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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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Martin Slobodník (1970–2019)



In memory of Martin Slobodník (1970–2019) Obituary

Daniela Zhang Cziráková

The year 2019, we will remember for a long time with a gust of sadness. On April 14, our dear colleague, a prominent Slovak Sinologist and Tibetologist, scholar and translator, university professor and the Dean of Faculty of Arts of Comenius University, passed away unexpectedly. Martin Slobodník. We got to know each other while studying at college, then our paths took different directions; we met at various events, conferences of East Asian studies, but less often than before. We were busy living our lives, assuming we could find time for a cup of tea and a bit of speech, soon.... His abrupt departure hit all of us deeply. We suddenly realised what we had known before, but it came to us with unexpected bitterness. We realized how important he was to all of us. He was a person we could always rely on, a great scholar, a charismatic teacher, a fierce man who had an opinion and was never afraid to say it aloud; no matter what the consequences.

Everybody who knew him was hit by the sad news; they asked about him, some of them could not believe it. I admit that in the beginning I thought it was a terrible mistake. For a few days, I was somehow subconsciously waiting to hear that it was just one of those inaccurate or distorted news, only to be a piece of fake news and everything will be put right. It took a few days to realise it, to accept that.

Martin Slobodník was born on April 10, 1970. In 1988, he began studying Chinese. He was one of the first generations of Slovak sinologists who studied in Slovakia, in the subject of Chinese language—translation and interpretation at the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University. Although we went to the same grammar school, the gymnasium of Ladislav Sára in Bratislava, we got to know each other more closely at the university. He was an excellent student from whom I borrowed notes from time to time, like the rest of us, because he always had them worked out precisely. The only problem with his carefully written records was that

sometimes even he was unable to read them. I remember one classmate complaining about his handwriting, and he laughed about it that she wanted too much from him and we should be glad that he at least systematically wrote them down.

As Martin mentioned, he chose to study Chinese because he was interested in a slightly higher degree of freedom in China than we experienced that of in our own country at the end of the 1980s. However, during our studies, the situation changed radically. On June 4, 1989, the ideas of a better society with which Chinese students went to Tiananmen Square, drowned in blood. Then, a few months later, the same year in November brought us freedom I had never hoped for.

In 1991–1993, we left for a study stay in China. Martin graduated from Beijing University, where he studied Chinese. The traces of the 1989 events were still fresh in China. We met with former students who experienced it back then, and with many people who at least spoke of themselves, even those who dared not admit it. Around that time, Martin became interested in Tibet. In his words, he was brought to Tibetology by Chinese propaganda materials, which showed Tibet very tendentious, monochromatic, and flat. He was concerned and wanted to find out what it was. He started to learn Tibetan language, and his interest for Tibetan culture and religion was the reason he decided to visit it for the first time with some classmates during New Year vacations in China in 1992. I was a bit skeptical about that plan, since I considered it too risky going to the wild country at high altitude right in winter. I guess I told him something in the sense that it would not turn out well. Fortunately, I was wrong and nothing dramatic happened to them.

On the contrary, just because nobody anticipated foreign winter visitors, they were allowed to visit places which would not be easy to see for foreigners during the main touristic season in the summer. The restrictions on travelling to Tibet did not apply to winter season at that time. They returned from Tibet successfully with beautiful photographs dominated by an unlikely dark blue sky. Since that time Tibet became his main interest of study. He returned several times, much better equipped. Martin repeatedly visited Labrang Monastery, one of the most prominent temples of Gelukpa, the most influential school of Tibetan Buddhism,

located in the peripheral, northeastern part of Tibet with the historical name of Amdo, in today's Gansu province of China. He participated in several field researches in northeast Tibet. Together with the photographer Pavel Breier, he collaborated on the book *Labrang—World of the Tibetan Monastery* (2013), where the famous Buddhist monastery which he visited several times was introduced. In addition to this publication, Martin wrote an incredible amount of scholarly works which were published in prominent journals. He published more books and papers on this part of the world, such as *Tibet—Landscape, History, People, Culture* (1996), *Mao and Buddha: Religious Policy towards Tibetan Buddhism in China* (2007), *Political, Religious and Economic Aspects of Sino-Tibetan Relations in the 14th–15th Centuries* (2011). Besides, he wrote many articles in newspapers concerning the political situation in China, human rights and the attitude of the Chinese government towards national minorities.

After completing his Chinese studies in 1994, he worked at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences until 2000, and he completed there his doctoral studies. During his studies in 1995, he received a Humbolt scholarship which allowed him to study Tibetology at the University of Bonn for two years. From September 2000, he started teaching at the Department of Languages and Cultures of East Asian Countries, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University. His further life was firmly tied to this university. In October 2003, he was awarded the PhD, having defended his thesis titled *The Sino-Tibetan Relations in the period 1368–1434: Ming Dynasty and Phag-mo-gru*. In September 2007, he became the Head of the Department of East Asian Studies; from June 1, 2013, he held the post of Vice-Dean for the Development of the Faculty and Information Technology; and from April 2017, he was also responsible for international relations. In 2016, he became a full professor, and from 1 February 2019, he was the dean of the Faculty of Arts.

Martin Slobodník was a prolific author of scholarly works, including two monographs,¹ two professional publications, dozens of papers published in

1 Martin Slobodník, *Mao a Buddha: náboženská politika voči tibetskému buddhizmu v Číne* [Mao and Buddha: Religious Policy towards Tibetan Buddhism in China] (Bratislava: Chronos, 2007); Martin Slobodník, *Politické, náboženské a ekonomické aspekty čínsko-tibetských vzťahov v 14.–15. storočí* [Political, Religious and Economic Aspects of Sino-Tibetan Relations in the 14th and 15th Centuries] (Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2011).

domestic or foreign academic journals, which he wrote in English, German and Chinese. He translated from Chinese and Tibetan and collaborated on the fiction book *The Kába Kábás. New stories from Tibet* (2006). Together with Viera Prokešová, he translated from Tibetan poetry the *6th Dalai Lama from the 16th century*, which was published in 2003 under the title *Voices of Lhasa*. He was a great expert on Tibetan Buddhism, previously known as Lamaist Buddhism. By the way, I will recollect him every time I write the word »Buddhism«. It was Martin who discussed with Slovak linguists and persuaded them to use the general transcription of this word in Slovak, using double »d«, not just single.

In his extensive scholarly work, he also devoted himself to literature, from which he translated whenever he had time to do so. His main specialisation was history, especially the history of Sino-Tibetan relations and religious policy in China. In recent years he also worked on Czechoslovak-Chinese relations in the 1950s and 1960s. In addition to his alma mater at Comenius University in Bratislava, he not only lectured at universities in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Austria, Poland, Germany, Romania, but also at universities in China, Taiwan or Japan. During his tenure, he was engaged in the status of national minorities in China, especially in Xinjiang and Tibet. His footprint is visible in the methodology of teaching sinology at Comenius University. He determined the teaching of the Chinese language.

However, Martin was much more than »just« a scholar. His publishing activities and his scientific merits are admirable, hard to understand where he obtained that energy, to write so much with such a high erudition. If he had spent more time closed in his office, if he had hung an imaginary sign on the door with the words Do Not Disturb, he might have been even more creative. But that would not be him, Martin Slobodník. Because he never closed his door to anyone. He was not living in his elitist world of scholars; on the contrary, he lived and openly communicated with others, not only within academic and university circles, but also attended various events, talks, lectures, no matter whether he was invited to give a speech there or just sat quietly in the auditorium and listened.

Martin was not afraid to speak. Or on the contrary, he could not remain silent. In 1989, when we won the right to speak, he was a student like me, one of us, many, nameless, who stood in the squares. It changed us. We were there, that hectic time, hope, sharp breath of freedom, the indescribable feeling that change was possible, that something had changed, and we were a small part of it. However, as a former student of Chinese and a distinguished sinologist, he never forgot that those Chinese students in Beijing's Tiananmen Square were not as fortunate as we were, many of them paid off with their lives demonstrating for their rights a few months before it happened in our country. It was very personal for us.

Martin Slobodník spoke, spoke clearly and loudly. When writing newspaper articles or answering questions in numerous interviews, newspapers, television, magazines of different focus, his style was more straightforward, clear, distinct. He also spoke on topics that resonated in society, even when others seemed more silent. But that wouldn't be him anymore. When asked about his opinion on the situation in China, he answered clearly and unequivocally. He used to explain the specific problems patiently, refuted myths and delusions, trying to point out the thin line between objective reality and the tinge of propaganda. He knew very much about China and talked about everything, the best and most accurate as possible. When someone asked him about the situation in China, he mentioned the positives, the achievements of the country. At the same time, he did recall the negatives of the Chinese economic miracle, which some of our politicians or economists tend to overlook. He was concerned that a lot of positive economic changes in China noticed by many economists, which are at the centre of our attention, do not apply in all areas. He mentioned things and events which are happening in China that the Chinese media tends to remain silent about. He took part in various activities, participated in organising petitions to improve the conditions of national minorities in China, and highlighted continuously human rights violations in Tibet.

In his statements in journals and newspapers, he was not only concerned with Chinese studies. His voice was heard when he talked about many things that are troubling both Slovakia and Europe. In his words, he reminded us that the humanities education arises from the ideas of humanism. He warned us that it is we, scholars or university professors, are the ones with the knowledge. Knowledge also brings some degree of responsibility. That is why we not only can but should speak out when our country is beginning to lean dangerously towards values that

are contrary to the principles of humanity. As if by his words and attitude, he reminded us that it is not only our right but sometimes our duty. His life reminds us that we should not keep silent in the case when it is for us to talk. In recent years, he drew attention to the rise in extremist sentiments in our society.

He brought new visions for our university. He insisted on the quality of his scholarly work and valued it above all. He had strict demands on himself, as well as on his colleagues or students. He was never just satisfied that he was accurate in the field of research, he was a perfectionist, always pointing to precise work with materials, with primary resources. Many of his visions remain unfinished, such as the project UniverSaal, and many other ideas, like his plans for closer cooperation with leading universities in different countries around the world.

Among those who knew him more closely, Martin remains as a colleague, as a friend, as a teacher whom his former students still always remember with respect and love. Being a teacher, he did not need to struggle to gain authority. Everyone who knew him respected him, not only because of his immense knowledge but above all, due to his kind and modest nature, diligence, his sense of humour. His teaching work did not end with a topic or an index, but offered much more to those who had a real interest. He was the person who was often asked for advice by his colleagues, friends and acquaintances. He became involved in everything we found meaningful with tremendous enthusiasm, and he did his best to fit it into his full working diary. He was modest; if he didn't know anything, he didn't hesitate to admit it. For many students, he became more than a teacher or just the teacher spoken in terms of Confucian philosophy. He stayed for them the one who helped shape their professional lives long after they left school. We will all miss him, his voice, humanity, thanks to which he had long gone beyond university circles and became who he was. Human. What to conclude? Just that we can be grateful to him, for knowing him, for being here. He worked hard, and his tireless effort fulfilled his days. He was the person who influenced our lives. He will stay in our memory forever, as the man with a big heart, a distinguished scholar who steadily increased the territory of our knowledge.

Trajectories of Ideas and the Role of Intellectuals Within and Outside the State: The Mainlanders in Taiwan*

Táňa Dluhošová

Abstract Following Karl Mannheim's theory of the sociology of knowledge, this article uses Critical Discourse Analysis to scrutinize texts written between 1935 and 1949 by three Mainland Chinese in Taiwan, Fan Shoukang, Zeng Jinke, and Li Jigu. These Chinese intellectuals are treated as representatives of contemporaneous social groups and bearers of knowledge. By identifying the key concepts and the broader semantic fields in which they are embedded, the article not only analyzes each author's individual intellectual development but also unearths prevailing ideologies which dominated late Republican society and were endorsed by different social groups

Keywords ideology, propaganda, sociology of knowledge, cultural conservatism, Marxist discourse · mainlanders in Taiwan, May Forth Movement, prosopography KAPIT=ALKZ

Introduction

What do the worldviews of a given period consist of? What is their role? How does knowledge, defined as an ideologically motivated understanding of the world, structure society? And what is the relationship between individuals as bearers of such knowledge and social groups which represent various worldviews? Following

* An earlier version of this article was presented at the international conference *Power of Language, Language of Power: Where Concepts Meet Political History and Literature* (National Chengchi University, Taiwan, November 18–19, 2016) sponsored by the research platform Power and Strategies of Social and Political Order at the Oriental Institute (Czech Academy of Sciences). The Chinese version was published in *Dongya gainian shi jikan* 東亞概念史集刊 (2018). This research was supported by the Czech Science Foundation (grant number: 17-03529J).

the sociology of knowledge, a theory formulated by the German sociologist Karl Mannheim (1893–1947) in the 1930s and 1940s,¹ I would like to address these questions by focusing on a particular kind of knowledge, i.e. ideologies expressed in the discourses of actors who form certain social groups. This approach involves not only analyzing the concepts and ideas of a given period, but also taking into consideration the historical context and the writer. In this respect it goes beyond conceptual history, linking it together with history and society.

Mannheim distinguishes between two meanings of ideology. Like Marxists, he understood psychological features of ideology as factors which obscure knowledge about social reality and can be detected on the individual level; on the other hand, ideology also refers to a coherent set of ideas about the world (*Weltanschauung*) adopted by a given group.² Michael Freeden notes that the close connection between ideology and power posited by Marxists has often resulted in the identification of a professional group of ideologues, who are sometimes perceived as intellectuals with a dangerous sense of mission.³

The term »intellectual« will be used in this article as an analytical tool to understand cotemporary social reality, i.e. as an etic concept applied to studied material. Following the discussions of John Breuilly, Ernest Gellner, and Anthony Smith⁴ on intellectuals and their role in forming nationalisms, the present article distinguishes between intellectuals as »creators« of ideas and ideologies and »professionals« who disseminated the ideological frameworks of the »creators«. The »professionals« in Breuilly and Smith's understanding resemble Mannheim's »bearers of ideology«.⁵ This term implies that intellectuals were understood not only as individuals with their own understanding of the world, but also as a class

1 Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954).

2 *Ibid.*, 49–50.

3 Michael Freeden, *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10.

4 John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), 332; Ernest Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983); Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books 1991), 93.

5 Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*.

advocating their own interests. The article will focus on the group of lesser-known social actors—the »bearers of ideology«—and their role in creating ideology, but will not consider them as a class.

The concept of »intellectual« also has an interesting relationship to the »state« (as a structure of power). Edward Said's definition of this concept illustrates one extreme. He defines intellectuals as public figures who transcend dominant groups and structures in society, including the ideologies these groups propagate. At the same time, they possess a certain moral integrity which enables them to point out social problems. They take a critical stance towards any kind of power and authority, and they reject alliances with the state.⁶ But such a clear demarcation line is often hard to draw. While Anthony Smith also thinks that intellectuals are not power-seeking individuals, which would place them outside official structures,⁷ Guiberau, in a criticism of Elie Kedourie,⁸ defines »official« intellectuals as those »who have already secured honour and status within the state«,⁹ implying that the definition of »intellectual« includes those individuals within the state machinery.

In the case of China, intellectuals are similarly dispersed on this imagined »pro-system vs. outside the system« axis and one of the aims of this article is to probe the flexibility of this demarcation line. Changes from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century are closely connected to the group of young reformers who stepped out into the public space¹⁰ and called for the modernization of Chinese society and its institutions. From this perspective, they took the role of public intellectuals. Their first endeavors were followed by the New Culture Movement (1915) and the May Fourth Movement (1919), which set an intellectual framework

6 Edward W. Said, *Representations of the Intellectual: The Reith Lectures* (New York: First Vintage Books, 1996), xi–xiv.

7 Anthony Smith, *National Identity*.

8 Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism in Asia and Africa* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).

9 Guiberau, »Nationalism and Intellectuals in Nations without States: The Catalan Case«, in *Catalan Nationalism: Francoism, transition and Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2004), 16.

10 Thomas Broman: »Public sphere [...] as the cultural and political expression of the self-consciousness of member of civil society«. Broman, »Habermasian Public Sphere and "Science in Enlightenment"«, *History Science* 36 (1998), 125.

influencing China in the Republican period.¹¹ The importance of the May Fourth Movement is thus connected to a generational change and sometimes even viewed as the beginning of a long-lasting iconoclastic denial of traditional culture that peaked in the Cultural Revolution.¹²

Who were those intellectuals and what was their role in the process of building the modern state, not only at its beginning but throughout the first half of the twentieth century? According to existing scholarship,¹³ China developed its own native conception of »intellectual« (*zhishi fenzi* 知識分子). Eddy U reminds us that the term appeared in Chinese literary circles in the 1920s and 1930s and was preceded by the term »intellectual class« (*zhishi jieji* 知識階級). It referred to urban as well as rural elites who frequently participated in political and cultural debates. Eddy U also points out that Chinese intellectuals are the descendants of scholar-officials (*shidafu* 士大夫),¹⁴ who went through a rigid educational system followed by imperial exams which, in theory, allowed some of them to gain secure state positions. They controlled, and at the same time re-articulated, the political and ideological frameworks of the ruling class which was formed by members of the same social group. Scholar-officials also involved themselves in society by taking up the public role of moral arbiter. This social engagement (which should not necessarily be equated with a critical, oppositional stance, but may imply concerns for the state and society within the given constellation of power) is, in my opinion,

11 For example, Vera Swarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 12–54 and 55–93. For a compact overview see Edmund S. K. Fung, »Introduction« in *The Intellectual Foundations of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1–26.

12 Catherine V. Yeh, »Root Literature of the 1980s: May Fourth as a Double Burden«, in *Appropriation of Cultural Capital: China's May Fourth Project*, ed. by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and Oldřich Král (Harvard University, 2002), 232.

13 For a more detailed overview of secondary scholarship, see Timothy Cheek, »Introduction«, in *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1–28, esp. 18–28.

14 Eddy U, »The Making of Zhishifenzi: The Critical Impact of the Registration of Unemployed Intellectuals in the Early PRC«, *The China Quarterly*, 173 (March 2003), 100–121.

still one of the most important characteristics of Chinese and Taiwanese intellectuals in modern times.

As for modern intellectuals, Edmund Fung thinks that the Chinese intellectual community was »not part of the establishment, although some, while opposed to regime malfeasance, had connections with government of the day or had become deeply implicated in its work«. They were, in his opinion, critical intellectuals and »they viewed themselves as the conscience of society«. ¹⁵ Stating this, Fung mainly argues from the perspective of their discourse. Gu and Goldman, ¹⁶ however, looked at the problem from the perspective of structural distribution and pointed out that the class of scholar-officials and the new social group of intellectuals structurally occupied the same position in society. Both were dominated by the governing class, which put them in a difficult position between the dominant social group (elites from the field of power) and the dominated class. Referring to Bourdieu's theory of the cultural field, ¹⁷ Gu and Goldman suggested evaluating the role of individual intellectuals (as opposed to a homogenous group) according to their ability to gain symbolic, social, or economic capital. The present article will follow this suggestion and will scrutinize not only the discourses of selected individuals, but also their position in society.

One may argue that social engagement, often accompanied with working for the state or nation, is a typical characteristic of Chinese and Japanese intellectuals. Tatsuo Arima finds its roots in Japan both in bushido and in neo-Confucianist thought, which emphasizes loyalty and obedience. But Arima links the characteristic only with early liberals like Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930), whose theology »deprived the intellectual of a role in society«. ¹⁸ Other Japanese intellectuals were »creators of artistic work« in Smith's understanding (or

¹⁵ Edmund Fung, *The Intellectual Foundations of Chinese Modernity*, 19.

¹⁶ Edward Gu and Merle Goldman, »Introduction: The transformation of the relationship between Chinese intellectuals and the state«, in *Chinese Intellectuals Between State and Market*, ed. by Edward Gu and Merle Goldman, (London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 1–18.

¹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, trans. and ed. by Randal Johnson (Cambridge, New York: Polity Press, Columbia University Press, 1993).

¹⁸ Tatsuo Arima, *The Failure of Freedom: A Portrait of Modern Japanese Intellectuals* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), 176 and 21–25.

»bourgeois« writers for Arima¹⁹) and were not so involved with the state. The situation changed with the emergence of the more radical ideologies of Marxism and fascism in the late 1920s and the 1930s, when the actors made a conscious choice to become intellectuals, often working within a party.²⁰ This choice, which occurred in China at roughly the same time, pushed these intellectuals toward the role of »establishment intellectual«.

Timothy Cheek introduced the term »establishment intellectual«, defined as »modern-day scholar-officials in Leninist regimes who travelled in the most influential of China's metropolitan cultural and political circles. They were at the same time both high-level intellectuals and high-level cadres«. ²¹ This term also explains the specific position of intellectuals vis-à-vis the state and political power, especially in the 1940s, which differs from the role of intellectuals as independent critics of state power in the West, as defined by Said.

The term »establishment intellectual« has its limits, as we will show in the case of Zeng Jinke 曾今可 (1901–1971), who oscillated between being an »establishment intellectual' and a more independent figure endorsing the ideological standpoints of the government. Here we can point to a term »mandarin intellectual« by Fritz K. Ringer, who applied it to a group of »social and cultural elite which owes its status primarily to educational qualifications«. In Ringer's understanding, the term »mandarin intellectuals« referred to doctors, lawyers, ministers, government officials, secondary school teachers, and university teachers. They were »concerned with the educational diet of the elite. They uph[e]ld the standards of qualification for members of the group, and they act[ed] as its spokesmen in cultural questions«. ²² Such a definition, inspired by Chinese scholarofficials, broadens the scope for defining intellectuals as »professionals« and gives them an important role in the formation and maintenance of worldviews.²³

19 *Ibid.*, 178.

20 *Ibid.*

21 Timothy Cheek, *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History*, 130.

22 Fritz K. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890–1933* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 5–6.

23 A more recent publication by a Chinese scholar, Sang Bing, introduces a whole range of

My approach focuses on the *worlds of intellectual life* (»the communities in which individual actors live, whose interest and concerns they reflect«) as Cheek puts it, where we find the main themes and concerns through which we can reconstruct shared sets of ideas about the world. Though viewed as part of the same group, these individuals represent different ideologies and can be distinguished according to their characteristic discourses.

So, how to characterize the actors I am going to present? In contradistinction to Said's definition, they acted more like the mouthpieces of ideological standpoints²⁴ than their critics. They were thus »bearers of ideology« in Mannheim's sense. In their connection to power structures, they oscillated between being »establishment intellectuals« in Cheek's definition and »mandarin intellectuals«. They shared important characteristics (life experiences, education, sometimes even similar career paths), but their ideological inclinations reveal distinct and sometimes contradictory worldviews.

I chose three representatives of Mainland intellectuals who came to Taiwan after 1945 and occupied diverse position in the public sphere, and who (in a way) cohabited with the field of power in early post-war Taiwan: Fan Shoukang 范壽康 (1895–1983), director of the Department of Education of the provincial government; Li Jigu 李季谷 (1895–1968), rector of the Pedagogical College (*Taiwan shifan xueyuan* 臺灣師範學院); and Zeng Jinke, an editor of important periodicals. These actors—a state bureaucrat, a high-profile educator, and a publisher with connections to political elites—severally entered the public sphere in the 1930s and markedly shaped early post-war Taiwan. But I am not only interested in their

»professionals« who are considered modern intellectuals: political figures, educators, soldiers, students, etc. Sang Bing 桑兵, *Qingmo xin zhibijie de sbetuan yu buodong* 清末新知識界的社團與活動 [The Associations and Activities of the New Intellectual Circles in the Late Qing Dynasty] (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 2014).

24 The metaphor comes from Guo Moruo's appeal to youth, formulated in 1928. Guo Moruo 郭沫若, »Liusheng jiqi de huiyin: wenyi qiannian ying qu de taidu de kaocha« 留聲機器的回音——文藝青年應取的態度的考察 [The Echo of the Gramophone——An Investigation of the Attitude the Young Artists Should Have], in »*Gemin wenzue lunzheng ziliao xuanbian*「革命文學」論爭資料選編, vol. 1., ed. by Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Wenxue yanjiusuo Xiandai wenzue yanjiushi 中國社會科學院文學研究所現代文學研究室 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, 2010), 159–160.

shared intellectual profile after the war; on the contrary, I am interested in the formation and intellectual or structural foundations of the group of Mainlanders which the three selected intellectuals represent.

Studying their discourse—specifically their use of ideologically loaded language—I will test the boundaries between the public sphere and the state apparatus, thereby elucidating the changing role of intellectuals in late Republican China. I will follow their discourses on culture and literature from 1930 to 1947, their ideological trajectories, and contemporary upheavals caused by the changing political climate in China.

1 *Methodology: Identification of Ideologically Loaded Languages*

The identification of core vocabulary for each actor is based on a close reading of texts selected from three five-year periods (1935–1940, 1941–1945, 1945–1949). Preference was given to opinion articles. I selected articles which dealt with topics such as culture and literature to ensure that there would be common ground for comparison. For each actor I worked with 10–13 articles. When analyzing the articles, I found out that there is a difference between pre-war and wartime writings, so I regrouped the articles as follows: pre-war period (up to 1937), wartime period (1937–45) and early post-war period (1945–1949).

I mainly used the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis²⁵ to identify crucial keywords, which I arranged according to themes which I treat as »semantic fields« (marked in bold in the analytical part of this article), i.e., groups of words linked together by meaning. I also looked for frequent collexemes for these keywords, which were chosen either according to their frequency in a text, or according to their importance. Analyzing each article in this way, I created »maps« of thematic and lexical trajectories for each of the authors which show certain ruptures and continuities in their ideological development. Interestingly, these ruptures are shared and suggest changes in the social and political environment.

25 David Machin and Andrea Mayr, *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction* (London: Sage, 2012).

2 *Who Were They? Common Patterns in Carrier Trajectories*

Before starting the discourse analysis of these authors, I will consider biographical information that shaped their understanding of the world. Departing from Cheek's term, *worlds of intellectual life*, and understanding the worldview of each individual as inseparable from her or his life experiences, I will emphasize several characteristics that these writers shared.

2.1 *Study experience in Japan*

Firstly, all three actors studied humanities subjects in Japan. Like other Republican-era writers and intellectuals such as Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978), Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (1896–1945), and Xia Yuding 夏禹鼎, Fan Shoukang went to Japan in 1913 and studied at the Literature Department of Japanese Imperial University. According to He Jiawei, during this time he was interested in the works of Marx and Engels and became a propagator of Marxism.²⁶

Although born in the same year as Fan Shoukang, Li Jigu began his studies in Japan in the Department of History of the Tokyo Higher Pedagogical Institute 東京高等師範學校歷史系 five years later, in 1918, after graduating from the Zhejiang Provincial Pedagogical Institute (*Zhejiang shengli di yi shifan* 浙江省立第一師範).²⁷

Slightly younger than Fan and Li, Zeng Jinke first studied at Jiangxi Provincial Secondary School in 1919 while working as a journalist for *Ganzhou weiyan ribao* 贛州微言日報. In the aftermath of the May Fourth Movement he was excluded from the school. In his own words, he was a »vagrant« (liulang 流浪), but after ten years of odd jobs he had saved enough money to attend university and also studied in Japan.²⁸

Studying in Japan not only formed these men as intellectuals, but also equipped them with language skills which were essential for bureaucratic positions in Taiwan, where the official language was Japanese before the end of the war.

26 He Jiawei 何家炜, »Fan Shoukang« 范寿康, *Zhejiang dang'an* 浙江档案, 9 (1989).

27 Wang Juan 王娟, »Li Jigu lishi jiaoyu sixiang chutan« 李季谷歷史教育思想初探 [Preliminary Investigation of Li Jigu's Thought on Education in History], *Du Tianxia* 讀天下 (2016-07-08), 202.

28 Zeng Jinke, »Wusi de huiyi yu ganxiang 五四的回憶與感想« [Memories and Impressions of the May Fourth Movement], *Zhanqi* 戰旗, 60 (1947), 9.

2.2 *Reproduction of knowledge: teachers and publishers*

After their return home, all three actors occupied the most common positions for the young generation of the post-May Fourth Movement: they were either involved in publishing or they were teachers. Although these two occupations are different, they share the same function, which is the dissemination and reproduction of knowledge. Those employed in these occupations are, then, what Mannheim called the »bearers of ideology«.

When Fan Shoukang returned to China he first worked as the main editor for the Department of Philosophy and Education (*zhexue jiaoyu bu* 哲學教育部) at the Commercial Press. During his stint as editor, he published nine books dealing with philosophy, education, and aesthetics. In 1926, he worked at Zhongshan University as a secretary. In 1927, he went back to Zhejiang and was appointed director of Chunhui Secondary School, a renowned educational institution. He taught courses on philosophy and Marxism. In 1932, he became dean of the Art College of Anhui University. The following year he was appointed head of the Philosophy Department at Wuhan University. During his stay in Wuhan he edited a journal called *Wenzhe jikan* 文哲季刊 and published a history of Chinese philosophy.

Li Jigu returned to China in 1924 and taught at Nankai University and Beijing University. In 1927, he was appointed director of the First Zhejiang Secondary School. A year later, he went abroad to pursue further studies in England, where he received a master's degree in modern history at Cambridge University. When he returned home in 1930, he again taught at Beijing University, where he became head of the Department of History and Literature at the Women's College of Arts and Science.

We do not know much about Zeng Jinke's earlier life. His biographical reminiscences reveal that he took part in the Northern Expedition (1926–1928) and was a political instructor in the National Revolutionary Army. Only in the late 1920s did he again appear on the literary scene, as manager of the Malaysia Bookshop (*Malaiya shudian* 馬來亞書店) and editor of the New Era Bookshop (*Xin shidai shudian* 新時代書店), both in Shanghai. He edited the journals *Xin shidai* 新

時代, *Malaiya* 馬來亞, and *Wenyi zhi you* 文藝之友, as well as *Wenyi zuotan* 文藝座談, which positioned itself ideologically against the League of Leftist Writers.²⁹

2.3 *Early experiences in the public sphere*

Both Fan Shoukang and Zeng Jinke were active contributors to contemporary debates. Fan Shoukang participated in a heated discussion on science and metaphysics (*kexue yu xuanxue* 科學與玄學論), and whether science could govern a view of life (*rensheng guan* 人生觀).³⁰ He positioned himself between the two camps in this controversy, which touched upon scientism, scientific progress, and modernization.³¹ In the late 1920s and 1930s he also became famous as an authority on pedagogy and philosophy.

While Fan Shoukang saw himself as a representative of academic circles, Zeng Jinke was active on the literary scene. Zeng primarily belonged to the group of young intellectuals in 1930s Shanghai who enthusiastically discussed the form and style of the New Literature.³² He joined the Chinese P.E.N. Club and was an active member of various social gatherings. He was also a skillful editor, and his journal *Xin shidai* became one of the leading literary publications of the time. He authored several literary pieces and used his journal for the »relentless promotion of his own work«, as Hockx put it.³³

His position, however, differed slightly from that of older New Literature protagonists like Lu Xun and Mao Dun. In February 1933, *Xin shidai* published a

29 Zeng Jinke, »Wusi de huiyi yu ganxiang«, 9.

30 For more see Wang, Zuoyue. »Saving China through Science: The Science Society of China, Scientific Nationalism, and Civil Society in Republican China«, *Osiris* 17 (2002), 308–309.

31 Zhang Shiyong 張世英, »“Kexue” yu “xuanxue” lunzhan zhong Hu Shi pai suowei “kexue” de fan ke xing« 「科學」與「玄學」論戰中胡適派所謂「科學」的反科學性 [Anti-scientific Character of So-called Science’ of Hu Shi’s Clique in the Debate on Science and Metaphysics], *Zhexue yanjiu* 哲學研究 (1956), 71.

32 Michel Hockx, *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China, 1911–1937* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003), 201–221.

33 Zeng wrote six collections of fiction, two collections of new poetry, one collection of *ci* lyrics, and two volumes of essays in two years. *Ibid.*, 206.

special issue, in which Zeng Jinke suggested elevating the *ci* (詞)-form (songs),³⁴ traditionally a genre of »low literature«, to a »high genre« of the Chinese New Literature. He believed that combining modern language and subjects with traditional prosodies could revive the genre.³⁵ As Hockx demonstrates, the proposal was met by a stream of invective from the likes of Mao Dun and Lu Xun.³⁶ Their main bone of contention was that Zeng Jinke dared propose a traditional genre as a medium for the new poetry which, by general understanding, should slough off traditional conventions.

Unlike Fan Shoukang and Zeng Jinke, Li Jigu was not involved in any public discussion prior to 1930, probably due to his long studies abroad. After his arrival, he first started to publish on history and historiography, and only then did he offer his opinions on contemporary international politics. For both Li Jigu and Fan Shoukang, life experience, i.e., being a pedagogue, determined their topics and didactic mode of writing.

2.4 *Approximation to the state after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war*

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war changed every imaginable aspect of Chinese society and quite understandably changed the paths of all three authors. Their precise motivations—whether they were reacting to a gradual closing of institutions or choosing to help the state in an emergency—cannot be determined, but their trajectories became intertwined with that of the state. They offered it their cultural capital (academic reputation or fame earned on the literary scene), becoming part of its apparatus and instruments of its propaganda.

After the establishment of the United Front, Fan Shoukang followed Guo Moruo's invitation to become vice-director of the Third Board of Political Training, which was responsible for war-of-resistance propaganda. After the KMT government relocated to Chongqing, Fan started to work with Guo Moruo for the Committee of Cultural Work and was a director of the Research office on

34 Zeng Jinke, »Ci de jiefang yundong« 詞的解放運動 [Movement to Liberate *Ci*], *Xin Shidai* 新時代 4,1 (1933), 6–8.

35 Hockx, *Questions of Style*, 211.

36 *Ibid.*, 212–216.

International Affairs (*Guoji yanjiu shi* 國際研究室). Then he became a member of the Planning Committee at the Ministry of Politics (*Zhengzhi bu sheji weiyuan* 政治部設計委員). Later he was responsible for editing secondary school material in the southwestern provinces.

During the Sino-Japanese war Zeng Jinke was in charge of propaganda in various occupied regions. As a cultural worker, he became a member of the Central Cultural Movement Committee of the Central Propaganda Department. At the same time, he was a political instructor at the Chinese Army Academy (*Zhongyang junxiao* 中央軍校) and at Training Classes for Guerilla Cadres at Sinan (*Sinan youji ganbu xunlian ban* 四南游擊幹部訓練班). He also remained active in print media, as chief editor or chief journalist of the periodicals *Minzhu bao* 民主報, *Dacheng bao* 大成報, *Jianguo bao* 建國報, and *Kaiping ribao* 開平日報.

Li Jigu continued to teach at various universities in the first year after the war, but later worked as a head of the National Government Recruitment Committee (*Guomin zhengfu zhaoxun weiyuanhui* 國民政府招訓委員會) in Lusu Wanyu 魯蘇皖豫 area, a war zone at the border of Shandong, Henan, and Anhui provinces. Such committees were founded in war regions to look after young unemployed people or students who had lost the opportunity to study.³⁷ Li Jigu also organized educational campaigns in close cooperation with local military activities

2.5 *After the war*

A good understanding of Japanese probably made these intellectuals appropriate candidates for more official posts in post-war Taiwan. All three of them came to Taiwan and took a position within the party-state apparatus: provincial government, training group, or a university. They were all part of the dominant political force on Taiwan, which secured them a prominent role on the cultural scene. They were seen and their voices were heard, which gave them an advantage over other social groups.

In 1945, Fan Shoukang became Head of the Department of Education at the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office. After the 2.28 Incident, like many of governor Chen Yi's 陳儀 (1883–1950) former subordinates, he was

37 File 55934, Guoshiguan 國史館 <web.drnh.gov.tw/scripts/newsnote/tornado/searcher.exe?s=1&z=1&k=&m=0&p=&b=55921&v=root> (last retrieval Feb 27, 2019).

appointed Professor of Philosophy at Taiwan University and director of the University Library, where he continued to work for 20 years.³⁸

Li Jigu became a rector of the Pedagogical Institute in Taipei after the war. He was active within conservatives circles (like Zeng Jinke) and continued to publish about Chinese history in various supplements. In 1948, he became Head of the Department of Education of Zhejiang province. Afterwards he taught at various schools of higher learning.

After 1945, Zeng Jinke was sent to Taiwan by the Shanghai-based newspaper *Shenbao* (申報). His post-war career resembles his wartime trajectory: he worked as an instructor at Taiwan Provincial Training Group (台灣省訓練團), which was probably a propaganda-oriented position, but he also continued his work on the cultural scene and edited the journal *Zhengqi yuekan* 正氣月刊 together with a book series by the same publisher, *Zhengqi congsbu* 正氣叢書, and the journal *Jianguo yuekan* 建國月刊.³⁹ In the summer of 1948, he became chief secretary of the Provincial Office for Historical Records (*Taiwan sheng tongzhi guan* 台灣省通志館), and after the Office's reorganization in 1949 he was again appointed as chief secretary of the Provincial Committee for Historical Materials (*Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuanhui* 台灣省文獻委員會). He was also an active member of literary circles which cultivated traditional poetry, and he edited the journal *Taiwan shi bao* 台灣詩報.⁴⁰ Zeng had a close connection with military circles during the war, and this relationship became relevant again in post-war Taiwan. While serving as a political instructor and propaganda official during the war, his post-war relationships with members of the military elite and the Central Club Clique of the KMT remained predominantly literary: Surprisingly, Zeng Jinke shared their taste for classical poetry.

38 Biographical account based on He Jiawei, »Fan Shoukang«.

39 Zeng Jinke, »Wusi yundong de huiyi yu ganxiang«, 10.

40 Huang Mei-e 黃美娥. »Zhanhou chuqi de Taiwan gudian shitan« 戰後初期的臺灣古典詩壇 [The Scene of Traditional Poetry in Early Post-war Taiwan], in *Ereba Shijian 60 Zhounianji Lun Wen Ji* 二二八事件60週年紀念論文集, ed. by Xu Xueji 許雪姬 (Taipei: Taibei shi zhengfu wenhuaju, 2008), 283-302.

These life trajectories exhibit certain structural resemblances. To varying degrees, the intellectuals left their positions as public intellectuals when necessary and became part of the state and its mechanisms. This experience probably influenced their post-war trajectories, as seen in the examples of Fan Shoukang and Li Jigu, who continued to work for the state and advocate state policies. The intellectuals' positions within state structures and simultaneous appearances in the public space, either to advocate state policies or adjust them, made them *establishment intellectuals*.

The following part will analyze the discourses of these three authors from a comparative perspective and interpret them in the context of contemporary social and political developments.

3 *Trajectories of Ideas: Discourse Analysis*

3.1 *Before the Sino-Japanese war*

3.1.1 *Common semantic fields*

The compared texts demonstrate that the public debate in China was (unsurprisingly) dominated by the May Fourth Movement paradigm.⁴¹ Here I mainly refer to overarching themes in the public discourse, such as the binary opposition between the »new« (新) and the »old« (舊) and the emphasis on »evolution«.

The authors expressed the binary **opposition of »new« and »old«** in changing lexical guises. For example, Fan Shoukang juxtaposed old, negative education (*jiu shi de xiaoji jiaoyu* 舊式的消極教育) with (implicitly present) new, progressive, Western-style education.⁴² Juxtaposition together with value

⁴¹ Edmund Fung connects the series of dichotomies with the dialectical relationship between Westernizers and cultural conservatives. For an overview see Edmund Fung, *The Intellectual Foundations of Chinese Modernity*, 27–60. The discourses of the three intellectuals, however, showed that the relationship between »old« and »new« was not meant as dialectical.

⁴² As we can see, for example, in Fan Shoukang, »Xiandai Zhongguo jiaoyu zhi shi de guan cha (wei wan)« 現代中國教育之史的觀察 (未完) [Observation of History of the Modern Chinese Education (to be continued)], *Chenguang zhoukan* 晨光週刊 5,10 (1936), 1–6; *idem*, »Xiandai

judgement gave authors a powerful tool for criticizing the cotemporary social and political situation. Fan's stance can be seen as a continuation of his previous involvement in the debate on science and metaphysics.

The other important semantic field in these texts relates to **»development«**. The range of vocabulary belonging to this semantic field is rather wide. There is an emphasis on »evolution« (*yanjin* 演進, *jinbua* 進化), »transformation« (*gaizao* 改造), »change« (*bianbua* 變化, *jianbian* 漸變, *gaibian* 改變, *biantong* 變動), and »innovation« (*gexin* 革新), which have all belonged to the discourse on evolution since the end of the nineteenth century. Not surprisingly, the discourse of development is linked with particular spatial directions, namely forward⁴³ and upward.⁴⁴

These two semantic fields are closely related to others, like **»modernization«** and **»building«**.⁴⁵ The »building« metaphor alludes to a process of establishing something lasting that should be aimed at »improving the country«. It is not surprising that the topic surfaced again in Taiwan after the war.⁴⁶ The »building« metaphor is often linked to other more abstract concepts.

Zhongguo jiaoyu zhi shi de guancha (xu)« 現代中國教育之史的觀察(續) [Observation of History of the Modern Chinese Education (continuation)], *Chenguang zhoukan* 晨光週刊 5,11 (1936), 1-9.

43 For example, to »progress« (*jianhua* 進化) versus »to regress« (*tuibua* 退化).

44 For example, »to increase the level of« (*zenggao...shuiping* 增高... 水準) versus »to be suppressed« (*beiya* 被壓), which indicates the movement »down«. These are examples from Fan Shoukang, »Xiandai Zhongguo jiaoyu zhi shi de guancha (wei wan)«, 1-6; idem., »Xiandai Zhongguo jiaoyu zhi shi de guancha (xu)«, 1-9.

45 For example, »to establish« (*sbe* 設), »to establish« (*jianli* 建立), »to open« (*kaishe* 開設), »to establish« (*sheli* 設立), »to build« (*jianshe* 建設), »to establish« (*shejian* 設建).

46 Fan Shoukang, »Fuxing Taiwan de jingshen: 4 yue 29 ri Guofu jinianzhou jiangci« 復興臺灣的精神: 四月廿九日國父紀念週講詞 [The Spirit of Taiwan's Retrocession: A speech delivered on April 29 during the memorial week of the Father of the Republic]. *Taiwan sheng defang xingzheng ganbu xunliantuan tuankan* 臺灣省地方行政幹部訓練團團刊 1, no. 8 (1946) 3-4; idem., »Taiwan sheng jiaoyu shizheng gaikuang: dui ben tuan Zhongyang ganbu xuexiao biyesheng jiuye Jiangxi ban jiang« 臺灣省教育施政概況: 對本團中央幹部學校畢業生就業講習班講 [General Situation Regarding Administration of Taiwanese Education: A speech delivered during an instructional

Zeng Jinke, for example, proposed »building a culture« (*jianshe wenhua* 建設文化) that would embody the new spirit of the country.⁴⁷

One semantic field that plays a central role for all three writers is »**education**«. The importance of education as a means of attaining the state of the »new« by continual change toward better (moral, economic, political, cultural) conditions was already recognized in the May Fourth era. »Education« is often linked with verbs of »dissemination«⁴⁸ and »improving« and targets the »youth«. The theme plays a significant role in the argumentation of both Fan Shoukang and Li Jigu, which can be explained by their occupation as teachers at institutions of higher education.⁴⁹ These concepts were bound to preoccupy the representatives of intellectuals who, like »mandarin intellectuals«, were responsible for spreading and maintaining the elite's worldviews.

These articles give us a general understanding of how *collective actors*, especially foreign states, were perceived among intellectuals. Let's take **Japan** as an example. Given the political situation in the early 1930s all three authors discuss Japan. However, even though Japan attacked China and occupied Manchuria in 1931 the three authors did not perceive it as a totally negative entity. For example, in Li Jigu's texts, even though Japan is paired with negative verbs,⁵⁰ Japan is still a model country which was able to reach an imaginary apex in development and compete

workshop to graduates of the local class of the Central School of Cadres], *Taiwan sheng xunliantuan tuankan* 臺灣省訓練團團刊 2,5 (1946), 3.

47 Zeng Jinke, »Jianshe wenhua yu puji jiaoyu« 建設文化與普及教育 [Building Culture and Spreading Education], *Hanxue zhoukan* 汗血週刊 4,14 (1935), 216–217.

48 For example, »to spread« (*puji* 普及), »to issue« (*banbu* 頒布), »to proclaim« (*xuanbu* 宣佈).

49 Fan Shoukang, »Xiandai Zhongguo jiaoyu zhi shi de guancha (wei wan)«; idem, »Xiandai Zhongguo jiaoyu zhi shi de guancha (xu, fu tubiao)«; Zeng Jinke, »Jianshe wenhua yu puji jiaoyu«, 216–217; Li Jigu, »Ribei zhi guoshi jiqi yu jiaoyu zhi guanxi«, 日本之國勢及其與教育的關係 [The Situation in Japan and Its Relationship to the Education], *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* 中華教育界 20,1 (1936), 35–39; idem, »Minzu fuxing yu lishi jiaoyu« 民族復興與歷史教育 [Nationality Revival and Education in History], *Zhongguo xin lun* 中國新論 1,2 (1935), 27–30.

50 For example, »put pressure« (*yapo* 壓迫) [on our China], »to occupy« (*zhan* 佔) [our Rjokju], »to cut out« (*ge* 割) [our Taiwan]. Li Jigu, »Ribei zhi guoshi«, 35;

with the West.⁵¹ After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, this positive attitude naturally disappeared.

Overall, from the selected texts the public debate was still restricted to topics which kept Chinese intellectuals involved with what Timothy Cheek calls *enduring ideas* and remained close to the legacy of the May Fourth Movement. The intellectuals acted as spokesmen pointing out obstacles to China's development—a role inherited from the scholar-officials.

3.1.2 *Individual differences*

Individual features of the three authors' writings can help us to situate them on a constructed »map of ideologies«.

A key feature of Fan Shoukang's early writing, for example, is Marxist discourse. One frequently encounters terms such as »productivity« (*shenchanli* 生產力), »production« (*shenchan* 生產), »production skills« (*shenchan zhineng* 生產技能), »surplus in production« (*shengchan guoli* 生產過剩), »relations of production« (*shenchan guanxi* 生產關係), and »means of production« (*shengchan gongju* 生產工具),⁵² which are core terms of Marxist doctrine. In Fan's understanding, politics, economics, and education are subordinate to the development of production capacities, which are essential for building a strong, national state, since only self-sufficient states can become fully independent and thus strong internationally. Fan also suggests learning from Russia's planned economy.⁵³ Such an abundance of vocabulary dealing with issues surrounding production in articles on Chinese education is quite striking.

51 Li Jigu, »Ribei zhi guoshi«, 36–39.

52 Fan Shoukang, »Zhong-Ri wenti: Jiu, Zhong-Ri qinshan de zhang'ai he zai«, 中日問題:九、中日親善的障礙何在 [Sino-Japanese Questions: 9) where is the obstacle for the Sino-Japanese good relationship?], *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 37,1 (1937), 405–406; idem., »Kangzhan shiqi de shizi tiaozheng wenti« 抗戰時期的師資調整問題 [Questions Regarding Adjustments for Qualified Teachers During the War of Resistance], *Jiaoyu tongxun* 教育通訊 (漢口), 11 (1938), 10–12.

53 The only direct connection to Marxist discourse. Fan Shoukang, »Xiandai Zhongguo jiaoyu zhi shi de guancha (xu)«, 1–9.

Even though Fan Shoukang uses such vocabulary, he avoids crucial Marxist terms like »class struggle«, as well as any direct reference to the term »Marxism«, or names like Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, etc. To understand this specificity, one has to take into consideration the time of publication (1936–1938), when the CCP and the KMT were cooperating in the second United Front. This may have led writers to eschew sharp ideological language and even adopt vocabulary from the »other camp«. ⁵⁴ In contrast to CCP doctrine, KMT ideology at the end of the 1920s and early 1930s emphasized collective efforts transcending class considerations. ⁵⁵ The parties differed on this point even though they both followed the Soviet model. ⁵⁶ So the absence of core Marxist vocabulary, which also spoke to contested ideological convictions, may signal that Fan belonged to the group cooperating with the KMT in the united front.

While the use of ideologically loaded language places Fan Shoukang near to Marxist thought, Zeng Jinke was searching for inspiration in the Chinese tradition. In his opinion, in a time of chaos traditional culture—represented by Confucianism—could serve as a stepping-stone towards a new, modernized state. This attitude, which can be identified with cultural *conservatism*, ⁵⁷ could, in his opinion, also be of use to politicians and politics. He believed that it would not only nurture respect for the past, but also stimulate wide-spread patriotism.

54 Like Zeng Jinke, who used some vocabulary dealing with »production« for a short period in the late 1930s (see below).

55 For more see Sa Mengwu 薩孟武, *Sanminzhuyi zhengzhixue* 三民主義政治學 [Politics of the Three Principles of the People] (Shanghai: Xin shengming shuju, 1929), 79.

56 Robert E. Bedeski, »The Tutelary State and National Revolution in Kuomintang Ideology, 1928–1931«, *The China Quarterly*, 46 (1971), 321.

57 Scholars have written about conservatism and cultural conservatism since the 1970s. In the edited volume by Charlotte Furth, *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), Benjamin I. Schwartz introduces the term *cultural conservatism* as a self-conscious ideological phenomenon of identifying with Chinese traditional thought and culture, but breaking with the monarchical ideal (the sociopolitical aspect). Schwartz, »Notes on Conservatism in General and in China in Particular«, 16. The part of the definition distinguishing between cultural and political conservatism has been contested, e.g. in Fung, *The Intellectual Foundations*, 96–113.

Zeng's line of argumentation thus confirms that Chinese conservatism was fueled with nationalism.⁵⁸

Zeng thought that selected aspects of traditional culture forming the essence of the Chinese nation would define China in its interactions with other nations, and thereby help it to regain its status on the international scene.⁵⁹ This view resembles that of national »essence« (*guocui* 國粹) classicists, who exploited native alternative traditions as a source of political criticism. The target of Zeng's critique, however, was not imperial orthodoxy, but rather intellectuals from the New Culture/May Fourth Movement Culture. Thus, Zeng's position, unlike that of »national essence« supporters, was not anti-Western and can be viewed as a moderate continuation of a stream of conservatism adopted by the KMT, particularly Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925).⁶⁰ This line of argument is consistent with the general dynamics of the late Qing and Republican era, which generated a perception that China as an inferior nation had to compete with other, more developed countries. This dynamic fueled the nationalist movement and also provided the ideological basis for both the KMT and CCP.⁶¹

The belief that Confucianism could become the foundation of China's new culture was not a mainstream view in the 1930s, though some intellectuals promoted such ideas. Liang Shumin 梁漱溟 (1893–1988), also known as a New Confucian of the first generation, promoted the idea of Easternization (*dongfanghua* 東方化) to maintain and revive China's own cultural identity in the confrontation with the West. Easternization was also a quest for global recognition of the universalism of a reinvented Confucianism.⁶² Liang's trust in

58 See also Schwartz, »Notes on Conservatism in General and in China in Particular«, 16.

59 Zeng Jinke, »Wenhua yu zhengzhi« 文化與政治 [Culture and Politics], *Xin shidai* 新時代 7,2 (1937), 8–10.

60 For more about »national essence« conservatives see essays in Part II of Charlotte Furth, *The Limits of Change*, 57–168.

61 A. James Gregor, *A Place in the Sun: Marxism and Fascism in China's Long Revolution* (Boulder, Oxford: Westview Press, 2000), 24–49.

62 According to Fung, *The Intellectual Foundation*, 72–76, Liang considered Western culture as lacking morality and thus inevitably doomed to decline. Chinese rural areas, on the other hand, were

the countryside as a source for the rejuvenation of the state and nation was later shared by the Communists and their Bolshevik model of rural revolution.⁶³

Mary Wright observed a certain identification of the KMT elites, especially Chiang Kai-shek, with figures of the Tongzhi Restoration (*Tongzhi Zhongxing* 同治中興 [1860–1874]), which began to manifest itself in 1924, developed into a superficial adherence to Confucian moral codes in the early 1930s, and lasted until the 1950s.⁶⁴ Identification with traditional morals was intended to bolster the KMT's legitimacy to rule China and lay the foundations for a strong, functioning state. The KMT leadership around Chiang saw these principles as unchanging symbols of internal order which were essential for rebuilding the state after the period of revolution.⁶⁵ As Lloyd Eastman pointed out, the KMT—with Chiang at the top—committed to a national dictatorship in the 1930s as this phenomenon spread through fascist Germany, Japan, and Stalinist Russia. He favored economic development and military mobilization. Conservatism was not explicit governmental policy, but traditional political culture drove the mobilization of resources to bring about rapid change.⁶⁶

From this perspective, Zeng Jinke's standpoint resonated with official KMT ideology rather than the ideas of Liang Shuming. Zeng's notion of Confucianism, like the Confucian references used by KMT representatives, amounted to little more than a few superficial remarks on the content of the new Chinese culture. He did not elaborate which ideas, what part of the Confucian doctrine, or which Confucian thinker should be emulated.

places where the »true« Chinese essence of the authentic Confucian world still resided. In addition to technological progress in agriculture, Liang employed the concept of harmony and community building to effect the moral renovation of the countryside and bring about a re-engagement of intellectuals in rural society. More in Timothy Cheek, *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History*, 96–101.

63 For a more detailed comparison see *ibid.*, 100, and 103–105.

64 Mary C. Wright, »The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology«, *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 14,4, Special Number on Chinese History and Society (1955), 515–532.

65 *Ibid.*, 523.

66 Lloyd E. Eastman, »The Kuomintang in the 1930s«, in *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China*, ed. by Charlotte Furth (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), 191–210.

Li Jigu's distinctiveness, on the other hand, resided in a rather critical attitude toward the Nationalist government which we do not see in the writings of the other two authors. Despite being a KMT member, in a series of editorials for *Biance zhoukan* 鞭策週刊 he expressed his dissatisfaction with the way the United Nations faced up to the occupation of Manchuria by Japan and with the inability of the Nationalist government to protect its territory and people. In his expressive articles, he designates Nationalist government as »their excellences« / »government dignitaries« (袞袞諸公),⁶⁷ and as an institution which cannot be trusted, because it is just spreading propaganda.⁶⁸ His argumentation on international politics is supported by many historical parallels. As a historian educated abroad, he uses academic authority to establish his argument, and, with his skeptical attitude, he resembles a Western critical intellectual. By the mid-1930s, however, he had abandoned this critical standpoint towards the government and turned to topics in Chinese education.

3.1.3 *Style and actors*

One of the most specific features of Fan Shoukang's and Zeng Jinke's style is their tendency to conceal actors in their texts. Most sentences are constructed in the passive voice, with a very high frequency of modal verbs (e.g., *xu* 該, *yao* 要, *bixu* 必須, *ke* 可, etc.), verbs of existence (*you* 有) and copular verbs (*shi* 是). Instead of naming particular actors and the changes they caused, they presented their readers with nominalized processes—abstractions in short—which obscure the true actors, their agency, and their responsibilities. Such a language of abstraction is quite typical for the period and for Chinese opinion articles in general. Authors usually create a sense of urgency and emphasize normative appeals, but they fail to elaborate who acted, and how. Critical Discourse Analysis calls this the »strategy of concealing«, and it is a signal of an ideological text.

67 Li Jigu, »Lian'e lun« 聯俄論 [About Soviet Russia], *Biance zhoukan* 鞭策週刊 1,10 (May 8, 1932), 2; idem, »Ping zhengfu yu guonan« 評政府與國難 [Criticism of the Government and National Disasters], *Biance zhoukan* 鞭策週刊 2,11 (October 15, 1932), 1.

68 Li Jigu, »Guolian zhi taidu« 國聯之態度 [The Attitude of the United Nations], *Biance zhoukan* 鞭策週刊 2,4 (September 25, 1932), 2.

Li Jigu's style slightly differs. He uses event-driven narration featuring actors and their actions (explanation of past events on the international political scene). In addition to »me« (*wo* 我, *bijian* 鄙見), there are *collective actors* like the United Nations, Japan, China, the USA, the UK, Germany, and France. In his texts, these entities are the subjects of active verbs (»to occupy«, »to accept«, »to use« etc.), but the reader does not know a concrete person responsible for those actions and so essentially faces the same »strategy of concealing« as in Fan's and Zeng's articles.

Although these writers shared some overarching themes which resonated throughout Chinese society, their articles demonstrate certain features which locate each of them at a different position on our imagined »ideological map« of the pre-war period. We can thus conclude that intellectuals in this period represented an ideologically diverse social group.

3.2 *War-of-Resistance propaganda (1938–1941)*

The incident on Marco Polo Bridge (July 7, 1937) would ultimately drag China into WWII. In addition to its political, social, and economic impacts, it created a need: (1) to provide information about war efforts, leading to the development of war reportage literature and war journalism,⁶⁹ and (2) to create a new ideological framework to mobilize society. Intellectuals mobilized within the National Salvation Movement (*Jiuguo yundong* 救國運動), calling for national resistance.

At the same time there were several periodicals which published anti-Japanese content (for example, *Naban* 吶喊 or *Kangzhan sanrikan* 抗戰三日刊). Coble points out that frontline news were usually optimistic, even though the content of the articles was not so positive.⁷⁰ Another interesting feature of the war discourse is the theme of »victimhood«. Authors tended to focus on descriptions of civilian casualties, the brutality of the Japanese army, and war crimes. Coble interprets this trend as arising from the motivation to invoke compassion among both a Chinese and a foreign readership.⁷¹ The position of

69 More about the genre of reportage in Charles A. Laughlin, *Chinese Reportage: The Aesthetics of Historical Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), especially chapters 4 and 5.

70 Parks M. Coble, »The Legacy of China's Wartime Reporting 1937–1945: Can the Past Serve the Present«, *Modern China* 36,4 (2010), 435–460.

71 Ibid, 441–445.

»victim«, however, complemented the discourse on »national salvation«, so both meanings intermingled in the attempt to mobilize the population.⁷²

The political situation was also reflected in the semantic fields of the three selected authors. Interestingly, their topics and style converged, and thus we will discuss this major shift in their writing collectively. Especially in the writings of Fan Shoukan and Zeng Jinke, who worked for the state propaganda machinery, there was an increase in vocabulary connected with the war and military issues,⁷³ creating a semantic context within which the writers' previous themes became even more urgent.

The semantic fields of the »old/new« binary opposition and »evolution« are transformed into a metaphor of »competition«, or even the exclusive disjunction of »victory or defeat«. Fan Shoukan, for example, suddenly employs the metaphor of competition, with its stark opposition between accomplishment and victory,⁷⁴ and failure.⁷⁵ One year after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, Fan Shoukan still attributed the Japanese success to the fact that Japan was a stronger and more advanced country. China, by contrast, had not reached an equivalent level of technological development and had to modernize in order to compete with Japan. This attitude was abandoned in later articles.⁷⁶

72 Ibid.

73 The most frequent were »war of resistance« (*kangzhan* 抗戰), »war zone« (*zhanqu* 戰區), »strength of the war of resistance« (*kangzhan de lilian* 抗戰的力量), »military political work« (*jundui zhengzhi gongzuo* 軍隊政治工作), and so on.

74 For example, »jump on...the road of modernization« (*kuashang ... xiandaibua de dadao* 跨上...現代化的大道), »to catch up ... with modern states« (*goudeshang ... xiandai guojia* 夠得上...現代國家), »success« (*chenggong* 成功), »to accomplish« (*wancheng* 完成), »achievement« (*gongji* 功績), »to attain an achievement« (*you chengji* 有成績). Fan Shoukan, »Zai kangzhan licheng zhong suo pulu de guoqu xin jiaoyu de genben quedian« 在抗戰歷程中所暴露的過去新教育的根本缺點 [Fundamental flaws of the previous new education revealed during the war of resistance], *Minyi* 民意 (漢口), 13 (1938), 7–8.

75 For example, »destruction« (*huibuai* 毀壞), »to fall behind« (*luowu* 落伍), »failure« (*shibai* 失敗), »unfinished« (*weiwán* 未完), »inferior« (*buji* 不及).

76 Fan Shoukan, »Zai kangzhan licheng zhong suo pulu de guoqu xin jiaoyu de genben quedian«.

As the war progressed, the above-mentioned semantic fields intermingled with nationalism and mobilization and created a thicket of meanings. Let's take Zeng Jinke as an example. The definition of the new national culture as **national spirit** (*minzu jingshen* 民族精神) served to indoctrinate people and mobilize them during the war, and the discourse on mobilization, constituted by vocabulary associated with uniting and linking, is developed into the most prominent strand of discourse in Zeng Jinke's writing.⁷⁷

The strong accent on **mobilization** probably echoed two KMT initiatives. The first was the *National Joint Pledge* (*Guomin gong yue* 國民公約), which was issued in February 1939 to urge all compatriots to join forces and fight the Japanese enemy.⁷⁸ The aims of the newly defined culture, as mentioned above, are reminiscent of the Mobilization of the National Spirit (*Guomin jingshen zongdongyuan* 國民精神總動員) launched in October 1937.⁷⁹ Zeng Jinke understands the Mobilization of National Spirit movement as a »bridge« (a linking

77 For example: high frequency of the adverb »unanimously« (*yizhi* 一致), »tightly hold hands« (*jinjin di woqi shou* 緊緊地握起手), »start to cooperate« (*lianxi qilai* 聯繫起來), »organize masses« (*zuzhi qunzhong* 組織群眾), etc. Zeng Jinke, »Kang zhan yu wenhua«, 1–2.

78 The fight itself not only included military action, but also economic boycotts and the refusal to collaborate or use Japanese money. It was envisioned that the entire household would take the pledge and, as in the *baojia* 保甲 system, household members would control each other. See »Guomin gong yue« 國民公約, *Chinese Encyclopedia Online* (*Zhonghua baike quanshu* 中華百科全書), <<http://ap6.pccu.edu.tw/Encyclopedia/data.asp?id=3898>> (last retrieval Feb 27, 2019).

79 Gu Xiaoshui identifies the roots of this movement in the beginning of 1930s—concretely in the policy of »resisting foreign aggression after stabilizing the country« (*an nei rang wai* 安內攘外), formulated in June 1932, where Chiang Kai-sheng stressed the importance of the national spirit. The second wave, then, resurrected the ideal of »national spirit« after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (1937). This concept was removed from the earlier paradigm of the »resisting foreign aggression after stabilizing the country« policy and the emphasis was put on national mobilization (46–47). Gu also thinks that Mobilization of the National Spirit should be understood as a continuation of the earlier Nationalist Rejuvenation Movement (*minzu fuxing yundong* 民族復興運動) influenced by Nazi Germany and the New Life Movement launched in 1934. Gu Xiaoshui 谷小水, »Kangzhan shiqi de guomin jingshen zongdongyuan yundong« 抗戰時期的國民精神總動員運動 [National Spiritual Mobilization Movement in the Time of War of the Resistance], *Kang Ri zhanzheng yanjiu* 抗日戰爭研究, 1 (2004), 47.

metaphor) that connects the first phase of the war, which is fought by the armed forces, and the second phase, in which the entire population should participate. Zeng Jinke promotes the movement, but simultaneously replicates the sloganeering of the propagandistic style.⁸⁰ The urgency of the message is emphasized by the exclusive disjunction of »victory or defeat« (i.e., life or death) which had already been already formulated by Chiang Kai-shek in the early 1930s.⁸¹

Mobilization thus goes hand in hand with »**education**« and »**propaganda**«, which were, in that period, equivalent. As Fan Shoukang's articles show, the war created pressures under which political and economic education became even more urgent.⁸² The collexemes of »education« (*jiayu* 教育) and »indoctrination« (*xunlian* 訓練) suggest that special attention was paid to the political education of both the »people« (*minzhong* 民眾) and the »army« (*jundui* 軍隊). The aim was to

80 For example, three common aims of the movement appear unmarked as part of his text. The style, however, shows that it consists of formulaic language, probably part of some sort of slogan: »Together restore our national inherent virtue, unanimously bring out the premier revolutionary spirit and concentrate these to the state and to the nation. Military affairs go the first, so as the victory goes the first. The will has to be concentrated, the power has to be concentrated, within the three aims, one should exhaust all abilities, one should exhaust one's duty to finish this great cause which is the war of resistance and to build the nation«. 共同恢復我民族固有的道德，一致發揮總理革命的精神，集結於國家之上，民族之上；軍事第一，勝利第一；意志集中，力量集中，三個共同的目標之下，各竭其能，各盡其職，以完成抗戰建國的大業。Zeng Jinke, »Di er qi kangzhan yu guomin jingshen zongdongyuan« 第二期抗戰與國民精神總動員 [The Second Period of the War of Resistance and Mobilization of National Spirit Movement], *Zhejiang* 浙江 (Jinhua 金華), 59 (1939), 163.

81 »If one does not have a spirit, even though he lives, it is the same as he dies. If a country loses its soul, the spirit, it nominally still exists, but it is the same as it had died« 「如果一個人沒有精神，雖然活著，也如同死了一樣；國家失去了他的靈魂—精神，名義上雖然存在，實際上也是同亡了一樣」。Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石, »Zhongguo de liguo jingshen« 中國的立國精神 [China's Founding Spirit], in Zhang Qiyun 張其昀 (ed.), *Jiang zongtong ji* 蔣總統集, vol. 1, 588 (Taipei : Guofang yanjiu yuan 國防研究院, 1961), quoted from Gu Xiaoshui 谷小水, »Kangzhan shiqi de guomin jingshen zongdongyuan yundong«, 46.

82 Fan Shoukang, »Kangzhan shiqi de shizi tiaozheng wenti«.

increase their scientific knowledge for the advancement of practical goals in industry and technology and to raise their national awareness, since both were essential for the anti-Japanese war.⁸³ The rationale of the article shows that the natural recipients of education, the »youth«, were joined by the »people« and the »army«, confirming the urge to mobilize and unite all layers of society in a time of danger.

The other two writers treated the »youth« differently. In his articles from the late 1930s and early 1940s, Zeng usually targeted young people, who were supposed to become the vanguard of the Sino-Japanese war,⁸⁴ remain loyal to the Party state and society, and serve both unreservedly.⁸⁵ Zeng Jinke here iterates variations on a theme by Sun Yat-tsen, »The aim of (one's) life is to serve« (*rensheng yi fuwu wei mudi* 人生以服務為目的), which—in Zeng's interpretation—refers narrowly to loyal military service. Together with »young people« as the subject, more active verbs in the affirmative appear (as opposed to verbs of cognition such as »to understand«, »know«, etc.), but these are still accompanied by modal verbs. These verb constructions thus provide an idealistic rather than a realistic image of »young people«.

Li Jigu, writing in a remote region of Lusu Wanyu, brings a new perspective. He shows that even in peripheral areas, edification (mission), party interest (motivation), and military personnel (actors, who embodied the state in this case), intermingle. The »youth«, whether former students who lost their affiliation because of the war, young teachers, or secondary school students, are the recipients of cultural education, or, in other words, political guidance. The verbs linked to this educational-propagandist endeavor remind us of the semantic field of »evolution« from the previous period.⁸⁶ Simultaneously, they establish a

83 Ibid., 10–12.

84 The same tendency is also obvious in Fan Shoukang's writings from this period.

85 For example, »to serve the party state and to serve the society« (*wei dangguo, wei shehui fuwu* 為黨國，為社會服務). Zeng Jinke, »Fuwu yu xuanchuan de guanxi« 服務與宣傳的關係. *Zhejiang qingnian* 浙江青年 (Jinhua 金華) 2,2 (1940): 12–12.

86 For example, »to carry forward« (*fayang* 發揚), »to pursue« (*tuixing* 推行), »to improve« (*gailiang* 改良), »to improve« (*gaijin* 改進), »promote« (*tichang* 提倡). Li Jigu, »Bianqu wenjiao gongzuo yi nian« 邊區文教工作一年 [One Year of Educational Work in a Peripheral Region], *Chongjian yuankan* 重建月刊 1,2 (1944), 29–30.

conceptual framework against which a reader can invoke meaning and, as a result, create a sense of continuity. The educational program claimed to follow the *New Life Movement*, a politicized policy of Chiang Kai-shek launched in 1934. With this claim, Li was positioning himself somewhere near Chiang Kai-shek on the constructed »ideological map«.

The articles of Zeng Jinke and Fan Shoukang foregrounded two identifiable actors—Japan and China—which are described in a binary opposition. In 1937, China was associated more with verbs of mental processes like »believe«, »know«, and »understand« and with negative forms of action verbs, creating the image of a weak country.⁸⁷ Japan, on the other hand, is associated with active verbs in the affirmative, creating a dynamic image. This dynamic **portrayal of Japan** stopped appearing in articles published in 1938. In Fan Shoukang's articles from this period, China was often linked with more active verbs than before.⁸⁸ Designations for the Japanese also change from neutral to negative terms. While Fan referred to the Japanese as »Japanese« (*Riren* 日人) in 1938, this is no longer the case in later articles. In addition to the neutral Japan/Japanese, he also frequently used »Japanese bandits« (*Riben qiangdao* 日本強盜) in the 1939 article,⁸⁹ and in a highly propagandistic article from 1941 he referred to Japan and the Japanese solely as the »enemy state« (*diguo* 敵國), »enemies« (*diren* 敵人), »enemy army« (*dijun* 敵軍), and »enemy government« (*di zhengfu* 敵政府). It is interesting to note that there is

87 For example, »there is no modernization« (*fei xiandaibua* 非現代化), »it is not possible to complete« (*bu neng wancheng* 不能完成), »have not completed« (*wei wancheng* 未完成), or »cannot see clearly« (*kan bu qing* 看不清).

88 Fan Shoukang, »Shiping: Zhongguo shengli zai muqian«, 89–91; idem, »Cong Zhongguo chijiu kangzhan shuoming dao Ou-Mei ge minzhuguo dui yuandong wenti yingqu de fangzhen« 從中國持久抗戰說明到歐美各民主國對遠東問題應取的方針 [An Explanation of Policies of American and European Democratic Countries towards the Far East from the Perspective of the Chinese War of Resistance], *Zhongguo qingnian* 中國青年 (重慶), 1 (1939), 43–44; idem, »Kangzhan si nian lai zhi diguo fanzhan yundong« 抗戰四年來之敵國反戰運動 [The Japanese Anti-war Movement During the Four Years of the War of Resistance], *Riben pinglun* 日本評論 14,5 (1941): 5–10.

89 Fan Shoukang, »Cong Zhongguo chijiu kangzhan shuoming dao Ou-Mei ge minzhuguo dui yuandong wenti yingqu de fangzhen«, 43–44.

an increasing tendency to refer to them with collective terms, which repress notions of individuals as actors—a typical characteristic of highly ideological texts. This shift is accompanied by a change in the use of verbs governed by each of these actors. China is associated with active verbs in the affirmative,⁹⁰ while Japan is now more frequently associated with negated verbs.⁹¹

As a contrast to Zeng Jinke and Fan Shoukang, Li Jigu did not adopt propagandist language and continued to refer to Japan as *Riben* (日本) during the war. General conclusions cannot necessarily be drawn from these three cases, but it is symptomatic that the authors working for propaganda departments adopt sharper rhetoric than the writer who was not so tightly bound to state structures.

The selection of active verbs and their association with a particular actor in the later period is also symptomatic: while China is »fighting for its rights« and »defending itself«—justified actions in accordance with laws, customs, and morality—Japan is acting aggressively,⁹² in contravention of international rules and treaties. This pattern recalls the theme of »victimhood« which was mentioned earlier in this chapter as a tool to emotionally engage readers at home and abroad.

And indeed, »**justice**« (*zhengyi* 正義) and »**peace**« (*heping* 和平) become important topics after 1938, because these ideals could legitimize the Chinese war effort within the framework of international justice and world peace, as well as the government's demands that the international community support their cause.⁹³ Accordingly, in 1939 and 1941 another actor enters the narrative, i.e., »all countries in the world loving justice and peace« (*shijie shang aibao zhengyi heping de ge guo* 世界

90 For example, »to fight for« (*zhengqu* 爭取), »to protect« (*weibu* 維護), »to resist« (*dikang* 抵抗), »to build the country« (*jianguo* 建國), etc.

91 For example, »to be unable to help themselves« (*wufa ziba* 無法自拔), »do not make progress« (*mei you jinzhan* 沒有進展), etc.

92 For example, »to conquer« (*zhengfu* 征服), »to invade« (*qinzhàn* 侵佔), »to dominate East Asia« (*duba Dongya* 獨霸東亞), »to trick China« (*youpian Zhongguo* 誘騙中國), etc.

93 Fan Shoukang, »Shiping: Zhongguo shengli zai muqian« 時評選輯：中國勝利在目前 [Time Review: Chinese Victory Is in Front of Us], *Min zheng yu gongyu feichang shiqi bekan* 閩政與公餘非常時期合刊, 35-37 (1938): 89-91; idem, »Cong Zhongguo chijiu kangzhan «, 43-44; idem, »Kangzhan si nian lai zhi diguo fanzhan yundong«, 5-10.

上愛好正義和平的各國), or, in other words, the international community which China was beseeching for help.

As mentioned in the introduction to this part, the ongoing war effort demanded **positive news** about military developments. The selection and adjustment of information suggest a clear propagandistic intention. Particularly Fan Shoukang's articles »Shiping: Zhongguo shengli zai muqian« (1938), »Muxia zhishi qingnian de shiming« (1938), »Cong Zhongguo chijiu kangzhan shuoming dao Ou-Mei ge minzhuguo dui yuandong wenti yingqu de fangzhen« (1939), and »Kangzhan si nian lai zhi diguo fanzhan yundong« (1941) convey information about the **deteriorating situation in Japan** and spread a positive image of Chinese efforts. In order to produce the appearance of objectivity so crucial for trustworthy news reports, the author included a welter of detailed information, such as precise locations, numbers, and proper names.

This overview of the three authors' main themes and vocabulary indicates that Fan Shoukang and Zeng Jinke especially, both of whom were established figures on the cultural scene, used their influence to convey narratives and ideas supportive of the war effort. In the case of all three intellectuals we can also see how their position in the field of power actually reflected their adherence to official propaganda: the more central their position (Zeng and Fan), the closer their discourses were to official propaganda. In wartime the intellectuals worked for the state and within the state apparatus

3.3 *Early post war Taiwan*

3.3.1 *Closer to the field of power*

While Fan Shoukang and Zeng Jinke's professional ideological trajectories were rather similar during the war, they diverged in its aftermath. By contrast, Fan Shoukang's and Li Jigu's positions in the early-post war field of power became closer (both were hired as officials responsible for implementation of the new education in Taiwan), and naturally their discourses came to resemble one another as well. They can be viewed as »establishment intellectuals«. Zeng Jinke, while still indirectly in contact with the field of power, largely returned to literary themes and distanced himself from the main political discourse on cultural policy in Taiwan.

The regime's cultural policy in Taiwan, or »**cultural reconstruction**« (*wenhua chongjian* 文化重建) as it was called, aimed to implement the *sinization* process (*Zhongguo hua* 中國化 or *zuguohua* 祖國化) propagated by the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office in the official newspaper *Taiwan Xinsheng bao* 台灣新生報.⁹⁴ The sinization process was especially striking in the implementation of the new education in Taiwan, in which a new curriculum for secondary schools and universities played an important role. In comparison to Fan's ideologically motivated articles, Li Jigu's more practical contributions shed light on selected topics and the planned impact of »cultural reconstruction« on Taiwanese students.

In this section, I will use some lesser-known articles of Fan Shoukang written to inform mainland Chinese audiences about the cultural program in Taiwan.⁹⁵ How did Fan Shoukang, as a spokesman for the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office, formulate the process of sinization, and which topics received

94 The *sinization* process has been extensively discussed in the secondary scholarship. Chen Cuilian and Huang Yingzhe introduced the topic for Chinese-speaking as well as English-speaking readerships, so I will not repeat the whole argument. Chen Cuilian 陳翠蓮, »Qu zhimin yu zai zhimin de duikang: yi 1946 nian "Taiwan nuhua" lunzhan wei jiaodian«, 去殖民與再殖民的對抗: 以一九四六年「臺灣奴化」論戰為焦點 [Confrontation with the De-colonization and Repeated Colonization: with the focus on the discourse about "Taiwan's enslavement" of 1946]. *Taiwan shi yanjiu* 臺灣史研究 9,2 (2002), 145–20; Huang Yingzhe, »Zhan hou chuqi Taiwan de wenhua chongbian (1945–1947): Taiwanren "nuhua" le ma? « 戰後初期臺灣的文化重編 (1945–1947): 臺灣人「奴化」了嗎 [The Cultural Reconstruction in the Early Post-war Period (1945–1947): Were Taiwanese "Enslaved"?], in *Hewei Taiwan?: Jindai Taiwan meisbu yu wenhua rentong lunwen ji* 何謂台灣?: 近代臺灣美術與文化認同論文集, ed. by Xingzheng yuan Wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui 行政院文化建設委員會 (Taipei: Xingzheng yuan Wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui 行政院文化建設委員會, 1997), 330–342; Huang Ying-che, »Were Taiwanese Being "Enslaved"? The Entanglement of Sinization, Japanization, and Westernization«, in *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945: History, Culture, Memory*, edited by Liao Ping-hui and David Der-Wei Wang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 312–326.

95 Fan Shoukang, »Ban nian lai Taiwan guomin jiaoyu de sheshi« 半年來台灣教育的設施 [Promotion of Education in the Half Year Since Arriving in Taiwan], *Jiaoyu tongxun* 教育通訊 (Hankou), 2 (1946): 5–6; idem, »Taiwan sheng jiaoyu shizheng gaikuang «, 3; idem, »Fuxing Taiwan de jingshen«, 3–4.

preferential treatment or greater emphasis? Fan's speech addressed to the graduates of the instruction course for cadres explains what the sinization *process* was: it aimed at destroying the Japanese cultural heritage and replacing it with Chinese culture.⁹⁶

What was the Japanese cultural heritage which was considered so dangerous? It was the ideological influence of the »Kōminka process« (皇民化), an effort to transform the Taiwanese into proper subjects of the Japanese emperor. Fan Shoukang was especially worried about the Kōminka's influence on Taiwanese »**thinking**« (*sixiang* 思想), because it was designed to »eliminate the inherent Chinese way of thinking« (*xiaomie guyou de zuguo sixiang* 消滅固有的祖國思想) and implanted a »distorted awareness« (歪曲的意識) which suppressed Taiwanese identification with Chinese culture. What, in Fan's view, should replace the Japanese cultural elements? Fan propagates »our own (way of) thinking« (*ziji de sixiang* 自己的思想) or »correct thinking (based on the) Three Principles of People« (*Sanmin zhuyi de yibengque sixiang* 三民主義的正確思想). At this point, his alignment with official KMT ideology becomes apparent. He stresses the importance of propagating the Chinese language (*guoyu* 國語, *guowen* 國文), but does not elaborate further.

One of the ultimate goals is to raise Taiwan to the level of a model Chinese province—the plan dreamt up by Chen Yi. Fan Shoukang recognized that the Japanese influence sometimes benefited Taiwan, promoting, for instance, a high standard of scientific research. He believed this could be utilized to effect an even more rapid **modernization**—the very topic he had treated as a matter of the greatest urgency before and during the war.

The issue remains rather vague but is further developed in another article, likewise a speech, addressed to teachers on Sun Yat-sen's birthday.⁹⁷ One of the leitmotifs is the **unity** between Taiwan and China, which is emphasized by the use of **family metaphors**.⁹⁸ In Fan Shoukang's narrative, this unity is nourished

96 Fan Shoukang, »Taiwan sheng jiaoyu shizheng gaikuang«, 260.

97 Fan Shoukang, »Fuxing Taiwan de jingshen«, 116–117.

98 Terms and expressions referring to family: »Fatherland« (*zuguo* 祖國), »Taiwan compatriots / siblings« (*Tai bao* 台胞), »ancestors« (*zuxian* 祖先), »Taiwanese and the Mainlanders together form

by similar ways of thinking (**ideological and emotional proximity**, which Fan calls »spirit« 精神). He chooses the historical figure of Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功, 1624–1662), to whom he ascribes national awareness, or the »Taiwanese spirit«. He also identifies the same attitude as the »spirit of Confucianism«, picking out the terms *Ren* 仁 (humaneness, benevolence) and *Yi* 義 (propriety, righteousness), which embody this spirit. Then he recognizes the same quality in the Three Principles of the People, which he links back to Zheng Chenggong. Fan Shoukang thus constructs an imaginary spiritual bond between Taiwan and China based on **nationalism, Confucianism, and the Three Principles of the People**, which he claims to be essentially the same.

Li Jigu's position is not so clear, as he oscillated between KMT ideology and cultural conservatism. He supported the removal of the Japanese influence on Taiwan and Chinese nationalism, and proposed replacing the Japanese cultural heritage with classes on national language, history, and geography. He considered the last two particularly essential for the development of morality in Taiwan, which he linked to Sun Yat-sen's concept of Confucian morality.⁹⁹

But the geopolitical situation changed after the war and Japan stopped being the »enemy«. The world entered the cold-war period and the originally small battlefield of the civil war, on which the KMT fought the Chinese Communist Party, suddenly expanded. Li Jigu, in his political glosses, implies that the anti-communist war is not a local problem but a global one, making the Republic of China an important partner of the United States.¹⁰⁰ A new actor, the »Soviet

one family« (*benshengren yu neidiren tong shi yi jia ren* 本省人與內地人同是一家人), »we are all brothers« (*dajia dou shi tongbao xiongdi* 大家都是同胞兄弟); Terms and expressions referring to unity: »Taiwan is a province of China« (*Taiwan shi Zhongguo de yi sheng* 台灣是中國的一省), »Taiwan compatriots are also nationals of China« (*Taiwan tongbao ye shi Zhongguo de guomin* 台灣同胞也就是中國的國民), or »common unified standpoint« (*gongtong yizhi de lichang* 共同一致的立場), etc.

99 Li Jigu, »Taiwan de lishi jiaoyu« 臺灣的歷史教育 [Teaching History on Taiwan], *Xiandai zhoukan* 現代週刊, 2, 7–8 (1946), 115–116; idem, »Wo xiwang Taiwan« 我希望臺灣 [I Hope Taiwan], *Zhengqi yuekan*, 4 (1947), 4.

100 Li Jigu, »Dangqian guoji xingshi yu Zhongguo« 當前國際形勢與中國 [The Current International Trends and China], *Taiwan xunlian* 臺灣訓練, 4 (1947), 6–7.

Union«, entered the discourse and was linked with active affirmative verbs,¹⁰¹ while »the United States« was linked with those of mental processes.¹⁰² This choice of vocabulary gives the impression that there is a threat from the Soviet Union which demands a response. Other countries are portrayed using less prominent and rather passive vocabulary.¹⁰³

There was also a stylistic shift in these texts. Unlike in previous periods, three main actors are exerting agency: the Taiwanese, the Japanese, and the Chinese. Each of these actors governs a group of active verbs connoting different semantic fields. The Chinese are usually linked with active verbs of »building« and »development«,¹⁰⁴ »fighting«, »spreading«,¹⁰⁵ »taking responsibility«,¹⁰⁶ and mental processes (especially »understanding«¹⁰⁷). The Chinese are also portrayed as decisive actors in their dealings with the Japanese.¹⁰⁸ The Japanese are »causing'¹⁰⁹ damage to the Taiwanese population«. Symptomatically, the Taiwanese are usually

101 The Soviet Union »supports« (*zhichi* 支持), »develops« (*fazhan* 發展), »agitates« (*jidong* 激動), »makes trouble« (*daoluan* 搗亂), »achieves« (*shixian* 實現), »opposes« (*fandui* 反對).

102 The United States »supports« (*zhichi* 支持), »sees« (*jian* 見), »hopes« (*xiwang* 希望), »opposes« (*fandui* 反對), »thinks« (*renwei* 認為), »decides« (*juding* 決定), »does not agree« (*bu daying* 不答應).

103 The Czech Republic »expresses« (*biaoshibi* 表示); France »keeps...culture« (保持...文化); England »is« (*shi* 是); Greece »is a problem« (*wei ... wenti* 為...問題).

104 For example, »to build« (*jianshe* 建設), »to develop« (*fayang* 發揚), »to develop« (*fazhan* 發展), »to improve« (*gaijin* 改進), »to revive« (*fuxing* 復興). Gregor calls this ideology »Reactive Developmental Nationalism«. Gregor, *A Place in the Sun*, 52-58.

105 For example, »to implement« (*shishe* 實施), »to put into practice« (*shixing* 施行), »to propagate« (*tuixing* 推行), »to spread« (*puji* 普及).

106 For example, »to carry responsibility« (*fuqi ... zeren* 負起...責任), or »to take charge of« (*danren* 擔任).

107 For example, »to understand« (*mingliao* 明瞭), or »to understand« (*mingbai* 明白).

108 For example, »to fight till the end« (*dikang daodi* 抵抗到底), »thoroughly overthrow« (*chedi tuifan* 徹底推翻), »to pull out, to eliminate« (*bachu* 拔除), »to abolish without exception« (*yilü feichu* 一律廢除), »to correct« (*jiuzheng* 糾正), »to purge« (*xiaoqing* 肅清).

109 Usually construction with *shi* 使.

objects of actions carried out by other actors,¹¹⁰ or they are associated with copulas such as (*shi* 是) and (*wei* 為).¹¹¹

3.3.2 *Back to the periphery of the imagined ideological map: Conservatism*

Unlike Fan Shoukang and Li Jigu, Zeng Jinke did not assume any position within governmental or state structures, but being an editor in various periodicals gave him an important position on the cultural scene. Having departed from the field of power, he probably did not feel obliged to propagate the official discourse and rather pursued his own topics and themes. After an intermezzo in the form of wartime propaganda activities, he re-assumed his previous ideological stance, i.e., cultural conservatism. He was a prolific poet, but he did not write many opinion pieces in this stage of his career. The few he did write clearly demonstrate his worldview.

In the article dedicated to the »social value of art«¹¹² Zeng does not define what he means by »social value«, which is typical for this kind of writing. Instead, he just provides a list of pre-modern Chinese literary writings.¹¹³ This practice of referring to pre-modern examples as models for the present was not new in literary history. However, the intentional omission of Zeng's contemporaries from the May Fourth Movement generation, with whom he had had run-ins in past, is striking.

Another example of Zeng's adherence to traditional culture is the article »Mengzi de zhengzhi sixiang«.¹¹⁴ Zeng quotes Mengzi to disprove the claim of the

110 For example, »were deceived« (*shou ...qipian* 受...欺騙), »were influenced« (*shou ... yingxiang* 受...影響).

111 For example, »Taiwan is a province of China« (*Taiwan shi Zhongguo de yi sheng* 台灣是中國的一省), »Taiwan compatriots are also nationals of China« (*Taiwan tongbao ye jiu shi Zhongguo de guomin* 台灣同胞也就是中國的國民), »to become outstanding nationals of Republic of China« (*wei Zhonghua minguo de youxiu de guomin* 為中華民國的優秀國民) etc.

112 Zeng Jinke, »Wenyi zuopin de shehui jiazhi« 文藝作品的社會價值 [Social Value of Artistic Products], *Jianguo yuekan* 建國月刊 2,6, 12-13.

113 Probably the most famous example is Hu Shi, who propagated vernacular literature by introducing a canon of premodern literature written in this idiom.

114 Zeng Jinke, »Mengzi de zhengzhi sixiang« 孟子的政治思想 [Political Thought of Mengzi], *Zhengqi yuekan* 正氣月刊 1,2 (1946), 7-8.

Japanese historian Sano Kesami 佐野袈裟美 that »Mengzi's aim is to maintain the class system«.115 At the same time, he argues that Mengzi's teaching conforms to Sun Yat-sen's doctrine of the »People's Livelihood« (民生主義).116 At this point, the concrete argumentation of the piece is less relevant than its style, which relies overwhelmingly on quotations from a classical Confucian text to justify its standpoint. Moreover, Zeng claims that Confucius and Mencius are thinkers respected across the world117—a vision already articulated by Liang Shuming.

To conclude my observations about Zeng Jinke's ideological trajectory, it is important to note that his post-war period in Taiwan is rooted in both the pre-war and wartime eras. The post-war articles dedicated to culture and literature are a direct follow-up to his inclination, starting in 1937, to view tradition as a stabilizing element in Chinese culture that needed to be cherished and developed. Articles which were produced in response to political exigencies, such as speeches to political cadres about new soldiers,118 clearly continued Zeng's wartime style, but his position in his opinion pieces and literary work (which is not the object of this presentation's analysis), differs from that of the other two writers studied in this paper. Unlike Fan Shoukan and Li Jigu, Zeng was no advocate of cultural policies in Taiwan (on the contrary, he thought that education was widespread and the Chinese-language abilities of the local population were improving).119

As mentioned above, Li Jigu's post-war standpoints can be situated between the official KMT ideology and cultural conservatism. Like Fan Shoukan, Li

115 Ibid., 7.

116 Ibid., 8.

117 Ibid., 7.

118 Zeng Jinke, »Kanluan yu jian jun« 戡亂與建軍 [Supressing the Chaos and Building the Army], *Jianguo yuekan* 建國月刊 1,3 (1947), 29.

119 Zeng Jinke, »Wenyi zuopin de shehui jiazhi«, 13. Huang Mei-e comes to the same conclusion. She points out that Zeng Jinke's appreciation of Taiwanese poets and praise for their determination to face pressure from the Japanese colonial government is evidence of their patriotism. Zeng is thus directly opposed to Chen Yi's camp which, because of the Taiwanese people's ostensible lack of Chinese spirit, demanded the sinization of Taiwan. Huang Mei-e, »Zhanhou chuqi de Taiwan gudian shitan«, 293.

believed that a strong and modern country can develop by educating its people. Unlike Fan, he did not stress the importance of »science«, but rather that of learning from past events and morality, which brings him more toward the position of the cultural conservatives. In addition to his opinion articles, Li Jigu's literary production included essays and traditional poetry, which he published in the journal edited by Zeng Jinke. His non-fiction pieces sometimes bore elements of traditional style. For example, he used a pre-Qin historical event to question the legitimacy of power, while at the same time it seems that he criticized the current political situation.¹²⁰ The choice of the historical event and the mode of presentation are symptomatic. They show that when we evaluate an actor's ideological standpoint, we not only have to consider content, thought, and mode of expression, but also have to contextualize their chosen style and medium.

This discourse analysis of early-post war texts again confirms that a position in the field of power influences the themes of articles and how they are presented: the closer an actor was to the center; the more he inclined toward official propaganda. Fan Shoukang, a head of department at the provincial government, was its propagator; Li Jigu, the rector of a university, implicitly replicated official ideology; Zeng Jinke, being outside, did not reflect on official cultural policies and followed his own agenda, but otherwise remained very close to the viewpoints of KMT propaganda. These three intellectuals, even after the war, still stayed within the orbit of the »state« and continued to be »establishment intellectuals«.

4 Conclusion

The case studies of Fan Shoukang and Zeng Jinke in particular suggest a major ideological shift around the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war and the establishment of the United Front in 1937. This influenced the topics Fan and Zeng selected, and also their respective attitudes toward their previous standpoints. Fan Shoukang's work betrays a gradual shift, but Zeng Jinke's case is one of abrupt change, as he denounced his previous performance on the literary scene. The shift is also evident in the authors' gradual approximation of the sloganeering propagandistic style.

120 Li Jigu, »Du shi suibi« 讀史隨筆 [Reading History Essays], *Jianguo yuekan* 建國月刊 1 (1947), 27.

Writings of the time bespeak an increasing sense of urgency to involve first intellectuals, but later also the masses, in the war effort. This urgency manifested itself both in the content of articles and, linguistically, in the semantic fields that rose to prominence (e.g., in vocabulary emphasizing unity), as well as the stress on agency. In all three cases, the needs of the state and the nation were put above those of individuals. For all three writers, in articles published before the end of the war the people or the masses are represented as the main actors—as subjects governing verbs of action. This is a point of agreement between intellectuals from both the KMT and left-leaning ideological camps.

Another important observation is that public intellectuals became part of the propaganda state in the heat of war.¹²¹ As Timothy Cheek points out, »by the 1940s the print communism of the propaganda state came to replace the print capitalism of earlier years as the defining institution of China's public sphere«. ¹²² Intellectuals used their accumulated symbolic capital to serve society, but in this case they vacated their respective positions outside of the state system to enter state institutions. In their service to the country, many public intellectuals became propagandists, as was the case for Fan Shoukang and Zeng Jinke, who were positioned rather high up in the bureaucratic hierarchy, and Li Jigu, who remained a low-level cultural worker. They joined the group of *establishment intellectuals* and propaganda became the tool of their trade, in sharp opposition to the definition of *intellectuals* by Said.

It is interesting to note that, as the case of Zeng Jinke shows, a writer's identity could change over time. Zeng went from being an intellectual outside the state to one associated with the state and political power during the war, and he later returned to a traditional literary style which, however, through the other position holders was situated very close to the field of power.

The explanation for Zeng Jinke's adoption of this standpoint lies outside the analyzed texts, but his literary production and the practice which dominated his public activities in this time shed some light on the matter. Zeng Jinke was a leading figure of a group of poets of traditional genres who shared the same literary

¹²¹ Timothy Cheek, *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History*, 125–126.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 126.

practices, or habitus.¹²³ He was a central figure at social gatherings of important people who composed and dedicated poetry to each other as if they were re-creating traditional literary practice. From this perspective, his cultural conservatism was not only an intellectual turn, but also a way of life. Turning towards the old and cherishing the traditional was nothing new in modern China or Taiwan. The motivation for such literary activities and for cultivating poetry in the classical style varied in different periods.¹²⁴ Poets in early post-war Taiwan probably did not experience the same feeling of loss and cultural nostalgia as literati in the early Republican period,¹²⁵ but participating in literary gatherings probably nurtured in them a feeling of being *wenren* 文人, an exquisite group within the Taiwanese cultural landscape—a phenomenon which deserves further study.

The example of Zeng Jinke, in particular, shows why discourse analysis should be embedded in a broader social and historical context. Only the understanding of the milieu in which intellectuals dwelled helps us to anchor their worldview in connection to other individuals with similar views and life trajectories. Studying both their ideological stances and shared experiences (prosopographical study) would give us a more dynamic understanding of the worldviews of a given group in a given period, or, in other words, a new way to approach the sociology of knowledge.

123 In the third part of her article (291–296), Huang Mei-e introduces Zeng Jinke as a mediator between two groups of poets: the local Taiwanese who were already pursuing their literary practices under Japanese colonial rule, and the Mainlanders. Huang Mei-e, »Zhanhou chuqi de Taiwan gudian shitan (1945–1949)«, 283–302.

124 As Wu Shengqing remarks, the motivations of different agents in the literary field varied under Japanese rule. While Japanese literati considered classical-style poetry part of Japanese culture and were hoping it would help foster a cultural identification with Japan, Taiwanese literati used poetry to consolidate their connection with Han Chinese culture. The motivations of different agents in the early post-war period will be studied later as part of my research project. Wu Shengqing »Contested *Fengya*: Classical-Style Poetry Clubs in Early Republican China«, In *Literary Societies of Republican China*, ed. by Kirk A. Denton and Michel Hockx (Lanham–Boulder–New York–Toronto–Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2008), 39.

125 Compare Wu Shengqing, »Contested *Fengya*«, 15–46.

In the future, I hope computer-aided methods will help us sift through the enormous amounts of pre- and post-war writings to map the landscape with a broader scope than any individual researcher can manage through autoptic analysis alone. Actualizations of such concepts as the »Three Principles of People«, »traditional literature/culture«, »May Fourth Movement«, »nation«, »education«, and »new culture«, as well as metaphors of »building« or »family«, seem to have constituted the linguistic battlefield on which ideological fights played out. Together with prosopographical studies based on the Taiwan Biographical Ontology (TBIO),¹²⁶ such an approach will hopefully provide us with new methods to approach the role of intellectuals in pre- and post-war Republic of China and Taiwan.

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¹²⁶ Information about the database is available at <<http://tbio.orient.cas.cz>> (last retrieval June 14, 2019).

Ideologically Conformist Characters, but Also the Beginnings of Individualism: Gao Xingjian's Early Novellas *Stars on a Cold Night* and *A Pigeon Called Red Beak**

Martin Blahota

Abstract This paper analyzes Gao Xingjian's early novellas *Stars on a Cold Night* and *A Pigeon Called Red Beak* and compares them with his most famous novels, *Soul Mountain* and *One Man's Bible*. Whereas most scholars do not even mention the existence of these two early works, this paper suggests that they are important because they help reveal how Gao Xingjian abandoned Chinese Communist Party ideology on his quest for free expression.

Keywords China, literature, 20th c., ideology · Gao Xingjian 高行健 (b. 1940), *Stars on a Cold Night* (*Han ye de xingchen* 寒夜的星辰, 1979), *A Pigeon Called Red Beak* (*You zhi gezi jiao Hongchun'er* 有只鸽子叫红唇儿, 1981)

In the recently published *A New Literary History of Modern China*, Liu Jianmei presents Gao Xingjian 高行健 (b. 1940) as someone who »introduced Western modernism to China and helped Chinese writers to transcend realism«.¹ Since Gao

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1 Liu Jianmei, »Gao Xingjian's Pursuit of Freedom in the Spirit of Zhuangzi«, in *A New Literary History of Modern China*, ed. by David Der-wei Wang (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017), 792.

Xingjian was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2000, literary scholars have created an image of him as the artist who imported modernist literature and drama to China and as an advocate of »a set of universal values for mankind«. ² His individualism is usually emphasized as well: »Freedom is perhaps the most important keyword for understanding Gao and his oeuvre«. ³ Indeed, the struggle for individual freedom is a leitmotif in most of Gao Xingjian's works that are typically analyzed. ⁴ Liu Jianmei, as well as most other scholars, focuses her attention on Gao's »A Preliminary Exploration of the Techniques of Modern Fiction« (*Xiandai xiaoshuo jiqiao chutan* 现代小说技巧初探) from 1981 and on his dramas and novels from the 1980s and onward. ⁵ As most scholars do not mention, let alone analyze, Gao Xingjian's earliest fiction, they have created an image of him as an author who has never been bound by the conventions and imperatives of Communist Chinese society and as someone who could thus more easily put his hand to modernizing Chinese literature. This image of Gao Xingjian, however, is a distorted one. The prevailing scholarship on Gao is overly simplistic because it overlooks the social context of the formative period of modernizing Chinese literature after the Cultural Revolution ended.

2 Liu Jianmei, »Gao Xingjian's Pursuit of Freedom«, 792.

3 Ibid., 796.

4 Gao Xingjian himself often emphasizes that literature should be the voice of the individual: »Once literature is contrived as the hymn of the nation, the flag of the race, the mouthpiece of a political party or the voice of a class or a group [...] such literature loses what is inherent in literature, ceases to be literature, and becomes a substitute for power and profit.« Gao Xingjian, »Nobel Lecture 2000: The Case for Literature«, *PMLA* 116, 3 (2001), 594.

5 By other scholars I mean Mabel Lee, Kwok Kan-tam, and others who have contributed to excellent edited volumes on Gao, such as »Soul of Chaos: Critical Perspectives on Gao Xingjian«, ed. by Kwok-kan Tam (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2001) and »Polyphony Embodied—Freedom and Fate in Gao Xingjian's Writings«, ed. by Nikola Chardonens and Michael Lackner (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

In this paper I analyze Gao Xingjian's early novellas⁶ *Stars on a Cold Night* (*Han ye de xingchen* 寒夜的星辰) and *A Pigeon Called Red Beak* (*You zhi gezi jiao Hong chun'er* 有只鸽子叫红唇儿), published in 1979 and 1981, respectively. By closely examining Gao's two earliest works of fiction, I have concluded that at the beginning of his literary career he was a writer of socialist realism.⁷ His pursuit of modernism began in works in which the struggle for individual freedom is mixed with the struggle to build a modernized socialist society. In my study I reveal the socialist realist elements of his early works and identify what aspects of them indicate the beginnings of individualism in his work.

Both Gao Xingjian's early novellas thematize an individual's efforts to cope with the tragic events of the Cultural Revolution. They were written in a period of relaxation of the Chinese socialist literary system that occurred after Mao Zedong's 毛泽东 (1893–1976) death on 9 September 1976, which also marked the end of the Cultural Revolution. In 1978, politicians called upon intellectuals to »liberate their thought«. Nevertheless, the boundaries of the permissible were left unclear.⁸ After the ten-year-long Cultural Revolution, most Chinese writers worried about the implications of publishing politically nonconformist literature. Correspondingly, Su Chen 苏晨 (b. 1930), the editor-in-chief of the Guangzhou literary journal *Huacheng*, recalls how he cautiously published *Stars* in two smaller print runs so as not to attract too much attention.⁹

In the late 1970s, the occasional intimidation of writers led to the broad application of self-censorship. Even after July 1980, when the slogan »Literature in Service of Politics« was finally replaced with »Literature in Service of the People

6 I use the term »novella« as the equivalent of *zhongpian xiaoshuo* 中篇小说. Each story is about 150 pages in length.

7 By socialist realism I mean Soviet-style socialist realism imported to China after 1949 and later rejected in favor of the new doctrine of »combining socialist realism with socialist romanticism« (*liang jiejie* 兩結合), which dominated Chinese literature from the 1960s until 1976. After the Cultural Revolution ended, the revival of socialist realism was perceived positively as a departure from the dogmatism of Cultural Revolution-era literature.

8 Perry E. Link, *The Uses of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 14–18.

9 Su Chen 苏晨, »Gao Xingjian cong Huacheng qibu« 高行健从花城起步 [Gao Xingjian's Beginnings in *Huacheng*], *Yuehai feng* 粤海风 6 (2008), 53.

and of Socialism«, the Chinese Communist Party held tight control over literature; it was clear that anything running counter to Communist Party ideology was out of bounds.¹⁰ In this period, in addition to *Stars and Pigeon*, Gao Xingjian also published essays on literature, collected in 1981's *A Preliminary Exploration of the Techniques of Modern Fiction* (*Xiandai xiaosbuo jiqiao chutan* 现代小说技巧初探), which sparked a well-known debate about literature and modernism in the »West« and in China. This debate was followed by numerous campaigns against writers and other artists. These activities culminated in the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign of 1983, when literary critic Min Ze 敏泽 (1927–2004), among others, attacked Chinese authors for their admiration of »decadent« Western modernism:

Some comrades call loudly that they want to make a toast to »Chinese modernism«. Some comrades then propose that the so-called realization of modernization must follow the path of »modernism«. Some people agitate in an all-round way for »modernist« techniques and see them as the most brilliant »experience«. Some, like comrade Xu Jingya [徐敬亚 (b. 1949)] in his ten-thousand-word long »A Body of Rising Poetry« [*Jueqi de shiqun* 崛起的诗群], in an all-round way (from thought content to artistic form) propose a »modernist« program, etc. [...]. But most of their [Western modernists] works are not only harmful and obscene, but, what is more important, all of them are products of the deformed development of modern bourgeois society. Regarding the thought system, they are all connected to the modern Western philosophy of irrationalism and intuitionism, closely connected to the extreme egoism of modern Western society and to its decadent social thought. Furthermore, they [Western modernists] find themselves in gradually degenerating circumstances.¹¹

Besides the »misty poets« represented by Xu Jingya in Min Ze's essay, Gao Xingjian was without a doubt one of the targets of this attack. Although he truly admired Western modernism and is correctly regarded as someone who introduced Western modernism to China, in this paper I argue that his early novellas cannot be considered modernist in the generally understood sense. The

10 Link, *The Uses of Literature*, 19, 27.

11 Min Ze 敏泽, »Duidai xifang xiandaipai wenti de yuanze fenqi« 对待西方现代派问题的原则分歧 [Fundamental Differences among Various Stances on the Issue of Western Modernism], *Wenyi yanjiu* 文艺研究 1 (1984), 41.

main characteristic of modernist European literature is »the burgeoning of consciousness beyond the world of common indication, and thus the undermining of the realistic convention« and also »a weakening of the nexus between the private and the social spheres«. ¹² Modernism is understood as a radical change, »not so much a revolution, which implies a turning over, even a turning back, but rather a break-up, a devolution, some would say a dissolution. Its character is catastrophic«. ¹³ In late 1970s and early 1980s China, however, »breaking the realistic convention up« would have been hard to imagine.

Even though most scholars tend to analyze only Gao Xingjian's dramas or later novels and overlook *Stars* and *Pigeon*,¹⁴ I am not the first to notice the existence of his early works. Jessica Yeung devotes five pages to Gao Xingjian's early novellas in her study »Ink Dances in Limbo: Gao Xingjian's Writing as Cultural Translation«. ¹⁵ Yeung briefly introduces both stories, analyzes mainly their writing style, and explores Gao Xingjian's transformation as a writer in the early years of his career, when he »[made the] transition from a relatively conservative to a more experimental position... marked by a shift from the dominance of naturalist realism to psychological realism«. ¹⁶ Whereas according to Yeung »Stars« reveals features of socialist realism and »scar literature« (*shanghen wenxue* 伤痕文学), *Pigeon* is much closer to Gao Xingjian's later modernism.¹⁷

12 J. P. Stern, »The Theme of Consciousness: Thomas Mann«, in *Modernism: 1890-1930*, ed. by Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 428.

13 Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane, »The Name and Nature of Modernism«, in *Modernism: 1890-1930*, 20.

14 Gao Xingjian does not seem to be proud of his early work: »I was extremely careful at that time to not cross the line and I kept myself under control [...] I feel that my best works have actually been the works that I've published since »Soul Mountain«, because that's when I finally got rid of the constraints that I'd put around myself so as to not encounter problems with the Chinese government.« See David Der-Wei Wang, »A Conversation with Gao Xingjian«, <<https://asiasociety.org/conversation-gao-xingjian>> (last retrieval Aug 14, 2018). In my opinion, this is not a reason for overlooking his early work.

15 Jessica Yeung, *Ink Dances in Limbo: Gao Xingjian's Writing as Cultural Transition* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008).

16 *Ibid.*, 37.

17 Yeung, *Ink Dances*, 38, 42.

In this paper, I examine both novellas and the above-mentioned shift in approach more closely, and I compare them to Gao Xingjian's later works of fiction, most notably his well-known novels *Soul Mountain* (*Ling shan* 灵山) and *One Man's Bible* (*Yi ge ren de shengjing* 一个人的圣经). First, I analyze the aspect of Gao's early novellas that differs the most from his later work, that is, their ideologically conformist protagonists. Subsequently, I focus on the experimental narrative techniques in his early work, and finally I examine the motif of memory and related motifs, which, in my opinion, show an interesting continuity in Gao Xingjian's fictional work as a whole.

An analysis of the structural and semantic components that I consider the most typical of Gao's early work enables me to demonstrate that, on one hand, in these stories Gao Xingjian, who was a member of the Communist Party at that time,¹⁸ expresses official party ideology more than he emulates the voice of an individual. On the other hand, he incorporates into these stories elements of individualism that significantly foreshadow his later modernist work, for which he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature. Comparison of his early and later works reveals how Gao Xingjian discarded official ideology during his pursuit of free expression.

Ideologically Conformist Characters

My aim is not to elaborate on the protagonists of Gao Xingjian's well-known novels *Soul Mountain* and *One Man's Bible*, and I will refrain from trying to do so now. They might be wanderers in the spiritual landscape of one's soul, projections of the self, time travelers, or many other things. But what they clearly are not are projections of the official state ideology of the Chinese Communist Party. This key feature distinguishes them from the main protagonists of Gao's two early novellas.

18 Su Chen, »Gao Xingjian«, 53.

The plot of *Stars on a Cold Night* (finished in 1978, published in 1979 in the Guangzhou literary journal *Huacheng* 花城¹⁹) focuses on the life of Caocao, an old cadre, during the Cultural Revolution. The main protagonist's life is reconstructed on the basis of his diary, which, thanks to his friend, who is the narrator of the story, is preserved for future generations.

As an old revolutionary and high-ranking official, Caocao has always been faithful to the party and revolution. The story depicts his life from his youth, when he met his future wife during the war against the Kuomintang, until his death during the reign of the Gang of Four.

The protagonist's loyalty to the party is illustrated many times over in the story; for example, in the following passage he does not lose faith even as he tries to cope with the suicide of his wife (a revolutionary as well), who was obviously driven to killing herself by the Red Guards:

He won't kill himself, nor will he let this indefinite isolation break his identity; he has to go on until the day he wins the right to make the revolution again.²⁰

他不会自杀，也不能让这无期限的隔离把自己的身份拖垮，他必须坚持到那一天，给自己赢得重新干革命的权利。²¹

Stars mainly focuses on the old cadre's sufferings during the Cultural Revolution; first he is fired from his position and then investigated, beaten, confronted with his wife's death, and eventually sent to the countryside for re-education through labor (and thus greatly resembles other »scar literature« protagonists). When, after many years, he manages to return to Beijing to undergo medical treatment, he faces continuous bullying from his work unit. A notable motif at the end of the story is the death of Zhou Enlai 周恩来 (1898–1976). Caocao, an old man now, joins the mourning procession to protest against the Gang of Four, which he regards as a threat to the party:

The prime minister died, and they order that Communist Party members are not allowed to wear black armbands; that's how these shameful bastards trample over our

19 Altogether about 375,000 copies were printed and distributed. Su Chen 苏晨, »Gao Xingjian cong Huacheng qibu« 高行健从花城起步 [Gao Xingjian's Beginnings in *Huacheng*], *Yuehai feng* 粤海风 6 (2008), 53.

20 Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

21 Gao Xingjian 高行健, »You zhi gezi jiao Hong chun'er« 有只鸽子叫红唇儿 [A Pigeon Called Red Beak], (Beijing 北京: Beijing Shiyue wenyi chubanshe 十月文艺出版社, 1984), 219.

Party! If the people didn't respond, would our Party do so? Will we just stretch our necks [and look how] these bastards send us to the grave one by one?

总理死了，下命令不准共产党员戴黑纱，这些混帐王八蛋就这样践踏我们的党！人民不答应，我们这个党就答应了？我们就伸着脖子让他们这些王八蛋把我们一个个送进坟墓？²²

Trying to fight for the party once again, the old man catches a cold in the procession and ends up in a hospital. His subsequent death has several causes: the medical system is in a disastrous state and his treatment is intentionally complicated for political reasons. Moreover, the narrator tells us that the old man died mainly from his grief over the fate of his country.

At the very end of the novella, the narrator-character recalls the spirit of justice in the early communist »liberated areas«:

If I depicted him as a generous, kind and lovely good fellow, it wouldn't be faithful to the deceased. He had obviously never in his life forgotten about his willful persecution. There was a folk song in the old liberated areas: »Who plants gourds will get gourds, who plants soya will get soya, who plants hatred will harvest it himself.« It can't be more fair. Shouldn't the meaning of this diary and this worn-out woolen sweater left by the deceased be explained like this?

我如果把他描绘成一个宽大仁慈得可爱的老好人，是对死者的不忠实。他生前显然不曾忘却对他的横加迫害。老解放区有过一首民谣：“种瓜的得瓜，种豆的得豆，谁种下仇恨，谁自己收！”这再公正不过了。死者留下的这本日记和这件破毛线衣的意义不应该作这样的解释吗？²³

The ideological conformity of *Stars* lies especially in the nature of the main protagonist, who faithfully trusts the party even at the most difficult moments in his life and who is willing to sacrifice his life for the party and China. In the spirit of »scar literature«, the main character condemns the Cultural Revolution as a betrayal of Marxist values and does not question the leading role of the party at all. Very much like the hero of Lu Xinhua's 卢新华 (b. 1954) »Scar« (Shanghen 伤痕), the old cadre Caocao blames the Gang of Four for the crimes of the Cultural Revolution he documented in his diary. On the contrary, he clearly idolizes Zhou

²² Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 310.

²³ Ibid, 333.

Enlai 周恩来 (1898–1976) and Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 (1904–1997). Until his final days he seeks justice not for himself but in order to be able to work for the party again. And as the narrator tells us at the end of the story, the justice needed after the Cultural Revolution is the justice that existed in the »liberated areas«.

Gao Xingjian's second novella, *A Pigeon Called Red Beak* (finished in 1980, published in 1981 in the Beijing literary journal *Shoubuo* 收获), can be classified as »literature of reflection«.²⁴ The plot focuses on the lives of six young people and the relationships, love affairs, and hardships they experienced from the mid-1950s onward. Yeung points out that the characters in *Pigeon* are described from more varied perspectives and are much more interesting than the rather cardboard heroes of »scar literature«, including those of *Stars*.²⁵ Some of the protagonists in this novella truly develop psychologically. For example, Gongji, a stubborn revolutionary at the beginning, becomes a sensitive man who regrets the mistakes he made when he was young. The character of Gongji seems to be partly autobiographical: he decides to study literature and believes that in the future he will be able to publish his writings. In some ways he also resembles the main protagonist (a playwright) of *One Man's Bible*.²⁶

Nevertheless, the main character in *Pigeon*, Kuaikuai, a young man who suffers during the Cultural Revolution due to his family's political background, meets the Communist Party's ideological requirements perfectly: he is a mathematician who wants to dedicate his life to speeding up national progress. In the following passage, Kuaikuai expresses his desire to complete a research paper on a major computer system that could only be published after the Cultural Revolution ended:

24 Some of the literary works dealing with the Cultural Revolution written later than works of »scar literature«, namely in 1979 and 1980, are referred to by scholars as works of »literature of reflection« (*fansi wenxue* 反思文学). These works are considered the continuation of »scar literature«, but they »go deeper«. »Literature of reflection« more openly criticizes the party, tries to reveal the causes of the Cultural Revolution, and thus presents the Cultural Revolution as a part of modern Chinese history and not only as an aberration. See, e.g., Hong Zicheng, »A History of Contemporary Chinese Literature« (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2007), 296–299. One of the most famous examples of »literature of reflection« is *Feitian* (*Feitian* 飞天) by Liu Ke 刘克 (1928–2002).

25 Yeung, »Ink Dances«, 42.

26 See section »Memory, rape...« in this paper.

I strive to complete the first comprehensive study of this new scientific field, one that will originate in China and will be written in Chinese. I want people to know that Chinese is useful not only for recording an ancient culture and that it is not only the literary language of a nation. It is also a language expressing modern science. Chinese people are no more stupid than any other nation in the world; we only need half the work conditions or even half of that, one quarter or even just one eighth, and we are able to achieve results that are at least at the same level. Unfortunately, these minimal conditions have been missing lately, I have to get the lost time back!

我要争取这门新科学的第一步严谨的理论著作出在中国，而且用中文写成。我要让人们知道汉语不仅仅用于记载一种古老的文化，也不仅仅是一个民族的文学语言，它同时也是表述现代科学的语言。中国人的脑袋瓜不比世界上任何民族来的笨，我们只要有人家一半的工作的条件，或者再减半，四分之一乃至八分之一，我们可以作出至少是同等水平的成绩。可惜的是往往这点起码的条件也得不到，我要抢回失去了的时间！²⁷

The story of a patriotic mathematician trying to use and develop imported modern technologies is obviously a contribution to the political debate on whether ‘foreign’ influences can be taken in (similar to Gao’s essays on literature). Furthermore, the depiction of the highly patriotic main protagonist is in keeping with the spirit of the early 1980s, when Deng Xiaoping tried to legitimize his regime by returning to a more »traditional« form of Chinese nationalism.²⁸

The main protagonists of both Gao Xingjian’s early novellas are politically acceptable for the regime: the characterization of Caocao in *Stars* conforms to official ideology, which, on one hand, called for exposing and condemning the crimes committed during the Cultural Revolution and, on the other hand, encouraged optimism about the further building of a socialist society.

The mathematician Kuaikuai’s desire to modernize the Chinese nation seems to reflect the political program of »four modernizations« (industry, defense, science and technology, and agriculture), which was announced by Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 (1904–1997) at the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee in 1978. While some of the characters in *Pigeon* are less flat than those in *Stars*, the main

27 Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 152.

28 Link, »The Uses of Literature«, 61.

protagonists primarily differ because their characterizations reflect the Communist Party's political goals, which changed between the publication of the two novellas.²⁹

Narrative experiments

Narrative experiments are often considered one of modernism's most substantial attributes. As Tamar Katz notes:

Modernist experiments in narrative form often take as their goal the reshaping of narrative to a newly-envisioned subjectivity. Stream-of-consciousness, impressionism, point-of-view narration—a range of narrative strategies offer the perceptual processes of the subject as the real story, and in doing so raise the question of just what shape subjectivity might possess.³⁰

Narrative experiments in Gao Xingjian's later works reflect his interest in the individual's subjectivity and therefore are in keeping with the broad definition of modernism. In this section, I explore the narrative experimentation in Gao's early work and show its limitations.

The narrative framework of Gao Xingjian's first novella *Stars on a Cold Night* is not experimental. Some chapters are prefaced with sketchy notes from Caocao's diary; the rest of the story consists of the recollection of his friend, the protagonist-narrator.³¹ Generally speaking, aside from its interesting way of

29 It is noteworthy that the presence of both politically conformist main protagonists (Caocao, Kuaikuai) introduces situations that one could read as absurd, which are typical of Gao Xingjian's later works (such as the short story »You Have to Live« [Ni yiding yao huozhe 你一定要活着] and the play »Bus Stop« [Chezhan 车站]). Gao seems to be illustrating the absurdity of the Cultural Revolution by showing that the party turned against its most faithful followers. This possible reading intensifies the criticism of the Cultural Revolution in the works concerned; however, since the protagonists have confidence in the reformist government, the party's legitimacy as such remains unchallenged.

30 Tamar Katz, »Modernism, Subjectivity, and Narrative Form: Abstraction in The Waves«, *Narrative* 3,3 (1995), 232.

31 The beginning of the novella seems to be inspired by Lu Xun's 鲁迅 (1881–1936) »A Madman's Diary« (Kuangren riji 狂人日记), and the function of this intertextuality can be read as an

incorporating diary entries into the text, the novella does not differ much in form from the other works of »scar literature« written in that period. In contrast, *A Pigeon Called Red Beak*, which contains various narrative experiments,³² represents a departure from the socialist realist style of writing that was revived after the Cultural Revolution. After all, it was published at the same time as Gao Xingjian's *A Preliminary Exploration of the Techniques of Modern Fiction*. It should be noted that, as Leo Ou-fan Lee has pointed out, the mere matter of highlighting the importance of literary techniques could have been regarded as a literary form of dissent in the late 1970s and early 1980s.³³

In *Pigeon*, a novella featuring multiperspective narration,³⁴ section titles such as »The narrator's words« (*Xusbuzhe de hua* 叙述者的话), »Kuaikuai's words« (*Kuaikuai de hua* 快快的话), and »The narrator's conversation with the characters« (*Xusbuzhe he zhurenongmen de tanhua* 叙述者和主人公们的谈话) instantly catch the reader's eye. They resemble speaker labels in a play script, and the dramatic form is further evoked by the significant emphasis on dialogue in various forms throughout the text, such as in the following excerpt:

The narrator's conversation with the characters

Do you believe in fate?

» Believe«, Xiaoling said.

attempt to highlight people's barbarism, which in some cases almost bordered on cannibalism, during the Cultural Revolution.

32 By narrative experiments, I mean the innovative use of language to depict various phenomena, such as psychological processes in the minds of the characters. Given that these techniques were innovative in the Chinese environment of the late 1970s and early 1980s, I consider the term »experiments« accurate.

33 Leo Ou-fan Lee, »The Politics of Technique: Perspectives of Literary Dissidence in Contemporary Chinese Fiction«, in *After Mao: Chinese Literature and Society 1978–1981*, ed. by Jeffrey C. Kinkley (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 161.

34 The novella is narrated from the perspectives of a fictional writer, the narrator, and the six main characters. A similar narrative technique was used at this time, for example, by Bei Dao 北岛 (b. 1949) in *Waves* (*Bodong* 波动), completed in 1979.

» No, I don't know«, Yanping said.

»I have never believed in fate. Xiaoling, don't be angry, listen to me«, Gongji said, »we should create our own fate if so-called fate exists.«

[...]

»But we used to be happy«, Gongji said.

»That's already gone, a dead love. Let's not talk about it.« Xiaoling closed her eyes, and massive tears rolled down her pale cheeks.

I remembered she was already dead. Was she crying like this when she was pacing back and forth along the creek behind the school on the night before her death?

[...]

Reader, please forgive me, my mind was wandering; I shouldn't let the living talk to the dead. Well, let's talk then about that last meeting of theirs before the undeclared war.

叙述者和主人公的谈话

你相信命运吗？

“相信。”肖玲说。

“不，不知道。”燕萍说。

“我是从来也不相信命运的。肖玲，你别生气，你听我说，”公鸡说，“我们应该去创造自己的命运，如果有所谓的命运的话。”

[...]

“但是我们曾经有过幸福，”公鸡说。

“那已经过去了，死去了的爱情。不要再提了。”肖玲闭上了眼睛，硕大的泪珠沿着苍白的面颊滚了下来。

我记起她已经死去了。她死前夜里在学校后面的小河边上徘徊时就这样痛哭过去吧？

[...]

请读者原谅，我走神了，让活人同死人一块谈话是不应该的。那么，还是谈谈那场不宣而战的战争之前他们最后的一次聚会吧。³⁵

Whereas most sections are narrated by the narrator or a single protagonist (Kuaikuai, Xiaoling, Yanping, etc.), in this section, the objective and omniscient narrator brings all the protagonists together and holds a dialogue with them. Interestingly, one of the protagonists, Xiaoling, had committed suicide at an earlier point in the story. Yeung notes that through this authorial intrusion Gao Xingjian, in the guise of the »narrator« who acknowledges the impossibility of this

35 Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 85-87.

situation (»I shouldn't let the living talk to the dead«), reminds the reader of the fictional nature of the story and thus discourages the kind of emotional indulgence³⁶ commonly found in »scar literature«. ³⁷ But to cast light on Gao's narrative experimentation, I need to emphasize another point: this fictionality enables the reader to imagine that all the protagonists exist in the mind of the narrator, that is, in the consciousness of a single subject. Therefore, this dialogue foreshadows Gao Xingjian's later well-known modernist language in which pronouns function as protagonists who »dissect the author's self«. ³⁸

At that time Gao Xingjian was after all contemplating the effect of interchanging pronouns related to a single subject in his »Preliminary Exploration«:

Is it possible to use both pronouns »I« and »you« in the same story and interchange them? I think it is definitely possible to try it, this method would greatly enrich the narrative language, it would help break away from those rigid structures and established compositions and enhance the power of expression of the art of language. ³⁹

Gao Xingjian's ideas about exploring the subjectivity of an individual by exchanging perspectives sound very modernist, and they were, indeed, obviously inspired by the styles of several foreign writers. Most notably, Gao's narrative techniques resemble the techniques used in the novel *Les Communistes* by Luis Aragon (1897–1982) and the autobiography of André Malraux (1901–1976), *Antimémoires*, works that Gao Xingjian discusses in his significantly conformist⁴⁰ article »The Agony of Modern French Literature« (*Falanxi xiandai wenzue de tongku* 法兰西现代文学的痛苦) in 1980. ⁴¹

36 Overwhelming sympathy for the hero victimized in the Cultural Revolution is one of the features of »scar literature«. See Yeung, »Ink Dances«, 38.

37 Yeung, »Ink Dances«, 41–42.

38 Mabel Lee, »Pronouns as Protagonists: On Gao Xingjian's Theories of Narration«, in *Soul of Chaos*, 236.

39 Gao Xingjian, »Xiandai xiaoshuo«, 15.

40 In this article Gao praises Sartre for being anti-capitalist, but on the other hand criticizes him for not being able to propose a set of policies for revolution. See, Yeung, »Ink Dances«, 22.

41 Yeung, »Ink Dances«, 24.

In *Pigeon*, Gao brings his experimentation with the split of the self to its purest form in a passage near the end of the story:

Main hero: But you're my heart and I've only grown up into adulthood now. My hands and feet are strong, I can run and jump, my brain is just perfectly fine! But you aged prematurely, my friend. What is the logic behind it?

Heart: Don't blame me; blame yourself, dear main hero, that you cared so badly about me.

Main hero: Don't call me the main hero, we're friends! Mate, please help me, my work has only begun to take shape, I am beginning to live just now, so beat! Let me stand up!

主人： 可你是我的心脏呀，我不过才跨入壮年，手脚强壮，我能跑能跳，我的大脑一丁点毛病也没有！你可倒未老先衰了，朋友，这合乎逻辑吗？

心： 你别责怪我了，都怪您，主人，您平时太不爱惜我了。

主人： 不要叫我主人，我们是朋友！伙计，帮帮忙吧，我的工作才有了点眉目，我才开始生活，你跳！让我站起来！⁴²

This dialogue describes Kuaikuai's conversation with his own heart just before his death. By interchanging the pronouns »I« and »you« (e.g., »[You] don't blame me, blame yourself«), Gao Xingjian achieves an effect very similar to that of changing the different narrative voices of the split subject known from his mature novels.

We may argue that the selves conducting the dialogue in *Soul Mountain* are, at least at the beginning of the story, the »I«, which examines human society on the fringes of Han civilization, and the »you«, which is on a quest to visit Soul Mountain.⁴³ In *One Man's Bible* the »I« is split between the »you« of the present and the »he« of the past.⁴⁴ But while both later novels use this narrative experimental technique to explore the subjectivity of an individual, this inner monologue from *Pigeon* depicts the self of the body and the self of the mind in order to illustrate a social, not psychological, problem: the tragedy of the deaths of young people full of mental strength, who were physically mistreated during the Cultural Revolution.

The above-mentioned dialogue between the narrator and the protagonists has similar limitations: even when we read it as an internal monologue within the

42 Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 155–156.

43 As Mabel Lee points out in simple terms. Mabel Lee, »Pronouns as Protagonists«, 237.

44 As Kwok-kan Tam points out in simple terms. Kwok-kan Tam, »Language as Subjectivity in One Man's Bible«, in *Soul of Chaos*, 304.

consciousness of the narrator's self, its main function is not to explore the protagonists' psychological processes but to summarize the feelings of the whole Chinese nation: before the Cultural Revolution »we« were happy, during the Cultural Revolution »we« lost our happiness, and now »we« want to live again.

Nonetheless, in Gao Xingjian's early work, we find traces of individualism, the beginnings of a modernist approach. As I mentioned above, in *Pigeon* we find, beside the main protagonist, Kuaikuai, the character of Gongji, who, in contrast to the main protagonist, develops psychologically. In the following excerpt Gao Xingjian depicts Gongji's soul-searching in a stream-of-consciousness style, or, as Gao calls it, stream-of-language (*yuyan liu* 语言流) style:⁴⁵

What kind of hero am I? A despicable hero! I killed her, wasn't that my fault? If I am not guilty, then who? When I received the letter from Zhengfan, I didn't hurry back immediately, nor did I send a warm letter to her. That's right, you were in isolation, you didn't want her to know, you wanted to test her loyalty, you wanted to protect yourself and show that stupid heroism of yours, that's so absurd, you despicable hero, you killed her!

我算什么英雄? 卑鄙的英雄! 我杀害了她, 这难道是我的错吗? 我没有罪, 而谁有罪? 收到正凡的信我没有及时赶回来, 也没有敢给她寄一封温情的信。不错, 你在隔离中, 你不原意让她知道, 你要考验她的忠贞, 你要保全自己, 显示你那种愚蠢的英雄主义, 多荒谬阿, 你这个可卑的英雄, 你杀害了她! ⁴⁶

In this passage Gao Xingjian exchanges perspectives in a similar way as in his later modernist works that »can be read alongside the works of Hesse, Gide, Wilde, Joyce, Proust and Mann«. ⁴⁷ In this case, the change of the narrative voice from »I« to »you« comes at a tense moment when Gongji blames himself for the death of his girlfriend, Xiaoling. »I« seems to stand for the day-to-day superficial identity of the protagonist who used to feel like a hero of the Cultural Revolution, whereas »you« stands for the newly awakened conscience condemning the mistakes that

45 Gao Xingjian 高行健, *Meiyou zhuyi* 没有主义 [Without-isms] (Taipei 台北: Lian jing chuban shiye gongsi 联经出版事业公司, 2001), 52.

46 Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 100.

47 Kwok-kan Tam, »Language as Subjectivity«, 307.

the protagonist had previously made.⁴⁸ The use of this technique in this isolated passage reveals features of modernism.

However, the effects of narrative experimentation in *Pigeon* as a whole are limited. First, the main protagonist's psychology is shaped by official ideology. Second, as was shown in this section, his thoughts mainly deal with social rather than psychological issues. Finally, the plot of the novella is framed by the optimism of socialist realism. Modernism breaks up the conventions of realism and weakens the nexus between the private and the social spheres; modernist experiments are narrative strategies that offer the perceptual processes of the subject as the real story. Therefore, *Pigeon*, despite its appearance on the surface and in contrast to Gao Xingjian's later works, is not a modernist work, at least not in the way modernism is generally understood. In *Pigeon* Gao Xingjian merely combines socialist realism with several innovative features of Western modernism.⁴⁹

To sum up, Gao Xingjian does not conduct narrative experiments in his first work of fiction, *Stars*, but in *Pigeon*, which was written at approximately the same time as »Preliminary Exploration«, he courageously showcases various experimental narrative techniques. Even though some of these techniques are indeed modernist when considered separately, the novella as a whole does not depart from socialist realism. Nevertheless, narrative experimentation in *Pigeon* definitely counts as a real step forward toward the modernism of Gao Xingjian's later works.

48 Correspondingly, in his later works, Gao Xingjian changes the narrative voice to illustrate the split self of the protagonist in a difficult situation, for example, in »At Sea« (*Hai shang* 海上), »Mother« (*Muqin* 母亲), and »Buying a Fishing Rod for My Grandfather« (*Gei wo laoye mai yugan* 给我姥爷买鱼竿), as well as in the above-mentioned novels »Soul Mountain« and »One Man's Bible«.

49 William Tay makes a similar observation about Wang Meng's 王蒙 (b. 1934) experimentation with the stream-of-consciousness technique in stories full of socialist realist optimism that were written in the same period. See William Tay, »Modernism and Socialist Realism: The Case of Wang Meng«, *World Literature Today*, 65,3 (1991), 413.

Memory, Rape, Self-reproach, and Dignity

One of the most prominent motifs in Gao Xingjian's work as a whole is the motif of memory and recollection. Besides his numerous short stories such as »Huadou« (*Huadou* 花豆) or »Buying a Fishing Rod for My Grandfather« (*Gei wo laoye mai yugan* 给我姥爷买鱼竿), remembering is also thematized in both *Soul Mountain* and *One Man's Bible*. Interestingly enough, remembering constitutes a crucial motif in both Gao's early works as well. *Stars* is narrated by the protagonist-narrator, who reconstructs the life of Caocao, an old cadre, using Caocao's diary (as a medium of memory), which he has obtained. In *Pigeon* we are informed at the beginning (in a section entitled »Author's speech« [*Zuozhe de hua* 作者的话]) by the fictional writer that we will be told a true story about six young people who experienced happiness and pain and that at the end of the story two of them will be dead.⁵⁰ Thus, by revealing the ending on the very first page, the fact that we are reading a recollection of their lives is emphasized.

In addition to memory, we find other motifs in Gao's early work that represent his interest in the consciousness of the individual, namely the motifs of self-reproach, human dignity, and coping with rape. The presence of these motifs in Gao's early works most distinctly reminds us that we are reading Gao Xingjian.

Generally, the motif of memory in Gao's works is often connected with questions about the possibility of transferring one's experience.⁵¹ In *Stars* the inability to transfer certain experiences is demonstrated in the last diary entry of the main protagonist, written after he is subjected to a violent interrogation. The entry consists of a simple long dash:

»November 29, 1968. ——«

He wrote only a horizontal line after the date, not a single character recorded here.

Most likely he wanted to say something but could not. You may understand it as depression, you may understand it as indignation, you may understand it as his inability

50 Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 1.

51 The rendering of »what happened«, »how it is passed down to us«, and »what we are doing with it now« are important aspects of trauma discourse. See Ana Douglass and Thomas A. Vogler, *Witness and Memory: The Discourse of Trauma* (New York, London: Routledge, 2003), 1.

to express his depression and indignation, you may understand it as a protest against this inability, maybe it's all of these at the same time. He has never mentioned this day to anyone during his life, so who can tell what he meant today? However, when you come to this empty day [in the diary], can you avoid feeling the gloom in your whole body and mind?

»一九六八年十一月二十九日。——«

日期之后只划了一条横线，没有一个字的记载。想必他想要说什么而又不能。你可以理解为苦闷，你可以理解为愤慨，你可以理解为苦闷和愤慨之不能表达，也可以理解为对不能表白以示抗议，也许全部兼而有之。他生前从未向人提起过这个日子，如今又有谁能说得清楚呢？然而，当你读到这空白的日子，你能不感到全身心郁闷吗？⁵²

Whereas in other entries the protagonist is able to describe his appalling experiences at least using terse sentences, in this case, he cannot use words to express himself. Although there are differences between trauma of the Holocaust and trauma of the Cultural Revolution, Jewish interviewees' experiences sometimes resonate with those of the Chinese survivors.⁵³ Caocao's inability to describe what he went through is analogous to the »figure of muteness« in Holocaust literature analyzed by Sara Horowitz. The excessively intense pain of atrocity and the loss of faith in words are among the factors working against the possibility of putting experience into words in Holocaust literature.⁵⁴ Certainly, these factors can explain Caocao's inability to express himself as well.

The impossibility (or difficulty) of expressing and understanding experiences was further elaborated by Gao in his 1983 short story »At Sea« (*Haishang* 海上), in which the main protagonist meets his peer and colleague Wang on a fishing boat in the middle of the sea. Wang is wailing at the sea in a specific state of meditation:

»Ah... ah... ah...«

As if he is singing, but it is not in tune and there are no words. God knows what he is singing, he really is a strange man. He surely feels quite low, he surely has something

52 Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 224.

53 Arthur Kleinman and Joan Kleinman, »How Bodies Remember: Social Memory and Bodily Experience of Criticism, Resistance, and Delegitimation following China's Cultural Revolution«, *New Literary History* 25 (1994), 717.

54 Sara R. Horowitz, *Voicing the Void: Muteness and Memory in Holocaust Fiction* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 72, 110.

on his mind that nobody knows. And yet he doesn't want to reveal it to anyone, he just expresses himself to the ocean.

»阿——阿——阿——«

他像是在唱歌，可五音不正，也没个词。鬼才知道他唱的什么，这真是个怪人。他一定相当苦闷，一定有他的心事为外人所不知。他又不愿意向任何人披露，对着大海在那里发泄呢。⁵⁵

At first, the main protagonist does not understand Wang's wailing, which somewhat resembles the nearly blank entry in the diary from *Stars*, but he gradually begins to comprehend that it is Wang's way of coping with trauma. Wang's wailing thus can be read as another symbolical rendering of the impossibility of explaining an »unreal«⁵⁶ traumatic experience.

Now let me compare the previous examples representing the impossibility of transferring experience with a passage from *One Man's Bible*:

[...] It was China. A German art foundation had invited you to go there to paint, but the Chinese authorities would not agree to it.

»Why?«

You say even for you, it was impossible to know, but at the time you went everywhere trying to find out. Finally, through a friend, you got to the relevant department and found out that the official reason was that you were a writer and not an artist.

»Was that a reason? Why couldn't a writer also be an artist?«

You say it's impossible for her to understand, even if she does know the language. Things in China can't be explained by language alone.⁵⁷

[...] 那是在中国。德国的一家艺术基金会要请你去作画，中国官方没有批准。“为什么？”

你说你无法知道，当时辗转打听，也是托朋友去有关部门问到的官方答复，说是你的职业是作家，不是画家。

55 Gao Xingjian 高行健, »Gei wo laoye mai yugan« 给我姥爷买鱼竿 [Buying a Fishing Rod for My Grandfather] (Taipei 台北: Lianhe wenxue 联合文学 2000), 92.

56 I understand Wang's wailing as analogous to the impossibility of conveying the »unreal« reality of Buchenwald to non-survivors described in Holocaust literature. See Sara Horowitz, »Voicing the Void«, 36.

57 Gao Xingjian, *One Man's Bible* (London: Flamingo, 2003), 28–29.

“这也算是理由？为什么作家就不可以画画？”

你说她是无法明白的，虽然她懂中文，可中国的事情单靠中文说不明白的。⁵⁸

In *One Man's Bible*, the topic of transferring experience is altered by the circumstances of exile: the main protagonist explains the impossibility of doing so to a Jewish woman from Germany. Nonetheless, by noting that things in China cannot be explained by words alone, Gao further develops the motif of an individual's struggle to transfer his experience present in Gao's previous works, including his debut. Even though in some cases this motif is related to the collective trauma of the Chinese nation,⁵⁹ most times Gao Xingjian renders it as a symptom of the protagonist's personal trauma.

As mentioned above, both early novellas deal with the Cultural Revolution. One of the ways Gao Xingjian represents the suffering of the people during this period is through depictions of rape. For example, in *Pigeon* he tells the story of a young girl who is raped by a unit leader, after being sent to the countryside. Since she comes from a politically problematic family, she is totally defenseless against her superior.⁶⁰

Gao explicitly develops the motif of rape as a metaphor for suffering during the Cultural Revolution in *One Man's Bible*:

She turns away and leans on the pillow. You can't see her expression. You say that you have experienced the feeling of being raped, of being raped by the political authorities, and it has clogged up your heart. You can understand her, and can understand the anxiety, frustration, and oppression that she can't rid herself of. Rape is not a sex game. It was the same for you, and it was only long afterward, after obtaining the freedom to speak out, that you realized it had been a form of rape. You had been subjected to the will of others, had to make confessions, had to say what others wanted you to say. It was crucial to protect your inner mind, your faith in your inner mind, otherwise you would have been crushed.⁶¹

58 Gao Xingjian 高行健, »Yi ge ren de shengjing« 一个人的圣经 [One Man's Bible] (Taipei 台北: Lian jing 联经, 1999), 29-30.

59 For a discussion of the Cultural Revolution and collective trauma, see Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, »Coping with the Cultural Revolution: Contesting Interpretations«, *Jindaishi Yanjiusuo Jikan* 近代史研究所集刊 61 (2008), 1-52.

60 Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 114-116.

61 Gao Xingjian, *One Man's Bible*, 121-122.

她脸转了过去，伏在枕头上。你看不见她的表情。可你说你倒是有过近乎被强奸的感觉，被政治权力强奸，堵在心头。你理解她，理解她那种摆脱不了的困扰、郁闷和压抑，这并非只是性游戏。你也是，许久之後，得以自由表述之後，才充分意识到那就是一种强奸，屈伏於他人的意志之下，不得不做检查，不得不说人要你说的话。要紧的是得守护住你内心，你内心的自信，否则就垮了。⁶²

In *One Man's Bible* the motif of rape is linked to the main protagonist's self-reproach. He blames himself for not being able to prevent the rape of Sun Huirong during the Cultural Revolution:

It was only then that he thought back to when the girl had come to see him, maybe she was trying to get him to save her. Had it already happened prior to that? Or did the girl sense that it was about to happen? Or had it happened, but she hadn't yet become pregnant? [...] If, at the time, he had shut the door and had not been so careful—she clearly wanted him to shut the door—would she have told him everything, and this tragic event has been averted?⁶³

他这才回想这姑娘来找他可能是向他求救，那事情已经发生了？还是女孩预感到要出事？还是已经发生了但还没怀孕？[...] 如果他当时关上房门，不那麼拘谨，她显然希望他把房门关上，就可以向他倾诉，就有可能避免这场厄运？⁶⁴

Similarly, a rape (and murder) is linked to the protagonist's self-reproach in *Soul Mountain*:

You say she's dead. Those bastards took her out at night for a swim in the river. When they got back, they said she was missing. It was all lies but this was their story. [...] More than once you heard them talking dirty and mentioning her by name. You told her on the quiet she should be careful about going out with them at night, and she told you she was terrified of them. She was frightened but weren't you also afraid? You coward! Those bastards harmed her but didn't dare own up to it. But you didn't dare expose them and for many years she has remained in your heart like a nightmare.⁶⁵

你说她已经死了，那些杂种带她夜里到河里去游泳，都回来了，说是上岸以后，才发现只少了她。全是鬼话，可他们都这么说，[...]你不只一次听见他们污秽的谈 论

62 Gao Xingjian, »Yi ge ren«, 127.

63 Gao Xingjian, *One Man's Bible*, 382.

64 Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 383.

65 Gao Xingjian, *Soul Mountain* (London: Flamingo, 2001), 79.

，都提到她的名字。你偷偷告诉过她，夜里当心不要跟他们出去。她也同你说 过，她害怕他们。可她又不敢拒绝，还是去了。她太胆小，你不也怕？你这个懦夫！就是这些杂种把她害了，又不敢承认。可你也不敢揭发，多少年来，她在你心头，像个噩梦。⁶⁶

In *Stars*, the motif of self-reproach, even though not connected to rape, is a substantial component of the story's semantic structure.⁶⁷ We encounter it, for example, when the old cadre Caocao laments the death of his wife:

A comrade for more than thirty years, they were war buddies and husband and wife, she parted forever without him even seeing her remains. He condemns himself deeply, why didn't he realize he should have firmly demanded to go to the crematorium? [...] His wife's investigation in isolation was of course related to the fact that they had put the hat of »reactionary gangster«, »capitalist roader« and »counterrevolutionary« on his head, otherwise they wouldn't have necessarily dared to persecute her like this.

十多年来的同志、战友和夫妻，他连她的遗体都没见到就永别了。他深深谴责自己，他为什么没想到坚决要求去火葬场呢？[...] 妻子所以被隔离审查当然同他被戴上“黑帮”、“走资派”、“反革命”的帽子有关，否则他们未必敢这样迫害她。⁶⁸

The same motif can also be found in *Pigeon*, namely in a monologue used to render the thoughts of Gongji, who blames himself for not being able to prevent the suicide of his girlfriend, Xiaoling:

I am not like she imagined in her dreams at all, I am no hero, I am merely an idiot, I am unworthy of her, when she needed me the most I didn't go to hold her, I instead pushed her, I can only bitterly regret that this cannot be reversed, this can never be reversed. In this world, I haven't achieved anything, I only buried Xiaoling and this is my achievement. [...] Were it not for my letter, she wouldn't have died [...].

我并不象她梦中想象的那样，我不是英雄，只不过是一头蠢驴，我对不起她，在他最需要我的时候，我没有去拉住她，却推了她一把，我只有悔恨，这是无法换回的了，永远也无法换回。在这个世界上，我什么事也没有做成，却葬送了肖玲，这就

66 Gao Xingjian 高行健, *Lingshan* 灵山 [Soul Mountain] (Taipei 台北: Lian jing chuban shiye gongsi 联经出版事业公司, 1990), 87-88.

67 Feelings of guilt about events that occurred due to the totalitarian oppression of the Cultural Revolution are a common motif in »literature of reflection«. For example, the 1979 novel *Feitian* 飞天 by Liu Ke 刘克 (1928-2002) depicts a main female protagonist who blames herself for being raped by a political commissar.

68 Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 217-218.

是我的功绩。[...] 没有我的信，她是不会死的， [...]。⁶⁹

Sara Horowitz describes the self-torment stemming from trauma encountered in Holocaust literature: »Along with physical pain, concentration camp internees often had to bear their own harsh self-vilification, their own sense of complicity—albeit unwilling—with the concentrationary universe.«⁷⁰ Correspondingly, the motif of self-reproach in Gao Xingjian's works gives the reader insight into the Cultural Revolution survivor's psyche.

Besides having a tendency to self-reproach, the protagonists of both Gao's early novellas and his later novels are also conscious of the importance of human dignity. This theme is quite famously explored in »One Man's Bible«, in which the main character talks in his head to the deceased Mao Zedong:

What he finally wanted to say was that although it was possible to kill a person, no matter how frail the person was, that person's human dignity could not be killed. A person is human because this bit of self-respect is indestructible. When a person's life is like an insect's, is the person aware that an insect also possesses its own insect dignity? Before the insect is trampled or squashed to death, it will pretend to be dead, struggle, or try to run away in order to save itself, but its insect dignity can't be trampled to death. People have been killed off like the grass under the blade, but does the grass under the blade seek to be forgiven? People are clearly inferior to grass. What he wanted to prove was that, as well as life, people have human dignity. If preserving one's human dignity is impossible, and one isn't killed and doesn't commit suicide, then, if one does not want to die, the only option is to flee. Dignity is an awareness of existence, and it is in this that the power of the frail individual lies. Once one's awareness of existence is extinguished, the apparition of existence, too, is extinguished.⁷¹

他最终要说的是，可以扼杀一个人，但一个人那怕再脆弱，可人的尊严不可以扼杀，人所以为人，就有这麽点自尊不可以泯灭。人尽管活得像条虫，但是否知道虫也有虫的尊严，虫在踩死捻死之前装死挣扎逃窜以求自救，而虫之为虫的尊严却踩不死。杀人如草芥，可曾见过草芥在刀下求饶的？人不如草芥，可他要证明的是人

69 Ibid., 91–92.

70 Sara Horowitz, »Voicing the Void«, 112.

71 Gao Xingjian, *One Man's Bible*, 405.

除了性命还有尊严。如果无法维护做人的这点尊严，要不被杀又不自杀，倘若还不肯死掉，便只有逃亡。尊严是对於存在的意识，这便是脆弱的个人力量所在，要存在的意识泯灭了，这存在也形同死亡。⁷²

Gao had thematized the consciousness of human dignity's importance already in *Stars*. In the following excerpt, the narrator portrays the main protagonist, Caocao:

Since his isolation, there hasn't been a single day when he would not shave his face, even though before he sometimes shaved only once every two or three days. Shaving is a small thing; state of mind is essential. He didn't want to make the wrong impression on people that he had become dejected because of the isolation. With his face swollen from beating, he would still shave his beard. When people want to knock you down, you can't look as if you're falling down yourself. ... [Because of the beatings] the buttons on his clothes inevitably had to fall off sooner or later. However, what made him depressed was not his offence, actually it was the missing buttons on his shirt. Wearing this wide-open shirt really troubled him. Nobody knew he had no button to sew on. When people saw this sloppy look of his, some would pity him, some would think that the load on his mind is heavy and he really has a problem, and some would feel pleased with themselves. All of this was harming his self-esteem, he has to keep his clothes neat!

隔离以来，他还没有一天不刮脸的，尽管以前他倒有时两三天才刮一次。刮脸事小，人的精神状态要紧。他不原意给人留下一一种因为被隔离了就颓唐起来的错误印象。脸有时被打肿了，胡子还是要刮。人家要打倒你，你不能自己也就做出要躺倒的样子。... 这就注定了他衣服上的纽扣早晚非脱线不可。然而，使他苦恼的不是他的罪过，倒是上衣缺了纽扣。穿着这件胸口敞开的上衣，真叫他烦恼。群众并不知道他没扣子可钉。人们见他这副邋遢模样，有的会可怜他，有的会认为他思想负担沉重，确有问题，也有人会因此得意。这都有伤他的自尊心，他必须保持服装整洁！⁷³

In *Stars* Caocao pays great attention to keeping up appearances and maintaining his mind in good shape in order not to go mad, and to survive. In »One Man's Bible« the main protagonist compares a human being to an insect whose self-esteem is represented by its struggle for life until its last moments.⁷⁴ Both excerpts

72 Gao Xingjian, »Yi ge ren«, 404.

73 Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 203.

74 In Holocaust literature victims often desire to survive in order to bear witness to the horrors of the deathcamps. See Sara Horowitz, *Voicing the Void*, 62, 116. Correspondingly, the survival of Gao's

emphasize the main protagonist's individuality: Caocao is juxtaposed with »the masses« (*qunzhong* 群众; »Nobody knew he had no button to sew on«, literally »The masses did not know...«). The playwright's individuality is highlighted by the expression »one man« (*yi ge ren* 一个人; »it was possible to kill a person«, literally »it was possible to kill one man«).

While it is well-known that *One Man's Bible*—Gao's most recent modernist novel written in France and featuring a famous playwright who has an affair with his young female admirer in a hotel room in Hong Kong—recounts an individual's struggle to survive the attacks of the masses during the Cultural Revolution, my analysis proves that the same struggle was already depicted in »Stars«, the first work of fiction that Gao ever published, a socialist realist novella featuring an old communist cadre as the main protagonist.

The main difference, again, between these two works lies in their overall structure. In *One Man's Bible* the emphasis on human dignity forms the novel's dramatic climax; in *Stars* it only constitutes one of many motifs in a story that ends with the optimism prescribed by official literary dogma.⁷⁵

The protagonists of Gao Xingjian's early novellas have much in common with those of his later literary works. Throughout his career, Gao has shown how his characters recall the injustices they have endured (rape, murder, suicide, etc.), how they are able or unable to share their traumatic experiences, how they try to cope with their own feelings of guilt, and how they survive (by holding on to the remnants of their human dignity).

main protagonists in *Stars* and *One Man's Bible* is related to their desire to give testimony: Caocao writes a diary for future generations, whereas the playwright recalls his experience during the Cultural Revolution to a German Jewish woman, a narrative constituting a substantial part of novel's plot.

75 Another similarity between *One Man's Bible* and *Stars* stems from Gao's enthusiasm for authenticity in narration, which is manifested, among other ways, by deploying real political figures in the story. Whereas the main character of *Bible* talks to Mao Zedong, the main protagonist of *Stars* writes a letter to Deng Xiaoping. See Gao Xingjian, »You zhi gezi«, 300.

Conclusion

Gao Xingjian's first work of fiction, *Stars*, reveals features of »scar literature«, namely the dominance of socialist realism that is manifested in the presence of an ideologically conformist main protagonist. Gao's second novella, *Pigeon*, resembles other works of »literature of reflection«. Its style is more progressive than that of *Stars*; the effects of its narrative experimentation are, however, limited due to the overall socialist realist nature of the work. Most importantly, the main protagonist, a fighter for a better future under the leadership of the Communist Party, still conforms to the generally accepted norm. Both early works, on one hand, succeed in drawing attention to the traumatic events of the Cultural Revolution but on the other hand conform to the totalitarian ideology of the Communist Party at the beginning of the reform era. One conclusion of this paper thus may be that neither of Gao's early novellas go much beyond most other Chinese literary works written in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

However, the beginnings of individualism can be clearly discerned in both of his early works, whether in narrative experiments that try to reshape the subjectivity of narration or, most importantly, in motifs such as memory and human dignity that signal Gao Xingjian's emancipation from official ideology and reveal his modernist interest in the consciousness of the individual.

When we examine the development of his works of fiction from *Stars* and *Pidgeon*—through his short stories—to *Soul Mountain* and *One Man's Bible*, we can see how Gao Xingjian gradually discarded official ideology, which had been preventing him from writing about what he wanted to right from the beginning—that is, the experience of an individual being. In his later works, we never find stories featuring communist cadres or patriots as the main protagonists. In 1982, Gao began focusing on the consciousness of the individual in his short stories and novels, and, therefore, his narrative experiments became more successful.

Whereas Gao's early works only slightly surpassed the average stories of that period, his later writings comprise a major contribution to Chinese and world literature. This comparison of Gao's early and later works demonstrates how literary creation can flourish when a writer rethinks the generally accepted ideological norms and manages to free himself from them.

Odoric's *Relatio*, Franciscans, and the Great Khans

Vladimír Liščák

Abstract From major part of Latin manuscripts of the travelogue of Odoric of Pordenone, a Franciscan friar and pilgrim to the court of the Great Khan in the beginning of the fourteenth century, we can learn that he, together with some other Franciscans, met the Great Khan on his way to his Summer Palace in Shangdu. Odoric was one of the Franciscan missionaries in the Yuan Dynasty in the beginning of the 14th century. In his *Relatio*, he mentions the conversions to the faith of Christ, even among the dignitaries of the Yuan court, and thus witnesses the missionary activities of the Franciscan friars or of himself.

Keywords Franciscan missions in China · Odoric of Pordenone (ca. 1280/1286–1331), *Relatio* · encounters with Great Khans, Yuan Dynasty 元朝 (1271–1368)

Introduction

From major part of Latin manuscripts of the travelogue of Odoric of Pordenone, a Franciscan friar and pilgrim to the court of the Great Khan in the beginning of the fourteenth century, we can learn that he, together with some other Franciscans, met the Great Khan on his way to his Summer Palace in Shangdu.

Odoric of Pordenone (ca. 1280/1286–Jan 14, 1331) was a Franciscan friar who, in the wake of the thirteenth century expansion of the Mongolian empire, travelled to the court of the Great Khan at Khanbalik, the capital of the Mongolian Yuan Empire (元朝, or 大元帝國, Mongolian: *Dai-ön Yeke Mongyol Ulus*, or *Yeke Mongyol-un Yuwan Ulus*, 1271–1368). He had spent around eleven years (between ca. 1318 and 1329) travelling and evangelising in India and China before returning to Italy in 1330.

Odoric was born at Villanova, a hamlet now belonging to the town of Pordenone in the northeastern part of modern Italy, known as Friuli region (since 1077, a part of Patriarchate of Aquileia; in Italian: *Patria del Friuli*; in Latin: *Patria Foriulii*; in Furlan: *Patrie dal Friûl*).¹ Arthur Christopher Moule (1873–1957), an English historian, wrote—almost one hundred years ago—that there was nothing hazier than the chronology of Odoric’s life and travels, with the only exception being the date of his death.²

In manuscripts of his account Odoric is mentioned under many different names (frequently corrupted by scribes), most commonly being styled according to the place of his birth as »of Pordenone« (*b. Odoricus de Portu Naonis, Ordericus de Portu Naonis* etc.), »of Friuli« (*Odoricus Boemus de Foro Julii, Odericus de Foro-Iulii, Odoricus de Foro Julio, Oderigo di Frigholi, Oderigo da Frigholi, Ulrich von Fryaul, Ulreich von Friaul*), or eventually both (*Odorico de Porto Maggiore de Friuli*). Because his father was a soldier in the forces of Ottokar II (r. 1253–1278), King of Bohemia and Lord of Pordenone,³ Odoric is often regarded as being of Czech (or Bohemian) origin. But his »nationality« is still under question—according to other sources, he might have been of Friulian, Slovenian, Austrian, etc. »nationality«.⁴

- 1 See *Constitutiones Patrie Foriulii cum additionibus nouiter impressæ*. Venetiis, M D LXV. Ex officina Dominici Guerrei et Io. Baptistæ, fratrum.
- 2 Arthur Christopher Moule, »A life of Odoric of Pordenone«, *T’oung Pao* XX/3 (1921), 275.
- 3 OTAKARUS REX BOHEMIE ET AUSTRIE STIRIE CARINTHIE DUX MARCHIO MORAVIE ET DOMINUS PORTUS NAONIS—according to the inscription on his sepulchre in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Saints Vitus, Wenceslaus and Adalbert (commonly known as St. Vitus Cathedral) in Prague.
- 4 Latin manuscript Lat.2584 in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, is the only source to mention Odoric’s »nationality« to be Czech: *Odoricus Boemus*. For other »nationalities« see Dr. Jožef Gruden, »«Mirabilia mundi». Potovanja frančiškanskega misijonarja v srednjem veku« [»Mirabilia mundi». The Travels of the Franciscan Missionary in the Middle Ages], *Dom in svet* [Home and World], letnik 18, številka 6 (1905), 354–358, 424–429, 550–557; Janez Ev. Zore, *Življenje svetnikov* [Lives of Saints], I. del. (Celovec: Družba sv. Mohorja, 1917); Bogdan Kolar, *Mirabilia Mundi—Potopis brata Odorika iz Furlanije, člana Reda manjših bratov* [Travelogue of Brother Odorik of Friulian, a Member of the Order of the Friars Minor] (Ljubljana: Teološka fakulteta, 2010), 39–

According to a subscript to his travel narrative (*Itinerarium* or *Relatio*), after his return to Italy, he dictated an account of his journey to an amanuensis, a fellow-Franciscan, William of Solagna (Italian: *Guglielmo da Solagna*) at Padua in 1330. A subscript added to some manuscripts (*recensio Guillelmi*)⁵ records also his death at the Franciscan convent in Udine in January 1331. Since it included many descriptions and facts not mentioned in Marco Polo's »Il Milione«,⁶ the text

46; Erich Feigl, »Odorich von Portenau "Austriacus ignotus"« [Odoric of Pordenone "Austriacus ignotus"], in *Als Österreich die Welt benannte ... Eine Ausstellung des Marchfelder Schlösservereins, Schloß Hof im Marchfeld* [How Austria Named the World [...] An Exhibition of the Marchfelder Schlösservereins, Castle Hof in Marchfeld], Wien; Michael Pand, »Zu Fuß nach Peking und zurück. Oderich von Portenau, der erste österreichische Weltreisende« [Walking to Peking and Back. Odoric of Pordenone, the First Austrian World Traveler], *Wiener Zeitung*, (23.07.1999).

- 5 According to Prof. Paolo Chiesa (Udine), we can recognize six basic forms of redactions of Latin manuscripts of the Odoric's travel-record: *recensio Guillelmi*; *recensio Marchesini*, *recensio Henrici* (+ *copia Calvi*); *recensio Guecelli*; *recensio Germanica*; *recensiones breviores*. Paolo Chiesa, »Per un riordino della tradizione manoscritta della 'Relatio' di Odorico da Pordenone«, *Filologia mediolatina. Studies in Medieval Latin Texts and their Transmission. Riviera della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini*, VI–VII (1999–2000), 311–350; see also Paolo Chiesa, »Odoric's places«, in *Odoric of Pordenone: from the bank of Noncello river to the dragon throne / 波德诺内人鄂多立克, 从浓且罗河的岩到龙御座* (Pordenone: Comune di Pordenone, 2004), 28–32. In 2016, Annalia Marchisio elaborated these subdivisions in more detail. See Annalia Marchisio, *Odorico da Pordenone: Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*. Edizione critica a cura di Annalia Marchisio (Firenze: SIMEL (Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini d'Italia), 2016).
- 6 See two excellent editions: *Milione. Le divisament dou monde*. Il Milione nelle redazioni toscana e franco-italiana. A cura di Gabriella Ronchi. Introduzione di Cesare Segre (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., 2006), (I Meridiani Collezione), and *Milione. Versione toscana del Trecento*. Edizione critica a cura di Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso. Indice ragionato di Giorgio R. Cardona. III edizione (Milano: Adelphi Edizioni S.p.A. (gli Adelphi), 2003).

became an important source both for the fictitious account of »John Mandeville«⁷ and the famous *Catalan Atlas* of 1375.⁸

Being ranked among the saints, Odoric of Pordenone is an important figure for the Catholic Church, even though the process of his sanctification is still under consideration. Shortly after his death, district officials began to gather records of the alleged miracles at his tomb in Udine. A redaction of the *Relatio*, together with a biography and collected miracles were gathered together into a body of evidence to support the case for the friar's canonisation, an event that never, in fact, took place. Today, Odoric is largely worshiped as the Apostle of the Chinese (*l'Apostolo dei cinesi*).⁹ Every 14 January, the official festivities are celebrated on the anniversary of his death.

- 7 »Jehan de Mandeville«, also »Sir John Mandeville«, is the name claimed by the compiler of a singular book of supposed travels, written in Anglo-Norman French, and published between 1357 and 1371. Many of the incredible reports in Mandeville have proven to be garbled versions of Odoric's eyewitness descriptions. Cf. George F. Warner, ed. *The Buke of John Maundeuill being the Travels of sir John Mandeville, knight 1322-1356*. A hitherto unpublished English version of the unique copy (Egerton Ms. 1982) in the British Museum edited together with the French text, notes, and an introduction by George F. Warner, M.A., F.S.A., assistant-keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum. Illustrated with twenty-eight miniatures reproduced in facsimile from the additional MS. 24,189. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. Westminster: Nichols and Sons[...]. 1889 (MDCCCLXXXIX); Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East. The »Travels« of Sir John Mandeville*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1997; Michael C. Seymour, ed., *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*. Oxford: Early English Text Society and Oxford University Press 2002 (Early English Text Society OS, 319).
- 8 *Mapa mundi vol dir aytant con ymage del món e de les diverses etats del món e de les regions que són sus la terra de diverses maneres de gen qui en ela habiten*. (BNF Richelieu Manuscrits Espagnol 30)—Facsimile cf. Georges Grosjean, ed., *Mapamundi, der Katalanische Weltatlas vom Jahre 1375*. Herausgegeben und Kommentiert von Georges Grosjean [Mapamundi, the Catalan World Atlas of 1375. Published and Commented by Georges Grosjean] (Dietikon-Zürich: Urs Graf Verlag, 1977).
- 9 Andrea Tilatti, *Odorico da Pordenone. Vita e Miracula* [Odoric of Pordenone. His Life and Miracles] (Padova: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2004).

Though Odoric's *Relatio* received relatively little attention from specialists either in Medieval Latin or in Italian until recent years, his work was widely diffused in the Middle Ages. His account survives, like the *Milione* of Marco Polo that preceded it by thirty years, in multiple Latin redactions and European vernacular translations, including Italian, French, German, Spanish, and even Welsh. We know about 140 manuscripts of Odoric's itinerary, which largely differ from each other.¹⁰ For the years 2018 and 2019, many events will be organized for the commemoration of the 700th anniversary of the beginning of Odoric's mission to the East (1318).¹¹

- 10 Cf. my online publication Vladimír Liščák, *Po stopách bratra Odorika. Styky Evropy a mongolské Číny ve 13. a 14. století (s přílohou Biblioteca Odoriciana)* [On the Footsteps of Brother Odoric. Relations between Europe and Mongolian China in the 13th and 14th Centuries (with BIBLIOTECA ODORICIANA)] (Brno: Akademické nakladatelství CERM, 2014), 480–644. <https://journals.muni.cz/anthropologia_integra/article/view/2420>.
- 11 The year of 1318 is mentioned in some Italian manuscripts and incunabula as the year when Odoric went to the East. Cf.: »Anno Domini MCCCXVIII io frate Odorigo da Friolli de l'ordine de' frati minori della provincia di Padova, partimi de la detta provincia e veni in Gostantinopoli con altri miei compagni ...« [In the Year of our Lord MCCCXVIII, I Friar Odoric of Friuli of the Order of Friars Minor of the Province of Padua, Has Left the Said Province and Come to Constantinople with My Other Companions ...] (Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (BNCF), sezione Palatina, E.5.9.67); »Anno MCCCXVIII. io Frate Oderigo de' Frigoli dell' ordine de' Frate Minori della provincia di Padova volendo fare memoria de' paesi e provincie, le quali trovai partendomi di Padova, e venni in Costantinopoli...« [In the Year of our Lord MCCCXVIII, I Friar Odoric of Friuli of the Order of Friars Minor of the Province of Padua, Wishing to Commemorate the Countries and Provinces which I will found, has left Padua, and came to Constantinople ...] (Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 683); »Negli anni del nostro Signore Iesù Cristo MCCCXVIII io, frate Odorigo da Frigoli dell'Ordine de' frati minori della provincia di Padova, partendomi della detta provincia veni in Gbonstantinopoli...« [In the Years of our Lord Jesus Christ MCCCXVIII I, Friar Odoric of Friuli of the Order of Friars Minor of the Province of Padua, Has Left the Said Province and Come in Constantinople...] (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4047); (Ramusio 1574).

I *Christianity of the Mongol Empire in the Time of Odoric of Pordenone*

During the Yuan Dynasty in China, the Chinese word used in official documents to designate Christians was *yelikewen* 也里可溫 (from Mongolian *erkebün* via Greek ἔρχω *érchōn*, »coming«). *Yelikewen* is a general term that includes both a later entry of Nestorianism¹² and European Christianity entering China during the Mongol period. It had a support of the Yuan rulers, but was always regarded as a minor sect. However, when the Yuan dynasty met its demise, *yelikewen* fell too. One of the main reasons why this religion never gained widespread influence in China was that it never gained the sympathy and support of Chinese intellectuals.

Besides Nestorians, there were four distinct groups of Roman Catholic Christians which resided in or near China in the 13th century: Italian merchants in Chinese trading centres on a temporary or permanent base; a small number of slaves deported to Eastern Europe after the Mongol invasion; Franciscan missionaries and papal legates; and converts.¹³

By the time the first Franciscan and Dominican envoys were sent to the East in the mid-1240s, there was already a small Roman Catholic Christian community in Karakorum (*Qaraqorum*), then the capital of the Mongol Empire (until 1267). This community consisted mainly of Frenchmen, prisoners taken in 1242 by the Mongol armies in Hungary.¹⁴

12 Original Nestorianism (*jingjiao* 景教) disappeared from China after 845 when the clergy of non-Chinese religions were ordered to return to lay life. The second introduction of Christianity to China occurred when Central Asian tribes of the Nestorian creed moved into the northern parts of China. See Arthur Christopher Moule, *Christians in China before 1550* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930); in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. I: 635–1800, ed. by Nicolas Standaert (Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2001), 64–68.

13 Folker E. Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China: Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter* [Encounters with China: The Discovery of East Asia in the Middle Ages] (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992), 287–293; in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. I: 635–1800, ed. by Nicolas Standaert (Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2001), 68.

14 The only source of information about this community of Christians is William of Rubruck's letter to the French king, Louis IX. See P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert, OFM, ed. *Sinica Franciscana*.

In 1289, Pope Nicholas IV (1227–1292, papacy 1288–1292) sent the Franciscan, John of Montecorvino (*Iobannes de Montecorvino*, *Giovanni da Montecorvino*, 1246–1328), to China by way of India. Although the Great Khan had already died by the time John arrived (early 1294)¹⁵, the court at Khanbalik (*Qanbaliq*, 汗八里, »City of the Khan«, also known as Dadu 大都, 元大都, »Grand Capital«, in contemporary sources *Cambalech*, *Ghanbalau*, *Cabellec*, *Cambaluc*, *Cambalou*, *Canbalu*, *Cambalec*, *Cambaleth* etc.), the new capital of the Mongolian Empire, now in the area of Beijing, received him graciously and encouraged him to settle there.

After he had worked alone for eleven years, the German Franciscan, Arnold of Cologne, was sent (1303 or 1304) as Montecorvino's first colleague and joined him in 1306. In 1307, Pope Clement V (1264–1314, Pope in Avignon in 1305–1314), highly pleased with the missionary's success, sent seven Franciscan suffragan bishops who were commissioned to consecrate John of Montecorvino as the first archbishop of Khanbalik (*archiepiscopus Cambalensis*) and titular Patriarch of the East (*summus archiepiscopus in toto dominio Tartarorum*; between 1307 and 1328). Only three of these envoys arrived safely: Gerardus (*Gerard Albuini*, d. 1318), Peregrinus de Castello (*Peregrino da Castello*, d. 1323) and Andrew of Perugia (*Andreas Perusinus*, *Andrea da Perugia*, d. 1327). They consecrated John of Montecorvino in 1313 and succeeded each other in the episcopal see of Zaiton (Quanzhou), established by Montecorvino.¹⁶ In 1312, three more Franciscans were sent out from Rome to act as suffragans, of whom only one, Peter of Florence (*Pietro da Firenze*, d. 1362), reached Khanbalik.¹⁷

Vol. I. *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum seculi XIII et XIV*. Collegit, ad fidem codicum redegit et adnotavit P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert O. F. M. [Journeys and Relations of the Friars Minor from the 13th and 14th Centuries. Collected, edited and annotated by P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert O. F. M.] [Ad claras aquas] (Quaracchi–Firenze: Apud Collegium S. Bonaventuræ, 1929), 280.

15 Khubilai Khan (*Qubilai qayan*, 1215–1294), the fifth Great Khan of Mongol Empire (since 1260), founded the Yuan dynasty in China as a conquest dynasty in 1271, and ruled as the first Yuan emperor until his death in 1294.

16 Gerard Albuini (died 1318) was appointed the first bishop of Zaiton (1313–1318), Andrew of Perugia succeeded him in 1318, Peregrino da Castello in c. 1320, and Andrew of Perugia again in 1323 (until 1327).

17 Pietro da Firenze (died 1362) was bishop of Zaiton in 1332–1362.

2 *Odoric in the Court of the Great Khan*

One of John of Montecorvino's most vigorous younger missionaries was Odoric of Pordenone who arrived in modern Guangzhou (*Censcalan*) 廣州 by way of India in around 1324. After visiting Quanzhou 泉州 (*Zayton, Zaiton* in contemporary European sources), Hangzhou 杭州 (*Cansaia, Chunsai, Cunsai* etc.) and Yangzhou (*Iamzai*) 揚州, he reached Khanbalik in around 1325 and stayed there until 1328 or 1329. It is somewhat surprising that in his report Odoric does not mention the archbishop's name.

Odoric speaks of the activities of the Franciscans in Mongolian China only in general—for example, he mentions the Franciscan residencies (*loca*) in southeast China.¹⁸ He has devoted more attention to the imperial court and the power of the Great Khan, then Yesün Temür (元泰定帝, *Yesüntemür qaγan*), who reigned as the emperor of the Yuan dynasty from 1323 to 1328.

During his stay in Khanbalik, Odoric was often present at the Great Khan's court, as we know from the manuscripts of his report.¹⁹ He was interested, among others, in religious composition of the court dignitaries, and he refers, for example, that »of physicians to take charge of the royal person, there be four hundred idolaters (in other manuscripts »Tartars«), eight Christians, and one Saracen.«²⁰

He also mentions the conversions to the faith of Christ, even among the dignitaries of the Yuan court, and thus witnesses the missionary activities of the Franciscan friars or of himself. »So I took the opportunity to make diligent inquiry from Christians, Saracens, and all kinds of idolaters, and likewise from our own

18 Cf. my article about the *locis fratrum minorum* Vladimír Liščák, »Italian City-states and Catholic Missions in Mongolian World of the 13th and 14th Centuries«, *Anthropologia Integra*, 2 (2012), 27–36.

19 »*Nam nos fratres minores in hac curia habemus locum pro nobis specialiter deputatum et nos oportet semper primos procedere et dare domino regi nostram benedictionem.*« [For We Friars Minor Have, in His Court, a Place for Us Specially Designated, and We Must Always Advance as the First and Give the Lord Our Blessing]—Prague, National Museum Library, XVII.E.2., f. 9ra–9rb (transl. by the author).

20 »*Qui vero custodiunt personam regis sunt Thartari quator centum, christiani octo, et unus Saracenus.*« — Prague, National Museum Library, XVII.E.2., f. 9rb.

converts to the faith, of whom there be some who are great barons at that court, and have to do with the king's person only.«²¹ In some manuscripts Odoric himself is mentioned as a person who converts: »[...] *qui per me ad fidem Christi conversi sunt, quorum plures in illa curia sunt barones magni, aspicientes solummodo ad personam regis* [...]« (...who were converted to the faith of Christ by myself, of whom many in the court are great barons looking only to the person of the king).²²

Odoric's return voyage is described vaguely. Returning overland across Asia, through the »Land of Prester John« (possibly modern Inner Mongolia), the adventurous traveller seems to have entered Tibet, and even perhaps to have visited Lhasa.²³ After this we trace the friar in northern Persia, in *Millestorte*, once famous as the Land of the Assassins in the Elburz highlands. No further indications of his homeward route (to Venice) are given, though it is almost certain that he passed through Tabriz.

Odoric's text—as other medieval travelogues—is the result of an oral dictation. A final note handed down by many manuscripts of this work tells us that in May 1330 Odoric was in Padua, where in the convent of St. Anthony (*convento di Sant'Antonio*) he dictated an account of his long journey to the East to brother William of Solagna. In his postscript, William says he faithfully transcribed the oral history of Odoric. There is no reason to doubt this testimony, but this postscript is a part of only one group of manuscripts (*protestatio Guillelmi*). Later postscripts did not mention this testimony but added their own testimonies. This *protestatio* is written in the first person singular and is found only in one group

21 »[...] *unde diligenter petii et inquisivi a Christianis, Sarracenis cunctisque ydolatrīs a nostris etiam conversis ad fidem, qui in illa curia magni sunt barones aspicientes solum ad personam regis* [...]«—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2584, ed. by Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, »Descriptio orientaliū partium fratris Odorici Boemi de Foro Julii provinciæ Sancti Antonii«, in *Catbay and the Way Thither being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*. Vol. II, Appendix I (London: Printed for the Hukluyt Society, 1913), 321.

22 Cf. ms. XVII.E.2., Prague, National Museum Library, f. 9rb (transl. by the author).

23 »*De hac recedens, veni ad unum magnum regnum nomine Tybet, quod ipsi [Indie] contiguū est et subiectum magno Cani*.«—XVII.E.2., Prague, National Museum Library, f. 10vb; »*In hac civitate moratur abassy, quod sonat papa in illa lingua. Iste caput est omnium ydolatrarum*...«—*ibid.*

of manuscripts (originated mostly from northeastern Italy)²⁴, the other use the third person singular.²⁵

Recensio Guillelmi is chronologically the first version of the Odoric's travelogue, which clearly demonstrates that Odoric did not write his account personally but dictated it. The manuscript in Guglielmo's redaction was completed in early 1331—it ends with the record about the death of Odoric in January 1331.²⁶

3 *Odoric's Travel to Avignon and His Death*

A few months after finishing the dictation of his travelogue, Odoric travelled towards the papal court at Avignon (the papal residence in a period known as the Avignon Papacy, 1309 to 1377). The aim for this travel almost certainly was to obtain reinforcements for the Franciscan missions in China. However, after arriving in Pisa, he fell seriously ill and was transported to Udine, the capital of his native province of St. Anthony (*provincia Sancti Antonii*), where he died on 14 January 1331.²⁷ He was buried with great honours in the local church of St. Francis

24 »*Predicta autem ego fr. Guilelmus de Solagna in scriptis redegi sicut predictus fr. Odoricus ore proprio exprimebat an. dom. MCCCXXX de mense madii Padue in loco S. Anthonii.*« [I, Friar Guglielmo da Solagna, Have Recorded the Above Mentioned, which the Aforesaid Fr. Odoric Has Spoken with His Own Mouth, AD 1330, in May, at Padua in the Convent of St. Anthony]—ms. 343, Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, f. 24r.

25 »*Predicta autem fideliter Fr. Guillelmus de Solagna in scriptis redegit sicut predictus frater Odorius <Boemus> ore proprio exprimebat, anno Domini M.CCC.XXX mense maii Padue in loco Sancti Antonii.*« [Friar Guglielmo da Solagna Has Reliably Recorded the above Mentioned, which the aforesaid Fr. Odoric (the Bohemian) Has Spoken with His Own Mouth, AD 1330, in May, at Padua in the Convent of St. Anthony]—ms. lat. 2584, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. 126v.

26 »*Supradictus autem Fr. Odoricus postea ex hoc seculo transiit ad Dominum in conventu Utini anno Domini M° CCC° XXXI die XIII ianuarii, qui postmodum multis et magnis corruscavit miraculis.*«—ms. B.226.I, Padova, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni Soppresse—Monasteri padovani, Sant'Antonio, f. 17r.

27 In some manuscripts of Odoric's report, we can find a text known as *De morte fratris Odorici*, e.g.: »*Et veniens ad Utinum, que est civitas in foro Julii, anno dominice incarnationis M° CCC xxxi, pridie ydus*

(*convento e chiesa di S. Francesco*). The miraculous events, which reportedly occurred after his death, were carefully collected by notary public Guecello of Udine (Latin: *Guetelus notarius communis Utini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruario*; Italian: *Guecello di Damiano da Portogruaro*).²⁸

After January 1331, a copy of the Odoric's account was taken to Avignon by a delegation of Friars Minor in charge to submit Pope John XXII (1244–1334, papacy 1316–1334) a request of Odoric's beatification. The head of this delegation was Marchesino of Bassano (*Marchesino da Bassano*). He adds as a supplementary story, from his own recollection of Odoric's conversation, an anecdote which the other versions introduce as part of the dictated narrative—*De reverentia magni Chanis* (On the respect of the Great Khan).

4 *Adiunctio Fratris Marchesini*

Marchesino's version was copied in Avignon by a Silesian Franciscan Henry of Glatz (*Heinrich »Pfefferkorn« aus Glatz, Henricus dictus de Glars, beynricus dictus de Glaz*, etc.),²⁹ who most likely even stylistically reworked all the text after return to

Januarii, de huius mundi naufragio transiit ad gloriam beatorum [...]—ms. G.28, Prague, Archives of Prague Castle, Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of St. Vitus, f. 75v. But the style of dates determination varies in respective manuscripts.

28 For the text of the first list of thirty-seven miracles, see Andrea Tilatti, *Odorico da Pordenone. Vita e Miracula* (Padova: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2004), Appendice 2, 85–90. The commission headed by Corrado di Bernareggio, *gastaldo* of Udine, has collected, in two months, about seventy miracles done by Odoric. The resulting text of *Vita et miracula beati Odorici* has been preserved in three manuscripts: ms. 343, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, Assisi, ff. 25r–57r; ms. B. 226. I, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni Soppresses—Monasteri padovani, Sant'Antonio, Padova, ff. 18r–37v; ms. 212, Civica Biblioteca Guarneriana, San Daniele del Friuli (without the text of Odoric's travelogue). See Andrea Tilatti, *Odorico da Pordenone. Vita e Miracula* (Padova: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2004), 101–158.

29 Henry of Glatz is often erroneously rendered as a »Bohemian Franciscan«—cf. Folker Reichert, »Die Asienreise Odoricos da Pordenone und die Versionen seines Berichts, mit Edition der Aufzeichnungen nach dem mündlichen Bericht des Reisenden« [The Trip to Asia of Odoric of Pordenone and the Versions of His Report, with Edition of His Notes after the Oral Report of

Prague. About sixteen copies of this edition (*recensio Henrici*) are known, mostly from the 15th century; the oldest of them are two manuscripts: XVII.E.2 of the National Museum Library (Knihovna Národního muzea) in Prague, and D.IV.8 (E.III.20) of the University Library in Basel (Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel), both from the 14th century. This version is dated quite precisely »AD 1340, around the feast of All Saints« (i.e. around November 1, 1340).³⁰

Henry's redaction was spread mainly in eastern Germany and Bohemia.³¹ The version of Henry differs from that of William essentially from a formal point of view. There are minimal differences in the contents. The differences between the two versions, however, increase in the final chapters. In the version of the Silesian

the Traveler], in *Chloë: Beibefte zum Daphnis*, Vol. 34: *Erkundung und Beschreibung der Welt: Zur Poetik der Reise- und Länderberichte*. Herausgegeben von Xenja von Ertzdorff und Gerhard Giesemann [Exploration and Description of the World: The Poetics of Travel and Country Reports. Published by Xenja von Ertzdorff und Gerhard Giesemann] (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 471; Paolo Chiesa, »Odoric's places«, in *Odoric of Pordenone: from the bank of Noncello river to the dragon throne* / 波德诺内人鄂多立克, 从浓且罗河的岩到龙御座 (Pordenone: Comune di Pordenone, 2004), 30. Henry came from Glatz (modern Klódzko), a town in the historic region of Silesia, now in southwestern Poland.

30 »Et ego frater Henricus dictus de Glars, qui predicta omnia transcripsi existens Avinionis in curia domini pape anno Domini supradicto, nisi ibidem intellexissem de felice fratre Oderico a sociis suis qui secum fuerant tot perfectiones et sanctitatis opera, vix aliquibus hic per eum descriptis credere potuissem... Scripti autem hec anno Domini 1340 in Praga, circa festum omnium sanctorum, et copiosius ea audieram in Avenione.« (And I, friar Henry of Glatz, who has transcribed all above mentioned, dwelling in Avignon at the court of the Pope in the said Anno Domini, scarcely would believe something of that he describes, unless I have learned about works of such perfection and saintliness done by felicitous friar Odoric from his companions, who travelled with him[...] I have written this Anno Domini 1340 in Prague, around the feast of All Saints, and I have heard much more about that in Avignon). (Clm 903, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München). But this exact dating is missing in most versions of *recensio Henrici*.

31 Paolo Chiesa, »Odoric's places«, in *Odoric of Pordenone: from the bank of Noncello river to the dragon throne* / 波德诺内人鄂多立克, 从浓且罗河的岩到龙御座 (Pordenone: Comune di Pordenone, 2004), 30.

Friar, in fact, after the final testimony or *protestatio*, where Odoric confirms the veracity of the story and just before the final signing of the editor, two chapters appear that add more details to what was said earlier in the text.

The first of said chapters (traditionally known as *De reverentia magni Chanis*) narrates the meeting of the Friars Minor with the Great Khan and the act of reverence made by those before the cross, and it is present, albeit with significant variations, even in the *recensio Guillelmi*. The second (known as *De potentia magni Chanis*, On the power of the Great Khan) describes the act of submission made every year by the Sultan of Baghdad in the presence of emissaries of the Great Khan and is missing in the first version.

These two episodes are presented as an addition of Marchesino of Bassano (*Adiunctio fratris Marchesini*), and are preceded by a testimony of this Paduan brother (*protestatio Marchesini*), in which he claims to have heard them directly from Odoric:

»Ego frater Marchisinus de Baxidon, ordinis fratrum minorum, protestor quod a fratre Oderico predicto, dum adhuc viveret, audivi plurima que non scripsit.« [I, Friar Marchesino of Bassano, of the Order of Minorites, desire to say that I heard the preceding relations from the aforesaid Friar Odoric when he was still living; and I heard a good deal more which he has not set down.]³²

The statement of Marchesino, therefore, shows that the spread of the various experiences of Odoric's trip took place not only in written form, but also through the oral histories of the traveller.

5 *Unum Referam de Magno Cane Quod Vidi*

»One thing I have to say of the Great Khan, which I saw«. Thus—with some variations—most of Latin manuscripts confirm, that Odoric was personally present at an encounter of Franciscan brothers with the Great Khan. And as we learn more, it was not probably the only encounter.

In the text known as *De reverentia magni Chanis* (On the respect of the Great Khan), there is described the esteem, which Yesün Temür Khan (元泰定帝,

³² Cf. ms. XVII.E.2., Prague, National Museum Library, f. 11vb; ms. G.28, Prague, Archives of Prague Castle, Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of St. Vitus, f. 75r.

Yesüntemür qaγan, 1293–1328, reigned 1323 to 1328) reputedly showed to the Christian faith represented by the cross. The event allegedly occurred during the Great Khan's journey from Khanbalik to his Summer Palace in Shangdu (上都, »Upper capital«) and was recorded in almost all known manuscripts of Odoric's.

Beginnings of this passage (*explicit* or *Cap. XXXVIII*) in respective versions of manuscripts could be as follows³³:

[recensio Guillelmi + recensio Germanica—explicit forma C]

*Unum referam de magno cane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in illis partibus quod, quando predictus dominus per aliquam contratam transit, homines ante hostia suorum domorum ignem accendunt, et aromata apponunt et faciunt fumum, ut domino suo transeunti odorem emittant, et multi homines obviam sibi vadunt.*³⁴

One thing I will tell you about the Great Khan what I have seen. It is customary, in those territories, that when the aforesaid lord is traveling through a country, people light a fire in front of their houses, and put spices making a smoke, so that the passing lord could smell the emitted odor. And many people go and meet him.³⁵

[recensio Guecelli—explicit forma C(d)]

*Ceterum unum referam de magno cane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in partibus illis quod, quando predictus dominus per aliquam contratam transit, homines ante hostia sua accendunt ignem et apponunt aromata ac fumum faciunt, ut dominus transiens suavem sentiat odorem; et multi obviam sibi vadunt.*³⁶

Otherwise, one thing I will tell you about the Great Khan what I have seen. It is customary, in those territories, that when the aforesaid lord is traveling through a country, people light a fire in front of their houses, and put spices making a smoke, so that the passing lord could smell a pleasing odor. And many go and meet him.³⁷

33 Here are reconstructed versions/types—of course we can find differences in manuscripts.

34 Odorico da Pordenone, *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum* [The Report of the Wonders in Eastern Countries of Tartars], ed. by Annalia Marchisio (Firenze: SIMEL, 2016), 227.

35 English translation by the author of this article.

36 Odorico da Pordenone, *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, 231.

37 English translation by the author of this article.

[recensio Marchesini—explicit forma B]

*Notandum est quod ego, frater Marchesinus de Baxiano de ordine fratrum minorum, ista audivi a fratre Odorico predicto ipso adhuc vivente; nam plura audivi ab eo que non scripsit. Inter alia que locutus est hoc quoque dixit.*³⁸

It should be noted that I, friar Marchesinus de Baxiano of the Order of Friars Minor, have heard this from the aforesaid friar Odoric while he was still alive; and I have heard many from him, which he did not write. He also among other things has narrated what I have said.³⁹

[recensio Henrici —explicit redaction D]

*Ego frater Marchisinus de Baxidon ordinis fratrum minorum protestor quod a fratre Oderico predicto, dum adhuc viveret, audivi plurima que non scripsit. Dixit enim quod semel [...].*⁴⁰

I friar Marchisinus de Baxidon of the Order of Friars Minor declare that I have heard from aforesaid friar Odoric, while he was still alive, many things which are not written. He says that at some time [...].⁴¹

6 *An Encounter of the Franciscan Friars with the Great Khan*

The event happened apparently during Khan's journey from the Summer Palace in Shangdu to Khanbalik. Shangdu (上都, »Upper capital«), also known as *Xanadu* (from Mongolian reading *Šan̄du*, *Šanadu*), was the capital of Khubilai Khan's Yuan dynasty in China, before he decided to move his throne to Khanbalik. In 1797, historical accounts of the city, namely by Samuel Purchas (1577?–1626), inspired the famous poem *Kubla Khan, or A Vision in a Dream: A Fragment* by the English Romantic poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), published in 1816.⁴² Today, only ruins of Shangdu remain. Since 2002, a restoration effort has been undertaken

38 Odorico da Pordenone, *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, 225.

39 English translation by the author of this article.

40 Odorico da Pordenone, *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, 399.

41 English translation by the author of this article.

42 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Christabel, Kubla Khan, and the Pains of Sleep*, 2nd edition (London: William Bulmer, 1816).

and in June 2012, Shangdu was made a UNESCO World Heritage Site (under the name Site of Xanadu).⁴³

Odoric probably had never been in Shangdu. The place of his mission was Khanbalik, where also Archbishop John of Montecorvino was then active. But most likely he heard about this place because the Great Khan Yesün Temür regularly moved to his summer residence every year. After his election on 4 October 1323 on the banks of Kerulen River, he arrived on 13 November of the same year to the capital Khanbalik. Since then, every year, he left for his summer capital, staying there for many months.⁴⁴

According to the text *De reverentia magni Chanis*, Odoric and (four)⁴⁵ other Franciscans, one of whom was a bishop⁴⁶, met the Great Khan on his way from Shangdu and greeted him by singing the hymn VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS («Come Creator Spirit»).⁴⁷

43 See UNESCO, «Culture/World Heritage Centre/World Heritage List/Site of Xanadu». <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1389>> (last retrieval Apr 4, 2019).

44 From the literary sources, we know the exact data: 9 April to 24 August 1324; 15 March to 6 September 1325; 29 February to 19 September 1326; 23 March to 4 September 1327; 25 March to 13 October 1328, when he—in the end—died at the age of 35 years. This moving between Khanbalik and Shangdu is largely described in detail in the manuscripts of Odoric's narration. See Antonio De Biasio, *Odorico da Pordenone in Cina. Rilettura dei capitoli cinesi della Relatio* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2013), 145–146.

45 The number «four» is mentioned only in some manuscripts.

46 This may be the only reference on John of Montecorvino or one of the suffragan bishops in the Odoric's text. See «The Eastern Parts of the World Described, by Friar Odoric the Bohemian, of Friuli, in the Province of Saint Anthony», in *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*. Vol. II, ed. by Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society), 270,2.

47 *Veni Creator Spiritus*—Come Creator Spiritus—a hymn believed to have been written by Rabanus Maurus, a Frankish Benedictine monk, the archbishop of Mainz in Germany, and a theologian, in the ninth century. When the original Latin text is used, it is normally sung in Gregorian chant. This hymn is sung in a variety of liturgical occasions.

There are many versions of the text describing the encounter of the Franciscans and the Great Khan in Latin, French and Italian. I introduce here a text from ms. XVII.E.2., held in National Museum Library, Prague. (*recensio Henrici*):⁴⁸

Dixit enim quod semel dum Can magnus imperator thartarorum iret de Cambaeth Sandu, ipse frater Odericus erat cum quatuor fratribus minoribus sub umbra unius arboris iuxta viam, ubi [ipse Chan] erat transiturus. Et cum iam appropinquare cepisset, unus fratrum istorum, qui erat episcopus, indutus pontificali ornatu accepit crucem et impositam baculo in altum erexit. Tunc hii quatuor ceperunt altis vocibus ymnum VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS decantare. Quo audito, ipse Can quesivit a vicinioribus sibi principibus, quid hoc esset. Cui responderunt: Illos esse iiii^r rabant Franci, idest religiosi christiani. Et vocavit eos ad se et visa cruce erexit se in curru depositoque galerio capitis sui crucem humiliter deosculabatur. Et quia statutum est, quod nullus audeat appropinquare curru suo minibus,⁴⁹ idcirco frater Odericus parvum calatum [plenum pomis] pulchris obtulit ei pro xenio. At [ille] duo [accepit de ipsis pomis] et de uno comedit, alterum vero gestans in manibus [inde recessit]. [Ex] quo loculenter apparet, quod ipse Can aliquid sapit [de fide catolica], et hoc per inductionem fratrum nostrorum, qui in curia sua continue commorantur.

48 Cf. ms. XVII.E.2., Prague, National Museum Library, f. 11vb. The words in brackets are added from Teofilo Domenichelli, »Descriptio fratris Oderici de Ordine minorum de partibus infidelium« [Description of the Parts of the Unbelievers by Friar Odoric of the Order of Friars Minor], in *Sopra la vita e i viaggi del Beato Odorico da Pordenone dell'Ordine de' Minori*. Studi con documenti rari ed inediti del chierico francescano Fr. Teofilo Domenichelli sotto la direzione del P. Marcellino da Civezza M. O. In Prato: per Ranieri Guasti editore-libraio 1881, 199; »Descriptio orientalium partium fratris Odorici Boemi de Foro Julii provinciae Sancti Antonii« [Description of the Eastern Parts by Friar Odoric the Bohemian of Friuli in the Province of Saint Anthony], in *Cathay and the Way Thither being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*. Vol. II, Appendix I, ed by Henry Yule and Henri Cordier (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1913), 334.

49 »Et quia statutum est, quod nullus audeat appropinquare curru suo mani [...]« [Now, the rule and custom of that court is that no one shall venture to come into the Khan's presence emptyhanded]—The original meaning is distorted in the redaction of Henry of Glatz. From other manuscripts we learn that it was a quotation from the Bible as a matter of fact, which in the Latin version according to the *Vulgate* (a late-4th-century Latin translation of the Bible) is as follows: »Non apparebis in conspectu meo vacuus.« [None shall appear before me empty.] [Exodus 23:15].

Once upon a time, when the Great Khan was on his journey from Sandu to Cambalech, he (Friar Odoric), with four other Minor Friars, was sitting under the shade of a tree by the side of the road along which the Khan was about to pass. And one of the brethren was a bishop. So, when the Khan began to draw near, the bishop put on his episcopal robes and took a cross and fastened it to the end of a staff, so as to raise it aloft; and then those four began to chant with loud voices the hymn, VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS! And then the Great Khan hearing the sound thereof, asked what it meant? And those four barons who go beside him replied that it was four of the Frank *rabbans* (i.e., of the Christian monks). So the Khan called them to him, and the bishop thereupon taking the cross from the staff presented it to the Khan to kiss. Now at the time he was lying down, but as soon as he saw the cross he sat up, and doffing the cap that he wore, kissed the cross in the most reverent and humble manner. Now, the rule and custom of that court is that no one shall venture to come into the Khan's presence emptyhanded. So, Friar Odoric, having with him a small dish full of apples, presented that as their offering to the Great Khan. And he took two of the apples and ate a piece of one of them whilst he kept the other in his hand, and so he went his way. Now, it is clear enough from this that the Khan himself had some savour of our Catholic faith, as he well might through the Minor Friars who dwell at his court continually.⁵⁰

As writes Dinu Luca in his »China as the Other in Odoric's *Itinerarium*«, the purpose of such latter addition to Odoric's narrative might have been this: Through the friar's descriptions, we get closer and closer to what seems to be the ultimate target of travel (and all discourse), which is the khan—a khan we do not really get to see, who escapes all description and who never interacts with Odoric. This failure of the friar (and of the text) to fix its centre fully may explain why the addition of a new episode to the text is so significant.⁵¹

50 English translation (of another version) is taken from »Descriptio orientalium partium fratris Odorici Boemi de Foro Julii provinciae Sancti Antonii«, in *Cathay and the Way Thither being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, ed. by Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, Vol. II, Appendix I. (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1913), 270–271.

51 Dinu Luca, »China as the Other in Odoric's *Itinerarium*«, *CLCW&B: Comparative Literature and Culture*, 14,5, Article 3 (2012).

Absent in many redactions and showing substantial differences in terms of position, context, voice, development, phrasing, and structure in those in which it does, this episode is centred on the direct interaction between Odoric (accompanied by other friars and a bishop) and the Great Khan. Common elements include the incantation of a Christian hymn, the Great Khan's respectful reaction when presented the cross, the gift of fruit (most commonly identified as apples) the friars or Odoric himself present the khan with, and the khan's partaking of the fruit offered to him.

7 *De Prædicatione Magno Chani*

Other meeting of Odoric with the Great Khan is described only in some Latin manuscripts originated in the territory of central-southern Germany (*recensio Germanica*, or redaction F) in the second half of the fourteenth century. Strangely, not one version of a medieval German translation contains this text.⁵² These manuscripts held today in various libraries of the world—one is also in Prague—contain a rubric, commonly known as *De prædicatione magno Chani* (On the preaching before the Great Khan). It records, as the only source in Latin, Odoric's predication in front of the Khutughtu Khan (元明宗和世琜, *Küsele qayan*, or *Qutuγtu qayan*, 1300–1329, reigned 1328 to 1329), new Great Khan succeeding Yesün Temür.

The text is introduced with the words »*Imperator Kathay nomine Kosella*« (Emperor [of] Kathai named Kosella), which quite accurately captures the Mongolian name of the new Great Khan, who succeeded to the throne shortly after the death of Yesün Temür (died in August 15, 1328). The rule was then taken by the widow Babukhan Khatun (*Babuqan qatun*, 八不罕), who enthroned her eight-year son Ragibagh (元天順帝阿剌吉八, *Razibay qayan* / *Račabay qayan*, 1320–1328, reigned only a few months, from October to 14 November 1328).

52 Gilbert Strasmann, *Deutsche Übertragung der Reise nach China des Odorico de Pordenone*. Kritisch herausgegeben von Gilbert Strasmann [German Translation of the Travel to China of the Odoric of Pordenone. Critically edited by Gilbert Strasmann], ed. by Konrad Steckels (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1968). (Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit (TMA), Band 20) [Texts of the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, Vol. 20].

But it was already in September 1328, when a revolt of the followers of another branch of the ruling family had erupted. In November 1328, the rebel troops captured Shangdu and killed Ragibagh (according to the official statement, he »disappeared«). Tugh Temür (元文宗圖帖睦爾, *Töbtemür qayan*, or *Jayayatu qayan*; 1304–1332, reigned from 1328 to April 1329 and from September 1329 to 1332) officially became the ruler of the empire, who *de facto* reigned already from 16 October 1328.

Soon, from Central Asia to Mongolia arrived Qošila (or Küsele; 1300–1329)—this is just the »Emperor [of] Kathai named Kosella«—Tugh Temür's older brother, and in February 1329, with the support of local dignitaries, he became Khutughtu Khan (元明宗和世疎, *Küsele qayan*, or *Qutuqtu qayan*). But he died half a year after accession to the throne (August 30, 1329) on the way to Khanbalik—probably was poisoned with the understanding of Tugh Temür. In September 1329, Tugh Temür could return to the throne.

The episode, called *De prædicatione magno Chani* is primarily interesting for the fact that the name of the Great Khan Khutughtu Qošila (Odoric's *Kosella*) does not occur in any other Latin sources of that time. This ruler had been on the throne only for a few months and mostly stayed in the Great Steppe. We can assume that the core of the story is based on true events. Odoric, who lived with the Armenian community in Khanbalik, was probably called by the new khan to introduce him to Christian faith. The themes were the fundamental issues of Christianity, and the sermon (predication, preaching) was certainly the personal success of Odoric's missionary activity.

List of manuscripts containing *De prædicatione magno Chani*:

MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Halmii Codices latini monacenses, Clm 21259 (14th cent.)

PRAGUE, Archives of Prague Castle, Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of St. Vitus, N.10 (Rp.N.X) (first half of the 15th cent.)

STUTTGART, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.I.20 (second half of the 14th cent.)

STUTTGART, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. theol. et phil. 4° 541 (14th/15th cent.)

UPPSALA, Uppsala universitetbibliotek, CU.C.26 (1416)

The story was as follows:⁵³

Imperator Cathay nomine Kosella, dum semel staret cum paucis suis consiliariis, pre tedio fastiditus cepit inquirere an de astantibus aliquis sciret proponere in medio aliquid novum placabile ad cordis letitiam excitandam. Cum autem mutum silentium tenerent, omnes aspexerant de palatio, et dictum fuit quod in illa domo quadam, videlicet que opposita fuit aspectibus, longe tamen posita a palatio, erant quidam Armeni: »Illi forte aliquid novum et insolitum dicerent vobis ad spiritus recreationem«. Missum fuit ex parte imperatoris et repertus est frater Odoricus et adductus est ante dominum, et primo quidem benigne rogatus a domino ut eis aliquid novum et placabile proponeret. Cum per interpretem loqueretur, primo quidem humiliter excusavit se de nescientia theologie, proponeret tamen verbis simplicibus ea que essent fidei christiane. Assensit dominus. Incepit autem a mundi creatione, quomodo ad reparandam ruinam spirituum Deus creavit hominem de terra, in quo rationalem spiritum univit carni, et quomodo per inobedientiam Adam peccavit et eiectus de paradiso indignus mediatore Dei et hominum, qui et Deus et homo esset; propter quod in fine temporum divina clementia compatiens humane miserie misit filium suum in carnem, qui in carne assumpta passus est in ligno crucis pro redemptione humani generis et tandem ex potentia divinitatis surrexit a mortuis et in celum ascendit, quo sperant omnes boni christiani pervenire. Illa et talia alia plura cum simpliciter per interpretem evangelizasset, princeps cum suis placidum prebuit auditum. Et surgens de tribunali suo amplexatus et osculatus est fratrem Odoricum et in signum reverentie et honoris fecit propinari; et ipse prius poculo pregustato manu propria propinavit fratri Odorico. Benigne autem licenciato eo, unus de baronibus persecutus dixit: »Raban, vide et considera honorem quem tibi exhibuit imperator. Nam ab initio imperii Tartarorum a primo cane Cyrgis usque ad istum dominum numquam aliquis imperatorum nostrorum exhibuit alicui viventi tantum honorem.« Benedictus Deus. Amen.

53 Odorico da Pordenone: *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, 440–441; Folker E. Reichert, »Eine unbekante Version der Asienreise Odorichs von Pordenone«, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, XLII (1987), 564–565 Folker E. Reichert, »Eine unbekante Version der Asienreise Odoricos da Pordenone« [The Unknown Version of the Travel to Asia by Odoricos da Pordenone], in *Asien und Europa im Mittelalter: Studien zur Geschichte des Reisens* [Asia and Europe in the Middle Ages: Studies on the History of Traveling], ed. by Folker E. Reichert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 262–263.

When the Emperor of Kathay named Kosella once stood with some of his advisers, he began to wonder full weariness, whether one of those present could be something new and comforting to the best to excite gladness in the heart. But when they remain in mute silence, they all looked away from the palace, and it was said that in a house, namely within sight of and yet far from the palace, some Armenians lived: »These people might be able to tell you something new and unusual to elevation of the spirit.« On behalf of the Emperor someone was sent, and brother Odoric was found and brought before the ruler. He was friendly asked by him to present them something new and pleasing. While speaking through an interpreter, he apologized at first of his ignorance in theology, yet he wanted to present in simple terms, what this Christian faith was. The Lord agreed. He began with the creation of the world as God after the fall of the angels created a man of the dust and united in him the flesh with a reasonable mind; and as Adam sinned by his obedience and after the expulsion from paradise needed the mediation of God and man, who is both God and man. Therefore, God sent at the end of times, in divine gentleness and compassionate with the human race, his son among the people who suffered in fleshly form for the salvation of the human race on the wood of the cross and then rose again by the power of his divinity from the dead and in heaven ascended, where all good Christians hope to reach. When he was proclaiming this and much more through an interpreter, the ruler and his men listened to him quiescent. And he arose from his throne, hugging and kissing brother Odoric, let him pour a sign of his esteem and admiration, and drank to him after he himself had first tasted from the cup. After he was graciously released, told him one of the barons, who had followed him: »Master, see and remember the honour which you proved by the emperor. Because since the beginning of the empire of the Tartars, from the first Khan Genghis until this ruler, no one of our Emperors has proved a mortal so great honour.« Praised be the Lord. Amen.

The fact that these manuscripts of Odoric's travelogue recorded his sermon before the Great Khan Khutughtu (or Qošila), postponed for several months his probable departure from Mongolian China beyond the first half of 1329, instead of the middle of 1328, as is usually reported in the literature.

Conclusion

Moving of the court of the Great Khan to his summer residence must have been a great spectacle for Odoric, if it is true that Christians were accommodated outside the western walls of the Imperial City. It was common that people coming to the capital from the west resided in the western part of the city, i.e. in the time of the Yuan Dynasty, west of the present Beihai Park (*Beihai gongyuan* 北海公園).⁵⁴

The method of presenting a gift to the Great Khan described by Odoric was a common type of »tribute« (*gong wu* 貢物). The ruler accepted it and in return endowed the donor with various gifts. Gifts already mentioned by Marco Polo and considered by his contemporaries as exaggerated (according to them he was also called *dominus Marcus Paulus Milionus de Venetiis* [= Marco Polo the Million from Venice], *dominus Marcus Venetus qui dictus est Milionus* [= Lord Marco Venetian, who is named the Million] etc.), were not uncommon.

Although the text *De prædicatione magno Chani* need not necessarily reflect actual events and seems more like a fiction than the report, it does contain allusions and references that coincide with what is known about the conditions of the Mongolian imperial court. Odoric preached with the help of an interpreter. In fact, we do not know, how great Odoric's knowledge of the Mongolian language was. Fragments in foreign languages that appear in his travelogue, contain some terms from Turkic languages, Persian, Mongolian and a little Chinese. John of Montecorvino, who lived in Mongolian China for many years (from about 1294 to 1328), learned Mongolian to the extent that he could preach in this language. This is difficult to assume for Odoric, who spent altogether a little over three years in Mongolian China. Later hagiographic sources which claim that Odoric preached in many languages, have no credible evidence for that.⁵⁵

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54 Antonio De Biasio, *Odorico da Pordenone in Cina. Rilettura dei capitoli cinesi della Relatio* [Odoric of Pordenone in China. Re-reading of the Chinese chapters of the *Relatio*] (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2013), 134.

55 Folker E. Reichert, »Eine unbekannte Version der Asienreise Odoricos da Pordenone«, 264–265.

Between *Defender of Values* and *Faithful Ally*: Czech Approaches to China in the Prism of Role Theory Approach*

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Abstract For two decades after 1989, the Czech Republic has been one of the most energetic campaigners of human rights internationally and in particular concerning China. Political reshuffling in 2012–2013, however, led to a U-turn in foreign policy on China and suddenly the Czech Republic counted as one of the most pro-China countries regionally. A few years later, little economic results, and another domestic political reshuffling, the Czech approach towards China changed again. President and the government, however, maintain different views of what the Czech position towards China should be. The paper puts these dynamic changes in the Czech positioning vis-à-vis China in a framework using the »role theory« perspective, focusing on the policy-making process and discourse. Official statements of the Czech president, prime minister, and minister of foreign affairs are used as the data. It is shown, that the Czech dominant role changed from a *Defender of Values* (before 2012) to the one of a *Faithful Ally* of China (during 2013–2017). The situation since 2018 shows an open spectrum—while the government might be trying to build the position of an *Internal Developer*, the polarized nature of the Czech discussion of China make it difficult to defend.

Keywords China, Czech Republic · policy-making process, foreign policy

Introduction

After 1989, the Czech Republic (before 1993 Czechoslovakia) took a critical path in its foreign policy approach towards China, at least rhetorically. The newly

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democratic country led by anti-communist revolutionary leader-turned president Vaclav Havel looked at China through distinct ideological lenses.¹ Human rights, Tibet, and the government based on Taiwan became the symbols of the Czech position vis-à-vis China for more than two decades and they won high appeal among elite, civil society groups, media, and large sections of public.² Havel, for instance, never visited China or met with a high representative of the Chinese government; instead, he formed a personal friendship with the Dalai Lama. The similar direction was sustained after Havel's retirement, most notably in the person of Foreign Minister Karel Schwarzenberg, in office for most of the period of 2007–2013. By the end of the 2000s, the Czech Republic, with its negative ideological attitude towards China, was standing out within Europe.³

The idealistic and, probably prevailing, view among politicians, media and public had it that Czechs are experienced in the struggle against communism and they are able—or even morally obliged—to contribute to freedom in the world by offering know-how.⁴ More critical interpretations of the Czech inclination

- 1 It is fair to add that China looked back to the Czech Republic in a similar black-and-white way and at least during the 1990s it regarded the Czech Republic as a traitor of communism. The Chinese media generally presented the transformation of the country as unsuccessful, for a superb study see Czeslaw Tubilewicz, »Chinese Press Coverage of Political and Economic Restructuring of East Central Europe«, *Asian Survey* 37,10 (1997), 927–943.
- 2 Ondřej Ditrych, Vladimír Handl, Nik Hynek and Vít Strítecký, »Understanding Havel?«, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, September, 46,3, (2013), 407–417.
- 3 François Godemont and John Fox, *A Power Audit of EU-China Relations* (London: European Council on Foreign Relations, 2009), <ecfr.3cdn.net/532cd91dob5c9699ad_ozm6b9bz4.pdf> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017). See also François Godemont, Jonas Parello-Plesner and Alice Richard, *The Scramble for Europe* (London: European Council on Foreign Relations, 2012), <http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR37_Scramble_For_Europe_AW_v4.pdf> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017); Rudolf Fürst, »Dálný východ v české zahraniční politice« [Far East in Czech Foreign Policy], in *Česká zahraniční politika v roce 2012: Analýza ÚMV* [Czech Foreign Policy in the Year 2012: Analyses of IIR], ed. by Michal Kořan (Prague: Institute of International Relations, 2013), 214–221.
- 4 See for example Olga Lomová, »Občanská práva v ČLR v době výročí Charty 77« [Civic Rights in

towards human rights protection in Tibet point out, that the fight against communism in Czechoslovakia was the domain of a relatively small group of intellectuals and dissidents, with most citizens passively giving in the political reality. Hence, it is allegedly this lack of struggle against own authoritarian regime which creates a feeling of »guilt« among people which they want to suppress by projecting a desired own position on a similar struggle elsewhere, in this case, China.⁵

At the same time, some analysts still criticized the Czech foreign policy for lacking a coherent direction, a definition of fundamental norms, and strategic priorities.⁶ Since 1989 the only somewhat unifying narratives of the Czech foreign policy were the human rights protection and post-communist transition experience. However, these have never been elaborated into any official strategy defining how to act on them in practice. Indeed, it is difficult to talk about any practical »support« for these ideals in practice. The best examples concerning China are numerous visits of the Dalai Lama in the Czech Republic, annual Tibet-day flag events, vocal support for the UN membership of Taiwan, and other

PRC at the Time of Anniversary of Charter 77], *Aktuálně* 10 January 2017, <<http://blog.aktualne.cz/blogy/olga-lomova.php?itemid=28654>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017), »Otevřený dopis signatářů Charty 77 premiéru Sobotkovi« [Open Letter of Charter 77 Signatories to Premier Sobotka], *Sinopsis* 20 January 2017, <<https://sinopsis.cz/otevreny-dopis-signataru-charty-77-premieru-sobotkovi>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017), see also public campaign »Nepodbízejte se diktátorům aneb Demokratovo desatero« [Do not Undersell Yourself to Dictators or Ten Principles of a Democrato], <<http://www.nediktatorum.cz>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

- 5 Rudolf Fürst, »Podpora Tibetu, Tchaj-wanu a lidských práv v Číně: Evropská avantgarda nebo český kýč?« [Support of Tibet, Taiwan and Human Rights in China: European Avant-garde or the Czech Kitsch?], in *Hledání českých zájmů: Obchod, lidská práva a mezinárodní rozvoj*. [Looking for Czech National Interest: Trade, Human Rights and International Development], ed. by Petr Drulák and Ondřej Horký (Prague: Institute of International Relations, 2010), 80–101.
- 6 Vladimír Handl and Otto Pick, *Česká zahraniční politika 1993–2005: Od "návratu do Evropy" k evropeizaci* [Czech Foreign Policy 1993–2005: From "Return to Europe" to Europeanization] (Prague, Institute of International Relations, 2005); Michal Kořan, »The Political Context and the Making of Czech Foreign Policy in 2013« in *Czech Foreign Policy in 2013: Analysis*, ed. by Michal Kořan *et al.* (Prague: Institute of International Relations, 2014), 17–28.

rhetorical expressions.⁷ Hence, it can be argued, that the »pro-Tibet«, »pro-Taiwan«, and »anti-China« orientations served more as the symbols of the Czech foreign policy orientation, to a considerable extent resulting from the domestic political milieu, rather than a substantial foreign policy program.⁸

The China-related discourse of Czech political leaders changed significantly from very negative to exceedingly positive during 2013.⁹ Although some of the leaders tried to frame their positions as not being in opposition to the previous policies, our account will show that the Czech approach towards China during the period of 2013–2017 indeed differed significantly from the previous period. Given the fact that the former role was perceived by many as emerging from historical experience and fundamental values, the policy shift was followed by a vivid political, public and media discussion.

Eventually, the new position vis-à-vis China did not take hold—after the perceived lack of economic results, series of hiccups of Chinese businesses in the Czech Republic, growing security preoccupations of Huawei and other controversies, the new Babiš government effectively abandoned the pro-China positioning. However, this leaves the country without a foreign policy consensus among its leaders. President Zeman continues in his friendly rhetoric towards China, new foreign minister Petříček mentions human rights and values, while

7 »Vlajka pro Tibet« [Flag for Tibet], *Lungta*, 2017, <<http://www.lungta.cz/projekty/vlajka-pro-tibet/>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

8 Rudolf Fürst, »Co počít s negativní českou konstrukcí zlé Číny?« [What to do with the Negative Czech Construction of Bad China?], in *Mezi politickým (ne)zájmem a byrokratickou efektivitou* [Between Political Disinterest and Bureaucratic Effectivity], ed. by Vít Střítecký *et al.* (Prague: Institute of International Relations, 2011), 115–125.

9 Rudolf Fürst, »Česká politika na Dálném východě« [Czech Foreign Policy in Far East], in *Česká zahraniční politika v roce 2013. Analýza ÚMV* [Czech Foreign Policy in the Year 2013. Analysis of IIR], ed. by Michal Kořan (Prague: Institute of International Relations, 2014), 236–247; Richard Turcsányi, Tamás Matura and Rudolf Fürst, »The Visegrad Countries' Political Relations with China: Goals, Results and Prospects«, in *Chinese Investments and Economic Engagement in Visegrad Countries: Myth or Reality?*, ed. by Ágnes Szunomár (Budapest: Institute of World Economics, 2014), 127–143.

Babiš largely overlooks China and occasionally points out the lack of economic results.

The foreign policy of a state can be viewed as being constituted in two dimensions: a structure of the policy and the process of policymaking.¹⁰ The main focus of this text lies in the latter. To be able to conceptualize the issue on the rhetorical/symbolic level, we have chosen the »role theory« approach¹¹ examining roles states assume internationally. Role theory provides a progressive analytical framework composed of various concepts that are designed to be filled with qualitative data and interpreted uniquely based on particular findings.¹² A »role« may be defined as a social position constituted by inner and external expectations from the performance of the actor within an organized group or towards another actor.¹³ Its purpose is to provide actors with a sense of identity, which is crucial for the actor's self-awareness as a political entity within the international system.¹⁴ Most often, the roles are being formulated by political leaders to create reliable political and public support for their positions, without the need for repeated

10 Laura Neack, *The New Foreign Policy. Power Seeking in a Globalized Era* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008); Marijke Breuning, *Foreign Policy Analysis. A Comparative Introduction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

11 See, for example, Sebastian Harnish, »Conceptualizing in the minefield: role theory and foreign policy learning« *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 8, 1 (2012), 47–71. <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2011.00155.x/full>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017); Leslie Wehner and Cameron G. Thies, »Role Theory, Narratives, and Interpretation: The Domestic Contestation of Roles«, *International Studies Review*, 16,1 (2014), 411–436; Kalevi J. Holsti, »National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy«, *International Studies Quarterly* 14,3 (1970), 233–309.

12 Vít Beneš, »Teorie rolí: Konceptuální rámec pro konstruktivistickou analýzu zahraniční politiky« [Role Theory: Conceptual Framework for Constructivist Analysis of Foreign Policy], *Mezinárodní vztahy* 45,4 (2010), 72–87.

13 Kalevi J. Holsti, »National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy«, *International Studies Quarterly* 14,3 (1970), 233–309.

14 Ibid.

elaboration and defence in every particular situation.¹⁵ For assigning the roles, we will use a list of 15 possible roles that a state can assume created by Kalevi Holsti.¹⁶

This text aims to contextualize and systematically interpret changes in Czech foreign policy approach towards China. Through the role theory lenses, the paper will investigate what roles did the Czech Republic adopted via its three leading foreign policy representatives (president, prime minister, minister of foreign affairs) during the final era of the »anti-China« period, how these roles reversed in the »pro-China« period, and what has been the most recent development under the Babiš government. The paper will answer how and why the Czech Republic has been changing its approach towards China in the rhetorical dimension.

I *The Final Era of »Anti-China« Period (2008–2012)*

In 2008, China became a focal point of the world's attention due to the Olympic Games in Beijing, but it was also facing criticism over issues related to Tibet, Darfur, and generally human rights.¹⁷ Internationally the question appeared in front of the states' representatives whether to attend the event—and this was a burning issue for the Czech leaders as well. The historical heritage of the communist regime, combined with the proclaimed endeavour to stand up for human rights in Tibet, created broad public and media expectations for Czech politicians to boycott the Games.¹⁸ On the other hand, the Czech Republic was

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Allision Welch, »Human Rights in China: 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics«, *Human Rights and Human Welfare*, (2008), 211–220. <www.du.edu/korbel/hrhw/researchdigest/china/OlympicsChina.pdf> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

18 »Politici odmítli jet na olympiádu. Teď posílají náměstky« [Politicians Refuse to Go to the Olympic Games. Now They Are Sending Their Deputies], <www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/politici-odmitli-jet-na-olympiadu-ted-posilaji-namestky.A080804_210310_domaci_dp> (last retrieval July 22, 2019).

about to take over the presidency of the Council of the European Union in 2009, which created a pressure to take a more diplomatic approach towards China. Former President Václav Klaus later became known for taking pro-China positions. However, during his tenure in the office, his views remained economy-related without clear opinion on China. He alleged that he did not attend the Beijing Olympics due to a planned surgery. Nevertheless, that did not stop the world press from interpreting it as a stance against China and human rights abuse.¹⁹

The Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs Karel Schwarzenberg took a strong position against China. He was depicting China as a dictatorship that uses the Olympic Games for propaganda and legitimization purposes, just like Hitler's Germany did in 1936.²⁰ The MFA issued a manifesto that proclaimed the Czech government to be putting a »traditionally great emphasis on human rights« and demanded their respect from the Chinese government.²¹ The ministry's steps adhere to the role of a *Defender of Values* in the relationship with China. What these values stand for can be extracted from the discourse of Prime Minister Miroslav Topolánek. Even though he was not as critical as Schwarzenberg, the concept of devotion to the society's virtues was present in a large number of his speeches. In the interview during the Olympics, he said: »Due to our history, we cannot remain silent on some issues, because we know about them much more than others. For example, human right«.²² Eight from eleven government ministers

19 »Merkel says she will not attend opening of Beijing Olympics« <www.theguardian.com/world/2008/mar/29/germany.olympicgames2008> (last retrieval July 25, 2019); »Polish PM's No to Olympic opening« <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7316477.stm>> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

20 »Schwarzenberg chce bojkotovat zahájení olympiády« [Schwarzenberg Wants to Boycott Olympic Opening], *iHned* (April 9, 2008), <zahranicni.ihned.cz/evropa-slovensko/c1-23906840-schwarzenberg-chcebojkotovat-zahajeni-olympiady#rehor> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

21 »Ministerstvo zahraničí k situaci v Tibetu: Odsuzujeme násilí na pokojných a neozbrojených demonstrantech« [Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Situation in Tibet: We Condemn Violence at Peaceful and Unarmed Demonstrators], Government of the Czech Republic, March 17, 2008, <www.vlada.cz/cz/media-centrum/aktualne/ministerstvo-zahranici-k-situaciv-tibetu-odsuzujeme-nasiliv-pokojnych-a-neozbrojenych-demonstrantech-32749/> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

22 »Topolánek: Vyšponovaná atmosféra v Číně je nezdravá« [Topolánek: Tightened Situation in

expressed they did not want the prime minister to attend the Olympics, yet Topolánek eventually decided to go.²³ Nevertheless, he did not attend the opening ceremony, leaving the following comment: »When a Prime Minister of a small country doesn't attend the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games, he expresses a certain position, even though it might not have a great impact. The Czech Republic is not a world power. However, it is important not to be afraid and speak up«. ²⁴

During the Czech Presidency in the EU in 2009, Jan Fischer, a successor of Miroslav Topolánek in the office of Prime Minister, brought up a human rights issue during his meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao, allegedly speaking on behalf of both the Czech Republic and the European Union.²⁵ The human rights-related discourse endured in the Czech politics within two following years, although the role of a *Defender of Values* was continuously fading away. Besides the verbal and largely symbolic critique of China, the Czech Republic did not exercise any concrete diplomatic efforts in this regard.

In 2012, the long-standing narrative began to change. The impulse was given firstly by China that started to approach Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) more actively than before. In 2011, China signed a strategic partnership with Poland,

China is Unhealthy], *iDnes* (August 15, 2015), <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/topolane-k-vysponovana-atmosfera-v-cine-je-nezdrava-fxs-/domaci.aspx?c=A080815_142635_domaci_ban> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

23 »Topolánek nakonec do Pekingu vyrazí, chce podpořit české sportovce« [Topolánek Will Eventually Go to Beijing, He Wants to Support Czech Sportsmen], *iDnes*, July 5, 2008, <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/topolane-k-nakonec-do-pekingu-vyrazi-chce-podporit-ceske-sportovce-1dj-/domaci.aspx?c=A080715_142346_olympiada-pekings_ber> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

24 »Na zahájení olympiády raději ne, myslí si Topolánek« [Better Not to the Olympic Opening, Topolánek Thinks], *iDnes* (April 11, 2008), <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/na-zahajeni-olympiady-radeji-ne-mysli-si-topolane-k-fwk-/domaci.aspx?c=A080411_194733_domaci_jte> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

25 »Jan Fischer se setkal s čínským premiérem« [Jan Fischer Met with the Chinese Premier], Government of the Czech Republic (May 22, 2009), <http://www.vlada.cz/cz/media-centrum/aktualne/jan-fischerse-setkal-s-cinsky-m-premierem-57798/> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

and Premier Wen Jiabao visited Hungary.²⁶ The year later, Chinese Premier met in Warsaw with 16 CEE Prime Ministers in the first summit of the 16+1 platform, offered the CEE countries 10 billion USD credit line for infrastructure projects, and announced that China wants to double trade with CEE by 2015.²⁷ In the meantime, the U.S. did not show much interest in the region after the project of the anti-ballistic umbrella was dropped by the Obama administration in 2009, while the idea behind the European integration was losing its mobilizing power in the region after the 2008 crisis. Central European states found themselves (again) in a role of the periphery, hanging between Russia and the (true) West. The ideological emptiness of this position made the postmodern values to turn into a more economical approach in policy-making and opened a space for China to fill in.

The herald of the change emerged in the Czech Republic first in September 2012. The Prime Minister Petr Nečas delivered a speech where he labelled the Czech traditional value-oriented narrative derogatively as »dalailamism«, called it a »false and fake adoration« and »simply just a trend«.²⁸ His disapproval stemmed from the alleged export losses due to the negative approach towards China. According to Nečas, the Czech Republic should be pragmatic in its relationship towards China, abandon the Tibet issue (even at the rhetorical level), and focus on the economic opportunities provided by China.

Nečas was criticized for the speech, amongst others, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Schwarzenberg who dismissed Nečas' opinion as an »ominous

26 »China, Poland establish strategic partnership«, Xinhua News (December 20, 2011), <http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2011-12/20/c_131317763.htm> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

27 Kong Tianping, »The 16+1 Framework and Economic Relations Between China and the Central and Eastern European Countries«, in: *A Forum for Research and Commentary on Europe* (December 14, 2015), <councilforeuropeanstudies.org/critcom/161-framework-and-economic-relations-between-china-and-ceec/> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

28 Government of the Czech Republic, »Premiér: Dokončení Temelína bude významným impulsem pro český průmysl« [Premier: Finalizing of Temelín Will be an Important Impulse for Czech Industry], September 10, 2012, <<http://www.vlada.cz/cz/clenove-vlady/premier/vyznamne-projevy/premier-dokoncenitemelina-bude-vyznamnym-impulsem-pro-cesky-prumysl-98892/>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

madness« and »communicating the Chinese propaganda«. ²⁹ Moreover, shortly before the speech, the Czech Ambassador in London Michael Žantovský officially met with the Dalai Lama during his visit to London.³⁰ President Klaus allegedly criticized the ambassador's meeting,³¹ while he did not directly comment on the Prime Minister's speech. However, he later attended the celebrations at the Embassy of the Peoples' Republic of China, where he officially stated: »We need to open the relations between our countries and stop bringing in obstacles«. ³² From the perspective of what came after, we may label Klaus and Nečas as suggesting to assume the role of the *Internal Developer*, with Schwarzenberg sticking to the previous role of a *Defender of Values*.

2 The »Pro-China« Period (2013–2017)

In 2013, the Czech Republic held a presidential election in which it chose the left-wing candidate Miloš Zeman after eight years of the presidency of Václav Klaus from the right wing. Coincidentally, Prime Minister Nečas and his right-wing government resigned the same year due to a corruption scandal, and the new president appointed a temporary cabinet. The new administration was showing

29 »Schwarzenberg vyčítá Nečasovi úlet. Politici se prou o „dalajlamismus“« [Schwarzenber Criticizes Nečas for a Step Out. Politicians Argue over “Dalailamism“], *iDnes* (September 11, 2012), <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/top-09-stoji-za-schwarzenbergovou-kritikou-necase-f7w-/domaci.aspx?c=A120911_120033_domaci_kop> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

30 »Aféru s dalajámou spískal Žantovský a dostal za to kartáč« [Žantovský Was Behind the Incident with Dalai Lama and Got Punished for It], *Česká Pozice* (September 15, 2012), <http://ceskapozice.lidovky.cz/tema/aferu-s-dalajlamou-spiskal-zantovsky-a-dostal-za-to-kartac.A120912_045448_pozice_76960> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

31 Ibid.

32 »Klaus vyzval k přátelství s komunistickou Čínou, mění se prý k lepšímu« [Klaus Called for Friendship with Communist China, It is Allegedly Changing for Better], *iDnes* (September 27, 2012), <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/vaclav-klaus-c9e-/domaci.aspx?c=A120927_213218_domaci_zt> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

sympathy for China; however, it lost a confidence vote in a few months and had to step down as well. The early legislative election was held afterwards, giving rise to a new left-wing government of social democrats, complemented by an entrepreneur-led party with an unspecified position on the left-right political axis (ANO) and a Christian conservative party (KDU-ČSL). This political turmoil caused an exchange amongst Czech political leaders, leaving the traditional right-wing parties powerless in the opposition, or at least in the position of minor government partners without a direct effect on foreign policy. Both the new government and president showed almost immediately that they are much more prone to cooperation with China than the previous leaders.

Soon after entering the office, President Miloš Zeman received and accepted the offer from the Chinese President Xi Jinping to pay a state visit in China in the following year.³³ Meanwhile, Prime Minister Jiří Rusnok kicked-off a process of »restarting« the Czech–China relations. He attended the 16+1 summit in Bucharest, where he met with his Chinese counterpart Li Keqiang and described Czech–Chinese ties as a »deep, long-term friendship«. He then continued: »I am convinced that our country has learned a lesson from our previous bilateral relations and that development of healthy, stable development emerging from mutual respect and equal treatment«. ³⁴ The distinction from the discourse of former Czech representatives was tremendous, and Rusnok was first to show signs of putting the Czech Republic into the role of a *Faithful Ally* of China.

Simultaneously, the Czech Republic was seeking a better position within the quickly developing 16+1 format of cooperation with China. Although being passive in 2012, the Czech government increased ambitions in the next year and announced the interest to be the host of the next summit in 2014. However, the

33 »Prezident Zeman obdržel oficiální pozvání k návštěvě Číny« [President Zeman Received Official Invitation to Visit China], *EuroZprávy* (November 13, 2013), <<http://domaci.eurozpravy.cz/politika/81561-prezidentzeman-obdrzel-oficialni-pozvani-k-navsteve-ciny>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

34 Government of the Czech Republic, »Premiér: Věřím v dlouhodobé strategické partnerství mezi Čínou a Evropou« [Premier: I Believe in Long Term Strategic Partnership between China and Europe], (November 13, 2013), <<http://www.vlada.cz/cz/clenove-vlady/premier/projevy/premier-osobne-verim-vdlouhodobem-strategicke-partnerstvi-mezi-cinou-a-evropou-113340/>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

Chinese side declined the request, stipulating that the bilateral relations are not on a sufficiently high level in comparison to other European states.³⁵ In following months, both new Prime Minister Bohuslav Sobotka and new Minister of Foreign Affairs Lubomír Zaorálek widely articulated the negatives of lagging in relations with China. The narrative of »back to normal«, which referred to the abandoned values-oriented and China-critical policy as a malign deflection from the perceived European pragmatic standard, dominated the Czech political discourse in 2014. It also backed up the bilateral meeting of Minister Zaorálek with his Chinese counterpart Wang Yi. Zaorálek was the first Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs to visit China after 15 years: »It is an attempt to approximate the relationship with China to the level of other European countries [...] we attempt to have normal relations«.³⁶

However, the foreign minister found that visiting China and not mentioning the human rights on behalf of the Czech Republic would not come unnoticed by the opposition, media, and public, who got accustomed to the role of a *Defender of Values*. Both Minister Zaorálek and Prime Minister Sobotka hesitated in response that the Czech Republic in their opinion still fulfils the previous role, but in the name of a cultivated debate, they moved the human rights talk into private conversations with Chinese officials. »It is not true that we do not carry out the human rights policy. It remains the fundamental principle of Czech foreign policy«, articulated Zaorálek.³⁷

35 »Na lidská práva v Číně nerezignujeme, slibuje Zaorálek« [We don't Abandon Human Rights in China, Promises Zaorálek] *Aktuálně* (April 4, 2014), <zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/politika/zaoralek-nerezignujeme-naobhajovu-lidskych-prav-v-cine/r-c78a82a0cb8e11e3a09e0025900fea04/> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

36 »Zaorálek: Česko nerezignovalo na obhajobu lidských práv v Číně« [The Czech Republic Did Not Abandon Advocacy of Human Rights in China], *Týden* (April 24, 2014), <http://www.tyden.cz/rubriky/domaci/politika/zaoralek-ceskonerezignovalo-na-obhajobu-lidskych-prav-v-cine_305024.html> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

37 »Lubomír Zaorálek v Číně zlepšuje vztahy mezi Prahou a Pekingem« [In China, Lubomir Zaoralek Is Improving Relations between Prague and Beijing], *Deník* (April 28, 2014),

The Czech president Zeman approached this dichotomy with a different strategy—to separate the topic of Tibet from the values to be defended. He repeatedly described in media the punishment practices in the 19th century Tibet, describing the practises before the Chinese »liberation« as barbaric and savage, subsequently pointing out the improvements China has made in the region: »If you say that this (savage punishments in free Tibet) is a democracy, then I correct you and say that this is merely feudal and slave society.«³⁸ The position of criticism of Tibet rather than the pro-Tibet sentiments took hold in some parts of the society, while opponents of the President and the general change of the foreign policy role only strengthened their view of Tibet as a symbolic issue.

In 2014, the Czech Republic sealed the transition from a pro-Tibet critic through signing the following clause: »The Czech Republic is fully aware of the importance and sensitivity of the Tibet issue and reaffirms that Tibet is an integral part of Chinese territory. Czech Republic [...] does not support any form of independence of Tibet.«³⁹ At the following press conference, Minister Zaorálek supplemented the statement with the comment: »Our position is clear, and we do not intend to »surprise« China on this matter in any way«. According to Zaorálek, signing the partnership, including this particular clause, was fulfilling the terms of approximating the relations with China to the European level.⁴⁰

Taking a closer look at this statement, it is worth mentioning that the Czech Republic has always officially abided the principle of »One China«. On the other hand, it was an extraordinary move for the Czech Republic to condemn the long-promoted support for Tibet so explicitly in an official commentary. In the

<http://www.denik.cz/ze_sveta/lubomir-zaoralek-v-cine-zlepsuje-vztahy-mezi-prahou-a-pekingem-20140428.html> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

38 »Lepší současný stav než teokracie s vylupováním očí, řekl Zeman o Tibetu« [Better Today's Situation than a Theocracy with Scaling off Eyes, Said Zeman about Tibet], *Novinky* (November 11, 2014), <www.novinky.cz/domaci/353209-lepsisoucasny-stav-nez-teokracie-s-vylupovanim-oci-rekl-zeman-o-tibetu.html> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

39 »Nechceme samostatný Tibet, podepsal Číně za Čechy Zaorálek« [We Do Not Want Independent Tibet, Signed in China Zaorálek for the Czechs], *Aktuálně* (April 29, 2014), <<https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/nehceme-samostatny-tibet-podepsal-cine-za-cechy-zaoralek/r-c2fa4f8ccf6611e3b3cbo02590604f2e/>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

40 Ibid.

strategic partnership documents with China, for instance, the UK used a more subtle formulation of the »One China« principle regarding Tibet⁴¹ while France, Germany, and Poland did not mention Tibet in their strategic documents with China at all.⁴² The condemnation of the support for Tibet is also not mentioned in the EU–China Strategic Agenda 2013, or in the EU–China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership 2015.⁴³ At the same time, all of the mentioned documents include a somewhat stronger message about human rights protection than the Czech–Chinese Partnership document did.

The analysis draws a picture of the Czech Republic’s position towards China as an atypically friendly stance in comparison to other European states in the second period. Miloš Zeman backed and deepened these assumptions during his

41 »Parliament, “Written Ministerial Statements”« (October 29, 2008), <<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200708/cmhansrd/cm081029/wmstext/81029m0001.htm>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

42 »Déclaration conjointe entre la République populaire de Chine et la République française adoptée par le président Xi Jinping et le président François Hollande« [Joint Declaration between People’s Republic of China and Republic of France Adopted by President Xi Jinping and President François Hollande], *Élysée-Présidence de la République française* (2015), <<http://www.elysee.fr/declarations/article/declaration-conjointe-entre-la-republiquepopulaire-de-chine-et-la-republique-francaise-adoptee-par-le-president-xi-jinping-et-le-president-francois-hollande/>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017); »Joint Declaration between Germany and China« *Die Bundesregierung* (March 28, 2014), <www.bundesregierung.de/Content/EN/Pressemitteilungen/BPA/2014/2014-03-28-china-declaration.html>, (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017); »Polska i Chiny podpisały oświadczenie o strategicznym partnerstwie« [Poland and China Signed Strategic Partnership Document], *Onet Wiadomości* (May 14, 2014), <<http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/polska-i-chiny-podpisyly-oswiadczenie-o-strategicznym-partnerstwie/gf4kv>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

43 »EU-China Strategic Agenda for Cooperation«, *European External Action Service* (2013), <http://eeas.europa.eu/china/docs/20131123_agenda_2020_en.pdf> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017); »EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership«. European Commission (2015), <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2015/06/150629-EU-China-Joint-Statement/>> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

visits to China. In his speeches, Zeman used uncommonly familiar rhetoric and took his time to reassure Chinese officials again that not just him, but also »the whole government of the Czech Republic have made it clear that we do respect the territorial integrity of China«.44 The overall discourse of the president can be perceived as indicating submissiveness: »We are not here to teach you the market economy or human rights, we are here to learn from you. [...] I am here in China to learn how to speed up the economic growth and how to stabilize the society«.45 The second claim, in particular, sparked outrage within the Czech political and public sphere as some of the practices commonly used to stabilize the society in China are not complementary with the Czech democratic constitution and legal system. Moreover, the comment was uttered in the echo of the suppression of protests in Hong Kong, which put the human rights record of China again on the Czech media spotlight. Miloš Zeman with his comments confirmed the role of the Czech Republic as a *Faithful Ally* of China.

Shortly after that, in September 2015, president Zeman visited China for the second time. As the only Western leader, he was attending a military parade to mark the anniversary of the end of World War II.; hence the visit became surrounded by controversy—and again confirmed the Czech role of China's *Faithful Ally* within Europe. To make the visit happen, the Czech Republic vetoed an EU proposal that the political leaders of the EU countries will skip the event.46 »I fail to see what's wrong with (Zeman's visit to China). To compare this visit with its recent visit to Moscow does not make any sense, EU has not imposed any

44 »Česko uznává celistvost Číny, řekl Zeman. Včetně Tibetu a Tchaj-wanu« [The Czech Republic Recognizes Integrity of China, Said Zeman. Including Tibet and Taiwan], *iDnes* (October 27, 2014), <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/cesko-uznava-celistvost-ciny-tibet-zeman-frm-zahranicni.aspx?c=A141027_120243_zahranicni_bse> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

45 »Nepřijel jsem vás učit lidská práva, řekl Zeman v čínské televizi« [I Did Not Come to Teach You about Human Rights, Said Zeman in Chinese Television], *iDnes* (September 30, 2014), <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/zeman-rozhovor-cinska-televize-d3h-domaci.aspx?c=A141030_180201_zahranicni_mlb> (last retrieval Jan 15, 2017).

46 »Zeman pojedí do Číny, Česko se kvůli tomu postavilo celé Unii« [Zeman Goes to China, Czech Republic Stood up to the Entire EU for That], *Novinky* (4 August 2015), <<https://www.novinky.cz/domaci/376708-zeman-pojede-do-ciny-cesko-se-kvuli-tomu-postavilo-cele-unii.html>> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

sanctions on China«, Sobotka defended Zeman's decision, explaining that the president is committed to »improving Czech-China relations that represent an important priority of the government«. ⁴⁷ Sobotka cited exports to China and Chinese investments as a positive consequence of the relationship.

The year 2016 was the highpoint in Czech-China relations, dominated by the state visit of Xi Jinping to the Czech Republic—the first-ever of China's president to the country. »It's a new beginning (for the Czech-China relationship). The previous government was succumbing to pressure from the United States and the EU. Now, we are an independent country again, and we form our own foreign policy based on our own interests«, Zeman commented on the visit in March 2016 interview for the CCTV, prior to the Xi's visit, ⁴⁸ seemingly framing the Czech Republic into a role where it does not abide by external pressures. However, given the international context in which the Czech Republic is part of both NATO and the EU, Zeman's efforts distances himself (rhetorically) from the country's legal allies (EU and NATO) created the impression of moving towards China as an alternative.

Xi Jinping's visit to Prague was surrounded by multiple controversies that turned the diplomatic event of the year into an unpleasant domestic political issue. The main media topic was the clashes between pro-Tibet protesters that showed up upon president Xi's arrival, and ethnic-Chinese, who came to welcome their leader in a group organized by the Chinese embassy. Besides, the two countries signed multiple memoranda, including the Strategic partnership between China and the Czech Republic and the twinning agreement between Prague and Beijing. The latter document would then become a source of another controversy as it

47 »Zeman v Číně? Nevidím na tom nic špatného, míní Sobotka« [Zeman in China? I Don't See Anything Bad About It, Says Sobotka], *Novinky* (August 4, 2015), <<https://www.novinky.cz/domaci/376766-zeman-v-cine-nevidim-na-tom-nic-spatneho-mini-sobotka.html>> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

48 »«Je to nový začátek», komentoval Zeman vztahy s Čínou a kritizoval bývalou vládu« [«It's a New Beginning», Zeman Commented on Relations with China and Criticized the Former Government], <https://www.lidovky.cz/domov/je-to-novy-zacatek-komentoval-zeman-vztahy-s-cinou-a-kritizoval-byvalou-vladu.A160328_103647_In_domov_ELE> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

explicitly acknowledged »One China Policy«, which is rare when compared with the rest of Europe. Forced to defend the circumstances of the visit on the parliamentary floor, Premier Sobotka described the visit alongside the narrative of normalizing the Czech–China Relations. »Czech Republic was an exception within Europe, since many countries were aiming for more intense political and economic relations with China, for instance, Poland or Hungary, but also Great Britain, France, or Germany. [...] We are trying to heighten the dialogue and to make up for the delay that the Czech Republic has had,« Sobotka explained when asked about the aim of Czech foreign policy towards China.⁴⁹

In October 2016, the minister of culture Daniel Herman of the junior government party of the Christian conservatives met with the Dalai Lama, who arrived in Prague to attend the Forum 2000 conference. To immediately reassure Beijing about Czech Republic's political adherence to »One China Policy«, the four highest officials of the Czech Republic—president, prime minister, and the speakers of the two houses of the parliament—issued together the so-called »Statement of Four«, where they all dissociated themselves from Herman's actions and promised »no changes to the politics of the respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of China, of which Tibet is a part«. In reaction, Beijing recommended the government to »match their words with actions«.⁵⁰

The document drew widespread condemnation as it was seen as a humiliating gesture. Besides, Minister Herman claimed he was hassled by president Zeman, who allegedly leveraged a state award for a member of Herman's family against the minister's meeting with the Dalai Lama.⁵¹ Then Minister of Finance Andrej Babiš,

49 Bohuslav Sobotka, »Parliament of the Czech Republic« (April 14, 2016), <<http://www.psp.cz/eknih/2013ps/stenprot/044schuz/so44104.htm>> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

50 »Politici se hádají nad reakcí Číny na české ujištění o přátelství« [Politicians Are Arguing Over Reaction of China to Czech Assurance About Friendship], *Novinky* (October 26, 2016), <<https://www.novinky.cz/domaci/418765-politici-se-hadaji-nad-reakci-ciny-na-ceske-ujisteni-o-pratelstvi.html>> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

51 »Herman: Zeman mi pohrozil, že jestli se sejdu s dalajlamou, neudělí strýci vyznamenání« [Herman: Zeman Threatened to Me that if I Meet Dalai Lama, My Uncle Will Not Receive the State Honors], *Lidovky* (October 21, 2016),

who would later become the Prime Minister, expressed his support to minister Herman in the case, foreshadowing his reserved approach towards China.⁵² Regardless of the opposition, Premier Sobotka was determined to get the Czech-China partnership to another level and feared that Herman's actions were hindering Czech business opportunities. »The intense political relationships on the highest level (were to) help to grow business contacts and will heighten Czech investment to China«, explained Sobotka on the parliamentary floor.⁵³

To sum up, the primary identified motivation of the Czech leaders' approach towards China during the period 2013–2016 was the economy, and this might suggest the role of »Internal developer«, i.e. overlooking international issues (including tensions and human rights) for the sake of own material benefit. However, the Czech leaders went quite far in their attempts to build positive relations with China, overshadowing the role of »Internal developer«. In particular, President Zeman went as far as offering his country to serve as a Chinese »unsinkable aircraft carrier«, fulfilling the criteria of the role of a Faithful Ally of China. Premier Sobotka and his Foreign Minister Zaorálek were comparably less pro-China, yet also they went further in accommodating China than the role of Internal developer would require and as most other European countries found necessary, effectively positioning the Czech Republic into the role of a Bridge/Gateway between China and Europe.⁵⁴

<https://www.lidovky.cz/domov/herman-z-hradu-mi-vzkazali-ze-jestli-se-sejdu-s-dalajlamou-neudeli-stryci-vyznamenani.A161021_172506_ln_domov_mpr> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

52 »Vážím si Vás, pane ministře«, napsal Babiš po schůzce Hermana s dalajlamou« [»I Respect You, Sir«, Wrote Babiš after the Meeting between Herman and Dalai Lama], *Týden* (October 19, 2016), <https://www.tyden.cz/rubriky/domaci/politika/vazim-si-vas-pane-ministre-napsal-babis-po-schuzce-hermana-s-dalajlamou_402281.html> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

53 »Zeman se Si Ťin-pchingem zasadili v Lánech pamětní strom, odpůrci v Praze věšeli tibetské prapory« [Zeman and Xi Jinping Planted a Memorial Tree in Lány, Demonstrators in Prague Hung Tibetan Flags], *Česká televize* (March 23, 2016), <<https://ct24.ceskatelevize.cz/domaci/1737387-zeman-se-si-tin-pchingem-zasadili-v-lanech-pametni-strom-odpurci-v-praze-veseli>> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

54 »Z Prahy se má pro Čínu stát brána do střední Evropy, míní Sobotka« [Prague Shall Become

3 *The Collapse of Consensus (2018–2019)*

The »China dream« of the leading Czech politicians started to vanish in 2017. From the announced investments and deals during the Xi's visit, only the already standing acquisitions of the CEFC materialized with no more greenfield investments or even other acquisitions taking place. This fell far short from what was generally perceived as sufficient »payback« for the pro-China political turn in the Czech Republic. Moreover, even the CEFC itself got into troubles, putting a shadow over the idea of Chinese investments altogether. First, the CEFC was blocked from acquiring 50 % shares of the J&T Financial Group by the Czech Central Bank, which claimed that the financial background of the Chinese company was not transparent. Second, it turned out that the CEFC expansion was based on unsustainable debt-financing and the company eventually saw all its assets in the Czech Republic taken over by the Chinese state-owned vehicle CITIC. Third, as the problems of CEFC surfaced, the company's chairman Ye Jianming, who was also appointed by the president Zeman to act as his advisor, »disappeared« in China, most probably to be arrested due to his company's activities.

All of this notwithstanding, President Zeman seemed determined to continue in the same direction concerning China, even though there was evidence that his supporters, too, did not find his Chinese endeavours positively.⁵⁵ In May 2017, amid the CEFC crisis, Zeman visited China for the third time to attend the first Belt and Road Forum. He met with Xi Jinping on bilateral level and was actively presenting the Czech Republic as a potential partner of the initiative, allegedly bringing 38 concrete projects how the Czech Republic could participate in the Belt and Road.⁵⁶ Zeman's fourth visit followed in 2018, as he flew to China

a Gateway to Central Europe, Says Sobotka], *Novinky* (September 22, 2015), <<https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/svet/clanek/z-prahy-se-ma-pro-cinu-stat-brana-do-stredni-evropy-mini-sobotka-332879>> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

⁵⁵ See for example Lubomír Kopeček, *Miloš Zeman—příběh talentovaného pragmatika: Intelektuál válčí s intelektuály* [Miloš Zeman—A Story of a Talented Pragmatist: The Intellectual Is at War with the Intellectuals] (Brno: Barrister & Principal, 2017).

⁵⁶ »Zeman přiletěl do Číny kvůli Hedvábné stezce. Sám překonal obtíže na schodech« [Zeman Flew to China because of the Belt and Road Initiative. He Overcome Difficulties on Steps], *Blesk* (May

International Import Expo in Shanghai. The Czech president said in the opening speech that he »feels like a friend« when in China, confirming once again his desire to position his country as a *Faithful Ally* of China. The visit produced a few memoranda, most notably one between the company PPF and Huawei, as well as PPF and CITIC Group.⁵⁷ Zeman also met with Xi Jinping again, praising the alleged rise in Czech exports to China and booming cooperation between the countries.

In April 2019, president Zeman visited China for the fifth time to attend the second Belt and Road Forum. At that time, Czech–Chinese relations already showed visible signs of deteriorations due to the CEFC fiasco and generally due to the absence of Chinese investments, unflattering trade balance, and most recent controversies surrounding Huawei. For the first time, Zeman acknowledged the absence of any big Chinese investors in the Czech Republic and dubbed it a »stain on the Czech–China relationship«. He also expressed his discontent over the Czech Republic being effectively left out of the Belt and Road loop in spite of his multiple attempts to include it.⁵⁸ At the same time, during an interview for CCTV, Zeman also described the Czech Republic as an »angry red piece inside of Europe, a country that stands against Huawei«.⁵⁹ This criticism of own country abroad signals well that the Czech Republic's role towards China

12, 2017), <<https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-politika/468635/zeman-priletel-do-ciny-kvuli-hedvabne-vezce-sam-prekonal-obtize-na-schodech.html>> (last retrieval July 25, 2018).

57 »Zeman vyzýval podnikatele v Číně k větší odvaze« [Zeman Prompted Businessmen in China to Be More Courageous], *Novinky* (September 6, 2018), <<https://www.novinky.cz/ekonomika/488279-zeman-vyzval-podnikatele-v-cine-k-vecsi-odvaze.html>> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

58 »Nejsem spokojen, investujte v Česku víc, řekl Zeman v čínské televizi« [I am not Content, Invest More in the Czech Republic, Said Zeman in CCTV], *iDNES* (April 23, 2019), <https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/zeman-cina-investice-rozhovor-kritika.A190423_173856_domaci_zaz> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

59 »Miloš Zeman návštěvou v Číně opět oživil, proč na něj senátoři chystají žalobu« [By Visiting China Miloš Zeman Reminded Us Again Why the Senate is Looking to Sue Him], *Seznam* (April 29, 2019), <www.seznamzpravy.cz/clanek/milos-zeman-svym-chovanim-v-cine-opet-pripomnel-proc-na-nej-senatori-chystaji-zalobu-71205> (last retrieval Apr 29, 2019).

was coming along differently than Zeman would like. Most notably, it also put under the spotlight the lack of consensus between Czech leaders on what role to assume vis-à-vis China.

Indeed, Zeman was left alone in his struggle to lure China by this time. The new Czech government stemming from the elections at the end of 2017 did not share the president's and former government's flare for China. The social democrats lost the Prime Minister seat and became a junior government partner in the coalition led by ANO. The new prime minister, billionaire Andrej Babiš, already signalled his open but pragmatic approach to China which, however, has never been an important topic for him. When he does talk about China, he expresses discontent with the current setting of the Czech-China economic relations: »In the past, many politicians went there, but any result hasn't been seen«, said Babiš prior to 16+1 summit in July 2018 and criticised China's prioritizing of acquisitions over greenfield investments.⁶⁰ In April 2018, he criticised the »numerous trips to China« that have brought little of what was promised⁶¹, and asserted that Czech exports to China rose just by 160 million dollars between 2017 and 2018, while China has increased its imports to the Czech Republic by 6 billion dollars. On the other hand, Babiš also invited his Chinese counterpart over to Prague.

Towards the end of 2018, Babiš was confronted with a crisis surrounding the National Cyber and Information Security Agency (NCISA) warning against future use of Huawei and ZTE technologies. On that account, he met with the new Chinese ambassador Zhang Jianmin, who later commented on Facebook that the prime minister apologized and promised »not to repeat similar mistakes

60 »Andrej Babiš: Do Číny jezdilo hodně politiků, ale výsledek se zatím neprojevil. Teď se to chystá změnit« [Andrej Babiš: A lot of Politicians Were Visiting China, But We Have Seen No Results. That's About to Change], *Parlamentní listy* (July 07, 2018), <<https://www.parlamentnilisty.cz/arena/monitor/Andrej-Babis-Do-Ciny-jezdilo-hodne-politiku-ale-vysledek-se-zatim-neprojevil-Teď-se-to-chysta-zmenit-542957>> (last retrieval July 25, 2019).

61 »Byznys se pohnul hlavně ve prospěch Číny, řekl Babiš po jednání s čínským premiérem« [Business is Moving in the Direction of China's Profits, Said Babiš after Meeting Chinese Prime Minister], *Aktuálně* (April 11, 2019), <<https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/cinske-investice-nejsou-uspokojive-bezporocetne-navstevy-se-mu/r-95252d805c7811e9b2a00cc47ab5f122/>> (last retrieval July 20, 2019).

again«. ⁶²Apparently, this was not how Babiš saw the meeting going, and he pointed that out publicly. »What he wrote is nonsense. It's a lie, it's not true«, said Babiš very openly on Czech TV concerning the Chinese Ambassador. ⁶³»We are an independent, sovereign state, there's nothing to apologize for«, added the prime minister, striking unusually assertive tone. But at the same time, Babiš subsequently downplayed the Huawei issue due to lack of physical evidence. ⁶⁴

The prime minister's critique of China alongside his neutral, business-oriented approach signals again the role of Internal Developer, yet this time backed with the recognition of the limited economic benefits to striving for and, therefore, also much less political effort and friendly positioning in the process. This adjusted role acknowledges the discrepancy between the pro-China position that former Sobotka government sought to adopt and the reality in which the Czech Republic has not visibly benefitted from this role. ⁶⁵

New Minister of Foreign Affairs in Babiš's government, Tomáš Petříček, also does not share the China-friendly approach of his predecessor Lubomír Zaorálek,

62 »Předseda vlády ČR Andrej Babiš se setkal s velvyslancem Zhangem Jianminem« [The Prime Minister Andrej Babiš Met with Chinese Ambassador Zhang Jianmin], *Chinese Embassy in Prague*. Facebook (December 24, 2018), <www.facebook.com/chinaembassy.cz/posts/2205660102812630> (last retrieval July 24, 2019).

63 »"Je to lež a nesmysl." Babiš odmítl čínské prohlášení o společné schůzce k Huawei« ["It's a Lie, It's Nonsense." Babiš Denied Alleged Commentary about His Meeting about Huawei], *Česká televize* (January 6, 2019), <ct24.ceskatelevize.cz/domaci/2697848-spor-o-huawei-pokracuje-podle-babise-cinsky-velvyslanec-o-spolecne-schuzce-lhal> (last retrieval Aug 5, 2019).

64 »Ohledně Huawei není co řešit, řekl Babiš po schůzce se Zemanem. Hájí justice« [There's Nothing to Talk about Regarding Huawei, Said Babiš after Meeting Zeman], *Aktuálně* (January 28, 2019), <<https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/ohledne-huawei-neni-co-resit-rekl-babis-po-schuzce-se-zemane/r-f732b2de233b11e9a0090cc47ab5f122/>> (last retrieval Aug 5, 2019).

65 »Premiér Babiš se zúčastnil summitu zemí 16+1 a jednal s čínským premiérem Li Kche-čchiangem« [PM Babiš Attended the 16+1 Meeting after Talks with Chinese PM Li Keqiang], *Vláda České republiky* [Government of The Czech Republic] (July 7, 2018), <<https://www.vlada.cz/cz/media-centrum/aktualne/premier-babis-se-zucastnil-summitu-zemi-161-a-jednal-s-cinsky-m-premierem-li-kche-cchiangem-167401/>> (last retrieval Aug 5, 2019).

even though he is from the same social democratic party. He tackled the question during his first trip to China: »I see China as a vital partner, with whom we need to lead an open pragmatic dialogue about all aspects of our relationship«, he said and included human rights in the list of the aspects.⁶⁶ Petříček strives to maintain good and strong ties with China established in prior years, but approaches the country with more confidence and realism in expectations. The minister also openly mentioned his willingness to continue the Czech tradition of human rights agenda in foreign policy.⁶⁷ Overall, Petříček shares much of the *Internal Developer* role which the Prime Minister Babiš adopted, while also adding a pinch of the *Defender of Values* role.

The discrepancy between Zeman's upkeep of the role of *Faithful Ally* and the government's generally preferred role of *Internal Developer* and even signs of a *Defender of Values* became evident during a diplomatic hassle between Beijing and Prague's City Hall over the sister city agreement signed by the previous City administration during the Xi's visit which included explicit stipulations about the »One China Policy«. The new mayor of Prague Zdeněk Hřib decided to take an article recognizing the »One China Policy« out of the twinning agreement between Beijing and Prague due to its "redundancy". Minister Petříček denounced the step, however, he backed rhetorically yet mildly the mayor when Beijing decided to retaliate by cancelling an entire tour of the Prague Philharmonic Orchestra in China: »It's an unfortunate decision to constrain the cultural community because

66 »S Čínou je třeba vést pragmatický dialog, patří tam i lidská práva, řekl Petříček v Šanghaji« [It's Necessary to Lead a Pragmatic Dialogue with China, Including Human Rights Talks, Said Petříček in Shanghai], *iRozhlas* (November 4, 2018), <https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-svet/tomas-Petrichcek-cina-milos-zeman-lidska-prava-ekonomicka-diplomacie_1811041247_och> (last retrieval Aug 1, 2019).

67 »Proč ministr Petříček couvl a nepodepsal kritiku Vondráčka za cestu do Ruska? ,Nejprve se s ním setkám« [Why Minister Petříček Backed off from Signing a Document Criticising Vondráček's Journey to Russia? I'll Meet Him First], *iRozhlas* (October 19, 2018), <https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/ministr-zahranicnich-veci-tomas-Petrichcek-radek-vondracek-v-rusku-poche-zeman_1810191316_rak> (last retrieval Aug 10, 2019). »Lidská práva se vrátí mezi priority české diplomacie« [Human Rights Are Back among the Priorities of the Czech Diplomacy], *Hospodářské noviny* (Oct 18, 2018), <<https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-66296030-lidska-prava-se-vrati-mez-priority-ceske-diplomacie>> (last retrieval Aug 1, 2019).

of some discrepancies in politics«. Petříček and Babiš reminded China that the Czech Republic is a democratic country, where the City Hall has its autonomous voice. Babiš then finished off with his by now signature critique: »I still hold my opinion that China has to catch up in the trade balance and open up its trade to our export«.

In stark contrast, Zeman's spokesperson expressed his understanding of Beijing's step to cancel the Philharmonic Tour by labelling mayor's Hřib decision a »dishonour« to China: »[Hřib and his party] are harming national interests by striving to exclude the Czech Republic from cooperation with PRC.«⁶⁸ But it seems like Zeman is becoming lonely with his friendship towards China (with the notable exception of the Communist Party). After Beijing upped its pressure to Hřib in July and publicly asked him to »stop damaging Czech–Chinese relations«, the MFA issued a statement, effectively summarizing the new attitude towards China: »The (ministry) leads a dialogue with China in many areas of common interest [...]. But we certainly do not avoid sensitive issues, such as the protection of human rights. We are open towards China, but also realistic. The Czech Republic is interested in developing quality relations with China, and we are ready to continue fulfilling the strategic partnership signed by both countries in 2016.«⁶⁹

68 »Nechtění "pražští" umělci v Číně: Ovčáček štvě "zneuctění", Petříček odmítl tresty« [Unwanted "Prague" Artists in China: Ovčáček Is Mad over "Dgradation", Petříček Denounced the Punishment], *Blesk* (May 12, 2017), <<https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-politika/604906/nechteni-prazsti-umelci-v-cine-ovcacka-stve-zneucteni-Petrickek-odmitl-tresty.html>> (last retrieval Aug 2, 2019).

69 Mnísterstvo zahaničí České republiky, »Prohlášení MZV k česko-čínským vztahům« [Statement of the MFA in Reference to Czech-China Relations] (July 18, 2019), <https://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/udalosti_a_media/prohlaseni_a_stanoviska/x2019_07_18_prohlaseni_mzv_k_cesko_cinskym_vztahum.html> (last retrieval Aug 3, 2019).

Conclusion: Assessment of Changing Czech Roles vis-à-vis China

The article has reviewed three distinct periods of the Czech foreign policy approach towards China since 2008. In this concluding section, we will first sum up the rich empirical material presented in the main body of the text, before explaining the frequent and significant changes in Czech foreign policy approach towards China. Eventually, a few broader implications will be drawn for the Czech foreign policy approach towards China based on the insights of this article.

Between 2008 and 2012, the Czech Republic assumed mainly the role of a *Defender of Values*, although it was already fading away compared to previous years. The specific values Czech politicians aimed to support were human rights, particularly in the countries experiencing Communist rule. China became a potent symbol of this approach, also as a result of Vaclav Havel's steps and legacy. In the analysed period, the Czech leaders felt compelled to express their views, such as during the Olympic Games or the Czech presidency in the EU. However, during 2012, some Czech politicians started to criticize the overall focus on human rights in general and concerning China in particular allegedly for missing out on economic opportunities. These steps suggested to adopt the role of an *Internal Developer*, yet the role was not accepted at the time.

Interestingly, the political reshuffling in the country in 2013 moved the Czech approach towards China much further away. President Zeman made China one of his signature policies, and he went all the way to assume the role of a *Faithful Ally* of China. The position of government differed to some extent, yet even though government representatives tried to paint their steps as »normal« in the European context, they went in fact further than that assuming the role of *Bridge/Gateway* between China and Europe. In reality, although the economic logic was presented as the main reason behind the U-turn in policy on China, the concrete steps and the rhetoric of the government, and especially the president, positioned the country predominantly as a *Faithful Ally* of China.

The Czech approach towards China changed again in 2018. Most importantly, the mood spread that the economic results of the whole effort were disappointing and with no better future prospects, there were no reasons to continue focusing on China. Hence, the new Prime Minister Andrej Babiš pragmatically adopted the role of an *Internal Developer* by downgrading the overall attention paid towards China and focusing solely on the economic benefits of the Czech-China

relations—or rather lack of thereof. He attempted to preserve functional relations with Beijing but acted more assertively and confidently. Minister Petříček did not differ much from this position, yet he did add a bit of human rights rhetoric, in reminiscence of the older *Defender of Values* role. However, the political spectrum is currently fragmented, with President Zeman keeping his previous China-friendly direction and going as far as criticizing his own country while in China.

The account presented here highlights the frequent and significant changes in Czech roles towards China during the ten years after 2008. The main question in the debate has seemed to be for much of the time economic benefits vs focus on the values. While in the first period, the consensus of leaders was to emphasize the values, the consensus underwent a U-turn in the second period towards economic benefits. Interestingly, the experience proved correct those who had claimed that there is no clear link between the friendly political relations with China and related economic interests—the pro-China stances of the Czech Republic brought little economic results. Following this perspective, the third period adjusted the approach, and while it continued focusing on the material benefits, it recognized the limited impact of the previous China policies, and perhaps even delinked the quality of political relations with the economic exchanges.⁷⁰

The most crucial factor behind the changes over the ten years seems to be the perception of expected economic benefits. The positive impressions at the end of the first period brought the shift towards more friendly stances vis-à-vis China, while the adjusted attitudes at the end of the second period moved the approach towards more realistic one. Another important factor seems to be the position of major Czech partners, such as neighbours and leading European powers. In the situation where the countries around were seen as being »ahead« of the Czech Republic when it came to relations with China, it created a sense of despair and pressure to compete, catch up, and not miss out on the opportunity among the Czech leaders. By the end of the second period, however, most of the Czech neighbours adjusted their expectations towards more realistic (or sceptical), and

70 Tamas Matura, »China–CEE Trade, Investment and Politics«, *Europe–Asia Studies* 71,3 (2019), 388–407.

this perhaps influenced the Czech leaders to be comfortable when making a similar decision. Chinese policies were obviously an important factor behind. It was the Chinese »diplomatic offensive« in the form of the 16+1 platform and the Belt and Road Initiative which created much of the positive perception of growing economic opportunities both in the Czech Republic and among other European countries, persuading them to interact with China more. And it is also China, who—by not delivering on its promises while creating security concerns—might be driving the countries away again.

On the other hand, the impact of political development in China on the Czech (and European) approaches towards China should not be exaggerated. Even though Chinese human rights issues are often discussed, they did not seem to have any immediate impact on the changes in the Czech role-taking. As a matter of fact, the Chinese political situation has been getting tighter since 2012—precisely the time when the Czech Republic started its pro-China turn. The perception of the growing economic opportunities seemed to trump worries about political development in China.

The period since 2018 might be the time of reckoning for the Czech approach towards China. The economic opportunities turned out to be illusionary or at least exaggerated, while growing political assertiveness of China made it a »systematic rival« and not just an economic opportunity, as an EC document put it.⁷¹ The recent positions taken by the Czech government might be seen as balancing between these differing pressures—trying to preserve working relation with the growing superpower, being more confident about own perspectives, and being more realistic about possible benefits while also conscious about risks and own interests.

It remains to be seen whether this new Czech approach to China sticks with the political spectrum, media, and the public. For one, President Zeman will present one obstacle as he would likely continue to push for more China-friendly approach in line with the role of a *Faithfull Ally*. However, his second term is ending in 2023 and there seems to be no one in the Czech political scene to take the lead in this role after him. On the other side is Zeman's opposition, backed by

71 »European Commission, EU-China—A strategic outlook« (March 12, 2019), <ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/communication-eu-china-a-strategic-outlook.pdf> (last retrieval March 12, 2019).

the media and parts of public, which continues to prefer the *Defender of Values* role, as was seen recently during the incident of the Prague City Hall. However, the role government has taken is executed with a lot more pragmatism in comparison to years prior to 2013 and leans towards the *Internal Developer* role. The Babiš government appears more successful in adopting the pragmatic yet somewhat assertive role of *Internal Developer* than the Sobotka administration who has eventually shifted further away or than Nečas who failed to get even his own minister of foreign affairs behind. In the end, it seems that the current government is somewhat finding its balance between the historically endorsed defence of human rights and most recently promoted pragmatism.

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Nishiwaki's Contribution to Fukuikutaru kafu yo, the First-ever Japanese Collection of Surrealist Poetry

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Abstract This paper looks at Nishiwaki's contribution to *Fukuikutaru kafu yo*, the first collection of surrealist poetry published in Japan, and offers some insight into his motivation behind his involvement. It provides an overall description of his imagination and poetry techniques. We also focus on Nishiwaki's evolving relationship with Surrealism and his critical attitude toward André Breton, and seek to analyse those parts of poems that would later be revisited or simply omitted.

Keywords Junzaburō Nishiwaki 西脇順三郎 (1894–1982) · *Fukuikutaru kafu yo* · surrealism in Japan · surrealist poetry

Introduction

In December 1927 the first-ever Japanese collection of surrealist poetry was published—»Fukuikutaru kafu yo« 馥郁タル火夫ヨ—as an outcome of joint literary effort led by Junzaburō Nishiwaki 西脇順三郎 (1894–1982). The other contributors were mostly his students from the Keiō University. Shortly after that, Nishiwaki revisited and edited his poem published in »Fukuikutaru kafu yo«. The manner in which Nishiwaki handled his poetical act—his deletions and omissions, is an enticing topic of research, also in terms of his evolving mindset toward Surrealism.

Nevertheless, any approach to Nishiwaki's voluminous writings based only on his so-called surrealist works seems to us insufficient in terms of complexity. He was a prolific poet and renowned literary scholar focusing on a wide range of topics, including British Modernism, French Symbolism, Surrealism and many more. From this perspective, it is not surprising that as a literary scholar and

expert on European Literature he often emphasised that he had nothing in common with the Japanese Surrealist movement and argued that at the beginning of inter-literary process he only reacted to *wakaranai shi* わからない詩 (a poem hard to understand)—a term used in the late 1920s to refer to incoming European modernist poetry. According to his later statements made mainly during the 1960s, he just wrote his parodical versions of *wakaranai shi* in order to introduce a new mode of poetry into Japan. This kind of explanation naturally puts in consideration the question whether his experimental texts published in those time were truly »surrealistic«, or were just the results of his scholarly interests.

1 *A Central Figure of a New Poetry Movement in Japan*

In the case of Japanese literature, we can easily see how quick the Japanese intellectual elites were to respond to French Surrealism. The first published reaction of Japanese literary circles came five years after Breton's and Soupault's *Les Champs Magnétiques* and six months after the publishing of Breton's *Manifestos*. In May 1925, Masatoshi Muramatsu 村松正俊 (1895–1981) wrote in his essay »Realism and Surrealism« that the position of Realism as a dominant Literary form in Japan will be soon confronted with new avant-garde trends.¹ However, his comment did not bring an immediate change in the literary circles. The absence of an immediate change is also reflected in the essay »On Paul Eluard« published in April 1927.² The author, Toshio Ueda 上田敏雄 (1900–1982) argued that the Japanese still have not paid enough attention to Surrealism. One of the reasons why the Japanese have not focused on Surrealism might be an absence of an *intermédiaire* at the beginning of inter-literary process.³ Futurism and Dadaism had

1 Masatoshi Muramatsu 村松正俊, »Genjitsushigi to chōgenjitsushugi« 現実主義と超現実主義 [Realism and Surrealism], *Bungei Nippon* 文芸日本, May 1925, 3.

2 Toshio Ueda 上田敏雄, »Pōru Eruaru ni tsuite« ポール・エルアルに就て [On Paul Éluard], *Bungei tanbi* 文芸耽美, 2,5 (1927), 12.

3 Some parts of the article are based on my previous research published in Slovak. See František Paulovič, »Surrealista Nišiwaki?—intelektuálne paradoxy v medziliterárnych vzťahoch«

their *intermédiaire*, but Surrealism at the time of its introduction in Japan had no personalities like Renkichi Hirato 平戸廉吉 (1893–1922) and Tomoyoshi Murayama 村山知義 (1901–1977).

Finally, around summer 1927, a Surrealism *intermédiaire* appeared—Junzaburō Nishiwaki who, is often recognised as »a pioneer poet of Modernism and Surrealism in Japan« 日本におけるモダニズムシュールレアリスムの先駆的詩人. He spent three years at New College in Oxford (1922–1925) and right after he came back to Japan he was appointed a professor of English at the Keiō University (1926). The courses he taught were an introduction to linguistics, the history of English literature, or introduction to literature. Since he could speak several languages, like French, Latin or German and spent a few years in Europe where he witnessed the birth of modernist movements such as Surrealism, he became naturally an authority for young students seeking any connections with the European avant-gardes.

Moreover, Nishiwaki was a prolific poet and around those time he experimented with new creative methods such as Surrealist Automatism 自動筆記 (jidō hikki). In June 1926, he published a poem titled »Paradise Perdu«, written completely in French, in a university magazine, Mita Bungaku 三田文学. Following a huge positive acclaim, next month he published a Japanese translation of the same poem called »Shitsurakuen« 失樂園. This could be considered as a birth of the so-called Nishiwaki's school 西脇シュール (Nishiwaki-shūru), a group of students centred around professor Nishiwaki. The members of the group included Takiguchi Shūzō 瀧口修造 (1903–1979), Tamotsu Ueda 上田保 (1894–1980), Konosuke Miura 三浦孝之助 (1903–1964), Saku Satō 佐藤朔 (1905–1996).

Some of them (for example, the last of these names, Saku Satō) would later describe their meetings with Professor as a discussion on various topics mainly related to new European literature.⁴ They also asked him for advice on how to write surrealist texts. Based on the memoirs of the students, there is no doubt that they highly admired him and imitated his style of writing. This group of students at the Keiō University became the first representatives of Surrealism in Japan. In

[Nishiwaki—the Surrealist? Intellectual Paradoxes in Interliterary Relations]. In: *Miscellanea Asiae Orientalis Slovaca* (Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2014).

4 See Miyoko Kudō 工藤美代子, »Sabishii koe, Nishiwaki Junzaburō no shōgai« 寂しい声, 西脇順三郎の生涯 [Lonely Voice, Life of Junzaburō Nishiwaki] (Tokio: Chikuma shobō, 1990), 180.

December 1927, on Nishiwaki's instigation, they jointly published »Fukuikutaru kafu yo«⁵—the first anthology of Surrealist poems compiled in Japan. For that reason they are often called as *stokers* 火夫たち (kafutachi), while Nishiwaki is known as a *chief stoker* 火夫長 (kafuchō).

2 *Fragrant Stokers*

The title, »Fukuikutaru kafu yo« 馥郁タル火夫ヨ, was created by Nishiwaki and can be translated simply as *Fragrant Stokers* (or *Fragrant Boilermen*). The title is elaborating on the image of a burned brain—one of the main poetical motive of Nishiwaki's experimental works published during the second half of the 1920s. According to his theory, the reality, including poetry or language, is based on cognitive functions. In order to overcome the reality, the goal of a new or pure poetry should be focused on the act of poetical destruction. The brain just must be burned out! Therefore, the aim of the poetry should be the destruction the former world, and the following fragrance of such a burned brain can be considered as the realm of the new state of mind, or new poetry.

Nishiwaki's contribution to the anthology consists of two short experimental texts. The first one is titled »Preface« 序文 (Jobun), the second one goes without a title. In the case of the first text, Nishiwaki uses his pseudonym JM, while the second one uses Petronius. The other contributors included Konosuke Miura; Kikuo Nakamura, Takiguchi Shūzō, Tamotsu Ueda, and Saku Satō. The anthology is quite short, it consists of only 14 unnumbered pages. Along with the two Nishiwaki's two experimental poems there are nine more poems.⁶ Although some the titles of poems are in French, all poems are written in Japanese. Only in the

5 The collection was published only in 120 copies. We found one in the Kanagawa Museum of Modern Literature in Yokohama.

6 Here is the list of authors and their contributions. Some of them used a latinised version of their name: K. Miwura: »Yūutsu kakōgan« 憂鬱への花岡岩, K. Nakamura: »Nōzui no yokujō« 脳髓の浴場, »UN PALIMPSETE«, UN AUTRE PALIMPSESTE«, 佐藤朔: »ÉCUMES DU CIEL«, 瀧口修造: »ÉTAMINES NARRATIVES«, »amphibia«, »apologia«, Tamocu Ueda: »apologie«.

poem »apologie« by Tamotsu Ueda we can find a short fragment of a text written fully in French. The cover featured a face of a woman, and was made by Nishiwaki's British wife, Marjorie Biddle. It is also the only illustration in the collection. Nishiwaki and Majorie married in London in July 1924. They met at Oxford where Nishiwaki studied. They lived together in Japan until they divorced in 1934.⁷ The collection had only 120 copies and the price of one copy was 50 yens.

3 *Destruction of the Brain*

As mentioned before, the destruction of the brain became a major issue of his poetical experimental works, which might be interpreted as his surrealist attempts. This also applies to Fukuikutaru kafu yo. Destruction or abolition is represented here by the Japanese verb *yaburu* 破る which can be translated as to break, to defeat, to crush. There is no doubt that the *brain* 脳髓 (*nōzui*), in Nishiwaki's imaginary world stands for intellect, reason, or mind in common sense. Here we can clearly see a reference to one of the major topics which the Surrealists were preoccupied with—the promotion of the imagination against the dictates of of reason. His »Preface« begins with the Latin sentence: *Cerebrum ad acerram recidit*.⁸ The following part is written in Japanese:

現実の世界は脳髓にすぎない。この脳髓を破ることは超現実芸術の目的である。崇高なる芸術の形態はすべて超現実主義である。故に崇高なる詩も亦超現実詩である。

The Reality is nothing but the Brain. The aim of surrealist art is to destroy it. All forms of pure art are surrealist. Therefore, the pure poetry must be surrealist.

7 We don't know much of her life, or of the reasons why the marriage ended. It's a pity because, although she was not a member of the so-called Nishiwaki-shuru, she was with them from the beginning at their meetings—usually held in her husband's house. Only Miyoko Kudō in her book »Sabishii koe« published in 1994, brought some new information on Majorie based on her research done in Britain, anyway Majorie still remains a mystery to us, as we do not know the nature of her role in the process. We must also add that she was one of the reasons why young students were fascinated by professor Nishiwaki. It will not be an exaggeration if we say that in those times, for Japanese majority, it was quite unusual to have a wife from abroad.

8 Here is a possible translation: The brain sinks into the fragrance.

Nishiwaki's interest in the word *brain* and its symbolism started exactly in these years. If we look back at his poems written before 1926, such a world does not appear there. It was a new element in his poetry which he would later develop further. For example, he published an experimental text written in French »Le Cerveau Combustible«, in magazine *Poetry and poetics* 詩と詩論 (Shi to shiron) in December 1929, in which he developed the same patterns of the so-called surrealist approach—poetic imagination serves as a means of destruction or abolition of Reality. Moreover, this prose poem also includes the same Latin sentence *Cerebrum ad acerram recidit*. Another experimental poem with the pattern of brain that is to be overcome is »Triton's fountain« トリトンの噴水, also published in *Poetry and Poetics* in June 1929. In this poem, however the brain holds a less dominant position than in the two aforementioned poems.

This experimental text can be divided into two parts—the first can be characterised as a manifesto-like statement, the second part has less provocative and straightforward diction and we can clearly identify the technique of automatic writing in it—the technique used by surrealists to allow the subconscious mind to reveal its contents through the act of writing without direction or conscious thought. Here is an example of a section which conveys the attributes of automatic writing:

色彩りたる破風よりタルブシを出す者あれば呼びて彼の名称を問う 彼 は や
はりシリイの料理人であった 堤防を下らんとする時我が頸を吹く ものがあ
る それは我が従僕なりき 汝すみやかに家に帰りて汝の妻を愛せよ!

I saw someone showing his ankles from a colourful gable. I called out and asked
his name. As expected, he was a cook from Sicily. As I descend the embankment,
there is someone who blows my neck like a flute. It is my servant. Thou must
immediately return home and love thy wife!⁹

脳髓は塔からチキンカツレットに向かって永遠に戦慄する

From the tower toward a chicken cutlet the brain shudders eternally.

9 The English translation used herein is taken from Hirata. See, Hosea Hirata, »The Poetry and Poetics of Nishiwaki Junzaburo: Modernism in Translation« (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 53.

The whole anthology is concluded with Nishiwaki's short text consisting of five units:

我々はアジアから来た時は此の蠟燭立と同じ高さであった。結局毎日その蠟燭立で
もって自分の春を計りそうして増々迅速
に一つの口髭を有する嘴を持ったためにラ
ンプから唇に油を塗ったのであった

In the time when we came from Asia

we were as tall as this candlestick.

We measured our youth with the candlestick every day.

Gradually, we hurriedly rubbed our lips with lamp oil, to keep our beak on our chin.

In the first line, we note the use of the phrase *In the time when we came from Asia* 我々はアジアから来た時 (Wareware wa Ajia kara kita toki). The meaning strongly indicates the author's self-identification with the concept of nationalism, which has its role in the surrealist rhetoric of internationalism. This statement is quite unusual of Nishiwaki, because it somehow denies his lifelong devotion to the concept of *l'art pour l'art* or pure poetry 純粹な詩 (junsui na shi). As Guillén states, conscious internationalism is only possible in contrast to conscious nationalism¹⁰ and in this Nishiwaki's particular line we can see confirmation of his words. However, this was not an exceptional phenomenon in the Japanese avant-garde movements. The same involvement of authors in increasing national prestige affected the Dadaist movement. As Shirakawa states, the Dadaist group MAVO was not at all interested in Tzara's nihilism and had a positive spirit basically based on their intellectual involvement in the development and nation / state building 国家の建設 (kokka no kensetsu).¹¹ In principle, we see an analogy of such a reaction in the Nishiwaki case.

Therefore, his contribution to the collection provides us with a rare piece of evidence of his early enthusiasm about Surrealism, which is something he would later deny permanently.

10 Claudio Guillén, »The Challenge of Comparative Literature«, trans. by Cola Franzen (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 26.

11 Yoshio Shirakawa 白川昌生, »The Nihon no dada 1920-1970« 日本のダダ 1920-1970 [Japanese Dada 1920-1970] (Tokio: Suiseisha, 2005), 7-8.

4 *The Criticism of Bretonian Surrealism*

Around 1929 Nishiwaki clearly changed his mind and began to write critical articles on Breton and his movement. The pinnacle of his criticism can be found in »Literary Theory of Surrealism« シュルレアリスム文学論 published in November 1930. Nishiwaki openly criticised Breton because his realisation of Reverdy's theory on juxtaposition is radical (*kageki* 過激), and it has a lack of balance (*beikin* 平均). Nishiwaki also complained that he didn't know that Breton along with Luis Aragon joined PCF (Party Communiste Française) in 1927.¹² To Nishiwaki who was devoted to the artistic concept of *l'art pour l'art*, it was definitely an unforgivable mistake. Pure poetry should be neither damaged by any ideologies, nor by political or religious influence. The relationship between Nishiwaki and Breton was not the only complicated one. For example, Nishiwaki rejected T.S. Elliot¹³ even though he became the translator of Elliot's poem »Wasteland« (荒地, 1952), which became very famous in Japan. The reason of Nishiwaki's rejection of Elliot was that Elliot started to incline towards Catholicism. It seems that Nishiwaki had the same critical attitude to Breton as well.

From the early 1930s, in fact until the end of his life, Nishiwaki often insisted that he did not want to be linked to Surrealism in general. He considered the French movement as a group with subdivisions. He argued Breton represented only one fraction, Bretonian Surrealism, with which he did not agree. This might explain why he was often so critical of him.

From this perspective, Nishiwaki's contribution to »Fukuikutaru kafu yo« could be considered as the remains of his role in the process of promoting surrealist methods in Japan. The past which should be forgotten, or just rewritten. It is a simple fact that the »Surrealism« altogether cannot be separated from his co-founder André Breton. And this simple fact could no longer be accepted by Nishiwaki, who decided to find his own mode of pure poetry.

12 Junzaburō Nishiwaki 西脇順三郎, *Šururearisumu bungakuron シュルレアリスム文学論* [Literary Theory of Surrealism] (Tokio: Tenjinsha, 1930) 32.

13 Kudō, »Sabišii Koe, Nišiwaki Džunzaburō no šōgai« 180.

5 *Revisions*

The prosepoem »Preface« was later included in the »Le Monde Moderne« section of »Ambarvalia«, Nishiwaki's first collection of poetry written in Japanese,¹⁴ published in 1933. Nishiwaki made a few changes and original title »Preface« modified into »Fukuikutaru kafu yo«. The revisited text can also be found in a re-edition of »Ambarvalia« in 1947, in which the poem appears for the third time. The original prose-poem's arrangement was divided into 26 stanza sections and the so-called surrealist diction of the poem disappeared completely. As Sas noted, all the changes Nishiwaki made to this surrealist poem of 1927 in the 1933 version reveal problems related to a striking shift in his poetics, and his evolving relationship with Surrealism.¹⁵ The most prominent changes were made in the introductory part that describes his concept of pure poetry of Surrealism and the significance of the »fragrant stokers« in the process of creating a brand new mode of poetry. This manifesto-like section along with Latin sentence *Cerebrum ad acerram recidit* simply disappeared completely. In the light of what we mentioned before, this change does make sense.

In 1929, Nishiwaki began contributing to the magazine Poetry and Poetics published by Kōseikaku Shoten 厚生閣書店. His first published text was a critical essay, »Poetry School of Surnaturalism« 超自然詩学派 (Chōshizen Shigakuha), which later became one of the chapters in »The Poetics of Surrealism« 超現実主義詩論 (Chōgenjitsushugi shiron) published by the same publishing house Kōseikaku in November 1929. Nishiwaki developed his own poetics based on the European literary traditions. A technique in poetry of putting together two mutually distant realities—one of the main approach in building, or assembling poem he emphasised, can be also found in Reverdy's and Breton's writings. That is also why Breton became a frequent object of his critical remarks. The main points of Nishiwaki's criticism of Bretonian Surrealism can be summarised in the following points:

14 Nishiwaki's first two books of poetry *Spectrum* (London, 1925) and *Poems Barbarous* (Tokio, 1930), are written completely in English.

15 Miryam Sas, *Fault Lines: Cultural Memory and Japanese Surrealism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 134.

The idea of Surrealist poetry has been always presented in the work of great poets since ancient times. Thus, the Surrealist poetry is not a new mode of poetry. Involving the subconscious mind 潜意識 (senzaiishiki) and unconscious mind 無意識 (muishiki) into the process of composing poetry is not art. This also applies to dreams 夢 (yume), hallucinations 妄想 (mōsō) and illusions 幻影 (genei). And finally, as we have already mentioned, Nishiwaki rejected the connection of poetry with politics.

To sum it up, between 1925 and 1928, he responded positively to Bretonian Surrealism as a poet, which can be clearly observed in his contribution to »Fukuikutaru kafu yo«, but since 1929 his reaction was mainly based on a critical scholarly approach. Such an approach was maintained until his death in 1982. Nishiwaki's polemic and criticism of Breton can be understood as lifelong criticism. Even in the 1960s and 1970s we can still find his critical comments to Bretonian Surrealism. For instance, in 1969 he admitted that he actually did not know what the word *Surrealism* really meant. He believed »surreal reality« did not exist because if there was no »reality«, then there would be no »surreality«. His comment was addressed to the Surrealists who rejected reality.¹⁶

There are more authors which regarded Nishiwaki as Surrealist.¹⁷ To some extent it is true. As we mentioned before, Nishiwaki asserted that Surrealist movement consisted of a number of groups. Despite his rejection of Breton, he inclined towards Ivan Goll's version of Surrealism. Unlike Breton, Ivan Goll emphasised the consciousness 意識 (ishiki) involved in the act of writing, not unconsciousness like Breton.¹⁸ This approach is characteristic not only for Nishiwaki, but also for other authors. He even insisted that Goll and Reverdy had

16 Junzaburō Nishiwaki 西脇順三郎, »Shōchōshugi no saigo« 象徴主義の最後 [End of Symbolism]. In: »Teihon Nishiwaki Junzaburō zenšū VI 定本西脇順三郎全集VI [Nishiwaki Junzaburō, Complete work VI] (Tokio: Chikuma Shobō, 1993), 384.

17 For example, Donald Keene wrote, that Nishiwaki dedicated his whole life to the principles of Surrealism. See Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 324.

18 Nishiwaki came into touch with Surrealism in Europe thanks to the magazine »Le Surrealism« published by Ivan Goll himself. He bought first issue in London in January 1925.

a greater influence on young Japanese surrealists during the 1920s and 1930s than Breton.¹⁹

At the beginning of the 1930s, Nishiwaki apparently lost his interest in Surrealism and majority of his academical outputs are related to English literature, English language and linguistic.²⁰ He later occasionally returned to Surrealism, but as a literary critic and not as a poet. His assessments were largely critical and brought many paradoxical claims. For instance, in 1968 Nishiwaki offered his own explanation of writing technique used in the following line from »Preface«²¹:

From the tower toward a chicken cutlet the brain shudders eternally.

脳髄は塔からチキンカツレツに向かって永遠に戦慄する

At the first sight the combination of cutlet チキンカツレツ and brain 脳髄 seems as a typical surrealist work containing the element of surprise and unexpected juxtaposition. But as Nishiwaki explained, this line had nothing to do with Surrealism, he just intentionally negated Aristotle's poetic. He referred to the following words which can be found in the Aristotle's work on poetics:

Impossible likelihoods should be preferred rather than possible implausibilities, and speeches should not be put together from irrational parts, but in the best possible case they ought to have nothing irrational, and if they do, it should be outside of the telling of the story.²²

His negation should be found in preferring possible implausibilities and that is how he created his own version of so-called *wakaranai shi*. If we accept such an interpretation of the author, we must count on the possibility that his poems

19 Junzaburō Nishiwaki 西脇順三郎, *Sbatō no meisbin shironshū* 斜塔の迷信詩論集 [Superstition of Leaning Tower, A Collection of Essays on Poetry] (Tokio: Kōbunsha, 1996), 106.

20 During the 1930s Nishiwaki wrote many academical studies, mainly published in Daiichi Shobō 第一書房 and Kenkyūsha 研究社. As an example we can mention these books: *Jōroppa bungaku* ヨーロッパ文学 [European Literature] (1933), *Gendai igirisu bungaku* 現代英吉利文学 [Contemporary English Literature] (1934), *Kodai eigo bunpō* 古代英語文法 [Old English Grammar] (1935), *Kōgo to bungo* 口語と文語 [Colloquialism and Literature Language] (1936).

21 Junzaburō Nishiwaki 西脇順三郎, *Nobara ojuku* 野原を行く [Walking Across a Plain] (Tokio: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1972), 299.

22 *Aristotle On poetics*. Trans. by Seth Benardete and Michael Da (South Bend: St. Augustine's Press, 2002), 62-63.

written between 1927–1929 were nothing but an ironical intellectual play and to some extent also the negation of Breton's manifestos.

6 Conclusion

Nishiwaki's contribution to »Fukuikutaru kafu yo« gives us an opportunity to investigate his relationship with Surrealism from a different angle. In his manifesto-like statements like: »All forms of pure art are surrealistic. Therefore, pure poetry must be surrealistic« (崇高なる芸術の形態はすべて超現実主義である 故に崇高なる詩も亦超現実詩である) one can see clearly his primordial enthusiasm about Surrealism, not to mention that his prose-poems were composed using the technique of automatic writing, invented by Breton and Soupault. Even the fragment from the closing lines »In time when we came from Asia« (我々はアジアから来た時) can be interpreted as some kind of a declaration written in order to join the international Surrealism movement. If we look at his poetical works written later on, then such an expression will be quite rare and unusual.

Nishiwaki, who later became critical of Bretonian Surrealism, offers us his own interpretations to read it and to solve paradox of his active participation in the process of introduction the Modernist poetry. Therefore, it depends on whether we view him as a poet or as a scholar. Nevertheless, he was recognisably more involved in the Japanese Surrealism movement than he would later admit, and the collection »Fukuikutaru kafu yo« gives us the evidence.

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Korean Picture–Postcards Archived in the Republic of Slovenia*

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Abstract This paper is a research on old Korean picture–postcards which are archived in the Republic of Slovenia. The research was conducted in the framework of a larger research on East Asian materials and artefacts, currently being conducted for the first time in Slovenia. It was found that several institutions in Slovene cities (Ljubljana, Piran and Celje) keep Korean or Korea-related postcards. Since the number of Korean postcards is rather small, it was assumed in the beginning of this research that the findings concerning the background of these postcards would be poor, but in fact, this research opened many new insights into directions and contents of further research on exchanges between Korean and Slovene nations through history.

Keywords Korean picture–postcards · Slovenia, Austro–Hungarian navy · female adventurer, Christian activities · North–Korean propaganda

Introduction

Since the academic year 2013/2014, the Department of Asian Studies at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, is conducting a research to locate, identify and correctly describe East Asian art and other historical materials which are now archived in the Republic of Slovenia. Picture postcards are very important and precious means to know about the East–West exchanges during the period towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the

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20th century when the postal service was rapidly developing but the international telephone and telegraph were still expensive, and airplanes were not yet used by the masses.¹ Though the total number of postcards that are related to Korea and are archived in today's Republic of Slovenia is rather small, they reveal interesting historical facts about a specific kind of human exchanges, as well as the historical and cultural background of the time on both sides, namely, of the Slovene and Korean nations.

The following section of this paper presents the time framework in which the Korean postcards of this research are discussed. After that, five collections of picture-postcards from three different institutions are presented (Section 2). The postcards are described together with the background of each institution and of each collection, where the postcards were found. At the end, the exchanges between Korea and Slovenia, based on these postcards and their context, are summarized.

1 *Time Framework*

Table 1 outlines the period from 1860s up to the World War II in relation to the Korean and Slovene nations. Slovenia in this period was firstly a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867–1918); a multinational state in Central Europe. (See Map 1. Slovenia was called »Carniola« in those days.)

After 1918, when the Empire self-dissolved at the end of World War I, most of the area where Slovenes resided was included into a new state called »Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes« and later called »Kingdom of Yugoslavia« (1918–1941). (See Map II. The Slovenes resided in the north-west part of the Kingdom.) As for the Korean side, the long-lasting Joseon Dynasty existed until 1897, which was then renamed as the Korean Empire. After the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), Korea became a protectorate of Japan and in 1910 the Japanese Empire annexed

1 See also Chikako Shigemori, »Surovenia Kyôwakoku Hokan no Ehagaki Korekushon« スロヴェニア共和国保管の絵葉書コレクション [Picture-postcard Collections Archived in the Republic of Slovenia], in *Nihon Teikoku no Hyôsbô: Seisei, Kioku, Keisbô* 日本帝国の表象 生成・記憶・継承 [Representation of the Japanese Empire: Formation, Memory, Inheritance], ed. by Mijeoung Park and Rei Hasegawa (Tokyo: Enishi Shobô, 2016), 219–244, here 242.

Korea. We can say that for both Slovene and Korean people, the first decades of the 20th century were politically unstable. Perhaps at that time, not many Slovenes knew of Korea, and nor many Koreans of Slovenia. However, there are traces of knowledge about Korea and Korean people among certain groups of Slovenes. This fact is obvious also from the postcards archived in today's Slovenia.

Table 1
Slovenia and Korea between 1860s and 1940s

Slovenia	Korea	Incidents
	Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897)	Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901)
Austria-Hungary (1867-1918)	The Great Korean Empire (1897-1910)	Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) Japan-Korea Treaty (1905)
Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes / Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1941)	The Great Korean Empire (1897-1910) annexed to Imperial Japan (1910-1945)	World War I (1914-1918) World War II (1939-1945)



Map 1

Ethno-linguistic map of Austria-Hungary, 1910²

Most of the old Korean and Korea-related postcards found in this research were produced and used in the period between 1900s and 1920s. These are the ones in the collections of the Maritime Museum Sergej Mašera Piran and the Regional Museum Celje. (See Table 2 below).

It is quite different in the case of the collection of Korean postcards found in the National and University Library in Ljubljana, which is the largest and central library of the Republic of Slovenia (the last institution in Table 2). According to

2 »The ethnic groups of Austria-Hungary in 1910 according to Distribution of Races in Austria-Hungary by William R. Shepherd, 1911« <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austria-Hungary> (last retrieval Sept 2, 2018).

the printed captions and inventory markings, one of these postcards came to the library most probably in 1930s or later, others even much later, in the late 1980s. Though they are much newer than the ones in other collections, I included them in this research, since they are interesting in their own way and share some common effects with the older picture postcards. (More on this collection later in section 2.3.)



Map 2

Provinces of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1920–1922³

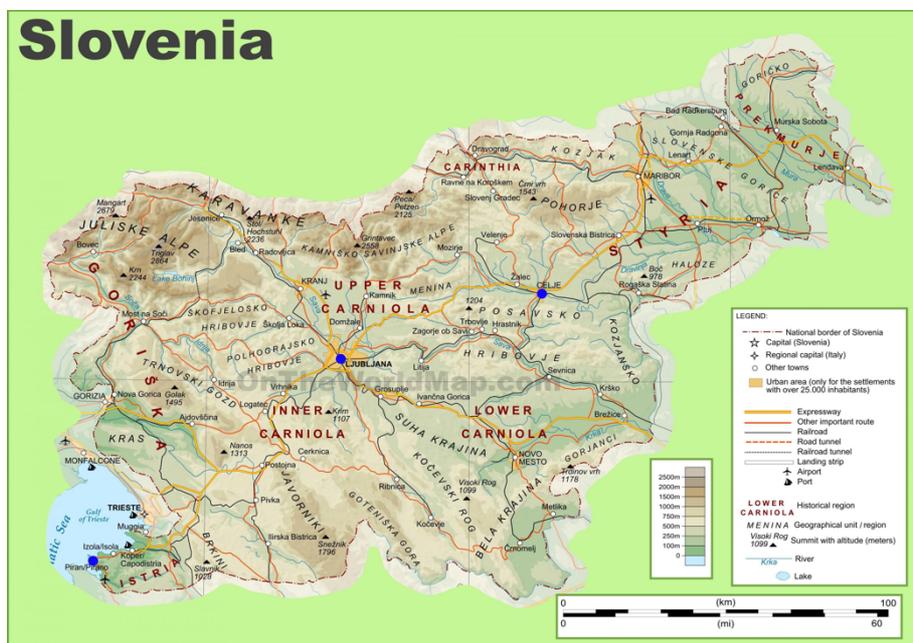
3 »Provinces of the Kingdom in 1920 to 1922« en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Yugoslavia (last retrieval Sept 2, 2018).

Table 2
Korean postcards archived in Slovenia

Institution	Collection (collector/ user's name)	Number	Used in
Maritime Museum »Sergej Mašera« Piran	Anton Haus	2	1904 (within Europe)
	Ivan Koršič	2	1904–1914
	Viktor Kristan	4	1908–1909
Regional Museum Celje	Alma Karlin	16	1923
NUK, Ljubljana	?	1	(made after 1931?)
	Korean Publication Exchange Association	7	1988

2 *Institutions and Collections*

As can be seen in Table 2, the institutions in which Korean postcards are archived are at three different locations in the Republic of Slovenia. The first institution, the Maritime Museum Sergej Mašera Piran, is located in the Adriatic coastal town Piran (marked with a small blue triangle on Map 3). The next institution, the Regional Museum Celje, is located in the third largest city of Slovenia, Celje (marked with a small blue square on Map 3), somewhat northeast from the capital city Ljubljana. And the third institution to be mentioned, the National and University Library, is located in the capital city of Ljubljana (marked with a small blue circle on Map 3).



Map 3

Today's Republic of Slovenia⁴ and Piran, Celje and Ljubljana

2.1 *Maritime Museum Sergej Mašera Piran*

Piran is a small but attractive town on the Adriatic coast of Slovenia. The Maritime Museum Sergej Mašera Piran specialises in the history of maritime activities in this region, firstly in the time of Austro-Hungarian Empire and later in the time of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later called Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Most of the old postcards and photos in the museum are neatly kept in separate albums of the collectors who either received them per post from various places around the world, or who themselves travelled on the military ships to various continents, including the Far East, and acquired them in foreign ports and cities. As presented in Table 2, three collectors have been identified in relation to Korean and Korea-related postcards.

4 »Slovenia« <http://countries.bridgat.com/Slovenia.html> (last retrieval Sept 2, 2018).

2.1.1 *Anton Haus collection*

Anton Haus was born in Tolmin (in today's Slovenia) in 1851. Though his parents were not of Slovene origin, he was born and grew up in Slovenia, and spoke and used the Slovene language regularly. In 1869, he joined the Austro-Hungarian navy in Trieste and became an instructor at the Imperial and Royal Naval Academy in Rijeka. He had a brilliant career as a commander on several warships, and while on land served in Vienna in the Ministry, even as the Navy's Grand Admiral towards the end of his life. He died in 1917 in Pula (today's Croatia).⁵

5 Bogdana Marinac, *Čez morje na nepoznani daljni vzbod: potovanja pomorščakov avstrijske in avstro-ogrške vojne mornarice v Vzhodno Azijo* [Across the Ocean to the Unknown Far East: Travels of Austrian and Austro-Hungarian Navy Members to East Asia] (Piran: Pomorski muzej Sergej Mašera, 2017), 84–90.

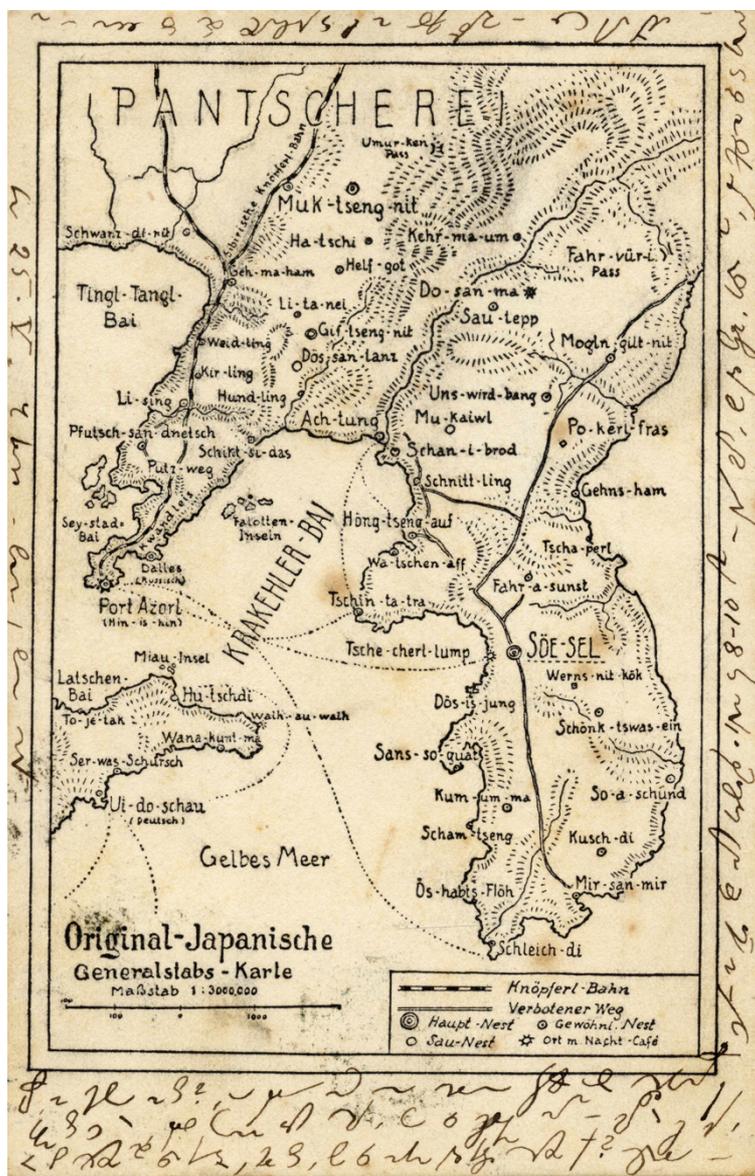


Plate 1

One of the postcards »Pantscherei« in the Anton Haus collection



Plate 2

The reverse of the postcard »Pantscherei«, Plate 1

Two picture postcards which Anton Haus used in 1904 are identical picture postcards with a map of Korean peninsula. The map is titled in the German language »Original-Japanische Generalstabs-Karte« [Original Map of the Japanese General Staff] and »Pantscherei« meaning »mixing of water or other bad liquids into wine«⁶. Almost all Chinese and Korean place names on the map are changed into funny and dialectal German words and phrases, for instance, Tingle-Tangl-Bai («Tingle-tangl» = low quality entertainment, as in a cheap revue bar) for Liaodong Bay 遼東灣, Ach-tung («Achtung» = attention/watch out) for Dandong 丹東 and so on.

6 This and other explanations of the Austrian-German language usage in relation to this postcard were made by Dr. Andreas Schirmer, in an e-mail message on October 19th 2018. I am grateful for his help.

Obviously, this postcard was not produced in Korea, but in Austria-Hungary (B.K.W.I.)⁷ and perhaps found very humorous by the Austrian and European public. On the reverse, we can see »postcard« printed in all the languages of the then Austro-Hungarian nations: German, French, Hungarian, Croatian, Czech, Slovene, Italian etc. Anton Haus sent both of them, once from Graz and another time from Vienna in 1904, to his aunt and mother-in-law Mathilde Trenz in Draschkovitz (Draškovec) in Unter Krain (today's Slovenia). (See Plate 2)

Anton Haus was on board SMS⁸ Kaiserin und Königin Maria Theresia as its commander on a mission in the Far East from May 1901. While on board, he was promoted to commander-in-chief for all Austro-Hungarian fleet in Asia. In this role, he also visited Korea in the beginning of September 1901,⁹ at least for a week or so, and went on to visit other ports in the region, e.g. Vladivostok in Russia, Hakodate and Yokohama in Japan etc. He returned home on other commercial ships in March 1902 due to his son's sudden death. In the year 1904, when he used these postcards, Anton Haus was working in Vienna at the Ministry. He probably found the postcard very interesting since he himself had been to Korea and was interested, particularly because of his profession, in the development of Russo-Japanese War which was developing at that time. Undoubtedly, Anton Haus and other sailors who were on board SMS Maria Theresia and other Austro-Hungarian warships, sent for the mission after the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901), were quite acquainted with the East Asian ports in those years. They must have come into direct contact with the people in Korea, seen their everyday life and customs, at least to a certain extent.¹⁰

7 Brueder Kohn from Wien (Vienna) I (post office 1 / downtown), »The Postcard Album« http://www.tpa-project.info/html/body_identification.html (last retrieval Jan 20, 2019).

8 SMS = Seiner Majestät Schiff [His Majesty's Ship].

9 In Chemulpo (Inchon) on September 7th. Wilhelm M. Donko, *Österreichs Kriegsmarine in Fernost* [Austrian Navy In the Far East] (Berlin: epubli GmbH–Verlagsgruppe Holtzbrinck, 2013), 360.

10 According to Marinac's *Čez morje na nepoznani daljni vzbod* and other sources, Anton Haus kept a diary. He visited the city of Seoul with the then Austro-Hungarian consul in Shanghai. The ship SMS Maria Theresia called on Geomundo, Busan and Masanhappo as well. We may yet find more details concerning his contacts with Koreans and his impressions of Korean ports and cities in his diary and in letters of other members of the Austro-Hungarian Navy.

2.1.2 *Koršič collection*

Ivan Koršič was born in 1870 in Solkan (in today's Slovenia) and after studying in the theological seminary in Gorica, became a catholic priest. In 1899, he became a military chaplain in the Austro–Hungarian Navy. He himself never travelled to the Far East, but received various postcards from members of the Austro–Hungarian Navy who sailed to far places. Koršič eagerly collected them in albums, all together 1871 photos and postcards in eight albums¹¹ between 1904 and 1914. Among them I found two picture postcards from Korea. (See Table 2 above) We can see that the first postcard was sent to Koršič in the year 1906, the other one most probably around the same time.

The photo on the first postcard is a young Korean girl dressed in hanbok (See Plate 3). The printed caption under the photo is in French, an explanation that this girl is a dancer in a palace in Seoul. Thanks to the Korean handwriting in blue ink which is printed together with the photo as a part of the picture on the postcard, we could identify the photographer and the time of printing of this postcard. According to sources¹², the photographer is a French language teacher and linguist Charles Alevéque who took about 40 photos of royal palaces and customs of Korea and made them into postcards around the year 1900. The photos on these postcards were accompanied by the same Korean sentence in blue ink and issued by the Printing Office of the Agriculture, Commerce and Industry Department of Imperial Korea. It is also known that Alevéque published the dictionary *Petit Dictionnaire Français–Coréen* in 1901. The dictionary was dedicated to the French Ambassador in Seoul (between 1896–1906), Mr. Collin de Plancy.¹³

11 Ralf Čeplak Mencin, *V deželi nebesnega zmaja: 350 let stikov s Kitajsko* [In the Land of Celestial Dragon: 350 Years of Contact with China], (Ljubljana: Založba *cf, 2012), 98.

12 »Back to the Late Joseon Dynasty: Meet our Ancestors in Photograph Postcards« <http://enews.incheon.go.kr:9080/publish/php/article> and <http://blog.daum.net/allinstamps/1775> (last retrieval Jan 20, 2019). I would like to thank our colleagues Dr. Lee Yong and Dr. Kang Byoung Yoong who helped me with the research on this postcard.

13 *Petit dictionnaire Français-Coreen = Pöp-Han chajön* <archive.org/details/petitdictionairoalevgoog>. It is also interesting to note that Collin de Plancy donated his book collections and art objects to

There is also a handwritten message on the precious postcard, the one which is archived in Piran, in the Slovene language: »Pozdrav iz Korejanske rezidence. Pozdravi mi tudi druge prijatelje.« [Greetings from the Korean (ambassador's) residence. Please greet other friends in my name]. This was a message from a sailor of Slovene origin to Koršič who was stationed in Pula, but we have not been able to identify by the signature who this sailor was. The reverse shows that the postcard was printed in France. The postal stamps have been removed but one of the postmarks shows that it was posted (or sent via) Kobe in 1906. It is also interesting to observe that there is a pencil writing next to the address in Japanese *katakana*, アウスツリア [Austria], which was probably a help for the Japanese postal workers to correctly forward this postcard.



Plate 3

Postcard of a Korean dancer in the Korsič collection

the French Bibliothèque Nationale and the Musée Guimet in Paris. »Wikipedia Jacques Collin de Plancy« <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacques_Collin_de_Plancy> (last retrieval Nov 2, 2018).



Plate 4

The reverse of the postcard of a Korean dancer, Plate 3

On the other postcard in this collection, we see a black-and-white photo of the Russian warship *Varyag*, a 1st-class cruiser, most probably photographed in Incheon Bay (called Chemulpo at the time). The printed caption on this postcard is in three languages, Russian, German, and English/French. This is a postcard produced in Russia in 1904.¹⁴ On the postcard archived in the Korsic collection, there are two lines jotted down by pencil »Rusi????/—Čemulpo—/ Korejec«. Though we cannot decipher all words, from two of the words we can see that the person who used this postcard was of Slovene or Croatian descent. The words »Chemulpo« and »Korean« are spelled as »Čemulpo« and »Korejec«; the second

14 The same postcard is handled by WorthPoint and titled »Russo-Japon War Warship “Wariague” China Conflict Postcard 1904 (503)« <https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/russia-russo-japon-war-warship-426053884> (last retrieval Nov 1, 2018).

word most probably in the context of the Russo-Japanese War when the Russian gunboat »Koreyets« in Russian and »Korietz« in German was involved in the Battle of Chemulpo Bay on February 9th, 1904, together with the photographed cruiser Varyag. The postcard was most probably acquired and sent to Ivan Koršič by an Austro-Hungarian sailor who was in East Asia in the years after the Russo-Japanese War.



Plate 5

Postcard »Varyag« in the Korsič collection

When looking at these two Korea-related postcards in the Koršič collection, we are aware that the first one is produced in France, the second one in Russia. Of the first one, we know that it was originally produced and printed in the Joseon dynasty, still before the annexation of Korea to Japan. The second one was produced outside Korea, but also most probably before the annexation. As shown below, other old Korean postcards collected during the first decades of 20th century (in the Kristan collection and the Alma Karlin collection, see sections 2.1.3 and 2.2.) are all from Japanese series of postcard collections, all produced officially by Japan.

2.1.3 *Kristan collection*

Victor Kristan's albums from the time of his service in the Austro-Hungarian Navy were acquired from his family by the Maritime Museum Piran in 2014. Victor Kristan was born in 1876 in Šentvid near Stična, about 35 km southeast from Ljubljana. After high-school education, he entered the Military Academy in Vienna and in 1896 joined the Austro-Hungarian Navy. As Commissary Officer he served on board SMS Leopard and travelled to East Asia between 1907 and 1909.¹⁵ According to Donko,¹⁶ the cruiser SMS Leopard was anchored in Chemulpo (Inchon) from September 25th to October 1st, 1908. Among many picture postcards from East Asia in the Kristan collection, four were identified as Korea-related. Table 4 is an overview of these four postcards.

Table 3
Old Korean picture postcards in Kristan's album

Curator No.	Printed caption	Postal stamp and dates
113	仁川港（二）各国公園及日清居留地を望む JAPANESE RESIDENCES, CHEMULPO	Chemulpo, September 1908
117	韓国風俗 韓人ノ商業 Mercantile of Corea (韓160)	none
118	韓国美人 THE COREAN BEAUTIES-NO 2.	Chemulpo, September 1908
119	韓国中流婦人外出 OUTING OF A COREAN MIDDLE CLASS WOMAN.	none

15 Marinac, *Čez morje na nepoznani daljni vzhod*, 121; Marinac, »Album of photographs from travels to Eastern Asia« <<http://masterpieces.asemus.museum/masterpiece/detail.nhn?objectId=14446>> (last retrieval Jan 20, 2019).

16 Donko, *Österreichs Kriegsmarine in Fernost*, 382–383.

The Korean peninsula was going through political changes in the years when Kristan visited East Asia. As shown in Table 3, all Korean postcards in his collection were already produced by Japan with Japanese captions, typically printed from right to left in Chinese characters and *katakana*, and English translation of the captions printed from left to right. This format remains the same with almost all picture-postcards in other collections of later years, in the case of this research, in the Alma Karlin collection. (See section 2.2.)



Plate 6

»Japanese Residences, Chemulpo« in Kristan's album

The first postcard of the Kristan collection (curator's number 113 in Table 3, Plate 6) is a photo of the Inchon Bay with a view of the Japanese residential area. The second (curator's number 117 in Table 3, Plate 7) is a photo of a Korean provincial house engaged in commercial affairs: we see a group of Korean people squatting in the foreground in the yard.



Plate 7

»Mercantile of Corea« in *Kristan's album*

The third and fourth postcards (curator's numbers 118 and 119 in Table 3, Plates 8 and 9) represent Korean ladies in their national clothing. The caption on No. 119 explains that this clothing was for middle class Korean women when going out of their house. These two postcards were produced on the basis of studio photography which was very popular in the Meiji period in Japan. It is also worth pointing out that these were black-and-white photographs which were then hand-coloured when being remade as postcards. This hand-colouring was also very popular in this period.¹⁷

17 Takio Saitô, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohama Shashinkan Monogatari* 幕末明治横浜写真館物語 [Stories of Photo Studios in Yokohama at the end of Edo and Meiji Period] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan »Rekishi Bunka Raiburarii«, 175, 2004).



Plate 8

»The Corean Beauties No 2«



Plate 9

»Outing of a Korean middle Class Woman«

By the way, the Ferenc Hopp Museum in Budapest, Hungary, keeps Dezső Bozóky's photo collection. Dezső Bozóky (1871–1957) served as a doctor in the Austro–Hungarian Navy and was on several warships between 1905 and 1908. He was a photographer himself, and also acquired other photographs of East Asian sceneries while travelling to East Asian ports. Among them are many Korea-related photos of the same period.¹⁸ During the two-year mission to East Asia on the cruiser Franz Josef I, he visited East Asian, i.e. Chinese, Japanese and Korean ports as a member of the Navy. The cruiser stopped in Korea in the summer of 1908.¹⁹ One of the photos shown in Dezső Bozóky's Photo Collection on Korea shows a Korean pair (a man and a woman) wearing their national costume,²⁰ and the woman seems to be the same woman in the same clothing as the one on our postcard No. 118 (Plate 8). According to Kardos, there were three early Korean photographers between 1883 and 1884 who opened their own photo studios after studying photography abroad. After the Gapsin Coup in December 1884, their photo studios were destroyed and all three Korean photographers were forced to leave Korea.²¹ After 1890, there were Japanese photographers who opened their photo studios in Seoul and Busan. The portraits of Korean women (and men) in national costumes were produced most probably in one of these studios.

Kristan and Bozóky were both members of the Austro–Hungarian Navy and visited Korea about the same time. We can imagine that copies of these postcards showing sceneries and people in their national costumes were abundant at the time for foreign visitors, particularly for visitors from the West. This fact may be supported by some existing researches on East Asian non-visual materials. It is

18 Tatjana Kardos, »Ship's Doctor with a Camera. Dezső Bozóky's Photo Collection on Korea« in *The Land of Morning Calm: Korean Art in the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts*, ed. by Györgyi Fajcsák & Beatrix Mecsi (Budapest: Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, 2012), 26–37.

19 In Chemulpo between July 23rd and 29th, in Pusan between July 30th and September 5th. Donko *Österreichs Kriegsmarine in Fernost*, 332.

20 Kardos, »Ship's Doctor with a Camera. Dezső Bozóky's Photo Collection on Korea«, 35.

21 Tatjana Kardos, »Old Korean Photographs in the Archives of the Ferenc Hopp Museum« in *The Land of Morning Calm: Korean Art in the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts*, ed. by Györgyi Fajcsák and Beatrix Mecsi (Budapest, 2012), 9.

said that non-written materials (such as postcards, journalistic photos, maps, construction and architectural layout plans etc.) were the main media for propaganda and education in the time of formation of the Imperial Japan (1868–1947).²²

2.2 *Regional Museum Celje and the Alma Karlin collection*

The Regional Museum Celje possesses a large collection of not only East Asian but also American and Austronesian artefacts and various materials collected by a female adventurer, Alma Maksimiljana Karlin (1889–1950). Alma M. Karlin was born to Slovene parents in the provincial town of Celje (Cilli in German) in Austria-Hungary. She was the only daughter of a retired Austro-Hungarian military officer and a teacher in a German girls' school and raised strictly using the German language although both her parents were of Slovene origin. After learning several European languages in England and Scandinavia, she returned to Celje and opened her own language school, but after a few years decided to go on a journey around the world. Her journey, Celje–Genoa–Peru–Panama Canal–Hawaii–Peking–Australia–New Zealand–Fiji–New Guinea–Indonesia–Siam–India and back home,²³ lasted from 1919 to 1927. Based on her feuilleton articles which appeared in a local newspaper in Celje and postcards she sent to her family and friends, it is known to us that she visited Korea from the first half of July 1923 at least for several weeks to maximum three months.²⁴ It is also known to us that she was a guest of a Japanese family for the whole time in Korea. During her stay in Japan between June 1922 and July 1923, she was working for the German embassy

22 *Nihon teikoku no hyôshô: seisei, kioku, keisbô* 日本帝国の表象 生成・記憶・継承 [Representation of the Japanese Empire: Formation, Memory, Inheritance], ed. by Park Mijeoung and Rei Hasegawa (Tokyo: Enishi Shobô, 2016), 4.

23 Janez Stanonik, »Alma Maximiliana Karlin« in *Australian Papers* (Ljubljana, University of Ljubljana, 1983), 41–48.

24 More details including analysis of her 59 photos and feuilleton articles on Korea in Chikako Shigemori Bučar, »Alma Karlin in Korea: A Slovenian Woman's Observations of Land and People« in *Koreans and Europeans: Informal Contacts up to 1950*, ed. by Andreas Schirmer (Vienna, Praesens, to appear in 2019).

and was acquainted with some important persons who could help her and plan her visit to Korea and further to China. Her travel route was from Kyushu, Japan, to Pusan by a boat, then to Seoul by train, and then to Pyongyang and further to Shenyang, China, probably also by train.

In the picture-postcard collection in the Regional Museum Celje, I could identify 16 pieces from Korea. Table 4 is the list of 16 Korean picture-postcards in Alma Karlin's collection. Most of them are from postcard series named »Korean local customs« 朝鮮風俗 and »Korean places of interest« 朝鮮名所. Among the black-and-white photos, there are four postcards featuring hand-coloured photographs (inventory numbers 144, 199, 201 and 298). It is interesting that the handwritten remarks in German by Alma Karlin on the reverse is not always the same as the printed caption on the front. For example, KR-199 is a photograph of the 60-year-old celebration of the person in the middle (Plate 10), but Alma Karlin writes that he is a seller of cherries.



Plate 10

»Korean Local Customs: 60th Birthday Celebration« in Alma Karlin collection (KR-199)

Only one of these postcards was actually used in correspondence: it was sent to Alma's friend in her hometown Celje, Yugoslavia, on July 12th, 1923. The rest of the collection was probably kept with Alma during her journey, or sent to her home in a parcel with other souvenir items. The handwritten remarks on the reverse show that she regularly kept information written down in German, the language in which she published her articles and books.

Table 4
*Korean postcards in the Alma Karlin collection in the Regional Museum Celje*²⁵

Museum inventory No.	Printed caption on the front side	Handwritten remarks/postal stamps on the back side
KR-144	朝鮮風俗) 笞刑 (一十六俗)	Bestrafung eines Verbrecher
KR-199	(朝鮮風俗) 還曆祝の盛物 (九十俗)	Kirschenhändler
KR-201	(朝鮮風俗) 藁靴賣 (六十七俗)	Der Sandalenverkäufer
KR-297 (66)	(朝鮮風俗) かめ商人 (玄武堂發行) (イ 25)	
KR-298	朝鮮風俗) 籠賣 (七十六俗)	Koreanischer Korbhändler
none	朝鮮名所) 京城パゴダ公園佛塔ト六角堂 THE PAGODA PARK SEOUL (京71)	Sent to Miss Mimi Ludwig in Celje, Yugoslavia, with a postmark KEIJO, CHOSEN dated July 12 th , 1923. Postage 8-sen.

25 This table is an improved version of Table 1 in Shigemori Bučar, »Alma Karlin in Korea: A Slovenian Woman's Observations of Land and People«.

KR-300 12	(朝鮮名所) 京城朝鮮人町 KOREAN STREET SEOUL (京149)	1. Straße der Vorstadt von Seoul, zum Keijo genannt
KR-301 (63)	(朝鮮名所) 京城市街ノ一部 (前方ハ 朝鮮督府右方ノ堂宇ハ南山本願寺) A PART OF CITY SEOUL (京110)	2. Totalansicht von Seoul
KR-302	(朝鮮名所) 京城昌徳宮景薫閣 THE KEIKUNKAKU AT SEOUL (京 4)	3. Alter Palast
KR-303	(朝鮮名所) 京城南大門 (崇禮門) NANDAI MON (京52)	7. Das große Tor in Seoul.
KR-304	(朝鮮名所) 京城獨立門 (迎恩門) DOKURITSU MON SEOUL (京58)	8. Äußeres Tor.
KR-305	(朝鮮京元線) 釋王寺佛像)	10. Buddha im Tempel. Seoul.
KR-306	朝鮮名所) 京城朝鮮人町 KOREAN STREET SEOUL (京149)	IV/2
KR-308	(朝鮮名所) 京城昌徳宮内殿 CHANG-TOK PALACE (京14)	4. Der Chang Tok Palast
KR-357	朝鮮古代遊船 楽浪 (玄武堂發行)	Pyongyang (Heyo)
KR-307	朝鮮に於ける魔除の神二天下大將軍 (玄武堂發行)	Die Götzen an dem Wegrand



(京71) THE PAKOPA PARK SEOUL 堂角六ト塔佛園公タコパ城京 (所名鮮朝)

Plate 11

Postcard sent to Mimi Ludwig by Alma Karlin in July 1923

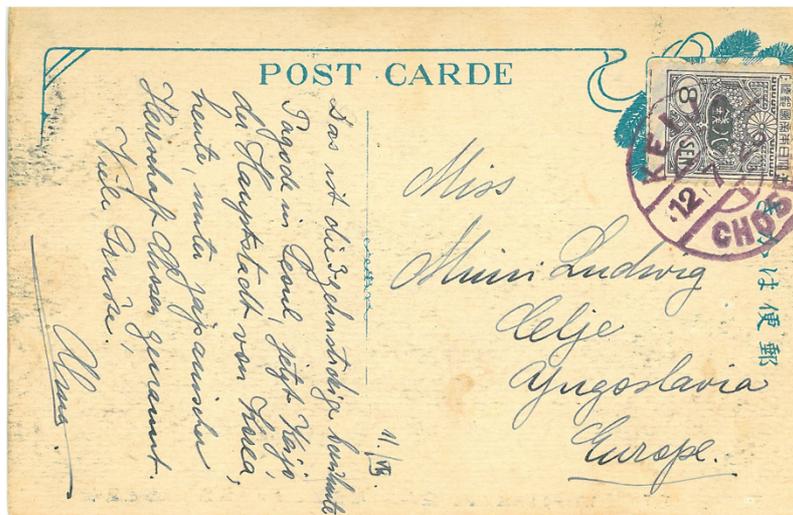


Plate 12

The reverse of the postcard sent to M. Ludwig by A. Karlin in July 1923

2.3 *National and University Library (NUK): the North Korean collection*

In the context of our research on East Asian materials, I also visited the largest and most central library in the Republic of Slovenia, the National and University Library (NUK-Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica)²⁶ in Ljubljana. Its Map and Pictorial Collection Section stores picture postcards, photographs and maps of various places of the world. Old postcards are archived in boxes of the card-catalog format according to today's naming of countries and regions. Under »Korea«, seven postcards were found. None of these postcards have been used for correspondence (no traces of correspondence or postmarks), six out of the seven postcards with color photos have inventory markings in pencil and the library stamp. According to the markings, these six were acquired from the Korean Publication Exchange Association on May 23rd, 1988, much later in history compared to other postcard collections of other institutions in this research. Table 5 is an overview of the Korean postcards archived in NUK. According to the librarian in the Map and Pictorial Collection Section, no additional information is available for these postcards in the boxes, neither as to who the collector and/or user of these postcards were, nor who donated them to the library, if there is no marking on the postcards themselves. Therefore, we have no additional information for the first postcard with a black-and-white photo, but this postcard is very interesting since its explanation on the reverse is in Slovene: »Azija, Koreja: Benediktinski samostan v zimskem miru« [Asia, Korea: Benedictine monastery in winter peace]. Further research showed that this is a photo of the Tokwon Abbey located near the town of Wonsan in today's North Korea.²⁷ Since the Tokwon Abbey was constructed in the years between 1927 and

26 The library acquired the present name in 1938. In the middle of 19th century, it was called Deželna študijska knjižnica (County Study Library), and after the First World War Državna študijska knjižnica (State Study Library) and became the central library of Slovenia. Until the present building was constructed in 1941, all books and other resources now found in the library were kept in several various reading rooms around Slovenia. »Zgodovina NUK« [History of the National and University Library] <www.nuk.uni-lj.si/nuk/zgodovina-nuk> (last retrieval Nov 4, 2018).

27 Wikipedia »Territorial Abbey of Tokwon«, <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territorial_Abbey_of_Tokwon>; the photo of the monastery is taken from <www.pinterest.com/pin/597149231813578848/> (last retrieval Nov 3, 2018).

1931, we can guess that this postcard was printed in 1930s or later. It is also known to us that the abbey ceased to function in 1949. The existence of this postcard may suggest that some Slovene Christian organization published picture-postcards of various monasteries and churches around the world, perhaps as curiosities for the Slovene public in those days before the World War II.

Table 5
Korean postcards in NUK (National and University Library)

Inventory number	Printed explanation on the reverse	Inventory marking in pencil/other remarks
none	Azija, Koreja: Benediktinski samostan v zimskem miru.	
928	Potong River of Pyongyang	D (Korean Association) 23.5.1988/928
929	Pison Falls in Mt. Myohyang	D (Korean Association) 23.5.1988/929
930	Lake Samji, old revolutionary battle site, in autumn	D (Korean Association) 23.5.1988/930
931	The sculptural group »The Water of the Fatherland« built at Samjiyon	D (Korean Association) 23.5.1988/931 [letters are printed in green]
938	Pyongyang Department Store No. 1	D (Korean Publication Exchange Association) 23.5.1988/938
939	Chilsong Gate of Moran Hill	D (Korean Publication Exchange Association) 23.5.1988/939



Plate 13

Benedictine Abbey in Wonsan, archived in NUK, Ljubljana

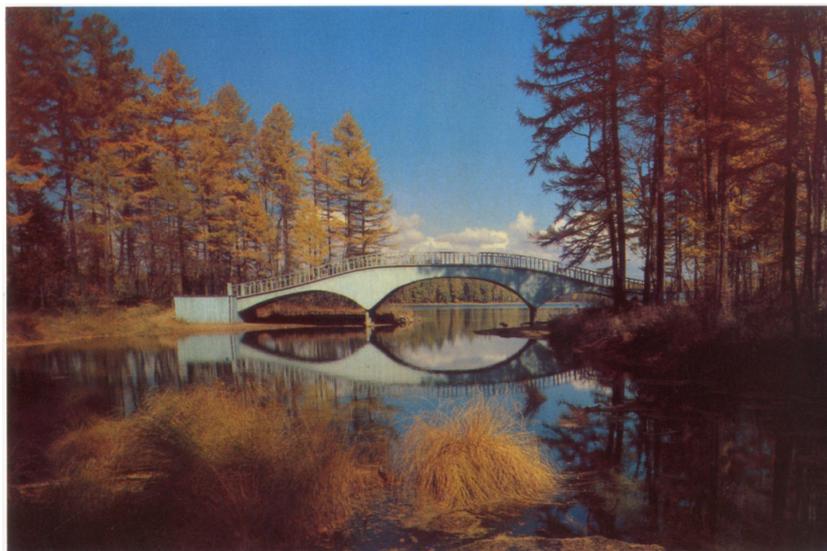


Plate 14

Lake Samji in autumn, archived in NUK, Ljubljana

As mentioned earlier in this paper, picture postcards reveal various interesting data and background information. In case of the ones in the National and University Library, though they have no traces of users, they still suggest some particular background of how they resulted in being archived in the central library in today's Republic of Slovenia. In case of the sole black-and-white photo of the Wonsan Abbey, we should perhaps continue with research on possible Christian activities between Slovenia (Central Europe) and Korea (today's North Korean region). In case of the color postcards from 1980s, we should keep in mind that it was during the period of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia when North Korea kept international relationships with many Socialist and Communist countries in the world. These postcards were probably sent to the National and University Library of Slovenia as propaganda materials in that period.²⁸

Conclusion

Alongside the postcards as described above, there are still many old photographs of Korea in Slovenia. During this research, some of them were identified in the albums in the Maritime Museum Piran, some of them next to the postcards mentioned in this study, in the albums of Koršič and Kristan. According to the latest research, there exist more postcards and photographs which were collected by Alma Karlin but not yet analysed, and they may also include more from Korea. As mentioned earlier, diaries and letters of Austro-Hungarian Navy members (some are in private possessions, some are in the Maritime Museum in Piran) may still reveal more detailed experience and actual contacts between Koreans and Slovenes, particularly in the period between the last years of 19th century and the first decades of 20th century. Our research should further include private

28 Prof. Emer. Dušan Nečak of the History Department of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, was formally invited to North Korea in 1989 and published a book on his visit and a short description of the Korean War, but he has no knowledge as to how these postcards came to be archived in the library (based on personal phone conversation in September 2018). Dušan Nečak, »Obisk preteklosti« [A Visit of the Past] (Ljubljana, ZIFF, Faculty of Arts, 1992).

collections, as well as collections in Croatia, i.e. in Pula, Rijeka, Dubrovnik, and Kotor, where the Navy had their ports. One postcard in the National and University Library (NUK) revealed an interesting fact: that some photos of Korea and East Asia in the 1930s were printed as postcards with captions in Slovene. Further research should be conducted related to this fact, namely, about specific activities related to exchanges between Korea and Slovenia during interwar years.

It is hoped that this paper will be a clue for further research on East–West exchanges, particularly of those between Korean and Slovene nations.

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A Book of Fans, ed. by Helena Honcoopová, Joshua Mostow and Makoto Yasuhara. Prague: Karolinum Press, Charles University, 2016—209 pp. ISBN: 9788024625188.

Zuzana Kubovčáková

A Book of Fans is a facsimile edition of an illustrated collection of Japanese *waka* (five line poems of 5-7-5-7-7 syllables), dating from the 16th century. The poems are accompanied by paintings of classical Japanese fans—a notion that serves as the title for the entire publication—referring to a common literary genre of books of fans (*ōgi no sōshi*) that were widely circulated as educational material among the youth of the pre-modern Edo period (1603–1868). However, *A Book of Fans* is much more than poems and paintings as only the first part of the book is composed of the facsimile; its second part offers elaborate scholarly essays dealing with a number of topics regarding the issue at hand. Karolinum Press, the Charles University publishing house, opted for a separate Czech and English version of the publication, which has proven to be a fruitful endeavour worth the effort of reaching a wider audience.

The entire work was brought together through the cooperation of three renowned authors representing a geographically rather wide range of academic and art institutions: Helena Honcoopová, director emeritus of the collection of Oriental art at the National Gallery in Prague, Joshua Mostow, acting head of Asian Studies at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, and Makoto Yasuhara, lecturer of Japanese literature at the Art Research Center at the Ritsumeikan University in Tokyo. Throughout the book one can also find examples of paintings and illustrations housed at galleries and museums from all around the globe: The British Museum in London, Tokyo National Museum, Smithsonian Institution in Washington, the New York MET or Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, just to name a few. *A Book of Fans* is therefore a wonderful example of the possibilities of global cooperation across countries and institutions.

As noted before, the facsimile of the manuscript itself forms the first part of the book. Both its artistic and technical thoroughness is impressive; a detailed reproduction of the material includes both transliteration and translations of the poems into English with additional notes to clarify the imagery, origin or authorship of the poems cited. The second part of *A Book of Fans* introduces accompanying essays of the editors, presenting the fans, their illustrations and poems in a broader historical, literal and artistic context.

The main part of *A Book of Fans* comes from the collection of Czech explorer, writer and collector, Joe Hloucha (1881–1957), who dedicated his inheritance to

the Prague National Gallery. Part of this inheritance featured an illustrated manuscript belonging to the aforementioned genre of books of fans dating from the late 16th century. The restoration of the manuscript revealed that the entire manuscript was made up of twenty separate sheets of especially firm paper with three fans and three accompanying poems on each side of the paper. The text of the poems was written in the Japanese syllabary alphabet, hiragana, in its calligraphic *bentaigana* style, and refers to the illustrations on the fans. In the manuscript, the poems are dispersed among the illustrations of fans—or one can also say that the fans are placed horizontally among the poems which reflect the illustrations on the fans. As a result, readers see in illustrations what they read—or *vice versa*, read in words what they are seeing visually depicted at the fans—and so are rewarded by a combination of words and images, performed both as poems written in calligraphic style and colourful illustrations on the fans. Hloucha's manuscript of this so-called Prague version of book of fans (*Praba-bon ōgi no sōshi*) contains 120 poems, making it the world's largest collection of all known writings of this genre. Professor Yasuhara of Ritsumeikan University supported the work with her own research regarding books of fans showing that among the approximately 50 manuscripts of this type of literature known around the world not even the Japanese ones are as extensive and well preserved as the Prague version presented in *A Book of Fans*.

The academic essays composing the second part of the publication offer broad information on a variety of topics related to Japanese art history and complement the illustrative first part of the book exceptionally well. They begin with a paper serving as an overview of the Japanese poetic tradition by Helena Honcoopová, thus creating a link between the 120 poems in *A Book of Fans* with older and more famous courtly or imperial collections of poems. The study offers a number of specific poetic examples, is rich in technical terms and apt references to the issue at hand. Someone new to the matter will appreciate its general summary of the literary tradition in Japan, while an experienced reader may find pleasure in the fluency of the thought as well as in the abundant Japanese expressions supplied with complementary *kanji* characters. The characters, which so accurately clarify the Japanese terms used in the English text, are thankfully used also in all of the papers.

The following essay by Professor Yasuhara is from its very beginning noticeably detailed compared to the previous one, which is only natural given that it departs from an introductory tone toward a more specific presentation of her own research regarding the genre conducted both in Japan and abroad. Among

the tapestry of factual knowledge offered in this essay the reader also learns some general circumstances related to the literary and aesthetic production of books of fans. Among others, the text describes the so-called »fan contests« (*ōgi awase*) of the Momoyama period (1568–1615), where based on the illustrations on the fans the competitors had to guess the original poem referring to the painting. Such literary gatherings developed from older »contest of poems« (*uta awase*) popular among the courtly aristocracy of the Heian period (794–1185). Final paragraphs of the essay are dedicated to the importance and particularity of the Prague version of the book of fans.

Professor Mostow's study directs the reader to the overall area of Japanese literary tradition; it sets forth Japanese short stories, *waka*, collaborative poetry *renga* and their connection to Nō drama. Mostow illustrates how a book of fans could have been used by its contemporary reader in the Momoyama period and also how the Nō drama makes use of the collaborative *renga* poetry. As the previous text, this essay deals with a detailed analysis of the Prague version of book of fans, referring to the structure of the poems, their order, usage of motives in verses or illustrations and so forth.

The textual part of *A Book of Fans* is brought to a close with two papers by Honcoopová proving her lifelong experience and broad professional activities in the field of Japanese arts. Her study »Commentary to the illustrations« explains age-old Japanese connection between the poetic and aesthetic. To illustrate her point, she draws primarily on Japanese works in Czech collections, using selected examples of paintings to support the ideas proposed in the essay. The style of the writing does not abandon an educative tone, describing among others the *Yamato-e* tradition of Japanese painting, which is presented within *A Book of Fans* ever so often. Moreover, the text also refers to universal usage of fans—the main topic of the book itself—in Japanese painting *per se*, while at the same time mentioning portraits of famous poets known as *kasen-e* (»portrait of immortal poet«), or development of »pictures of the floating world«, the famous *ukiyo-e*. The entire paper is very visual; it offers not only examples of paintings from the various collections serving as concrete illustrations to the written ideas of the study but also translations of poems that are depicted on them. As such, it will no doubt appeal to a sophisticated reader interested in art history, Japanese painting and poetry, or painting itself. The final text is an appealing biography of Joe Hloucha, the distinguished author, traveller and lifelong admirer of Japanese arts, whose original collection donated to the National Gallery in Prague enabled the production of *A Book of Fans* in the first place.

It is worth noting that the authors persisted in their endeavour to keep the artistic character of the book and all of the papers contained in its second part are

supplied with further visual material. This approach works in harmony with the first part of *A Book of Fans*, specifically illustrating the topics described in the essays. The combination of scholarly and aesthetical function in this part of the book is very detailed and thorough, yet at the same time subtle. Both the authors and editors invested worthwhile effort to maintain a high artistic standard in the entire publication.

As a result, *A Book of Fans* presents a rich source of inspiration for a wide audience of readers: on the one hand it is attractive for those with an appeal for fine or literary arts. However, at the same time it can speak to those interested in matters Japanese, including Japanese language or Japanese studies. Artists or art historians will admire the featured illustrations and their accompanying essays, poets will be drawn to original verses with numerous references to older Japanese works, Japanese studies academics can find fulfilment in transliterations of *bentaigana* which they will be able to decipher and translate for themselves. Accordingly, *A Book of Fans* can address literates and poets, enthusiasts of poetry, those fascinated by usage of archaic Japanese expressions, motives and allegories. Admirers of Japanese literary tradition will be intrigued by mentions of inspirations for the present poems to older courtly collections and numerous poets of the famed Heian period, Nō drama etc. The combination of illustrations, poems and scholarly essays will no doubt speak to readers across continents; paintings will please the eye of connoisseurs, poems the soul of literati and academic papers the thirst of intellectuals.

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Zuzana Gažáková and Jaroslav Drobný (eds.). *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of Ján Pauliny*. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, 2016—388 pp. ISBN: 978-80-223-4225-4

Zuzana Pristašová

The volume under review represents a collection of papers by leading Slovak and international scholars alongside distinguished young researchers—many of them Professor Ján Pauliny's former colleagues and Ph.D. students—who came together to pay tribute to him as the leading Slovak Arabist on the occasion of his seventy-seventh birthday.

The work contains sixteen articles written predominantly in English, as well as in German and French, with their own bibliographical references. The papers are organized into three main chapters, all reflecting to some extent the main fields of Pauliny's scholarly activity: Arabic literature, Islamic culture and history, and Arabic codicology and papyrology. We shall review the articles in the order they are listed in the volume. The erudition and immense efforts of their authors prompted us to comment on all of them, although not to the same extent.

In the informative introductory section that precedes the main chapters, the reader finds an article entitled »Ján Pauliny as a Scholar and Teacher« (pp. 11–18) by his student and colleague, Zuzana Gažáková. Drawing on Pauliny's unpublished notes as well as personal communication, Gažáková gives a well-structured account of his professional and personal life while enumerating many of his strengths and mapping the milestones of his rich academic career. Listing his most significant publications in the fields of Arab popular literature, medieval bibliographic literature, and early Islamic history, she mentions the hardships he had to overcome in the course of his awe-inspiring academic life, which were mostly related to the political climate under the communist regime in Czechoslovakia. She concludes her chapter by shedding light on Pauliny's extensive translation activity, focusing on his lifelong endeavour of translating the monumental collection of *The Thousand and One Nights*. This introductory section also contains a concise presentation of all the contributors to the volume, outlining the main areas of their research foci, and is concluded by a selected bibliography of Pauliny's works, revealing the diversity, depth, and number of his scholar interests.

Considered by the editors to be Pauliny's true domain, the chapter on Popular and Modern Arabic Literature assesses the largest number of contributions and is

listed first. It is introduced with an article by Katarína Bešková from the Slovak Academy of Sciences. In her study, she elucidates the complex relationship of two prominent Egyptian writers, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn طه حسين (1889–1973) and Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm توفيق الحكيم (1898–1987), aptly characterizing it as oscillating between friendship and rivalry while highlighting its impact as an initiating factor of the unprecedented literary-critical debate it ignited in the Egyptian press. In her article, Bešková focuses on the authors' artistic collaboration on the novel *al-Qaṣr al-maṣhūr* القصر المسحور (The Enchanted Palace, 1936), summarizing and pertinently analysing its plot and characters while tracing its intertextual references to other works.

The following article by Giovanni Canova of Università l'Orientale of Naples is a treatise on the importance of bread in the life of Upper Egyptians. This is documented by numerous popular proverbs and songs, one of which is transcribed, translated, and commented on by Canova. The study is accompanied by a series of five photographs portraying the phases of traditional bread preparation. Herbert Eisenstein, a former professor at the University of Vienna, is the author of the next article: drawing on his long-term research on Arabic zoography and animals in Islamic societies, he presents a classification of mythological birds in Arabic literature. In her intriguing study, entitled »Major Female Characters in the *Sīrat Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan*« (pp. 87–111), Zuzana Gažáková examines the rich representations of female protagonists in the above-mentioned Arabic popular epic. Concentrating predominantly on manuscripts, while including some references to printed editions known as *kutub safrā'* (»yellow books«), she presents a number of strong female individuals who enter the complicated plot of the popular epic and enrich it by occupying various unexpected roles. In her contribution to the chapter, Mária Lacináková of Comenius University of Bratislava casts light on the themes of the creation and the end of the world as depicted in al-Kisā'ī's الكسائي (around 1000) collections of folk religious tales. Through her own translations of the extracts of five manuscripts, she reveals the rich imagery of the creation and cessation of both the natural and supernatural world presented in *Kitāb 'Ağā'ib al-Malakūt* كتاب عجائب الملكوت (The Book of Marvels of the World and the Otherworld) while marginally touching on the linguistic aspect of the accounts and the question of the »folksiness« of the volume in question. Complementing her study with detailed bibliographical references, she manifests her cognizance of the relevant studies published on al-Kisā'ī's work without omitting the link to the valuable research conducted by her colleagues and former teachers—Pauliny and Gažáková—in the field of popular literature. Modern Egyptian literature is once again the centre of attention, this time in a

thought-provoking study by František Ondráš from Charles University in Prague. In his article, he analyses how the archetypical motif of ancient Egypt is adopted to modern narrative prose and how this »one dimension of creativity« in modern Arabic literature manifests itself in the literary works by Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, Nabīl Na^oūm Ğurġī نبييل نعوم جورجى (1944) and Bahā' Ṭāhir بهاء طاهر (1935). The chapter is concluded by a contribution by Stephan Procházka of the University of Vienna. He devoted his paper to the analysis, transcription, and English translation of the story about az-Zīr Sālīm الزير سالم, a pre-Islamic hero of one of the best known yet scarcely recited Arabic popular epics narrated in Cilician Arabic.

The second chapter, focusing on another area of Pauliny's research interests, deals with Arab history and Islam. It begins with an article by Emanuel Beška from the Slovak Academy of Sciences. His contribution is a complex treatise on *as-Siyūnizm aw al-ma's'ala aš-šabyūniya* الصهيونزم أو المسألة الصهيونية (Zionism or the Zionist Question), a manuscript by Rūhī al-Khālīdī روى الخالدي (1864–1913), who was a prominent Palestinian politician and scholar. The study by Jaroslav Drobný from Comenius University of Bratislava, the editor of the present volume, critically scrutinizes the descriptions of the Kingdom of Hungary as found in geographical works by an Andalusian scholar Ibn Sa'īd al-Maġribī ابن سعيد المغربي (1213–1274 or 1286), one of the main representatives of the genre of medieval Arabic geographical literature. Of great value is the contribution of the late Professor Raif Georges Houry: his study of impressive length and richness of content turned out to be one of the last endeavours of his extraordinary academic career; he deals with various aspects of the constitution of universal history in the beginnings of Islamic culture. The last paper of the second chapter, authored by Gabriel Pirický of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, focuses on the transnational activities of the Turkish Hizmet community.

A thoroughly researched study by Slavomír Čéplö of the Austrian Academy of Sciences opens the final chapter, which is entitled »Codicology, Papyrology, and Linguistics«. In the paper, he provides a commentary, edition, and translation of a previously unpublished Christian Arabic apocryphon recounting the life of John the Baptist, delving into the similarities and discrepancies between that text and another Christian apocryphal work, the Life of John the Baptist. The Christian Arabic manuscripts, specifically the aspect of their collection, are also the centre of attention of another contributor to the present volume. In his article, Paolo La Spisa from the University of Florence examines the history and subsequent dissolution of two relevant manuscript collections of the Christian East. The following paper by Emeritus Professor Harry T. Norris of SOAS University of London is devoted to a translation and commentary of a document from the library of a late Tuareg scholar and spiritual leader of the Tuareg community in

Niger recounting the early history of tribes of the Wād Nūn and the Western Sahara. The study is aptly complemented with photographs of the seven pages of the manuscript. Viera Pawliková-Vilhanová (†) of the Slovak Academy of Sciences is the author of an informative article mapping the intriguing history of Kiswahili: the north-Eastern Bantu language. It is enriched by a considerable number of Arabic loan-words and is originally written in the Old Swahili or Arabic script. This was initially a mother tongue to only about half a million Swahili people, but it gradually acquired the status of *lingua franca* to eventually become the most widely spoken African language on the African continent. This chapter, as well as the publication itself, is concluded by a meticulous study of one of the papyri of the Austrian National Library collection conducted by Lucian Reinfandt. This document of an administrative nature dates to the eighth or ninth century AD and supposedly originates from a financial office in Middle or Upper Egypt.

The output of the editors of the volume is indisputably important; they managed to create a well-structured and vivid collection of intriguing articles on a variety of topics which elucidate the multi-aspectual nature of Arabic and Islamic Studies as a discipline. By bringing together scholars from different countries, this publication simultaneously familiarizes other researchers in the field with the given topics as well as interested students and members of the general public, with research having been conducted by renowned European institutions. Last but not least, the plurality of topics in the volume is a reflection of the admirable scope of research interests undertaken by Professor Pauliny himself. His scholarly achievements stand out as an example for many young researchers. With the aim of paying homage to Pauliny the scholar, the work under review is also a qualitative enrichment to academic literature in the field of Arabic and Islamic Studies.

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