong tuanti de jueyi 服從團體的決議« [Obey the Decision of Organization], December 9, 1925
Chen Dezheng 陳德徵 (1899–1951)	Chen Dezheng, »Benkan jinhou de zhiqu 本刊今後的旨趣« [The Inclination of this Supplement since Today], August 1, 1926

Table 3
The Chronological Table of Editors-in-Chief of Juewu

Editor-in-Chief	Official Period of Time in Office	Factual Period of Time on Duty
Shao Lizi	From June 1919 to May 1925	From June 1919 to November 1924

38 After November 1924, people who actually worked as editors-in-chief were Shi Cuntong and Shen Zemin. After May 1925, they were editors-in-chief in the short time before Ye Chucang took office.

Shi Cuntong		From November 1924 to June 1925
Shen Zemin	June 1925	From November 1924 to June 1925 (after Shi Cuntong)
Ye Chucang	From July 1925 to September 1925	From July 1925 to May 1926 (taking control of <i>Juewu</i>)
Xu Shaodi	From September 1925 to February 1926	
Mao Fei 毛飛 (1893–1973)	From March 1926 to May 1926	
Chen Dezheng	From May 1926 to February 1932	From May 1926 to February 1932

3.2 *The Changes in Juewu after July 1925*

After the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925, Shao Lizi had to leave Shanghai because of the chase by the foreign police incited by the political power in the foreign concession. However, it has been shown that the impact of Shao Lizi's leaving was still temporary at that time because one of his former colleagues, an editor Shen Zemin started to do the work of editor-in chief before July 1925. The exact date of the beginning of Shen Zemin's work is unknown, but he was the last one before Ye Chucang took charge of *Juewu*. According to a reader communication written by Ye Chucang and published in *Juewu* on 11 July 1925, Ye Chucang was a »temporary editor of *Juewu*«. Since »Lizi and Zemin have left for other places to work«. ³⁹ It is clear that at least in July 1925, Ye Chucang was fully in charge of *Juewu*. The old balance inside *Minguo ribao* had gone.

Because of their close relationship to political activities, it is quite reasonable that writers and editors of *Juewu* left Shanghai for Guangzhou for the Northern Expedition in 1926. ⁴⁰ At that time, Guangzhou was the heart of GMD and

³⁹ Ye Chucang, »Xiao tongxin 小通信« [Small Communication], *Juewu*, 7,11 (July 1925), 5.

⁴⁰ The Northern Expedition in 1926 was a revolution and a civil war launched by the government in Guangzhou directed by GMD and CCP together against the government in Beijing. In 1927, after

revolution, which made all kinds of people to go there. One fact is that even Ye Chucang had not used the term 'editor-in chief' to address himself in his public letter to readers, though he had already been in charge of *Juewu*. Ye Chucang was also one of the most qualified editors-in chief of *Juewu*. He had a higher status in GMD than Shao Lizi (Head of the Department of Propaganda). For an important and popular media predominated by GMD, this means that he was more qualified to be the formal editor-in-chief than Shi Cuntong and Shen Zemin who were mere teachers in universities.

However, the change from Ye Chucang came quite fast in July. On 27 July 1925, which is the same month when he wrote the letter to readers, Dai Jitao's article »The Philosophical Foundations of Sun Yat-sen's Doctrines« was published in *Juewu*. This is the excerpt from the article:

Like Marxism, among normal revolutionaries who believe in Scientific Socialism and Historical Materialism, they completely believe them as the classic of social revolution. However, if we look at it objectively to find the actual value of Marx's Historical Materialism, we will find the value in its revolutionary thought. They can use Historical Materialism to explain the social revolution and make it easy to let working class want a revolution. Is Historical Materialism the truth? That is another question. However, on a practical level, it has obtained the status of revolutionary philosophy, because the theory in itself is very much revolutionary. However, Marx's Historical Materialism cannot explain the nation-wide popular revolution, which needs all classes to unite for it; though it can explain the social revolution between classes. The people's livelihood philosophy from Mr. Sun, can not only explain the nation-wide people's revolution which needs all classes to unite for it, but it can also explain the whole history of revolution in this one principle.⁴¹

One thing about this article, which needs to be highlighted, is that the publication of it is not a single event. Because the article »Sunwenzhuyi zhi zhaxue de jichu« is a long article, it took 6 issues of *Juewu* to publish it wholly and took 3 pages on average in each issue. Furthermore, the whole article was published under the

a series of struggles outside and inside GMD, the new Nanjing government ostensibly united China again.

41 Dai Jitao, »Sunwenzhuyi zhi zhaxue de jichu 孫文主義之哲學的基礎« [The Philosophical Foundations of Sun Yat-sen's Doctrines], *Juewu* 8,3 (August 1925), 1-3.

special column *tezai* 特載 ('special publishing'), which was not a usual column in *Juewu*. It was probably the first time when editors used this special column *tezai* in *Juewu*.

覺悟

(民國十四年八月三日)

第二頁

特載

孫文主義之哲學的基礎(六續)

(戴季陶)

就以上所述，把中山先生思想之哲學的基礎大約說完了。在這一裏我有一個最緊要的話，對諸君講一講，就是中山先生這一個偉大的思想，偉大的抱負，偉大的努力，在時代的關係上面，是以甚為目的？這一點前面已經再三講明白了，為的是革命。中山先生生於革命，死於革命，先生一切思想抱負的價值，都是表現在革命的上面。今天中國國家的地位，民族的地位，除了革命，更無可挽救之法，更從國內看一看，大多數的農民和工人，在民族能力衰弱國家地位不振經濟組織落後的中國裏面，他們所處的地位，尤其是全世界農民工人中最苦的地位，中山先生的革命是為救國，尤其是為了他們的利益和幸福才來革命救國的。「苛矣吾人，哀此殘獨」不為了這三萬萬七千萬的最困苦的人民的生活，便沒有救國的意義，便沒有革命的意義。一種的思想是有一種的目的，如果忘却了他的目的，無論思想如何高尚，便都無可取，所以中山先生的思想，是要在他四十年革命救國的努力上，在他以一誠貫徹智仁勇三德的全人格上，才顯出他的崇高偉大仁慈來，我們立志繼承他的思想的人，第一要立志繼承他的事業，如果不能立志繼承他的事業，只是空講三民主義，甚至於只是空講民生哲學，還不能澈底明瞭先生的思想是甚麼，在這道道上，簡直是先生的罪人。從前曾從先生革命而犧牲的革命志士，雖然完全不了解先生的思想是甚麼，但是並不失其為革命的先烈，國民的模範，將來即使生出許多完全解了先生的思想論學者，如果有眼

不看民生的疾苦，有耳不聽民生的疾苦，有口不為大多數受苦的人呼號，有智識能力不為大多數受苦的人民效用，這就完全與過去二千年當中一切墮落的儒者，絲毫沒有兩樣，無論甚麼思想派別的革命者，都有絕對排斥墮落的思想家的權利。即如馬克思的學說在一般科學的社會主義信仰唯物史觀的共產主義者，完全把他當作社會革命的經典，但是我們平心的審查，馬克思的唯物史觀，究竟價值在那裏，就是在他的革命性，應用唯物史觀，說明社會革命，很容易使勞動階級的人，生出革命的覺悟來，所以能夠取得革命哲學的地位，是另一問題，但是在應用的上面，所以能夠取得革命哲學的地位，是因為他思想的自身，具備有豐富的革命性。但是馬克思的唯物史觀，能夠說明階級鬥爭的社會革命，不能說明各階級為革命而聯合的國民革命，並且把一切革命歷史，都在這一個原則下面，解釋出來。所以國民革命下面的鬥士，決定非信奉民生哲學不可，這一點尤其是國民黨員大家必須共同努力的。

你是甚麼民族？

我是中國民族。

你信奉甚麼主義？

我信奉三民主義。

三民主義的思想基礎是甚麼？

最民生哲學。

民生哲學的應用是怎樣？

為人民的生活，社會的生存，國民的生計，羣衆的生命而革命

民國十四年五月於廣州起稿同年六月於上海完稿

Plate I

Facsimile of Dai Jitao, »Sunwenzhuyi zhi zhexue de jichu 孫文主義之哲學的基礎«, *Juewu* 8,3 (August 1925), 1.

As it has been clearly shown, »Sunwenzhuyi zhi zhexue de jichu« expressed a direct anti-Communist attitude by declaring it suspicious and unsuitable for China. Compared to previous articles, the shift in attitude in July 1925 is quite sharp. The change has its foundation in Ye Chucang's personal thought, but more importantly, the change is a sign of the beginning of the struggle inside GMD, between the right-wing and the left-wing, including the CCP.

Ye Chucang's change in *Juewu* was progressing after November 23, 1925 when the right-wing members inside the GMD organized a meeting to discuss anti-CCP business called Xishan huiyi 西山會議 ('Western Hills Conference'). Under Ye Chucang's control, *Minguo ribao* did a lot of propaganda work for this meeting. As for *Juewu*, it too published several articles to support the ideas from Xishan huiyi pai 西山會議派 ('Western Hills Conference Group').

Like what Shao Lizi did in the first half of the year 1925, Ye Chucang hands over this editor-in-chief's task of *Juewu* to his young colleagues as well. After only two months in September 1925, Xu Shaodi 許紹棣 (1900–1980) formally became the editor-in-chief of *Juewu*. Everything about *Juewu* during Western Hills Conference was technically in Xu Shaodi's hands (Ye Chucang was still the editor-in-chief of *Minguo ribao* and now there was no manager). This is from an article called Obey the Decision of Organization, published when Xu Shaodi was the editor-in-chief of *Juewu*: »There is a problem, which all of us Chinese have. The problem is disobeying the decision of organization while being in it. China nationalist party (GMD) has seen this disadvantage, so it pays much attention to moral training in organized movement.«⁴²

After Xu Shaodi, Mao Fei was the editor-in-chief of *Juewu* until May 13, 1926, when Mao Fei wrote in *Juewu* to tell his readers that he would leave to Guangzhou and pass this job to Chen Dezheng.⁴³ So, the whole Ye Chucang period of *Juewu* lasts approximately from July 1925 to May 1926. In March 1926, under the pressure of the center of GMD in Guangzhou, Ye Chucang wrote several articles in *Minguo ribao* to alienate himself from the failing Western Hills Conference Group, such

42 Ru 如, »Fucong Tuanti De Jueyi 服從團體的決議« [Obey the Decision of Organization], *Juewu*, 12,9 (December 1925), 1.

43 Shi Jianguo, *Cong xin wenhua gonggong kongjian dao dangpai "ziji de yuandi"*, 154.

as »Notice by Ye Chucang«⁴⁴ and »A Letter to My Fellow Members in Our Newspaper«.⁴⁵ As one of the main members of the separatist group in GMD, Ye Chucang had been asked by Guangdong to repent for his participation in Western Hills Conference Group.⁴⁶

After the hit from Guangdong and the decline in subscriptions due to Ye Chucang's shift (Needless to say most of the old readers of *Juewu* were close to Communism),⁴⁷ Chen Dezheng worked hard to bring *Juewu* on track mainly by depoliticization which was new to both Shao Lizi's and Ye Chucang's *Juewu*. However, this new pure literature theme was not successful. Readers showed a clear cold attitude to this type of literary work not related to politics and social life but only to personal feelings and beautiful form of art. Shi Jianguo's work provides a lot of further details about Chen Dezheng's work on *Juewu*.⁴⁸

4 Conclusions

Studying the relationship between Ye Chucang and *Minguo ribao* along with the supplement *Juewu*, it can be summarized that the success and failure of the newspaper was caused all because of the very same person. There is no doubt that *Minguo ribao* was a political newspaper from its very first day. Politics shaped the development of this newspaper and its supplement. The foundation and development of *Minguo ribao* and the supplement *Juewu* was all based on a specific struggle between different political powers in China. In 1916, it was the GMD

44 Ye Chucang, »Ye Chucang qishi 葉楚儉啟事« [Notice by Ye Chucang], *Minguo ribao*, 3,16 (March 1926), 1; quoted from Shi Jianguo, *Cong xin wenbua gonggong kongjian dao dangpai "ziji de yuandi"*, 158.

45 Ye Chucang, »Zhi benbao tongren shu 致本報同人書« [A Letter to My Fellow Members in Our Newspaper], *Minguo ribao*, 3,30 (March 1926), 1; quoted from Shi Jianguo, *Cong xin wenbua gonggong kongjian dao dangpai "ziji de yuandi"*, 158.

46 Liu Pinghua, *Bixiong wanfu*, 81–85.

47 In February 1926, *Juewu* could not get enough articles to fill up the whole page, which was usually allocated to it. See Shi Jianguo, *Cong xin wenbua gonggong kongjian dao dangpai "ziji de yuandi"*, 156–157.

48 *Ibid.*, 158–167.

against Yuan Shikai; in 1919, between GMD and the government in Beijing, in 1925, it was the struggle between the right-wing and the left-wing powers (including the CCP) within the GMD.

There is no doubt that *Minguo ribao* and the supplement *Juewu* did many things like a regular newspaper and supplement on the market during all these years in Shanghai. There can still be seen a great number of articles written by Shao Lizi which focus on problems of youth, such as studying and marriage. *Minguo ribao* and the supplement *Juewu* also did quite well on the Shanghai newspaper market by becoming a true big newspaper in only about four years since 1916. However, the essential factor responsible to the fate of *Minguo ribao* and the supplement *Juewu* had always been the result of political struggles in China. When the punishment from Guangzhou came, the only thing Ye Chucang and the whole newspaper could do was to keep quiet and move on to the pure literature road.

Another fact, which has always been misunderstood in China (especially in the mainland), is that the right-wing power was the bane of *Minguo ribao* and the supplement *Juewu*. It is true that the sharp shift in Ye Chucang's time caused huge losses to the newspaper and its supplement, not only in the number of readers but also in the number of pages. However, those who moved this political newspaper out of the game after the right turn were actually the central bodies of the GMD based in Guangzhou, which contained much left-wing power in it.

Comenius University in Bratislava, Department of East Asian Studies

Fresh Ghosts—Walkabout in Australia with Lu Xun

Jon Eugene von Kowallis

Abstract *Fresh Ghosts* (*Xin Gui* 新鬼), a modern Australian opera sung in English by a diasporic Chinese troupe with a title borrowed from a classical-style poem written in mourning for slain writers in 1931 by Lu Xun was staged in 1997 in Melbourne and Sydney. It unexpectedly played to sell-out audiences. The plot was loosely derived from Lu Xun's short story *Medicine* (*Yao* 藥). The author of this paper has examined critical reaction to the opera in the Australian media and concludes that although diasporic Chinese intellectuals were quick to interpret the play as an allegory to the events of June 1989, the Australians struggled to read it (and other works of Lu Xun) as a means to gain a broader understanding of China.

Key words Lu Xun · Glen Perry · Julian Yu · Contemporary Australian opera · Chinese Australian literature · Fresh Ghosts.

After presenting a paper in Chinese that discussed translations of Lu Xun's fiction into English at a conference in his hometown of Shaoxing 紹興 some years ago, a group of local journalists cornered a few of the foreign scholars there, asking why they were so interested in Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936) and his works.¹ Although the Western scholars gave a variety of reasons, the Shaoxing journalists seemed to be guiding us toward the reply that reading Lu Xun offers a shortcut to understanding China. This reminded me of a course I have taught called »China Imagined and Perceived«, which focusses on the deployment of orientalist images in literary,

1 The conference was held on the 130th anniversary of his birth. A newspaper article on some of the views expressed by foreign researchers appeared in the *Shaoxing Wanbao* 紹興晚報 [Shaoxing Evening News] on Sept. 26, 2011, T7.

filmic and artistic works of both Western and Chinese origins. In the course when students read selections from Arthur Smith's infamous 1894 book *Chinese Characteristics* (New York: Revell), I periodically suggest that the reason for its popularity, then and (incredibly) still now, has less to do with an unflattering portrayal of the Chinese than the idea that the book can somehow serve Westerners as a shortcut to understanding China's people and their culture (for the practical purposes of doing business or otherwise successfully operating in China). If that is the case, then, in a way, the modern opera I will discuss in this article was also seen by the Australian audience (or at least those critics who published their reactions to it) as a stepping stone for understanding events in contemporary China; and, in so far as art metaphorically suggests truth, perhaps a more accurate one than more 'practical' texts in the news, the op-ed pieces or the blog-o-sphere.

A modern Australian opera with the unusual title *Fresh Ghosts* premiered on November 27, 1997 at Theatre Works, an avant-garde 'off-Broadway' type venue in the St. Kilda district of Melbourne, then an edgy beach-side community known for as a center for 'alternative' culture. The opera played in both Melbourne and Sydney (staged by Music Theatre Sydney) to sell-out audiences every night. It was sung in English by a predominantly Chinese cast, but displayed prominent surtitles in Chinese next to the stage. The program boasted Chinese full-form characters on its cover: *genju Lu Xun de duanpian xiaoshuo Yao gaibian* 根據魯迅的短篇小說《藥》改編 [Based on the Short Story «Medicine» by Lu Xun] at the very top, *xin gui* 新鬼 ('New' or 'Fresh' Ghosts) in the center, superimposed on a photo of a young boy, about six or seven, eyes downcast, being comforted by what looks like the hand of a young mother, which he grasps and *yong Yingwen yanchang, pei Zhongwen zimu* 用英語演唱, 配中文字幕 [Performed in English with matching Chinese surtitles] emblazoned at the bottom. The musical score was composed by Julian Yu (b. 1957 in Beijing), educated at the Central Conservatorium of Music in Beijing in the late 1970s and the Tokyo College of Music (1980–1983).² Yu also

2 Additionally, the program tells us: »In 1991 and 1994 he [Yu] won the inaugural and second Paul Lowin Award for orchestral composition, Australia's highest composition award. His music has been performed by many orchestras and ensembles including the London Sinfonietta, the BBC

studied at Tanglewood Music Center in western Massachusetts in the summer of 1988 under Leonard Bernstein, Hans Werner Henze and Oliver Knussen. He had married an Australian girl in 1984 who had gone to China to study Chinese music and language, which is what brought him to Australia.³

At the time *Fresh Ghosts* opened, Julian Yu had already »won over twenty major awards for composition in Japan, Italy, France, USA and Australia, his adopted home.«⁴ This was not simply a Chinese diasporic production, however. The authorship of the text (libretto) is listed (in the same source) as »by Glen Perry after *Medicine* by Lu Xun«, meaning that it was adapted from (or perhaps better to say, 'loosely based on') Lu Xun's short story *Yao* 藥 [Medicine], first published in May 1919 in *Xin Qingnian* 新青年 (The New Youth), the principal journal of the May Fourth and New Culture Movements.⁵ The story was anthologized in Lu Xun's first short story collection *Nahan* 呐喊 [Outcry / A Call to Arms], became a well-known center-piece in the new literature and was adopted into literature textbooks taught in high schools throughout China. This was Glen Perry's first libretto. The stage director was Douglas Horton, music director Mark Summerbell, stage designer Dale Ferguson, and lighting designer Eferi Soropos. Xu Ying, then a student at Melba Conservatorium of Music, sang the role of Mother Hua (華大媽) in mezz-soprano. Hu Haishan sang in soprano the role of Qianying 倩影,⁶ a young woman friend/lover of Xia, the revolutionary (革命家夏氏的情人), she was then newly graduated from the Victorian College of the Arts Opera Studio. Xie Kun sang the role of revolutionist Xia 夏氏 (tenor); he was born

Symphony Orchestra, Ensemble InterContemporain and the Tanglewood Music Centre Orchestra. Julian's work has also been featured in contemporary music festivals including the Munich Biennale and Huddersfield.« (*Fresh Ghosts*, 2—original program unpaginated).

- 3 See the article »Award-winning Composer's First Opera« by Pamela Ruskin in the Australian journal *Opera-Opera* 240 (1997), 5.
- 4 According to an archival website from Chamber Made Opera in North Melbourne, accessed Nov. 10, 2011.
- 5 *Xin Qingnian* 新青年 [The New Youth] 6,5 (May 1919).
- 6 No Chinese characters are given for the name of this person, a new character created for the opera but absent from Lu Xun's original short story. The diasporic Chinese press assigned her the characters 倩影.

in Yangzhou 揚州 and graduated from Nanjing Academy of Arts and the Central Conservatorium in Beijing. He then studied at the Victorian College of the Arts, School of Music and is a member of the popular group known as ‘Three Chinese Tenors’. Lan Xiaoming, who sang the role of Liu (劉氏) in bass-baritone studied at Sichuan and Shanghai Conservatories. Gary Rowley sang two roles (Kang 康氏 and the Doctor 醫生) in bass-baritone; he was the only adult non-Chinese singer in this opera, having studied and performed in Tasmania prior to joining the Victoria State Opera in 1990. Ten-year old David Shan shared the role of (Hua) Xiao Shuan (華)小栓 with Matthew de Pehnha. We were told in the program that David Shan »is ten years old and arrived in Australia from China eighteen months ago. His grandparents taught him piano between the age of four and six. He currently sings with Mount Waverley Primary School choir.«⁷

Part of the original short story is set in a traditional Shaoxing-style teahouse, but in the opera this is transformed into a Hong Kong or overseas-Chinese style *yumcha* 飲茶 or *dimsum* 點心 restaurant with food served on small plates off push-trolleys. The cast and orchestra all wear uniforms: black trousers, red-brown coats with identical emblems (a white star) on the lapel pockets (reminding me both of the *yin taozi* 銀桃子 or ‘silver persimmon’ badge, de rigueur for self-styled revolutionists in Lu Xun’s novella *Ah Q Zhengzhuan* 阿 Q 正傳 [The True Story of Ah Q] and the Jewish ‘badge of shame’ imposed by the Nazis⁸), and neck-ties (which the revolutionaries cut off in a china-smashing sequence, perhaps to allude to the abandonment of the queue).⁹

The title of this opera, which was pivotal (at least to the overseas-Chinese audience’s interpretation of it), »Fresh Ghosts« (*Xin Gui* 新鬼), was derived from a line from a poem written by Lu Xun in late February 1931 to commemorate his martyred friend Rou Shi 柔石 and other young writers secretly executed in Longhua 龍華 Garrison Headquarters in Shanghai in 1931 by the Kuomintang 國

7 This information is based on the first edition of the program, *Fresh Ghosts*, 3–4.

8 In this way, in true Lu Xun fashion, the cast become both persecutors and victims, just as Ah Q ultimately has both roles.

9 See the article Clive O’Connell, »Simplicity, Intensity in Yu Ghosts: Simplicity Can Do Well Without Extra Frills«, *Opera-Opera* 241 (1998), 19–20.

民黨 or Nationalist regime. The allusion is not so obvious to English-speakers without a detailed knowledge of events in Kuomintang-era Shanghai in the 1930s, but the term ‘ghosts’ implies at least an unsettling form of death or a haunting and the word ‘fresh’ was intended to suggest ‘recently killed’. Lu Xun quite possibly composed this poem on the very night that news of the deaths of Rou Shi 柔石 and the other leftist writers, who later came to be collectively referred to as the ‘Five Martyrs’, reached him. Two years later, in what became a famous essay on their tragic deaths titled *Weile wangque de jinian* 為了忘卻的紀念 [In Memoriam in Order to Forget], he described his feelings at the time he learned of their execution: »Deep in the night I stood alone in the courtyard of a [Japanese-run] inn, surrounded by piled-up junk. Everyone around was asleep, as were my wife and son. I was profoundly aware that I had lost a true friend, and China one of her best youths. When my sorrow and rage had stilled a bit, old habits came to the fore again, resulting in my rattling off these verses. . .«¹⁰

This poem was originally untitled but has most frequently been known in Chinese either under the title of the aforementioned essay, in which it was first published, or by a title consisting of the poem's first four words *guan yu chang ye* 慣於長夜 (literally: ‘Accustomed to long nights...’). Lu Xun himself once referred to it as »the poem lamenting Rou Shi« (*Dao Rou Shi shi* 悼柔石詩) in a December 20, 1934 letter to his editor Yang Jiyun 楊霽雲.¹¹ The form of the poem is *qiyan lüshi* 七言律詩 or heptasyllabic regulated verse. I reproduce the text of the poem here followed by my own English translation from *The Lyrical Lu Xun*:¹²

慣於長夜過春時，
 挈婦將雛鬢有絲。
 夢裡依稀慈母淚，
 城頭變幻大王旗。
 忍看朋輩成新鬼，

10 *Lu Xun Quanyi* 魯迅全集 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1961), IV, 374. This is my own translation; for a complete English translation of this essay by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang under the title »Written for the Sake of Forgetting«, see *Lu Xun Selected Works* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1980), III, 234–246.

11 *Lu Xun Quanyi*, X, 224.

12 See Jon Eugene von Kowallis, *The Lyrical Lu Xun: A Study of His Classical-style Verse* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 149.

怒向刀叢覓小詩。
吟罷低眉無寫處，
月光如水照淄衣。

To long and sleepless night I've grown
accustomed in the spring;
Fled with a wife and babe in arms,
my temples are graying.
'Mid dream there comes an image faint
—a loving mother's tear;¹³
On city walls the overlords¹⁴
e'er-changing banners rear.¹⁵

- 13 The mother could be either Lu Xun's mother who, due to reports of her son's arrest and possible death, became ill with anxiety over his fate or Rou Shi's blind mother, of whom Lu Xun wrote: I remember Rou Shi had gone home just before New Year's and stayed so long that upon his return some of his friends reproached him. He told me in great distress that his mother had lost her sight in both eyes and that when she urged him to stay a bit longer, he could not bear to leave. I know how that blind mother felt and of Rou Shi's devotion to her. When *Bei dou* 北斗 [The Dipper] was first published, I wanted to write something about Rou Shi but could not. All I could do to commemorate him was to select Käthe Kollwitz's woodcut *The Sacrifice*, showing a mother giving up her son and depicting all the agony entailed therein. I alone knew that this was meant to commemorate Rou Shi. *Lu Xun Quanjì*, IV, 374.
- 14 The term *dawang* / *daiwang* ('overlord') was used historically to address chieftains of bandits. It is sarcastic in tone here, being composed of the characters *da* 大 ('big') and *wang* 王 ('king'). One commentator feels it refers specifically to Chiang Kai-shek; see Zhang Xiangtian 張向天, *Lu Xun Jiushi Jianshu* 魯迅舊詩箋注 [Exegeses and Commentaries on Lu Xun's Classical-style Poetry] (Hong Kong: Yadian meishu yinzhì gongsi, 1972), I, 102.
- 15 A Zhou Yang 周揚 (1908–1989) era (i.e. 1950s) interpretation (*Lu Xun Quanjì*, IV, 555) says this line: »refers to the contradictions and conflicts between the Kuomintang (KMT) government in Nanking and the warlord powers in various locales, which resulted in outbreaks of armed conflict.« Although it stands to reason that Lu Xun would be disgusted by this, I fail to see how it enters into the suppression, arrest, and killing of leftist authors in Shanghai, a politically motivated action taken by the KMT to consolidate its control over Shanghai. Rather, I am partial

I can but stand by looking on
as friends become new ghosts,¹⁶

to the interpretation of Zhang Xiangtian, *Lu Xun Jiushi Jianzhu*, I, 103, who holds that »banners« refer to slogans and propaganda reflecting the KMT central government's fickle policies, ranging from trumpeting the 'Rule of Law' one day to touting their doctrine of 'Political Tutelage' the next. Such arbitrary designations reflected policy changes on civil liberties that might well cost the actual lives of vulnerable dissidents then active in the urban areas under central government authority. The incident involving the execution of the 'Five Martyrs' is but one case in point.

In his chapter »The Enigma of the Five Martyrs« in *The Gate of Darkness: a study of the leftist literary movement in modern China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), 163–233, T. A. Hsia 夏濟安 has suggested that the deaths of these young writers may be attributable to internecine quarreling between two factions of the Communist Party in Shanghai. According to Hsia's account, the police of the International Settlement at Shanghai burst into a preparatory meeting for the All-China Congress of Soviets on January 17, 1931 after having been tipped-off by an informer loyal to the more orthodox leadership, which Rou Shi and the others opposed. One is impressed by the possibility that the 'Five Martyrs' were, indeed, engaged in setting up a rival leadership faction along with the other participants in that ill-fated meeting. This would have broad implications in interpreting the poem in question, were it not unlikely that Lu Xun was aware of any such double-dealing at the time; moreover, the fact that the writers were put to death by the KMT authorities, to whom they were handed over by the gendarmerie of the Foreign Concessions, would still place the burden of guilt, in Lu Xun's eyes, squarely on the Nationalist government.

16 The words *ren kan* 忍看 here mean 'to endure the sight of' [some hideous or unbearable thing]. *Ren* is probably not being used rhetorically, as a number of Chinese commentators hold, to mean *qi ren* or 'how can one bear. . .?' The original version of the poem, recorded in Lu Xun's diary on July 11, 1932, as written out for Yammamoto Hatsue uses *yan kan* 眼看 ('to witness before one's very eyes', 'to watch helplessly', or 'to look on passively as...') in the place of *ren kan*. Though the revision is of Lu Xun's own hand, the intended meaning becomes clear when the different textual versions are compared. The image of people freshly slaughtered turning into 'new ghosts' harks back to a line from an anti-war poem by the great Tang master Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) titled *Dui Xue* 對雪 [»Toward the snow«]: »*Zhan ku duo xin gui* 戰哭多新鬼 ('When battle's done, many new ghosts cry).« This term has in fact been in use as far back as the *Zuo zhuàn* 左傳 [The Zuo Commentary], where the statement: *Wu jian xin gui da gu gui xiao* 吾見新鬼大故鬼小 ('I've seen

In anger face bayonet thickets¹⁷
 and search for verse ripostes.
 The poem intoned, my gaze turns low
 —one cannot write such down.¹⁸
 Moonlight shimmers with watery sheen
 upon my jet-black gown.

Here I translated *xin gui* 新鬼 literally as ‘new ghosts’, rather than ‘fresh ghosts’, perhaps to avoid the common and facetious implications in English of ‘fresh’, although Australian critic Trevor Hay finds the use of ‘fresh’ in the title to be »more evocative, more carnal than the Chinese word ‘new’—[it] also invokes Lu Xun’s bitter lament about the execution of five young writers in 1931: “I can but stand by looking on, as friends become new ghosts...”¹⁹My consolation here is that Trevor Hay had obviously read my translation of the poem (he quotes it here, without a citation)²⁰ and took it to be a more literal rendering of the Chinese original.

In response to an Australian interviewer’s question about the meaning of the title, Julian Yu said: »It is in the Chinese tradition. It means the newly dead. It is

that new ghosts are enormous, whereas the old ones are small.’) occurs (*Zuo zhuàn*, *Wen gong er nian* 文公二年, Duke Wen section, year two).

- 17 *Daocong* 刀丛 (lit. ‘knife thicket’) is reminiscent of the image *daolin jianshu* 刀林劍樹 (‘groves of knives and trees of swords’) used in descriptions of the Buddhist hell, where they are implements of torment.
- 18 The import of this line is that due to government censorship, there is no chance for writing like this poem (or any other such outpourings of grief and anger) to see print. Lu Xun himself explained the phrase, saying: »...in China at that time this poem could not be published. We were sealed up more tightly than in a tin can.« *Lu Xun Quanjì*, IV, 374.
- 19 See Trevor Hay’s review article »Sympathetic Magic from Chamber Made Opera« in the periodical *RealTime* (published by Australian Music Centre), 23 (February–March 1998), 40.
- 20 I was teaching Chinese Studies at the University of Melbourne then; copies of *The Lyrical Lu Xun* would have been available at the University of Melbourne Library and the State Library of Victoria.

based on a short story called *Medicine* by Lu Xun written in 1918. He is one of China's best-known 20th-century writers. Among those who speak Chinese he is as famous as Brecht and Joyce are in Western literature.«²¹ He continued to explain the story-line of the opera: »It tells the story of two Chinese women who are devoted to each other. One is the lover of a dissident who has been executed for murdering a government official, the other the mother of a son who is dying of a fatal disease. The distraught mother is forced to accept a gruesome remedy paid in blood.«²²

Here we have two interesting turns of phrase: one is the use of the term »dissident«, which in the English of the 1990s suggested someone (in particular an intellectual) in disagreement with the Communist government of the already-defunct Soviet Union or, more to the point, China. The other is the word »lover« instead of 'mother'—the opera introduces a new character, a younger woman called Qianying, the lover of the revolutionary martyr Xia (Yu) 夏(瑜). This might be a nod toward the Western convention of having operas center around lovers. But it might also have something to do with centering the tragedy even more on the youths of contemporary China (as a reference to the events of 1989). Mother Hua is sung by Xu Ying, who came to Australia in 1991 and graduated from Melba Conservatorium. Qianying (the new character) is performed by Hu Haishan, a graduate of the Victorian College of the Arts. Xia Yu is sung by Xie Kun, whom Pamela Ruskin called »one of the very well-known Three Chinese Tenors.« Both the roles of the 'executioner' Kang 康²³ and the doctor are sung by the only Western member of the cast, Gary Rowley, a veteran performer who had already sung many roles with the Victoria State Opera and the boy Xiao (Little) Shuan (小) 栓 is a role shared between two young boys, Matthew de Pehnha and David Shan. David Shan was only 10 at the time and in my own opinion (I saw the opera twice), his song »The Rains Will Come« sung in the character of Xiao Shuan after the execution of Xia Yu and directly before his own death of tuberculosis is the most impressive aria in the entire opera: it had a haunting, ethereal quality, ringing

21 Ruskin, »Award-winning Composer's First Opera«, 5.

22 Ibid.

23 This is a common misreading of the story—in Lu Xun's original Kang is not the executioner, just a loud-mouthed customer in the teahouse who portrays himself as a benefactor to the Hua family for having suggested they procure the blood-soaked *mantou* 饅頭 from the executioner.

out poignantly and prophetically in the boy's clear soprano voice. Indeed, the boy stole the show and impressed the Australian audience with his mastery of local English. Here Clive O'Connell, who is generally quite critical of the production, comments:

The reason for bilingual surtitles is unclear. One assumes that Mandarin [i.e. Chinese character subtitles] is employed for the sake of any Chinese speaker who comes to see the work. The presence of surtitles in a work sung in English is not new, as we have seen in Britten productions from the Australian Opera. It is true that some of the singers have very thick accents. Not 10-year old David Shan, however, who has been in Australia for 18 months and comes over with as ocker a twang [as strong an Australian accent] as you will hear resonating across any schoolyard. His role is a demanding one in terms of fitting into the ensemble and in keeping time. Shan coped remarkably well, given the wealth of melodic material he had to master and the hard work in manipulating a prop that came close to immovable on two occasions.²⁴

The first edition of the program tells the audience: »FRESH GHOSTS is adapted from *Medicine*, written in 1919. The story is set in the last days of the Qing (Manchu) Empire, before the republican revolution of 1911.« It then gives a synopsis of the plot as follows:

Scene one: Mother Hua's teahouse. A doctor is examining Mother Hua's son, Shuan, who is ill with consumption. The doctor offers various exotic 'cures' saying if they do not work then there is no hope. Later, Qianying enters and asks Mother Hua if she has a cure for her friend, Xia, who seems to be suffering from some form of fever. Shuan is in a terrible sweat and mumbles nightmarish visions in a delirious sleep.

Scene Two: a room in another part of town. Qianying returns to Xia who delivers a fevered polemic on the need for radical remedy for the social ills of China. There is banging on the wall. Xia yells at the banging but Qianying calms him down with Mother Hua's remedy, which makes him drowsy but doesn't calm his anger.

Scene Three: Kang's room, next door. We see Kang, an executioner, thumping on the wall, cursing his neighbors. Liu, a government official, enters and

24 O'Connell, »Simplicity, Intensity in Yu Ghosts«, 20.

informs Kang about details of the next execution to be performed in the province. Liu has a headache. Kang recommends Mother Hua's teahouse.

Scene Four: The teahouse. Mother Hua prepares one of the cures for Shuan who throws a tantrum. Liu enters explaining that he has a terrible headache. As Mother Hua prepares his cure she relates the doctor's diagnosis that there is no remedy for her son's consumption. Liu tells Mother Hua that he knows of a guaranteed cure and tells Mother Hua to meet him early tomorrow morning at the crossroads near the Ancient Pavilion.

Scene Five: We see Mother Hua asleep of day-dreaming. We see an execution taking place. Mother Hua wakes up and remembers what has to be done. She walks until she arrives at the crossroads. Liu arrives and offers her a parcel. Mother Hua takes out a purse of coins and swaps the money for the 'medicine'.

Scene Six: The teahouse. Mother Hua serves up the cure to Shuan and sings a lullaby as if trying to work magic with the 'powers' of the 'cure'. Mother Hua sees a black crow and tells it to go away; not to bring bad luck to her son, for today is a magic day. Qianying enters, saying that Xia has disappeared. She suspects he has been taken away by the authorities for criticizing the Emperor. Mother Hua attempts consolation, but does this by criticizing Xia. Qianying becomes incensed and passionately defends Xia, saying that he was motivated by the truest love for his people. Kang and Liu enter the teahouse and talk about a criminal named Xia who has been executed. Qianying reels in horror and goes to attack Liu but is restrained by Kang. Liu warns Qianying that if she knows Xia, it would be best if she never speaks of him again or she could disappear for good. Qianying wrestles free from Kang's grasp and escapes. Liu then reveals the secret of the 'cure' to Mother Hua.

Scene Seven: The graveyard. We see two grave-mounds. Xia's grave is distinguished by a wreath of white flowers. Mother Hua enters followed by Qianying who sees the flowers and is suspicious. She can't believe they were put there by family or friends, as they would fear association with Xia. Meanwhile Mother Hua sees the black crow and tells it to go away. In her deranged state Qianying starts to talk to Xia in his grave. »Xia, if you really are here, and can hear me, make that crow fly on to your grave as a sign.« The crow does not move. They mourn together before Mother Hua ushers Qianying away from the grave.

To me the depiction of Xia in the first two scenes is reminiscent of the older story of the leader of the Taiping Rebellion, with his initial fever and delusions resulting in a mission to rid China of demons. Here we have Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全, not Xu Xilin 徐錫麟 or Qiu Jin 秋瑾 as a prototype. This may tell us something about historical memories in the Chinese diaspora. It may more likely suggest the influence of Jonathan Spence's books abroad.²⁵ But at least one Australian critic claimed the symbolism in the opera was too much:

As Blind Freddy can tell, to balance the simplicity of the plot, the work is loaded with symbols. The only important one that does not succeed is that of a black crow that Mother Hua exclaims against in the last two scenes. The bird appears after Shuan has eaten the tainted bread and again in the graveyard scene where it serves as a kind of harbinger of doom and gloom. The bird motif is not exactly original and it fails to animate the production itself—well, I suppose because the bird is not drawn clearly enough for us in the libretto or the score. Also the device has been tried before and more has been made of it more persuasively—like the buzzard song in *Porgy and Bess*, Britten's *Curlew River*, even mad Lucia...

Misunderstandings aside, there were some points about the production that really did elude explanation, in the best Chamber Made fashion. A set of screens on the acting space's back wall occasionally lit up like x-ray screens. Superimposed were rows of small photos of people, presumably Chinese, with gaps in the layout every now and then. This might have represented a statement about the authoritarian nature of the dynasty that has everyone 'on file', and the gaps represent the outspoken dead, like Xia. Maybe, but the screens were too far away to make sense of. When the opera began, Shan was being teased by a Chinese lantern that kept rising up out of his reach, then sinking again, then tempting him to try and touch/grab it. A symbol of freedom? Life? Hope? A frisky lighting engineer?

During the graveyard scene, water was poured over the lintel of the doors leading to the outside of the theatre. An atmospheric sound, as rain always is. But why and to suggest what? Tears? Sadness?

25 Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: WW Norton, 1996).

I suppose these distractions wouldn't have mattered so much except that Yu's work is such an uncomplicated construct, with few pretensions in the libretto and a professional score that even at its barest moments says the right side of self-effacement.

To impose impenetrability is upping the interpretative ante without cause.

Fresh Ghosts makes quite a contrast with the last Chamber Made presentation, *Wide Sargasso Sea*. Where the earlier opera worked hard to make its impact, the production outweighing the music to a severe extent, the simplicity of Yu's work and its contained intensity make for the more rewarding and satisfying experience.²⁶

I found the opening of the first scene in the teahouse distinctly postmodern with jingling coffee cups and saucers, lights and images projected on a screen behind the singers and the mother and the doctor both dressed in red Western-style *xizhuang* 西装 jackets and black pants, as if they were both waiters in a Hong Kong restaurant. Thus the time frame is jarring to the audience, who have just been told by the program the story takes place in the last days of the Qing dynasty in 1911. This suggests the story in the opera is set in (or at least pertains to) *our* day as much as the late-Qing. The singing was, for the most part, in high decibels, which caused at least one critic (Clive O'Connell) to complain: »The style of singing Yu asked for calls for plenty of loud polemic, although at certain points it is hard to understand why...«²⁷ He continues: »If there is any common thread to be perceived in the training these singers have received in Western music, it seems to be a focus on direct, somewhat overbearing production. Both Xie and Lan sang nowhere less loudly and, although this keeps an audience focused, the effect is eventually wearing.«²⁸ This is interesting because the general expectation of Chinese opera from a Western audience would be dainty damsels and soft tones, or else rolling acrobatics. The complaint about 'loud polemic' reminds me of what Lu Xun wrote in *She Xi* 社戲 (Village Opera) about his own distaste for Peking Opera.²⁹ Of course, Lu Xun was talking about gaudy style and loud presentation. Here the Australian critics may be hinting at decibels in lieu of a more direct didacticism.

26 O'Connell, »Simplicity, Intensity in Yu Ghosts«, 19.

27 Ibid., 19.

28 Ibid.

29 *Lu Xun Quanzhi*, I, 561.

Representatives of the Australian media attempted to interview me directly after the opening performance. I declined. My reasons were simple: my main preoccupation while watching the opera the first time had to do with ferreting out the discrepancies between its story-line and that of the original short story (and there were many, as indicated above, chief among which is the elimination of the mother of Xia, the executed revolutionist, and her replacement with a lover, Qian Ying). This is not to say that deviating from the story is necessarily a bad thing, as these are radically different art forms. The Chinese colleagues I talked with after the performance, on the other hand, all made an allegorical interpretation of the opera: »It's about June 4th!« they declared with great certainty. Of course, they were at least in part justified in that reading, especially in view of the opera's title *Fresh Ghosts*, although over seven years had elapsed already between the date of the events at Tian'anmen Square and the opening of the opera. There is also the prominent feature of the second scene: four members of the cast line up at tables, smashing cups and saucers with hammers, casting the shards onto the floor, where they remain for the rest of the opera, providing unsettling effects as the characters tread the shards into the floor. This was reminiscent of the students in China directly after the suppression of the demonstrators in 1989, who threw bottles out of windows of their dormitories, symbolically signifying: »Smash [Deng] Xiaoping« 鄧小平 through the use of a homonym for his name (*xiao ping* 小瓶 ['little bottles'] sounds the same as Xiaoping, the Communist leader's given name) and the grinding suppression and its fallout, which remains behind ('un-cleared up') even to the present day. On the wall immediately behind the four singers were three lit-up screens, each containing 33 or 34 small photos of Chinese people in neat rows, some of which are missing, all in dark colored shirts, looking something like the mug-shots of victims of the Khmer Rouge. One might assume these suggest the victims of the June 4th suppression. Australian critic Trevor Hay goes on to suggest something more grisly:

A teashop proprietor is desperately trying to find a remedy for her son's consumption (Lu Xun's own father was consumptive and a victim of quack cures) and is convinced by a sinister government official that she need only meet with him at the crossroads in the morning—a site replete, in Chinese folklore, with malevolent spirits and the evil

residue of tragic, premature death—and pay him a certain fee for a ‘guaranteed cure’. She meets the official, pays the money and is given a mysterious packet containing the cure. Through the evidence of conversation conducted in the teahouse (sung in English, with English and Chinese subtitles, reminiscent of the way the songs of the Chinese opera used to be accompanied by character slides to overcome problems of dialect) we learn that while this transaction has been taking place a young woman from Lu Xun’s home town was publicly executed in 1907, while he was in Japan studying medicine. It then transpires that the magic cure which the mother has given her son is in fact a piece of steamed bread which has been plunged into the breast of the condemned man. As in other stories in *Call to Arms*, we are confronted with the spectre of cannibalism, combined with elements of sympathetic magic. The boy has eaten not only bread and blood but the healthy lungs of the executed revolutionary—a form of pre-revolutionary magic which has its vestigial traces in the practice of selling organs extracted from those executed in contemporary China.³⁰

Hay’s analysis is intriguing in a two-fold way. On the one hand, by making the Huas initially unaware of the actual origin of the ‘guaranteed cure’, or its real substance, they (and the ordinary people of China) are excused from the direct implication in the superstitious and inhumane practice—rather the blame is squarely laid at the doorstep of nefarious government officials. This is a critique in fact more ‘political’ and less thorough-going toward society than Lu Xun’s questioning of superstition as a vehicle to examine man’s inhumanity to man. Second, Hay broaches a topic which was very much in the news in the Western media at the time: the use of fresh organs from executed Chinese prisoners for organ transplants by those with government connections or enough money to afford them. This was indeed a theme that was brought up almost as frequently in the American media in the mid-to-late 1990s in connection with China then as the under-value of the *yuan* is now.³¹ Whether these issues are deliberately suggested by the libretto or not, they were on the minds of educated Australians at the time, and so it is fair to say the opera at least ‘suggested’ them in the eyes and ears of the audience.

30 Hay, »Sympathetic Magic from Chamber Made Opera«, 40.

31 This is not to say that I do not think organ theft or, for that matter the death penalty, wrong—rather that I think there may be more pressing issues for Americans to deal with on the home front and in their understanding of China.

Hay, unlike Clive O'Connell, has figured out the symbolic value of the crow, but again, it seems he did so on the basis of meticulous outside research. He writes in conclusion of his review:

Here is the principal difficulty for *Fresh Ghosts* as an opera. I suspect only those who had actually read the story were aware how much was riding on the crow's wings in the last scene. A great deal of discussion has taken place in Chinese literary circles about the meaning of this, but it boils down to the notion that while the crow did not respond to the superstitious belief that it was actually a migrating soul, it did fly toward a dauntingly distant, but real destination—revolution. The synopsis for the seventh and final scene tells us, »As they move off there is a flutter of wings and they look up to see the crow which circles overhead and flies off into the horizon.« [Note: the first edition of the program did not include this detail in the synopsis—J.K.]. Lu Xun, in his final sentence, has the crow flying 'like an arrow for the horizon' and when he loses that shaft his own diagnostic detachment and ghostly realism takes flight with it, in search of a remote and perhaps hopeless revolutionary idealism. Curiously, while the opera handles the macabre realism extremely well, it is at the point where romanticism enters—the very element which might seem most natural to opera—that the translation falters. Without Lu Xun's pen to guide it the crow has nowhere to go. Nevertheless, this is an admirably imaginative production, and its chief success is in re-creating the essential story-theatre inherent in Lu Xun's greatest work, in which one feels the presence of the author as a manipulative stage director. As in Peking Opera, detail is minimal, sets are spare and multi-purpose ...costumes are stylized...and Julian Yu's music...is a fascinating blend of western operatic singing with its credibility-straining 'heightened speech' effect, and the accompaniment of a small hybrid orchestra located on stage as in traditional Peking Opera and dominated towards the end by a poignantly melodious *erhu* reminiscent of the music of Lu Xun's birthplace. I think the author himself might have been agreeably surprised how truly sympathetic the magic of Chinese-Australian inspiration can be.³²

Obviously, a revised version of the program was printed at some point in response to O'Connell's (and doubtless other viewer's) criticism. The original synopsis of scene 7 ended abruptly: »Meanwhile Mother Hua sees the black crow

32 Hay, »Sympathetic Magic from Chamber Made Opera«, 40.

and tells it to go away.« In her deranged state Qianying starts to talk to Xia in his grave. »Xia, if you really are here, and can hear me, make that crow fly on to your grave as a sign. The crow does not move. They mourn together before Mother Hua ushers Qianying away from the grave.«

Trevor Hay makes much of the analysis of the crow and its symbolic flight. As a literary and cultural critic, he is well-advised to do so. C.T. Hsia in his *History of Modern Chinese Fiction* has drawn the reader's attention to this moment in literature as an important turning point for China. He even chose a traditional watercolor painting depicting a crow for the spine of his book.³³ In spite of this, Hsia's analysis is inaccurate, due mainly to a lack of careful reading of the text. He tells us:

This bleak scene, in which a mother's cry, wrung from her desperate belief in Heaven's justice, becomes a symbolic questioning over the meaning and future of the revolution, is one of the imaginative heights in modern Chinese fiction, with its dramatic irony of the crow, perching there motionless, utterly unresponsive in its sphinxlike silence to the mother's cry.³⁴

I am thinking it may have been on this source that the original synopsis (and understanding of the story by the adapters) was based. The late Czechoslovak scholar Milena Doleželová-Velingerová concluded her legendary structuralist analysis of Lu Xun's story by speculating that the crow represents »a frightening but cathartic symbol of revolution«.³⁵ This explanation sounds as though it may have originated in China, where she studied in the 1950s. If it did, she does not footnote it, so I have always assumed it to be her own. Yet I would argue that we have no evidence of that within the text of the either the short story³⁶ or the opera

33 This was on the 1971 paperback edition of *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* by Yale University Press.

34 C. T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999, 3rd ed.), 35–36. This edition (regrettably) deletes the watercolor of the crow from the spine of the 1971 edition.

35 Milena Doleželová-Velingerová, »Lu Xun's 'Medicine'«, in *Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era*, ed. by Merle Goldman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 231.

36 The text of the short story ends: »他們走不上二三步遠，忽聽得背後“啞”的一聲大叫；兩個人都竦然的回過頭，隻見那烏鴉張開兩翅，一挫身，直向著遠處的天空，箭也似的飛去了。「 (魯迅《藥》)。 »They had not gone thirty paces when they heard a loud caw behind them.

libretto. What I think the text (and the narrative) justifies is a reading of the crow's **flight off in another direction** as symbolizing a turn away from the old beliefs. China (and the rest humanity) must embark on a different course and go in a different direction, just as the crow does not fly back to the grave.

What sort of information were the viewers given about Lu Xun himself? The program included a short biographical sketch:

LU XUN, writer, essayist, literary theorist, critic and translator, was born in 1881 in Shao-hsing, Chekiang province of China. Lu Xun's family was reduced to poverty when his father was made an invalid with tuberculosis.

Lu Xun's medical studies were abandoned after two years, as he came to believe that »medical science was not so important after all...the most important thing was to change [the Chinese people's] spirit, and since I felt that literature was the best means to this end, I determined to promote a literary movement.«

He subsequently became very active in the May Fourth movement for a new literature; taught in schools and universities, and gave voice to the sentiments of progressive Chinese students. He was forced into periods of hiding but finally abandoned his political activities in protest at Chiang Kai Shek's seizure of power in 1927. From this time he devoted himself entirely to writing—stories, prose poems, essays, translations and scholarly works including the *Brief History of Chinese Fiction*.

His stories convey his own struggle between »despair rising from hopelessness« and the urge to believe »the hopes that lie with the future«. His stories are always reduced to a few snatches of reality, charged with intense emotion, that evoke the atmosphere of a situation. They often culminate in a shock of tragedy or shriek of despair.

Lu Xun died in Shanghai in 1936, weakened by a three year struggle with tuberculosis. Just before he died he wrote: »If this is dying, it isn't really painful. Since this happens only once in a lifetime, I can take it.«

Lu Xun's use of the common language in his stories was revolutionary and he established a new literary style in the vernacular. The broad scope of his literary output and interests placed Chinese literature in a world context. He is thus regarded as the founder of modern Chinese literature.

Startled, they looked round and saw the crow stretch its wings, brace itself to take off, then fly like an arrow towards the far horizon.« *Lu Xun Selected Works*, I, 67.

Of course, there are factual errors in this brief biographical sketch. Lu Xun's family's coming down in the world is ascribed to his father's illness, which is based on impressions gleaned from the author's preface to *Naban* [Outcry / A Call to Arms]. There is no mention of his grandfather's involvement in a case of corruption surrounding the civil service exams or of the 'slide show incident' (a deviation from the preface to *Outcry*). His short stories and scholarship are thought to have been written after 1927, when he is thought to have turned away from politics (rather than toward opposition politics). The emphasis on the struggle between despair and hope within Lu Xun may reflect the influence of Wang Hui's 汪暉 book *Fankang Juewang* 反抗絕望 [Resist Despair] on Julian Yu or Chinese members of the cast or Leo Ou-fan Lee's 李歐梵 work. The description of the formulation of his stories is unique: »His stories are always reduced to a few snatches of reality, charged with intense emotion, that evoke the atmosphere of a situation. They often culminate in a shock of tragedy or shriek of despair.« And the conclusion: »The broad scope of his literary output and interests placed Chinese literature in a world context...« is one that Lu Xun scholars have only recently embraced.³⁷

What conclusions can we draw now, more than two decades later, when memory of the opera and June 4th itself are fading from memory? It can be said with some certainty that the opera was read allegorically, both by the Chinese diasporic audience and by Australian critics alike, as referring to more immediate events in China. In other words, the production, lively, loud and innovative as it was, impressed the playwright and the audience with Lu Xun's enduring relevance to the present. Literary conceits and symbols, such as the raven, may have appeared elusive at first, but stimulated discussion and research. In the end, Lu Xun's work in postmodern garb appeared fresh and fathomable. It spoke as much to our times and our priorities as it did in Lu Xun's. This was a 'fair dinkum' adaption—of the opera and of the poem and of the metaphor in the title.

37 See my article »Lu Xun on Our Minds: The Post-Socialist Reappraisal«, *Journal of Asian Studies* 73.4 (2014), 1–7.

I would conclude with Trevor Hay's words: »I think the author [Lu Xun] himself might have been agreeably surprised how truly sympathetic the magic of Chinese-Australian inspiration can be.«³⁸

*The University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia,
Department of Chinese Studies, School of Humanities and Languages*

38 Hay, »Sympathetic Magic from Chamber Made Opera«, 40.

Qian Mu's View on Intuition

Gad C. Isay

Abstract Around the year 1948, Qian Mu 錢穆 (1895–1990) wrote his interpretation and commentary on the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and at the same time he authored his *Quiet Thoughts at the Lake* (*Hushang xiansilu* 湖上閒思錄). In the latter he discussed intuition in a comparative perspective and identified it with the mind of the people of the East. He referred—at times openly and sometimes with no indication—to contemporary views and debates. Regarding intuition, he differentiates between the thought that uses the language of speaking and recording on the one hand, and wordless thought, on the other. He identifies the former with the intellect or reason, and the latter with intuition. Unlike the intellect, intuition is to him a medium that lacks any division and is direct, deep, and immeasurable. Intuition, Qian argues, defines the primordial state out of which the intellect evolved. From this perspective he analyzes the Confucian terms of ‘all things are one body’ and ‘inborn capacity’. My discussion of Qian Mu’s view of intuition contextualizes his view of intuition with his larger concern with the modern change of Chinese culture and his predominant preoccupation with the notion of balance.

Key words Intuition, Intellect · Filial Piety · Language, Wordlessness · Inborn Capacity · Oneness · Balance · Value · Spirituality · Culture.

Introduction

The contemporary poet, Hugh MacDiarmid, recently highlighted in one of his poems a certain sense of vagueness:

May I never lose these shadow glimpses of unknown thoughts
That modify my own, and never fail
To keep some shining sense of the way all thoughts at last

Before life's dawning meaning like stars at sunrise pale.¹

Qian Mu's 錢穆 (1895–1990) discussions in his *Quiet Thoughts at the Lake* (*HSXSL*), converge with the quote above in that he postulates intuition (*zhibue* 直覺) as the wordless ground of thought.² Significantly, Qian's discussion pairs intuition with the intellect (*lizhi* 理智), setting both in a relationship that assumes the former as the source and the latter as an outgrowth.

The discussion that follows takes its departure point in Qian's routine of pairing complementing terms. What are the underlying assumptions and what is the significance of such a narration? Next, the main section of this study introduces his view on intuition. This section concludes with a short outline of the predominant preoccupation in his writings, with the notion of balance—markedly implicit in the complementary style of the discussions. Finally, my conclusion considers the historical context of Qian's essay, with the purpose of shedding more light on the motives behind his discussion of intuition.

1 *The Reverence for the Sources*

To unfold the nature of the relations between sources and their outgrowths, as applied, respectively, to the terms of intuition and the intellect, consider the quote below:

[T]he intellect is shallow and relatively visible; intuition deep and relatively concealed. The intellect is cultural and experience-conditioned, intuition is natural and a-priory. My discussion so far does not aim to lessen the importance of the intellect—not even

An early version of this essay was presented in a panel on intuition in Chinese philosophy in EACS2016, 21st biennial Conference, St. Petersburg, August 2016. I am indebted to my co-participants, Rafael Suter, Joseph Ciaudo, and Hans-Rudolf Kantor. <<http://www.eacs2016.spbu.ru/more/?cell=108>> (last retrieval April 2, 2018). With great indebtedness I dedicate this essay to my friend the late Professor Raoul David Findeisen.

- 1 Hugh MacDiarmid, »Light and Shadow«, in *Selected Poetry* (New York: New Directions, 2008), 167. Quoted in Vera Schwarcz, *Colors of Veracity: A Quest for Truth in China, and Beyond* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), 69.
- 2 The present study of Qian's idea of intuition confines itself to his *Hushang xiansilu* 湖上閒思錄 [Quiet Thoughts at the Lake] (Taipei: Lantai chubanshe, 2001). Hereafter *HSXSL*.

a bit—but at the foundation of the intellect inheres intuition; no need to bother for a proof. Everywhere you turn you recognize is!³

This style of argumentation that uses complementary terms and sets one of these as a source and its other as an outgrowth features everywhere in Qian's writings and forms a major characteristic of his thought.⁴ Such discussions that engage relations, implicitly suggest a yet more fundamental concern—with the notion of balance. Before I turn, later in this essay, to discuss the notion of balance, it is in order here to ask: What is the nature of the relations between such complementary terms, between sources and their outgrowths?

A major characteristic of Qian's discussions of complementary pairs or, conversely, sources and their outgrowths, consists of what I call the pattern of the reverence for the sources.⁵ In the context of the history of Chinese and, especially, Confucian, thought, the reverence for the sources predominantly coincides with the dynamic relations that the value of filial piety entails. The filial piety framework consists of reverent generations who maintain their autonomy and uniqueness at the same time of their being inextricably enmeshed in uninterrupted correlative relations. Since it is valuable for facilitating relations between phases of the same process, reverence for the sources embodies a genuine aspect of each

3 *HSXSL* 141.

4 The chapter titles of the *HSXSL* are: (1) »Humanity and Nature«; (2) »Spirit and Matter«; (3) »Emotions and Desires«; (4) »Principle« (*li* 理) and 氣; (5) »Yin and Yang«; (6) »Art and Science«; (7) No-self and Immortality; (8) »Quality (*chengse* 成色) and Quantity (*fenliang* 分兩)«; (9) »The Way (*dao* 道) and Fate (*ming* 命)«; (10) »Good (*shan* 善) and Evil (*e* 惡)«; (11) »Freedom and involvement«; (12) »Struggle and Kindness«; (13) »The Rules of Propriety (*li* 禮) and the Law (*fa* 法)«; (14) Rush and Leisure«; (15) »Science and Life«; (16) »Self and Other«; (17) »Divinity and Wisdom«; (18) »Experience and Thought«; (19) »Spirits and Divinity«; (20) »The Countryside and the Urban«; (21) »Life and Consciousness«; (22) »The Imperceptible and the Perceptible«; (23) History and Divinity; (24) Things and Outward Appearances; (25) Human Nature and Fate; (26) »The Tense and the Loose«; (27) »The Deductive and the Conclusive«; (28) »Intuition and Intellect«; (29) »The Infinite and the Complete in Itself«; (30) »Values and the Mind of Kindness«.

5 As observed in an earlier essay, a pattern of reverence for the sources marks Qian's discussions of a variety of relations. Gad C. Isay, »Qian Mu and the Modern Transformation of Filial Piety«, *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 32,3 (2005), 441–454. See also in Gad C. Isay, »Balanced Continuity: Qian Mu and Contemporary Neo-Confucianism«, in *Dao Companion to Contemporary Neo-Confucianism*, ed. by David Elstein (New York: Springer, forthcoming).

phase and its extension beyond its immediate temporality. Much as this reverence is a force with its own logical pattern, meaningfully linking the part with the whole, it is, too, the reverence of a phase in the process for itself.⁶

2 *Intuition and the Intellect*

Qian's discussion begins with an illustrative example of what intuition is. The example of the spider demonstrates his claim about the thoughtlessness of intuition:

The spider who weaves his cobweb ... emits a long silk fiber, and as it suspends onto this fiber it gently wanders from one end of the ceiling's corner to the other. Next it wanders, still suspended, back to the first end. It takes several such wanderings between the ends, to establish a frame structure, out of the same single fiber. Thereafter, within this frame structure, it finalizes the crosswise weaving labor, that turns into a more complex and more concealed cobweb. After that the spider withdraws to silently lie in waiting for an insect to get caught in the web. Consequently, it may eat its fill. This sequence of acts, actually communicates a great pattern, though its occurrence requires no thought on the part of the spider. However, if you and I attempted to communicate this pattern—the spider's wandering from one end to another and the weaving of the web that by means of a delicate fiber binds over the abyss—you and I could not communicate this thoughtlessly.⁷

The spider's 'great enterprise'—the weaving of a net and the rest of the process during which it sustains its appetite—is accomplished irrespective of the use of language. Qian associates this wordlessness on the part of the spider, with thoughtlessness. The spider lives 'thoughtlessly'. In the absence of temporal and spatial categorizations (see below), this 'thoughtlessness' is beginning-less and qualifies for the criteria of inborn capacity (*benneng* 本能). A similar observation is affirmed in Qian's text by the example of the hornet. His observations of the instances of the spider and the hornet inspire him to identify intuition as a wordless inborn capacity and to associate it with thoughtlessness.

6 Isay, »Qian Mu and the Modern Transformation of Filial Piety«, 443.

7 *HSXSL*, 136.

Qian then further characterizes wordless and thoughtless intuition with the attributes of silence and depth. Occasionally, he mentions 'thought' which, in the present context (italicized), ought to be understood as merely the name for the operation that occurs between stimuli and response, and specifically is identified as language-less and wordless. Intuition, Qian observes, is silent in the sense that,

[I]t does not use language nor the sound of speech. Since this *thought* is not aided by audial language, therefore it is silent *thought*. When we, humans, think silently within our mind, we use language without making sound; this is not truly wordless *thought*. The silence is in the mouth but not in the mind. In the cases of the spider and the hornet that are mentioned above, silence is in the mind; therefore, we, humans, claim that they do not think. But in their own way they act like the thoughtful human. Accordingly, I propose to call their toils a silent *thought* that is entirely true.⁸

The straightforwardness or, better, directness, of intuition, moreover, brands it also as deep:

Why call it deep? Because human thought has to rely to a great measure on the language of speaking and recording. The language of speaking and recording merely sets the conditions for the communication of thought. According to the two examples of the spider and the hornet, that were raised above to demonstrate the process of silent thought, our human language of speaking and recording, serves [merely] to communicate thought; it creates the setting for the expression of thought. The spider and the hornet themselves, in the absence of the language of speaking and recording, are capable of communicating their thought directly. One may observe that their thought is entirely a single unit, or, in other words, it is one-dimensional.⁹

To explicate the depth attribute of intuition, Qian refers to the function of language in its capacity of setting the conditions for the communication of thought. Depth refers to the inexhaustible quality of the kind of knowing that defies measurement.

Nevertheless, Qian observes that this mysterious and impressive affair, marking the experiences of the spider and the hornet, is not peculiar to insects and living beings alone—humans share in this as well. His discussion of the infant precedes that of the adult.

This is particularly noticeable with infant humans when they have not yet learnt the language of speaking and recording that allows rational thought and expression. The

8 *HSXSL*, 137. Italics added here selectively to highlight Qian's ambivalent argumentation.

9 *HSXSL*, 137.

milk-sucking infant also exercises merely intuition or preliminary knowledge. To be sure, suffice it to say the infant is endowed with silent thought and deep thought. Apparently, since his birth he knows that unless he sucks milk he will starve, and if he starves he might die, hence he needs to suck milk. Similarly, apparently since birth he knows a crying sound will suffice to make the milk available to him. Similarly, it appears that by preliminary knowledge he knows how to apply his lips to the nipple, how to forcefully suck the milk and cause it to flow into his stomach to satisfy his hunger. Since knowledge depends on present and past experience, certainly this sequence of acts cannot be labeled the infant's knowledge. From crying to sucking the infant is directly connected to the future that has not yet unfolded—hence this is preliminary knowledge.¹⁰

The adult, on the other hand, is aware of differentiations—the case he represents is more complicated. Indeed, when Qian turns to apply the terms of intuition to the case of the adult, he refers to instances of unintentionality, the unfathomable, and obliviousness. The weight of the discussion shifts to temporary experiences that transcend measurable causality.

Sometimes the person experiences truthfulness and honesty, and then out of the depth of his mind, suddenly and unintentionally, something unfolds. Occasionally a person may sense something deep and unfathomed that defies accurate expression by the medium of language. Is this not a frequent experience? Likewise, when a person walks, oblivious of direction, proceeding without stop, silently and deeper, striving forward, not knowing why. Don't we sometimes experience such instances?¹¹

Though not as regularly as the infant, that which the adult shares in common with the infant is a sense of oneness or the unity of the myriad things.

Admittedly, the oneness experienced by the adult compares to a fraction of that experienced by infant (or the insects mentioned above). The latter's sense of oneness is constant and more obvious: »From the perspective of the knowledge in his mind, he [the infant] actually does not know his mother, the milk, nor himself. Rather than distinctions between things there is non-differentiated completeness, that is all. In the knowledge of his mind the myriad things are one body.«¹²

10 *HSXSL*, 139–140.

11 *HSXSL*, 140–141.

12 *HSXSL*, 139–140.

Qian moreover observes how the intuitive experience of the unity of the myriad things by the infant, transcends spatiality and temporality thus, by implication, refuting any claim about any egocentric beginnings of human nature: »To designate the crying of the infant for milk as a most primal expression of selfish mentality—would be a big mistake, because such an assertion compels us to answer where from did he get this mental sense?«¹³

The spider's (and the hornet) intuition likewise has no space and no time, nor any other divisions.

To say this again in the language of humans, this is the flickering of inborn goodness (*lingguang yishan* 靈光一閃), this is instant understanding (*lingji yidong* 靈機一動).^[14] In still more detail: the spider's intuition recognizes none who weaves that web; nor is the hunt for the dragonfly or the mosquito perceived as related to the fulfilment of the appetite.¹⁵

The attributes of intuition mentioned in reference to the experiences of the spider and the hornet, such as silence, depth, wordlessness, thoughtlessness, and directness, converge with those associated with the human infant, such as the 'non-differentiated completeness' and 'the myriad things are one body'. These amount, in turn, to the level of the unity of all things, or, oneness.

The lack of divisions and differentiations provides the ground of a world devoid of boundaries—the intuitive world'. In conjunction with the 'non-differentiated completeness' and 'the myriad things are one body', the attributes of intuition that were mentioned earlier above, such as silence and depth, converge with terminologies of the non-polar. Intuition is, likewise, all-encompassing, non-dichotomous, and this-worldly. These qualities correspond to basic assertions and goals of ancient Chinese philosophy. Taking the remark in the quote above (»Why call it deep?«) into consideration we see how Qian associates lack of mediation with directness and, eventually, with truth and objectivity. The spider in its non-divisive, intuitive existence, apparently lives the coveted goal of truth and objectivity.

The silence and the depth in both the spider and the hornet display their insusceptibility to the divisive costs that the use of language entails. That which

13 *HSXSL*, 140.

14 The two terms refer to the instance of personal enlightenment: *lingguang yishan*—when innate goodness unfolds; *lingji yidong*—the understanding that instantly happen.

15 *HSXSL*, 138.

differentiates intuition from the intellect is the usage of language that the latter involves. Human thinking, the voiceless speaking of the mind, is impossible without language. In another chapter Qian refers specifically to the use of the language of speaking and recording (*yuyan he wenzi* 語言和文字).¹⁶ In a clear allusion to the French philosopher, René Descartes (1596–1650), Qian observes: »A person who cannot think cannot speak; a person speaks, we therefore conclude, he thinks.«¹⁷

Regarding the use of language, he mentions two levels: that of the person and that of the larger group or community. On the level of the person, the language of speaking and recording communicates the images acquired through interaction with the external world, joining these with what is already known, and making their order comprehensible, thus providing a constant clear and meaningful context.¹⁸ Qian observes that the capacity to name, characterize, and classify, allows conserving of images within consciousness. This furthermore makes possible their transformation into images of the will and images of the mind, and it is these that gradually acquire a more advanced quality, that is, the spiritual.¹⁹

The spiritual quality is symbiotic with the person's involvement in a community. Language, Qian observes, facilitates the extension of the narrow and temporary mind of the self in time and in space, far beyond the mortal body of the individual self. He compares this capacity of the mind that uses language to extend, with electricity that flows in space. The medium of speaking and recording is comparable to the mechanism of turbines and cables by means of which electricity flows and disperses and can be widely utilized. Likewise, extending in space and advancing in years, the mind that uses language resides beyond the self's body.²⁰ Since this mind is the context of human history and given that it

16 *HSXSL*, 5.

17 *HSXSL*, 7. For Descartes, thought dispelled doubt about the individual's existence; for Qian, thought establishes the existence of language, hence the interrelatedness of human beings. Descartes' ideas were first introduced in China by Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) in early 20th century. See Huang Jiande 黃見德 *et al.*, *Xifang zhexue dongjian shi* 西方哲學東漸史 [The Eastern Dissemination of Western philosophy] (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1991), 104.

18 *HSXSL*, 5, 7.

19 *HSXSL*, 7.

20 *HSXSL*, 7.

encompasses all there is, this mind transcends material causality. It is synonymous with the spiritual world.²¹

Accordingly, both intuition and the intellect support the realization of oneness. However, whereas the oneness of intuition is involuntary and will last for a while, that of the intellect, though it may only occasionally occur, will eventually require a never-ending process of self-cultivation. The intellect (and the use of languages) is furthermore distinguished from intuition in that it partakes in the creation of value. Qian indeed poses the question: what humanity gained by evolving out of 'grasping of the whole' (intuition) to acquire the capacities of analysis that language enables (intellect)? Language, he explains, enables the categories of spatiality and temporality. These categories eventually pave the ground for the development of value. In other words, judgements about good and evil necessitate differentiations, and these are impossible without language.

Indeed, as the case of the spider illustrates, the intuitive world lacks vocabular categories and respectively is devoid of value: »The spider's weaving of the web is performed regardless of values such as humaneness, compassion and cruelty, that humans assign to existential processes. Any moral conceptions, such as self-interest, broad community or utilitarianism, are absent. If we used these categories to criticize the spider, we would not arrive at the knowledge that fits evidential reality.«²²

From this perspective, the coexistence of intuition and the intellect, Qian concedes, is the best of options. Although he does not specify its significance as such, the implicit conclusion of his arguments converges on the crucial role of balance. The concern with the notion of balance surfaces more visibly when Qian turns to discuss the adult person. The latter retains intuitive experiences but has to curb the overenthusiasm with the intellect. In reference to Zhuangzi's 莊子 story about Hundun 渾沌, Qian makes the point that the intellect is a later, man-made, addition, and when pushed to its limits the results are disastrous. The Hundun story goes,

The god of the Southern Sea was Swift; the god of the Northern Sea was Sudden. The god of the center was Hundun. Swift and Sudden would often meet in the land of Hundun, and Hundun would host them with great courtesy. Swift and Sudden made a plan to return Hundun's generosity. »All men have seven orifices,« they said, »so that

²¹ *HSXSL*, 7

²² *HSXSL*, 138.

they can see and hear, eat and breathe. Hundun alone has none. Why don't bore these for him?« Each day, they bored one orifice, and on the seventh day, Hundun died.²³

Apparently, Hundun's friends wished to reward him for his kindness, but in practice they forced upon him that which was acceptable for themselves but unacceptable for him.²⁴ His demise indicates a point of polarity that should have been avoided.

Significantly, from the perspective of the Confucian tradition, the balance proposed by Qian in his discussion of intuition and the intellect is conceivably an extension of the balance that marks the mindset that precedes emotive responses. Consider the following words in the first section of the *Zhongyong* 中庸 [*The Doctrine of the Mean*]:

It is only to that state of latency within which the four archetypical, markers of human experience: joy, wrath, grief, and delight have not yet emerged into concrete manifestation that we may properly attribute the perfectly centered balance of the 'mean'. ... What is here termed the 'mean' constitutes the all-inclusive ground of being of the universe as a cosmic whole, whereas the term 'harmony' refers to the unimpeded path of fullest attainment in the world of human experience.²⁵

Note the correspondence both between the state when the feelings have not yet emerged and intuition, on the one hand, and »the perfectly centered balance of the 'mean'« and »the all-inclusive ground of being of the universe as a cosmic whole.«

Elsewhere I wrote that the notion that gained prominence in Qian's thought refers to the balance that is maintained regardless of polarities. This form of balance requires oneness in a sense that is synonymous with the non-dichotomous and, similarly, this-worldliness. Oneness that is not even, that is, not at balance, may eventually have its nature transformed into one extreme which in itself posits another complementary extreme. That may end in polarity. Consistent oneness requires the preservation of balance—associated as it is with centeredness—along

23 Zhuangzi, translated by Robert Eno (2010), *The Inner Chapters*, VII:7, 54, <<http://www.indiana.edu/~p374/Zhuangzi.pdf>> (last retrieval March 30, 2018)

24 Yong Huang, »A Copper Rule versus the Golden Rule: A Daoist-Confucian Proposal for Global Ethics«, *Philosophy East and West* 55,3 (2005), 394-425.

25 Andrew Plaks, transl., introduction, and notes, *Ta Hsüeh and Chung Yung (The Highest Order of Cultivation and On the Practice of the Mean)* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 25.

an axis. To preserve balance, a body (or a culture) needs constantly to reinstate its center along its own axis. 'Compensatory readjustment', a term coined recently by Andrew Plaks in his discussion of the 'Mean' in *The Doctrine of the Mean*, fits in the context of the present discussion.²⁶ The reference is to the method of maintaining balance by righting occasional divergences of either excess or deficiency by triggering their opposites.

The argument for balance rests on Qian's claim that the intellect is shallow and the relatively visible aspect of intuition which is deep and relatively concealed. Intuition is the root (source) whereas intellect is the branches (outgrowth). And they arrive at their proper relations by means of centeredness and balance. »[H]umans cannot disengage from the nature they share with other living beings and insects, nor can they disengage from the natural world. They are capable merely to add the layer of the intellect, which, for the sake of truth, is not that extraordinary to be worthy of so much excitement.«²⁷

The moral of the Hundun story (the ethical flaw on the part of the friends) motivates Qian to propose a perspective that accentuate the significance of intuition and set a limit to logical reason. This seemingly unevenness neatly corresponds to the dynamics of compensatory readjustment that was mentioned above. These dynamics should be considered against the historical context of his discussion.

3 Conclusion

The pattern of the reverence for the sources should be read against the historical context of disputes about continuity that marked intellectual discussions in China throughout the twentieth century.²⁸ Within such a framework the challenge is: how to justify the desirability of continuity over alternatives such as a break with the past and starting anew? From this point of view, the stress on intuition

26 The phrase 'compensatory readjustment' is borrowed from Andrew Plaks, »Means and Means: A Comparative Reading of Aristotle's Ethics and the Zhongyong«, in *Early China/Ancient Greece: Thinking through Comparisons*, ed. by Steven Shankman and Stephen W. Durrant (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 197.

27 *HSXSL*, 141.

28 For more on this see Isay, »Balanced Continuity«.

reaffirms values of the Chinese tradition vis-à-vis the culture of the West and its presumed stress on the intellect and logical reason.

Qian Mu in his view on intuition obviously downplays the role of the intellect in modern man's life and at the same time to emphasizes and reinstates its complementary quality of intuition as the setting out of which the intellect grew out of and is still dependent on. In light of the principle of compensatory readjustment and in conjunction with the pattern of the reverence for the sources, his approach thus reveals the concerns with his contemporaneous cultural scene:

The human intellect always evolved, regardless of any limitations, and with each advance it gained more distance. Yet it is owing to the dimension where the myriad things are one body, and to preliminary knowledge and inborn sense, that man is capable of praise and envy [that is, to experience emotions]! When we say that the myriad things are one body and mention preliminary knowledge, we speak of the simplest things: the resolve to return to nature, the bond between infant and mother, the adult who misses his childhood home. The people of the East are fond of 'silent recitation', fond of 'deep thinking', and they relatively denigrate the importance of recorded and spoken analysis. In the terms of Western philosophy, that exalt the intellect, the mysterious and the indistinguishable are not science. In the eyes of the people of the East that is nature, that is the unity of heaven and man, that is the ultimate completeness. This is one issue where Eastern and Western cultures differ from each other. Likewise, the difference between the two culture's languages of speaking and recording. Too bad I cannot further specify and make things more accurate.²⁹

Tel-Hai College, Department of East Asian Studies

29 *HSXSL*, 141.

Chinese Dream Captured on Paper: Drawings by Jaroslav Slovák

Lucie Olivová

Abstract The drawings made by Jaroslav Slovák, a graduate from the Central Academy of Arts, Beijing, in 1958, describe in a realistic yet highly aesthetic manner the Chinese landscape and towns as they were at the time. Hidden from the public for 60 years, the drawings have been recently compiled and evaluated. Apart from introducing them, this article looks back on the situation of foreign students in the new China, and on Slovák's situation in particular.

Key words Jaroslav Slovák · Central Academy of Arts · foreign students' exchange · China in 1950s

Introduction

This article remembers the Czech artist Jaroslav Slovák (19 April 1930, Prague—6 January 1988, Prague) who studied in Beijing 北京 in the years 1954–1958. Before recounting his life and art, in particular his drawings from the Central Academy of Arts, some historical background and the state of student exchange in his times will be surveyed.

I *Foreigners Studying in China*

China, then a country devastated by war, yet promising great future potential, seemed to be the natural ally, if not a future member of the Soviet bloc when the Communist rule took over in October 1949. As soon as the People's Republic of China was proclaimed, the Czechoslovak government recognized it and both countries signed the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Economic Assistance on

June 14, 1950. During the decade of friendship and support which followed, Czechoslovakia, which also had just become a Communist state (in February 1948), cultivated a very intensive cooperation with the PRC and held especially close relations with its counterpart. The political willingness to recognize Communist China, the supply of technology and industrial goods, the rise of Czech sinology—all these diverse circumstances together played significant roles. Among the Soviet bloc countries, Czechoslovakia was the second most important partner to China after the Soviet Union.

The two countries started to develop contacts on multiple levels. Of particular relevance to this article was the exchange of students and graduates which followed the Cultural Agreement between China and Czechoslovakia in May 1952. On the Czechoslovak side, the program in Sinology established at Charles University in 1945 already existed. In addition to several students from this program, others with no previous schooling had been selected and sent over. On the Chinese side, there was no comparable tradition (the seat of the Czech language and literature was established at Peking University in 1954 and, later, relocated to the College of Foreign Languages, *Waiyu xueyuan* 外語學院). Nevertheless, the range of disciplines studied was larger, including technical and chemical disciplines. From 1950 to 1954, 66 Chinese studied in Prague. Their number increased each year, and in 1955 there were an additional 31 students, and in 1956 the number reached its peak with 75 new students. Thereafter it fell sharply, eventually reaching zero and stopped in 1966.¹ There were 8 Czechoslovak students sent to Beijing (incl. one to Tianjin) in 1950, 20 in 1951, 23 in 1952, 24 in 1953 and again in 1954, 20 in 1955 and 11 in 1956.²

1 Chen Pingling 陳平陵, *Zai di'er guxiang de rizi—liu Jie tongxue de huiyi* 在第二故鄉的日子—留捷同學的回憶 [The Days in the Other Homeland—the Recollections of Fellow Students in Czechoslovakia] (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 2009), 310–311.

2 Zdeněk Trhlík, *Československo-čínské vztahy*. 1. část, Období let 1949–1965 [The Czechoslovak-Chinese Relations. Part I, the 1949–1965 Period] (Praha: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, 1985). For Chinese students in Czechoslovakia, Trhlík gives higher numbers, sometimes twice as many, than Chen Pingling. I am grateful to Jiří Hudeček for pointing out Trhlík's survey to me.

Together with diplomats, Czech and Chinese students were the only long-term residents in Beijing and Prague from their respective countries, and had the great advantage of handling the language and moving around relatively freely. Some of them served as interpreters to official delegations, and made valuable contacts. The mutual exchange culminated in the year 1955, after which its intensity somewhat diminished because of financial limitations. Finally, after the political split between China and the Soviet Union in 1961, Czechoslovak-Chinese relations also turned cold and remained sour until 1983, never to regain their former vigour.

Back in the 1950s, foreign students from Czechoslovakia went through the one-year language training at Beijing University and afterwards specialized mostly in such disciplines as Chinese language, history, or economics. However, one studied Chinese music, another Chinese theatre,³ and three enrolled at the Central Academy of Arts (*Zhongyang meishu xueyuan* 中央美術學院). As is apparent, art students were an exception among the average body of foreign students. On the other hand, foreigners were not as exceptional at art institutions. Disregarding the fact that there had been foreign art students before 1949, the first foreign students under the Communist regime were accepted at the Central Academy of Arts (hereafter, CAA) in September 1953. Three were from Poland and one from Hungary. Their Chinese names were Wu Guangqi 吳光啟, Wen Cailin 文采琳, Su Beici 蘇貝慈, and Mi Bo'er 米伯爾, respectively. One year later, there was one newcomer from Czechoslovakia (Bei Yajie 貝雅傑 / Bejček), two from Bulgaria (Yan Kecheng 嚴可澄, Wan Man 萬曼), and one from Poland (Ye Yaning 葉雅寧). In September 1956, Haicila'er 海茲拉爾 / Hejzlar was admitted as a graduate student. The next year, two students from Egypt (Hei Bai 黑白, Tumade 圖瑪德) and one from India (Xinha 辛哈) were accepted. In 1957, another seven foreigners were accepted, outnumbering the Chinese students in their class. Until the Cultural Revolution, there were 51 foreign students at the CAA, ten on average per year.⁴ This survey, based on the CAA archives, seems to be incomplete, as it

3 Xenie Dvorská (1932–1991), and Ota Výborný (dates unknown), respectively.

4 Yang Xi 楊曦, »Zhongyang meishu xueyuan liuxuesheng jiaoyu yanjiu 中央美術學院留學生教育研究« [Research on the Education of Foreign Students at CAA], Master's thesis submitted at the Central Academy of Arts, Beijing, 2015, passim. I am grateful to Ms. Jiang Daiping 蔣代平 for this reference.

did not include the Polish student Hong Ke 洪可, and the Czech student Si Luofa 斯洛伐 / Slovák (see Plate 1), whose names were remembered by an oral witness.⁵

Focusing on the Czech students at CAA, they were Jaroslav Bejček (1926–1986), who took the Chinese name Bei Yajie 貝雅傑; Josef Hejzlar (1926–2012), who transcribed his surname as Haicila'er 海茲拉爾; and Jaroslav Slovák (1930–1988), who used the Chinese name Si Luofa 斯洛伐 or the transcription of his surname Siluofake 斯洛伐克. All three already had studied art before going to China, Bejček, as a matter of fact, had already graduated. Interestingly, it does not seem that they had been close during their studies in Beijing or later when they returned home. Their distinct characters and backgrounds, the mutual distrust typical of people living under oppressive regimes, their mutual competition, and perhaps some other factors undermined their ability to form a small circle of friends. Nonetheless, all came into closer contact with Chinese art than any other person from their country at the time. Despite a lack of finances, each returned home with a personal collection including also contemporary paintings. It is disappointing to learn that they could not make much practical use of their Chinese art training back home. The main visible link was the occasional production—outlining and/or illustrating—of books of Chinese literature. Slovák designed posters and other graphic works, while Bejček eventually made a good career in ceramics. In fact, only Hejzlar put his studies at the Central Academy to effective use, although not as a painter but as an art historian.⁶ His most influential work *Chinese Watercolours* (1978) was indeed the first and for a long time, the go-to study of the 20th century Chinese ink painting available in Western languages.⁷

5 An eighty year old party cadre from the CAA (一位80多歲的老美院干部), related to the author by Ms. Jiang Daiping 蔣代平, January 2018.

6 According to Professor Bo Songnian 博松年, Hejzlar's tutor and roommate, it was he who turned Hejzlar's attention to this subject. Related to the author by Bo Songnian, in October 2016 in Beijing.

7 Josef Hejzlar, *Chinese Watercolours* (London: Cathay Books, 1978).

2 *Slovák's Training*

Of the three, Slovák seems to be the least known. For instance, a recent thesis about the role of fine arts in the Relations of China and Czechoslovakia 1949–1959, while well written and relatively detailed, is ignorant about him.⁸ Seemingly forgotten, Slovák was rediscovered when his daughter Jolana presented his academy works to the Art Gallery Zdeněk Sklenář in Prague. Her recollections constitute my main source about her father's early life. Next, there is Slovák's diary—a pretty notebook in hard binding with reproductions of contemporary art, and some documents which partly reveal his life in China. The biography which follows is based on the above. I also addressed those Sinologists who remembered him, but they seemed evasive and did not have anything particular to say.⁹

Slovák's artistic talent was unique in his family, and he had to struggle to assert himself. When he was a child, his father fell into debt and committed suicide. The father had been a clerk at a slaughter house, and through this link Jaroslav was trained as a butcher and found a job in 1947. Two years later, he was admitted to the High School of Art and Crafts (Vyšší škola uměleckého průmyslu) in Prague. During his first year, he had to support himself, but later he gained a scholarship and in 1952 passed the maturity examination. Subsequently, he was admitted to the reputed Academy of Arts, Architecture and Design (UMPRUM), and studied graphic arts under the tutelage of the Czech painter and illustrator Antonín Pelc (1895–1967). His social situation during his childhood and studies was not easy, and he naturally inclined to the official leftist ideology and was politically active. This fact was positively judged by authorities and may have helped his progress.

8 Emma Hanzlíková, »Přátelství rudého draka s dvouocasým lvem« [The Friendship Between the Red Dragon and the Two-Tailed Lion]. Master's thesis submitted at the Academy of Arts, Architecture & Design in Prague, 2015.

9 Augustin Palát (1923–2016), the Czechoslovak diplomat who supervised students in China when Slovák was there, remembered him »as a nice person« who did not keep in contact later on. Personal communication with the author, July 2014.

3 *Slovák's Studies and Travels in China*

In 1954, Slovák applied for the then offered Chinese scholarship. His reason for doing so is unclear, as he probably knew little or nothing about China and its arts. Rather, he was aware of the new socialist building in China, enthusiastically promoted by contemporary propaganda.¹⁰ Although he had been placed only as a stand-in, in July 1954 he received the unexpected news that his application had been approved. There are two documents which reliably set the date of his studies in China. The first certificate, issued in July 1955, states that he gained proficiency in Chinese after one year spent at the Language Training Center, Beijing University. The graduation certificate, issued in July 1958, states that he studied from September 1955 to July 1958 at the Graphic Department, CAA, and graduated with fine results (*chengji youliang* 成績優良).¹¹ This period was crucial in his life. His assimilation to the techniques and aesthetics of Chinese art and the Chinese way of thinking and living had a deep impact on the young man. As recalled later by his daughter, whenever he told stories to his children, his talk was almost always about the time he spent studying in China, about his friends from all over the world, schoolmates and professors, and about his having roamed the Chinese countryside. Fortunately, his diary contains some facts about this period and has been preserved. The pages are not numbered, but his entries were dated. It opens on October 18, 1955, just when he began to study graphic art and the traditional techniques of woodblocks at the CAA. Initially, he promised himself that he would write down »all about the Chinese graphic techniques«. ¹² However, he only once put down notes from the lecture about Japanese woodblock carving and printing, given by Li Pingfan 李平凡 on March 13, 1958. Li Pingfan (1922–

10 For further reading see Martin Slobodník, »Pro Domo versus Pro Foro Externo: People's Republic of China in the 1950s as Perceived by Czechoslovak Visitors«, *Studia Orientalia Slovaca* 16,1 (2017), 69–109.

11 The signature of the CAA president, Wu Zuoren 吳作人, is printed. The signature of the head of the department, Li Hua 李樺, is signed in brush.

12 The diary, manuscript, October 18, 1955.

2011)¹³ was a visiting lecturer from Tianjin, and so the six detailed pages recording the lecture are in fact a disappointing result of Slovák's initial vow. Of particular relevance are two entries from the last year of his studies:

The outline of my final exam [works]:

- 1) 3-month long trip to Sichuan.
- 2) The works will be made after the return, in spring and summer.
- 3) Extend [my study] by one semester.

My final exam will consist of 8 woodcuts, 4 of daily folk life, and 4 of the Chinese landscape.¹⁴

At the end of that year, still in Guilin 桂林, he adjusted the schedule to February, March and April 1958. The four figural works were to be made in the »black-and-white system«—that is, in the progressive style of the so called revolutionary prints—and the four landscapes in the traditional technique. This was the last note written in China.¹⁵

It comes as a disappointment that he never mentioned the names of his regular teachers. Li Hua 李樺 (1907–1994) was the head of the Graphic Department, but there is no evidence that he actually taught Slovák. It is possible, however, and among Slovák's papers, there were two prints by Li Hua, signed, but with no dedication.

The diary contains jottings about his travels in China. When confronted with his dated drawings, one gets a fair schedule of his trips. In the second half of July 1955, after completing the language course, Slovák went to Hunan and Guangdong, presumably on a school trip. There he visited, for example, the birthplace of Mao Zedong 毛澤東 and the revolutionary town Guangzhou 廣州. As a beginner at the CAA, in late October 1955, he visited the scenic spot Jiufeng 鳩峰 near Beijing. In late May 1956, he made a number of drawings in the village of Duancun 端村 on

13 Li Pingfan spent the years 1943–1950 in Japan and learned Japanese woodblock carving. Back home, he was an art magazine editor, illustrator, and the specialist on Japanese and Korean traditional printing techniques. See <<https://baike.baidu.com/item/李平凡>> (last retrieval March 23, 2018). He lived in Tianjin, and Tianjin Museum of Arts (Tianjin Meishuguan 天津美術館) has the essential collection of his works and writings. Visited by the author in October 2016.

14 This entry is not dated, but written sometime between May 18 and November 1, 1957. His study had not been extended, and there is nothing else about it in his documents.

15 The diary, manuscript, December 27, 1957.

the Baiyangdian 白洋淀 lakes in Hebei province. These three trips were documented by drawings only. It is not known how or where he spent the summer of 1956, though his daughter recalls that he liked to wander in the countryside during summer holidays. In the following academic year, he made a trip from April 22 to May 15, 1957 to Jiangsu and Zhejiang, namely Wuxi 無錫, Suzhou 蘇州, Shanghai 上海, Hangzhou 杭州 and Shaoxing 紹興. This trip, undertaken during the semester, may have been financed by the academy, as well as the last one during November and December 1957, along the Long River to Sichuan, then to Guilin, and terminating in Guangzhou on January 9, 1958. This was a study trip in preparation of the final examination and presumably organized by CAA. It comes as a surprise that among his papers, there are just a few drawings from Beijing. Nor are there many drawings of the famous sites in the vicinity of Beijing (Great Wall, April 1956, Ming tombs, October 1956 and October 1957), but they document his presence there. On the whole, to his advantage over the other Czechoslovak students he travelled every year to relatively distant places, in order to make drawings of the most fascinating landscapes, and towns on canals. As he himself wrote in his diary: »We have been in Hangzhou five days. The town with its lake and garland of silvery mountains is just beautiful, in an artist's opinion perhaps too artificial. I look for the details. How pretty the tangled canals, and the houses crouched like sparrows' nests. Quite poetic, but tragic, too, there is so much poverty.«¹⁶ Elsewhere, he noted:

The mountains are here. The wide surface of the river has quite narrowed. The steamer moves with difficulty through the wild current. The 山峽 is here. The enormous, towering massif, with its widely split hill-sides rapidly descending into the waters. It is beautiful, and man cannot but feel worthless. On the plain, man believes himself to be the master of the universe, but here, he is so tiny confronted with Nature's great temples.¹⁷

On a few occasions, he comments on the circumstances of drawing in the open air: »Drawing here is no pleasure. One is constantly surrounded by the curious crowd. I do not blame them, but sometimes it is hard to withstand.

16 The diary, manuscript, April 21, 1957.

17 The diary, manuscript, November 9, 1957.

Especially the kids. They have no manners and sometimes are vulgar. It is helpless and I really don't know what to do.«¹⁸ And similarly:

I merge into old nooks of Hankou. How colourful the life, and all the kids. Kids, kids, and kids once more. I walk on, odour and stench are sometimes hard to bear. I stop on the bank of Yangtze to make a few sketches, but it is quite a problem. I am constantly surrounded by small children and exposed to their curiosity. When finished, I run away, pursued by the crowd and the stench of dried fish, they hang everywhere along the bank. I take the ferry to the opposite side, pushing through the hustle on the stairs.¹⁹

Not only is the diary relatively short, comprising less than 3,800 words, but most of the notes do not concern his studies or work. For the most part, he confided to the pages his moods and reflections on his relations with girlfriends. He easily and passionately fell in love, just to fall out equally soon. He groaned but never looked for fault with himself. Only on one occasion did he reprimand himself:

The end of the year 1957 is quickly getting near. My fourth year in China, what will the next one bring? ... I am afraid that I did not work hard enough this year. First of all, I had troubles with women and then, that unfortunate rout. But I did cut myself away from it; futile discussions and hours ineffectively spent in the pub were psychically exhausting. Back in Beijing, I shall set on a strict regime. Otherwise, I'd blow up my exams.²⁰

He evidently used to write when low spirited, and sometimes mentioned missing home and his mother. Here and there, he commented on the poverty in China, as quoted above. He practically never mentioned anybody by name. From his notes one can reconstruct a sensitive, but unstable character of moody temper, easily manipulated, and inclined to bitter complaints and even pessimism.

18 The diary, manuscript, May 1, 1957.

19 The diary, manuscript, November 2, 1957.

20 The diary, manuscript, December 20, 1957.

4 *Returning Home*

Slovák more or less discontinued the diary after returning home. His next entry, written half a year later at Christmas, vaguely reflects on the vain loves of his life [in China] and mentions »the Chinese dream, which will be carried away by time, and forgotten.«²¹ It must have been a shock to be back, and life was, in a way, more complicated than when he had arrived to Beijing in 1954. At first, things looked promising, as he was able—on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic of China—to display his only exhibition *China Captured* by the Artist Jaroslav Slovák at the Pilsen Regional Gallery on September 26—October 15, 1959. Soon after his return, he also designed three publications of Chinese literature in Slovak and Czech renditions: short stories by Yu Dafu 郁達夫, *The Scholars* by Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓, and *The Lin Family Shop* by Mao Dun 茅盾, the latter with seven woodblock illustrations.²² The translators of these books were Anna Doležalová (1935–1992), and Oldřich Král (b1930), respectively, whom Slovák got to know already in Beijing.²³ He also designed many more books which had no link to Chinese culture. As time went by, he began to lose the 'Chinese' motivation—except for cooking Chinese dishes, as his daughter Jolana remembers—and found new inspiration and engagement, for example in designing film posters and advertisements. During the seventies, he gradually severed contacts with the other Sinologists. His graphic works from his concluding period, such as printed postcards of old Prague seem rather commercial. According to his daughter, the competition in art circles was tough, and he often complained about not being given opportunities, and not being fairly recognized. Sadly, he developed serious

21 The diary, manuscript, December 29, 1958. Two more entries about his family date from 1961, and 1969.

22 Jü Ta-fu, *Věčer opitý jarným vetrom* [One Intoxicating Evening of Spring Breeze] (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1960); Wu Ťing-c', *Literáti a mandaríni. Neoficiální kronika konfucianů* (Praha: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1962); Mao Tun, *Obchod rodiny Lin* (Praha: Československý spisovatel, 1961).

23 According to Oldřich Král, who spent the academic year 1956/1957 in Beijing, they were on friendly and frequent terms. Personal communication, February 2018.

drinking problems. In 1984, a useful connection made it possible that he joined a cultural delegation, dispatched for a few days to Beijing.²⁴ At that time, he had been already afflicted by illness. He died four years later at the age of 58.

The validity of retaining the bond with Chinese culture after returning to Czechoslovak society alone and unknown, without gaining a job in the field, was perplexing to a number of the students who had gone to China to study for several years. The problem later increased due to the political estrangement between China and the Soviet Block in the 1960s and 1970s. In the case of Slovák, however, his was an ample professional decline, regardless of his involvement or lack thereof, in Sinology. Apparently he lost the energy and drive to assert himself as an artist and accused the world of misunderstanding and lack of appreciation. He lost the determination he had had in his late teens, when he effectively pushed through his starting career in arts. Subsequently, what has remained and is meaningful among his legacy are the works created in China, where he reached maturity as an artist, and was full of vigour.

5 *The Remnants*

Among the pictures Slovák brought back are, as was to be expected, some original works by Chinese artists. Now in the possession of Slovák's daughter Jolana are two paintings by Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1864–1957) and one by Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895–1953), as well as a landscape by the Qing 清 dynasty scholar painter Dai Xi 戴熙 (1801–1860), among others. Still, I am reluctant to regard Slovák specifically as a collector. Although the items he possessed were of excellent quality, they probably were not too many. It is not possible to say exactly how large Slovák's collection had once been. He used to have at least one more Qi Baishi's painting but gave it as a pay-off to a colleague.²⁵ Qi Baishi was very famous in the late 1950s, and acquiring his painting was difficult. Apparently, access to Qi Baishi's works had been intermediated for some Czechoslovakians through the master Liu Jintao

²⁴ At that time, Czechoslovak citizens could visit China only as members of official delegations. I do not have any details on this trip and its background.

²⁵ Namely to Karel Beneš (b1932, graduated at UMRUM) who spoke to the author in November 2014.

劉金濤 who made mounting for Qi Baishi. In addition, it should be recalled that individual art collecting was regarded and labelled as bourgeois by the communist regime in the 1950s and was supposed to be on the agenda of official institutions only. Nonetheless, collecting objects is a very natural passion, and art objects—contemporary paintings in particular—were in great demand by the experts from Czechoslovakia who made it to China then. It was said that »whereas other [foreign] guests fill the Beijing streets with haughty shops and choose silk for themselves, the Czechoslovakians sit in the artist's studio and drink tea.«²⁶ Ever more so eager must have been a student at the academy who was a part of art circles. It is interesting to observe in passing that Slovák did not assemble folk religious prints (*zhima* 紙馬), as both his fellow students at the academy, Hejzlar and Bejček, had done.²⁷ Perhaps he was not in the know, being politically firm, given that prints of domestic deities were ideologically questionable. On the other hand, Hejzlar and Bejček did not but Slovák did bring back his works made during the three years at the CAA.

His existing drawings from China, preserved by his family, amount to some 450 sheets. This number agrees with his estimation of some 400 works that he had made during his time at the CAA,²⁸ and it also means that he took all his works home. Regrettably, it has not been recorded which works he himself selected for the exhibition in Pilsen in 1959 or how many. A new selection was made five years ago, the result of which is the illustrated catalogue to be published in 2018.²⁹ Judging from his diary, some of the valued works (for example, some of the drawings made for the examination) are lost and most of the preserved works were made as exercise. They were chiefly pencil drawings, whereas charcoal drawings were exceptional. Not many were ink paintings or ink-and-colour paintings, and

26 Zdeněk Hrdlička, »O národním umělci Čchi Pai-š'im« [About the National Artist Qi Baishi], *Nový Orient* 8,8 (1953), 130.

27 See Lucie Olivová, »Jieke zhimazhan. 2013 捷克紙馬展。2013« [The Exhibition of Zhima in Czechia, 2013], in *Nianhua yanjiu 2013 年畫研究 2013* [New Year Picture Research], ed. by Feng Jicai 馮驥才 (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 2013), 184–189.

28 The diary, manuscript, December 27, 1957.

29 Lucie Olivová, *Jaroslav Slovák* (Praha: Galerie Zdeněk Sklenář, 2018). Text in Chinese and Czech.

very few were prints, either black and white or colour prints. The last technique, *shuimo taoyin* 水墨套印 in Chinese, was the most difficult. Slovák put a lot of effort into the perfection of his technical skills, and with evident progress, too. As for the subject matter, panoramas of towns or mountains have sway, and they are also the most excellent. However, the CAA programme greatly emphasized the study of the human figure, which Slovák did not manage on a comparably high level. At the CAA, he made several pictures of men and women posing in ethnic dress, standing or sitting. It is obvious from other figural sketches that he always struggled when striving to capture a body in movement, or any other complicated position. He also made portraits (heads) of friends and their children. Many of those faces tend to have stylized features—full lips, high cheek bones, big almond shaped eyes—and overly sweet expressions, which he also used in fictitious portraits in his graphic works of the 1960s and 1970s. The same is notable also on his cover picture for the Czech edition of *Rulin waishi* 儒林外史.

As previously stated, the landscape was his domain and deserves additional comment. While his scenic views were satisfactory from the very beginning, his technical development and artistic growth over the three years spent in China are evident. For example, the views of Baiyangdian are executed in light pencil and the composition is not free of certain artificiality, but in the rendering of a Suzhou canal, the lines are secure and energetic, and the composition seems convincingly natural. His drawings of clusters of houses are always picturesque and poetic. Next, he was able to render vast panoramic views, lightened with brightness emerging from the endless sky. The height and depth of some of his compositions are simply breath-taking. On some mountain panoramas, he sketched in strong, stylized lines, and constructed giant peaks reminiscent of classical ink paintings. It should also be noted that he would never again find mountains of similar size after coming home. Not only did he make a faithful record of the natural and architectural scenes, but was also capable of transmitting the authentic and vivid atmosphere onto the picture with ostensible ease. Because this journal is limited to black and white reproductions only, Slovák's poetic ink-and-colour renderings of Sichuan terrace fields are not reproduced here. However, they may be appreciated on the pages of the new book.³⁰ His prints, on the other hand, lose the spontaneity encountered in his pencil drawing, but his figural prints seem more accomplished

³⁰ *Ibid.*

than the several village views he made. In several cases, the pencil drawing and the final print of the same scene are available. When comparing the two, it is always the drawing which is superior.

In an attempt at a short final evaluation, the high aesthetic value of his drawings must be emphasized. Slovák visualized the by-gone reality and atmosphere of China as it was 60 years ago. The kind of artwork he left behind is now very unique. Pencil and charcoal drawings from the academy by his fellow students from Czechoslovakia, and quite likely from China, too, have not been preserved. Slovák also left a testimony of what had been expected of a foreign student at the CAA in the 1950s, and where he was led by his tutors. It is regrettable that after returning home, he lost the motivation to continue his Chinese artistic journey and did not develop it any further.

Masaryk University in Brno, China Studies Seminar



Plate 1

J. Slovák: A Lute Player, pencil and charcoal on paper, 52 x 39,5 cm (photo by Martin Polák).



Plate 2

Cover of the Czech Rendition of Rulinwaishi (1962), designed by J. Slovák.



Plate 3

J. Slovák: Illustration, The Lin Family

Shop, woodcut, print on paper,

36,5 x 24,5 cm.



Plate 4

J. Slovák: A Canal in Shaoxing,

pencil on paper, 38 x 29 cm

(photo by Martin Polák).



Plate 5

J. Slovák: Duancun Village on Baiyangdian lakes, pencil on paper, 20,4 x 26,8 cm (photo by Martin Polák).

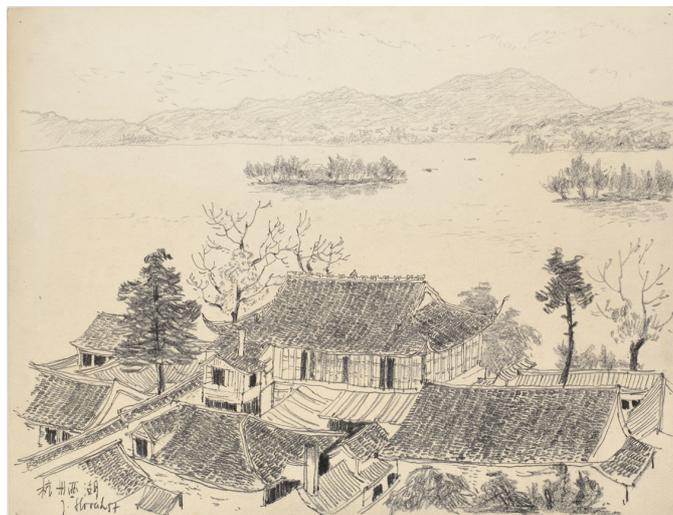


Plate 6

J. Slovák: View of the West Lake, Hangzhou, pencil on paper, 29,1 x 37,8 cm (photo by Martin Polák).



Plate 7

J. Slovák: Wanxian, pencil on paper, 39,5 x 54,5 cm (photo by Martin Polák).

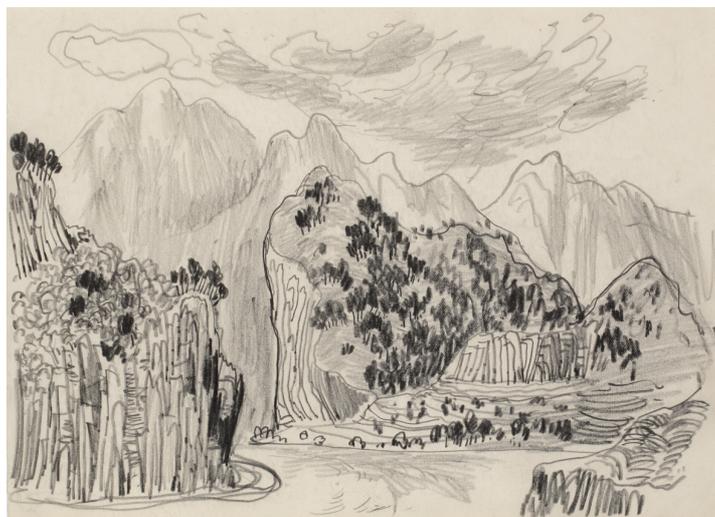


Plate 8

J. Slovák: Three Gorges, pencil on paper, 21,6 x 30 cm (photo by Martin Polák).



Plate 9

J. Slovák: Badong, pencil on paper, 21,6 x 29,6 cm (photo by Martin Polák).



Plate 10

J. Slovák: The Conic Hills of Guilin, pencil on paper, 37 x 39,5 cm (photo by Martin Polák).



Plate 11

J. Slovák: Chuanshan—the Perforated Mountain, pencil on paper, 27,3 x 39,4 cm (photo by Martin Polák).



Plate 12

J. Slovák: The Landscape near Guilin, pencil on paper, 27,1 x 39,3 cm (photo by Martin Polák).

Two Tungusic Etymologies

Alexander Vovin

Abstract This article deals with two Tungusic etymologies. One discusses the origin of one of the types of verbal negation that I trace to Korean, and another is dedicated to establishing the Chukchi-Koryak origin of Tungusic *kēta* ‘Siberian salmon’, that was consequently borrowed by Russia as *кема* ‘Siberian salmon’ I hope that the modest data presented here will contribute to our fuller understanding of the ethnolinguistic history of North-East Asia.

Key words Tungusic · Manchu, Jurchen · Middle Korean, Old Korean · Chukchi-Koryak

Introduction

With great sadness I learnt about the untimely passing of my dear colleague and friend Raoul Findeisen. The following is but a short contribution to his memory—no doubt, quite far from his own interests. Nevertheless, Raoul was one of the rare persons, who easily transgressed the artificial boundaries of linguistics and literary studies that are so frequently and unnecessarily superimposed today, and he had appreciation of the both. In short, I would call him a Philologist (that in his case I intentionally spell with a capital ‘P’).

This modest article looks at the language contacts and, consequently at the early history in the Greater Manchuria area,¹ on the basis of both linguistic and philological data. The main focus here is on the contacts of Tungusic with the

¹ The term ‘Greater Manchuria’ was introduced by Juha Janhunen in his *Manchuria, An Ethnic History* (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society, 1996), The Greater Manchuria includes roughly Manchria itself, Korean peninsula, Japan, and Russian Far East.

neighboring languages. I hope that the data presented here will serve its purpose of further clarification and illumination of the ethnolinguistic history of this region.

1 *Verbal Negation in Tungusic*

It is well known that Manchu as well as closely related Jurchen are aberrant Tungusic languages. While in terms of the traditional typology most Tungusic languages are synthetic, Manchu and Jurchen are analytic. The traditionally accepted point of view that the analytical nature of Manchu and Jurchen is secondary was recently challenged by José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente.² Some case studies presented by Alonso de la Fuente look promising, others not so good, and eventually the question may boil down to the proverbial argument of the primary nature of a chicken or an egg.

From this point of view, as well as from the more general perspective on the general ethnolinguistic history of the region the problem of the verbal negation in Manchu appears to be rather crucial. While in all other Tungusic languages verbal negative forms are formed with an auxiliary *e- [ə-] -*esi [əsi-],³ in Manchu it involves the usage of the defective verb *akū* [akū] ‘there is/are no’, ‘not to exist’. Let me start with two examples from Tungusic, taken from Ewen, a Northern Tungusic language, and nowadays extinct Oroch, probably originally Northern Tungusic, which underwent an extensive Southern Tungusic influence:⁴

- 2 José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente., *Tense, Voice and Aktionsart in Tungusic. Another Case of “Analysis to Synthesis”?* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011).
- 3 There is a striking coincidence with Uralic negative auxiliary *e-, but it is most likely purely coincidental, because Tungusic forms involve several more complex paradigmatic forms that have no counterparts in Uralic. More detailed discussion of this issue falls outside the main topic of this article.
- 4 On the most recent and in all probability correct classification of the Tungusic languages, see Stefan Georg, »Unreclassifying Tungusic«, in *Proceedings I.C.M.T.S. Volume 2, Trends in Tungusic and Siberian Linguistics*, ed. by Carsten Naehrer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 45–57. I provide no Southern Tungusic negative verbal paradigms for two reasons: first, they are extremely

Table 1
*Negative forms of the Ewen future tense of the verb **ma-**, to kill⁵*

Singular	Plural
1. e-te-m ma-r	1(excl.) e-te-ru ma-r ⁶
--	1 (incl.) e-te-p ma-r
2. e-te-nri ma-r	2. e-te-s ma-r
3. e-ten-n ma-r	3. e-te-r ma-r

The overall structure of these forms is as follows: *e-*, the root of the negative verb, *-te-*, future tense suffix, *-m*, *-nri*, etc., verbal subject agreement suffixes, *ma-* 'to kill', and *-r*, participle suffix. Thus, in general, this construction is analytic, but note that the structure of the negative verb itself is quite synthetic.

Now let us look at the comparable paradigm in Oroch. There is a difference between Oroch and Ewen in the following aspects: 1) Oroch has the extended special *-si-* form resulting in *-esi-* - *-āsi-* according to the rules of the Tungusic vowel harmony,⁷ 2) it is suffixed to the stem of a verb, 3) the secondary variants with long vowels *-ā-* and *-ē-* are also present.

complex both phonologically and morphosyntactically, and, second, because they were subject to certain developments that do not concern us here.

5 Adopted from Вера И. Цинциус, *Очерк грамматики эвенского (ламутского) языка* [A Sketch of the Ewen (Lamut) Language Grammar] (Leningrad: Uchpedgiz, 1947), 213.

6 Ewen differentiates between two different forms of the first person verb: exclusive, i. e. 'we without you' and 'inclusive', i. e. 'we and you'.

7 There is also more analytic form like in Ewen, but the frequency of their comparative usages suggest that the form cited here is older.

Table 2

*Negative forms of the Oroch future tense of the verb **bi-** 'to live'*⁸

Singular	Plural
1. bi-esi-mi	1(excl.). bi-esi-mu ⁹
--	1 (incl.) bi-esi-pi
2. bi-esi-si	2. bi-esi-su
3. bi-esi-ńi	3. bi-esi-ti

There is also a different existential negation in several Tungusic languages: Arman *ān - āŋ - yān* 'non-existing', 'without', Oroch *ana* 'does not exist', 'is absent', Ulcha *ana* 'no', Orok *ana - anā - anaya* 'does not exist', 'is absent', 'without', Nanai *anā - anāji - ananiam* 'does not exist', 'not having', 'non-existing', 'without'.¹⁰

Manchu *akū* [akɔ] (Old Manchu *ako*) 'does not exist' that is widely used for creating verbal negative forms, cf. *nime-me akū* be.painful-CONV NEG¹¹ 'is not painful', *aca-bakū* ← *aca-ba akū* meet-PERF NEG 'did not meet', *ojo-rakū* ← *ojo-ra akū* become-IMPERF NEG 'does not become' is either considered to be a morpheme without a Tungusic etymology, or is incorrectly compared to Tungusic *āčim - ašin* 'does not exist',¹² that will be discussed below. Meanwhile, Manchu *-k-* reflects proto-Tungusic **-nk-*¹³, therefore Manchu *akū* 'does not exist' is likely to be related to the above-mentioned Tungusic existential forms, especially given the

8 Цинциус, *Очерк грамматики эвенского (ламутского) языка*, 213.

9 Oroch like Ewen differentiates between two different forms of the first person verb: exclusive, i. e. 'we without you' and 'inclusive', i. e. 'we and you'.

10 Вера И. Цинциус, *Сравнительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков* [A Comparative Dictionary of Manchu-Tungus Languages], vol. 1 (Leningrad: Nauka, 1975), 41.

11 The following abbreviations for linguistic terms are used in this article: CONV = coverb; IMPERF = imperfective; NEG = negative; PERF = perfective.

12 Цинциус, *Сравнительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков*, 60. Certainly Manchu *-k-* cannot correspond to *-č-* or *-š-* in other Tungusic languages.

13 Alexander Vovin, «Voiceless Velars in Manchu», *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 87 (1997), 263–280.

presence of velars in Arman *āŋ* and Oroch *anaŋa* ‘forms’ as well as common negative existential semantics. Jurchen forms are also quite interesting. First, there is Jurchen *oka* (斡合).¹⁴ It could be either a metathesis of Old Manchu *ako*, or it could be a cognate of Manchu *waka* ‘is not’, an equational negation, with an irregular contraction of **wa-* > *o-*. Kane glosses this word as ‘no, not’, but the original Chinese gloss is clearly an equational negation *bu shi* 不是 ‘is not’ and not an existential negation *wu* 無 or *mei you* 沒有 ‘there is no’, therefore, the second solution is preferable, and, consequently, I exclude Jurchen *oka* from the further discussion.

There is another Jurchen word for existential negation: *asui* ‘there is no’, ‘does not exist’, attested in Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Translators, which is written both in the Jurchen script 𐰆𐰏 and in the Chinese transcription *a sui* 阿隨.¹⁵ It could be possibly connected with Ewenki *āčim - āšim* ‘non-existing’, ‘absence’; Solon *āsī* ‘no’, ‘not having’; Ewen *āt - āč* ‘not having’, *āčča* ‘absence’, Neghidal *āčim*, Udehe *anči* ‘not having’, ‘absence’, ‘without’¹⁶. The problem is with the vocalic correspondence in the second syllable, because Jurchen *-ui* does not normally correspond to *-i - -i* in other Tungusic languages. It is quite interesting that this word in terms of its distribution in Tungusic is almost complimentary to proto-Tungusic **an(a)* cited above; while Tungusic *āčim - āšim* is confined to North Tungusic languages, including the transitional Northern Tungusic Udehe that underwent extensive Southern Tungusic influence, Tungusic *ana* is quite the opposite: it is attested except in Northern Tungusic (but a very special Northern Tungusic) Arman, in the transitional Northern Oroch language that like Udehe underwent extensive Southern Tungusic influence, only in South Tungusic. Such a clear-cut split suggests that we cannot reconstruct a common proto-Tungusic form for **a-* negatives. Overall, this picture suggests if not a loanword scenario, but at least some foreign interference.

14 Daniel Kane, *The Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1989), 284, #746.

15 Gisaburo N. Kiyose, *A Study of the Jurchen Language and Script* (Kyōto: Hōritsubunka-sha, 1977), 136, #705; Jin Qicong 金啓琮, *Nüzhen wenci dian* 女真文辭典 [A Dictionary of the Jurchen Script] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984), 25, 37, 180.

16 Цинциус, *Сравнительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков*, 60.

On the basis of the palatalization as witnessed by the comparison of Ewen *āt* to other Tungusic forms as well as Udehe *anči*, it is quite likely that the proto-Northern-Tungusic reconstruction is *anti, with the Northern Tungusic vowel length explained as a secondary compensatory due to the loss of a final nasal in the first syllable. Palatalization before /i/ should be self-evident.

But the Tungusic interrelationship of all these forms is completely opaque: it appears that some ‘suffixes’ without any clearly defined function pop up in Northern Tungusic, and others, that fare no better, in Southern Tungusic.

In short, we have quite an etymological quagmire with different Tungusic forms based on *an-: they all appear to have different suffixation that cannot be explained on the basis of Tungusic internal evidence. The following is a modest attempt to find a way out of this etymological puzzle.

There has been a long tradition of comparing Tungusic negative *ana* forms to Korean negative *an - ani*.¹⁷ But the real situation is far from being that simple. Middle Korean has *ani* ‘not’,¹⁸ but there is no *an*, which is a much later contraction. In addition, Middle Korean *ani* ‘not’ is certainly related to both Old Korean 安支 *anti* (Hyangka 4.3) and Late Old Korean 不知 *ANti*¹⁹ ‘not’. Leaving aside the rather numerous attestations of 不冬 in Old Korean Hyangka, which can arguably be read as *ANtan* or *Motan*, reflecting two different types of negatives in Old Korean,²⁰ we also have 不喻 in Hyangka 2.3 and 不喻仁 in Hyangka 19.4. These forms are not attested anywhere else, but the double attestation proves that 喻 is not a scribal mistake. The problem is how to read this character and the sequences

17 Gustav F. Ramstedt, *Studies in Korean Etymology* (Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne, 1949), 10. Цинциус, *Сравнительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков*, 60. This etymology was also repeated by Nostraticists to no end.

18 Yu Changton 유창돈, *Yijoŏsa sajŏn* 李朝語辭辭典 [A Dictionary of the Yi Period Language] (Seoul: Yenseytayhakkyo chwuphapu, 1964), 513; Nam Kwangwu 남광우, *Kyohak koŏ sajŏn* 教學古語辭典 [A Kyohak Ditionary of the Premodern Korean Language] (Seoul: Kyohaksa, 1997), 998.

19 Hwang Sayep 황사엽 *et al.*, *Sŏktok kugyŏl sajŏn* 釋讀구결사전 [A Dictionary of Explanatory Kwukyŏl] (Seoul: Pakmunsa, 2009), 86–96.

20 Yu Changkyung 유창균, *Hyangga pibae* 鄉歌批解 [A Critical Analysis of Hyangka] (Seoul: Yŏnghyŏl ch’ulphansa, 1994), 282–288.

不喩 and 不喩仁. I believe that 喩 ‘to awake’, ‘to realize’ is a phonogram, but its Sino-Korean reading *yu* is unlikely to be applicable here, because in this case we will be facing a form that is difficult to explain. This character has two different *bundok* (訓讀), i.e. native readings: Middle Korean *alGoy-* ‘to inform’, and *skAy-* ‘to awake’, ‘to realize’ that could be used not only logographically, but also phonographically. The rare occurrence of 喩 in Old Korean texts probably represents another oblique evidence in favor of a *bundok* (訓讀) rather than an *umdok* (音讀), i.e., a phonographic usage of a Sino-Korean reading. Since the character 喩 apparently reflected some morphological element, it seems that the second *bundok* reading *skAy-* is much more likely than a longer *alGoy-*. One should also keep in mind that the initial *s-* as in Middle Korean *skAy-* is frequently secondary. If I am right in this deduction, then we end up with the Old Korean forms *an-ti* and *an-kAy*, that are rather strikingly resembling the Middle Korean deverbial adverbial forms in *-ti* and *-kŷy - -key - -Gŷy - -Gey - -Gay*.²¹ This implies that Old Korean *an-* ‘not’ was originally a verb.

Therefore, the best explanation for the bewildering variety of Tungusic negatives is that they represent loans of two different Old Korean, or more likely, proto-Korean forms: while Northern Tungusic and possibly Jurchen forms derived from **anti* reflect proto-Korean **an-ti*, Southern Tungusic, Oroch, Arman, and Manchu **anaya - *āŋ - *ankŭ* must be connected to proto-Korean **an-kAy - *an-GAy*. The unusual part of the general picture is that Korean loanwords are found in Northern Tungusic, while in most cases they are limited to Manchu and Jurchen, and sometimes (by diffusion from Manchu) in other Southern Tungusic languages or in Northern Tungusic languages found in Manchuria. But possibly we deal here with very old loanwords from the time when Tungusic was still spoken in Manchuria before the Northward migration of Tungusic peoples.

21 Yi Sungnyōng 이 승녕, *Chungse kugŏ munpŏp* 中世國語文法 [A Grammar of Middle Korean] (Seoul: Ŭlyu munhwasa, 1961/1997), 328–329.

2 *Tungusic *kēta - Chukchi-Koryak *qetaqet 'Siberian salmon'*

Tungusic *kēta - *qāeta 'Siberian salmon (*Onchorhynchus keta*)' and Chukchi-Koryak *qetaqet 'id.' represent another interesting etymological puzzle. Let us first look at the language data:

Tungusic *kēta - *qāeta → Ewenki *kēta*, Ewen *qāeta*, Neghidal *kēta* 'Siberian salmon', Oroch *kiata* 'dead (of a salmon after spawning)', Ulcha *kēta - kata* 'dead Siberian salmon, floating on the surface (of a fish)', Orok *qēta* 'dead (of a fish after spawning)', Nanai *qāeta-* 'to be spoiled (of a fish)', Manchu *kijata* 'Siberian salmon (after spawning)'.²² Tungusic *ē* normally goes back to proto-Tungusic *ia, but the latter can be also used a substitution for a foreign /e/, because Tungusic otherwise lacks /e/ (the symbol *e* stands for [ə]). To that list I can further add Arman *kēta* 'Siberian salmon',²³ and Udehe *kæta*²⁴ - *kjata*²⁵ 'a fish after spawning'. The word is not attested in the extant Jurchen dictionaries or inscriptions, and Solon lexical materials at my disposal do not include it either.

Chukchi-Koryak *qetaqet 'Siberian salmon' → Chukchi *qetaqet*, Kerek *qitaqit*, Koryak *qetaqet*, Aliutor *qitaqit*. Itel'men *qek'f* or *kackat* cited by Fortescue in square brackets [...] appear to be unrelated.²⁶ To the Chukchi-Koryak forms I can also add Palana *qetaqet*.²⁷ It is quite clear that Chukchi-Koryak word is a result of

22 Цинциус, *Сравнительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков*, 389.

23 Gerhard Doerfer and Michael Knüppel, *Armanisches Wörterbuch* [A Dictionary of Arman]. (Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 2013), 185.

24 Игорь В. Кормушин, *Удехейский язык* [The Udehe Language] (Moscow: Nauka, 1998), 247.

25 Альбина Х. Гирфанова, *Словарь удэгейского языка* [A Dictionary of the Udehe Language] (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2001), 190.

26 Michael Fortescue, *Comparative Chukotko-Kamchatkan Dictionary* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 235. Personally I am not completely persuaded that Itel'men is related to Chukchi-Koryak, but this article is not the place to discuss this problem.

27 Алептина Н. Жукова, *Язык паланских коряков* [The Language of Palana Koryaks] (Leningrad: Nauka, 1980), 257. Palana is sometimes believed to be a dialect of Aliutor, but as, for example, the vocalic reflexes of Palana /e/ vs. Aliutor /i/ show in this word, this is probably not the case and Palana should be classified as a separate language.

partial reduplication that occurs very frequently in this language family. Thus, the ultimate protoform should be *qeta.

Since Tungusic and Chukchi-Koryak are unrelated, and because the chance resemblance is highly unlikely due to the perfect phonetic and semantic fits, we are now faced with the problem of the directionality of the borrowing. The distribution of this word does not provide us with any clue about it, because the word is distributed throughout both families. However, there are other hints suggesting that the word was borrowed from Chukchi-Koryak into Tungusic.

- 1) The phonetic variation of *k-* in some Tungusic languages and *q-* in the others before /e/ does occur, but the regular pattern seems to be *k-* in Northern Tungusic vs. *q-* in Southern Tungusic, cf. Ewen *kēmaku*, Neghidal *kēmdi*, Oroch *kāem* ‘pale’, Ulcha *qēmji-*, Orok *qemotto-* ‘to become pale’, Nanai *qiam* ‘pale’,²⁸ Ewen *kēkto* ‘unripe berry’, Oroch *kiyokto*, Ulcha *qoyogto*, Orok *qiyogto*, Nanai *qioqto* ‘sweetbrier berries’.²⁹ Apparently, this pattern is violated in the case of Tungusic *kēta - *qāeta. Thus, the natural hypothesis is that *q-* forms are the residue forms reflecting Chukchi-Koryak *q-*.
- 2) Manchu initial *k-* usually occurs in loanwords only, as we would expect Manchu *b-* in the inherited Tungusic vocabulary.
- 3) While Northern Tungusic languages share the semantics ‘Siberian salmon’ with Chukchi-Koryak, in Southern Tungusic languages and in Manchu we have a semantic shift ‘dead or dying Siberian salmon after spawning’, as it is difficult to imagine a semantic change in the opposite direction: ‘dead or dying Siberian salmon’ → ‘Siberian salmon’. Such a semantic distribution is supportive of the directionality of the loan Chukchi-Koryak → Tungusic rather than the other way around.
- 4) Besides Tungusic and Chukchi-Koryak, the word is attested also in Eskimo as *kitaga*,³⁰ *qitaq-* (singular *qitaq-a*, plural *qitaq-ət*),³¹ but only in the language of

28 Цинциус, *Сравнительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков*, 388.

29 *Ibid.*, 389.

30 Владимир Г. Богораз, *Материалы по языку азиатских эскимосов* [Materials on the Language of Asian Eskimo] (Leningrad: Uchpedgiz, 1949), 37.

31 Екатерина С. Рубцова, *Эскимосско-русский словарь* [An Eskimo-Russian Dictionary] (Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1971), 273.

Asian Eskimos, which probably explains the fact why this word did not find its way into the Eskimo Comparative Dictionary.³² The phonetic shape of the Eskimo word clearly reflects Chukchi-Koryak origin. This demonstrates the centrality of Chukchi-Koryak regarding the diffusion of this word, which further supports the role of Chukchi-Koryak as the donor language to both Tungusic and Eskimo.

4 Conclusion

The study of language contacts of Tungusic with languages other than Mongolic, Yakut, and Russian is still in its infancy. It is slightly more advanced in the case of Korean, but Tungusic-Eskimo and Tungusic-Chukchi-Koryak contacts just started to be explored. There are several reasons for this lamentable state of affairs that hopefully will be rectified in the next following decades to come. First, too many efforts have been spent on megalomaniac comparisons, especially on so-called 'Altaic' that distracted several bright minds leading them to the dead end path. Second, the manpower available for the real scholarly work and not on long-range fantasies is always limited for minority languages. Third, the reconstruction of Korean, where the most of manpower was available, turned out to be an extremely complex enterprise. Likewise, we still do not have the complete understanding of the proto-Tungusic. Fourth, the first approximations of proto-Chukchi-Koryak and proto-Eskimo became available only twenty- twenty-five years ago, and the specialists are still struggling and arguing about the exact compositions of these two families. The relationship of Itel'men to Chukchi-Koryak still remains unproven, and the position of Aleut vis-à-vis Eskimo shares the same fate, as it is not yet completely clear what constitutes the common inheritance and what results from the centuries long contacts.

*École des hautes études en sciences sociales,
Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l'Asie orientale*

32 Michael Fortescue, Steven Jacobson, Lawrence Kaplan, *Comparative Eskimo Dictionary with Aleut Cognates* (Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, 1994).

O autoroch · List of Contributors with Contact Details

Irene Eber

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Asian Studies,
Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem 9190501, Israel, <irene.eber@mail.huji.ac.il>.

Marián Gálik

Slovenská akadémia vied, Ústav orientalistiky, Klemensova 19,
SK-814 99 Bratislava, Slovakia <galikm2@gmail.com>.

Gad C. Isay

Tel-Hai College, The Department of East Asian Studies, Upper Galilee,
1220800 Israel <isay@telhai.ac.il>.

Jon Eugene von Kowallis

The University of New South Wales, School of Humanities and
Languages, Chinese Studies Program, Sydney, NSW 2052, Australia
<j.vonkowallis@unsw.edu.au>.

Olga Lomová

Univerzita Karlova, Filozofická fakulta, Ústav Dálného východu, nám.
J. Palacha 2, 116 38 Praha 1, Czech Republic <olga.lomova@ff.cuni.cz>.

Lucie Olivová

Masarykova univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, Seminář čínských studií,
Úvoz 244/33, 602 00 Brno, Czech Republic <233805@mail.muni.cz>.

Sun Hantian

Univerzita Komenského, Katedra východoázijských štúdií, Gondova 2,
SK-814 99, Bratislava, Slovakia <sun7@uniba.sk>.

Alexander Vovin

École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Centre de recherches
linguistiques sur l'Asie orientale, 105 Bd Raspail, 75006 Paris, France
<alexander.vovin@ehess.fr>.

