

MUSINGS ON WORLD LITERATURE: THE BIBLE AND CHINA SINCE 1919

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The Bible is certainly one of the most important works of World Literature. The aim of this essay is to point out its impact and reception chiefly in modern Chinese literature from 1980 up to the present. It consists of a brief historical analysis from 1919 to 1950, then skips 30 years of the existence of the People's Republic of China and its Cultural Revolution (1966 – 1976) when Bible study and translation of were prohibited. Most attention is devoted to Chinese literary studies and the publication of biblical stories after 1980, during the 1990s and later, as well as to foreign biblical literary studies, mostly of Western origin, and their reception. Original scholarly books and translations into Chinese after 1989 and their impact are also dealt with, as are foreign literary books and their impact.. The last two parts are concerned with three journals important for the biblical legacy on the Mainland: *Biblical Literary Studies*, *Journal for the Study of Christian Culture*, *Regent Review of Christian Thought*, and with the contemporary postmodern biblical criticism.

Key words: Zhu Weizhi, Liang Gong, Yang Huilin, Yang Jianlong, Western researchers, Chinese researchers, postmodern biblical criticism.

Introduction

When trying to speak about World Literature in the 21st century, a maxim from the Confucian philosopher Xunzi 荀子 (fl. 298 – 238 B.C.) comes to mind. In the Chapter Xiu shen bian 修身篇 Self-Cultivation, he wrote the following: “Shi shi fei fei wei zhi zhi, fei shi shi fei wei zhi yu” 是是非非谓之知，非是是非谓之愚 (To know that the right is right and the wrong is wrong is wisdom;

to think that the right is wrong and that the wrong is right is stupidity)¹ Xunzi's judgement was, maybe, too clear-cut, but the difference or proportion between right and wrong that someone who tries to be a judge between them should have in mind and at least decide where lies the *zhong yong* 中庸 the mean, namely "moderation, balance and suitableness".² To know what is right and what is wrong in understanding what is and what is not World Literature, is not possible today and maybe it will not be in the future, although it is possible to define the difference in some ways. As shown by the Chinese scholar Wang Hongtu 王宏图 in the essay *Shijie wenxue shi shi feifei* 世界文学"是是非非" (What is World Literature and What Is Not),³ there were different conceptions of it before 2000, but he is not pointing to the situation after that year, especially after the publication of David Damrosch's book *What is World Literature?*,⁴ which may remind us of the situation surrounding the biblical story of the Tower of Babel. At that time it allegedly was enough to scatter the people with different languages "abroad upon the face of all the earth"⁵, and the problem was solved. In about the last fifteen years the essays and even the books concerned with this new Tower of Babel, or more clearly with World Literature, have shot up like mushrooms everywhere, probably in all countries where Comparative Literature is studied, written about and published. On 16 – 17 October 2015, the International Summit Dialogue and Forum entitled *Ideas and Methods: What is World Literature? Tension between the Local and the Universal* was held on the campus of the Peking Normal University. The title is just the same as the title of Damrosch's well-known book and also the nearly forgotten or for thousands of comparatists in the world unknown book by Dionýz Ďurišin of the same title but in Slovak *Čo je svetová literatúra?*⁶ Up to now the problem concerning World Literature is not solved and probably (or certainly) never will be unambiguously solvable.

*This essay is dedicated to marking the Hundred Anniversary of the May Fourth Movement 1919.

¹ DUBS, H. D. 荀子. *The Works of Hsuntze*, pp. 28–29.

² Moulders of Confucian Tradition. In BARY, Th. W., CHAN, Wing-tsit, WATSON, B. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, p. 131.

³ See YAN, Shaodang 严绍璁, CHEN, Sihe 陈思和 (eds.). *Kua wenhua yanjiu: Shenmo shi bijiao wenxue* 跨文化研究：什么是比较文学 [A Crosscultural Study: What is Comparative Literature], pp. 80–82.

⁴ Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003, 324 pp.

⁵ Genesis, 10: 9.

⁶ Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Obzor, 1992, 214 pp.

Chinese Biblical Literary Studies (1919 – 1950)

In the case of the Bible it is different. If for many scholars World Literature is still a kind of Tower of Babel, it is not for the Bible, whether Hebrew or Christian. Hardly anybody among Western comparatists would claim that the Bible does not belong to World Literature. In China, I suppose, it is not a matter of course for many. As a Sinologist I feel that it is necessary to devote more attention to this otherwise self-evident fact and try to show that in the last several decades our older Chinese colleagues, I mean mostly literary scholars, were aware of it and have done a lot in this field. Even if they did not use World Literature as a literary category, they were aware of its greatness and importance, if not earlier, then certainly since the time of the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and later. Zhou Zuoren's 周作人 (1885 – 1967) *Shengshu yu Zhongguo wenxue* 圣书与中国文学 (The Bible and Chinese Literature)⁷ was the first swallow of spring and he was followed as a scholar by some others, among them by Xu Dishan 许地山 (1893 – 1941), Liu Tingfang 刘廷方 (1891 – 1947), and especially Zhu Weizhi 朱维之 (1905 – 1999), the father of the study of Christian Literature including the Bible in 20th century China. Zhu Weizhi's book *Jidujiao yu wenxue* 基督教与文学 (Christianity and Literature) from 1941 was a panorama of Western and partly also of Chinese literature seen through the lens of the Christian but also the Hebrew Bible. Liu Tingfang, the Protestant theologian, compared it to *yuanxiang* 远象 a far-reaching view alluding to Deuteronomy 3:27 where God said to Moses: "Get thee up into the top of Pisgah, and lift up thine eyes westward and northward, and southward and eastward, and behold *it* with thine eyes: for thou shalt not go over this Jordan".⁸

Moses never entered the Promised Land and Liu Tingfang had never seen before, nor after, and likewise many of his contemporaries even for some decades later, such a broad view of literature – mainly foreign, but partly also indigenous – produced under the impact of the Bible. According to him the Old Testament especially is the fruit of more than a thousand years of effort. It is a compendium of literary masterpieces.⁹ Up to the founding of the PRC in 1949

⁷ Originally published in the journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月报 [The Short Story Magazine], 1921, Vol. 12, No. 1.

No. 1. Reprinted in *Zhongguo bijiao wenxue zanjia ziliao* (1919 – 1949) 中国比较文学研究资料 [Essays in Modern Chinese Comparative Literature (1919 – 1949)], pp. 376–385.

⁸ All translations of the Bible in this essay are from the KJV version.

⁹ Cf. ZHU, Weizhi. *Daoyan* 导言, pp. 1–8.

outstanding Chinese short story writers, poets and playwrights published many works under the impact of biblical materials both on the basis of the Old and New Testaments: Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881 – 1936), Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892 – 1978), Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896 – 1981), Yu Dafu 郁达夫 (1896 – 1945), Lao She 老舍 (1899 – 1966), Bing Xin 冰心 (1900 – 1999), Lu Yin 卢隐 (1898 – 1934), Ba Jin 巴金 (1904 – 2005), Shen Congwen 沈从文 (1902 – 1988), Cao Yu 曹禺 (1910 – 1996), Lin Yutang 林语堂 (1895-1976), Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 (1897 – 1931), Xiang Peiliang 向培良 (about 1901 – 1965) and others. Thirty years after Zhou Zuoren's essay read at Beida in 1920, Zhu Weizhi published in 1950 a booklet entitled *Wuchanzhe Yesu zhuan* 无产者耶稣传 (Jesus the Proletarian),¹⁰ for the new political and ideological situation adapted Wang Zhixin's 王治心 (b. 1881) and his *Yesu Jidu* 耶稣基督 (Jesus Christ) from the year 1948, in which in a relatively free atmosphere encouraged by the success of his predecessors in this conviction, especially of the Japanese writer Yonezawa Shōzo's 米澤尚三 *Musansha Iesu* (Jesus the Proletarian), he tried to persuade the new rulers in the PRC that Jesus was not only the son of a poor carpenter, and according to the Marxist conception a real proletarian, but also a revolutionary and enemy of Roman imperialism. The booklet disappeared from the bookshelves of the libraries. At least I could not find it in the PRC at the turn of century when searching for materials for my essay *Jesus the Proletarian: A Biography* by Zhu Weizhi (1905 – 1999).¹¹

Chinese Biblical Literary Studies and Biblical Stories after 1980

After the publication of this booklet, Zhu Weizhi had to wait for just thirty years before his first article (and probably the first one after the Cultural Revolution (1966 – 1976) on the Bible in the PRC) appeared: *Xibolai wenxue jianjue – Xiang Jiu yue quanshu tanxian* 希伯来文学简介 – 向旧约全书文学探险 (A Brief Introduction to Hebrew Literature – A Literary Exploration of the Old Testament).¹² It seems that two more years were needed before the next essay with a similar title by Xu Dingxin 许鼎新 (1926 – 2012): *希伯来诗歌简介* (A Brief Introduction to Hebrew Poetry) appeared.¹³ In the same year Zhu Weizhi

¹⁰ Shanghai: Guangxuehui 广学会 [Christian Literature Society], 1950, 106 pp.

¹¹ MALEK, R. *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, Vol. 3b, pp. 1335–1351.

¹² *Waiguo wenxue yanjiu* 外国文学研究 [Foreign Literature Studies], 1980, Vol. 2, pp. 106–119.

¹³ *Zongjiao* 宗教 *Religion*, 1982, Vol. 1, pp. 62–67.

in the journal *Foreign Literature Studies* published his essay “Shengjing” wenxue de diwei he tezhi 《圣经》文学的地位和特质 (The Literary Position and Characteristics of the Bible).¹⁴ In this essay he pointed to the importance of biblical literature for Western culture and especially to its tremendous impact on literary works. He mentioned Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Bunyan, Racine, Goethe, Shelley, Byron, Hugo, Hawthorne, Hardy, Carlyle, Wilde, Thomas Mann, Maeterlinck, O’Neill, Faulkner, and even Marx and Engels.

In the following years some studies on the Bible appeared in this journal. The first following Zhu Weizhi’s essay just mentioned was Niu Yongmao’s 牛庸懋 *Mantan Shengjing* 漫谈圣经 Notes on the Bible¹⁵ and others followed. Up to the beginning of the 21st century not many Chinese scholars published their essays in different journals. Their names are as follows: Guo Xiumei 郭秀梅, Zhang Kuiwu 张奎武, Zhu Yunbin 朱韵彬, Liu Qinghe 刘清河, Du Benhai 都本海, Qi Kuiyi 齐揆一, Liu Lianxiang 刘连祥, Qu Changjiang 屈长江 and Zhao Xiaoli 赵晓丽, Ma Xiaochao 马小朝, Liu Hongyi 刘洪一, Yan Genxing 阎跟兴, Yang Jian 杨建, Qiu Zihua 邱紫华, Hao Feng 郝岚, Li Yanpo 李滢波, Wen Jiexia 温洁霞, Xiao Sixun 肖四新, Wang Weifan 汪维藩, Wang Lixin 王立新 and others. Apart from Zhu Weizhi, two are especially prominent: Liang Gong 梁工 who began with two essays in 1987: *Xibolai “Shengjing” he zhongdong shanggu wenxue* 希伯来《圣经》和中东上古文学 (The Hebrew Bible and Ancient Middle-East Literature)¹⁶ and *Gulanjing de wenxue chengjiu ji qi yu “Shengjing” de guanxi* 古兰经的文学成就及其与“圣经”的关系 (The Literary Achievement of the Quran and its Relation to the Bible),¹⁷ and two years later with Yang Huilin’s 杨慧林 *Shengjing yu xifang wenxue* 圣经与西方文学 (The Bible and Western Literature).¹⁸

Together with these essays, especially those written in the 1980s, which were quite simple and not sufficiently authentic, a few books of Bible stories were published in the PRC, where at that time Bibles could be bought only through the Church and religious propaganda was not allowed, with the purpose of showing their literary and historical value. The first of these “cultural primers” was Wu Guorui’s 吴国瑞 *Shengjing de gushi* 圣经的故事 (Bible

¹⁴ *Foreign Literature Studies*, 1982, Vol. 4, pp. 45–49.

¹⁵ *Foreign Literature Studies*, 1985, Vol. 1, pp. 31–38.

¹⁶ *Henan daxue xuebao* 河南大学学报 [Bulletin of Henan University], 1987, Vol. 2, pp. 70–75.

¹⁷ *Nankai xuebao* 南开学报 [Bulletin of Nankai University], 1987, Vol. 3, pp. 55–62.

¹⁸ See in YANG, Huilin, FANG, Ming 方鸣, GENG, Youzhuang 耿幼状 (eds.). *Shengjing xin yu* 圣经新语 [A New Commentary on the Bible].

Stories)¹⁹ published in the same year that Zhu Weizhi's first essay after the Cultural Revolution appeared. Then followed probably the most influential work, namely Zhang Jiuxuan's 张久宣 *Shengjing gushi* 圣经故事 (Bible Stories) in 1981. Up to 1994 it "went through 13 editions and more than 1.1 million published copies".²⁰ The revised edition from 1994 appeared with the famous illustrations by the German wood-cut artist Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1794 – 1872) and was published by Hongqi chubanshe 红旗出版社 Red Flag Publishing House. Some others followed: Manhua Shengjing 满话圣经 (Random Talk about the Bible),²¹ Xinyue de chuanshuo 新约的传说 (Tales from the New Testament) translated into Chinese from the Polish writer Zenon Kosidowski's *Opowiesci ewangelistow*,²² Shi Fuzong's 时富宗: *Shengjing gushi xinbian* 圣经故事新编 (New Compilation of Bible Stories),²³ Zeng Chuanhui 曾传辉 *et alii*: *Shengjing de gushi* 圣经的故事,²⁴ the translation with the same title by Guo Chenghui 郭程惠 *et alii*,²⁵ and once again with the same title by Jiang Weidong 姜伟东 *et alii*.²⁶ According to Jost O. Zetzsche approximately twenty collections of such "cultural primers" were published in the PRC up to 1996. Chinese publishers produced them for the masses of readers one after another with the help of groups of translators. The overall message of the Bible was not their aim. Publishers and translators tried to inform their readers about the Bible as the most important book of the Western World. Precisely up to the middle of the 20th century and even later. According to Zhang Jiuxuan: "If we Chinese want to understand European and American literature, history, economics and law, we cannot but want to be acquainted with the Bible."²⁷ Even Zhu Weizhi translated and edited together with his student Yu Jiuhong 俞久洪 a "cultural primer" of a different kind: *Shengjing qiwen miaoyu xuan* 圣经奇文妙语选 (Wonderful Texts and Beautiful Sayings from the Bible), the first part of the title is an allusion to one of Tao Yuanming's 陶渊明 (365 – 427) poems: *qi wen gong xinshang* 奇文共欣赏 wonderful essays

¹⁹ Peking: Waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu chubanshe, 1980.

²⁰ ZETZSCHE, J. O. Cultural Primer or *Bible Stories* in Contemporary Mainland China. In *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 218.

²¹ Peking: Sanlian shudian 1988. This is a translation of the very critical *Story of the Bible* by H. van Loom.

²² Harbin: Haerbin Heilongjiang Renmin chubanshe, 1992.

²³ Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1993.

²⁴ Peking: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1994.

²⁵ Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1995.

²⁶ Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1996.

²⁷ See ZHANG, Jiuxuan. *Bianzhe de hua* 编者的话 [Editor's Preface], *op. cit.*, p. 1.

are appreciated by all, and the second is Zhu Weizhi's conviction: miaoyu xiang kuangmian 秒语向匡勉 beautiful sayings lead to inspiration.²⁸ This book had the aim of showing the mythical, poetic, philosophical, moral, but in the end also the political aspects of the Bible. The most space in it is devoted to the Song of Songs, the most precious poetic jewel of the Bible.

There were still at least two other kinds of Bible stories in the 1980s and 1990s which are more similar to those published in the West. One of them was edited and written in the 1960s by Rev. Wu Enpu 吴恩溥 and some pastors from Hong Kong and Singapore using the style imitating the Sanguo yanyi 三国演义 (The Romance of the Three Kingdoms). It was nothing new in the history of biblical translation in China, since it had already been done by members of the London Missionary Society in 1835.²⁹ Xiao Xiao's 萧潇 Ai de qishi. Shengjing zhi guang 爱的启示. 经之光 (The Revelation of Love. The Radiance of the Bible),³⁰ about the life and preaching of Jesus Christ is another kind, this time written from a Catholic perspective, although all others I know are based on materials of Protestant provenance. According to Zetzsche, although "the poetic books of the Old Testament are not included and the New Testament section only consists of the Gospels, Xiao still succeeds in giving a more comprehensive and at the same time more positive picture of the Bible than most of the other authors".³¹ I received Revelation of Love as a present from Xiao Xiao together with her other book with a similar title Ai de chengjiu: Shengmu Maliya zhuan 爱的成就: 圣母玛利亚传 (The Works of Love: The Life of the Mother of God),³² in which she expresses her thanks to Fr. Lanfranco Fedrigotti 斐林丰, Fr. Arnold Sprenger 孙志文 (1929 – 2015), Professor He Guanghu 何光沪 for his help and to Professor Liu Xiaofeng 刘小枫 for writing the preface. It was written on the basis of the Catholic Sigao 思高 translation of the Bible.³³

²⁸ Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1993, p. 1.

²⁹ WU, Enpu 吴恩溥. *Shengjing zhuanqi* 圣经传奇 [Bible Legends], 452 pp.

³⁰ Peking: Zhongguo shehui kexue wenxian wenxian chubanshe, 1994. I have in my library the 2nd edition published by the Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe from the year, 1999, 643 pp.

³¹ ZETZSCHE, J. O. *Cultural Primer or Bible Stories in Contemporary Mainland China*, p. 219.

³² Peking: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997, 413 pp.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

Scholarly Books and Translations after 1989

In the same year as Zhu Weizhi's *Shengjing wenxue shier jiang* 圣经文学十二讲 (Twelve Lectures on the Bible),³⁴ the first scholarly book especially about the Bible after the Cultural Revolution, Liang Gong, one of his best students, published *Shengjing shige* 圣经诗歌 (Biblical Poetry).³⁵ Professor Zhu Weizhi introduced Liang Gong's book with the verses from Psalm 114: 5-6 that led him to study the Bible:

What *ailed* thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest? thou Jordan, *that* thou
wast driven back?
Ye mountains, *that* ye skipped like rams; *and* ye little hills, like lambs?

Zhu Weizhi probably exaggerates when asserting that Chinese literature from *Guo feng* 国风 *Airs of States* of *Shijing* up to Bing Xin does not have four verses that “*ling renxinshen zhenzhan*” 令人心身震颤 make the human heart and body shiver to such an extent.³⁶

Zhu Weizhi evaluates Liang Gong's second book *Shengjing wenxue daodu* 圣经文学导读 [A Guide to Biblical Literature]³⁷ in his preface as the “first Chinese monograph concerned with biblical studies”³⁸ and in the *Houji* 后记 Epilogue Liang Gong expresses his thanks to Professor Xu Dingxin for the help in reading the Bible and its poetry in the original. He also mentions that he sent the manuscript to different publishers without success. Probably there was not much interest at that time in such material. If in the first one only two books of reference are mentioned: S. C. Yoder: *Poetry of the Old Testament* (1948) and C. H. Bullock: *An Introduction to the Old Testament Poetic Books* (1979), then in the second forty appear, starting with R. G. Moulton: *The Literary Study of the Bible* (1901), proceeding with G. F. Moore: *The Literature of the Old Testament* (1919) and ending with R. Alter: *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (1981), J. B. Gabel and Ch. B. Wheeler: *The Bible as Literature* (1986), and some more general

³⁴ Peking: Renmin wenue chubanshe, 1989, 499 pp.

³⁵ Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1989, 370 pp.

³⁶ ZHU, Weizhi. Xu 序 [Preface], p.1. My appreciation of this first book by Liang Gong can be found in the study *The Reception of the Bible in the People's Republic of China* (1980 – 1992). Observations of a Literary Comparatist. In *Influence, Translation and Parallels. Selected Studies on the Bible in China*, pp. 109–112.

³⁷ Guilin: Lijiang chubanshe, 1990, 432 pp.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 2. My appreciation of the book is to be found in my essay mentioned under Note 36, pp. 112–113.

works concerning the Bible of Western, East European and Chinese provenance. Just like Liang Gong in 1990, three Catholic authors edited on the basis of the Sigao translation of the Bible published in Hong Kong in 1968, *Shengjing shige quanji* 圣经诗歌全集 (Complete Works of Bible Poetry)³⁹ and later together with Guo Xiaoxia 郭晓霞 wrote and edited the parts connected with biblical poetry in the book *Shige shu. Zhihui wenxue jiedu* 诗歌书。智慧文学解读 (Explanations of the Poetical and Wisdom Books of the Bible).⁴⁰

Foreign Books on Biblical Literature and Their Impact in China

Although the first essay on the Bible and Western literature after the Cultural Revolution seems to be the one published by Yang Huilin and his colleagues in 1989, the initiative to inform his Chinese compatriots about the impact of the Bible was taken by Liang Gong. During his visits to Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainly the US (1994 – 1995) he was able to collect enough material so that 20 years after Zhu Weizhi's first essay on the Bible, he and many other mostly "newcomers" were able to publish the collection of essays *Shengjing yu Oumei zuojia zuopin* 圣经与欧美作家作品 [The Bible and Euro-American Writers].⁴¹ Liang Gong with the preface and four essays is the most prolific author, followed by Liu Guangyao 刘光耀, Yang Yingjun 杨英军 and Li Weifang 李伟昉 with three contributions. Some of the authors writing about Shakespeare, Goethe, T.S. Eliot and Joyce were young people who at the time of writing were just finishing their university studies, therefore their essays are immature but still full of hope for the future of biblical studies in China.⁴² In his preface Liang Gong foresees three different tasks:

- 1) to study the Bible from different points of view concerned with the contexts, styles, concepts, *jiqiao* 技巧 story-telling techniques, the methods of its construction and cultural background.
- 2) to ponder over its relationship to World Literature which is a great task of Comparative Literature.
- 3) to study the impact of the Bible on Western literature, its methods and great works.⁴³

³⁹ TIAN, Zhikang 田志康, KANG, Zhiming 康之鸣, LI, Fuzhi 李福芝 (eds.). op. cit. Peking: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1990.

⁴⁰ Peking: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2003, 342 pp.

⁴¹ Peking: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2000, 419 pp

⁴² LIANG, Gong. *Yinyan* 印言 [Preface], pp. 2–3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The second collection was entitled: Shengjing shiguo Zhong de Dongxifang wenxue 圣经视阈中的东西方文学 (Oriental and Western Literature in the Horizon of the Bible). The late Zhou Faxiang 周发祥, at that time responsible for foreign literature at the Institute of Literature at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking, wrote a preface in which he pointed to this and other earlier works written or edited by Liang Gong and extolled this one written by his students as one which “meant a new success in comparative literary studies for our country”.⁴⁴ The collection consists of nine contributions starting with the first chapter Shengjing yu Dongxifang wenxue 圣经与东西方文学 The Bible, Oriental and Western Literature, in which according to the United Bible Societies (UBS) more than two thousand translations of the Bible into different languages of the world (maybe not including dialects) existing up to the beginning of this century are an implementation of the vision or feeling of the followers of Jesus from different countries of the then world who said: “...we do hear them to speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God.”⁴⁵ In this book Liang Gong’s vision is more extensive. The study of the impact of the Bible on Eastern literatures is a new aspect of the study not emphasized earlier. Other chapters of the collection are about comparative aspects of the Lunyu 论语 Analects of Confucius and the Pentateuch, narrative aspects of the Apocrypha and Pseudoepigrapha, Sir Thomas More’s (1478 – 1535) Utopia and Christian thought, John Bunyan’s (1628 – 1668) Pilgrim’s Progress and Wu Cheng’en’s (1500? – 1582) Xi you ji 西游记 (The Pilgrimage to the West), Byron and Christian culture, Liang Fa’s 梁发 (1789 – 1855) 劝世良言 (Good Words for Exhorting the Age and the Bible), Akutagawa Ryunosuke’s 芥川龙之介 (1892 – 1927) Kirisitanmono 切支丹物 (Literary Works Concerning Christianity). This last study, written by Wang Peng 王鹏, is probably the most interesting at least for me as a Western reader. The last study is devoted to the members of the early Chuangzaoshe 创造社 Creation Society. But a great deal was written about Chuangzaoshe after 1995.

The third collection of this kind: Shengjing yu Zhongwai wenxue mingzhu 圣经与中外文学名著 (The Bible and Masterpieces of Chinese and Foreign Literature) was published two years later.⁴⁶ It was the third volume of the series Shengjing wenhua congshu 圣经文化丛书 Bible Culture Series edited by Liang Gong, of which the first was concerned with the Bible as sacred canon, the second with the Bible as literature and the one under review with the Bible as a

⁴⁴ See Xuyan. 序言 [Preface]. In op. cit., p. 1.

⁴⁵ Cf. p. 2 and *The Acts*, 2: 11.

⁴⁶ Peking: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2009, 398 pp.

literary source or as the paradigm of literary creation. Like the previous one it consists of nine contributions and a Daolun 导论 (Introduction), a study of the Prophet Amos (8th cent. B.C.) and the poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712 – 770) as shoukuzhe 受苦者 sufferers, John Milton's (1608 – 1674) Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes and the Bible, of Thomas Hardy (1840 – 1928) on the images of well-known great men and women of the Bible in his works, of David H. Lawrence's (1885 – 1930) novels and the Bible, Boris L. Pasternak's (1890 – 1960) novel Doctor Zhivago, Colleen McCullough's (1937 – 2015) novel The Thorn Birds, William Faulkner's (1897 – 1962) novels, biblical archetypes in Joanne K. Rowling's books about Harry Potter, and a chapter on the influence of the Bible on contemporary Chinese literature after 1980. This last piece is very probably a shortened version of the MA thesis by Meng Xianshuang 孟宪爽 *Jidujiao wenhua dui xin shiqi yi lai wenxue de yingxiang 基督教文化对新时期以来文学的影响*, [The Influence of Christianity on Contemporary Literature], Nanking Normal University 2007. This was most interesting for me since it brought to light much unknown, and until that time unstudied materials by Chinese writers and poets. It is a pity that the thesis is too short. Sometimes only the names of their authors and their works are indicated. More space is devoted to Bei Cun 北村 (1965 –) than to Shi Tiesheng 石铁生 (1951 – 2010).

The Reception of the Bible in Modern Chinese Literature

Meng Xianshuang's essay or thesis was preceded by some monographs and essays analysing the impact of the Bible. The first such book was Lewis S. Robinson's *Double-Edged Sword. Christianity & 20th Century Chinese Fiction*.⁴⁷ It analysed the fiction of the PRC and Taiwanese writers from Lu Xun up to the so-called Daosheng 道声 three writers in Taiwan: Diran 滌然 (1926 – 1994), Zhang Xiaofeng 張曉風 and Bao Zhen 保真.⁴⁸ This pioneering work found its first follower in Ma Jia's 马佳 essay *Yaoye de Shangdi de mianying* –

⁴⁷ Hong Kong: Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre 1986, 384 pp. The Chinese version of this pioneering work has been translated into Chinese by FU, Guangming 傅光明, LIANG, Gang 梁刚. *Liang ren zhi jian. Jidujiao yu 20 shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo* 两刃之剑. 基督教与20世纪中国小说. Taipei: Yeqiang chubanshe 1992.

⁴⁸ The name of the publishing house which produced their books was Taipei: Dao sheng 道声 The Voice of the Way. For further information see ROBINSON, L. S. op. cit. pp. 282–313.

Jidujiao wenhua he “Wusi” wenxue 摇曳的上帝的的面影 – 基督教文化和 “五四” 文学 (Slightly Shaking God’s Image). Christian Culture and “May Fourth Literature”.⁴⁹ It presented the work of the courageous, but “slightly shaking” young scholar, a pupil of my friend Professor Ye Ziming 叶子铭 (1935 – 2005), who appears to have been the first one who dared to point out the concrete facts of the biblical influence on Chinese literature of the 1920s and 1930s. Ma Jia when finishing his book *Shizijia xia de paihui. Jidu zongjiao wenhua he Zhongguo xiandai wenxue* 十字架下的徘徊. 基督宗教文化和中国现代文学 (Wandering under the Cross. Christian Culture and Modern Chinese Literature),⁵⁰ also had difficulty publishing it. Some obstacles had to be set aside and financial difficulties overcome. When writing this book Ma Jia was obliged to follow contemporary Chinese biblical criticism in which Marx was the leading authority until the end of the 1990s. Invoking this and other Marxist authors does not mean that he did not formulate his own viewpoints. Eric J. Sharpe (1933 – 2000), a master of religious sensibility, adherent of religious ecumenism and author of the monumental *Comparative Religion. A History*⁵¹ was an important source for Ma Jia’s understanding of the substance of world religions.

Three years after Ma Jia, two monographs appeared that followed similar methods of analysis of the significance of biblical materials for Chinese authors of the 20th century: Yang Jianlong’s 杨剑龙 *Kuangye de husheng. Zhongguo xiandai zuojia yu Jidujiao wenhua* 旷野的呼声. 中国现代作家与基督教文化 (Crying in the Wilderness. Modern Chinese Writers and Christian Culture)⁵² and Liu Yong’s 刘勇 *Zhongguo xiandai zuojia de zongjiao wenhua qingjie* 中国现代作家的宗教文化情结 (Religiosity Complex in Culture among the Writers of Modern China).⁵³ Most of the authors used the method of literary medallions devoted to the writers, poets, critics and playwrights analysed: Lu Xun, Zhou Zuoren, Xu Dishan, Bing Xin, Lu Yin, Su Xuelin 苏雪林 (1897 – 1999), Zhang Ziping 张资平 (1893 – 1959), Guo Moruo, Lao She, Xiao Qian 萧乾 (1910 – 1999), Ba Jin, Cao Yu, Xu Xu 徐訏 (1908 – 1980), Bei Cun ,

⁴⁹ *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan* 中国现代文学研究丛刊, 1989, Vol. 4, pp. 37–57.

⁵⁰ Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1995, 260 pp.

⁵¹ London: Duckworth 1975. It has been translated into Chinese by LÜ, Daji 吕大吉, XU, Dajian 徐大建, HE, Guanghu. *Bijiao zongjiaoxue shi* 比较宗教学史. Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1988.

⁵² Shanghai: Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998, 289 pp.

⁵³ Peking: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 1998, 359 pp.

Zhang Xiaofeng and the like.⁵⁴ The third and most comprehensive work was a book by Wang Benchao 王本朝 *20shiji Zhongguo wenxue yu Jidujiao wenhua* 20世纪中国文学与基督教文化 (Twentieth Century Chinese Literature and Christian Culture).⁵⁵ In contrast to the three just mentioned, he points to some works by Mu Dan 穆丹 (1918 – 1977) after 1951 and Li Ping's novella 礼平 *Wanxia xiaoshi de shihou* 晚霞消失的时候 (When the Evening Clouds Disappear) written in 1976, but published later.⁵⁶ Wang Xuefu's 王学富 *Miwu shensuo de lüzhou* 迷雾深锁的绿洲 (Enchanting and Hidden Oasis) was published by the Singapore Da dianzi 大点子 publishing house earlier in 1996. It consists of nine medallions of modern Chinese writers like the collection with a similar title written by young students in Hong Kong, edited by Yang Jianlong *Wenxue de lüzhou* 文学的绿洲 (Literary Oasis) and published ten years later.⁵⁷ The last essay is at least partly about Li Ping's novella (pp. 221–229). Wang Lieyao 王列耀 is the author of three books *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo xiandai wenxue* 基督教与中国现代文学 (Christianity and Modern Chinese Literature),⁵⁸ *Jidujiao wenhua yu Zhongguo xiandai xiju de bei ju yishi* 基督教文化与中国现代戏剧的悲剧意识 (Christian Culture and Tragic Consciousness in Modern Chinese Drama) and *Zongjiao qingjie yu Huaren wenxue* 宗教情结与华人文学 (Religious Scene and Literature in Chinese).⁵⁹ The first two books are similar to each other. From the first two longer passages concerned directly with the Bible, the most interesting are pp. 176–190 and the whole of Chapter Five devoted to modern drama (pp. 191–236). From it I like most the passages analysing Xiang Peiliang's *Annen* 暗嫩 (Amnon), about the tragic story of King David's children Amnon and Tamar. Xiang Peiliang was at that time *persona non grata* and to write about him at the end of the 1990s was a courageous exploit (pp. 202–210). I have analysed Xiang Peiliang's tragedy in more detail and in relation not only to the Bible but also contemporary Chinese situations, Oscar Wilde's *Salome* and contemporary Western psychological literature, mainly based on Sigmund Freud, in my study *Temptations of the Princess*:

⁵⁴ This is the sequence of the literary medallions in YANG, Jianlong's book under analysis.

⁵⁵ Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000, 338 pp.

⁵⁶ Published in the journal *Shiyue* 十月 [October], No. 1, 1981.

⁵⁷ Hong Kong: Fellowship of Evangelical Students, 2006, 239 pp.

⁵⁸ Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe, 1998, 237 pp.

⁵⁹ Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 2002, 243 pp. and Peking: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2005, 344 pp.

Xiang Peiliang's Decadent Version of the Biblical Amnon and Tamar.⁶⁰ Song Jianhua's 宋剑华 *Jidujiao jingshen yu Cao Yu xiju* 基督教精神与曹禺戏剧 (Spirit of Christianity and Cao Yu's Plays)⁶¹ is the first book-length study of Cao Yu's dramas in relation to the Bible and Christianity comprising *Leiyu* 雷雨 (Thunderstorm), *Richu* 日出 (Sunrise), *Yuanye* 原野 (The Wilderness and Beijingren), *北京人* (The Peking Man). When in the 1980s I wrote my essay about the Thunderstorm, probably nobody before 1987 had an idea that Cao Yu, who was a high-ranking cadre in the PRC, had very close connections to Christianity and the Bible. When as a child his stepmother took him to attend Church services on Sundays, he was enthralled by the Bible stories and during his studies at Tsinghua University, Peking, his interest in the Bible as literature became even stronger. After finishing his University studies at Hebei Women's Normal University, Tianjin, he even read the lectures concerning Biblical literature.⁶² Xu Zhenglin's 许正林 *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yu Jidujiao* 中国现代文学与基督教 (Modern Chinese Literature and Christianity)⁶³ took eleven years to be published since in its original form as an MA thesis of Nankai University from the year 1992 it was certainly not as long. It is written in the form of medallions of different writers such as those mentioned above. Xu Zhenglin was one of the Chinese scholars who dared to publish one of his studies in English in the issue of the prestigious yearbook *Monumenta Serica* that appeared after my 70th birthday entitled *Zhongguo xiandai zuojia Kangzhan qijian de zongjiao yishi huigui* 中国现代作家抗战期间的宗教意识回归 (Modern Chinese Writers' Thoughts on Religion during the Sino-Japanese War).⁶⁴ The parts dealing with Wen Yiduo (1899 – 1946) are especially worthy of attention.⁶⁵ Around that time Ye Rong 叶蓉 did the same but to an even greater degree and published in the same issue what is so far her most important work *Qianlun Jidujiao yingxiang zai 20 shiji Zhongguo wenxue zhong de liang ge gaochao* 浅论基督教影响在 20 世纪中国文学中的两个高潮 (A Summary View on Two High Tides of the Impact of Christianity on Twentieth Century

⁶⁰ GÁLIK, M. *Influence, Translation and Parallels: Selected Studies on the Bible in China*, pp. 231–250. For an enlarged version of this book see LIU, Yan 刘燕 (ed. and partly trans.). *Fanyi yu yingxiang. „Shengjing“ yu Zhongguo xiandai wenxue* 翻译与影响“圣经”与中国现代文学 [Translation and Influence. “Bible” and Modern Chinese Literature], 14+30+353 pp.

⁶¹ Changsha: Hunan shifan daxue chubanshe, 2000, 308 pp.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 23–26.

⁶³ Shanghai; Shanghai daxue chubanshe, 2003, 225 pp.

⁶⁴ *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 54, 2006, pp. 355–362.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 356 and 358–359.

Chinese Literature).⁶⁶ It is a pity that some well-known Chinese scholars have not done the same. From ten Chinese participants from the PRC, United States and Taiwan present at the international conference *The Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact*, June 23–28, 1996, Jerusalem, only three contributions by Liang Gong, Szu-kar Wan and Francis K. H. So 苏其康 were published in the proceedings.⁶⁷

After 2003 we may observe an ebb-tide in Chinese books concerning biblical literature. At least there are three or four worthy of attention available to me: Tang Xiaolin's 唐小林 *Kanbujian de jianming: xiandai de hanyu shixue yu Jidujiao 看不见的签名：现代汉语诗学与基督教* (*The Invisible Signs: Modern Chinese Poetics and Christianity*)⁶⁸, Chen Weihua's 陈伟华 *Jidujiao wenhua yu Zhongguo xiaoshuo xushi xinzhì 基督教文化与中国小说叙事新质* (*Christian Culture and the New Character of Narrative in Chinese Fiction*)⁶⁹ and Ji Bin's 季玠 *Yedi li de baihehua. Lun xin shiqi yilai de Zhongguo Jidujiao wenxue 野地里的百合花. 论新时期以来的中国基督教文学* (*Lilies in the Wilderness. On Recent Chinese Christian Literature*).⁷⁰ All of them are worthy of attention. Tang Xiaolin's extensive monograph is interesting because he applies the methods of semiotics to the study of Christian literature, whilst Chen Weihua's book is notable not only for the narrative methods used by the Chinese novelists and story writers but also for the rich materials of mostly forgotten and unknown works written or sometimes even translated and published in different books or journals between 1920 and 1949.⁷¹ How

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 363–393. See also her *The Different Approaches to the Bible* by Qian Zhongshu 钱钟书 (1910 – 1998) and Wang Meng 王蒙 (1934 –). In *Studia orientalia slovacca*, 2003, Vol. 2, pp. 29–45; From *Obscure Poets to the Sacrificed Lamb of the Kingdom of Contemporary Poetry*. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2005, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 56–65.

⁶⁷ EBER, I., WAN, Sze-kar 温司卡, WALF, K. in collaboration with MALEK, R. (eds.). *Bible in Modern China. The Literary and Intellectual Impact*. See the following Chinese contributions: LIANG, Gong. *Twenty Years of Studies of Biblical Literature in China*, pp. 383–407; WAN, Sze-kar. *The Emerging Hermeneutics of the Chinese Church: Debate Between Wu Leichuan and T.C. Chao and the Chinese Christian Problematic*, pp. 351–382 and SO, F. K. H. *Wu Ching-Hsiung's Chinese Translation of Images of the Most High in the Psalms*, pp. 321–350.

⁶⁸ Peking: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004.

⁶⁹ Peking: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2007, 365 pp.

⁷⁰ Peking: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010, 271 pp.

⁷¹ CHEN Weihua cites the sources for this literature: JIA, Zhifang 贾植芳, YU, Yuanguai 俞元桂 (Editors-in-Chief). *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue zongshumu 中国现代文学总书目* [A Classified Catalogue of Modern Chinese Literature]; TANG, Yuan 唐沅.

wonderful it would be if such materials were available for modern and contemporary Chinese drama and poetry! For instance, repenting of sins or some trespass *chanhui* 忏悔 is documented in fifty-one original works of fiction or translations, although it is possible that not all have a religious content, and *shizijia* 十字架 cross with ten, *Shangdi* 上帝 God and *Yesu* 耶稣 with seventeen and *fuhuo* 复活 resurrection with nine items. These bibliographical data are certainly not complete and Chen Weihua regrets that at the time of writing his monograph he had difficulty finding the source of the Christian culture published in the books and in many short-lived journals of those years.⁷² Ji Bin's book is another precious source for biblical literature after 1980. I for one was surprised by the multitude of data in two chapters concerned with Chinese men of letters from the PRC, Taiwan, foreign countries and another especially with Chinese biblical literature. In some cases Ji Bin is too severe, considering for instance the works by Mo Yan 莫言, Ma Yuan 马原, Yu Hua 余华 and Wang Meng as not being good examples of such literature. She devoted to Wang Meng's literary triptych "Shizijia shang" 十字架上 "On the Cross" considerable space in her reflections (pp. 92–94) claiming that on the "silver charger" from the *New Testament* Wang Meng brought to his Chinese readers not the *jinju* 金橘 *kumquat* (calamondin orange) but the revolutionary *tudou* 土豆 potato.⁷³ Wang Meng looked at Jesus the Messiah as a Marxist revolutionary, certainly not as Christian theologians do, and he wrote his excellent work as a Chinese modernist writer.⁷⁴ Yang Jianlong's edited *Linghun zhengjiu yu lingxing wenxue* 灵魂拯救与灵性文学 [Soul Salvation and Spiritual Literature] is the outcome of the conference held at Shanghai Normal University, October 11, 2008, organized by him at the suggestion of the American citizen Mrs. Shi Wei 施伟, initiator and editor-in-chief of the *Lingxing wenxue congshu* 灵性文学丛书 Spiritual Literature Series. The proceedings comprise twenty five contributions and one essay analysing the essays of the participants. Wang Benchao, the author of one of the best works on Lao She,⁷⁵ mentioned Lao She's idea of spiritual literature connected with Dante's *Divine Comedy* from the 1940s and at the end of the conference he

et alii. (eds.). *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue qikan mulu huibian* 中国现代文学期刊目录汇编 [A Catalogue of Modern Chinese Literary Journals].

⁷² See CHEN, Weihua: op. cit. pp. 117–122.

⁷³ Ji, Bin: op. cit. p. 93. The "silver charger" alludes to Mark, 7: 25–28.

⁷⁴ For more about my defence of Wang Meng see Wang Meng's *On the Cross* (1988) after 25 Years. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2014, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 274–287.

⁷⁵ *Lao She yanjiu* 老舍研究 [Research on Lao She].

expressed his hope that future Chinese literature zaori 早日 soon, in the near future, will produce great work(s) similar to Fyodor M. Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*. I do not share this optimism, but it is typical of many Chinese intellectuals nowadays and also of the participants of the conference who received it with relie zhangsheng 热烈掌声 loud applause. Contemporary China certainly needs spiritual literature.⁷⁶ Yang Jianlong seems to be and probably is the most inspired writer and organizer in the realm of reception of the Bible in Chinese literature. His last great work *Jidujiao wenhua dui Wusi xin wenxue de yingxiang* 基督教文化对五四新文学的影响 (*The Impact of Christian Culture on the May Fourth New Literature*),⁷⁷ in which especially the first part analysing the antireligious views of the time of the May Fourth Movement and later up to about 1927, perhaps, on the basis of much material gathered by many scholars and probably unknown in the West (p. 1), is helpful to understanding the thorny path preceding the growth of Christianity in China after 1980. The second part to some extent repeats his *Cry in the Wilderness*, partly devoting more place to Yu Dafu, Bing Xin, Xu Dishan, but also presenting to the interested reader a great amount of material, including also some from the Ming 明 and Qing 清 dynasties. It is a pity that I only found mention of three Taiwanese writers: Chen Yingzhen 陈映真, a very popular writer in the PRC, Zhang Xiguo 张系国, Qi Dengsheng 七等生, and the scholar Lin Zhiping 林志平. He probably forgot to recall Zhang Xiaofeng, the first to be introduced into China. I did not find there a single name from Hong Kong or South-East Asia.

Biblical Literary Studies

In 2007 Liang Gong founded the Chinese yearbook *Shengjing wenxue yanjiu* 圣经文学研究 (*Biblical Literature Studies*) which to some extent alludes to the famous American *Journal of Biblical Literature*, the “flagship” of the Society of Biblical Literature, which started in 1881, the year of Lu Xun's birth. In the *Chuangkan ci* 创刊词 Preface to the Inaugural Issue we read:

“The purpose of publishing the first Chinese academic journal *Biblical Literature Studies* is to pursue research which can interface with that of international scholars by means of the journal. This journal will provide a

⁷⁶ WANG, Jingjing 王晶晶 in YANG, Jianlong (ed.). *Soul Salvation and Spiritual Literature*, p. 342.

⁷⁷ Taipei: Xinchuang wenchuang, 2012, 408 pp.

platform of a higher level where high quality papers from the Mainland as well as overseas scholars can be published, which will guide and promote the research on biblical literature studies of the Chinese mainland toward greater development, in order that biblical scholars of Hong Kong, Taiwan, South-East Asian and even international scholars of Chinese descent can continue to advance to a higher level.”⁷⁸ The first issue begins with an essay Shengjing yu wenxue yanjiu 圣经与文学学研究 The Bible and Literary Study by Leland Ryken who was the first to introduce biblical literary studies into the PRC with his book *How to Read the Bible as Literature* in 1984. Liang Gong’s Shengjing yu wenxue yanjiu: yuanli he shijian 圣经文学研究：原理和实践 *Biblical Literary Studies: Principles and Practice* presents something which could be characterized as a manifesto for the study of biblical literature as a trio of qualities for this great canon: theological ethics, history and literature where all three are characterized as “belles-lettres” in different genres. It encourages the scholars of the PRC to do more in this respect. He also presents briefly nearly all that has been done in this field both in China and in the world from the 1920s up to the beginning of the 21st century. David L. Jeffrey, another American scholar interested mainly in the reception of the Bible in English literature, but now well-known in China, appears in the first issue with his essay on the KJV version and its impact on English literature. I like most Tian Haihua’s 田海花 essay Yiseliye yu Yehehua zhi ye de qi yuan: Yashumeng de liangguang xiade “Shenmingji” 以色列与耶和华之约的起源：亚述盟约亮光下的“申命记” (The Origin of Israel’s Covenant with Yahweh: “Deuteronomy” in the Light of Assyrian Treaties) and her mentor Archie Lee’s 李炽昌 Cong “Jianan de zuzhou” kanjian xiandai Shengjing quanshi fangfa 从《迦南的诅咒》看现代圣经诠释方法 (“The Curse of Canaan”: A Review of Modern Biblical Hermeneutics). Zhang Siqi 张思齐, otherwise a very experienced author, would do better if he would compare the Chinese Ming tang 明堂 Bright Hall with the First Jerusalem Temple in his essay concerning Psalm 46 and not with the well-known biblical poem. The first two issues of the journal present the translations only of American authors, apart from one English and one Canadian. Apart from the forementioned, readers may be acquainted with James S. Kee, Hans M. Frei, Robert Alter, James Muilenburg, David J.A. Clines, Caroline J. Nolan, Francis Landy, Fernando F. Segovia and John Riches. The third issue is dedicated to the English scholar James D. G. Dunn. Here for the first time more European scholars are introduced: Jacques Derrida’s “Whom to Give to Knowing not to Know”, a long essay with a long introduction by Liu

⁷⁸ *Biblical Literature Studies*, 2007, No. 1, pp. 4–5.

Ping 刘平, then Jacques Lacan and Mieke Bal. In the fourth issue there is Liu Ping's review of A.J. Heschel's ideas on the Jewish Bible and in the column Well-known Scholars there are two: Meir Sternberg (Israel), author of *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative. Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*⁷⁹ and the then young, beginner author Cao Jian 曹坚 with his review of this Sternberg book. This was rather misleading because it was one of the first publications by him together with a chapter of his PhD published in Bratislava on the reception of Moses in China.⁸⁰

In the fifth issue of the journal published in 2011 we may observe some changes. Zhuo Xinping 卓新平, Director of the Institute of Religion of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, wrote a leading article *Shengjing wenxue zai xiandai Zhongguo de yiyi* 圣经文学在现代中国的意义 *The Significance of Biblical Literature in Contemporary China*, in which he stressed the necessity to explore "the existence, influence and cultural significance of biblical literature in these two crucial periods of China ("New Cultural Movement" around the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and "the Chinese New Period" after 1980, M. G.) [...] and to analyse further its function and position in the high tide of Chinese literary development of our time".⁸¹ Here beside Roland Barthes, we find David L. Jeffrey, Gary A. Rendsburg (USA), G. Wright Doyle (UK) and Ren Xiankai 任显楷 analysing the wonderful *wenyan* 文言 translation of the Psalms by Wu Jingxiong 吴经熊 John C.H. Wu, a Catholic, jurist, diplomat and scholar.⁸²

In this issue of the *Biblical Literature Studies* the reader finds for the first time an essay by Roland Boer (Australia) *Xifang Makesizhuyi yu Xibolai*

⁷⁹ Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

⁸⁰ CAO, Jian. Moses as Leader to Modern Chinese Intellectuals: 1920 – 1940. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2010, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 26–47.

⁸¹ *Biblical Literature Studies*, 2011, Vol. 5, pp. 1–2.

⁸² REN, Xiankai's theme in the essay *You you sheng dao zhong, han yong qie chao xi* 优游圣道中，涵泳彻朝夕 is Wu Jingxiong's translation which in the KJV version is as follows: "But his delight is in the law of the LORD: and in his law doth he meditate day and night" (*Psalms* 1: 2). The essay in the *Biblical Literature Studies*, Vol. 5, pp. 236–258 is entitled: Tan Wu Jingxiong "Sheng yong yiyi chugao" yu Zhongguo chuantong sixiang de hudong. On the Traditional Chinese Philosophical Thoughts in John C. H. Wu's <圣咏译义初稿> *Sheng yong yi yi chugao*. The problems of translation of the Psalms are also considered in an extensive essay by SO, F. K. H. Wu Ching-hsiung's Chinese Translation of Images of the Most High in the Psalms. In. EBER, I. *et alii*: op. cit., pp. 321–349. Professor So used a later Taiwanese edition of the translation *Sheng yong yiyi* 聖詠譯義 (Content Translation of the Psalms) from the year 1975.

wenxue chanshi 西方马克思主义与希伯来圣经阐释 Western Marxism and the Interpretation of the Bible,⁸³ in which he introduces more extensively to the Chinese reader the works of two American Marxists Norman Gottwald and David Jobling, who by using a Marxist dialectical method seek out contradictions, class conflict, ideology and mode of production.”⁸⁴ In the second decade of the 21st century Biblical studies come back to the last two decades of the last century. Not so much to the works of Marx and Engels who before 2000 were the best experts on the Bible for Chinese scholars, but now to postmodern authors of left-oriented Western Marxist criticism. In the sixth issue from 2012 probably the most important were two leading essays: the first one by Choong Chee Pang 钟志邦 *Zhongguo xueshu de ‘Shengjingxue’: huigu yu zhanwang* 中国学术界的《圣经学》：回顾与展望 *Biblical Studies in the Chinese Academy: Retrospect and Prospect* and the second Choong Chee Pang with You Bin 游斌 *Guanyu dangdai Zhongguo Shengjing yanjiu tanhua* 关于当代中国圣经研究的谈话 *Dialogue on Contemporary Biblical Studies in China*. In the first essay unprecedented development after 1978 (or perhaps it would be better to say after 1980) is claimed but also the lack of any significant publication in biblical works is criticized and the future of biblical studies in China is hard to predict.⁸⁵ The dialogue between the two scholars implicitly shows that Chinese scholars should learn from their Western colleagues, but not be “enslaved” fully by their methodologies and both suppose that *guoxue* 国学 (studies of ancient Chinese civilizations) could be “very challenging and enriching for future biblical studies in China.”⁸⁶ I agree, of course, about the importance of biblical languages for the study of the Bible, but also of the other languages of Mesopotamia, the Levant and Egypt, without which it is impossible to do research concerning the borrowings or at least partial imitation found in some books of the Bible including Deuteronomy, Proverbs or the Song of Songs. For this it is necessary to appreciate the studies of Archie Lee and his students Tian Haihua’s and also Li Zhe’s 李哲 essay in this issue.⁸⁷ In the next seventh issue from the year 2013 I am happy to find my essay *Lü Zhenzhong: Yi wei Zhongwen Shengjing fanyijia* 吕振中：一位中文圣经翻译家 *Lü Zhenzhong*:

⁸³ *Biblical Literature Studies*, Vol. 5, 2011, pp. 127–150.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127 and following.

⁸⁵ See CHOONG, Chee Pang’s essay, p. 3.

⁸⁶ See *Dialogue on Contemporary Biblical Studies in China*. In *Biblical Literature Studies*, Vol. 6, 2012, p. 37.

⁸⁷ LI, Zhe. *Xuanjie rensheng: qianxi “Shenming ji” di 30 zhang* 选择人生：浅析《申命记》第30章 [Choose Life: An Exegetical Investigation of Deuteronomy 30], pp. 264–289.

One of the Chinese Translators of the Bible translated into Chinese by Lü Zhong 吕冲 and her mentor Liu Yan 刘燕. Liu Yan's essay *Zhongguo xiandai shige zhongde ziwoyishi yu Shengjing huoyu – yi Mu Dan shi wei gean yanjiu* 中国现代诗歌中的自我意识与圣经话语- 以穆旦诗为个案研究 *Self-consciousness and Biblical Discourse in Modern Chinese Poetry: The Case of Mu Dan's Poems*. An excellent example of Mieke Bal's feminist criticism *Duidai/huo lunshu nüren: "Shishi ji" zhong de nüermen* “对待/或论述/女人: 《士师记》中的女儿们 *Dealing with or Relating to and Analysing Women: Daughters in the Book of Judges* is also in this issue. Very different aspects of the Book of the Judges may be observed in the study by Lin Peixuan 林佩璇 *Shengjing de zhuangyan xushi jiexi – yi "Shishi ji" wei li* 圣经的庄严叙事解析 – 以《士师记》为例 *A Survey on Sublime Narration in the Bible. Taking the Book of Judges as an Example*.

With the eighth issue *Biblical Literature Studies* enters a new phase with two essays by Leland Ryken and Robert Alter translated by Liang Gong and his seminal study *Duoyuanhua Shengjing piping de dangdai jingguan* 多元化圣经批评的当代景观 (*Contemporary Scenery of Multi-Biblical Criticisms*). In March of the same year 2014 Liang Gong's magnum opus *Dangdai wenxue lilun yu Shengjing piping* 当代文学理论与圣经批评 (*Contemporary Literary Theory and Criticism of the Bible*) in *Peking Renmin chubanshe* appeared after consulting and at least partly reading a huge amount of material concerned mainly with the post-modern reading of the Bible comprising 28 pages of bibliography in Chinese and foreign languages. I personally presume that this extensive work of more than 800 pages followed partly *The Postmodern Bible. The Bible and Culture* Collective by George Aichele *et alii* (eds.): published by Yale University Press in 1995. Liang Gong certainly had this book in hand,⁸⁸ although he was even more influenced by the Marxist critic David Jobling's *et alii* (eds.): *The Postmodern Bible Reader*. Malden (Mass.): Blackwell 2001. The book by Aichele and others analyses the different kinds of postmodern biblical criticism in this sequence: reader-response criticism, structuralist and narratological criticism, poststructuralist criticism, rhetorical criticism, psychoanalytic criticism, feminist and womanist criticism and ideological criticism. As to the last Meir Sternberg was selected by Liang Gong for the fourth issue of the *Biblical Literature Studies* since according to the Jewish scholar: “Most significant, even where or so far as the ideological and the aesthetic functions (or viewpoints) part company, the Bible recognizes no conflict between them, such that whatever is not for the heavenly cause must be

⁸⁸ See LIANG, Gong. *Contemporary Literary Theory and Criticism of the Bible*, p. 733.

against it.”⁸⁹ It is a surprise to me that up to 2015 Norman Gottwald, a prominent American Marxist, with his analysis of class struggle and social revolutions was not selected for reading in the Biblical Literature Studies. In Liang Gong’s book under review the sequence of the kinds of postmodern biblical criticism is different: at least Biblical Criticisms by Historical and Sociological Approaches together with Marxist Biblical Criticism in the West are given prominence. Here Norman Gottwald and Roland Boer are presented as the authors of the forementioned critical tendency. One month after the publication of this book, Professor Boer’s short notice appeared on the web that he had returned from Kaifeng announcing that the Henan University had recently been awarded a national grant on the Marxist interpretation of the Bible. He expressed his wish that he “might be involved more closely with them (with Liang Gong and his students and colleagues, M.G).”⁹⁰ Not much has changed in the next two issues but Marxist tendencies are quite clear. In the ninth one we find Li Panpan’s 历盼盼 essay: Zhi li yu Makesizhuyi Shengjing piping de Luolan Boer 致力于马克思主义圣经批评的罗兰博尔 Roland Boer: A Famous Scholar of the Marxist Criticism of the Bible. In the tenth issue, from the spring of 2015, the last I had in my hands when writing this essay, is another of Boer’s essays: Xifang Makesizhuyi Shengjing yanjiu fangfa 西方马克思主义圣经研究方法 Western Marxist Methods of Biblical Research and also two by my colleague and former student from Bratislava, Slovakia: Raoul David Findeisen 冯铁 about the translation of the Song of Songs into Chinese⁹¹ and Zuzana Krylová 苏兰 comparing the images of the biblical Shulamite with the poems of the Tang Dynasty period attributed to Zhao Luanluan 赵鸾鸾.⁹² Here is also Ma Yuelan’s 马月兰 very competent Yage chong yi de wenxue dongyin

⁸⁹ STERNBERG, M. *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Narrative and the Drama of Reading*, p. 156.

⁹⁰ See Stalin’s Moustache (Roland Boer’s Blog: Marxism, Religion, Politics, Bible, Whatsoever...) [online] [Cit. 20 April, 2014]. Available from <http://stalinmoustache.org/2014/04/20/marxist-biblical-criticism-at-henan-university-kaifeng/>. (August 11, 2015). To do research on the Bible under the name of Stalin, who was an adversary of all religions and likewise the Bible, is not quite appropriate.

⁹¹ FINDEISEN, R. D. *Shangdi nai qi linghun zhi ai, nüren ze qi shenti zhi ai - <Yage> de liang ge zhongwen yiben (1930/1932)* 上帝乃其灵魂之爱，女人则其身体之爱 - 《雅歌》的两个中文译本（1930/1932） [God Was Their Souls’ Love, Women Their Bodies. Two Chinese Versions of the Song of Songs (1930/1932)], pp. 85–101.

⁹² *Shi wen zhujun he suo jian? - <Jiu yue. Yage> zhongde Shulami nü yu Tangdai nüshiren Zhao Luanluan* 试问诸君何所见？旧约《雅歌》中的书拉密女与唐代女诗人赵鸾鸾 [What Will Ye See in Shulamite (and Zhao Luanluan?)], pp. 66–84.

《雅歌重译的文学动因》(The Literary Drive to Chinese Retranslation of the Song of Songs).⁹³ I hope that other, not only Marxist studies, will find their place in biblical studies and in the Chinese Academy.

Other Chinese Periodicals Concerned with Biblical Literature

Apart from the *Biblical Literature Studies* many other journals on the Mainland are publishing studies concerned with biblical literature. In the Houji 后记 Epilogue to his *magnum opus* Liang Gong mentions more than thirty, but they are surely not all. I may add that my essays were published in: Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan 中国现代文学研究丛刊 (Modern Chinese Literature Studies), Zhongguo xiandai wenxue luncong 中国现代文学论丛 (Series in Modern Chinese Literature), Shijie hanxue 世界汉学 (World Sinology), Hanxue yanjiu 汉学研究 (Sinological Studies), Changjiang xueshu 长江学术 (Yangtzu River Academic), Huawen wenxue 华文文学 (Literature in Chinese) (previously Taiwan-Hong Kong and Overseas Chinese Literature), Hanyu yan wenxue yanjiu 汉语言文学研究 (Studies in Chinese Language and Literature, and Frontiers of Literary Studies in China) published in English by the Higher Education Press and Brill.

Here I would like briefly to present two journals not mentioned before in which biblical literature is treated to a lesser extent, but they are valuable for research in this field. Both these two journals are more theological than literary. The first of them is Jidujiao wenhua xuekan 基督教文化学刊 (Journal for the Study of Christian Culture), with Yang Huilin as editor-in-chief and connected with Peking Renmin University. Among the first is Yang Huilin's long essay Zhongshuji Jidujiao wenxue piping de xingqi 中世纪的基督教文学批评的兴起 The Rise of Medieval Literary Criticism⁹⁴, Zhang Siqi's 张思齐 Bai Juyi xianshi yu Jidujiao shengshi bijiao yanjiu 白居易闲适与基督教圣诗比较研究 A Comparative Study of Bai Juyi's Leisure Poetry & Christian Hymnology⁹⁵ and Ye Rong's "Shengjing" dui "Wenhua da geming" hou ji wei Menglong shiren de yingxiang 《圣经》对“文化大革命”几位朦胧诗人的影响 (Influence of the Bible on the "Dim Poets" after the Cultural Revolution).⁹⁶ Ye Rong published immediately after it another essay Qian Zhongshu yu Wang

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 102–121.

⁹⁴ *Journal for the Study of Christian Culture*, 2000, Vol. 4, pp. 139–163.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 2001, Vol. 6, pp. 19–43.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 2003, Vol. 10, pp. 191–210.

Meng dui “Shengjing” de bu tong yanyi 钱钟书与王蒙对《圣经》的不同演绎 (Different Approaches to the Bible by Qian Zhongshu and Wang Meng)⁹⁷ and Luo Zhida’s 罗志达 Tuositoyefusiji “Zongjiao dafaguan” de siban yu qishi 陀思妥耶夫斯基《宗教大法官》的思辨与启示 (Dialectics and Revelation in Dostoyevsky’s “The Legend of the Great Inquisitor”).⁹⁸ Another essay using Russian theory is Wang Yi’s 王屹 “Chuangshi ji” 38 zhang de liti zhi mi – yi Bahejin fudiao lilun jiedu 《创世纪》38 章的离题之谜 – 以巴赫金复调理论解读 (The Enigmatic Digression of *Genesis* Chapter 38 – An Interpretation Based on Mikhail Bakhtin’s Polyphony Theory).⁹⁹

The Marxist, or if you prefer the ideological turn to Biblical studies, whether theological or literary, can also be found in the Journal for the Study of Christian Culture. Its 24th volume entitled Western Marxism and Theology from the year 2010 is introduced by Geng Youzhuang 耿幼壮 who highlights mainly Terry Eagleton,¹⁰⁰ and ends with Zhou Dan’s 周丹 Summary of Summer Institute on Marxism, Humanistic Studies and Theological Issues held at Xiangtan University, in the hometown of Mao Zedong, 30 July – 2 August 2010.¹⁰¹ The participants included Roland Boer, David Jeffrey, David Jasper, Alison Jasper, Daniel H. Williams and He Guanghu.

I foresee a great future for the initiative of Yang Huilin with “Scriptural Reasoning”. In Bianzhe xuyu: du jing zhi “bian” 编者絮语：读经之“辨” (Editorial Foreword: “Reasoning” in the Reading of Scriptures). His main source is David Ford’s essay An Inter-faith Wisdom: Scriptural Reasoning between Jews, Christians and Muslims, in which he summarizes Ford’s main points characterizing scriptural reasoning mainly as a “wisdom-seeking engagement with diverse others” which is “open to all peoples, cultures, disciplines, art, media and spheres of Life, as a joint response to all global issues of a suffering world”.¹⁰² This means that it is also open to great works of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Hinduism and other religions. Especially now after the experience with globalism, disappointment with multiculturalism, little achievement in the inter-faith dialogue and ecumenical efforts after 11 September 2001, a new age of terrorism, international wars in the Near East and Northern Africa, the founding of Islamic State and Boko Haram organizations,

⁹⁷ Ibid., 2004, Vol. 11, pp. 219–239.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 2008, Vol. 19, pp. 245–266.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 2010, Vol. 23, pp. 15–26. Maybe the book by GREEN, B. *Mikhail Bakhtin and Biblical Scholarship. An Introduction* could help the author when writing his essay.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 2010, Vol. 24, pp. 1–18.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 285–300.

¹⁰² Ibid., 2011, Vol. 25, pp. 4 and 11.

we should try to do more also in this field to achieve more common understanding. Apart from Vol. 25 of the *Journal for the Study of Christian Culture* containing the essays concerning the “Scriptural Reasoning” Renmin University organized The Seventh Summer Institute 2011 *Jingdian fanyi yu jingwen biandu* 经典翻译与经文辩读 (Translating the Classics and Scriptural Reasoning) in which also the foreign scholars Ralph Weber, Robert Chard, Daniel Williams, Roland Boer, two Taiwanese Lin Hongxin 林鸿信, Chin Ken Pa 曾庆豹 and I participated.¹⁰³ For those who read English I recommend the essays on “scriptural reasoning” by Yang Huilin in his book *China, Christianity and the Question of Culture*.¹⁰⁴

Tian Haihua (eds.) *Jingdian yu quanshi* 经典与诠释 (Scripture and Interpretation) and in my view especially the essays by Daniel K. T. Choi 蔡锦图, Li Zhe and Zhang Ying 张纓, are very similar to the forementioned issue of the *Journal for the Study of Christian Culture*.

The journal *Jidujiao sixiang pinglun* 基督教思想评论 (Regent Review of Christian Thought) with Xu Zhiwei 徐志伟 as editor-in-chief and Liang Hui 梁慧 as one of its managing editors, is more theological than literary in orientation, but it also publishes works concerned with Christianity, the Bible and literature. But due to insufficient material at my disposal when writing this overview, I shall mention only a few, beginning with Arthur K. Wardega’s *wan de hua Ji yu zongjiao xinyang zhi shang de wenxue chuanguo yu wenhua* 基于宗教信仰之上的文学创作与文化 *Literary Creation and Culture Based on Religious Belief*¹⁰⁵ and Yang Caixia’s *yang cai xia Dangdai xifang wenxue piping de Jidujiao shijue* 当代西方文学批评的基督教视觉 (Contemporary Western Literature: A Christian Perspective).¹⁰⁶ Two essays concerned with the reception of the Bible in Russia by Liang Kun 梁坤 and Shao Tiefeng 邵铁峰 are welcome since the biblical impact on Russian literature was not sufficiently studied in contemporary China.¹⁰⁷ In the 12th issue I shall mention Liang Hui’s analysis of Wu Leichuan’s 吴雷川 (1870 – 1944) understanding of the Lord’s Prayer from the point of view of a Confucian-Christian scholar and my *Dawei wang yu Jin Wengong: Xibolai shendian lishixue he Zhongguo zaoqi Rujia biannian shi*

¹⁰³ Two volumes of this Summer Institute were published jointly by the School of Liberal Arts and Institute for the Study of Christian Culture, both of Renmin University and the Institute of Sino-Christian Studies Ltd., Hong Kong.

¹⁰⁴ YANG, Huilin: op. cit., pp. 163–211.

¹⁰⁵ *Regent Review of Christian Thought*, 2009, Vol. 10, pp. 1–13.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 14–22.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, pp. 23–31 and 85–99.

zhong de liang wei tongzhi zhe fanlie 大卫王与晋文公: 希伯来申典历史学和中国早期儒家编年史中的两位统治者范列 “King David (ca. 1037 – ca. 967 B.C.) and Duke Wen of Jin (ca. 698 – 628 B.C.): Two Paradigmatic Rulers from the Hebrew Deuteronomistic and Early Chinese Confucian Historiography”.¹⁰⁸ In the 18th issue, the essay by Yang Caixia 杨彩霞 on a parallel study of Western literary imagination and biblical narrative is worthy of attention.¹⁰⁹

Finally I would like to mention a recent valuable book by Wang Lixin Gu Youtai lishi wenhua yujing xia de Xibolai Shengjing wenxue yanjiu 古犹太历史文化语境下的希伯来圣经文学研究 (Literary Studies of the Hebrew Bible in the Context of Ancient Jewish History and Culture).¹¹⁰

Conclusion

The present review of what has been done in the field of the study of the Bible and World literature on different aspects of impact and reception is a stub that needs to be supplemented and corrected. Much has been done by Chinese colleagues in the PRC and in the Chinese world in the last thirty-five years. Concerning the PRC, we read in the words of the unnamed author of the Preface to the Inaugural Issue of the Biblical Literature Studies from 2007 that the “scholars in the Mainland have made a tremendous achievement in this field in the past twenty years. Nevertheless, compared with the present situation of international biblical literature studies, our academic standard is still of a lower level. There is the need to seek breakthroughs by various means”.¹¹¹

William E. Deal’s and Timothy K. Beal’s book entitled *Theory for Religious Studies* introduces twenty-nine famous scholars from the 19th century to our days who could be helpful and instructive in the study of religions.¹¹² Here are some of them: Sigmund Freud (1856 – 1939), Karl Marx (1818 – 1883), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900), Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 – 1913), Louis Althusser (1818 – 1990), Mikhail Bakhtin (1895 – 1975), Roland Barthes (1915 – 1980), Jean Baudrillard (1919 – 2007), Walter Benjamin (1892 – 1940), Jacques Derrida (1930 – 2004), Michel Foucault (1926 – 1984), Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900 – 2002), Julia Kristeva (1941 –), Emmanuel Levinas (1906 –

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 2011, Vol. 12, pp. 4–24.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 2014, Vol. 18, pp. 160–172.

¹¹⁰ Peking: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2014.

¹¹¹ *Biblical Literature Studies*, 2007, Vol. 1, pp. 2 and 4.

¹¹² *Theory for Religious Studies*.

1995), Edward W. Said (1935 – 2003) and Slavoj Žižek (1949 –). There could be many more, certainly Émile Durkheim (1858 – 1917) and Max Weber (1864 – 1920) for sociological studies, Rudolf Otto (1869 – 1937) and Mircea Eliade (1907 – 1986) for the problems of the sacred and the profane, and the like. I agree with Professor Choong Chee Pang that the future of biblical studies in the PRC is hard to predict. The changes in cultural policy and ideological motivations from the 1920s up to the present days were too great and contradictory, but as far as the contemporary situation is concerned, we may compare it to the far-reaching view that Moses saw when he looked at the Promised Land from the top of Mount Pisgah. The Chinese biblical scholars have done much in this field. But it is still true that in scholarship there are no *tian jing di yi* 天经地义 absolutely correct and unalterable principles. Biblical literary studies are no exception. If we study the Bible from the literary point of view we cannot fully follow the otherwise excellent *Literary Guide to the Bible* edited by Robert Alter and Frank Kermode, my ABC when I began to study the Bible in the last years of the last century, since it excludes “feminist, ideological, psychoanalytic, deconstructive, or Marxist approaches”.¹¹³

The principle *tian jing di yi*, was taken over from the Confucian classic *Zuo zhuan* 左传 *Zuo's Commentary*¹¹⁴ and used by Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (1879 – 1942), and 李大钊 (1888 – 1927) in the journal *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (New Youth Magazine), December 1919, pp. 1–4. *New Youth Magazine* was a herald of the new Chinese culture of the 20th century. It is a pity that China did not always follow its legacy, or rather, not for long enough.

The various means mentioned in the Preface to the Inaugural Issue of the *Biblical Literature Studies* above should be followed and put into practice now and in the future. This is the only route to success for biblical studies in China.

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¹¹³ Cf. AICHELE, G. et alii. op. cit., p. 7 and ALTER, R., KERMODE, Fr. (eds.). op. cit, pp. 4–6.

¹¹⁴ *Zuo zhuan*, Zhao gong er shi wu nian 昭公二十五年 [Zuo's Commentary, The Twenty Fifth Year of Duke Zhao]. See YANG, Bojun. 杨伯峻: *Chun qiu Zuo zhuan zhu* (Xiu ding ben) 春秋左传註, 修订本, Vol. 2, p. 1457.

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