

THE BIBLE IN THE LITERATURE OF THE CHINESE MAINLAND IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Verbum autem Domini manet in aeternum (I. Pet.1.25)

The aim of this essay is the attempt to analyse shortly the most important aspects concerning the impact of the *Bible* on modern Chinese literature in the twentieth century pointing to its creative writers, critics and literary historians from Lu Xun to Haizi.

Key words: Sino-Hebrew interliterary process, Bible, modern and contemporary Chinese literature

1

The history of the biblical impact in modern Chinese literary criticism is now one hundred years old. It was young Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936), who, in his well-known article "Moluo shili shuo" 摩羅詩力說 On the Satanic Power of Poetry from the years 1907-1908, started to pay more attention to the *Bible* when writing about literary problems. In order to show how poetry was understood by him, he unrolled the myth of the first people and Satan. From the two cardinal myths of the Judeo-Christian world, he chose the one running along the axis *Genesis-Apocalypse*. His sympathies were on the side of the dragon (that is how *The Revelation of St. John* looks at it) and on the side of the serpent (as we know him from Moses' *Genesis*). He chose the dark, outwardly pessimistic, yet hopeful facet of this event, for this was the realization of human life, work and knowledge. According to Lu Xun, the widespread hatred of mankind towards Satan, is not

justified. Without the adversary of God, mankind in the conditions of the world, would not differ much from the animals of Eden.¹ At the end of this essay, Lu Xun regretted: "Where are the spiritual warriors? Are there any who can produce sounds of truth to bring us to goodness, beauty and strength?... Our home and country is in ruins, but we do not have a Jeremiah to sing the final elegy and tell the world and later generations about our plight".² At the same time and slightly earlier, Jesus Christ was mentioned by young Wang Guowei 王國維(1877-1927) in relation to Buddha and Nietzsche. It seems that he doubted the redeeming mission of the last two, but he admired all three as genii of suffering.³ Lu Xun returned to Jesus' crucifixion in the 1920s and we know that he had in his library Paul Gustave Doré's booklet *Die Kreuzzüge in den Bildern*⁴ and in his preface to the translation of Frans Masereel's engravings *Die Passion eines Menschen*, although it presents a history of a modern revolutionary, he quoted from Jesus' parable about the rich man and the camel, and wrote: "*St. Matthew* is a good book. It is necessary to read it. It is even more necessary to read the story of Jesus' crucifixion".⁵

Lu Xun's brother Zhou Zuoren 周作人(1885-1967) was even more interested in the *Bible* as a great work of literature. Around the year 1918 he was at first astonished by the remark of a friend about the importance of just the first *Gospel* for starting modern Chinese literature and its young creators and in 1920 he declared in front of his audience that the ancient Greek and ancient Hebrew literature were the most important literatures of the old world and expressed the hope that the meeting of modern Chinese literature with the literature of the *Bible* (and mostly of the *Old Testament*) would help Chinese men of letters to produce "beautiful idylls" (which was never the case) and renovate the national language, which certainly came true, although it has not always been acknowledged.⁶ Publication of the *Jiu xin yue quanshu. Guanhua heheben* 舊新約全書.官話和合本 (*The Old and New Testament of the Bible. Mandarin Union Version*) from the year 1919, started the broad course of literary change and became decisive in the development of the modern Chinese literary language in the 1920s and 1930s.⁷

Zhou Zuoren found his best successor in Zhu Weizhi 朱維之(1905-1999). In 1920s Zhu began to be interested in ancient Hebrew and Christian literature. In 1941 he published the book *Jidujiao yu wenxue* 基督教與文學 *Christianity and Literature*, a far-reaching survey of biblical stories as the *Stoffe* of world literature in the Christian era, especially in Europe, and its first impact and survival in China. On the basis of this book, later reprinted quite a few times, we know the extent of the survival of the biblical literature in China of the 1920s and 1930s in the realm of the prophetic writings, *Psalms* and *Lamentations*, and *Song of Songs*.⁸ Another book by Zhu Weizhi *Zongjiao wenyi lunji* 宗教文藝論集 (*Collected Works on Art,*

Literature and Religion) from the year 1951 presented essays concerned with the *Old Testament*. I was happy to receive, through the courtesy of Professor R. P. Kramers (1920-2002), another publication by Zhu Weizhi, also from the same year, entitled *Wuchanzhe Iesu zhuan 無產者耶穌傳 Jesus the Proletarian*, and I introduced it to the interested readers in R. Malek (ed.): *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*.⁹ After 1951 all writings about the *Bible* became a taboo in the PRC and the critical literature concerning it re-started in 1980. We will return to Zhu Weizhi later.

2

The Chinese writers, both men and women, who wrote on biblical subjects in the 1920s and 1930s or later up to 1949, were born before 1900 or some years later. One, probably smaller part consisted of people who had good experience with Christianity, namely with its institutions. In the second group the impact was mainly negative, not because of Christian teachings but due to bad experiences with some practices of the Christian clergy.

Here in this contribution, being interested in the evaluation of the *Bible*, its stories and teachings, I am more inclined to look at the first group. The *Bible* cannot be blamed for the deeds of those who are allegedly its interpreters but often false practitioners of its legacies.

Bing Xin 冰心(1900-1999) was one of the first to introduce biblical themes in modern Chinese literature. In the journal *Shengming 生命 Life* she published 13 short poems in the form of prayers taking their themes from the *Old and New Testament*.¹⁰ Religious syncretism was typical of her work. Her universe was confined to the firmament of heaven known to her from the *Bible*, but it was also filled with the notions and images taken over from the *Upanishads*, familiar to her through the mediation of Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). She was also influenced by reading of Chinese Buddhist literature. When she wrote her early poetry, she was not always fully aware of the differences between the three sources of her spiritual inspiration. All-embracing love manifested in her literary works - common for Jesus and Tagore - has become a merger and a compass.¹¹

Xu Dishan 许地山 (1893-1941), a friend of Bing Xin (they both worked at Yanjing University, Peking), was to a great extent similar to Bing Xin, only he was a scholar in Buddhism and Taoism as well as a Protestant preacher, and his knowledge was broader and deeper than of his woman colleague. As to his attitude to Christianity, he was peculiar even for the Chinese conditions. He valued highly Mahayanan teachings of *sunyata* or *kong 空* emptiness that all things are

unsubstantial, void and impermanent. Among the Christian men of letters in China Xu Dishan was most liberal, feeling sympathy even for parts of the *Koran*. Personally I like his later story *Chuntao* 春桃 about the love of a poor woman for two men, where a kind of compassion of Buddho-Christian colouring and of a Taoist *wuwei* 無為 *laissez faire* is clearly seen.¹²

Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) wrote some poems and fiction, including the novel *Luo ye* 落叶 *Fallen Leaves* after his temporary conversion to Christianity in 1916. His knowledge of the *Bible* together with depiction of his life with the "seduced" Christian girl, delineated from the Freudian point of view, is quite impressive.¹³ The Confucian strains after self-perfection were the basis for Christian ethical codes. They were compatible in the beginning of the 1920s with his efforts for "individuation" typical for many young people of the May Fourth Movement era. In 1923 Guo turned to Fr. Nietzsche and immediately after to Marxism.

Self-exposure practiced by Guo Moruo became even more evident in the work of his comrade-in-arms Yu Dafu 郁达夫 (1896-1945). Jesus Christ was one of his many models to emulate. The short story *Fengling* 风铃 *Wind Bell*, written probably in 1922, he introduced with the words: "A man who believes in the future has a bright star upon his forehead. Even when he gropes in the dark sand desert, his mind is ruled by one Jew."¹⁴ This "one Jew" is Jesus Christ. The image of Yu Zhifu 于质夫 in this and other stories, is not so much an outcome of the Christian impact, but more a product of literary decadence or pathological states of modern Chinese personality suffering from guilt. In contrast to Guo Moruo, Yu Dafu's psychological development was more influenced by Taoist than Confucian ideas.¹⁵

Zhang Ziping 張資平 (1895-1947) is much less known and studied than his friends Guo and Yu. As a young boy he joined a Protestant community and tried to become one of the sons of God. Life in this community brought him bitter disappointment and he described it in the novel *Shangdi de ernumen* 上帝的兒女們 *Children of God*.¹⁶ Those who should live according to the *Four Gospels*, were according to him servants of flesh and Mammon. The Catholic reviewer in *1500 Modern Chinese Novels & Plays* by Jos. Schyns & others, characterizes it with the words: "This novel is to be proscribed."¹⁷ This is too harsh and not a justified opinion. Zhang Ziping's family and his environment had long Christian traditions in Guangdong Province and Ziping, just as his father, later described under the name Tianguang 天廣 (i.e. Heaven is Wide) in the novel *Chongjiqi huashi* 冲積期化石 *Alluvial Fossils*, tried to be a good Christian at first. In this book under the

alluvial fossils different institutions of the Church, its rites and the behaviour of its representatives, are meant. Just as his father, Zhang Ziping himself confesses: "I love Jesus as a teacher, I love his teaching, but I do not love his followers (he meant the members of the Church, M.G.). I love his idea of the Church, but I do not love what the members of this Church do."¹⁸

Slightly older than Bing Xin, another women writer Huang Luyin 黃廬隱 (1898-1934), embraced Christianity at first and rejected it later. As a hated child of her own parents and siblings (her grandmother died on the same day when she was born), she experienced nearly a continuous process of sad thoughts, melancholic moods and even personal tragedies. As a nine year old she entered the missionary school and became acquainted with Christianity and the *Bible*. She wrote the following about her experiences: "In my childhood I began to follow Jesus. After leaving the church school, my not very deep belief ended gradually in failure. But the great personality of Jesus, his spirit of all-embracing love, worthy of admiration and becoming a model showing human beings how to live, cannot be regarded as something bad."¹⁹ Although Luyin left many earlier convictions in her adult age, her early belief remained fully alive in her writings and operated as a kind of *catharsis*: "Only those who really understand grief and sorrow *beiai* 悲哀 have the opportunity to come near to God."²⁰

Su Xuelin 蘇雪林(1899-1999) remained Christian and Catholic through all her long life, although she needed much time to persuade herself to follow new belief.²¹ Especially Catholicism was connected in China with the notion of "darkness" and "decay". Her knowledge of Christianity was comparable to that of Zhu Weizhi, although he knew more about Christian literature and she was well-read in world and Chinese mythology. Just as in the case of Huang Luyin and many others in China of the 1920s, it was the image of Jesus that was attractive for Professor Su: his life, death for others, his great and pure human character.²²

Some among Chinese writers were very critical of Christianity and followed the path of Zhang Ziping: Here I mention only two: Xiao Qian 蕭乾 (1910-1999) and Lao She 老舍 (1899-1966). Both had very good knowledge of the *Bible*. Xiao Qian was pressed to read it, Lao She did it voluntarily. Xiao Qian liked "many passages of the *Bible*, especially *I Corinthians*, 13."²³ He had probably in mind the following verses: "I may be able to speak the languages of men and even of angels, but if I have no love, my speech is no more than a noisy gong or a clinging bell." Or: "Love is patient and kind: it is not jealous or conceited or proud; love is not ill-mannered or selfish or irritable; love does not keep a record of wrongs; love is not happy with evil, but is happy with truth." Xiao was not "happy with evil", but because of his hate towards Christian hypocrites, both foreign and even more domestic, his works with an anti-Christian orientation are to some extent shallow,

although partly they deserve our empathy.²⁴ Lao She's satire is much more mild and his spirit is more humanistic and not so nationalist. He criticizes foreign Christians,²⁵ having in mind Pauline teaching from the same *I Corinthians*, this time from Chapter 9: "I am a free man, nobody's slave; but I make myself everybody's slave in order to win as many people as possible." In his short story *Hei bai Li* 黑白李 *Black Li and White Li* are Lao She's sympathies clearly on the side of the first. He offers his life for the revolutionary brother fighting against the *portae inferi* of his country following Jesus' instruction according to *St. John, 15, 13*: "The greatest love a person can have for his friends is to give his life for them."

In recent years Chinese literary historians have become quite interested in two outstanding writers, Ba Jin 巴金 (1904-2005) and Cao Yu 曹禺 (1910-1996), tracing the biblical motifs and allusions in their works.²⁶

3

If up to the mid-1930s, Chinese men of letters were more interested in the ethical teachings of the *Bible* and the legacy of Christianity, during the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945), the political, nationalist and anti-Japanese tendencies prevailed.

Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981) had only one book in his bag when he returned from Hong Kong occupied by the Japanese to the Chinese Mainland in 1942. It was the *Bible* which he used later in that year for writing two short stories: *Yesu zhi si* 耶穌之死 *Jesus' Death* and *Sansun de fuchou* 參孫的復仇 *Samson's Revenge*. Both of them are written with literary taste, although the anti-imperialist and anti-Japanese tendencies are quite obvious.²⁷

Another writer Li Jianwu 李健吾 (1906-1982) published a short story entitled *Shiming* 使命 *The Mission* about six men (five unemployed teachers and one student) preaching the "gospel" of resistance and a foreign Catholic priest. The last was wiser than the six "apostles" of struggle against the Japanese, when he was sure that the Chinese peasants are not able to understand the logic of Chinese intellectuals and would not be willing to follow their propaganda.²⁸

Xu Xu 徐許 (1908-1980) is regarded as a metropolitan writer: Shanghai and Paris was his domain. Whereas a not a very diligent reviewer regards his novel *Jingshenbinghuanzhe de beige* 精神病患者的悲歌 *Elegy of a Mentally Insane* as a "lewd book, full of stupidities and big talk",²⁹ a contemporary Chinese critic finds in it and in other works of this prolific writer, who received baptism just before his death, some ideas which are genuinely Christian.³⁰

Among literary works of this time probably the best philosophically oriented

is Qian Zhongshu's 錢鍾書(1910-1998) short story *Shangdi de meng* 上帝的夢 *God's Dream* from the year 1945.³¹ From the literary point of view it is also much better than many pamphlets that preceded or followed it.

4

After 1945 the interest in the *Bible* among the Chinese men of letters declined. At least, so it seems to me. After 1951 it was suppressed by the contemporary cultural policy and it was not revived until the 1980s. The end of the Cultural Revolution was a good opportunity for old Zhu Weizhi to come to the fore and organize a group of the followers who had done much useful work in biblical literary studies. In 1995 I was the first Western Sinologist to introduce knowledge about this renewal to the readers.³² In 1999 a more extensive review appeared written by Liang Gong 梁工.³³

Zhu Weizhi's essay "Xibolai wenxue jianjie: xiang "Jiuyue quanshu" wenxue tanxian" 西伯來文學簡介: 向舊約全書文學探險 A Short Introduction to Hebrew Literature: Exploring the Literature of the *Old Testament*³⁴ was the first swallow of this new wave. Many other essays and even some books followed, of which at least three, should be mentioned here: Liang Gong's *Shengjing shige* 聖經詩歌 *Poetry from the Bible*³⁵ and *Shengjing wenxue daodu* 聖經文學導讀 *An Introduction to Reading of the Bible*³⁶ and Zhuo Xinping's 卓新平 *Shengjing jianshang* 聖經鑒賞 *Appreciation of the Bible*.³⁷ It is a pity that the Chinese critics of biblical literature often are not acquainted with the newest Euro-American research on the subject. Much of it is unknown and beyond the reach of Chinese critics and this to some extent decreases the value of their work.

Translations of biblical stories are very important for hundreds of thousands of Chinese readers. Among these popular works, the most spread among the readers is certainly Zhang Jiuxuan's 張舊宣 selection *Shengjing gushi* 聖經故事 (*Biblical Stories* from the year 1982 and reprinted several times later.³⁸ J.O. Zetzsche's study "Cultural Primer or *Bible* Stories in Contemporary China" is a good introduction to these books bringing the most valuable stories to Chinese readers.³⁹

Among the many thousands of works written and published in the Mainland after 1980 there are some connected with biblical *topoi*. I see the pioneer in Wang Meng's 王蒙 (*1934) short story *Shizijia shang* 十字架上 *On the Cross*, as far as I know, completely neglected by Chinese critics.⁴⁰ There are biblical motifs in Gu Cheng's 顧城 (1956-1993) and Xie Ye's 謝燁 (1958-1993) novel *Ying'er* 英爾,⁴¹

in Sha Yexin's 沙葉新 (*1939) *Yesu, Kongzi, Bitoushi Lienong* 耶穌,孔子,披頭士列儂. *Jesus, Confucius and John Lennon*,⁴² in Shu Ting's 舒婷 (*1952) poetry and also in the works of other writers and poets.⁴³ Some of them, such as Bei Cun 北村, Shi Tiesheng 史鐵生 (*1951) and Haizi 海子 (1964-1989) could be regarded as Christian writers or sympathizers with Christianity.

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Not enough attention has been paid up to the end of the twentieth century to the problem of the *Bible* as a source for literary studies or for Chinese creative literature. The years after the Cultural Revolution and the beginning of the twenty-first century was too short a period to study this problem in an adequate manner. Some writers, as Xiang Peiliang 向培良(1901-1965), remained outside the scope of this attention,⁴⁴ or were studied superficially. The role of the impact of the *Song of Songs* in modern Chinese literature was only rarely traced even if it was often (but not always) indirect coming through Oscar Wilde's *Salome*.⁴⁵

Biblical allusions are also quite numerous in modern Chinese literature, although it is hardly possible to assert that these works are to be regarded as Christian. One such novel is Wang Jingzhi's 汪靜之 (1902-1996) *Yesu de fenfu* 耶穌的吩咐 *The Instructions by Jesus*⁴⁶ Maybe some works of Xu Xu and of his followers are also of this kind.⁴⁷

The Bible came to China more than two thousand years after the Confucian and Taoist classics and nearly two thousand later than the Buddhist scriptures. One hundred years passed since its first traces in Chinese literary works. There is a hope (and this short essay is, I suppose, a proof of it) that this newcomer will enrich the treasury of modern Chinese literature in the future.

* Published in the year of the 100th anniversary of the impact of the Bible on Modern Chinese literature (1907-2007).

¹ *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集 *The Complete Works of Lu Xun*. Vol. 1. Peking, Renmin wenzue chubanshe 1956, p. 205.

² *Ibid.*, p. 234. English translation is taken from M. Phil. thesis by Angela Castro: *Four Early Essays of Lu Hsin*. University of London 1968, p. 288.

³ Cf. *Wang Guantang xiansheng quanji* 王觀棠先生全集 *The Complete Works of Wang Guowei*. Vol. 5. Taipei 1968, p. 1661 and A. A. Rickett, *Wang Kuo-wei's Jen-Chien tz'u-hua. A Study in Chinese Literary Criticism*. Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press 1977, p. 46.

⁴ *Lu Xun shouji he zangshu mulu* 魯迅手蹟和藏書目錄 (*A Catalogue of Handwritings and Books in Lu Xun's Private Library*). Vol. 3. (Books in Western Languages). Peking, Lu Xun Museum 1959, p. 10.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17 and Lu Xun: *Jiwaiji sheyi. Cuntie* 集外集捨遺。寸鐵 *Outside of the Printed Volumes. Daggers*. Quoted according to Yang Jianlong 楊劍龍: *Kuangye de husheng. Zhongguo xiandai zuojia yu jidujiao wenhua* 曠野的呼聲-中國現代作家與基都教文化 *Crying in the Wilderness. Contemporary Chinese Writers and Christian Culture*. Shanghai, Jiaoyu chubanshe 1998, p. 25.

⁶ Zhou Zuoren, "Shengshu yu Zhongguo wenxue" 聖書與中國文學 *The Bible and Chinese Literature*, In: *Zhongguo bijiao wenxue yanjiu ziliao, 1919-1949* 中國比較文學研究資料 *Essays in Chinese Comparative Literature 1919-1949*. Peking, Peking University Press 1989, pp. 376-385. It originally appeared in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報 *The Short Story Monthly*, 12, 1921, 1, pp. 1-7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 385 and 7. Cf. the opinion of J. Wickeri, "The Union Version of the Bible & the New Literature in China". *The Bible Translator*, 1, 1995, pp. 129-152.

⁸ Gálik, M., "The Old Testament of the Bible in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism and Creative Literature". In: Malek, R. (ed.), *Jews in China. From Kaifeng...to Shanghai. Jews in China*. Sankt Augustin, Institut Monumenta Serica und China-Zentrum 2000, pp. 594-606.

⁹ To be published later under the title: "Jesus the Proletarian: A Biography by Professor Zhu Weizhi", in the Monumenta Serica Monographs, Sankt Augustin, Germany.

¹⁰ Reprinted in *Bing Xin shi quanbian* 冰心詩全編 *The Complete Poetry of Bing Xin*. Hangzhou, Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe 1994, pp. 106-132. Originally they appeared between March and November 1921. These poems were analysed by Xu Zhenglin, "Bing Xin de zongjiao shi yu shiwen de zongjiao" 冰心的宗教與詩文中的宗教 *Bing Xin's Religious Poems and Religion in Poetry, Jinling shenxuezhì* 金陵神學志 *Nanjing Theological Review*, 1, 1997, pp. 47-51.

¹¹ Gálik, M., "Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: VI. Young Bing Xin (1919-1923)", *Asian and African Studies* (Bratislava), n.s., 2, 1993, 1, pp. 41-60 and "Die junge Bing Xin, der alte Tagore und der gute Hirte. Ein Fallbeispiel aus der modernen Geistesgeschichte". In: Krüßmann, I., Kubin, W., and Möller, H.-G. (eds.), *Der Abbruch des Turmbaus. Studien zum Geist in China und im Abendland. Festschrift für Rolf Trauzettel*, Sankt Augustin, Institut Monumenta Serica 1995, pp. 221-225.

¹² Wang Shu, "Xu Dishan and the 'New Man' in His Fiction". *The Chinese*

Theological Review (Holland, MI., U.S.A.) 1990 (appeared in 1991), pp. 103-102. Originally it appeared in Chinese in 望舒, "Xu Dishan ji qi xiaoshuo zhong de 'xinren'" "許地山及其小說中的 '新人'" *Nanjing Theological Review*, 13, 1990, 2, pp. 106-117.

¹³ Robinson, L.S.: *Double-Edged Sword. Christianity & 20th Century Chinese Fiction*. Hong Kong, Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre 1986, pp. 25-32.

¹⁴ Cf. *Yu Dafu quanji 郁達夫全集 (The Complete Works of Yu Dafu. Vol. 3. Shanghai 1929, p. 57 and Ma Jia 馬佳: Shizijia xiade paihui. Jidu zongjiao wenhua he Zhongguo xiandai wenxue 十字架下的徘徊 Wandering Under the Cross. Christian Culture and Modern Chinese Literature. Shanghai, Xuelin chubanshe 1995, p. 74.*

¹⁵ Gálik, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, 1917-1930*. Bratislava-London, Veda-Curzon Press 1980, pp.104-106.

¹⁶ Yang Jianlong: op. cit., pp. 117-120.

¹⁷ Peking, Scheut Editions 1948, p. 140.

¹⁸ Quoted according to Yang Jianlong: op. cit., p. 128.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²³ From Xiao Qian's letter to L.S. Robinson. See op. cit., p. 114.

²⁴ Robinson, L.S.: op. cit., pp. 113-140. See his short story *Guiyi 皈依 The Conversion* translated into English in Hsiao Ch'ien: *Semolina and Others*. Hong Kong, Joint Publishing Co. 1984, pp. 22-38.

²⁵ Lao She's novel *Er Ma 二馬 The Two Mas*, Shanghai, Commercial Press 1934. Translated into English under the same title by Kenny K. Huang & David Finkelstein, Hong Kong, Joint Publishing Co. 1984.

²⁶ On Ba Jin, see Robinson, L.S., op. cit., pp. 154-171, Ma Jia, op. cit., pp. 52-58, Yang Jianlong, op. cit., pp. 172-185. Also Xu Zhenglin 徐正林, "Ba Jin's Philosophy of Love and His Humanism", *The Chinese Theological Review*, 9, 1994, pp. 93-105; Gao Xudong 高旭東 and Jia Lei 賈雷, "Ba Jin yu Jidujiao" 巴金與基督教 Ba Jin and Christianity, *Zhongguo bijiao wenxue 中國比較文學 Comparative Literature in China*, 3, 2000, pp. 47-56. On Cao Yu, see Song Jianhua 宋劍華, "Jidu jingshen yu Cao Yu de xiju se yuanzui yishi" 基督精神與曹郁戲劇的原罪意識 Christian Spirit and Cao Yu's Concept of the Original Sin, *Wenxue pinglun 文學評論 Literary Review*, 3, 2000, pp. 123-133 and Yang

Jianlong, op. cit., pp. 186-203.

²⁷ On "Jesus' Death" see Robinson, L.S., op. cit., pp. 171-179 (although I do not fully agree with his criticism) and on Samson and Delilah, see Gálik, M., "Mythopoeic Warrior and *Femme Fatale*: Mao Dun's Version of Samson and Delilah." In: Eber, I., Sze-kar Wan, Walf, K. in collaboration with R. Malek (eds.), *Bible in Modern China. The Literary and Intellectual Impact*. Sankt Augustin, Institut Monumenta Serica 1999, pp. 301-320.

²⁸ Robinson, L.S., op. cit., pp. 146-153 and Gálik, M., "The Old Testament of the Bible in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism and Creative Literature." In: Malek, R. (ed.), *Jews in China. From Kaifeng... to Shanghai*, pp. 607-609.

²⁹ *1500 Modern Chinese Novels and Plays*, p. 203.

³⁰ Yang Jianlong, op. cit., pp. 204-220 and Ma Jia, op. cit., pp. 130-135.

³¹ Yu Zheng 余崢 "'Shangdi de meng' jiedu" 上帝的夢解讀 "After Reading 'God's Dream'". *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan 中國現代文學研究叢刊 Studies in Modern Chinese Literature Series*, 1, 1994, pp. 265-272.

³² Gálik, M., "The Reception of the Bible in the Mainland China (1980-1992): Observations of a Literary Comparatist." *Asian and African Studies* (Bratislava), n.s., 4, 1995 1, pp. 24-46.

³³ Liang Gong, "Twenty Years of Studies of Biblical Literature in the People's Republic of China (1976-1996)." In: Eber, I. *et alii*, pp. 383-407.

³⁴ *Waiguo wenxue yanjiu 外國文學研究 Studies in Foreign Literature*, 2, 1980, pp. 106-118.

³⁵ Tientsin, Baihua wenyi 1989.

³⁶ Guilin, Lijiang chubanshe 1992.

³⁷ Peking, Chinese Social Sciences Publishing House 1992.

³⁸ Peking, Chinese Social Sciences Publishing House 1982, rev. ed. 1987; Changchun, Jilin wenshi chubanshe 1993 (2nd rev. ed.); Peking, Red Flag Publishing House 1994 (new edition). According to the preface to the 1994 edition this book in the above mentioned three publishing houses appeared in 929,800 copies.

³⁹ Zetzsche, J.O., "Cultural Primer or *Bible Stories* in Contemporary Mainland China". *Asian and African Studies*, n.s., 6, 1997, 2, pp. 217-232.

⁴⁰ Gálik, M., "Wang Meng's Mythopoeic Vision of Golgotha and Apocalypse." *Annali* (Istituto Orientale Napoli), 51, 1992, 1, pp. 61-82; its German version appeared in R.D. Findeisen's translation "Mythopoetische Vision von Golgatha and Apokalypse bei Wang Meng." *Minima sinica* (Bonn), 2, 1991, pp. 55-82. English translation of the story by J. Wickeri, see in *Renditions* (Hong Kong), 37, 1992, pp. 46-68.

⁴¹ Gálik, M., "Gu Cheng's Novel *Ying'er* and the Bible." *Asian and African Studies*,

n.s., 5 1996 1, pp. 83-97 and its German version appeared in B. Hoster's translation "Gu Cheng's Roman

Ying'er und die Bibel." *China heute* (Sankt Augustin), XVII, 1998, 2-3, pp. 66-73.

⁴² Shanghai, Wenyi chubanshe 1989. A full rendition into Czech by Lubica Obuchová appeared under the title *Ježíš, Konfucius, Lennon*, Prague, Dilia 1990.

⁴³ See, e.g. Shu Ting's poem *Zai shige de shizijia shang* 在詩歌的十字架上 *On the Cross of Poetry* In: *Shu Ting wenji* 舒婷文集 *The Collected Works of Shu Ting*. Vol. 1, Yangzhou, Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe 1998, pp. 28-31. This poem appeared in German translated by R. Mayer in: Shu Ting und Gu Cheng, *Zwischen den Wänden. Moderne chinesische Lyrik*. Munich, Simon & Magiera 1984, pp. 35-37. See also Michelle Ye, "The 'Cult of Poetry' in Contemporary China." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 55, February 1996, 1, pp. 51-60. Much attention to the recent development in the PRC has been devoted in the excellent monograph by Wang Benchao 王本朝, *20世紀中國文學與基督教文化 Twentieth Century Chinese Literature and Christian Culture*, Hefei, Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe 2000, 2nd printing 2001. I read this book only after finishing this essay. The most important among the writers interested in Christianity after the Cultural Revolution are: Bei Cun, Shi Tiesheng and Haizi. On Bei Cun see Yang Jianlong, pp. 221-240, and Wang Benchao, pp. 256-265, on Haizi Wang Benchao, pp. 245-255 and mainly on him also Ye Rong (*1965), "From Obscure Poets to the Sacrificed Lamb of the Kingdom of Contemporary Chinese Poetry", *Asian and African Studies*, n.s. (Bratislava), 14, 2005, 1, pp. 56-65. See also her "Shengjing dui xiandai wenxue ji wenge hou jiwei zuojia de yingxiang" The Impact of Bible on Contemporary Literature and Some Writers after Cultural Revolution, *Bulletin of the South West Jiaotong University*, 3, 2003, pp. 71-76 and "The Different Approaches to the Bible by Qian Zhongshu (1910-1998) and Wang Meng (1934-)", *Studia orientalia slovacica* (Bratislava) 3, 2003, pp. 29-45.

⁴⁴ Xiang Peiliang's one-act-play *Annen* 暗嫩 *Amnon* was analysed in my paper "Temptation of the Princess: Xiang Peiliang's Version of Amnon and Tamar's Last Rendezvous", read at the International Symposium: *Fin de siècle* (decadence): European and Chinese Paradigms in Literature (1890s-1930s), University of Vienna, June 9, 1999 and published in Gálík, M.: *Influence, Translations and Parallels. Selected Studies on the Bible in China*. Sankt Augustin, Monumenta Serica Institute 2004, pp. 231-250.

⁴⁵ More attention was devoted to *Salome's* influence in Xie Zhixi's 解志熙 (*1961) long treatise "Qingchun, mei, emo, yishu... - weimei-tuifeizhuyi yingxiang xiade Zhongguo xiandai xiju" 青春, 美, 惡魔, 藝術... - 唯美-頹廢主義影響下的中國戲劇 Youth, Beauty, Devil, Art.. - Modern Chinese Drama under the Impact of

Aestheticism and Decadence, *Studies in Modern Chinese Literature Series*, 3, 1999, pp. 37-63 and 1, 2000, pp. 28-52. See also Linda Pui-ling Wong, "The Initial Reception of Oscar Wilde in Modern China with Special Reference to *Salome*." *Comparative Literature & Culture* (Hong Kong), 3, 1998, pp. 52-73. It has been done also in Wang Benchao, op. cit., pp. 160-163, 280-281 and in Wang Xuefu 王學富, *Miwu shensuo de luzhou 迷霧深鎖的綠洲 Enchanting and Hidden Oasis*, Singapore, n.d., pp. 144-148.

⁴⁶ Findeisen, R.D., "Wang Jingzhi's *Yesu de fenfu* (The Instructions by Jesus). *A Christian Novel?*" In: Eber, I. et alii, op. cit., pp. 279-299.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ma Jia, op. cit., pp. 131-136 and Yang Jianlong, op. cit., 204-220.