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CONTENT

▌Preface

Dear reader,

In your hand you hold a small compendium of twelve articles selected from the 8th Annual Czech and Slovak Sinological Conference, which took place on November 7–8, 2014 at the Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic, and was organized by the Department of Asian Studies and EU project CHINET, reg. no.: CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0152. As the title of the conference suggests, every year one of the sinological centers either in the Czech Republic or Slovakia takes over the organization of this event. The event serves as a unique forum to share and exchange ideas, as well as to discuss the current research in Asian studies within the Czech and Slovak borders.

This time, we tried to do things differently and except for the Czech and Slovak languages, we also added English as a main language of the conference. The reason was simple: we thought that Czech and Slovak sinology should, once again, look beyond the borders of our two small countries, not only to confront with sinology abroad, but also to bring more attention to our research centers, which to date might have been overlooked due to a language barrier. Because of this modification, we were able to welcome researchers from more than ten different countries presenting their paper at the Czech and Slovak Sinological Conference in Olomouc. From the positive feedback, we hope the internationalization of Czech and Slovak sinology will continue in the next years as well.

Our compendium is roughly divided into four sections: Linguistics, Science and Thought, Society, and Literature. Each of the sections include two or more articles written by Czech and Slovak researchers, but in this volume, we are also happy to have Japanese and Taiwanese contributors. The variety of articles in this compendium illustrates the flourishing re-

search within Czech and Slovak sinology. In your hand you have a unique opportunity to learn more about Chinese linguistics, but also about Chinese astronomy, literature, religion and even about the night soil business in Shanghai.

We truly hope you will find this volume as thought-provoking and stimulating reading as we do.

In Olomouc
Martin Lavička & Martina Rysová

Linguistics

Use of Translation Corpora as a New Method in Chinese Language Research and Its Pedagogical Implications: The Case of Viewpoint in Narratives*

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Annotation: *This article is a preliminary attempt to apply the use of translation corpora as a new method in Chinese language research. We look into how the use of Chinese literary masterpiece and its English translation can help us identify interesting differences between the two languages. The discussion is focused on how the author and the translator present viewpoint structure in the narrative. Use of deictic verbs and stylistic strategies such as zero-anaphora and (free) indirect speech are discussed. At the end of the article we propose a pedagogical implication.*
Keywords: *cognitive linguistics, deixis, stylistics, translation, viewpoint*

1 Parallel Texts, Linguistics Research and Teaching

Language corpora have been a useful resource extensively used in research in general linguistics and language teaching.[1] Various studies have shown the usefulness of language corpora in the above fields. However,

the use of translation corpora is a practice that has not yet been systematically adopted in the field of Chinese Linguistics and teaching Chinese as a second language.[2] The current paper intends to occupy the niche by presenting a case study and will discuss the pedagogical implications of the use of translation corpora in Chinese Linguistics and teaching.

Parallel texts, as a type of corpora, are a collection of texts put alongside their translations. For the interest of our current readers, researchers of the Chinese language may put together a collection of world masterpieces written in Chinese (e.g. *A True Story of Ah-Q, Dreams of Red Chamber*, etc.) and find their translations in English, Japanese, Czech, German, etc. which will form a set of parallel texts available for the purpose of language research and teaching. Parallel texts are usually aligned sentence by sentence.

We argue that such methodology has a great advantage, as aligning the texts sentence by sentence allows one to see how the same situation is coded in different languages, and a comparison between the source language and the target language(s) may reveal the distinctiveness of the source language. In our current case, comparing Chinese with the other languages (i.e. English, Japanese, Czech, German, etc.) will reveal how exactly Chinese is different from the other languages.

Furthermore, we propose that such comparison may have important pedagogical implications. It has been extensively reported that second language learners are constantly bothered by the inconsistencies between their first language and the second language that they are trying to acquire, and that such inconsistencies are an important cause of learner's erroneous production patterns. Therefore, we believe not only that parallel texts may be used as an important research material for linguistics research, but also that distinctive patterns of Chinese identified by a parallel-text-based study may serve as an important basis for the design of teaching materials. Below, we present a case study of deictic verbs in Chinese-English parallel texts and will discuss the pedagogical implication of the research.

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1   Typical examples include Chen (2010); Chung and Huang (2010); Lu and Su (2009); Lu (Accepted).

2   A couple of nice exceptions are Xiao and Wei (2014); Xu and Li (2014).

2 Material Choice, Corpus Design and Scope

The material chosen for the present study is a famous novel written by Mo Yan, the Nobel Laureate in 2012, entitled 酒国 *Jiu Guo* (*The Republic of Wine*).[3] The novel is chosen for the fame of its author and we believe the work will become increasingly important given Mo Yan's role in the field of contemporary Chinese literature.[4] Only the first chapter of both the Chinese original and the English translation is included in the scope of study as a sample.

We focus on deictic verbs in both the Chinese original and the English translation, as deictic verbs are probably one of the most fundamental words in language. Their semantics is rather basic and frequency is relatively high, so they are suitable candidates for linguistics research. Learners of a second language may also find deictic verbs among the first words that they need to know. We will focus on how deictic verbs and their interactions with other figures of speech allow the speaker to express viewpoint in authentic written discourse.

Deictic verbs are motion verbs that denote the direction of motion with reference to the speaker's position (the so-called origo). Motion towards the speaker in Chinese is coded by *lai*, whereas away from the speaker by *qu*. In English motion towards the speaker is coded by *come* (or its variants *comes*, *came*, *coming*), whereas away from the speaker by *go* (or its variants *goes*, *went*, *going*, *gone*). When we did a corpus search, we included all variants of the lexemes.

However, note that deictic verbs, given their basic status in language use and their high frequency, also show a tendency of being involved in idioms and appearing in grammaticized forms, where the four lexemes may lose their physical and directional nature. Typical examples in Chinese include *guan-qilai* 'close-QILAI', *kan-qilai* 'see-QILAI', where *lai* cannot be re-

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3   Mo (2012).

4   The English translation is done by Prof. Howard Goldblatt, a Sinologist based in the United States. He is famous for having translated several important contemporary Chinese classics, including The Taste of Apples by Huang Chunming and The Execution of Mayor Yin by Chen Ruoxi. Therefore, given the translator's extensive experience, we believe that the quality of the translation is more than acceptable so is suitable for the purpose of linguistics research.

placed with *qu*, and *ting-xiaqu* 'listen-XIAQU', *du-xiaqu* 'read-XIAQU', where *qu* cannot be replaced with *lai*. Typical English examples include the progressive aspectual expression *be going to*, where *go* cannot be replaced with *come* to express a different viewpoint and *come down to earth* 'be realistic', where *come* cannot be replaced with *go*. We exclude such idiomatic expressions from our scope, since our focus is viewpoint expression in discourse.

3 Representative Cases Identified in the Parallel Texts

Below are some representative examples that we find in the first chapter of the Chinese and English versions of *The Republic of Wine*. We discuss the examples in two groups: Section 3.1 introduces examples where only the Chinese version uses a deictic verb to express the narrator's viewpoint but such a stylistic effect is entirely absent in the English version. Section 3.2 includes examples where the Chinese version uses a deictic verb for the viewpointing effect (Dancygier 2012) while the English version does not. But not only that, the examples also involve another stylistic means to achieve the effect.

3.1 Viewpoint expressed only in the Chinese original

In this category, we introduce examples where only the Chinese version expresses the viewpoint of the narrator with a deictic verb while the English version does not. Example (1) and (2), both taken from the narration of the novel, are typical.[5]

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5   Examples marked with (a) are all passages from the Chinese original. The first line presents the passage in Chinese characters, and the second line is the transliteration of the passage, and the third line is the word-by-word translation of the original text. For the glosses of grammatical markers, we follow the convention in linguistic typology, The Leipzig Glossing Rules developed by the Max Plank Institute of Evolutionary Anthropology. Examples marked with (b) are passages from the English translation. Examples marked with (c) are constructed for the purpose of explaining the viewpointing effect in the original (a) or (b) passages.

(1a)

看门人	把	手	拿下来，	放	在
kanmen-ren	ba	shou	na-xia-lai	fang	zai
gate keeper	PRT	hand	take-down-come	put	LOC

面前	看。
mian-qian	kan
face-front	see

"The gatekeeper put his hands down (in the direction of the speaker) and looked at them in front of his face."

(1b) The gatekeeper lowered his hands and examined them.

(1c)

看门人	把	手	拿下去，	放	在
kanmen-ren	ba	shou	na-xia-qu	fang	zai
gate keeper	PRT	hand	take-down-go	put	LOC

面前	看。
mian-qian	kan
face-front	see

"The gatekeeper put his hands down (away from the speaker) and looked at them in front of his face." (constructed)

Example (1a) is a typical example of the narrator's language that uses lai to construct a viewpoint that is identical to the protagonist's (Ding Gou'er's). This point becomes straightforward when we compare (1a) with its constructed counterpart (1c), which is created by replacing lai with qu. The viewpoint of the speaker in (1c) is identical probably to the gatekeeper's. On the other hand, we cannot find a similar viewpoint expressed in its English translation, with no deictic verb found in (1b), which is a mere description from the perspective of a neutral and objective observer. The English version therefore shows much less involvement of the narrator in the scene than the Chinese original.

(2a)

丁钩儿		接过		酒瓶子，		晃晃，
dinggouer		jie-guo		jiuping-zi		huang-huang
Ding Gou'er		take-over		wine bottle		shake-RED

蝎子	在	参须	间	游泳，	怪	味道
xiezi	zai	sen-xu	jian	youyong	guai	weidao
scorpion	LOC	ginseng root	LOC	swim	strange	odor

从	瓶口	冲出来。
cong	ping-kou	chong-chu-lai
LOC	bottle mouth	rush-out-come

"Ding Gou'er took over the bottle, shook it, (and found) the scorpions swimming among the ginseng roots, with a strange odor coming (towards the speaker) out from the mouth of the bottle."

(2b) He shook the bottle, and the scorpions swam in the ginseng-enhanced liquid. A strange odor emanated from the bottle.

(2c)

丁钩儿		接过		酒瓶子，		晃晃，
dinggouer		jie-guo		jiuping-zi		huang-huang
Ding Gou'er		take-over		wine bottle		shake-RED

蝎子	在	参须	间	游泳，	怪	味道
xiezi	zai	sen-xu	jian	youyong	guai	weidao
scorpion	LOC	ginseng root	LOC	swim	strange	odor

从	瓶口	冲出去。
cong	ping-kou	chong-chu-qu
LOC	bottle-mouth	rush-out-go

"Ding Gou'er took over the bottle, shook it, (and found) the scorpions swimming among the ginseng roots, with a strange odor going (away from the speaker) out from the mouth of the bottle." (constructed)

Example (2) is rather similar to (1) in terms of the viewpoint alignment in the Chinese original and the English translation. In (2a), the viewpoint of the narrator is with the protagonist, which is outside of the bottle. But if we replace *lai* with *qu*, as is shown in the constructed (2c), the viewpoint of the speaker is no longer outside of the bottle with the protagonist but instead inside of the bottle. On the other hand, the English translation does not show such viewpoint management by use of a deictic verb. Rather like (1b), (2b) is also an objective description of the source of the odor using a viewpoint-neutral motion verb *emanated*, which only means 'to exit'.

3.2 Interaction of deictic verbs and other figures of speech

The phenomena that we show below are more complicated than what we have seen in the previous section. Here we will discuss the interaction of a deictic verb and other figures of speech in the same passage. (3) is an interesting case where the deictic verb *lai* creates a special literary effect with zero anaphora.

(3a)

他	感到	乏味、	无趣，	便	把	她
ta	gan-dao	fawei	wuqu	bian	ba	ta
he	feel-PFV	bland	uninteresting	then	PRT	she

推开。	她	却	像	一只	凶猛的
tui-kai	ta	que	xiang	yi-zhi	xiongmeng-de
push-aside	she	nevertheless	like	one-CL	fierce-LINK

小豹子	一样，	不断地	扑上来…
xiao baozi	yiyang	buduandi	pu-shang-lai
leopard cub	same	relentlessly	spring-up-come

"He felt uninterested and then pushed her away. But she was like a fierce leopard cub and kept coming up (against the speaker) relentlessly."

(3b) But, like a plucky fighting cock, she sprang back at him hard, catching him off guard and making resistance all but impossible.

In (3a), the viewpoint of the narrator is obviously with the protagonist, which is shown by the use of *lai*. Note also that zero-anaphora is at play, with the goal of the female character's motion, which is the protagonist, left unspecified. This naturally gives the association of the narrator's viewpoint with the protagonist's. But on the other hand, the viewpoint of the narration in (3b) is more neutral. In the English text, there is no use of a deictic verb, and the goal of the female character's motion is specified by a pronoun *him*, which objectively refers to the protagonist from outside of the scene. Here we see clearly that the narrator's viewpoint is not with the protagonist (deeply involved in the scene) but instead adopts a distal perspective.

Excerpts (4) are a similar set of instances that involves the interplay of eixis and zero-anaphora.

(4a)	检察长	拉开	抽屉，	把	一封信
	jiancha-zhang	la-kai	chouti	ba	yi-feng-xin
	Head of Inspectors	pull-open	drawer	PRT	one-CL-letter

拿出来，	先	瞄了两眼，	才
na-chu-lai	xian	miao-le-liangyan	cai
take-out-come	first	glance-PFV-a couple of times	PRT

递给	丁钩儿。
di-gei	dinggouer
hand-to	Ding Gou'er

"The Head of Inspectors pulled the drawer open, took out (towards the speaker) a letter, first glanced it and handed it to Ding Gou'er."

(4b) He opened a drawer and took out a letter, glanced at it, then handed it over.

In (4a), the viewpoint of the narrator is with the protagonist. This is evidenced by the use of *lai* in the narrative. However, what is interesting is that Ding Gou'er is explicitly mentioned in a later part of the narrative so is an objective part of the scene. Note that the explicit mention of Ding Gou'er

is important in understanding the viewpoint structure in this chunk of narrative. In the first part of the narrative, the narrator's viewpoint coincides with the protagonist's (i.e. outside of the drawer and away from the Head of Inspectors), whereas in the second half where Ding Gou'er is explicitly mentioned, the viewpoint is no longer with the protagonist, as the protagonist is explicitly mentioned as an object of conception. This stretch of discourse thus presents a mixture of narrative viewpoints, commonly known as free indirect discourse.[6]

On the other hand, the English translation (4b) does not exhibit such a mixture of viewpoints like its Chinese counterpart does. In (4b), only zero-anaphora is used as a stylistic strategy that induces the reader to identify the viewpoint of the narrator with the protagonist's. Consider a constructed example (4c), where the goal of the motion of the letter, Ding Gou'er, is explicitly mentioned.

(4c) He opened a drawer and took out a letter, glanced at it, then handed it over to Ding Gou'er. (constructed)

This constructed stretch of discourse looks like an objective neutral description of the scene, with the protagonist mentioned as an object of conceptualization instead of as the origo of the narrative. The viewpoint of the narrator in (4c) is thus clearly not with the protagonist.

Therefore, by comparing the original Chinese text (4a) with its English translation (4b), we show that *lai* is an important lexical means that the narrator uses to create a stylistic effect of mixing the narrator's viewpoint with the protagonist's, which is missing in the English text. By comparing (4b) with its constructed counterpart (4c), we show that zero-anaphora is a stylistic means employed by the English translator to induce the reader to identify the narrator's viewpoint with the protagonist, which is not used in the Chinese text (4a).[7]

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6   For a discussion of (free) indirect discourse and direct discourse, see Short (1996), 298–307.

7   Note that zero-anaphora is an important grammatical phenomenon extensively discussed throughout literature (e.g. McEnery 2000; Sanford et.al 1994, among numerous others). The point of the analysis here is simply to show how Chinese and English uses zero-anaphora in very different ways.

Examples (5a) and (5b) are even more complicated, as they involve the interplay of deixis and the protagonist's perceptual content and thought represented by the narrator.

(5a)

丁钩儿		推开		小	门	时，
dinggouer		tui-kai		xiao	men	shi
Ding Gou'er		push-open		small	door	when

那条狗		猛	扑上来。		狗	的	布满
na-tiao-gou		meng	pu-shang-lai		gou	de	buman
that-CL-dog		fierce	spring-up-come		dog	LINK	full of

汗珠	的	湿	鼻子	几乎	碰到		他
hanzhu	de	shi	bizi	jihu	peng-dao		ta
sweat	LINK	wet	nose	almost	touch-PFV		he

的	手背。	准确地说		触到了		他
de	shoubei	zhunque-di-shuo		chu-dao-le		ta
LINK	back of hand	precisely speaking		touch-PFV-PFV		he

的	手背，	他	感到了		它	的
de	shoubei	ta	gan-dao-le		ta	de
LINK	back of hand	he	feel-PFV-PFV		it	LINK

鼻子	上	的	温度。	狗	鼻子	凉森森的，
bizi	shang	de	wendu	gou	bizi	liangsensen-de
nose	on	LINK	temperature	dog	nose	cool-LINK

使	他	想到了		紫色	的	乌贼鱼	和
shi	ta	xiang-dao-le		zise	de	wuzeiyu	he
make	he	think-PFV-PFV		purple	LINK	cuttlefish	CONJ

荔枝	的	皮肤。
lizhi	de	pifu
lychee	LINK	skin

"When Ding Gou'er pushed the small door open, that dog came (towards him) fiercely. The sweaty wet nose almost touched the back of his hand. More precisely, it did touch his hand, as he felt the temperature of its nose. The dog's nose is cool, which reminded him of the skin of a purple cuttlefish and a lychee nut."

(5b)   Ding Gou'er pushed on the small gate, bringing the dog quickly to its feet. Its damp, sweaty nose was but a fraction of an inch from the back of his hand. In fact, it probably touched his hand, since he felt a coolness that reminded him of a purple cuttlefish or a lychee nut.

An immediately noticeable difference between (5a) and (5b) is the absence of a deictic verb in (5b), which again makes use of deictic verbs a distinctive feature of Chinese narratives. However, what is furthermore interesting in the passages is the co-contribution by the deictic verb and the reported perceptual content and thought of the protagonist to the stylistic effect. In the Chinese text, the stylistic effect of blending the protagonist's viewpoint in the narrator's language is achieved by embedding not only the deictic verb *lai* but also the protagonist's perceptual content in the narration. The direct access of the narrator to the protagonist's feeling and thought, which is impossible in real-life scenarios, creates a mixture of viewpoint representation in this stretch of discourse. However, the mixture is more vivid in the middle of (5a), where Ding Gou'er's feeling is described by the narrator with reference to Ding Gou'er as *ta* '3rd person sg', which represents the narrator's perspective. The association of the coolness of the dog's nose and a cuttlefish and lychee nut at the end of the passage is also a thought that only the protagonist, not any observer, would have access to. But now the fact that this is reported by the narrator also proves the mixture of viewpoints that we have argued. The English text employs a similar writing technique but does not use a deictic verb.

The last pair of examples, (6a) and (6b), also illustrates the use of deictic verbs as a main feature in the Chinese narrative. However, there is also more to it in this stretch of discourse.

(6a)

守门人		脸	上	干巴巴的，	好像
shoumen-ren		lian	shang	ganbaba-de	haoxiang
gate keeper		face	on	dry-PRT	like

烤焦		的	馒头。	丁钩儿	不
kao-jiao		de	mantou	dinggouer	bu
bake-burned		LINK	steamed bun	Ding Gou'er	NEG

想	继续	吓唬	他，	说	我	不是	什么
xiang	jixu	xiahu	ta	shuo	wo	bushi	sheme
want	continue	scare	he	say	I	NEG	what

矿长，	放开胆子		烤	吧！	我	是	来
kuagzhang	fangkaidanzi		kao	ba	wo	shi	lai
director	feel free to		heat	PRT	I	PRT	come

办事	的。
banshi	de
work	PRT

"The gatekeeper's face was as dry as a burned steamed bun. Ding Gou'er did not want to scare him any more so said I am not the Director, so feel free to enjoy the warmth! I came to work."

(6b)   The gatekeeper had a dried-out face, like an overcooked bun. Deciding he'd frightened the man enough, Ding Gou'er confessed that he was not the new Director, and that the man was free to heat the place up as much as he liked, since Ding Gou'er had work to do.

A comparison of (6a) and (6b) also shows the use of a deictic verb to be an exclusive feature of the Chinese narrative, which is absent in the English translation. In addition to the main difference, the passage also shows another striking stylistic diversion. Ding Gou'er's speech is presented in the Chinese original with a first person point of view, indicated by the use

of pronoun *wo* 'I', which is typical of direct speech and reflects the protagonist's perspective in the narration. On the other hand, Ding Gou'er's speech in the English translation is not presented in the form of either direct speech or free indirect speech, but rather indirect speech that shows the narrator's distanced viewpoint, evidenced by the use of third person pronoun *he*. This passage thus demonstrates not only the use of deictic verbs as an important feature in Chinese narratives but also a difference in the mode of representing speech in the Chinese passage and its English translation.

4 Concluding Remarks

With the use of a representative Chinese literary piece and its English translation, we have shown the usefulness of translation corpora in Chinese language research, as a comparison of texts between Chinese and another language can show various interesting differences between Chinese and the other language involved. First of all, the examples that we have presented consistently show that the use of deictic verbs seems to be a feature of Chinese narratives, which is absent, at least in all those corresponding English passages. Secondly, the use of a translation corpus allows us to see how the Chinese language uses very different stylistic means from English in creating viewpoint structure in narratives. In addition to the use of deictic verbs, different use of zero-anaphora in (3) and (4), and the different modes of speech representation discussed in (6) are all illustrations of how a typical Chinese narrative is stylistically different from an English one. However, note that the less frequent use of deictic verbs in the English text does not mean that the English language is not equipped with corresponding stylistic strategies for the purpose of viewpoint construction. Zero-anaphora in (4b), for instance, is a strategy that is used only by the English translator but not by the Chinese author in that particular stretch of discourse.

An important generalization that can be made across the examples is the lack of neat correspondences between Chinese and the other language, which is exactly the potential pedagogical value of using a translation corpus for Chinese teaching. I propose that teachers of Chinese should include the use of translation corpora as a small part of their curriculum, with the purpose of showing students the impossibility of trying

to find translation equivalents across languages. By pointing out how languages "misbehave", the teacher may emphasize the importance of using original (Chinese) discourse as a study material and the inadequacy of the traditional dictionary-plus-grammar-book model (Taylor 2012:8) of language learning. In other words, the use of translation corpora should not be extensively used as a main part of the curriculum but as supplementary material that helps motivate students and adjust their learning mode. It is in this sense that the use of translation corpora has important pedagogical implications at least for the material design of teaching Chinese as second language. Furthermore, given the potential of the use of translation corpora in contrastive linguistics research, we believe that differences that are identified in Chinese-English (or even Chinese-Czech, Chinese-Japanese, etc.) translation corpora can be used in teaching material design, which should be brought to the attention of language teachers of Chinese with the students' native language involved as the target language in comparison.

Finally, although we have presented a selection of examples as evidence, we are fully aware that more research needs to be done with the proposed methodology so that a generalization of what is specific to the Chinese language can be made. That said, we believe that such an initiative has shown the potential of using translation corpora in Chinese language research, especially the distinctiveness of the Chinese language from a contrastive linguistic perspective.

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Prosodic transcription of Standard Chinese in sociolinguistics research

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Annotation: This paper aims to analyse transcriptions of audio recordings of contemporary Standard Chinese, paying special attention to the prosodic features of the language. The research was undertaken from a sociolinguistic perspective, paying particular attention to differences in accents in regards to the speakers' ages and genders. The study was carried out using a method of prosodic transcription established by Prof. Švarný. The description and clarification of this transcription contains the first part of this paper. The second part of the paper focuses on explaining the research base and the selection of research participants. Finally, there is an example of a trial analysis of sample dialogues. Special attention was paid to the average lenght of cola and segments, differentiation of relative syllable prominences and setting of ictuses and rhythms. The results of the trial analysis are preliminarily interpreted and will be used as a stepping stone for a future study of a larger corpus of texts.

Keywords: prosodic transcription, speech, rhythm, sociolinguistics, gender, age

1 Introduction

This paper deals with a brief introduction to, and a simple description of, the principles and methodology of prosodic transcription, which, used to transcribe Standard Chinese. Thanks to the existence of this kind of transcription, we are able to record the "plasticity" of the prosodic level of spoken language. This is an invaluable help to learners of Chinese, especially for beginners. If they learn to use the transcribed text, they are able to correctly reproduce sentences and learn basic speech patterns in a short period of time.

The main subject of my research is the application of prosodic transcription. Transcription is applied to a communication - specifically a dialogue - between two speakers. My research deals with two sociolinguistic categories, namely: the age and the gender of speakers. With the help of these categories, I try to interpret prosodically transcribed texts of dialogues and locate similarities, differences and linguistic tendencies´ that appear in the text. Thence, I try to find out the effect that the speaker´s age and gender has on the prosodic realization of speech. This paper, among others, will demonstrate an illustrative analysis of sample dialogues. However, I acknowledge that this study only shows a method and does not give a detailed analysis from which it would be possible to draw valid general conclusions.

2 Few Notes on Prosodic Transcription

Prosodic transcription of Standard Chinese was one of the objects of research for Czech sinologist and phoneticist Oldřich Švarný (1920–2011). He developed and innovated this manner of transcription for over thirty years and the transcription has a few progressive versions[1], thus in the current form it is his masterpiece.[2] He was inspired by other publications and methods (e.g. *Beginning Chinese* (1963) by John DeFrancis, *Dictionary of Spoken Chinese* (1966) *and Fonetika kitajskogo jazyka* (1972) by A. N. Spěšněv)[3] The only alterations that were made to this method over the course of this study were to accommodate advances in technology, such as the change from hand-written to typed transcription.

Švarný's prosodic transcription tries to capture the prosodic phenomena of spoken Chinese. These are essentially the stress (tone) prominence and the linear structure of the sentences. The stress relates to the degree of emphasis (prominence) on definite syllables.[4] Stress is one of the most important factors in Chinese, because, in the flow of speech, tones are modified: weakened or contrarily stressed. From an acoustic perspec-

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1 This text uses a version of prosodic transcription from Švarný's publication *A grammar of Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples 1a* (1991).

2 Třísková 2011, 45.

3 Ibid.

4 Salzmann 2007, 219.

tive stress prominence in Chinese can be observed in the pitch or length of a syllable, or in a combination of both of these characteristics.[5] This paper employs Švarný's special prosodic terminology. Boundaries between units are marked with junctures. Rhythmical sections are cola (between cola is a pause lasting approximately ¾ of a second) and segments. Colon is a term for a prosodic phrase. Cola that are longer than one syllable, can be further broken down into smaller units – segments. Segment, a term for a prosodic word, is an ascending or descending sequences of two or more syllables with an ictus or individual ictus syllables. They can be situated alone or combined with each other in complex sequences.[6] Švarný uses the term ictus instead of the term accent, because the quality of an accent in European languages differs from an accent in Chinese.

A modified form of Chinese pinyin based on the Latin alphabet is used as the basis of prosodic transcription. The basic registration phrases in pinyin are then given special marks that capture the "plasticity of the text" – i.e. the degree of fullness of tone syllables and the linear structure of the text. Based on the analysis of a large number of recordings, Švarný established a system known as the seven degrees of syllable prominence[7].

1. stressed tone syllables (always with ictus) – a dot under the main vocal
2. full tone ictus syllables – traditional tone mark
3. full tone none-ictus syllables – traditional tone mark
4. weakened tone ictus syllables – numerical indices[1,2,3,4]
5. none-ictus syllables carrying weakened tone – numerical indices[1,2,3,4] in the ring
6. atonic neutralized syllables
7. atonic toneless syllables (they are always without tone) – no marking

If syllables that are not marked in any way are at the beginning of the segment, Švarný automatically deemed them none-ictus syllables carrying weakened tone and in these cases waived marking.

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5 Duběda 2005, 124; Švarný 1998, 55–56.

6 Švarný 1998, 23–24.

7 Švarný 1998, 24–25.

For sequences of two, three and four syllables, that are rhythmically varied, but not to the extent that they can be marked with varying degrees of prominence, Švarný sets the acronymic rule. This rule allows us to avoid another graphic representation of these syllables. According to Švarný, the ictus syllable is the second in disyllabic segments, the first and last in three and four syllable segments, while the second syllable is the weakest.[8]

Švarný holds regular punctuation in cases where, according to the rules of spelling he writes commas, and in cases where a comma in not normally used, he uses a small vertical marking.[9] Syllables belonging to one segment indicate bend between syllables.

In the case of graphic marking breakdown speech syllables belonging to one segment, Švarný connects small arcs between them. To indicate the boundaries of cola, where according to the spelling rules a comma is written, the normal punctuation is applied. In cases where the boundaries of cola appear where the comma is not written, they are designated using a small vertical upright.[10] Previously these graphic marking were manually attributed, which is, of course, nowadays obsolete thanks to computers.

The transcription was amended as follows: stressed tone syllables are no longer denoted by a dot bellow the main vocal, they now appear in a bold red font. Weakened none-ictus tone syllables are now indicated only with a number in subscript, not a circled number in subscript. Instead of the small arcs connecting the syllables of segments a hyphen is used. Instead of the small vertical uprights marking the boundaries of cola, a common punctuation, the comma, is used.

For clarification of changes made in transcription is added a short sample text[11]:

1. Švarný´s version:

d/1.women_d jiéke_lǎoshī ǀ méi_hēgo zhōngguo_huángjiǔ. 2.ta méi_
_zuògo zhè_yang_d_shì. 3.māma méi_mǎigo zhè_zhong_dongxi, bù_zhīdào ǀ
yīnggai dao_nǎr_qu mǎi.

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8   Švarný 1998, 26–27.
9   Švarný 1998, 24–25.
10 Švarný 1998, 24–25.
11 Švarný 1991, 92.

2. Modern version:

d/1. wo³men-d jiéke-lǎoshī, méi-hēgo zhōngguo-huángjiǔ.
2. ta méi-zuògo zhè-yang-d-shì. 3. māma méi-mǎigo zhè-zhong-dong¹xi, bù-zhidào, yīnggai dao-nǎr-qu mǎi.

All of the above rules of prosodic transcription were determined by Professor Švarný on the basis of a long-term research, specifically through listening to, and carefully analysing, thousands of sentences spoken by native speakers. With the help of these rules, he then developed a system of registering all relevant prosodic phenomena as described in this paper. Although it seems that this method was determined purely by subjective auditory impression, it was supported by concrete facts – an objective recording machine. Švarný also used machine processing of speech recordings, thereby confirming the adequacy of the prosodic rules and the method of prosodic transcription. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, at the phonetic laboratory of the University of Berkeley, Švarný used these methods of experimental phonetics to compile graphs of a pitch F_0.

3 Research Sample[12]

As already mentioned above, the main subject of my research was changes in prosodic realizations in modern spoken Chinese. The tool used for the analysis is prosodic transcription, which is applied to a written transcript of the dialogue between two speakers. This concept is completely new, because Švarný exclusively used monologues in his research. If he used a dialogue, this dialogue was realized by only one speaker. The main hypothesis is that prosodic realisations of sentences undergo linguistic changes, which are dependent on the speaker's age and gender.

Since modern colloquial Chinese pronunciation is based on the Beijing dialect,[13] it was necessary for all of the respondents to come from Beijing and that their speech was not influenced by any other dialect. If we used speakers from other areas, there would be a devaluation of research re-

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12 Some of the here presented results are based on a paper presented at the conference Language and Linguistics in Interpretive Perspective in Bratislava (2014).

13 Duanmu 2007, 4.

sults, e.g. differences in pronunciation, the usage rate of erization or loss of tone, especially in the case of initially tonic syllables.[14] For these reasons, only those respondents who were born in Beijing and had lived there long term were suitable. Since communication in the family has a big impact on people and their speech, the ideal situation occurs when the partners of respondents (or their parents) were born and living in Beijing. However, finding respondents who met all of the criteria above is very difficult. For example, the criteria of education (the criteria originally required a university degree or at least started university studies) had to be abandoned completely, because it was practically impossible to find university-educated respondents, especially among the elderly.

Age is a social variable, which allows a relatively simple classification of speakers.[15] Therefore the respondents were categorized according to age. Categories were based on the generation process and so each category represents a generation. The largest differences in prosodic realisation are likely to emerge in the next but one generation.

Respondents were divided into the following age categories:

1. 20–40 years of age – the younger generation
2. 41–60 years of age – the middle-aged generation
3. 61–80 years of age – the older generation

Another categorization of respondents was according to the gender of speakers. William Foley says that many studies that relate to the research dialogue of different genders in American English attach the dominant role in a dialogue to men.16 However, in the case of Chinese, we assume that the more dominant role in a dialogue is played by the woman.

Applying the quota selection, which means that suitable respondents are selected by specified criteria and on the basis of their belonging to each category. The assumption is, that in a sufficient number of respondents, it will be possible to find similarities in the categories and then to describe and interpret the characteristics of these similarities. However, the sociolinguistic research sample is not as large as in the other studies. Milroy and

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14 Chen 1999, 37–46; Třísková 2012, 21–23.
15 Milroy and Gordon 2012, 49.
16 Foley 1997, 293.

Gordon (2012, p. 40-41) say that four respondents for each category (and combinations between these categories) can provide excessive amount of data and result in time-consuming analysis.

4 Corpus of the Recordings

The corpus of the recordings needed for research was obtained mainly during a four-month research stay in Beijing, in 2014[17]. Due to the requirement of authenticity and naturalness of speech, these recordings were taken in the natural surroundings of the respondents, e.g. their homes, parks etc. Some respondents were randomly approached (mostly speakers of an older generation), but the larger portion of respondents were obtained through a snowball method.

Each speaker recorded separately a monologue and, in combination with other speakers, seven dialogues. In total each speaker recorded about 1 minute of monological recordings and 4 minutes of dialogical recordings. Regarding the content of recorded texts, they were advanced prepared texts.[18] In the case of the monologues, the text was a well known fable. Texts of dialogues were short situational dialogues of daily life (e.g. at the doctor, traveling, shopping); these dialogues were taken from an unpublished textbook *Chinese Conversation 2*. Respondents were familiarized with the text in advance to avoid any ignorance of the characters or words. Even still, portions of the recordings were preventively excluded from the analysis (in particular the parts from the beginning and end of the recordings) and only the middle portion was used, on the grounds of avoiding unnatural speech.

In the corpus of dialogue recordings there were combinations of respondents of different ages and genders, in all 21 possible combinations (e.g. a younger generation woman + younger generation woman, middle-aged generation man + older generation man, younger generation man + older generation woman, etc.). Each of the combinations will be represented three times, thus, the corpus will contain at least 63 dialogical recordings (the corpus is currently still incomplete, lack-

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18   Similarly prepared corpus e.g. Shen 1989.

ing several dialogical recordings). The corpus of monologues is more than sufficient, including almost 110 monologues, thus there is again the possibility to exclude any unnatural recordings. The corpus currently includes 3.5 hours of dialogues and 2 hours of monologues, which is a considerable amount of data and time-consuming material for prosodic transcription, because one minute of recording requires about 1 hour of transcription.

5 Illustrative Analysis

For the purpose of presenting the research methodology, there will be an illustrative analysis of a sample dialogic text. For this analysis I am using a portion of the material of the corpus mentioned above: six dialogues, in total 4 minutes. I have selected recordings of two extreme generations: the younger generation (20–40 years) and older generation (61–80 years). The middle-aged generation (41–60 years) was omitted on the assumption that the most striking differences are expected between the two extreme generations. The analysis distinguishes between respondents by gender and according to the age group to which they belong. In total I analyzed the speech of 12 respondents. The dialogue structure was as follows:

FEMALE (F1, F3 depending on age):	MALE (M1, M3 depending on age):
F1 (20–40 years) + F1 (20–40 years)	M1 (20–40 years) + M1 (20–40 years)
F3 (61–80 years) + F3 (61–80 years)	M3 (61–80 years) + M3 (61–80 years)
F1 (20–40 years) + F3 (61–80 years)	M1 (20–40 years) + M3 (61–80 years)

Prosodic realization of the dialogues will be examined in accordance with Prof. Švarný's method[19] and at the same time the results of his analysis will be compared with the results of this analysis. The respondent of Švarný's analysis is a female of an older generation F3, whose recordings were taken in the late 80s and early 90s. The analysis is mainly focused on finding linguistic tendencies, whether identical or different features in the prosodic realization of speech in relation to the age and gender of speakers.

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19 Švarný 1998, 23–61.

I will concentrate on the following fundamental aspects: the average length of cola and segments (both calculated in syllables), the degree of syllable prominence, the number of one-, two- and three or more ictus segments and the frequency of rhythm sequences.

5.1 Average Length of Cola and Segments

Combination in a dialogue	Average length of cola (in syllables)	Average length of segments (in syllables)
F1 + F1	4.1	2.4
F3 + F3	6	2.4
F1 + F3:		
F1	7.1	2.6
F3	4.5	2.7
M1 + M1	5.9	2.8
M3 + M3	7.6	2.8
M1 + M3:		
M1	7.4	2.6
M3	6.3	3.2

As for the length of cola in the above table, we can see that F1 and M1 in combined-generation dialogues use longer cola than in same-generation (dialogues F1 from 4.1 syllables to 7.1 syllables; M1 from 5.9 syllables to 7.4 syllables). In contrast, the F3 and M3 in combined-generation dialogues make cola shorter than in same-generation dialogue (F3 from 6 syllables to 4.5 syllables; M3 from 7.6 syllables to 6.3 syllables). The average length of the cola of Švarný's F3 respondent is 6.2 syllables, the speech of respondent F3 of the current analysis is more or less similar. The overall results indicate that males produce longer cola than females.

As for the length of the segments, there are no substantial differences or changes. In same-generation dialogues the segment length is 2.4 syllables in female speech and 2.8 syllables in male speech. The average length of segments of Švarný's respondent F3 is 3 syllables, the length of segments of the current F3 is slightly shorter (only 0.6 syllables).

5.2 Degree of Syllable Prominence

Degree of syllable prominence	F1 + F1	F3 + F3	F1 + F3: F1	F3
Stressed tone s.	1.80%	1.80%	0%	3.70%
Full tone ictus s.	30.50%	29.50%	30%	37.10%
Full tone non-ictus s.	4.80%	3.80%	12%	11.10%
Weakened tone ictus s.	12.20%	18.80%	12%	7.40%
Weakened tone non-ictus s.	13%	9.50%	20%	22.20%
Atonic neutralized s.	12.50%	26.80%	16%	11.10%
Atonic toneless s.	10.40%	9.90%	10%	7.40%

In the same-generation dialogues, we see that F1 tends to use more non-ictus syllables carrying weakened tone than F3 (3.5%), whereas F3 uses more weakened tone ictus syllables (for 4.6%) and atonic neutralised syllables (14.3 %) than F1. However, in the combined-generation dialogue we can see the results are reciprocal: F3 uses more weakened non-ictus syllables than F1, although this difference is not remarkable (only 2.2%). F1 uses more weakened tone ictus syllables (4.6 %) and atonic neutralised syllables (4.9%). The question is: what causes this change? One possible interpretation is a mutual effort to move closer to the speech partner in dialogue or mutual interaction, however, a well-founded interpretation will only be possible after analysis of a larger amount of data.

In comparision to the results of analysis of Švarný's respondent F3: F3 uses 12.3% stressed tone syllables, 38.91% full tone syllables, 14.53% weakened tone syllables and 34.22% atonic syllables. This shows that Švarný´s respondent F3 uses more stressed tone syllables (10.5%) and full tone syllables (5.6%) than the current respondent F3, and conversely the current respondent F3 uses more weakened tone syllables (13.8%) and atonic syllables (2.5%). It is therefore clear that Švarný´s F3 uses a larger number of syllables of stronger prominence. If we take into consideration the fact that Švarný´s recording of F3 speech was taken more than twenty years ago, it is consistent with the apparent time hypothesis to believe that there is a linguistic change, a shift in the prosodic realisation of speech, namely the gradual weakening in the use of tonal prominences.

Degree of syllable prominence	M1 + M1	M3 + M3	M1 + M3:	
			M1	M3
Stressed tone s.	0%	5.40%	0%	0%
Full tone ictus s.	18.60%	37.60%	22%	19.30%
Full tone non-ictus s.	6.70%	13.20%	0%	3.50%
Weakened tone ictus s.	24.80%	6.70%	23.70%	19.30%
Weakened tone non-ictus s.	13.80%	5.40%	23.70%	19.30%
Atonic neutralized s.	21.70%	20.40%	23.70%	22.80%
Atonic toneless s.	14.60%	11.50%	6.90%	15.80%

In the same-generation dialogue we can see that subject M1 tends to use more weakened tone ictus syllables (18.8%) and weakened non-ictus syllables (8.4%) than M3. While the M3 respondents use more stressed tone syllables (5.4%), full tone syllables (for 19%) and full tone non-ictus syllables (for 6.5%). This clearly shows that older generation respondents more often use syllables of stronger prominence than respondents of the younger generation. If this will be proved in further analyses, it will confirm again the hypothesis that there are shifts (gradual weakening) in the use of tonal prominence over time. In the combined-generation dialogue (as in the female dialogue), there were certain changes in the use of the prominences, it seems that male respondents also tend to adapt their speech to match their dialogue partner or they influence each other.

5.3 Rhythmical Sequences

Combination in a dialogue	Ascendaent rhythm	Descendent rhythm	Acronymic rhythm
F1 + F1	32%	54.40%	13.50%
F3 + F3	22%	56%	22%
F1 + F3:			
F1	44.40%	55.60%	0%

Combination in a dialogue	Ascendaent rhythm	Descendent rhythm	Acronymic rhythm
F3	55.60%	22.20%	22.20%
M1 + M1	29%	56%	14.60%
M3 + M3	25%	32.80%	42.30%
M1 + M3:			
M1	33.30%	33.30%	33.30%
M3	22.20%	61.10%	16.70%

The rhythmical sequence in Chinese is variable, and depends on the speed of speech, the emphasis of the constituents of a sentence, or on the length of the sentence. In most cases a descending rhythm is predominant in the rhythm of female speech. There is only a prevailing ascending rhythm in the combined-generation dialogue of F3 respondents. In the speech of F1 respondents, acronymic rhythm is missing. In same-generation dialogues of M1 respondents a descending rhythm is most prominent. In the dialogue of M3 respondents, acronymic rhythm prevails. In combined-generation dialogues in the case of M1 all kinds of rhythms are more or less similar. In the case of M3 the prevailing rhythm is changed from acronymic rhythm prevalent in same generation dialogues to a descendant rhythm. Švarný did not explicitly focus on exploring rhythms and their occurrences, but on the analysis and description of their structure and the positioning of cola.

To deduce a conclusion of the situation in using rhythms in Chinese obviously requires a much more extensive corpus of recordings with the inclusion of middle-aged generation respondents (F2, M2).

5.4 The Number of Ictuses per Segment

Combination in a dialogue	One ictus segments	Two ictus segments	More ictus segments
F1 + F1	81%	19%	0%
F3 + F3	78.50%	21.60%	0%
F1 + F3:			
F1	89.50%	10.50%	0%

Combination in a dialogue	One ictus segments	Two ictus segments	More ictus segments
F3	70%	30%	0%
M1 + M1	77.10%	21.70%	1.30%
M3 + M3	57.70%	42.30%	0%
M1 + M3:			
M1	65%	35%	0%
M3	70.60%	29.40%	0%

In the case of the number of ictuses per segment in speech of all of the respondents (same-generation dialogues and generation combined-generation dialogues), there were found to be significcantly more with a single ictus segments. Švarný's analysis of F3 speech shows 70.14% one ictus segments, 27.01% two ictus segments, and 2.84% three or more ictus segments. These results are almost identical with the results of the current illustrative analysis, only differing in that Švarný's analysis shows a higher percentage of three or more ictus segments. Individual differences may be caused by the different speeds of speech, because Švarný states that in slower speech, one ictus segments are more prevalent than segments with more ictuses segments (Švarný, 1998, p. 24). The speech of respondents of the F3 and M3 categories was generally slower, and therefore with a higher frequency of one ictus segments. However, this analysis suggests rather the opposite: F1 respondents always have a higher frequency of one ictus segments than respondents of the F3 category. M1 respondents in same-generation dialogues also have a higher number of one ictus segments than respondents of the M3 category (20%), but in combined-generation dialogues, this difference decreases and there is a higher percentage of one ictus segments for respondents of the M3 category (5.6%). The question remains: what may be the cause of this phenomenon and how can the situation be interpreted? A more comprehensive sample, involving middle-age generation respondents may provide a more comprehensive analysis.

6 Conclusion

The goal of this contribution was to introduce the rules of prosodic transcription of colloquial Chinese and its use in sociolinguistically oriented

research of dialogic communication. In this research, the emphasis is primarily on examining whether the age and gender of speakers affects the prosodic realization of their speech. Specifically if there are linguistic changes in the prosodic realization of speech, whether these changes are motivated by the age and gender of the speakers, what character these changes have, and whether the speech differs in different situations.

The last part of this contribution provided an illustrative analysis of sample texts of dialogues (with a total length of four minutes) realised by speakers of a different age and gender. The aim of the sample analysis was to demonstrate the methodology of analyzing prosodically transcribed text. Based on the analysis, I have tried to summarize the coincident and different features that appear in the prosodic plane. This interpretation cannot be considered as final or generally valid because only a limited number of speeches were investigated (twelve respondents in only six dialogues). This analysis is a preliminary pilot research, but also shows some interesting results.

There are some changes in average length of cola and segments: male respondents create longer cola than female respondents, both male and female respondents of a younger generation create in the generation-combined dialogues longer cola than in the same-generation dialogues, both male and female respondents of an older generation create in the generation-combined dialogues shorter cola than in the same-generation dialogues. As for the degree of syllable prominence: both female and male respondents of the older generation use a higher percentage of stronger prominence syllables than both female and male respondents of the younger generation. As for the rhythmical sequences and number of ictuses – there are no differences yet.

Thanks to the preliminary results described here, this analysis will be followed by a further analysis of the entire corpus of sixty three dialogues, realized by about a hundred respondents. The changes in the prosodic plane described and interpreted here will be confronted with new comprehensive results, but I expect that at least some of them will prove to be generally applicable.

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Teaching Mandarin Pronunciation: the Cliticoids and Basic Types of Phonetic Chunks

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Annotation: This paper is concerned with an important group of Chinese words, be-longing to the high frequency items of the lexicon: monosyllabic function words such as prepositions, conjunctions, personal pronouns, modal verbs, etc. They carry lexical tone, thus have a potential to be stressed. Yet, due to their deficiency in lexical meaning and frequent usage, they regularly behave as unstressed (and noticeably reduced pho-netically) in connected speech, namely in colloquial putonghua. They receive stress (i.e. full pronunciation) only occasionally, particularly if emphasised. A new term is coined for these words: "the cliticoids". The author provides their list and reviews the pitfalls of their pronunciation in connected speech, observing that the Chinese cliticoids display similar features as so called "words with weak forms" found in English. Finally, short (2–3 syllabic) chunks of speech which contain the cliticoids are introduced. They are particularly designed for exercising the unstressed, reduced pronunciation of the cliti-coids in L2 teaching. They are termed "phonetic chunks". Note that the paper is focused on the function words with a lexical tone. On the other hand, function words without a lexical tone such as the particles 的, 了, 着, 过, 吗, 吧, etc. are not discussed. They invariably behave as atonic enclitics, thus do not pose a problem.
Key words: Standard Chinese, putonghua, phonetics and phonology, prosody, stress, function words, second language teaching

1 High Frequency Words

Corpus linguistics and frequency dictionaries based on large language corpora offer a specific view of the language lexicon, different from the view provided

by standard dictionaries. Frequency dictionaries list the words by their frequency in language, or more exactly by their **rank** (the most frequent word has rank 1, the following word has rank 2, etc.). High frequency words are worth the attention of language pedagogues and second language learners, as they are very "useful" to know. At the same time, their number is relatively small. Consequently the effort expended on learning them is highly efficient.

A small number of high frequency words "are doing most of the work" in language (Tao 2015, also cf. Zipf's law, 1935). In other words, high frequency words have a **huge coverage** of any text, be it spoken or written. For instance, according to Nation 1990 (quoted in Xiao et al. 2009, vii), the 1,000 most frequent words of English account for 85 percent of speech. The data for Chinese from the Frequency dictionary Xiao et al. 2009 show that the top 1,000 words have a coverage of about 66 percent (note that the top 2,000 words have a coverage of "only" 75 percent – the increase in coverage between the top 1,000 and 2,000 words is relatively small, as reflected by Zipf's law). The figures based on Tao's (2015) spoken Chinese corpus are even more striking: as much as 78 percent of word occurrences in his corpus (namely 269,000 word tokens) is covered by a mere 100 words (word types). The figures may of course differ depending on the particular language, type of the analysed corpus and its size. Yet in any case they clearly prove that effort invested into learning high frequency words is a fairly good investment.

What words belong to high frequency words? Two major groups can be distinguished:

– **content words** coming from the oldest core of the lexicon
(e.g. the Chinese verb *yǒu* 有 "to have", the numeral *yī* 一 "one" or the noun *rén* 人 "man")
– **function words** with a purely or mainly grammatical meaning
(e.g. the Chinese structural particle *de* 的, sentence modal particle 吗, classifier *gè* 个, or preposition *zài* 在)[1]

The number of function words in any language is restricted. Unlike content words, they form a closed set. Their ratio in speech is generally very high. For instance 60 per cent of speech in English is composed of a mere

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[1] Chinese function words are largely, but not entirely identical with the traditional category called *xūcí* 虚词, "empty words".

50 function words (Xiao et al. 2009, vii). Function words are typically (though not always) monosyllabic. This is not surprising, given the general tendency to economy in language. Further, they typically behave as unstressed in connected speech.

A recently published example of a frequency dictionary for the Chinese language is Xiao et al. 2009. Its Frequency index (pp. 20–238) contains 5,004 word types extracted from a valid lexicon containing roughly 85,000 word types (coming from 39 million word tokens). The top 8 words from the Frequency index (i.e. rank 1–8) are: *de* 的, *shì* 是, *yī* 一, *zài* 在, *le* 了, *bù* 不, *wǒ* 我, *gè* 个. We observe that all of these eight words are **monosyllabic**. Furthermore, five of them are **function words**: structural particle *de* 的, preposition *zài* 在, aspect particle *le* 了, personal pronoun *wǒ* 我, and classifier *gè* 个. If we were to browse the following few pages of the Frequency index containing other high frequency words, our observation would be similar:

- most of these words are monosyllabic
- many of these words are function words

2 Chinese Monosyllabic Function Words

Chinese monosyllabic function words may be divided into two major groups:

1. **toneless function words** (structural particles *de* 的, *de* 得, *de* 地; aspect particles *le* 了, *zhe* 着, *guo* 过; and sentence-final particles such as *ma* 吗, *ba* 吧, etc.)[2]
2. **function words which carry lexical (dictionary) tone**, such as the prepositions (e.g. *bǎ* 把) or measure words (e.g. gè 个)

The latter group will be the main concern of this paper. Among the top words of the Frequency index (Xiao et al. 2009) the following items belonging to group 2) can be found[3]:

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[2]   The Chinese tradition lists all of them among *zhùcí* 助词 "auxiliary words" (which is a subcategory of *xūcí*). Yet some linguists treat some of these particles (e.g. *le* 了, *zhe* 着, *guo* 过) as affixes, not as independent (though function) words. In any case, the borderline between an affix and a function word may be vague.

- **personal pronouns** (人称代词): *wǒ* 我, *nǐ* 你, *tā* 他
- **conjunctions** (连词): *hé* 和, *dàn* 但, *kě* 可 **...**
- **prepositions** (介词): *zài* 在, *bǎ* 把, *gěi* 给 **...**
- **postpositions** (后置词)[4]: *shàng* 上, *xià* 下, *lǐ* 里
- **classifiers** (量词): *gè* 个, *zhǒng* 种, *wèi* 位 **...**
- **modal verbs** (能愿动词): *yào* 要, *huì* 会, *xiǎng* 想 **...**

Two groups of content words with a rather general meaning or grammaticalized meaning (semantically "bleached" «虚化» content words) may be added:

- **three basic stative verbs** (状态动词): *shì* 是, *zài* 在, exist. *yǒu* 有
- **three formalized adverbs** (副词)[5]: *jiù* 就, *dōu* 都, *hěn* 很

The **pronunciation** of these words displays specific features. Before we continue with a more detailed description of their sound forms, an important point must be made: the claims made below refer to colloquial (!) Standard (!) Chinese known as *putonghua* (!), delivered in a natural tempo (!). They may not hold true for other speech styles of *putonghua* than colloquial speech (such as formal speeches), for other standard varieties of Chinese (such as Taiwanese *guóyǔ*), for other dialects than the Beijing dialect (such as Cantonese), for speech delivered in slow tempo, etc.

The Chinese function words listed above, such as monosyllabic personal pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, etc., carry lexical tone. Thus, unlike the toneless particles, they have a potential to be stressed. They have two rather distinct pronunciations in colloquial Standard Chinese (*putonghua*, Standard Mandarin), i.e. two sound forms:

– **full form** (*wánzhěngshì* 完整式), e.g. 他 **[tʰaː]**[1]
This pronunciation is used if the word in question appears as stressed; that is mainly if it carries emphasis or contrastive stress, when it is uttered in isolation or quoted:

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3 Disyllabic items falling in the particular part-of-speech category (disyllabic personal pronouns such as *wǒmen* 我们, *tāmen* 他们, or postpositions such as *hòubian* 后边) do not concern us.

4 Chinese linguists list the postpositions (后置词) among "locality words" (方位词) belonging to a wider class of nouns.

5 These adverbs often lose their original lexical meaning, becoming a purely a formal element.

> ***Tā** qù Bālí, wǒ dào bú qù***! 他去巴黎，我倒不去！　　　**[tʰaː]¹**

– **reduced form** (*jiǎnruò shì* 减弱式), e.g. 他 **[tʰə]**
This pronunciation is used if the word in question appears
as unstressed in connected speech (which is regularly the case):

> *Wǒ hěn xǐhuan tā.* 我很喜欢他 。　　　　　　　**[tʰə]**

Here are a couple of examples of words belonging to the group under discussion[6]. The table shows both their full forms and their reduced forms:

		part of speech	full form	reduced form
hé	和	conjunction	[xɤˆ]²	[xə]
shì	是	verb (copula)	[ʂɿ̀ː]⁴	[ʃ̩]
hěn	很	adverb	[xən]³	[xə̃]
tā	他	personal pronoun	[tʰaː]¹	[tə]
zài	在	preposition	[tzaɪ]⁴	[tzə]
gè	个	classifier	[kɤˆ]⁴	[kə]
bǐ	比	preposition	[piː]³	[pɪ]
xiǎng	想	verb (modal)	[ɕⁱaŋ]³	[ɕⁱə̃]

Fig. 1: Pronunciation of the Chinese monosyllabic function words which carry a lexical tone

As is obvious from the last column of the table, **reductions may be quite drastic**. They may affect all phonetic or phonological features of the word: its segments (the vowels and/or consonants may have their articulation weakened in various ways, or may be deleted completely), its tone (it be-

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6 Note that not all Chinese monosyllabic function words belong to this group. For instance, measure words other than noun classifiers (e.g. *qún* 群, *wǎn* 碗) do not display a strong tendency to reduced pronunciation if unstressed (e.g. *qún* 群, *suì* 岁). Demonstrative pronouns *zhè* 这 "this", *nà* 那 "that" are usually slightly stressed (being commonly followed by an unstressed classifier). Other examples are the postpositions *qián* 前 "before, in front of"; *hòu* 后 "after, behind"; or *zhōng* 中 "inside". They tend to keep their tone and a certain degree of stress.

comes either reduced or entirely neutralized, deleted), and its duration (it becomes considerably shortened).[7]

If a word assumes the reduced form, it inevitably behaves as **a clitic**. This means it tightly attaches to an adjacent word, forming a single prosodic unit together. The term **clitic** (*fùzhuó cí* 附着词) comes from the Greek verb *klinein* "to incline, lean on". The clitics are elements which display some of the properties of independent words and some of the properties of affixes (Anderson 2005, Spencer and Luís 2012, etc.). For our purposes, a clitic may be generally defined as an unstressed monosyllabic[8] function word which is tightly attached to an adjacent word in speech; it may be either a proclitic (*to **school***), or an enclitic (*see **you***).

In most contexts the reduced (unstressed) forms of the words in question are used; they are much more common in connected speech than the full (stressed) forms. The reduced forms may be viewed as regular, standard, i.e. unmarked. On the other hand, the full forms are exceptional, i.e. marked. The reduced forms may appear only in connected speech; it follows that their exercising in L2 teaching requires some minimal context.

The choice between the full form and reduced form in speech is not random – each form serves a specific function. The choice is decided mainly by the pragmatics and the context. In most contexts the use of the unstressed (thus more or less reduced) form is compulsory. The stressed (full) form is mainly reserved for situations when the speaker needs to point out the particular importance of the word (emphasis / contrastive stress). As the choice matters, it follows that the speaker must make a *correct* choice. If the student neglects the functional distinction between both forms and invariably uses the "all-full-form" pronunciation, he/she ends up with a clear foreign accent and may be even misunderstood (the pragmatics of the message may become quite unclear).

7　The table gives only one reduced form for each word: the most "drastically" reduced one. In fact, there may be more alternatives: reduction is a scale, a continuum. The degree of reduction may vary according to speech style, communication situation, individual speaker, speech rate, etc.

8　A clitic may even be a subsyllabic element, e.g. the English possessive marker ´s. It cannot be viewed as an affix, as it attaches to the whole noun phrase, not to a single word: *This is my father´s friend´s hat*. A Chinese example of a clitic which may lack syllabicity is the structural particle *de* 的: it can be turned into a mere coda of the preceding syllable in fast casual speech: *báide gǒu* 白的狗 → *báid gǒu*.

We may sum up now. The words listed above share certain **important features**:

-   they belong to high frequency words
-   they are monosyllabic
-   they are either function words, or semantically "bleached" content words
-   they carry lexical tone (= they have a potential to be stressed)
-   they have two different forms of pronunciation in colloquial *putonghua*: a) stressed, full (exceptional), b) unstressed, reduced (regular)
-   the choice between a stressed form and unstressed form is to a large extent obligatory

A new cover term for the above described group of Chinese words was coined by the author of this article: **the cliticoids.**[9] The corresponding Chinese term is *lèi fùzhuó cí* 类附着词. The term cliticoid (first mentioned in Třísková 2008, 529) is derived from the common term **clitic** explained above. The cliticoids are Chinese monosyllabic function words which:

-   mostly **behave as clitics** (they are weak, unstressed, leaning on the neighbouring word)
-   yet in some situations show a **different sort of behaviour** (they are fully stressed)

The issue of the cliticoids is closely related to yet another interesting topic: statistical survey of the unstressed syllables in connected speech. We may wonder how large is the proportion attributable to the cliticoids. According to Švarný´s 1991 statistics, the ratio of unstressed syllables (so called "theses") in speech is roughly 56 per cent (while the ratio of stressed syllables, so callled "arses" is roughly 44 per cent). As far as the fullness of tone is concerned, the ratio of atonic syllables may be up to roughly 34 per cent,

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[9]   The morpheme "*oid*" comes from the Greek word *eidos* "appearance", "look". If attached to a noun, it refers to "*something that looks like a certain thing, but is not quite like it*". For instance, *android* is something resembling a man, *asteroid* is something resembling a star, etc. Thus *cliticoid* is something resembling a clitic to a large extent, but displaying partly different properties.

and the ratio of weak tone syllables may be up to roughly 15 per cent (the ratio of full tone syllables being merely slightly over 50 per cent); Švarný and Rusková 1991, 241. No doubt the cliticoids (together with the clitics) substantially contribute to the ratio of the unstressed (and consequently atonic or weak tone) syllables in connected speech. To find out how large exactly is this ratio, remains a task for future research.

The Chinese cliticoids make a strong parallel to a group of English words called "words with weak forms". Showing their similarities will be the concern of the next paragraph.

3 A Parallel with English

We may observe that the cliticoids form a category very similar to a group of words found in English: **words with weak forms**, also called weak form words (below abbreviated as WFW); the Chinese term is *ruòdúshì cí* 弱读式词. They are treated e.g. in Roach 1996, 102; Cruttenden 2001, 252, 278; Ortiz-Lira 2008.

English WFW may be described as monosyllabic function words which have two forms of pronunciation: strong (= full), and weak (= reduced and clitic-like).[10] The full form is used if the word is uttered in isolation, if it is stressed in connected speech, or if it occurs at the end of a sentence. The weak form is used in most other contexts. For instance consider the English conjunction *and*: ***you and me → you´n me***. Typical examples of English WFW are:

- **articles:** *a, an, the*
- **personal pronouns:** *you, he, she, we, he, him…*
- **conjunctions:** *and, as, but, than, that…*
- **prepositions:** *at, for, from, of, to…*
- **modal verbs:** *can, could, may, might, must…*
- **auxiliary verbs:** *am, is, are, have, has, had, do, was, shall, will…*

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10 Note that some English monosyllabic function words do not belong to the WFW category, e.g. *by*, *or*, *on*, *when*, as they do not have an alternative weak form. Nevertheless, they may show reductions in rapid speech if unstressed.

Several examples of WFW are shown in the table presented in Fig. 2. The table shows both their strong forms and their weak forms:

	part of speech	strong (= full) form	weak (= reduced) form
and	conjunction	[ænd]	[ən], [n̩]
shall	auxiliary verb	[ʃæl]	[ʃəl]
we	personal pronoun	[wiː]	[wɪ]
for	preposition	[fɔːɹ]	[fɚ] / [fə]
the	article	[ðiː]	[ðə], [ðɪ]
of	preposition	[ɒv]	[əv]
can	modal verb	[kʰæn]	[kən]
to	preposition	[tʰuː]	[tə]
are	auxiliary verb	[ɑːɹ] / [ɑː]	[əɹ], [ɹ̩] / [ə]

Fig. 2: Pronunciation of the English words with weak forms

The analogy between English WFW and the category of the cliticoids found in colloquial Mandarin is an important point made in this paper.

After this somewhat lengthy introduction dealing with the very concept of the cliticoids we can move to the second major topic, that being the practical exercising of these little words in L2 teaching.

4 Lexical Chunks

Some words are commonly used together, some are not: e.g. we say *to commit suicide*, not *to undertake suicide*. An increased attention to units larger than a word came with the emergence of language corpora. The linguists speak of multiword strings, collocations, formulaic expressions, formulaic sequences, chunks of speech, lexical chunks, etc. One of the commonly used umbrella terms is "lexical chunk", also cf. "formulaic language" (*yǔyán yǔkuài* 语言语块), e.g. Wray 2000, Wang Lifei 2012.

A lexical chunk may be described as a group of words that are often found together in language. It functions as a unit: it is stored in memory,

retrieved, produced and perceived as an unanalysed whole. This considerably reduces language processing time, benefiting both a speaker and a listener. It follows that the importance of lexical chunks in L2 teaching/learning is very high, though not always sufficiently recognized.

5 Phonetic Chunks in Chinese

The Chinese cliticoids enter various sort of lexical chunks too. Short word strings containing these high frequency words may be established for the purpose of language teaching. Such strings can be particularly utilized to exercise the unstressed pronunciation of the cliticoids. At the same time they may be beneficial for exercising various other aspects of Mandarin pronunciation such as tone combinations, sentence intonation patterns, pronunciation of the most common Chinese content words, etc. For the purpose of teaching beginners it seems useful to deal only with very short (disyllabic or trisyllabic) strings, e.g. *mà tā* 骂他, *zhè běn shū* 这本书. The reason for limiting their size to three syllables is at hand: in spite of being short, they are not easy to pronounce correctly. Leaving aside the traps of the segmental level (pronunciation of the initials and finals) there is both tone and stress involved – and stress/nonstress in Chinese is no simple thing for the beginning learners of the language.

I establish a new term for such chunks of speech: the **"phonetic chunks"**, *yīnkuài* 音块 (abbreviated as P-Ch).[11] They may be analyzed from two aspects. First, these chunks are not random clusters of words – they display **various syntactic structures**. Second, when the cliticoids enter such chunks, they assume an unstressed, reduced form (found in neutral speech). This gives rise to **various stress patterns**. The description of major syntactic structures of the phonetic chunks and their major stress patterns will be the focus of the rest of this paper.

Stress Patterns of the Phonetic Chunks:

Phonetic chunks may display various stress patterns, such as trochee, iamb, etc. (borrowing the terms for metrical feet from the Greek metrics, e.g. Durych 1992). In particular:

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11 The term "phonetic chunk" replaced the original term "minimodule". The concept of minimodules was first presented in 2012 at the University of Melbourne and subsequently in 2013 at the 7th Czech-Slovak Sinological Conference in Bratislava.

metrical foot	pattern	English example	Chinese example
trochee	●•	***sea**son*	***mà** tā* 骂他
iamb	•●	*de**lay***	*nǐ **hǎo*** 你好
dactyl	●••	***flatt**ery*	***xǐ**huan tā* 喜欢他
cretic	●•●	***Pe**ter **Pan***	***zhè** bèn **shū*** 这本书
amphibrach	•●•	*re**mem**ber*	*gěi **bà**ba* 给爸爸
bacchius	•●●	*when **day breaks***	*zài **Běijīng*** 在北京
antibacchius	●●•	***neat or**gan*	***xuéxiào** lǐ* 学校里[12]

Note that in connected speech **two cliticoids may occur next to each other**. For instance *nǐ jiù…, tā zài…, jiù shì…, nǐ bǎ…,* etc. In such cases the two words usually tightly join together forming a disyllabic rhythmic unit, while the first word receives weak stress. For instance: ***Tā–zài zhèr***. 他在这儿. ***Tā–zài wàimian***. 他在外面. These cases need a more detailed treatment which is beyond the scope of this paper.

Syntactic Structures of the Phonetic Chunks:

Let us review the major types of syntactic structures in which the cliticoids may occur in, forming disyllabic or trisyllabic phonetic chunks. The list is arranged according to the parts of speech the cliticoids belong to (eight altogether). Particular syntactic structures are presented in the form of a flat table. The alternants within a box are divided by a slash. The optional items are in brackets. The examples of phonetic chunks are arranged by the stress patterns. It is not claimed that the list of the structures is exhaustive. Also note that in completed longer sentences other elements may be inserted into the structure.

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12 The stress pattern consisting of two stressed syllables (●●, **spondee**, e.g. *Mayday*, *xuéxiào* 学校) does not occur in the list because it does not contain any cliticoid / unstressed syllable. The stress pattern consisting of two unstressed and one stressed syllables (••●, **anapest**, e.g. *seventeen*) does not occur there either, as it would probably be turned into cretic in Chinese; anapest may be also viewed as an alternative of cretic

1. personal pronouns

as a subject

personal pronoun	verb / adjective	(sentence particle) / (noun)

- ●● *nǐ qù* 你去, *nǐ hǎo* 你好
- ●●● *wǒ zhīdao* 我知道, *tā lái le* 他来了
- ●●●● *tā fǎnduì* 他反对, *nǐ kāi ménr* 你开门儿

as an object

transitive verb	personal pronoun

- ●● *mà tā* 骂他, *dǎ wǒ* 打我
- ●●● *máfan nǐ* 麻烦你, *xǐhuan tā* 喜欢他

as an attribute

personal pronoun	noun

- ●● *wǒ gē* 我哥, *wǒ mā* 我妈
- ●●● *wǒ gēge* 我哥哥, *wǒ māma* 我妈妈

2. classifiers

numeral / demonstrative pronoun	classifier	(noun)

- ●● *wǔ gè* 五个, *zhè běn* 这本
- ●●● *wǔ gè rén* 五个人, *zhè běn shū* 这本书

3. conjunctions

noun / personal pronoun	conjunction	noun / personal pronoun

- ●●● *wǒ hé tā* 我和他, *wǒ gēn tā* 我跟他, *māo hé gǒu* 猫和狗

4. prepositions

preposition	personal pronoun / noun / place word

- ●● *gěi tā* 给他, *zài nàr* 在那儿, *dào nǎr?* 到哪儿?
- ●●● *zài xuéxiào* 在学校, *zài Běijīng* 在北京
- ●●● *zài lǐmian* 在里面, *gěi bàba* 给爸爸

5. postpositions

noun	postposition

- ●• *shù* ***shàng*** 树上, *líng* ***xià*** 零下, *hǎi* ***lǐ*** 海里
- ●•• *zhuō*zi ***shàng*** 桌子上, *wū*zi ***lǐ*** 屋子里

6. modal verbs

modal verb	content verb	(noun)

- •● *yào* ***zǒu*** 要走, *xiǎng* ***chī*** 想吃
- •●• *yào* ***chū***qu 要出去, *xiǎng* ***huí***lai 想回来
- •●● *xiǎng* ***chī***fàn 想吃饭, *huì* ***yóuyǒng*** 会游泳, *xiǎng* ***chī ròu*** 想吃肉
- ●•● *tā yào* ***zǒu*** 他要走, *wǒ xiǎng* ***qù*** 我想去

7. stative verbs *yǒu* 有, *zài* 在, *shì* 是

verb	noun / pronoun / place word

- •● *yǒu* ***rén*** 有人, *shì* ***wǒ*** 是我
- •●● *shì* ***lǎoshī*** 是老师, *yǒu* ***wùmái*** 有雾霾, *zài* ***Běijīng*** 在北京
- •●• *zài* ***lǐ***mian 在里面, *shì* ***mèimei*** 是妹妹

personal pronoun / demonstrative pronoun / place word	verb	noun / place word

- ●•● *tā zài* ***zhèr*** 他在这儿, *zhèr yǒu* ***shū*** 这儿有书, *zhè shì* ***gǒu*** 这是狗

8. grammaticalized adverbs *hěn* 很, *dōu* 都, *jiù* 就

adverb	verb / adjective	(sentence particle)

- •● *hěn* ***hǎo*** 很好, *dōu* ***yǒu*** 都有
- •●• *hěn* ***piào***liang 很漂亮, *dōu* ***zǒu*** le 都走了

personal pronoun	adverb	verb

- ●•● *tā hěn* ***xiǎo*** 他很小, *nǐ jiù* ***qù*** 你就去[13]

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1 Two neighboring cliticoids such as *tā hěn*, *nǐ jiù*: see above.

6 Concluding Remarks

- The **frequency of a word** in language is an important factor which should be taken into consideration both in linguistic research and in L2 teaching.
- A large part of high frequency words is represented by **function words**. Due to the lack of morphology in Chinese, function words carry a particularly heavy functional load. Proper identification of the function words in (rapid colloquial) **speech perception** as well as their proper pronunciation in **speech production** is an essential part of language competence in Chinese.
- A large part of function words in Mandarin Chinese is represented by **the cliticoids:** language users encounter them in literally every sentence.
- **Pronunciation of the cliticoids** is quite tricky: first, they have at least two different forms of pronunciation in connected speech; second, the reduced forms are rather difficult both to produce and to perceive; third, a correct choice between the full and reduced forms must be made in speech, as "all-full-form" pronunciation is wrong, foreign-sounding, and may even lead to misunderstanding.
- Consequently, **the cliticoids deserve attention in L2 teaching**.
- As the reduced forms of the cliticoids occur only in connected speech, their exercising requires a minimal context. This context may be provided by **the phonetic chunks**. The efficiency of this instrument has yet to be tested in classroom teaching.
- Profound research based on speech corpora, e.g. on the example sentences (both sound-recorded and prosodically transcribed) of Švarný′s large dictionary *Učební slovník*, 1998–2000, may shed more light on the properties of the cliticoids and reveal their major role in Chinese speech rhythm.

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Chinese Character Learning Strategies

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Annotation: Chinese characters are generally seen as the most difficult task in learning Chinese as a foreign language. This study focuses on learning strategies applied by beginning learners, namely memorization strategies and metacognitive strategies. Frequency of usage and effectiveness of individual strategies was observed by questionnaire among beginning learners. Statistical analysis indicated a list of successful and potentially successful strategies, based on the results pedagogical implications are derived.

Key words: Chinese characters, learning strategies, Chinese pedagogy

Chinese is rated as one of the most difficult languages to learn for Westerner learners, with Chinese characters, grammar, tones, and a lack of cognate words being among the main reasons. While pronunciation can be mastered within a few weeks, characters remain an effort consuming task for ever. The study of Chinese characters requires not only a considerable amount of time, but also good memorization techniques and learning strategies. Lack of both might be one of the main reasons causing a high attrition rate among the otherwise gradually increasing number of students. The purpose of this study is to explore learning strategies applied by undergraduate students majoring in Chinese in the first year of their studies. Frequency of the strategy usage is then compared with students' subjective evaluation of the effectiveness of each of the strategies.

Chinese characters are often seen as the most difficult part of the Chinese language which has high demands on learner's memory and a significant negative influence on the speed of acquiring Chinese. While Walker denotes learning Chinese characters as the "most time-consuming task

for the learner",[1] Allen even calls it a "waste of time" arguing that it is not only a competence that requires an immense amount of time but it is also a competence that is less and less needed in the modern computerized world.[2] Yet, Chinese characters remain a solid component of the Chinese language and thus are invariably included in most Chinese language courses, and as Walker remarks, it is reading skills that help us further develop our language and therefore, "in the long run, reading is probably the most important skill a learner can gain from formal instruction in Chinese".[3]

1 Literature Review

Learning strategies are defined by Oxford as "actions taken by the learner to make learning easier, faster, more enjoyable, more self-directed, more effective, and more transferable to new situations", which help the student in all stages of learning, from acquisition to storage, later retrieval as well as its usage.[4] Even though there is no consensus for categorization of language learning strategies,[5] in reference to Chinese characters, learning strategies are usually divided into two basic categories– cognitive and metacognitive strategies. Cognitive strategies refer to operations used for perception, memorization, comprehension and retrieval of new language information. Metacognitive strategies are used to review, plan, monitor and assess the learning process.

Chinese character learning strategies have been explored by a number of linguists since 1995.[6]Based on observation and questionnaires, previous studies have already established inventories of strategies applied by students when learning characters,[7] some of the strategies were compared in terms of frequency[8] or students' preferences[9]. Also, previous studies

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2   Walker 1989, 65.

3   Allen 2008, 238.

4   Walker 1984, 84.

5   Oxford 1990, 8.

6   Griffiths and Oxford 2014.

7   See for example Jiang and Zhao 2001; Ke 1998; McGinnis 2000; Shen 2005; Sung 2014.

8   Bourke 2006; Jiang and Zhao 2001; Shen 2005.

9   Tseng 2000; Yeh 2001.

10   Ke 1998.

tried to compare selected strategies in terms of their effectiveness.[10] Several interesting points can be observed.

Previous research into Chinese character learning strategies has shown that students tend to rely on mechanical copying and mindless memorization of characters, especially before they acquire a certain amount of characters that would allow them to use the radical knowledge effectively. Rote learning as a frequently applied strategy was observed for example by Wang, who found that among observed beginning learners, 93% of students memorize characters, yet 53% do not expect to remember them after memorization.[11] Similarly, other studies have also described rote learning as the most frequently used strategy.[12]

Apart from rote learning, component analysis appears in another group of strategies, which was observed as the most frequent, for example by Shen and Ke.[13] These strategies are limited in use by the true beginners, as they require certain orthographic knowledge to be able to use character components such as radicals, phonetics or semantics as cues to encode and retrieve new characters. A deeper theoretical explanation of etymology seems to be the premise for application of these strategies.

Component analysis further appears in associative techniques when mental linkage is created between identical or similar components or between components (or whole characters) and already existing knowledge. Associative strategies can also include the sound of the characters or help students memorize its meaning. Last but not least, metacognitive strategies then refer to review techniques and planning.

2 Purpose of the Study

In general, the range of Chinese character learning strategies is wide and still offers unexplored issues. One of these issues is the relationship between frequency of usage and the effectiveness of the strategies. Do students prefer certain strategies to others because they find them more effective? Or do students use strategies which are not effective, maybe because

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11   Kuo and Hooper 2004; Shen 2004.

12   Wang 1998, 78.

13   McGinnis 2000; Tseng 2000; Jiang and Zhao 2001.

14   Shen 2005; Ke 1998.

they cannot think of any other? Are there any strategies which would be effective but students do not use them? This research tries to offer answers to these question by focusing on strategies through the perspective of subjective effectiveness as described by students. Having analyzed strategies in terms of frequency and effectiveness, the following pedagogical implications can be derived: first, frequent and effective strategies could be further recommended to future beginners; second, frequent yet ineffective strategies could be substituted; and third, infrequent yet effective strategies could be further developed and supported.

3 Research Design

Fifty-six undergraduate students majoring in Chinese participated in the research; all of them were non-native speakers. Incomplete questionnaires and students who learned Chinese previous to the first semester were excluded from the study. Thus out of 56 responses, 41 were valid and further analysed. Research was conducted towards the end of the second semester of their studies. At the time of the study, students have already acquired the knowledge of approximately 200 characters. Characters were taught during a Chinese Characters class with a weekly time load of 90 minutes. In-class instruction included detailed analysis of etymology and structure, stroke order, meaning, pronunciation and usage of each character. Characters were then practiced in a text together with explanation of vocabulary, grammar and text. As a part of the course, students were required to hand in weekly homework including repetitive writing exercises and content based exercises. Weekly quizzes were administered to ensure students learned continuously throughout the semester and were prepared for classes.

For the purpose of the study, Strategy Inventory of Learning Chinese Characters (SILCC) was adopted. The SILCC design was based on Bourke's Strategy Inventory for Learning Kanji (SILK)[14] which was adjusted to Chinese language specifics, supplemented with a few missing strategies from Shen[15] and further adjusted to native language and specifics of the research group. Examples were added from students' study logs.

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15 Bourke 2006.

16 Shen 2005.

SILCC consisted of 61 questions – strategies. Strategies were then further grouped into three categories: memorization strategies (e.g. *I make up my own stories according to the component elements of the characters*), metacognitive strategies (e.g. *I test myself to check whether I know the characters I have studied*), and recall strategies (e.g. *I remember some characters because I like them for some reason*). For the purpose of this study, only the first two groups which can be subjected to pedagogical intervention are analysed.

Memorization strategies refer to strategies applied during the process or analysing a character and committing it to one's memory. These strategies include: 1) three rote memory strategies– strategies based on repetition; 2) seven strategies based on mnemonics– using association, imagination, creativity and stories; 3) nine comparison strategies– comparing characters by their structure, meaning or pronunciation; and 4) seven strategies based on component analysis and etymology– using semantic, phonetic or structural components and/or its original meaning to memorize new characters.

Metacognitive strategies focus on the reviewing and planning of one's learning. These strategies include 1) three strategies for time of reviewing; 2) ten methods of reviewing; 3) five methods of search for new strategies; 4) five goal setting strategies; and 5) three uncategorized strategies (see attachment).

For each of the strategy, participants were asked to use a Likert scale and evaluate:(a) frequency of usage, i.e. how often they use the strategy; (b)effectiveness of usage, i.e. whether they find the strategy effective for them. Both results were then statistically compared.

The following research questions were explored:

1. *Which strategies are defined as successful by beginning learners?*

Strategies ranked as frequent and useful can be rated as tried-and-true, successful. By defining a set of successful strategies, teachers can provide future students with specific suggestions on generally useful strategies. Also, understanding the frequency of individual strategies can on one side help teachers understand the process of learning, which is otherwise difficult to observe, as learning predominantly takes place out of class; on the other side it can also help teachers re-evaluate the teaching methods applied in class.

2. *Which strategies are defined as unsuccessful by beginning learners?*

In general, students are expected to apply smart strategies that would improve their learning. Since Chinese characters create a unique system and limit the application of previous learning experiences to the new learning task, it may be challenging for beginning students to find adequate learning strategies. Identification of useless yet frequently used strategies could help teachers detect lack of strategy knowledge and redirect students' attention to more useful strategies.

3. *Which strategies are potentially successful for beginning learners?*

Strategies ranked as useful yet infrequent can be rated as potentially successful. Identification of these strategies offers a very unique insight into students' learning and planning, and provides teachers with space for direct pedagogical interventions to enhance usage of these strategies.

4 Results

Among the discussed52 strategies, the average frequency of usage reached 34%, while the average effectiveness of strategies reached 61%. Both values appear to be mutually related with Pearson correlation coefficient reaching p = 0.74.

1. *Which strategies are defined as successful by beginning learners?*

To answer the first research question, first quadrate (Q1) strategies in a scatter graph were observed (see graph 1 and graph 2). These strategies were high both in frequency of usage as well as the subjective effectiveness. On the contrary, the third quadrate(Q3) shows strategies lowest in frequency and in effectiveness.
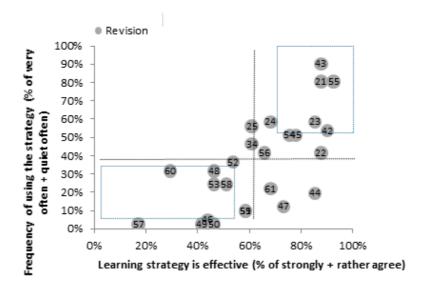
Top memorization strategies show preferences for rote memorization – rehearsing pronunciation of the character when writing it (38)[16] and using repetitive writing (32); among analytical techniques, application of semantic components (17), e.g. *孩 hái child has radical 子 child*,

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17 Number in brackets refers to the strategy number in the inventory.

and phonetic components (18), e.g. 请 *qǐng please has phonetic* 青 *qīng*, are used most frequently. Among mnemonic techniques, creating stories based on visual imagination (8), 姐: *older sister is a woman* 女 *that likes to climb a "ladder"* 且 (且 *is not a ladder*) appeared to be the most frequent strategy. Among comparative techniques, memorizing characters within the word unit (26) is the most successful strategy. In comparison, memorizing characters within a context of a sentence (27) was marked as one of the least frequent strategies.

Graph 1: Memorization strategies – frequency and effectiveness

The least frequent strategies also include using names of the strokes to remember characters (37); remembering characters within the context of a sentence; grouping characters by meaning (4); and associating the meaning of the character with the visual impression of components (36), e.g. 拿 *ná means "vzít" the top part looks like the upside down letter V, therefore "Vzít"*.

Among metacognitive strategies, in terms of time of review, practicing characters before class (43) was ranked as most frequent (90%) and most effective (88%). Very similar effectiveness was also marked for reviewing characters regularly during the week – 90% (42) and reviewing them whenever one has free time – 85% (44). However, these two strategies were much lower in frequency of usage – reaching 54% and 22%.

In terms of the methods of review, testing myself (55), relearning characters which student did not know (21), using handmade flashcards (45),and practicing easily confused characters more thoroughly (23)were marked as most successful strategies. Surprisingly, one of the least frequent strategies was using computer programs or mobile phones to practice characters – 5% (46), even though 44% would find it effective.

Graph 2: Metacognitive strategies – frequency and effectiveness

As far as intrapersonal reflective skills are concerned, students show a tendency to think about their learning and search for methods to improve it (54), but would not feel the need to, for example, keep a diary to record their progress or feelings (57), discuss their feelings with others (60), or search for learning methods in related books – 2% (49), though 44% of respondents would find it useful.

2. *Which strategies are defined as unsuccessful by beginning learners?*

To answer the second research question, strategies in the fourth quadrate (Q4) of the scatter graphs were observed (see graph 1 and graph 2).

As data from both graphs reveal, there are no strategies significantly marked as frequently used, yet ineffective. It gives a positive sign about students' strategy preferences and drives away teachers' potential fears of lack of strategy transfer in a new, Chinese character learning task.

3. *Which strategies are potentially successful for beginning learners?*

The last of the research questions searches for potentially successful strategies which have a significant difference (> 35%) in between the frequency of usage and effectiveness. The difference provides teachers with notable space for support and enhancement of these strategies.

Among memorization strategies, seven potentially successful strategies were identified. Two of them were mnemonic strategies – creating association between new characters and symbols (numbers, signs, shapes, letters, etc.), e.g. 五 *looks like 5*, 费 *looks like $* (3), and using imagination to picture the meaning of the character, e.g. 早 *zǎo morning looks like a person*, *the body* 十 *and a head with closed eyes* 日, *just like a sleepy person in the morning* (13); two strategies belong to comparison strategies – grouping characters with the same semantic (14) or phonetic (15) radical, e.g. 点 *diǎn a little and* 热 *rè hot have radical* 灬 *fire*, 请 *qǐng please and* 情 *qíng feeling have the same phonetic* 青 *qīng*; and three strategies based on component analysis and etymology – using an etymological explanation (11) or stories told by the teacher (10) or found in reference books (12).

Among metacognitive strategies, the absolutely highest difference, 66%, appeared in the already mentioned strategy focusing on practicing characters whenever one has time (44), though, regular review during the week (42) also reached a significant difference of 37%. In the category of reviewing methods, potentially successful strategies included writing troublesome characters on a separate paper for easier reference (22), using computer programs or mobile phone applications to practice characters (46), and using characters as often as possible – in notes, homework, etc. (47). Learning and practicing characters with classmates (59) and asking others to test me (61) would also be helpful strategies. Among strategies focused on search for new learning strategies, using reference books (49), additional resources to the required course books (50) and searching for online resources (51) also appear to be potentially useful.

5 Discussion

Chinese language teachers are frequently asked by beginning students for help with learning characters. Usually, teachers can only provide some insight into their own learning strategies used at the beginning of their studies. The first of the aims of this research was to offer a more objective list of useful strategies defined by students themselves. Based on the data analysis, this list would include the following tips:

To memorize characters:
1. Practice characters by repetitive writing and rehearse pronunciation when writing them.
2. Use semantic radicals to remember the meaning and phonetic radicals to remember the pronunciation of the character.
3. Associate characters with words it is often used in.
4. Use your imagination to create mnemonics.

To practice characters:
1. Practice characters regularly, as often as possible.
2. Use flashcards to test yourself, relearn characters you do not remember and practice those that are easy to confuse.
3. Think about your learning and try to search for methods to improve it – use reference books, online resources and talk to your classmates!

Component analysis (both semantic and phonetic radicals) appears to be helpful already for beginning learners. This result appears to be in concordance with Ke, yet in contradiction to Jiang & Zhao's findings.[17] Jiang & Zhao's research results showed that beginning learners, who spent 4–9 months learning Chinese in Beijing, would not apply radical knowledge, probably due to an insufficient knowledge of characters. One of the possible explanations could be the difference in instruction used at different universities. As the importance of radicals has been stressed from the very beginning to respondents of this research, it may logically be one of the frequently applied strategies.

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[18] Ke 1998; Jiang and Zhao 2001.

The second aim of the research was to identify frequent yet ineffective strategies. The data shows, that students tend to make clever choices and adhere to strategies which they find effective.

The third of the aims was to identify infrequent yet effective strategies that could be further enhanced through pedagogical support. The first group of these strategies includes associative learning techniques and additional materials. Mnemonics based on association and imagination help students create links between new information and already acquired information, thus reinforcing memory. These strategies could be supported by providing examples and variants of the strategy itself (as listed in the inventory), but also on additional learning materials. Students could be either: directed to reference books on these strategies[18] where they can find mnemonic strategies tailored to individual characters; directed to related online resources or mobile applications like A Primer of Chinese Characters, Skitter, Anki, etc.; or encouraged to create a shared strategy inventory by themselves. Providing students with actual tips is helpful.

Secondly, comparison techniques of grouping characters with identical or similar semantic and phonetic components as well as keeping a list of easily confused characters appears to be helpful. Including these grouping tasks into in-class or out-of-class practice seems to be very reasonable.

Thirdly, supporting peer learning in education may also have a positive impact on learning Chinese characters. Students may benefit from mutual testing and the sharing of mnemonics.

In conclusion, much effort is often put into the explanation of Chinese characters, while little space is given to the explanation of the learning task itself. Students are therefore left at the mercy of time to discover their own strategies. Providing students with information on the abundance of learning strategies as well as supporting successful and potentially successful strategies during class instruction could possibly increase the effectiveness of learning, reduce the time required for practicing characters, or at least make the learning more enjoyable. However, further research with more respondents would be helpful to provide larger data for analysis.

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19 For example Ann 1982; Heisig and Richardson 2008; Hoenig 2009; Matthews and Matthews 2007; etc.

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Attachement 1: Strategy Inventory for Learning Chinese Characters

Memorization Strategies

effectiveness frequency

Rote memory

	effectiveness	frequency
32. I remember characters by writing them out numerous times until I know them.	78%	63%
38. When I practise the character, I rehearse it's pronunciation in my mind or aloud.	93%	78%
41. I use rhythm to remember stroke order.	44%	29%

Mnemonics

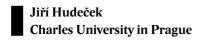|	effectiveness	frequency
2. I create associations between the new characters and pinyin. e.g. In 左 zuǒ left, the 工 looks Z; in 听 tīng listen, right part looks like T	44%	17%
3. I create associations between the new characters and other known symbols (numbers, signs, shapes, letters etc). e.g. 五 looks like 5, 费 looks like $	68%	29%
8. I make up my own stories according to what the characters looks like to me, e.g. 姐: older sister is a woman 女 that likes to climb a "ladder" 且 (且 is not a ladder)	78%	44%
9. I make up my own stories according to the component elements of the characters, e.g. 菜 composes of ⁺⁺ grass, 爫 claws and 木 wood: if there is no vegetables, animal uses claws to grab some grass or wood to eat	73%	39%
13. I use my imagination to picture the meaning that the character represents, as if each character is a picture, e.g. 早 zǎo morning looks like a person, the body 十 and a head with closed eyes 日, just like a sleep person in the morning	73%	37%
35. I associate the sound with the meaning of an Czech word, e.g. 打 dǎ [tǎ] means tlouct (to beat); 朋 péng means přítel (friend)	41%	17%

36. I associate the Czech meaning with what part of the characters looks like, e.g. 拿 ná means vzít the top part looks like upside down letter V, therefore Vzít   32%   12%

Comparison

1. I create associations between the new characters and somehow similar characters I already know. eg. 久 is similar to 九 , 厅 is similar to 听, 去 is similar to 云.   54%   20%

4. I associate characters with other characters from the same meaning group, e.g. 纸 paper and 笔 pen; 黄 yellow and 白 white   27%   22%

5. I associate characters with characters that mean the opposite, e.g. 小 small and 大 big; 左 left and 右 right   59%   29%

6. I associate characters with other characters that look different but have the same reading, e.g. 坐 zuò to sit and 作 zuò to do sth.; 道 dào road and 到 dào arrive   34%   32%

7. I compare and contrast characters that look similar so as not to confuse them, e.g. 百 hundred and 白 white; 儿 son and 几 few   66%   44%

14. I group the character with other characters containing the same semantic radical, e.g. 点 diǎn a little and 热 rè hot have radical 灬 fire; 得 děi must and 很 hěn very have radical 彳 footstep   51%   12%

15. I group the character with other containing the same phonetic, eg. 请 qǐng please and 情 qíng feeling have the same phonetic 青 qīng   59%   10%

26. I associate the characters with words it's often used in.   78%   59%

27. I place the new character in a sentence and remember it in that context.   24%   0%

Components and etymology

10. I use stories told to me by my teacher.   78%   27%

11. I use etymology explained in the textbook to remember characters.   71%   34%

12. I use stories I find in reference books on how to remember characters.   46%   7%

16. I remember the radical first and it helps me remember the character.   59%   41%

17. I associate the character with the meaning of the radical, e.g. 孩 hái child has radical 子 child; 冷 lěng cold has radical 冫 ice	85%	66%
18. I associate the pronunciation of the character with the pronunciation of the phonetic, e.g. 请 qǐng please has phonetic 青 qīng; 吗 ma has phonetic 马 mǎ	83%	49%
37. I give names to the strokes or elements and use chants to remember characters, e.g. 王 horizontal - horizontal - vertical - horizontal, 只 mouth - left - a dot	24%	2%

Metacognitive Strategies

	effectiveness	frequency

Time of review

42. I practise characters regularly during the week.	90%	54%
43. I practise characters before the class.	88%	90%
44. I practise characters whenever I have time during the day.	85%	20%

Method of review

21. I test myself and relearn the characters I didn't know.	88%	80%
22. I write the characters I have trouble with in a separate book/ paper for easy reference.	88%	41%
23. I practise more thoroughly characters that are easily confused.	85%	59%
34. I practise characters by writing them with my finger or in the air.	61%	46%
45. I use handmade flashcards to repeatedly practise characters.	78%	51%
46. I use a computer program or mobile phone to practise characters.	44%	5%
47. I use characters as often as I can (e.g. in class notes, homework assignments etc.).	73%	12%
55. I test myself to check whether I know the characters I have studied.	93%	80%
59. I work with others on characters learning, practising together.	59%	10%
61. I ask another person to test me on my characters.	68%	22%

Search for learning strategies

49. I try to find better ways of learning characters from books.	41%	2%
50. I buy characters learning resources additional to those required in my course.	46%	2%

51. I search internet for characters learning resources.   59%   10%

54. I think about my learning, its effectiveness and try to improve it.   76%   51%

58. I try to find better ways of learning characters by talking   51%   24%
to others.

Goal setting

52. I set myself goals and objectives for what I wish to achieve each   54%   37%
week.

53. I set myself a long-term goal on how many characters I want   46%   24%
to learn.

56. I keep a list of the number of characters I know.   66%   41%

57. I write a language learning diary where I record my progress   17%   2%
and my feelings.

60. I discuss my feelings about the characters learning task with   29%   32%
others.

Uncategorized

24. If I don't know a character, I look it up in a dictionary.   68%   59%

25. If I'm not exactly sure of a character, I ask someone who knows.   61%   56%

48. I use a highlighter to organise the information in my characters   46%   32%
learning book.

Science and Thought

Science and Cultural Conservatism in the *Dongfang zazhi* (*Eastern Miscellany*), 1911–1927

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Annotation: The journal Dongfang zazhi 東方雜誌 (Eastern Miscellany) *was established in 1904 by the Shanghai-based publishing house Shangwu yinshuguan (Commercial Press). In the 1910s, when headed by Du Yaquan* 杜亞泉 *(1873–1933), it combined the promotion of recent scientific discoveries with an opposition to the radical iconoclasm of the New Culture Movement. Science inspired the conservative standpoint of its editors, who reconciled the professed need for modern science and technology with conservative attitudes deeply critical of Western modernity.*

The Dongfang zazhi *devoted much space to the popularization of Western science and technology, but also to discussions about humanistic values endangered by the scientist worldview. The journal often reported curiosities and spiritualist scientific experiments which stressed the fundamental limits of scientific knowledge. Social Darwinism was criticized as immoral but accepted as a fact of international relations, necessitating the development of modern industry. By accentuating the practical utility of science and introducing the latest idealist philosophy, the editors approached science as an essential but culturally ambiguous part of modern life, which resonated with their doubts about the values imported from the West.*

Keywords: Dongfang zazhi, Du Yaquan, modern science in China, cultural conservatism

1 Introduction

The introduction of modern science into China is usually associated with the May Fourth Movement and its radical rejection of traditional Chinese

culture.[1] However, we can find many cases of a keen interest in science and technical questions combined with a more or less pronounced cultural conservatism.[2] The union of these two attitudes under one roof or within one mind is a fascinating phenomenon to study. How does it arise? Does it always involve paradoxes and contradictions as has often been assumed?[3] How are these paradoxes resolved?

One case where these paradoxes reached particular prominence was the magazine *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌), one of the richest sources for the history of the Republican period. The *Eastern Miscellany* was one of the most important Chinese magazines of the first half of the twentieth century. It appeared monthly, and since 1920 twice a month almost without interruption from 1904 to 1949. It carried original essays, translations, and material from other journals.[4] The *Eastern Miscellany* was the flagship publication of the Commercial Press in Shanghai, which has recently made the full text of the *Eastern Miscellany* available online.

The Commercial Press was intimately involved in the modernization effort and introduction of science to China. The aims of the *Eastern Miscellany* were aligned with this effort. However, during the New Culture Movement, the *Eastern Miscellany* was attacked for its "restorationism" and eclecticism, derided as culturally conservative and not up to the times. These accusations by Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 and Luo Jialun 羅家倫, respectively, primarily targeted the chief editor Du Yaquan and his opinion pieces, but extended to the journal as a whole. They damaged its popularity so much that Du Yaquan was persuaded to resign.[5]

1　Among the works embodying this perspective, see e.g. Kwok 1965 or Furth 1970. The identification of the New Culture Movement, and specifically the May Fourth Movement that unfolded in its wake, with calls for science and democracy, is still the dominant way of presenting the Chinese intellectual scene in Chinese modern history textbooks.

2　The notion of cultural conservatism is explained more thoroughly below. Examples of culturally conservative scientists and science popularizers can be found throughout the twentieth century, the most prominent in the Republican period being Du Yaquan, discussed below, Liang Shuming (Alitto 1979), and Hu Xiansu (Zheng 2013, cf. Chen 2011).

3　The idea that the contact with modern scientific modernity created inevitable philosophical contradictions for all who wanted to preserve Chinese traditional culture has most notably been expressed by Joseph Levenson (1968).

4　For an overview of the history of the Commercial Press and the *Eastern Miscellany*, see Huters 2008.

5　Zhang and Zhang 2011.

Because the target of these attacks was explicitly the journal as a whole, it seems worthwhile to look in some detail at the content of the publication under Du Yaquan's editorship, rather than at Du Yaquan's articles on their own. My principal finding is that the journal combines an interest in recent scientific and technological progress with skepticism about the ultimate power of rationality. Even if it was not the intention of its editors, it was the impression conveyed to the readers. And because the journal's chief editor was probably also its most attentive reader, I think it is defensible to construct from the individual articles published in the *Eastern Miscellany* a mental universe combining science and cultural conservatism, with Du Yaquan as its chief representative. I will return to the foundations of this argument in the conclusions.

2 The Editors of the *Eastern Miscellany*

Du Yaquan 杜亞泉 (1873–1933), originally Du Weisun 杜煒孫, was an extremely interesting figure, both unique and typical of the intellectual transformation of early twentieth century China. He obtained the title *xiucai* in 1889, but after the Sino-Japanese War gave up traditional studies and read widely in books introducing new Western knowledge. In this early period of fascination with Western knowledge, he adopted the pseudonym Yaquan, which is a sophisticated pun using scientific and mathematical knowledge. Ya refers to argon *ya* 氬 and was supposed to symbolize inert character; quan refers to a line *xian* 線 (綫) as a geometrical object having no area 面 and body 體, implying *bu jiang timian* 不講體面, or not craving for prestige.[6]

Du Yaquan joined the Commercial Press in 1904, and became the chief editor of the *Eastern Miscellany* in 1911. During his editorship, he formulated a theory of mutual adjustment (*tiaoshi* 調試) of Western and Chinese, "dynamic" (*dong* 動) and "tranquil" (*jing* 靜) cultures. This preference for a fusion of cultures in practice meant the opposition to radical change in various hotly debated areas: cultural norms, literary language, writing system, later also medicine, etc. Du Yaquan was attacked for his defense of Chinese culture as a "restorationist" (*fubi* 復辟) by Chen Duxiu, the chief ideologue of the New Culture Movement,

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6 Gao 1998, 8–14.

in 1918 and 1919. When Luo Jialun, the leader of the May Fourth student movement, joined in with a criticism of the *Eastern Miscellany* in the *Renaissance* (*Xin Chao* 新潮), the prestige of the *Eastern Miscellany* suffered so badly that the Commercial Press management persuaded Du Yaquan to leave his office in the fall of 1919.[7]

Du was however eventually replaced by another opponent of the May Fourth radicalism, Qian Zhixiu 錢智修 (1880?–1947). Qian entered the Commercial Press in 1911 and published frequently in the *Eastern Miscellany* throughout the 1910s. He also had a solid classical education and a *xiucai* title, but unlike Du had already studied Western languages and sciences at the modern schools such as Zhendan and Fudan. He was a prolific translator from US, British and French journals.

Qian's conservatism was milder than Du Yaquan's. He called for the preservation of only those foundations of Chinese culture which still possessed vitality. He hoped this would give rise to a "fourth kind of culture" with the successful elements of both Chinese tradition and Western modernity. He is nowadays primarily known for his criticism of utilitarian thinking preached by many in the New Culture Movement, another trait shared with Du.[8] Although he nominally remained chief editor of the *Eastern Miscellany* until 1932, he in fact retreated from the journal in 1924 in favour of Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之 (1896–1986), the post-1949 editor of the *Guangming ribao*.[9]

The third editor heavily involved in the *Eastern Miscellany* in the 1910s was Zhang Xichen 章錫琛 (1889–1969), a professional journalist of modern training, who later became editor of the *Nüxue bao* 女學報 and other commercially very successful journals.[10] Zhang is perhaps most typical of the eclectic middle-brow style associated with the Eastern Miscellany by its critics. He never published opinion pieces, but focused on the translation of curiosities from Japanese journals. These were not necessarily scientific in the strict sense, but always new and always likely to catch the reader's eye.

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[7] See Gao 1998, cf. Zhang and Zhang 2011.

[8] Li 2007 is a recent master's dissertation written on Qian Zhixiu and his editorship of the *Eastern Miscellany*.

[9] Cf. his autobiography Hu 1990.

[10] Zhou 2011.

3 Cultural Conservatism in the 1910s and 1920s

Chinese cultural conservatism of the Republican period was first noted as a special phenomenon by Benjamin Schwartz. Schwartz was intrigued by the absence of any defense of the prevailing social and political order among the Chinese conservatives, which is why he highlighted their conservatism as "cultural".[11] The confusing aspects of Chinese cultural conservatism include its alignment with progressive social and political thought and frequent inspiration from the West. This phenomenon has recently been extensively studied e.g. by Zheng Shiqu, Edmund Fung and others.[12]

An interesting feature of the Chinese cultural conservatives is the fact that many turned to conservative values after preaching reform and modernization around 1900. This turn was born from their frustration about the moral breakdown after the fall of the Qing dynasty. The pursuit of Darwinian competitive fitness, which had been embraced as a plausible foundation for morality, turned out to be destructive for public virtues. Initially, the blame was laid on China's own weakness and lack of readiness for the values and mechanisms working in the advanced countries.[13] This is where Du Yaquan saw the problem in his articles written in the first half of the decade. But the breakout of World War I and the carnage and destruction it brought raised a more alarming possibility that modern Western civilization itself was in a deep crisis going back to its very intellectual roots. It was also during WWI when industrialization accelerated in China, thanks to the diversion of European and American competitors. Industry, previously thought to be a path to save the nation, created social conflict rather than universal enrichment, adding to the doubts about Western civilization.

These dark sides of modernity were all somehow connected with modern science. Its responsibility was expressed most famously in Liang Qichao's *Reflections from European Travels* (*Ou you xin ying lu* 歐遊心影錄), and scrutinized in the debate about science and life philosophy in 1923.[14] But even long before Liang's open suggestion that science might

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[11] Schwartz 1976.

[12] Zheng Shiqu 2008, 2009, Fung 2010.

[13] Furth 1983.

[14] Furth 1970, Chou 1978.

be "bankrupt", opposition formed against claims of the omnipotence of scientific explanation, and against the monopoly of science on determining values and ontological status.

Du Yaquan was an early questioner of scientism. In 1915, he wrote an essay "On Fate", where he pointed out that "although science opposes fate, it cannot remove it", as "the realm of what our intelligence can reach is very narrow in comparison to the realm of nature". He stressed that even though modern science could invade and diminish unknown territory, it could never fully conquer it. Thus "those who accept the omnipotence of science and look down on fate are as if they had electric light and fan in their room and so claimed that human intelligence can control natural day, night, heat and cold". Those who choose to dismiss fate and believe only in their own strength and ability to prevail in the competition of all against all "are not only opposed by the sages, but also mocked by the common people". Du extended the concept of fate from individuals to countries and used it as an argument against attempts to change the existing culture by plan. Culture was created by the *mingyun* of the country, and attempts to change it by "scientific" design were arrogant and foolish.[15]

Just a few issues before Du's article on fate, another article by a certain Gao Xingruo, with the title "On the existence of beings", made a very thorough argument for the limits of science in settling ontological issues.[16] Gao Xingruo is an otherwise obscure name. In the Dacheng database of early Chinese journals, the only other article penned by Gao Xingruo is a criticism of the principle of survival of the fittest as basis for morality, published in the *New Youth* two years later than the article "On the existence of beings".[17] It seems plausible that Gao Xingruo was actually just a variation on Du Yaquan's more well known pseudonym Gao Lao, as the article reads almost as a methodological preparation for Du's subordination of science to fate.

Gao Xingruo noted that "Our abilities are limited, but the phenomena are infinite". He argued that unperceivable beings do not exist for us, and moreover that existence and beings are pure illusions created by our senses. However far our abilities extend, they remain a finite numerator

15 Cang Fu 1915.

16 Gao 1915.

17 Gao 1917.

against an infinite denominator of the universe, and thus our knowledge converges to zero.

Gao Xingruo showed off his knowledge of basic scientific and mathematical facts. Apart from the infinitesimal ratio just mentioned, he also underlined that we do not directly perceive any objects, but only their traces such as light, sound or vapour. He illustrated the last point by mentioning the two allotropes of phosphorus, which are mediated very differently to our senses despite being essentially the same thing. The fact that there can be equally real objects unknown to us due to their incompatibility with our senses was further illustrated by a mathematical analogy: we can imagine some powers of n which have a geometrical meaning, but not others which are meaningless in our three-dimensional space. It is therefore necessary to realize that our sensory data give us no basis for deciding what actually exists and what does not. This was not antiscientific obscurantism; science itself teaches as much.[18]

4 The Science Related Content of the Eastern Miscellany

The two articles just analyzed directly express Du Yaquan's philosophy and the place of science in it. But let us now look at the relationship of science and conservative attitudes more broadly as well as indirectly by reviewing the contents of the journal in the period when Du was the chief editor.

Before Du Yaquan came to the *Eastern Miscellany*, the journal used to be a digest of articles from official gazettes, daily newspapers as well as other journals published by local gentry or overseas Chinese. Du reoriented the journal to original essays and translations from foreign sources, which greatly expanded the *Eastern Miscellany* readership after 1911.[19]

An issue usually started with an essay written by the editor himself. Du Yaquan used the pseudonyms Cang Fu 傖父 or Gao Lao 高勞, sometimes both in the same issue. Qian Zhixiu and Zhang Xichen, in contrast, contributed under their own names (Qian started to write under the pen name Jian Gua 堅瓠 only after becoming the chief editor in 1920). Du Yaquan's essays usually dealt with moral or philosophical questions.

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18 Ibid.
19 Gao 1998.

The bulk of the issue brought together reports on international social, political and economic developments. In the second half of each issue, there were articles about "new knowledge", primarily from technology but also from broadly defined science. I will return to these in more detail below. The next section was devoted to literature, including serialized fiction in *wenyan* (mostly translated), and since 1917 also a poetry corner. The final part of the *Eastern Miscellany* was a brief chronicle of events in the past month.

Most of the articles on "new knowledge" were translated from US, Japanese, British and occasionally also European journals. Reports of new discoveries and technological improvements were the mainstay, but sometimes there were also reviews of the history of disciplines or technologies. In 1913–1915 and again in 1920–1921, short notices of recent developments were condensed into "The Science Mixed Platter" *Kexue zazu* 科學雜俎. Occasionally, this part of the journal also carried original research by Chinese scholars on Chinese history, literature, language, geography, ethnography, etc. For instance, Wang Guowei's "History of Song and Yuan Drama" was first serialized in the *Eastern Miscellany* in 1912.

Most of the articles introduced new developments with obvious practical importance. There are many reports of the development of airships and aircraft, film technology, wireless telegraphy, shipbuilding, railroads, artificial materials produced by the chemical industry, etc. Economy also received sustained attention, including introductions to scientific management (i.e. Taylorism), and the principles of life, car and social insurance.

However, there is also a perceivable interest in puzzles, curiosities, and discoveries which put the mainstream scientistic worldview somewhat into question.[20] For instance, in 1911 the journal translated an article by a Japanese veterinary claiming to prove, based on experiments with dogs, that the right testis always produces male and the left testis female sperm, and the sex of the offspring can thus be easily controlled.[21] Another two articles showed how one can easily deduce from mathematical axioms obviously incorrect statements.[22] In 1912, there was a report on the re-

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20   Cf. the study of parapsychology in the *Eastern Miscellany* by Zheng Guo 2009.

21   Peng Xian 1911.

22   Shou 1911a,b.

vival of belief in gods and spirits in America, and an article on telepathy in animals, both from US journals.[23] Other articles of this type introduced English palm divination, the scientific basis of prophecy (*qian nian yan* 千年眼), hypnosis, etc.[24] Many of these articles were translated by Zhang Xichen. The sheer diversity of topics covered by the *Eastern Miscellany* was initially a strength of the journal, but was sharply attacked by Luo Jialun in 1919.[25] The number of such articles radically decreased after Du Yaquan's departure.

On a higher level, the *Eastern Miscellany* also reported the biological and psychological conceptions of Henri Bergson, Rudolph Eucken and William James as currently the world's most influential philosophers. Their philosophies were heralded by Zhang Shizhao 章士釗 (under the pseudonym Xing Yan) as a move away from a deterministic, mechanistic universe with no place for human agency, will and moral judgment towards a new kind of scientifically informed spirituality.[26] But even though such a development of European thought was welcome, it was not to be blindly followed either. Du Yaquan dismissed new currents of European thought as mere incoherent fashion in his article "The confused mind of modern man".[27] Even Zhang Shizhao finished his article on the three great current philosophies of action by asking the Chinese not to simply adopt them, but to emulate them by drawing on Chinese roots, such as Wang Yangming's thought.[28]

These limits of scientific rationality were accompanied by doubts about the ability of modern technology to bring universal happiness instead of social excesses plain for all to see. It was in this respect that Du Yaquan's balancing act between modernity and morality was set into an especially sharp relief in his preface to the *Journal of Industries* (*Gongyi zazhi* 工藝雜誌), reprinted in the *Eastern Miscellany* in 1918. Du recalled his own early fascination with industry and his belief that when industry gains a foothold in China, all other problems can be easily solved. By 1918, however, Du did

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23 Qian 1912, Yang 1912.

24 Lang Xian 1914, Wang 1914, Liang 1916.

25 Luo 1919.

26 Xing Yan 1917.

27 Cang Fu 1918a.

28 Xing Yan 1917.

not believe in industry anymore, especially in a country like China with a lot of surplus labour. Industry removed livelihoods from the common people and its products could only be fully marketed if China joined in the immoral scramble for colonies and spheres of influence pursued by Western countries – a pursuit that, in the views of many, ultimately led to the World War.[29] Du Yaquan recognized that the build-up of industry was necessary, despite its disorderly effects. The reason for this contradictory position was the undeniable fact of ongoing international competition, which did not give China a chance to avoid industrialization entirely. Du however called on entrepreneurs to produce industrially only those products which would otherwise have to be imported, to avoid competing with domestic handicraft, and to give up profit as ultimate aim.

5 Conclusion

I do not argue that we can reconstruct a coherent editorial policy from the survey of topics covered in the *Eastern Miscellany*; in fact the critics condemned the journal precisely for its perceived lack of such policy and of a clear standpoint. On the other hand, the articles published in the *Eastern Miscellany* between 1911 and 1919 actually make a certain overall impression, whether intended or unintended.

First of all, their coverage of modern science tended to reinforce the view that what science thought it knew in the nineteenth century was very limited. Science was only starting to examine whole tracts of the human experience, including spirituality and phenomena previously considered supernatural.

By extension, these limits of science, now laid bare by its own advancement, made it plausible to dismiss mere biological utility as a basis of morals, and to believe instead in transcendent values, which might be embodied in the traditional culture better than in the modern one. In this way, the more science one knew, the more one could feel justified in adopting a protective attitude towards traditional culture and its values.

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29 Cang Fu 1918b. As an aside, Wu Zhihui, a foremost representative of aggressive scientism, blamed somewhat later WWI ultimately on the lack of industrial development in countries like China, which incited Western powers to struggle against each other for such markets (Wu 1925).

The approach taken by Du Yaquan's team was however not impressive to the radicals of the 1919 generation. As already mentioned, Luo Jialun attacked the *Eastern Miscellany* precisely for its miscellaneous character and lack of clear standpoint on issues of cultural reconstruction. In 1919, he wrote: "In a single issue... now there is industry, now politics, then again agriculture and trade, then again spiritualism, it is indeed a cacophony, nothing curious can be left out. You say it is old? It looks new at the same time. You say it is new? It does not qualify."[30] Although his criticism was equally aimed at other popular journals, most also published by the Commercial Press, the *Eastern Miscellany* was the primary target precisely for its eclectic approach and insufficient belief in the modern scientist worldview. But even in later decades, Chinese cultural conservatives would continue to introduce the "cacophony" of knowledge, philosophy and theories currently pursued in the West as the strongest defense of their position against attacks from radical iconoclasts.

30 Luo 1919.

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Building of "New China's Astronomy" and the Establishment of New Historiography of Traditional Astronomy in the 1950s and 1960s: An insight from the oral history sources

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Annotation: The period of seventeen years before the Cultural Revolution can be roughly divided into the period of Socialist Construction (1949–1957) and the Great Leap Forward and Post-GLF Period (1957–1966). Although science was supported throughout the whole period as an indispensable tool for the building of the socialist economy, political campaigns presented a significant hindrance for its development. The Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) brought almost complete paralysis of research.

In my previous paper I investigated how this period influenced the work and lives of several astronomers, using recently published oral biographies of Xi Zezong (1927–2008, historian of Chinese astronomy) and Li Yuan (born 1925, popularizer of astronomy). With this background, I conducted an interview with Professor Chen Jiujin (born 1939, historian of Chinese astronomy) during my stay in Beijing in April 2014. I also got access to the interviews with Professor Wang Shouguan (born 1923, pioneer of radio astronomy in China), conducted by my colleague Chu Shanshan from the Institute for History of Natural Sciences in Beijing.

This paper focuses on what new information these interviews bring for understanding ideological and political influences on the historiography of Chinese astronomy. I will also mention methodological problems of oral history in the Chinese environment, especially when the research is conducted by a foreigner.

Key words: *astronomy, Chinese, traditional, historiography, radio-astronomy, modern, research, Great Leap Forward, political, campaigns, Cultural Revolution, space programme.*

1 Introduction

This paper is part of a broader research project, focused on political, social and foreign influences on the historiography of traditional Chinese astronomy in two different periods, after the establishment of the Chinese Republic (1911) in the 1920s and 1930s, and after the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 till the beginning of the so called Cultural Revolution (1966). The research, which is a Ph. D. dissertation project, is focused on the lives and works of two historians of astronomy Zhu Wenxin 朱文鑫 (1883–1939) and Xi Zezong 席泽宗 (1927–2008).

As we will see in more detail later, research on the history of natural sciences including astronomy was re-established and institutionalized in the 1950s, so for the main research topic mentioned above it is particularly important to see its motivation and influences. The comparison to a situation in another astronomical discipline of that time can bring a clue to the different position of both disciplines in Chinese sciences. The two disciplines are the historiography of Chinese astronomy, represented by Chen Jiujin 陈久金 and modern (radio) astronomical research represented by Wang Shouguan 王绶琯. I regard these two disciplines as suitable for a comparison because in this period they were, much more than now, branches of the same 'tree' of astrophysics. Unlike today, historians of astronomy were recruited solely among astrophysicists. In later periods, people with other specialties were let in, in China for example Wang Yumin 王玉民 in the 1980s, who was one of the only two doctoral students of Academician Xi Zezong.[1]

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1 Wang was a radio reporter with some educational background in mathematics. Xi's first doctoral student was Jiang Xiaoyuan, born 1954, probably the most influential historian of

As an important primary source, I conducted an interview with Chen Jiujin 陈久金 (born 1939),[2] a historian of Chinese astronomy, in Beijing in April 2014 and I also got access to interviews conducted with Wang Shouguan 王绶琯 (born 1923) by Dr. Sun Xiaochun and Chu Shanshan from the Institute for History of Natural Sciences of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.[3] Wang Shouguan is considered to be a pioneer of Chinese radio astronomy.

The main points of this paper are:

1. To summarize briefly the situation in historiography of traditional Chinese astronomy in the 1950s and 1960s and in modern astronomical research.
2. To answer the following questions: What do these interviews bring for understanding ideological, political and social influences in this period? What new information they bring about Xi Zezong (one of the two historians on which my main research project is focused)?
3. To highlight the methodological problems of oral history in the Chinese environment, especially when the research is conducted by a foreigner.
4. To provide comparison of political and social influences in the fields of modern astronomical research (especially radio astronomy) in China versus the historiography of traditional Chinese astronomy in the 1950s and 1960s.

2 Historiography of Traditional Chinese Astronomy in the 1950s and 1960s

Interest in the history of traditional Chinese astronomy, using modern scientific methods and scientific purposes, appeared in China as early

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Chinese astronomy active in China. In other countries, like Czechoslovakia, the history of astronomy was written also by historians and later, after the revolution in 1989, also by philosophers.

2   Interview with Prof. Chen Jiujin, a historian of traditional Chinese astronomy, Beijing 1 April 2014.

3   Interviews with Prof. Wang Shouguan, prominent Chinese astrophysicist and radio astronomer, by Dr. Sun Xiaochun and Chu Shanshan, Beijing 2013. These interviews are currently prepared for publication by Sun and Chu.

as the 1920s. There was no kind of institutionalization, only the historical section of Chinese Astronomical Society was established (1922). The most important historians of astronomy of this period were Zhu Wenxin 朱文鑫 (1883–1939), who was the first Chinese to write the complete history of traditional Chinese astronomy and Western astronomy in a two-volume Short History of Astronomy (*Tianwenxue xiao shi* 天文学小史) published in 1935, as well as Gao Lu 高鲁 (1877–1947) and Gao Pingzi 高平子 (1888–1970). Before them, the Chinese scholars interested in the history of traditional astronomy were rather mere compilers of historical sources and did not use the perspective of western scientific approach to study them.

In the 1950s, this kind of research was institutionalized in China. Here, Zhu Kezhen竺可桢 (1890–1974), then Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and meteorologist by profession, played a very important role. He was considering institutionalization of the studies of history of natural science as early as in the beginning of the 1950s. As far as the history of astronomy is concerned, there was an important impulse that came in the year 1953. As we can clearly see in Zhu Kezhen's published diaries,[4] he was then asked by the Soviet Academy of Sciences to have the Chinese Academy of Sciences compile the Chinese records of novae and supernovae in dynastic histories. This data was crucial for the research project of the Soviet academician I. S. Shklovsky on supernovae, planetary nebulae and their connection with celestial radio sources. Zhu Kezhen appointed then young astrophysicist Xi Zezong席泽宗 (1927–2008) to conduct this research in Chinese historical sources. Xi Zezong worked on this project in the years 1954–1955, his work was translated to Russian and English and gained enthusiastic reception both in the Soviet Union and in the US. A decade later, he published a revised edition of this work which also included Japanese and Korean sources.[5]

In the beginning of the year 1957, the Cabinet for History of Natural Sciences 自然科学史研究室 *Ziran kexueshi yanjiushi* was established in response to a higher-level directive. It was affiliated to several different institutes of the Academy of Sciences over the following decades. The first

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4 Zhu 2004–2007.
5 Xi 1965.

of these institutes was The Second Historical Institute. In the beginning, it had a small section of two historians of astronomy.

According to Xi Zezong's own words in his oral autobiography,[6] the establishment of the Cabinet for Research of History of Natural Sciences was motivated by the following three factors:

Influences of Soviet models, and in the case of astronomy the direct request from the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union.

Additionally, there arose a need for patriotic articles on the history of ancient and modern Chinese science in the Party's newspaper Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), in Guangming Ribao (Guangming Daily) and others. As Li Yuan mentions in his biographic interview,[7] it might also have had a connection with the Korean War as the growing need for patriotism might have been motivated by the war.

As the last significant motivating impulse, Xi Zezong mentions the need to compete with Joseph Needham's large multi-volume project Science and Civilization in China. The Chinese Academy of Sciences was well aware of the process of its preparation, as Needham and his collaborators were sending their outlines regularly to Zhu Kezhen and others.

The Cabinet was established on the basis of a political decision and also on the basis of political needs (encouragement of patriotism, fight against cosmopolitism in science and culture, being also a result of the Soviet influence). Its establishment was also a part of the twelve-years' plan formulated in 1956. Xi Zezong also mentions that Premier Zhou Enlai stressed the "evaluation of national heritage" in his speech, shortly before the plan started to be implemented.[8]

In the beginning, the researchers were transferred to the Cabinet from their source disciplines: for instance Xi Zezong's original profession was astrophysics. Later on, in the 1960s, the adepts of history of astronomy came to the Cabinet just after they had graduated from astrophysics or were trained for this career already at their university.[9]

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6 Guo 2011.

7 Li and Chen 2010.

8 Guo 2011.

9 From my interviews with Chen Jiujin and Li Geng in April 2014.

3 Methodological Problems of Oral Historical Research in China (when conducted by a foreigner)

The interview was conducted on April 1ˢᵗ, 2014 in Shunyi 顺义, a northeastern suburb of Beijing, in Prof. Chen's flat. Nobody except he and I were present during the interview (except for his wife delivering tea). The interview lasted for almost 75 minutes of which about 68 minutes have been recorded. Professor Chen Jiujin 陈久金 was recommended to me by Dr. Guo Jinhai of the Institute for History of Natural Sciences of Chinese Academy of Sciences. Dr. Guo was an editor of Xi Zezong's oral autobiography and recommended me Prof. Chen as a younger colleague of the already deceased Academician Xi who could remember some details of his life, would know about his work and would be able to tell me something on the period of the end of 1950s and 1960s in the historiography of Chinese astronomy. Chen was much younger than Xi and entered the department of astrophysics of the Nanjing University as late as in 1959 and graduated in 1964 (Xi graduated in 1951), so that he did not witness the political and social influences on the historiography of astronomy in the early 1950s, only at the very end of the 1950s and in the period before the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976).

As Western (or Czech)[10] reference books on oral history suggest, after a brief introduction of my project I started the interview with questions related to "uncontroversial" topics such as childhood and youth and Prof. Chen's family. It did not seem to be really productive, because of the following probable reasons: I met the narrator for the first time and the narrator did not know much about the content of the interview in advance, he probably was told that the interview should entirely have concentrated on Xi Zezong's life and work and possibly also on the situation in the Cabinet for Research of History of Natural Sciences before the Cultural Revolution and did not anticipate that I would concentrate much more on him and his personal perception of the political and social influences on his work. The reluctance to speak too much on these personal topics, especially from the beginning of the interview, might have been also caused by "distrust to strangers", as my personal experience with first-time contacts with Chi-

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10 Vaněk, Mücke and Pelikánová 2007.

nese also suggests. As Prof. Chen later told me, he had even not expected to be interviewed by a foreigner, as he was not told this at all.

In the reference books on oral history, it is recommended to contact the narrator directly in advance either by mail or telephone in order to allow him or her to make more preparation, but in this case it was complicated by distance and also by the fact that I got Prof. Chen's direct contact information about one day in advance. As far as the opening topics are concerned, it turned out that it is probably more suitable to start talking about one's work and to praise the narrator's publications.

In the Chinese environment, a foreigner might face many obstacles with comprehension of the narrator's speech, such as the dialect of a narrator or the pronunciation of standard Chinese (*Putonghua*) affected by a dialect, or a narrator may have a defect of speech. All of these problems were present in this interview and affected the time needed for processing of its recording. While the reference books mention five hours needed for a transcription of one hour's recording, with a Chinese narrator that does not speak very clearly it may even require forty or fifty hours of transcription time (without the help of a native speaker).

Even in the Western context it is recommended to arrange at least two or three separate recording sessions with a narrator. Due to time reasons, I was able to arrange just one meeting that does not seem to be enough. For the second time, the interviewer and narrator are not such "strangers" to each other and the narrator might say more on the topics that he had largely omitted in the first session. As Chu Shanshan, the co-interviewer of the interviews with Wang Shouguan told me, they had visited him about sixty times.

It turned out that it also would have been suitable to get acquainted in advance with contemporary language expressions.[11] One should also not underestimate the preparation of questions and react quickly during an interview in order get the responses to the problems one is really interested in.

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11 Here it was for instance 红五类 hong wu lei (five red categories [of citizens] – the reliable ones, whose ancestors were workers, peasants, soldiers, etc.), 黑五类 hei wu lei (five black categories – unreliable ones – the Imperialists, the Rich, the Counter-revolutionaries, the Spoiled and the Rightists), 走资派 zou zi pai (people taking the capitalist road) or 白专道路 bai zhuan daolu ([those going] the way of white experts, those unwilling to take the party's stand in their research).

4 Chen Jiujin 陈久金: A Representative of Professionally Trained Historians of Astronomy

The following text is based on an interview that I conducted with Prof. Chen Jiujin on April 1ˢᵗ, 2014. Chen Jiujin was born in 1939 and comes from Changzhou 常州 near Nanjing, Jiangsu Province. Between the years 1959 and 1964 he studied astrophysics at Nanjing University. Since graduating in 1964 till his retirement he worked in the Cabinet for History of Natural Sciences (since 1975 a separate institute). His main fields of research concentrated on astronomical historical figures, in the 1980s he turned his attention to the astronomy of national minorities in China and after the turn of the millennium he started to publish works on traditional Chinese constellations, astrology and myths about heaven.

I have not learned too many new facts by means of this interview, however, it allowed me to refute or refine some hypotheses and make some information more precise.

After the brief introduction of my research project, the first area of questions with which I started concerned Prof. Chen's family, his youth and the period before university.

Unfortunately, he spoke very little on this topic. His father and grandfather had some background in geomancy and his two brothers and one sister did not have anything in common with astronomy. His interest in astronomy was inspired by the books that he read in his youth. He became a historian of astronomy immediately after his graduation from astrophysics at Nanjing University in 1964. He also considered working at an observatory or staying at the faculty and through the school he got this offer. This was a different case from his elder colleague Xi Zezong who was appointed to this job several years after graduation.

On the political campaigns of the 1950s and early 1960s and their influence on his life and work he said that they were not permanent and so frequent and that he encountered them only after secondary school, at university. He mentioned the campaigns Against the Rightists反右 (1957) and the Socialist Education (1963–1966 also known as the Four Clean-ups 四清). They presented an obstacle to scientific work and study, but when the campaigns were not running there was space for "free re-

search" in the framework of the Twelve-years' plan.[12] As Chen puts it, the basic way to survive during the campaigns was to "be able to speak well and not to act against the Communist Party". This differs a lot from Xi Zezong's account of this period in his oral autobiography, Xi criticizes the campaigns a lot for being a hindrance for research, allowing the employees of the Cabinet to devote only about one fifth of their time to research and the rest to political meetings, at the time when the campaigns were running. As the editor of Xi's oral autobiography, Guo Jinhai, mentions in a footnote that from the beginning of the Great Leap Forward (1957) till the end of the Cultural Revolution (1976), Xi Zezong had really little time (and later almost none) for his planned research.[13]

On the Soviet influence, Chen said that scientists were generally pushed "to be left-oriented" even much more than in the Soviet Union. Many people were learning Russian (before the Sino-Soviet split in 1959), including Xi Zezong, who studied the Russian language in Harbin for two years, but they actually were not able to speak the language, but many of them (also including Xi) translated Russian books. It was new information for me to hear that Xi Zezong was never heard speaking Russian by his colleagues.

As far as a hierarchy in China's scientific institutions of that time is concerned, Prof. Chen Jiujin said that directors of academic institutes had had a large degree of autonomy and Party secretaries did not have a stronger word than them. Anyway, as Xi Zezong mentions in his oral autobiography, in some periods nothing was possible to do without their consent and even every single journal article had to be approved by a Party secretary.

I also asked several questions on Xi Zezong, because of his importance to my primary research. Here I was able to refine some of my hypotheses and also to get some new information. Xi was persecuted at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution for writing about sunspots[14] and the Sun's limited lifetime, and for a scratched photo of Mao Zedong found in his personal booklet of Mao's "Highest Directives". Chen

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12 As many other institutions, the Cabinet for Research on History of Natural Sciences worked out its own plan of publications, translations and other activities shortly after its establishment in 1957.

13 Guo 2011.

14 Xi 1957.

Jiujin commented that Xi was indeed persecuted for his writing about the sunspots,[15] but it was only a secondary reason. As he said, even Mao Zedong himself had reportedly opposed making links such as between himself and the Sun. The main reason for the really harsh persecution was the scratched photo of Mao Zedong. Although it might have been done by a child, Xi Zezong was blamed by his colleague Wang Jianmin 王健民, who later left the Cabinet (the concrete name was new information for me) that he had done it himself. He was expelled to sweep the streets and the Red Guards turned his home upside down. This eventually led to his suicide attempt by swallowing insecticide and also by using electricity, after which he was discovered by a neighbour and after notifying his *danwei* (employer) he was transported to a hospital, thus saving his life. As far as this event is concerned, compared to Xi Zezong's oral autobiography, the interview brings more details (for instance on the role of his colleague) and helps to determine which reason of Xi's persecution was more significant.

In 1966, Xi Zezong and his colleague Bo Shuren 薄树人 (1934–1997) prepared for publication a large monograph on the history of Chinese astronomy. I also asked on the fate of this book. It was handed to a publishing house just before the Cultural Revolution broke out and later could not get published. The manuscript was lost for a long time, later it was even rescued literally from a dustbin, then for some time it lay forgotten in the library. Finally, after it was discovered again, it was published with revisions in the 1980s.

As well as Xi Zezong and Wang Shouguan, Chen Jiujin was also sent to the May Seven Cadre School during the Cultural Revolution, but to a different place, to Henan Province. He spent almost one year there cultivating land and building houses. When asked on the reason why the intellectuals were sent to such institutions to be educated by labour, Prof. Chen expressed his opinion that Mao Zedong had regarded these people as worthless and "eating the bread of idleness" (吃闲饭). Generally, in a similar manner to Wang Shouguan, Chen Jiujin also complained on almost no leadership and lack of guidelines on what to do in the Cabinet in their field of research during this period. He literally said "You could come to your

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15 In the mass perception in China, Mao Zedong was regarded as an equivalent to the Sun, so it was unthinkable that it would have "spots" or a "limited lifetime".

workplace to have a chat, playing chess was also possible…writing of articles was not allowed, all the journals were stopped anyway."

Chen Jiujin stressed his belief in materialist theories, however added that it was wrong to connect materialism only with the Communists, because these were two different things as the materialists had existed since the ancient times.

5 Astronomical Research in 1950's and 1960's China

After the Communists officially proclaimed their state in 1949, only a few observatories were active in China. These included the Purple Mountain Observatory in Nanjing 紫金山天文台 (established 1934), the Phoenix Hill Observatory in Kunming 凤凰台 (established 1938) to where several instruments from Purple Mountain were moved after the beginning of Japanese aggression, the observatories of the French missionaries in Shanghai (Xujiahui 徐家汇 – also known as Zi-ka-wei; Sheshan 舍山 – Zô-sè) and the Qingdao Observatory, earlier operated by the Germans. In the capital Beijing, there was only the historical observatory with Jesuit-designed instruments. A modern astronomical observatory was established in the city in 1958.

The level of instrumental equipment was far behind the world's top observatories. This can be seen when we compare the largest reflector telescope in China of that time, located at the Purple Mountain Observatory and having only 60 centimetres in diameter, with the five-meter telescope on Mount Palomar in the US that had for a long time been the largest telescope in the world.

However, the new Chinese government considered astronomy as very important for the national economy. This interest stemmed from its significance for time service, applicable in all layers of society, for cartography, transportation, etc. Later, with the advent of man-made satellites, its role increased even more. The government made large-scale investments in order to build new astronomical facilities. The Beijing Planetarium was opened in 1957 (this was crucial for popularization – as in other socialist countries, the Communists regarded the popularization of astronomy as a very suitable tool to spread the Marxist-Leninist scientific worldview among the masses, to uproot superstition and theories of destiny[16]).

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16 Chen 1957.

The Beijing Observatory was opened in 1958, followed by the Wuchang Time Station in 1962, the Shaanxi Observatory (1966), then by the opening of an astronomical instruments factory in Nanjing and by the construction of the largest optical telescope (2.16 m) for the Xinglong Observatory 兴隆 in Hebei Province in the 1960s. Radio astronomy was introduced to China in 1958.

6 Wang Shouguan王绶琯: From Ship-building to Astrophysics and Radio Astronomy

Wang Shouguan was born in 1923 in Fuzhou, Fujian Province. He studied ship-building in Fuzhou and during his studies he got a scholarship in Great Britain (was there from 1946 till 1953), where his interest turned to astronomy and where he also worked for a short time at the University of London Observatory.

In 1953 he returned back to China and subsequently worked at several observatories in Nanjing (Purple Mountain), Shanghai and Beijing. Later he was sent to improve the country's time service, crucial for the domestic economy, cartography and transportation, and during the 1950s he was sent to the Soviet Union to study how to make photo-electric measurements of the passage of stars through the local meridian, a key instrument for time service. As he mentions in his interviews, "studying from the Soviet Union" 向苏联学习, was present in any scientific discipline in that time.

In 1958 he was re-assigned to be a pioneer of Chinese radio astronomy, it was the year when this discipline in China had just begun. Radio astronomy originated in the US, where in 1931 Karl G. Jansky (rather accidentally) made his first radio astronomical observations.[17] Later on, the Second World War boosted its development as the technologies used in radio telescopes were basically the same as in military radars. In 1960's world astronomy, it was radio astronomy that brought almost all the most important discoveries: quasars, pulsars and the cosmic mi-

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[17] Karl Guthe Jansky (1905–1950) was an engineer at Bell Laboratories who conducted measurements of interferences of weather and ground objects to wireless phones' radio transmissions. He found a source of interference that was located not on the ground but in space that later turned out to be the nucleus of our Galaxy.

crowave background radiation, regarded as evidence of the Big Bang Theory.[18]

Wang helped with choosing an observing site for the joint radio observation of the total solar eclipse in Hainan in 1958. Later, after the Chinese side reached an agreement that the Soviets would leave their radio telescopes in China, he assisted at, as he calls it himself, "copying"复制 of the radio telescopes. However, in 1959, the split between China and the Soviet Union occurred and the Soviet Union requested the return of their radio telescopes. The Chinese side decided to return them, but not including the key elements that they were not able to copy with the technology available at that time.

After the Sino-Soviet split, China turned to another foreign source for building its radio astronomy. It was the Australian engineer and scientist Wilbur Norman Christiansen (1913–2007) who had made the largest contributions to its development in the later period. Christiansen, a deep admirer of Maoism, did not have too much obstacles to visit his Chinese colleagues even during the Cultural Revolution.[19]

Besides the development of radio astronomy in China, Wang Shouguan also speaks on the political and social influences on the work of astronomers in the 1950s and 1960s.

On the Period of Socialist Construction (till 1957), he says that the slogan "get scientific disciplines moving via tasks" 任务带学科 was observed. These tasks were understood as tasks resulting from the natural needs of other disciplines and the country's economy.[20] The slogan was later misunderstood as giving (artificial and exaggerated) tasks to a scientific discipline in order to make it progress. Wang mentions that at least till 1957 most people trusted their political representatives and had no doubt

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[18] Kulhánek 2014, 173–174.

[19] Christiansen, himself a pioneer of radio astronomy, was a brother-in-law of E. F. Hill (1915–1988), the Chairman of the Australian Communist Party. That is why he gained the trust of the highest Party officials in China. He first visited China in 1963 and continued visiting his Chinese colleagues, including Wang Shouguan, even in the period of the Cultural Revolution. During the Cultural Revolution, his Chinese colleagues also visited and studied from him in Australia (Wang Shouguan was there earlier, in 1964).

[20] For example for more precise cartographical mapping it was necessary to develop a more advanced (astronomical) time service.

whether their visions were correct, and the "learning from the Soviets" was generally considered as correct too.

As far as the campaigns occurring at the time of the Great Leap Forward (1957–1961) are concerned, Wang evaluates some of them in a negative way. For example, he mentions political seminars on Newton, when the speaker insisted that the law of inertia (an object not subjected to any net external force persists in rest or moves at a constant velocity) was against dialectical materialism. This made Wang understand that many of these seminars were "complete nonsense" 胡说八道, also saying that he was grateful to his party's secretaries for holding a protective hand over him and sparing him from many difficulties that many others had experienced for example in political campaigns such as Against the Rightists *fan you*反右 in 1957. However, Wang had to participate in political campaigns as did most of the people around him, for instance in 1963 he was sent to Shanxi Province's countryside for eight months as part of the Socialist Education Campaign (also known as Four Clean-ups, 四清). Nonetheless, he does not assess the Great Leap Period only in a negative way, saying that although some large projects did not make much sense[21], the Party directives did provoke science to more intense activity: the Party leaders "commanded and [the people] started to work immediately" 冲一下就干起来. He also adds that while in the Socialist Construction Period an important slogan was to "remedy" or "relieve" 救济, in the Great Leap Period it was rather to "catch-up with and surpass" 赶超.

He assesses the period of the so called Cultural Revolution as a nationwide catastrophe that the governing elite has up to now left over without any reflection and evaluation. However, he also says that he does not have a feeling of a lost thirty years, as many others say. He had to participate in campaigns as did the others, and spent about a year in a "cow-shed"[22] in Miyun. He was accused that in Great Britain he had become a foreign spy and that radio astronomy was "wasting the people's blood and sweat"

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21 He mentions here a project of a huge radio telescope that besides being huge would not have a real effective function, given that the Chinese technology of that time was not able to reach the sufficient precision needed for the shape of the antenna and therefore did not allow for the collection of the desired wavelengths.

22 A make-shift detention centre for class enemies, counter-revolutionaries and other victims of the Cultural Revolution.

浪费人民的血汗. After every-day work in the "cow-shed" all the people studied the Three Old Treatises 老三篇[23] by Mao Zedong. In the remaining time, Wang frequently composed poems, but did not dare to write them down, but only memorized them. As time passed, he realized that the best way to survive was not to speak too much. As the Cultural Revolution approached its end, he also spent one year in the May Seven Cadre School 五七干校[24], as did many of his colleagues.

However, he states here that he had not faced as many serious problems as the others did in this period, probably also because radio astronomy was a "lucky" and strategic discipline due to its technical equipment getting much more significance with the advent of man-made satellites. Just before the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Wang Shouguan was assigned to the Project 651 whose aim was to launch the first Chinese-made satellites. Its team returned to work later during the Revolution, launching the first Chinese satellite "The East Is Red 1" 东方红一号[25] in 1970. This reveals that several strategic scientific disciplines connected to the military or to the space programme were largely saved from the cruelties of the Cultural Revolution. In accordance with other sources,[26] Wang Shouguan mentions that Premier Zhou Enlai had held his protective hand over the Academy of Sciences.

Although radio astronomy was not fully stopped during the Cultural Revolution, in part due to its strategic status and protection by the highest officials, and also kept its contact with the outside world with the help of W. N. Christiansen, Wang Shouguan complains that he and his colleagues in Miyun had practically no guidelines on what to do in their research in the several quite long periods of the Cultural Revolution. Because in this kind of research large-scale coordination is needed, they were even not able to organize a meaningful job for themselves. Almost no observations and scientific research were conducted; they devoted most of their

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[23]   To Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune, How Yugong Moved a Mountain.

[24]   A series of labour-educative institutions called after Chairman Mao's directive drawn out on May 7th 1966, where the intellectuals were held for months and even years doing physical labour.

[25]   The satellite was launched on April 24th, 1970, functioned for 28 days in orbit while broadcasting the song "The East Is Red", actually the national anthem of the PRC at that time.

[26]   Andreas 2009.

time to repairs of existing equipment and to construction of simple instruments. Wang mentions that in certain periods of the Cultural Revolution they even regularly repaired radios for the villagers.

7 Conclusion

The method of oral history has proved to be useful for this topic, and it may bring light to certain facts or links that are not necessarily apparent from the published articles or monographs, to the personal affairs of people involved or their personal experiences. However in this case, apparently more fruits could have been gained, if Prof. Chen had known more exactly what he was expected to speak about, if the sessions were more numerous than one and if it had been possible for some more preparation to have been made in advance.

It is apparent that the scientists doing modern astronomical research or historiography of astronomy were all subjected basically to the same campaigns that presented a hindrance to their research. But in accordance with the conclusion of my previous paper, here it is even more apparent that the more a discipline was considered as a social science, the more ideological campaigns or political persecution it suffered in the 1950s and 1960s, especially from the year 1957.

Radio astronomy was rather considered to be a strategic discipline, it had not fully stopped during the Cultural Revolution (when we disregard some periods of missing leadership and guidelines). Its technology developed from radars and later played a crucial role in the communication with man-made satellites. This programme even celebrated its great successes at that time. Therefore, radio astronomy was a bit more "protected" than the historiography of astronomy, although the historians of astronomy had originally almost the same educational background as radio astronomers but their tasks were rather ideological. One of them, the encouragement of patriotism, was a subject of changing requirements from the governing elite. The Cabinet for Research on History of Natural Sciences used to be subordinated to the Second Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences, so they were to a certain extent a part of propagandist machinery. The historians' work was to a much lesser extent related with the country's prestige towards the outside world, being rather aimed at the domestic audience, not directly related to the country's economy and in no way related to the military.

The research brought some new information on the subject, it allowed me to better understand the mechanism of the directing of science during the campaigns of the Great Leap Forward, to see what kinds of rules and slogans had been expected to be followed and to which situation it eventually led. The interview with Chen Jiujin brought some new information on Xi Zezong's work, his persecution during the Cultural Revolution, it allowed me to determine more precisely what the primary reason for his persecution was and especially it brought forth the name of his colleague who made the worst accusation about him during the Cultural Revolution.

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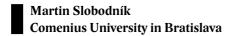
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"*Lamaism, the living anachronism*" – Depiction of Tibetan Buddhism in Czechoslovak Travelogues from the 1950s[1]

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Annotation: *The paper discusses the depiction of Tibetan Buddhism in a number of travelogues written by Czech and Slovak authors (usually writers and journalists who had no academic background in either Tibetan or religious studies) who visited China and Mongolia as official guests in the 1950s. The descriptions of monasteries and temples in these writings (authored by A. Hoffmeiser, R. Moric, L. Mňačko, P. Poucha, K. Beba, V. Sís and J. Vaniš) reflect various stereotyped images of the Marxist critical approaches towards religion as well as some Western negative prejudices about "Lamaism". The author argues that the praiseful assessment of the anti-religious campaign of the communist Chinese government in 1950s in these travelogues served also as an instrument which should have persuaded the Czechoslovak readership that the anti-religious measures unleashed in socialist Czechoslovakia since 1950 were correct. In the concluding part, the author notes that the Czechoslovak criticism of Tibetan Buddhism (and traditional Tibet in general) preceded even the Chinese negative portrayals of pre-1950 Tibet.*
Key words: *China, Tibet, Tibetan Buddhism, Czechoslovak travelogues, 1950s, image of Tibet*

The aim of this article is to provide an analysis of the depiction of Tibetan Buddhism in travelogues written by Czech and Slovak authors who visited China (and partially also Mongolia) during the 1950s. The description of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and temples in these writings is sometimes marginal, but it reflects various stereotyped images of the Marxist critical approaches towards religion (religion as a relic of the past, religion as a product of the oppressive class society, etc.). My contribution is a sequel to the two articles written by Jana Rozehnalová and Luboš Bělka, who also briefly tackled some of the issues I will discuss.[2]

1 Historical and Political Background

The travelogues written by Czech and Slovak authors and published in book form during the 1950s represent an outcome of close cooperation between socialist Czechoslovakia and socialist China, which reached its peak precisely in the 1950s. Czechoslovakia had become a socialist country and a satellite of the Soviet regime after the seizure of power by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in February 1948, and the representatives of the Communist Party of China proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. The ideological proximity of these two socialist countries facilitated large-scale political, economic, and cultural cooperation. It is beyond the scope of this study to provide a detailed analysis of the initial period of Czechoslovak-Chinese relations,[3] but the political context played a crucial role because cultural cooperation (which included the visits of Czech and Slovak writers and journalists) was conditioned by the close political partnership between the two regimes. To a certain extent, cultural exchanges were a spinoff of the contacts established within the highest echelon of government officials and party leaders.

The first cultural agreement between Czechoslovakia and the People's Republic of China was signed in spring 1952, when the Czechoslovak governmental delegation led by Václav Kopecký, Minister of Information, visited China. This agreement launched a close and vivid cooperation between these two socialist countries: Czechoslovakia was visited by Chinese writ-

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2 Rozehnalová 2008; Bělka 2015.
3 So far, very few scholarly works have dealt with the political and economic relations between China and Czechoslovakia in the 1950s – see Trhlík 1985; Litera 2007.

ers, filmmakers, painters, actors, dance and music ensembles, a number of modern Chinese literary works (written by leftist and communist authors) was translated into Czech, and representatives of the Czechoslovak "cultural front" made reciprocal visits to China.[4]

Knowledge of China in Czechoslovakia was scarce[5] and once the People's Republic of China joined the socialist bloc in October 1949 the need came about for bridging the gap between the citizens of Czechoslovakia and this geographically and culturally distant country. This would build a sense of brotherhood between these two nations which were jointly – under the leadership of the Soviet Union – building socialism and defending peace against "imperialist aggressors". Travelogues written by Slovak and Czech authors, which were published either in book form or in journals and newspapers, became an important propaganda tool as they bore witness to China's progress, and thus contributed to overcoming the barrier of ignorance between the two "friendly nations". Authentic reportage and literary travelogues provided the general public with insights into a country which, unless one was one of its prominent guests, was only open to be visited by a very limited few. These state-sponsored trips for Czech and Slovak pro-regime authors, who generally were not previously very knowledgeable about China, resulted in the publishing of travelogues commissioned by state and party authorities. These works represented part of the mandatory "publication output" for the prominent writers, and were to serve for the education of the masses.

Due to this political context, it is understandable that these travelogues are characterized by an idealized image of China full of enthusiasm for the building of socialism in China while all the negative experiences during their stays in China were consciously (through self-censorship) excluded from their accounts,[6] or were later eliminated by censors, as

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4   Cultural exchanges between Czechoslovakia and China have so far been discussed only in a preliminary manner – see Dřímalová 2009. Michaela Pejčochová provides a good overview focused only on the fine arts (Pejčochová 2008).

5   *"Until recently everything about this country was enwrapped by the mystery of the enormous distance which separated us"* (Čech, Jasný and Kachyňa 1954, 16). For a good overview on the knowledge about China in the late 19th century Czech society, see Suchomel and Suchomelová 2011, 81–118.

6   A remarkable critical assessment of the positive images of China disseminated by the Czechoslovak propaganda can be found in the so far unpublished travel diary of the ar-

these books were published (often in quite numerous print runs in order to secure a large readership) in state-owned and state-controlled publishing houses.

Two visits were crucial with regard to the dissemination of information about China through travelogues. In the summer and autumn of 1952 the Vít Nejedlý Military Art Ensemble toured China. Czech members of this delegation published the first travelogues about PRC in book form.[7] The largest Czechoslovak cultural delegation visited the PRC from 23 September until 11 December 1953[8], and it included a number of prominent writers e.g. Adolf Hoffmeister, Vojtech Mihálik, Vladimír Mináč, Pavel Kohout, Marie Majerová, Marie Pujmanová), the painter Mária Medvecká, the director of the National Gallery in Prague, Vladimír Novotný, the theatre director and actor Andrej Bagar, and the sinologist Danuška Šťovíčková.[9]

In order to comprehend the historical circumstances of these visits we have to briefly mention the political situation in China in the 1950s.

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chaeologist and art historian Lumír Jisl, who visited China and Mongolia in 1957–1958. Due to the fact that his writings were not intended for the general public, he did not restrain himself by the ideological limits of the socialist regime. Shortly before his departure from Beijing L. Jisl confronted his experience with the perception of China in the Czech travelogues of the period: *"In the afternoon I took a walk in the living quarters of the poor people. In my whole life I have never seen such poverty as I encountered here—not only in Beijing, but anywhere* [in China] *where I went—during the last five months. These people are just struggling to survive. And one has to say their living standards are higher than before the Liberation. (…) But who will be the first to write about this? The official guests, such as Hoffmeister, Majerová, etc. just frequent one bacchanal banquet after another. What do they know about the real, genuine China with its hundreds of millions of people?"* (Jisl 1958, 8 February 1958 in Beijing).

7   Čech, Jasný and Kachyňa 1954; Skála 1954. During this tour the documentary film *Lidé jednoho srdce* [People of One Heart] (1953, directors: Karel Kachyňa, Vojtěch Jasný) was made.

8   Pejčochová 2008, 31.

9   Later in the 1950s several other Czech and Slovak journalists and writers visited China and published travel accounts. Their stays in China were also organized by the Chinese government and they were dispatched to China on official visits by Czechoslovak unions of journalists or writers. Below I will refer to the writings of Slovak authors Rudo Moric (who visited China in autumn 1956 on his way to Vietnam) and Ladislav Mňačko (he went to China and Mongolia in autumn 1956). The topic of Czech and Slovak travelogues about China was briefly tackled by Anton Lauček (Lauček 2009) and Tiziana D'Amico (D'Amico 2009). For a recent analysis of the image of China in these travelogues see Slobodník 2015.

The Communist Party of China seized power in October 1949 and after the initial stabilization of the situation and the establishment of the new regime's authority in all parts of China (with the exception of Taiwan), the Beijing government started to implement socialist reforms in the economy (land reforms, confiscation of large industries, etc.) and citizens were exposed to vigorous Marxist propaganda, which accelerated the class struggle against the class of "exploiters" (landowners, bourgeois owners of big businesses, high officials of the expelled Kuomintang 国民党 regime). Later, the political struggle also focused on internal enemies, such as communist officials displaying too little loyalty and too much critical reasoning, and representatives of the laboring population of peasants and workers whose adherence to the new regime was questioned. Despite the fact that the Chinese economy – after the prolonged war against Japan in 1937–45 and the subsequent civil war in 1945–49 – was to a certain degree consolidated, the Czechoslovak visitors in the 1950s reported on a poor and backward country. Yet the Chinese authorities were able to swiftly establish a totalitarian state which was persecuting millions of its inhabitants.[10]

The approach of socialist China towards religions reflected the Marxist dogmas about the gradual extinction of religion after the establishment of a classless socialist society. Despite the fact that the Common Program (*gongtong gangling* 共同纲领), formulated in September 1949, as well as the Chinese Constitution, approved in 1954, formally guaranteed the freedom of religious beliefs, starting from 1950 a large-scale anti-religious campaign unfolded: the land reform law approved in June 1950 openly declared the goal to confiscate the land holdings of religious institutions (monasteries and temples) as the possession of this property was labelled as "*religious feudal privileges*". These measures had a very negative impact on the existence of religious communities as they were depraved of the economic basis necessary for their survival. The land was redistributed among peasants, and the monks and nuns were also forced to participate in productive labor. In cities and towns the buildings of monasteries and temples were often turned into factories, schools or canteens. Due to this policy of the new Chinese government the number of religious professionals

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10 For a detailed analysis of the tragic process of the establishment of communist power in China in the 1950s see Dikkötter 2013.

dramatically reduced during the 1950s and by 1959 only 10% prevailed. However, the situation of Tibetan Buddhist communities in China was different, due to the special status of Tibet which was stipulated in the so-called 17-Point Agreement about the "peaceful liberation" of Tibet signed by the representatives of Beijing and Lhasa in May 1951, Tibetan Buddhism enjoyed a high degree of autonomy and the harsh religious policy was implemented only as late as the summer of 1958.[11] Thus the Czech and Slovak authors during their stay in China visited on one hand the Chinese religious institutions which were already decimated by the coercive state policy, and on the other hand Tibetan religious institutions which in China surprisingly still continued their existence even under the rule of an atheist socialist regime.

2 Tibetan Buddhism in the Eyes of Czechoslovak Authors

In comparison with the depiction of Chinese religions,[12] Slovak and Czech writers described Tibetan Buddhism in a more negative way. Most of the authors never visited areas inhabited by Tibetans on the Tibetan Plateau and they encountered Tibetan Buddhism only briefly: either in Beijing at the so-called Lama Temple (Yonghegong 雍和宫) which became an obligatory stop of these state-organized visits, or during their short stay in the Mongolian capital Ulaanbaatar,[13] where most of the official delegations spent a couple of days, as the flight from Moscow to Beijing had to make a stopover there. The depiction of Tibetan Buddhism in the Czechoslovak travelogues from the 1950s represents a remarkable mixture of the Marxist critic of religion and the negative stereotypes about Tibetan Buddhism which originated in Western Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

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11   For an analysis of the religious policy in China in the 1950s with special focus on Tibetan Buddhism see Slobodník 2009. The article includes a list of relevant academic publications about this issue.

12   I will deal with the depiction of Chinese religions in these travelogues in a separate article.

13   The liquidation of Tibetan Buddhism in the Mongolian People's Republic in the early 1930s followed the Soviet pattern but some religious sites (monasteries, temples; especially in the Mongolian capital) were preserved as an example of the tolerant religious policy or they were turned into museums. For details see Grollová and Zikmundová 2001, 176–179.

Adolf Hoffmeister perceived the role of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolian history in a very negative way, as according to him, in the past *"the Lamaist Church had grown as mould in the land (…) Every family was leashed by its member – monk to the Church and to the monastery. The Church had an agitator in every family. Thus half of the laboring force dropped out – and the economy perished."*[14] Religion represented the main obstacle of socioeconomic progress in Mongolia also for Ladislav Mňačko, who during his stay in Ulaanbaatar mused about the history of the country: *"…the vitality of this ancient country was undermined by the Lamaist beliefs"* which resulted in the complete pacification of the Mongols.[15] The negative perception towards Tibetan Buddhism can be illustrated also by the short description of Rudo Moric about his visit in the Yonghegong temple: *"A group of monks has been already seated on low benches. Their clean-shaven skulls are glittering, their yellow and red robes are dark from dirt. Reportedly these monks do not wash themselves for the whole of life. In the past I have heard the roar of grumbling bees. A similar sound was produced by the monks (…) We could not withstand to stay until the end. The time is passing extremely slowly when one listens to the monotonous sound."*[16]

A. Hoffmeister and L. Mňačko while describing Mongolia in the 1950s praise the triumph of atheism over religion, which in their understanding reflects the victory of socialist reforms over tradition: *"The country which lies so close to the sky has become a country without the god."*[17] And this motif concludes also the chapter on Mongolia in the travelogues written by L. Mňačko: *"It is better to be a human being than a reincarnated god. Mongolian people have understood it regardless of the fact whether the golden Buddha in the center of the Lamaist temple is smiling or is knitting his brows. His time will never again return."*[18]

The negative Western approach towards Tibetan Buddhism which preceded the Marxist criticism of religion can be found in the following quotations. A. Hoffmeister summarized his impressions from Mongolian Buddhist monasteries and temples in this way: "*In the temples the cruel,*

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14 Hoffmeister 1956, 42.
15 Mňačko 1958, 280–281.
16 Moric 1958, 34.
17 Hoffmeister 1956, 46.
18 Mňačko 1958, 285.

Picture 1: "*Now the monasteries are empty. Witnesses of the past...*"[19]

menacing, revengeful and bloody religion of Tibet riots (...) The sculptures stand handcuffed and the golden goddesses lasciviously copulate on altars."[20] L. Mňačko described the 8th Jibzundampa Khutugtu, who was until his death in 1924 the highest religious authority in Mongolia,[21] with

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[19] Original description of the photography by the author of the travelogue who noted the annihilation of the religion in Mongolia with a certain satisfaction. Ladislav Mňačko took this photograph in Ulaanbaatar on his way back to Czechoslovakia (Mňačko 1958, appendix with black and white photos).

[20] Hoffmeister 1956, 48.

[21] For more on him see Atwood 2004, 269–271.

following words: *"Undignified, syphilitic old crock, master of foolish tricks and various filthy magic."*[22] These direct references to magic and cruelty, as well as sexual interpretations of Tibetan Buddhist art reflected the distorted image of Tibetan Buddhism in the West, which can be traced back to the negative presentation of the Tibetan religion in the monograph by the British explorer, army surgeon and Tibetologist L. A. Waddell titled *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* published in 1895, where Tibetan Buddhism is presented as primitive "Lamaism" – a corrupt form of Indian Buddhism which he associated with devil worship and the overall degeneration of religious practice.[23] According to this understanding, Tibetan Buddhism (i.e. "Lamaism") represented the exact opposite of the earlier "pure" scholastic Buddhism of the early Theravada and Mahayana Indian Buddhist texts. Thus A. Hoffmeister and L. Mňačko – consciously or unconsciously – continued this tradition of Western critical approach towards Tibetan Buddhism.

A distinctive depiction of Tibetan Buddhism can be found in the travelogue written by Pavel Poucha, who was a scholar in the field of Mongolian, Tibetan and Indian studies. Pavel Poucha was the only Czechoslovak visitor of China (and Mongolia) in the 1950s who published travelogue with a sound background in Asian studies. He did not speak Chinese, but his knowledge about the history of East Asia and Buddhism was wide.[24] He went to China in 1957 (on invitation by the Chinese Academy of Sciences) and he was able to visit also two important monasteries in the northeastern part of the Tibetan Plateau: Kumbum (*sku 'bum*) and Labrang (*bla brang*). His background in Asian studies is obvious also from the fact, that while describing these two monasteries, P. Poucha regularly referred to the published works of the German explorer Wilhelm Filchner, German traveler Albert Tafel and the travelogue written by the Russian traveler Grigoriy N. Potanin – these authors

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22 Mňačko 1958, 282

23 For a compelling discussion on this negative perception of Tibetan Buddhism in the late 19th century, see Lopez 1998, 35–39.

24 Although it is outside of the scope of this article, it is worth mentioning that P. Poucha – as the only Czechoslovak visitor in China in the 1950s – mentioned the presence of Islam on Chinese territory. P. Poucha visited Xinjiang 新疆 and also briefly described the existence of the Hui community in Beijing (Poucha 1962, 127, 160, 256).

visited northeastern Tibet in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[25] Due to this Poucha provided the reader mainly with solid descriptive information and it was not his intention to evaluate Tibetan Buddhism either in a positive or negative way.

During the description of Labrang, P. Poucha mentioned: *"Reportedly altogether there are about three thousand lamas residing here. Here the Lamaist Buddhist monkhood still flourishes. One cannot see any deviation from it. One has really to wonder, how it is still possible in contemporary world."*[26] However, in some parts of his travels through northeastern Tibet, we can see some critical approaches towards Tibetan Buddhism which probably resulted more from the rational scientific perspective of the author than his compliance with Marxist criticism of religion. Poucha stressed the alleged mechanical ritual praxis of Tibetan Buddhism[27] and after he returned from the Tibetan areas around Labrang to the part of the Gansu Province inhabited by Han-Chinese, he stated: *"All of us were happy, when we returned from the dangerous trip to a different world, to the world of mountainous solitude and differently thinking people, to the relatively safe and comfortable Hezheng* [和政]*, we returned to modern times which were putting down the roots even in this part of China."*[28] During the visit of the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, P. Poucha noted the laicization of sangha: *"After the liberation* [in 1949] *due to the influence of the unrestrained thinking many monks left the monasteries, they got married and live a civil life. Therefore only 17 Buddhist monasteries remained here and some 500 lamas live in them."*[29] Poucha's neutral and scientific description of Tibetan Buddhism shifted during his visit in the Yonghegong temple, which was obviously a disappointment for him: *"Lamaism is in a state of complete degeneration even though a lot of money was spent on the renovation of temples. Lamaistic Buddhism is alien to Chinese thought, the lucid intellect of the Chinese people revolted even against the non-Lamaistic forms of Buddhism."*[30]

25 Poucha 1962, 76–79, 179–190.

26 Poucha 1962, 187.

27 Poucha 1962, 186.

28 Poucha 1962, 189.

29 Poucha 1962, 208.

30 Poucha 1962, 259.

A very peculiar and detailed depiction of Tibetan Buddhism can be found in the travelogues of those Czech authors, who in the mid-1950s had the rare opportunity to visit Central Tibet. These trips organized by the Chinese government enabled them to provide to the Czechoslovak readership extensive evidence about the state of Tibetan culture and religion during that period. In distinction with the above mentioned authors, in these travelogues Tibetan Buddhism represents one of the central themes, as it was the basis of Tibetan ethno-religious identity and Tibetan material and spiritual culture. During the 1st half of the 1950s, Tibetan society had not yet underwent various socialist socio-economic reforms and the traditional character of Tibetan society prevailed.

The Czech journalist Karel Beba visited Lhasa together with other journalists from socialist countries and China correspondents of Western communist newspapers in the summer of 1955. Similarly as P. Poucha, K. Beba also stressed the allegedly mechanical ritual praxis in Tibet: *"Lamaism, this living anachronism, is probably the most mechanical religion in the world. Nobody requests from the Lamaist believer during the prayer any religious fervor, meditation, deep thinking or similar things. What matters is quantity: the more the better."*[31] The very existence of religion in Tibet embodied for K. Beba the medieval dark ages and according to him Tibetans lived *"more or less in the period of Ottokar I of Bohemia* [king of Bohemia, he ruled in the late 12th and early 13th centuries]*."*[32] The visit to the Sera (*se ra*) monastery near Lhasa was a kind of journey through time: *"We enter – and it is like we would turn clock hands some six hundred years back. We are in Middle Ages."*[33] Beba's description of Tibetan ritual praxis reflected the cultural gap (and to a certain degree also sarcasm) between the communist journalist and local pious inhabitants – this is how he described to the reader a pilgrim who was doing typical prostrations: *"Man – like a worm, completely alone, abandoned and lost between sky and earth, measured with his own body the journey to the Holy town. They told us, that such a pilgrimage lasts about three years. Afterwards in Lhasa the honorary title of lama is bestowed on the pilgrim. Just imagine:* lama honoris causa*!!"*[34]

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[31] Beba 1958, 37.

[32] Beba 1958, 34, 42.

[33] Beba 1958, 165.

[34] Beba 1958, 63.

According to K. Beba, Tibetan Buddhism is the source of the *"most fanatic prejudices"* and the only solution in order to "cure" Tibetans is science: *"The scientific truth is a huge magic wand, which may awaken Tibet from a century-long incantation; the world of an average Tibetan is controlled by nightmares, demons, monsters, ghosts and devil. There are so many of them as the feverish fantasy of a sick child who was left alone in a dark room is able to produce."*[35]

As stated in the introductory part of the travelogue, from the perspective of K. Beba *"Tibet lives in the stage of early feudalism, a peculiar form of it. (…) Due to the strange caprices of history, in Tibet a curious form of ecclesiastical feudal dictatorship developed. (…) To a certain degree even some remains of the slavery were preserved here."*[36] The preservation of traditional religious institutions and an exploitative class society in a socialist country ruled by a communist party obviously posed an ideological problem for K. Beba which was necessary to explain to the Czechoslovak readers in order to disperse their potential doubts: *"What kind of nonsense is this? To cuddle with monks and feudal lords? Or do you want a socialist Tibet governed by an ecclesiastical and aristocratic coalition? (…) When examining the situation in contemporary Tibet we certainly will not manage only with those viewpoints which we are accustomed to use at home. We have to look for such standpoints which reflect the specific situation in Tibet. (…) Even Chinese Marxists when solving the Tibetan issue were not able to apply those solutions, which were otherwise so successful in Chinese revolution."*[37] Despite the fact that the socialist revolution had not yet succeeded in Tibet, the future was bright: *"We would certainly agree that it will better, if in the future the turbines of power stations rotate in Tibet instead of prayer wheels, and if from the Tibetan mountains up to the sky not the prayers will fly up on the wings of smoke, but solid interplanetary ships for which the Tibetan Plateau is an optimal launching site."*[38]

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[35] Beba 1958, 13. K. Beba contrasted the superstitions represented by Tibetan traditional culture (and especially by religion) and modern science also when describing traditional Tibetan medicine and modern Western medicine practiced in Lhasa by Chinese doctors (Beba 1958, 136–137, 142).

[36] Beba 1958, 39.

[37] Beba 1958, 266.

[38] Beba 1958, 265.

The Czech film director Vladimír Sís together with the cameraman and photographer Josef Vaniš (both were employed by the state-owned company Czechoslovak Military Film) visited Lhasa in 1954, but the travelogue *Země zastaveného času* [The Country where Time Stopped] co-written by them was published as late as in 1959.[39] The goal of their visit was to prepare – in cooperation with Chinese filmmakers – a documentary film about the laborious construction of the road connecting Lhasa with Sichuan.[40] When describing Tibetan Buddhism, V. Sís and J. Vaniš restrained from any ideological criticism. In comparison with the second travelogue from Tibet available to the Czechoslovak readership (the above mentioned book by K. Beba), Sís and Vaniš provided a more unbiased description and they endeavored to understand the unfamiliar culture and people which they were able to observe. Despite the Czech title of their travelogue – The Country where Time Stopped – mostly they managed to avoid the traditional *topoi* which described Tibet as a society "hibernated" in the Middle Ages. Starting from the description of the first Tibetan Buddhist temple which they visited in Eastern Tibet (Kham) they attempted to sketch a more poetic image of Tibet and they stressed the mysterious character of Tibetan monasteries and its Buddhist art.[41] The depiction of their meeting with the 14th Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso (*bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho*), whom they met on his way to Beijing where he participated in the first session of Chinese parliament in autumn 1954, reflects their respect towards this high Buddhist dignitary.[42] Their travelogue is much more intimate and it illustrates the personal interest of both authors who – despite the language barrier and only limited knowledge about Tibet – strived to comprehend Tibetan culture and religion. Sís and Vaniš devoted special chapters to detailed descriptions of their visits to the two most important Tibetan Buddhist sites in Lhasa, namely the Potala palace and the Jokhang temple.

39 They already published in 1958 the book *Tibet*, a volume with pictures taken during their trip to Lhasa (Sís and Vaniš 1958). The travelogue published in 1959 was translated into Slovak in 1960 under the changed title *Tajomný Tibet* [Mysterious Tibet]. Due to the scarcity of information about the situation in Tibet, their book was later (in 1970) even translated into English under the title *On the Road through Tibet* (Sís and Vaniš 1970).

40 The documentary movie was finished in 1954 under the title *Cesta vede to Tibetu* [The Road Leads to Tibet] (director: Vladimír Sís).

41 Sís and Vaniš 1959, 56–57.

42 Sís and Vaniš 1959, 99–104.

They describe these holy places with admiration and they praise the traditional Buddhist art preserved in them.[43] The travelogue is concluded by the poem "Vyznanie" [Confession] in which both authors express their love to Tibet (especially to its nature and common people) and in the last verse they voiced their wish to visit Tibet again, which, however, never materialized.[44] Though, even in the travelogue of V. Sís and J. Vaniš there are some instances where the negative attitude towards religions prevalent during this period, can be traced. The Buddhist ritual is characterized as a *"barbarous spectacle"*[45] and in the same way as other authors they contrasted the old tradition with the approaching reforms of the socialist state: *"But the days, when the preserved darkness of religious fanaticism will give ground to the light of knowledge, are unstoppably approaching."*[46] The closing paragraphs of the travelogue described street-scenes from Lhasa, where such attributes of modernity (a direct result of the incorporation of Tibet into China in 1951) as lorries or cinemas symbolized the coming changes: *"The pendulum of the stopped time started to swing."*[47]

3 Conclusion

The above mentioned remarks about Tibetan Buddhism illustrate that for the majority of the pro-regime communist authors religion embodied the heritage of the past which was definitely doomed for annihilation. The authors in their travelogues often use the dichotomy of the gloomy past (i.e. China before the so-called "liberation" by the Chinese Communist Party in 1949) and the bright socialist present time (and especially future). Religions in general are in this context perceived as residues of history and according to the authors the gradual extinction of religions proved the progress of socialist reforms. However, according to my opinion the Marxist criticism of religion in China served another propagandistic goal – it should

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43 Sís and Vaniš 1959, 121–139. On the contrary, K. Beba when writing about the Potala palace, the traditional seat of the Dalai Lamas, stressed the gloominess of the rooms and halls he visited and in general negative impressions prevail in his depiction of Potala (Beba 1958, 148).

44 Sís and Vaniš 1959, 149.

45 Sís and Vaniš 1959, 67.

46 Sís and Vaniš 1959, 136.

47 Sís and Vaniš 1959, 147.

have conveyed to the Czechoslovak readership that the anti-religious and atheistic campaigns carried on in Czechoslovakia also in the 1950s were correct and inevitable as they formed a part of a global solution of the "religious question" in socialist countries as illustrated by the Chinese example.[48] The positive description of the annihilation of religion in China should have solicited support from the Slovak and Czech readers for the active participation in anti-religious campaign in Czechoslovakia.

According to the Czechoslovak authors the "religious question" in China represented a less serious issue than it was the case in Czechoslovakia. Ladislav Mňačko described Buddhism as a "lesser evil": *"Buddhism has not been so dangerous for the state as the political and ecclesiastical system of Vatican for European countries."*[49] Karel Beba – despite his harsh criticism of "Lamaism" – used Tibetan Buddhism as a positive example in comparison with the Roman Catholic Church: *"It is absolutely impossible to compare the system of Lamaist monasteries, which are at the same time universities of Lamaism, with the system of Roman Catholic monasteries, where there is a strict monitoring of any thoughts in the heads of monks and nuns and where everything which contradicts the dogmas is mercilessly suppressed."*[50]

The communist Minister of Information Václav Kopecký documented in his book a remarkable Chinese reflection of Czechoslovak propaganda: *"Chinese friends remonstrated against this film, because it depicted religious rituals of Buddhist lamas which took place in Tibet in the way as it would take place in Chinese environs and as if the Chinese people would be addicted to a kind of religious insanity."*[51] It is a short but interesting comment which opens some new research questions. First of all it is apparent that the Czechoslovak propaganda on China (in this case in the form of a documentary movie) was monitored by the Chinese government which aired its disappointment about its content. The above mentioned comment was made about the documentary film *Čína v boji* [China in Struggle] directed by Emanuel Kaněra. It was the first Czechoslovak documentary

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48 On the coercive religious policy in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s see Pešek and Barnovský, 1997; Pešek and Barnovský, 1999.

49 Mňačko 1958, 183.

50 Beba 1958, 79.

51 Kopecký 1953, 40.

about communist China and it was released as soon as in March 1950 (i.e. only five months after the foundation of the PRC). It provided the viewers with a brief introduction to the Chinese past with a special focus on the construction of socialism since 1 October 1949. The Czech director E. Kaněra acknowledged the collaboration with Chinese cameramen who supplied him with some material they shot in China. The sequence from Lhasa is short (ca. 2 minutes) but it is strange that it was included in a documentary dedicated to China in the period when Central Tibet was by far not under the authority of the new communist government in Beijing (although the goal to "liberate" Tibet was declared already in January 1950) and Lhasa was inaccessible for the Chinese cameramen. Therefore it is a bizarre twist of history that the scenes from Lhasa in the Czechoslovak communist propaganda about socialist China in the documentary *Čína v boji* [China in Struggle] were taken (without any reference) from the German documentary *Geheimnis Tibet* [The Secret of Tibet] released in 1943 and co-directed by Ernst Schäfer and Hans-Albert Lettow who made use of the film material shot during the ill-famed Nazi expedition led by E. Schäfer in 1938–1939.[52]

However, not only the visual aspect of the Tibetan sequence of the documentary *Čína v boji* [China in Struggle] is interesting, but also the commentary of the narrator – Tibet is described in a very negative way as a place where the palaces and monasteries *"were built for priests and lamas who elevated themselves to the rank of deities in order to benefit from the ignorance of the poor people"* while *"for the poor people often only club and heavy shackles remained"*. In Czechoslovak (see also the above mentioned quotations from Beba's travelogue) propaganda the negative image of Tibet preceded Chinese one-sided harsh criticism of the pre-1950 Tibet by several years. Whereas the Czechoslovak authors criticized the traditional Tibetan socio-economic system (including the political and economic privileges of the monasteries) which was preserved even after the "peaceful liberation" in 1951,[53] the Chinese government opted for cooperation

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[52] I am indebted for this noteworthy information to my colleague Dr. Luboš Bělka (Department for the Study of Religions, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic) who compared these two documentaries and came to this conclusion.

[53] Soviet authors (their booklets were translated also into Czech) also voiced sharp criticism on the role of religion in Tibetan society – see Alexandrov 1950, 14; Jusov 1954, 43. Both

with the traditional political and Buddhist elites until the late 1950s. Only after the failed anti-Chinese uprisings which started in the summer of 1958 in the periphery of the Tibetan Plateau and ended in Lhasa in March 1959 with the escape of the 14th Dalai Lama to India, did the Chinese government revoke the guarantees of the 17-Point Agreement[54] and launched a radical socialist reform of Tibetan society during which traditional Tibet was officially labelled "hell on earth".[55]

Soviet authors stressed the idolatry of "Lamaism" which is according to B. Jusov the reason for the backwardness of Tibetans as it helped to petrify the exploitative character of Tibetan society.

54 For the text see e.g. China.org.cn 2005.

55 On Chinese propaganda about traditional Tibet see Heberer 2001; Slobodník 2006, 88–103.

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Society

Taiwan as the Promised Land? The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and Its Struggle for Inculturation[1]

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Annotation: The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) is not just a religious organization, but also a movement for social change and political rights. The church is very active in many different social events, such as charity, education, health care... The church has proclaimed to become a prophet for the Taiwanese nation and a critic of social and political iniquity. If inculturation is the intentional transmission of a system of ideas and values from one culture to another, then the PCT's Christian ideas (which are specific, but I realize are not Western anymore) represent the system of cultural values that are trying to be passed to Taiwanese culture. This system includes not only religious beliefs, but also other cultural or political ideas. During the process of inculturation, which can be observed in statements and documents of the PCT, it is easy to see how important legitimization is, because it provides the church with recognition – and the church´s ideas can be transferred only if they are widespread and identified. The questions that this paper aims to answer are how exactly has the PCT established legitimacy for its social involvement, which strategies has the PCT used, and if the problem of legitimacy is connected to the process of inculturation.
Key words: Christianity, Protestantism, Taiwan, Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (台灣基督長老教會), legitimization strategies, inculturation

1 Introduction

The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) is the oldest existing and the largest protestant denomination in Taiwan.[2] The PCT is seen not only as a religious group, but also as a movement for social change and political rights. The church is very active in many different social events, such as charity, education and modern health care. It has built up a highly-focused social welfare designed to help different communities.[3] The PCT has earned very high prestige also because of its political activism: it fights for human rights, democratization and Taiwan's national identity. They also provide help during natural disasters.[4]

Under the Kuomintang (KMT) government the PCT was forced to use Mandarin Chinese during sermons instead of the Taiwanese vernacular that was used before.[5] Many of the Presbyterian members – prominent leaders in the local community – were also victims persecuted in the '2–28 Incident' of 1947.[6] In the 1970s the PCT realized that for Taiwan it was necessary to reach human rights, democracy and self-government. Therefore Presbyterians became very effective political and social activists. They started to publish public statements concerning the current situation. Such public statements are analysed in this study. Some important documents (重要文獻) of the PCT written in 1971–1990 are used. The main topics of the chosen documents are the usage of local languages, human rights, rights of aboriginal people and religious freedom. Differences between the English written and Chinese written statements are also reflected.

2 Theoretical Foundations

In the beginning, Christian doctrines were not easily separable from Western culture and ideas. However, for better missionary work it

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2 Amae 2012, 48.
3 Rubinstein 2003, 246.
4 Rubinstein 2003, 245–246.
5 Amae 2012, 51.
6 Amae 2007, 63. Rubinstein 1991, 28. '2-28 Incident' (Er-er-ba Incident) refers to the incident, when police beat up a woman illegally selling cigarettes. This led to a rebellion and attacks on Nationalist troops. Protests were very strongly suppressed – at least 5000 Taiwanese died, but some estimates are as high as 20 000. Furthermore many intellectuals and social leaders were arrested and eliminated. This event is also called the 'Taiwanese holocaust'.

was needed to build an indigenized church.[7] In this paper I argue, that the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) tries to connect the Christian faith with Taiwan's cultural and historical context through inculturation strategies.

For the purpose of this paper, inculturation is understood as a similar process to acculturation – a process of long-term influential contact between two different cultures, during which both cultures are changed.[8] Every culture is a system, in which elements are transformed during such contact. In any circumstances there is one culture that borrows some elements from the other, and the contribution of one or another culture is not equal.[9] The difference between inculturation and acculturation is, that acculturation represents an unconscious spontaneous process. In contrast, inculturation is not spontaneous or natural, it is an intended process. We can consider it to be a special kind of communication, when some ideas and values are transmitted.[10] Inculturation is an "intimate transformation of authentic cultural values through their integration in Christianity and the insertion of Christianity in the various human cultures".[11]

3 Legitimacy as an Inculturation Strategy in the PCT's Statements and Documents

I suppose that legitimization can be considered as the first step towards inculturation, because it provides recognition to the church, and the church's ideas can be transferred only if they are widespread. The importance of the legitimizing process has been described as:

> The key of marketing religion is creating the perception of credibility. […] The perception of legitimacy does not have to be broadly shared by [all] society, but must be shared by a segment of the population large enough […] the credibility of founders' religious commitments and

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7 Lin 1988, 81.

8 Vodáková 2005, 95.

9 Boudon 2004, 9.

10 Gallo and Magliola and McLean 2003, 8.

11 Aleaz 2011, 234.

the movement's perceived legitimacy jointly determine the viability and growth of religious [groups].[12]

In this paper I would like to focus mainly on this problem – legitimization as the first step of the inculturation process. I would like to point out types of legitimization strategies, which are the most frequent in statements.

One of the strategies, which can be found in the statements, is religious argumentation based on Christianity. This is an obvious argumentation, natural for religious groups, because religious arguments maintain socially defined reality by legitimating any situations in terms of their all-encompassing sacred reality.[13] It means, that for some people religious beliefs can justify even such argumentations, which are not about religious problems. It is not surprising, that the authors of the statements have used the Bible and Christian God as the ultimate argument. However, authors have not been satisfied only with religious arguments. They have employed double argumentation: 語言乃人類與生俱來的天賦，是上帝所給予的恩賜，為人類存在自我肯定的基本條件，也是人類歷史文化的精髓。[Language is an inherent human gift (talent), it is a God-given (bestowed) gift, is the basic condition for human existence, self-affirmation, also it is the essence of human history, culture (civilization)].[14] In this double argumentation, the first one is the argument that language is a gift from God (argument based on religious belief) and the second argument stresses language as an important part of human culture, history and very existence (not a religious argument). The first refers to the special status that is attributed to particular matters within the interpretation of the Christian faith. Subsequently follows the argument, which highlights the secular importance of culture and civilization. This style of argumentation can persuade one even more. It is used in the official statements of the PCT almost systematically – it shows, how important this strategy is. We cannot forget that these statements were written by more authors, often in cooperation with foreign missionaries. It is a reflected and sophisticated text representing the opinion of the whole PCT. It can be seen in another example, where we can observe a semantic difference between

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12   Miller 2002, 441.

13   Berger 1990, 44.

14   1985 Our Position towards "The Language Law".

the Chinese original document and its English version: 我們反對任何國家罔顧台灣地區一千五百萬人民的人權與意志，只顧私利而作出任何違反人權的決定。人權既是上帝所賜予，人民自有權利決定他們自己的命運。[We oppose any nation without concerning human rights and the will of fifteen million people in Taiwan to be interested only in its own (selfish) interests and to make any decision against human rights. Human rights are both – given by God and (also) the people's own right to decide their own destiny].[15] The English version is different: "We oppose any powerful nation [...] making unilateral decisions to their own advantage, because God ordained, and the United Nations Charter has affirmed, that every people has the right to determine its own destiny."[16] The difference is very significant and the United Nation Charter is mentioned only in the English version. It seems, that the authors of the text thought that it would be an important reference only when the statement was addressed to the whole world and to all nations. In both versions it is obvious that religious argumentation is not enough. Because of the importance of the UN in the international sphere, it is combined with the reference on the United Nations Charter affirmation. I assume that the authors of the statements have realized that proof which is satisfactory for Christians, could be insufficient for other people to whom the statement has also been addressed. Double argumentation can be considered as a conscious strategy. This conscious strategy is connected with inculturation, because it is a kind of communication, when some ideas and values are transmitted.

The second strategy to gain legitimacy is comparison. Comparison is one of the basic characteristic of human thoughts, through comparing things we can understand concepts around us better and easier.[17] Therefore it is a very simple strategy to show and easily explain the situation in Taiwan. The PCT have used comparison in several written statements – English as well as Chinese. The PCT have compared the situation in Taiwan concerning threats from communist China to the situation in Europe: "[T]aiwan may share the tragic fate of people in countries of eastern Europe which have been oppressed by communism".[18] Later

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15 1971 Our National Fate.

16 1971 Our National Fate. English version.

17 Václavík 2014, 23–24.

18 1985 Our National Fate.

they compared the problem of prohibition of using local language to colonial policy: 以推行國語為由禁止方言的使用，這在歷史上，只有在異族統治下的 殖民政策中才有。[To carry outimplement mandarin (national language) and to ban usage of dialects, has existed in history, this is only (in) colonial policy under the rule of different ethnicity (race)].[19] In a different statement, they have compared the same situation to the first emperor of the Qin dynasty, who was considered as a very bad ruler: 這種強制的手段可比擬秦始皇、日本帝國主義、共產極權和外來統治者的做法，將使國家民族帶來無窮禍患。[These kinds of coercive methods can be compared to the first emperor of Qin, Japanese imperialism, communist totalitarianism and the practice of foreign rulers, it will cause (enable) and bring upon the nation endless disaster].[20] This comparison is simultaneously criticism and confirmation of the PCT's right to express their concerns – they have used a comparative framework to show why they should/need to formulate the problems. Comparison has thus been used as a method for legitimizing process. I have provided only few examples, but this pattern is quite common. I would also like to highlight the difference between comparison, which has been used in English and in Chinese statements. It is already visible in the examples – the comparison in English statements refers to foreign events, contrarily the Chinese written statements have been more focused on Asian history. This example shows again that statements written in the Chinese language have been written for a different audience than the documents written in English. It has been reflected in particular documents and therefore different strategies have been used – more successful is to refer to well-known events for the specific audience.

In the legitimizing process in statements of the PCT, when a certain position of the church has been formed, the important role of prophet has been given to the church. The role of prophet has emerged after the first public statement published by the PCT. It can be considered as an emphasis of the status and legitimacy of the church. Their status has changed – they are not just some people, who share their concerns any more. They declared they had become the prophet of the Taiwanese nation, which is a very important social role and status. The term 先知 [prophet, person

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19 1985 Concern About – Ministry of the Inperior Banned Usage of Dialect for Mission.
20 1985 Our Position towards "The Language Law".

of foresight] has been used only in six statements[21], but it has been implicitly formulated in more documents. The first time the term 先知 was used, was:

> We beseech the help of the Holy Spirit to lead us and to enable the church to give expression to its true role of *prophet* and priest.[22] [...] The church should become the servant of justice and truth; the aim of the church's existence is to communicate the message of God's love, and because of this *the church must*, in the spirit of real love, *get involved* in the actualities of modern society and through service seek to change the conditions of society.[23]

So according to this expression, the PCT as prophet must be involved in society and thus even in politics. This is a very clear statement, where the church has justified its political and social involvement by applying religious legitimizing. In a statement written in 1989, this kind of proclamation was repeated: 基督徒在每一世代，均以公義與愛心的原則，扮演先知的角色，成為社會良心，揭櫫真理，扶助弱小，宏揚公義。 [Christians in every generation are united in principle of righteousness and compassion, [they] *play role of prophet, become a social conscience, announce the truth*, help [support] weak, [and] promote righteousness].[24] According to this, the church should be the prophet, who specifies what is right for the whole society based on his own religious belief. It implies that the church has ascribed itself to be an important authority in society with high prestige and legitimacy. According to Yoshihisa Amae it is exactly the role of prophet, which explains (and is also the result of) the political activity of the PCT.[25] Amae himself explains the prophetic role of PCT:

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21 1975 Our Appeal, 1987 Public Notice of Respect for Human Rights of Aboriginal People, 1989 Let People of Taiwan out of Shadow, 1994 Response to the China Christian Council's Statement, 1999 Taiwan's Concern About Presidential Election in Year 2000, 2010 Taiwan National Conference Declaration.

22 我們祈求聖靈幫助我們，引領我們，使教會真實發揮先知與祭司的角色。

23 1975 Our Appeal.

24 1989 Let Taiwan out of Shadow.

25 Amae 2007, 60.

Prophet here is understood as someone who boldly speaks the truth of God. The foreign missionaries expected the PCT to speak out against the social injustice which they witnessed in Taiwanese society under martial law.

The PCT actually created the role of an important authority within society. The proof of this is the very disproportional representation in the Legislature. For example in 1986 the Presbyterians won 11 seats in the Legislature and the National Assembly. In 2003 they even occupied 7% in the Legislature, despite the fact that they represent less than 1% of the population.[26]

Another interesting thing we can observe in the statements where the church has proclaimed itself to be prophetic, is the change of relationship with the KMT government. At first the PCT's attitude towards government was not so negative: "[t]he church must not carelessly take its ease and abandon the role of prophet. We know that if we only praise what is commendable, this is not adequate expression of the church's responsibility to the nation is no way to help the government to overcome present difficulties."[27] In this statement it is clearly formulated that the PCT's task as prophet was to help the government. They have not said they were against the government, they just wanted to kindly admonish the government and hence improve the situation. But in the year 1987 (the same year that martial law was lifted) the PCT's attitude changed: [...] 政府不當的政策所造成，我們的教會亦忽略了做先知 [...] [inappropriate policy of government caused [that] our church also has neglected responsibility to be [do] a prophet].[28] In this statement, the role of prophet is not to help the government any more. The government has been evidently accused from doing inappropriate policy, so the status of the government is not very good.

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26 Kuo 2008, 44: "Among the 225 legislators elected in 2003, there were 42 Taoists (including believers in folk religions), 25 Buddhists, 6 Catholics, 21 Christians, and 45 friends to all religions; the rest refused to answer or could not identify their religion in our telephone interviews with their staff. Among these 21 Christian legislators, 15 were Presbyterians, and all of these Presbyterian legislators were DPP members."

27 1975 Our Appeal.

28 1987 Public Notice of Respect for Human Rights of Aboriginal People.

4 Conclusion

In this article I wanted to show how the PCT created its political legitimacy in the texts of official public statements. I pointed out how important an issue it was for the PCT to create and emphasize legitimacy of political and social involvement. It is understandable in the sense, that during the time of publishing statements, the PCT was the only Christian church proclaiming the need for democracy and human rights; it was a very controversial action. I have found three main, and the most frequent, legitimization strategies in documents – double argumentation, comparison and creating the role of prophet. I have also observed that in texts written for different audiences, different strategies have been used – it reflects the effort of the PCT in reaching a wider audience. We can assume that the authors of the documents have consciously reflected the addressee of public statements and have intentionally adapted texts according to this. It shows that public statements were sophisticated and reflected compilations – they were created with clear goals and intentions. There is no part of statements written by accident, therefore we can identify some of the aims and expectations of their authors. Furthermore, I have used an example to show the changes in relationship between the PCT and government, and how the changing situation can be observed through written texts. Written records can mirror the current situation and hence can be used for studying the current situation.

I believe that this important part of public statements is also connected with the process of inculturation. I have argued, that legitimacy can be understood as the first step towards inculturation and therefore has played an important role in the statements of the PCT. This argument is based on the assumption that these documents were written as reflected texts. Legitimization sought to encourage the integration of PCT's own ideas in society – for example by creating the important role of prophet as a high social and political authority. There is a need in statements of the PCT at first to legitimize their political and social activity and consequently use statements as mediators of ideas, which should be inculturated in Taiwanese society. The statements, almost without any exception, include not only political aims for democracy and human rights, but they also include Christian doctrine and beliefs. When the role of the PCT is legitimized, the church can gain a high status,

which can be very helpful for further missionary work – because first contact is much easier, when the PCT is reflected in Taiwanese society as a fighter for the Taiwanese people.

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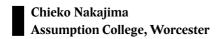
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Shanghai Stank: Night Soil Business in Modern Shanghai

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Annotation: This study examines changes in human waste disposal management in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Shanghai. Human waste was a significant commodity that connected the city with the countryside; its use as a fertilizer helped urban sanitation and agricultural productivity. Through a close look at efforts made by Western colonizers and Chinese authorities, this study argues that Shanghai's sanitation reform depended on and helped develop the traditional night soil trade.

Key words: Shanghai, colonialism, public health, medical history, night soil trade, human waste disposal.

1 Production and Disposal of Human Waste

Over the course of history throughout the world, human-waste-disposal methods have varied dramatically; yet, historians have rarely addressed this important subject systematically. Feces production is a daily event for all living beings, but ordinarily we seldom discuss our excreta except in a medical context. Today, our bodily waste is flushed away in the toilet almost immediately after it is produced and we do not even have to see it. In civilized society, talking about feces is considered rude and vulgar — most of the time we pretend that it does not exist.

Urbanites in Republican China had a very different perspective. They were accustomed to living in close proximity to waste and Chinese cities stank. Since most commoners and laborers had no sani-

tary facilities at home, city people used chamber pots at home or frequented public toilets. Since women were not supposed to expose their private parts in public, they usually used chamber pots. In contrast, men often used outside toilets and habitually relieved themselves on the streets.[1] In particular, public toilets were scarce in northern China and it was neither embarrassing nor offensive for men to urinate or defecate in public. In Beijing, residential neighborhoods often had "reserved" lots in which male residents relieved themselves. These lots served as a venue for socialization; while men squatted and defecated, they even greeted each other and chatted. Since such practice was common in Beijing, those who were not used to this were regarded as outsiders.[2]

Human waste was not only highly visible—it was a valuable fertilizer that was widely used in East Asia and a subject of commercial transaction until the late-twentieth century. Properly processed, seemingly worthless human feces could be transformed into an organic, nutrient-rich fertilizer that restores depleted soil and increases agricultural production. Fairly well-organized business arrangements for collecting, selling, and processing human feces were common in many Chinese cities and towns since the Ming period (1368–1644). Peasants and farmers in the suburbs visited cities from time to time to purchase night soil directly from city residents. Because it was thought that urbanites had access to good food and ate well, it was expected that their excreta produced particularly rich fertilizer with nitrogen. Since it was precious, waste was even called "gold."[3] The use of human waste as manure not only helped urban sanitation but also provided an efficient means to recover and reuse resources. As time progressed, occupational groups that specialized in night soil commerce emerged in large cities and served as intermediates between peasants and city residents. Usually owners of night soil carts (糞車 *fenche*) hired night soil collectors (糞夫 *fenfu*); these workers collected excreta from private homes, public latrines, and off the street; then, they transported their haul to designated depots. In the south, they sold human waste directly to peasants and farmers. In the north,

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1 Lu Hanchao 1999, 452–454.

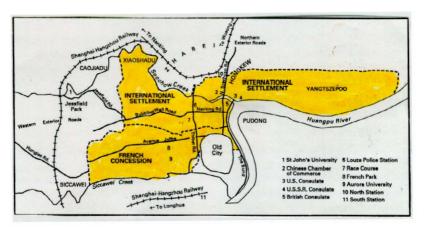**2** Qiu 2011, 452–454,

3 Yong, 2005.

owners of manure plants (糞廠 *fenchang*) purchased and processed it. Since there were no regulations or official supervision, waste disposal was conducted in an irregular manner. The price of night soil constantly fluctuated in relation to market demands. In sum, many Chinese cities had a laissez-faire waste disposal system, and there was a stable supply-and-demand equilibrium.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with economic and industrial development, Chinese cities attracted a large number of immigrants, sojourners, and other transient populations. As urban populations grew, human-waste production increased accordingly. It was not long before waste disposal became a serious sanitation problem. City streets were filled with filth and the air reeked with the stench. Meanwhile, as China was exposed to Western influence, Westerners and Chinese elites introduced public health administration and city planning to China. Following the Western model, they launched urban reforms, sanitation being one of their serious concerns. Chinese elites and Westerners alike came to view "dirty" and "odorous" Chinese as a sign of China's moral inferiority and strove to make cities cleaner. Waste disposal was not just a personal matter; it had become an issue of public health and national pride.

Yet, poor urban sanitation was not unique to China. European cities during the Industrial Revolution were also dirty and filled with excreta. City people did not have toilets at home, and they dumped their waste onto dunghills or washed it away in rivers. Poor sanitation was an urban problem, not just a Chinese problem. However, city planners in Europe and China adopted different strategies to handle human waste. While administrators in European cities built massive sewer systems and installed drainage pipes in houses and buildings to dispose waste, their counterparts in China retained the traditional way of waste collection. The Chinese did not have adequate financial and technical resources to construct sewage networks. Moreover, the use of feces as fertilizer was a well-established system. It was a significant part of the large ecological and commercial network that connected cities and the countryside. It also involved multiple parties and provided jobs. The basic night soil disposal system— manually removing ordure from houses, public toilets, and cesspools, transporting it to the countryside, and using it as a fertilizer—endured until the late twentieth century.

2 Urban Sanitation, Excremental Business, and Night Soil Men in Shanghai

Below, I examine the transformation of the waste disposal system in late nineteenth to early twentieth century Shanghai. Shanghai has been the center of the Chinese economy and industry throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, yet the city has a relatively short history. With the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 as the result of the Opium War, Shanghai opened up as a treaty port. Westerners created two foreign concessions in the city, and eventually the city was divided into three parts: the International Settlement governed by the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC), consisted of British, Chinese, and other nationals; the French Concession, governed by a similar council; and the Chinese sector. Each of these parts had independent jurisdiction and separate public health administration, and sanitation reforms took place unevenly in these three sectors (see the map below).

A 1920s Map of Shanghai
(Source: Newman Tours, http://www.newmantours.com/A_1920s_Map_of_Shanghai.html. Accessed 20 December, 2014)

Though it touches on the French Concession and the Chinese Sector, this paper is centered on the case of the International Settlement. This choice reflects the availability of archival sources. Also, public health administration developed early in the Settlement, and their waste disposal reforms

provided an example for the other two sectors to follow. In the Settlement, the SMC appointed a health inspector who was in charge of street cleaning and waste removal in 1861, and opened the Nuisance Department (*huiwu qingchu gu* 穢物清除股) in 1863 that was in charge of removing garbage, dirt, and filth from the street. The Nuisance Department eventually developed into the Public Health Department of the Settlement in 1897.[4] In 1905, the French Concession also opened a public health department. In contrast, public health administration in the Chinese Sector developed slowly. In 1926 Sun Chuanfang, the warlord who controlled the Chinese city at that time, created a public health bureau. Before this intervention, there was no unified organization that carried out environmental sanitation. In fact, the Chinese Sector itself was divided into three political entities before 1926. The police force was in charge of street cleaning and inoculation. Aside from this, there was little effort to sanitize the entire city.

In carrying out sanitation reforms, colonial and local administrators in Shanghai became actively involved in the pre-existing waste disposal business and sought ways to regulate and take advantage of it. To this end, they introduced a contract system, and created laws and regulations on how to properly collect and dispose waste. In doing so, they strove to supervise by giving detailed instructions to direct the waste disposal business. They aimed at bringing global ideals of public health to Shanghai and envisioned a clean city free from odor and filth. Yet, to achieve their goals, they retained century-old local customs and depended on local night soil workers. While sanitation reforms were integral to empire building and state expansion, this study suggests that neither British colonizers nor Chinese officials were successful in expanding their authorities over city people. Rather they helped local "night soil bosses" prosper, and in return, these local bosses contributed to the creation of a sanitary city.

By discussing waste disposal reforms in Shanghai, this study addresses three interrelated themes. First, this is a study of urban sanitation and hygiene in a non-Western context. Warwick Anderson has discussed American health officers' "obsession" with Filipino corporeal customs. Arguing that reform of excremental practices was intrinsic to American colonial medicine and to the American "civilizing mission" in the Philip-

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4   Peng 2007, 38–54.

pines, Anderson coined the term "excremental colonialism."[5] In the field of modern Chinese history, through their studies on Republican Beijing, Yamin Xu, Du Lihong, and Sihn Kyu-hwan have demonstrated that waste disposal reforms were closely related to the expansion of state power.[6] Building on these studies, my research addresses changing attitudes toward waste treatment in semi-colonial Shanghai. By examining how moral and aesthetic values, commercial interests, and colonial visions inspired and shaped waste disposal methods, my study aims to recapture the modern evolution of ideas about the body, health, and hygiene in this Chinese treaty port city. An analysis of the experience of Shanghai's urbanites suggests that public health evolved from local practices and network, and became integrated with the broader socio-cultural environment on many levels.

Waste disposal was not only a public health problem; it was also a business. Excrement was a marketable commodity, and like many other commodities, it carried socio-cultural meanings. This study explores how all the relevant parties involved in the waste disposal business, including colonial and local administrators who imposed regulations, owners of night soil businesses who hired night soil collectors, night soil men who collected and transported feces, and Shanghai residents who produced the waste, thought about this unique commodity—excreta. Each party wanted the waste removed quickly to sanitize the city, to avoid any trouble with the authorities, and to maximize profits. My study suggests that, to these ends, they negotiated with each other and collectively created an "excremental business culture."

Finally, this is a story of Shanghai's working class, and it pays special attention to those who were engaged in night soil commerce. Though collecting and transporting excreta was regarded as a lowly and unpleasant job, it was an authentic occupation and reasonably lucrative. Families who ran night soil businesses owned hundreds of carts and hired collectors, whose employment was often based on family and native-place ties. These night soil men were aware that their job was indispensable even though their social standing was humble; they kept the everyday life of Shanghai urbanites comfortable and nuisance-free. While administrators sought

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5 Anderson, 2006.

6 Xu 2005; Du 2005; Sihn 2007.

to control and regulate their work, they enjoyed a certain degree of freedom and power; in the 1940s, they organized unions and engaged in collective bargaining with their employers. They also staged demonstration marches that involved pushing their carts across the city. I argue that Shanghai's night soil collectors contributed materially to the creation of Shanghai's "hygienic modernity." Through an analysis of these men's experience, this study seeks to understand how and to what extent everyday life changed and unchanged in Shanghai in the late-Qing and early-Republican periods when China experienced tremendous political, social, and cultural transformation.

3 Human Waste in Shanghai

Until the mid-nineteenth century, Shanghai was less densely populated than many other Chinese cities. The city's night soil trade was vigorous but small and it was carried out in a random manner. Most Shanghai households used night stalls at home, and peasants and farmers in the suburbs paid door-to-door visits to collect waste. The price of waste was not fixed. Sometimes there was no monetary exchange, and farmers received waste for free. Sometimes city residents paid for removal of their waste. In spring and summer, when demand for fertilizer was high, collectors visited cities frequently to get adequate quantities of night soil. In winter, demand dropped, and collectors visited less frequently. Weather also affected the frequency of visits. There were no rules or official supervision governing the business. In sum, waste disposal was conducted on an individual base.[7] However, as the city opened as a treaty port and quickly became the center of Chinese economy and industry, the city's population grew explosively and human waste disposal became a serious issue. Unremoved waste caused nuisance and inconvenience and presented a public health problem. To resolve this problem, the city's public health administrations assumed the responsibility and took charge of the waste removal of the city. Waste disposal, a business hitherto performed by private agents, now fell under the purview of administration.

From the very beginning, the public health administration in the Settlement was associated with the removal of filth, and the Nuisance Depart-

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7   Shanghai Huanjing Weisheng Zhi, 136.

ment launched early sanitation reforms in the 1860s. In nineteenth-century London, which was also troubled by inappropriately dumped waste, the British built a citywide sewage network, which transformed the city's landscape. However, British colonizers in Shanghai did not apply the same methods to dispose waste. Rather, they quickly realized that there was a well-established night soil trade and that it was potentially lucrative. Instead of building a sewage system and encouraging residents to install flush toilets, they decided to continue the *status quo* by controlling the city's night soil business. In fact, the British prohibited the use of water closets or the discharge of ordure into the sewage on the grounds that water closets could pollute water sources. They concluded that the manual removal of ordure and the use of commodes were, though not ideal, more hygienic and convenient than admitting it into the sewers. They were also concerned that flush toilets diluted excreta and made it less desirable for fertilizer.[8]

To carry out waste disposal efficiently, the SMC adopted the contract system in the 1860s, and it became a well-established practice in the Settlement by the 1870s. They believed that it was more efficient and profitable to use contractors and to collect contract fees than to engage directly in buying and selling ordure. The SMC called for bids for waste collection work and invited tenders. Those who submitted a bid provided their name, address, and bid price to the SMC; whoever had the winning bid would sign the contract. The contractor had to pay a contract fee to the SMC, was required to have two guarantors sign the contract, and had to pledge to follow directions and rules from the SMC and to use designated utensils. At the beginning of the year, he had to submit a list of the number of carts, pumps, and coolies as well as a plan that laid out how the Settlement was divided into sub-areas and a list of the locations of the headquarter of each sub-area with a name of the person in charge. In return, he gained the exclusive rights to collect waste in the Settlement, and to sell it to peasants and farmers. He also received a monthly waste removal fee from residents. In addition when the contractor cleaned sludge from cesspools and septic tanks connected to water closets, the SMC paid him according to the number of water closets.[9] The contractor was responsi-

8   Shanghai Municipal Archives (SMA) U1-14-2616; Peng 2007, 262–271.
9   SMA U1-14-2618.

ble for making necessary arrangements to collect ordure and transport it to designated loading stations. Some of the waste was loaded onto ordure cars and sent to the countryside by land. Yet the majority of ordure stations were located near jetties; from there, waste was transported by boats to Shanghai's suburbs and villages in Jiangsu and Zhejiang. The contractor could renew or extend the contract if the SMC found his performance satisfactory. In the 1870s, following the example of the Settlement, the French Concession instituted a similar contract system. By contrast, in the Chinese Sector, the first contractors of night soil trade were hired only in the early-twentieth century. The Chinese Sector was much larger than the other two; whereas, the International Settlement and the French Concession each selected a single contractor to be in charge of the entire area, the Chinese Sector was divided into several districts and each district appointed a contractor. Sometimes the same person signed contracts with multiple districts. Until the Nationalists created the Public Health Bureau of Chinese Shanghai, there was little attempt to unify and centralize waste disposal work in this area. Even so, the contract system prevailed in the Chinese Sector by the end of the 1920s.[10]

The new contract system disrupted the laissez-faire night soil trade that peasants and farmers had hitherto enjoyed. They used to be able to enter the city to purchase waste whenever they liked and to negotiate directly with city residents over prices for night soil. Now they had to purchase night soil only from licensed contractors who could manipulate the price. Anger and resentment arose among the farmers. They felt that their rights were violated and their livelihood threatened. In particular, peasant protests became radical and violent in the Chinese Sector. On February 19, 1909, a few hundred peasants and farmers of the Zhabei district, the northern part of the Chinese Sector, gathered and disturbed the operation of the newly opened contractor's office. Although the contractor asked for help from the police to drive them off, they did not give up. In June, they appealed to the Shanghai Magistrate to revoke the contract system. Also, on the morning of June 21, 1912, peasants in the western suburbs came to the city to collect night soil and found the waste had already been removed. When they learned that a contract system had been instituted and Song Ruyu was the new contractor, they became furious. Close to one thousand

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10 Shanghai Huanjing Weisheng Zhi, 139–143.

angry people assembled in front of a teahouse. Waving carrying poles, they attacked the contractor's office and broke windows and utensils.[11] The violence caused some districts to temporarily rescind the contract system and allow peasants to collect waste.

In spite of these violent incidents, the contract system prevailed across the entire city; however, individual peasants and farmers still purchased waste directly from city people in the Chinese Sector. Even after the Municipal Government during the Japanese Occupation period abolished the concessions and unified the entire city, the Public Health Bureau kept on inviting bidders and continued the system, which endured until 1949.[12]

Though the contract system did not change the waste disposal methods per se, it did bring changes in the ways in which the administrators dealt with this business. First the contract system generated a new source of income for the administration. Around 1900, the contractor paid the Settlement the monthly contract fee of 3,200 silver taels, and the amount steadily increased every year. Around 1919, the contractor paid 15,050 silver taels per month. The contract fee was smaller in the French Concession, but around 1904–7 the contractor paid 680 silver taels per month. In the Chinese Sector, the contract fees differed significantly depending on the district. Since the sales price of the waste from wealthy areas was high, central and wealthier districts charged higher fees than industrial and poorer districts.[13]

Moreover, the city's authorities could now supervise contractors and enforce rules on waste disposal.[14] From the 1870s through the 1940s, the Settlement authorities issued sets of rules and regulations from time to time that laid out details of waste disposal methods and various obligations of the contractor. For example, the Public Works Department drew up rules in 1928 that stipulated what the contractors were responsible for, when and how ordure should be removed, and how buckets and carts should be kept. Accordingly, "the constructor was required to carry out the efficient and speedy removal of all ordure from every part of the Set-

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11 Peng 2007, 265–266.

12 SMA Q6-10-361-32.

13 Shanghai Huanjing Weisheng Zhi, 143–147.

14 SMA U1-16-2158; Yu 2010.

tlement," "to provide an adequate amount of labor, boats, iron buckets, and other apparatus," and to follow municipal and harbor regulations. He should keep an office with a phone, and a person who spoke English had to be on duty around the clock so to allow the SMC to contact the office if necessary. The contractor was also responsible for hiring an adequate number of night soil men who collected ordure and cleaned commodes, and supervising their performance. The regulations also prescribed that ordure be removed daily from every home between 5 and 8 am from May 1 to September 30 and between 6 and 9 am from October 1 to April 30. After their contents were emptied at loading stations, buckets should be washed and stored in a designated place. During collection and transportation, precaution should be taken to prevent spilling and dropping of ordure. All buckets should be properly constructed and covered with lids and kept in a watertight condition.[15] The Chinese Sector also adopted similar rules regarding the timing of waste disposal as early as 1896, yet it was difficult, if not impossible, to check peasant inflow from the neighboring country-side and enforce rules and regulations until the contract system was well established in the 1920s. Through these regulations, the contract system introduced the new concepts of punctuality, accountability, and regularity to the waste disposal business. Night soil was a commodity, but it was now regarded as an undesirable and unseemly material that should be removed promptly and obscurely in the early hours of the morning.

These rules were not always well observed. Even in the 1930s and 1940s, contemporary observers made remarks on disorderly and filthy conditions in the city. In January of 1935, health inspectors conducted a survey of six night soil loading stations in the Settlement. According to their reports, loading stations and jetties were often polluted with ordure. Inspectors also reported that the apparatuses used for waste disposal were often damaged. They found that, out of 295 licensed carts, 202 were wooden and only 93 were iron. In addition, there were 59 unlicensed carts in stations. Some carts were in good condition, but the majority of them were defective and slopping. They also found some 530 night soil buckets there, and many of them were filthy and uncovered. Most of the night soil stations were polluted with ordure, and unclean buckets were stacked on the road during the day. In some stations, derelict carts were dumped.

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15 SMA U1-14-2618.

Since buckets slopped back and forth, as night soil collectors walked in the city, ordure slipped from buckets and polluted the streets and stations. In addition, Chinese residents washed their chamber pots in the street, which further polluted the streets.[16]

Contractors and coolies also complained about congestions of jetties and stations. Because boats that carried fagots, vegetable and other materials between Shanghai proper and the suburbs shared the same loading stations with ordure boats, stations were often congested. One contractor complained about vegetable dealers who parked their wheelbarrows on the authorized night soil loading station. Unloaded produce left on nearby streets caused the area to become densely crowded. Fighting sometimes broke out between vegetable dealers and night soil men. Loading stations were not always safe. The contractor reported that his boatmen were intimidated by armed robbers who broke into boats and stole possessions. Tow boats and barges were also moored in the jetty and occupied space.[17]

In spite of these complaints and problems, the contract system worked and the traditional night soil trade endured and even flourished under the system. In particular, the International Settlement, which was small in size but had larger financial resources at its disposal than the Chinese Sector, obviously became cleaner than the Chinese Sector. Even though manure and manure carts still emanated stench, Chinese visitors and observers unanimously praised the orderliness and cleanliness of the Settlement.

4 Night Soil Trade and Night Soil Men

Cleanliness was achieved and supported by local Chinese who were engaged in night soil trade. They created a hierarchy within their business. The top of this hierarchy was occupied by the contractor, who was called *fenba* 糞霸 or *fenbatou* 糞霸頭, meaning night soil lord in Chinese. He owned night soil carts, buckets, and other utensils. By signing a contract, the contractor fell under the supervision of the Settlement authorities. At the same time, the license gave him authority and legitimacy to monopolize night soil trade. Since he had no competitors, he could raise

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16 SMA U1-14-2624.

17 Ibid.

or decrease the price of waste in an arbitrary manner. Along with mendicancy, night soil collection was regarded as a lowly but reasonably lucrative work. Even though the SMC prohibited sub-contractors, the contractors hired sub-contractors, and sub-contractors hired night soil collectors. Wang Jinmei, a contemporary writer, makes a remark on a caricature of a *fenba* in Old Shanghai: Except for dispatching his foremen to jetties to count the number of night soil carts, he does not do any work. He is just sitting idle and enjoying the fruits of others' labor.[18]

Lu Jingqing also discusses a number of people who made a fortune in the night soil business. Among them, Ma Fuqi, a Nanshi native who once worked for the police force for the Settlement, and Sister Ah Gui, his common-law wife who owned hot water shops, bath houses, and other properties, are well-known. They were both close to Huang Jinrong, a famous Shanghai Green Gangs boss and owned a large number of rickshaw and night soil carts. Through their personal connections and bribery, they became familiar with inside information of the French Concession. They won the bid for waste collection, and quickly became dominant in the night soil business in the Concession in the 1920s. They also signed contracts with the International Settlement for waste collection and public toilet management. Those who wanted to enter the night soil business offered gifts to Ma and Ah Gui and became their fictional "adoptees." These "adoptees" purchased or rented night soil carts from them, and worked as sub-contractors. Since he had the largest share of the waste business in Shanghai, Ma Fuqi was called "night soil king." After the death of Ah Gui in 1933, Ma Honggen, her third son, and Zhang Quansheng, Ma Honggen's accountant, jointly took over her night soil business. They were competent in making connections, and worked in all three sectors of Shanghai for waste collection until the breakout of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Ma Honggen also operated a cart repair factory, and in the 1930s, he owned more than 1,000 carts.[19]

If the contractors or *fenba* occupied the highest position in the night soil business hierarchy, night soil collectors occupied the bottom. They were hired by the contactor or sub-contractor and paid on a daily base. They visited individual homes in the early morning, trundling carts and

18 Wang 2002, 78.

19 Lu Jingqing 2002 (1964), 240–242.

tumbrels, and emptied chamber pots into buckets. They also removed waste from public toilets and cesspools. Until 1918, when the International Settlement began using pumps, they used ropes and buckets to scoop waste from cesspools. When necessary, they entered cesspools to dredge them. Such work was not only dirty and physically demanding but also dangerous. Since ordure collection was conducted in the early morning, many night soil men had a second job during the day. Many of these night soil workers were from Subei, and Shanghai residents regarded them as vulgar and rough. Conflicts and quarrels often broke out among night soil men and others. However, these men were aware that their jobs were indispensable for urban life. They were also permitted to receive extra charges for removing waste and cleaning commodes above the ground floor.[20] To subsidize their salaries and minimize their work hours, they used several maneuvers. For example, instead of transporting their waste to designated areas, sometimes they simply dumped it on the street or into rivers. They also demanded extra fees and gratuities from residents on various occasions. When residents refused to pay extra tips, night soil men did not remove waste and sometimes even scattered waste around nearby alleys.

In the 1930s, night soil men became politically active. In 1938, they organized the Guandi Hui (Association of Guandi Worshippers), which is a mutual help organization. Guandi is a martial deity of China, and there are numerous temples that commemorate him even today. In 1939 and 1940, some 200 night soil men gathered and inaugurated the "Ordure Coolies Union." At the inauguration meeting, union members made three demands: their wages should be increased; the SMA should bear the expenses for repairing carts; and coolies' medical expenses should be covered by the contractor.[21] This union was sponsored by the Reformed Government under the aegis of the Japanese military forces. It is not clear who joined this union, and how much actual power or influence the union had over the contractor and the Settlement authorities. Obviously this union was a mouthpiece of the wartime government. Yet, these accounts suggest that the Japanese military powers were aware of the presence and potential of the night soil collectors and regarded them as possible allies. The government was serious about the latent political power of night soil men.

20 SMA U1-14-2618.

21 SMA U1-14-2158.

5 Conclusion

This story of waste disposal in Shanghai is also a story of public health and urban sanitation. British colonizers and Chinese elites aimed at creating a clean city. They were convinced that it was their mission to bring sanitation and hygiene to the city, and that cleaner and less odorous cities were better and healthier. To achieve their goal, however, they had to depend on the pre-existing waste disposal business. In Shanghai, and in many other places in East Asia, the use of waste as manure was more practical, economical, and rational than the use of flush toilets. While I do not intend to conclude that "traditional" ways are always better than "modern" ways, nevertheless, I hope this study has shed light on the complexity and ambivalence of modern ideas of sanitation and cleanliness.

This study also complicates our understanding of the issue of colonial modernity. British authorities in Shanghai strove to bring order to the Settlement, and they introduced the contract system to regulate and control the waste disposal trade. The Chinese authorities also employed a similar system. However, neither British nor Chinese authorities were completely successful in controlling local customs and imposing colonial ideals. It was the local "night soil kings" who prospered and actually carried out the "civilizing mission" in the city. This study suggests that colonialism is truly interactive rather than simply a one way imposition.

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Literature

Experiencing Taiwan in Taiwanese Nature-Oriented Literature

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Annotation: *The notion of the local, much discussed by the Nativist literary movement in the 1970s, has got another much broader meaning in the environmental literature since the 1980s. It has incorporated the wilderness (荒野), the sea, nature in the cities, all the living and non-living entities into one interconnected community. It has intertwined them not only literarily but also physically. The Taiwanese nature-oriented writers who started to rumble through the countryside, wilderness and cities, to sail on the sea around Taiwan, to observe the habits of birds and animals have mediated their experiences in personal essayistic reflections and fictional stories trying to reshape the Taiwanese imagination of nature through reshaping the posture, movement, sense of place in the dialogue with the Earth beneath their feet and living and non-living entities they have encountered.*

Key words: *Nature-oriented literature, environmental literature, engagement, body, movement, Tarn Koarnhak, Liu Ka-shiang, Hsu Jen-shiu, Wang Chia-hsiang*

The notion of the local, much discussed by the Nativist literary movement (鄉土文學) in the 1970s, has got another much broader meaning in the nature-oriented literature since the 1980s. The nativist authors like Yeh Shih-t´ao (Ye Shitao 葉石濤, 1925–2008) were interested in social reality and depicted the distinctiveness of Taiwanese local culture. The Taiwanese natural environment and its historical development have naturally played in it an important role. "Xiangtu" (鄉土) and later on "bentu" (本土) in the meaning of native place have been used to create a collective identity intertwined with the history of the is-

land.[1] Environmental literature broadened this term when it started to explore the local through the perspective of other living organisms and not only humans. It has strived to build a concept of a large community embedded in the web of mutual relations and has stressed the perception of place as one interconnected organism that includes all living and non-living entities. This paper follows the rhetoric of body engagement and movement that Taiwanese authors use to achieve the feeling of this perceived unity. Body engagement and movement is characterized as a process of acquiring skills for the direct perceptual involvement and engagement with nature as described by British anthropologist Tim Ingold.[2] I argue that the concept of acquiring skills is a constitutive part of environmental literature in Taiwan.

The term nature-oriented literature does not point to one literary genre.[3] It encompasses non-fiction as well as fiction and is meant to show the wide scope of art production focused on nature in Taiwan since the 1980s. This term was coined by the "second wave" of American eco-criticism that saw a need for a broader definition.[4] It was introduced to Taiwanese literary

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1 Nativist literature is characterized by Yeh Shih-t'ao mainly as a literature that originates from the national culture and bears distinct regional cultural characteristics. An author of nativist literature should write about the reality in Taiwan and from the perspective of Taiwanese people and their land:「文化上必須確立承繼民族傳統文化發揚光大的姿勢，積極推展鄉土色彩的文化。」葉 1987, 140.「儘管我們的鄉土文學不受膚色和語言的束縛，但是台灣的鄉土文學應該有一個前提條件；那便是台灣的鄉土文學應該是以『台灣為中心』寫出來的作品；換言之，它應該是站在台灣的立場上來透視整個世界的作品。」Ibidem, 144. For more on the development of nativist literature and the term of the local, see for example Hsiau 2000; Chang 1993.

2 Tim Ingold connects this concept of regrowing skills with the culture of hunters and gatherers that live in close contact with nature. It stands in opposition to the concept of passive acceptance of the mentally constructed environment schemata. Ingold 2004 and 2007.

3 According to Patrick D. Murphy, nature-oriented literature encompasses the non-fiction genres of nature writing and environmental writing, and the fiction genres of nature literature and environmental literature. It is the narrative that draws a distinction between fiction and non-fiction: "When narrative and its various aesthetic dimensions drive the writing of a text, I would prefer to label the text a fiction, regardless of the quantity of information that constructs the message." Murphy 2000, 7. According to this definition most of the works regarded as nature-oriented literature in Taiwan would be classified as fiction.

4 Buell (2005) distinguishes two stages or waves within environmental criticism: the first-wave nature-writing-oriented ecocriticism and the second-wave urban and eco-justice revisionist ecocriticism. The initial environmental turn in literary studies has been

criticism by professor of sinophone literature and well-known Taiwanese author of nature-oriented literature Wu Ming-yi (Wu Mingyi 吳明益),[5] but there are still more often used terms such as environmental or ecological literature (*ziran shuxie* 自然書寫, *ziran xiezuo* 自然寫作 or *shengtai wenxue* 生態文學)[6] in Taiwan. We no doubt need a broader definition for the literature that molded the perception of nature in Taiwan since the 1980s.

more issue-driven than method or paradigm-driven. For the first-wave ecocriticism, "environment" meant only "natural environment". It focused on the narratives of encounter with nature. Whereas the second-wave ecocriticism has broadened its interest and included also the urban "built environment". The realms of the "natural" and the "human" are seen as intertwined. The narrowly focused first-wave ecocriticism engaged in celebrating nature, berating the arrogance of humanism and formulating a philosophy of organism that would break down the hierarchical separations between human beings and other elements of the natural world. As second-wave ecocriticism included also the built environment, the interest of literature-and-environment studies has shifted towards "social ecocriticism" that takes urban and degraded landscapes just as seriously as "natural" landscapes. See also Murphy 2000; Buell 1995.

5　*Ziran daoxiang wenxue* 自然導向文學. Wu 2006, 5–6.

6　The terms *Ziran shuxie* 自然書寫 or *ziran xiezuo* 自然寫作 gradually prevailed in the Taiwanese discourse on environmental literature in the 1990s. At the beginning it was used simultaneously with the terms *zhishi sanwen* 知識散文, *shengtai wenxue* 生態文學 or *shengtai wenzhang* 生態文章 (劉 1996). It is a translation of the term nature writing. This genre played an important role when Taiwanese environmental literature started to constitute in the 1980s. In the 1980s and 1990s, the stress was put on the informative and didactic role of literature. *Ziran shuxie* therefore should not only convey the author's own observations and experience with nature, but also use the terminology of nature sciences to achieve objectivity in the description. This was partly a reaction to the genre of reportages (*baodao wenxue* 報導文學) and the growing number of articles concerning environmental protection (*huanbao wenzhang* 環保文章) that could not provide enough rational arguments for the necessity of environmental protection. Traditional Chinese nature writing (*yinyi wenxue* 隱逸文學) and poetry (*tianyuan shi* 田園詩, *shanshui shi* 山水詩) were considered to be unable to mobilize people which was regarded as crucial for a quick response to the urgent problems with the fast degradation and pollution. Moreover, it was pointed out that in densely populated Taiwan, it was impossible to avoid city culture as could the authors who pursued a simple life. Nevertheless, in the second half of the 1990s contemplative and fictional stories re-appeared and received more recognition also in the eco-critical discourse. The aesthetic dimension of nature writing has been highlighted by Taiwanese nature writer Wu Mingyi in his paper for the conference at the Providence University in 2005 (吳 2006). Nonetheless, the original motive of the literature – the notion of the vulnerability of nature or ecological crisis and the hesitation of how to deal with it – has not changed. Another source of inspiration brought the literature of indigenous people (*yuanzhumin wenxue* 原住民文學).

Nevertheless, each term has its own history that limits it when implanted into an environment with a different tradition.[7] Since the environmental literature in Taiwan is a reaction against environmental degradation, the notion of an ecological crisis and a discussion on environmental ethics and philosophy, this paper uses both of the terms nature-oriented literature and environmental literature[8] as umbrella terms for the contemporary literature that seeks other values in nature than economic ones.

Here I would like to explore the similarities rather than the differences within the texts written by the nature-oriented writers of the older and younger generations[9] who wrote their texts already in the 1980s and 1990s and took part in the popularization of the ecological movement and protection of the environment in Taiwan, namely Koarnhak Tarn (Chen Guanxue 陳冠學, 1934-2011), Liu Ka-shiang (Liu Kexiang 劉克襄, 1957), Hsu Jen-shiu (Xu Renxiu 徐仁修, 1946) and Wang Chia-hsiang (Wang Jiaxiang 王家祥, 1966).[10] I argue that the newly acquired skills of attentive ob-

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Authors like Syaman Rapongan offers an indigenous ecological worldview as an alternative to the prevailing concepts.

7 Academic discussions on the definition and division of Taiwanese environmental literature started in the 1990s. The most celebrated genre was nature writing in the first phase, but the proliferation of the themes and genres led to a loosening and broadening of the definition. 吳 2003, 2005 and 藍 2008.

8 There is underway also the discussion on whether to use the term *environmental* literature or *ecological* literature. Some ecologists point out the difference between ecology as a scientific discipline and environmentalism as an ideological and political discourse and therefore prefer to use the term environmental. Daněk 2010. On the other hand, the Czech philosopher Erazim Kohák sees ecology itself as a science in the meaning of the Latin word *scientia* and therefore uses the term ecological. Kohák 2006.

9 The distinction between the older and younger generation in this paper is based mainly on the type of nature writing and the image of the writer itself. The older generation represented by Koarnhak Tarn harked back to the traditional Chinese landscape imagery interwoven with Taoist thoughts. Nature writing was only a part of his work. The younger generation of nature writers usually took part in the environmental movement, graduated from nature sciences or underwent training in nature sciences and scientific terminology. Nature became the main theme of their books. They usually looked also at nature from the perspective of life in the city and eagerly explored new environmental theories that have been emerging ceaselessly.

10 Koarnhak Tarn was born in 1934. He published his first book in 1969, about one decade earlier than Hsu Jen-shiu and Liu Ka-shiang, and about two decades earlier than Wang Chia-hsiang. He wrote about old Taiwan and Taoist philosophy. His artwork written in the 1980s connects the nativist literary movement with environmental consciousness. Within the na-

serving of nature brought a new conceptualization of sensual experience and increased attentiveness towards the environment.

The proliferation of the topics, genres and academic studies concerning the depiction of nature in the literature since the 1990s further opened the path (both literarily and physically) to exploring and experiencing the Taiwanese environment through bodily engagement.

The inspiration that the Taiwanese authors drew upon, combined the Western[11] and Eastern[12] traditions. One of the most influential tropes that was explored was the topic of wilderness that was shaped under the influence of the American nature writing[13] and was incorporated into the traditional imagination.

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ture-oriented literature he represents the trend of return to the simple life. Hsu Jen-shiu's book of childhood memories (Jia zai Jiu Qionglin 家在九芎林) published in 1980 is also written in the same way as the nativist literature. He studied agriculture which enabled him to engage in wildlife exploration and protection in the 1970s. Since the 1980s he has been describing his experience and promoting wildlife protection in his books. Liu Ka-shiang studied journalism. We can say that he has been connecting newspaper reports with poetry and fiction throughout his work. He became an ecological activist in the 1980s and called for a more active engagement of nature writers. Therefore, he criticized Koarnhak Tarn's style of life in reclusion (yinyi wenxue 隱逸文學) in the 1980s. He promoted the interconnectedness of traditional Chinese landscape imagery with western ecological theories. Wang Chia-hsiang studied forestry. That was an important qualification for nature writers in the 1990s, when the scientific approach was highlighted in Taiwanese nature writing. Nevertheless, Wang Chia-hsiang has seen the same importance also in the narrative and has written several fantasy novels.

11 The Taiwanese students that studied in the United States gradually returned back to Taiwan at the end of the 1960s, in the 1970s and 1980s. Those who took part in the environment protection movement were influenced by American Environmentalism and Nature writing. Works from authors like Ma Yigong (馬以工), Han Han (韓韓) and Hong Suli (洪素麗) significantly influenced the environmental movement and aroused ecological consciousness in Taiwan at the beginning of the 1980s. It was also strengthened by the sense of international isolation. The Taiwanese authors and students could also learn about the international environmental movement through the translations of popular works like Aldo Leopold's A Sand County Almanac or Rachol Carson's "The Silent Spring" etc.

12 Especially Taoist thoughts that follow the concept of simplicity and spontaneity. It stands in opposition to Confucian anthropocentrism and the traditional depiction of nature only "as a metaphor that expresses (human) emotions or an opportunity for aesthetic and/or religious contemplation". Santangelo 1997, 617.

13 It was connected with the nature conservation efforts and establishment of national parks and environmental protection areas.

The meaning of wilderness in the pastoral texts of the Taiwanese author Koarnhak Tarn is in many ways typical for non-aboriginal Taiwanese writers. Wilderness or "huangdi" (荒地) in Koarnhak Tarn's texts describes the uncultivated land that lies fallow for some time. You can find it everywhere even in the cities. It is not the untouched, pristine nature far away from human settlements, but rather an inner quality of every place that rebirths and shows its wildness when let unrestricted and uncultivated. It encompasses the Taoist meaning of "ziran" (自然) or "zaowu" (造物). "Huangdi" or "huangye" (荒野) that was traditionally perceived as a useless wasteland now possesses the meaning of paradise.

The wilderness of Koarnhak Tarn therefore cannot be harmed when used by people appropriately and in the traditional way. He writes: "Living in the present countryside, I often have daydreams in which I catch glimpses of the countryside as it used to be, half wild and half cultivated, the one interspersed with the other. Now just because one's body size only requires a bed space six feet long by three feet wide, you should not make beds of only those proportions. There must be room to spare for you to get pleasure and relief from anything. The thing one misses most about the countryside of old is that the untouched wilderness (「荒地有餘不盡地穿插在耕地之間」) used to stretch out among the ploughed fields, giving room to spare."[14] The adjective *untouched* that the sinologist David Pollard used in the translation of Tarn's essay "The Countryside of the Past" (*tianyuan jin xi* 田園今昔) cannot be here meant as the synonym of pristine. As a home to various grasses, herbs, birds, animals and insects it brings pleasure and relief to the people.[15] The countryside

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14 Tarn 2000, 322.

15 "...In this wild, grasses were free to grow rank, or thin scrub to cover the surface; it was home and feeding ground to birds, rodents, snakes and rabbits, moths, butterflies, bees and scorpions; village boys used it for grazing their sheep and cattle and as their playground to sport in; village men and women used it as a reserve for firewood and kindling, and a nursery for medicinal herbs. It was a place that the eye could rove over, the ear could delight in, that you could take from for your needs or leave to its own fruitful purposes. It gave you an infinite feeling of spaciousness and ease. As Lao Zi said, 'From things' substance you may derive benefit, from things' insubstance you may derive utility.' Ah, how one longs for the countryside of old!" Ibidem. It is not the positive power of "wilderness" caught and imprisoned in the artificially molded surroundings, but on the contrary the spontaneity that grows from spaciousness and through that, awakens spiritual inspiration.

of Tarn's nostalgic memories is an interconnected community of all living and non-living entities. And this community is what he tried to revive when he moved back from the city to the countryside and strolled along the fields meeting plants, birds, animals as his old friends. Topics of his personal reflections on contemporary human relations and human-nonhuman relations are inspired by the observations of this village community, newspaper reports on society and environmental problems. His opinions are supported by numerous quotations from Zhuangzi, Confucius, Mencius, but also from western philosophers, nature writers or from scientific discoveries like the writers of the younger generations do.

Even if the Taiwanese writers of younger generations sometimes have not endorsed his example of living in seclusion and have called for a more active way of protecting nature,[16] they did not resist the feeling of nostalgia for the past. As the ecological movement in Taiwan was to a large extent a reaction to rapid modernization, industrialization and mechanization and to the unconditional pursuit of modernity, the Taiwanese nature writers that took part in the ecological movement had to find and show an alternative attitude towards nature and a sense of place alternate to modernity that was seen as destructive.

Therefore, as in the literary tradition before, the trope of nostalgia took its place in the ecological imagination. Nostalgia is not only the longing for the past that is expressed through the slow motion and sensual contact with the ground, it stresses the continuity from one generation to another, the continuity of a large community that shares the same history and is rooted in the place they live in and that they create. It is one of the tropes that brings time and space interconnectedness to the nature-oriented literature. We can feel it distinctively from the autobiographical prose poems of the generation younger Taiwanese author Liu Ka-shiang:

"...Please give me back the little station where only one train stops each day, the cobblestone road where a mother quail and her chicks cross softly in the early morning. My home is beside a not-too-distant graveyard, on the square in front of the temple where ears of rice are spread out to dry in the sun. I splash in the shallows of the stream, humming a tune, and hear clomping on the bridge above: my father the grade-

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16 劉 1984.

school teacher, holding a fishing pole, forever ambling by." (*Tr. Andrea Lingenfelter*)[17]

The slowness of the movement through time and space stands in contrast to modernity. Tim Ingold argues that "the mechanization of footwork was part and parcel of a wider suite of changes that accompanied the onset of modernity."[18] With the mechanized modes of travel and transport accompanied by the development of the built environment, stress was put on the "imagined separation between the activities of a mind at rest and a body in transit, between cognition and locomotion, and between the space of social and cultural life and the ground upon which that life is materially enacted."[19]

Not only mechanized modernity, but also the traditional culture of intellectuals or literati in the East when visiting places of natural beauty, has disconnected the activities of a mind at rest in appreciation of nature, and a body in transit. Landscape poets like Xie Lingyun (謝靈運 385–433) in the poem of *On My Way from South Mountain to North Mountain, I Glance at the Scenery from the Lake* sat down to rest and contemplate. They let this attitude also distinctly enter their poems: "At dawn I set out from the sunlit cliff, At sunset I take my rest by the shaded peaks. Leaving my boat, I turn my eyes upon the distant sandbars, Resting my staff, I lean against the lush pines..." (*Tr. Kang-i Sun Chang*).[20]

The city and cars became the most frequented symbols of modernity in Taiwan. In the environmental literature it is reflected through the image of tailbacks caused by townsmen driving to the places of natural beauty during the weekends. This image then transfers into the mountains full of people looking for excitement. The slowness in motion is used as a contrast to it. It becomes one of the rhetoric tropes that the Taiwanese authors use to draw people closer to nature. Liu Ka-shiang for example elaborates it in the concept of the so called "walking meditation". His travel books should teach people not to rush through the natural and built environ-

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[17] (Tr. Andrea Lingenfelter) Liu 2001, 431–432.

[18] Ingold 2004, 321.

[19] Ibidem.

[20] Mair 2000, 80.

ment, but to walk slowly (*manyou* 漫遊) and engage with the environment in their inner discussion.[21]

Those who like Koarnhak Tarn saw the problem primarily in the mechanized modernity and decided to overcome the disconnectedness between man and its environment by returning to the countryside and to the virtues of country folk, witnessed how the countryside to some extent becomes worse than the city.

Koarnhak Tarn believes that seeking pleasure in nature has to be inborn to man[22], but to his disappointment, he has to face the reality that even in the countryside the villagers have to be taught to appreciate nature otherwise they approach it only from the perspective of an economic utility value and keep their distance from it, so that they not only suppress its vigour, but eliminate it from the neighbourhood by using concrete.[23]

This lack of feeling for nature viewed as a lack of education can be seen as one of the cracks in the face of modern society that draws a line to the writers of the nativist literary movement and the motives of eco-justice that focus on the disadvantaged, usually poor people who are neglected and left unprotected against the pollution and polluters from the group of wealthy entrepreneurs and local politicians.[24]

On the other hand, it shows how the border between those who are considered as useful and therefore seen as partners, and those, who are not, changed. The border that was drawn in the traditional Taiwanese rural community between those who were good for labour and those who were not, regardless of whether they were humans or animals,[25] started to be

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21　「尤其是針對健行，提出了步行禪(walking meditation)的新漫遊精神，強調對台灣山巒的認知要有一個新的思維，以自然為名，結合人文歷史的意旨，重新架構人和山對話的內容,跳脫過去縱走、登頂和征服百岳的心態。」劉 2006, 16–17.

22　「人是從自然中來，人離開了自然之後，照說對自然應該有一份永恆的記憶與鄉思，每一個人在心裏面都會時時聽見自然的呼喚，這是人們一見到自然就會打從心底裏歡喜起來的原由。」陳1994, 49.

23　「像這樣的鄉居早已算不得是鄉居。真正的鄉居都在內面，但也不比城居好多少，樹木全無，庭面盡是水泥地，寸草不生。比起城市人的近郊別墅，鄉村居戶之乏野趣,簡直可憐。倒令人覺得對自然的愛好，好似全出自教養，而不關本性；教養越高，愛好越深，反之則越淺，乃至全無。」Ibidem, 54.

24　Compare: Hwang 2000, 15–50.

25　"On the overall production line, whoever's work ability was high – who could carry the heaviest load, who could cut the rice stalks fastest – was top dog; whoever's work ability

seen as the line between humans and non-humans in modern society. The emphasis that Koarnhak Tarn puts on the necessity to erase the border that the people see between humans and other living organisms is not a concept of the past but a concept for the future and remains an important theme in the Taiwanese environmental literature.

The attempts to cross the border between human and non-human consciousness can be seen in the works of nature-oriented writers from the very beginning. Liu Ka-shiang for example uses parallel worlds, personification or animalization. Wang Chia-hsiang awakens spirits and creates heroes that can spiritually cross the borders and possess both identities, human as well as animal, often through sexual awakening etc.

Nature as a place of personal engagement is for Koarnhak Tarn associated with a silent attendance that enables one to hear the voices of nature. Only when a person is focused on the inner quality of nature can it then be appreciated. Nature is not an object or mere background of humans' activities, but the living core of the universe, therefore, also the fate of humankind is interdependent with it.

Koarnhak Tarn as the protagonist of the simple life not only criticizes the modern consumer society, but also shows the beauty and exceptionality of all living entities and man's dependence on nature. He opens his home to plants, insects, birds and animals, rambles through the countryside and records what he sees. The awareness of the scarcity of previously abundant herbs, birds, animals and on the other hand growing pollution brings into his essay melancholy and nostalgia. It is also the notion of an ecological crisis.

This notion of an ecological crisis became a significant feature of the Taiwanese nature writing along with scientific knowledge, empirical observation and participation. Not only the knowledge itself but also the reflection on how the knowledge was gained is important for the writers.

Personal experience and participation are irreplaceable in this process of discovering nature for the nature-oriented writers. They do not doubt the independent existence of the outside world on the human mind. Man is not the one who gives the meaning to the world, he or she is just a part

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was low was a loser. Anyone who loafed about, did not engage in production, and lived off the backs of others, was called 'trash'. That beautiful flower was called a 'trash flower' for the same kind of reason, no doubt" Huang 2000, 349.

of the nature creation and thanks to this creation he/she has the sensual organs to perceive the outside world. But man sees what he/she learns to see and therefore has to broaden the perspective and acquire new skills to see through ones own personal engagement with nature.[26]

As I quoted Koarnhak Tarn above, to feel nostalgia towards nature might be inborn, but people especially those who have been exposed to the consumer society have to cultivate love for nature, otherwise as Koarnhak Tarn says later: the man has eyes but does not see, has ears but does not hear.[27] Nature does not hide, we just do not see it.[28]

Koarnhak Tarn puts the same stress on the acquiring of skills through the practical attendance to nature creations as do the hunters and gatherers, and reflected by the interpretation of Tim Ingold who calls this process of skills' regrowing – the education of attention. According to Tim Ingold, knowledge is not transmitted to the novices in bulk, but is rather discovered and re-interpreted in the process of experiencing the environment:

"This is all about watching and being watched. Knowledge of the world is gained by moving about in it, exploring it, attending to it, ever alert to the signs by which it is revealed. Learning to see, then, is a matter not of acquiring schemata for mentally *constructing* the environment but of **acquiring the skills** for direct perceptual *engagement* with its constituents, human and non-human, animate and inanimate."[29]

This call for empirical skills acquirement and direct perceptual engagement is a challenge to the traditional Chinese system of education that is based on the memorization of constructed schemata. The process of "regrowing" skills is for example called "see it again" (*chongxin kanjian* 重新看見) by Wang Chia-hsiang. It is connected with attentive observation and a more emotional than rational understanding of nature.[30] In a more subtle way it is expressed by Liu Ka-shiang in his poems "National Park"

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26 In the short story "The Man with Compound Eyes" written by Wu Mingyi, it is indicated that learning to see has to be connected with body engagement otherwise it fails. 吳 2003.

27 故鳥音盈耳，花開爛漫，充耳不聞，視而無睹，是辜負造物予人一對耳朵一雙眼目一個聲光繽紛的世界。」陳2007, 265.

28 自然的造化明明就在人的眼前進行，一點兒也不隱密，可是你就偏偏看不見。」Ibidem, 261.

29 Ingold 2007, 55.

30 王 1996, 13.

(*Guojia gongyuan* 國家公園) and "The Land in Autumn" (*Qiutian de dadi* 秋天的大地).[31]

Koarnhak Tarn, unlike the younger nature writers who look up to science as the source of knowledge that does not have an analogy in the Eastern tradition, not only uses it as an objective source of information but also denounces it as one of the culprits that destroyed the equilibrium in the world through its stress on only the material side.[32]

Another parallel that we can find in Tim Ingold's description of the hunter-gatherers' concept of nature is the perception of other creatures. Tim Ingold says:

"A creature can have a point of view because its action in the world is, at the same time, a process of *attending* to it. Different creatures have different points of view because, given their capabilities of action and perception, they attend to the world in different ways."[33]

Koarnhak Tarn believes that the soul is a constitutive element of every living entity and is limited only by the action and perception capabilities of the organism that it is at that time residing in, like a driver who can do different things with different machines.[34] But as with everything, the material as well as the soul, is unceasingly recycled in the process of creation, it becomes a part of different entities constantly.

Whilst Koarnhak Tarn dreams about a large equalized community of us, all living and non-living entities, painted in the pastoral, picturesque beauty, the writers of the younger generation are less certain of the attitudes towards other living and non-living entities and further explore their otherness that might be even exoticized. Nevertheless, the participation in the community that helps to evolve sensitivity towards the environment and other organisms remains an important constitutive part of acquiring knowledge and understanding the multiformity of nature. The shift from

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[31] 劉 2004, 20 and 104.

[32] ...科學本質上是物質的，科學一味把世界物質化，而抹煞了精神現象，這是科學可憂慮處。」陳 2007, 266. On the other hand, when Wang Chia-hsiang talks about the "burden" of science, he means the excessive stress on the rational classification at the expense of perceptual engagement: 「辨識野生植物成為一種心理負擔，而不是享受。有好一陣子，我完全看不見植物，看不見綠色生命，縱使我仍然活躍於山野中。」王 1996, 13.

[33] Ingold 2007, 51.

[34] 陳 2007, 268.

picturesque beauty to the more tremendous, unsettled, wild experience of nature is usually not so radical. The nature that is explored, is usually not so far from human settlement, it is close to the city, town or village. This proximity enables the writers easily to switch from the wilderness of exoticized others to the pastoral or apocalyptic community of us. The narrator usually holds the role of field researcher, scientist or wanderer who comes to explore nature. Even though he or she has acquired scientific knowledge, he is an outsider out there who tries to overcome the distance between himself and the wilderness. Therefore, the narrator also has to discover nature for himself/herself and within himself/herself through physical experience. The scientific information is usually used as a framework for a more philosophical argumentation and a more personal reflection on the empirical experience and worldview.

Knowledge is not accumulated through observations taken from successive points of rest as in destination-oriented travel, but through bodily experience gained throughout the wandering routes or during field research. To stop does not mean to rest, it means to observe patiently but this often happens in positions in which the narrator is permanently aware of his/her body.

I have chosen the beginning paragraphs of essays written by Hsu Jen-shiu, Liu Ka-shiang and Wang Chia-hsiang to illustrate this change in experiencing Taiwan and its nature. We can see a part of *wilderness* in all three essays. In the first essay "Egrets and Me" (*Lusi yu wo* 鷺鷥與我) written by Hsu Jen-Shiu, we are entering the habitat of wild birds and experiencing with the author the *wildness* of the natural processes that shape life in the subtropical and tropical zones. In the second essay "Sandpipers" (*Binyu* 濱鷸) written by Liu Ka-shiang, wilderness is represented by a flock of birds. The third essay called "The Civilized Wilderness" (*Wenming huangye* 文明荒野) by Wang Chia-hsiang depicts the powers of revival that nature possesses and the destructive influence of civilization on it.

All these three essays are based on long-term observations that require engagement of the whole body. Let us compare the first paragraphs of these essays. Hsu Jen-shiu starts his narrative like an ordinary report from birdwatching written in 1984. He uses the metaphor of community for the nesting site that reminds us of Koarnhak Tarn's stories. Talking about the birds like about neighbours helps to build closer relations with the non-human world and to strengthen the affections for the fate of these

birds. But the community that the narrator visits is somewhere out there. It is not the community of us, but of the Others where the people are either harmless intruders (like the narrator), harmful invaders (like the village boys or regional politicians who decided to change this forest into fields) or profit seekers (like the villager who is interested in nature only when it can bring some money). The community is described as an independent society, as a wilderness that has its own rules and where man should not interfere. The observer accepts this small rest of wilderness for his home and is prepared to follow these rules.[35] That means to enjoy the funny and beautiful situations as well as to face calmly the death of birds, the flood, his own hunger, cold and wetness.[36]

Liu Ka-shiang's story also describes his experience from birdwatching; it is dated 1982. He conveys his excitement from meeting the flock of wild birds face to face. The meeting is described as a probable turning point in his relations with birds, as a precious experience that has brought him closer to the wild birds and which might have changed him. The difficulties he has when he is getting closer to birds and which he finally overcomes has not yet been mentioned. Nevertheless, we can already imagine them through the posture he has had to take. Hidden in the grass, his hands like snakes silently slide forward. Less than two meters separate him from the birds. He uses this short spatial distance as a metaphor also for emotional intimacy.[37]

Wang Chia-hsiang on the other hand starts his narrative that he wrote in 1987 directly with the effect of the wilderness on the body. To

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35　「大安溪河口北側，有一片木麻黃樹林，棲居了一群從外埔鄉前途過來的鷺鷥鳥，我在一九八四年三月觀察到鷺鷥們陸續從過冬的南邊回到這片樹林中，此後，樹林一天比一天熱鬧起來，有黃頭鷺，小白鷺以及夜鷺。

到了三月底，林中已經像一個人口眾多的社區，居民各自佔據了自己看中的樹枝，開始營建新巢，我也著手準備在樹林中的空地上搭建一座用來觀察拍照的竹臺。」徐**2003, 101.**

36　「五月二十八日，花嘴又在風雨中死去一個孩子，我認為牠多半是凍死的，因為大鳥出外覓食一直沒有回來，雨下得很大，三隻幼鶵擠成一堆，死的就是最上面的一隻，牠的細毛全濕透，伏貼在身上。」Ibidem, 108.

37　「我慢慢地取出長鏡頭照相機，伸進密生的草叢，雙手像蛇一樣，無聲的滑行前進。最後，讓鏡頭露出草叢.......　這一次，我終於成功了。沒有一隻濱鷸發現草叢裡的撥動。牠們繼續瀕臨淺灘憩息，我離牠們兩公尺不到......　這時，我只希望，我們的距離 --- 我和所有野鳥的距離，永遠是這樣接近。」劉 2003, 71.

explore wilderness means to immerse into it. To feel the hot, muggy day until you faint.[38]

The mind and the body are both activated at the same time. The excitement that accompanies the exploration adventure and meeting with these Others reminds us of reports written by the western explorers from the newly discovered continents. Living organisms are perceived like innocent aborigines that are not aware of their gloomy fate from human colonisation.

The narrators are playing the role of a witness that record the state of the wildlife in Taiwan, uncertain whether any community of us will be revived, newly created or will disappear without a trace. The bigger the distance from the image of a harmonious community of humans and nonhumans they take, the closer they try to get to nature, to touch it and to show that it really exists and did not lose its spirits.

The wilderness opens when they start to pay attention to it, it is not hiding as Koarnhak Tarn said. Through the movement of ones own body is discovered the movement of nature. Birds and animals are constantly changing their places, through paths that they step on or draw in the sky, through movements of growing trees and grasses, the environment is spiritualized for the writers. The contrast in the speed of different movements, dynamics of evolution, adaptation, and the contrast seen from the perspective of history and the human's or animal's life, make the otherwise static report lively and multivocal.

The movements and postures symbolically convey the values of the nature writers and are seen in nature itself. For example, the description of Liu Ka-shiang's several attemps to get close to the wild birds by crawling on the muddy sandbank, hiding in the ditch, etc., if viewed through the lense of the values of the majority at that time, would be interpreted as foolish behaviour. But the crawling, the physical exhaustion and the patience when contrasted with the shyness of the birds, shows the rarity of the intimate experience and the necessity

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1　「海岸上的四月陽光，事先我們並不在意，也就從無預防之念。而置身高出人頭的蘆葦草原中工作，河口的風無法流進草原內部，只在我們的頭頂上經過。於是悶熱與曝曬劇烈地干擾我們的工作。其中之一的同伴，最後竟然臉色慘白，不支倒地。」王2003, 119.

for changing ones posture towards wildlife, from a dominant to a close and intimate one.[39]

The rhetoric of "regrowing" skills, body engagement and movement is typical for the older as well as the younger generation of Taiwanese nature-oriented writers. It is expressed through the slowness and attentive observation of nature. It challenges the symbols of modernity as well as the traditional Chinese education system based on constructed schemata. The nature writers of the younger generation even more experiment with body postures. As their bodies seldom rest and are exposed to exhaustive physical exercises during their wanderings or field research, they highlight the sensual experience in the process of acquiring knowledge. The trope of body engagement creates the image of an interconnected community. Nevertheless, the notion of fragility calls the future of the community into question.

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2 「我只好爬行一段，便靜止不動。偷偷觀望後，有稍向前挪動。每回到廿公尺近時，身體就開始摩擦著淺灘上的泥沼，水漬不斷滲進衣服。我最擔心的，莫過於受傷的照相器材。我必須雙手捧握，防止觸及地面。這時爬行只好用手肘出力。
如此匍匐近半個小時，我通常能接近至十公尺遠。但人已累得不斷貼地喘息，大汗淋漓.這時也無法再向前行，濱鷸一開始朝淺灘後退。 」劉 2003, 75–76.

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Wang Wenxing: The Poetics of Modern Taiwanese Fiction

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Annotation: The aim of this contribution is to give a brief introduction of Taiwanese modernist writer Wang Wenxing (born 1939) as seen through the immanent perspective "from between modernisms". At the same time the contribution attempts to give a transversal reading of his first novel Family Catastrophe *and the wider texture to which it is connotatively related.*

Key words: Taiwanese literature, modernism, time, narrative, tradition, experiment

The phenomenon of Taiwanese literary modernism has been given serious scholarly attention in the form of English-language monographs (Chang 1993; Chen 2000) and articles (Lee 1980; Shu 1980; Sciban 1993). Hence, writing on this topic is not, for the Western reader, discovering a *terra incognita*. What this contribution attempts to give is a perspective: a way of looking at both the modernist literary phenomenon as such and the particular text under scrutiny – Wang Wenxing's novel *Jiabian* 家變. The aspect which opens the afore-mentioned perspective is time.

1 The Problem of Time

The problem common to both Western and Taiwanese literary movements is time. This seemingly innocent word is, however, capable of producing multiple meanings: let us, therefore, for the sake of this contribution, endow the word with three meanings.

The time of Western literary modernism.
Subjective time versus objective time.
The time of Taiwanese literary modernism.

1.1 The Time of Western Literary Modernism

Western literary modernism happened at the beginning of the twentieth century, roughly fifty years before a similar phenomenon appeared in Taiwan.

Although it is impossible to give a complete list of factors that gave rise to literary modernism in the West, it is necessary to mention a few aspects of this movement:

The optimism of the nineteenth century with its belief in technological progress and ever increasing prosperity saw its gloomy counterpart in the harsh experience of the First World War at the beginning of the twentieth century. Whether it is Ernest Hemingway in *A Farewell to Arms* or Thomas Mann in *Magic Mountain*, and whether directly or indirectly, the greater part of modernist writers reflect this crisis consciousness in their works.

But the crisis of consciousness and literary expression came much earlier than the experience of the First World War, and, although it is impossible to set the origin or beginning of modernism as such, it is very probable that the overall positivist cultural texture was in a special way disrupted by the emergence of symbolic poetry. Thus, it is the writings of Charles Baudelaire that is considered by many to be, if not the starting point, then the predecessor of the modernist literary movement.

Part and parcel of Western literary modernism was the experimentation with language, the exploration of the workings of language that was accompanied by the employment of novel narrative techniques and the experiments with point of view: all this happened within one established tradition and, at the same time, was a deep internal transformation of this tradition.

"Make it new!" resounds as an echo that can be applied both to the European and American literary modernisms and their Taiwanese counterpart.

1.2 Subjective Time Versus Objective Time

Objective time is the time of the clock, subjective time is not the time of the clock. Objective time is the time viewed as an object, subjective

time is the time experienced by the subject. Objective time, however, can be proved in a scientific manner.

For example, H. G. Wells deals with time in a very objective manner in his *Time Machine*, whereas Virginia Woolf deals with time in a very subjective and subtle manner in her novel *To the Lighthouse*. Both novelists come from the same country, both novelists draw on the same tradition, the central topic, however, is dealt with in a completely diverging manner.

On the other hand, the French Henri Bergson and the American William James, philosophers coming from different countries, both differentiated between objective and subjective time. And although either of them used different vocabulary and even different languages, both of them were very important for the modernist literary movements. For it is subjective time, the stream of consciousness that is often the axis of modernist works.

Thus, it can be said that the main topic of modernist literary works of art is subjective time, the being in the world that is ever changing. It is the becoming whose principal texture is no longer Cartesian *cogito* but its affectivity.

1.3 The Time of Taiwanese Literary Modernism

Taiwanese literary modernism could not have happened at the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time Taiwan was under Japanese colonial rule and the language of literary expression in Taiwan was either Japanese or classical Chinese. Taiwanese literary modernism occured only after the Second World War.

But, this would be a serious problem only if literary history was the same field of study as natural sciences. This is not so! The problem lies elsewhere.

The problem is both very theoretical and very simple, it lies in the way a work of art exists. Short stories and novels are works of art, however, they exist as works of art only insofar they are read. The Western modernist works were read and even translated in Taiwan after the Second World War, this is to say that modernist literature was alive in the Taiwan of the 1960´s as much as it was alive in the West of 1960´s. The work of art has to be read in order to come to life.

Thus, the difference of roughly fifty years between Western modernisms and its Taiwanese counterpart becomes a serious problem only if we look at the literary history of a certain place as an uninterrupted continuum.

2 Historical Situatedness and the Author's Biographical Data

With the advent of the Kuomintang rule to the island in 1949, a break from the past was imposed accompanying which were changes in the political, educational, literary and cultural domains in general. Related to these changes is the question whether the post-1949 Taiwanese literature is the inheritor of the Japanese colonial legacy, or rather the Chinese republican legacy. Although the answer to this question is far from unequivocal, the predominance of the cultural heritage of republican China seems to be obvious. However, despite the fact that there can be seen some common problems in the development of both the post-1911 Chinese literature and the post-1949 Taiwanese literature, this article approaches the period in question as idiosyncratic.

As a notable factor contributing to the idiosyncrasy could be deemed the influence exerted by Western writing. The group of writers that constituted itself around professor Hsia Tsi-an is credited with the transposition of a great deal of Western texts as well as making a contribution by means of their own creation. Their mediums were the magazines *Wenxue zazhi* (1956–1959) and, later, *Xiandai wenxue* (1960–1973), the founding fathers of which are Bai Xianyong and Wang Wenxing. Among the contributors were names like Yu Guangzhong, Ouyang Zi and Chen Ruoxi.

Wang Wenxing was born in 1939 in the city of Fuzhou, Fujian province. In 1946 he moved, along with his family, to the island of Taiwan where he later settled down in Taibei. In 1957, the young Wang Wenxing was admitted to study at Taiwan National University, where, as a student at the Department of foreign languages, he was much inspired by his teachers Li Liewen and Jacob Korg, both of whom were focused on the problem of literary translation.

After graduating from Taiwan National University, Wang Wenxing enrolled at Iowa University in the United States where he attended a course in creative writing which he himself taught after coming back to Taiwan.

Wang published two collections of short stories that bear the names *Longtian lou* (The Dragon Tower) and *Wanju shouqiang* (The Toy Pistol) that were published in 1967 and 1970, respectively.

In 1973, after seven years of creative effort, Wang Wenxing published his first novel named *Jiabian* (Family Catastrophe). It was only in

1981 that he published his second novel, or more specifically, the first part of his second novel called *Bei hai de ren* (Backed against the Sea), the second and final part of which appeared as late as 1997. And it was only two years later that the world could see the complete two-part edition of *Bei hai de ren*.

The temporal distance between publishing the first novel *Family Catastrophe* and the second part of the second novel *Backed against the Sea* is about twenty five years. This itself constitutes a very interesting statement.

The life, and principally the works, of this personality seem to be a sort of embodiment of the intercultural exchange between the East and the West. But Wang Wenxing himself is modest enough and says only: "There are two kinds of people in this world: the first kind are activists, revolutionaries, someone who needs keep moving and who usually leads a very splendid life; the other kind are observers, some one who looks upon the universe as a humanist, philosopher or scientist and whose task is to examine, analyze and note down the world and its events." Wang Wenxing is definitely an observer, someone with a contemplative attitude to life, an attitude that is in certain contexts designated as aesthetic.

3 The Novel Jiabian 家變

Jiabian is a story of the growth and development of a boy, later a young man named Fan Ye. There are several planes on which the novel can be read:

1. The plane of language. The transition from wenyan to baihua as a means of literary expression in the context of modern Chinese and Taiwanese literature was not a sudden one, sometimes the features of classical prose survive in the texts that are proclaimed to be written in the vernacular. Combining these features is one of the striking characteristics of the text. Their function in the text is that of defamiliarization. In addition to this, the dimmed presence of the syntax of modern English makes *Jiabian* into a fine example of the experimental methods employed by the Taiwanese modernists.

2. The plane of the narrative. Taken formally, there are two parallel narratives present in the novel. The former narrative is numbered by means of Arabic numerals, and the latter is marked with letters of

the Latin alphabet. Thus the first chapter marked with an A is in fact the last phase in the novel's narrative content, and the formally last numbered chapter chronologically precedes the first formal chapter marked with the letter A. All this is intensified by means of the interposition of such chapters, marked with letters, which disturb the linear temporal flow of chapters marked with numerals. The cyclical narrative structure along with the stream-of-consciousness-like interpositions of the numbered chapters brings this novel close to the artistic techniques of Western modernism.

3. The plane of characterization. The characters are both shown in their action and told about, in the process of characterization both mimetic and diegetic means are brought into play as well as the alternation of the lyrical and the epic elements.

4. The plane of values. *Jiabian* can be read as polemics with the Confucian maxim of family reverence *xiao*. In this sense the relationship between Fan Ye as a son of his father is central. And this has further implications for the whole matrix that provides the foundation basis for Chinese society.

As it seems, however, this distinction of four planes of reading is artificial and only helpful when trying to formulate the lines along which the overall import of the novel moves. The novel itself is of a fragmentary nature and the literary fact that its beginning is its ending contributes to the reader's initial puzzlement. Let us, for the sake of better insight, have a look at the opening chapter of the novel, the "mystery" happens right at the beginning of the novel: an old man is leaving his house and the reader is put into the role of a detective about to find out who this old man is and why he is leaving the house.

A

一個多風的下午，一位滿面愁容的老人將一扇籬門輕輕掩上後，向籬後的屋宅投了最後一眼，便轉身放步離去。他直未再轉頭，直走到巷底後轉彎不見。

籬圍是間疏的竹竿，透視一座生滿稗子草穗的園子，後面立着一幢前緣一排玻璃活門的木質日式住宅。這幢房屋已甚古舊，顯露出居住的人已許久未整飾牠:木板的顏色已經變成暗黑。房屋的前右

側有一口洋灰槽，是作堆放消防沙用的，現在已廢棄不用。房屋的正中間一扇活門前伸出極仄的三級台階，階上凌亂的放着木屐，拖鞋，舊皮鞋。台階上的門獨一的另裝上一面紗門。活門的玻璃已許久未洗，而其中有幾塊是木板替置的。由於長久沒人料理，屋簷下和門楣間牽結許多蜘蛛網絡。

"One windy afternoon, an old man with a face filled with misery quietly closed a bamboo gate, tossed a final glance at the house fenced in behind it, turned...and, in brisk strides, left. He walked straight ahead without looking back, all the way to the end of the alley, and disappeared.

The fence was made of thin stalks of bamboo spaced far apart. A front yard, overgrown with weeds and wild grass, lay on the inside. Beyond it was a row of glass sliding doors, the front of a Japanese-style wooden house. The house appeared old and dirty; its owners had evidently not refurbished it in a long while, and the wooden slats had turned a dingy gray. To the right of the house stood an empty cement trough, once used for storing sand in case of fire. Three steps, much worn and indented, extended from the middle sliding door. An assortment of wooden clogs, slippers, and old shoes littered the steps. The middle glass panel was the only one with a screen door in front of it. The panes had not been washed in a long time, and a few of them had in fact been replaced by wooden panels. From long neglect, myriad spider webs woven under the eaves and over the lintels were left unswept."[1]

This chapter, chapter A, is at the beginning, in the centre and at the end of the whole of the novel. Chapter A is formally at the very beginning of the novel where it fulfills an introductory function. At the beginning of the novel we do not know who this elderly man is and we are, as readers, introduced as if through the eye of the narrator's camera to the fundamental setting of novel: the house. The characters of the novel, principally Father, Mother and Son, are either in the house or are somehow related to the house.

It is, then, perhaps not surprising that the very word or words used for "house" are linguistically underlined, accentuated. Wang Wenxing takes skillful recourse to both the ideographic and combinatory charac-

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3   Translation into English by Susan Wan Dolling.

ter of the Chinese language in order to heighten the artistic effect. (Lachner 1988)

The word for "house" is defamiliarized for an artistic purpose as the "real" house of the fictional world is the stage upon which the drama is about to unfold. The house is thus three times *fangwu* 房屋 and once *zhuzhai* 住宅 in the first chapter. The very first readerly encounter with the word for "house" happens in the first paragraph of the novel. 向籬後 的屋宅投了最後一眼, the elderly man looks for the last time at *wuzhai* 屋宅. This word for house, as it seems, exists only in the world of the novel, it came into being as a portmanteau word by combining the other two words (*fangwu* 房屋 + *zhuzhai* 住宅 gives *wuzhai* 屋宅). This language play is a characteristic feature of modernism, reminiscent of *Ulysses* and the whole tradition of puns and word plays typical of one stream of English literature. It is, however, worth noting here that Wang Wenxing himself confesses to reading *Ulysses* only after he has finished writing *Family Catastrophe*.

The house in the fictional world of the novel is a Japanese-style house with gliding doors as its entrance, a place where 長久沒人料理, it has not been cooked in for a long time and which has not been managed for a long time. This is, indeed, a very interesting artistic choice considering the extraliterary fact that Taiwan was, for fifty years, a Japanese colony.

The very same chapter, chapter A, is also in the centre of the whole novel. As we learn later, the old man who is leaving the house is Father. *Jiabian* is scandalous from the very beginning: a Japanese-style house and Father, the traditional centre of authority, is leaving!

It seems that although the characters in the novel have their names, they are much more important as types both for the native Taiwanese reader and even for the foreign reader. Once again, the principal characters of the novel are three: Father, Mother and Son. Or perhaps, there are only two characters: Mother and Son. Father leaves at the very beginning of the novel. He appears on the scene only to leave it: that is why the introductory chapter is in the centre of the whole novel.

On the other hand, if both the native and foreign readers of the novel view the principal characters typologically, the mode of perception will probably be different in the way both the house and the characters in the house are metonymically loaded. The semantic interplay goes in both territorial and, so to say, traditional directions. Traditionally

speaking, the family was very different from its modern version, and, what is more, the family still has different connotations than are those attributed to this word in the West.

"The view that the family and the state are closely related – so much that one can easily be the metaphor for the other – has found its most prominent articulation in *Daxue* (the Great Learning). That "the state" in spoken Chinese should be "*guojia*" (state-family) attests to the internalization of such a view in Chinese consciousness." (Shu 1980: 192)

Thus it could be argued that the whole of the novel is but a commentary to the first chapter. *Jiabian* is a novel both about the change in the family and the change in the state.

The first chapter is the ending of the novel. That is to say, the novel is narrated in such a peculiar way that the first chapter is the first only in a formal manner. The logical sequence of the narrative puts it at the ending of the novel.

The novel is extremely interesting from a narratological point of view. There are actually two parallel narratives of which the first chapter is a point of rupture. An old man is leaving a house.

Chapters 1 to 157 all logically precede chapter A and narrate what happened before this radical rupture. Chapters B to O logically follow chapter A narrating what happens after this radical rupture. What happens after the old man leaves his house?

After the father leaves, his son starts looking for him. This lasts for two years until chapter O which is formally the very last chapter of the novel. In the text of the novel it follows right after the last numbered chapter, chapter 157. But chapter 157 happened logically before the very first chapter, chapter A. It is a circle!

What is then more important? What happened before the rupture or what happens after the rupture? The novel gives its own answer: much more textual space is devoted to what happened before, the real drama happened before Father left.

Chapters 1 to 157 look at the world from the point of view of a boy, later a young man: they capture the growth of a human being from the inside – it is a learning process both for the fictitious boy and any reader of the novel.

Thus, in chapter 157, *Jiabian* draws a narratological circle and the logical time of the novel returns to its beginning, chapter A. How-

ever, the cyclical structure of the novel is opened by its very last chapter, chapter O.

To summarize, chapters A to O narrate the events that happened after Father left the house, whereas chapters 1 to 157 narrate the events that happened before Father left the house. This narratological statement leaves us with the question of sense. What is the sense of the concluding chapter of the novel?

Let us make a digression and look at the novel *Jiabian* in a discontinuous and transversal manner.

In our opinion the writings of Wang Wenxing make up one whole, one textual body, it would thus be very interesting to look at the novel *Jiabian* from the perspective of the ending of Wang Wenxing's second novel *Bei hai de ren,* where the protagonist is killed and thrown into the sea. But *Bei hai de ren* was published much later, in 1999, whereas *Jiabian* came out in 1973. This perspective would be only fictitious.

The reality of this contribution is that it finishes with the ending of *Jiabian* and does not attempt to go further. Let us, however, for the sake of this contribution, lean against the past, lean against what was before *Jiabian* was published. A very good example of the above-mentioned perspective would be Wang Wenxing's early short story entitled *Calendar*. In it a boy named Huang Kaihua realizes as early as 1961 that the objective time of the calendar may go on forever. But what about Huang Kaihua?

Another short story *The Line of Fate* deals with the topic of time in a similar vein. Here a boy named Gao Xiaoming is foretold his fortune by a schoolmate of his. Gao Xiaoming has his palm read and learns that his life is doomed to end when he reaches the age of thirty. His line of fate is simply too short. But Gao Xiaoming is not a fatalist, he takes up a razor blade and decides to lengthen it.

What seems to be very important from the perspective of Wang Wenxing's artistic technique is that both Gao Xiaoming in the short story and the reader of the short story realize something. In the case of Gao Xiaoming, this awareness both modifies and gives energy to his subsequent action, in the case of the reader, the question of what happens next remains open. And it seems that it is this artistic technique that the two short stories share with the novel *Bei hai de ren* as their most conspicuous feature.

But this kind of ending would only be fictitious in the context of the present contribution, for the focus here is on Wang Wenxing's first novel *Jia-*

bian, and what is depicted in a very naturalistic manner at the end of *Bei hai de ren* is not depicted at all in *Jiabian*. This novel is, in this respect, much closer to the Chinese literati tradition and its fondness of the implicit.

Thus, there is not a single mention of the actual death of Father in *Jiabian*, however, the literary fact that Father is absent throughout the novel is highly significant. Or, more precisely, Father is present only in numbered chapters 1-157, the first chapter marked with a letter, chapter A is there only to show Father as an old man who is leaving the house. All the chapters marked with letters deal with the Search for Father. The very last chapter of the novel, chapter O, depicts a changed situation: Mother and Son who have given up searching.

O

時間過去了有幾幾及兩年之久。是一個父親仍然是還沒有回來。然而在范曄的現在的家庭裏邊他和他之媽媽兩個人簡單的共相住在一起生活似乎是要比他們從前的生活較比起來髣髴還要更加愉快些。關之乎隔不久他應該再外去尋索他的父親的安排及計劃，這一個做兒子的他幾乎可以說都已經就要忘記掉了。他 - 范曄 - 在這一個時候的平靜得該一段的時間的裏面，他的身體的健康情形比他的從前的整個任何時候的都要好得多，爾今他得臉紅光滿面的，並且他已經有了一種幾近於進入中年階段的身材。至談到他的母親，她的頭髮而今更白了，但是斯一種白色是一種耀着柔光的白，一種流溢着一股身體健康氣徵的白，從她的頭髮看來，她要是再準此活下去續活廿幾年自然一定沒有任何問題。

"Time passed. It was almost two years to the day. The father had still not returned. For Fan Yeh, however, life at home, living with his mother, simply, from day to day, just the two of them, was much happier, much easier than it had ever been before. As for the plans and other such arrangements that he should be making to go out once again in search of his father, this son, it would seem, had almost put them out of his mind. During this period of calm Fan Yeh enjoyed a physical well-being, a degree of good health, that he had never, in any other period of his life, enjoyed. Consequently, he became rosy cheeked and robust and was already prematurely acquiring the fullness of figure of a middle-aged man. As for his mother, her hair, it must be admitted, had more white in it than before, but it was a shiny,

healthy white, and it had a brilliance about it that exuded vigor. Judging from this, she could easily, as a matter of course, live for another twenty years or more."[2]

The two chapters quoted in this contribution make up the *alpha* and the *omega* of the novel. At the end of the novel it is quite clear to the reader that the old man that left the house is Father. In the fictional world of the novel Father was present during the protagonist's childhood and adolescence, the two years that elapse between the opening and the concluding chapters of the novel are descriptive of the altered *status quo* where the intercalated chapters (1–157) can be read as a variation of remembrance of things past.

Viewed from the perspective of time, chapter O opens the narrative that appears to be formally cyclical into linear duration. Thus the ending is the sense of *Jiabian*.

4 Conclusion

Taking Wang Wenxing's novel *Jiabian* as a case in point, the contribution has attempted to show one particular way the problem of time is unfolded and dealt with in the context of Taiwanese literary modernism. The language plane, as too the planes of narrative and characterization, are all aesthetically coloured by the dénouement of the whole of the novel and its semantic gesture. Thus it can be argued that the topic of the novel is not what happened in the fictional world of one Taiwanese family, the topic is what is to happen. This reading is further intensified by realising that the key trope of modern Chinese and Taiwanese literatures is metonymy. *Jiabian* is a *pars pro toto*.

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1   Translation into English by Susan Wan Dolling.

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Identity of Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia Reflected in the Short Stories by Veven Sp. Wardhana

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Annotation: This paper focuses on the Chinese literature (literature written by the ethnic Chinese) of post-1998 Indonesia, especially on the work of one of the most prominent Peranakan literature writers to have emerged in the years following 1998 – Veven Sp. Wardhana. Even though the author's life was not, as compared to many other ethnic Chinese, fundamentally marked by the course of events that afflicted Indonesia during the second half of the 20th century, his works and their inherent attitudes clearly illustrate the position and situation of the ethnic Chinese within the country. The collection of cerpen (short stories) by Veven Sp. Wardhana entitled "Panggil Aku: Pheng Hwa" (Please, Call me Pheng Hwa) is considered to be one of the most objective literary works depicting the so-called "Chinese problem". The author and concurrently the narrator of the story is ethnically Chinese and fully aware of his origins and the socio-political changes underway in his homeland Indonesia. Despite his critical view and the realistic account of the conflict between the two ethnic groups expressed within the stories, we do not encounter an exaggerated sense of pathos nor the brutal scenes that accompanied the events of 1996–1998. On the other hand, these stories are proof that the "Chinese problem", despite Suharto's attempts at controlled assimilation, is still a current issue, and that "Chineseness" is one of, perhaps the greatest, literary themes explored by the Peranakan writers.
Key words: Veven Sp. Wardhana, Peranakan literature, Chinese-Indonesian literature, Sastra Peranakan Tionghoa, modern Indonesian literature, Chinese problem represented in art

1 Introduction

"Chinese" literature has already more than one-hundred years of tradition in Indonesia. Its development has gone hand in hand with the country's history and the changes to the status of the ethnic Chinese within the country. According to numerous literary critics, its demise, or shall we say assimilation into Indonesian literature, can be traced back to sometime between the years of 1945 to 1965, when: 1) the language Melayu-Tionghoa, with which works of Chinese literature were characterised by, merged with standard Indonesian which officially became the national language; 2) one of the goals of president Suharto was the assimilation of all foreigners into Indonesian society, which included all cultural and "foreign" manifestations, amongst others "foreign" languages, traditions and names. As Leo Suryadinata stated in 1995: "Thanks to the political and social pressures within Indonesia, and especially as a result of the pressure of nationalism, Peranakan literature began to resemble the literature of the locals. The case is still open for discussion, whether Peranakan literature still existed after 1965, even though it had already become Indonesian literature."[1] And indeed, there exists a whole host of authors that were ethnically Chinese and who became prominent figures in Indonesia's literary world, and for the most part without giving any hint of their ethnic origins; they are a generation that I call – writers of a "vanishing theme" (Arief Budiman, Ariel Heryanto, Marga T., Mira W. or Abdul Hadi W.M.). In 1997 Ariel Heryanto published an article entitled "Silence in Indonesian Literary Discourse: The Case of Indonesian Chinese", in which on the one hand he presents factual arguments demonstrating anti-Chinese racism, but on the other hand he admits that "there have been no external restriction[s] on such a theme [i.e. Chinese] in the official canon and that this absence has been largely overlooked, left unquestioned, or taken for granted".[2] Whether or not this silence originated internally, externally, or by pressure from both sides, this silence was loudly broken with the emphatic voices of Peranakan writers that suddenly reappeared after the anti-Chinese riots and the fall of Suharto's regime in 1998, when more than thirty years of restrictions against foreigners was lifted. Even though in the new publications discussing In-

2   Suryadinata 1996, 32–33
3   Heryanto 1997, 38

donesian literature it is stated that Sastra Peranakan-Tionghoa (Chinese-Indonesian Literature) disappeared with the founding of the Indonesian Republic, thus with the fusion of Bahasa Melayu-Tionghoa with Bahasa Indonesia, there is no doubt that this literary stream, even after many years of dormancy, did not completely disappear.

If we were to try to simply generalize this literary field both before 1945 and after 1998, we would find that there exists a large number of matching characteristics.

- In both cases (before 1945 and after 1998) we are dealing with literature written by writers of Chinese-Indonesian origin.
- In both cases the main protagonists of the story are of Chinese origin, while the other characters are native inhabitants – pribumi; before 1945 we also encounter the character of the Dutch colonialist. These two (or three) character roles form the general character types of Chinese-Indonesian literature.
- In both cases there ensues some form of interethnic "conflict". In the literature before 1945 the most common themes include: the life and suffering of the ethnic Chinese, interethnic relationships and mixed marriages, and stories about money and land. In the literature post-1998, though considerably simplified, the main themes surround the life and suffering of the ethnic Chinese, interethnic relationships and mixed marriages.

We can observe that one of the main motifs of Chinese-Indonesian literature from its beginnings until the present day, is the division of "us (ethnic Chinese) and those others (Indonesians)" which of course they themselves perceived as "we the others (ethnic Chinese) and them (Indonesians)". What was not explicitly expressed in the literature till 1945, but which was nevertheless always present, was the sense of self-identity and a certain type of grappling with actually being Chinese, but wanting to be accepted as Indonesian.

In the following sections Veven Sp. Wardhana, one of the prominent Peranakan Chinese writers publishing in the years after 1998, will be introduced. This will then be followed by the thematic analysis of *Panggil aku: Pheng Hwa* (*Please, Call me Pheng Hwa*), the leading short story from a collection of stories of the same name, and complemented with notes

of email correspondences with the author, and excerpts from other select short stories to complete the picture of the author's methods of work. It is worth noting that even though Veven Sp. Wardhana was of Chinese descent, he himself – according to his own words – never perceived himself as Chinese, and before his collection of stories was published, few people even knew that he actually was ethnically Chinese. He was third generation of Chinese immigrants, and according to his own words he did not feel to be Chinese primarily for the reason that he lacked the talent for business. Yet even if he was not a businessman, he could very well represent the envied stereotypes pertaining to the Chinese in Indonesia – critical, progressive, intellectual, successful and well-known.

2 Veven Sp. Wardhana[3]

Veven Sp. Wardhana, contemporary Indonesian author of Chinese origin, was born on January 21, 1959 in Malang, and died of cancer on May 17, 2013 in Surabaya. With a bit of exaggeration, one could say that the date of his passing is almost symbolic, in that it falls on the 15th anniversary of the May anti-Chinese riots which transpired in Indonesia in 1998.

Veven Sp. Wardhana studied at the Faculty of Literature and Culture at University Gajah Madah in Yogyakarta, and later on also in France; his study and subsequently his work interests included the theme of subculture and its tradition in the modern age, and he dedicated himself to film studies and also to the problems of mass media. These themes formed the connecting link and the focus of his professional career. From 1983 he worked as a journalist and editor at various newspapers and magazines, for example: the *Berita Nasional* (*National newspaper*) published in Yogyakarta; the teenage magazine *Hai*; or *Ciara* (*Direction*), a magazine dedicated to modern society and lifestyle where he was editor-in-chief.

In his literary works Wardhana was dedicated to fiction and essay writing, in the latter of which he explored media and its influence on society. Among his essays it is worthy to mention the following publications: *Budaya Massa dan Pergeseren Masyarakat* (1995, *Popular culture and social change*), *Kapitalisme Televisi dan Strategi Budaya Massa* (1997, *Tele-*

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4   Much of the information about the author's life and works have been sourced from his professional CV and email correspondence between Wardhana and the author of this paper.

vision culture and strategies of popular culture), *Menolak Soeharto: Catatan Sebuah Angket* (editor, 1997, *Refusing Suharto: notes on a public poll*), *Para Superkaya Indonesia: Sebuah Dokumentasi Gaya Hidup* together with Herry Barusem (1st edition 1999, 2nd edition 2000, *Superrich Indonesians: a lifestyle documentation*) or *Televisi dan Prasangka Budaya Massa* together with Abdula Manan and Imam Sumaatmadja (2001, *Television and the prejudices of popular culture*).[4] On his Facebook page he described himself as "mass culture receiver, media watcher, writer, observer".

His professional life was also linked with other contentious topics of Indonesian society, such as corruption of the state and women's issues. Between the years 1999 and 2002 he was the coordinator of a program whose role was the control of the television media, and in 2005 he acted as a consultant in an anti-corruption project, established to support reforms by the Indonesian government. From 2006 he also served an advisory role for the German associations *Deutsche Gesselschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* and *Deutsche Gesselschaft für International Zusammenarbeit* in the field of education and improvement of the rights of women. At international conferences and symposiums he gave numerous lectures, which include – "Indonesian women in Indonesian television: in broadcasting and beyond" (2001); "Indonesian women and film: violence and courage" (2001); or, "Pride and prejudice: Islamic discourse in Indonesian television" (2002).

In terms of his fictional work, Veven Sp. Wardhana wrote two novels. The first is the novel *Centeng: Matahari Malam Hari* (*The guard: evening sun*) published in 2002, and the second entitled *Stamboel Selebritas* (*Celebrities on the stage*) in 2004. He is, however, most remembered for his short stories, or cerpen, which all first appeared in magazine form before they were published as a collection. The name cerpen is an Indonesian term for short prosaic narrative pieces, in essence short stories, characterized by their length, dramatic plot and surprising punchline. The first collection of cerpen, published in 2002, was *Panggil aku: Pheng Hwa* by the publisher Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia; the second edition was released in 2013. A second collection of short stories was published in 2004 under the title *Dari Mana Datangnya Mata* (*From where do eyes come from*).

3 Panggil aku: Pheng Hwa (Please, Call me Pheng Hwa)

The short story will mainly be observed from a sociological point of view, which is based on and understands the mutual relationship between society and literature, or the relationship of the author, the work and the historical context in which the work was written and about which it refers to. This relationship is commonly described from two different angles: on the one hand is how societal reality influences the creation of literature, and on the other hand how a literary work then affects that society. We will try to inspect the story from the perspective of what is termed the socio-gnoseological paradigm, which is based on the premise that a literary work is a reflection of society, which not only describes the society in a given place at a given time, but simultaneously is a product of that society and a result of certain social forces. The socio-gnoseological paradigm highlights the information-fulfilling role of literature, and on this basis then a literary work informs the reader, or the receiver of shared information, about the society of that given time. In this way a writer's work can directly describe the society in which s/he lives, even if from a somewhat subjective perspective, and also indirectly, where the work becomes a reflection of the author's values, customs and views, which s/he has absorbed as a member of that society.[5]

The short story *Panggil aku: Pheng Hwa* was first published in the newspaper *Kompas* on October 11, 1998. It was, however, written over time: the first part originates from the year 1995 which the author wrote while in Paris, and the final part was subsequently added in 1998 upon his return to Indonesia.[6] The work is significantly autobiographical, but more so the work should rather be characterised as a literary adaptation of contemporary problems. Even though we are not dealing with a diary text or memoir, this eight-page story not only contains an explicit and direct representation of reality, but also a strongly subjective presence. As in the Czech Republic after the fall of communism, for example, where for a large part of the literary world there existed a "*strong interest for the revocation of the past, looked at from a keenly subjective perspective distanced from*

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6   ČERMÁK 2011

7   The dates and places mentioned were listed in the footnotes to the story.

the dictates of the collectivist myth", as well as the desire for the "*restoration of memory in its uniquely personal lived-through form, the accentuation of the deep and intensive experience of reality, as well as he reanimation of tabooed and silenced facts, all showed themselves to be a serious social necessity*"[7], so too there existed a similar desire for self-expression within the Chinese writers of Indonesia, who for the first time in over thirty years of restrictions could uncover their personal feelings and freely express their opinions regarding their lives in the times that they had lived.

The story's plot-line gradually develops and is set in various different places. The main protagonist and concurrently the narrator, opens the story by recounting his life in Indonesia, then proceeds with his study visit in Paris, and concludes with the return to his homeland. As has already been mentioned, the story has the flavour of a personal account, and one neither encounters the complex plotline nor the dramatic climax typical of other cerpen works.

> "*Time has slowly turned me into a chameleon. Sometimes I call myself Pheng Hwa, while at other times I go by Effendi Wardhana, the name printed on my ID card. My folks said every citizen should respect the name printed on their ID card, because it is the only name acknowledged by the state.*
>
> *My family lives in a small town and there are only a few other Indonesians of Chinese origin there. At home I was called Pheng Hwa or Ping An. Anyway, that is not important because everywhere else, such as police stations or government offices, I had to introduce myself as Effendi Wardhana.*
>
> *As time went by, this name not only became familiar to the civil servants and police officers I sometimes dealt with, but also to my high school friends and people I knew in Yogyakarta, where I went to university, and in Jakarta where I also have many friends. Eventually, I felt irritated if someone called me Pheng Hwa, or worse Singkek, which means an indigenous Chinese man and is a term people here use as a form of disparagement.*"[8]

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8 *V souřadnicích volnosti* 2008, 20

9 Wardhana 2013, 3–4, Note: the English translation that was used here was published in *The Jakarta Post*, 22nd April, 1999, it says: "Translated by TIS".

With this introductory passage Wardhana begins his narrative, and which quite neatly indicates two of the major themes that the author examines throughout the story. The first is name, or the requirement of changing Chinese names to Indonesian ones, a part of the *Presidential decree no. 14/1967*. The second theme, and very intricately linked with the first, is the perpetual search for his place of belonging, his own self, his self-identity. The main hero divides his life according to how his name was "changed", and how society changed around him, and he within it.

After a change of ownership in the company where he works, he decides to apply for a scholarship to France, where apart from further educating himself he also comes to the new understanding that being Chinese does not matter. During dinner at one of the local restaurants that belongs to a native Indonesian, he meets with a friend from elementary school, who automatically addresses him by his Chinese name Ping An. At that point Wardhana again feels a peculiar itching sensation within his ears, but from that time forth all his friends in France call him by the name Ping An. And linked closely to the issues surrounding his name is the issue of his Chinese identity. He does not understand, how in the subway people could mistake him for a Vietnamese, nor how it is possible that "Chinese" merchants in the marketplace cannot at all speak Chinese, nor how his wife can distinguish Thai rice from Vietnamese rice when both are sold by those same "Chinese" merchants. Furthermore, he cannot understand how he could have suddenly blended in with the masses, which in Indonesia – where he was always "Chinese" – was unthinkable.

> "*In this foreign land, whether my name was Pheng Hwa or Effendy Wardhana, I never felt like a foreigner. Here I didn't need to, like before, slowly sneak in or hide in the corner. And at the same time I did not care by which name I was addressed. Why should I feel strange, when someone calls me by the name that is written in my documents? And what should I be fearful of, only because someone calls me by my Chinese name? I felt like I was reborn. And with this feeling of self-satisfaction I prepared for my return home, to Jakarta, to my wife, who had already left France some six months earlier than me.*"[9]

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10 Wardhana 2013, 9, translated by Martina Rysova and Filip Dostal. Note: the translation of the story in *The Jakarta Post* does not correspond with the book edition published in Indonesian in 2013.

With that feeling of rebirth, a few months later Wardhana makes his return home to Jakarta, ignoring the look of surprise by the aloof official who checks his passport. He then heads directly to the phone booth to call his wife and inform her that he has arrived. But no one answers the phone, even after repeated attempts. He strolls further along the airport hall which he notices to be unusually crowded. He again tries to call home, but yet again no one answers, and neither is there anybody from his family waiting for him at the exit. At that point he recalls the film *The Philadelphia Experiment*, in which a man returns home after the Second World War only to find himself in the year 1984, and while he is still young, his love – whom he tries to telephone – has already aged.

The story *Panggil aku: Pheng Hwa* ends with the scene when Wardhana asks an airport worker and people around him, what year it is. One of the bystanders replies that it is May 15, to which Wardhana retorts: "*Please call me by my name Pheng Hwa. And really I'm not interested in knowing what hour, day or month it is! But the year! What year is it now*?" This last scene is quite crucial – it completes the story line that is focused on the issues of name and identity, and simultaneously the author quite mercilessly transports the hero to the particular time when the harshest attacks are occurring on the ethnic Chinese in Jakarta.

In the following sections I will deal with specific themes that predominate in the work, that being: the year 1998, name, being a stranger in one's own land, and identity. It could be considered that name and being a stranger in some territory are only sub-themes of the parent theme identity. For the sake of better clarity, and also considering the fact that in the short story *Panggil Aku: Pheng Hwa* name is an absolutely essential motif, they will each be analysed here separately.

4 Theme 1: 1998

In the year 1998, events transpired within Indonesia which not only affected the societal and political course of the country, but also the direction of Chinese literature. In May 1998 there took place at various locations looting, killing, burning and rape by native Indonesians on ethnic Chinese. The ignition for these mass displays of hate was above all a massive economic crisis and the long-time decline of corrupt President Suharto's government, which had been in power since 1965 and which, as a result of

these events together with pressure from the government and the people, caused him to resign in 1998. The government, which had for a long time been trying to hush-up the whole situation, ultimately, by indirect means, identified the main culprit and originator of these issues as those that had always possessed enough property, lived in more-or-less enclosed groups where they maintained their cultural practices, and who acted both with exclusivity and superiority.

The ethnic Chinese from the position of being the victims of this aggression subsequently felt the need to express this injustice, some through their literature. Again in their writings there began to emerge strong themes focusing on their origins; more so than before they emphasized the contrast between those to whom the country belonged, and those that throughout the course of time were apparently wholly bent on steeling from or entirely robbing the country, or conversely, those that throughout have tried to live in harmony and prosperity with the native population, and those that repaid them for this in the most terrible way possible. Pamela Allen states that after the fall of Suharto's government, some ethnic Chinese started to write like real Chinese; some began to use their Chinese names, others even decided to write in Chinese.[10] Many Chinese felt this change as if they had emerged from darkness, and felt a strong desire to somehow express their experience of thirty years in obscurity.

In his story, Veven Sp. Wardhana only points towards the events of 1998 – the story's hero makes his return to Indonesia exactly at the time when they are occurring. The author however does not revisit these events, he makes no comment about them, nor does he vividly describe them. It seems that rather than depicting the horrors experienced during the massacres, the author attempts to allude to the traumas caused by the massacres and the marks that it left on the Chinese. This preference of allusion over explicit description, is utilized by the author in other stories as well. For example in "*Wo te Pao-péi*" (*My baby*), which in a nutshell describes the courtship of two Chinese-Indonesian youngsters through the internet with a tragic end, where the boy on many occasions attempts to find out from the girl whether she was a victim of the riots. When the girl gets angry and tries to excuse herself from the situation, the boy reacts by telling himself: "*Deep down I hoped that she wasn't one of the victims, because I did*

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11 Allen 2003, 14

not want our relationship to be tainted by feelings of pity...."[11] In another story *Memburumu, Waktu demi Waktu* (*I will look for you, always*) he tells the story of a married man, who meets a young lady Cing Hwa at a café. Many times they meet there, but then one day Cing Hwa never returns and so the man attempts to find her. Two crucial moments arise in the story pertaining to the events of 1998, the first is when the man discovers the address of the young lady's residence, and then when he arrives there (one year after the attacks) he finds the house burned to ashes.

> "*Where did the tenants go?*" *He urged.*
> "*They fled. Some to America, some to Singapore, Canada…*"
> "*No one returned?*"
> "*To where would they return? Their home is in ruins.*"[12]

The second surprising and dramatic scene occurs when the man finally manages to catch the girl at the airport, just before her departure to Amsterdam. "*I arrived at the canteen, sensing I was close to you, I could almost smell that perfume that you used to wear, and then somebody greeted me from behind. 'Assalamualaikum'.*" When the man turns around he is surprised to see Cing Hwa, her head covered with a headscarf. Wardhana in this story reminds the reader by what manner Chinese women hid themselves from the possibility of aggression. He was not the only one that used this subject in art. For example, the painter Anna Zuchriana, born to parents of a mixed marriage, whose family also fell victim to the wave of attacks – despite the fact that they were all professed Muslims – in one of her paintings with the title *What should be hidden?* depicts a Chinese woman with a Muslim headscarf. The woman, however, is not Muslim and the "masking" is there to protect her against possible attacks.

5 Theme 2: Name

The strategy of Wardhana's works seems, at first glance, to be different from that of the other authors. As has already been mentioned, the author of *Panggil aku: Pheng Hwa* does not explicitly recount any of the horrors

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12   Wardhana 2013, 16
13   Wardhana 2013, 72

that took place, and does not force the reader to feel pity for the victims of the racist storm, neither to judge those that perpetrated the evil acts. In his narrative he returns back to the time some thirty years before, when the main hero was still a child, when President Suharto's regulations aimed against foreigners was first decreed, which for the large part affected the Chinese population. These regulations should have led to the easier assimilation of ethnic Chinese. With the restrictions on common Chinese customs, the ban on speaking their language, and others, the Chinese were supposed to merge with the native Indonesian population, to let go of their so-called exclusivity, and essentially to integrate. One of these regulations was the change of one's own name from a Chinese to an Indonesian one. Many Chinese in fact felt this requirement to be the most degrading of all; this can also be attested to by the words of Veven Sp. Wardhana in his email correspondence:

> "*a name not just a name, especially for chinese, especially indonesian-chinese… in a governance periodical, indonesian-tionghoa must be change their name as look like brief nationalism spirit. but in the same time, state abuse ther power to repress indonesian-tionghoa or any else… so, when pheng hwa feel comfort with his really name, especially when he live in french. and then in the real life. he hope. but, when he come back to indonesia,…*"[13]

The mention of name and of the hero's feelings associated with its "wearing" can be found in each of the three parts; it is in fact these changes to his name that in each case push the plot forward. From the title and introductory paragraph, it is apparent that the hero's true name in the story is Pheng Hwa, and Effendi Wardhana is really not more than a name that he was given and uses because he must. The contrast of good and bad, or pleasant and unpleasant, is characteristic of the hero's childhood, when everyone called him Pheng Hwa, even though he lived in an area where there were not many ethnic Chinese, which means that he was addressed as such by his Indonesian neighbours and friends. Effendi Wardhana was

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the name that was reserved only for the office, for school or when visiting official places.

His feelings change when during his studies he becomes Effendi Wardhana, to fit in with his other classmates. With this sense of awareness between himself and others there begin to show up unpleasant feelings, for example when someone addresses him in Chinese, as if it were something to be ashamed of or something he should better hide. When he departs for France, he still considers himself to be Effendi. His official name has become a habit, and the hero feels no need to change it; at least not until he meets his childhood friend who by the same habit addresses him as Pheng Hwa. The internal struggle which then takes place within him is characteristic of the search for his own self. On the one hand there is the comfort of his accustomed Indonesian name, and on the other hand the growing awareness of his origins and the unjust cause of its denial. The final straw is his meeting with other foreigners who, based on his name, consider him to be firstly Muslim, and secondly Malaysian. "*My name is Pheng Hwa*" is the hero's reaction and the realization of his own identity. From the moment he leaves France and returns to Indonesia, in the hero's monologues there exists a distinct hope and happiness, a result of the understanding of his own self and the reconciliation with reality that ultimately it does not matter whether his name is Pheng Hwa or Effendi Wardhana, that neither one of them are a reason to hide or be ashamed of.

This story however is not the only one where 'name' appears as a major theme. It could be said that name is one of Wardhana's major motifs throughout his short stories. Even though in the introduction to the collection he explains that he describes his characters only briefly, giving them only first names (or in some cases no name at all) – names that serve only some carrier function of the individual's identity – however, the names that he does use, such as Pheng Hwa, Hsiao Tsing, Ning Tsai-Shun, Siao Cing Hwa, etc., in reality reveal quite a lot about the character, at least in terms of their ethnic origin.

For example, in the story *Memburumu, Waktu demi Waktu* we encounter this dialogue:

> "*Wiras,*" you introduced yourself as.
> "*Surname?*" I asked curiously.
> "*Wirastuti….*"

"Sure name?"
"Siao Cing Hwa."
From the beginning I had the hunch that in your body flows Chinese blood.[14]

In the story *Deja vu: Kathmandu*, two young people each introduce themselves with the fictive names Xiao Qing and Xu Xian – names of characters from Chinese legends. Wardhana could not have chosen a better and simpler method to indicate that the characters in his stories are of Chinese origin. In his works it is quite common for there to arise questions concerning ones "true" name. It was probably also the intention of the author by these means to draw ones attention to the injustice caused by the regulation dealing with the change of name. This fact is interesting also because the original name of Veven Sp. Wardhana is not Pheng Hwa, as one might imagine, but it truly is Veven Sp. Wardhana, as is evidenced by his response to this question:

"*i dont have chinese name. "pheng hwa" is my fantasy name, imaginair name. "hwa" is flower. any friend said, your 'chinese name' sound feminin. hehehe... in my imagine, 'hwa' look like wardhana. 'pheng' same sound: veven.*"[15]

6 Theme 3: A Stranger in His Own Land

The theme of being a foreigner is well known in various literatures. As an example, from Czech literature can be cited Egon Hostovský's work *Cizinec hledá byt* (*Foreigner searches for an apartment*), which narrates the fate of a Czech emigrant struggling in New York. In the work *Cizinec* (*The Stranger*), Albert Camus expresses the idea that in the world we live in, full of misunderstanding and absurdity, the stranger is in fact each and every one of us. The character of stranger/foreigner or guest also often appears in Chinese literature[16], in which this character is often associated

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15 Wardhana 2013, 63

16 Wardhana 4.8.2011. Personal comment from email correspondence.

17 For example, the poem *Return to the homeland* by Tang poet Han Yu (韩愈) describes the feelings of a man who after many years returns to his home village, and no one recognizes him.

with the theme of return, where the hero of the story returns home after a long time and is not recognized. In the story *Návrat* (*The return*), modern author Han Shaogong (韩少功) also explores the sense of alienation and feelings of loss of self-identity.

In *Panggil aku: Pheng Hwa* the hero himself is in the position of foreigner. The strong sense of alienation however stems from reasons other than those set out in the works above. Pheng Hwa in fact feels himself a stranger mostly when he finds himself in his own homeland Indonesia. He recounts his return to Indonesia from his study visit as such:

> "*When I was passing through passport control, I could not help but notice the strange dealings. The immigration officer, who was checking my passport, did so at length, studying it thoroughly and peevishly. But why?*"[17]

Veven Sp. Wardhana later added to this:

> "...*when he come back to indonesia, where he feel indoensia as his land, real land, he still in trap politically situation: state always raise prejudice and pressume that indonesian-tionghoa be diffrent, look like different religy, or social class, or race, or... etc...*"[18]

When re-examining the passage where the hero of the story expresses his sense of not feeling like a foreigner, despite living in a foreign land, and his subsequent sense of rebirth, it is apparent that Pheng Hwa already concerns himself with the issue of his foreignness while still in Paris, prior to his departure home. Pamela Allen claims that Wardhana's "strategy is used to clearly project Chinese-ness as a *masalah* [problem] only in Indonesia; once the Chinese character leaves Indonesia s/he is shrouded in a blissful cloak of anonymity".[19] In my opinion, the actual situation is not exactly as just stated. Even though Pheng Hwa discovers his own self, the aforementioned "anonymity" comes to him as rather an unpleasant surprise; similarly so is the ignorance and indifference he encounters

18 Wardhana 2002, 9

19 Wardhana 2.8.2011. Personal comment from email correspondence.

20 Allen 2007, 19

in the scene where at a visit while talking with other foreigners he is mistaken for a Malaysian Muslim. The truth remains that Wardhana's view of the Chinese problem in Indonesia is strongly critical, and the question still remains of how he would have depicted the lives of Chinese living in Malaysia or America.

7 Topic 4: Identity

"'*Ni shi zhong Guoren, wei shen me bu hui shuo Huayu?*'[20] *I asked, surprised*"[21]

The term 'identity' is often understood as a certain meeting or entwining of two or more things, people or groups. Identity is widely used to describe the belonging to a certain social, national, language, religious, ethnic or cultural group. The search for one's own identity in essence describes the efforts of humans to find inclusion in one of these social groupings.

"*The problem of each community is that not everyone can be a part of it; a community is demarcated and it becomes necessary to define what 'entry ticket' one requires to be able to become its member. On the basis of this idea, with which it is not difficult to identify, many people have presently concluded that national identity is natural, and that generally one cannot expect anything else but that problems shall arise during confrontations with foreigners and minorities. Ethnic discrimination and national chauvinism in this way become a self-fulfilling prophecy.*"[22]

In the case of Indonesian and Chinese relations, awareness of self-identity has always played an important role, and this has been the case whether it was in terms of social status, religion or different appearance. And identity is also one of the major themes of this and many other of Wardhana's stories relating to both of the previous themes.

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21 The Chinese text has been copied exactly as written in the original story. Translation: "You are Chinese, so how is it possible, that you cannot speak Chinese?"

22 Wardhana 2002, 7

23 Eriksen 2007, 21

In *Please, Call me Pheng Hwa* it is evident that the hero of the story has a fairly clear idea that he is Chinese. The country of his birth and his homeland, which he himself calls as such, is however Indonesia. During his stay in Paris he cannot understand how Europeans can mistake him for being Vietnamese, or claim that he is from Singapore. At the same time, however, during dinner with foreigners he is able to proudly explain to the other guests that the country he is from, though lying next to Malaysia, does not change the fact that it has its own name – Indonesia. In the story the environment is created where it is clearly delineated who has what origin, whether it be an ethnic Chinese, Indonesian, Frenchman or Algerian. And conversely, differences in social or religious aspects are not apparent, even though these are often considered to be the reasons for anti-Chinese hatred.

The first sign of the importance of the hero's origins is the name of work itself, and in relation to this develops the theme of name (see above). Pheng Hwa's "rebirth", and even his final exclamation when he desires to be called by his real name, tells the reader quite clearly that the hero does not want to continue feeling ashamed nor have to cover up his Chinese origins. Evidence for the strong awareness of his ethnic origins can also be witnessed in the scene in Paris, where Pheng Hwa tests a local vendor at a Chinese marketplace in his knowledge of Chinese:

> "*Gus was right, there's still a lot of mystery which I don't understand. Same as when we went shopping with my wife to the marketplace Tang Frere in Porte de Choisy district, where out of all of the Chinese that I met there, there was not a single one with whom I could communicate with in Chinese. They all spoke French. 'Ni shi zhong Guoren, wei shen me bu hui shuo Huayu?' I asked, surprised.*"[23]

Even in his other stories the author maintains clear boundaries between individual ethnicities; it is always apparent who is Indonesian, Chinese or of other descent. The reader can very easily recognize this according to the character's name, the language that is used in the dialogues, and even by the topics of conversation and the contexts of the story-line. The question *Where were you in May 1998?* does not elicit the same emotions as

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23 Wardhana 2002, 7

it does for the ethnic Chinese. In the stories one also often encounters the theme of 'finding a friend', one that understands you, one that knows the song of your childhood, who seems very close, without you knowing why, and it always concerns two people of the same ethnic origin. Because of this, one may be surprised by the author's assertion:

> "*I feel as though I'm Indonesian, definitely. Even more so I feel I'm from East Java. More specifically: from Malang! I never felt that I was Chinese because I was never any good at business or investing. Many people would not even think that I have Chinese blood. Only after the cerpen 'panggil akhu pheng hwa' was published did many people start to ask about my origins. They came into my office (many of those that were Chinese) and asked: 'so, Veven is Chinese?'*"[24]

8 Conclusion

From a sociological point of view, Haman would characterize Veven Sp. Wardhana as an exemplary author acting as "an intersection for social forces, whose spokesman he then becomes".[25] But one may ask, why would this writer, third generation of Chinese immigrants, but an individual that completely feels himself to be Javanese, author a collection of works almost entirely dedicated to the issues of interethnic relations in his country? We could argue whether this stemmed from a need to express his dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs (Wardhana's wife was also of Chinese origin) or whether Wardhana as a figure involved with the current societal issues (women's rights and the position of women within society) decided in this way to also discuss this burning issue. The "Chinese problem" in Indonesia is without a doubt an ethnic nationalistic problem. Here, the Chinese have always been a well-defined group, whether it be in terms of their way of life, social status or religion. Yet, when asked the question about their national identity, the majority of ethnic Chinese answer that they feel they are Indonesians, and that their homeland is Indonesia. The reason why the Chinese are still Chinese is the prevalence of negative stereotypes such that have led to anti-Chinese aggressions. The fact remains that

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24 Wardhana 6.8.2011. Personal comment from email correspondence.
25 Haman 1999, 56

the ethnic Chinese, despite feeling themselves to be Indonesian, Javanese, etc., feel the need to write about this topic including the traditional division of literary characters based on their origin. The Chinese in Indonesia have been for such a long time under pressure from governmental regulations and society in general that for themselves it is still hard to break free from their own stereotype of "Chineseness".

The collection of short stories *Panggil aku: Pheng Hwa* headed by the work of the same name, confirms that Chinese-Indonesian literature as a literary stream still continues till the present day, maintaining all of its characteristic aspects as was listed in the introduction of the article: generally the works are written by authors of Chinese-Indonesian origin, the main characters are of Chinese descent, the other characters are often native inhabitants (pribumi), the plotline often involves interethnic "conflicts", the themes that are explored are usually about the life and suffering of the ethnic Chinese, interethnic relationships and mixed marriages. The main themes to have come to the fore in the Chinese-Indonesian literature after 1998 is: the search for or the perception of self-identity (which has already been explored, with many example given, by Pamela Allen[26]); the reporting on, and the coming to grips with, the years under Suharto's leadership; and the aggression at the end of the 1990s which climaxed in the year 1998. An important part is the sharing of feelings of what it is like to be Chinese in Indonesia. Besides Vevena Sp. Wardhana, the use of this identical theme or the use of main characters explicitly of Chinese origin, can also be seen in the literary works of Clara Ng, Lan Fang, Wilson Tjandinegara, Richard Oh, A. Jiao, Seno Gumira Ajidarma and others. Veven Sp. Wardhana, unlike many other authors, elects a very inexplicit method. The short story *Panggil aku: Pheng Hwa* is, in essence, about the internal fragmentation and loss-of-self experienced by Chinese-Indonesians and caused by the anti-Chinese assimilation politics of Suharto's government, which has been explored in this article in detail.

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1 Allen 2003

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Asceticism, Insanity, and Affection – The Three Characteristics of "Bizarre Monks" Portrayed in Tang Tales

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Annotation: Buddhist monks are an important group of characters in classic Chinese novels but have received insufficient attention. In Tang tales, there are various images of Buddhist monks that emphasize their miracles and characters. In Taiping guangji, the most complete compilation of Tang tales, there are 12 volumes (87–98) on "bizarre monks".

This essay identifies the basic characteristics of these bizarre monks and analyses the following three personal traits: asceticism, insanity, and affection. Ascetic monks inherit the traditional images presented in hagiographies, which emphasize the religious discipline and harsh practices of saints. However, the discipline gradually tends to emphasize secular ethics/morality, especially with regard to the chastity of Buddhist nuns who were widows. The insane monks pretend to be filthy and blasphemous; they not only reveal their miracles by playful performance and prophecy but also exhibit the secular views and misunderstandings of common people.

During the Tang dynasty, scholars had closer contact with Buddhist monks, such as philosophy discussions, poetry writing, and performance of everyday rituals. Some scholars even built up a strong friendship with them. This historical phenomenon is revealed in Tang tales through the affectionate monks. By witnessing or experiencing reincarnation, affectionate monks became oath keepers and spiritual teachers to their secular friends. The poetry, discussion, and historical reflection created emotional bonds between scholars and bizarre monks, while also revealing the synthesis of genres, a narrative feature of Tang tales.

Ascetic and insane monks reveal two different attitudes to religious practice of the Ritsu school and Zen, while affectionate monks reflect more living experience and subjective imagination of scholars in the Tang dynasty. The three fundamental characteristics of bizarre monks thus demonstrate the mysterious part of religion, its more secular, ethical aspects, and its relation to human emotion.

Key words: *Tang tales, bizarre monks, asceticism, insanity, affection*

Buddhist monks constitute an important and complicated group of characters in classic Chinese novels, but have received insufficient attention thus far. From the sacred descriptions found in hagiography and the mystic stories of the six dynasties, to the greedy, licentious images portrayed by the vernacular novels of Ming and Qing, it seems that the image of Buddhist monks in novels has greatly transformed over time, and that monks portrayed in Tang tales seem more lacking of compilation and discussion.

However, in *the Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (Taiping guangji), the most complete compilation of Tang tales, there are 12 volumes (volumes 87–98) dedicated to "bizarre monks" (yiseng), depicting Tang Buddhist monks in abundant ways. Moreover, descriptions of bizarre monks are not limited to volumes 87–98, but are widespread across all of the books, such as the volumes on "realizing the past life" (wu qiansheng) or "karma" (baoying). Why are these monks considered "bizarre"? How do the tales present their personalities and interactions with other characters? What is the meaning behind them? These complex characterizations, intersecting with various cultural and religious issues, are worthy of more detailed research.

According to the previous definition by Lijun Ceng, bizarre monks are special for their appearance, thaumaturgy, and personalities.[1] I also adhere to Ceng's translation "bizarre" in order to emphasize their supernatural tendencies. Yet, in this essay, I want to demarcate the personalities of bizarre monks in particular, since personality is the essence of an individual, revealing their specific religious philosophies or life experiences, and also influences external behaviours, such as their thaumaturgy and interactions with others. Therefore, this essay identifies the basic personalities

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1 Ceng and Liu 2009, 48–52.

of these bizarre monks on the basis of the compilation of related texts, and analyses the following three personality traits: asceticism, insanity, and affection, attempting to outline the personality traits of bizarre monks as revealed in these tales.

1 Asceticism

Notwithstanding the plentiful but sketchy accounts of ascetic monks recorded in the volumes on "worshiping sutra and icon" (chong jingxiang) in *Taiping guangji*, trial tales portraying whether or not monks have conviction in facing tribulations also illustrate the nature of Buddhist practice. Beautiful women and thunder dragons are the usual test-givers in trial tales, whilst resisting temptations is the main trial theme. For example, monk Yantong obeys the harsh *Dhuta* practice throughout his life of wandering. When a fellow traveller is bewildered by a pitiful beauty, he recognizes that she is an evil fox in disguise, and defeats her with his staff without any hesitation.[2] Another example is monk Daoxuan, the eminent monk of the Ritzu School who bumps into a horrifying thunder dragon hovering overhead during his meditation. Instead of making a panicked escape, he reflects on himself and faces his individual trial seriously, and then the dragon creates thunder and turns to ash, vanishing immediately.[3] "Monk Zhikong" also follows a similar plot structure narrated with more detail.[4] Dragons play the role of a monstrous test in these tales, revealing a supernatural power that can overwhelm the normal state of things. Instead of fearing this dangerous power, the monks' first reaction is to calmly reflect on personal religious practice and pray for the appropriate punishments. This pious courage seems to be the key to defeating the thunder dragon. These ascetic monks do not actively cause any miracle. Their incredible stillness is the miracle.

Monks who pass the trials are usually ascetic and eminent monks, who practice harsh commandments, such as those of the Ritsu school or Dhuta practice, for decades on end. If a monk fails the trial, we will know better whether or not insisting on religious discipline is the key to passing the ex-

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2 Li 2011, 8057–8058.

3 Li 2011, 6792.

4   Li 2011, 6825–6826.

amination. When a beauty, Lady Lotus, secretly tempts master Yundou, this master is unable to control his lust and makes excuses for betraying the commandments. After confirming his lubricity, the lady, disguised as a Yaksha painting on the temple wall, severely scolds the master and devours him. As for the tale "Gongshan Seng",[5] it uses the perceptions of an rresolute monk to delicately establish the presence of an imaginary ghost, triggering the ensuing aural impression of the sudden cessation of another monk's hymn and the sound of a beast chewing. Both of the monks had previously sworn to meditate piously without leaving their rooms for twenty years, but the irresolute one is scared of breaking his commitment, becomes seriously and abnormally bewildered, and experiences sensations of "tumbling and crippling exhaustion" and "escaping fearfully and blindly". It is a vivid warning against losing original mind.

Disasters and oppression in real life also tend to push people towards religion. Some people tend to self-harm to demonstrate their piety, such as by self-starvation and imprisonment when an emperor prosecuted Buddhism,[6] or burning fingers and castration.[7] The life experiences narrated in "Monk Yiguang"[8] and "Xie Xiao-e Chuan"[9] also depict religionists' aggressive asceticism, but in the form of detailed biography. They share many similarities, including the early misfortunes of the deposed, noble, orphan monk Yiguang and the poor widow Xie Xiao-e, which emphasize the artificial and chaotic essence of the secular world and how religion provides an appropriate shelter for these refugees in time of need. When given the chance to return to a normal social life, by inheriting a noble rank for monk Yiguang or the social expectation of remarriage for Xie Xiao-e, both of them express their strong will to remain religionists through aggressive asceticism: monk Yiguang castrates himself with a monk's knife when he is forced to marry a noble woman and announces his eternal abandonment of inheritance rights, while Xie Xiao-e throws away her fine marriage opportunity, burning her finger, crippling her legs, and choosing to live extremely harshly in order to struggle to become an eminent nun. Most schol-

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5 Li 2011, 6233–6236.

6 See "Monk Congjian", Li 2011, 1265–1267.

7 See "Monk Kongru", Li 2011, 1261–1262.

8 Li 2011, 1217–1222.

9 Li 2011, 8787–8791.

ars discuss the knight errant spirit in the middle of the tale, but the vivid record of her strict, completely religious life and commentary in the later part of the tale are also notable: in the beginning she follows the great Ritsu nun school on Cow-Head Mountain. After practicing for a long time, she receives the commandment of Bhiksuni, which symbolizes identity as an official nun in Kai Yuan Temple. She then meets the narrator Li Gong-zuo by accident, and shows her thankfulness in Shan Yi Temple. Finally, she becomes a great nun and wanders south alone. Her training process, based on the Ritsu school, was strict and step by step. After avenging her father and husband's blood, Xie Xiao-e devotes herself to Buddhism and never wavers from her loyalty and chastity. Religious self-harm represents a merciful sacrifice to the secular world and to the given Buddhist sect, which has been the guarantee of becoming an eminent monk since medieval times. By demonstrating her incredible endurance against mental pain and desire like previous eminent monks, the weak widow casts off traditional female responsibilities but still keeps her female virtue, transforming her image into that of an eminent martyr, which is worthy of greater praise. It is also usual for a female to be allowed to pay for a male assistant, for example, the scholar Li, who helps her to solve her puzzle. We can observe this explaining in the similar plot of the tale "Nun Miaoji".[10] The narrator's final comment on "chastity" (zhen jie) is based on the social standards imposed on women.

Reviewing the self-castration of monk Yiguang, we can discover that this act seems to adhere to a similarly harsh requirement of chastity as that of Xie Xiao-e. The plot structure of a monk aggressively defending his virginity echoes women defending their chastity, as emphasized in "Lie Nü Chuan". A higher moral standard originally set for women is also suitable for monks, another group that must be harshly examined in their private, sexual life.[11] Nonetheless, whether or not self-burning or castration is appropriate to Buddhism is controversial among different Buddhist sects. Some eminent monks, such as Yijing, criticize asceticism for being a quick strategy in violation of Buddha's commandments.[12] The Ritsu School requires monks to control individual lust through force of will, not direct

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10   Li 2011, 1777–1780.

11   Jian 2013.

12   Lin 2001.

self-castration. Moreover, mental fortitude is also an important requirement of monks.[13] However, tale writers in particular emphasize aggressive asceticism as turning points in their plots, not to manifest Buddhism, but to reflect on secular moral principles through plot devices. Asceticism portrays the transcendence of a saint's spiritual pursuit, thus earning the title of eminent monk and eventually becoming moral paragons to the common people. "Monk Yiguang" is adapted by the hagiography *Sung Version of the Biographies of Eminent Monks* (Song gaoseng chuan) as a religious model, and the official historical account in the *New Tang Book* (Xin tang shu) also includes "Xie Xiao-e Chuan", remarking on her chastity. Asceticism not only becomes a powerful marker of unusual sanctification, but also complements the severe ideology of gender and monks determined by secular society, while social regulation establishes the decisive standard with which to value and construct the eminent monks of Tang tales.

2 Insanity

Insanity is another personality type common in the bizarre monks, revealing the following common traits: firstly, their behaviour of consuming meat and wine is blasphemous, which Kieschnick describes them as "The meat-eating wine-drinking monks"[14]; some of them even eat owls daily or get married, such as monk Zhijiu[15] and monk Falin[16]. Their appearance is ugly and silly, full of flees and lice, like the master of Guangling[17] and Wanhui[18]. What they do seems to totally contrast Buddhist commandments. In addition, they are enigmas, in that it is difficult to know their life paths, native regions, and names. However, most surprising is their thaumaturgy, such as fortune-telling, vanishing calamities, or resurrection, which is the symbol of eminent monks. The narrative patterns in their tales are also similar: there is a brief biography introducing their rebellion,

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13 Li 1999.

14 Kieschnick 1997, 51. Kieschnick also discussed monks' asceticism in hagiography very detailed. Please see Kieschnick 1997, 16–66.

15 Li 2011, 1275.

16 Li 2011, 1175–1176.

20 Li 2011, 1258–1260.

21 Li 2011, 1180–1181.

followed by a narrative that focuses on a single miracle as the turning point in the story, concluding with the astonished regret of the masses.

It is hard to distinguish different tales' specific religious tendencies because although some tales are unique to a single sect, more tales are recorded by multi-religious scholars as anecdotes of official history or creative writing. However, some scholars have pointed out that related eccentricities originate from Tibetan Buddhism and Zen: Liu Wanlì illustrates that in Tibetan Buddhism, crazy wisdom is a profound tradition which can be traced back to the Eighty-four Mahasiddhas in early Indian Buddhism. These divine madmen are usually the most excellent monks in scholastics, realizing the limitations of reason and the operation of power in a Buddhist group, and thus try to interrupt original orders and thought through lunatic behaviours.[19] Huang Jingjia identifies a similar religious meaning behind madness, but focuses more on Zen's teachings in Tang. There are many descriptions of insane monks revealed in Chinese hagiographies, *Altar Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Liuzu tanjing), and Zen poetry. Their playful attitude and witty languages are inspired by Zen, which advocates the replacement of trivial, harsh practice with epiphany.[20] Both sects tend to take rebellion against orthodoxy as strategies to awaken normality. However, we can basically take these unorthodox teachings as a universal, cultural phenomenon against highly organized religion and regard the related teaching methods as support for further understanding of the possible inner meaning of their eccentricity, similar to how Feuerstein has listed many examples of crazy wisdom, such as Indian Avadhuta, the Christian saint Isadora, and the Sufi storyteller Mulla Nasruddin.[21] Rebellions may be pervasive, but specific actions and public comments differ between regions. Yet, regarding further research on the development of the bizarre monk's image throughout Chinese history, it is Zen that has impacted Chinese culture more and over a longer period.

What I want to narrate further is that while portraying individual eccentricities, these tales also recount intimate interactions between various social classes, especially between monks and the masses. On the one hand, the insane monks inspire other monks who adhere excessively

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22 Liu 2004.

23 Huang 2010.

24 Feuerstein 1991, 69.

to the commandments, leading them to reflect on their individual blind spots and shortcomings, thus precipitating epiphanies. In those tales, monks who dogmatically follow commandments are harshly criticized for their arrogance and narrow mindedness: the Ritsu master Daoxuan is jeered by the insane monks Wuwei[22] and Falin[23]. When the travelling monk in Xiangyang visits the eminent monk Fajiang, his eccentric and rude behaviour agitates the other monks. They treat him discourteously, but passionately respect Fajiang. Nevertheless, this travelling monk can explain the challenging *Sutra of Nirvana* (Niepan jing), which the eminent monk cannot understand despite several decades' of study. When Buddhism became more organized and systematized in Tang, especially for the Ritsu school, the sect most emphasizing of commandments and religious knowledge was highly respected by political authority. Whether monks were skilled at following commandments or not gradually became the first and perhaps even only judgment of their legitimacy. They not only lost flexibility, but also forged yet another hierarchy of privilege, duplicating the same inequality in Buddhism as in secular society. By rebelling against the original customs of the rule abiders, the insane monks trigger the negative emotions hidden beneath their solemn courtesy, such as social discrimination against the weak and strange, thus prompting them to reflect on the individual shortcomings in their religious practice.

On the other hand, depictions of insane monks reflect the superstitions and practical desires of mortals, such as desire for pregnancy[24] or curing a crippled son,[25] reflecting the attitudes of most mortals towards religion: a quick and convenient method of finding supernatural instruction while wishing for the fruitfulness of the individual and family. The prophecies of insane monks in the form of sudden interruptions, auguring ballads, or visual representations also reveal how the masses explain history in terms of simple and mysterious predestination. For example, the insane monk in the Huixiang temple discloses the upcoming turmoil of the Anshi Rebellion;[26] the old monk Tong predicts the slaughter in

Yangzhou city and the death of Hou Jing through visual displays and landscaping.[27] He piles the heads of dead fish outside the western gate, then plants weeds and brambles in city. The former conveys that General Hou Jing slaughters all citizens, hanging their heads outside the west gate. The latter implies the desolation of the city. Even though most of the masses are illiterate, they can still guess the implications of the visual prophecy. Despite the insane monks' precocious warning, war and chaos is still predestined. This pessimistic attitude may reflect the helplessness of the masses in a chaotic period.

Both normal monks and the masses hate the insane monks, expressing negative feelings such as hatred, fury, and arrogance without any self-restraint. What this reveals are the moral shortages and foolish dispositions that constitute what is considered normal, especially when they change their attitude from disrespect to respect after realizing the holiness intrinsic to the insane monks. The masses scold monk Zhijiu because he eats owls every day, but kneel down respectfully after he vomits up, alive, the owls he swallowed over the previous few days;[28] villagers hate and beat master A-zhuan, but after he performs miracles, all of them worship him with regret;[29] the master of Guangling slaughters dogs and wrestles with teenagers, but the residents are too cowardly to stop him. After witnessing his holy miracles, they wait respectfully with joy.[30] By reflecting on their behaviour toward insane monks, people sincerely regret their evil deeds and impure shortcomings, thereby becoming more religious. What is more notable is that their plentiful thaumaturgy not only proves their sanctity, but also becomes the most attractive features of the tales. All miracles and the intrinsic holiness of the insane monks rely on public recognition. Hence, the reason why the Indian monk Nantuo performs his magic at the crowded feast;[31] why the master of Guangling is eventually recognized as a saint when people spy on him through a gap in a door; and, why the resurrection and mysterious path of Master A-tu are observed and spread by numerous, anonymous people. The holiness of the monks' ec-

30 Li 2011, 1166–1167.

31 Li 2011, 1253.

32 Li 2011, 1167–1168.

33 Li 2011, 1258–1260.

34 Li 2011, 4738–4740.

centricity must be exhibited in front of the masses to efficiently persuade them. Their miracles must be "seen". For insane monks, performing miracles is an efficient preaching strategy with which to attract more uninteresting people, yet for the masses, miracles are the most powerful, even the only evidence of real holiness. This shock and direct revelation emphasizes engagement with the masses, which is opposite to the ascetic type discussed previously, who aim to cast off the material world through harsh self-discipline.

3 Affection

Among Tang tales, we can also discover another group of bizarre monks who are truly 'humane', such as a nun who mourns for her corrupt father's forced suicide[32] or a monk who misses his dead brother so much that he summons his spirit with a spell.[33] These expressions of familial love are recorded comparatively rarely in previous hagiographies.

Friendship between bizarre monks and scholars is more notable. During the Tang dynasty, scholars had closer contact with Buddhist monks, often through philosophical discussions, poetry composition, and the performance of everyday rituals. Some scholars even built strong friendships with them. Poetry is also an important medium for mutual emotional communication in tales, where it has multiple functions of communication, characterization, and development of a main theme. For example, a monk that lives in Chang-an can discuss poetry with the esteemed poet Zhang Ji; scholar Ouyang Jiong writes a long poem to praise the monk Quanxiu's brilliant calligraphy and poetry.[34] Scholar Wei Dan frequently communicates with his close friend, the monk Lingche, through poetry.[35] Wei Dan praises the landscape poetry of the monk as outstanding, expressing his yearning for seclusion. Monk Lingche satirizes the scholar's will to secular power in responsorial poetry. However, it does not negatively influence their friendship.

35 See "Nun Zhenyi", Shanghai ancient books publishing house ed.2000. 169 p.

36 See "Monk Daojie", Li 2011, 6693–6694.

37 Li 2011, 3285.

38 Li 2011, 4111–4113.

Tales describing supernatural interactions between scholars and bizarre monks demonstrate a more honest friendship through fantastic imagination. Some of them are protectors, such as the monk Lingxi, who leads his scholar friend Dong Quan on an adventure to hell, where they see the river of the afterlife. The monk Lingxi also predicts the next life of his friend, ensuring their reunion in the afterlife.[36] The monk becomes a guide to the underworld and extends the characteristics of travel in lifetime to those in hell, thus alleviating the shock and anxiety of Dong Quan, who experiences death unexpectedly. Another example is the western monk who helps the frustrated scholar Qi Junfang to realize his previous life.[37] In this tale, the scholar bumps into a western monk along a river near a temple and accepts his instruction. After looking into a mirror and tasting a special fruit, the scholar suddenly remembers his past life as an eminent monk: he was an intimate friend of the western monk, swearing to approach nirvana together. Yet, because of his unorthodox teaching, he was reduced to a common scholar in his present life, struggling for study and money, but all in vain. After realizing his karma, the scholar stops pursuing scholarly achievements and converts to religion, thus leaving behind his original, discouraging life.

Some of them are oath keepers. The self-narration of monk Huizhao embodies national and individual memory of at least three hundred years.[38] Monk Huizhao gives up his noble scholar identity, wandering with his friend to escape from political struggles. After several hundred years pass, all of his friends have died and the political authority has changed several times, but he is still alive, yearning for reunion with his friend. While he sighs tearfully, he expresses condolences to the death of his best friends and depicts the desolate capital in a detailed, delicate parallel prose style (pian wen). His personal life is a miniature of three hundred years of history and sentimental memory belonging to scholars. The other famous example is "Yuanguan",[39] which depicts how two friends, scholar Li Yuan and monk Yuanguan, experience reincarnation but still maintain memories of their past-lives and friendship. In an earlier, similar tale, "Li

39 Li 2011, 5829–5833.

40 Li 2011, 6685–6687.

41 Li 2011, 1189–1192.

42 Li 2011, 6679–6682.

Yuan",[40] the scholar, is infatuated with a handsome teenager, not a monk, which tends to be understood as a tale about pederasty. However, in "Yuanguan", the teenager is transformed into a versatile old monk, who is more suitable for the scholar in age, talent, and personality, and thus fades the original immorality, emphasizing their honest friendship. Yuanguan is a versatile but mysterious monk, and Li Yuan abandons all wealth after the Anshi rebellion, like a recluse, only he makes friends with Yuanguan. Once while travelling, the monk predicts his death and promises his friend reunion in their next lives by choosing a private signal and reunion date. "If the new born should give you a big smile, that would be me showing recognition. Twelve years from now, on the full moon night of the mid-Autumn festival, we shall have a chance to cross paths in front of the Tianzhu Temple in Hangzhou City". Both of them are faithful to the promise after twelve years, yet Yuan Guan, who becomes a buffalo boy in his next life, refuses to communicate with Li Yuan directly, but sings two bamboo twig songs (zhuzhi ci), which expresses the emotional core of the whole story. Originally, a bamboo twig song was a southern folk song adapted as one type of poetry by scholars in middle Tang. These adaptations tend to be love songs, still colloquial like a folk song, but follow the rhythm of seven-character poetry more strictly. The tale writer also uses this popular type of poetry to express deep affection between the two friends: the two poems present the image of Sansheng Shi, the stone symbolizing the immortal soul and memory, which is the influential image that in later periods becomes a frequent parable in poetry and novels, expressing love or the most loyal friendship,[41] and which even became a real landmark near the West Lake since the Southern Song dynasty, as well as a fictional landmark in *Dream of the Red Chamber* (Honglou meng), where Jia Baoyu meets with Lin Daiyu in a previous life.

Most of these affectionate monks isolate themselves from society, only interacting with particular friends, who are usually scholars. In addition, they share common interests and personalities with scholars, such as skill in poetry and yearning for intimacy. Through participating in reincarnation, they are also guides to other worlds, enlightening their close friends. Scholars transform the Buddhist concept of karma into a narrative frame-

43 Li 2011, 2179.

41 Related adaptions and materials please see Lü 2012, 35–40.

work in order to express the typical sentiment of scholars and the belief that authentic affection can transcend the limitations of time, space, and mortality. Spiritual awareness and emotional intimacy are ultimately not paradoxical. By witnessing or experiencing reincarnation, affectionate monks become oath keepers and spiritual teachers to their friends. The poetry, discussions, and historical reflections create emotional bonds between scholars and bizarre monks, while also constituting the synthesis of genres, a narrative feature of Tang tales.

4 Conclusion

Based on the previous discussion, we can observe the characteristics of the bizarre monks' personalities. Ascetic and bizarre monks display two differing attitudes towards religious practice found in the Ritsu school and Zen, while affectionate monks reflect the greater life experience and subjective imaginations of scholars. Furthermore, the three types of bizarre monks' personalities found in these tales also tend to illustrate the various, intimate interactions they have with the secular world: the great praise of monks' transcendent asceticism can be a good example of social regulation; by performing miracles in front of the public, the eccentricity of monks can be understood as authentic holiness; the friendship between affectionate monks and scholars exhibits their yearning for intimacy and a sentimental outlook towards history. The three fundamental characteristics of the bizarre monks thus illustrate, respectively, the mystery of religion, its more secular and ethical dimensions, and its relationship with human emotion.

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The 8ᵗʰ Annual Czech and Slovak Sinological Conference 2014
Proceedings

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*The 8th Annual Czech and Slovak Sinological Conference 2014: **Proceedings*** is a compendium of twelve articles selected from the 8th Annual Czech and Slovak Sinological Conference, which took place on November 7–8, 2014 at the Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic. The event serves as a unique forum to share and exchange ideas, as well as to discuss the current research in Asian studies within the Czech and Slovak borders. The compendium is divided into four sections: *Linguistics, Science and Thought, Society, and Literature.* Each of the sections include two or more articles written by Czech and Slovak researchers, but also Japanese and Taiwanese contributors. The variety of articles in this compendium illustrates the flourishing research within Czech and Slovak sinology.