

Between the Garden of Gethsemane and Golgotha: The Last Night and Day of Jesus in Modern Chinese Literature (1921-1942)

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ABSTRACT

Perhaps inspired by H. G. Wells's methodology in his *Outline of History*, tracing the development of various religions as historical events without allowing theological interpretations to intrude, a number of Chinese authors in the early 1920s published works based entirely on the human aspects of the life of Christ. These consisted of poems and short stories by both believers and non-believers in the divinity of the founder of Christianity.

KEY WORDS

Jesus Christ
Chou Tso-jen
Hsü Chih-mo
Lu Hsün
H. G. Wells
Book of Isaiah

New Testament
Ai Ch'ing
Ping Hsin
Mao Tun
Golgotha
Psalms



H. G. Wells's *The New and Revised Outline of History Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind*¹ was probably the most influential history of the world among Chinese non-professional intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s. He tried to write this work "as if this book was to be read as much by Hindus or Moslems or Buddhist as by Americans and Western Europeans."² He therefore held "closely to apparent facts, and avoid, without any disputation or denial, the theological interpretations that have been imposed upon them."³ I would like to follow Wells in his intention.

It is important to notice that the Chinese could read, and certainly read, this influential book in their own tongue in full or partial translations. At least six of them appeared before the mid-1930s!⁴

Another great work the Chinese readers were very much interested in was the well-circulated Protestant translation: *Hsin yüeh ch'an-shu Kuan-hua ho-ho i-pen* 新約全書官話和合譯本 [*Old and New Testament of the Bible: Mandarin Union Version*. Shanghai: British and Foreign Bible Society 1919 henceforth cited as *UV*]. The birth of modern Chinese literature is connected with this edition, especially those parts of the *New Testament* which had preceded it: the *Gospels* had already been published by the end of the nineteenth century. In 1920 Chou Tso-jen (周作人 1885-1967) lectured on this translation to his colleagues and the students of Peking University, the most influential intellectuals of new China in the next decades:

. . . I now think that the Mandarin (Union Version) translation is really quite good, and even has great value. Although the requirements of a good model are uncertain, it nevertheless can be said that it is Mandarin of rarely seen

quality. This translation, though made with religious goals, and hardly any literary consideration, has saved, because of its most diligent translation technique, the flavour of the original in many places, thus increasing its value as translated literature.⁵

It is a pity that we do not know the identity of the partner of Chou Tso-jen he mentions in the following sentences, but his statement is of extraordinary value:

I am reminded of someone who opposed the new literature, maintaining that these literary productions were not new because they all came from 'The Gospel According to Matthew.' At the time I felt that his statement was ridiculous, but when I recall it now I am prepared to admire his insight. 'The Gospel According to Matthew' bears indeed the earliest Mandarin in (translated) European literature, and I predict that it will have a very great and very deep relation to the future of new literature.⁶

Chou Tso-jen was mistaken when he thought that the translators neglected the stylistic and the aesthetic values of translated biblical text. Yen Fu (嚴復 1853-1921), one of the best translators of English texts into Chinese, rendered Chapters 1-4 of *St. Mark* into classical Chinese, and the authorities of the British and Foreign Bible Society regretted that he did not finish his job. "A Gospel so translated may become a classic, and, at any rate, may rank with the very best Chinese literature."⁷ One may even say that Chou was a seer, and at least for some time in the 1920s and 1930s, modern Chinese men of letters read and were influenced positively by the language of the *Mandarin Union Version* and sometimes also by its message.⁸

I

According to Wells, Jesus Christ was "very human, very earnest

and passionate, capable of swift anger, and teaching a new, simple and profound doctrine—namely, the universal, loving Fatherhood of God and the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. He was clearly a person—to use a common phrase—of intense personal magnetism. He attracted followers and filled them with love and courage.”⁹ His charisma, love and courage, the ethical and social ideas he preached and that were later practiced (although not consistently) by his followers, led in the next centuries to the victory of Christianity in Europe in the time of Constantine the Great (reigned 312-337), to the struggle with and against Islam (8th-15th cent.) and Ottoman Turks (15th-17th cent.), to the Renaissance (16-17th cent.), to the Age of Great Powers (17th-18th cent.), to new Democracies in Europe and in America (18th-19th cent.), to Imperialism and its fall (second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th cent.), to the rise and fall of Communism in great part of the world (in the 20th. cent.), up to our Age of Globalization.

Without Jesus and his teaching, the development of so-called Protestant ethics (connected, of course, with all Hebrew, Greek and Roman legacies), would not have been possible. If we speak about the great men and women of history, I dare to ask: *Qui ut Jesus?* (Who is like Jesus?)

Two days before Passover and one day before his death on the Cross, after the Last Supper, in the old City of Jerusalem, Jesus and his disciples moved eastwards to the Mount of Olives, where under its foot, in the Garden of Gethsemane, he took his most devoted followers to pray with him. Those who have had the opportunity of imitating the ordinary Hebrew dinner of the time of the beginning of our Christian era, may imagine that after the meal and wine, the disciples were tired and fell asleep. Jesus was praying—completely alone. Judas Iscariot, the traitor, probably came with the Temple police, and helped to arrest his *Rabbi*. Jesus was led to the High Priest, and the trial was opened during the deep night. His confession of Messiahship was regarded as blasphemous. After these proceedings he was introduced to Pontius Pilate, who was, in the years 26-36 A.D., Procurator of Judaea. Here the charge was changed and Jesus was accused of high treason against Romans and Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.). Pilate very soon recog-

nized that Jesus could not be considered as a political rebel and tried to release him. Because an exchange with the villain Barabbas was not acceptable to the obstinacy of the Jewish Elders and the mob, the sentence of death by crucifixion was pronounced. After being scourged, crowned with thorns, as the King of the Jews, and otherwise mocked and beaten, he was led away to Golgotha and crucified.

II

In May 1921 two short prayers in the form of poems by a young Chinese woman Ping Hsin (冰心, 1900-1999) [her real name was Hsieh Wan-ying 謝婉瑩], who had just been converted to Christianity, appeared in the journal *Shengming* 生命 [*Life*] published at Yen-ching University, where she was a student. Both poems were probably the products of her reading of the *New Testament* in the period preceding Easter.

The first poem *K'e-hsi-ma-ni hua-yüan* 客西馬尼花園 [*The Garden of Gethsemane*]¹⁰ was her meditation over *St. Luke*, 22, 44 and its meaning:

And being in agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground.

Here is Ping Hsin's poem in my prose translation:

Black firmament cold rocks,/Who is watching with him?
Those sleeping only sleep,/those making schemes only plot.
But he is wounded in spirit/and sweating blood./O Father,
thine will be done./O Father! Because you love us/—O
Father, thine will be done, Amen.

Ping Hsin was not much interested in Jesus's inner problems and troubles. Otherwise she would probably have taken into account the problems of his mission, and also pondered over his words begging

God to “remove this cup” from him as expressed in verse 42, or his well-known affirmation to Peter and two sons of Zebedee that “the spirit *is* indeed willing, but the flesh *is* weak” (*St. Matthew*, 26, 41). His soul was “exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death” (*ibid.* 26, 38), and then to follow God’s will was not so simple for him as for an inexperienced and up to that time always happy female poet.

In her second prayer entitled *Tu-lou-ti* 髑髏地 [*Golgotha*],¹¹ Ping Hsin followed the same *modus scribendi*. Here she mused over *St John*, 19, 30 where the last moment of Jesus’ life is briefly described:

When Jesus had received the vinegar, he said, it is finished:
and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost.

My translation of Ping Hsin’s poem:

Evil and sin high as the mountains oppress him./Derision
and cursing as many arrows target him./Cross,/he dragged
on his back,/he was crucified on it./O God!/Hear his sigh,
hear his sigh!/"O Father, it is finished."/O God! Since he
loved us—/"O Father, it is finished," Amen.

In this prayer Ping Hsin tried to depict the whole extent of the *via dolorosa* and Jesus’s suffering on the Cross, but she did not penetrate to his deepest inner sorrow and, perhaps, even doubts. As a reader of *Psalms* she could instead of “it is finished” have accented on Christ’s loud voice calling: “*Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*, i.e., My God, my God, why has thou forsaken me?”

The last sentence is the first verse of *Psalms 22*, and in the *King James Bible* is put spatially in the middle between *Psalms 19* and *Psalms 23*, Ping Hsin read with her divinity teacher just before her conversion to Christianity.¹² Allegedly this psalm had been composed by a greatly discouraged and distressed King David complaining thus: “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? *Why art thou so far from helping me, and from the words of my roaring?*” Jesus in his last minutes probably had in mind just this psalm, quoted thirteen times in the *New*

Testament. Also the apocalyptic images around the psalmist allude to the psychical situation of the dying Christ: strong bulls, a roaring lion, bones out of joint, heart like wax melted in the midst of bowels, tongue dried up like a postherd, tongue cleaved to the jaws and dogs encompassing their prey. This is a piece of literature worthy of the afflicted Job and Deutero-Isaiah during the exile.¹³

III

Mao Tun (茅盾 1896-1981), on his flight from Hong Kong to the Mainland during the first two months of 1942, shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour (December 7, 1941), had in his bag a copy of the *Bible*—probably *UV*, his only book companion.¹⁴ His journey was leading at first to Ch'ü-chiang (Kuangtung Province) and then to Kuilin (Kuanghsi Province).¹⁵

At that time he was greatly influenced by the relatively lengthy *Book of Isaiah*, “who proclaimed his message to Judah and Jerusalem between 742 and 687 B.C., that critical period in which the Northern Kingdom was annexed to the Assyrian empire (2 *Kg.* 17) while Judah lived uneasily in its shadow as a tributary (2 *Chr.* 28, 21).”¹⁶ To Mao Tun, who was very fond of mythopoeic themes, the *Book of Isaiah* was very attractive. He was living in a country which was partly occupied by the Japanese, as Isaiah was during his life, or he was, although only a few weeks, living under foreign rule in Hong Kong, as was Deutero-Isaiah in Babylon just before its fall to the army of the Persian king Cyrus on October 29, 539 B.C.

At the beginning of August 1942 Hsiung Fo-hsi (熊佛西 1900-1965), playwright and editor, asked his friends in Kuilin to contribute to the first issue of a new journal *Wen-hsüeh ch'uang-tso* 文學創作 [*Literary Creation*]. On August 5 Mao Tun hurriedly finished a short story entitled *Yeh-su chih ssu* 耶穌之死 [*Jesus's Death*].¹⁷

Mao Tun's narrative starts with a quotation from *Isaiah*, or more appropriately Deutero-Isaiah, 40, 3-5. The Jews in Babylon were waiting for their liberation:

The voice of him that cries in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

“The people believed it,”¹⁸ wrote Mao Tun, as they believed some hundred years later in the words of another Prophet—John the Baptist, who was crying in a real wilderness near the river Jordan: “Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.”¹⁹ Jesus himself also often quoted Isaiah after meeting John the Baptist who began to preach (*ch’uan tao* 傳道) and through Jesus the words of John, as well of the *Book of Isaiah*, came true. He metaphorically laid the axe “unto the root of trees” of the Pharisees and Sadducees, which did not bring “good fruit,” cutting them down and casting them into the fire.²⁰ In contrast to young Ping Hsin, Mao Tun did not use the text from *St Luke* concerning with the episode from the Garden of Gethsemane, but the parallel one from *St. Matthew*. We may see this clearly, when we compare the texts of the *Gospels* in the *UV* and Mao Tun’s story. There is no angel coming to Jesus from heaven and strengthening him in *St. Matthew*, as there is in *St. Luke*, 22, 43. In *St. Matthew* Jesus is alone, and his best disciples are sleeping and resting. Mao Tun’s words used in the story are often more or less the same as those in the *UV*. For example, Jesus’s words from *St. Matthew*, 26, 38: “My soul is exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me,” are repeated in Mao Tun’s text. In *UV* we read: *Wo hsin li shen shih yu-shang, chi-hu yao ssu; ni-men tsai che-li teng-hou, ho wo i-t’ung ching-hsing* 我心裡甚是憂傷 . . . Mao Tun changes only *i-t’ung* for *i-yang* 一樣 and adds a few words: “do not sleep” *pu-yao shui cho* 不要睡著.²¹

If pious Ping Hsin was happy about an angel coming from heaven to strengthen Jesus in his sorrow, Mao Tun, who did not believe in God, left him alone to fight against his terrible agony.

In the story as a whole Mao Tun tried to show Christ as a Son of Man, a great personality who has done everything to fulfill his mission:

to help the poor and humble.

When writing about the next stage after Jesus was betrayed and led to Caiaphas the High Priest, where the scribes and the elders were assembled, Mao Tun also followed *St. Matthew*, although the testimony of *St. Mark* is very similar. For instance, if we compare *St. Matthew*, 26, 59-60 and *St. Mark*, 14, 55-56 in *UV*, and Mao Tun's text, we may observe that it could be taken from either. Mao Tun's sympathies were on the side of Jesus. He even distorted the testimony of the evangelists by allowing Caiaphas to say openly: "Why we do need to have witnesses? We should sentence him to death."²² This would have been, of course, against Roman and Hebrew law. Maybe, Mao Tun did not know it, or did not devote much attention to the High Priest's question: "Art thou the Christ, the Son of God?" (*St. Matthew*, 26, 63), or "Son of the Blessed?" (*St. Mark*, 15, 61). Jesus could no longer be silent, and he answered: "Thou hast said" (*St. Matthew*, 26, 64), or: "I am" (*St. Mark*, 14, 62). It was regarded as blasphemy by Caiaphas who rent his clothes and found him guilty of death.

In the morning, before Pilate, the High Priest and Elders changed the accusation. According to Mao Tun they said: "This man is instigating the nation to rebellion. He should be killed."²³ Here Mao Tun depended upon *St. Luke*, 23, 2, where we read that the Jews found "this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying that he himself is Christ a King." The same Jewish leaders also said that he "stirreth up the people" (*St. Mark*, 23, 5). Pilate did not believe them since there was no proof whatsoever for this assertion, but because of his political opportunism, he delivered Jesus to be crucified. After this trial he was delivered into the hands of the Roman soldiers, who maltreated him. Mao Tun let the High Priest and his retinue to do this job.²⁴

At the end of the story of Golgotha, Mao Tun once again returned to *St. Matthew* for his inspiration. He interpreted Jesus as the most lonely human being on earth, deserted not only by his Father, but also by his Mother and his most beloved disciples. Neither St. Mary, nor St. John nor St. Mary Magdalene is mentioned as stationed under the Cross. His companions as delineated in Mao Tun's story were only two

thieves, one on his right and the other on his left, a soldier who gave him to drink vinegar on a sponge, and the nameless mob.²⁵

IV

There were at least three other well-known Chinese men of letters who remembered the Good Friday of Jesus's life: Lu Hsün (魯迅 1881-1936), Hsü Chih-mo (徐志摩 1897-1931) and Ai Ch'ing (艾青 1910-1996).

Hsü Chih-mo, when writing his long poem, *K'a-er-fo-li* 卡爾佛里 [*Calvary*],²⁶ which is the Latin name for the Aramaic Golgotha, or the Hebrew Gulgoleth, perhaps drew upon Leonid Andreyev's (1871-1919) short story, *Ben-Tobit*. This story ends in Calvary, during an "excursion" by the protagonist Ben-Tobit, his wife Sarah and their neighbour. Hsü Chih-mo could have read it in the journal *Hsin ch'ing-nien* 新青年 [*New Youth*], Vol. 7, No. 1, December 1919, in Chou Tso-jen's translation.²⁷ The word "Calvary" suggests that Hsü Chih-mo very probably derived this term from the *King James Version*, where this term is used in *St. Luke*, and not the *UV* where it is translated as Golgotha. Hsü renders Calvary as *Jen-t'ou-shan* [36] Mount of Human Skull, which is his translation of "the place of a skull" (*St. Luke*, 23, 33). The poem of 52 non-rhymed lines, based mostly, but not entirely, on Luke's narrative, is a report of an "eye-witness" (the poet himself) of the tumult (*jih-nao* 熱鬧) aroused by Christ's execution.²⁸ He does not wait for his death. He only "foresees" the darkness over the heaven and earth that surely comes at that moment. In contrast with Andreyev's Ben-Tobit who, while witnessing Christ's suffering, ponders only over his own toothache and a favorable exchange of his old donkey for a young one he had made the day before, Hsü's on-looker follows with sympathy Jesus's sayings and his suffering in the presence of Judas (who was not there according to *Gospels*), many crying women, who had accompanied him on the *via crucis*, chief priests and scribes (*St. Matthew*, 27, 41 and *St. Mark*, 15, 31), and the vulgar mob, the last mocking him. Most of Hsü's attention was devoted to Judas Iscariot, who allegedly betrayed his *Rabbi* because of money, which does not

seem to be quite true. According to Hsü, Judas has to be regarded as a dog's excrement (*kou-shih* 狗屎).²⁹ Hsü even took it amiss that Jesus put trust in this fellow. Jesus had charisma, was most affable (*ding ho-shan* 頂和善) and most humble (*ding ch'ien-pei* 頂謙卑).³⁰ Hsü was also critical of the principle of forgiveness. Jesus' words: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do," (*St. Luke*, 23, 34), he regarded as eerie or uncanny, capable of bringing on cold perspiration.

On December 22, 1924, two days before Christmas, Lu Hsün wrote his poem in prose entitled *Fu-ch'ou* (*chi er*) 復仇 (其二) [*The Revenge (II)*].³¹ We do not know the incentive behind the writing of this short work. It could be the reading and rereading of Fr. Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, namely its chapter "Of Voluntary Death," where Jesus and Zarathustra are the main protagonists: "Truly, too early died that Hebrew," wrote Nietzsche, "whom the preachers of slow death honor; and that he died too early has since been a fatality for many."³² I also presume that another Chinese contemporary may have an impact on him in this respect: Hsiang P'ei-liang (向培良 1901-1961), who was his visitor at that time and a fervent reader of the *Bible*.³³ Hsiang later wrote a play entitled *Sheng chih wang-cheng* 生之完成 [*Perfect Life*], about Jesus's stay in Bethany and the Garden of Gethsemane before Judas's treachery.³⁴ The third author, whom Lu Hsün might have read, was Hsü Chih-mo, who shortly before, as we have seen above, published his poem on the same topic.

Lu Hsün followed *St. Mark*, 15, 14-34. His poem in prose is an excellent piece of work. Much has been written about Lu Hsün's poems in prose in the last twenty years,³⁵ but I do not know of one that has pointed to the fact that most of the value of *The Revenge (II)* is indebted to the paraphrasing of *Psalms* 22.

Here is a short passage from Lu Hsün's poem in prose:

In the pain from his hands and feet he savors the scorn of these pitiable people who are crucifying the Son of God, but also the joy of these accursed people who are crucifying the Son of God and who know that the Son of God is about to die. Suddenly, great agony from his broken bones pierces

his heart and marrow, intoxicating him with great ecstasy and great compassion. His stomach trembles with waves of pity and imprecation.³⁶

Here are quoted verses 14-16 of the psalm of distress and affliction:

I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint: my heart is like wax; it is melted in the midst of my bowels.

My strength is dried up like a potsherd; and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws; and thou hast brought me into the dust of death.

For dogs have encompassed me: the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me: they pierced my hands and my feet.

Lu Hsün, like Mao Tun after him, condemned those who crucified Jesus not so much as the Son of God, but as a Son of Man.

Ai Ch'ing's even longer poem than that of Hsü Chih-mo was written on June 16, 1933, during his illness in a Shanghai jail. It was after the Japanese forces' invasion of this city and at the beginning of Nazi rule in Germany and a great part of Europe. The *UV* version of the *Bible* was probably the only book available to him there.³⁷

Ai Ch'ing's poem entitled *I ko Na-sa-lieh-jen-ti ssu* 一個拿撒勒人的死 [*Death of a Nazarene*] contains 109 lines. It was originally published in the Shanghai journal *Shih-ko yüeh-pao* 詩歌月報 [*Poetry Journal*] 1.1 (April 1934),³⁸ and translated into Italian by Anna Bujatti.³⁹ It was no longer the crucified Christ as a victim depicted by those who preceded Ai Ch'ing, but Christus Victor who, suffering intensely, was quite sure about his destiny as the conqueror of all enemies. In one place of the *Gospels* (*St. John*, 16, 33), we read that Jesus said to his disciples: "I have overcome the world," but he did not say in front of Pilate, as in Ai Ch'ing's poem: *Sheng-li ah/tsyung shih shu-yü wo-ti* 勝利呵/綜是屬於我的 "Victory/is always mine."⁴⁰ In the evening, when darkness spread over the whole land, on the horizon behind

Golgotha the red flare lighted up and the on-lookers had the possibility to see three corpses on three dark crosses. On one of them there was a superscription with an identification: Jesus, the King of Jews.

This superscription suggested not his defeat but triumph. In 135 A.D. Jerusalem was destroyed and rebuilt as Aelia Capitolina, and in 313 A.D. Constantine the Great established toleration for Christianity by the Edict of Milan. At that moment began the Christian era in world history.

* * * *

Ping Hsin's two poems were short prayers of a pious young convert. Hsü Chih-mo's poem was a work of a curious, but sympathetic observer of history. Lu Hsün's poem in prose was a protest against the assassination of the great Son of Man by the Jews and foreign rulers.

Ai Ch'ing had in mind the foreign and indigenous enemies of great personalities of mankind and tried to portray Jesus Christ as a Messiah of his people. Mao Tun in his short story pondered over the same circumstances, but, since he examined Jesus's relation to at least one of the great prophets—Isaiah, he was able to probe deeper in his revelation of the significance of his subject.

Mao Tun wrote his work half a year after the promulgation of the ideal of the United Nations on January 1, 1942, where we read the sentences from the *Book of Isaiah*, 2, 2 and 4:

And it shall come to pass . . . *that* the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow into it . . . and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruninghooks; nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.⁴¹

Lu Hsün's and Mao Tun's works are especially worthy of attention. Together with the three others, they show us a part of drama of Jesus looked at from the point of view of the inhabitants of a non-Christian country. We may respect their analyses even though admit-

ting that they succeeded in delineating only a portion of the transcendent significance of the last moments of Jesus' life and of his death.

What has been analyzed above encourages me willy-nilly to quote from Wells's bestseller: "Is it any wonder that to this day this Galilean is too much for our small hearts?"⁴²

NOTES

¹ H. G. Wells, *Outline of History*. Complete in One Volume. Reprint of A de Luxe Edition, n.p., n.d.

² *Ibid.*, 528.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ch'üan-kuo tsung-shu-mu* 全國總書目 [*A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books With Complete Index Translationum*] (Shanghai: Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1935) 518.

⁵ Quoted according to J. O. Zetzsche, *The Bible in China. The History of the Union Version or the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999) 334. Original version see, in Chou Tso-jen "Sheng-shu yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh 聖書與中國文學," ["Bible and Chinese Literature"] *Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao* 小說月報 [*The Short Story Monthly*] 12.1 (January 1921): 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7 and Zetzsche, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁸ J. Wickeri, "The Union Version of the Bible & the New Literature in China," *The Translator* 1 (1995): 129-52.

⁹ Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

¹⁰ Originally published in *Life*, 1.9-10 (May 15, 1921), analyzed and quoted according to *Ping Hsin shih ch'üan pien* 冰心詩全編 [*The Complete Poetry of Ping Hsin*] (Hang-chou: Che-chiang wen-i ch'üpan-she, 1994) 113.

¹¹ This poem was published in the same issue of the journal as "The Garden of Gethsemane" and reprinted in the same volume of the *Complete Poetry of Ping Hsin* 114.

¹² Ping Hsin, "Hua-shih 畫-詩," ["Painting-Poem"] *Ping Hsin*

san-wen-chi 冰心散文集 [*Ping Hsin's Essays*] (Shanghai: K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1943) 8-10. See also M. Gálik, "Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: VI. Young Bing Xin (1919-1923)," *Asian and African Studies*, n.s. (Bratislava) 2.1 (1993): 42-60.

¹³ C. Stuhlmüller, *Psalms 1* (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983) 144-51.

¹⁴ T'ang Chin-hai [唐金海] and Liu Ch'ang-ting [劉長鼎], *Mao Tun nien-p'u* 茅盾年譜 [*Mao Tun's Chronicle*] (T'ai-yüan: Shan-hsi kao-hsiao lien-ho ch'u-pan-she, 1996) 1: 629-36.

¹⁵ Mao Tun, "Hou-chi 後記," ["Epilogue"] *Mao Tun wen-chi* 茅盾文集 [*The Collected Works of Mao Tun*] (Peking: People's Literature Publishing House, 1959) 394-95.

¹⁶ *The Oxford Annotated Bible With Apocrypha*. Revised Standard Version (New York: Oxford UP, 1965) 822.

¹⁷ T'ang Chin-hai and Liu Ch'ang-ting, op. cit., p. 645.

¹⁸ Mao Tun, *Jesus' Death* (Ch'ung-ch'ing: Tso-jia shu-wu, 1943) 3.

¹⁹ Cf. *St. Matthew*, 3, 2 and *Jesus' Death* 4.

²⁰ Cf. *St. Matthew*, 3, 10 and *Jesus' Death* 4.

²¹ *Jesus' Death* 23.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²³ *Loc. cit.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁶ Originally published *Ch'en-pao fu-k'an* 晨報副刊 [*Peking Morning Post*], November 17, 1924 and later reprinted in *Chih-mo ti shih* 志摩的詩 [*Hsü Chih-mo's Poems*] (Shanghai: Hsin-yüeh shu-tien, 1928) 111-18.

²⁷ Andreyev's story has been translated under the title: *Ch'ih-t'ung* 齒痛 [*Tooth-ache*].

²⁸ *Calvary*. In *Hsü Chih-mo's Poems* 111.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

³¹ *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi* 魯迅全集 [*The Complete Works of Lu Hsün*] (Peking: People's Literature Publishing House, 1956) 2: 168-69.

³² Fr. Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. Trans. by R.J. Hollingdale (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967) 98.

³³ Xiang P'ei-liang visited Lu Hsün on December 15, 21 and 23, 1924. See *Lu Hsün jih-chi* 魯迅日記 [*Lu Hsün's Diaries*] (Peking: People's Literature Publishing House, 1976) 1: 448-49.

³⁴ See Hsiang P'ei-liang, *Kuang-ming-ti hsi-chü* 光明的戲劇 [*Plays Full of Light*] (Shanghai: Nan-hua shu-chü, 1929) 1-76.

³⁵ Cf. for example, Li Ho-lin 李何林, *Lu Hsün Yeh-ts'ao chu-chieh* 魯迅 野草注解 [*Notes on Lu Hsün's Wild Grass*], 2nd ed. (Shen-hsi: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1975), Shih Shang-wen [石尚文] and Teng Chung-ch'iang [鄧忠強], "Yeh-ts'ao ch'ien-hsi 野草淺析" [Simple Explanations of *the Wild Grass*] (Ch'ang-chiang wen-i ch'u-pan-she, 1982), and other studies mentioned in *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh yen-chiu nien-chien* [中國文學研究年鑒] *Yearbook of the Study of Chinese Literature*, 1982 (456) and 1983 (509). See also Ma Chia [馬佳], "Shih-tzu-chia hsia-ti p'ai-hui. Chi-tu tsung-chiao wen-hua ho Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh 十字架下的徘徊: 基督教文化和中國現代文學" [Wandering Under the Cross: Christian Culture and Modern Chinese Literature] (Shanghai: Hsüeh-lin chu'-pan-she, 1995) 12-14 and Yang Chien-lung [楊劍龍], "K'uang-yeh-ti hu-sheng: Chung-kuo hsien-tai tsuo-chia yü Chi-tu-chiao wen-hua 曠野的呼聲: 中國現代作家與基督教文化 ["Crying in the Wilderness: Contemporary Chinese Writers and Christian Culture"] (Shanghai: Chiao-yü ch'u-pan-she, 1998) 26-29.

³⁶ Quoted according to Leo Lee Ou-fan, *Voices from the Iron House: A Study of Lu Hsün* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1987) 105 (slightly changed by me).

³⁷ A. Bujatti, "Morte di un Nazareno' di Ai Qing," in R. D. Findeisen and R. P. Gassmann, *Autumn Floods. Essays in Honour of Marián Gálik* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998) 643.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 644. The Ai Ch'ing poem has been reprinted in *Ai Ch'ing shih-hsüan* 艾青詩選 [*A Selection of Ai Ch'ing's Poems*] (Peking: People's Literature Publishing House 1955) 16-22. See also interesting analysis of this and other poems in Wang Yaming [汪亞明], "Lun Ai Ch'ing shih-ti tsung-jiao i-shih 論艾青詩的宗教意識," ["On

the Religious Consciousness in Ai Ch'ing's Poetry"] *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh yen-chiu ts'ung-k'an* 中國現代文學研究叢刊 [*Modern Chinese Literature Studies*] 4 (1996): 44-56.

³⁹ Ai Qing, *Morte di un Nazareno*, trans. by A. Bujatti (Novara: Interlinea Edizioni, 1999) 10-23.

⁴⁰ *A Selection of Ai Ch'ing Poems* 2.

⁴¹ Mao Tun, *Jesus's Death* 3.

⁴² Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

