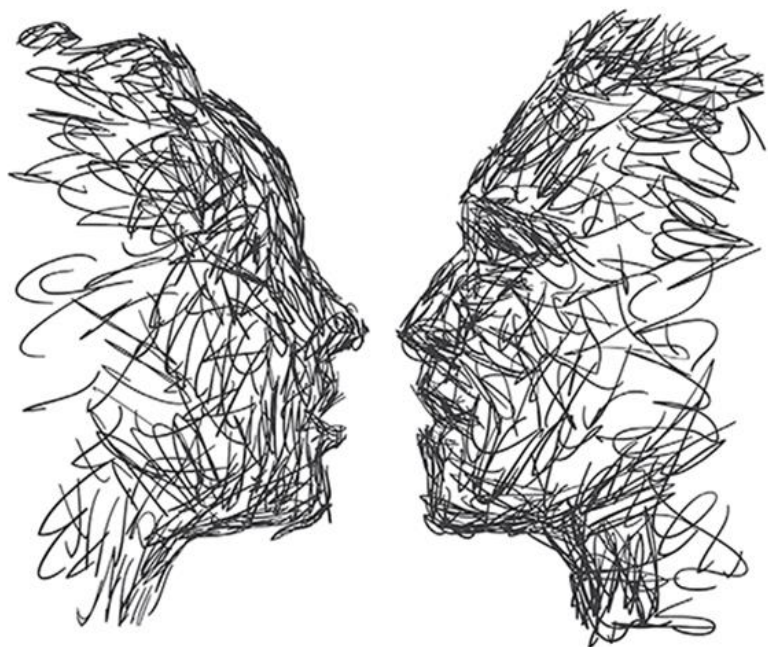


Ikuko Sagiyama
Valentina Pedone



■ Perspectives on East Asia



STUDI E SAGGI

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PREFACE

Ikuko Sagiyaama, Valentina Pedone

Perspectives on East Asia gathers eight contributions from international scholars in different research areas within East Asian Studies. The Japanese studies section includes four articles, two by young Italian scholars Edoardo Gerlini and Pierantonio Zanotti, one by Prof. Massimiliano Tomasi, an Italian scholar who teaches Japanese language and literature and is the director of the Center of East Asian Studies at Western Washington University and one by Prof. Takei Kyozo, a world-renowned expert on Japanese drama.

Prof. Takei's contribution, through the introduction of an editorial rarity of the XVII century, shows the connections between two kinds of *hyōbanki* (compilations of rankings and critiques of kabuki actors and courtesans), underlining how classical rhetorical figures were successfully used for entertainment purposes during the Edo period, without losing their vitality in contexts that were far from their original matrix. Dr. Gerlini's article, written in Japanese, presents an inter-textual analysis centered on Chinese poetry written by the Japanese literate Sugawara no Michizane (IX-X century). Dr. Zanotti's work deals with poetry as well, but it is focused on the modern poet Yamamura Bochō (1884-1924) and on his poetry devoted to linguistic experimentation with a specific reference to his peculiar use of scientific lexicon. Prof. Tomasi's article analyzes the contribution of Christianity to modern Japanese literature, which can be traced in the artistic and ideological proposals of some writers who led the development of modern Japanese fiction.

The Chinese studies section includes four articles by young scholars, three Italian scholars and a Chinese scholar. The first article in this section is by Dr. Barberis, a sociologist that has been carrying out research on Chinese migrants in Italy for many years. He provides here a sociological perspective on family networks within the community of Chinese migrated entrepreneurs in Italy. The second article in this section, by Dr. Lioi, sinologist and translator, gives new insight on the influence on Chinese literature by two giants of Chinese Modern cultural world, Qian Zhongshu e Yang Jiang, a century after their birth. The third article, by Dr. Zappone, sinologist and linguist, presents an analysis of modern Chinese diplomatic language, providing a diachronic perspective on its

changes in the past fifty years. The last article, by Dr. Zhou, analyzes different aspects of imperial politics in the border areas of the Chinese empire starting from the XV century in the area of today's Shaanxi.

The eight contributions span centuries of history of China and Japan and cover very distant topics with different approaches, giving the reader a glimpse into some of the debated issues in the field of East Asian studies.

JAPANESE STUDIES

役者評判記と遊女評判記の交流—『おもはく哥合』について—

EXCHANGES AND RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE CRITIQUE
ABOUT ACTORS AND THE CRITIQUE ABOUT PROSTITUTES:
OMOWAKU UTAAWASE

国文学研究資料館教授 武井協三

Takei Kyōzō

National Institute of Japanese Literature

Abstract

In the cultural context of the Edo period, theaters and red-light districts were very important. Special publications related to both of these environments existed: *yakusha hyōbanki* (critique about actors) for theaters, and *yūjo hyōbanki* (critique about prostitutes) for red-light districts. *Omowaku utaawase*, published in 1681, is a text combining critique about actors and critique about prostitutes. The text is presented as an *utaawase* (poetic competition), with a very elaborate style, where the authors (poets) are compared to birds (pheasants, larks, etc.). In introducing this rare and valuable text, I refer to the exchanges and relationships between the world of theaters and the world of red-light districts.

Keywords

Kabuki, red-light districts, critique about actors, critique about prostitutes, *utaawase*

要旨

江戸時代の文化の背景として、芝居と遊里は重要な位置を占めている。芝居には役者評判記、遊里には遊女評判記という出版物があった。『おもはく哥合』は1681年に刊行された、役者評判記と遊女評判記を取り合わせた本である。この評判記は、歌合せの形式を借り、雉子や雲雀といった鳥たちを作者に仮託するという、たいへん凝った表現様式になっている。この珍しい本を紹介しつつ、芝居と遊里の交流について考えてみたいと思う。

キーワード

歌舞伎、遊里、役者評判記、遊女評判記、歌合せ

私は今年で国文学研究資料館を定年退職します。それであちこちで、勝手な、遺言のようなことを言っております。今日の話は、研究発表というより資料紹介に終始して、最後に少しでも研究的な見解を述べます。ただ、この見解も実証性のない、直感的な「思い」を言うてしまうことになるのですが、これも遺言の一つということで、お

聞き流してください。今日ご紹介する『おもはく哥合』というのは、私にとって思い出の深い本です。私にとって大切な本を紹介するというのは、身勝手なことですが、そこが遺言ということで、お許し頂きたい。

野間光辰という京都大学の先生が『おもはく哥合』の写本を持っておられました。私は野間先生からこの写本のコピーを恵与され、当時岩波書店から刊行されていた『歌舞伎評判記集成』に、この本を入れて頂きました。『歌舞伎評判記集成』の編纂を主導しておられたのは、私の師匠、鳥越文蔵先生です。鳥越先生は、まだ大学院生だった私の進言を受け入れてくださった。初めて研究というものに関わることができたような気がして、たいへん嬉しかったことを覚えています。

野間先生の本は、実は写本の、そのまた写しで、これが『歌舞伎評判記集成』に翻刻されて収録されたのですが、原本がどこにあるのか、私にはずっと気になっていました。30年ほど経って、ある古書店の目録に『おもはく哥合』を発見し、歓声を上げました。国文学研究資料館で購入してもらったのですが、これはもちろん、野間先生の写本の原本でした。そういう意味で『おもはく哥合』は、私にとって非常に縁が深かった本とも言えます。

さて、本題に入ります。

芝居と遊郭というのが、江戸時代の文化の、二大生産地でした。

芝居には役者評判記という出版物がありました。これは17世紀の中頃から19世紀の中頃まで約200年間、ほぼ毎年刊行された劇評の書で、役者の演技の上手・下手や、その年の芝居の内容が記されています。われわれ歌舞伎の歴史を研究する者にとっては、大量に残されている役者評判記は、研究資料の宝庫です。

役者評判記は、最初のうちは、演技の巧拙よりも、役者の容貌や座配について、その善し悪しを述べるのが中心で、初期の役者評判記は「野郎評判記」と呼ばれて区別されることもあります。「座配」というのは、お酒の席での接客の上手い下手、さらには男娼としてのセックスのテクニックのことです。

役者評判記は、徐々に演技や演出、劇の内容についての記述が増え、男色についての言及は無くなっていきます。『おもはく哥合』は、野郎評判記時代の末期に刊行された評判記なので、露骨な座配の評は少ない評判記です。

それ以前の、男色関係の記述が多い野郎評判記の例を一つだけ挙げます。現存最古の役者評判記『野郎虫』に載る、伊藤古今という役者の評です。

資料1 『野郎虫』万治三年（1660）頃成立

こじよくにて、くるいたがる事、べか犬のごとし。床に入りての後は味者じやといふ。右の方の唇に小さき皺ありて見苦し。初対面の人にも、なにやら連々所望めさるゝといふ。

伊 字 消 心 欲 藤 枝 入 棠 花
 古 来 人 目 異 今 亦 愛 雲 霞
 ありがたや一夜の君のおなさけに 風にひらめく こきんちやくかな

「こじよくにて、くるいたがる事、べか犬のごとし。」まだ小童（こわっぱ）なので、座敷では、まるでべか犬のように狂い騒ぐけれど、「床に入りての後は味者じや」というわけです。「べか犬」というのは、あかんべ顔をした犬です。漢詩の訳は致しませんが、頭に「伊藤古今」という文字が読み込まれていることを御確認ください。最後の狂歌「ありがたや一夜の君のおなさけに 風にひらめく こきんちやくかな」は、一晚君のお情けにあずかると、巾着袋が空になって風にゆらめくよ、というもの。ここにも「古今」の名が読み込まれています。

さて一方、遊里には遊女評判記という出版物がありました。これも17世紀の中頃から江戸時代を通じて出版され続けた、遊女の容貌や座配について記す書物です。遊女評判記も徐々に色々な性格のものが出てきますが、初期のころは、売春婦を紹介する本といった実用書の要素が濃厚です。

本格的な遊女評判記の嚆矢と言われる『嶋源集』（1655）の中から、三笠という遊女の評を紹介します。

資料2 『嶋源集』（『桃源集』）明暦元年（1655）刊

三笠

様子よし。左門が流れなり。額狭く、色悪し。付たり、齒並み悪し。お茶は初対面に

ても所望次第、百服にても立つるよし、ひたつきて笑止千万なり

三 視 亦 将 行 一 交 百 媚 生

金 持 頓 太 者 笠 内 見 傾 城

誰もみな 三笠 とはなせ玉門の その下梅雨は雨にまされり

本歌 みさふらひ三笠と申せ宮城野の 木の下つゆの雨にまされり

1行目の最後の「お茶は初対面にても所望次第」の「お茶」は、この頃盛んに使われた隠語で、セックスのことです。かなり露骨なこと

が書かれております。私のような真面目で純情な人間には、とても口に出出来ないようなことが書かれておりますので、これ以上の説明は差し控えますが、こちらにも漢詩や和歌の中に遊女の名前が読み込まれているということを御確認ください。この『嶋源集』の序文は『古今和歌集』の序のパロディーになっており、評の歌は『万葉集』や『堀河百種』を本歌としています。

さて、こういった役者評判記や遊女評判記が、それぞれ出版されていく流れの中で、1681年に刊行された『おもはく哥合』という本を紹介します。

『おもはく哥合』は、役者評判記と遊女評判記を取り合わせた本です。この評判記では、役者と遊女が一人ずつ、組み合わせられて評判が記されていきます。こういう趣向を持った評判記を、私は本書のほかには知りません。『おもはく哥合』は、珍しい評判記と言っていいと思います。

また、表題に「歌合」と言っているように、これは平安朝以来の和歌の会の形式の一種である「歌合」の構成を取りつつ内容が展開していきます。『嶋源集』は『古今集』のパロディーだと申しましたが、『おもはく哥合』は歌合のパロディーになっているわけです。

さらに、雉子や雲雀といった鳥たちを歌の作者に仮託し、歌合の勝敗を決定する判者を鶯が務めるということになっています。

そしてさらに、最後に3丁ほど、付録のようにして「みやこ流行り物長歌」というものが付いていて、当時の都で流行しているものを並べています。

役者評判記と遊女評判記を取り合わせる、歌合の構成を借りている、作者は鳥ということになっている、最後には流行り物の列挙がある。この評判記は、たいへん複雑に凝った様式になっているわけです。

『おもはく哥合』の中を具体的に見ますと、まず序文が3丁ほどある。次に本文が約13丁半あり、これには5丁10面の挿絵が添えられています。さらに、最後には「みやこ流行り物長歌」が約3丁付載されています。

資料3は序文の一部です。

資料3 『おもはく哥合』 序文

かたえの杉の梢を見れば、数の鳥あつまりて、話しする……名も知らぬ鳥、進み出て言うやう……「いざや我々も、思ふ四条の君たちを題にして、左右にわかち、歌合をいたし侍らん」と云へば、雀口早く云ひけるは「これこそ良き慰みなれ。また花を争ふ君たちは、四条

のみにも限らず。朱雀の野辺の太夫たちをも題にして、鶯公の御批判を頼み侍らん」と云へえば

「四条の君たち」というのは役者のことです。「朱雀の野辺の太夫たち」というのは遊女のことです。鳥たちが集まって、役者と遊女をテーマにして歌合が開催される。歌合の判者は鶯が勤めます。

このあとから本文が始まります。資料4が本文の冒頭部分、伊藤小太夫という役者と金太夫という京都嶋原の遊女の評判が記されています。

資料4『おもはく哥合』本文（冒頭部）

左 伊藤小太夫 うそ

ひく琴のいとうの君を見初めつゝ 夜はすがらに音をのみぞ鳴く

右 金太夫 上林五郎右衛門内 かしどり

かきならず音もたへなる琴太夫 聞くに心を浮からかし鳥

左の歌、一首の仕立て面白く侍る。作者には琴を弾じ給ふ事かくれなし。されば、御名をあらはしたまはでも、よく聞こえ侍るなり。下の句の「夜はすがらに」と続き、「音をのみぞ鳴く」、艶におかしく侍り。

そもそも小太夫殿は、当世さかりの若女形、芸はさらなり。とりわきこの度「吉野身請」の狂言、いきじの沙汰、世こぞりてもて興ぜしより、いよいよ名も高く侍るなり。

右の歌も同じく「琴」を趣向に取り給ひ、「音もたへなる琴太夫」と、「琴」を声に詠みて「きん」と続け給ふも、面白くこそ侍れ。

それ、この金太夫と申し奉るは、いま世上に音高く、今嶋原にならぶ方なき容顔、年のほども真盛りなる花の顔ばせは、籬に咲ける女郎花の、露をふくみたるよりもらうたく、形は柳の糸の風にたゆたふよりもあでやかなり。

万とりたて言はんは、詞も無き御方にて侍るを、御歌の作意、いま少し心浅きとや申し侍らん。よつて左を勝ちと沙汰し侍らん。

「左」の歌では、おやまの開山と歌われた高名な女方、二代目の伊藤小太夫が読まれます。作者は「うそ」鳥というツバメに似た鳥です。

「ひく琴のいとうの君を見初めつゝ 夜はすがらに 音をのみぞ鳴く」というのが、その歌です。琴を弾く伊藤小太夫様を見初めてからは、恋しさに夜もすがら鳴きつづけていますよ、というような意味です。琴の「糸」と伊藤の「いと」が掛詞になっています。作者は鳥なので「音をのみぞ鳴く」わけです。

「右」の歌では金太夫という遊女が読まれます。金太夫は、京都嶋原の上林五郎右衛門という親方に抱えられ、延宝六年(1678)に太夫の位についた四代目の金太夫です。作者は「かしどり」、通称「かけす」と呼ばれる鳥です。

「かきならず 音もたえなる琴太夫 聞くに心をうからかし鳥」と読まれています。金太夫がかきならず琴の音を聞くと心も浮き立つようだ、という歌です。先の歌が「琴の糸」から「いと小太夫」を出したのに対し、こちらは「琴」という字が「きん」とも読めることから、「金太夫」に「琴(こと)太夫」をかけ、「浮からかし」の「かし」と「かし鳥」をかけています。

評の本文を見てみましょう。

資料5『おもはく哥合』本文(冒頭部つづき)

左の歌、一首の仕立て面白く侍る。作者には琴を弾じ給ふ事かくれなし。されば、御名をあらはしたまはでも、よく聞こえ侍るなり。下の句の「夜はすがらに」と続き、「音をのみぞ鳴く」、艶におかしく侍り。

そもそも小太夫殿は、当世さかりの若女形、芸はさらなり。とりわけこの度「吉野身請」の狂言、いきじの沙汰、世こぞりてもて興ぜしより、いよいよ名も高く侍るなり。

右の歌も同じく「琴」を趣向に取り給ひ、「音もたへなる琴太夫」と、「琴」を声に詠みて「きん」と続け給ふも、面白くこそ侍れ。

それ、この金太夫と申し奉るは、いま世上に音高く、今嶋原にならぶ方なき容顔、年のほども真盛りなる花の顔ばせは、籬に咲ける女郎花の、露をふくみたるよりもらうたく、形は柳の糸の風にたゆたふよりもあでやかなり。

万とりたて言はんは、詞も無き御方にて侍るを、御歌の作意、いま少し心浅きとや申し侍らん。よつて左を勝ちと沙汰し侍らん。

「左の歌」は「艶やかでおもしろい」とした後に役者として伊藤小太夫が評されます。伊藤小太夫は、芸は言うまでもなく上手い、「吉野身請」という芝居はとりわけ良かった、と記します。

「右の歌」は「琴」を持ち出し、これを「きん」と読んで「金太夫」にかけたところが面白いと言っています。次に遊女としての金太夫の評が記されます。顔は女郎花、姿は柳の糸、言葉もないくらいに美しいと言います。そして、「右の歌」は「いま少し、心が浅い」として、「左の歌」を勝ちという最終的な優劣の判定を記しています。

小太夫と金太夫の挿絵も添えられています。これは国文学研究資料館のホームページにアクセスして見ていただければと思います(本稿末尾「付録」参照)。ちょっと脱線しますが、現在国文学研究資料館

では所蔵しているマイクロフィルムや原本の、インターネットによる公開を開始しています。まだ見られる資料の数は少ないのですが、今後5年間で10万点の公開を計画しています。これは世界中どこにいても見ることが出来ますので、ぜひ御利用ください。

こういった形で10人の役者、10人の遊女を紹介するのが『おもはく哥合』です。そして最後に「みやこ流行り物長歌」というものが付いています。一部のみを御紹介します。

坊主の着るは網代傘 女の着るは菅笠や 紫ちりめん抱え帯
蒔絵の差し櫛 縫ひの紋 …… 女の帯は紺縹子や 男は小
紋の帯をする

本文に記されている歌は、いずれも言葉遊びに終始しており、とくに文学的な価値が高いというわけでもないようです。役者の演技が鋭く評されていたり、演劇史的に興味深い事実が記されているわけでもありません。『おもはく哥合』という本は、内容的には他愛のないものだと思われます。

ただ、表現様式を幾重にも凝っている。複雑な表現の形式を持っているというのが、この書の特徴とさえ言えるでしょう。

『おもはく哥合』は「歌合」のパロディーになっています。これは、一種の「やつし」、古代の貴族世界の歌合を、近世的に「やつし」たものと言ってもいいかもしれません。また「鳥」を、歌合の歌人や方人、判者に見立てていることも、利いているかどうかは別として、趣向の一つにはなっています。つまり『おもはく哥合』には「見立て」の手法も入ってきているわけです。

なぜこの本は「虫」や「魚」ではなく、「鳥」をもってきて見立てているのでしょうか。『元禄書籍目録』には「野郎女郎評判 東西鳥合 一冊」と出ており、これは『おもはく哥合』を指すのだと言われています。この目録は「とり合わせ」の「とり」を「鳥(bird)」と書いています。

山下則子教授は、日本の文芸の表現技法として、「見立て」「やつし」、そして「物合せ」「尽しもの」という方法があることを指摘しておられます（『図説〈見立〉と〈やつし〉—日本文化の表現技法—』所収「〈見立〉と〈やつし〉試論」）。

「見立て」「やつし」については、我々は「近世文学の表現技法〈見立て・やつし〉の総合研究」という共同研究を数年間行いました。この成果は、八木書店から『図説〈見立〉と〈やつし〉—日本文化の表現技法—』という本も出していますので、ここではこれ以上触れません。

「物合せ」というのは、「もの」と「もの」とを合わせ、優劣を競

うという方法です。広く言うと「相撲」や、ニワトリを喧嘩させる「鶏闘」などという、スポーツや賭け事も、この「物合せ」のうちに入ってくるのですが、文化の面では、「歌合せ」「絵合せ」「貝合せ」などがそれにあたります。

この物合せの一種に、「鳥合せ」bird 合わせ、というものがありません。「鳥合せ」というと、ニワトリを闘わせる「鶏闘」を指すことが多く、これはスポーツや賭け事の要素が強いものですが、「小鳥合せ」というものもありました。こちらは鳥の美しい姿や声を競う、雅やかな遊びでした。

『おもはく哥合』は、「鳥合せ」や「小鳥合せ」の伝統の流れにたって、「虫」や「魚」ではなく「鳥」を歌人に見立て、歌を読ませ、その歌を競わせたのだと思います。

また「尽しもの」というのは、同種の性格を有するものを列挙する手法で、「美人尽し」や「武者つくし」といった本があります。

「みやこ流行り物長歌」は、当時の都の流行り物を列挙しているのですから、これは「尽しもの」の一種と言えるかもしれません。

『おもはく哥合』は、内容にとくに文芸的価値があるものではないのですが、「やつし」「見立て」「物合せ」「尽しもの」といった、日本の表現技法の「ごった煮」になっており、たくさんの技法が交錯している点が面白いところです。また、これらの技法をとった書物として、近世における早い例の一つということも言えます。

なぜ、このように沢山の技法、というか約束事を構えるのでしょうか。どんな約束事でも、約束事というものは創作を縛ります。自由な創作態度を縛ってしまう約束事を、自ら、たくさん取り込んで『おもはく哥合』は作られています。約束事の制限を楽しんでいるかのようにも見えます。

これは日本の文芸を考えるときの一つのポイントになることだと思います。俳句は五七五という縛りを自らに課しています。歌舞伎は創作の始めに、まず「世界」というものを定め、劇の環境を限定します。「縛る」ということは、日本の文芸の基本的な創作方法になっているのではないのでしょうか。

「自由」は必ずしも創作の身方ではない、不自由な制限「縛り」こそが創作の後押しをすることもあるのだと思います。日本の文芸に通底する、約束事の中で創作を進めるという流れの中に『おもはく哥合』もあるのだと思います。

山下教授が指摘された、日本の文芸の発想方法のほとんど全てが見られる『おもはく哥合』という評判記は、今後、近世期の表現様式を考える際には、こういった事もふくめて、考慮の範疇に入れなければならない資料だと考えています。

【付録】

1. 「国文学研究資料館」のホームページ【<http://www.nijl.ac.jp/>】にアクセスしてください。
2. トップページので「電子資料館」のところをクリック。
3. 「マイクロ／デジタル資料和古書所蔵目録」のところをクリック。
4. 「マイクロ／デジタル資料・和古書所蔵目録について」という画面の左上にある「目録検索画面と」という文字をクリック。
5. 目録の検索画面の「書名」のところに、「おもはく哥合」と入力。左下の「検索」という文字をクリック。
6. 出てきた画面の「おもはく哥合」のところをクリック。
7. 「書誌詳細」という画面が出てきます。この画面に「画像データ」という項目がある。その項目の右にある「全冊」という文字をクリックすると、『おもはく哥合』の原本写真が出現します。「次」のところをクリックすれば、ページを繰ることが出来ます。

イポテキストとしての菅原道真の詩 『和漢朗詠集』と『源氏物語』の場合

SUGAWARA NO MICHIZANE'S POEMS AS HYPOTEXT: THE CASE
OF *WAKANRŌEISHŪ* AND *GENJI MONOGATARI*

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Abstract

Objective of this paper is to demonstrate and analyze the transtextual relations that lay between Sugawara no Michizane's poems collections *Kanke bunsō* and *Kanke kōshū*, and two important Heian period works, namely Fujiwara no Kintō's *Wakanrōeishū* and Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji Monogatari*. I apply the theory of hypertextuality proposed by Gérard Genette to these works, focusing on the problem of hypertextuality, and demonstrating that the terminology created by Genette about European literature can be adopted to effectively analyze ancient Japanese works. This results in a deeper understanding of the works themselves and the authors' peculiarities and abilities.

Keywords

Transtextuality, Sugawara no Michizane, *Wakanrōeishū*, *Genji monogatari*, Gérard Genette

要旨

本論文は平安文学に見られる超テキスト性、つまりテキストとテキストの間における関係を分析するものである。分析対象は『和漢朗詠集』及び『源氏物語』、そして両作品における菅原道真の詩の引用と、道真に関係づけられる箇所である。分析方法は、フランス文学理論家ジェラルド・ジュネットによるイペルテキスト性についての理論及び用語を用いる。欧州文学を中心とするジュネットの理論は、平安時代の文学にも適用でき、対象作品に新しい光を与えられることを検証する。ジュネットに定義されたいくつかのイポテキスト的変形は『和漢朗詠集』と『源氏物語』にも見いだすことができる。しかし、藤原公任と紫式部が果たした変形実践は、異なった様相を見せており、作者それぞれの目的にも相違があることを確認する。

キーワード

超テキスト性、菅原道真、和漢朗詠集、源氏物語、ジェラルド・ジュネット

1. はじめに

本論文は平安文学に見られる超テキスト性、つまりテキストとテキストの間における関係を分析するものである。その対象は『和漢朗詠集』及び『源氏物語』、そして両作品における菅原道真の詩の引用と、道真に関係づけられる箇所限定する。本文の分析には、フランスの文学理論家ジェラルド・ジュネット (Gérard Genette)¹による超テキスト性についての概念及び用語を用いることとする。欧州文学を中心とするジュネットの理論は、平安時代の文学にも適用でき、対象作品に新しい光を与えられることを確認したいのである。

ジュネットは、ある作品におけるテキスト的超越性いわゆる超テキスト性 *transtextualité* を「テキストを他のもろもろのテキストに、明示的にか暗黙裡にかはともかく、関係づけているあらゆるもの」²と説明する。氏に定義された超テキスト性の様々なタイプの中で最も中心とされているのはイペルテキスト性 *hypertextualité* であり、「あらゆるテキストB (これをイペルテキスト *hypertexte* と呼ぼう) を、注釈のそれではない仕方でそれが接ぎ木されるところの先行するテキストA (もちろんこれはイポテキスト *hypotexte* と呼ぶことにする) に結び付けるあらゆる関係なのである」³と説明される。

本論では菅原道真の『菅家文草』と『菅家後集』が『和漢朗詠集』と『源氏物語』にイペルテキスト的な関係で結ばれていることを確認した上で、そこにどのような変形と変換のプロセスが見られるかということを考えてい。

菅原道真についての先行研究の大部分は、道真の生涯と詩文の直接的な関係を強調してきた。歴史的研究という視点から分析すると、道真筆とされている『菅家文草』と『菅家後集』は貴重な資料ではあっても、あくまで十分に信用できる史料とは言えないだろうが、先行研究に指摘されたように「道真の物語」のようなストーリーが、彼の詩集から浮かび上がることは明瞭である。もちろん、散文でもあり、韻文でもある『菅家文草・菅家後集』は、物語と同じ程度でフィクションだとは言いきれないが、道真の人生に影響した出来事、例えば大宰府への流謫が、彼の文学にも直接に影響を与えたことは言うまでもない。つまり、菅原道真の詩は彼の人生を語るのだと言っても言いすぎではないだろう。

¹ ジェラルド・ジュネット著、和泉涼一訳『パランプセスト : 第二次の文学』(水声社、1995)。原作 Gérard Genette、*Palimpsestes: La Littérature au econd degré*、(Du Seuil、パリ、1982)。

² 注1前掲書、15頁。

³ 注1前掲書、20頁。

そして、その道真の詩文は、ほとんど完全な形で現存しており、すでに平安時代から評価されていた結果、様々な作品に引用されたり、再利用もされてきた。平安時代においても道真の作品の受容と採用は多様であるが、本論では『和漢朗詠集』と『源氏物語』の二作品に着目したい。

2. 『和漢朗詠集』の場合

周知の通り、藤原公任選『和漢朗詠集』は和歌と詩句の混合された特殊な詩歌集である。花鳥風月などの景物と様々な題によって詩歌を配列し、平安時代以来非常に普及し、教育のためにも不可欠な書物であった。現在では『和漢朗詠集』を知らない人が多かるうが、明治時代までは『源氏物語』と同じような人気作品だった。

『和漢朗詠集』の詩人歌人のなかでは、菅原道真の詩句が白居易（135回）と菅原文時（44回）に次いで多く採られており、38回からなる高い頻度で選入されている。このことから単純に想像しても、アンソロジーである『和漢朗詠集』には道真の詩風が十分に紹介されていると期待するのが当然だろうが、実はその逆である。

現在、アンソロジーというと、例えば高等学校で使われている国語教科書は、様々な作家の作品を単純化してはいても、できるだけその作家の特殊性とスタイルを忠実に紹介しようとするものであろう。各作品から抜粋を抽出して、その作家のスタイル、またはテキストの性格及びより興味深い箇所をできるだけ保存しようとしているのである。これは「義務」とも言える目標である。これはジュネットの用語でいうと簡潔化 *concision*⁴ または凝縮 *condensation*⁵ というテキストの変形であり、例えばダイジェスト *digest*⁶ や要約 *résumé*⁷ はその実践による結果である。

しかし、藤原公任は、通常八句四聯となる漢詩からほぼ一聯（二句）だけを採り、そして景物や自然の描写に集中し、元の漢詩の大部分を切り捨てるのである。このようなテキストの変形をジュネットは切除 *excision*⁸ と名付けている。簡潔化も切除も、テキストを短縮する縮小 *réduction* という変形の類であるが、内容の重点を残す前者に対して、後者はテキストの広い部分と一緒にイポテキストの意味も削除してしまう。

⁴ 注1 前掲書、399頁。

⁵ 注1 前掲書、419頁。

⁶ 注1 前掲書、430頁。

⁷ 注1 前掲書、419頁。

⁸ 注1 前掲書、390頁。

『和漢朗詠集』にある道真の詩句はちょうどこの原則に従い、元の詩の意味を失ってしまったと言えよう。例えば、霜の部に採られた次の聯を見よう。

君子(くんし)夜(よ)深(ふ)けて音(こゑ)警(いまし)めず、
老翁(らうおう)年(とし)晩(く)れて鬢(びん)相驚(あひおど
ろ)く、
君子夜深音不警
老翁年晩鬢相驚⁹

音を出さない白い鶴(君子=鶴という暗喩)は霜で白くなる自分の髪に驚く老人に譬えられている。強いて、隠れた意味を探ろうとすると、老いの嘆きに他ならないだろう。だが、『菅家文草』の原文を読むと、本意はかなり異なることが分かる。この聯がとられた「早霜」と言う詩の結聯は次のようである。

寒心(かんしむ)せる旅客(たびびと)は樗散(ちよさん)なりとい
へども
後凋(こうてう)を含むこと得て貞(てい)を守(まぼ)らむことを
欲(ほ)りす
寒心旅客雖樗散
含得後凋欲守貞

旅人の心を常緑樹(=後凋)に喩える喩えはおそらく藤原克己氏が「比興的寓意感託表現」¹⁰と名付けた、道真の特殊な喩え表現のカテゴリに入るだろう。また、この喩えの意味や機能は、詩末の「貞を守る」という理想または志を強調し、それを序するものになる。色あせしない常緑樹のように、詩人の心は変わらない、天皇へ永遠に忠節であると解釈できる。要するに、老いの嘆きはこの詩に見られないとは言いきれないだろうが、少なくとも詩の中心ではない。詩の本意は「貞を守る」という表現にあり、君臣唱和という理想に合致した述懐である。『菅家文草』のパラテキスト *paratexte* (つまり、テキストに追加されているテキスト、例えば自注、詩題など)から分かるように、その時道真は45歳で、国守としてまだ讃岐に滞在しており、京に戻れるかどうか不安な状況の中で生きていた。おそらく道真が危惧していたのは、老いのことより、宇多天皇に認められずにずっと讃岐

⁹ 『和漢朗詠集』と『菅家文草・菅家後集』の引用は『日本古典文学大系』(73、72)による。以下、『和漢朗詠集』はWRS、『菅家文草・菅家後集』はKBKKと示す。WRS 370、KBKK 304。

¹⁰ 藤原克己『菅原道真と平安朝漢文学』(東京大学出版会、2001)288頁。

に見捨てられてしまうことであっただろう。つまり、『和漢朗詠集』は霜に譬えられる老人の髪と鶴という比喻でイポテキストの題「早霜」を重視するが、同じイポテキストの中心たる意味かつ内容を無視していると言えよう。

続けて、『和漢朗詠集』の「雁」という部には、次の道真の聯が採られている。

碧玉（へきぎよく）の装（よそほ）へる箏（しやうのこと）は斜（ななめ）に立（た）てたる柱（ことぢ）、
 青苔（せいたい）の色（いろ）の紙（かみ）には数行（すうかう）の書（しよ）
 碧玉装箏斜立柱
 青苔色紙数行書¹¹

これだけ見れば、美しい表現の連続を通じ、空を渡る雁の描写を譬喩で美化しているにほかならない。さて、この聯のイポテキストとなる「重陽節侍宴、同賦天淨識賓鴻、應製」という詩の尾聯を見よう。

賓雁（ひんがん）人（ひと）の意（こころ）を動（うご）かしむること莫（な）く
 向前（さきより）の旅（たび）の思（おも）ひ何如（いかん）せむことをか欲（ほ）りする
 賓雁莫教人意動
 向前旅思欲何如

まず、指摘すべきなのは、先ほどの「早霜」と異なり、雁が題だけではなく、テキストにもはっきり現れている点である。雁や帰雁という表現は日本へ渡った中国の詩の中にもすでに見られるもので、旅の寂しさや郷里への思いを表す典型的な表現である。重陽節の時に宮廷の詩宴でこの表現を用いた道真は中国の文学伝統に繋げようとしたと考えてもよからうが、詩の本意はスコーラシップの実演に留まるわけではない。この詩宴が行われた寛平六年は、道真がすでに遣唐大使に任ぜられた年でもあり、中国へ旅立つという可能性が具体化した時でもあった。現に、この詩が作られてからわずか六日後、道真は日本史上でも画期的な史実となった遣唐使派遣中止を進言している。このようなパラテキストが語る情報を把握すると、道真詩の「向前旅思」（これからの旅への思い、心配）という表現は単なる雁に関わる修辭表現ではなく、道真自身のリアルな考えを見いださせる要素であり、詩の理解へのカギとなる。いうまでもなく、『和漢朗詠集』で行

¹¹ WRS 322、KBKK 379。

われた切除のために、このような内容があったとは、想像もつくまい。

もう一つの例を「管弦付舞妓」という部から挙げたい。

落梅（らくばい）曲（きよく）旧（ふ）りて唇（くちびる）雪を吹き、
折柳（せつりう）声（こゑ）新（あら）たにして手に煙（けむり）
を掬（にぎ）る、
落梅曲旧唇吹雪
折柳声新手掬煙¹²

宇多天皇が開催した管弦の宴がきっかけで作られた詩から、藤原公任は上記の比喻表現を取りあげ、道真のイボテクストを省略した。もとの詩の尾聯は

君王（くんわう）風（ふう）を移す術（じゅつ）を得（え）むことを
欲りせば
敢（あ）へて慇懃（ねむごろ）に管絃（くわんぐゑん）を喚（よ）ぶ
ことあらざらまし
君王欲得移風術
非敢慇懃喚管絃

となり、演奏から受けた感動が天皇の徳に関係づけられている。つまり、詩の本意は、演奏の素晴らしさではなく、天皇の讚美にあると言えよう。要するにこの場合も『和漢朗詠集』では本来の詩の内容が失われていると確認できる。

『和漢朗詠集』のなかの「道真」と『菅家文草』のなかの「道真」が異なることを最もはっきりと分らせる例は、讚岐時代と流謫時代の詩である。周知のよう、讚岐守に任ぜられている間の道真の詩には、二つの特徴がある。一つは讚岐の穏やかな自然を描写し、それまでの典型であった伝統的な詩とは異なる叙景詩を書いていることである。もう一つは平安文学史上に例外だとされている諷諭詩である。後者に集中しよう。白居易の諷諭詩を模範にした道真の諷諭詩は、貧しい人々のアレゴリーを通して当時の社会と律令制度の矛盾を指摘し、権力者の退廃を訴え出る、非常にオリジナルな作品である。当然のことながら、このような詩は現代の読者の興味を引くだろうが、当時の人たちにとっても興味深いと思われたのか。道真の多才を表すこの諷

¹² WRS 467、KBKK 434。

論詩は少なくともあらゆるアンソロジーにも含めなければならないものだろうと、私は思うが、藤原公任が選んだ讃岐時代の詩句は諷諭詩ではなく、次のような無害な作品である。

生衣（すずしのかきぬ）は家人（かじん）を待（ま）ちて著（き）むと
 欲（ほつ）す
 宿釀（しゆくちやう）はまさに邑老（いふう）を招（まね）いて
 酣（たけなは）なるべし
 生衣欲待家人着
 宿釀当招邑老酣¹³

今年は例（つね）よりも異（こと）にして腸先（はらわたま）づ断
 （た）ゆ
 これ蟬（せみ）の悲（かな）しぶのみにあらず客（かく）の意（こころ）も悲しぶなり¹⁴
 今年異例腸先断
 不是蟬悲客意悲

前者は「夏衣」、後者は「蟬」といった部にあり、どちらかというところノスタルジアというテーマに所属し、諷諭詩のような社会や政治に対する批判といった性格は持たない。現代でもっとも評価されている讃岐時代の道真の詩の中の「早寒十首」などは、公任に無視されると言える。ここで私は、現代読者と公任の好みの相違点について論じるつもりはない。ただ、公任が、讃岐時代の特徴的な詩ではなく、オリジナル性の低い詩をわざわざ選んでいるというところを強調したい。

藤原公任が『和漢朗詠集』の編集に含めた志または動機は、流謫中の道真によって作られた『菅家後集』の作品からどの詩句が採られているかを見れば明確である。周知のように、大宰府での道真の詩は身の潔白を訴えたり、帰郷への願望を唱えたり、友人や家人への思いに浸透されている。『菅家後集』の巻頭詩「自詠」で「家から離れたのは三、四ヶ月。涙は百、千粒も落ちて行く」と嘆くように、イポテクストで展示される道真の流謫生活は労苦と絶望ばかりだったと考えられる。

『和漢朗詠集』に見られる『菅家後集』の聯は実はわずか三つであり、どれも詩集の主題である「左遷」や「流謫」からかけ離れた内容のものである。例えば「閑居」という部には次の道真の聯がある。

¹³ WRS 195、KBKK 251。

¹⁴ WRS 195、KBKK 251。

都府楼（とふろう）は纒（わづ）かに瓦（かはら）の色（いろ）
 を看（み）る、
 観音寺（くわんおんじ）は只（ただ）鐘（かね）の声（こゑ）を
 聴（き）く、
 都府楼纒看瓦色
 観音寺只聴鐘声¹⁵

確かに、閑居、つまり閑静な住居、または世事を離れてのんびりと暮らすというテーマには適切だろうが、イポテクストから浮上する道真の気持ちは、平穏や閑雅どころではないと思われる。

此（こ）の地（ところ）は身（み）に檢繫（けんけい）無しと雖も
 何（なに）為（す）れぞ 寸歩（すんぽ）も門（かど）出（い）でて
 行（ゆ）かむ
 此地雖身無檢繫
 何為寸歩出門行

有名な「不出門」であり、この詩が「閑居」の部に摘句されるのは驚くところであろう。ここでも、イポテクストの内容ではなく、その詩の外見だけを重視する『和漢朗詠集』の特殊性が分かる。『菅家文草』と『菅家後集』の背景にある道真のストーリーは重要視されず、異なる目的のために外見のみが擬製され、異なる作品に変えられたと言っても大げさではあるまい。

もちろん、漢文の天才として尊敬された藤原公任は道真の詩集だけではなく、菅原道真という詩人かつ歴史上の人物をよく知っていただろう。だが、間違いなく『和漢朗詠集』は道真の詩集のダイジェストまたは要約として編纂された作品ではない。そして、公任が道真のイポテクストにした切除は偶然な省略ではない。部立てという原理—ジュネットの用語ではアルシテクスト *architexte*¹⁶ と言えるか—に従いながら、詩歌集の本質にもっとも適切な詩句だけを選び、『和漢朗詠集』という新しい作品を編集、いや、創作するのである。『古今和歌集』の部立ても思い出させる『和漢朗詠集』の花鳥風月や四季の配列には、やはり流謫や社会非難というテーマは不適切であると判断されただろう。ただし、本論では藤原公任がなぜこのような部立てにしたかという問題については論じない。

さて、これまでの例で分析した切除という変形はジュネットの縮小 *réduction*¹⁷ という変形のグループの一環に分類され、形式的な段

¹⁵ WRS 620、KBKK 478。

¹⁶ 注1 前掲書、15頁。

¹⁷ 注1 前掲書、387頁。

階で起こるものである。つまり切除は、原文イポテクストを直接切り裂き、新しい仕組みのイペルテクストに差し挟むことであり、理論的に新しい意味を追加するものではない。しかし、切除のような「形式的変形」であっても、意味的な変更も引き起こされることがある。例えば、先ほど挙げた「早霜」の本意は尾聯の「貞を守る」という表現に表れているわけだが、頸聯だけを挙げる『和漢朗詠集』を読むだけでは、作品の真意を読み取ることはできない。のみならず、「雁」の部に採られた詩句の場合は、自然描写より深い意味を強いて見いだそうとすると、誤った解釈に至りうるおそれがある。『和漢朗詠集』は自然や景物の叙景に集中し、道真の詩に認められるテーマ社会非難、君臣関係の讚美などが見いだせなく、結果的に消されたと言える。つまり、イペルテクストはイポテクストの目的、志、モチベーションを無くしたのである。私にはこのような内容の変更は、ジュネットが示す脱動機化 *démotivation*¹⁸ に非常に近いものに見える。氏によると、脱動機化という意味論的変形は「単純に否定的なもので、これは、もともとの動機を削除ないし省略することにある」¹⁹。「早霜」の例に適用すると、貞節という裏の意味を削除することに当たるだろう。更にジュネットが「そのうえ、周囲の意味的圧力はそのままだから、動機のない行動はない、しかもその動機を明示する必要はないという怖るべき原理により、ある動機を削除するだけで別の動機が不可避免的に暗示されうるのだ。こうなると、脱動機化は動機変換 *transmotivation* の価値をもつことになる」²⁰と強調する通り、もとの動機を削除または切除するだけで、読者の目には別の動機と志が浮かび上がることにもなる。『和漢朗詠集』を例にすると、例えば流謫の不如意をテーマの中心とする「不出門」は、頸聯の二句に縮められた結果、閑居の意味で作られた詩句だと見えてしまう。これこそ氏が言う動機変換であろうと私は言いたい。

要するに、『和漢朗詠集』は、『菅家後集』のイペルテクストとして読まれた場合、詩人道真の志または記憶を「裏切る」と言っても過言ではない。だが、このような読み方はイポテクストを知っている読者にしかできない。今私は『和漢朗詠集』が『菅家文草』より単純な作品であると言おうとしているように見えるかもしれない。しかし、そうではなく、逆に『菅家文草』『菅家後集』『白氏文集』などの様々なイポテクストをコラージュした『和漢朗詠集』という新しい作品の特性と価値を認めるのである。ジュネットの理論を引用すると、

¹⁸ 注1 前掲書、550頁。ジュネットは詩より、小説や演劇に集中するが、本論ではその理論は詩集にも適用できると述べたい。

¹⁹ 注1 前掲書、546頁。

²⁰ 注1 前掲書、550頁。

「イペルテキスト性は、ある意味で、器用仕事 *bricolage* に属している。[...]「古いものから新しいものをつくる」技術は、「その目的で作られた」生産物よりも複雑で味わい豊かなものを生産する利点がある、ということだ。つまり新しい機能が古い構造と重なり合い、錯綜し、それら二つの共存する要素同士の不協和音が、全体にその味わいを添えるのである」²¹。『和漢朗詠集』にはここまでの定義が適用できるかどうかという点について、まだ議論の余地があろうが、少なくともこれまで記述した形式的変形と意味論的変形がジュネットの用語で分析できることを確認しておきたい。

3. 『源氏物語』 の場合

前節のジュネットの理論を『源氏物語』に適用したらどうなるだろうか。周知のよう、『源氏物語』の「須磨」の巻は、『菅家後集』から二箇所を引用する。

その夜、上のいとなつかしう昔物語などしたまひし御さまの、院に似たてまつりたまへりしも、恋しく思ひ出できこえたまひて、「恩賜の御衣は今此に在り」と誦じつつ入りたまひぬ。御衣はまことに身はなはず、かたはらに置きたまへり²²

入り方の月影すごく見ゆるに、（光源氏は）「ただこれ西に行くなり」とひとりごちたまひて

いづかたの雲路にわれもまよひなむ月の見るらむこともはづかし²³

『菅家後集』の原文は次のようである。

恩賜（おんし）の御衣（ぎょい）は今ここに在り
恩賜御衣今在此²⁴

ただこれ西に行く 左遷ならじ
唯是西行不左遷²⁵

後者は道真と月の空想的な対話を詠んだ詩からの一句である。道真も月も西へ流れるが、道真と違って月の移動は左遷によるものではな

²¹ 注1 前掲書、655頁。

²² 『源氏物語』「須磨」203頁（『新編日本古典文学全集21』）。

²³ 注23前掲書、208-209頁。

²⁴ KBKK 482。

²⁵ KBKK 511。

く、世界のルールに従う移動だ、という形で道真の無実の訴えを現す詩だと言えよう。前者は、「九月十日」という題の詩からの一句であり、わずか一年前に醍醐天皇と直接に詩の唱和ができていたのに、今は流謫の身に陥ってしまったという道真の嘆きを表している。どちらもはっきりと流罪のテーマを強調するイポテキストである。したがって、流罪のテーマを省く『和漢朗詠集』に対して、『源氏物語』はそのテーマを中心とする詩句を引用している。

だが、『源氏物語』における道真の暗示は、詩句の引用に限らない。同じ「須磨の巻」には次の箇所もある。

海人ども漁りして、貝つ物持て参れるを、召し出でて御覧ず。浦に年
 経るさまなど問はせたまふに、さまざま安げなき身の愁へを申す。そ
 こはかたなくさへづるも、「心の行方は同じこと。何か異なる」と、
 あはれに見たまふ。

貧しい人たちへの同情は非の打ち所のない人物である光源氏の特徴であろうが、特にこの須磨の巻では特別な意味がある。先行研究に指摘された通り、源氏が現す下層民への同情は、讃岐の下層民の苦勞を描く諷諭詩における詩人道真の姿にもすでにあつた。藤原克己氏が指摘したように²⁶、菅原道真と光源氏は交道難を通り、流罪に遭い、共通の才能や思考をもつことを認めることができる。間違いなく、『菅家文草』『菅家後集』と『源氏物語』の関係は、超テキスト性であり、『源氏物語』は道真の詩集のイペルテキストとして分析できると考えられる。結論を先取りすると、『源氏物語』は『和漢朗詠集』より深いイペルテキスト性を現す。つまり、ジュネットの理論から見ると、紫式部が果たしたテキストの変形は藤原公任の編集実践より多面的でイペルテキスト的である。

形式的な変形から始めると、まず、韻文で語られた道真の流罪が、散文である物語の源氏の流罪のエピソードに転移されていることは自明である。それはジュネットの用語で表すなら、おそらく物語化 *narrativisation*²⁷ という様式変換 *transmodalisation* になるだろう²⁸。周知のように、『源氏物語』の中にも頻繁に韻文が現れるので、完全なる散文作品だとは言いきれないかもしれないが、本論では散文として扱う。一方、道真の詩集は—そしてここは、『菅家文草』の散文篇を

²⁶ 藤原克己『菅原道真 詩人の運命』（ウェッジ、2002）180-185頁。注11前掲書、IV-5「日本文学史における『白氏文集』と『源氏物語』」。

²⁷ 注1前掲書、477頁。

²⁸ 注1前掲書、477、484頁。

対象外にする一、韻文でありながら、物語的な性格を現すと考えられる。つまり、再現様式の段階で異なっても、すでにイポテクストの『菅家文草』『菅家後集』にも叙事的な性格を見いだすことができる。

さて、上記の物語化という様式変換は、ジュネットが定義する相互様式的変形 *transformation intermodale*、つまり「ある様式から別の様式への移行」という変形の種類に属するものである。これは、様式内変形 *transformation intramodale*、つまり「その様式の内的機能に影響する変化」²⁹とは異なるものとして氏に識別されている。物語化が相互様式的変形の一類であるならば、無声化 *devocalisation*³⁰、つまり一人称から三人称への移行は、様式内変形の一例と考えられる。私はこの変形も『源氏物語』の中に見いだすことができると思う。原則として一人称として詩またはその詩の背景となるストーリーを語る詩人道真は、『源氏物語』においては三人称の語り手になるのである。ストーリーの焦点³¹はその詩を詠む・吟詠する主人公（道真・光源氏）から離れないが、『菅家後集』の場合は道真が主人公かつ語り手だと言えるのに対して、『源氏物語』の語り手は源氏ではなく、外から源氏を「見る」語り手である。

今私は、主人公という単語を使うことには少なくともためらいがあった。源氏の場合は、物語のメイン・キャラクターであることに異議がないだろうが、『菅家後集』の作者・撰者である道真は同作のキャラクター・登場人物だと言えるのだろうか。しかし、本論の目的はテクストのなかに現れる人物から作者を見いだすことではなく、両テクストの相互関係を分析することである。この大前提で、テクスト内の道真をイポテクストの登場人物として見てもらいたい³²。

登場人物としての道真は、物語化や無声化などの形式的変形のみならず、意味的、単純に言う内容の段階における変形も受ける。このような意味的変形は「イポテクストの意味そのものを修正するテーマ的転移である」とジュネットによって説明される。更に、氏は意味的変形を二種類の変形的実践に区別する。その一つは物語世界的転移 *transposition diégétique* すなわち物語世界の変化であり、もう一つは語用論的 *pragmatique*、すなわち筋 *action* を構成する出来事と行為の修正である³³。ジュネットが挙げる物語世界的転移の例はジェイムズ・

²⁹ 注1 前掲書、477頁。

³⁰ 注1 前掲書、495頁。

³¹ 焦点変換と有声化の違いについて、注1 前掲書、494頁を参照。

³² この点についてジュネットは、イポテクストとパラテクスト（例えば作者についての情報）の境をあまりはっきり限定せず、全てはイペルテクストに対して「第二元」のテクストとして扱うようである。

³³ 注1 前掲書、503-504頁。

ジョイスの『ユリシーズ』である。ジョイスの小説は、古代地中海に設定されたホメロスの『オデュッセイア』のテーマ（主人公のさ迷い）、またはストーリーの出来事を取り出し、二十世紀初頭のダブリンの世界に設定を修正するものである。無論、このような顕著な設定変更はストーリーの変更も引き起こすと、氏は加える。例えば、ダブリンをさ迷う『ユリシーズ』の主人公は、ギリシャ風の帆船でその旅ができるわけがない。要するに、このような転移の実践は「まさに、たとえば同じ筋を（あるいはほとんど同じ筋を）別の世界に転移させることによって（とりわけ）両者を分離することにあるのだ」³⁴。また、このような物語世界変換 *transdiégétisation* は、二つの変形に区別するべきだと、氏は述べている。一つは等質物語世界的変形 *homodiégétique* であり、「ある神話的ないし歴史的主題を反復するすべての古典悲劇」はその一例であるとしている。もう一つは異質物語世界的変形 *hétérodiégétique* と言い、「筋はその枠組を変えており、その筋を支える登場人物たちもはや同一ではない」³⁵としている。その例としては『ユリシーズ』の主人公がオデュッセウスではなく、レオポルド・ブルームという新しい人物であることを挙げている。

さて、『源氏物語』に戻ると、前節にあげた転移の実践は、紫式部にも見いだされると考えられる。ある程度、道真をモデルに、光源氏のキャラクターを創造した紫式部は両人物が共有する筋（つまり、流謫されること）を再利用するだけでなく、その筋を空想の世界（物語の中の平安京）に転移する。紫式部が作った物語の中の世界は、現実の世界を忠実にコピーしたものでありながら、歴史的世界とあくまで同じものだとは言えない。つまり、光源氏が行動する世界は、菅原道真が生きていた世界ではない。

だが、ジュネットの先ほどの用語で『源氏物語』のケースを分析しようとする、イポテクストからイペルテクストへの転移は等質物語世界的変形とも言い切れず、『ユリシーズ』のような異質物語世界的変形（つまり、一つの世界から別世界へ）とも言えない。実際、須磨で光源氏が吟詠する『菅家後集』の詩句は、九世紀末の日本に生きていた詩人の作品か、物語の中の空想の世界に生きていた詩人の作品か、どちらとも言えない。いや、このような質問に答える意味すらなくなる。なぜなら、紫式部は意志的に現実世界と想像世界を融合し意図的に読者と戯れているようだからである。

以上、須磨の巻などに浮かび上がる道真と源氏の二重性を確認し、道真の詩集から再現できる左遷の筋が物語世界的転移を通して『源氏物語』の世界に転移されたことを検証した。

³⁴ 注1 前掲書、504頁。

³⁵ 注1 前掲書、507頁。

最後に、もう一つジュネットに定義されたイペルテキストの変形を挙げ、イポテキストとしての『菅家文草』『菅家後集』について考察したい。この変形は価値変換 *transvalorisation* と言い、ジュネットによると「価値論的次元に属する操作の全体というふうに、つまり、ある行為もしくは種々の行為の全体——たとえばある「登場人物」を特徴づける一連の行為、態度、そして感情——に明示的または暗示的に帰せられた価値を対象とする操作の全体」³⁶ という意味がある。

イポテキストとイペルテキストの主な共通点となる流謫のエピソードを丁寧に分析しよう。まず、共通の筋といっても、いくつかの相違点も明らかにある。たとえば、菅原道真は醍醐天皇の宣命で大宰権帥に左遷され、厳しい生活の状況に陥り、わずか二年間で没するのに対して、光源氏はそのような危険を避けるために自発的に流離し、後に京に戻り、最高の榮譽を受ける。前述した紫式部と読者の戯れはここにおいてあると考えられる。

世の中、いとわづらはしく、はしたなきことのみまされば、「せめて
知らず顔にあり経ても、これよりまさることもや」と思しなりぬ³⁷

と始まる「須磨」の巻の巻頭から「これよりひどい目に遭う」恐れが暗示される。それはもちろん、弘徽殿女御を中心する源氏の政敵が企てる陰謀であろう。紫式部と読者の戯れは始まった。つまり、『菅家後集』の明示的な引用で源氏と道真の同一化を認めざるを得ない読者は、「光源氏も、道真朝臣のごとく客死してしまうのか」という不安に駆られ、物語の筋に一層夢中になっただろうと、私は想像する。つまり、紫式部はイポテキスト『菅家後集』を利用し、イペルテキスト『源氏物語』のサスペンスを仕上げようとしたのではないかと解釈したい。もちろん、この解釈は道真の詩と彼のストーリーを知る読者のみにできることである。ところで、サスペンスに関しては、昔の物語を再び語り直すことの面白さはそこにあると、ジュネットが述べる。彼はギリシャ神話の演劇化や修正について、「われわれは過去の物語の結末をあらかじめ知っているのである。われわれの「文化」は、今日周知の事実とならざるをえぬよう過去において定められたことを後になってから規定するのであり、それはもっぱら出来事の無力、つまりその出来事についてすでに語られそして聞かれたことは回避できないという運命を耐え忍んでいるのだ」³⁸ と述べる。ジュネットが指摘する過程は、聴衆がすでに知っている登場人物のストーリーを再び語

³⁶ 注1 前掲書、573頁。

³⁷ 注23前掲書、161頁。

³⁸ 注1 前掲書、576頁。

ると、だれでも知っているエンディングへの期待を強める結果となることであろう。

しかし、源氏のケースはそれとはわずかに異なる。『源氏物語』は菅原道真の「物語」の単純なリメイクではなく、登場人物も、筋も、物語世界も異なり、菅原道真という人物と共通点を持つ光源氏という新たな登場人物の新たなストーリーである。といっても、主人公の同一化または二重性は確かであり、このような筋の変更を通じて紫式部は主人公の価値化という変形を実践しようとしたと言えよう。ジュネットが定義する価値化 *valorisation* とは、「語用論的または心理的な変形の手段によってその人物に、イポテクストで与えられていた役割よりもさらに重要な、かつ／またはさらに「共感的な」役割を、イペルテクストの価値体系において賦与することにある」³⁹。先ほど指摘した筋の転換は、客死する主人公がそうしない主人公に変わること、つまり、語用論的な変形であり、そしてそれに従って、「価値」の変形が引き起こされる。ネガティブな結末に至り、悲劇的人物だと言える道真に対して、源氏は成功した登場人物であり、ポジティブな結末一少なくとも、物語の途中まで一に至る。このような「価値」の差がこの二つの作品にはあると考えられる。

もちろん、イポテクスト『菅家後集』の中の道真には、ネガティブな価値が付いているわけではない。それどころか、君主に忠実で、不公平な社会の矛盾を訴える官人詩人という非常にポジティブなキャラクターとして現れる。しかし、後世の人々にとって、『菅家文草』と『菅家後集』で語られた菅原道真の「物語」は、彼の死去で—つまり、道真の詩文では語られるわけがない筋で—終わると思われたのではないか。そのような悲劇的な結末は、彼の全ての作品に不幸の光を当てる結果となったと考えられる。このように考えれば、同じような悲劇的な結末から逃れる光源氏には価値化を見出せるのである。

作者紫式部の意図は我々には推測できまいという意見もあろうが、平安人における菅原道真の評価とイメージはその死後、非常に変わってきたことも否定できない。周知のように、後世の人々は道真のストーリーを天神信仰の発達と結び付けたのである。『源氏物語』が書かれたのは、道真の死去からほぼ百年後であり、北野天満宮の建立から約半世紀後の、天神信仰が形成された時期だとされている⁴⁰。左遷され、大宰府で犯罪者の身分で没した道真は、伝説によって崇り神として恐れられていたが、後に天満天神として崇拝されるようになり、最終的には学問の神、また藤原家の守り神にもなった。これまで述べて

³⁹ 注1 前掲書、574頁。

⁴⁰ 竹居明男編著『天神信仰編年史料集成 平安時代・鎌倉時代前期篇』（国書刊行会、2003）。

きたジュネットの用語と理論は別にして、歴史的な視点からも、民及び貴族の社会における道真のイメージは天神信仰を通じて価値化のプロセスを果たしたと、すでに明らかにされている⁴¹。ある意味で紫式部はこのような歴史上の過程に文学的体形を与えたという解釈も可能である。

価値化という変形だけではなく、紫式部は本当にこのような複雑な文章構成を意図的に考えたのか、ということについても考えてみたい。そのためには、まずジュネットも強調した次の大前提を挙げなければならない。その内容は、イポテキストはイペルテキストの単純な理解に不可欠なものではない。イペルテキストそのものを読み、理解するだけでも、ストーリーを楽しめることがともかく可能である。ただ、このような「浅い読み」では、上述した超テキスト性のいくつもの実践を理解できないであろう、ということである。紫式部が菅原道真の詩を引用したのは、道真と源氏の二重性を意図的に読者に明示しなかったからだと考えられる。少なくとも、偶然な引用とは考えられない。

4. 終わりに

以上、イペルテキスト変形を分析した結果、藤原公任と紫式部は『菅家文草』と『菅家後集』といった共通の作品から詩句を引用しているにも関わらず、それぞれが異なるイペルテキストの変容を果たしていることがわかった。

その変形はジュネットの用語であらためてまとめると、『和漢朗詠集』の場合は切除 *excision*、つまりテキストの縮小 *réduction* が行われ、イペルテキストの意味をもたらす部分も切り除かれてしまい、脱動機化 *démotivation* のような動機変換 *transmotivation* が引き起こされたことになる。

一方、『源氏物語』の場合は、物語化 *narrativisation* と無声化 *devoicalisation* といった様式変換 *transmodalisation* のほかに、物語世界変換 *transdiégétisation* も認められる。この変換に関して、ジュネットは等質物語世界と異質物語世界の二種類の物語世界変換を定義しており、『源氏物語』では両者の融合が確認できる。更に、価値変換 *transvalorisation* を通じ、登場人物の「価値」が修正され、価値化 *valorisation* が行われている。

紫式部が、イポテキストから把握できる道真の姿をより忠実に描いているのに対して、藤原公任は動機化という変形で、イポテキストと

⁴¹ 林屋辰三郎「天神信仰の遍歴」『天神信仰』民衆宗教史叢書4（雄山閣、1983）。

全く異なる動機をもたらすイペルテクストを作っている。編纂に当たったの公任の目的は菅原道真のストーリーを語るのではなく、道真の詩句を利用し、他の詩歌とともに調和した作品を作り出すことであったと考えられる。従って、詩人道真の性格が最も良く表れる諷諭詩のような詩は『和漢朗詠集』の美学に合わないものだと判断されたため、排除されたのではなかろうか。テキストの分析から判断すると、紫式部における道真詩の引用はより正確に菅原道真の姿を思い浮かべせると言える。

また、ジュネットの言葉で『和漢朗詠集』と『源氏物語』を比較すると、前者は「社会=文化的な次元に属する機能」があり、後者は「もっと高貴にして美的な機能である。それは真面目な体制の厳密に創造的な機能」⁴²を持つ。つまり、『和漢朗詠集』は佳句と名歌をテーマ別に配列することによって、すらすらと次々に読みたいという読者の要求—ジュネットが言う「社会的要請」—に応えるのである。そして、テキスト面では新しい文章を創造したり、追加したりすることもしない。部立てというテキストの骨組みに、各イポテクストを組み込むだけである。一方、紫式部は印象を受けた作品から、テキストの一部を引用し、個人的かつ独特な想像や感性と混ぜ込んで、完全に新しい作品を創造しているのである。藤原公任の作品には美学的または想像的な働きがないとは言わないが、あくまで公任は編集、紫式部は創造、といった根本的に異なる創作過程をたどっていると認めざるを得ない。

以上、西洋文学を中心としたジュネットの超テクスト性の理論が日本文学にも適用できることを論証した。『源氏物語』と『和漢朗詠集』におけるイペルテクスト変形が、ジュネットの用語を用いて分析できるのである。そして、この分析方法により、作品と作者の価値をあらためて認めることも可能である。

当然のことながら、本論で指摘したイペルテクスト変形を見いだすためには、イポテクストの現存が不可欠である。ロバート・ボーゲン (Robert Borgen) は道真について「彼は神として奉られるようにならなくても、忘れられはしなかったろう」⁴³と述べているが、私はおそらく天神信仰がなかったのであれば、道真の詩集は後世まで読

⁴² 注1 前掲書、650-651頁。

⁴³ 筆者訳。「He was, however, indeed a remarkable figure deserving the highest respect for his real achievements as a poet, scholar, educator, diplomat, and official. He did not need to be deified to be remembered」Robert Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (Harvard University Press, 1986) 336頁から。

み伝えられなかったのではないかと思う⁴⁴。もし、『菅家文草』と『菅家後集』が現存しなかったとにしたら、紫式部が果たした超テキスト性変形の十分な論証もできず、『源氏物語』の豊かさと作者の才能は少なくともわれわれには分からなくなっていたはずである。

⁴⁴ 道真の詩集の伝来については、ボーゲン、注44前掲書、223頁、または川口久雄『菅家文草・菅家後集』（岩波書店、1966）45頁を参照。

SPIRIT, BODY, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SELF: SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ON THE QUESTION OF CHRISTIANITY IN MODERN JAPANESE LITERATURE

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Abstract

Although the Japanese had already come into contact with the Western religious tradition before the Meiji Restoration, the social and political conditions of late nineteenth century Japan were such that interest in Christianity – mostly Protestantism – spread rapidly, taking on new and unexpected connotations. Christianity soon came to be associated with social protest, political reform, and individual freedom.

The younger generations of Meiji writers were heavily influenced by this turn of events; they were educated at Christian schools, they chose to be baptized and wrote about social justice, gender equality, and individual awareness. However, at the end of their personal journeys, they renounced their faith, failing to reconcile their Christian beliefs with the goals of their literary pursuits. The encounter with Christianity had a profound impact on the course of modern Japanese literature, but this impact has yet to be carefully explained and analyzed. This article is part of a book project that examines the nature of that relationship, unveiling the presence of a religious continuum in modern Japan that had important ramifications for the development of a Japanese narrative and the construction of the modern self.

Keywords

faith, Christianity, inner life, naturalism

要旨

明治大正文学者の中にキリスト教の洗礼を受けた人は多かった。例えば、北村透谷や島崎藤村、国木田独歩、正宗白鳥などがキリスト教徒であったが、その他に志賀直哉のように受洗せずにキリスト教をなりの、あるいはまた芥川龍之介のようにキリスト教と深い関わりを持った作家も決してすくなくない。しかし、これらの作家の殆どが、文学の道をあゆむにつれて、教会を離れ、自らの信仰を放棄した。

日本では、キリスト教の受容とそれによる個人作家への影響について既に多く論じられてきてはいるが、キリスト教が近代日本文学の成立に及ぼした影響などについてはまだ十分に明らかにされていない。特に、肉欲の抑制を強調したキリスト教と、また、逆に、その肉欲自体の解放を促した自然主義と白樺文学との関係などについては、いまだに解明すべき点が多く、研究の余地があるものと思われる。

本研究では、近代日本文学における信仰の問題について分析を進めているが、この小論では、近代自我の成立の問題と、「生命」の概念

に重点を置いたキリスト教との関係に焦点をあて、一考察を行うことにする。

キーワード

信仰、キリスト教、内部生命、自然主義

1. Introduction

It is well known that many modern Japanese writers embraced Christianity early in their lives. Although virtually all of them later renounced their faith, their conversion alone should warrant a deeper investigation into the role played by the Christian religion in the development of modern Japanese literature. Very little has been written in English on this topic thus far. In fact, in his recent work *Spirit Matters: The Transcendent in Modern Japanese Literature*, Philip Gabriel notes that «with the possible exception of some studies of the novelist Endō Shūsaku, as well as studies of Shiga and Kawabata, the connection between literature and the spiritual in the field of modern Japanese literary studies in English has been left untouched» (Gabriel 2006: 3-4). Gabriel's own study offers an important contribution towards reclaiming the details of that connection, but being an investigation that focuses on post-war writers, it leaves the question of the role of Christianity in Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō (1912-1926) literature unanswered.

In Japan the situation has been quite different. The 1960s and 70s witnessed an increasing concern to investigate the impact of the Western religious tradition in the modern period, including the influence it may have had on late nineteenth and early twentieth century narratives. The issue of faith and its relationship to literature and art came once again to the forefront of the literary discourse, spurring an important debate on the role of the Christian religion in the individual formation of many Meiji and Taishō writers. In 1980, drawing from this debate, literary critic Karatani Kōjin duly emphasized the importance of Christianity in the development of modern Japanese literature as a whole. Analyzing the process that led to the establishment of the confessional system in Japanese narrative, Karatani noted how «an encounter with Christianity became the point of departure for many modern writers», positing the possibility that these Christian experiences, albeit «ephemeral» in some cases, may have had an important role in determining the future trajectory of the Japanese novel. However, he also warned that «the perspective of literary scholars [had been] greatly limited by the practice of looking for the “influence” of Christianity in the life of a particular writer», thus overlooking the need to explore how such an influence may have contributed to the birth of the modern self (Karatani 1993: 81).

The excessive attention paid to the religious experience of each individual author was also accompanied by a research approach that put the question of faith or lack thereof at the center of the investigation. Japanese Christian scholars monopolized much of the debate, questioning the religious orthodoxy of modern writers and often downplaying legitimate questions at the roots of their recantation. Dismissing, in particular, their understanding of the Christian faith, they ultimately contributed to the characterization of Meiji Christianity as a short-lived phenomenon that seems «to have come and gone without leaving a trace» (Karatani 1993: 81).

The experience and understanding of the Christian faith of many of these writers – Kitamura Tōkoku¹ (1868-1894), Shimazaki Tōson² (1872-1943), Kuni-kida Doppo³ (1871-1908), Kinoshita Naoe⁴ (1869-1937), Masamune Hakuchō⁵ (1879-1962), Arishima Takeo⁶ (1878-1923), Nagayo Yoshirō⁷ (1888-1961), Mushakōji Saneatsu⁸ (1885-1976) and Shiga Naoya⁹ (1883-1971), to cite the most prominent ones – was not, however, as ephemeral and shallow as has been maintained by some. Educated at Christian schools and exposed early in their lives to the tenets of Protestantism and, in particular, Puritanism, these writers engaged serious and legitimate theological questions including, for example, the Protestant dogma of *sola fide*, the theory of predestination, and the nature of sin. Yet there is no doubt that their conversion was facilitated by a fascination with the West. Considered to be the true repository of the Western cultural tradition and a necessary tool for the understanding of Western thought and civilization, Christianity thrived among the younger generations of intellectuals who soon became attracted to the system of values that stood at the core of its eschatology. Christianity immediately found important common ground with the Meiji People's Rights movement, sharing with it the notion that all men are born free and equal. It also advanced the idea of an independent self and the possibilities of a spiritualized dimension of life that became the driving force toward the discovery of interiority. The emphasis placed on people's rights and their aspirations and the commitment to social issues and women emancipation

¹ 北村透谷.

² 島崎藤村.

³ 国木田独歩.

⁴ 木下尚江.

⁵ 正宗白鳥.

⁶ 有島武郎.

⁷ 長与善郎.

⁸ 武者小路実篤.

⁹ 志賀直哉.

similarly characterized the religion as a source of moral values that superseded power, hierarchy, gender, and the State. It was a *super partes* ethical system that had within itself the potential to change the dynamics of public and private life.

Kitamura Tōkoku, whose essays on the «inner life» (*naibu seimei*)¹⁰ would constitute a turning point in the development of modern Japanese literature, recognized the importance of Christianity, praising Protestantism, and Puritanism in particular, because it «was an important milestone to the process of acquisition of knowledge about man in that it had brought forth the ideal of freedom»¹¹. For Tōkoku, Christianity was a religion about life. As he wrote in his famous 1893 essay *Naibu seimeiron* (A theory of the inner life):

I believe that there is life in man. Instead of saying that today's thinkers are engaged in a struggle between Buddhist thought and Christian, it would be truer to say that they are engaged in a struggle between a thought which fosters life and one which does not¹².

The greatest accomplishment of those who spread the Christian religion in Japan, Tōkoku claimed, was that they had planted the tree of life in people's hearts. This tree of life was a direct human connection to God and the universe.

Only two years earlier, a yet unknown Shimizu Shikin¹³ (1868-1933), who would also at one point in her life be deeply influenced by Christianity, published a short story in the Christian-inspired journal *Jogaku zasshi*¹⁴ titled *Koware yubiwa*¹⁵ (The Broken Ring). In this story, the protagonist, a young woman who had been forced by her father into an arranged marriage, displayed a newly acquired self-awareness regarding the condition of women and their aspirations: «What I read about Western views on women's rights impressed me deeply, and I began to understand that Japanese women also had the right to seek the fulfillment and happiness that are their due»¹⁶.

The encounter with Christianity fundamentally changed how the new generation of educated men and women saw their lives. The idea of an absolute God and an independent and free self overlapped with these writers' search for

¹⁰ 内部生命.

¹¹ *Kakujin shinkyūnai no hikyū*各人心宮内の秘宮 (The Heart, a Holy of Holies, 1892); quoted and translated in Walker 1979: 72.

¹² 内部生命論. English translation in Mathy 1964: 102.

¹³ 清水紫琴.

¹⁴ 女学雑誌.

¹⁵ こわれ指環.

¹⁶ English translation by Rebecca Jennison: in Copeland and Ortabasi 2006: 238.

answers to the meaning of human existence and the purpose of the individual life. Yet, as they strove to rationalize the internal conflicts surrounding the construction of the modern self, they became at times unable to pursue their questions within the framework of orthodox Christian ideals. Among the reasons that allegedly prompted these writers to distance themselves from Christianity and, in a few cases, to formally apostatize, was the inability to reconcile the beliefs of the Christian faith with the nature of artistic pursuit.

Opposition between literature and religion became a truism of early twentieth century Japanese literary discourse. Masamune Hakuchō often reiterated his belief in the impossible coexistence of the two, affirming that faith and art were mutually exclusive and could not be reconciled. As the last survivor of a generation of Meiji writers who were deeply influenced by the encounter with Christianity, and as one of the few true apostates among them, Hakuchō personified the failure to reconcile the practices of literature and religion. Scholars like Takeda Tomoju and Kamei Shōichirō viewed the existence of this conflict as one of the most relevant traits of modern Japanese literature¹⁷.

A topical moment in the rise of this debate over the presumed irreconcilability of literature and religion was the publication of Uchimura Kanzō's¹⁸ 1895 famous essays *Naniyue ni daibungaku wa dezaru ka*¹⁹ (Why Aren't There any Literary Masterpieces?) and *Ika ni shite daibungaku o en ka*²⁰ (How Can Literary Masterpieces Come to Life?). In these pieces, Uchimura (1861-1930), one of the most influential religious leaders of his time, argued that literature could not be written for mere artistic or aesthetic reasons. Uchimura was against a vision of literature that was self-serving and that portrayed even the most dissolute aspects of human existence without any regard to morality and God. In his view, the reason why Japan had not been able to produce literary masterpieces such as Dante's *Divine Comedy* was that writers considered the act of writing as a merely playful enterprise and did not fully grasp literature's social and educational mission. He also later stated that a good Christian family should avoid going to the theater and reading fiction, since these activities could be sources of immoral behavior and as such would lead to sin and eternal damnation (Kuyama 1966: 366).

Uchimura was very critical of the *bundan* and its members, especially when the writers in question had been students of his. Upon the publication of Osa-

¹⁷ See Takeda Tomoju, *Shūkyō to bungaku* 宗教と文学 (Religion and Literature); quoted in Kubota 1992: 18-19. See also Kamei 1971: 394.

¹⁸ 内村鑑三.

¹⁹ 何故に大文学はでざる乎.

²⁰ 如何にして大文学を得ん乎.

nai Kaoru's²¹ novel *Haikyōsha*²² (The Apostate) in 1923, Uchimura wrote in his diary about his disappointment that so many of his former disciples were «dogs, that is, apostates...» (Howes 2005: 346). Similarly, following Arishima Takeo's double suicide in the same year, he wrote a piece that unequivocally characterized Arishima as a betrayer of God, his friends, and his country²³. Two months earlier, on May 2, he had come to the realization that «all our writers, philosophers and young politicians are apostates. All the men of letters [...] who have studied with me have, apart from a few exceptions, all become apostates» (Takizawa 1981: 79).

Uchimura, whose Calvinist teachings were characterized by a distinctly Puritan worldview, had a strong influence on the new generation of writers and intellectuals, many of whom either studied under him or were very fond of his writings. The majority of these writers were therefore faced with the challenge of reconciling Uchimura's doctrine with their artistic aspirations. For some scholars, the ultimate decision to renounce their faith symbolized a flat rejection of Christianity and the embrace of a philosophy of life that on many levels was later erroneously identified with the exploration of sexuality.

Literary critics have seen in this latter conflict – between sexuality and Christian morality – a major interpretative paradigm of twentieth century Japanese literature. Karatani Kōjin, who acknowledged an important link between Christianity and naturalism, stated that «the body laid bare by the naturalist writers was a body subjected to repression. All the efforts of the naturalist writers to liberate the body and sexuality from Christianity took place within the framework of this prior repression» (Karatani 1993: 79). Karatani suggested that it was because of the very influence of Christianity and the repression religion exerted on the body as the locus of sexual desires, that modern authors were able to discover their sexuality and inner self. The institutionalized form of literary confession did not necessarily reveal what was hidden, Karatani claimed, but rather led to a discovery of what was yet to be known. In a sense, as Karatani would put it, modern Japanese literature could be said to have originated not from the encounter with Christianity but rather from its rejection (Hijiya-Kirschner 1996: 111).

Clearly, while emphasizing liberty and equality, and inspiring the modern search for the self and the establishment of the individual, the teachings of Christianity also stressed the duality of the spirit and the body and the sinful na-

²¹ 小山内薫.

²² 背教者.

²³ *Haikyōsha to shite no Arishima Takeo shi* 背教者としての有島武郎氏 (The Apostate Arishima Takeo, 1923); see Uchimura 1983: 526-531.

ture of the flesh and sexual desire. The autobiographical writings of Shimazaki Tōson, Masamune Hakuchō, Shiga Naoya and others all attest to the reality of this equation. The fact that modern literature, largely identified with naturalism and its literary tenets, aimed at portraying truth and reality, rejecting conventional religion or moral principles, implied its impracticable coexistence with an idealized view of art that might put faith at the center of its practice. As Van C. Gessel stated years ago, Meiji writers

saw Christianity as a mirror of their own egos: once that mirror stopped offering them mute images of their own individuality upon which to rhapsodize, and began spewing back ‘thou shalt nots’ as if to mock the independence of the reflected self, Meiji intellectuals either turned their back to that mirror or smashed it to pieces (Gessel 1982: 456).

But is it possible to postulate the existence of a mutually exclusive relationship between Christianity and modern Japanese literature? When one considers that the question of selfhood and its relationship to God and the universe remained at the center of these writers’ concerns and that their recantation was often the outcome of a complex and painful spiritual journey, one realizes that this relationship can hardly be reduced to that of mutual exclusion. The rejection of Christianity was never a final act for many of these writers:

In the Japanese literary world [...] Christianity seems to have come and gone without leaving a trace [...] A lukewarm humanism with a vaguely Christian hue appears in the works of various writers [...] or so I thought in the past. Recently, as words like “doubt”, “remorse,” and “penance” have begun to issue from the mouths and even preoccupy the minds of writers of the era of Naturalism, such as Tōkoku, Doppo, and Roka, I have begun to reconsider and to wonder whether this is due to the impact of Western religions. It is my opinion that the psychological phenomena of doubt and remorse would not arise in men who were liberated from religion²⁴.

Perhaps then, as one scholar put it, «we should not ask ourselves whether these authors were truly Christians or not, but rather what Christianity meant for them and their lives» (Matsumoto 1976: 329).

Christianity was not necessarily antithetical to the establishment of modern narrative but was in fact instrumental to it, laying the premises for the definition and construction of the modern self along Christian-inspired concepts and

²⁴ Masamune Hakuchō, *Meiji bundan sōhyō* 明治文壇総評 (An Outline of the Meiji Literary World); quoted and translated in Karatani 1993: 81.

beliefs. The dualities experienced by many modern writers were the manifestation of complex and multifaceted developments that placed Christianity at the center rather than at the periphery of that process of self-definition²⁵.

2. *The Concept of Seimei and the Quest for a Religious Life*

The influence that Christianity had on modern Japanese literature during the first two decades of the Meiji period has already been discussed by some scholars. Sasabuchi Tomoichi, for example, illustrated how the translation of the Bible and the compilations of sacred hymns that followed had lasting effects on the development of free verse poetry and the poetic style of Shimazaki Tōson, Kanbara Ariake²⁶, Susukida Kyūkin²⁷ and Iwano Hōmei²⁸. For Sasabuchi, Puritanism played a significant role in the poetry of those years by fostering an idealized view of literature that placed the spiritual and moral stature of the poet above all else, effectively counteracting, in Sasabuchi's own words, the downsides of Tsubouchi Shōyō's²⁹ plain realism (Sasabuchi 1961: 79-83). Tōkoku's own concept of love was strongly indebted to Protestantism, and not a few scholars believe that many of Tōson's early love poems would be unthinkable without the sentimental revolution inspired by the religious literature that appeared during the early Meiji years. Indeed, it is thanks to this sentimental revolution and Tōkoku's own validation of love as a necessary step toward self-awareness that «these poets of the nineteenth century were able to speak of love in poetry in a context of high seriousness» (Walker 1979: 89). To the extent that Tōkoku's views inspired the Meiji romantic quest of the individual and in turn affected the literary developments of the following years, the influence of Christianity on early Meiji Japanese literature cannot be denied. «Christianity not only enhanced the validity and authority of literature by providing a firm belief in a universal truth, it also shaped the perception of reality, particularly the value of the inner self and spiritual freedom, thus enabling [poets and writers] to transcend social and historical constraints» (Suzuki Tomi 1996: 37).

Tōkoku's thought, which was deeply influenced by Emerson's transcendentalism and the Quaker belief in the Inner Light, gave impetus to the interior-

²⁵ This study is part of a book-length investigation that addresses the role of the Christian faith in modern Japanese literary history.

²⁶ 蒲原有明.

²⁷ 薄田泣菫.

²⁸ 岩野泡鳴.

²⁹ 坪内逍遙.

ization of individualism, and his idea of *seimei* (life) would have especially far reaching ramifications for Meiji and Taishō literature. As Suzuki Sadami has argued in a number of his works, the concept of *seimei*³⁰ originally articulated by Tōkoku eventually developed into a key signifier of early twentieth-century intellectual discourse. A highly charged concept that superseded even the cycle of life and death, and as such incorporated elements that defied an orthodox Christian view of human existence, *seimei* critically linked the self to God and the universe, becoming the lasting expression of the interiority that Tōkoku passionately sought to affirm in many of his writings. While on the one hand the notion of a harmonic connection to the universe helped compensate for the rejection of conventional morality and the traditional worldview, on the other, it suggested the possibility that one's interiority could best be revealed through the affirmation of the strictly biological aspect of life, i.e. sexuality (Suzuki Sadami 1996: 120). The domain of instinctivism and sexual desire became the domain of the inner self, a metaphor for that interiority that was the expression of life. As the self was linked to God, the universe and life, life became sacred, and sacred was the interiority that harbored it.

It is naturalism that gave legitimacy to this multiple partnership. Beginning with the early stories of Nagai Kafū³¹ and Shimazaki Tōson, the first years of the twentieth century saw an increasing number of literary works that dealt with sexuality and the desires of the body. In Tayama Katai's³² *Futon*³³ (The Quilt) sexual desire is described as a «dark force harboring in one's interiority», and in the early stories of Shiga Naoya the growing sexual awareness of the protagonist lay at the center of his own self-construction. It is ultimately in the famous opening line of Mushakōjii Saneatsu's novel *Omedetaki hito*³⁴ (A Good-Natured Person), «I am starved for women», that the confession of one's sexual desires was, for the first time, no longer perceived as sinful but rather as a direct expression of the sacredness of life (Suzuki 2001: 275).

The concept of *seimei*, something sacred and directly linked to one's interiority, became an important component of mid- to late Meiji's literary discourse, revealing the presence of a religious continuum that, not exempt from contradictions and idiosyncrasies, would have a significant role in the literary developments of those years. While on the surface naturalist critics and writers seemed to be merely rejecting Christianity and the Puritanical worldview

³⁰ 生命.

³¹ 永井荷風.

³² 田山花袋.

³³ 布団.

³⁴ お目出度き人.

on matters of sexuality, their use of the concept of *seimei* and its implications posited the possibility of a spiritual solution to the dualism of body and spirit that stood between them and the birth of their modern selves. This should not come as a surprise since the mid-Meiji years were truly a time of deep spiritual quest. Religious leaders like Uemura Masahisa³⁵ (1857-1925) and Uchimura Kanzō, for example, were extremely popular and widely read. As philosopher Tanabe Hajime³⁶ (1885-1962) recalled years later, whether you were a believer or not, the Christian religion was a serious matter in those days for any young student or intellectual (Kuyama 1966, 353).

The increased religious awareness that permeated the literary world at the turn of the century had already become manifest not only within Tōkoku's essays but also in the writings of other individuals who were closely associated with him and the journal *Bungakukai*³⁷ (The Literary World). For example, Togawa Shūkotsu³⁸ (1870-1939), who on the eve of the Sino-Japanese war had defined the current age as a «time of revolutionary chaos when a new spirit should arise», had also affirmed that such revolution should come from the spiritual sphere of religion and art (Suzuki Tomi 1996: 37). Over the next decade the rise of nationalism that preceded the two wars with China and Russia deepened this sense of anxiety and skepticism within the intellectual community, exacerbating the conflictive relationship between the individual and the State and prompting the search for a solution to this quandary within the realm of religion and spirituality. Tsunashima Ryōsen's³⁹ account of his 'beatific vision', which shook the souls of many young intellectuals, was the clear expression of an incipient religious sentiment and spiritual longing that was crucially linked – and not antithetical – to the exploration of interiority and the construction of the modern self. The publication of works like Kinoshita Naoe's *Zange*⁴⁰ (Confession) and Nakazato Kaizan's *Waga zange*⁴¹ (My Confessions) put unequivocal emphasis on the act of confession as a means to overcome the impasse brought about by these internal conflicts, signaling a religious posture within the literary world that would become a major trait of mid-to late Meiji and Taishō intellectual discourse. In 1906, Masamune Hakuchō, who had by now completely repudiated his faith, took notice of this trend in an editorial that appeared in the *Yo-*

³⁵ 植村正久.

³⁶ 田辺元.

³⁷ 文学会.

³⁸ 戸川秋骨.

³⁹ 網島梁川.

⁴⁰ 懺悔.

⁴¹ 我懺悔.

*miuri shinbun*⁴². Hakuchō argued that the younger generations were faced with a type of spiritual anguish and pain that no one had ever experienced before. The suicides of Kitamura Tōkoku, Fujino Kohaku⁴³ (1871-1895) and Fujimura Misao⁴⁴ (1886-1903) epitomized this generational predicament during a time of internal turmoil that, some argued, had to be attributed to the negative influence exerted by literature and philosophy. Religion was in his view the only outlet for the hopes and aspirations of these young individuals, who struggled to find their own sense of self at this time of great uncertainty and social changes⁴⁵.

The rise of naturalism gave further momentum to this spiritual quest. Although Christian scholars like Sako Jun'ichirō have viewed the negation of God as a precondition to the establishment of modern literature, few literary schools actually placed so much emphasis on the search for God as naturalism did⁴⁶. The deep religious awareness that permeated the literary world at this time found in fact one of its most effective voices within the very tenets of this school of thought.

3. *The Rise of Naturalism and the Dualism between Body and Spirit*

Shimamura Hōgetsu⁴⁷ (1871-1918), who played an instrumental role in the theoretical legitimization of naturalism, attested to the centrality of religion in the movement. In *Nyoze bungei* (Thus is Literature), a piece he published in 1905 soon after his three-year sojourn in Europe, Hōgetsu affirmed that literature aimed at the attainment of an absolute and transcendental dimension that was, in his view, the domain of the religious⁴⁸. The experience of the divine was for Hōgetsu an essential part of the aesthetic experience inherent to art and literature. His 1906 essay *Torawaretaru bungei*⁴⁹ (Literature in Shackles) essentially ratified this view, placing the spiritual experience at the center of the process of artistic creation and postulating a partnership between literature and religious symbolism that would become the trademark of Japanese naturalism.

⁴² 読売新聞.

⁴³ 藤野古白.

⁴⁴ 藤村操.

⁴⁵ Masamune Hakuchō, *Shūkyō mondai* 宗教問題 (The Problem of Religion, 1906); in Masamune 1986: vol. 25, 44-47.

⁴⁶ Sako Jun'ichirō, *Bungaku no rinri to shinkō* 文学の倫理と信仰 (Faith and the Ethics of Literature); see Kega et al. 1956: 224.

⁴⁷ 島村抱月.

⁴⁸ 如是文芸 (1905); see Shimamura 1994: vol. 1, 160-165.

⁴⁹ 囚われたる文芸.

Later developments confirmed the critical intersection between religion and naturalism. The confessional posture that had already become manifest at the turn of the century came to epitomize the philosophical confines of the naturalist school. Hōgetsu himself published two essays in 1909 in which he stated that skepticism and confession were the only framework within which one could discuss a philosophy of life⁵⁰. Others echoed this view: critic Hasegawa Tenkei⁵¹ (1876-1940) acknowledged the centrality of confession in the literary debates of the time, and so did Katakami Tengen⁵² (1884-1928) who referred to modern Japanese literature as a ‘literature of confession’, providing evidence that the very last years of the Meiji period had witnessed the materialization of a trajectory in literature that held confession as a central element of its inquiry⁵³. Three decades later Masamune Hakuchō essentially endorsed this interpretation. Naturalist writers, he wrote, had one common predicament, and that was how to express the pain of their own existence. For Hakuchō, however, the bewilderment and disorientation suffered by the literary world during these final Meiji years was not a phenomenon limited to the naturalists. Even Natsume Sōseki⁵⁴ showed distinctive signs of skepticism in his late works, he claimed. The disconnection with the surrounding reality experienced by the artist at this juncture of Meiji intellectual and literary history was thus a product, if not a pathology, of that very age⁵⁵.

The disconnection experienced by Hakuchō and others was in part fueled by the inability to overcome the lasting conflict between body and spirit, a dualism that was for many writers at the root of the irreconcilable practices of art and religion. As one of the leading theoreticians of naturalism, Hōgetsu himself had some responsibility for the exacerbation of this dualism. Naturalist

⁵⁰ See *Jo ni kaete: jinseikanjō no shizenshugi o ronzu* 序にかえて一人生観上の自然主義を論ず (Preface: A Discussion of Naturalism from the Viewpoint of Life, 1909) and *Kaigi to kokuhaku* 懐疑と告白 (Skepticism and Confession, 1909); in Shimamura 1994: vol. 2, 167-174 and 183-194.

⁵¹ 長谷川天溪.

⁵² 片上天弦.

⁵³ See Hasegawa Tenkei, *Jiko bunretsu to seikan* 自己分裂と静観 (Self-Disintegration and Serene Contemplation, 1910), and Katakami Tengen, *Kokuhaku to hihyō to sōzō to* 告白と批評と創造と (Confession, Criticism and Creativity, 1912); both in Shimamura et al. 1967: 207-209 and 279-282.

⁵⁴ 夏目漱石.

⁵⁵ *Shizenshugi seisuishu* 自然主義盛衰史 (A History of the Rise and Fall of Naturalism, 1948); see Masamune 1969.

novels were well received, but the literary movement as such was often criticized for dealing with topics like sexuality that were thought to be injurious to public decency and morality. Hōgetsu rejected the allegations that naturalist literature caused people to commit indecent acts, maintaining the separation of art and life, and dismissing the actualization of unethical behavior as something outside the realm of literature⁵⁶. In so doing, however, he eventually reinforced the paradigm that saw body and spirit as mutually exclusive. The heated exchanges that Hōgetsu had with another proponent of naturalism, Iwano Hōmei, confirmed the existence of a latent contradiction within the literary school. In fact, Hōmei believed that there was no art outside the activities, the desires and feelings of the self, and he maintained the necessity of a fusion of the spirit with the body⁵⁷.

It was only with the positive and self-affirming posture of the Shirakaba⁵⁸ writers that followed during the Taishō years that a significant change in how key members of the *bundan* addressed this dualism came to life.

4. Overcoming the Dualism: The Affirmation of Sexuality and the Primacy of the I

In 1912 Mushakōji Saneatsu, who had been deeply influenced by Tolstoian Christianity and had struggled to reconcile, during his adolescent years, his initial Puritan worldview with an ever-growing sexual awareness, came to reject the view of sexuality as something immoral and sinful, affirming the authority of the self and the priority of one's hopes and desires⁵⁹. Nine years later, writing about love, he stated that the flesh was a reality that could not be denied, that one's life had to be fully affirmed, and it was only by affirming one's life that could one truly love⁶⁰. For Mushakōji, the religious men of the past had chosen a spiritual path that included fasting and asceticism, i.e. a life of self-denial; the religious men of the future, he argued, would have to focus instead on the self, in order to improve it and extend its potential to the fullest. In his

⁵⁶ *Geijutsu to jisseikatsu no kai ni yokotawaru issen* 芸術と実生活の界に横たわる一線 (The Dividing Line Between Art and Life, 1908); in Shimamura 1994: vol. 2, 145-162.

⁵⁷ Iwano Hōmei, *Shinshizenshugi* 新自然主義 (Neo-Naturalism, 1908); see Iwano 1990.

⁵⁸ 白樺.

⁵⁹ See his piece '*Jiko no tame' oyobi sono ta ni tsuite* 「自己の為」及びその他について (On 'For the Self' and Other Writings, 1912); reproduced in Senuma et al. 1983.

⁶⁰ See *Ai ni tsuite* 愛について (On Love, 1921); in Mushakōji 1990: vol. 1, 149-162.

view, the center of the religious experience was no longer a negation of the self but rather an affirmation of it⁶¹.

A similar evolution can be traced in Shiga Naoya's thought. While the young protagonist of *Nigotta atama*⁶² (A Muddy Mind) struggled with his newly acquired sexual awareness – he is so determined to avoid sinning that he even tries to apply lighted matches to his crotch in an effort to curb his sexual urge – in *An'ya Kōro*⁶³ (A Dark Night's Passing), the main character Tokitō Kensaku lives his sexual encounters with a local prostitute as a self-liberating experience:

When he reached and held her round, heavy breast he was filled with an indefinable sense of comfort and satisfaction. It was as though he had touched something very precious. He let it rest on the palm of his hand, then shook it a little so that he could feel the full weight of it. There were no words to express the pleasure he experienced then. He continued to shake it gently, saying merely, “What riches!” It was for him somehow a symbol of all that was precious to him, of whatever it was that promised to fill the emptiness inside him⁶⁴.

It is however in the evolution of Arishima Takeo's thought that one can see the most radical rejection of an immoral view of sexuality. Arishima, whose early diaries were in essence a narrative about the clash of faith and sexual desire, repeatedly rejected the separation of the body from the soul, attacking any type of dualism that prevented the self from experiencing life to the fullest⁶⁵. He also formulated a theory of love as an extension of the self rather than a limitation of it:

According to my own experience of Love, pitifully small though it be, the impulse to love always coincides with self-interest and concern. I must own that without these my Love never awakes to its full activity. With me Love is an instinct to plunder, rather than to give: an energy to absorb, rather than to emanate [...] I find myself incapable of loving the outside object as much as myself [...] exactly speaking, I can love the outside object only because I love myself. More exactly, I can love the outside object inasmuch as it is assimilated into myself. In other words, to love is to extend one's existence, and vice versa. Thus,

⁶¹ See *Jiko o ikashita mono* 自己を生かしたものの (A Fulfilment of the Self, 1922); in *Mushakōji* 1990: vol. 1, 216-217.

⁶² 濁った頭.

⁶³ 暗夜行路.

⁶⁴ Shiga 1976: 197.

⁶⁵ See his piece *Naibu seikatsu no genshō* 内部生活の現象 (The Phenomena of the Inner Life, 1914); in Arishima 1975: vol. 7, 86-102.

to me, the lover, the beloved object loses its independent entity while I gain the dimension of Self. The object loved becomes part of myself. To take all in all, therefore, the object of my Love is nothing but myself; and the fact is that I love Me in the shape of an object outside of me⁶⁶.

For Arishima, there was «no difference between the flesh and the soul. The I is the only thing that exists»⁶⁷.

Placing the reconciliation of the physical and spiritual realms at the core of their literary quest, Mushakōji, Shiga and Arishima all affirmed sexuality in terms that defied the teachings of their Christian education. From this point of view, the claim that their narrative may have originated from the rejection of Christianity is legitimate. However, these writers not only continued to draw from the idea of *seimei* and its sacredness – a Christian inspired concept – but they also relied on Christianity as a framework of reference for the construction of their own selves. They continued to hold the question of God and their relationship to the divine as a primary concern of their human existence. As one scholar recently pointed out, «Mushakōji’s early contact with Tolstoian Christianity is crucial to his intellectual development and without it the Shirakaba concept of selfhood would be inconceivable» (Mortimer 2000: 90). Nor would it be possible to conceive Arishima’s artistic evolution without considering the role of the Christian faith in his life. Even in Shiga Naoya’s case, one has to acknowledge «the diffuse and only implicit kind of “Christian” influence which we may discern in the background of his entire oeuvre» (Sibley 1979: 28). As Shiga himself wrote, “[H]ad I not come in contact with the religion of Jesus I could have led a more carefree life and would no doubt have written in a broader vein. Although I have regretted this experience in the past, I think now that it has been in my best interest. Without it I would perhaps have become a more slovenly sort of man” (Sibley 1979: 28).

There is a rhetoric of authenticity in these writers’ discourse, a desire to be truthful to the self that is vaguely reminiscent of a Christian examination of conscience. Their narrative speaks well to the seriousness and intensity of their spiritual pursuit. In *Sakura no mi no juku suru toki* (When the Cherries Ripen), for example, Sutekichi, Shimazaki Tōson’s *alter ego*, seriously reflects upon the nature of his Christian experience and the future of his faith:

⁶⁶ *Oshimi naku ai wa ubau* 惜しみなく愛は奪う (Love the Plunderer, 1917); Arishima 1975: vol. 7, 147-148. Quotation written in English by Arishima himself.

⁶⁷ *Ribingusuton den jo* 『リビングストーン伝』序 (Preface to *A Biography of Livingston*, 1919); Arishima 1975: vol. 7, 380.

Are you a Christian? Had he been asked this question now, Sutekichi could not have answered that he was the same person who had been baptized by Reverend Asami. He no longer was the type of believer that every Sunday felt the need to go to Church to listen to the sermon and sing hymns (in praise of God). He had even quit praying before meals. If any one were to ask him now “don’t you believe in God?” he would answer that in his own immature way, he was a person that was searching for God...⁶⁸

Kunikida Doppo similarly questioned the depth of his own faith:

When I left Waseda University, I was already a Christian. But have I behaved like a true Christian? Have I professed my faith . . . has my life been a true Christian life? [...] Have I read the Bible? [...] What kind of a Christian am I? Without Christ, without the Bible, without prayer, I am only weak, arrogant, lazy...⁶⁹

In the same vein, Kinoshita Naoe admitted to his own hypocrisy when he wrote at the beginning of his *Zange*: «I have proclaimed the word of God and called for the improvement of society, but who am I really?»⁷⁰. A sense of iniquity and a painful struggle against sin became a common trait in these writers’ plead for God’s mercy. On March 23, 1898 Hakuchō wrote in his diary: «Do not talk behind people’s back. Do not lie even if you have to die for it. Do not look at women. Do not spend a single dime on futile things [...] if you cannot observe [these commandments], you are not worth being called a person»⁷¹. One year later, on April 4, Arishima Takeo recorded the following:

It has been more than one month since I swore to give myself to you. I do not know if what I have done is enough, but I believe I did all I could. Yet, there is still a distance between myself and God [...] God, I beg you, have mercy on this insignificant person. I say I will not commit wicked acts, I swear I shall sin no more but then I do these things. Nevertheless I beg you, God, take pity on my weak will, bridge this gap⁷².

Mushakōji Saneatsu also attempted to overcome this painful struggle against sin when he wrote to himself: «avoid temptations, purify your heart [...]»⁷³.

⁶⁸ 桜の実の熟する時 (1919); see Shimazaki 1967: 172.

⁶⁹ *Waga kako* 我が過去 (My Past, 1896); see Kunikida 1965: 342-347.

⁷⁰ *Zange* (1906); see Kinoshita 1975: 126.

⁷¹ *Hatachi no nikki* 二十歳の日記 (Diary of a Twenty-Year-Old, 1952); see Masamune 1986: vol. 30, 179-180.

⁷² Partially quoted and translated in Morton 1988: 34.

⁷³ *Jikai* 自戒 (Self-Discipline, 1908); in Mushakōji 1990: vol. 1, 67.

For many of these writers the conversion to the Christian faith was an earnest attempt to live a life of chastity and moral rectitude. As Hakuchō wrote years later, his interest in reading the works of Uchimura Kanzō lay in the fact that he «wanted to learn [from him] how to live his life»⁷⁴. Their search for God was thus genuine and real. It is in light of this realization, then, that we ought to ask whether it was they who entirely failed to understand and accept Christianity or whether Christianity itself shared some responsibility for their decision to ultimately abandon the faith.

5. *The Limits of Protestantism*

As mentioned earlier, the type of Christianity to which these young intellectuals were exposed strongly emphasized not only the sinful nature of sexuality but also the immorality of any behavior that was considered to be mundane – including drinking, smoking, reading novels, and going to the theater. Modern writers reflected often upon the strictness of these teachings, particularly with regard to sexuality. On July 7, 1899, questioning how man could establish his independence, Arishima wrote: «Oh God, I beg you, take pity on my weak, proud heart, I beg you to allow me to offer up to you my total obedience [...] only by renouncing the body and the flesh can one achieve true independence and strength» (Morton 1988: 35). In 1906 Mushakōji repeatedly acknowledged in his diary his moral weakness, the sexual urges of the flesh and the danger that these implied in his life⁷⁵. And Shiga Naoya, who described in his novel *Ōtsu Jun'ichi* the anguish and resentment he experienced as a youngster when he was taught that fornication was equivalent to murder, later wrote:

In those days I was a lukewarm Christian. Being far removed from various temptations, I almost made Paul's phrase "Avoid fornication" my motto [...] I became a Christian in the summer of my seventeenth year, and from the time I reached twenty my desire for women intensified. I became somewhat obstinate. I was disgusted by my own obstinacy and periodically felt the impulse to become a free individual⁷⁶.

The basic tenets of Calvinism, according to which man is in a perennial state of depravation and sin, are likely to have fueled the Puritan worldview

⁷⁴ Uchimura Kanzō (1949): in Masamune 1986: vol. 25, 214.

⁷⁵ See *Kare no seinen jidai* 彼の青年時代 (His Younger Years, 1926); in Mushakōji 1990: vol. 1.

⁷⁶ Quoted and translated in Suzuki Tomi 1996: 103.

of these young authors, increasing their sense of iniquity and prompting a rationalization of sin along strictly Calvinist lines. Eventually, these writers began to have doubts on the Christian doctrine: the theory of predestination – the idea that God has already chosen those who will be saved and those who will not – and the Protestant dogma of *sola fide* – the belief that salvation is granted through faith alone and not also through ‘good works’ – were some aspects of the Christian religion to which they did not find adequate answers. Thus, in 1919, Arishima declared his inability to accept Christianity, because, in his view, «if man does not have free will, then, he should not be responsible for sinning»⁷⁷. In 1922 Nagayo Yoshirō questioned in his novel *Seidō no kurisuto*⁷⁸ (The Bronze Christ) why one could not be saved for simply being ‘a just man’, and in his post-war discourse Hakuchō often wondered why salvation could not be earned by simply leading an honest life⁷⁹.

Other developments that took place in the mid-to late Meiji years were equally important. Despite its early ecumenical and non-denominational character, the Japanese Protestant Church soon developed into unionism and denominationalism. According to one scholar, by 1883 there already existed ninety-one congregations, each representing a distinct denomination (Caldarola 1979: 33). The arrival of the so-called liberal theology in the mid-to-late 1880s did nothing but make things worse. Questions regarding the reality of atonement and the Cross as well as the authority of the Bible shook the already unstable foundations of the Japanese Christian experience. The increasingly fiery debate regarding the theory of evolution and the new wave of skepticism, which also arrived from Europe in those years, added to this type of intellectual environment, prompting some leaders of the Japanese Church to search for an autonomous theology that could incorporate indigenous elements of religious life. These attempts, some going as far denying the divinity of Christ, led to sharp internal confrontations and a further splitting of the Church.

The lack of structure and tradition and the existence of multiple voices on matters relevant to the faith, i.e. the very pluralism that had enabled Protestantism to prosper among the upper level classes of Japanese society and the *bundan*, became an impediment to its future. Natsume Sōseki was quick to recognize Christianity’s most apparent contradiction – denominationalism and factionalism – in a piece he wrote in English as he was sailing to England in 1900:

⁷⁷ *Ribingusuton den jo* (1919); see Arishima 1975: vol. 7, 371.

⁷⁸ 青銅のクリスト.

⁷⁹ Masamune Hakuchō, *Yokubō wa shi yori tsuyoshi* 欲望は死より強し (Desire Is Stronger than Death, 1954); quoted in Takeda 1983: 27.

We have on board quite a large number of missionaries, leaving China for England [...] They never fail to make the most of every opportunity that is offered to make converts of us whom they innocently set down as idolaters [...] They insist on the idea of one supreme God. Very well. But then does not this idea vary according to different denominations? They say Christianity is the only true religion in the world, but when each denomination holds up its own idea of the Supreme God as true, it tantamounts to saying that those of other denominations are false and Christianity is the true religion only so far as each denomination is concerned⁸⁰.

Protestantism probably shared some responsibility for the fate of Christianity among modern Japanese writers. Widely perceived to be a progressive ‘new religion’ (*shinkyō*)⁸¹ – in contrast to Catholicism which was viewed as too rigid and anchored to tradition (and as such often referred to as *kyūkyō*)⁸² – Protestantism was able to sustain a discourse of social improvement, innovation, and spiritual renewal until the time when many began to question its doctrine. Despite the reality of these challenges, however, Meiji Christianity would nonetheless play an important role in the development of modern Japanese literature. Modern writers genuinely sought God and in the process they employed Christian cultural images and topoi that helped their narrative define and construct the modern self. Japanese Christian leader and author Takakura Tokutarō⁸³ (1885-1934) once wrote: «my mind had long been preoccupied with the question of the self [...] What is this thing called the self? How can we have an emancipated, fulfilling self? In those days I thought with great enthusiasm that I would readily sacrifice anything to solve the question of the self» (Suzuki Tomi 1996: 20). This question of the establishment of the self was further inspired by the idea of *seimei*, a belief in the sacredness of life that can be found throughout most of modern literary discourse, from the writings of Kitamura Tōkoku to those of Arishima Takeo (Onishi 2007: 45-53).

As Hakuchō stated in one of his later works, the spread of Christianity among the writers of his generations was not coincidental; mid-to-late Meiji intellectuals shared a dream, a romantic vision of a self-inspired human existence and afterlife that found fertile ground in the beliefs and worldview of the Christian religion⁸⁴. This vision was the essence of the Meiji Christian experience, and

⁸⁰ Quoted in Takizawa 1956: 4.

⁸¹ 新教.

⁸² 旧教.

⁸³ 高倉徳太郎.

⁸⁴ *Uchimura Kanzō zakkān* 内村鑑三雑感 (1949); in Masamune 1986: vol. 25, 273.

it is departing from this simple realization that future scholarly efforts should seek to unveil the impact of Christianity in modern Japanese literature.

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THE INCORPORATION OF SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE IN YAMAMURA BOCHŌ'S 'PRISMIST' POETRY (1914-1916)

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Abstract

Yamamura Bochō (1884-1924) is mainly remembered as the author of *Seisanryōhari* (The Sacred Prism, 1915), a collection of *shi* (modern poetry in non-traditional forms) that represents the culmination of his experiments in diction and imagery. One of the most striking elements of his 'prismist' poetry is the presence of scientific language, coming from the domains of geology, botany, biology, and medicine. In this paper, I adopt a historical and textual perspective to attempt an analysis of the incorporation of scientific discourse in Bochō's poetry. Particular emphasis is placed on the European and Japanese debate on the 'new science' and on the similarities to the treatment of this topic by Bochō and the discourses of the historical European avant-garde (especially Italian Futurism).

Keywords

Yamamura Bochō, *Seisanryōhari*, Prismism, Futurism in Japan, Japanese poetry of the Taishō era

要旨

山村暮鳥は(1884~1924)主にその詩的実験の最高点を表す詩集『聖三稜玻璃』(大正4年)の著者として記憶されている。暮鳥の「プリズミスト」詩の中で最も印象的な特徴の一つは、地質学、植物学、生物学、医学などの範囲から、科学的な言語の挿入である。本稿では、歴史的観点から、暮鳥の詩における科学的言説の利用を分析してみる。特に、当時ヨーロッパ前衛運動(とりわけイタリアの未来派)や日本の文壇で起こっていた、所謂「新しい科学」をめぐる議論との関係に重点を置いて暮鳥の詩を再読してみる。

キーワード

山村暮鳥・聖三稜玻璃・プリズミズム・日本における未来派・大正時代の詩

Historical avant-gardes, particularly Italian Futurists, had a contradictory stance towards scientific knowledge. However, even though they proclaimed at times to be anti-intellectual, it would be incorrect to say that they were also absolutely anti-scientific. In 1911, Umberto Boccioni and his colleagues triumphantly declared: «We would at any price re-enter into life. Victorious science

has nowadays disowned its past in order the better to serve the material needs of our time» (*Manifesto of the Futurist Painters*)¹.

A reconfiguration of the statute of science is one of the most important themes of the twentieth century European avant-garde. Connected to it are such topics as the relationship between art and technology, the mechanization of life, the renegotiation of the boundaries between the organic and the inorganic, the medicalization of matter, and the de-humanization of art.

All these topics are typically foreshadowed in F.T. Marinetti's manifestos of 1912-1914. In them, the leader of Italian Futurism calls for the destruction of the 'I' in literature, brings forth the «lyrical obsession with matter» as the new key subject of art, declares that the mechanized syntax of the «control panels» of a «central electric station» are «our only models for writing poetry»². These statements imply a new conception of the relationship between art and science, intuition and reasoning, and fantasy and rationality. These realms are now complementary: by combining them, the poet can achieve a new «synthesis of life»:

We must abolish him [the "I"] in literature and replace him once and for all with matter, whose essence must be seized by strokes of intuition, something which physicists and chemists can never achieve. [...]

Through growing familiarity and friendship with matter, which scientists can know only in its physical and chemical reactions, we are preparing the creation of the mechanical man with interchangeable parts (*Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature*).

Let me explain: I want to introduce infinite molecular life into poetry not as a scientific document, but as an intuitive element (*Destruction of Syntax – Radio Imagination – Words-in-Freedom*).

At about the same time, an obscure Japanese poet was writing such verses as:

¹ Boccioni et al. 1912: 30, 32. A Japanese translation of this manifesto was available in Kimura Shōhachi 木村莊八's *Geijutsu no kakumei* 芸術の革命 (Revolution in Art, 1914) and *Miraiha oyobi rittaiha no geijutsu* 未来派及立体派の芸術 (The Art of Futurism and Cubism, 1915). Bochō owned a copy of the latter (Inoue 1988: 33; Tanaka 1988: 191), one of the most influential presentations of Cubism and Futurism to be published in Japan in the 1910s.

² Excerpts from *Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature* (1912), *Destruction of Syntax – Radio Imagination – Words-in-Freedom* (1913) and *Geometrical and Mechanical Splendor and the Numerical Sensibility* (1914). Here and after, I quote from the modern English translations in Rainey et al. 2009.

にくしんをつらぬく / いつぼんのでんせん

One electric wire / goes through the body and soul

(*Yofuke*³, Late at night, ll. 2-3, *Shūsai bundan*⁴, May 1916, YBZ 1: 336)

水銀歌私利亜
ヒステリア

mercury hysteria

(*Dansu*⁵, Dance, l. 6, *Takujō funsui*⁶, Apr. 1915, later included in *Seisanryōhari*⁷, YBZ 1: 69)

官能の金属的な中心にて

In the metallic center of the senses

(*Me no nai hito*⁸, The person with no eyes, l. 3, *Shiika*⁹, Sept. 1915, YBZ 2: 185)

He used the language of natural science within incoherent associations of images that anticipated Surrealism. In his prose writings of the same period, he declared: «My poems are religion, they are almost science (*kagaku*)»¹⁰, and he defined himself as a «scientist» (*kagakusha*)¹¹. That poet was Yamamura Bochō¹² (1884-1924), the author of *Seisanryōhari* (The Sacred Prism, 1915), a controversial collection that included many of his most daring poems.

In this paper, I will examine the similarities between the conception of the ‘new’ science articulated in the discourse of European historical avant-gardes (especially Italian Futurism, which is one of my fields of study) and the literary production of Bochō in the years 1914-1916, an interval corresponding to his ‘prismist period’, an ephemeral but historically relevant phase of thematic and stylistic experiments that induced his colleague Hagiwara Sakutarō¹³ (1886-1942) to label Bochō’s poetry as ‘futurist’ in a well-known essay published in 1916¹⁴.

³ よふけ.

⁴ 秀才文壇.

⁵ だんす.

⁶ 卓上噴水.

⁷ 聖三稜玻璃.

⁸ めのないひと.

⁹ 詩歌.

¹⁰ 科学. *Shūjitsu aigo* 秋日愛語 (Love Words in an Autumn Day), *Fukushima nichinichi shinbun* 福島日日新聞, 9 Oct. 1914, YBZ 4: 325.

¹¹ 科学者. *Kono sonzai de aru* 此の存在である (This Existence of Mine), undated essay (ca. 1915-1916?), YBZ 4: 467.

¹² 山村暮鳥.

¹³ 萩原朔太郎.

¹⁴ In *Nihon ni okeru miraiha no shi to sono kaisetsu* 日本に於ける未来派の詩とその解説 (Futurist Poetry in Japan and Its Explanation), published in *Kanjō* 感情

1. The Scientific Imagery in Bochō's Poetry

Bochō is considered among the forerunners of literary Modernism (*modanizumu*)¹⁵ in his country¹⁶. As a cultural producer, he described an unusual trajectory: of peasant stock, he became a Christian in his youth and was able to study at the Anglican seminary in Tsukiji, Tōkyō, where he was eventually ordained as a minister. His years as a student before being dispatched as a missionary to different parishes in Eastern Japan coincided with his first steps in the poetry scene of Tōkyō. After his debut as a tankaist, he moved to *shi*¹⁷ (poetry in non-traditional forms); in the years between the end of Meiji and the beginning of Taishō, he fluctuated between Symbolism and Naturalism, coming also into contact with such personalities as Sōma Gyofū¹⁸, Kimura Shōhachi, and Hagiwara Sakutarō. In 1915, he published *Seisanryōhari*, which is commonly considered to be the culmination of his 'prismist period'. However, Bochō's experiments were met with indifference, if not with open criticism, by the rest of the poetry scene, which crushed his ambitions and self-confidence. Around 1917 he switched to his personal version of poetry inspired by the 'humanitarian' (*jindōshugi*)¹⁹ and 'democratic' (*minshūshugi*)²⁰ ideologies that had come into vogue in Japan after WWI.

It is possible to detect in Bochō's prismist poems a thematic vein that draws from the domains of natural sciences, chemistry, and physics. This vein includes a rather wide group of occurrences, to which secondary branches, such as optics, belong. Moreover, it appears to be often combined with the imagery coming from the sciences of living matter: biology, physiology,

(Sentiment) in November 1916, Sakutarō proclaimed, among other idiosyncrasies, that Bochō's poetry was the extreme development of Symbolism, which in Sakutarō's interpretation corresponded to Futurism. Original text in KSGS *shinbun zasshi hen*, 2: 24-29.

¹⁵ モダニズム.

¹⁶ Studies on Bochō in languages other than Japanese are very scarce, and his poetry, though sometimes included in English language anthologies, has never been translated in an independent volume. See Wilson and Atsumi 1972 and Keene 1999: 281-283. As for the Japanese side, book-length studies have been published by Wada Yoshiaki (1968, 1969, 1976), Sekigawa Sakio (1982), Tanaka Seikō (1988), Horie Nobuo (1994), and Nakamura Fujio (1995, 2006).

¹⁷ 詩.

¹⁸ 相馬御風.

¹⁹ 人道主義.

²⁰ 民衆主義.

medicine, etc., which are significantly represented in Bochō's poetic universe. From the lexical standpoint, this means that one can detect in Bochō's poems a proliferation of technical terms taken from these fields. This particular widening of the realm of poetry, especially as far as the realm of minerals and metals is concerned, had been already initiated by Kitahara Hakushū (1885-1942)²¹. However, in Hakushū's poetry, this new imagery tended to be exploited in order to express fresher sensorial reverberations, as it was typical of the glamorous exoticism of *Jashūmon*²² (Heretic Religion, 1909), or of the mystical brilliance of *Hakkin no koma*²³ (Platinum Top, 1914), two Hakushū collections that Bochō was certainly well-acquainted with. In addition to this aesthete vein, in Bochō's poems a new use of inorganic elements and of the denotative and detached language of science also contributes to conjure up the eclipse of the lyrical 'I'.

At first sight, Bochō's purpose may seem the same as the Naturalist poets of the *kōgo jiyūshi undō*²⁴ (movement for poetry in spoken language and free verse), who aimed at a realistic reproduction of daily life and ordinary reality, free from sentimentalism and subjectivism; but Bochō's poetry, though it keeps some connections to this movement²⁵, goes beyond the positivist rationalism that was at the core of Naturalism, and resorts to expressive methods that are basically irrational, intuitive, and maybe even subconscious, in order to establish unpredictable associations between images and words.

The most radical application of such method in his poetry, and the point where his research reached its limits, can be considered to be the infamous poem *Geigo*²⁶ (Delirium).

²¹ 北原白秋. When Bochō published *Seisanryōhari*, Hakushū was one of the most renowned poets of his generation. Bochō himself was connected to his coterie and had published some of his poems in Hakushū's magazines such as *Chijō junrei* 地上巡礼 (Pilgrimage on Earth) and *Ars*.

²² 邪宗門.

²³ 白金之独楽.

²⁴ 口語自由詩運動.

²⁵ Bochō's association with the Naturalist group of the magazine *Shizen to inshō* 自然と印象 (Nature and Impressions, 1909-1910) was short lived, and on the stylistic level, quite bland. Nevertheless, he retained from this experience a certain familiarity with the modes of Impressionist poetry practiced by such poets as Kawaji Ryūkō 川路柳虹 (1888-1959) and Maeda Ringai 前田林外 (1864-1946). See Nakamura 1995: 54-80.

²⁶ 囈語.

DELIRIUM²⁷

THEFT GOLDFISH
 ROBBERY TRUMPET
 BLACKMAIL VIOLIN
 GAMBLING CAT
 FRAUD SARAÇA
 BRIBERY VELUDO
 ADULTERY APPLE
 ASSAULT SKYLARK
 MURDER TULIP
 ABORTION SHADOW
 SEDITION SNOW
 ARSON MARMELO
 ABDUCTION CASTELLA

Apart from this most radical instantiation, which arguably delves in the same conceptual framework, I will examine a series of poems where the technical language of science is mingled with apparently absurd and arbitrary associations of images, producing an overall impression of estrangement and contradiction. As I will show, in such poems, a liberated usage of associative

²⁷ YBZ 1: 66. In terms of publication in a magazine (*Ars*, June 1915), *Geigo* is one of the most recent pieces in *Seisanryōhari*. According to Sekigawa Sakio (1982: 78-81), the term *geigo* may come from the Japanese translation of Max Nordau's *Degeneration* (*Entartung*, 1892), where it is used to mark the ideas of Ruskin and Swinburne: «ラスキンの思想はそれ自身に於て癡語に外ならざりしなり» («Ruskin's theory is in itself delirious», English ed. of 1895: 79); «彼の思想は真ならず、且、屢々癡語に類すれども» («His [Swinburne's] thought is false and frequently delirious», *ibid.*: 94). Nordau's controversial book was translated by Nakajima Moichi 中島茂一 as *Gendai no daraku* 現代の墮落 (March 1914). It appears to have been widely known and read in the Japanese intellectual milieu. It seems, therefore, extremely likely that Bochō had read it or that he was at least informed about its contents. The first terms of the nominal couples in *Geigo* come from the Japanese penal code (*Keihō* 刑法, 1880, 1907). Therefore, when possible, I translate them with the corresponding English technical terms. The second terms have, on the other hand, a more heterogeneous nature; many of them are loanwords reminiscent of the «Southern barbarian» exoticism of Hakushū's *Jashūmon*: *sarasa* (*saraça*, chintz), *birōdo* (*veludo*, velvet), *marumero* (*marmelo*, quince) and *kastēra* (*castella*, sponge cake) are all words of Portuguese origin. I resorted to capital letters in order to render the visual effect given by the concentration of *kanji* in the original, an expedient also used in Sas 1999: 19.

nexuses shares the stage with the debris of a denotative exactitude that is more promised than actually enacted. The language of science acts as a simulacrum: the rationality it is supposed to guarantee is, in fact, illusory. It can perhaps be said that Bochō's poetry, probably without its author's knowledge, conducted in this sense a critique of the language of nineteenth century science and of its claims to universal intelligibility.

One of the domains in which this contradictory use of scientific lexicon is prominently shown is in the interaction between the inorganic and the biological. Besides a number of poems in which the elements of the periodic table and the mineral world are well represented as original poetic images, such interaction renegotiates the boundaries between the world of the living and the non-living, the subjective and the objective, the human and the non-human: these spheres are no longer neatly separated, but mingled and confused. In the same way that it will be possible to capture the «magnetism of body and soul» (application of physical categories to the domain of the living), it will also be possible to sing the «hysteria of mercury» (application of medical categories to the non-living domain): something that can be compared to Marinetti's «lyrical obsession with matter».

Surely, Bochō's endeavor is not as radical and self-aware as that of Marinetti's or of other personalities of the European avant-garde (e.g., the Surrealists), and certainly a part of his inorganic imagery responds as a merely decorative function, to the quest for original and exotic words. Nevertheless, his poetry reveals a modernist potential that was absolutely new in Japan and, on a more general level, elucidates the possibilities of intersection between different discursive domains, such as those of literature, chemistry, physiology, botany, psychiatry, etc.

In my analysis, I single out three main motifs:

1) The **transmutation** of organic elements (plants, animals, man) into metals and minerals. This alchemic motif is clearly indebted to Hakushū's Symbolist poetry, especially when noble metals, such as gold, silver, and platinum, are involved. In this respect, Bochō is less exploring new uses of these images than, not unlike Sakutarō in the same years, following the steps of Hakushū (Kitagawa 1995: 20).

A «portrait» (*Shōzō*)²⁸ dedicated to Murō Saisei²⁹ (1889-1962) stands out as an example of such a process.

²⁸ 肖像.

²⁹ 室生犀星.

Portrait

The head is pure gold,
 The heart glass,
 The fingers silver,
 The eyes pearls,
 And the body marble.
 (*Fūkei*³⁰, June 1914, YBZ 2: 159)

This portrait can also be considered as a less radical version of the associative method of *Geigo*: here the semantic and syntactical relationship among the two terms of each verse is made clearer by the positioning of the topic particle *wa* between them, and by a more consistent and conventional set of images.

Another example is the transformation into crystal (*kesshō*, *suishō*, *hari*, *shōgyoku*)³¹, which frequently affects parts of the body as one of the most common processes within the prismist world³². This motif too can be ascribed to the Symbolist tradition³³.

ぬつとつき出せ / 餓ゑた水晶のその手を...
 Suddenly thrust out / these hungry hands of crystal...
 (*Fuyu*³⁴, Winter, ll. 4-5, *Shiika*, Jan. 1915, later in *Seisanryōhari*, YBZ 1: 91)

手は結晶し、
 Hands crystallize,
 (*Genshin*³⁵, Actual body, l. 4, *Takujō funsui*, Mar. 1915, YBZ 2: 178)

二つの耳は結晶せり。
 The two ears have crystallized.
 (*Aru hito no onkyō no butteki sayō*³⁶, l. 18, Material process of the sound of a given thing, *Kitsune no su*³⁷, May 1916, YBZ 2: 195)

³⁰ 風景.

³¹ 結晶, 水晶, 玻璃, 晶玉.

³² The images of crystal were already quite common in Bochō's first collection, *Sannin no otome* 三人の処女 (Three Maidens, 1913), which proves their Symbolist lineage.

³³ *Shōgyoku* is a word not infrequently used in the poems of Kanbara Ariake 神原有明 (1875-1952), the father of Japanese Symbolism in poetry.

³⁴ 冬.

³⁵ 現身.

³⁶ 或る一の音響の物的作用.

³⁷ 狐ノ巢.

In other poems, Bochō presents even more radical and innovative chemical interactions, by resorting to elements that are not traditionally beautified in literature, and by coupling them with objects that are semantically remote from them. This is a way to describe a world where organic and inorganic domains are no longer impermeable:

金属的な蟋蟀

Metallic crickets

(*Chijō*³⁸, On earth, l. 2, *Maboroshi*³⁹, Sept. 1916, YBZ 2: 202)

金石の腫物に詩うづく [...] わが詩は金属胎盤なり

Poetry aches in the chalcolithic swellings [...] My poetry is a metallic placenta

(*Teichōshō*⁴⁰, Singing birds, *Chijō junrei*, Jan. 1915, YBZ 4: 179, 857)

Bochō declares his poetry to be a «metallic placenta», an obscure image that perhaps hints at the traditional claim of the creative power of verse, but with a fresher non-human nuance given by the metallic attribute.

2) The **reduction** of the organic to its bare physical and chemical mechanisms, an operation that can be linked to a positivist interpretation of human physiology. Magnetism, electricity, pressure, and force-fields are all called forth to describe living matter.

にくしんの磁気

Magnetism of body and soul

(*Eramaretaru hito ni*⁴¹, To the chosen ones, l. 7, *Chijō junrei*, Jan. 1915, YBZ 2: 175)

靈性磁気の乞食なり。 [...] 肉体晶玉

It's the beggar of spiritual magnetism. [...] Flesh crystal

(*Kokin shinjō*⁴², Creed in old coins, *Henro*⁴³, Jan. 1915, YBZ 4: 184)

³⁸ 地上.

³⁹ まぼろし.

⁴⁰ 啼鳥抄.

⁴¹ 撰まれたる人に.

⁴² 古金信条.

⁴³ 遍路.

我等の思想は燐素である。

Our thoughts are phosphor.

(*Shokkaku yoshō*⁴⁴, Addenda to *Antennae*, *Gunshū e*⁴⁵, Aug. 1915, YBZ 4: 183)

官能の高圧的なからくり

In the high pressure [or: 'high voltage'] mechanism of the senses

(*Jubirēshon*⁴⁶, Jubilation, l. 3, *Shūsai bundan*, Jan. 1916, YBZ 2: 190)

Acting as a scientist of living matter, Bochō is able to detect the manifestation of electric forces that may even appear to have been injected into this matter from the outside.

ふところに電流を仕掛け

It puts the electric current in the bosom

(*Fuyu*, cit., l. 1)

人造古代の愛 / あしうらに電気をし掛け。

Love of the artificial antiquity / It puts electricity in the soles of the feet.

(*Genshin*, cit., ll. 15-16)

とんぼはとんぼで電気に掛り

The dragonflies connect through electricity

(*Gogo sanji*⁴⁷, Three p.m., l. 7, *Kokumin bungaku*⁴⁸, Nov. 1915, YBZ 2: 186)

In some cases, the electric wires get to the point of literally penetrating and assaulting the living matter (perhaps the poet's body itself).

電線うなる / 電線目をつらぬき。

Electric wires buzz / Electric wires pierce (my) eyes.

(*Moyō*⁴⁹, Pattern, ll. 7-8, *Shiika*, Dec. 1914, later in *Seisanryōhari*, YBZ 1: 82)

In this portrayal of mechanized and metallicized living matter, the parts of the body move like automata.

⁴⁴ 触角余抄.

⁴⁵ 群衆へ.

⁴⁶ じゅびれえしよん.

⁴⁷ 午後三時.

⁴⁸ 国民文学.

⁴⁹ 模様.

手は機械的にま白く / 妬みより生れた薔薇を耳に植ゑ、
 The hands mechanically purely white / Plant in the ears roses born out of envy,
 (*Sōjō*⁵⁰, Sediton, ll. 3-4, *Shiika*, June 1915, YBZ 2: 182)

2a) An **over-determination** of the mechanical traits of inorganic phenomena. This process can be applied to traditional natural elements, such as meteorological phenomena, which can be interpreted as a way to criticize the nature-based lyricism of contemporary poetry.

金属的な驟雨の懺悔 / 化石した人生の絵のていたらく。
 Confessions of metallic showers / state of the drawing of fossilized human life.
 (*Jittai*⁵¹, Substance, ll. 5-6, *Shūsai bundan*, Jan. 1916, YBZ 2: 189)

機械的なそよかぜに / きえうせた蜻蛉のかげ
 Shadows of vanished dragonflies / in the mechanical breeze
 (*Shūi*⁵², Signs of autumn, ll. 2-3, *Shiika*, Sept. 1916, YBZ 2: 200)

3) A **pathological inflexion** of inanimate matter. Once the boundaries between organic and inorganic realms are loosened, in a reversal of what has been shown until now, the inanimate matter, too, can be affected by pathologies typical of living beings (namely, humans). This is not necessarily an instantiation of that anthropomorphization of the non-human against which Marinetti had taken a position in his manifestos. Man, in this case, is no more at the center, but some of his attributes survive, so to speak, without a human body on which they could insist, and these attributes can now be applied to inanimate matter. A passage from a famous Futurist text shows important similarities with Bochō's poetry:

Our renovated consciousness does not permit us to look upon man as the centre of universal life. The suffering of a man is of the same interest to us as the suffering of an electric lamp, which, with spasmodic starts [*keirenteki ni*⁵³, in Kimura's translation], shrieks out the most heartrending expressions of colour (*Manifesto of the Futurist Painters*).

Bochō seems to share with Futurism the refusal of anthropocentrism and a new interest in the phenomena that perturb inanimate matter. He does not con-

⁵⁰ 騷擾.

⁵¹ 実体.

⁵² 秋意.

⁵³ 痙攣的に.

fine himself to attributing to objects only feelings or moods (as in traditional personification), but, with a further step, he speaks of them also in terms of syndromes and pathological symptoms.

In one of his notebooks of this period, Sakutarō labels Bochō as the «psychologist of the mineral kingdom» (*kōbutsu shinrigakusha*)⁵⁴, Murō Saisei as that of the animal kingdom, and himself as the psychologist of the vegetal kingdom. This schematization appears to be an over-simplification⁵⁵. In fact, as the examples that I am presenting clearly show, Bochō tends, as the result of a progressive confusion between organic and inorganic matter, to focus his interest not only on the mineral world.

Electricity (*den*)⁵⁶ and spasms (*keiren*)⁵⁷ are two common images in prismist poems, as well as their combination. A scenario in which some hints may have come from the Futurist passage quoted above cannot be easily discarded, considering the chronology of its circulation in Japan.

ひそかに天体脈管を走れ

Run secretly through the vessels of heavenly bodies

(*Eramaretaru hito ni*, cit., l. 8)

でんせんの儂麻質斯

Rheumatism of electric wires

(*Mozō shinju*⁵⁸, Counterfeit pearls, l. 9, *Shiika*, Feb. 1915, YBZ 1: 334)

ああくらいと

弧光燈の気管支加答児。

Bronchial catarrh of arc lights.

(*Tama*⁵⁹, Beads, l. 5, *Chijō junrei*, Mar. 1915, YBZ 2: 177)

喇叭は神経衰弱し

The trumpet has a nervous breakdown

(*Ishō ni tsuite*⁶⁰, On the design, l. 3, *Shiika*, Apr. 1915, YBZ 2: 179)

⁵⁴ 砒物心理学者.

⁵⁵ See Hashiura 1979: 25. The three poets had founded the short lived Ningyo Shisha 人魚詩社 (Poetry Society ‘Siren’, 1914-1916), and published an ephemeral *dōjin zasshi* 同人雑誌, *Takujō funsui* (Tabletop Fountain, 1915) that lasted only three issues.

⁵⁶ 電.

⁵⁷ 痙攣.

⁵⁸ 模造真珠.

⁵⁹ 玉.

⁶⁰ 意匠に就いて.

電線の心的曲折、/[...] / 自働車の痙攣、
 Psychic meanderings of electric wires, / [...] / Convulsions of automobiles,
 (*Yakei*⁶¹, Night scenery, ll. 1, 3, *Shiika*, Aug. 1915, YBZ 2: 183)

でんせん^{ひきつ}痙攣れつ
 The electric wires are convulsing
 (*Shogen*⁶², Apparition, l. 2, *Shiika*, Sept. 1915, YBZ 2: 184)

生理的な月のひかりを
 Physiologic moonlight
 (*Atarashiki mono no mikata no shiteki setsumei*⁶³, Poetic explanation of the new
 way of seeing things, l. 6, *Ibaraki*⁶⁴, Jan. 1916, YBZ 2: 191)

The vegetal realm is medicalized too:

百合の神経、
 Nerves of lilies,
 (*Hari mozaiku*⁶⁵, Glass mosaic, l. 10, *Shinchō*⁶⁶, Nov. 1915, YBZ 2: 185)

みどり松葉のしんけいの上にて
 On the nerves of green pine leaves
 (*Yuki*⁶⁷, Snow, l. 5, *Shūsai bundan*, Jan. 1916, YBZ 2: 189)

薔薇は肉的にして擬似ヒステリアの状態にあり
 Roses, carnally, are in a state of para-hysteria
 (*Nikutai no hansha*⁶⁸, Body reflex, l. 3, *Bunshō sekai*⁶⁹, Nov. 1916, YBZ 2: 204)

It seems that the language of medicine, even more than that of chemistry or physics, is invested by Bochō with a particular function of linkage between the living and non-living spheres. This may be connected to another theme that is present in his poems, albeit not as one of the most prominent: that of disease

⁶¹ 夜景.

⁶² 所現.

⁶³ 新しき物のみかたの詩的説明.

⁶⁴ いばらき.

⁶⁵ 玻璃もざいく.

⁶⁶ 新潮.

⁶⁷ 雪.

⁶⁸ 肉体の反射.

⁶⁹ 文章世界.

(metaphoric as well as biological), which is often conceived as a moment of and condition for truth. The withdrawal of the lyrical self from Bochō's poetry – the result of a two-fold movement of prismatic diffraction of the apperception (hence the title of his collection) and of a shifting to matter of the thematic and scopic focus – is at times articulated by resorting to the language of medicine and pathology⁷⁰.

It may be conceded that one could explain the last series of images cited above as if they were analogies: the lamp light is all fits and starts, like the persistent cough of a person with an infection in the respiratory tract; the trumpeter is exhausted, and the music from her instrument fades away to silence; mercury (possibly inserted in a glass thermometer) goes 'hysterically' up and down because of sudden variations in temperature; the tangled electric wires may be compared to the tortuosity of the human heart; the motor of an automobile just gave a start, and so on.

But the point is: how could it be that such statements (apparently alien to the traditional poetic discourse) and not others were available to a Japanese poet in the 1910s, and how could it be that he himself felt legitimated in using them in his poems?

What kind of outlook on the world possesses a poetry that detects morbid elements in inanimate matter, a poetry that speaks the language of clinical pathology?

What conditions of possibility for knowledge (in the Foucauldian sense of *episteme*) are inscribed in Bochō's prismist poetry?

All the elements seen above hint perhaps at an epistemic apparatus produced and circulating at Bochō's time: that in which the language of science was configured, with a series of corrections coming from the incorporation of the so-called 'anti-positivist reaction', as a horizon of truth valid for all fields (human and non-human) of reality.

The purely provisional considerations that will follow cannot but restrain themselves to hint at the perspectives and contours of a wider research that

⁷⁰ The development within Japanese poetry that was to lead to the presentation of disease as a constitutive condition of individual singularity and as one of the modern places for the manifestation of the truth about man, came to completion with Sakutarō and with the critical discourse on *Tsuki ni hoeru* 月に吠える (Howling at the Moon, 1917). Sakutarō fully articulated the intersection between the discursive domain of literature and that of medicine, an intersection that was still too little developed or too confused in Bochō. This does not mean that in Bochō's poems one cannot detect a *clinical inflexion* of his poetical language. However, if compared to that articulated in *Tsuki ni hoeru*, it appears to be just too episodic in quantitative terms and non-systemic in qualitative terms.

may, someday, be able to globally approach the discursive dynamics operating in Taishō Japan as far as these topics are concerned.

2. Poetry and the New Science

Science has changed the world radically. The ancient poets, spurred by their extraordinary imaginative force, by borrowing the so-called arcane forces of the soul, used to dream a world outside of the world. The modern scientist has staged in the real world miracles even more arcane, even more amazing than these. He has disclosed a world inside of the world. He has brought the mysteries inside reality.

Sōma Gyofū, *The Central Life in Contemporary Art*⁷¹

The fluctuations between and intermingling of human and non-human, organic and inorganic, form a significant part (probably the most ‘avant-garde’ part) of Bochō’s imagery. Certainly, in most cases, the obscurity of the texts makes it difficult to understand if the language is referential, hallucinatory, metaphorical, or allegorical, and if the objects presented in the poem are real or imaginary. This may be said of prismist poetry in its entirety.

Putting aside these interpretive issues, let us come back to the genetic preoccupation. What are the sources of these poetics of living and non-living matter, of the *scientifically spoken* matter, that appear in Bochō’s poems?

The *direct* influence of Futurist writings must be reasonably downplayed. The research on this topic shows that when Bochō was writing these poems, only the first *Manifesto of Futurism* (1909) and the 1911 *Manifesto of the Futurist Painters* (where the image of the «suffering of an electric lamp» cited above is located) were available in Japanese translations; at the same time, their English versions were circulating among intellectuals interested in things Western (especially *yōga*⁷² painters and art critics)⁷³. Other manifestos had enjoyed far less visibility in Japan. The best known of them was probably the *Techni-*

⁷¹ *Gendai geijutsu no chūshin seimei*. 現代芸術の中心生命 *Waseda bungaku* 早稲田文学 (Mar. 1913): 2. At the time of this essay, Sōma was one of the most influential literary critics in Japan, and had recently moved from Naturalism to his personal version of Vitalism (*seimeishugi* 生命主義). In this article, he explicitly lauded the Italian Futurists as representatives of a truly contemporary «art of force».

⁷² 洋画.

⁷³ See, among others, Ōtani 1992, Omuka 2000, Hackner 2001, Tanaka 2002, Nishino 2009.

cal Manifesto of Futurist Literature: substantial excerpts of it were available in *Cubists and Post-Impressionism* (1914), by the American art connoisseur Arthur Jerome Eddy⁷⁴.

That does not mean that there is no connection at all between the Futurist manifestos and Bochō's poetry. Such a connection should be looked for less in textual correspondence than in a shared way of discursively constructing the modes of scientific knowledge (and of knowledge at all) that at that time was equally present in Japan and Europe.

Since the turn of the century, the debate on the so-called crisis of the positivist conception of science had spread in the Japanese intellectual field, too. In Japan, as well as in Europe and the United States, directly through the circulation of foreign texts, or indirectly through their translation and journalistic debate, the late-nineteenth century commonplace of the 'bankruptcy of science' gained some currency. The 'bankruptcy of science' (*banqueroute de la science*), which is to be understood first of all as a linguistic formula, was quite successful as a catchphrase in the *fin de siècle* cultural debate, its coinage (around 1895) being traditionally attributed to Ferdinand Brunetière. The term was literally echoed (*kagaku no hasan*)⁷⁵ in Kuriyagawa Hakuson's⁷⁶ influential *Kindai bungaku jikkō*⁷⁷ (Ten Lessons on Modern Literature, first ed. 1912) (1948: 221-222). As Pierre Bourdieu noted (1995: 125), the anti-positivist and anti-Naturalist reaction was in many respects a «symbolic coup d'état»; the circulation of formulas like 'bankruptcy of science' was part of the «set of symbolic strategies» of such a coup.

It goes beyond my capacity and the scope of this paper to trace here a complete doxographic reconstruction of the anti-positivist and anti-Naturalist reaction in Japan⁷⁸. What should be highlighted, however, is that even though within the process of substantial semantic correction of the status of science as it had been configured during the nineteenth century – a process where the new discoveries

⁷⁴ Eddy's book was certainly known to Bochō both indirectly (through some articles published in magazines and newspapers where Bochō was a contributor or a regular reader) and directly (he translated a passage from the chapter *Esoragoto* in the article *Kono geijutsu de aru* 此の芸術である (This Art of Mine), *Gunshū e*, Jan. 1916; YBZ 4: 359). There is, however, no conclusive evidence that he read (and when he read) the chapters on Futurism.

⁷⁵ 科学の破産.

⁷⁶ 厨川白村.

⁷⁷ 近代文学十講.

⁷⁸ See, especially for the literary field of the late Meiji period: Noda 1975, Sakagami 1987, Tanaka 1988: 110-120, Suzuki 1995, Itō 1997.

in the fields of thermodynamics, electromagnetism, quantum mechanics, non-Euclidean geometries, etc. were often called forth as *exempla* – a wholesale rejection of science as a tool of truth did not emerge. The discourses on art appropriated the latest discoveries of science, which were often perceived as revolutionary, in order to constantly reconfigure the status of their own objects, transferring some elements from the discursive domains of science to their own. This process paradoxically presents a stronger continuity with the poetics of the positivist age than is generally thought, because the assumption remains unquestioned that what is discovered and articulated in the scientific field (e.g., the relativity theory) not only can be transitively applied as well to the fields of painting, literature, philosophical thought, etc., but also that, once applied, it produces truth.

In a way, among some sectors of the Japanese intellectual classes, the anti-positivist and anti-enlightenment reaction had already taken place after the first decades of the Meiji period. When the momentum of *bunmei kaika*⁷⁹ and of the utilitarian, empiricist, and evolutionist theories that had guided it was exhausted, and the (neo)idealist doctrines had taken the lead, the reaction was often divulged by conservative thinkers as Inoue Tetsujirō⁸⁰ (1855-1944), and in literature, by authors as Mori Ōgai⁸¹ (1862-1922). At the beginning of the twentieth century, a rough polarization between the followers of pragmatism, especially in its Jamesian version, and those of a neo-idealism with important inserts of neo-Kantian thought got established. The first group had one of its strongholds in Waseda University, while the other was more typical of the Imperial University of Tōkyō and, at least in part, of Kyōto⁸². To what extent such a configuration may have influenced the literary scene, possibly through the literary magazines of such universities, *Waseda bungaku* and *Teikoku bungaku*⁸³, or through several semi-amateurish periodicals (*dōjin zasshi*) edited by their

⁷⁹ 文明開化.

⁸⁰ 井上哲次郎.

⁸¹ 森鷗外.

⁸² See Piovesana 1968: 1-85. For example, Kaneko Umaji 金子馬治 (1870-1937), who published the Japanese translation of Bergson's *L'évolution créatrice* owned by Bochō (Tanaka 1988: 143), was a Waseda professor. In his thought, which was basically eclectic, one can find some traces of pragmatism, as well as an evident sympathy towards neo-Kantianism. The magazine *Shinrisōshugi* 新理想主義 (New Idealism, 1915-1916), too, to which Bochō contributed on a rather regular basis, echoed neo-Kantian positions (YBZ 4: 863). Speaking of the connection between the configuration of the Japanese philosophical discourse and the reception of historical avant-gardes, Ijiri Raku (2006) has, for instance, noticed that the integration of neo-Kantian ideas within the intellectual circles in Kyōto somehow hindered the reception of Kandinsky's aesthetic theories.

⁸³ 帝国文学.

students or professors, is difficult to gauge. A factor to be taken into account is the action of those thinkers and writers who were not so involved in the factional logic of the academic establishment and who, like Takayama Chogyū⁸⁴ (1871-1902), were more reactive to less technical issues, such as the definition of the modern individual; in addition, there were also literary critics, like Kuriyagawa Hakuson, who popularized the topics of the Western philosophical debate. In the above-mentioned *Kindai bungaku jikkō*, Kuriyagawa gave a detailed survey of the latest trends in the works of Bergson, Eucken, Nietzsche, Poincaré, Dubois-Reymond, and even mentioned less famous thinkers, such as Giovanni Papini, an Italian writer who for some time supported Futurism⁸⁵. It is even more difficult to assess how much a marginal author and a representative of the provincial literary world (*chihō bundan*)⁸⁶ as Bochō could be permeable to a philosophical debate that, especially from the 1910s, with the maturation of the Kyōto School – *Zen no kenkyū*⁸⁷ (An Inquiry into the Good) by Nishida Kitarō⁸⁸, a text with strong Jamesian overtones, was published in 1911 – came to a nearly sectarian degree of academic specialization⁸⁹.

In any case, the Japanese cultural field of the 1910s had fully elaborated a critique of positivism. This made possible, in a neo-Kantian way, the safeguarding of the heuristic value of scientific knowledge, without elevating it to the position of an absolute paradigm, as had been the case with nineteenth cen-

⁸⁴ 高山樗牛.

⁸⁵ Kuriyagawa 1948, especially 218-225.

⁸⁶ 地方文壇.

⁸⁷ 善の研究.

⁸⁸ 西田幾多郎.

⁸⁹ In this sense, it would be of extreme interest to study the relationship that Bochō established with the Kyōto philosopher Tsuchida Kyōson 土田杏村 (1891-1934). Their contacts began with an article (in *Daisan teikoku* 第三帝国, The Third Empire, April 1917) where Kyōson attempted a belated re-evaluation of *Seisanryōhari* from the perspective of «symbolic [that is, neo-Kantian] philosophy». Tsuchida was in fact close to the positions of the Marburg school. He also wrote an afterword to *Kaze wa kusaki ni sasayaita* 風は草木にささやいた (The Wind Murmured to the Plants), Bochō's third collection, and they personally met when Bochō took a trip to Kansai in 1919. In a review of Sakutarō's *Tsuki ni hoeru* published in April 1917 in *Shiika* (YBZ 4: 386), Bochō states that he is currently influenced by Kyōson's ideas, which he has come to know better, thanks to their recent exchange of letters. It is possible that these contacts were instrumental in his interest toward neo-Kantian thought. In this respect, a later reference to Wilhelm Windelband is to be noticed in the essay *Ushikunuma no gasei ni okuru* 牛久沼の画聖におくる (To the Pictorial Genius of the Ushiku Lake [Ogawa Usen 小川芋銭], 1923, YBZ 4: 511).

tury positivism. This framework easily presents some points in common with the conception of scientific knowledge as it emerges from Bochō's writings.

Bochō's writings implicitly share with Futurism and with other intellectual movements of the early twentieth century the motif that, once it had left behind its more rigidly mechanistic and deterministic phase, science would have been able to renew itself by embracing in its domain those elements that were not traditionally considered as part of it, such as intuition, relativity, indeterminacy, fantasy, and vital force. The so-called 'anti-positivist reaction' was able, in this way, to profess the achievement of a synthesis between science and spirituality.

Such a narrative can already be detected in an 1889 essay by Paul Adam that is surprisingly close to the reflections and the images of Bochō's essays:

L'Époque à venir sera mystique. Et le plus étonnant du miracle c'est que la science elle-même, cette fameuse science positive et matérialiste qui renia l'orthodoxie, cette science elle-même viendra humblement annoncer la découverte du principe divin apparu au fond de ses creusets, dans les artifices de ses prismes, sous l'ondoiement de ses cordes acoustiques, dans les spasmes de son éther électrique⁹⁰.

The synthesis of science and spirituality, prophesized by Paul Adam, a novelist that Marinetti had listed among the forerunners of Futurism, corresponded in literature to the synthesis of Naturalism (claim to a literary truth of scientific nature) and Symbolism (use of anti-rational techniques such as revealing *correspondances*, synesthesia, free association of images, etc.) (Zellini 1990: 179). This is exactly what Bochō, and as Kubo Tadao argued, even more Sakutarō after him, tried to accomplish at a certain point in the twists and turns of the history of Japanese poetry (Sagiyama 1983: 86).

The aspiration to such a synthesis seems to be a common trait in the discourse of the European avant-garde:

Indeed, the avant-garde often adopts scientific ideas to reassert a metaphysical and cosmic perspective in modern literature and art. By providing a model of investigation and discovery of both cosmic and microscopic realms, science may cause a radical reorientation of human self-consciousness and position in the universe. For the avant-garde, science thus joins the inquiring imagination and the natural realm. [...] [S]upposedly grounded in the rationalism of scientific thought, the visionary and irrational dimension of avant-garde desire is once again revealed (Russell 1985: 28)⁹¹.

⁹⁰ Foreword to *L'art symboliste* by Georges Vanor. Quoted in Rapetti 1990: 69.

⁹¹ Russell traces back this attitude of 'rationalist irrationalism' to the oxymoronic program by Rimbaud of a «raisonné dérèglement de tous les sens».

In this sense, a cluster of declarations by the Futurists deserve quotation:

Our plastic-constructive idealism takes its laws from the new certainties given to us by science.

(Umberto Boccioni, *Pittura e scultura futuriste*, 1914)⁹².

La philosophie en général et la philosophie scientifique, la science en général et surtout cette dernière époque de la Science qui commence par la loi de constance originelle de [René] Quinton [French naturalist, 1866-1925], ont ouvert des horizons nouveaux à la perception des artistes modernes.

La philosophie scientifique et la méthode des découvertes scientifiques de Quinton nous apprennent à regarder les phénomènes dans leur finalité qui est la vie, et nous expliquent cette vie selon les lois cosmiques, physiques et chimiques qui règlent l'Univers (Gino Severini, *Symbolisme plastique et symbolisme littéraire*, 1916).

Accordingly, the discourse of the avant-garde could open itself to the incorporation and re-articulation of statements stemming from scientific and technological discourses: with them it shared, after all, a claim to truth and action on life and reality, which was a far cry from the *désengagement* of the aesthete and *décadent* school.

Neo-Impressionism was probably the first movement that manifested the possibility of going beyond the Romantic antagonism between the scientific method and artistic spontaneity (Rapetti 1990: 60)⁹³. And, as Giovanni Lista noted: «Pour les futuristes il s'agissait de prolonger dans une direction vitaliste et moderniste, le principe d'une "esthétique scientifique" qui avait inspiré le néoimpressionnisme» (1979: 28).

From Neo-Impressionism onwards, the discoveries of scholars such as Helmholtz, Faraday, Maxwell, Boltzmann, Van der Waals, Riemann, and so on had made their entrance into the theoretical writings of European painters and critics. This incorporation sanctioned the nexus between art writing and mathematical/scientific parlance, which was nothing but a way to reaffirm scientific discourse in its status as a source of truth. Though a good reader of English, Bochō was probably not endowed with the education and

⁹² Boccioni 1997: 79. My translation. It seems likely that Bochō did not know this book that, with the exception of few excerpts translated by Arishima Ikuma 有島生馬 in 1915, was at that time available only in Italian. The same can be said of Severini's article.

⁹³ Kimura Shōhachi too, in *Miraiha oyobi rittaiha no geijutsu*, sensed that the purpose of Neo-Impressionism was to «tie science to art» (KSGS *kanpon hen* 1: 433).

the preparation needed to nourish with such authorities his conception of the «new certainties given to us by science» (Boccioni). Nevertheless, it is likely that an echo of the new sensational discoveries in the fields of physics, bio-chemistry, mathematics, etc. might have gotten to him in one way or another, perhaps through the always up-to-date Japanese periodicals. However, with no explicit references available in his works of this period, a more cautious stance on his knowledge of specific discoveries and theories seems to be advisable.

The coexistence (which may appear at times to be unresolved, and at times as a harmonious synthesis) of old naturalist/positivist claims (confidence in science and in its certainties, if only the ‘new’ ones) with calls for a new idealism that must be established «through growing familiarity and friendship with matter, which scientists can know only in its physical and chemical reactions» (Marinetti) may be detected in Bochō’s writings as well.

In some of his essays, Bochō elaborates, often aphoristically, on science (*kagaku*), poetry and religion, which he often mentions together in the same passage.

The less he is understood by *people*, the more the self becomes profound and excellent in the art, and his art becomes religion, his religion becomes science (*Mizu no ue ni*⁹⁴, Above the water, *Shiika*, Sept. 1914, YBZ 4: 181, 858).

True spirit is matter. In true matter there is spirit (*Kakusen*⁹⁵, Sharp line, *Takujō funsui*, May 1915, YBZ 4: 340).

Composing poetry is like a woman giving birth to a child, like a scientist kneading gold (*Chōshi senpyō*⁹⁶, Selection and criticism of long poems, *Shūsai bundan*, Sept. 1915, YBZ 4: 570).

Can scholars explain the spirit of the crystal? As for me, I just have the presentiment of a Renaissance of instinct (*Runessansu wo yokan suru*⁹⁷, I have a presentiment of a Renaissance, *Bunshō sekai*, Dec. 1915, YBZ 4: 177).

Poetry is intrinsic science (*Chōshi senpyō*, *Shūsai bundan*, Feb. 1916, YBZ 4: 579).

⁹⁴ 水のうへに。

⁹⁵ 劃線。

⁹⁶ 長詩選評。

⁹⁷ ルネツサンスを予感する。

I completely abandoned the old instinctive life and now stand in a new science (*Hisō naru genmetsusha*⁹⁸, The tragic disillusioned, *Shinrisōshugi*, Feb./Mar. 1916, YBZ 4: 361).

Religion despises science, but science truly gives religion its essence (*Kaku shōōsu*⁹⁹, Thus it corresponds, undated essay (ca. 1918?), YBZ 4: 471).

Poetry gets closer to «science». However, with this term Bochō seems to designate less the methods of experimental inquiry or theorematic demonstration, quantitative studies or empirical approaches to reality, than a certain attitude, not even necessarily intellectual, that produces truth, not unlike (he is a Christian, after all) religion. This attitude penetrates the darkest meanders of matter and life, leaving to poetic intuition the task of expressing its discoveries. Here an explanation of the collection title (*The Sacred Prism*) can be found: reality is analyzed and recomposed through that combination of rationality and intuition along which that particular epistemological tool that is the prismatic soul of a man operates. Such a conception parallels that of Marinetti in that it underscores the role of integration and completion that art plays in the respects of the scientific study of matter (notice the striking similarity to Marinetti's sentences: «[to seize the essence of matter] by strokes of intuition, something which physicists and chemists can never achieve»; «not as a scientific document, but as an intuitive element»).

In other words, poetic language shares with scientific language the same object (matter, organic or inorganic, sensorial or psychic) and the same purpose (to attain its truth or essence), even though it is configured along another method, the intuitive one. Putting aside some extreme and isolated cases (one of them is probably *Geigo*), both Marinetti and Bochō resort in their poetry to a combination of logic and intuition. This is derived from the need to articulate a language that, since not all of its conventional structures are challenged (something that was attempted by Dada, according to the official hagiography¹⁰⁰), maintains, however disputed, a logical formalization (for instance in its semantics and syntax).

In the poem *Watashi wa bunseki suru*¹⁰¹ (*Ars*, June 1915), characterized (as most typical of the prismist style) by a parade of incoherent images, this hybrid

⁹⁸ 悲壮なる幻滅者.

⁹⁹ 斯く照応す.

¹⁰⁰ See Van den Berg 2006 for a critical presentation of the mythology of Dada radicalism.

¹⁰¹ 私は分析する.

nature of Bochō's poetic language coagulates into a verb (*bunseki suru*, to analyze) that can be seen somehow as an ambiguous epistemological declaration:

I Analyze

I analyze, the spirit of the smoke of a cigarette,
 The window has the rose-color of pure flesh,
 There's an extremely pathetic spider
 He meditates in my pores,
 But, in fact, the value of this world
 Is not God, it's the fool.
 (YBZ 2: 182)¹⁰²

On a more abstract level, the specific content of Bochō's positions on art and science (which are typically confusing and contradictory) is not crucial in itself. Perhaps it is more important to notice that he did not perceive as improper to resort to linguistic tools taken from the discursive formations of scientific scholarship in order to talk about his poetry, or, as has been shown in the former paragraphs, to write it.

Therefore, in order to answer the questions concerning the origins of his inorganic poetics, I suggest that its conditions of possibility must be located in a particular configuration of the Japanese and European discourses on art and the new science. As far as the stylistic aspects are concerned, a combination of indigenous articulations of such discourses and of the most recent suggestions coming from the European avant-gardes played an important role. In the first domain, one may account for many different endogenous factors: the independent development of Bochō's reflections on the «negation of self» that he had begun to articulate in some essays of the pre-prismist period (Sugiura 1979), or the influence of Japanese Naturalist/Impressionist poetry and of Hakushū's alchemic Symbolism. In this paper, I feel content in having sketched a picture of the wider epistemic configuration that presided over Bochō's most innovative experiments.

Within a productive context where the *kōgo jiyūshi undō* and Hakushū's poems were important technical precedents, Bochō came to outline new possibilities for the development of Japanese *shi*. What I wanted to show was that

¹⁰² As the composition of *Seisanryōhari* reveals, Bochō was particularly prone to send to Hakushū's magazines what he considered his most accomplished and representative poems. *Bunseki suru* may perhaps be interpreted as a study on the function of the skin and body of man (the rose-colored «window») as a porous diaphragm to the external world.

Bochō's poetics and poetry can be placed in a larger framework that involved the discursive construction of the relationship between literature and science.

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CHINESE STUDIES

CHINESE ENTREPRENEURS IN ITALY.
AN ASYMMETRIC SOCIO-ECONOMIC EMBEDDEDNESS

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Abstract

This paper aims at reconceptualizing the role of Chinese immigrant entrepreneurship in Italian economy and society, using an approach grounded in the embeddedness perspective as portrayed by Granovetter and other scholars in New Economic Sociology. In this respect, ethnic specializations found in Italian local production systems are seen as part of a more general system of inter-group relations in the global economic restructuring. In order to disentangle the relationship between two forms of ethnoindustrialization (Italian industrial districts and clusters of Chinese SMEs), we will map Chinese settlement and entrepreneurial patterns – showing the centrality of local economies – and we will identify interactions between immigration paths and local communities. The evidence of unequal participation and exploitation will be placed in the context of a critical restructuring of the Italian economy, which will likely also lead to the need for a radical transformation of the Chinese economic participation in Italy.

Keywords

Chinese immigration, immigrant entrepreneurship, industrial districts, embeddedness

摘要

本文使用了格兰诺维特等新经济社会学学者所描述的嵌入性视角对意大利经济和社会中的中国移民企业家的角色进行了概念重建。从这个角度来看，意大利本土产品体系中的种族专业化现象在全球经济重构中更像是一个群际关系的一般系统的组成部分。为了厘清这两种民族工业形态（意大利工业园和中国中小企业集群）之间的关系，我们将中国人定居地及其企业的分布进行地图化，以显示本土经济活动中心，同时我们对移民路径和本地社区之间的互动进行了识别。在意大利经济关键性重建的语境下，一些不平等参与和开发经济活动的证据很可能表明了意大利对于其中国移民经济进行一场根本性转变的渴求。

关键词

中国移民；移民企业家；工业园区；嵌入

1. Introduction: immigration and local economies beyond the ethnic economy

In the context of immigrant entrepreneurship, in terms of absolute numbers, entrepreneurship rates and scientific attention, the Chinese case is one of the most significant phenomena in the world and in Italy.

As of 2009, there were approximately 35,000 Chinese entrepreneurs in Italy (Unioncamere, 2010), while the resident population was 190,000. A crude entrepreneurship rate, therefore, of 18%¹.

The following analysis will look at the micro-entrepreneurial paths of the diaspora, without adding to the considerable literature that already exists on the competitive advantage of Chinese diaspora in the frame of the «ethnic economy» concept (Waldinger, Aldrich, Ward 1990). This analysis will focus instead on the mixed embeddedness aspects that characterize the economic participation of minorities and immigrants (Rath, Kloosterman 2000). My assumption being that the social structure and the relationship networks that exist within the context in which migration takes place, contribute inter alia to the ethnicization of economic sectors, and thus can be interpreted as a result of inter-group relations. Actually, the concept of embeddedness is probably the most important contribution the new economic sociology gave to the debate on the relationship between economic and society: based on the seminal work by Granovetter (1985), it implies that economic action is situated within ('embedded' in) actual social relations.

Using the results of a study carried out in 2005/06 on immigrant entrepreneurship in Emilia and Veneto, updated with additional testimonies and data, an analysis will be carried out of the complementarity between native and immigrant ethno-industrialization in Italian industrial districts, which are of interest because they have the characteristic features of enclave economies and have been subject to significant migratory flows in recent years, including entrepreneurial ones.

Despite some work carried out on the relationship between immigration and districts (Mistri 2006; Dei Ottati 2009), scholars who study districts have often given self-absolving versions of the role of immigrant entrepreneurship, linking it to external factors and focusing on the disembedding aspects. The historic role that immigration has played in Italian local production systems²,

¹ Other calculations counted 19,000 companies in 2007 (Di Corpo 2008), 42% of them operating in the *Made in Italy* sector (textiles, clothing, footwear).

² Since their origins, many districts have been fuelled by migration, resulting in a demographic growth, initially from country to city, then from south to north and now through international channels. Today, the 156 local district labour systems include 23% of the Italian population but 32% of foreign residents (calculations based on 2005 data, www.unioncamere.gov.it/Atlante/).

and the structural nature of current migratory phenomena (Mingione 2009) have been underestimated.

The individual ethnic specializations that are found in them are part of a more general system of inter-group relationship networks, particularly the commercialization and informalization of districts in the global economic restructuring process (Panayiotopoulos 2010). Therefore, despite the obvious Chinese specificity as for entrepreneurship rates, this presence is just part of the overall evolution of the district model.

In order to analyze Chinese entrepreneurship and its relationship with local production systems, we shall start by mapping the Chinese presence (§ 2) to show the centrality of the districts. We shall then describe the link between location and entrepreneurial presence (§ 3), and try to identify interactions between migratory paths and the local communities that explain them, attempting also to determine what developments can be foreseen (§ 4).

2. Mapping of Chinese enterprise in Italy

Figure 1 shows that Chinese people in Italy are distributed according to two settlement models:

- in large cities, particularly in Milan (17,000 residents) and Rome (10,000);
- in the urban sprawl, particularly in Tuscany (25,000 residents in Florence and Prato), Veneto, Emilia and Marche, with a distribution that mirrors the geography of local production systems.

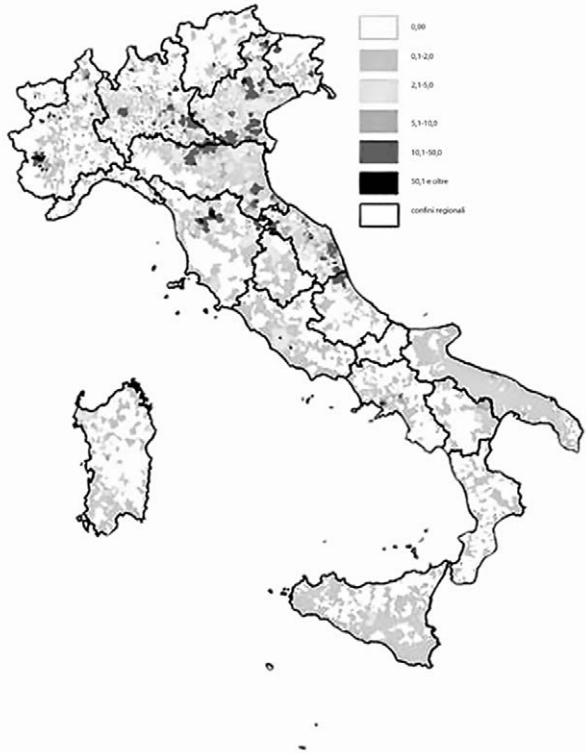
A reconstruction of the demographic dynamics over the past 10 years also shows that Chinese presence in these areas has intensified, with at most a little expansion around the main cores and few new destinations.

Despite this, literature notes that there are no actual Italian Chinatowns (Lucchini 2008), with the partial exception of Prato. In other areas of significant Chinese presence, there is a mix of residents resulting from the diversity of migration and the diffused urban model, and their interaction with fragmented labor and housing markets.

Chinese presence appears to have spread into neighboring districts and to mirror the historical development of the districts themselves. Chinese in Carpi, for instance, is partly linked to relations with Prato and to the diversification of specializations which leads to processing being shifted according to the latest fashion, depending on whether circular looms (in Carpi) or rectilinear knitting machines (in Prato) are required. A number of channels in the Marche, Veneto and Campania regions follow well-trodden subcontracting paths, as well as making the most of structural opportunities (industrial units, markets for machinery and

semi-finished goods, technical skills). By following in these paths, particularly at the beginning, primary relationships have been established with local producers.

Figure 1 – Chinese citizens by municipality of residence as of 1 January 2008 (incidence per 1000 total residents).



Source: Istat 2009.

2.1 Barge / Bagnolo Piemonte

There are approximately 1,500 Chinese people in Bagnolo, Barge, Luserna S. Giovanni and the surrounding areas. In the province of Cuneo, there are 123 Chinese companies and almost 2,000 residents³. It is one of the few areas with a high Chinese presence but a low share of Chinese firms in the sector with the

³ Unless otherwise specified, all the following data refer to 2009: from demo.istat.it for demographic data and from Chambers of Commerce for company data.

greatest concentration: the extraction and processing of gneiss (Leone, Vottero 2005). There has been no social mobility towards external careers because the sector has high entry barriers. Only some ten companies therefore operate in that sector as sub-contractors.

2.2 Carpi, its district and Chinese presence in Emilia-Romagna

Over 10,000 Chinese people live in the provinces of Reggio-Emilia, Modena and the plains north of Bologna, orbiting around the textile and clothing district of Carpi. Chinese sub-contractors began to settle there in the early 1990s and grew to a significant size by the beginning of the 2000s.

By 2008, Chinese companies operating in the Modena area were 500, and employed around 2,000 people, 60% in the municipalities at the heart of the district and 30% in its main sprawl area of Mirandola-San Felice (Bigarelli, Baracchi, Corradi 2009). Today, a quarter of the companies in the sector in this area are Chinese⁴, with much higher peaks in single-stage subcontracting⁵. In addition to these, there are others operating in the provinces of Reggio Emilia (around 750), Mantova (500), Bologna and Rovigo (around 450).

Carpi has historically specialized in knitwear, subsequently expanding to clothing and mid to low-quality ready-to-wear fashion. The first of these (now in decline) still involves two thirds of the companies in the district. Compared to Prato, this means that Chinese production is in greater competition with Italian products, but also that the succession effect is clearer. In fact, rather than replacement, the process here can be described as a succession in production niches in which the local subcontractors were being lost because of problems with finding labor, generational turnover, reduced profit margins, increased insecurity in subcontracting relationships (Barberis 2008).

The degree of integration with the local supply chain is clearly shown by the specialization in single stage, repetitive, labor-intensive and low added value subcontracting sectors (garment sewing and assembly; ironing, packaging, facings and appliqués). Most firms therefore work for Italian clients (Cecagno 2003).

These companies absorb production peaks, working with a minimum number of fixed employees (generally family members) and an industrial reserve army

⁴ They were 10% just 5 years ago and have grown as a combined result of the increase in Chinese companies and the fall in the number of Italian ones (Borsari et al. 2006).

⁵ In recent years, a different kind of ethnicisation has been taking place, particularly in the more elementary kinds of processing, with around twenty Pakistani companies being set up.

that can boost the declared workforce by 40%, doing piece-work, undeclared and/or illegal work (Borsari et al. 2006; Bigarelli, Baracchi, Corradi 2009).

A different matter is the area of Forlì, where the Chinese presence in the upholstered furniture industry came to prominence in 2009 in an investigation carried out by a TV enquiry. The Chinese residents here are 2,900 and 100 of their 330 companies operate in the leather processing and furniture sectors are Chinese: 15% of the total in a district that still has a fairly limited rate of Chinese entrepreneurship and is only just beginning to see a fall in the number of local companies.

2.3 The Veneto Region

Chinese presence in Rovigo has grown very quickly. There are almost 3,500 residents, double the figure five years ago. Chinese entrepreneurial activity exists particularly in the subcontracting of clothing: there are 740 companies, and 400 in clothing – representing 67.5% of the sector. Once again, this activity allows the competitiveness of local companies to be maintained and replaces businesses displaced by increasingly difficult market conditions (Bragato, Canu 2007).

In the rest of Veneto there are over 20,000 Chinese residents. As a result of growth in recent years, Chinese enterprise has become the most widespread immigrant entrepreneurial activity in the region (Di Maria, De Marchi 2008).

In the province of Treviso, there are approximately 900 Chinese entrepreneurs, 350 of them in the textile and clothing sector, amounting to one fifth of all businesses in the sector. The growth of Chinese companies has been accompanied by a steady decline in Italian ones.

In the Padua area, there are around 1,400 Chinese companies (with a crude entrepreneurship rate of 27%), including 600 in the manufacturing sector. There are also significant presences in the footwear district of Riviera del Brenta, where the companies produce outsoles for the footwear subcontracting chain.

The province of Vicenza has however witnessed a decrease of Chinese subcontractors because the textile and clothing sector in that area – based on more hierarchical networks, with only a few major clients (like Marzotto) – opted for delocalization early (Corò 2004).

2.4 Prato

Prato is the most well-known case, in terms of both figures and literature that have dealt with it (Johanson, Smyth, French 2009). We shall only examine a few aspects, which, consistent with the objectives of this contribution, may dispel the myth of a ‘parallel district’, as well as highlight the fact that because of its specific features, Prato is an exception to the rule on district inclusion models. The type of inclusion observed for Prato, even if the seniority factor

is stripped out, does not seem to match that of other district economies with a Chinese business presence.

In fact, Table 1 shows that other districts have different dynamics, for example in cases like the Vicenza area (mentioned above), in which saturation was reached early, and others that, while growing, maintain moderate dynamics, such as the Modena area.

Table 1 – Indicators of Chinese entrepreneurship in selected areas. Years 2003-2005.

Indicator	Province	Year		
		2003	2004	2005
Registration rate	Prato	28,3	31,8	38,6
	Modena	20,2	29,4	24,9
	Vicenza	36,6	35,6	23,2
Termination rate	Prato	16	18	18,9
	Modena	8,7	17,8	11,6
	Vicenza	20,9	18,4	13,4
Growth rate	Prato	12,3	13,8	19,7
	Modena	11,5	11,6	13,3
	Vicenza	15,7	17,2	9,8
Turnover	Prato	44,3	49,8	57,5
	Modena	28,9	47,2	36,5
	Vicenza	57,5	54	36,6
Generic entrepreneurship rate	Prato	31	27,6	26,7
	Modena	19,1	19,2	19,6
	Vicenza	21,2	20	18,6

Source: processing on data from Chambers of Commerce of Vicenza and Prato.

In 2009, the numbers of Chinese companies operating in the province of Prato were 200 in the textile sector, 3,300 in the clothing sector and 100 in the leather goods sector. Together with the other sectors, the total number was 4,500. They represent 9% of textile companies, 91% of clothing companies and 65% of leather goods companies, while in 2002 the figures were 1%, 63% and 27% respectively (partly as a result of the fact that the number of non-Chinese companies in the sector fell by 50% over the same period).

Within this textile district, an increasingly ethnicized clothing sector has developed since the 1990s, aimed at the low end of the market, often working for local clients (Toccafondi 2005), while the district's textile core remains Italian.

This feature is what has led to the ‘parallel district’ rhetoric. It may be true that Chinese clothing is contributing to the development of a new production chain, but the relationships between the two souls of the district cannot be ignored. A considerable number of Chinese companies rely entirely on suppliers and clients within the district, particularly Italian companies that make extensive use of them, while only a minority have a relationship with the motherland as their primary economic network (Santini, Rabino, Zanni 2011).

2.5 Marche and Abruzzo

In the Marche region there are over 8,000 Chinese people and approximately 1,400 entrepreneurs: 500 in the footwear sector, 300 in clothing, and 40 in textiles – representing around 10% of the region’s fashion sector as a whole, with a crude entrepreneurship rate of 17%. In the areas of Fermo and Macerata, with their established footwear district, there is a concentration of Chinese shoe outsole makers, while the textile and clothing sector is split between the provinces of Pesaro (jeans district) and Ascoli (close to the Vibrata-Tordino-Vomano district in Abruzzo).

Within these areas, there are crossovers between different forms of complementarity with local production (Morettini 2010). The subcontracting comes from Italian companies that tend to outsource processes in production segments that require fewer skills, making the most of the speed and low cost of order fulfillment. These results are achieved using temporary companies and only by systematically violating the laws on taxes and social security contributions (Di Corpo 2008).

In the province of Teramo, however, there are 3,000 Chinese residents and 626 entrepreneurs (a rate of over 20%): 250 in clothing, 150 in leather goods, and 35 in textiles – accounting for 25% of the local fashion industry. Again there has been a strengthening of Chinese presence, replacing local companies that have failed due to collapsing prices (Mauro 2010).

2.6 Campania: San Giuseppe Vesuviano and Solofra

In the province of Naples, there are over 5,500 Chinese people, who have created around 2,000 companies.

The area of San Giuseppe Vesuviano is the biggest industrial district in the Mezzogiorno and is involved in the production of fabrics and clothing and in the wholesale business. Chinese companies are involved in the second and, to a certain extent, the third largest of these sectors. The Chinese companies are primarily sub-contractors (around 400 firms) and interdependent with local cus-

tomers and immigrants – particularly North African retailers and street sellers – who buy from them (Russo Krauss 2005).

In the province of Avellino, there are 560 Chinese people and 94 companies, including 37 in the fashion sector (3% of the total for the province). Solofra, in particular, specializes in tanning, where there is an Indian as well as a Chinese presence. Again, Chinese subcontractors are associated with the crisis in this district, leading to the expulsion of the indigenous population and price competition to remain in the market, as well as the expanding presence of illegal workshops (Luciano 2007).

2.7. *Matera*

Matera and its upholstered furniture district, which straddles the border with Apulia, have recently experienced an influx of Chinese people, which is again associated with a decline in local production, the Chinese having taken over some of the simpler tasks, such as cutting and sewing (Oriani, Staglianò 2008).

An initial period of employment in Italian companies, operating in the black and grey market, has been followed by complete outsourcing of the work, and of the risk of controls by the police and the relevant authorities too. The businesses are only just being established, however, so the entrepreneurship rate is low. Out of approximately 500 residents in the area, there are thirty or so companies (mostly on the Apulian side) (Di Corpo 2008), although the figure starts to become significant when one considers the context of 110 companies and 8,000 workers in the district.

3. *Relationships between ethno-industrialization models*

Chinese migration to Italy and the resulting entrepreneurship, particularly in the industrial sector, originates from the territory and economic model of the Chinese prefecture of Wenzhou. This same migration and enterprise model has also been exported within China itself: migrants from Wenzhou apparently number 2 million including 400,000 abroad⁶ and the biggest Wenzhou ‘China-town’ has been established in China itself, in Beijing (Xiang 1999).

An increasing body of literature has characterized the Wenzhou model and its associated migration (Marsden 2002; Wang, Tong 2005; Lombardi 2009), based on the use of family resources, with recourse to strong and loose ties involving personal relationships, as well as on self-promotion through entrepre-

⁶ <http://www.wenzhou.gov.cn/>. Seen 3rd March 2013.

neurship and external careers⁷ within close-knit networks of companies and production clusters in mature industries.

This brief reconstruction shows that there are common aspects with the district model of social promotion (Omiccioli, Quintiliani 2004) – a continuity and proximity between family, home and work, as well as between social and economic relationships, which can promote a specific form of inclusion and explain the characteristics of the previous mapping. Wenzhou Chinese often have experience, knowledge and skills that are usable in the sector and in the way businesses are run in the districts – footwear, clothing, eyewear, machinery, electrical equipment and plastic products being among the main products of petty businesses in Wenzhou. There are therefore two similar ethno-industrialization models (Piore 1990; Walcott 2007).

While there are many examples around the world of ethnic succession paths in mature petty capitalism (Rath 2002), in the Italian production model, where small- and medium-sized enterprises are prominent, one can assume that there is a system of competition and cooperation, as well as contact with central segments of district production systems. Let us look now at how this occurs in an asymmetric socio-economic embeddedness context. In fact, the similarity between the models must not hide the strong socio-economic asymmetries that exist within and between groups and between long-term residents and migrants.

In general, we can see two ways of asymmetric relations:

- overembedded Italian networks exploiting underembedded Chinese networks (*locked-in* Italian businesses dump risks on weak Chinese firms poorly networked);
- underembedded Italian networks exploiting overembedded Chinese networks (Italian firms loosening their grasp on local labor markets and business networks exploit strong ties of those Chinese having thick kinship networks).

3.1 Economic relationships: asymmetries

Chinese entrepreneurs appear to be aware of the competitive advantage of district localization and can see its strength in facilitating contacts with contractors, clients and specific know-how (Toccafondi, Corsetti 2010). In fact, Chinese companies located in the district core, such as in Carpi and Prato, also appear to benefit from a competitive advantage over the ones located on the margins (Tecnotessile 2005; Barberis 2008).

⁷ Surveys show that the majority of Chinese entrepreneurs in Italy have had previous experience as employees in the same sector (Santini, Rabino, Zanni 2011; Di Maria, De Marchi 2008).

Access to this core is however extremely selective: Chinese companies are generally fragile in terms of size, capitalization, turnover, exposure to competition and information asymmetries, and their fast growth only aggravates these weaknesses at times of cyclical crisis (Denison et al. 2009).

One of the clearest asymmetries in the different degree of local embeddedness relates to cheating strategies, with the adoption of dual standards. While public discourse focuses on the dumping done by Chinese companies, surveys carried out in various locations at different times have uncovered cheating by Italian entrepreneurs with respect to Chinese sub-contractors (Colombo 1995; Ceccagno 2002, 2009; Marsden 2004; Di Corpo 2008): dishonored checks, contract cancellations, non-payment of supplies...

The information asymmetries and barriers between groups produced by the presence of different cliques are therefore exploited. Italian companies could not, in fact, adopt this strategy within their own close-knit clique because they would risk losing their reputation. Cheating against the Chinese is however hidden from the eyes of strong partners, and does even appear to preclude access to other Chinese operators, owing to a weakness in the community (see § 3.2), given the cut-throat competition that requires operators to remain in the market under any condition (Kloosterman, Rath 2002).

Another asymmetry relates to inspections: tax and wage evasion is an essential component of the market conditions imposed by Italian buyers, but selective attention (connected with the debate about security and immigration) produces further weakness. The irregularity of Chinese companies is therefore more visible because it is more present in the market segment in which they operate and because it is subject to more inspections⁸, while the Italian clients remain unaffected because of the difficulty of establishing joint liability (Di Corpo 2008).

Recourse to security mechanisms demonstrates the failure of the local enforceable trust, and is a functional substitute to it (Sztompka 1999) that leads to socio-economic relationships becoming locked-in. However, there is evidence in some contexts that the repression is insufficient and that the phenomenon is structural. Mainstreaming and networking policies have therefore been launched

⁸ In this respect, the data that form the background to the explosion of Chinese discontent on Via Sarpi in Milan in April 2007 is significant: in fact, it appears that thousands of fines had been imposed along that street and in the surrounding neighbourhood during the preceding months (Tarantino, Tosoni 2009). The same stance is taken in the recent circular issued by INPS (No. 27/2009), the Italian social security authority, which, while calling for a light hand to be used against companies that may suffer significant repercussions as a result of supervision activities during times of crisis, also calls on inspectors to focus their checks on companies managed by ethnic minorities.

that have contributed to reducing (but sometimes simply pushing away) the weaker companies and to the full districtualization of the stronger ones.

The first action taken was the creation of the Prato Centre for immigration research and services, which has produced much of the literature on Chinese immigration in Italy (Campomori 2008), while in Emilia-Romagna the Spinner project has supported the rise of Chinese textile laboratories in the area of Carpi, as the China Point has done in Reggio Emilia and the Artisans' National Confederation (CNA) in the Navile district of Bologna (Sgarzi 1997; Gaudino 2004; Cecchini 2009).

The main merit of this action has been to make the conflict explicit and to identify forums in which to deal with it, promoting the involvement of Chinese people in the associations representing entrepreneurs' interests. The effect on production networks is however more complex: can Chinese companies be disassociated from 'Chinese' working conditions and can a role therefore be maintained for them? Have inspection and regularization practices contributed to the sprawl of some districts, further marginalizing some of the subcontractors?

3.2 Asymmetric ethnicization: stereotypes and the dual district model

In spite of the above policies, Chinese entrepreneurship is viewed as a threat in many districts, where it is blamed and stereotyped as a Chinese scapegoat, which serves to perpetuate the exploitation of this resource and to conceal the internal asymmetries of the districts themselves. This is the reason for the supplantation of local subcontractors, regardless of Chinese competition.

The description of the Chinese entrepreneurial model given by stakeholders and the local media often hides the fact that competitiveness is maintained by black-market work, a systematic violation of regulations, and the use of personal and family resources, as shown by critical analyses of the districts (Hadjimichalis 2006).

Sinophobic discourse is fed, therefore, by district myths based on a double standard. The typical mechanisms of the Italian small company model can be seen: self-exploitation, no division between life and work and the idea that entrepreneurship is a route to social mobility, which in the past sprang from ideologies about the value of work and mutual assistance within the family, but which have now been selectively transformed into negative values.

Therefore, when referred to the Chinese, cooperation within the family is interpreted as a refusal to integrate, self-exploitation and allowing life and work to overlap as unfair competition, illegality and dumping. The reappearance of poorly regulated work is viewed as a loss of social value, and the past is reinterpreted with disenchantment. As one interviewee in Carpi said: «We were the Chinese of Europe until a few decades ago. So it's connected to the fact that we took work away from the Germans, the British... So clearly it's our turn now...».

The stereotypes clearly reveal an extremely biased view of reality, but one that becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

For example, long working hours do not appear to be the preserve of any one ethnic group: one survey in Turin (Genova 2010) showed that half of the Chinese work for more than 50 hours a week. Though, according to figures on the labor force (Istat 2010), over 56% of entrepreneurs and 48% of self-employed workers work for more than 41 hours a week – with an average of 46 hours among the former and 44 among the latter (more if women are excluded). First results from the fifth European working conditions survey of 2010 show similar data: the number of self-employed workers who work for more than 48 hours a week in Italy is the highest in the EU-15, together with Greece⁹. Certain working hours are therefore structurally necessary in the Italian production model.

Yet another Chinese immigration stereotype is communitarization. Chinese entrepreneurs are often seen as collective operators implementing a strategy to colonize economic sectors, even with sinister means and objectives. The abused term *guanxi* (close-knit social network) should not, however, be confused with the idea of an ethnic community. There can be strong links between Chinese people in Italy (generally based on family, with links based on kinship rather than ethnicity and community) but there can also be weak links, even conflicts and relationship asymmetries.

That is, not all Chinese share the same goals, ideas of economic and social success, and mobility chances... and obviously not all the Chinese know each other and act as a collective actor. We should not overestimate Chinese social networks. Various researches highlight a relative distance between compatriots in the same local area, connected, in some cases, with the conflict that arises from the ethnicization of economic segments. This generates cut-throat competition among compatriots living close to one another (Santini, Rabino, Zanni 2011; Genova, Ricucci 2010). Furthermore, the considerable acquisitive self-exploitation leads to a restriction of time available for living and socializing, not only within the kinship network but also in the wider networks (Ceccagno 2007a; Cecchini 2009).

In addition to this, Chinese immigration has become more plural over the years (Chen, Ochsmann 2009). Changes of provenance have highlighted cases of exploitation of new arrivals, particularly of people from Manchuria¹⁰; in-

⁹ See <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/ewco/surveys/ewcs2010/index.htm>. Seen 10th September 2014.

¹⁰ Originating from the so-called 'red China', with an economic model based on the role of State hierarchies and large factories experiencing production crises, Chinese people from Manchuria have weaker social networks that differ from the *Wenzhou model* (Weber 2001).

creased competition (not only among compatriots) has contributed to a crisis in upward mobility for external careers, extending the poorest supply chains and increasing exploitation in the lowest segment of the market, and pluralizing the interests of Chinese people working in the secondary and tertiary sectors (Ceccagno 2007b).

Furthermore, Chinese associations are often weak and micro-parochial, centered on most powerful entrepreneurs (Wu 2008; Cecchini 2009; Genova, Ricucci 2010) and there is no community-wide agreement on minimum rates aimed at avoiding the excessive demands of clients, and on balancing the exploitative relations of employees and employers. Therefore, isolation connected with structural, cultural and linguistic factors is not necessarily founded on the community but more often on the family or the individual.

3.3 Chinese presence and district changes: causes and consequences

Having looked at economic inclusion in the districts and the underlying stereotypes, it is appropriate to ask what consequences it has on the local economy and society.

In economic terms, one can see that in a context like Carpi

the savings on production costs achieved by companies in the district since 2000 amounts to almost seven percent (from an incidence of 32.9% to 26.2%). This result is due to the policies pursued by companies, consisting partly of the delocalization of production to low cost countries; partly of recourse to ethnic Chinese workshops existing in the district and neighboring areas, which are able to operate at low prices; and partly of squeezing the prices of processing work carried out by local and national subcontractors (our translation from Bigarelli, Baracchi, Corradi 2009: 65).

Recourse to Chinese subcontractors is therefore one of the functional substitutes for the small district company model undermined by changes in production (ready-to-wear, short runs and unscheduled production). Not surprisingly, as mentioned in § 2, it is an interdependent part of production chains that are now facing difficulties.

In particular, the districts in which the Chinese establish themselves are those in which delocalization has been delayed and where a certain amount of business dwarfism has been maintained (Murat, Paba 2003; Santini, Rabino, Zanni 2011). Suffice it to say, the district of Carpi owes three quarters of its turnover to products that are entirely made in Italy. While long runs have been outsourced, short runs for ready-to-wear items can still be processed locally with the *on-site* internationalization provided by Chinese sub-contractors, who allow flexibility, speed and control to be combined.

This last aspect is particularly important, because long-distance outsourcing is difficult for small and very small companies to manage. Chinese sub-contracting has allowed various stages of production that were previously entrusted to peripheral national areas to be re-localized (Bigarelli et al. 2004; Bigarelli, Baracchi, Corradi 2009).

Having said this, it is important to understand how these development paths should be interpreted, as they present two sides of the same coin.

Turning back to the two types of asymmetry we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, on the one hand, we can see a weakening of local socio-economic networks, which is subrogated by the 'acquisition' of strong ties in migratory networks. These provide flexible access to capital and labor, although control over staff and careers may be lost. This replaces the increasingly deficient local army of women and young people who, for reasons connected with education, social mobility of the middle classes and tertiarisation of the economy have produced a marginalization of industrial work, which is connected with a disembedding between new expectations and old production models.

On the other hand, there is evidence of a locked-up and overembedded local socio-economic network, which exploits the weak and isolated, offloading market risks onto them, cutting economic costs (with recourse to illegality) and social costs (protecting the reputation of the core players).

Though it is important to ask how long these pathways will be sustainable. If integration into work becomes part of a process of social exclusion, we are faced with a disconnect between society and the economy that should make us reflect on the direction of district development itself.

Long and opaque sub-contracting chains have led to end customers shedding responsibility and developing asymmetric relationships with suppliers, to a growing commercialization and instability of the client-supplier relationship, with a loosening of trust: over a period of just a few years, stable customer bases have fallen back drastically and the number of single-client companies has grown (Bigarelli, Baracchi, Corradi 2009).

Consequently, the relationship aspect disappears and is replaced by the generalized medium of money: being considered 'good payers' becomes the main and impersonal element of trust, replacing community relationships and the sharing of values that are central to the district mythopoesis (Bracci 2009); the advantages of a district network become diversified, with losers (Italian sub-contractors replaced at an increasing speed), outcasts (the younger, smaller, more isolated Chinese companies that are more distant from the district core) and winners – the end customers, who achieve sustainable prices and control over production, as well as a few service sector operators (intermediaries and representatives, real estate agents, accountants), and skilled technical work segments (designers, pattern-makers).

4. Where are districts going with the Chinese, where are the Chinese in the districts going?

The similarity between ethno-industrialization models presents comparable evolutionary challenges: problems with capitalization, qualification, growth, intergenerational reproduction and social mobility are features of all districts, both Italian and Chinese (Cologna 2005).

At the moment, there are various potential trajectories, which are not mutually exclusive (Barberis 2008):

- on the one hand, districts might use Chinese subcontracting as a shock-absorber, investing the resources saved to innovate and improve skills. This means that in future the space for existing subcontracting chains may shrink;
- on the other hand, some districts might indefinitely pursue the price competition avenue, thus leading to further growth in low priced sub-supply, driving it to the limit in terms of sustainability and to eventual disappearance.

Both scenarios assume that Chinese subcontracting chains will dissolve in future, as a result either of new migration patterns or of the focus being shifted to other sectors.

As mentioned in § 3.1, strategies that involve district re-skilling and mainstreaming are problematic: on the one hand, they realize the native population's fear of direct competition, making it difficult to cheat in view of the more symmetrical networks created, while on the other hand, overcoming 'Chinese' working conditions is not necessarily an advantage because it creates competition in a niche that is controlled by natives.

Moreover, in areas with a more mature presence and greater pressure, like Prato, Chinese entrepreneurs are beginning to feel the burden of excessive dependence on draconian clients, unfair competition, and market saturation (Toccafondi, Corsetti 2010). So much so that literature is presenting hypothetical diversification strategies for economic inclusion, such as (Ceccagno, Rastrelli 2008):

- development of the service industry, both in retailing and catering, and associated with the district sectors (import-export; brokerage; wholesale);
- scaling the production chains that are already occupied, thus escaping from the ethnic niche: own production, even branded, thanks to new generations and to Sino-Italian companies operating in the *Made in Italy* sector¹¹. These

¹¹ Only a few examples are mentioned in literature: Koralline (70% of whose employees are Italian) produces clothing and accessories and has pursued a branding strategy based on testimonials known to television audiences; Giupel produces leather goods, has a workforce that is 65% Italian and is considered to be the first Italian Chinese company to be a member of Confindustria (Oriani, Stagliano 2008; Ceccagno 2009).

- companies exploit the mixed competitive advantages of district localization, turning to Chinese sub-contractors for low added value work, Italian sub-contractors for quality production, and Italians in the style and commercial area, for their expertise regarding fashion trends (Santini, Rabino, Zanni 2011)¹²;
- diversification in districts that are geographically close (Barberis 2008), in peripheral areas of the fashion sector not been deeply penetrated by compatriots;
 - internationalization of production, radical (with the transfer to other countries in the Chinese diaspora) or partial (with complementary production and distribution channels in the area of origin and destination);
 - reduction of external careers and exit from the ethnic economy: a number of Chinese people now work for Italian companies (Cecchini 2009; Johanson, Smyth, French 2009), particularly those who have most recently arrived from provinces other than Zhejiang¹³.

Tertiarization, in particular, has been underlined in recent literature, although there is little empirical evidence of it at the present time.

It is worth pointing out that where tertiarization occurs, an open or exotic market rather than ethnic dimension prevails (Ambrosini 2005), either with references to the original culture in shop signs and furnishings, but a mixed and/or Italian clientele (particularly in the case of mini-markets, clothing shops, homeware shops, hairdressers, and restaurants), or with entrepreneurial initiative aimed at buying out corner shops, which Italian operators are abandoning because of falling profits. Bars, newsagents and tobacconists change hands but without the users changing or the businesses becoming ethnicized, despite their visibility, because very often these businesses are local points of reference (Cecchini 2009).

However, the tertiarisation appears to have been overestimated. In fact data shows that the primacy of clothing in districts that appear to have reached thresholds that are difficult to exceed, such as Carpi and Prato, remains important.

¹² In some districts (Prato, and partly Carpi) the share of joint-stock companies is growing, a sign of stabilisation, of interweaving with the local economy, given that mixed Sino-Italian companies are growing too (Caserta, Marsden 2011).

¹³ For recent Chinese migrants, working for Italians can generate lower income than in the ethnicised economy (due to the limitation on the intensity of work and piece work), the difficulty in managing food and lodging (which compatriot employers usually provide), but makes legality, continuity of employment and mobility in the open market more likely, particularly thanks to the acquisition of mixed sociolinguistic skills (Di Corpo 2008).

In the province of Prato, between 2002 and 2009, we have seen a less than proportional growth in the clothing sector (so much so that, in 2002, 77% of Chinese companies were operating in the sector, compared to 70% in 2009), but this has benefited other industrial production sectors, such as textiles and leather goods, not only the service sector. The latter sector has seen a growth in the wholesale trade, albeit with high turnover rates, while catering has a low turnover (it is a rapidly saturated market with few closures and few new openings). One can therefore see selectivity in the opportunities, with catering characterized by the competitive advantage of first-movers and the wholesale trade stronger in areas of greater presence and/or close to transport hubs: Macrolotto 2 in Prato, Esquilino and Prenestino in Roma, Via Sarpi in Milano, the Vesuvian area in Naples (Pedone 2010).

5. Conclusions: a waste of social capital?

In this contribution, we have looked at the complementarity and socio-economic relationships between Chinese immigration and Italian districts. While an opportunity for meaningful, albeit complex and confrontational, negotiation over jointly occupied areas has been identified, it is worth pointing out that there are pieces missing in the jigsaw.

In particular, the paths illustrated above appear to constitute weak foundations for a mutually-beneficial future. In fact, the use of the social and entrepreneurial structure of the diaspora to activate channels that might usefully fill the structural holes with China appears to be limited, with only a few partial exceptions (Lombardi 2004; Baculo 2006).

Some of these difficulties arise from the fragmentation of Chinese migrants themselves (e.g. between producers and importers) and the limited human capital available to the Chinese in Italy compared to other diasporas (Fladrich 2009; Ceccagno, Rastrelli 2008). This is consistent with the features of the Italian migration model, which, against a background of weak and segmented integration is not attractive to migrants with a high human and social capital (Boeri, van Ours 2008).

The other side of the coin is the difficulty experienced by districts in transforming themselves. Alternating between conservation and disappearance, they appear to have been unable to grasp the opportunities arising from this presence. The increasing mix observed in Sino-Italian companies, in companies led by Chinese entrepreneurs that incorporate Italian know-how, in second generations, requires greater coordination by local institutions, intermediate nodes and district meta-management entities to join forces and overcome the limits to the inter- and trans-national openness of companies and small company economies.

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100 YEARS OF QIAN ZHONGSHU AND YANG JIANG: A CENTENNIAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

«Life, it is said, is one big book», writes Qian Zhongshu (1910-1998) in the introduction to his collection of essays *Written in the Margins of Life* published in 1941. And it is through the turning of the pages of his life and the life of his beloved companion, playwright and essayist Yang Jiang (1911-), that the present article tries to delineate the literary achievements and important role of these two Chinese intellectuals in twentieth century China. The framework for this article was provided by the International Conference ‘Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang: a Centennial Perspective’, which in December 2010 gathered together sixteen scholars and experts on Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. The goal was to reflect and collect scholarly expertise in order to illustrate the achievements of the two writers and explain, through an analysis of their life and works, why they deserve to be known by a larger, non-specialist public.

Keywords

Qian Zhongshu, Yang Jiang, Chinese comparative literature, centennial

摘要

«人生据说是一部大书»: 这是钱钟书1941年《写在人生边上》散文集的第一句话。本文在翻阅两位作家生活大书的基础上, 分析钱钟书(1910-1998)和他的爱人杨绛先生(1911-)的文学成就以及他们在二十世纪中国的重要性。

本文受启于2010年12月在加拿大不列颠哥伦比亚省召开的“钱钟书和杨绛: 百年透视”国际研讨会。16位钱钟书和杨绛研究学者参加了此次会议。会议的目的在于通过对两个作家的文学及生活成就的探讨为非汉学家的读者展示钱钟书和杨绛的重要性和值得了解的生平。

关键词

钱钟书, 杨绛, 中国比较文学, 百周年

1. Introduction

There are stories that deserve to be narrated and transmitted to future generations; there are lives that are lived in a way that to ignore them would be a loss for society as a whole.

That is why on December 2010, at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver¹, Prof. Christopher Rea brought together sixteen scholars and experts on Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang with the purpose of gathering different points of view and reflecting on the lives and works of this pair of Chinese intellectuals. The intent of the Vancouver workshop, far from mere commemoration and celebration of Qian and Yang Jiang, was to pool scholarly expertise in order to write a book that would illustrate their achievements and explain to a broader, non-specialist public why the two writers deserve to be known and studied. The format of the three-day sessions – a five minute introduction from the individual authors of the papers, followed by ten minutes of discussants' comments and thirty minutes of open discussion – maximized the exchange of ideas and resulted in a veritable goldmine of different perspectives and suggestions for up-to-date interpretations of the lives and works of Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang.

Of the sixteen papers presented and discussed during the workshop, six focused on Qian Zhongshu, eight on Yang Jiang, and two on both writers. The title of the workshop: 'Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang: a centennial perspective', refers to the century that has elapsed since both writers were born and recalls the extremely significant one hundred years that have shaped the Chinese social and literary world in which Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang's lives, works and legacy acquired definite characteristics.

2. Notes in the margins of lives

Qian Zhongshu (1910-1998) and Yang Jiang (1911-), both from the city of Wuxi² on the southern bank of the Yangtze river in Jiangsu Province, were

¹ 'Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang: A Centennial Perspective', University of British Columbia, December 10-12, 2010. Organizer: Christopher G. Rea. The roster of participants to the workshop includes: Judy Amory, independent scholar; Amy Dooling, Connecticut College; Ron Egan, University of California, Santa Barbara; Jesse Field, University of Minnesota; Alexander Huang, George Washington University; Ted Hutters, University of California, Los Angeles; Ji Jin, Suzhou University; Wendy Larson, University of Oregon; Tiziana Lioi, University of Rome Sapienza; Christopher Rea, The University of British Columbia; Carlos Rojas, Duke University; Shi Yaohua, Wake Forest University; Wang Yao, Suzhou University; Wang Yugen, University of Oregon; John B. Weinstein, Simon's Rock College at Bard; Zhang Enhua, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

² Biographical notes for Yang Jiang are based on: Xiao Hong Lee 2003; for Qian Zhongshu see: Yang 2006: 183-191 and Hutters 1982.

from well-known scholarly families. Following custom, at the age of one Qian Zhongshu was made to undergo the *zhuazhou* 抓周, grab in a circle: the one-year-old child was presented a number of different objects and he grabbed the one that most captured his attention. This object, a book in the case of Qian, was said to be the one that would have predicted his future and would become the ‘given name’ of the child: *Zhongshu* 钟书 means ‘book lover’. Attending alternatively public and private-home education, he encountered western literature at the age of eleven, thanks to Lin Shu’s translations. At the age of sixteen, under the guidance of his father, he began to compose prose and poetry in an elegant classical style and was even asked to occasionally ghost-write for his father.

Figure 1 – Yang Jiang (left), Qian Yuan (center) and Qian Zhongshu (right).



Qian Zhongshu entered the prestigious Qinghua University as a student of the Department of Foreign Languages in 1929, where he met the talented student Yang Jiang. It is said his perfect performance in Chinese and English allowed Qian to be enrolled, notwithstanding his inadequate marks at the math entrance test. The years at Qinghua were marked by excellent fellow students, such as Li Jianwu and Ji Xianlin, by a literary intercourse with the poet Chen Yan as well as by outstanding professors like Ye Gongchao, I.A. Richards and Wu Mi, whom Qian particularly admired for his ‘synoptic’ knowledge of European literary history and for his advocacy of including traditional Chinese literature in the study of comparative literature. The Qinghua University environment was to have a strong influence on Qian’s literary career: it was in those years that he started to write essays and book reviews for magazines like *Xinyue*, *Dagong Bao*, *Qinghua Zhoukan*, and to mould his ideas on comparative literature, a fundamental part of his contribution to literary criticism. Qian

Zhongshu is often referred to as the scholar who has offered a great contribution to the practice of comparative literature (Xia 2009: 69)³ thanks to the elaboration of a method capable of conciliating local differences with universally valid principles and of offering a *mutual illumination* of Chinese and Western literatures from the comparative literary analysis. Qian Zhongshu wanted to give to the study of literature and literary criticism the status of a scientific discipline, and in order to do so he was aware that it was necessary to avoid any point of view spoiled by both the ethnicism that corrupts critical views and by the blind adoration of everything that was foreign, and to abandon every criticism devoid of significance to move forward to a real comparison. The publication of works like *Tan Yi Lu* (On the Art of Poetry, 1948) and *Guan Zhui Bian* (1979, translated by Ronald Egan as *Limited Views: Essays on Ideas and Letters*: Egan 1988) made Chinese comparative literature gain a place in world literature and has made a definite impact on the direction it followed. I.A. Richards was the first one to use the term comparative literature in China during a series of lectures held at Qinghua University in Peking, while *Guan Zhui Bian* (one of the achievements of Chinese comparative literature) was responsible for the development of key concepts within the discipline. Qian Zhongshu's ideas on comparative literature focused on the belief that comparative literature is nothing more than the first requirement for the study of literatures from a global perspective. He offers an answer to the question of whether it is possible, in spite of great differences, to compare Chinese and Western literatures stating, through the writing of *Guan Zhui Bian*, that not only is the said comparison possible, but also that thanks to this comparison the two realms can mutually enlighten each other (Motsch 1994). Furthermore, through the practical work of comparison, which is applicable to the most different and varied spheres of literature, it is possible to show the *shixin* 诗心, poetic heart or the *wenxin* 文心, literary heart, common to world literature, that happen to be the basis for the comparative method (Chen 2000: 80).

After graduation in 1933, Qian Zhongshu ended his studies at Qinghua and became a teacher of English literature at Guanghai University in Shanghai, where his father was chair of the Chinese Department. In the summer of 1935, Qian married Yang Jiang who, as his lifetime companion, left us a great amount of information on her life with Qian Zhongshu and on his personal and artistic experiences. A common interest in foreign literatures and an open-minded spirit brought the two writers to Oxford where Qian, supported by a Boxer Indemnity scholarship, specialized at Exeter College by obtaining a B. Litt. degree with

³ Xia affirms that Qian has offered to sinological studies a new platform for the research on comparative literature.

a thesis on the image of China in the English literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Hsia 1998). After Oxford, the two went to Paris where Yang Jiang attended courses of Romance languages at the Sorbonne (University of Paris), and Qian continued his wide-ranging studies. In Oxford and Paris Qian and Yang Jiang deepened their knowledge of Western literatures and languages: Oxford required at least four foreign languages in its curriculum, and Parisian cultural life was extremely active at the time. Their only daughter, Qian Yuan, whom Yang Jiang considered her life's 'masterpiece', was born in Oxford in 1937. In 1938 the two decided to head back to their country, which was embroiled in the Sino-Japanese War. Qian, accepting a job offer from Qinghua University (then part of Southwestern University), moved to the interior, first to Kunming and one year later to Hunan, to hold teaching positions in universities that had fled far from the Japanese occupied areas. In the meantime, Yang Jiang settled in the Foreign Concession of Shanghai, working as headmistress of a girls secondary school (the same one she had attended in her childhood), and earning additional money necessary for the support of the family by working as a playwright. In 1941 Qian returned to Shanghai to live in the French Foreign Concession with his wife. In Shanghai Qian published *Xie Zai Rensheng Bianshang* (Written in the Margins of Life, 1941) a collection of ten essays that deal with the most disparate topics around cultural conventions, while Yang Jiang wrote, between 1942 and 1945, four plays: *Chenxin Ruyi* (Heart's Desire, 1943), *Nongzhen Chengjia* (Forging the Truth, 1944), *Youxi Renjian* (Sport With the World, performed in 1944, but never published) and *Fengxu* (Windswept Blossoms, 1945) which gained success and praises from the critics and the Shanghai public. It is on Yang Jiang's plays that the paper *Yang Jiang's Wartime Comedies; or, the Serious Business of Marriage* presented at the Vancouver workshop by Amy Dooling focuses. Dooling illustrates how the late 1940s were fundamental years for the career and the development of Yang Jiang. During these years, Yang Jiang chose to write comedies and to talk about marriage and its economic and social values in a comedy of manner type of writing, so to adapt her works to the spirit of the age. The lack of direct references to war in the plays is, for Amy Dooling, a well-reasoned resistance that speaks more than any words.

In 1946 Qian Zhongshu took the position of editor of the journal *Philobiblon* at Nanjing National Central Library. In the same year *Ren Shou Gui* (Human, Beast, Ghost, 1946), a collection of four short stories, was published. The collection is interesting both for its style, elegant, refined and not in the least trivial, and for its sociological and political concerns. The stories are full of sharp sarcasm towards the vanity, greed and hypocrisy of society and towards tragicomic family tragedies.

After the Communists took their place as the leading party of the People's Republic of China, the family moved to Beijing where Qian and Yang Jiang

English Literature at Qinghua University and became members of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, both engaged in translation projects. The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) resulted in a time of severe hardship for the couple: in 1968 they were 'exposed' as *zichan jieji xueshu quanwei*, bourgeois academic authorities, and in 1969 they were sent to a cadre school in the poor countryside of the Henan Province for re-education through labor. They were not able to return to Beijing until 1972. Access to books was nearly impossible and Qian and Yang had to struggle to sustain their reading and productive research.

The way in which both writers reacted to the Cultural Revolution, through writing, gives us access to a crucial moment of Chinese history through the eyes of two figures who, if seemingly detached from contemporary circumstances, took a more subtle approach to tell us the condition of human beings, and specifically of intellectuals, in those years than any overt criticism or praise. The one who spoke most about that period is Yang Jiang, due, in part, to the memoir-like form she has chosen for most of her writings. Wang Yao, in his paper *Wenge, Zhishifenzi, Wengexushi: Yi Yang Jiang Ganxiao Liuji wei Zhongxin* (Cultural Revolution, Intellectuals, Revolutionary Narrative: On Yang Jiang's *Six Chapters From my life "Downunder"*⁴) sees Yang Jiang's *Ganxiao Liuji* (1981) as testimony of a strong tension between resistance and compliance to the Revolution latent among the intellectuals of the time and a starting point for a revolutionary narrative. The same tension between the revolutionary years and the depiction of the figure of a universal intellectual is discussed by Wendy Larson in her *The Pleasures of Lying Low: Yang Jiang and Chinese Revolutionary Culture*. Larson sees in Yang Jiang's works the questionable defense of all the intellectuals who preferred to lie low, remaining aloof from any overt protest or condemnation of the Revolution, and to seek refuge in minor and insignificant pleasures and occupations. The novel *Xizao* (Baptism 1988) is seen by Larson as a depiction of those intellectuals, without any success in proposing a more valid alternative of behavior.

If the narration of Yang Jiang has been considered too detached from politics, the claims against Qian Zhongshu have been even harsher, because in his works the references to the historical events are even more hidden and difficult to grasp. The relation between the historical and social setting in which a writer lives and his literary production is always a close one, and if this is true for every historical phase, it is particularly inevitable whenever the external conditions are unstable and in rapid transformation. Notwithstanding Qian Zhongshu's European sojourn, his return to China, his experiences in the best 'urban' university in Beijing and his years in the countryside, his appointment

⁴ The translation of the title of Yang Jiang's work refers to the translation in English by Howard Goldblatt 1983.

as translator of the works of Mao Zedong, and persecution for being a bourgeois intellectual, Qian remained the same ‘outsider’ scholar. His works, however, like Yang Jiang’s, have been deeply influenced by the events of his life rooted in the Chinese society of the twentieth century. A comment on this is offered by Ronald Egan in his paper *Guanzhuibian, Western Citations, and the Cultural Revolution* which describes Qian Zhongshu’s apparent silence about the Cultural Revolution as resonating more than the noisiest of noises. Egan inserts *Guan Zhui Bian* in the context of the Cultural Revolution and links the work to it by drawing attention to the focus of Qian’s work on some very non-canonical texts and classical material, the exact target of the Cultural Revolution’s destruction of classical culture. *Guan Zhui Bian* is in fact a five-volume work which, starting from ten Chinese classics, comments on the varied themes of aesthetics, art, poetry, moral and cultural customs, literature, to mention just a few, quoting extensively from both Chinese and Western literatures. Notably, the work was written in *wenyanwen*, classical language, and this can reasonably be considered an overt critique to the leading Party’s will to destroy the old language, expressed in a form not easily understood by the controlling cadres.

For many intellectuals of the first half of the twentieth century like Qian Zhongshu and Zhou Zuoren, to keep using classical prose was a way to state their aloofness from the current political situation and keep their individuality out of the immediate social context. Qian Zhongshu believed in the power of both languages, the classical and the new one, but was worried that in such a big country, after the new language had taken its solid place, less than sixty people were still able to write in the old language. The contradiction to the current trend in Qian’s use of *wenyanwen* is very strong. If the Cultural Revolution wanted to break with the old culture and old traditions, then *Guan Zhui Bian*, both in form and in content, wanted to enhance studies and annotations on the classics on which traditional culture was based. *Guan Zhui Bian* is a work that fills the gap and the void left by the difficult times China had to overcome, putting Chinese traditional and contemporary literature in a global setting and finding relief through art and criticism. It is fundamental to note the contribution of this comprehensive work in a period in which the appreciation of literature and the critical appreciation were seriously compromised: *Guan Zhui Bian* gathers literary treasures when their survival was not considered important.

The return to Beijing in 1972, thanks to a new policy set by Zhou Enlai, who requested the ‘old, weak, sick and disabled’ to go back from the countryside, set the last phase of literary composition for Qian Zhongshu. At the beginning of the nineties Qian came down with a strong fever and entered the hospital, where he spent the last years of his life, attentively looked after by Yang Jiang and his daughter Qian Yuan until March 1997, when Qian Yuan died of cancer. Yang Jiang remained the sole caretaker of Qian Zhongshu, who slowly under-

stood the fate of his beloved daughter, notwithstanding Yang's reluctance to give him such disconcerting news. On December 19th, 1998, Qian Zhongshu left this world and his lifetime companion. In accordance with his will, all the formalities of the departure were handled in the most common and simple way. Among the many obituaries appeared on Chinese and international press in December 1998, only a Taiwan based newspaper, the *Zhongguo Shibao*, besides praising the life and work of Qian Zhongshu like all the others newspapers, noted Qian's activity as a scholar and writer during the Cultural Revolution. They reported that from 1949 to 1979 many intellectuals from the continent preferred to devote themselves to scholarship than to creative fiction because scholarly works were less subject to political interference (He, Fang 1999: 12).

The death of Qian Zhongshu was a turning point in Yang Jiang's writing career after which her interests turned towards a more intimate world, recalled through memoir. Yang Jiang still lives in the same Beijing apartment she shared with Qian Zhongshu during his last years, in a central but very peaceful building which speaks of a fading generation of Chinese intellectuals.

Figure 2 – The Beijing Nanshagou apartment where Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang moved in 1976 and where Yang Jiang still lives (photo by the author, dec. 2010).



3. Literary achievements

Notwithstanding relevant differences in the writing careers of Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang, due to their different view of the world and unique way of expressing their sensibilities, both have a sole novel as witness to their creative talent. *Wei Cheng* (Fortress Besieged 1947) by Qian Zhongshu, and *Xizao*, by Yang Jiang,

have often been considered twin works; both novels narrate the fate of Chinese intellectuals in stigmatized forms that try to stay above any political implication too rooted into contemporary society. To fly, instead, higher in their characterizations, which attempt to have a universal value. *Xizao*, a depiction of the lives of intellectuals after the 1949 founding of the People's Republic, could be seen as the sequel of *Wei Cheng*, as it begins with the return of a young man from abroad with a fake diploma, and follows his disastrous attempts to cope with a society in which pressures from family and academy are too hard to face for his weak character.

Family and academy are the main objects of analysis for Christopher Rea in his paper *The Institutional Mindset: Marriage and the Academy in Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang*. Rea detects an 'institutional mindset' in the intersections of marital and academic relations, which permeate the lives and works of both authors, and proposes that these twinned institutions represent an obsession of modern Chinese intellectuals.

If it is not surprising that the two novels should hold common views, since they are the products of two souls who shared a lifetime of experiences, what is perhaps surprising is their peculiar way of depicting the same topic: a participation in the destiny of human beings under very unusual political and social conditions for Yang Jiang and a subtle and stinging irony from a detached narrator for Qian. This irony is the basis for the paper *Qian Zhongshu's Comic and Tragic Visions: The Topos of Family in The Fortress Besieged* by Alexander C.Y. Huang, which links the literary humor chosen by Qian in the expression of family ties with the social and political conditions in which the story takes place. Huang argues that the form of expression chosen by Qian goes beyond a particular political entrapment, and acquires a more general and universal value showing that family is both a private and public place for the formation of an identity.

Yang Jiang's novel *Xizao* has been translated in English by Judith Amory and Shi Yaohua, both participants to the workshop. Amory presented a paper titled *Self-deception and Self-knowledge: Yang Jiang's Fiction*, and Shi a reflection on *Remembrance of Things Past: Yang Jiang's Prose Writing*. Amory believes Yang Jiang's interest, particularly in her creative works, is to analyze how people react to disasters. Yang does not touch political themes directly, but tells of how people respond to them. The focus is always on individuals, in fiction works even more than in the dramatic ones.

Shi reminds us that Yang's insistence on small and trivial events constitutes a form of resistance to the Party's trend of totalizing narratives, and that nearly all of Yang's works follow a memoir pattern through which historical and lived anecdotes become the soul of writing.

If Shi Yaohua sees *Xizao* as a memoir, John Weinstein, in his *Baptism as Dramatic Novel: Lengthening the Career of Playwright Yang Jiang*, singles out the novel's theatrical characteristics. Thus, Yang's career as a dramatist would

not have ended with her last drama, but would expand on her narrative work, which brings an evident sensibility worthy of a stage director.

To work as translators is another experience the two writers shared, but again under a seemingly similar occupation lies a difference in scopes and interests. Yang Jiang translated *Lazarillo de Tormes* (first re-translated from English, later from the original Spanish), *Gil Blas* from French and *Don Quixote* from Spanish during her engagement at the Academy of Social Sciences, and Plato's *Phaedo* in 2000 after the death of Qian Zhongshu, showing an interest in philosophical and contemplative writing. The choice of the texts and the care in hiding the manuscript of *Don Quixote*, which was nevertheless confiscated by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, but subsequently recovered, tells us that translation for Yang Jiang was a real interest. It was the activity that secured her reputation as a scholar and the activity through which, apart from bringing someone else's ideas into life, she also wanted to express her own sensibility and her opinions on translation. Carlos Rojas, in the paper *Translation and Rectification: Yang Jiang's Rendering of Cervantes' Don Quixote*, takes an accurate analysis of the motives lying behind Yang's translation to show that, apart from the mere rendering of the Spanish text that might be more or less accurate, the translation itself implicitly comments on issues of translation, fidelity, and canonicity.

Translation for Qian Zhongshu, on the other hand, was more a duty than a choice, particularly in the case of his translation of the works of Mao Zedong, which, during difficult and challenging years for Chinese intellectuals, was more a way for the Party to use a skilled literary talent for its own goals, and to divert him from other occupations. More than the practice of translation of whole texts, it is interesting instead to read Qian's ideas about it in essays like *Lin Shu de fanyi* (Lin Shu's Translation 1963), or study his thousands of translated bits and pieces quoted from foreign literatures in his masterpieces of comparative literature *Tan Yi Lu* and the above mentioned *Guan Zhui Bian*. It is on the role and scope of these quotations from other languages that the papers of Ronald Egan and my own *In Others' Words – the Use of Quotations in Qian Zhongshu's Comparative Method* have focused. Egan reflects upon the use of figurative language and quotations to exploit the way in which Qian, through them, reveals how the East and West probe issues in human perception and imagination. His paper demonstrates, with convincing references, the tightly bound relationship between Qian Zhongshu and Qing scholarship. My paper, through the analysis of different usages of quotations in selected passages from Qian Zhongshu's scholarly and creative works, has been devoted to trying to explain his use of quotations and why he borrowed others' words to express his own ideas.

Totally unlike Qian Zhongshu, memoir seems to be one of the preferential forms of expression for Yang Jiang, especially in the last phase of her career. If Shi Yaohua identifies a memorial impulse even in Yang's novel, Jessie Field

sees in the choice of this form a definite and voluntary intent by the widow Yang Jiang to shape the image of her family like an epitome of contemporary Confucian values. Field's paper '*All Alone, I Think Back on We Three*': *Death, Memorial and Yang Jiang's New Intimate Public* is an account of Yang Jiang's prose writing considered in the fading boundaries between intimacy, public life and the narration of personal experiences that takes its moves from the 2003 memoir *Women Sa, We Three*, Yang Jiang's biggest commercial success.

The different sensibility of the writers is also analyzed by Zhang Enhua in her paper *Meeting in the Margins of Life: Qian Zhongshu, Yang Jiang and Ghosts*. Zhang sees ghosts and the supernatural as common themes for Qian and Yang, and the different ways in which they are treated represents the authors' different approach to human reality. Yang's is more mystical and full of reveries, while Qian's displays a constant concern with human life and characters, tending to represent superhuman beings with purely human characteristics with constant reference to the earthly world. Thus, Yang Jiang tends to bring human beings into the supernatural world, while Qian Zhongshu brings the supernatural world into the human realm, to shape and mold it on the factual reality. One example is the short story *Shangdi de meng* (God's Dream), translated into English in the recently-published collection of short stories *Human, Beast, and Ghost: Stories and Essays*, edited by Christopher Rea (Qian 2011).

If, for the couple, memorials are the prerogative of Yang Jiang, poetry and poetic criticism represent the «heavier side of Qian Zhongshu», claims Wang Yugen, and are exclusive to him. Wang's paper *Passing Handan Without Dreams* explores this side and, goes through three of Qian's works in particular, *Tan Yi Lu*, *Song Shi Xuan Zhu* (An Annotated Anthology of Song Poetry, 1958), and *Huai Ju Shi Cun* (Poetic Remains of an Ephemeral Life, 1994). Wang remarks that Qian's poetic vision and poetic production are a sound testimony of both his profound classical learning and his lively modern spirit, which merge in a multifaceted and complex literary style of undoubted usefulness in the shaping of Chinese modern literary world.

Wang considers the collection of Song poems to be one of Qian's masterpieces. He probably chose Song and not Tang poetry because there were already many anthologies of Tang poetry and a lack of good commentaries of Song poetry. He included in the collection three hundred sixty-five poems with a particular attention to poems whose subject was the difficult condition of common people. This choice, not in the least casual, bears a great significance in relation both to Qian's ideas on poetry than to his link with a particular time and political condition. He often includes authors that other collections do not choose with a vast inclusion of poems that have a figurative sense behind the literal meaning.

To mention another fundamental aspect in the literary production of both writers we will then refer to their essays, a mine of ideas and contents that spans

through all of Qian Zhongshu's and Yang Jiang's life. Yang Jiang's familiar essays are collected in *Jiangyin Cha*, (Taking Tea 1987) and in *Za Yi yu Za Xie* (Mixed Memories and Recollections, 1994) and her critical essays in *Chun Ni Ji* (Spring Soil, 1979). *Zou Dao Rensheng Bianshang: Ziwen zida* (Arriving at the Margins of Life: Answering my Own Questions, 2007) is a philosophic work whose title in Chinese alludes to her late husband's collection of essays *Xie Zai Rensheng Bianshang*.

For Qian Zhongshu the writing of essays was a fundamental part of his scholarly career and finds one of its best expressions in the collection *Qi Zhui Ji* (Patchwork 1984) and in *Xie Zai Rensheng Bian Shang*. We will also mention the posthumous collection of English essays *Yingwen Wenji – A Collection of Qian Zhongshu's English Essays* (2005) and *Rensheng Bianshang de Bianshang* (In the Margins of the Margins of Life, 2001).

4. The legacy

What can Western readers learn from the lives and works of Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang? Why organize a workshop to collect expertise and discuss their literary and scholarly accomplishments? Qian and Yang represent important achievements in twentieth-century China because of their unique reactions to the society in which they lived. With a balanced and upright spirit, Yang Jiang and her memoirs have given us a portrait of the response of Chinese intellectuals to the Cultural Revolution. With intellectual integrity, Qian Zhongshu has set an example of erudition, open-mindedness and scholarly expertise. Starting from his years abroad and during his whole life, Qian devoted most of his time to the reading of the most disparate works of literature. He could read and understand Latin, Greek, Spanish, Italian, English, German, French, and thanks to his ability to access texts in their original language, he set the paradigm for the ideal comparatist, even while refusing to be considered one. Profoundly rooted in the Chinese classical tradition, his works sweep through time and space, linking East and West, past and present, different disciplines, with an equilibrium between academic attitude and creative production, as illustrated in the paper *Huitong Zhongxi de Yidai Zongshi: Jinian Qian Zhongshu Xiansheng Danchen Yibai Zhounian* (The Master that Understood Thoroughly East and West: Remembering Professor Qian Zhongshu on the One Hundredth Anniversary of his Birth) by Ji Jin from Suzhou University.

Notwithstanding the justly declared universality of Qian Zhongshu, a further analysis of the novel *Wei Cheng*, conducted in Ted Hutters's paper *The Cosmopolitan Imperative: Qian Zhongshu and World Literature*, brings the author to reflect on the uniqueness of Qian's creative prose and the peculiarity of this

novel in the panorama of Chinese modern literature. The oft-quoted remark by C.T. Hsia in his *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, «*Fortress Besieged* is the most delightful and carefully wrought novel in modern Chinese literature: it is perhaps also its greatest novel» (Xia 2001), confirms the status of Qian's novel as a «self-consuming artifact». In the words of Professor Hutters, the novel is incapable of setting a tradition or starting a literary trend. Where the legacy of Qian Zhongshu could be traced instead, is in his contribution in the aesthetic sphere, where he proved with his outstanding essays and his masterpieces *Tan Yi Lu* and *Guan Zhui Bian* that there is a common ground and a demonstrable universality between Chinese and Western aesthetic discourses, and he did so with an uncommon knowledge of both literary traditions.

His method of quoting extensively from the most disparate traditions and literary realms to link East and West, past and present, shows that the programmatic intent of his system is to look for and to find the threads of a global literature and universal thought. A twofold trend could be traced in his method. One direction in which his work moves is to use modern authors and their quotations to refer to past ideas. The other focuses on the consideration of works from the past to shed light on the present: authors of past centuries become the pretext to discuss contemporary issues. From Dante, XIII century to Leopardi, XIX century, discussions about art and nature, the capacity of words or paintings to express the artists' true feelings, the role of literature, the difficult and tricky relationships between governors and subjects and the behaviour of governors, the use of torture, the role of metaphor and poetic imagery, the role of women in society opposed to that of men, the way in which historians leave imperfect testimonies of their times (and the direct influence on present views of past epochs and events), and the importance of money for people are only a few of the themes that Qian discusses. Quotations from past authors shed their light on the present to help readers understand the inner reasons that, for example, make torture a useless and cruel means used by rulers to extract information or to punish their subjects (or citizens).

The relevance and topicality of the themes involved in both writers' works thus give the activities for the one-hundred years anniversary a justification for further analysis and investigation and constitute for the Vancouver workshop a motif of renewed interest.

The workshop was accompanied by a public event, 'Celebrating 100 Years of Qian Zhongshu and Yang Jiang', which exhibited lively proof of the interest in the two writers held both by scholars and the wider public. Performances included some students from the University of British Columbia, who were incredibly fluent in the Chinese language and versatile in the dramatic arts, who presented excerpts from the 1943 play by Yang Jiang *Heart's Desire*. Professor Rea read selected passages from the newly edited translation of *Ren Shou Gui*

(Human, Beast, and Ghost: Stories and Essays), and Professor Hutters gave a public speech on Qian Zhongshu and his contributions to world literature. The message that emerged from the workshop in its conclusion has undoubtedly been that there is a strong need to pursue research on the two writers in consideration of their capacity to shed a new light on the interpretation and understanding of Chinese Modern Society.

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CHINA'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY:
BETWEEN OLD PROPAGANDA AND CIVIL PARTICIPATION

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Abstract

The ongoing debate over the development of China's public diplomacy (*gonggong waijiao* 公共外交) is part of the reshaping of China's international image as a global power. After discussing the definition of public diplomacy – a concept not yet well defined, but adaptable to China's foreign policy tradition – we present a preliminary analysis of the institutional framework, political background, and main instruments of China's public diplomacy. We take into account the criticisms and perplexities expressed in Western literature about the contradictions between China's international communication through public diplomacy and its domestic and international political behavior. The aim of this article is to provide new insights and a preliminary analysis of Chinese academic literature on public diplomacy. Our analysis demonstrates that although the concept of public diplomacy tends to be linked to considerations of the enhancement of soft power and the creation of comprehensive national strength, the search for an effective and original pattern does not simply consist of importing Western models of communication, but implies an evolution in Chinese society, especially in terms of openness and participation in the political life of the country.

Keywords

China's national image, public diplomacy, academic debate, people's participation

摘要

关于中国公共外交 (public diplomacy) 的讨论争论不仅涉及到重塑当代中国的国际形象、还有中国作为一个全球大国的问题。

本文首先探讨公共外交的定义, 此概念虽然尚未明确, 但可适用于中国的传统外交政策。然后对目前中国公共外交的制度框架、政治背景和主要手段进行初步分析, 并勾勒出西方学者表达的困惑与批评意见, 即关于中国公共外交的对外传播理论与国内外政治实践之间存在的严重矛盾。本文的目的是通过对中国学术文献的初步分析, 为当代中国公共外交的现状提供新的见解。

由此分析表明, 虽然公共外交的概念涉及到如何提高软实力并增强国家综合实力, 但是寻求一种既有效又新颖的模式并不是盲目引进西方的传播交流方式, 而是意味着中国公民社会的发展, 尤其是提高政府工作的透明度和公共参与度。

关键词

中国的国家形象, 公共外交, 学术界争论, 公共参与

1. Introduction

In recent years, public diplomacy (*gonggong waijiao* 公共外交) has evolved from an unfamiliar concept to a hot topic in China. From 2007, the term has been increasingly used in official speeches¹ and today it seems to have become the filter through which to evaluate every kind of diplomatic activity². The growing awareness among China's policy makers of the centrality of public diplomacy echoes the major attention paid by the academic world. (Figure 3) Evidence in this regard is the establishment of China's first public diplomacy research center in Beijing³, and of a specialized journal⁴, as well as the increasing number of public forums on the theme⁵.

¹ In 2007, premier Wen Jiabao explicitly said «We should conduct public diplomacy in a more effective way». *People's Daily*, February 27, 2007. In July 2009, President Hu Jintao openly urged for «strengthening public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy (*renwen waijiao* 人文外交)». In March 2010, the concept is mentioned twice in the report of Gu Qingli at the annual session of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Wu Qimin 吴绮敏 2007. Even before public diplomacy was ever mentioned, top leaders already pointed out the need for striving for «an objective and friendly public opinion environment» (Xu Xinghan 徐星瀚 2004) and for enhancing China's «soft power» (Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Waijiaobu Zhengce Yanjiu Si 中华人民共和国外交部政策研究司 2007; *People's Daily* 2007, October 15), both declared objectives of public diplomacy.

² During a press conference on his visit to Europe in 2010, Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi stressed the importance of public speeches as tools of public diplomacy: «These activities encourage people from different countries to see China and its development in a proper perspective and enhance mutual trust» (PRC Foreign Ministry 2010).

³ The Public Diplomacy Research Centre has been established in August by the Beijing University for Foreign Studies.

⁴ The *Public Diplomacy Quarterly* (*Gonggong Waijiao Tongxun* 公共外交通讯) aims to analyze national and international trends, and facilitate the development of China's public diplomacy (Yuan Jie 袁洁 2010).

⁵ On Sept. 11, 2010 the Public Diplomacy Research Centre organized the First International Forum of Public Diplomacy, also known as the Third Diplomats Forum, centred on «Communication, Participation, Responsibility and Action» (Yan Meng 2010). In October the Chahar Forum on Public Diplomacy was held in Shanghai. The forum addressed the theme 'Spread the National Image of China' with particular attention towards the role of media and multinational corporations. Although sponsored by government institutions, these initiatives involve prominent scholars and academics from major national universities, besides exponents of the political, economic and media sectors (Cui Dong 崔东 2010; Zhongguowang 中国网 China.com 2010).

Nowadays, more and more Chinese students choose public diplomacy as a thesis topic (Figure 1). Most of them are studies on US public diplomacy, but the number of theses analyzing the relation between public diplomacy and the building of the national image increases annually (Figure 2).

The realization by China's leaders and academics of the potential impact of public diplomacy on foreign policy and national development deserves special attention for its notable social and political implications.

Figure 1 – Number of masters' theses on public diplomacy per year.

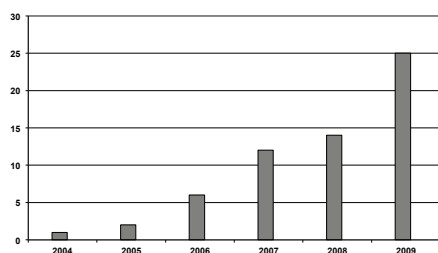
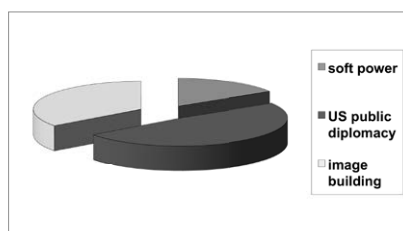
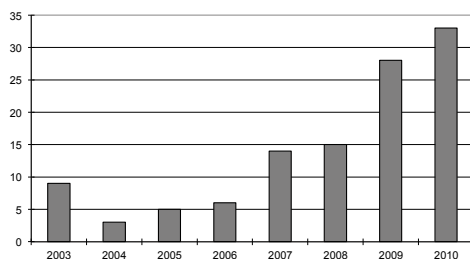


Figure 2 – Main topics of masters' thesis.



Source: China Masters Theses Full-text Database, powered by China National Knowledge Infrastructure.

Figure 3 – Number of Chinese academic articles on public diplomacy per year.



Source: China Academic Journals Full-text Database, powered by China National Knowledge Infrastructure.

Figure 4 – Main topics of academic articles on public diplomacy (sorted by occurrence).

- Studies on public diplomacy in other countries, especially USA and Japan
- Current situation, potential development and the search for a public diplomacy with Chinese characteristics
- Analysis of theories and concepts regarding public diplomacy
- Analysis of case studies (Olympic Games, Shanghai Expo, and crisis management)
- The use of public diplomacy to enhance national image

2. Definition of public diplomacy

Most scholars date the first usage of the term ‘public diplomacy’ to 1965 when Edmund Gullion, Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and retired Foreign Service officer, established the Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy⁶.

Fletcher’s definition was the first of a long series, as the debate on a clear description of the term still continues today⁷. The term has long been strictly associated with US foreign policy, especially the activities of the US Information Agency (USIA). In 1997, the Planning Group for Integration of USIA into the Department of State, defined public diplomacy as follows: «Public Diplomacy seeks to promote the national interest of the United States through understanding, informing and influencing foreign audiences» (Public Diplomacy Alumni Association 2008). Since Joseph Nye Jr. first introduced the concept of soft power (Nye 2004) in 1990, public diplomacy has often been defined as «one of soft power’s key instruments» (Jan 2005: 3).

In China, the term ‘public diplomacy’ has a foreign origin (*bolai* 舶来词). Its first translation (*gonggong waijiao*) appeared in 1990 in the book *Diplomacy Abroad* (*Guowai waijiaoxue*) edited by Zhou Qipeng, who translated the entry from the *International Public Law Encyclopedia*. Zhou’s translation has become the most commonly used, but a considerable number of authors have either translated the term in different ways⁸ or associated it with a tangle of similar concepts⁹.

⁶ An early Murrow Centre brochure describes the concept as follows: «Public diplomacy [...] deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications» (Cull 2009b: 19).

⁷ Recently the Wilton Park Conference concluded that: «Public diplomacy has entered the lexicon of 21st century diplomacy without clear definition of what it is or how the tools it offers might best be used» (Kelley 2009: 73).

⁸ For instance, in 2004, in his *General Introduction to Diplomacy*, Yi Lu translates the term ‘public diplomacy’ as *gongzhong waijiao* 公众外交 (mass diplomacy) (Wang Yiwei 2008). Translation problems are not uncommon in China. The translation of the concept of soft power is still quite disputed. In academic texts is commonly used the expression 软实力 *ruan shili*, but translations as 软力量 *ruan lilang*, 软权力 *ruan quanli*, 软国力 *ruan guoli* still abound (Guo Jun 郭俊 2009).

⁹ Li Zhiyong tries to clarify some concepts related to public diplomacy. He provides a detailed analysis of the origin and evolution of four terms, still often confused:

One could say that Chinese scholars – like their foreign counterparts – are still searching for an unequivocal definition of public diplomacy. However, a closer look at Chinese attempts to define it can provide hints about the Chinese perception of the concept.

According to Ren Jingjing, the main definition of public diplomacy accepted among Chinese intellectuals follows as: «A new form of diplomacy which, under the guide of the government, addresses social masses; its main tools are communication and exchanges; its main objectives are strengthening national soft power, defending and promoting national interest» (Ren Jingjing 任晶晶 2010).

From a domestic perspective, Zhang Weiwei points out three main characteristics of China's public diplomacy: it arises as a reaction to Western «discourse power» and «China's threat theory». It is led by governments (but gathers other economic and human resources, especially on the occasion of great events), its main purpose is to build friendship through cultural exchanges (Zhang Weiwei 张薇薇 2009: 13).

Both Ren's and Zhang's definitions convey a peculiar meaning to public diplomacy: they center the Chinese understanding of public diplomacy on cultural exchange, much more than on the media. This point is certainly linked to the attractiveness of the millennia-long Chinese culture. After all, Li Zhiyong argues (Li Zhiyong 李志永 2009: 58), «the original form of public diplomacy in China is not international propaganda as other scholars claim, but cultural diplomacy». However, this culture-oriented definition of public diplomacy is also derived from the acknowledgement of the lesser presence and scarce influence of Chinese media overseas compared to the media from more advanced economies in the West. Only recently has China shown itself to be more aware of the significance of an effective and capillary media network abroad¹⁰.

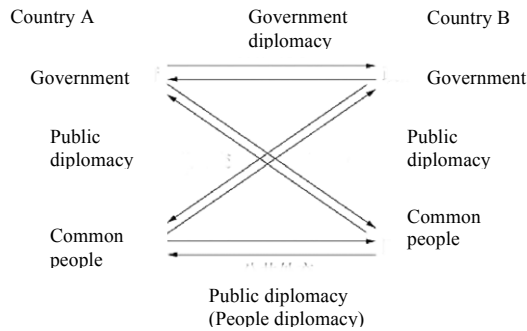
public diplomacy, 公共外交 *gonggong waijiao*; civil or civilian diplomacy, 公民外交 *gongmin waijiao*; people diplomacy, 人民外交 *renmin waijiao*; people to people diplomacy, 民间外交 *minjian waijiao*; mass diplomacy *gongzhong waijiao*. Li Zhiyong 李志永, 2009: 58.

¹⁰ Central government invested 45 billion Yuan for the expansion of the main media organizations overseas (Wu Vivian, Chen Adam 2009). In June 2008 Hu Jintao gave a speech about news media and their role in a changing China (Hu Jintao 胡锦涛 2008). In December 20, 2008, Li Changchun, member of the politburo standing committee in charge of ideology, said «Enhancing our communication capacity domestically and internationally is a direct consequence of China's increasing international influence» (Li Changchun 李长春 2008). On January 16th, Liu Yunshan, director of the Publicity Department of the Central Committee since 2002 and a member of the Politburo since 2007, declared in a statement published in Party Magazine *Qiu Shi (Seeking Truth)*: «It has become an urgent strategic task for us to make our communication capability match our international status» (quoted in Harding, Hille 2009).

In other words, China tends to understand public diplomacy in terms of *minjian waijiao* 民间外交 (people-to-people diplomacy)¹¹, taking a firm grasp on China’s foreign policy tradition. Zhao Qizheng, a key figure in China’s public diplomacy¹², defines it as a «new form of people diplomacy», which, compared to the traditional idea, appears to be multifaceted and enriched with every form of dialogue, direct bilateral and multilateral relations such as official-official, people-people and official-people exchanges.

In an attempt to clarify the definition of public diplomacy and to show where to place this new concept with respect to traditional government diplomacy and people diplomacy, Zhao provides the following chart, which was elaborated inside the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) (Zhao Qizheng 赵启正 2009: 2).

Figure 5 – Graphic representation of collocation of public diplomacy with respect to government diplomacy and traditional people diplomacy.



¹¹ The term *minjian waijiao*, people-to-people diplomacy, refers to activities of cultural exchange and informal ties realized through the work of mass organizations and friendship associations, and targeted at the people of foreign countries. Since its foundation in 1949 the People’s Republic of China has resorted to this form of foreign relations also to compensate for its relative diplomatic isolation. The most famous success of people diplomacy was the American-Chinese ping-pong exchange in 1971 which started normalization between the two states. The two institutes in charge for this aspect of Chinese diplomacy are the Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs, both affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs .

¹² In 1998 Zhao was double-hatted as director of both State Council Information Office (SCIO) and of the International Communication Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In 2005 he moved to his present role as a member and later standing member of CPPCC National Committee, where he is chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Since 2009 he has been editor-in-chief of the *Public Diplomacy Quarterly* (Cull 2009a; Shambaugh 2007).

3. *The practice of public diplomacy. Searching for the roots*

The search for a «public diplomacy with Chinese characteristics» (*Zhongguo tese de gonggong waijiao* 中国特色的公共外交), namely in continuity with the traditional concept of China's foreign policy, found a correspondence in the debate on the practice of public diplomacy in China and it seems to have preceded the discussion. Some scholars even trace it back to dynastic China, and Qing Cao points out that «Centuries before Joseph Nye, Confucius himself spoke of “attracting by virtue” (*yide laizhi* 以德来之) and argued that an image of virtue and morality was the foundation of a stable state» (Qing Cao 2001). Andrew Scobell describes how dynastic China practiced public diplomacy within the tribute system, adding a cultural dimension to the engagement with foreign powers, through the Chinese self-belief in *Zhongguo* 中国, the middle kingdom, the center of the civilized world (Scobell 2007). However, most Chinese scholars track down elements that refer to public diplomacy in traditional external propaganda (*waixuan* 外宣)¹³. Tang Xiaosong stresses that, even if one cannot equate propaganda and public diplomacy, as public diplomacy has deeper strategic implications, propaganda instruments are the main expressions of public diplomacy. Therefore, although China lacks a developed public diplomacy system, it can count on an experienced and original mode of international communication (Tang Xiaosong 唐小松 2006: 44). Similarly Zhang Weiwei notices that today's practice of public diplomacy is grounded in the national broadcasting system (radio stations, newspapers, publications in foreign languages etc.), which came into being shortly after the foundation of the People's Republic of China (1949) and before China's Reform and Open Policy (1978). This communication network, which in the past was mainly devoted to ideological goals with little interaction with the outside world, nowadays is the 'hardware' through which China enacts a more sophisticated diplomacy (Zhang Weiwei 张薇薇 2009: 13).

4. *Evolution of China's diplomacy: the institutional framework and political background*

Therefore, to some extent, scholars interpret China's public diplomacy as a mature evolution of external propaganda. In particular, the institutional frame-

¹³ Chinese tradition distinguishes between two levels of propaganda (*xuanchuan* 宣传): *nei xuan* 内宣 (internal propaganda, addressed to the domestic public) and *wai xuan* 外宣 (external propaganda, addressed to the foreign public). Unlike its western equivalent, the term *xuanchuan* (propaganda) has a positive connotation in Chinese.

work of today's public diplomacy was built in the Eighties, the early period of the reform era that brought China to the international stage. During the Eighties and Nineties, Chinese international communication abandoned Soviet-style rhetoric, aiming at ideological indoctrination and agitation of the masses, in favor of new communicative models and a more reassuring image of a peaceful state – the ideal destination of foreign investments (Zhang Juyan 2009). China's international communication loosened or adjusted some ideological connotations of the past, especially those linked to the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention (D'Hooghe 2007: 11).

In 1983, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs founded an Information Department. In the same year, the creation of a system of Chinese news spokesmen¹⁴ and, shortly after, the launch of regular press conferences, improved China's ability to address foreign media.

In 1989, when the brutal repression of the protests in Tiananmen Square sent China's international reputation plummeting, Beijing withdrew in silence and violent choices, but was already well aware that it was necessary to restore a positive international image, minimize economic and political damage, and preserve the possibility to access foreign expertise to obtain economic results¹⁵.

In 1991, the State Council Information Office (*guowuyuan xinwen bangongshi* 国务院新闻办公室) was founded. The Office formally took the place of the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) Department of Publicity, dealing with the foreign press corps as an 'operational side' in the work of external propaganda (Shambaugh 2007: 48). Its main duties are: to illustrate China through compilation and publication of government White Papers¹⁶, organize conferences and the production of videos¹⁷, correct misperceptions and mistakes in foreign

¹⁴ The first was Qian Qichen, who ran the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first local news spokesperson system was established only in June 2003 in Shanghai. In 2009, thirty-one provinces, seventy-four State Council institutions, and seven central organs of the CCP launched their own news spokesman systems.

¹⁵ In the aftermath of the crisis, Beijing engaged the international public relations firm Hill and Knowlton to begin the process of rebuilding China's image abroad.

¹⁶ Nowadays China distributes every year around three White Papers. They range from human rights, minorities policy, national defense to food safety and other international sensitive issues.

¹⁷ The 30-second TV commercial China's National Image Promotional Film *Zhongguo guojia xingxiang xuanchuan pian* 中国国家形象宣传片, broadcast in Times Square before Hu Jintao's official visit to the US, is the most recent examples. The Film, sponsored by the Information Office of the State Council, consists of two parts. The one broadcasted in New York is an advertisement, introducing Chinese com-

media reports on China, and promote an objective and fair image of the country among foreigners resident in China and short-term visitors such as tourists and businessmen. The present director of the office is Cai Mingzhao. He represents a perfect example of «one organ and two signs» (*yi ge jigou, liang kuai paizi* 一个机构, 两块牌子)¹⁸, due to his concomitant role as Deputy Director in the CCP Publicity Department. Zhang Guizhen argues that the foundation of the Office – besides the decision of changing the English translation of the term *xuanchuan*¹⁹ – symbolizes the beginning of gradual passage from traditional propaganda to the modern idea of public diplomacy²⁰. Over the years, old and new institutions have shaped the Information Office in the task of outlining main strategies of China's public diplomacy²¹. In more general terms, since the Nineties, the evolution in public diplomacy seems to be accompanied by a more modern and sophisticated approach to foreign policy.

mon people and celebrities from business, entertainment, academic, science and technology circles, representing China's positive national image. The second part is a 15-minute TV special named *Perspectives*. Before that, in 2009, another promotional movie of 30 seconds, titled *Made in China. Made with the world*, was broadcasted on CNN Asia. The movie, sponsored in an effort to lift the reputation of Chinese-made goods after safety scandals, is currently running on the news network in Asia, and it is believed that the advertisement will be screened (*fangying* 放映) in other markets, including North America (People's Daily Online 2010).

¹⁸ The Chinese expression «one organ and two signs» (*yige jigou, liang kuai paizi*) refers to frequent overlappings of State and Party posts filled by the same person. Broadly speaking, the phenomenon is determined by the minor influence of some offices in State hierarchy compared to their Party counterparts.

¹⁹ In 1991, worried about the negative connotation that the west gave to the term *propaganda*, China's government dropped the English translation of *xuanchuan* in favour of the more neutral and benign *publicity*.

²⁰ «The office has the function of illustrating and explaining China to foreign countries and no more to propagandise China abroad» (Zhang Guizhen 张桂珍 2010: 40).

²¹ In late 2009 the Public Diplomacy Division – established in 2004 under the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – was upgraded to Public Diplomacy Office. Naturally, the Foreign Ministry, the Education Ministry, the International Liaison Department of CCP to National Tourism Administration and other important State and Party institutions actively participated in delineating China's public diplomacy. A range of exchange organizations also contributes to public diplomacy work, such as the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (Foreign Ministry), China Association for International Understanding (CCP), China Association for International Friendly Contact (PLA), China Institute of International Strategic Studies (PLA), Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences etc.

By the mid-1990s, the «good neighbor diplomacy» (*mulin waijiao* 睦邻外交)²², which greatly improved China's relations with ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) and developing countries at the beginning of the decade, handed over the baton to a «great power diplomacy» (*daguo waijiao* 大国外交), refocused on the big powers²³. Particularly after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks against the US, a more critical vision of the international system, supported by two decades of economic successes, arose in the debate about the role and identity China should take on the international stage and in the transition from «victim mentality» of the past (*shouhaizhe xintai* 受害者心态) to great power behavior (*daguo xintai* 大国心态). After decades during which the grand strategy was dominated by Deng Xiaoping's mottos «be good at maintaining a low profile» (*shangyu shouzhuo* 善于守拙) and «never claim leadership» (*juebu dangtou* 绝不当头), directed at shaping a quiet environment for long-term economic modernization, China turned to a «proactive diplomacy» (*zhudongxing waijiao* 主动型外交)²⁴ and choose not to adopt a challenging approach for hegemony and world order, as many authors supposed during the Nineties²⁵, but instead to respond to the international call to share global responsibilities (Zoellik 2005). Main symbols of the adoption of this new perspective in the global system were the acceptance into World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 and the cooperation within G8 and G20 forum as 'dialog member' in 2009, after China's brilliant performance in contrasting the global economic downturn²⁶.

China's behavior as a responsible stakeholder is clearly evident in a series of political actions, such as major involvement in UN peacekeeping operations

²² Since the Nineties China has normalized bilateral relations with neighboring states; economic and security partnership doubled in the mid-nineties as did access to regional multilateral institutions.

²³ The exchange of visits in 1997-1998 between President Jiang Zemin and President Bill Clinton was the most apparent result of this shift.

²⁴ Wu Jianmin 2004, quoted in Zhiqun Zhu 2010: 30.

²⁵ In the Nineties Michael D. Swaine pointed out the predominance of conventional realpolitik in China's foreign policy. (Swaine 1995); Michael Pillsbury hypothesized that in 2010-2030 China would turn back to a form of competition for hegemony, comparable to the Warring States Period (Pillsbury 2000); Avery Goldstein interpreted China's new strategy in the Nineties as an attempt to forge new rules in the international system (Goldstein 2001). For an overview of western literature on the future of China's foreign policy see Lynch 2009.

²⁶ With over \$2 trillion of foreign reserve in 2009, China plays an important role in the current economic crisis (buying national debts of European countries), as it did during the Asian economic crises in 1997 (maintaining currency stability in the area).

(Darfur, East Timor, the Middle East), discussions on nuclear proliferation and arms control, peaceful solutions of territorial disputes (especially with former USSR states), the multiplication of economic (ASEAN+1) and security (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) partnerships, assumption of a leading role in multilateral regional institutions and an intermediate role in sensitive international issues (Six Party Talks).

5. *Instruments of China's public diplomacy*

The practice of public diplomacy must, without a doubt, be set in the context of 'China's new diplomacy' (Zhu Zhiqun 2010), which is more pragmatic, constructive and sophisticated than old propaganda. In the words of Wang Yiwei, public diplomacy is a 'soft diplomacy', an integral parcel of a new grand strategy, which, in the era of economic globalization, new technology revolution and economic interdependence when the «greatest strategic threat is national image» (Cooper Ramo 2007: 12), successfully contributes to the building of a positive international image (Chen Haosu 陈昊苏 2009).

In this light we have to interpret the search for and application of always new and sophisticated tools of public diplomacy. Among them currently the most developed are:

- *cultural diplomacy*, to increase the influence and attractiveness of China's ancient culture and traditional value system, relying upon the most mature products of China public diplomacy, namely China's culture year and the Confucius Institute (Ren Jingjing 任晶晶 2010);
- *economic diplomacy*, based on the undeniable success of China as an economic and commercial power, and cultivates the positive impact of 'Beijing consensus' in developing countries;
- *exchange diplomacy*, in terms of both bilateral agreements with other countries and people exchanges, such as the recruitment of international students²⁷;
- *development aid*, such as conscious use of foreign investments and development aids, especially in less developed regions²⁸;

²⁷ China's Ministry of Education reports that the number of foreign students in the country reached a record high of more than 260,000 in 2010 (New York Times 2011).

²⁸ Between 2000 and 2007 China donated to Africa an estimated \$5.4 billion and cancelled more than \$10 billion of debt. In 2002, Beijing pledged \$5 million to Afghanistan, and donated \$2.6 million to the victims of the December 2004 tsunami. It also contributed \$2 million in cash as aid and dispatched a 44-member team of

- *celebrity diplomacy*, namely the identification of Chinese celebrities with China's national success or current international aid effort²⁹;
- *hosting* of international events and conferences³⁰;
- *media expansion abroad* and employment of internet resources addressed to foreign audiences³¹;
- major interaction *with foreign media*³²;
- *search for a 'leader diplomacy with Chinese characteristics' (Zhongguo tese de shounao waijiao 中国特色的首脑外交)*³³;

experts following the earthquake in Java, May 2006. China even pledged \$5 million of aid and over almost \$620,000 in emergency supplies to those parts of the US hit by Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Nowadays China is Africa's main commercial partner: Chinese investments amounts to about \$13 billion (Cucino 2012).

²⁹ As in the cases of basketball-player Yao Ming and actress Zhang Ziyi who are both goodwill ambassadors for the Special Olympics.

³⁰ For instance, from November to December 2006 China hosted the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, China-Africa Forum, China-Asean Summit, and a multi-lateral conference on energy. China has become an eager organizer of cultural events, and informal forums, among them the Boao Forum is the most well known example.

³¹ The already strong Chinese media apparatus, including traditional propaganda media such as *China's Daily*, *Radio Beijing*, *Beijing Review* and other publications addressed to foreign readers, has been recently consolidated through the expansion of Central China TV (new channels in Spanish and French will be launched shortly) and the construction of pro-government websites which attract and guide public opinion on given topics (Brady 2006). Additionally, the Xinhua Agency is working on transforming itself into a multi-media world news agency. It started to provide multi-media services in English in July 2009. News pieces in French, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic and Russian will also be broadcast in the future in the Asia-Pacific region and some European countries (Anne Tang 2009).

³² The foreign press is used as a source of public diplomacy. Chinese leaders are no longer reluctant to give press conferences during foreign visits and, from October 2008, a new regulation on foreign journalists (*waiguo changzhu xinwen jigou he waiguo jizhe caifang tiaoli* 外国常驻新闻机构和外国记者采访条例) facilitates their activities in China. From early the 2000s the Ministry of Foreign Affairs established the International Press Centre, which arranges media forums where foreign media professionals can meet their Chinese counterparts and officials.

³³ Chinese leaders in recent years have taken every chance to practice public diplomacy personally. In his visit to the US Hu Jintao surprised American public opinion by kissing a young girl instead of shaking her hand during a meeting with the public. During his journey to Japan and Korea, Wen Jiaobao always did morning exercise with people, chatting with them.

- *professionalization and age-lowering* of career diplomats³⁴;
- shortening of distances between ordinary people and Chinese diplomats³⁵;
- adoption of methods of mass persuasion, mass communication, public relations and advertising theories and techniques³⁶;
- search for a *new rhetoric*³⁷.

China uses these tools to project a variety of images of China: a responsible, stable, trustworthy, cooperative, peace-loving developing country, which is building a 'harmonious society' domestically and contributes to a 'harmonious world' internationally; a responsible economic partner that rises without threatening other countries, but is able to maintain its regional leadership; an ancient and vibrant culture (Wang Hongying 2005). Through the years and through symbolic events such as the Olympic Games in 2008, the Shanghai World Expo in 2010, and the Asian Games in Guangzhou, also in 2010, China has shown itself to have a mature command of these tools.

6. *China's contradictions and the criticisms of Western scholars*

The growing effectiveness of China's public diplomacy has not gone unnoticed by Western scholars. They generally agree on recognizing a relevant progress in its use by both Chinese propagandists and diplomats. Part of the existing literature tends to interpret the successful Chinese search for an integration of hard power and soft power in terms of the decline of Western influence. The expression «Charm Offensive» used by Joshua Kurlantzick to dub China's recent foreign policies seems to put out a call for Western world not to overlook the potential consequences of Beijing's major influence in the world, especial-

³⁴ For a detailed description of the evolution of China's diplomats' profile see Rana 2005.

³⁵ For example, from 2003 the Foreign Ministry has been holding regular 'open days' (*gongzhong kaifangri*), when citizens are invited to visit the Ministry and take part in lectures, conferences and online debates. The new generation of Chinese diplomats abroad is freer to get involved with foreign people and the press. A notable example is the one-week-long diary written in a major national newspaper by China's ambassador to the Netherlands, Mrs Xue Hanqin (D'Hooghe 2007: 24).

³⁶ Refer to the enlistment of international PR and marketing companies (i.e. during 2008 Olympic Games' bid).

³⁷ The search for a new rhetoric reaches the official cornerstone in the launch of the theories of China's «peaceful rise» (*heping jueqi* 和平崛起) by Zheng Bijian in 2003 and harmonious world (*hexie shijie* 和谐世界) by Hu Jintao in 2005.

ly in terms of damaging longstanding US initiatives towards democratization, environment protection and good governance (Kurlantzick 2007). However almost every Western study on China's public diplomacy brings out its limits and contradictions.

The state-command of public diplomacy is indicated as a cause of public cynicism and skepticism, which makes official messages never fully trusted. The lack of transparency and openness of China's society are seen as factors of suspicion regarding future intentions. In Western eyes, the country's image as a responsible world power is compromised by the Chinese government's association with repressive regimes (such as Sudan), maintenance of aggressive behavior (i.e. policies toward Taiwan) and violation of human rights and environment protection policy.

Part of the international community still worries about China's economic, political and military rise, as well as its hunger for raw materials and energy. Joshua Cooper Ramo notices that, in contradiction with Zheng Bijian's intention, adding the positive adjective 'peaceful' to the well-known concept of 'China's rise' made the 'theory of China's peaceful rise' sound insincere. Despite this, a few studies show that people in many countries have a positive view of China as a trustworthy, dynamic and friendly nation³⁸, more sophisticated researches reveal a great deal of underlying uncertainty (Cooper Ramo 2007), especially in Western countries³⁹.

In other words, the undeniable achievements of China's public diplomacy do not seem enough to convince the liberal democratic community to accept China as a credible political power. The Western world discusses China's economic success, keeping an eye on the contradictions of its foreign policy that, on the one hand, has shown a major engagement in the international community but, on the other hand, continues to be ruled by a one-party system determined to maintain its authoritarian role. Most Western scholars recognize the signs of a slow evolution within the Chinese political system, but the image perceived abroad does not correspond to the image that China would like to project. Furthermore, Western scholars express doubts about the correspondence between China's external representation in the international system and China's perception of itself. Plenty of Western scholars are still ready to assert that the US and China are likely to engage in an intense

³⁸ Global BAV All Adults: China 1997-2005.

³⁹ A survey conducted by GlobeScan for BBC World Service in 22 countries between 2004-2005 showed that Central Asian, African and Latin American countries tend to nourish positive feelings toward China, due to admiration for its successful economic model and to traditional cultural ties (Huang Yanzhong, Sheng Ding 2006).

security competition (see for instance Mearsheimer 2005) and that China's major involvement on the international stage is motivated exclusively by the awareness that being a stakeholder implies obtaining rights in shaping the rules of the system (Scott 2010).

Despite the unquestionable reasonableness of some arguments put forth by pessimistic observers, it would be a mistake to brand the efforts to build a positive international image simply as a willful deception, or an attempt to disguise old propaganda in the new clothes of public diplomacy. Indeed, the search for an effective use of public diplomacy implies an evolution of China's perception of its national image and public participation.

7. The academic debate about public diplomacy in China

In the late Nineties some authors foresaw the collapse of the propaganda state in China (Lynch 1999). On the contrary, as mentioned before, Chinese propaganda went through ideological and institutional renovation through the 1990s and early 2000s. Since the events of June 1989, the gradual decline of political ideology has led the CCP to a conscious adoption of Western methods of social control and domestic persuasion (Brady 2006). At an international level, an evolution began from external propaganda, demanding blind devotion, to public diplomacy aimed at convincing and persuading. As Zhang Guizhen points out, this transformation «is not just a word shift, but a creative transition in conceptual and strategic terms» (Zhang Guizhen 张桂珍 2010: 40). Adopting an effective public diplomacy implies an approach open to innovations and partly critical to past and present communication mistakes. China's leadership must recognize deficiencies of China's approach to international communication and make choices that inevitably transform China external and self-perception.

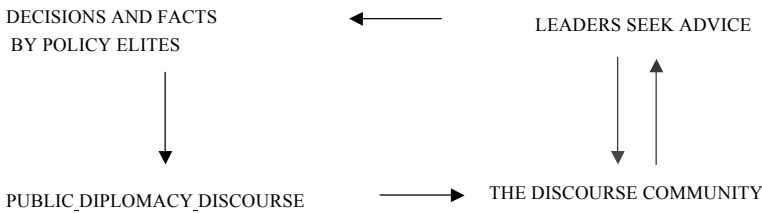
The stakes are high. In the metaphors of Su Shumin, a positive national image is an «intangible capital» (*wuxing zichan* 无形资产), a «special pass» (*tebie tongxing zheng* 特别通行证) to the world, and a «special lubricant» (*teshu de runhuaqi* 特殊的润滑剂) (Su Shumin 苏淑民 2008: 76) for international exchange, which enhance the country's capability to achieve its short-term and long-term goals. This is the reason that input to the construction of a public diplomacy 'with Chinese characteristics', from officials, businessmen and academics are welcomed by government.

The academic debate on public diplomacy has a central role, but unfortunately has gone unnoticed or been ignored in Western literature and deserves a more attentive analysis. The study of Chinese direct sources is always essential to understand contemporary China, which is especially true in the field of

public diplomacy, which focuses on external representation and national identity and implies interaction between ‘us’ and ‘others’. In particular the investigation of studies conducted by Chinese academics is able to provide a peculiar viewpoint: they are not government spokesmen, constrained by strategic considerations. Their analysis aims at clarifying concepts, interpreting phenomena, as well as building theoretical and behavioral patterns; by doing so they unveil the intellectual bustle – and the potential social impact – hidden under the hat of ‘China’s public diplomacy’.

The analysis of Chinese academic debate on public diplomacy is relevant also for the potential bi-directional linkage existing between the academic community and foreign policy decision-making process (Wuthnow 2008: 3). In fact, on the one hand, discourse on public diplomacy arises from decisions and facts determined by policy elites, but on the other hand, leaders increasingly seek more advice from academic experts during their policy making-process (see figure 6).

Figure 6 – Bi-directional linkage between leadership and academics.



8. Criticisms on government propaganda in China’s academic literature

Not only do Western observers not skimp on criticisms on China’s current public diplomacy, but Chinese contributors have also been known to offer commentary. Zhang Weiwei⁴⁰ cites Taiwan questions and the pro-Tibet protest in 2008, on the occasion of Olympic Games, as clear examples of the failure of public diplomacy in protecting national interests (Zhang Weiwei 张薇薇 2009: 13). He points out that the improvement of China’s position in

⁴⁰ Zhang Weiwei 张薇薇 is a research assistant at the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS; *Zhongguo Guoji Wenti Yanjiusuo*), a think tank of China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He conducts research on a wide range of foreign policy issues, such as public diplomacy and the Asia-Pacific region.

public opinion is mainly caused by China greater soft power, especially in term of economic development, not by public diplomacy. According to Tang Xiaosong⁴¹, public diplomacy is quite passive, and China's investments insufficient to respond to US and Japanese competitive diplomacy (*jingzhengxing waijiao* 竞争性外交)⁴².

8.1 Shortage of coordination

Many scholars insist on increasing coordination in public diplomacy. Zhao Xuebo⁴³ points out that only a joint effort can build systematic and original public diplomacy thinking and transmit an organic message, contributing to a long-term strategy (Zhao Xuebo 赵雪波, Zhang Jian 张键 2010: 59). That does not only concern institutional organs dealing with international issues, but also media and people groups (Zhao cites the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, the Chinese Red Cross, among others). Contributions from research centers – and in general the adoption of a more scientific approach to public diplomacy – should be welcomed (Ren Jingjing 任晶晶 2010).

Due to its relative lack of experience and capital, and existing cultural gaps, China should learn from foreign experience and theory (Tang Xiaosong 唐小松 2007: 44). Tang Xiaosong stresses the lack of a well-defined goal. China's diplomacy has been promoting a friendly international environment, learning from the lesson *he wei gui* 和为贵, «harmony is noble». But, in the globalization era, public diplomacy must address more specific objectives.

⁴¹ Tang Xiaosong 唐小松 is the dean of the School of Foreign Affairs (Waijiaoxue Xi) of Guangdong University of Foreign Studies (Guangdong Waiyu Waimao Daxue). Tang's main academic interests mainly deal with China-US relations and IR theory. He studied at Hunan Normal University and Fudan University and worked as official interpreter for the municipal government of Zhongshang (Guangdong). In 2007-2008 he was visiting scholar at Harvard University.

⁴² Tang distinguishes between «competitive diplomacy», consisting in «denigrating others while boasting themselves», and «cooperative diplomacy» (*hezuoxing waijiao* 合作性外交). China already effectively enforces the latter with countries which have similar interests (in Asia and Russia). Instead, public diplomacy is much too weak (Tang Xiaosong 唐小松 2007: 43).

⁴³ Zhao Xuebo 赵雪波 is associate professor at the Communication University of China. He has an MA in law and PhD in literature. His academic research has focused on mass communication and international relations. He has been a visiting scholar at the University of Westminster.

8.2 Scarce attractiveness of public diplomacy's messages

The criticisms on the predominance of political contents and old propaganda tones in Chinese media are not uncommon in academic discourse. Wang Yiwei⁴⁴ seems worried about the lack of competitiveness of Chinese mass media, which is caused by strict government restrictions (Wang Yiwei 2008).

Su Shumin⁴⁵ denounces the scarce skills of the Chinese media to build public interest⁴⁶ in a world of commercialized media, where government messages have to compete with a wider, more diversified and pluralistic range of information available (Shambaugh 2007). Su and other authors point out the importance of spreading punctual, exhaustive and reliable information to create credible and viable messages and make China's voice be heard abroad on foreign media. They urge that, while ideology is the main content of propaganda indoctrination, public diplomacy must be based on well-known facts. According to Zhang, that is the real turning point from propaganda to public diplomacy (Zhang Weiwei 张薇薇 2009: 13). The experiences of the confidence crisis during the obscure SARS information campaign and, on the other hand, the successful outcome of open communication during the Sichuan earthquake in 2008, are lessons that have already been learned. This

⁴⁴ Wang Yiwei 王义桅 is an associate professor at the Center for American Studies (Meiguo Yanjiu Zhongxin) of Fudan University (Fudan Daxue). He received his PhD in 2001 from the Department of International Politics of Fudan University. He was adjunct deputy director of the Department of American Studies of Shanghai Institute for International Studies (Shanghai Guoji Wenti Yanjiuyuan, SIIS, 2004) and a fellow of the Yale Center for International and Area Studies (2000-2001). He has published six books and several articles in foreign academic journals such as *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, *Asia Perspective*.

⁴⁵ Su Shumin 苏淑民 is an associate professor at the School of Law and Politics (Fa Zheng Xueyuan) of the Beijing International Studies University (BISU, the former Beijing Second Foreign Languages Institute, Beijing Di Er Waiguoyu Xueyuan). She received her PhD from the Department of International Relations (Guoji Guangxi Xi) of People University (Renmin Daxue).

⁴⁶ Su suggests, for instance, adoption of different approaches according to the psychological connotations of the addressed foreign public: more direct and open for a western public, more subtle and indirect for an Asian public (Su Shumin 苏淑民 2008: 46). After all, Wen Jiabao in person in February 2007 declared to *The People's Daily*: «We should inform the outside world of the achievements we have made in reform, opening-up and modernization in a comprehensive, accurate and timely manner. At the same time, we should be frank about the problems we have» (Wen Jiabao 2007).

would inevitably imply a change on press control and news circulation by government censorship.

8.3 *Demands for openness and interaction*

Not only are sincerity and authenticity two keywords of public diplomacy – as Tang points out – but even openness and democratization are often considered as «inevitable» (Tang Xiaosong 唐小松2007: 42).

Zhang Guizhen⁴⁷ notices how, in the era of globalization, non-governmental organizations and individuals are called to take interest and take a stand in international issues, under the stimulus of a better information system. He regards the Olympic Games experience as the starting point of a relentless transition in communication tactics: the simple governmental communication has been transformed into cultural (*renwen* 人文) communication, inspired by both people and officials, caught as an unique entity (*guanmin yi ti* 官民一体) (Zhang Guizhen张桂珍 2010: 40).

According to Su Shumin, China needs to move away from the one-way public information mechanisms and to adopt a two-way communications model. Zhao Xuebo urges that China should develop an omnidirectional and multilevel diplomacy able to bravely «come out» (*zou chuqu* 走出去), exploiting every form of international dynamic exchange activities and completing the practice of public diplomacy with the active contribution of state leaders, elites and civil society organizations (Zhao Xuebo 赵雪波, Zhang Jian 张键 2010: 59).

8.4 *Pluralization of public diplomacy's action and the role of huaqiao*

The call for new practitioners of public diplomacy comes primarily from the leadership. Zhao Qizheng speaks of 'three aspects' of public diplomacy (government, social elite and common public) and identifies important voices in the mass of foreigners present in China (24,000,000) and the bigger Chinese masses abroad (46,000,000), which must responsibly join the international discourse and increase China's «discourse power» (*huayuquan* 话语权). He cites universities, research centres, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

⁴⁷ Zhang Guizhen 张桂珍 is professor at the Department of International Communication of the Communication University of China (CUC, Zhongguo Chuanmei Daxue), formerly a training center for technicians of the Central Broadcasting Bureau. Zhang is permanent member of the Beijing Federation of Social Science Circles (Beijingshi Shehui Kexuejie Lianhehui), and a member of the China Institute of Scientific Socialism (Zhongguo Kexue Shehuizhuyi Xuehui) and the Institute of World Socialism (Shijie Shehuizhuyi Zhuangye Weiyuanhui).

as well as the media and influential persons as ‘assistants’ of government public diplomacy who more properly interject with their international counterparts (Zhao Qizheng 赵启正 2009: 2).

However, while Zhao inexorably indicates the government as the leader of this discourse (the elite occupies the middle ground, with the public at the base), Chinese academics often demand weaker government identity and ask for a smoother presence in public diplomacy; its messages are labeled as tendentious and lacking of persuasive power on the foreign public (Tang Xiaosong 唐小松 2007: 43). Government should encourage exchanges among individuals, to find a Chinese communicative style also inside global popular culture, like Japanese *manga* and US music. More generally, non-governmental entities such as NGOs, academics, professionals, and Chinese people abroad (exchange students, tourists etc) should play a relevant role alongside the traditional state actors. Furthermore, in order to successfully achieve its main purpose of illustrating to the world the ‘real’ China, public diplomacy should better understand the public and its visions of the world. Opinion polls and diplomatic envoys abroad could be efficient alleys to gather useful information, but the main challenge is to understand reasons beyond the formation of different opinions, taking into due account cultural and traditional elements (such as different visions of democracy). In this regard, the contribution of overseas Chinese (*huaqiao* 华侨) is considered potentially of great help. Having lived abroad for a long time, *huaqiao* could better understand the foreign mentality. *Huaqiao* could be China’s voice abroad, clarify age-old problems (such as the Taiwan and Tibet questions) adopting an intermediate vision. It is evident that *huaqiao* participation in China’s public diplomacy cannot be asymmetric; the two parties have to meet halfway. China’s government would need to balance the message it wants to transmit through *huaqiao*, adapting it not only to the final target (the foreign public), but also to the intermediate target (*huaqiao*). *Huaqiao*, in their turn, would be called to contribute to the definition of the message itself and its transmission methods, mediating between their cultural roots and their broad, foreign-oriented mind set⁴⁸.

8.5 Evolution of the concept of public diplomacy in academic circles

The discussion around the new sources of foreign policy and the engagement of non-state actors could be situated in the context of the gradual evolution

⁴⁸ This point is deeply linked to the debate on the involvement of China’s civil society in the foreign policy making process. The first studies appeared in the West at the beginning of the new millennium (Lampton 2001), but the analysis is still ongoing (Jakibson, Knox 2010).

of the concept of public diplomacy in China. It coincides with the traditional state-centered approach, but while some authors explicitly differentiate public diplomacy (diplomatic action of a governments towards foreign audiences) from people to people diplomacy (the interaction between people and civil societies of various countries), others merge the two definitions into a single concept of public diplomacy. The latter opinion could be interpreted as a willingness to enclose within the concept of public diplomacy that of civil participation. In this case, it would be very close to the concept of 'new public diplomacy' as defined by Paul Sharp: «the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented» (Sharp 2007: 106). In other words, a communication that involves public, not only addresses it. According to Ren Jingjing⁴⁹ China's diplomacy must face a new epochal mission: promoting public diplomacy, following the global tendencies toward a closer relationship between domestic and international situations and toward pluralization of foreign relations. Therefore government must promote a «national public diplomacy» (*quanmin gonggong waijiao* 全民公共外交), involving every layer of society (Ren Jingjing 任晶晶 2010). Wang Yiwei makes the wish that China's government, traditionally strong, can become good at using 'weak' social resources – such as non-governmental organizations and transnational companies – to carry out an integrated public diplomacy. Zhao Xuebo talks explicitly of changes in the number and type of public diplomacy practitioners. He describes the evolutionary chain as follows: from governmental diplomatic departments to other government departments; from government to people (*minjian* 民间); from groups and organizations to individuals (Zhao Xuebo 赵雪波, Zhang Jian 张键 2010: 60).

8.6 The experience of big international events and the conscious representation of national image

The Beijing Olympic Games are commonly considered to be the first experience of society's active participation in public diplomacy. Ordinary people (*laobaixing* 老百姓) warmly contributed to the preparation of the event, while 2 million volunteers assisted the realization of the event in August 2008, com-

⁴⁹ Ren Jingjing 任晶晶 is a research assistant at the Institute of Contemporary China Studies (Dangdai Zhongguo Yanjiusuo, ICCS), a think tank administratively managed by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan, CASS), which conduct research in the field of PRC history under the 'political guidance' of the CCP Central Secretariat. Ren's main research interests deal with China diplomatic strategy and IR theory.

ing into contact with a various international public – not only athletes, but also people from every professional sector (tourists, trainers, journalists etc.). Hu Xianzhang and Zhou Qing'an⁵⁰ summarize four main factors of success of public diplomacy during the Olympics: renovation and use of traditional symbols with attention to media effectiveness; exhibition of spectacular beauty on the stage; national mobilization of volunteers and operators; participation of famous artists (Hu Xianzhang 胡显章, Zhou Qing'an 周庆安 2009). Jian Wang⁵¹ finds in national pride, civic culture, public confidence and participation the main elements of a new image of China that was positively projected during the Games.

Even more relevant was the Shanghai Expo experience. Better-off and longer than the Olympics, the Expo involved more people and produced complex relations among officials, individuals, firms and masses (*minzhong* 民众). Young volunteers – often coming from Macao, Taiwan or overseas – and the Chinese public interacted with foreign people and representations of their own countries. Even superficially, they met other countries' models, histories, economies and ways of life. They tasted, individually, the experience of representing their culture and their country, mediating through different cultures.

According to Zhang, their unprecedented participation is a point of no return in the development of China's public diplomacy. Zhang speaks of a «transition from an Olympics to an Expo public diplomacy», whose main characteristics are major participation of the Chinese public (*gongzhong* 公众) and the evolution of China's communication skills. Choosing the theme «better city, better life», China has shown a mature knowledge of communication strategy. Such topics – that link the Expo to China's economic development – can be shared by developing and developed countries, gathers people with different cultural backgrounds, and attracts attention to the universal issue of the relationship between nature and human civilization. The slogan also goes with the Chinese concept of economic development, «with priority to the people (*yi ren wei ben* 以人为本)».

Big international events have contributed to the transition of China's perception of public diplomacy from a realistic viewpoint – through which diplomatic

⁵⁰ Hu Xianzhang 胡显章 is the director of the Center for Sino-Russian cultural exchanges. He used to be secretary of the party committee of Qinghua University. He is member of the leading small groups for national education. Zhou Qing'an 周庆安 is a researcher at the Center for International Communication Studies of Tsinghua University.

⁵¹ Jian 'Jay' Wang, a scholar and consultant in the fields of international corporate communication and public diplomacy, is an associate professor of public relations at USC Annenberg's School of Journalism. He is the author of *Foreign Advertising in China: Becoming Global, Becoming Local* and co-author of *China's Window on the World: TV News, Social Knowledge and International Spectacles*.

activity becomes a form of propaganda exclusively used to promote national interests, as it was in the West on the eve of World War II and during the Cold War – to a constructive one, that sees public diplomacy mostly grounded on social reasons, able to foster the acceptance of widely shared norms (Acuto 2010).

9. Conclusions

The evolution of China's external propaganda, in terms of both message and actions, is a fact that cannot be neglected or overlooked. Its transaction to the public diplomacy model is currently subject of analysis by both officials and academics. Although the concept was previously unfamiliar in China, the definition of public diplomacy is becoming increasingly clear and detailed. It is generally considered to be an inextricable instrument of China's grand strategy, the only means of winning the comprehension and support of the foreign masses (Shan Chengxian 单成现 2010), create the power of cultural attractions and inspire feelings of identification in the foreign public (Su Shumin 苏淑民 2008). It breaches the rigid wall of official diplomacy and surpasses the weak traditional people-to-people diplomacy, which lacks authority. As shown in previous research,

the preliminary analysis of the current academic debate on public diplomacy highlights an internal debate embedded in an evolving and complex reality. Besides considerations on soft power and comprehensive national strength, it calls for more openness and reveals a dynamicity that refers to the future of Chinese society and its major participation in the political life of the country. It shows signs of a slow but gradual domestic transformation, sometimes overlooked from the static viewpoint of China as an ultra-conservative country full of contradictions. The declared intention of making the news more true and respondent to the demands of China's public, the new approach to press control and to international communication that acknowledges the new social and market realities of the media, the role of people commonly accepted – at least at a theoretical level – in public diplomacy practice⁵², the involvement of the overseas Chinese and the efforts of readjusting the message for the mindset of democratic societies, the inevitable major interaction between foreign cultures and people practicing public diplomacy, all these conditions are new elements in China's foreign policy, bringing innovation to a still-developing system that is striving to achieve perfection (Zappone 2012: 24).

⁵² In 2010 Foreign Ministry Yang Jiechi during a press conference at Renda said: «The essence of public diplomacy comes from people. [...] I'd like to thank the whole population for its support to public diplomacy» (Yan Feng 2010).

Although Chinese civil society is far from enjoying a level of independence comparable to that of more industrialized countries, China's new public diplomacy strategy seems to have taken careful note of how to strengthen the country's image abroad through cultural relations and people's participation. Naturally one could point out the elements of control in this process of change. The ongoing talks about changing media in China, for instance, could be interpreted as focusing on elements of control, such as the idea of a «new pattern of public opinion guidance» (*yulun yindao xin geju* 舆论引导新格局), expressed by Hu Jintao (Bandurski 2008).

More questions could arise from this preliminary analytic frame: to what extent the public diplomacy strategies recurring in the debate can be useful by themselves in shaping an international environment conducive to China's long-term growth? How much could communicative strategies, instead of political facts, persuade public opinion of the peaceful nature of Chinese development? And to what extent does China's external representation correspond to China's self-image and self-perception? Adopting a balanced approach is the only way to try to find answers to these questions, instead of narrowly focusing on change or control, overlooking the evolution of real Chinese media and society. In the words of Joshua Cooper Ramo: «China is perhaps the most dynamic part of the international order at the moment, and that, to many people, makes it the most frightening. Changing the impression could be China's biggest challenge» (Cooper Ramo 2007). But searching for a truly Chinese perception of China's role in the international scenarios is one of the biggest challenges for scholars of China studies.

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THE BORDER AND THE HINTERLAND: TWO DIFFERENT PICTURES OF COMMERCE DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTHERN SHAANXI PROVINCE SINCE THE 15TH CENTURY*

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Abstract

The prosperity of border trade in the northern Shaanxi Province since the middle Ming Dynasty paints a fascinating picture of its local commercial development. However, this is not the story that the entire area has told. After a reexamination and analysis by using information from local gazetteers, a dualistic structure of the commerce development in this area is found in the article: the prosperity of trade along the border and the stagnated commerce in the hinterland. The profit produced by the border market failed to benefit the economy of the mountainous hinterland, which is much larger than the border area. Most people in the hinterlands still lived in a small-scale peasant economy.

Keywords

Ming and Qing Dynasty, Northern Shaanxi Province, commerce, dualistic structure

摘要

本文通过对整个陕北地区这一时段的商业发展进行考察, 得出明清时期的陕北社会经济处于一种二元结构之中, 即陕北边境贸易的兴盛与陕北腹地商业的迟滞。其实质在于边贸市场是一个巨大的过境转运市场, 贸易的商品通过它们向全国流动, 唯独不能惠及自身周边。陕北大多数民众的生活状态仍然是千年不变的小农经济, 而没有卷入明清中国社会商品经济发展的浪潮中去。

关键词

明清、陕北、商业、二元结构

1. Introduction

There has been quite a lot of research on the commercial development of Shaanxi Province in the Ming and Qing Dynasty. Li Gang has studied the history of the merchants of Shaanxi while Fu Yiling and Chao Xiaohong have focused on the merchants' capital (Li Gang 1997; Fu Yiling 1956; Chao Xiaohong 1996). Scholars have also analyzed the local commercial development from the

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view of regional geography (Zhang Ping 2006; Liu Jinchun 2005). The border trade along the Great Wall since the Ming Dynasty has also been an important research theme (Yu Tongyuan 1995; Qi Meiqin 2007; Qi Meiqin, Li Li-pu 2008: 33-42, 132-133). Among these studies, the area of northern Shaanxi has often been neglected because of its lesser importance compared with the border and the central area of Shaanxi, or the border trade is often considered to represent the economic development of the whole area. One fact has been confused more or less: the actual situation is that the advanced development of the border area and the stagnation of the hinterland have been coexisted since the rise of the border trade in Shaanxi. Although a lot of merchants made large fortunes from the border trade, most local residents still lived a tough life, as they always did, never having benefited from the border trade.

2. The Study Area

The area of Northern Shaanxi Province, also called Shanbei, is located on the Loess Plateau on the south of the Ordos Desert. Loess is a dust-like soil that is homogeneous, porous and friable. It often stands in either steep or vertical faces under the effect of wind erosion, making Shanbei a mountainous area. Such geomorphology adds difficulties to the local traffic. In the Ming Dynasty, the Shanbei area was under the administration of the Yansui Zhen and Yan'an Fu. And it was divided into Yulin Fu, Yan'an Fu, Suide Zhou and Lu Zhou during the Qing Dynasty¹. Today the area includes Yulin City and Yan'an City. Figure 1 and Figure 2 show the administrative districts of Shanbei in Ming and Qing Dynasty. Since the middle Ming Dynasty, the border trade in Shanbei developed quickly and soon became a flourishing enterprise due to several factors. Though the region suffered from several wars and natural disasters during the Qing Dynasty, the border trade endured. Shanbei even became a local commercial center of the Northwest China until the late Qing Dynasty.

3. The Border Trade and the Shanbei Area

The garrison quartered in Yansui Zhen drove the original markets in the border area of Shanbei. The Ming government built a rigorous defense system

¹ Fu and Zhou are both the names of administrative districts in the Ming and Qing Dynasty. Zhen, the name of a military district (which existed in the Ming Dynasty), was on the same level with them.

Figure 1 – The Administrative Division of Shanbei Area in 1582.

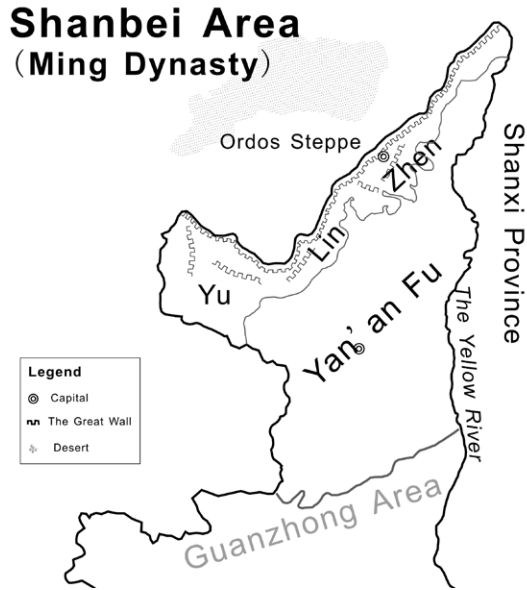


Figure 2 – The Administrative Division of Shanbei Area in 1820. (The pictures is redrawn according to Tan Q 1996, volume 7&8)



to prevent the invasion of the Mongols. After the *Tumu Crisis*² the Mongols controlled the region of Ordos, thus the military position of the Yansui Zhen became extremely important. In 1437, Wang Zhen, the viceroy of the Yansui Zhen built 25 fortresses along the border. His successor, Yu Zijun, continued the work, he upped the fortresses to 36 and eventually finished the defensive line. According to the data in *Yansui Zhen Zhi*, the military population there was as high as 55379 by that time (Tan Ji-cong 1970: volume 2 *Bing Zhi*). To provide for this vast need, one method employed by the state was to set up military colonies (*tutian*) and demobilize seven out of ten soldiers to grow food for the army. The other was the institution of border delivery (*kaizhong*) (Brook 1998: 108). Since the Jiajing Period (1522~1566), the soldiers gradually were paid in silver instead of wage in kind, which means they had to buy all the daily necessities, such as food and clothes, themselves. The civilian transport was also commuted to a payment in silver after the reform in the 5th year of Hongzhi period (1492)³. Thus, a great consumer demand emerged in the border area of Shanbei, which was a strong impulse for the local commerce. The earlier version of *Yansui Zhen Zhi* provides more descriptions of the local markets at that time, «the markets are distributed all over the towns, fortresses and villages. Inside Yulin town there are even segment markets of grains, salt, wood, horses and pigs» (Xie Tian-juan 1611: volume 2 *Qianliangxia-Guanshi*). It's not hard to understand that these fortresses easily turned into real trade posts when there was no more war in this area during the Qing Dynasty.

The early border markets along the Great Wall, officially called *Mashi* (Horse Market) and *Chashi* (Tea Market) were not regularly held; whether they were held or not depended mostly on the change of the diplomatic relations between the Ming Dynasty and the Mongols. Meanwhile, the markets were under the strict supervision of the Ming government, who decided how often and how long the markets should be held. But the situation became different as the civil commercial activities increased. After the Longqing Peace Treaty was signed⁴, many trading posts were set up along the Great Wall. The barter between the

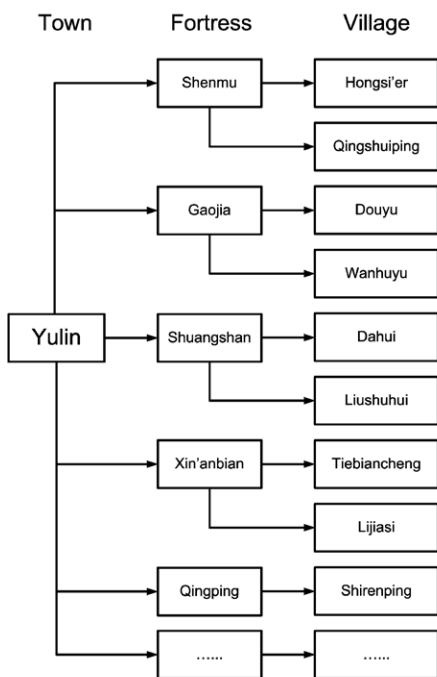
² In 1449, the Emperor Zhengtong was captured by the Esen Tayisi, Khan of the Oriat Mongols in the battle of the Tumu Bao (土木堡), which led to a big shock for the Ming Dynasty.

³ The Minister of Revenue, Ye Qi carried out a reform that the merchants could turn over the money directly to the National Treasury and get the salt vouchers.

⁴ In 1571 the 5th year of Longqing Period, the Ming Dynasty and the most powerful Mongolian tribe Tartar agreed to stop the military confrontation and open the market to each other. After the treaty was signed there was no big conflict on the border for several decades.

Han people and the Mongols were allowed when the official trade was over. Among these trade posts, Hongshandun is the biggest in Yansui Zhen⁵. According to Wanliwugonglu, the merchandise from inland China included silk, cloth, crops, salt, sugar, fruit and precious metals. The Mongols traded with them in livestock and fur (Qu Jiu-si 1612: volume 8 *Andaxia*). A market system with three hierarchies came into existence: Yulin, the capital of the Yansui Zhen as the commercial center, the markets in the adjacent fortresses on the lower hierarchy and the villages on the bottom position. Among the 39 fortresses of Yansui Zhen, along the Great Wall during Wanli Period (1573~1620), 6 fortresses had daily markets: Shenmu, Jingbian, Xin'anbian, Gushan, Qingshui, Anbian (Xie Tianjuan, 1611: volume 2 *Qianliangxia·Guanshi*). Other markets were opened on alternate days, or once a month (Xie Tian-juan, 1611: volume 2 *Qianliangxia·Guanshi*). Such frequency is very high even compared with some counties in Guanzhong Area⁶.

Figure 3 – The market hierarchy of the border area (during Wanli Period, 1573~1620).



⁵ Mingshilu, Wanli Sishi Nian Wuyue Renyin [May 9, the 40th year of Wanli].

⁶ The Guanzhong area includes the central part of Shaanxi. The fertile soil and good irrigation systems make it the most developed region of the Shaanxi Province.

As the Mongols and *Han* people were both ruled by the new regime established by Jurchen people after 1644, the border trade in the Shanbei was not threatened by the wars anymore. The Qing government continued to encourage the merchants to trade with the Mongols.

In the 10th year of Shunzhi (1653), the government issued 1000 vouchers of tea monopoly for Hongshan Market, valuing 3900 *Liang*⁷ of silver and 334 vouchers for Shenmu Market and Huangfuchuan Market, valuing 1326 *Liang* of silver. The vouchers could be obtained from the department involved. Thus the merchants were greatly encouraged to transport tea from Hubei Province to the border markets (Tan Jicong 1970: volume 2 *Shi Zhi*).

Since the consolidation of the national power and the ease of the conflict between the Chinese and the Mongols, the official horse market was finally abolished in the 35th year of the Kangxi (1696). Meanwhile, the non-governmental trade began to flourish even more.

The locals go to the markets with their goods, usually including tea (from Hubei Province), cloth, silk (from Suzhou) and tobacco but no grains and weapons. They speak Mongolian and sleep in the tents. On the other hand, the Mongols carry cashmere, camel hair, fur of fox and lamb, cattle, sheep and rabbits but no horses to exchange with the Han Chinese (Tan Ji-cong 1970: volume 2 *Shi Zhi*).

Although certain commodities still could not be traded, in the view of the compiler of the gazetteer the border trade was much more developed than it did in the Ming Dynasty. «In the Ming Dynasty the border markets such as the Huamachi in Ningxia and the Shenmu in Shaanxi was very profitable, but they still cannot be compared with today's border trade» (Tan Jicong 1970: volume 2 *Shi Zhi*).

The border trade in Shanbei achieved its peak in the Republic of China, as more than 20,000 people of Shanbei area were doing business with the Mongols, about one fourth of which had their own shops in Etoke Qi (Archives Bureau of Xi'an 1997: 185). They purchased livestock, pelts and fur, then transported and sold them to other places in the Shanxi and Shaanxi Province.

The rise and the continuous development of the border trade in Shanbei can be explained by the following reasons:

(1) the Shanbei area is located between two cultures that complement each other's requirements. Nomadic people need products from agrarian societies in many ways in their life. The Chinese officials noticed quite early that the tea is

⁷ One unit≈37g.

extremely important to the nomadic people to solve the digestion problem since there are very few cultivatable vegetables on the grassland. «The Mongols are addicted to cheese but they will be sick without tea» (Mingshi 1789: volume 80 *Shihuo Zhi*). It's easy to imagine that the Ming and Qing government took the tea trade as a tool to control the nomadic people. Cloth, tobacco and ironware were also important goods in the trade. On the other hand, the demand for the Mongolian fur and salt from the inland China show that the emergence of the border trade in Shanbei is the result of mutual interest.

Figure 4 – The Old Shops on the Main Street of Gaojia Bao (taken in 2008).



(2) The topography of the Loess Plateaus in Shanbei makes transportation quite difficult. However, due to the important position of the Yansui Zhen, the government spared no efforts to keep the main traffic artery between Guanzhong and Shanbei clear. The post road went north from Xi'an via Sanyuan, Yaozhou, Tongguan, Yijun, Zhongbu, Luzhou, Ganquan to Yan'an Fu, then went northeast via Yanchuan, Qingjian, Suide, Mizhi to Yulin at last, with a post house every 30 or 40 kilometers (Figure 5). This road became the most important trade route since the middle Ming Dynasty and extended to the Wushen Qi and Etoke Qi outside the Great Wall in the Qing Dynasty. Meanwhile the road along the border connecting the fortresses was gradually taking shape too. «Business travelers who walk on this road have no concern about their safeties» (Guan Lü 1528: volume 1, *Bianfang*).

In short, Shanbei had the huge advantage of being located between the *Han* and Mongolian area from the view of commercial geography. So no matter how hard the traffic was, as long as there was a road, the flow of goods would not stop.

Figure 5 – The Main Roads in The northern Shaanxi Province in the Ming Dynasty. (The picture is redrawn according to Wang Kai 1989: 366.)



4. The Transferring Market

The border trade in Shanbei had its boom since the middle Ming Dynasty, even though it suffered from serious wars, it recovered in a few decades. However, the market has had a strong ability to transfer since the very beginning, which means the border trade in the Shanbei area relied neither on the local production nor on the local businessmen.

The huge consumer group, which consisted mainly of the army, actually had very little relationship with the local market in the Ming Dynasty. The food production in the northern Shaanxi Province was limited, plus there was no cotton planting, which means that the grains, cloths and other munitions had to be gained from the inland. *Kaizhongfa*⁸ was originally designed to solve the problem. It encouraged the merchants to ship grain to the border in return for lucrative licenses to sell government salt. Soon after the law was carried out,

⁸ *Kaizhongfa* 开中法 was carried out in 1371.

the *Kaizhong* merchants started to hire farmers to farm on the wasteland on the adjacent area so that they could save the cost of long-distance transportation. However, the reform in 1492 led to the big withdrawals of the salt merchants from the border area, which destroyed the *Kaizhong* system rapidly. «In the 5th year of the Hongzhi Period, the salt merchants left the border, which quickly caused the price inflation and the lack of food» (Mingshi 1789: volume 80 *Shihuo Zhi*). There was basically no difference between the long-distance food transportation and hiring people to grow crops because in both cases the food didn't belong to the local productivity. As soon as the policy changed, the merchants quickly changed their strategy in order to make profits.

In addition, the commercialization of Shanbei occurred mostly in the area along the Great Wall. Table 1 shows the number of markets (on the village level) of Yansui Zhen and Yan'an Fu. Although the average number in Yansui Zhen is lower than that of Yan'an Fu, given that the area of Yan'an Fu is almost triple that of Yansui Zhen, the data in Table 1 still gives the image that the intensity of the markets along the border was much higher than in the hinterland.

Table 1 – The market number in Shanbei during the Ming Dynasty.

District	The number of the county (fortress)	The number of the markets	The average number
Yansui Zhen	39	73	1,87
Yan'an Fu	5	35	7

Source: Zhang Ping 2006: P189.

It is now clear that the rise of commercial development in the northern Shaanxi Province during the Ming Dynasty was centered mostly in the border area and that the polarization of commercial development in Shanbei during the Ming Dynasty has a tight connection to the government actions. The next question is whether the situation changed in the Qing Dynasty when the non-government trade became the leading role. With the continuing development of the commerce, could the whole area be benefited from the prosperity of its border area? How tight was the connection between the border area and the hinterland?

Still, the market number is a direct index to measure the different development within an area. 'The Maps of the Shaanxi Province' provides such data to observe the distribution of the markets in the northern Shaanxi Province in the late Qing Dynasty. It should be mentioned that the markets recorded in this atlas are all on the county (fortress) level. Since the purpose is to observe the relationship of the market number among different areas inside Shanbei area rather than to determine the exact figures, the data in the atlas is enough to

provide an explanation. Meanwhile, the area division here is not in exact accordance with the administrative district. Instead, it is divided into three parts according to the geographical position: the north part (Yulin Fu and the part of Yan'an Fu along the Great Wall), the central part (the rest of Yan'an Fu and Suide Zhou), and the south part (Lu Zhou)⁹. Such a division can better reflect the difference between the border area and the hinterland. The result is shown in the table below:

Table 2 – The Spatial Distribution of the Markets of Shanbei in the Qing Dynasty.

	The number of the county	The total number of the market	The average number of every county
the north part	6	36	6
the central part	13	55	4.2
the south part	4	43	10.1

Source: Wei Guang-tao, Shaanxi Quansheng Yuditu 1969.

As the table shows, among the three parts of Shanbei the market density of the south is the highest, mostly because the area is next to the Guanzhong area where the traffic conditions or the human resources are relatively superior. The interesting thing is that the central area has the lowest density, while the market density in the northern area is higher. The result doesn't fit the existing viewpoint that has been concluded:

the markets concentrate mainly on the southern part of the northern Shaanxi Province during the whole Qing Dynasty. And the market density decreases from the south to the north-east. During the Guangxu Period (1875~1908) there was an obvious increase in market numbers in Yulin Fu and Suide Zhou, which only narrowed the gap to the south area. The whole tendency didn't change at all (Liu Jinchun 2005: 145).

The message from Table 2 is that on a smaller scale the market density gets higher from the south to the north. As the commercial center, Yulin is far away from the geographic center of the area.

The difference between the border area and the hinterland can also be judged from the business taxes. Table 3 lists the number of business taxes of Shanbei

⁹ The 6 counties in the north: Dingbian, Jingbian, Yulin, Fugu, Shenmu, Huaiyuan; the 13 counties in the center: Fushi, Ganquan, Bao'an, Anding, Yichuan, Yanchang, Jiashou, Suide, Mizhi, Qingjian, Wubao; the 4 counties in the south: Luzhou, Luochuan, Zhongbu, Yijun.

area in 1827. Only Yan'an Fu and Yulin Fu have such data, and Jingbian Xian, the only county of Yan'an Fu that needs to collect business tax is located on the border area. Yan'an Fu Zhi, compiled in earlier time (the Jiaqing Period), gives another example: the commercial tax in Jingbian County was 850 Liang while the number in Anding County is only 9 (the hinterland) (Hong Hui 1969: volume 32 *Shangshui*). It is obvious that in the late Qing Dynasty, when the military and political influence were quite weak, the border trade of the northern Shaanxi Province still couldn't benefit the hinterland after 200 years of development.

Table 3 – The Business taxes in the Qing Dynasty (Unit: *Liang*) (Wang Zhiyi 1970: volume 4 *Luzhou*, volume 6 *Yan'an Fu*, *Yulin Fu*, *Suide Zhou*).

Fu/Zhou	Tax Number	Administrative division	Tax Number
Lu Zhou	/	Lu Zhou	/
		Yijun	
		Luochuan	
		Zhongbu	
Suide	/	Suide	
		Mizhi	/
		Qingjian	
		Wubao	
Yan'an	340	Fushi	
		Yichuan	
		Bao'an	
		Anding	/
		Yanchang	
		Yanchuan	
		Ansai	
		Jingbian	850
Yulin	1052	Yulin	/
		Shenmu	608
		Fugu	/
		Jiazhou	/
		Huaiyuan	/

As can be seen from the comparison above, the development of commerce in the northern Shaanxi Province shows two entirely different trends. The disturbance of wars and natural disasters resulted in ups and downs in the devel-

opment of trade in the border areas, which might draw much more attention than the hinterland. In the meantime, though the commerce development in the hinterland was also affected, it was too small to be noticed.

5. *The Merchants and the Locals*

Since the border trade had a very limited connection with the people living in the hinterland of the northern Shaanxi Province, there comes another question: what relationship existed between the commercial activities and the local residents inside the northern Shaanxi Province?

It is not difficult to find similar descriptions and comments on local commerce in the gazetteers, such as «the locals are shortsighted and not smart. The markets in the town and the villages are both controlled by the merchants from Hancheng County, Chengcheng County (both in the Guanzhong Area) and even Shanxi Province. The locals can't compete with them at all» (Wu Bing 1974: volume 1 *Fangyu Zhi-Fengsu*). And, «the local residents are not good at management. Once they encounter a finance crisis, they will get into deep trouble» (Liu Jinan et al. 1974: volume 3 *Shangwu*). «The commodities come mostly from the south and the merchants come mostly from Shanxi Province. The local merchants don't usually have much capital and often need to borrow money from those Shanxi merchants» (Kong Fanbu 1974: volume 4 *Xuexiaozhi-Fengsu*). The compilers of the gazetteers seem quite unsatisfied with the local residents: they are so bad at doing business that they just let others make the profit. Apparently, the merchants outside the northern Shaanxi Province expanded their business into every corner of the northern Shaanxi Province, no matter whether they were the shopkeepers or the itinerant traders, the big businesses or the most basic rural markets. Nonetheless, the local merchants still need to borrow money to maintain their business. This meant that not only did the border trade have limited relationships with the locals' lives, but also that the primary business activities needed external force, which were also the leading forces required to operate.

The active performances of one side set off the silence of the other side. The commerce development in the hinterland of Shanbei, though not so thriving, became the stage for the merchants from the Guanzhong area, while the locals just became bystanders. However, through the viewpoint of economic geography the geographic condition of Shanbei is not superior. It was absolutely not unprofitable as has been stated above. The people living there could have achieved more by engaging in business. Why, then did they just let the merchants from other places seize the opportunities? There are several reasons that may explain:

(1) *Limited Production and the Backward Handicraft Industry*

The northern Shaanxi Province is located in the semiarid region of the North China, where the farming conditions are not superior. Lu Kun, an official in Daoguang Peirod (1820~1850) wrote in his book *Qingjiangzhilue* that «the land in An'ding County is sandy. People can only feed their own mouths even in the years with bumper harvests»; «There is nearly no flat land for farming in Yanchang County. As long as the precipitation is less than usual there will be a disaster for the harvest» (Lu Kun 1974). Other counties in his book had almost the same natural environment. The local people also admitted the awful circumstance of their hometown: «the county has no paddy planting, cotton planting, silk industry or fishery. The traffic is blocked too...» (Ding Xikui 1974: volume 1 *Tianfuzhi·Wuchan*). The rise of the border trade in Shanbei was induced by the national policy and its duration depended on the demands between the nomads and peasants. However, none of the commodities such as grain, tea, horses, cloth and tobacco were produced locally. Even the locals needed the cotton and the cloth transported from Shanxi Province to meet their own needs, not to mention doing business with the Mongols. So when the big merchants from the inland came to the border, carrying goods in bulk, the locals could only complain about their poor capital.

However there was a big local production: the fur. The semi-arid climate is not very advantageous for agriculture but it is quite favorable for graziery – that is why the semiarid regions are also called agro-grazing ecotone. Figure 6 shows that the pattern of mixed economies is still common for the local people, for example settled famers that also raise sheep in their courtyards. The demand for furs from the inland of China was massive and constant. And the fur-processing industry in Shenmu County was relatively more developed than the agriculture. According to Shenmu Xiangtuzhi, there were about one hundred workers engaged in the fur processing industry (Anonymous 1974a: *Wuchan·Huoshu*). However, throughout the area the level of fur processing still couldn't compete with those factories in the center of the province like Jingyang County and Sanyuan County, where workers use machines to process the fur. The wool processing industry of the northern Shaanxi Province in the Qing Dynasty was mostly to meet the local needs. Because the rugs were mostly handmade, both the quality and the quantity couldn't meet the requirement for exportation. In the 33rd year of the Guangxu (1907), a spinnery was set up by the local government and businessmen, but the factory couldn't afford spinning machines. In the end, the workers had to make carpets in traditional way. The output was just enough for the county residents (He Xuebo 1906: *Dingbianxian Xiangtuzhi·Zhizaolei*). Most of the cashmere and the wools were still exported as raw materials.

Figure 6 – The Mixed Economy in the Gaojia Bao, Shenmu County. (Taken in 2008)



(2) *The Poor Traffic and the Blocked Information*

In addition to furs, there were still several local products in Shanbei, including sesame oil, pig and donkeys. These products didn't have a market as big as the tea or fur markets. Furthermore, the broken terrain of the Loess Plateau blocked the circulation of the commodities. The trade activities inside the northern Shaanxi Province could just maintain the lowest level for the exchange of daily life. In Yanchuan County,

Pig is one big product. About 1800 pigs are sold every year, valuing more than 5000 *Liang* of silver. Other products include sheep, wool and sesame oil, but their sale revenue was limited. The biggest importation is cloth. As to the surplus commodities, the locals always find nowhere or no one to sell because the peddlers rarely came due to the poor traffic. So the local residents might not suffer from hunger but they always lacked money (Wang Chongli 1974: volume 5 Fengsuzhi·Shenghuo).

As I have mentioned above, because several main roads connecting the northern Shaanxi Province and the Guanzhong area remained passable, the big trade could be carried out. But most other places in the Loess Plateau were still sparsely populated and hard to reach. The peddlers were usually unwilling to shuttle from one village to another to purchase the surplus products because of

the high cost. This was the bottleneck of the commercial development of the hinterland in Shanbei area.

(3) *The Tradition of Belittling the Commerce*

There was no shortage of merchants of the northern Shaanxi Province participating in the border trade during the Qing and Ming Dynasty. For example the businessmen from Shenmu were quite active in the border trade around Yulin Fu. But they were still called ‘small peddlers’ in the Yansui Zhen Zhi (Tan Jicong 1974: volume 2 *Shizhi*). As to the adjacent Yan’an Fu, the commerce was even less developed. Besides the two reasons described above, the tradition of belittling commerce is probably another important reason explaining why there was very little commercial development in the northern Shaanxi Province during the Ming and Qing Dynasty. Valuing the agriculture and belittling the commerce was an old tradition since the Han Dynasty. Though it was disrupted when the Mongols came to rule, the rulers of the Ming called it back. In a closed environment like the northern Shaanxi Province, «One tenth of the population is intellectuals. One tenth is merchants and workers. The rest are all farmers» (Anonymous 1974a: volume 4 *Fengsu*); «the local residents are mostly engaged in farming. There are very few merchants in the county» (Anonymous 1974c: *Shiye*); «the agriculture is the root of the subsistence while the commerce is secondary» (Ding Xikui 1974: volume 1 *Tianfuzhi·Wuchan*). In such an environment it is hard for people to think of changing their career as a farmer for generations. Plus, there was nearly no surplus labor in the area, which was different from its neighbor, Shanxi Province. The latter was suffering from the scarce land and excessive labor force. People had to leave home and look for other jobs, mostly being a trader to make a living. However, people living in the hinterland of Shanbei didn’t have to worry about their jobs as a farmer because they had to pay a lot of efforts on farming to ensure the harvest under the harsh natural conditions. So the idea of becoming a merchant never became popular in this area.

6. *Discussion*

The reasons why the commercial development of the northern Shaanxi Province ended up in a state of polarization can now be summed up. First of all, the local production of the Shanbei area couldn’t support a raw material market. Instead, a huge transferring market came into existence because of its location in the agro-grazing ecotone, the communication node of the nomads and peasants. Secondly, due to the tradition of belittling the commerce there

were very few local residents participating in the trade activities. And these few local merchants were always troubled by the insufficient capital. Instead, most active merchants were from the Guanzhong area and Shanxi Province. The border of the northern Shaanxi Province became others' stage. When we take a deep look into the northern Shaanxi loess plateau, we will find the extremely inconvenient traffic and the very primitive commerce was the real face of the area.

Busy places always attract most attention. The research on the commercial development of this area often led to an unconscious trend to use the development of the border trade to represent the economic development of the whole region. Qin Yan has used the data of the business tax of Yan'an Fu (in the hinterland) in the early Qing Dynasty and that of Yulin Fu (in the border area) in the late Qing Dynasty to compare with the business tax of Xi'an Fu in those two periods respectively. She found that there was 'a big increase' of the business tax of the northern Shaanxi Province in the late Qing Dynasty, and then concluded that the commercial development of the northern Shaanxi Province reached its peak in the late Qing Dynasty (Qin Yan 2001). However, if we know that there were two forms of commercial development: the prosperity on the border and the stagnancy in the hinterland, it will be clear that the comparison above can neither prove the greater development on the border trade nor the improvement in the hinterland. The border area could not bring benefits to the region next to it because, practically speaking, the boom of the border region didn't belong to the Shanbei area. The strong feature of the transferring market made it impossible to retain the profit. So it was not hard to understand that when the wars broke out in 1930s, which blocked the trade route and the foreign capital started impacting the border trade, the commerce in Shanbei had no choice but to decline.

7. Conclusion

During the Ming and Qing Dynasty, the social economy of the northern Shaanxi Province was in a dualistic structure, which can be described as prosperity in the border and stagnation in the hinterland. The main cause is that the border trade market is a huge transferring market, in which the most active businessmen were from the Guanzhong area, Shanxi Province, and the foreign companies in the east China in the late Qing Dynasty. Through these markets, the commodities flowed all around the country, except the area of Shanbei itself. The majority of the people living there still lived a small peasant economy, almost completely uninvolved in the wave of the commercialization economy during the Ming and Qing Dynasty, which is extremely regretful.

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