

Report Title

Aho, Juhani (Lapinlahti 1861-1921 Helsinki) : Finnischer Schriftsteller, Journalist

Bibliographie : Autor

1909 [Aho, Juhani]. *Xian qu*. Lu Xun yi. In : Yu wai xiao shuo ji (1909). Übersetzung von Aho, Juhani. *Pioneers*. In : Squire Hellman and other stories. (New York, N.Y. : Cassell, 1893).
先驱 [Zho4,WC]

Andersen, Hans Christian (Odensee 1805-1875 Kopenhagen) : Schriftsteller

Biographie

1922 Zhao, Jingsheng. *Tong hua de tao lun* [ID D27659].
Zhao wrote about the difference between Hans Christian Andersen and Oscar Wilde by discussing that Andersen's writings were seen to be more understandable and approachable for children, while Wilde's were deep and abstract but had more literary values. [WilO5]

1923 Lu, Xun. *Lu zhou* [ID D27661].
In his response to Zhao Jingsheng (about fairy tales 1922), Lu Xun remarked that Hans Christian Andersen was more 'naive' than Oscar Wilde. He pointed out the simplicity and purity in Andersen but sophistication and wit in Wilde. He agreed with Zhao that Wilde's fairy tales were beautifully written and profound in insights. Lu Xun recalled that when he was young he liked reading *Jing hua yuan*, which is a famous Chinese novel about exotic adventures. As he read Wilde's fairy tales, was reminded of his love for this Chinese classic and saw the same kind of beauty and exoticism in both. The strange combination of dreamland and reality, and the multi-layered meanings in Wilde's fairy tales were particularly appealing, aesthetically and philosophically, to intellectuals even like Lu Xun who was renowned for his unsympathetic position on the more sentimental writers in his day. The irony and literary depths in the fairy tales of Wilde certainly moved him. [WilO5]

1955 Gedächtnisfeier zum 150. Todestag von Friedrich von Schiller und dem Gedenken von Adam B. Mickiewicz, Charles Montesquieu de Secondat und Hans Christian Andersen am 5. Mai in Beijing. Mao Dun hält die Festrede *Wei le he ping, min zhu he ren lei de jin bu shi ye* [Für den Frieden, die Demokratie und Fortschrittssache der Menschheit]. [ID D11666].
Zhang Jiamou schreibt über Schillers Wallenstein in *Xile de sheng ping he zuo pin* [ID D11667] : Der Schwerpunkt seines frühen Schaffens liegt in der Darstellung des Widerstandes gegen die feudale Unterdrückung und im Streben nach der Demokratie. In den Dramen der späteren Periode werden hauptsächlich der Widerstand gegen die nationale Unterdrückung und der Kampf um Frieden und Freiheit der Menschheit dramatisiert. [Zhu1:S. 51]

Bibliographie : Autor

1908-1920 *Tong hua*. Sun, Yuxiu, Mao Dun, Zheng Zhenduo yi. (Shanghai : Shang wu yin shu guan, 1908-1920). [Erzählungen für Kinder]. [102 Hefte]. [Enthält] : Griechische Sagen, Märchen aus Tausend und eine Nacht, Märchen von Hans Christian Andersen, Texte von Jonathan Swift, Märchen der Gebrüder Grimm : *Brüderchen und Schwesterchen, Das tapfere Schneiderlein, Der kleine Däumling, Der goldene Vogel, Die drei Schwestern, Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich, Hans im Glück*. [WC,LiaY]

1920 [Andersen, Hans Christian]. *Huang di de xin yi*. Zhou Zuoren yi. In : Yu wai xiao shuo ji (1920). Übersetzung von Andersen, Hans Christian. *Keiserens nye Klaeder*. In : Eventyr fortalte for born (7. April 1837). = *Des Kaisers neue Kleider*. In : Andersen, Hans Christian. Märchen und Erzählungen für Kinder. (Braunschweig : Fr. Vieweg und Sohn, 1840).
皇帝的新衣 [WC,Zho4]

- 1931 [Andersen, Hans Christian]. *Liu xia*. Antusheng zhu ; Zhao Jingshen yi. (Shanghai : Kai ming, 1931). (Shi jie shao nian wen xue cong kan. Tong hua ; 14). Übersetzung von Andersen, H[ans] C[hristian]. *Eventyr og historier*. Med illustrationer efter originaltegninger af V. Pedersen. Vol. 1-2. (Kjobenhavn : C.A. Reitzel, 1862-1863).
柳下 [Eur]
- 1954 [Anderson, Hans Christian]. *Sha qiu shang di ren men*. Antusheng zhu ; Ye Junjian yi. (Shanghai : Ping ming chu ban she, 1954). (Antusheng tong hua xuan ji). Übersetzung von Andersen, H[ans] C[hristian]. *Eventyr og historier*. Med illustrationer efter originaltegninger af V. Pedersen. Vol. 1-2. (Kjobenhavn : C.A. Reitzel, 1862-1863).
沙丘上的人们 [Eur]
- 1956 [Andersen, Hans Christian]. *Antusheng tong hua he gu shi xuan*. Antusheng zhu ; Ye Junjian yi. (Beijing : Ren min wen xue chu ban she, 1956). Übersetzung von Andersen, H[ans] C[hristian]. *Eventyr og historier*. Med illustrationer efter originaltegninger af V. Pedersen. Vol. 1-2. (Kjobenhavn : C.A. Reitzel, 1862-1863).
安徒生童话和故事选 [Eur]
- 1981 *Tong hua shi jie*. Qiu Ling, Ye Junjian, Chen Bochui, Wu Molan, Ren Rongrong, Cao Jinghua yi. Vol. 1-6. (Shanghai : Shao nian er tong chu ban she, 1981). Enthält Märchen von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen, Wilhelm Hauff, Charles Perrault, Valentin Kataev, Walt Disney.
童话世界 [WC]
- 1983 [Andersen, Hans Christian ; Grimm, Jacob ; Grimm, Wilhelm]. *Cai se shi jie tong hua quan ji*. [Antusheng, Gelin yuan zhu]. Vol. 1-30. (Taibei : Guang fu shu ju, 1983). [Übersetzung der Märchen von Hans Christian Andersen und der Brüder Grimm].
彩色世界童话全集 [WC]
- 1983 [Andersen, Hans Christian]. *Wan dou shang de gong zhu : Antusheng tong hua xuan*. Chen Buhui bian yi ; Zhang Haihui tu. (Xianggang : Ming hua chu ban gong si, 1983). (Tu hua gu shi cong shu). Übersetzung von Andersen, Hans Christian. Übersetzung von Andersen, Hans christian. *Prinsessen paa aerten = The princess on the pea*. 豌豆上的公主
豌豆上的公主 [WC]
- 1988 [Wilde, Oscar]. *Zi si de ju ren*. Aosika Wangerde yuan zhu ; Gu Ying gai bian ; Zheng xiaojuan hui hua. (Changsha : Hunan shao nian er tong chu ban she, 1988). (Shi jie zhu ming tong hua he gu shi lian huan hua cong shu). Übersetzung von Wilde, Oscar. *The selfish giant*. = Übersetzung von Wilde, Oscar. *The happy prince, and other stories*. Ill. By Walter Crane and Jacomb Hood. (London : D. Nutt, 1888).
自私的巨人
[Enthält] :
[Andersen, Hans Christian]. *Da huo xia*. Antusheng yuan zhu ; Xiao Wei gai bian ; He Datian hui hua. Übersetzung von Andersen, Hans Christian. Fyrtojet.
[Andersen, Hans Christian]. *Ye ying*. Antusheng yuan zhu ; Xiao Wei gai bian ; He Datian hui hua. Übersetzung von Andersen, Hans Christian. Nattergalen.
[Andersen, Hans Christian]. *Ye tian e*. Antusheng yuan zhu ; Xiao Wei gai bian ; Huang Jiancheng hui hua. Übersetzung von Andersen, Hans Christian. Vilde svaner. [WC]
- 1991 [Andersen, Hans Christian]. *Jian ding di xi bing*. Antusheng zhu ; Ye Junjian wen ; Zhou Jianming tu. (Taibei : Han guang wen hua shi ye gu fen you xian gong si, 1991). (Shi jie tong hua gu shi jing xuan ; 3). Übersetzung von Andersen, Hans Christian. *Den standhaftige tinsoldat*. In : *Eventyr, fortalte for Born*. Vol. 2, 1. (Kjobenhavn : C.A. Reitzel, 1838).
坚定的锡兵 [Eur]

- 1996 *Gui tu sai pao*. Zhou Wei gai bian ; Yang Huihua hui hua. (Beijing : Zhongguo lian huan hua chu ban she, 1996). (Hong qing ting cong shu).
 龟兔赛跑
 [Enthält] :
 San zhi hu die. Xiao Sen gai bian ; Yang Huihua hui hua. 三只蝴蝶
 [Pushkin, Aleksandr Sergeevich]. *Yu fu de gu shi*. Puxijin yuan zhu ; Yu Nü gai bian ; Yang Huihua hui hua. Übersetzung von Pushkin, Aleksandr Sergeevich. *Skazka o rybake i rybke*. In : Biblioteka dlya chteniya ; May (1835). = *The tale of the fisherman and the fish*. In : Pushkin, Aleksandr Sergeevich. *The Russian wonderland : a metrical translation from the Russian*. (New York, N.Y. : Paisley Press, 1936).
 三只蝴蝶
 [Andersen, Hans Christian]. *Ye tian e*. Antusheng yuan zhu ; Yu Nu# gai bian ; Yang Huihua hui hua. Übersetzung von Andersen, Hans Christian. *Vilde svaner*. [WC]
- 1999 [Perrault, Charles]. *Chuan chang tong xue de mao*. Peiluo yuan zhu ; Cai Shuguang deng yi zhe. (Beijing : Zhongguo shao nian er tong chu ban she, 1999). (Cai se shi jie jing dian tong hua quan ji).
 [Enthält] :
 [Perrault, Charles]. *Chuan chang tong xue de mao*. Übersetzung von Perrault, Charles. *Le maistre chat, ou, Le chat botté*. In : Perrault, Charles. *Histoires, ou Contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez*. (Paris : C. Barbin, 1697). 穿长筒靴的猫
 [Andersen, Hans Christian]. *Wan dou shang de gong zhu*. Übersetzung von Andersen, Hans Christian. Übersetzung von Andersen, Hans christian. *Prinsessen paa aerten = The princess on the pea*.
 豌豆上的公主
Nong fu, she he hu li.
Tao qi bao xiao Dier.
 La Fontaine, Jean de. *Hou wang*.
 La Fontaine, Jean de. *Dao di ting shui de*. [WC]
- 2001 [Andersen, Hans Christian ; Grimm, Jacob ; Grimm, Wilhelm]. *Antusheng Gelin tong hua zhong de ren sheng zhi hui*. Dai Jianping bian zhu. (Shenyang : Shenyang chu ban she, 2001). (Ren sheng zhi hui shu xi). Übersetzung der Märchen von Hans Christian Andersen und der Brüder Grimm.
 安徒生格林童话中的人生智慧 [WC]
- 2003 [Andersen, Hans Christian ; Grimm, Jacob ; Grimm, Wilhelm]. *Cai tu Antusheng : Gelin tong hua*. (Nanchang : Er shi yi shi ji chu ban she, 2003). Übersetzung von Märchen von Hans Christian Andersen und der Brüder Grimm.
 彩图安徒生 : 格林童话 [WC]

Bibliographie : erwähnt in

- 1916 Sun, Yuxiu. *Ou mei xiao shuo cong tan*. (Shanghai : Shang wu yin chu guan, 1916). (Wen yi cong ke. Jia ji). [Abhandlung über europäische und amerikanische Erzählungen]. [Erwähnt werden : William Shakespeare, Giovanni Francesco Straparola, Baronne Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, Charles Perrault, Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen].
 歐美小說叢談 [WC]
- 1922 Zhao, Jingshen. *Tong hua de tao lun*. In : Chen bao fu kan ; 9th April (1922). [Discussion on fairy tales]. [Betr. u.a. Hans Christian Andersen und Oscar Wilde]. [WilO5]
- 1923 Lu, Xun. *Lu zhou*. In : Chen bao fu kan ; 31th April (1922). [The oasis]. [Betr. Hans Christian Andersen und Oscar Wilde]. [WilO5]
- 1924 Ye, Shengtao. *Yi ge qing nian*. In : Xiao shuo yue bao ; Febr. (1924). [Enthält] : The wall of the main hero's room is decorated with photographs of Hans Christian Andersen, Anton Chekhov and Leo Tolstoy. [Gam2]
- 1932-1936 *Wen xue lun wen suo yin*. Chen Biru, Zhang Chenqing, Li Weixu bian ji. (Beijing : Zhonghua tu shu guan xie hui, 1932-1936). Vol. 1-3 (Zhonghua tu shu guan xie hui cong shu ; 5). (Eur). [Bibliographie. Darin enthalten sind 36 Aufsätze über Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 16 über Henrik Ibsen, 16 über Tagore Rabindrananth, 11 über Hans Christian Andersen, 8 über Honoré de Balzac, 7 über Leo Tolstoy, 3 über William Shakespeare und 1 über Dante Alighieri].
 文學 論文 索引 [YanW1]

- 1972 [Godden, Rumer]. *Antusheng chuan*. Lumeier Gaodun zhu ; Yan Xinmei yi. (Taipei : Zhong hua ri bao she chu ban bu, 1972). (Zhong hua ri bao cong shu ; 129). Übersetzung von Godden, Rumer. *Hans Christian Andersen*. (London : Hutchinson, 1955).
安徒生傳 [WC]
- 1978 Ye, Junjian. *Xie jiang de er zi : tong hua zuo jia Antusheng*. (Beijing : Ren min wen xue chu ban she, 1978). [Biographie von Hans Christian Andersen].
鞋匠的儿子 : 童话作家安徒生 [Eur]
- 1983 *Bai ai xian gei er tong : cha tu ben*. Zhi Ying zhu bian. (Xianggang : Ya yuan chu ban she, 1983). [Biographie von Lewis Carroll, Hans Christian Andersen, Sophia Roland].
把爱献给儿童 [WC]

Andersen-Nexo, Martin (Kopenhagen 1869-1954 Dresden) : Dänischer Schriftsteller

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1957 [Zimmering, Max]. *Mading Andexun Nikesuo*. Makesi Qimulin zhu ; Jin Lingui yi. (Shanghai : Xin wen yi chu ban she, 1957). Übersetzung von Zimmering, Max. *Martin Andersen Nexö : ein kurzer Lebensabriss des grossen dänischen Dichters*. (Berlin : Verlag Neues Leben, 1952).
馬丁·安德遜·尼克索 [WC]

Beyer, Edvard = Beyer, Edvard Freydar (Haugesund, Norwegen 1920-2003) : Literaturhistoriker, Professor für nordeuropäische Literatur Universität Oslo

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1979 [Beyer, Edvard]. *Yibusheng zhuan*. Du Ruozhou yi. (Taipei : Zhonghua ri bao she chu ban bu, 1979). (Zhonghua ri bao zhuan ji wen xue cong shu ; 15). Übersetzung von Beyer, Edvard. *Ibsen : the man and his work*. (London : Souvenir Press, 1978).
易卜生傳 [WC]

Bielfvenstam, Dorothea (um 1971) : Schwedische Autorin, Übersetzerin

Bjornson, Bjornstjerne Martinius (Kvikne, Tynset, Hedmark, Norwegen 1832-1910 Paris) : Dichter, Politiker, Nobelpreisträger

Biographie

- 1908 [Zhou, Zuoren] Zhong, Yao. *Bai nian lai xi yang xue shu zhi hui gu* [ID D26252].
Zhou Zuoren schreibt : "In the past one hundred years, Norway produced two writers : one is Ibsen, and the other Björnson. Ibsen is a great naturalist. His works are full of social criticism." [Ibs1:S. 52]

Bibliographie : erwähnt in

- 1908 Zhong, Yao [Zhou, Zuoren]. *Bai nian lai xi yang xue shu zhi hui gu*. In : *Xue bao* ; vol. 1, no 19 (1908). [A review of Western scholarship in the past one hundred years ; Erwähnung von Henrik Ibsen und Bjornstjerne Martinius Bjornson].
百年來西洋學術之回顧 [Ibs1]

Blixen-Finecke, Karen = Blixen, Tania = Andrézel, Pierre = Dinesen, Isak = Blixen, Karen = Karen Blixen = Blixen-Finecke, Karen Christence (Rungsted 1885-1962 Rugstedlund) : Dänische Schriftstellerin

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1997 *Zou chu Fei zhou*. Yin Aiping, Xiao Jia, Wang Ping gai bian. (Xi'an : Wei lai, 1997). (Cha tu ben shi jie zhu ming li xian xiao shuo jing dian).
走出非洲
[Enthält] :
1. [Dinesen, Isak = Blixen-Finecke, Karen]. *Zou chu Fei Zhou*. Übersetzung von Dinesen, Isak. *Out of Africa*. (New York, N.Y. : Modern Library, 1952). 走出非洲
2. [Defoe, Daniel]. *Hai dao chuan zhang*. Difu zhu. Übersetzung von Defoe, Daniel. *The life, adventures, and pyracies, of the famous Captain Singleton : containing an account of his being set on shore in the island of Madagascar, his settlement there, with a description of the place and inhabitants: of his passage from thence, in a paraguay, to the main land of Africa, with an account of the customs and manners of the people: his great deliverances from the barbarous natives and wild beasts: of his meeting with an Englishman, a citizen of London, among the Indians, the great riches he acquired, and his voyage home to England: as also Captain Singleton's return to sea, with an account of his many adventures and pyracies, with the famous Captain Avery and others*. (London : Printed for J. Brotherton, J. Graves, A. Dodd and T. Warner, 1720). 海盜船長
3. *Nu hai bian zhou*. [Original-Titel nicht bekannt].
4. *Gelifei li xian ji*. [Original-Titel nicht bekannt]. [WC]

Böök, Fredrik (Kristianstad 1883-1961 Kopenhagen) : Schwedischer Professor für Literatur, Kritiker, Schriftsteller

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1981 *Nuobei'er wen xue jian quan ji*. Vol. 18. (Taibei : Yuan jing chu ban shi ye gong si, 1981). [Texte über Nobelpreisträger].
诺贝尔 文学奖 全集
[Enthält] :
[Böök, Fredrik]. *Zhi nuo bei er wen xue jiang de zhu Tuomasi Man de huan ying ci*. Song Shuliang yi. [Verleihungsrede anlässlich der feierlichen Überreichung des Nobelpreises für Literatur an Thomas Mann]. 致诺贝尔文学奖得主托玛斯。曼的欢迎词
[Strömberg, Kjell]. *Tuomasi Man rong huo nuo bei er wen xue jiang ping shen guo cheng*. Wang Hongren yi. Auszüge aus : Strömberg, Kjell. *Thomas Mann : Leben und Werk*. [Kleine Geschichte der Zuerkennung des Nobelpreises an Thomas Mann]. 托玛斯。曼荣获诺贝尔文学奖评审过程
De jiang ren yu zuo pin. Auszüge aus : Rosebrock, Theo. *Erläuterungen zu Thomas Manns Buddenbrooks und Mayer, Hans. Thomas Mann*. [Der Nobelpreisträger für Literatur 1929 und seine Werke]. 得奖人与作品
[Mayer, Hans]. *Tangmasi Man ji qi zuo pin*. Song Shuliang yi. [Thomas Mann und seine Werke]. 汤玛斯。曼及其作品 [TM]

Brandes, Georg = Brandes, Georg Morris Cohen (Kopenhagen 1842-1927 Kopenhagen) : Literaturkritiker, Philosoph, Schriftsteller

Biographie

- 1920 Chen, Gu. *Bulanduisi* [ID D26354].
Chen schreibt : "Most English, German and French critics come to know Ibsen after he published his major plays. Their criticism is based on the speculation they can make about Ibsen. But Georg Brandes had the same mother tongue as Ibsen and as a contemporary of him, Brandes was able to follow the actual course of Ibsen's development and would not be blinded by his fame." [Ibs115:S. 54]

- 1924 [Brandes, Georg]. [*Bailun*]. Zhang Wentian yi. [ID D26458].
Zhang Wentian translated the Byron section in the book of Georg Brandes' *Main currents in 19th century literature in Chinese*.
Brandes schreibt : "It is probable that the subject of love between brother and sister was one often discussed by Shelley and Byron. What incensed Byron more than anything else was the pious horror displayed by the orthodox Bible Christians, one article of whose faith it is that the human race, as descended from one man and woman, multiplied by means of marriage between brother and sister." Chu Chih-yu : Brandes attributed Byron's loneliness and his erratic behaviour to genetic factors : "thus the poet [Byron] had wild blood in his veins". This view was readily accepted by Chinese scholars. Wang Tongzhao wrote "Genetics has become one of the important sciences" and most of Byron's neurotic behaviour was "inherited from his mother". Gan Naiguang argued : "If we ascribe Byron's romantic character to the society, then we underestimate the power of genetics". The term 'romantic character' used by Wang Tongzhao refers to 'uncontrollable passion' or simply to Byronism in its broadest sense. Byron's lifestyle, his spirit of revolt, his passion, impulsiveness, restlessness, indignation, revenge, cynicism, etc. It may seem superficial for the Chinese to have simply borrowed from Brandes whatever he had to say about Byron. But this borrowing demonstrates respect not so much for Brandes as for a totally new and scientific approach to literature hitherto absent in Chinese criticism. Georg Brandes' interpretation of Byron's fortunes in England, both literary and personal, was conveyed faithfully to Chinese readers, although few of the Chinese writers acknowledged their sources. He accredited the fall of Byron's reputation, not unjustifiably, to his wife and the general public, and most of all to other jealous writers. It is true that Byron's marriage [with Annabella Milbanke] was a big mistake.
The Chinese are more circumspect in dealing with matters like incest. It is obvious, that almost every contribution of *Xiao shuo yue bao* had read Brandes' book, or at least the chapters on Byron. But they all avoided touching on this sensitive subject directly. Xi He mentioned the separation briefly and his only comment was : "Generally speaking, English society resented Byron's conduct and sympathized with Annabella Milbanke". Wang Tongzhao's version was more ambiguous : "Byron returned to London to find, to his surprise, that he was attacked without reason by the blind public". Gan Naiguang put the blame on Miss Milbanke but his argument was hardly convincing. He observed that the English reasonably expected Miss Milbanke to be able to tame the wild horse [Byron] once they were married, but that Miss Milbanke did not prove equal to the heavy task. She was a woman who observed the so-called moral principles of the time ; she was upright but unfeeling. She never sinned but she never forgave. Gan's article was basically a free translation of passages from Hippolyte Adolphe Taine's *History of English literature*. Transl. From French into English by J. Scott Clark. (New York, N.Y. : Colonial Press, 1900). [Byr1:S. 47-48, 50]
- 1927 Zheng, Zhenduo. *Wen xue da gang* [ID D11275].
Erwähnung von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Hölderlin, Henrik Ibsen, Walt Whitman, Jane Austen, Edgar Allan Poe, Mark Twain, James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Harriet Beecher Stowe.
Darin enthalten ist eine Abhandlung über Faust von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.
Zheng alluded to William Dean Howells' famous appellation for Mark Twain as 'the Lincoln of American literature'. He asserts that Huckleberry Finn is Twain's most important representative work. He described Georg Brandes as 'the most important critic of Europe'.
Zheng mentioned Jane Austen, but said very briefly that her works have calm irony, delicate characterization, and pleasing style.
Washington Irving made American literature first recognized in Europe, while it is Edgar Allan Poe who first made American literature greatly influence European literature. In 1909, the year of Poe's centennial, the whole of Europe, from London to Moscow, and from Christiania to Rome, claimed its indebtedness to Poe and praised his great success.
Zheng Zhenduo regarded Nathaniel Hawthorne as "the first person who wrote tragedy in America". It was Hawthorne's emphasis upon psychological description that led to Zheng's high praise. According to Zheng's theory, the American tradition in literature exerted a strong influence upon Hawthorne's exploration of the depth of the human soul. "Hawthorne's psychological description could be traced back to Charles Brown." [HawN70,Byr1,WhiW1,Yip2,Poe4]

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1924 [Brandes, Georg]. [*Bailun*]. Zhang Wentian yi. In : *Xiao shuo yue bao* ; vol. 15, no 4 (1924). [Enthält das Kap. Byron. In : Brandes, Georg. *Main currents in nineteenth century literature*]. [Byr1]

- 1928 [Brandes, Georg]. *Yibusheng*. Lin Yutang yi. In : Ben liu ; vol. 1, no 3 (1928). Übersetzung von Brandes, Georg. *Henrik Ibsen*. Vol. 1-3. (Kopenhagen : Gyldendal, 1902-1903). 易卜生 [Ibs1]
- 1929 [Brandes, Georg]. *Yibusheng zhuan ji qi qing shu*. Lin Yutang yi. (Shanghai : Chun chao shu ju, 1929). [Übersetzung von Ibsens Liebesbriefen an Emilie Bardach]. 易卜生傳及其情書 [Ibs1]
- 1936-1937 [Brandes, Georg]. *Shi jiu shi ji wen xue zhi zhu chao*. Shi Heng yi. Vol. 1-6. (Shanghai : Shang wu yin shu guan fa xing, 1936-1937). (Zhong shan wen ku). Übersetzung von Brandes, Georg. *Hovedstromninger i det 19de Aarhundredes Litteratur : forelaesninger holdte ved Kjobenhavns Universitet*. (Kjobenhavn : F. Hegel, 1872-1890). = Brandes, Georg. *Die Hauptströmungen der Litteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. (Leipzig : Barsdorf, 1872-1897). Bd. 1 : Die Emigrantenliteratur / mit einem Generalregister versehen. Bd. 2 : Die romantische Schule in Deutschland. Bd. 3 : Die Reaktion in Frankreich. Bd. 4 : Der Naturalismus in England : die Seeschule Byron und seine Gruppe. Bd. 5 : Die romantische Schule in Frankreich. Bd. 6 : Das junge Deutschland. = Brandes, Georg. *Main currents in nineteenth century literature*. Transl. from Danish into English by Diana White and Mary Morison. (London : William Heinemann, 1923). 十九世紀文學之主潮
= [Brandes, Georg]. *Bailun ping lun*. Qiaozhi Bolanduisi zhu ; Shi Heng yi. (Shanghai : Guo ji wen hua chu ban she, 1948). [Biographie von George Gordon Byron]. 拜倫評傳 [WC]
- 1985 [Brandes, Georg]. *Nicai*. Qiaozhi Bolanduisi zhu ; An Yanming yi. (Beijing : Gong ren chu ban she, 1985). (Wai guo zhu ming si xiang jia yi cong). Übersetzung von Brandes, Georg. *Essays : fremmede personligheder*. (Kjobenhavn : Gyldendalske, 1889). = Brandes, Georg. *Friedrich Nietzsche*. Transl. from the Danish by A.G. Chater. (New York, N.Y. : Macmillan ; London : W. Heinemann, 1909). 尼采 [WC]
- 1997 [Brandes, Georg]. *Shi jiu shi ji wen xue zhu liu*. Bolanduisi. Vol. 1-6. (Beijing : Ren min wen xue chu ban she, 1997). Vol. 1 : Liu wang wen xue / Zhang Daozhen yi. Vol. 2 : Deguo di lang man pai / Liu Banjiu yi. Vol. 3 : Faguo di fan dong / Zhang Daozhen yi. Vol. 4 : Yingguo di zi ran zhu yi / Xu Shigu, Jiang Feng, Zhang Zimou yi. Vol. 5 : Faguo di lang man pai / Li Zongjie yi. Vol. 6 : Qing nian Deyizhi / Gao Zhongfu yi.
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Vol. 12 : Knut Hamsun.
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Ludvig Holberg relied entirely on secondary sources for his knowledge on China : Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, Louis Le Comte and Christian Wolff.
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Zhou Zuoren schreibt : "In the past one hundred years, Norway produced two writers : one is Ibsen, and the other Björnson. Ibsen is a great naturalist. His works are full of social criticism." [Ibs1:S. 52]
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Lu Xun erwähnt George Byron, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Thomas Carlyle, William Shakespeare, John Milton, Walter Scott, John Keats, Friedrich Nietzsche, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Henrik Ibsen [erste Erwähnung], Nikolai Wassil'evich Gogol, Platon, Dante, Napoleon I., Ernst Moritz Arndt, Friedrich Wilhelm III., Theodor Körner, Edward Dowden, John Stuart Mill, Matthew Arnold, John Locke, Robert Burns, Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin, Adam Mickiewicz, Sandor Petöfi, Wladimir Galaktionowitsch Korolenko.

Lu Xun schreibt :

"He who has searched out the ancient wellspring will seek the source of the future, the new wellspring. O my brothers, the works of the new life, the surge from the depths of the new source, is not far off". Nietzsche...

Later the poet Kalidasa achieved fame for his dramas and occasional lyrics ; the German master Goethe revered them as art unmatched on earth or in heaven...

Iran and Egypt are further examples, snapped in midcourse like well-ropes – ancient splendor now gone arid. If Cathay escapes this roll call, it will be the greatest blessing life can offer. The reason ? The Englishman Carlyle said : "The man born to acquire an articulate voice and grandly sing the heart's meaning is his nation's raison d'être. Disjointed Italy was united in essence, having borne Dante, having Italian. The Czar of great Russia, with soldiers, bayonets, and cannon, does a great feat in ruling a great tract of land. Why has he no voice ? Something great in him perhaps, but he is a dumb greatness. When soldiers, bayonets and cannon are corroded, Dante's voice will be as before. With Dante, united ; but the voiceless Russian remains mere fragments".

Nietzsche was not hostile to primitives ; his claim that they embody new forces is irrefutable. A savage wilderness incubates the coming civilization ; in primitives' teeming forms the light of day is immanent...

Russian silence ; then stirring sound. Russia was like a child, and not a mute ; an underground stream, not an old well. Indeed, the early 19th century produced Gogol, who inspired his countrymen with imperceptible tear-stained grief, compared by some to England's Shakespeare, whom Carlyle praised and idolized. Look around the world, where each new contending voice has its own eloquence to inspire itself and convey the sublime to the world ; only India and those other ancient lands sit motionless, plunged in silence...

I let the past drop here and seek new voices from abroad, an impulse provoked by concern for the past. I cannot detail each varied voice, but none has such power to inspire and language as gripping as Mara poetry. Borrowed from India, the 'Mara' – celestial demon, or 'Satan' in Europe – first denoted Byron. Now I apply it to those, among all the poets, who were committed to resistance, whose purpose was action but who were little loved by their age ; and I introduce their words, deeds, ideas, and the impact of their circles, from the sovereign Byron to a Magyar (Hungarian) man of letters. Each of the group had distinctive features and made his own nation's qualities splendid, but their general bent was the same : few would create conformist harmonies, but they'd bellow an audience to its feet, these iconoclasts whose spirit struck deep chords in later generations, extending to infinity...

Humanity began with heroism and bravado in wars of resistance : gradually civilization brought culture and changed ways ; in its new weakness, knowing the perils of charging forward, its idea was to revert to the feminine ; but a battle loomed from which it saw no escape, and imagination stirred, creating an ideal state set in a place as yet unattained if not in a time too distant to measure. Numerous Western philosophers have had this idea ever since Plato's "Republic". Although there were never any signs of peace, they still craned toward the future, spirits racing toward the longed-for grace, more committed than ever, perhaps a factor in human evolution...

Plato set up his imaginary "Republic", alleged that poets confuse the polity, and should be exiled ; states fair or foul, ideas high or low – these vary, but tactics are the same...

In August 1806 Napoleon crushed the Prussian army ; the following July Prussia sued for peace and became a dependency. The German nation had been humiliated, and yet the glory of the ancient spirit was not destroyed. E.M. Arndt now emerged to write his "Spirit of the Age" (Geist der Zeit), a grand and eloquent declaration of independence that sparked a blaze of hatred for the enemy ; he was soon a wanted man and went to Switzerland. In 1812 Napoleon, thwarted by the freezing conflagration of Moscow, fled back to Paris, and all of Europe – a brewing storm – jostled to mass its forces of resistance. The following year Prussia's King Friedrich Wilhelm III called the nation to arms in a war for three causes : freedom, justice, and homeland ; strapping young students, poets, and artists flocked to enlist. Arndt himself returned and composed two essays, "What is the people's army" and "The Rhine is a great German river, not its border", to strengthen the morale of the youth. Among the volunteers of the time was Theodor Körner, who dropped his pen, resigned his post as Poet of the Vienne State Theater, parted from parents and beloved, and took up arms. To his parents he wrote : "The Prussian eagle, being fierce and earnest, has aroused the great hope of the German people. My songs without exception are spellbound by the fatherland. I would forget all joys and blessings to die fighting for it ! Oh, the power of God has enlightened me. What sacrifice could be more worthy than one for our people's freedom and the good of humanity ? Boundless energy surges through me, and I go forth ! " His later collection "Lyre and sword" (Leier und Schwert), also resonates with this same spirit and makes the pulse race when one recites from it. In those days such a fervent awareness was not confined to Körner, for the entire German youth were the same. Körner's voice as the voice of all

Germans, Körner's blood was the blood of all Germans. And so it follows that neither State, nor Emperor, nor bayonet, but the nation's people beat Napoleon. The people all had poetry and thus the poets' talents ; so in the end Germany did not perish. This would have been inconceivable to those who would scrap poetry in their devotion to utility, who clutch battered foreign arms in hopes of defending hearth and home. I have, first, compared poetic power with rice and beans only to shock Mammon's disciples into seeing that gold and iron are far from enough to revive a country ; and since our nation has been unable to get beyond the surface of Germany and France, I have shown their essence, which will lead, I hope, to some awareness. Yet this is not the heart of the matter...

England's Edward Dowden once said : "We often encounter world masterpieces of literature or art that seem to do the world no good. Yet we enjoy the encounter, as in swimming titanic waters we behold the vastness, float among waves and come forth transformed in body and soul. The ocean itself is but the heave and swell of insensible seas, nor has it once provided us a single moral sentence or a maxim, yet the swimmer's health and vigor are greatly augmented by it" ...

If everything were channeled in one direction, the result would be unfulfilling. If chill winter is always present, the vigor of spring will never appear ; the physical shell lives on, but the soul dies. Such people live on, but hey have lost the meaning of life. Perhaps the use of literature's uselessness lies here. John Stuart Mill said, "There is no modern civilization that does not make science its measure, reason its criterion, and utility its goal". This is the world trend, but the use of literature is more mysterious. How so ? It can nurture our imagination. Nurturing the human imagination is the task and the use of literature...

Matthew Arnold's view that "Poetry is a criticism of life" has precisely this meaning. Thus reading the great literary works from Homer on, one not only encounters poetry but naturally makes contact with life, becomes aware of personal merits and defects one by one, and naturally strives harder for perfection. This effect of literature has educational value, which is how it enriches life ; unlike ordinary education, it shows concretely a sense of self, valor, and a drive toward progress. The decline and fall of a state has always begun with its refusal to heed such teaching...

[The middle portion of this essay is a long and detailed description of Lu Xun's exemplary Mara poets, including Byron, Shelley, Pushkin, Lermontov, Michiewicz, Slowacki and Petöfi].

In 18th-century England, when society was accustomed to deceit, and religion at ease with corruption, literature provided whitewash through imitations of antiquity, and the genuine voice of the soul could not be heard. The philosopher Locke was the first to reject the chronic abuses of politics and religion, to promote freedom of speech and thought, and to sow the seeds of change. In literature it was the peasant Burns of Scotland who put all he had into fighting society, declared universal equality, feared no authority, nor bowed to gold and silk, but poured his hot blood into his rhymes ; yet this great man of ideas, not immediately the crowd's proud son, walked a rocky outcast road to early death. Then Byron and Shelley, as we know, took up the fight. With the power of a tidal wave, they smashed into the pillars of the ancien régime. The swell radiated to Russia, giving rise to Pushkin, poet of the nation ; to Poland, creating Mickiewicz, poet of revenge ; to Hungary, waking Petöfi, poet of patriotism ; their followers are too many to name. Although Byron and Shelley acquired the Mara title, they too were simply human. Such a fellowship need not be labeled the "Mara School", for life on earth is bound to produce their kind. Might they not be the ones enlightened by the voice of sincerity, who, embracing that sincerity, share a tacit understanding ? Their lives are strangely alike ; most took up arms and shed their blood, like swordsmen who circle in public view, causing shudders of pleasure at the sight of mortal combat. To lack men who shed their blood in public is a disaster for the people ; yet having them and ignoring them, even proceeding to kill them, is a greater disaster from which the people cannot recover...

"The last ray", a book by the Russian author Korolenko, records how an old man teaches a boy to read in Siberia : "His book talked of the cherry and the oriole, but these didn't exist in frozen Siberia. The old man explained : It's a bird that sits on a cherry branch and carols its fine songs". The youth reflected. Yes, amid desolation the youth heard the gloss of a man of foresight, although he had not heard the fine song itself. But the voice of foresight does not come to shatter China's desolation. This being so, is there nothing for us but reflection, simply nothing but reflection ?

Ergänzung von Guo Ting :

Byron behaved like violent weaves and winter wind. Sweeping away all false and corrupt customs. He was so direct that he never worried about his own situation too much. He was full of energy, and spirited and would fight to the death without losing his faith. Without defeating his enemy, he would fight till his last breath. And he was a frank and righteous man, hiding nothing, and he spoke of others' criticism of himself as the result of social rites instead of other's evil intent, and he ignored all those bad words. The truth is, at that time in Britain, society was full of hypocrites, who took those traditions and rites as the truth and called anyone who had a true opinion and wanted to explore it a devil.

Ergänzung von Yu Longfa :

Die Bezeichnung Mara stammt aus dem Indischen und bedeutet Himmelsdämon. Die Europäer nennen das Satan. Ursprünglich bezeichnete man damit Byron. Jetzt weist das auf alle jene Dichter hin, die zum Widerstand entschlossen sind und deren Ziel die Aktion ist, ausserdem auf diejenigen Dichter, die von der Welt nicht sehr gemocht werden. Sie alle gehören zu dieser Gruppe. Sie berichten von ihren Taten und Überlegungen, von ihren Schulen und Einflüssen. Das beginnt beim Stammvater dieser Gruppe, Byron, und reicht letztlich hin bis zu dem ungarischen Schriftsteller Petöfi. Alle diese Dichter sind in ihrem äusserlichen Erscheinungsbild sehr unterschiedlich. Jeder bringt entsprechend den Besonderheiten des eigenen Landes Grossartiges hervor, aber in ihrer Hauptrichtung tendieren sie zur Einheitlichkeit. Meistens fungieren sie nicht als Stimme der Anpassung an die Welt und der einträchtigen Freude. Sobald sie aus voller Kehle ihre Stimme erheben, geraten ihre Zuhörer in Begeisterung, bekämpfen das Himmlische und widersetzen sich den gängigen Sitten. Aber ihr Geist rührt auch tief an die Seelen der Menschen nachfolgender Generationen und setzt sich fort bis in die Unendlichkeit. Sie sind ohne Ausnahme vital und unnachgiebig und treten für die Wahrheit ein... Nietzsche lehnt den Wilden nicht ab, da er neue Lebenskraft in sich berge und gar nicht anders könne, als ehrlich zu sein. So stammt die Zivilisation denn auch aus der Unzivilisation. Der Wilde erscheint zwar roh, besitzt aber ein gütziges Inneres. Die Zivilisation ist den Blüten vergleichbar und die Unzivilisation den Knospen. Vergleicht man jedoch die Unzivilisation mit den Blüten, so entspricht die Zivilisation den Früchten. Ist die Vorstufe bereits vorhanden, so besteht auch Hoffnung.

Sekundärliteratur

Yu Longfa : Lu Xun befasst sich zwar nicht ausführlich mit Friedrich Nietzsche, aber auf der Suche nach dem 'Kämpfer auf geistigem Gebiet', dessen charakteristische Eigenschaften, besonders die Konfiguration des Übermenschen, macht er ausfindig. Lu Xun ist überzeugt, dass die Selbststärkung eines Menschen und der Geist der Auflehnung kennzeichnend für den Übermenschen sind. In Anlehnung an den Übermenschen zitiert er aus Also sprach Zarathustra : "Diejenigen, die auf der Suche nach den Quellen des Altertums alles ausgeschöpft haben, sind im Begriff, die Quellen der Zukunft, die neuen Quellen zu suchen. Ach, meine Brüder, die Schaffung des neuen Lebens und das Sprudeln der neuen Quellen in der Tiefe, das dürft wohl nicht weit sein !"

Tam Kwok-kan : Earliest reference to Henrik Ibsen. This is the first Chinese article that discusses in a comprehensive manner the literary pursuits of the Byronic poets. Lu Xun ranks Ibsen as one of these poets and compares the rebellious spirit exemplified in Ibsen's drama to Byron's satanic tendency. Lu Xun had a particular liking for the play *An enemy of the people*, in which Ibsen presented his ideas through the iconoclast Dr. Stockmann, who in upholding truth against the prejudices of society, is attacked by the people. Lu Xun thought that China needed more rebels like Ibsen who dared to challenge accepted social conventions. By introducing Ibsen in the image of Dr. Stockmann, the moral superman, together with the satanic poets, Lu Xun believed that he could bring in new elements of iconoclasm in the construction of a modern Chinese consciousness. As Lu Xun said, he introduced Ibsen's idea of individualism because he was frustrated with the Chinese prejudice toward Western culture and with the selfishness popular among the Chinese.

Chu Chih-yu : Lu Xun adapted for the greater part of *Mara poetry* his Japanese sources (Kimura Katataro), he also added some of his own comments and speculations.

Guo Ting : Given Lu Xun's leading position in the Chinese literary field at that time, his defense of Byron was powerful and set the overarching tone for the time of Byron when he was first introduced to Chinese readers.

Liu Xiangyu : *On the power of Mara poetry* itself is an expression of Byronism to 'speak out against the establishment and conventions' and to 'stir the mind'. Lu Xun criticized traditional Chinese culture and literature. [Byr1:S. 24,Yu1:S. 43-46,Byr5,Milt1,KUH7:S. 444,Byr3,Ibs1:S. 34,Ibs109]

1908-2000 Henrik Ibsen : Rezeption in China.

Tam Kwok-kan : Ibsen has been considered by many literary historians as the most important source, besides Goethe, of Western influence in modern Chinese literary thinking. Most of Ibsen's major plays have been translated and staged in China, and scholars in the field of modern Chinese intellectual history fully acknowledge the contribution Ibsen made to the May 4th movement that marked the beginning of modern Chinese culture.

To the European critics, Ibsen belongs to the present and is mainly a dramatist, not a social critic. But in China, Ibsen is often considered a revolutionary figure and has been variously represented in Chinese politics in the past ninety years.

The 19th-century critics tended to think of Ibsen's plays as stage reproductions of actual experiences in life. In the reception of Ibsen in both the East and the West, there have been different emphases, each of which employs the use of a different interpretive strategy. The two kinds of interpretation, Marxist-socialist on the one hand and aesthetic-formalist on the other, are the result of not only a difference in reception strategies, but also a difference in politics.

In regarding Ibsen as a dramatist or as a social critic, the difference lies in the critics' choice of strategy whether or not there is the belief of correspondence between a dramatist's works and social reality.

Ibsen's works were introduced to China much later than they were in Japan and in the countries in Western Europe and North America. China's nation-wide reception of Ibsen occurred around the end of the 1910s and was necessarily affected by the coexistence of the moralist and socialist-Marxist codes in European interpretations of Ibsen. From the beginning, the modern Chinese theatre was a social and political theatre. Although there were no distinctively formed Ibsenite groups in China, there were dramatists, such as Hong Shen and Tian Han, who openly professed themselves 'Chinese Ibsens'.

Ibsen's influence in China is manifested in two aspects : sociopolitical and artistic (both literary and theatrical). Ibsen was regarded by the Chinese critics and dramatists both as a social-realist and as a romantic playwright. The history of the reception of Ibsen in China can be divided roughly into four major periods : 1908-1927, 1928-1948, 1949-1976, and 1977-present. In the first period, Chinese interpretations of Ibsen were closely associated with social movements and were greatly influenced by the moralist code then prevalent in Europe. Ibsen's social influence was first seen in the advocacy of individualism and iconoclasm in the writings of Lu Xun and Hu Shi. The social movements in China gave the interpretation of Ibsen's plays a new political context by which the critics conveyed their messages to Chinese readers. Ibsen was hailed as a champion of individualism, uncompromising moralist, and advocate of feminism. The iconoclastic elements derived from Ibsen's plays were most valued in this period as a means of resistance against the traditional moral system deeply rooted in China's Confucian collectivism. One of the major reasons for introducing Ibsen to China was that the messages derived from his plays constituted a powerful attack on the conventional moral institutions in China. Ibsen was hailed as a figure of hope and new values. Chinese dramatists were more attracted to his explosive themes than to his dramatic subtlety. Almost all the social problem plays in the early 1920s were modelled after Ibsen's plays, without considering the appropriateness of such an approach to the theatre. The influence became so powerful that even well established Chinese dramatists could not resist the temptation to imitate Ibsen, which at that time was considered by some critics as an act of contempt equivalent to plagiarism.

The second period in the reception of Ibsen was accompanied by the gradual maturity of modern Chinese drama and literary criticism. Ibsen attracted the attention of more and more serious Chinese dramatists and critics, such as Xiong Foxi and Chen Zhice. Chinese dramatists gradually shifted their interest to the artistry in Ibsen's drama in the late 1920s when the zeal for social reform in China was in low tide. In the late 1920s and 1930s some Chinese critics called for a reconsideration of Ibsen from the perspective of art, still the general tendency was to moralize him, which was supported by the practical view that Ibsen's drama was useful for social reform in China. Unfortunately the war between China and Japan broke out and destroyed the hope of developing Chinese drama along a normal artistic path. Political considerations and the nationalist responsibility of saving China from disgrace and sufferings again became the first concern of serious, patriotic writers. The Chinese interest in Ibsen revived during the war years because of the need for a new dramatic form that could arouse the reader's emotional response. In a new context of oppression and invasion, the theme of *A Doll's House* already interpreted as 'exploitation of women' was redefined as 'exploitation of Chinese women under foreign invasion'. Almost all the Chinese stage productions of *A Doll's House* in the years from 1937 to 1945 were adaptations to serve as a nationalist discourse for the patriotic cause.

The third period in the reception of Ibsen in China started in 1949 and ended around 1976. In these years, Chinese interpretations followed closely the footsteps of the Soviet bloc. Friedrich Engels's analysis of Ibsen's plays in terms of 'class struggle' and the redefinition of the 'Ibsenian concept of majority', which were considered necessarily reactionary with reference to 'the bourgeois class in the

19th-century semi-feudal Norwegian society'. Although social and political events similar to those depicted in Ibsen's social plays did not exist in China in these thirty years, Ibsen was still revered in terms of his historic importance as a critic of the bourgeois social system and thus was taken as politically useful to the new socialist system. The well-made dramatic conflicts in Ibsen's plays were taken as reflections of class struggle in capitalist society. Hence, for the Chinese Marxists every reading of Ibsen's social plays was a lesson on the evils of capitalism. For Chinese dramatists, Ibsen's plays, redefined in the light of socialist realism, were excellent examples to learn how to reproduce class struggles as dramatic conflicts on the stage.

The new social and political reality in China after 1976 allows Ibsen readers to see that there are alternatives to the vulgarized political doctrines in the interpretation of literature. There was in effect little literary criticism in the first thirty years of the People's republic. Government intervention in the interpretation of an author allowed little freedom beyond politics. The new political and social environment has given rise to the influx of the one-condemned 'Western bourgeois literary criticism' into socialist China. Chinese critics thus have an opportunity to come into contact with contemporary Western orientation in literary studies, resulting in the gradual adoption of the aesthetic-formalist code.

One of Ibsen's contributions to the Chinese theatre is the inception of a realistic stage. For many years, illusionistic acting in the fashion of Stanislavsky's style and Ibsen's realistic drama has been the main-stream in the modern Chinese theatre. Ibsen's first and obvious impact on the Chinese stage was upon the style of acting, the use of props and stage design : the first elements of external realistic technique.

Ibsen was regarded as a realistic playwright in China mainly for the social implications of his plays, very seldom for the true-to-life presentation of his themes and even less often for the dramatic techniques, which enable his plays to be realistic. With regard to the stage conventions in contemporary China, Ibsen's social problem play and 'the fourth wall' mode of presentation, together with Stanislavsky's acting style, have become the mainstream in Chinese theatre, which also affects the perspective of drama critics, who have gradually and unconsciously formed a fixed view of drama that excludes other possibilities of stage style.

In the reception of Ibsen, the Chinese views had been subjected to influences from both the Anglo-American and socialist sources. While the socialist views emphasized social reference and class struggle, the Anglo-American views tended to stress the aesthetic values of Ibsen's works.

Elisabeth Eide ; Neither Hu Shi nor Lu Xun ever evaluated Ibsen from an aesthetic point of view. Ibsen was constantly regarded as an ideological writer whose characters might be transformed into positive or negative stereotypes. The complexity of Ibsen's characters had to be reduced to schematically idealized stereotypes in order to function in the Chinese society as generative models. The role of Nora could not be invested with sufficient positive elements to serve as an emblem for female emancipation in China.

Realism is one of the elements that was underlined in the transmission of Ibsen's ideas, but it must not be regarded as originating with Ibsen. Ibsen was regarded as a bourgeois author, and Chinese writers who took up his views also set them in a bourgeois context. They emphasized elements in Ibsen's creative works that are associated with a liberal bourgeois society such as freedom and liberation. Hu Shi introduced his concept of Ibsenism in drama as well as in intellectual debate.

The Chinese recreated the world that Ibsen had created and adapted it to Chinese circumstances. Ibsen's role was always that of an iconoclast. He was regarded as a representative of the new thought needed to transform the Chinese world. His dramatic version of topics such as heredity were taken as science dramatized.

Ibsen represented ideology more than aestheticism in so far as his plays were evaluated from the point of view of what model or ideal his characters might serve in the formation of a new, liberal policy in China.

He Chengzhou : The development of Chinese modern drama has been closely associated with the reception of Ibsen, which has undergone a process of widening vision of Ibsen from a realist, to a romantic and then to a symbolist. [Ibs25:S. 21,Ibs1:IX, 3, 5-7, 11-16,Ibs107:S. 391, 401,Ibs109]

- 1913-1923 Guo Moruo studiert Medizin und ab 1915 Englisch, Deutsch und Lateinisch in Tokyo.
1913 liest er *The arrow and the song* von H.W. Longfellow.
1916 beginnt er sich für Literatur zu interessieren und liest Rabindranath Tagore, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, William Shakespeare, Walt Whitman, *Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag* von Eduard Mörike, Ibsen, Dostoyevsky, Nietzsche und Spinoza.
1919 liest er *Hangyakusha* von Arishima Takeo. Darin enthalten sind August Rodin, Jean-François Millet und Walt Whitman. [Zhu1,BAW1,BioD,WhiW56,WhiW22]
- 1914 Hu Shi sieht eine Aufführung von *Ghosts* von Henrik Ibsen in Amerika und beginnt sich mit den Werken von Ibsen zu befassen. [Ibs104:S. 15]
- 1914 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Shanghai Chun yang she (Shanghai Spring Willow Society) in Shanghai mit Ouyang Yuqian als Nora. [Erste Aufführung eines Dramas von Ibsen]. [Ibs1:S. 202,Ibs112]
- 1914 Lu, Jingruo. *Yibusheng zhi ju* [ID D26226].
Henrik Ibsen is considered by Lu Jingruo as a 'great writer', 'a rival of Shakespeare', and 'a significant fighter in drama reform'; and 'the vitality expressed in his works was so forceful that it became motal'. Lu also gives a summary of the plays written by Ibsen after he was fifty years old. [Ibs115:S. 40]
- 1915 Chen, Duxiu. *Xian dai ou zhou wen yi shi tan* [ID D27627].
Zhou Xiaoyi : Chen says that Wilde was one of the 'four greatest modern writers' in European literature. The others are Ibsen, Turgenev, and Maeterlinck. Chen's praise is an example of the prevalent perception among Chinese writers of Wilde as a leading artist in world literature. Wilde's aesthetic practice – his way of dressing and other non-conformist behavior – further reinforces this image of Wilde as a unique artist. He was seen as the representative aesthete in England, whose reputation and achievements in art and aesthetic theory surpassed even Walter Pater and other aesthetes, although translations of Pater's works were also available in China at that time. [Wil04]
- 1916-1922 Tian Han studiert in Japan und liest die meisten realistischen Theaterstücke von Henrik Ibsen. [Ibs25:S. 119]
- 1918 Mao, Dun. *Wen hao Yibusheng*. [ID D26253].
He Chengzhou : The biographical essay on Ibsen is notable for its rich details of both, Ibsen's life and his works. [Ibs25:S. 19]

1918

Hu, Shi. *Yibusheng zhu yi* [ID D26214].

Hu Shi schreibt : "Ibsenism ! This is a difficult topic. I am not a specialist on Ibsen, how can I be qualified to write such an essay ? However, since we have to produce an Ibsen issue, and to introduce Ibsen in a spectacular manner to China, it is necessary to provide an essay on Ibsenism. Anyway, I will offer the Ibsenism I have in mind as an introduction to the special issue."

"In Ibsen's drama, there is a prominent theme which states that society and the individual are in opposition and mutually harmful to each other. Society is aristocratic and will destroy individuality by force. It suppresses the individual's free will and independence. When individuality is lost, the spirit of freedom and independence are gone ; society will lose its vitality and will not progress.

Ibsen reveals the real nature of the family and society. His purpose is to shock the readers and let them know that there are darker sides in the family and society so as to induce them to reform and revolt - this is Ibsenism. On the surface, it is destructive, but in reality, it is constructive, but in reality, it is constructive. It is like what a doctor does in his diagnosis of an illness : can we say that this is destructive ? Although Ibsen diagnoses many diseases, he is not willing to give prescriptions. He knows that human society is a very complex organization made up of innumerable small parts. Its diseases are of many types and there is no cure-all prescription. Therefore, he only diagnoses the symptoms and let the patient find the prescription that will suit his case."

"Ibsen tells us a good way to protect the health of society. He seems to say : 'The health of the human body depends on the large number of white blood corpuscles which are always fighting with the different kinds of diseases. The health of society and the state in the same way relies on the numerous white blood corpuscles which are never satisfied and are always fighting against the evildoers. If we want to defend the health of society we need to have the white blood corpuscles like Dr. Stockman. When society has obtained the spirit of these white blood corpuscles, there is no way that it will not reform and progress.'"

"Nora in *A doll's house* suddenly discovers that the family is a stage for monkey performances and she herself is one of the monkeys. She has the courage, and does not want to wear a mask, therefore she says goodbye to the stage manager and jumps down from the stage to live her own life."

"Mrs. Alving in *Ghosts* is a coward, thus she is persuaded by the pastor to return home and resume her role as a wife."

Elisabeth Eide : Hu Shi's version of Ibsenism as a coherent doctrine consisted of three major elements : an attack on the traditional family system, a defence of individualism, a demand for acceptance of the position of a persecuted and reviled minority. This was needed for a China that wanted to grow strong. Chinese critics from the 1930s have generally agreed that Ibsenism was an essential part of Hu Shi's philosophy of life. The basic premise of Hu's Ibsenism was his assertion, that Ibsen pitted the individual against society in an extreme and forceful manner. According to Hu, Ibsen attributed to society evil intentions that might not be deliberate, but were unavoidable. Hu claimed that society could not progress if it did not contain the yeast of the strong individual. His exposure, in plays like *Ghosts* and *The wild duck*, of the evil forces within society. His protest against all that was moribund in the old society was set in an artistically acceptable framework that made his exposition very forceful. His creation of strong individuals serving as fresh streams in a backwater and scapegoats for society's anger. His offer of a remedy that was sufficiently loose to be applicable also in China.

Tam Kwok-kan : Hu Shi attacks the Confucian moral order as a dying institution in China. He cites Ibsen's revolutionary ideas in denouncing traditional Chinese institution of law, religion, and morality which are all based on the Confucian concept of role-self, and he regards them as social evils culminating in selfishness, slavishness, falsehood, and cowardice. The individual is seen as always being repressed by society, and Hu Shi thinks that only when traditional society collapses will the individual be freed from the repression of all traditional bondage.

Hu Shi believed that the events described in Ibsen's plays have correspondence in the real world. Realism is not treated as a technique with the purpose of creating illusions. Realism was regarded by many Chinese dramatists shallowly as a reflection on stage of an event that could be found in real life. In terms of acting, this kind of external realism has the advantage of breaking away from the traditional Chinese theatre, which is symbolic and impressionistic in style.

Hu Shi's interpretation of Nora's decision to leave home was influenced by George Bernard Shaw. He interpreted *Nora* as a feminist work and argued that Nora suddenly discovered that the family was a stage for monkey performances and that she herself was simply one of the performers. Hu Shi further said that Nora had 'the courage to tear off the mask, say goodbye to the stage manager and jump down from the stage to live her own life, but on the other hand Mrs. Alving in *Ghosts* was a coward and thus she was persuaded by the pastor to return home and resume her role as a housewife'.

He Chengzhou : That he applauds Ibsen, says Hu, is because "he tells us the truth, describing the various evil situations of society so that we can have a close look at them". Hu Shi summarizes the subjects Ibsen has discussed in his plays, namely family, the social power factors (law, religion and morals) and the relationship between individual and society. At almost every point, his summary ends with an uncontrollable angry abuse of the related Chinese reality. In the last section of his essay, Hu Shi explains explicitly what he thinks Ibsenism means. "We are moved by Ibsen's descriptions of family and society and realize that our family and society are in fact so corrupted that reform becomes really indispensable. And this is Ibsenism." [Ibs115:S. 45-46, 196-197, 199,Ibs25:S. 9,Ibs104:S. 20-21, 64, 75,Ibs107:S. 388-389,Ibs108:S. 290,Ibs109]

- 1918 Song, Chunfang. *Jin shi ming xi bai zhong*. [One hundred well-known modern plays]. [ID D27913]. Erwähnung von *Brand*, *Peer Gynt*, *A doll's house*, *Ghosts*, *An enemy of the people*, *The wild duck*, *Rosmersholm*, *Hedda Gabler* von Henrik Ibsen. [SongC1]
- 1918 Yuan, Zhenying. *Kui lei jia ting* [ID D26170].
Er schreibt : "In 1879, the play *Nora* was published. The play is sometimes also called *A doll's house* or *The model family* and is the most famous of Ibsen's best works. The purpose of the play is to expose hypocrisy in society as well as in the family. In this play, a woman's place in the family is compared to that of a bird in a golden cage. In this way, the evils of the family are revealed. A woman has her own duties, which are not in taking care of the husband and the children, but in her own education, independence and freedom as a real human being."
Tam Kwok-kan : As for *Ghosts*, Yuan regards it as a sequel to *A doll's house* and he thinks that the tragedy of Mrs. Alving lies precisely in her cowardice, whereas Nora's leaving home "shows to women a hopeful future. She is an angel of revolution and a ringing bell to society". Comparing the two plays, Yuan affirms that while *Ghosts* is a tragedy of heredity, *A doll's house* is one of marriage. *An enemy of the people*, Yuan furthermore asserts, is a sequel to *A doll's house* and *Ghosts*. While Mrs. Alving succumbs to social expectation, Dr. Stockmann revolts against it. Concerning the theme of *An enemy of the people*, Yuan holds the same conviction as Hu Shi that "the minority are necessarily correct, and the majority not". Yuan's study of Ibsen's plays provided the Chinese some basic ideas of the dramatist. [Ibs115:S. 47-48]
- 1919 Hu, Shi. *Zhong shen da shi = The greatest event in life*. In : *Xin Qing nian* (1919). Einakter. Erstes modernes chinesisches Theaterstück, das von Nora von Henrik Ibsen beeinflusst wurde.
终身大事 [Ibs25:S. 102]
- 1919 Luo, Shui. *Jiao xi* [ID D26351]. [*Nora* von Henrik Ibsen].
Luo Shui schreibt : "As for the idea presented in this play two levels can be discerned. First, women usually have their own opinion and behaviour. People should understand the difficulties they have and help them, but should not demand from them the viewpoint of a husband and blame them for not having it. Second, the relationship between husband and wife is difficult to maintain. Both husband and wife should tolerate each other and compromise for their common interest, and must not act contrary to it. But husbands seldom try to determine this common interest and whenever they are dissatisfied, they act according to their natural inclinations. Women are often short-sighted and shallow in knowledge. Once separated from the husband, they will be disillusioned and become pessimistic. They will behave in the most foolish way. This is reality what everyone should be particularly careful about." [Ibs115:S. 41-42]
- 1919 Danton, G[eorge] H. *Henrik Ibsen* [ID D26352].
Danton schreibt : "In reading Ibsen chronologically, it is of great importance to understand what was the final and accomplished by him and through what stages he reached it. Eugene Scribe's plays are all outer action, all mere juxtaposition. Ibsen, at the very outset, went deeper than that ; not only ethically but dramatically. Ibsen stoutly denied that his play was a woman's rights play or that it should be used to aid women-suffrage ; he claimed for it only the portrayal of the rights of the individual to live as he or she will, and that the fundamental note was that the great crime is the crime against personality. Nora leaves home, husband, and above all, children, because she realizes that she has no chance to live her life with them and that her own ego had been sullied by her husband's selfishness."
Tam Kwok-kan : Originally presented as a speech to students at Tsing Hua University, the article differs from other similar writings in that it concentrates on the artistic aspect of Ibsen's drama. As a foreigner, Danton was detached from the social problems in China and, therefore, able to look at Ibsen from a different perspective. [Ibs115:S. 50-51]

- 1920 Chen, Gu. *Bulanduisi* [ID D26354].
Chen schreibt : "Most English, German and French critics come to know Ibsen after he published his major plays. Their criticism is based on the speculation they can make about Ibsen. But Georg Brandes had the same mother tongue as Ibsen and as a contemporary of him, Brandes was able to follow the actual course of Ibsen's development and would not be blinded by his fame." [Ibs115:S. 54]
- 1922 Yu, Shangyuan. *Guo qu er shi er xi ju ming jia ji qi dai biao zuo* [ID D26242].
Yu schreibt : "In the seventeen popular Ibsen plays, there are three categories : first, historico-mythical plays ; second, verse plays ; third social plays. There are six plays in the first category, three in the second and eight in the third. The most famous of course are the eight social plays, but the one most typical of Ibsen's spirit and his technique is *A doll's house*. Firstly, it is a tragedy of marriage and also a spiritual pillar of the modern women's movement. We have said before that the central idea of Ibsen's tragedies lies in heredity - for example *Ghosts* - and *Ghosts* is a sequel to *A doll's house*. Helmer is representative of 'the pillars of society', whereas Nora is of the spirit as exhibited by Selina, Mrs. Alving, and Rebecca. Secondly, the play has established a model for the form of modern drama."

Tam Kwok-kan : Yu Shangyuan puts Ibsen's plays into three categories : the historico-mythical, verse, and social. He thinks that Nora is the most representative of the eight social plays, because the play shows every aspect of the techniques of modern playwriting. The play is treasured first of all for its feminist theme : "It is a tragedy of marriage and also a spiritual pillar of the modern women's movement. The central idea of Ibsen's tragedies lies in heredity – for example, *Ghosts* – and *Ghosts* is a sequel to *Nora*. Helmer is typical of the falsehood described in *The pillars of society*, whereas Nora is of the rebellious spirit portrayed in *Selina, Mrs. Alving and Rebecca*". Yu also introduces the play as a structural model for modern Chinese drama. [Ibs115:S. 56,Ibs1]
- 1923 Aufführung von *Nala = Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch das Beijing nü zi gao den shi fan xue xiao (Peking Normal College for Women).
Ren Tuo schreibt : "I believe that what China needs most is 'art for life's sake'. With regard to drama, 'problem plays' are especially needed. I wish, for instance, that Ibsen's *A doll's house* could be performed every day. On the fifth of this month, *A doll's house* was finally presented by the Beijing Normal College for Women. I was eager to see it. My conclusion is that it was a successful performance. The actors were faithful to the play. I brought along Pan Jiayun's translation to check the performance. I found that on the whole it was highly faithful. This is why I was satisfied. My words seem rather strange. However, I always have the feeling that our art standards are still immature. Even in our own works, we still have to take Ibsen as a model. When we perform his play, we of course have to be faithful to the original. It is inadvisable to make changes, otherwise we will only 'turn gold into iron'. Among the actresses, the one who played Nora was the best in recapturing the atmosphere of the play. Her expressions and movements were able to show the resolute character of Nora. For example, in the second half of the third act, which is the most important scene of the play, her acting was marvellous." [Ibs115:S. 165]

1923

Lu, Xun. *Nuola zou hou zen yang ?* = Lu, Xun. *After Nora walks out, what then ?* : a talk given at the Peking Womens Normal College = Beijing shi fan da xue on December 26, 1923. [ID D26227].

What I would like to talk about today is this : After Nora walks out, what then ? Ibsen is a Norwegian literary figure who lived in the second half of the nineteenth century. His works, with the exception of a dozen or so poems, are all plays. There was a period when most of his plays dealt with social issues – these are known to the world as "realistic problem plays". Nora is one of these "problem plays". Nora is also known as Ein Puppenheim, the Chinese translation for which is Family of puppets. But the term "puppe" refers not only to puppets on strings – it also covers dolls that children play with ; by way of metaphorical extension, the term also includes people who do whatever other people tell them to do. In the beginning, Nora was living contentedly in a so-called "happy family"; but she was eventually to wake up to the fact that she was a mere puppet manipulated by her husband, and her children were puppets manipulated by her. And so she walked out. We hear the slam of the door, and then the curtain falls. But I'm sure you're already familiar with all of this, so I won't go into the details. What would it take for Nora not to leave ? We might say that Ibsen himself has already provided us with an answer, which is the play *The Lady from the Sea* (*Die Frau vom Meer*), also translated as *Sea Madame* in China. This is about a woman who was already married, but had a lover before the marriage who lived across the sea. One day, the lover appeared out of nowhere and came looking for her, asking her to go away with him. She went and told her husband that she wanted to meet with this outsider. Towards the end of the play, the husband says to her : now you're totally free. You're free to choose [whether or not to leave], but you'll have to bear the consequences yourself. And that changed everything. She decided not to leave. Had Nora been given the same kind of freedom, then perhaps she would have chosen to stay put. But Nora did leave after all. What next ? Ibsen does not provide us with an answer – what's more, he's dead. But even if he weren't dead, he wouldn't have been responsible for giving us an answer anyway. This is because Ibsen is a writer of poetry – he is not the kind of person who identifies social problems and figures out solutions on our behalf. He is like an oriole : the oriole sings because it wants to sing ; it is not singing because it wants to amuse people, or because it wants people to benefit from it in some way or other. Ibsen is a man not very attuned to the ways of the world. It is said that, once, at a banquet in which some women got together to show their appreciation for his writing of *A Doll's House*, which gave people new insights into issues such as female self-consciousness and the emancipation of women, Ibsen announced, to everybody's surprise : "That isn't what I meant when I was writing the piece – I was simply composing poetry".

So what happens after Nora leaves ? Others have expressed their views. An Englishman once wrote a play about a 'modern' woman who walked out on her family, but then had nowhere to go and ended up a degenerate in a brothel. And there was a Chinese chap – what shall I call him ? – let's say, a writer from Shanghai – he said he had seen a version of Nora that was different from the present translationiv : Nora comes back in the end. It's a shame no one else has ever seen this version – unless Ibsen himself sent the manuscript to him. But if we were to work at it with some common sense, then Nora, really, is left with only two ways out : either go home, or go to the dogs. Because - imagine if it were a little bird. While it's true that there's no freedom in a cage, once the bird leaves the cage, there are cats and hawks and other such [predators] outside. And, if it were a bird that's been caged for so long that its wings have become paralyzed – it no longer remembers how to fly – then, really, there's no way out for this bird. Well, there is another way out, which is to starve to death. But if it starves to death, then it would no longer be living, which would mean that it would no longer have any problems to deal with – so that's hardly a valid way out.

The most painful thing in life is to wake up from a dream and have nowhere to go. People who dream are in bliss. So unless you can see a way out for these dreamers, it is important not to wake them up. Look at Tang dynasty poet Li He. Now isn't he a man who's spent his entire life in the dregs ? Yet on his deathbed he said to his mother : "Mamma, God built this mansion of white jade, and wants me to go and write a piece to celebrate the occasion". Now how can this be anything but a lie ? How can it be anything but a dream ? Yet here you have a young one facing an old one, one who's dying facing one who lives on ; [thanks to these lies and dreams] the dying one is able to die happily, and the living one lives on, at peace with oneself. It is at times like this that lies and dreams serve a great purpose. For this reason, I believe that if there is no way out, then what we need is a dream. But one should never, ever, dream of the future. Artsybashev once used his novel to question those idealists who dreamt of building a golden world of opportunity, who encouraged others to suffer in the pursuit of this cause. He said : "You promise a golden world of opportunity to their sons and grandsons, but what have you left for they themselves to enjoy ?" Well, there is something for them to enjoy, and that is their hopes for the future. But this is to be enjoyed at a price. In order to have these hopes, the senses are fine tuned to be so acute as to feel one's pain and suffering in all their intensity; the spirit is summoned to witness one's rotting corpse of a body. At times like this, dreams and lies become vital.

So I believe that if there is no way out, then what we need is a dream – not a dream of the future, but a dream in the present.

But since Nora has already woken up from her dream, it is difficult for her to return to that dream state, and she is left with no choice but to leave. Yet once she leaves, at times it seems that her only options are return or ruin. Otherwise, what we need to ask is this : Has she brought anything with her, other than her emancipated mind ? If all she has is a mauve woolen scarf like the kind you women in the audience are wearing now, then, be it a two-foot scarf or a three-foot scarf, however wide it is, it is totally useless. She needs to be rich – she needs to have possessions in her suitcase. To put it bluntly, she needs money. Dreams are fine ; otherwise money is essential...

In fact, these days, if somebody like Nora were to leave home, she probably wouldn't have too much trouble surviving, because this is a special person we're talking about – many people will sympathize with her and help her sustain a living. But relying on other people's sympathy for a living already implies giving up one's own freedom. Now suppose there were a hundred Noras who left home, then there would be a lot less sympathy to go around ; now suppose there were tens of thousands of Noras who left home – people would start to get annoyed. Far more reliable [than sympathy] would be to have some form of economic leverage in one's own hands.

Now if we manage to acquire economic freedom, does this mean that we are no longer puppets manipulated by others ? Puppets we still are. The only difference is that we are less at the mercy of others, and have more people under our thumbs. Because, in modern society, it's not just women who are at the mercy of men, men are at the mercy of other men, and women at the mercy of other women ; there are also men who are at the mercy of women – this isn't something that will change overnight with a few women acquiring economic privileges. But then again we can't just sit there hungrily waiting for our ideal world to drop out of the sky ; like a fish lying on a wagon trail desperate for a sprinkling of water, we need something to ease our gasping, and the quest for down-to-earth economic privileges does just that – it is something to keep us going while we ponder other alternatives. Then again, so far we've been treating Nora as an ordinary person. Suppose she was special. Suppose she was the kind of person who would be willing to stick her neck out for others – that would make it a different story altogether. We have no right to encourage or entice people to make sacrifices ; nor do we have the right to stop people from sacrificing themselves. Mind you, the world is full of people all too happy to make sacrifices, all too happy to suffer pain...

A pity it is that change does not come easily in China – this is a place where anything from moving a table to refitting a stove will almost always end in bloodshed – and the shedding of blood does not always guarantee that the table can be moved, that the stove can be refitted. It will take some hard lashing on the back with a giant whip [to bring about change] – China simply is not going to move of its own accord. I believe this lashing is going to come sooner or later (whether or not it's a good thing is another matter), but China is definitely going to be hit hard. As for where this blow will come from, how it's going to come, I really cannot say with any certainty. And that concludes my talk.

He Chengzhou : In his lecture, Lu Xun is not so much concerned with Ibsen's Nora as with the fate of a Chinese woman who dares to leave home. It seems that he only borrows the image of Nora and develops it into a polemic about the current situation of Chinese women. The solution for a Chinese Nora, according to Lu Xun, is that she will 'either degrade herself, or come back home... another alternative is to starve to death'. For women to avoid being puppets, it is very important to have equal economic rights with men. 'First, there must be a fair sharing between men and women in the family ; secondly, women should enjoy equal rights with men in society'. But Lu Xun immediately confesses that he has no idea about how women can win these rights. All he knows is that they must fight for it, and fight hard. [Int,Ibs25:S. 18]

- 1924 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Er shi liu ju she 26 (26 Drama Society) in Beijing mit Wu Ruiyan als Nora und Wan Laitian als Krogstad. The performance was supported by the anti-warlord revolutionaries and was interrupted by the police, who claimed that it was immoral to have actors and actresses on the same stage. [Ibs1:S. 198,Ibs112]
- 1925 Lu, Xun. *Lun zhao xiang zhi lei*. [On photography]. 論照相之類
Er schreibt : "J'ai vu quelques dizaines de photos d'hommes célèbres, Tolstoï, Ibsen, Rodin, tous déjà âgés ; Schopenhauer, le visage tourmenté ; Wilde avec cet air un peu idiot qu'il avait déjà à l'époque où il porta des vêtements sophistiqués ; Romain Rolland un peu bizarre ; Gorki, un vrai clochard. Tous portaient sur leur visage les traces de souffrances et de luttes". [Ro15]

- 1925 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Shanghai xi ju xie hui (Drama Society) in Shanghai unter der Regie von Hong Shen, in der Übersetzung von Ouyang Yuqian mit Wang Youqing als Nora.. [Ibs10,Ibs115:S. 169]
- 1925 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch das Beijing ren yi xi ju zhuan men xue xiao (Beijing People's Art Drama College) in Beijing. [Ibs10]
- 1925 Mao, Dun. *Tan tan Wan'ou zhi jia* [ID D26254].
He Chengzhou : Mao Dun discusses the contrast between Nora's superficial contentedness and her inner nervousness, the mixed emotions of fear, expectation and determination, and the use of dialogue as a means of exposition in the play. [Ibs25:S. 19]
- 1925 Ouyang, Yuqian. *Pofu*. In : Ju ben hui kan (1925).
Einakter, beeinflusst von Nora von Henrik Ibsen.
泼妇 [Ibs25:S. 105]
- 1925 Yu, Shangyuan. *Bing bian*. In : Chen bao fu kan (1925).
Theaterstück, beeinflusst von Nora von Henrik Ibsen.
兵变 [Ibs1:S. 108]
- 1926 Wen, Yiduo. *Xi zhu di qi tu*. In : Chen bao fu kan ; 26. Juni (1926). [Artikel über Drama].
Wen schreibt : "It was by accident that modern drama came to China with Ibsen introduced as a social reformer. It was also by accident that Ibsen used drama as a medium for preaching his ideas. Since we had to introduce Ibsen, we could not avoid his 'problem plays' *A doll's house*, *Ghosts*, *The pillard of society* etc. Our first knowledge of drama started with the treatment of problems, and since the first impression is the most authoritative, it stays deep in our mind that the problem presented in a play is its sou. From then on we seem to consider the problem as the foremost element in drama." [Ibs115:S. 215]
- 1926 Gu, Jianchen. *Leng fan*. (Shanghai : Xin ya xue hui, 1926).
Einakter, Parodie von Nora von Henrik Ibsen. He sharply criticizes Nora's pursuit of freedom and individuality.
冷饭 [Ibs1:S. 111,Ibs112]
- 1926 [Ibsen, Henrik]. *Yibusheng ji*. Pan Jiaxun yi [ID D26174].
He Chengzhou : Pan calls Ibsen a social reformer in favour of individual development. "For Ibsen, democracy and the politics of the majority are but nonsense. The only way to reform society is to let individuals have their talent fully developed". Regarding Ibsen's change of language from verse to prose, Pan explains : "Ibsen was determined to diagnose the symptoms of the sick all over society, so he had to employ a clear and exact prose as his tool. Otherwise, the symptoms cannot be explained thoroughly". Pan suggests at the end of his essay, that it is difficult to interpret what Ibsen really means in his plays. "For readers who are careless and can't really get into Ibsen's dramatic world, Ibsen is certainly very difficult to comprehend. Even those who read him very carefully and with all attention won't always be able to get what the writer really means". [Ibs25:S. 10-11]
- 1926 Guo, Moruo. *San ge pan ni de nu xing*. (Shanghai : Guang hua shu ju, 1926).
Enthält drei Theaterstücke, beeinflusst von Nora von Henrik Ibsen.
三个叛逆的女性 [Ibs25:S. 107]

- 1927 Zheng, Zhenduo. *Wen xue da gang* [ID D11275].
Erwähnung von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Hölderlin, Henrik Ibsen, Walt Whitman, Jane Austen, Edgar Allan Poe, Mark Twain, James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Harriet Beecher Stowe.
Darin enthalten ist eine Abhandlung über Faust von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.
Zheng alluded to William Dean Howells' famous appellation for Mark Twain as 'the Lincoln of American literature'. He asserts that Huckleberry Finn is Twain's most important representative work. He described Georg Brandes as 'the most important critic of Europe'.
Zheng mentioned Jane Austen, but said very briefly that her works have calm irony, delicate characterization, and pleasing style.
Washington Irving made American literature first recognized in Europe, while it is Edgar Allan Poe who first made American literature greatly influence European literature. In 1909, the year of Poe's centennial, the whole of Europe, from London to Moscow, and from Christiania to Rome, claimed its indebtedness to Poe and praised his great success.
Zheng Zhenduo regarded Nathaniel Hawthorne as "the first person who wrote tragedy in America". It was Hawthorne's emphasis upon psychological description that led to Zheng's high praise. According to Zheng's theory, the American tradition in literature exerted a strong influence upon Hawthorne's exploration of the depth of the human soul. "Hawthorne's psychological description could be traced back to Charles Brown." [HawN70,Byr1,WhiW1,Yip2,Poe4]
- 1927 Aufführung von *Guo min gong di = En folkefiende* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Nankai zhong xue (Nankai Middle School) in Tianjin unter der Regie von Zhang Pengchun mit Cao Yu als Tochter von Dr. Stockmann. [Ibs1:S. 209,Ibs10]
- 1927 Zheng, Zhenduo. *Shi jiu shi ji Sikande'naweiya wen xue* [ID D11275].
Tam Kwok-kan : Zheng ranks Ibsen as "the greatest European dramatist in the past 150 years. All his contemporaries are no match to him. His place in literary history is comparable to that of Aeschylus, Shakespeare and Corneille". Zeng illustrates the influences Ibsen has exerted upon such dramatists as Strindberg, Hauptmann, and Shaw. [Ibs1:S. 69]
- 1927 Yuan, Zhenying. *Yibusheng she hui zhe xue* [ID D26249].
Yuan schreibt : "Ibsen is advocating the 'individual I' as if telling us that 'if you want to change society, you must begin with the individual'. The individual has to recapture the original character within himself, because he must not be influenced by society, he must stand on his own. He must throw away the false traditions, search for truth and enlightenment and restore his own abilities in order so serve with all his might the future of society. Indeed Ibsen is a leader of the society. Social sensibilities must develop in an enlightened manner."
Elisabeth Eide : Yuan summed up Ibsen's negative aspects in the following matter : religion was totally unsuited to the twentieth century because it made people negative. To Ibsen there was no substantial difference between the negative aspects of religion and those of politics. Both suppressed independent thought. Ibsen's reason for attacking the traditional press was that he wanted to pave the way for a new press with 'real and true' freedom. Ibsen treated the theme of the traditional family in several of his plays. The traditional marriage was based on material considerations, hence men naturally exploited women. Present day education merely ruined the individual's vitality. [Ibs104:S. 133-134]

- 1927 [Lavrín, Janko]. *Yi shu jia de Yibusheng*. Jiao Juyin yi. [ID D26219].
Lavrín schreibt : "Ibsen is also one of those who look upon the creation of art as a means to the creation of life. He hated mere aestheticism with its dogmatic l'art pour l'art, considering it as dangerous to ture art as dogmatic theology is to true religion. In the first half of his literary activity, Ibsen was considerably under the influence of the French drama of mere plot and situations. But as soon as he came to regard the intrigue, as well as the character, subspecie of some 'idea' or other, he was led gradually by corresponding changes in technique, to the so-called Ibsenian play. Intrigue for the sake of intrigue lost its former importance for him, and in transferring the centre of gravity to the 'philosophy' and psychology of the characters, he naturally emphasized the inner at the expense of the external drama. The consequence was that the external dramatic action and movement were reduced to a minimum, to be replaced by the inner dramatic tension. With this object Ibsen (in his later works) put the tragic quilt of his heroes into the past, i.e. outside the acted drama. By partial confessions, by mysterious hints and allusions to previous quilt he creates from the very beginning of the play that peculiar 'Ibsenian' atmosphere which draws our attention so strongly to the inner working of the characters. The external catastrophe itself is for Ibsen only a pretext and symbol of an inner transformation." [Ibs115:S. 59-60]
- 1928 [Roberts, R. Ellis] *Yibusheng*. Mei Chuan yi. [ID D26235].
Roberts schreibt : "[Ibsen's] prose plays shocked Europe because here once more were live people on the stage. This is certain, and yet all the time the theatres of Europe were all familiar to live people of Shakespeare, and their intense problems. Why did the situation in *Ghosts* seem so much more terrible than the situation in *Measure for measure* ? Why did Rosmer stun and shame audiences which could smile and yawn at the agony of Hamlet ? Why should Hedda Gabler appear heartless to a generation familiar with Iago, or Rebecca West ruthless to people who knew Macbeth, or Mrs. Allmers indecently sensual to playgoers who admired Cleopatra ? First, most people cannot listen intelligently to poetry, even when it is intelligently spoken ; secondly, the whole presentation of Shakespeare's plays under the Lyceum tradition tended to make actors and audiences alike treat them as belonging to some remote and long-dead past. Ibsen is too hard, too certain, too religious for an age which is soft, and vague and frivolous. Also he is, except for those who like the east wind and the mountain top, a bleak author." [Ibs115:S. 74-75]
- 1928 Lu, Xun. *Pian jiao hou ji* [ID D26359].
Lu Xun schreibt : "Why did we specially choose Ibsen ? Because we had to build up a kind of Western-style new drama, to elevate our drama to use the vernacular to promote prose drama. And furthermore, because it was a task to urgent, we could only use practical examples to stimulate the senses of our intellectuals. These reason are all correct. But I still think that it was also because Ibsen dared to attack society and to fight against the majority. Probably, at thet time, people who introduced Ibsen also had the feeling that they were an isolated army surrounded in an old fortress. When we now look at their tombstones, we still feel the solitude, yet its spirit was great." [Ibs115:S. 217]
- 1928 Feier zum 100. Geburtstag von Henrik Ibsen in China. [Ibs25:S. 40]
- 1928 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Nankai zhong xue (Nankai Middle School) in Tianjin unter der Regie von Zhang Pengchun mit Cao Yu als Nora. [Ibs1:S. 200]
- 1928 Jiao, Juyin. *Lun Yibusheng* [ID D26218].
Jiao schreibt : "Ibsen was a thinker, a satirist, and last but not least an artist. If you study carefully his ideas, you may find that in many places Ibsen deviated from modern ideology, yet his greatness lies in his art. Even he himself admitted that he as a poet and not a sociologist. In recent years there have been many discussions of Ibsen in China. Many people have taken Ibsen primarily as a thinker. Of course we need thoughts, but we also need art. Our choice of art works surely may take on Soviet Russia's polityc towards foreign films, but we cannot deny a person's art because we deny his thought. By the person's thought because of his art.
Whether or not Ibsen's philosophy is suitable for China, I cannot tell. At least I can conclude that present-day China does not need egotism - nevertheless, the kind of individualism Ibsen believed in is beneficial to our society because it means exactly the spiritual liberation and purification of the self. In China, there are many people who have lost their souls. Without a spirit, there cannot be a liberation, a purification of the self."

Tam Kwok-kan : Jiao's essay covers Ibsen's Scandinavian background, biography, plays, and ideological inclinations. Jiao affirms that Ibsen is greater than his Norwegian contemporaries and that his success and popularity all over the world are due to the universal significance of his plays. Jiao stresses the philosophical, artistic, and satiric aspects of Ibsen's drama. He regards Ibsen as a master who contributes to the perfection of realism as a dramatic technique in his problem plays, in which there is an effort to present the social issues rather than to provide a solution for them. According to Jiao, Ibsen as a thinker wrote his plays as an emotional relief of his own personal obsessions. Jiao recapitulates the social evils rooted in the family, law, religion, traditional morals, and society. [Ibs1:S. 83,Ibs115:S. 66]

- 1928 Liu, Dajie. *Yibusheng yan jiu* [ID D12433].
Liu schreibt : "Disappointed by the illusions of life, Ibsen gave up his dreams and regretted his failures at love. The difficulties in life brought him close to society and nature. He began to turn to the ordinary people immediately before him. Be they pastors, merchants, soldiers, beautiful girls, or young poets, he put all of them in his works. His purpose was to reflect faithfully the sorrows of life and wickedness of society. Thus he gave up verse and took up the prose form in his play.
Tam Kowk-kan : In discussing Ibsen's plays, Liu Dajie follows the usual tripartite scheme in grouping the works into the romantic, realistic, and symbolist. [Ibs115:S. 82,Ibs1:S. 88]
- 1928 Ding, Ling. *Sha fei nü shi de ri ji* [ID D16504].
Roman, beeinflusst von Nora von Henrik Ibsen. [Ibs1:S. 118]
- 1928 Yu, Shangyuan. *Yibusheng de yi shu* [ID D26243].
Tam Kwok-kan : Yu states that Ibsen is basically an artist rather than a philosopher, thinker, and idealist. He points out Ibsen's achievements in dramatic technique. The greatness of Ibsen lies in his artistic presentation of a complex idea. He accounts for Ibsen's success by his realistic treatment of contemporary issues. Ibsen's realism in characterization, dialogue, and setting is particularly powerful. "Ibsen's greatness lies in his use of life as subject-matter and realism as a means for artistic achievement, and the use of technique as a medium to blend and balance thought and art." "In modern China, Ibsen is among those who have had the bad luck of being misinterpreted." [Ibs1:S. 104,Ibs25:S. 22]
- 1928 Yuan, Zhenying. *Yibusheng de nü xing zhu yi* [ID D26262].
Yuan schreibt : "Ibsen was a feminist. He wanted to create strong, pure women, but within this corrupt society there is no place for them. In order not to succumb to attack women need an impenetrable fortress of principles and knowledge." [Ibs104:S. 87]
- 1929 Aufführung von *Lun Qun gui = Gengangere* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Beijing yi shu xue yuan (National Beijing Academy of Arts) unter der Regie von Xiong Foxi.
According to Xiong's comments, the performance was successful in terms of its stage technique. Even though this was a commercial performance, the cast was composed of student actors, all up to professional standard. Xiong's interpretation of the play, particularly on the point of heredity, is illuminating and it gives the audience a sense of how to approach the play. [Ibs1:S. 208]

- 1929 Xiong, Foxi. *Lun Qun gui* [ID D26238].
 Xiong schreibt : "Ibsen thinks that all those people opposing Nora are ghosts. The corrupt ideas and false morals are also ghosts. Although Mrs. Alving has fulfilled her duties as a good wife and mother, she ruins her life. For fear that the hypocritical and corrupt power will spread, Ibsen advocates a thorough clearance and thus brings out the problem of heredity in *Ghosts*. By the heredity of syphilis Ibsen implies that social corruption and hypocrisy can also pass to the next generation. *Ghosts* is a great tragedy of world significance, but it is not a Greek tragedy. Nor is it a Shakespearean tragedy. It is a modern tragedy. The classical tragedies are not free from the tricks of fighting and killing, just as in the works of the Greeks and Shakespeare. Only in a modern tragedy is this changed. There is no fighting or death. To the modern dramatists, death is not miserable. Real tragedy lies in the state of 'being neither able to die, nor able to live'. Therefore on the modern stage there is seldom 'death'. We find only inner conflicts, psychological wars, and spiritual battles and miseries that make people 'being neither able to laugh nor able to cry'. Psychological depiction is an essential element in modern tragedy. *Ghosts* is the first one of this kind. Ibsen likes to criticize and argue, but he talks in a reasonable way and never says anything redundant. Every sentence has a meaning and every word is necessary. There is plenty of dialogue in *Ghosts*, but none of it is nonsense. Here lies both the weakness and strength of Ibsen. Yet on the modern stage too much dialogue is really boring, disgusting and makes people sleep. Especially in China, people do not like plays with too much dialogue. Our audience need to think and need patience when they watch *Ghosts*.
- He Chengzhou : On the occasion of the production of *Ghosts* Xiong published the essay *Lun Qun gui*. One central idea in that essay is that *Ghosts* is one of the greatest tragedies in the world, and a pioneering work of its kind in modern Drama.
- Tam Kwok-kan : Xiong Foxi thinks that Ibsen used 'ghosts' as a metaphor for those people opposing Nora, as well as for corrupt ideas and false morals. Although Mrs. Alving has fulfilled her duties as a good wife and mother, she ruins her life. For fear that the hypocritical and corrupt power will spread, Ibsen proposes a thorough clearance and thus brings out the problem of heredity in *Ghosts*. [Ibs115:S. 171-173,Ibs1:S. 209,Ibs25:S. 25]
- 1929 Xiong, Foxi. *She hui gai zao jia de Yibusheng yu xi ju jia de Yibusheng* [ID D26239].
 He Chengzhou : Xiong's essay begins with a summary of the current conception of China's Ibsen : "We know Ibsen because he advocated women's liberation ; we agree with him because he called for social reforms ; we support him because he fought against all that he thought was false, rotten and insane ; we respect him because he propagated individualism."
 In the rest of his essay, Xiong focuses on Ibsen's achievement and mentions specially the following three aspects : the structure of the 'well-made' play, the creative use of suggestion, and the reform of dramatic language. [Ibs25:S. 24]
- 1929 Cao Yu erhält *The complete works of Ibsen* vom Direktor des Nankai xin ju tuang (Nankai New Theatre) Tianjin.
 He Chengzhou : Cao Yu managed to read all Ibsen's plays in that collection, which opened his eyes to the dramaturgy of modern drama. "Reading all Ibsen's plays in English, played an important role in my dramatic career. From Ibsen's plays I realized that the dramatic art can have a number of ways of expression. Characters can become so real and at the same time so complicated." [Ibs25:S. 134]
- 1930 Chen, Xiying. *Yibusheng de xi ju yi shu* [ID D26205].
 Kam Kwok-kan : Chen Xiying's essay is one of the most profound and provocative Chinese analysis of Henrik Ibsen's dramas. Putting Ibsen in the cultural context of European literature, Chen reevaluates his art by considering the contributions he made to the establishment of modern drama. He also traces the new elements in Ibsen's plays to Eugène Scribe and Emile Zola. Ibsen, according to Chen, is greater than his predecessors as he has modified and perfected the technique of the well-made play. His social dramas add new life to the well-made play. Illustrating his arguments with textual references from *The pillars of society*, *Nora*, and *Ghosts*, Chen provides an excellent analysis of the development in Ibsen's method of playwriting. Nonetheless, contrary to the popular opinion in which *Ghosts* is recognized as Ibsen's greatest work, Chen claims that both *The wild duck* and *Rosmersholm* are much superior in regard to technique. [Ibs1:S. 77]

- 1930 Chen, Zhice. *Yibusheng de Qun gui* [ID D26207].
Chen schreibt : "It is comparatively easy to discuss Ibsenism, or Ibsen's ideas and causes, for what one has to do is to read one of Ibsen's plays and pick out a few key sentences, then one can write a full essay. As for me, I would like to talk about his dramatic techniques - those used in *Ghosts*. This is a difficult task for me, but since Ibsen is a dramatist, we should focus on his dramatic accomplishments, and only in this way will we not insult the artist. Ibsen's method differs from that of other playwrights in that, first, an ending becomes a beginning in his plays ; second, instead of chronological presentation, Ibsen uses retrospective exposition ; third, Ibsen gives up the conventional pattern of development ; all the three acts are expositions and the final unravelling comes at the end of the plays."
- Kam Kwok-kan : Chen Zhice states that it is comparatively easier to discuss Ibsenism, or Ibsen's ideas, for in so doing all one has to do is to read one of Ibsen's plays and pick out a few key sentences, than to talk about his dramatic techniques, especially those used in *Ghosts*. Chen believes that any study should focus on Ibsen's dramatic accomplishments, for only in this way can one do justice to the artist. Chen's statement is a critique of the popular view that Ibsen is a social revolutionist rather than a dramatist. Chen points out, Ibsen's success lies foremost in his technical innovations. [Ibs115:S. 86-87,Ibs1:S. 78]
- 1930 Mao, Dun. *Hong*. (Shanghai : Kai ming shu dian, 1930).
[Roman, beeinflusst von Nora von Henrik Ibsen].
虹 [Ibs104:S. 120-121]
- 1931 [Lavrin, Janko]. *Yibusheng yu Xiao Bona*. Zhang Menglin yi [ID D26220].
Lavrin schreibt : "Shaw, being an active 'extrovert', is directed towards external life problems ; the brooding 'introvert' Ibsen, on the other hand, concentrates first of all upon that internal problems of life which can perhaps be solved only upon a supra-logical or religious plane. The whole inner tragedy of Ibsen was due to the fact that, endowed with a profound moral instinct. Devoid of religious consciousness, he was bound to have recourse to purely intellectual solutions, to various philosophical and sociological creed, which led him to scepticism and proved eventually mere illusions, mere 'ghosts' ; for however plausible they be on the plane of logic and reasoning, they were helpless on that plane which is beyond reasoning ; consequently they could not save him from his impasse. Ibsen needed religion as the ultimate justification of his own moral sense, which was strong enough to keep him spell-bound to the end by the uncompromising 'all-or-nothing', and to weigh him down by his continuous feeling of guilt - the feeling of individual responsibility for the evils of all life. It is interesting to compare in this respect the creative methods of Shaw and Ibsen. For apart from the difference which exists between a comedy and a 'serious' drama, there are certain similarities in the inner constitution of Ibsen and Shaw. Both of them are nonconformist in character, which means that they are stimulated by protest and by fighting against the tide ; both are reformers, both are intellectuals, and both write 'plays of ideas' ; that is, they start with some problems or other, which could not be said in plain philosophic terms, and they prefer to solve my means of their art.
- Kam Kwok-kan : Lavrin gives an illuminating study of Ibsen by contrasting him with Shaw. The latter is often treated as a disciple of the former. But with regard to their temperament, artistic concerns, and psychology, Lavrin shows that there are a number of fundamental differences. Ibsen is a moral idealist and his works are in one sense a representation of the conflicts between his ideals and the reality in which he lived. Lavrin affirms that Ibsen writes from an inner inevitability, which is the chief incentive of his works. His own spiritual fighting and experience, which he tries to embody in his plays, are the real cause. For Lavrin, what makes Ibsen different from his contemporaries, is that he does not have religion as a last resort in his moral struggle. Without such a belief, all evils of life become the responsibility of the individual. Ibsen's uncompromising principle of 'all-or-nothing' is an attempt at seeking the support of religion as 'the ultimate justification of his own moral sense'. Lavrin's remarks were especially useful to Chinese critics and readers alike in the 1930s, who were experiencing a new form of drama different from their own tradition. [Ibs1:S. 85-86,Ibs115:S. 91-92]

- 1932 [Plechanov, Georgij Valentinovic]. *Yibusheng*. Chu Qiubai yi. [ID D26356].
Plechanov schreibt : "Ibsen's view and ideals were developed in a country which had no revolutionary proletariat, and where the backward masses could not become the vanguard of the progressive ideal. That is why every forward step of necessity seemed to Ibsen to be a movement of the 'minority', that is, of a small group of thinking individuals. It was quite different in countries of developed capitalist condition. There every progressive movement obviously had to be a movement of the exploited majority, or rather, it had to attempt to be that. Ibsen's bitter, sincere attacks against the 'majority' were greeted with applause by innumerable people who believed this majority to be the proletariat fighting for its emancipation. Ibsen attacked that 'majority' which was alien to all progressive strivings, but he received the approbation of those people who feared the progressive strivings of the 'majority'." [Ibs115:S. 101]
- 1933 Cao Yu schreibt seine B.A.-Arbeit über Henrik Ibsen. [Ibs25]
- 1934 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Molun zhong xue (Molun-Schule) in Shanghai mit Hu Ping als Nora und Gu Menghe als Helmer. [Ibs1:S. 200,Ibs112]
- 1934 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Shanghai ye yu ju ren xie hui (Shanghai Amateur Actors Association) in Shanghai unter der Regie von Wan Laitian und Bühnenbildner Zhang Min mit Lan Ping (Jiang Qing) als Nora, Zhao Dan als Helmer, Jin Shan als Krogstad und Wei Heling als Dr. Rank.
Kam Kwok-kan : The play was for the first time presented in a spectacular manner. It was a shocking event to the Shanghai audience. It was the spectacularly realistic effect that distinguished the production from all previous ones which were in one way or another tinted by the colours of traditional operatic performance. Zhang Min for the first time introduced the Stanislavsky method to the Chinese theatre. Jiang Qing enthusiastically admired Nora and wished all women who were treated as playthings by men would become Nora. Soon she also left family : "I must try to become a real human being !" [Ibs1:S. 203-204]
- 1934 Xia, Yingzhe. *Li xiang zhong de Nuola* [ID D26236].
Xia Yingzhe proposes that Chinese women, the ideal Noras, should be healthy, independent personalities with an iron will, critical ability and at least the minimal knowledge and skill to earn a living. They would return home only if their husbands agreed that they were mistresses of the family. If they could not bear loneliness in society and had to remarry, they should also keep themselves in the position of a mistress, sharing the obligations and duties. As human beings, women have the right to do what they are entitled to, and society, family and husbands should recognize their existence. [Ibs1:S. 97-98]
- 1934 Yang, Zhensheng. *Nuola yu Luosimo* [ID D 26241].
Yang thinks that Rosmer is in one sense a male Nora. While Nora is dissatisfied with her husband, Rosmer dislikes his wife. He thinks that one way to solve the Nora problem is to be realistic about marriage and that both husband and wife should understand and respect each other. Economic independence, according to Yang, is still the biggest problem in women's liberation. [Ibs1:S. 101]
- 1935 "Jahr der Nora" von Henrik Ibsen in China. [Ibs1]
- 1935 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Guang hua ju she (Bright China Drama Society) in Shanghai. [Ibs1:S. 199]
- 1935 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Jinan min jiao guan (Jinan People's Education house) in Jinan.
The purpose of the performance was to promote women's rights and disseminate ideas of feminism. [Ibs1:S. 199]
- 1935 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Mo feng she (Windmill Society) im Tao Tao Theater in Nanjing unter der Regie von Zhang Min mit Wang Ping als Nora und Lu Fu als Helmer. [Ibs112,Ibs1:S. 199]
- 1935 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Shanghai ye yu shi yan ju tuan (Shanghai Amateur Experimental Drama Troupe) im Shanghai jin cheng da xi yuan (Jincheng Theater Shanghai) unter der Regie von Zhang Min mit Lan Ping (Jiang Qing) als Nora und Zhao Dan als Helmer.
Theater Historiker Ge Yihong who witnessed the performance, describes the production as "a great achievement in directing, acting and stage management, with fantastic scenery and spectacular lighting effects", and affirms that it was praised as "a world standard presentation". [Ibs1:S. 205]

- 1935 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Shanghai zhi ren yong ju she (Shanghai Wisdom-Benevolence-Bravery Drama Society) in Shanghai.
The performance celebrate the 'Year of Nora' in China, and promotes ideas of feminism and women's rights in China. [Ibs1:S. 205-206]
- 1935 Mao, Dun. *Han yi xi yang wen xue ming zhu* [ID D26255].
Mao Dun schreibt : "Ibsen tries to use symbolical methods to make up for the inadequacies of his artistic imagery. It is in them that we see the bourgeois intellectual Ibsen, who falls into the trap of the ambiguities of thinking predetermined by his birth when his social problems extend to the future end of the industrialized bourgeois society." [Ibs25:S. 19]
- 1936 Tian, Han. *Tian Han san wen ji* [ID D26272].
Brief an Guo Moruo. Tian Han erwähnt einige Theaterstücke von Henrik Ibsen.
He Chengzhou : Tian Han reads Ibsen and has an independent view of him as few others did. He is attracted to both the realistic and the romantic aspects of Ibsen. And his understanding of Ibsen as a dramatist is not limited to the thematic issues, but includes the dramatic techniques and structure as well. His plays clearly indicate how much he is indebted to Ibsen ; while at the same time they also show just how creative and original a playwright Tian Han is. [Ibs25:S. 120, 133]
- 1936 Cao, Yu. *Lei yu*. (Xianggang : Hong zhi shu dian, 1936).
Beeinflusst von *Ghosts* von Henrik Ibsen.
Cao, Yu. *Ri chu*. (Shanghai : Wen hua sheng huo chu ban she, 1936).
Beeinflusst von *Hedda Gabler* von Henrik Ibsen. [Ibs25:S. 137-190]
- 1938 Mao, Dun. *Cong Nuola shuo qi* [ID D26230].
Mao Dun schreibt : "Women problems had already been discusses in Xin Qing nian before *Nora* was introduced, but independent women did not appear until *Nala* was published and became well known. Ever since, women's movement is no longer just a topic on paper. If we say that the women's movement after the time of May 4th is nothing but 'Noraism', this is no exaggeration."
As to why Chinese Noras ended up returning home, Mao Dun explains : "Naturally, one of the main reasons is, that *Nora* does not have a correct political and social ideology, but merely enthusiasm for rebellion." [Ibs25:S. 17, 19]
- 1939 Aufführung von *Nü xing de jie fang* = *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Ying nian hui (YMCA) in Shanghai unter der Regie von Yi Qiao, in der Adaptation von Yi Qiao mit Ping Gu als Ye Anna.
The setting of the play is placed in Shanghai in 1938, a year after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war. The names of the characters are all changed to Chinese ones. The performance was highly successful.
Yi Qiao makes the following apology for the changes : "Today China has already entered a period of national defense and liberation ; numerous people have sacrificed their own happiness and freedom for the sake of their fellow countrymen. The present performance of *A doll's houe* can no longer take on the attitude of provinding 'a memorandum' for the Chinese women, but must serve as a compass for future actions. For this reason, we have to meet the needs of our age and make our performance a part of our cause in liberating China. Our revision of *A doll's house* was based on the idea of making it more suitable for presentation in China. Although this is not an advisable decision and may even bring harm to Ibsen's original, we have no way to avoid it. There must be some people who will curs us : 'You such a nobody. It is completely wrong for you to make any change to a world masterpiece'." [Ibs1:S. 201-202,Ibs115:S. 178-181]
- 1940 Pan, Jiaxun. *Jin dai xi yang wen di zhu ben* [ID D26355].
Pan schreibt : "Strictly speaking, it is not just society but also the individual that Ibsen wanted to deal with in his problem plays. Furthermore, we can say that in his plays individualism is not only a central theme, but also a point of departure as well as conclusion. Individualism recognizes the individual as part of the people. The self cannot be separated from others ; therefore there is no isolated existence of the self. True individualism is not selfishness ; the indivudial also cares for the benefits of others because one knows that he is inseparable from the other people and if the other people are not saved, he also cannot save himself. The mose precious and meaningful thing in the world is truth. Only when the individual is allowed an opportunity to develop himself freely will truth be found. The reason for Ibsen to emphasize individualism is that he sees it as most important to the development of a person. All institutions, whether law, government, family and religion, should not become a hindrance to personal development and the pursuit of truth." [Ibs115:S. 97]

- 1941 Aufführung einer Adaptation von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Pei du ju she (Chongqing Drama Society) in Chengdu unter der Regie von Lai Qing mit Ouyang Hongying als Nora und Zhang Yang als Helmer.
The play became not only a weapon in national defense but also a means of struggle between the nationalists and communists in China. [Ibs1:S. 201]
- 1942-1943 Aufführung von *Ye ya = Filanden = Die Wildente* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Guo li xi ju xue yuan (National Academy of Dramatic Art) in Sichuan unter der Regie von Chen Shouzhu. [Ibs10]
- 1944 Xiao, Qian. *The dragon beards versus the blueprints* [ID D26358].
Xiao Qian schreibt : "In China, Ibsen is looked upon as a social surgeon rather than as a playwright. In those days, China was so hopelessly ill that she needed a daring doctor capable of prescribing the most desperate remedies. In the midst of the revolt, young Chinese, especially those who had studies abroad, found sympathizers in Europe. Foremost of these was the Norwegian dramatist Ibsen. His works seemed to express their own resentment against existing society and their passion for revolt. Too excited to bother about the details of his theatrical art, they call to him from their desperate loneliness, 'Beloved teacher, at last we have found you !' He was hailed by young China as a comrade rebel, a champion of individual rights. Thus an Oriental shrine was built for the Sage from Scandinavia."
"Ibsen's popularity in China between 1917 to 1921 cannot be exaggerated. For a time the theme of a play was crudely interpreted as 'the social problem it dealt with'. Obviously it was also held by our critics as a convenient criterion. Some have accused our moralizing critics of counting the number of fashionable terms like 'hunger' and 'exploitation' employed by the author before they passed their final verdict as to whether a work was 'solid'. But playwrights themselves also formed a habit of describing their works in terms of 'problems' dealt with." [Ibs115:S. 192, 211]
- 1948 Aufführung einer Adaptation von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Pei du ju she (Chongqing Drama Society) im Kang jian tang Theater in Chongqing unter der Regie von Lai Qing, mit Bai Ling als Nora und Zhang Yang als Helmer. [Ibs112,Ibs1:S. 201]
- 1949 Xiao, Qian. *Pei'er Jinte : yi bu qing suan ge ren zhu yi de shi ju* [ID D26256].
Xiao schreibt : "Ibsen is no longer suitable for us, not only because he belonged to far away Northern Europe. Yet as a forerunner of our profession [writers], we cannot deny that he had observed the organization of society with critical eyes and pointed out its rotten parts. His weakness lay in the fact that he just attacked the corruptions of society but did not analyse the economic causes. Therefore he recognized only the existence of the individual, but did not see that there were the masses. He advocated the improvement of the individual, but never that of the environment. Ibsen was spiritually an anarchist.
Today China has stepped into socialism, in which everything is put under organization and becomes part of a larger system, from the anarchism of thirty years ago, which produced a spirit of rebellion in favour of individualism.. We have inherited from Ibsen the poisonous idea of perfecting oneself without much care for the others. As for our self-reform, can Ibsen contribute something to compensate the losses he has caused us ? Yes, Ibsen can. He gives us *Peer Gynt* which has a grander atmosphere, profounder significance and higher artistic accomplishment than *A doll's house* and *An enemy of the people*.
Tam Kwok-kan : Xiao believes that Ibsenism is no longer needed in China, not only because Ibsen was a writer of the last century, but also because he belongs to the faraway Northern Europe, where the society is essentially different from that in China. As a forerunner of literary realism, Ibsen, Xiao said, examined the organization of society with critical eyes and pointed out the roots of its evilness. Xiao believed that Ibsen's weakness lay in the fact that he attacked only the surface corruptions of society and did not analyze their economic causes. He therefore attacked Ibsen for his advocacy of individualism. He thought that Ibsen recognized only the importance of the individual and not of the masses, because Ibsen failed to relate the victimization of the individual to the injustice hidden in the social structure. Xiao claimed that Ibsen's play *Peer Gynt* should be read as a critique of individualism. According to Xiao Qian, the play is a caricature of selfishness as exemplified in the self-centered *Peer Gynt*. Xiao asserted that the object of attack throughout *Peer Gynt* was the idea of individualism. [Ibs115:S. 98-99,Ibs1:S. 129,Ibs25:S. 28,Ibs109]

1956

A, Ying. *Yibusheng di zuo pin zai Zhongguo* [ID D26357].

A Ying schreibt : "For the purpose of commemorating Ibsen, a grand memorial ceremony was held in Beijing jointly by the Chinese People's Association for Foreign Cultural Exchanges, the Federation of Chinese Writers and Chinese Dramatists. A conference was also organized by the National Library of Beijing the the Peijing People's Cultural Centre. Meanwhile, there was an exhibition at the National Library displaying pictures and books on Ibsen in different languages of the world. The People's Literature Publishing House reprinted the two-volume translation of Ibsen's works by Pan Jiaxun. Essays devoted to the memory of Ibsen appeared in many newspapers and journals. Such activities had never taken place in China before.

Ibsen lived in the time when capitalism was developing. In his works a picture of the development of capitalism was provided. He was dissatisfied with the social phenomena of his time, and he, therefore, incisively exposed the dark sides of capitalist society. This was especially prominent in the third period of his works, which not only heightened Ibsen's reputation, but also exerted a great influence upon European literature. For instance, in *The pillars of society*, he unmasked the so-called pillars who were hypocrites and selfish. Ibsen purposely mocked the socially superior and reputable classes which were exploiting the masses. In *A doll's house*, he again induced women to become independent persons, and not dolls. This play had a certain influence on the women who were fighting for their rights in Europe.

In his plays, a glimpse of the rebellious spirit against the society he lived in can be obtained. On the one hand, he coldly unravelled the ugliness of capitalist society. On the other, he also discovered that the labour movement and socialist movement in Scandinavia were about to develop. Hence, reflected in his later works is the idea that 'redemption of the world can only come from the labour classes'. From this idea sprang the six symbolist plays, among which were *The lady from the sea* and *When we dead awoken*.

Today the Chinese people begin to have a thorough understanding of Ibsen. We are no longer satisfied with the bourgeois viewpoints, prevalent in the May fourth period when Ibsen was introduced. Nor can we accept the anti-historical-materialistic view that Ibsen is greater than Shakespeare. Among those bourgeois critics, some have made much progress since and have obtained a new understanding of Ibsen ; yet there are still some - for example Hu Shi, Lin Yutang and Luo Jialun - who have betrayed the Chinese people and Ibsen, and became the slaves of imperialism and counter-revolutionaries. Actually, even in the May fourth period, it had never occurred to them that the lasting brilliance of Ibsen as a great master of art lies chiefly in the fact that he was a patriot, in his unflinching effort in promoting world peace and welfare, and in his love of the cultural heritage of his home country. Through his works, he revealed without reservation the defects of capitalism and the corruption of the capitalists. It is for this reason that Ibsen will remain forever in the heart of the Chinese people." [Ibs115:S. 103-104, 110]

1956

Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Zhongguo qing nian yi shu xue yuan (China Youth Arts Academy) in Beijing unter der Regie von Wu Xue, mit Ji Shuping als Nora und Yu Chun als Helmer, Jiang Zhulin als Krogstad, Bai Ling als Mrs. Linde und Du Peng als Dr. Rank.

A sponsor of the production invited Ibsen specialists from Norway to participate in their performance. Wu Xue made a trip to Norway in order to collect more information about Ibsen and to see how his plays were staged in Norway.

Cao Juren describes the performance as a production with 'a perfect cast and acting'. Wu Xue comments that 'the play had a different but higher mission in socialist society' and it was treated 'as medicine eliminating corrupt bourgeois morals' and 'as a song praising new life'. Cao Yuren accounts for the difference by the changes in society. Supposedly liberated from all social bondage, both men and women in socialist China were free human beings and therefore no longer identified themselves with Nora. They looked at the play as a satire of the bourgeois social system rather than as an appeal for them to rebel. [Ibs1:S. 207]

1956

Tian, Han. *Xiang xian shi zu yi xi ju da shi men zai xue xi*. In : *Guang ming ri bao* ; July 27 (1956). = *Bernard Shaw : master of realist drama*. [ID D27921]. [Ansprache zum 100jährigen Geburtstag von George Bernard Shaw].

Shaw is one of the great realist writers since Shakespeare. The mantle of Ibsen has fallen upon him, and he has continued the Ibsen tradition and developed it better than anyone else. He has been called the present-day Shakespeare. And after he exposed the real aspect of capitalism in his 'unpleasant' plays, his enemies held him up for castigation as 'that hateful Ibsenite'.

Shaw himself was a writer blessed with longevity like his own 'Methuselah'. His natural life covered almost a century while his creative life was spread over seventy years. Thus he was an eye-witness of the many developments in Europe since the turn of the last century.

Owing to his having read Marx's *Kapital* in early life, he cast a penetrating gaze upon these developments and the social reasons behind them. Shaw possessed a many-sided talent, especially keen on the satirical side, and in addition, he accepted the vivid and lively form of the drama as developed by the English people, with the result that his satirical plays are inimitable. When he died in 1950 people deeply regretted the immense loss of the 'most courageous thinker in Europe' – to use Gorki's phrase. He left with us over fifty plays, several novels, and at least a hundred articles on political and artistic subjects. It cannot be said, in this enormous body of work covering a whole lifetime, that every item shines like a jewel, but without any doubt whatever, the jewels form the main part. As far as his political thought is concerned, he has trod the tortuous path of reform which has resulted in certain shortcomings in the political ideas expressed in his work. But just as Lenin has pointed out, Shaw was 'a good man fallen among Fabians'. His intensive feeling for justice, and his correct creative method often straightened out his political prejudices in the course of creation. Alick West's contention that often the most penetrating passages of Shaw are directly contrary to Fabianism is a perfectly correct one.

Students of Ibsen have admired the dogged persistence of this old dramatist in North Europe in his study of human character. Shaw also was this kind of person. Although he has been called a 'laughing artist' and a 'great humorist', his attitude towards humanity is serious from beginning to end. He never gave an easy assent before he had thought through a problem. But once he grasped hold of the truth, he upheld it with great determination, with the ferocious courage of a lion or a tiger throwing an intense light upon it. Taking his attitude toward war as an instance, Shaw was always a hater of war and a lover of peace. In 1914, when the First Imperialist War broke out, he disapproved so much of the insanity of the bourgeois instigators of the war, that he placed his name with Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, and other progressive intellectuals of Europe to a protest against the war. In his pamphlet 'Common sense about the war' he called upon the soldiers of both sides to shoot their officers and go home to farm the land, while those who returned to the cities should start a revolution. This naturally earned him the suspicion and hatred of the warmongers, so that he remained neglected for a comparatively long period, causing people even to make the joke that 'Bernard Shaw was growing old'. It was not until the appearance of *Heartbreak House*, followed by a whole series of new plays, that these rumors ceased.

Now let us refer to Shaw's view of social reform. Although he admitted that Marx had 'opened his eyes', nevertheless he preferred reform and the Fabian Society. This is the reason why, in many of his works, after giving a profound exposure of the evils of society, he fails to indicate an active way out. In the early days of his creative life, when strikes followed one after another in England, and class antagonisms were becoming intense, he wrote a whole series of 'unpleasant' plays. When class antagonisms slackened for the time being, his barbs also were less stinging, and he produced 'pleasant' plays.

However, such a perspicacious and truly responsible writer could not ignore the fact that events were not developing in a 'pleasant' fashion but becoming daily more serious ; and he could hardly fail to discover that the Fabian movement was wasting its efforts. But as he still did not believe in the great strength of the revolutionary class, and did not see clearly yet the proper path of revolution, he landed up in denying Fabianism on the one hand and the revolutionary trade union movement on the other, considering that both were fundamentally useless. (Shaw's *Revolutionist's handbook* 1816). It was not until after the success of the Russian October Revolution, and the appearance of the success of the Soviet Socialist Republic, that the depression of the old playwright became dispersed. So he ended up by saying, "We are socialists. Russia's viewpoint is also ours". Afterwards he kept firmly to this viewpoint and never wavered when the Soviet Union was attacked by the Nazi power of Germany in 1941 and her fate was in the balance.

In 1933, at the time of Shaw's visit to China, the liberation struggle of the Chinese people was in the midst of an extremely difficult period. Japanese imperialism, after the invasion of the Northeast lasting from Sept. 18, 1931, was again intensifying its aggression against North China, while the reactionary

government of the Guomindang was compromising with and surrendering to the invader on the one hand, and persecuting and suppressing revolutionaries on the other, and England and the United States were waiting for Japan to attack China. At such a time it was difficult for Shaw in his visit to China to give satisfaction to all parties, and in fact, he did not do so.

In one of his articles, Lu Xun pointed out the different reactions to Ibsen and Bernard Shaw of the so-called 'upper classes' and 'lower classes'. He said : "It goes without saying the people who go to their plays are mostly ladies and gentlemen. Ladies and gentleman belong to a species that is full of 'amour propre'. Although Ibsen puts them on the stage and lays some of their secrets bare, he doesn't pass judgment on them, but says to them calmly 'Think it over. What is it all about ? Although the dignity of the ladies and gentlemen is somewhat shaken, they are still able to swagger home ; and although they are not very happy in their musings when they go home, they are still able to preserve a bold exterior... Shaw, however, is not like this. When he puts them on the stage, he tears the masks off their faces and the expensive clothes from their bodies, and ends by dragging them by the ears, pointing at them before everyone and saying, 'look, these are parasites !' He doesn't give them time to answer back, or a loophole of escape. Then the only people left laughing are the lower classes who are not guilty of the vices he holds up for castigation. In this Shaw approaches the lower classes, and in consequence, there is a distance between him and the upper classes."

Shaw said in a speech to the students of Hong Kong University : "If at twenty you don't join the Reds in their revolution, you'll become fossils at fifty ; if you become red revolutionists at twenty, the chances are you won't get left behind at forty". This is the sort of thing that is thoroughly disliked by reactionary rulers, and so it was picked upon by the bourgeois press of Shanghai for attack.

During the few hours he was in Shanghai, Shaw saw the people he wanted to see, such as Madame Sun, and Lu Xun. Nevertheless, Lu Xun said : "I didn't ask a single question of Shaw ; and Shaw didn't ask a single question of me. We lapsed into silence". Shaw, however, said a few words to the newspaper reporters that besieged him, and what he said was distorted in both the Chinese and foreign papers the next day. For instance, on the subject of the Chinese government, the Shaw of the English papers said : "The Chinese should choose those they respect most to be their rulers" ; the Shaw of the Japanese papers said : "There are several governments in China" ; the Shaw of the Chinese papers said : "A good government is never popular with the people". This led Lu Xun to say : "Shaw, in this instance, was not being satirical but a mirror". He reflected the real facial expressions of the imperialists and their jackals.

An article produced during Shaw's visit to China that is worth paying attention to is his message to China and the Chinese people given through the *Shi shi xin bao*. [Siehe 1933 : Shaw, George Bernard. A message to the Chinese people].

These words of Shaw have the ring of absolute sincerity. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao [Zedong], the Chinese people are uniting together, and after escaping from national crisis and having driven away the Guomindang reactionary clique, we are actually in the process of adopting the beneficial aspects of modern 'civilization' and rejecting and weeding out the harmful aspects according to our own benefit, and building a socialist, industrialized New China.

In regard to many questions, Shaw is not only a satirist, but also a prophet. Regarding the Soviet Union, regarding, China, regarding others that have suffered or are suffering oppression, a great deal of what he said has proved perfectly correct.

The first introduction of Shaw to China was probably through Pan Jiaxun's *Lou xiang* (Mean alleys) which was Shaw's virgin effort, *Widowers' Houses*. It was easy for this play that exposed the cruelty of capitalist exploitation and took up the cudgels for the poor, to draw forth a sympathetic response from the Chinese people of that time, who were also in distressful circumstances. Pan Jiaxun followed up his first translation with *Mrs. Warren's profession*, and the following plays appeared translated by other people : *The philanderer*, *Arms and the man*, *The devil's disciple*, *Candida*, *St. Joan*, *Back to Methuselah* and *Pygmalion*. Of these plays, *Mrs. Warren's profession*, *Arms and the man*, and *Pygmalion* have been produced on the stage at different times in various places in China.

If *Widowers' houses* was influenced by Ibsen, *Mrs. Warren's profession* is an answer to Ibsen's *Doll's house*. Ibsen himself threw light on Nora's leaving through Madame Helseth's husband saying to her in *The lady from the sea* : "I admit you are absolutely free. You can choose for yourself, and you are responsible for yourself". The result was that Madame Helseth did not leave her husband. But the economic rights of the wife were not yet settled, so Shaw suggests a different solution for Vivie, the new woman, in her determined and uncompromising struggle to leave her brothel-keeper mother and that rotten parasite who lived on the income derived from capital invested in houses of prostitution, Sir George Crofts ; and that was an independent existence working at a profession. This is a development on *A doll's house* and *The lady from the sea*, even though in capitalist society, the problem of the

professional woman is not an easy one to solve.

Ibsen and Bernard Shaw have many similarities both in their persons and in their art. Their artistic creation swept away a great deal of the prevailing decadence in the European theatre and made dramatic literature a weapon for criticizing society and revealing human life, and turned the theatre into what Bernard Shaw called 'a factory of ideas'. They were heirs to the notable tradition of their own countries and the whole of Europe, and in their turn, have developed it and exercised a strong influence on those who followed them. They both have a serious, severe, unflinching attitude towards artistic creation. Ibsen, for instance, wrote six plays in the period from *A doll's house* to *The lady from the sea* on the same central problem, probing it to its depths and bringing it into relief. And Shaw also, in the long period of his creative life, never stopped searching for the truth, for the real qualities of society. He has said that each of his plays marked a development of his thought. Both of them were deeply patriotic, with a warm love for humanity, and very much concerned for the fate of the human species. Both gave their support to all movements with justice on their side, and were staunch, unbending guardians of democracy and peace, in their hatred of war and all its horrors. Where the truth was, there they were to be found, supporting it without fear or favour.

Their works are not only loved by the Chinese people but have had an actual influence on society. Their attitude in pursuit of truth and in upholding it will be forever an example to us. The more we study their works, the more we realize that we have not learnt enough from them, and that their plays should be more frequently staged. In order to establish Chinese realism on a firm basis, we should study their works, act them, and attend performances of their plays more industriously than ever. On this day, when we are holding a festival in memory of these two great writers, we are full of boundless optimism in regard to the development of the progressive dramatic culture of the whole world. In the past, progressive drama has brought wisdom and courage to the whole of humanity, and educated it in its struggle for liberation. Treading in the footsteps of Ibsen and Shaw, it will in the future bring more wisdom, more courage, and more noble feelings to aid the people of the present day and the future to build an even better life in an even better world. [Shaw11]

- 1957 [Shaw, Bernard]. *Yibusheng xi ju de xin ji qiao*. Pan Jiaxun yi. [ID D30757].
In his essay, Shaw illustrates the technique of 'discussion' by using *Nora* as an example. Shaw's criticism of Ibsen was of the most important references in Chinese Ibsen research.
Shaw schreibt : "Up to a certain point in the last act, *A doll's house* is a play that might be turned into a very ordinary French drama by the excision of a few lines, and the substitution of a sentimental happy ending for the famous last scene... But at just that point in the last act, the heroine very unexpectedly (by the wiseacres) stops her emotional acting and says : We must sit down and discuss all this that has been happening between us'. And it was by this new technical feature : this addition of a new movement, as musicians would say, to the dramatic form, that *A doll's house* conquered Europe and founded a new school of dramatic art." [Ibs25:S. 48]
- 1960 Film : *Ci mu xin* = 慈母心 [Motherhood] unter der Regie von Zuo Ji und dem Drehbuch von Zuo Ji nach Ibsen, Henrik. *Gengangere : et familjedrama i tre akter*. (Kobenhavn : Gyldendal, 1881). [Film,WC]
- 1962 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Shanghai xi ju xue yuan (Shanghai Theatre Academy) in Shanghai unter der Regie von Xiong Foxi mit Cao Lei als Nora und An Zhenji als Helmer. [Ibs1:S. 203]
- 1973 Lu, Xun. *Lu Xun quan ji*. (Beijing : Ren min wen xue chu ban she, 1973).
When the Marxist influence became stronger, Lu Xun turned away from his early enthusiasm for Ibsen, and became more and more critical. Ibsen's returning to Norway after 27 years of exile became in Lu Xun's opinion a compromise that Ibsen made with the bourgeois society at home. The change of Lu Xun's attitude towards Ibsen represents a tendency in the Chinese reception of Ibsen. [Ibs25:S. 18]
- 1978 Cao, Yu. *Ji nian Yibusheng dan chen yi bai wu shi* [ID D26273].
Er schreibt : "I have worked at drama for decades. When I began to be interested in drama and playwriting, I certainly received a lot of influence from Ibsen." [Ibs25:S. 135]
- 1981 Aufführung von *Gong di* = *En folkefiende* = *Ein Volksfeind* = *An enemy of the people* = 公敵 von Henri Ibsen durch das Xianggang hua ju tuan (Hong Kong Repertory Theatre) in der Übersetzung von Zhang Kejian und Mai Qiu unter der Regie von Mai Qiu. [WC]

- 1981 Gu, Zhongyi. *Bian ju li lun yu ji qiao* [ID D26264].
 Tam Kwok-kan : Gu cited scenes from Henrik Ibsen's *Nora* and *The pillars of society* to stress that many of the events and characters in these two plays originated from real life. Gu believed that some of Ibsen's plays were based on real persons and real events ; Ibsen only developed real events into art. Gu claimed, that *Nora* is a dramatization of the social contradictions between a male society and the advocacy of women's emancipation. Gu gave many examples to illustrate the technical aspect of playwriting. The dramatic techniques used by Ibsen in his social problem plays are treated as indispensable elements for good playwriting. [Ibs107:S. 395]
- 1981 Xiao, Qian. *Yibusheng de Pei'er Jinte* [ID D26267].
 Tam Kwok-kan : Xiao Qian completely revised his view of the play *Peer Gynt* and admired it as a remedy for the lack of individuality among the Chinese. In 1949 Xiao Qian thought that *Peer Gynt* was an attack on individualisms and could serve as a weapon against bourgeois ideas in the intellectual reform movement. In 1978 he read the play from a different perspective. Expressing his contempt of the Gang of Four in 1978 when he completed the Chinese translation of acts one and five of the play. He considered it a ridicule of political opportunists, the play's theme provided a contrast between the human and the devil : "a human being should have his own self, have beliefs and principles, and is not opportunistic, whereas a devil does not and will avoid difficulties and yield to temptation. The devil's judgement is purely based on advantages, not on the consideration of what is right and what is wrong". In 1981, Xiao was able to notice that all his previous interpretations of the play and of Ibsen, were very much affected by his personal emotions and political naiveté which, he now thought, was not a correct attitude toward a literary work. Refuting his previous position, Xiao recommended a re-reading of Ibsen in terms of a broader philosophical perspective that could shed light on ideals in life and personal integrity. [Ibs109]
- 1982 Cao, Yu. *Cao Yu he ju zuo jia tan du shu he xie zuo 'ju ben'*. In : Ju ben, Beijing (1982). [Talking with the playwrights about reading and writing].
 曹禺#“和剧作家谈读书和写作”#《剧本》
 Cao Yu schreibt : "Shakespeare's plays are so great and profound that they are as miraculous as the universe. I once learned some techniques from Ibsen, yet I learned more from Shakespeare. His works exhibit the richness and variation of humanity, exquisite structure, beautiful poetic flavor, humanistic enthusiasm, and a fertile imagination. No genius can bear comparison with him. The most important technique of Shakespeare that we should learn is his brilliant characterization." [Shak16:S. 180]
- 1982 Sun, Jiaxiu. *Yibusheng he ta de xi ju* [26258].
 Sun Jiaxiu schreibt über *Rosmersholm* von Henrik Ibsen : "In this play, Ibsen uses the illusion of white horses as a symbol, which obviously goes together with the theme and the event. But in fact, the symbol has the play covered with the atmosphere of mysticism and decadent emotion. We feel that it damages the realistic quality of the play, and at the same time reflects a negative element in the writer's emotion."
 Ibsen's last play *When we dead awaken* seems to Sun the most disappointing : "The play has achieved nothing so far as dramatic techniques are concerned. It lacks dramatic action and life. The characters are very abstract. We perhaps can see further how the limitations in his thinking and emotion have brought Ibsen sadness and disappointment." [Ibs25:S. 33]
- 1983 Aufführung von *Haida = Hedda Gabler* von Henrik Ibsen durch das Xianggang hua ju tuan (Hong Kong Repertory Theatre) in Hong Kong in der Übersetzung von Gao Tian'en unter der Regie von Yang Shipeng = Daniel S.P. Yang. [Ibs1:S. 210]
- 1983 Aufführung von *Peer Gynt* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Zhong yang xi ju xue yuan (Central Academy of Drama) in Beijing in der Übersetzung von Xiao Qian unter der Regie von Xu Xiaozhong.
 Xu Xiaozhong learned that there was 'another Ibsen' who was unfamiliar to most of the Chinese. The allegorical theme and the spectacular stage effects of the play presented an entirely new Ibsen to China. For fear that the Chinese audience was unable to comprehend such a Western mythological figure, the directors decided to present it in the image of the Chinese legendary animal god Pigsy (Xi you ji). The marriage horse in the original was turned into a traditional Chinese dancing lion [Ibs1:S. 196-197]

- 1983 Xu, Xiaozhong. *Zai xian Yibusheng : dao yan Pei'er Jinte de si kao* [IDD26257].
 Xu schreibt : "In *Peer Gynt*, the writer raises sharply the problem of morality. But his answer regarding the solution of this problem is essentially based on idealism and the bourgeois humanism because Ibsen thinks that 'with, love and faith' can save a degraded soul and solve the problem of morality.
 Peer pursues his effort in finding out who he is and the real significance of being a man, blindly and stubbornly. With this will and hope, he has been from his homeland to overseas, from paradise to hell, and from living a man's life to that of trolls. Throughout his life he can neither have the heart to destroy nor live life anew. He has always been walking around in front of difficulties. Such an action of Peer is the unifying force among the inserted conflicts, dispersed opponents and incoherent stories." [Ibs25:S. 31]
- 1984 Chen, Maiping. *Yibusheng xi ju zhong de xiang zhen* [ID D26259].
 Chen schreibt : "It is obvious that Ibsen's use of symbolism is different from that of other great modern writers. Whether the symbol is an object (the orphanage in *Ghosts*, *The wild duck*, and the tower in *The master builder*), a character (the stranger in *The lady from the sea*), a belief, or an illusion (the white horse in *Rosmersholm*), they appear so frequently in many different scenes that they have a variety of meanings.
 Ibsen's thought goes beyond reality and enters into the sphere of abstraction, but he won't stay there. Instead of being a thinker and philosopher, Ibsen is determined to be a poet, expressing his thoughts with poetic language and illustrating his philosophical ideas in dramatic images." [Ibs25:S. 33-34]
- 1985 Aufführung einer Adaptation von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Xianggang qing nian ju tuan (Hong Kong Youth Theatre Company) in Hong Kong unter der Regie von Huang Haoyi = Wong Ho-i. All the characters are given Chinese names and the actors wear Chinese costumes. [Ibs1:S. 206]
- 1990 Aufführung von *Peer Gynt* von Henrik Ibsen durch das Xianggang hua ju tuan (Hong Kong Repertory Theatre) in Hong Kong unter der Regie von Xu Xiaozhong. [Ibs1:S. 196]
- 1996 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Si ding ju she (Augustin Drama Group) in der Shatin Town Hall Hong Kong unter der Regie von Gao Jixiang mit Zhong Xuejian, Du Weichang, Zhuang Yongkang. [Ibs1:S. 206]
- 1996 Aufführung einer Adaptation von *En folkefiende = Ein Volksfeind* von Henrik Ibsen durch das Zhong yang shi yan hua ju yuan (Central Experimental Theatre) in Beijing unter der Regie von Wu Xiaojiang. [Ibs1:S. 210,Ibs10]
- 1997 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch die Xianggang ying shi ju tuan (Hong Kong Movie and TV Theatrical Company) in Hong Kong unter der Regie von Bai Yaocan. [Ibs1:S. 206]
- 1998 Aufführung von *Nora* von Henrik Ibsen durch das Zhongguo shi yan hua ju yuan (China Experimental Theatre) in Beijing und Shanghai unter der Regie von Wu Xiaojiang, mit Agnete Gullestad Haaland als Nora und Li Jian als Helmer. [Zweisprachige Aufführung]. [Ibs112]
- 1998 Aufführung von *Pei'er Jinte = Peer Gynt = 培爾金特* von Henrik Ibsen durch das Xianggang hua ju tuan (Hong Kong Repertory Theatre) in der englischen Übersetzung von Frank McGuinness, der chinesischen Übersetzung von Chen Junrun unter der Regie von Michael Bogdanov. [WC]
- 2011 Chen, Shouzhu. *Yibusheng "Wan'ou zhi jia" yan jiu* [ID D26206].
 Chen schreibt : "Henrik Ibsen was not only a great Norwegian dramatist, but also the founder of modern European drama. Treating the stage as his speech forum, he honestly and courageously pointed out to his fellow countrymen and the whole of Europe the various problems in their society. From the aspects of politics, law, religion and morality, love and marriage, he sharply and passionately criticized the hypocritical and selfish bourgeoisie and the corruption of the social system. Although he only raised questions and never gave scientific answers, his works were enough to show that the bourgeois society was a wretched world." [Ibs115:S. 112]

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Lagerlöf, Selma (Gut Marbacka, Värmland 1858-1940 Gut Marbacka, Värmland) : Schwedische
Schriftstellerin

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1934 [Lagerlöf, Selma]. *Kuang ren yu si nü*. Nuogeluofu zhu ; Liu Dajie yi. (Shanghai : Zhonghua shu ju, 1934). (Xian dai wen xu cong kan). Übersetzung von Lagerlöf, Selma. *An herrgardssägen*. Berättad af Selma Lagerlöf ; illustrerad af Georg Pauli. (Stockholm : A. Bonnier, 1899). (Nordiskt familjebibliotek ; 4).
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Haicai. *Jiao ao di gu niang*. Zhang Boquan yi. Übersetzung von Heyse, Paul. *L'Arrabbiata : Novelle*. (Berlin : W. Hertz, 1853). 驕傲的姑娘
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西瑪#拉格洛芙 : 1909 獲獎 / 保羅#海才 : 1910 獲獎 [WC]

Lindgren, Astrid = Ericsson, Astrid Anna Emilia (Näs bei Vimmerby 1907-2002 Stockholm) :
Schwedische Schriftstellerin

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1996 [Perrault, Charles ; Lindgren, Astrid]. *Xiao hong mao ; Chang wa zi Pipi*. Beiluo yuan zhu ; Lin'gelun ; Chen Bochui zhu bian. (Shanghai : Shanghai ke ji jiao yu chu ban she, 1996). (Shi jie tong hua jing xuan). Übersetzung von Perrault, Charles. *Le petit chaperon rouge*. In : Perrault, Charles. *Histoires, ou Contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez*. (Paris : C. Barbin, 1697). Übersetzung von Lindgren, Astrid. *Pippi Langstrump*. (Stockholm : Rabén & Sjögren, 1945). = Pippi Langstrumpf. (Hamburg : F. Oetinger, 1949).
小红帽 长袜子皮皮 [WC]

Lundkvist, Artur Nils (Perstorp Municipality, Skåne County 1906-1991 Solna, Stockholm County) : Schwedischer Schriftsteller, Dichter

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1955 Lundkvist, Artur. *Den förvandlade draken : en resa i Kina*. (Stockholm : Tidens Förlag, 1955) = Lundkvist, Artur. *Der verwandelte Drache : eine Reise durch das neue China*. (Leipzig : Brockhaus, 1956). [Bericht seiner Reise 1954, Beijing, Shenyang, Xi'an, Suzhou, Nanjing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Guangzhou, Euhan, Chengdu]. [Cla,KVK]

Marcus, Aage (Kopenhagen 1888-1985) : Schriftsteller, Kunsthistoriker

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1949 Marcus, Aage. *Der blaue Drache : Lebenskunst und Bildkunst im alten China*. Übersetzung von Hanna Kobylinski ; unter Mitwirkung von Walter Bauer. (Zürich : Atlantis Verlag, 1949). [Eur]

Meri, Veijo (Viipuri = Wyborg 1928-2015 Helsinki) : Finnischer Schriftsteller

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1987 *Jing zi de gu shi : dang dai shi jie duan pian xiao shuo xuan di 2 ji*. Zheng Shusen [William Tay] bian. (Taipei : Er ya chu ban she, 1987). (Er ya cong shu ; 212). [Enthält Kurzgeschichten von Carson McCullers, Jorge Luis Borges, Patrick White, Ilse Aichinger, Milan Kunera, Doris Lessing, Veijo Meri, Michel Tournier, Ruan Rulfo, Tadeusz Borowski, Vasily Aksyonov].
鏡子的故事 : 當代世界短篇小說選第2集 [WC]

Michaelis, Karin (Randers, Jütland 1872-1950 Kopenhagen) : Dänische Schriftstellerin

Biographie

- 1942 Bertolt Brecht schreibt an Karin Michaelis, die ihn und Helene Weigel 1933 aufgenommen hatte : Unsere Literaturgeschichte zählt nicht so viele exilierte Schriftsteller auf wie etwa die chinesische ; wir müssen uns damit entschuldigen, dass unsere Literatur noch sehr jung ist und noch nicht kultiviert genug. Die chinesischen Lyriker und Philosophen pflegten, wie ich höre, ins Exil zu gehen wie die unseren in die Akademie. Viele flohen mehrere Male, aber es scheint Ehrensache gewesen zu sein, so zu schreiben, dass man wenigstens einmal den Staub seines Geburtslandes von den Füßen schütteln musste. [Yim1:S. 63]

Myrdal, Jan (Stockholm 1927-) : Schriftsteller

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1963 Myrdal, Jan. *Rapport fran kinesisk*. (Stockholm : P.A. Norstedt & Söners, 1963). = Myrdal, Jan. *Bericht aus einem chinesischen Dorf*. [Aus dem Schwedischen von Gustav Adolf Modersohn ; wissenschaftliche Beratung: Rolf Trauzettel] ; mit 22 Fotos von Gun Kessle. (München : Nymphenburger, 1966). [WC]

- 1965 Myrdal, Jan ; Kessle, Gun. *Chinese journey*. Photographs by Gun Kessle, text by Jan Myrdal. (London : Chatto & Windus, 1965). [LOC]
- 1977 Myrdal, Jan. *Sidenvägen : en resa fran Höga Pamir och Ili genom Sinkiang och Kansu*. Jan Myrdal : bilder av Gun Kessle. (Stockholm : Norstedt, 1977) = Myrdal, Jan. *The silk road : a journey from the High Pamirs and Ili through Sinkiang and Kansu*. Jan Myrdal ; translated from the Swedish by Ann Henning ; photos by Gun Kessle. (New York, N.Y. : Pantheon Books, 1979) = Myrdal, Jan. *Die Seidenstrasse*. Übers. aus dem Schwedischen von Wolfdietrich Müller. (Wiesbaden : F.A. Brockhaus, 1981). über Bericht der Reise 1976, Taschkurgan (Xinjiang), Takla Makan, Ili-Gebiet, Gansu, Baoji, Chengdu, Yangzi, Wuhan]. [Cla,Eur]

Strandberg, Olle = Strandberg, Olof Georg (Stockholm 1910-1956 Stockholm) : Journalist, Schriftsteller

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1954 Strandberg, Olle. *Tigerland och söderhav*. (Stockholm : Vingforl., 1952). = *Tigerland and South sea*. (New York, N.Y. : Harcourt, Brace, 1953). = *Tigerland und blaue Südsee*. (Wien : Wancura, 1956). [Bericht seiner Reise nach Indien, Macao, China, Thailand und aus der Südsee]. [WC]

Strindberg, August (Stockholm 1849-1912 Stockholm) : Schriftsteller, Dramatiker, Maler

Biographie

- 1932 [Strindberg, August]. *Jie hun ji*. Liang Shiqiu yi. [ID D14325].
Liang's translation is based on Thomas Seltzer's English version. The original has nineteen short stories, of which Liang chose to translate nine. Liang did not wholly agree with Strindberg, particularly not with his antipathy towards women, yet he thought that much that Strindberg revealed about marriage was real. People should get rid of escapist, romantic expectations of marriage and courageously assume their responsibilities. [Babb23]

Bibliographie : Autor

- 1882-1883 Strindberg, August. *Notices sur les relations de la Suède avec la Chine et les pays tartares depuis le milieu du XVII siècle jusqu'à nos jours*. In : *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient* ; vol. 1 (1882-1883). [AOI]
- 1930 *Lu guan*. Zhao Jingshen yi. (Shanghai : Shen zhou guo guang she, 1930). [Anthologie von Novellen von M. Prishvin, Marietta Shaginian, G. Delledda, Guy de Maupassant, Henri Barbusse, Oscar Wilde, Lord Dunsany, Henry Van Dyke, August Strindberg].
芦管
[Enthält] :
San jia zhi bu ji. Xie Jinglin.
Liang ge nan ren he yi ge nu ren. Dailidai.
Xiao jiu tong. Mobosang.
Bu kuai le di shen ti. Tangshannan.
Kuang feng. Tangshangnan.
Lan hua. Fandake.
Tian ran di zhang ai. Shitelinbao. [WC]
- 1932 *Zhong xue sheng fan yi*. Gao'erji [et al.] zhu ; Zhang Tingzheng yi. (Shanghai : Zhong xue sheng shu ju, 1932). (Zhong xue sheng cong shu). [Übersetzung von Short stories und Gedichten].
中學生翻譯
[Enthält] : Ivan Vazov, Maksim Gorky, John Ruskin, Maria of Romania, August Strindberg, Leo Tolstoy, Karel Capek, Josef Capek, Alfred Tennyson, Edgar Allan Poe, Percy Bysshe Shelley. [WC]
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切婚記 [Eur]

- 1980-1985 Strindberg, August. *Gui hun cou ming qu*. Sitelinbao ; Fu Jiaqin yi. Übersetzung von Strindberg, August. *Spök-sonaten : kammarspel, opus 3*. (Stockholm : Ljus, 1907). [Erstaufführung Strindberg's Intimate Theatre, Stockholm 1908]. In : *Wai guo xian dai pai zuo pin xuan*. Vol. 1 [ID D16726]. 鬼魂奏鸣曲 [YuanK2]

Bibliographie : erwähnt in

- 1927 Pu, Shunqing. *Yibusheng yu Sitelinbao zhi fu nü guan*. In : *Fun nü za zhi* ; vol. 13, no 9 (1927). [Ibsen and Strindberg's views on women]. 易卜生與斯特林堡之婦女觀 [Ibs1]