FU JEN STUDIES

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CONTENTS

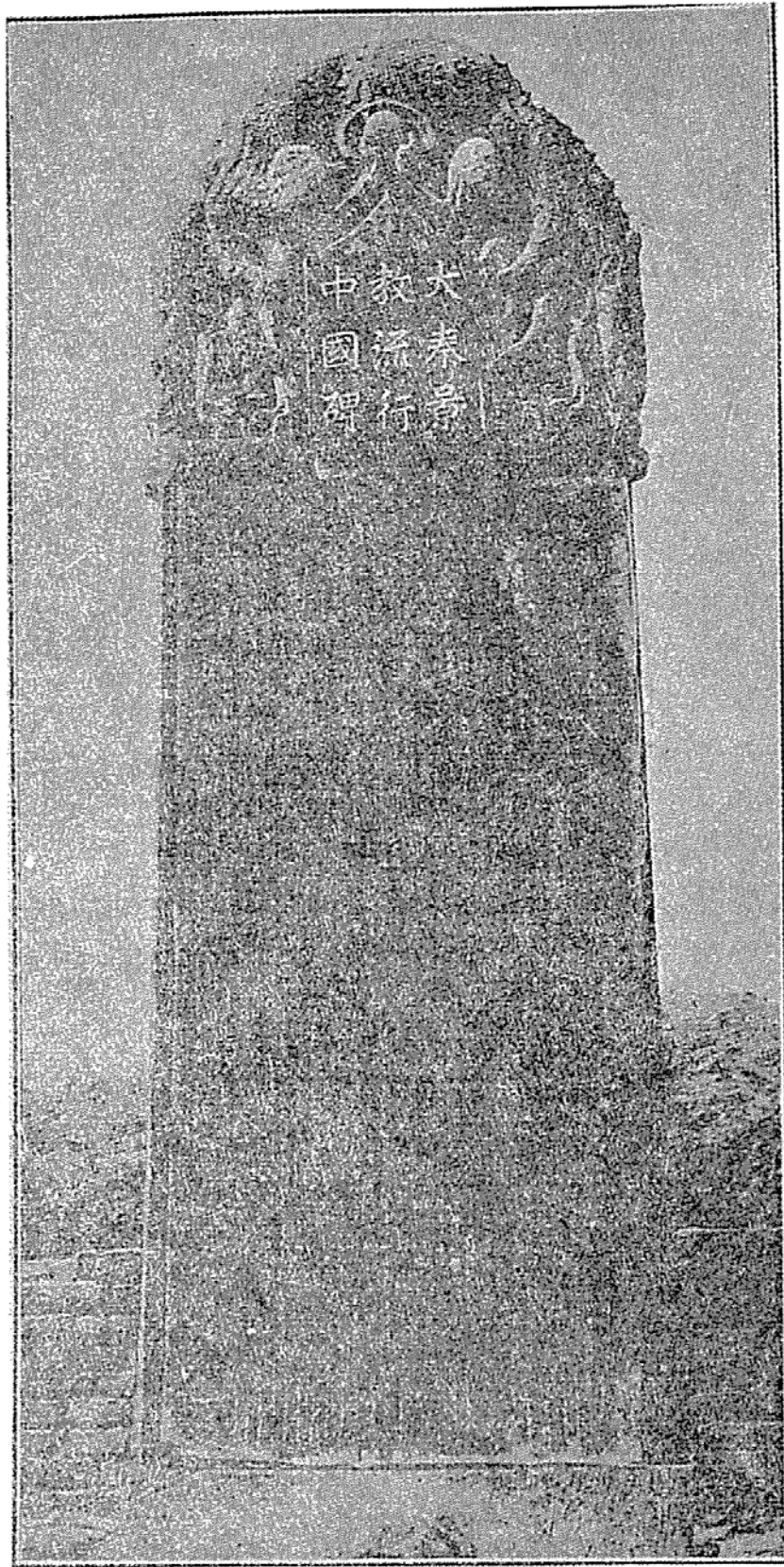# THE NESTORIAN TABLET OF SIAN-FU
Translated into English

IGNATIUS YING CH'IEN-LI

INTRODUCTION

Christianity, brought to the learned Chinese in the 16th century by missionaries from the West, inevitably appeared as a novelty imported from abroad. So fascinated were the Chinese by their own ancient cultural treasures and traditions that they had little esteem for things which were both alien and new, and thus had great difficulty in embracing the new doctrine. The missionaries, on their part, although they had heard rumors about a "Religion of the Cross" having existed in China in past times, were hard up to prove that the religion they preached was not as new as it appeared to their Chinese friends. No wonder, then, that the discovery of the famous Nestorian monument near Sian-fu, in 1425, had an electrifying effect both among missionaries and Chinese scholars. The marble slab, decorated with a cross on the top and having 1,878 Chinese characters engraved on it, and besides the names of missionaries in Syriac, presented concrete evidence that China had, indeed, had contact with Christianity (the Nestorian form of it) as early as 635 when a group of Nestorian monks, led by Alopen (Olopen) entered China and settled at Ch'ang-an, near modern Sian-fu (Shensi province), then capital of the Middle Kingdom. The text of the monument contains the main points of Christian doctrine and the development of the Nestorian Church in China from 635 until 781, when the monument was erected.

The Nestorian missionaries coming from the Middle East (Syria or Palestine) were well received at the imperial court by the great Emperor T'ai Tsung and enjoyed the favor of other T'ang dynasty emperors during one of the most glorious periods of Chinese history. But the imperial decree of 845 by Emperor Wu-tsung which ordered the destruction of all Buddhist monasteries, also dealt a serious blow

THE NESTORIAN TABLET OF SIAN-FU

(A. D. 781)

to Nestorianism as well as to other religions which were considered alien in China.

With the coming of the Mongol dynasty of the Yuan, Nestorianism was again revived from the 11th through the 13th centuries. Nestorian monks from Central Asia were successful in converting to Christianity several non-Chinese tribes, like the Keraits who numbered 200,000; and several Christian princesses of this tribe were married to Mongol khans. Nestorian relics of this period, recently unearthed in Mongolia and China, include medals, crosses and Christian tombs and sarcophagi bearing Christian names. Nestorian communities could be found both in Khanbaliq (Peking) and other cities of the empire, although it is not known to what extent their membership was Chinese or alien. The first Catholic missionary efforts by John of Montecorvino and other Franciscan missionaries belong also to this period of the 13th century.

Those who would like to reach further back in history in their search for traces of the Gospel as far as the Apostolic age (there is an old story about the Apostle Saint Thomas coming to China after having preached in India) are running the risk of getting lost in the realm of legend. The affirmation of the Roman historian Arnobius (at the beginning of the 4th century) about Christian missions among the Seres (presumably Chinese) also lacks confirmation. Thus the Nestorian monument of Sian-fu remains the most ancient solid evidence of early contacts between China and Christianity.

It was no small coincidence that a Jesuit missionary, Fr. Semedo, happened to be traveling to Sian-fu soon after the monument had been unearthed during a construction and thus was able to recognize its significance. As a matter of fact, the discovery was so much of a boon to missionaries, that rationalists and anticlericals back in Europe accused the Jesuits of pious fraud by producing a hoax in order to promote the success of their missionary activity among the Chinese. In view of these and similar accusations the authenticity of the monument has been repeatedly proved and is now established beyond all doubt. The text of the monument has been made known all over the world by full size reproductions in stone and plaster,

by numerous rubbings and translations in many languages since the first Latin translation prepared by Fr. Semedo soon after its discovery.

On the following pages the reader will find an English translation prepared with great care by Mr. Ying Chien-li and first published in the Fu Jen Bulletin of 1928. The more voluminous publications about the monument of Sian-fu (Y. SAEKI: *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 2nd ed. Tokyo, 1951; GAILLARD, *Croix et Swastika en Chine*, 2e partie, Variétés Sinol. No. 3) being less accessible to the average reader, this present translation undoubtedly will serve as very welcome information about the first documented contact between China and Christian religion and culture.

<div style="text-align: right">Joseph Krahl, S. J.</div>

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

To appreciate the difficulty of translating the text of the Nestorian Tablet, the reader must have some notion of the literary style in which the original is couched. It is, as a fact, composed in that form of rythmical prose which is known as the P'ien T'i style. This style consists of a series of antithetical couplets that have the following general characteristics:

In the first place, every phrase, clause, or sentence is paralleled by a corresponding phrase, clause, or sentence, which is its perfect counterpart in grammatical structure. Thus, if the first sentence contains five words which are, in the order of their succession, an adjective, a noun, a preposition with its object, and a verb, respectively, then the second member of the couplet will also be a sentence consisting of an adjective, noun, preposition, etc., in the selfsame order of succession. At the same time, each word must differ in tone from its respective counterpart. The five characteristic Chinese tones, it should be noted, are divided into two main classes, namely, the level tones (p'ing sheng) and the oblique tones (tseh sheng). The first and second tones are level; the third, fourth, and fifth are oblique. Hence, if a given word in the first member of a p'ien-t'i

couplet is in either one of the level tones, its counterpart in the second member must be in one of the three oblique tones. The following couplet furnishes a typical example of this tonal antithesis combined with sameness of grammatical structure:

Peh[5]   jih[4]   i[1]   shan[1]   chin[4];
Huang[2]   ho[2]   ju[5]   hai[3]   liu[2].

Translated literally, it reads thus:

White sun nigh mountain approaches;
Yellow river toward sea flows.

In this couplet, the adjective "white" has for its counterpart the adjective "yellow;" and the tone of the Chinese character for "white" is oblique, whereas the tone of the Chinese word for "yellow" is level. The same observation is applicable, mutatis mutandis, to all the other words in the couplet. In practice, however, a considerable amount of "poetical license" is allowed as regards tonal antithesis. This applies to every pair of words in a couplet except the last, which must always be two words differing from each other in tone.

The second characteristic of the P'ien T'i style is its abundant use of allusions and quotations. The Jesuit Father Henry Havret calculated that out of the total of from three-hundred to four-hundred allusions employed by Chingtsing (Adam) in the Nestorian inscription, about two hundred and fifty were taken from the Confucian Canon and the Dynastic Histories. It is this characteristic that constitutes a perilous stumbling-block, especially for foreign translators. For in an ideal piece of P'ien T'i composition no sentence, phrase, or expression should ever enter whose elements have not previously occurred in some ancient classical work. The author, in other words, must formulate his main thought in terms of allusion; he must express his own meaning and at the same time fortify it by clothing it in the language of the ancients.

The present translation is based on the Chinese text exclusively; the Syriac portions of the inscription have been supplied from the rendition of the Rev. L. Cheiko, S. J.

THE TEXT

(Title surmounting the inscription)
TABLET OF THE PROPAGATION OF THE LUMINOUS
RELIGION OF TA TS'IN IN CHINA
(First vertical line on principal face of the Tablet)
EULOGY with Preface ON THE TABLET OF THE PROPAGATION
OF THE LUMINOUS RELIGION IN CHINA
Composed by Ching-Tsing, a monk of the Ta Ts'in Temple
(In Syriac) Adam, presbyter and chorepiscopos, and
papas of Sinestan (China).

Behold, there is One who, being eternally true and immutable, has no origin but has existed before all times: who, being incomprehensibly wise and pure, will maintain His wondrous being even after the passage of the ages. It is He who created all by regulating the primordial principles and it is He who is the Supremely Venerable One above all the Saints. He is none other than Our Triune, Mysterious, Uncreated, and True Lord, Aloha.

Determining the four cardinal points, He constituted spatial existences and, stirring up the primordial wind (spirit), He created the two elements. Heaven and Earth were produced by the transformation of the dark and the void, days and nights were made by the motion of the sun and moon. After He had created the whole world, He then made man.

As a special favor, He endowed him (man) with an excellent and harmonious disposition and gave him lordship over the sea of created things. His primitive, innocent nature was modest and unsullied by vanity, and his chaste, clean heart was free from all passions and lusts.

Afterwards, however, the perfidious Satan corrupted man's purity and goodness by diverting him from the smooth path of righteousness and ensnaring him in the dark pit of iniquity.

Hence arose the 365 errors which followed one fast upon the heels of another, and many false doctrines were concocted to enslave mankind. Some paid adoration to created things; others deluded

themselves by speculating on the reality or non-reality of existence. These offered up sacrifices and prayers, in order to impetrate happiness; those extolled noble deeds, in order to inspire others. In their zeal to spread their doctrines, they embroiled their minds and their affections in excessive precipitation and exertion; yet their labor was wholly in vain, and they themselves were consumed in their own despair and anguish. The accumulated errors made them lose their way and deeprooted heresies prevented them from retracing their footsteps.

It was then th at our Messiah, who is a Person proceeding forth from the Trinity and who is the (object of the) veneration of the Luminous (*i. e.*, Religion), having concealed His true majesty, became man and entered this world. The spirits and the heavens proclaimed the glad tidings when a Virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Ta-ts'in; and a luminous star announced the auspicious event, so that Persians beholding its radiance hastened forth to offer tribute. Having fulifilled the Old Law as it was recorded by the twenty-four Prophets, He promulgated the great rules for the Family and the State; by founding the ineffable New Church of the Holy Spirit of the Trinity, He imparted goodness and beneficence to men through the gift of the Orthodox Faith. By establishing the norm of the Eight Beatitudes, He transformed the worldly into the saintly, and by opening the portals of the Three Constant Virtues, he gave Life and destroyed Death. The satanic perfidies were overthrown when He hung up the luminous Sun to assault the Castle of Darkness, and rational beings were saved when He rowed the Bark of Mercy to ferry them to the Palace of Light. Having accomplished His mission, He ascended into Heaven at noon, leaving behind Him a Scripture of twenty-seven books for the purpose of diffusing the Divine Teaching and of awakening souls. His Law prescribes ablution with water and the Spirit to purge away (the love of) wordly pomps and rend (the soul) pure and white. His Sign is an uplifted Cross, whose four luminous points shed light on all without exception.

(His Ministers) strike bells to diffuse the sound of Humanity and Charity, and they make obeisance to the East, to advance along the

path of Life and Glory. They grow a beard to indicate that they have external relations with the world, but tonsure the crown to signify that they should be free from selfish desires. They keep no slaves but treat all men as equal, without any distinction between the noble and the menial; they amass no wealth thus showing that they possess no personal property. They practice abstinence in order to subjugate the senses and they observe vigils and silence to become firm in discipline. Seven times a day they offer up prayers, invoking abundant blessings for both the living and the dead; once every seven days, they offer up a bloodless sacrifice to cleanse their hearts and recover their purity.

Our Religion, which is true and eternal, is so wondrous that to name it properly defies the power of human language; yet, inasmuch as its merits and works are radiantly manifest, we shall call it, for the sake of a name, "The Luminous Religion" (Ching Chiao).

But the Doctrine could not have been diffused without the support of the Sage[1], and the Sage could not have become great, were it not for the Doctrine. But when the Doctrine and the Sage come together in intimate union, then the whole world is blessed with enlightenment and culture.

When T'ai Tsung (A. D. 627–648), the literary Emperor, began his glorious reign, he ruled the people with enlightened sagacity (sageness). And lo, there was in the country of Ta-Ts'in an Abbot named O-lo-pen. Observing the Azure Cloud (declaring the advent of a Sage in China), he resolved to bring the Scriptures of the Truth; and noting the direction of the winds, he set out on a journey full of difficulties and danger. In the ninth year of the Cheng Kuan period (i. e. A. D. 635) he reached Ch'ang An. The Emperor sent the Prime Minister, His Highness Fang Hsuan-ling with a ceremonial escort to bid him welcome at the western suburb of the city and conduct him as a guest of honor into the imperial precinct. The Scriptures were translated in the Imperial Library and questions concerning the Doctrine were propounded in the Imperial Apartments. When the orthodoxness of the Doctrine had been ascertained, the Emperor graciously gave permission for its propagation.

In the Autumn in the seventh month of the twelfth year of the Chêng Kuan period (A. D. 638) an imperial edict was promulgated to the following effect: "The Doctrine (Tao) bears no fixed name and the Sage resides in no definite person. Religions are founded to suit the various regions of the earth, so that salvation may be within the reach of all living beings. Bishop O-lo-pen of the land of Ta Ts'in came from afar bearing with him Scriptures and Images to present them at the Exalted Capital. A careful examination of the tenets of his religion shows it to be metaphysical, profound, and conducive to perfection; an investigation of its principles proves them to be indispensible for life and progress. Its language is free from perplexing expressions and its reasoning distinguishes clearly between the essential and the accidental. As this religion is helpful to all creatures and beneficial to men, it is meet that it be propagated throughout the realm."

The authorities, accordingly, built a Ta-Ts'in temple with accommodation for twenty-one monks in the Yi Ning ward of the Capital. Hence just as at the time when the Chow dynasty (1122–255 B. C.) fell into decadence, Lao-tze mounted on a black ox departed out of China to the West; so at the time when the virtue of the glorious T'ang dynasty shone forth, the Luminous wind (spirit) blew towards the East. A little later, the Emperor charged one of his ministers to delineate a portrait of himself and ordered the same to be reproduced on the wall of the Temple. The radiant beauty of the Heavenly Countenance suffused with dazzling light the portals of the Luminous Temple, and the exalted auspiciousness of the Sacred Visage illumined ever after the sanctuary of religion.

According to "The Notes on the Map of the West" and the historical records of the Han and Wei dynasties, the land of Ta-Ts'in is bounded on the South by the Sea of Corals (the Red Sea?) and extends northward to the Mountain of Many Treasures. To the west it looks towards the Abode of the Blessed and the Floral Groves. and to the east it borders on the region of the Long Wind and Weak Water. The country produces cloth cleansable in fire, soul-recalling incense, bright-moon pearls, and phosphorescent jade. Robbery and

theft are unknown among the common folk; happiness and peace abide with the inhabitants. No religion but the Luminous is practised, and none but virtuous rulers are permitted to wield power. The country is vast in extent, and throughout its length and breadth refinement and enlightenment prevail.

The great Emperor Kao Tsung (A. D. 649–683), worthy successor of an illustrious Sire, bestowed additional honor upon the True Religion by erecting Luminous Temples in every district and by reappointing O-lo-pen as Great Pariarch and Patron of the Nation. Thus the Religion (Law) was preached in the Ten Provinces until the entire realm enjoyed peace and concord; and Temples were built in a hundred cities, until every family was blessed with the Luminous Felicity.

During the Sheng-li period (A. D. 698–699), the Buddhists, in their antagonism, gave expression to their opposition in Eastern Chow (*i. e.*, East China), and towards the end of the Hsien T'ien period (A. D. 712), the "vulgar rabble"[2] (*i. e.*, the Taoists), in their sneering irreverence, spread calumnies in Western Hao (*i. e.*, West China). Howbeit, there were at that time the Abbot Primate Lo-Han, Bishop Chi-lieh, nobles from the Golden West, as well as ascetic and learned monks: through the united labor of these the fundamental principles were restored and the broken rope was mended.

Hsuan Tsung (A. D. 713–754), the Most Virtuous Emperor, com-manded five princes, Prince Ning Kuo and four others, to visit the consecrated edifices and to erect altars. Thus the Pillars of the Law, which had for a time been bent, were re-straightened, and the Rock of Doctrine which had been temporarily overturned was restored to its rightful position.

At the beginning of the T'ien Pao period (A. D. 742), the Emperor bade his Marshal Kao Li-shih present the monks with the portraits of the five deceased Emperors which were to be conserved in the Temple, as also with one hundred bolts of silk. The contemplation of the Auspicious and Intellectual Likenesses made us feel that "though the beard of the Dragon elude our grasp, we can still cling to his bow and sword."[3] Thus, though the Solar Horn[4] irradiates

such dazzling light, yet may the Celestial Countenences be viewed from a distance of less than a foot.

In the third year (of the same period, i. e., A. D. 744), a monk of Ta Ts'in named Chieh-ho, following the course of the stars, sought the Land of Culture (China) and advancing towards the Rising Sun, he came to pay homage to the Venerable One (the Emperor). Thereupon command was given to the monks Lo-han, P'u-lun, and others to the number of seventeen, together with Bishop Chieh-ho, to "cultivate merit and virtues" (i. e., to perform a religious ceremony) in the Hsing Ch'ing Kung Palace. Thereafter inscriptions in the Dragon-writing (i. e., in the Emperor's own hand) adorned the entrance and portals of the Temple, their precious decorations gleaming like brilliant green jade and being suffused as though with a vermillion mist, and the exquisite inscriptions filling the whole space leapt up to meet the very Sun. Thus the height of Imperial favor was comparable to the altitude of the loftiest peak of the Southern mountains and the condescension of the royal beneficence was as deep as the lowest depths of the Eastern Sea.

The Doctrine (Tao) cannot be other than efficacious and whatever it effects the same ought to be given a name; the Sage cannot be other than active and whatever be his acts the same ought to be recorded. Su Tsung (A. D. 756–762), the Literary and Enlightened Emperor, rebuilt the Luminous Temples in Ling Wu and four other prefectures. With this act of laudable magnificence he began his hallowed reign, and when the auspicious time had come he reestablished his imperial inheritance.

Tai Tsung (A. D. 763–779), the Literary and Martial Emperor magnified and exalted the imperial destiny. Such peace and prosperity attended his reign that the administrative offices of the government became sinecures.[5] Every year on the Day of the Nativity[6] he would bestow (on the monks) a gift of celestial incense in rendition (to God) of his account of meritorious deeds, and it was his wont to distribute viands from the Imperial table in order to do honor to the Luminous Congregation.

Heaven, by virtue of its beautifying and beneficent action, is

able to mutiply living creatures; the Sage, in virtue of his faithful adherence to the primordial principles, is able to civilize and refine the people. Now in our own times, to wit, in the Chien Chung period (A. D. 780–805), the Sacred (Sheng), Divine, Literary, and Martial Emperor, who always degrades the unworthy and promotes the deserving by putting into operation the eight forms of administration and who constantly augments the splendor and vigor of his glorious Mission through his perfect knowledge of the nine principles of government, has indeed a perfect apprehension of the fundamental reasons of things, and is worthy, verily, to offer sacrifice (to God) with a perfect conscience.

To be dignified and yet humble; to love solitude and yet be filled with sympathy for one's fellowmen; to be universally compassionate in succoring the afflicted and willing to deny ourselves for the benefit of others; such are the chief ideals of our conduct, and the means by which we make conversions.

If winds and rains come in due season; if all things under heaven are at peace; if men are amenable to government and creatures to purification; if the living prosper and the dead achieve happiness; if aspirations find an answering echo, and affections proceed from sincerity: all this is due to the meritorious efficacy of the mighty Luminous Religion.

Our great benefactor, the monk I-sze, who is a mandarin of the rank of Kuang-lu-tai-fu (Warden of the Palace Gate) with golden signet and violet ribbon, Third-Assistant-Governor-General of the Northern Region (Shou-fang), as well as a Probationary Imperial Chamberlain, and one who has been invested by the Emperor with the sacerdotal robe (Chia-sha) of purple, is a man of genial and generous disposition, a man who has zealously sought to practice the Doctrine ever since he heard it. He came to China from a distant city in Wang Sheh.[7] In erudition he is superior to any sage of the San-tai period (2205–255 B. C.) and he is thoroughly versed in all the arts. In the beginning he rendered service at the Vermillion (i. e., Imperial) Court, but afterwards his name was enrolled in the camp of the Prince.

When His Highness Kuo Tse-yi, Grand Secretary of State and Prince of the prefecture of Fen Yang, was in command of the army in the north (A. D. 750), Emperor Su Tsung gave him a commission on the Prince's staff. Although he was such a favorite as to be allowed free access to the Prince's sleeping-pavillion, he behaved himself withal like an ordinary soldier on the march. He was "claws and teeth" to the Prince; he was "the ear and eye" of the army.

He distributed all his emoluments and presents with an open hand, and did not seek to accumulate riches even for his own family. He presented (to the Temple) the Crystal bestowed upon him as a mark of Imperial favor, as well as the carpet interwoven with gold which was given to him to rest on by the Emperor. He has renovated the old monasteries and enlarged the Temples of Religion. He has handsomely decorated the corridors and halls so that their roofs and eaves resemble a pheasant on the wing. Moreover he is zealously devoted to the Luminous Portals, and he spends his substance in the exercise of charity.

Every year he assembles the monks of the four monasteries, in order to perform reverent ceremonies and offer up fervent prayers for a period of fifty days.[8] The hungry come and are fed; the naked come and are clothed; the sick are cured and restored to health; the dead are buried and rest in peace. No Ta-so,[9] however self-denying, was ever like unto him in goodness; verily in him do we behold the ideal white-robed monk of the Luminous Religion.

We have decided, accordingly, to erect this great tablet in order to disseminate the knowledge of these edifying and memorable events.

Wherefore let the following eulogy be inscribed:

The true Lord is uncreated, essentially immutable, and eternal.

He was the Primal Architect, Fashioner of the Earth and Builder of the Sky.

Through the entry into the world of the Person emerging (from the Trinity) came salvation without limit.

The Sun being risen and the Darkness dispelled, the whole world bore witness to the Truth.

When our exceedingly great Literary Emperor, whose virtues

surpass those of all proceeding monarchs,

By utilizing opportunity, had quelled the tumults, magnified the heavens, and enlarged the earth.

The exceedingly bright Luminous Religion entered the Land of our T'ang.

Through the translation of the Scriptures and the erection of Temples, the living and the dead were embarked in the Ship (of Mercy).

Blessings of an hundred kinds arose and the myriads of lands (i. e. all countries) enjoyed prosperity.

When Emperor Kao Tsung succeeded his Sire, he rebuilt the Temples in beautiful style.

With the result that spacious and resplendent Edifices of Peace were to be seen throughout China.

The True Doctrine was then publicly proclaimed and Patriarchs (Fa-chu) were solemnly consecrated.

Happiness and prosperity became the lot of men and calamity and sorrow were as things unknown.

Emperor Hsuan Tsung, from the beginning of his sacred reign, ever cultivated Truth and Rectitude.

The Imperial Tablets shed lustre and the Celestial Writing irradiated splendor.

The Imperial Portraits sent forth their effulgence and the earth looked up in reverent contemplation.

Perfection was everywhere achieved and all were indebted to the Emperor for prosperity.

When Emperor Su Tsung restored the Dynasty, Celestial Majesty ushered in the Imperial Chariot.

The hallowed Sun poured forth its crystal rays and auspicious winds swept away the gloom of night.

Fortune visited once more the Imperial Household and the fiendish apparition[10] was forever banished.

He tranquilized the turmoil (of unrest) and laid the dust (of civil strife). Thus did he reinstate our China in her former grandeur.

Emperor Tai Tsung was filial and loyal and his virtues were in harmony with heaven and earth.

By his munificence he benefited the world and enriched it with beauty and prosperity.

He made offerings of incense (to the Temple) to commend his worthy deeds (to God), and he manifested his generosity by works of benevolence.

The valley of the Sun was replete with his majesty and the Cave of the Moon was flooded with his glory.

Our present Emperor, from the day he took up the reins of State, has been assiduous in the practice of the Bright Virtues.

His martial exploits have pacified the Four Ultimate Seas and literary accomplishments have edified the Myriad Lands.

Like a candle he lights up the inmost recesses of his people's hearts and like a mirror he reflects the essence of all things.

The whole universe is his debtor for its enlightenment and its awakening, and all the Barbarians look up to him as the Model of Monarchs.

How vast is the true Doctrine! How all-pervading!

For the sake of a name, we call (the Deity) the Triune.

To the Lord belongs the power to do all things and to His ministers the power to record them.

Hence we erect this noble monument in acknowledgment of His blessings.

Erected on the Great Yo Sen Wen Day (Sunday), the seventh day of the T'ai Ts'u (First) month of the Tso-o year, the second year of the Chien Chung period of the Great T'ang Dynasty (February 4, A. D. 781), the Patriarch Ming Shu being in charge of the Luminous Congregation of the East.

(*In Syriac*) In the days of the Father of Fathers, My Lord Hananishu ("Mercy of Jesus"), Catholicos, Patriarch.

(*In Chinese*) Calligraphy[11] by Lu Hsiu-yen, Honorary Assistant Secretary of the State and former Superintendent of Public Works in T'ai Chow.

(At the bottom of the principal face)

(*In Syriac*) In the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Greeks
(A. D. 781), My Lord Jazedbuzid, Presbyter and Chorepiscopos
of the royal city of Khumdan, son of the departed (lit.,
"resting soul") Milis, Presbyter of Balkh, a city of Tehuristan,
has erected this Tablet of Stone whereon is written the law
of Our Savior, and the preaching of our Fathers to the rulers
of the Chinese.

(*In Chinese*) The Monk Ling Pao.

(*In Syriac*) Adam, Deacon, son of Jazedbuzid, Chorepiscopos; His
Lordship Sergius, Presbyter and Chorepiscopos.

(*In Chinese*) The Monk Hsing T'ung, Assistant-collator at the
erection of this Tablet.

(*In Syriac*) Sabranishu, Presbyter; Gabriel, Presbyter and Arch-
deacon and head of the church of Khumdan and that of
Sarg.

(*In Chinese*) The Monk Yeh Li, Assistant-collator, Probationary
T'ai Ch'ang Ch'ing,[12] Wearer of the Purple Sacerdotal Robe
conferred by the Emperor.

N. B. *We omit the names of the ecclesiastics inscribed on the two
lateral faces of the Tablet.*

NOTES

(1)   The "Sage," i. e. the Emperor.   Among all Chinese honorific titles that
of "Sage" (Sheng) is superlative.   It connotes wisdom, sanctity, in short,
the plenitude of human perfection.   Only emperors of the reigning
dynasty and great philosophers like Confucius, Mencius, Lao-tze, and
Sakya Muni (Buddha) were given this title.

(2)   Lao-tze in the Tao Te Ching excoriates the "vulgar rabble," hence Adam
here beats the Taoists (the degenerate disciples of Lao-tze) with the
stick of their Master.

(3)   The allusion here is to Huang Ti, the "Yellow Emperor" (2697-2596),
the reputed founder of Chinese civilization.   Legend has it that when
he had accomplished his mission on earth, he was carried up to Heaven
on a fiery dragon.   His ministers, trying in vain to detain him on earth,
succeeded only in plucking a few hairs from the Dragon's beard, which
eluded their clutches.   They consoled themselves, however, by treasuring
the Emperor's bow and sword. which they preserved ever after as sacred
and cherished relics.

(4) The founder of the T'ang dynasty, like the Buddhas, had a protuberance in the middle of his forehead.

(5) "Sinecure," viz., Wu Wei (Inaction)-the allusion is in the nature of a converse of Lao-tze's saying: "Practice the principle of Inaction and ideal order will everywhere prevail." (Tao Te Ching, Chap. I.) The expression Wu Wei also occurs in the Confucian Analects (Book XV, Chap. IV.): "The Master said, 'May not Shun be instanced as having governed without exertion (Wu wei)? What did he do? He did nothing but gravely and reverently occupy his royal seat'."

(6) It is not clear whether the meaning is the Nativity of Christ or the Nativity (Birthday) of the Emperor.

(7) Strictly speaking, Wang Sheh signifies India, but by metonymy it came to denote the Occident in general.

(8) Probably the period of Lent.

(9) Ta-So was a Bonze of the Fu T'u sect who, in a great reunion held by the Bonzes to discuss the affairs of the sect, was in charge of the reception of guests, and provided for the necessities of all.

(10) The expression "fiendish apparition" refers to the rebels, who were decisively defeated.

(11) Literally: "Written by"—The Chinese regard calligraphy as the noblest of the arts. The calligraphy of the Nestorian Tablet is truly exquisite and worthy of the Great T'ang Dynasty, which was the golden age of Chinese calligraphy.

(12) The "T'ai Ch'ang Ch'ing" was a mandarin of the third order, in charge of the National Rites and Music as well as the Sacrifices to Heaven, Earth, and the Imperial Ancestors. Probationary T'ai Ch'eng Ch'ing was a purely honorary office.

(13) Seventy names are inscribed in Syriac and Chinese on the right and left sides of the Monument. The first name on the left lateral face of the Tablet is that of a bishop, John; the remaining names are those of priests (presbyters) and monks.

THE ETERNAL ANTIGONE

PETER VENNE, SVD.

οὔτοι συνέχθειν, ἀλλὰ
συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν

*Not to hate, but to love
was I born.*

Until the present day the great figures of ancient Greek saga and mythology have proved successful and living subjects in western drama. Characters as Orestes, Electra, Oedipus, Iphigenia, Medea appear on modern stages and speak to modern audiences as they did in ancient Athens. Although they belong, in their original shape, to the dim world of heroes and half-gods they seem to possess a surprising vitality, even validity.

The old masters of Greek tragedy, Aeschylos, Sophocles and Euripides took their subjects from Greek mythology. Therefore the external action of their dramas was fixed. It was also well known to the audience and therefore of less interest than the inner motivation and justification of the action. The latter was the real challenge for the poet. It was his most difficult task to harmonize the original mythical event with the action of the hero.[1] Aeschylos and Sophocles did not question or doubt the ordination of the gods or of fate. But Euripides began openly to criticize the ways of the gods and ended by making man himself responsible for his destiny.

Among the many great tragedies of ancient Greek literature the *Antigone* of Sophocles stands out as perhaps the most celebrated one. A strange power of fascination has gone out from the Greek maiden who dared to defy the godless edict of a king. More than twenty centuries have passed since she first appeared on the stage of Athens, but her character and her deed are as valid in our age as they were in the ancient world of Greece. Poets of different centuries have taken up this theme and shaped it according to the mind and taste of their time. Our own generation has seen four new versions of *Antigone*, produced by well-known writers of France and Germany. The name of Antigone has become a symbol for something which

we consider most precious in our human nature, but which we see continually endangered.

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Sophocles was over 50 when he wrote his *Antigone* — at an age when Shakespeare had already retired from the stage. The play was first performed in Athens in 442 BC.

Most of the old Greek tragedies can be understood only if the audience is familiar with the complex network of ancient sagas and legends. The *Antigone* can stand in itself. It hardly requires any knowledge of previous events. It has its own beginning and development.

Antigone and her sister Ismene appear on the stage. In their short dialog the audience is informed that their two brothers have killed one another on the battle field, the one defending his city, the other attacking it. The enemy army has lifted the siege of Thebes and gone away.

The two brothers and two sisters are the unhappy children of King Oedipus. An ancient curse is on this family, and under this curse their father Oedipus has killed his own father and married his own mother. An innocent man who intended the best has committed the most horrible crimes of which man can think. The children of this ill-fated union are well acquainted with evil and suffering. "Is there any grief the gods have not achieved for us?", Antigone asks her sister. Now, their parents are dead. The two sons had agreed to reign over the city alternately, year by year. But when the elder, Eteocles, was to surrender the rule to his brother, he refused to do so. The younger brother, Polyneices, called the help of a neighboring city and attacked Thebes. They died killing one another on the battle field. Their uncle Creon is now the new ruler of Thebes, the old and powerful city with the Seven Gates.

This is the opening situation of the drama, and now the action rolls on with relentless force. The new king has ordered that the brother who died defending his city should be buried with all honor and pomp; but the body of the other should be left unburied for the

dogs and birds to eat. The king's proclamation emphasized that any attempt to bury the "enemy and traitor of the people" would be punished with death.

Antigone informs her sister of this edict of the king, their uncle. Her own mind is already made up to fulfill the sacred duty toward her brother. But Ismene does not have the strength to resist the law of the powerful king. "We two are women; we cannot fight with men!" With harsh words Antigone turns away from her sister, who also loves her dead brother but sees the obvious futility of the enterprise. So Antigone starts out alone. She feels that the gods demand the burial of the dead.

This opening scene is a masterpiece of dramatic force. Antigone, indignant at the reckless order of the king and with passionate resolution, stands in sharp contrast with her fearful sister. There is no doubt what she is going to do. and the audience is held between fear and hope even before the tragedy has really begun.[2]

Into this gloomy mood of the prologue breaks the triumphal song of the Chorus celebrating the victory of Thebes over the fleeing enemies.

Creon the new king enters. With a few. authoritative words he explains the program of his rule. The highest concern of the king must be the welfare of the State. If anybody places a friend higher than his fatherland — such a man he is going to destroy. Therefore, the son of Oedipus who died in the defense of his own city will receive a worthy funeral, whereas his brother who came to shed the blood of his own people will be left to the dogs. Although Creon's words seem reasonable enough, the Chorus is not quite convinced but bows before the threat of death.

The king has hardly finished his announcement when the guard comes in. He is a comical figure whose humor reminds us of Shakespeare. His behavior contrasts sharply with the sinister mien of the king and the tragical portent of his message that somebody has tried to bury the dead body.

Creon is furious. He senses a rebellious group in the city who attempts to resist his authority and has bribed the guards. He orders

the guard to produce the evildoer or else face the consequences.

The Chorus then sings the famous song of Man, the strange being, who has conquered everything except death. Happy the man who honors the laws of the land and respects the demands of the gods! Before the Chorus can finish the song, sees with horrorful is eyes that Antigone is brought in by the guard. With cheerful and broad humor the soldier reports how he arrested the girl when she tried a second time to cover the dead body of her brother.

With quiet dignity Antigone answers the questions of the king. She knew the order; she knew that it meant death to disregard it. But she regarded the eternal laws of the gods higher than the orders of a mortal man. She is not afraid to die for her deed. And if the king thinks that she acted foolishly — perhaps he is a fool himself.

In the ensuing sharp duel of attack and repartee between the king and Antigone she summarizes all her arguments in the word: "Not to hate, but to love I was born!" This word of Sophocles, written in 442 BC, is certainly one of the greatest and most noble words in all ancient literature. — Creon is unmoved: "If you must love, then go down there and love the dead! But no woman shall rule me while I live."

Ismene appears and declares that she, too, wanted to bury her dead brother and is now willing to take the punishment. Antigone's heroic resolution is not quite devoid of pride and harshness, as she refuses her sister to share her death: "You chose to live when I chose to die."

When the two women are led away to prison and death, the Chorus reflects on human happiness and suffering and remembers the tragic fate of the house of Oedipus.

Haemon, the king's son, appears on the stage. He is engaged to marry Antigone, but now he has to hear from his father that she will die for her crime. The young man is respectful toward his father. But he points out that the king, in his lofty position, does not know what the common people think and say about Antigone's deed, that the whole city is grieving for this girl who is condemned to die for a glorious action. But the king will not bow down before

the counsel of a boy nor before an entire city. He claims to be the ruler who decides what is to be done. The young man is not intimidated. When his father calls him a woman's slave, he runs away in anger and despair, threatening that the king will not see him again.

The Chorus warns the king that his son might do something desperate. But the obstinate ruler dismisses the warning. He allows Ismene to go free, but Antigone shall be buried alive in a cave with some food to subsist for a while.

In his passionate plea for Antigone, Haemon had not uttered a word of his love for his bride, but the Chorus sings the hymn of the unconquerable eros which no man can resist and which separates father and son.

In the next scene Antigone is led over the stage to her death chamber. Although her will is unbroken, yet the last farewell from life is heart-rending. The Chorus tries to console her by reminding her of the fame that will follow her. But to Antigone this sounds rather like mockery. Life has given her nothing except the curse that haunted the house of her father Oedipus. Her marriage-chamber will be the tomb. She has only one consolation: among the dead she will greet her father, her mother and her brother. She has washed the dead bodies of all of them for burial. Only her second brother has to lie rottening on the field. But he, too, will know what price she has paid to render him the last service.

Creon is a hard man; unmoved by the girl's wails he orders her away. Even the sensible words of the blind prophet Teiresias can not shake his obstinacy and self-righteousness. But when he dares to accuse the old seer that he was bribed with money to demand a burial for the dead, Teiresias becomes angry. He announces that dreadful disaster will soon come over the house of the king.

The authority of the prophet was great. What he had foretold had always become true. The Chorus as well as the king are deeply shaken by the seer's dark words. Creon gives in, and in growing fear orders the desecrated body to be buried. He himself rushes to release Antigone from her prison. But it is already too late. Anti-

gone has hanged herself with her girdle. Haemon lays prostrated at her feet. When the king enters, he spits in his father's face; then draws his sword as if to kill him, but turning the weapon against himself he dies, embracing the dead maiden.

The dreadful scene is not acted on the stage; the messenger reports it. Creon's wife Euridice has listened to the story and without a word retires into the palace.

In the meantime the king returns. He is a broken man. Yet the measure of evil is not yet full. The doors of the palace open and the dead body of the queen becomes visible. She has finished her own life.

Creon recognizes that it was all his guilt. He wishes to die. The future is darkness.

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Sophocles took the figure of Antigone from Greek mythology, as Shakespeare took his Hamlet from another source. But as in the case of Shakespeare and Hamlet, the individuality of Antigone is Sophocles' creation. Actually, she was probably one of the first real human characters which appeared on the Greek stage.[3] She is not a lifeless tool in the hands of the gods or of fate. She acts out of herself and out of her own responsibility although we are made aware that, finally, she has to run the course that destiny has carved out for her.

Gilbert Murray has pointed out that there is a certain vagueness about the motive of her action. She knows that her guilty brother had a right to the throne of Thebes. She thinks that punishment should not be carried beyond death and that an unburied corpse is offensive to the gods. Then she feels that she herself belongs to the dead rather than to the living. But in the depth of her heart she knows only one thing: that her nature is not to hate, but to love. "She cannot argue, she can only feel."[4]

The clash between Antigone and Creon is not just a conflict between noble humanity and the brutal power of a tyrant, or between divine law and human law. That would be a simplification. Creon

is not a monster. He, too, stands for a moral order, as Hegel had already observed. Antigone, the woman, represents the interests of the family, of piety and religion. Creon, the man, stands for the authority of the State and the laws. It is remarkable that in their sharp verbal fights neither of them is really listening to the arguments of the other. Each is locked up in his, or her, own position. Antigone is motivated by her sisterly love for her dead brother. The reasoning of Creon makes no impression on her, just as Creon, who also acknowledges the laws of the gods — but other laws — is not moved by her reasons. One could speak of a "tragical deafness" in the characters of Sophocles.[5]

In the beginning Creon's fundamental position seems well justified. But in the clashes of the dramatic action, other sides of his character are laid open. In the violent altercation with his son he claims that he will not take orders from the city, and that the city is the king's property. That is the language, not of a responsible ruler, but of a tyrant. Thus Creon actually renounces his own principle that the welfare of the State must come before any private or family interest.[a]

While in the character of Antigone there is no development, Creon undergoes a change. Although he asserts his authority too loudly and with too many words, yet all the time he gives the impression of an inner uncertainty. His break-down does not come as a surprise to us. The Chorus leaves no doubt that Creon reaps what he has sown. He is no tragical hero. This is a rare case of guilt and punishment, that is, of poetical justice for the heroes of Sophocles.[6] Although Creon is the main character of the drama,

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[a] In a strange and much debated passage of Sophocles' play also Antigone seems to contradict herself and to destroy the very foundation on which she had based her heroic decision: the prerogative of the family and of piety. In an anguished outcry she says that she would not have done for a husband or her own child what she is doing for her brother. These words have always puzzled the readers and critics of the play. — Since the present study is chiefly concerned with the *image* of Antigone as it has influenced later European literature, this problem is here not further discussed. Cf. Bernard M. W. Knox: *The Heroic Temper, Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy*, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1964.

he is not the hero. The love and sympathy of the audience and of the poet do not belong to him but to Antigone, and her name Sophocles has given to the play.

Thus the Greek maiden started her way through Western literature.

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In the drama of Sophocles not much is made of the love between Antigone and Haemon although it belongs to the substance of the play. This aspect was later taken up by Euripides. That play, however, has been lost and only fragmentary knowledge of it has reached us. In another play of Euripides, *Phoenissae*, Antigone appears on the stage as a young girl. She is allowed to watch from a palace window the approaching enemy army and expresses her love and yearning for her brother who has been in exile. Also in this tragedy she wants to bury her dead brother against the edict of the king. But that is impossible and she accompanies her blind father Oedipus into exile.

Among the Romans, Seneca deals with the subject of Antigone in an unfinished play, in which Antigone appears as the only saint in a sinful family.[7]

Through the following 16 centuries Antigone was in eclipse until in the 17th century she was again discovered in France. Racine presented the entire tragic story of the children of Oedipus in his *Thebaide* or *Hostile Brothers*. He followed Euripides. The emphasis is on the love between Antigone and Haemon which is depicted in the courteous rhetorical language of the high French society at that time. Passion and violent emotions are always kept under control by a noble and cultivated style. Haemon is killed while trying to separate the fighting brothers.

The ancient theatre already had presented Antigone's love for Haemon and her brother Polyneices. Racine exploits the last possibility of this subject by making Creon a lover of Antigone. But Antigone refuses him and kills herself in order to be faithful to Haemon. Antigone is presented as a royal princess expressing lofty

thoughts in a lofty language. Racine, who later was to become the great analyst of the female soul, presages some of his skills in this play, which was his first and still bears the marks of apprenticeship.

*   *   *   *   *

In the history of western drama one could almost speak of two Greek girls by the name Antigone: the Antigone of Sophocles who lives and dies for her conscience and piety, and the Antigone of Euripides who is predominantly a suitable subject for theatrical situations.[8] The poets and playwrights who, after Racine, deal with Antigone, are chiefly concerned with the Sophoclean maiden.

Around 1800, the German philosopher Hegel illustrates his theory of tragedy with the "supreme example" of Antigone. To him, the drama is one of the most lofty and perfect literary works of all times. Goethe thought so highly of the moral and religious quality of Antigone that he had no objection to the opinion, which was offered by somebody, that the play could have been written by a Christian author.

The German poet Fr. Hölderlin created a translation of Sophocles' play during the later years of his life (1804) when his mind was already verging on insanity. The oncoming illness gave to his version a certain uncanny depth. Karl Kereny is of the opinion that this translation revealed its real meaning and power only after it was set in music by Carl Orff (1949) who tried in his presentation to re-create the ancient Greek funeral lament.

During the First European War, Romain Rolland invoked the "Antigone éternelle" as the moral power of love in a world of dissension and hatred.

At the same time the German poet Walter Hasenclever, a leader of the Expressionistic Theater, published a drama *Antigone* which was performed on the stage in 1917. Hasenclever's play is a dreadful vision of the horrors of war, presented in a passionate and shocking language. It is not a realistic play, but a violent outcry against the murderous war, the tyranny of power, and a passionate prophecy of a new order of love and peace.

Antigone, in this play, is no longer the heroic but simple girl of the Greek tragedy. Here, she becomes a prophetess of the future, a priestess and victim for the redemption of a tortured mankind. It is an Antigone in Christian garment. Creon practices the rule of power. He is a tyrant who despises the common people. But he has no strength of character. In the end, when he breaks down, he still becomes a philosopher. Like Antigone, he is too often only a mouthpiece for the message of the author.

Hasenclever's play was later (1929) adapted by a Russian playwright into a message for socialism and against Imperialistic absolutism.[9]

A counterpart to the play of Hasenclever is the *Antigone* of Bertolt Brecht. (1947) This play was also written under the immediate impression of a dreadful war.

Bertolt Brecht changed the story of Sophocles' play in a way that it became transparent. It depicts the last convulsions of Germany at the end of the Second World War and the final catastrophe. In a gruesome prelude, which takes place in Berlin during the last stages of the war, the audience is reminded that the ancient Greek tragedy is happening in our time.

Behind the character of Creon the figure of Hitler becomes visible. Polyneices is executed and left unburied because he refused to fight in Creon's war. Antigone embodies the resistance against dictatorship and a totalitarian State. She cannot change the course of the disaster; she can only die. In contrast to Antigone the Chorus of the Elders is presented as lacking in courage and even as guilty of cooperation with the dictator. — Brecht based his version on the translation of Hölderlin.[10]

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The French theater had always shown a great interest in the old Greek and Roman masters of the drama. In our own time, the subject of Antigone was brought on the stage by two well-known authors: Jean Cocteau and Jean Anouilh.

Cocteau's play *Antigone* (1922) is the shortest of all the versions

of the ancient tragedy. In a preface the author says that he wanted to look at the play from the birds' eye view. "From such a view great beauties are lost; but others emerge for the first time: new relationships, blocks, shadows, angles, and reliefs are discovered." He believes that this is a way to bring new life to a masterpiece which has become too familiar.

Cocteau's drama follows the play of Sophocles rather faithfully. But the highly poetical language of the Greek original is turned into a simple prose without ornament and poetry. Even the sublime style of the Choric songs is rendered in prose. The play is an abridgment, dense and swiftly moving. It is the essential, the eternal *Antigone,* we might say, not dressed in the garments or diction of a certain historical period, be it ancient or modern. No philosophical reflection or application is offered by the author. Critics have been severe with Cocteau's play, but its tragic power comes out with great force and intensity.[11]

If Jean Cocteau cut the play down to its essentials, the method of Anoulih is quite opposite. He dresses the Greek girl completely modern. The plot, the names, the incidents, the burial of the dead brother: all this is the same as in Sophocles' play. But the characters speak the language of our time. They think and feel and react like people of today. Such a blending of ancient and modern elements comes like a shock to the audience.

When Antigone returns at night from the burial of her brother, the nurse brings her a cup of coffee. Haemon and his bride speak the tender language of modern lovers. The guards talk the soldiers' jargon of today. Creon speaks like a cynical, disillusioned politician. None of them, not even the Chorus, uses the pathetic diction which we are used to associate with high tragedy.

How does Antigone appear in this modern dress? She is the same uncompromising character as Sophocles had created her. Perhaps she is less harsh toward her sister Ismene. Her portrait becomes fuller through the added scenes with the nurse. But she is unalterable from the beginning. And her fate is never in doubt. In the opening scene the Chorus introduces her with these words:

"When you are on the side of the Gods against the tyrant, of Man against the State, of purity against corruption — when, in short, your name is Antigone, there is only one part you can play, and she will have to play hers through to the end." And when she is caught burying her brother and brought before the king, the Chorus comments: "For the first time in her life, the little Antigone is going to be able to be herself."

Creon tries to talk her into reason. He is not unfair. He is willing to forget if she will only keep silent about the whole affair. He even shows signs of warmth and human affection for her.

But Antigone knows only one thing: she must bury her brother. Neither the cynical remarks of the king about the "flummery" of religious burial nor his reasoning that the State must insist on obedience can change her mind. When he threatens with torture, she shrinks back, but will not surrender. Again Creon pleads with her: "Don't you understand that I want to save you?" — "I am not here to understand. Not what you call understand. I am here to say No to you, and to bury Polyneices."

Antigone soon discovers the weak spot in Creon's argument: He is afraid, afraid for his authority and power. But she herself is not afraid of anything, because she would rather die than say Yes.

Creon has still one arrow to shoot: he tells her how thoroughly corrupt her brother was for whose burial she will sacrifice her young life. Antigone is visibly shaken, but her determination stands fast. She has to find another ground to stand on. Now it is her violent protest against the kind of happiness which Creon holds out for her, that makes her choose death. "If life must be a thing of fear and lying compromise; if life cannot be free, gallant, incorruptible, then I choose death." — At the end of the dispute Antigone forgets all restraint and shouts violent and insulting words at the king.

When the play was first produced in Paris during the last war (1944), Antigone became the symbol of French resistance against the military occupation. The sympathy of the audience was all on her side. Later, in America, some critics found more sympathy for

Creon. To them, Antigone seemed to have a martyr's complex. Her obstinate No appeared to them unsympathetic and morbid.[12] The reason for this different reaction may lie in Anouilh's subtle and humane characterization of Creon who is depicted as a "realpolitiker". He works for law and order. He has few illusions about life and even possesses some touches of self-irony. He is altogether perhaps a more convincing human being than Antigone. Anouilh has put much psychology and reasoning into his characters, perhaps more than they and their conflicts can stand. Some of the dignity and reserve, which suit the Greek Antigone so well, are lost in his play.

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The eternal human problem and conflict of Antigone is well summed up by the Chorus in Anouilh's play: "Creon was the most rational, the most plausible of tyrants. But like all tyrants, he refused to distinguish between the things that are Caesar's and the things that are God's. Now and again, in the three thousand years since the first Antigone was heard of, someone has to come forward to remind men of this distinction. And whether we say that the result is Christianity, or popular revolution, or underground resistance, the cause is always the same — a passionate belief that moral law exists, and a passionate regard for the sanctity of human personality."

NOTES

(1)   Lohner, Edgar: Introduction to *Iphigenia*, (München: Langen & Müller, 1966)

(2)   cf. Bethe, Erich: *Die Griechische Dichtung*, (Wildpark-Potsdam 1924, p. 200)

(3)   Friedrich, W. H.: *Griechische Tragiker*, (München: Winkler Verlag 1958, p. 924)

(4)   Murray, Gilbert: *The Literature of Ancient Greece*, (Univ. of Chicago Pr. p. 244)

(5)   cf. Friedrich: loc. cit., p. 925

(6)   cf. Friedrich: loc. cit., p. 926

(7)   Kerenyi, Karl: Introduction to *Antigone*, (München: Langen & Müller)

(8)   Kerenyi: loc. cit., p. 23

(9) Shipley, J. T.: *Guide to Great Plays* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1956)

(10) Brecht, Bertolt: *Die Antigone des Sophocles; Materialien zur 'Antigone'*, (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag 1965.)

(11) cf. Shipley: loc. cit., p. 739

(12) cf. Watson-Pressey (ed.): *Contemporary Drama* (New York: Scribner, 1956)

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The number of translations of Sophocles' *Antigone* into modern languages seems almost uncountable. From 1760 to 1920 there were 90 different translations into German. (cf. note 10)

In the present study, English quotations from Anouilh's play were taken from Watson-Pressey (ed.) *Contemporary Drama* (New York: Scribners' 1956).

An English Translation of Cocteau's play can be found in the collection *Contemporary Drama: 13 Plays*, ed. by Clayes-Spencer, Scribners', 1962.

永 久 的 抗 命

PETER VENNE, SVD.

摘　要

在古希臘的悲劇中，Sophocles 的 "Antigone" 是頗負盛名的劇本之一。近三千年當中，西方的劇作家們都對這位敢於反抗國王之邪惡的命令的希臘少女發生莫大的興趣。時至今日，這一劇仍對全人類有着重大意義，因爲它反映了人類尊嚴和暴君黷武的對抗。

YEATS' GREAT WHEEL AND THE USE OF CHRISTIAN MYTHS AND SYMBOLS IN HIS POEMS

PIERRE E. DEMERS, SJ.

Among poets of the English language, Yeats was probably the most conscious of the mythic character of poetry. From his early years as a poet he knew that the transcendent and universal value of great poetry derives in part from the myths it creates. He had studied Celtic, Classical, and Oriental mythologies and realized that myths spring out of the deepest instincts in men. Their external forms may vary from civilization to civilization, but all mythologies retain the same basic pattern of meaning because the instincts of man remain the same under the various cultures that shape his mind.

Yeats the poet was fascinated by the living and objective way in which myths present the complex mysteries of birth, copulation, and death that life poses to reflective and sensitive men. Myths are images that emerge from the greatest depths of ourselves into objective existence and reveal the fundamental relationship that link us to both the natural and supernatural worlds.

In his desperate search for images to build his poetry on Yeats delved into magic lore, theosophy, spiritism, and, like the alchemists of old, was after a sort of philosopher's stone, a device that would enable him to produce myths. In the Dedication to the 1925 version of *A Vision* he confesses: "I wished for a system of thought that would leave my imagination free to create as it chose. I am looking to put it (*A Vision*) out of reach that I may write the poetry it seems to have made possible."

As early as the 1890's Yeats already had what he called a "system." In the University of Kansas City Review for Spring 1952 Donald Pearce describes an early draft of this device:

> In one of Yeats's unpublished notebooks for the years 1896-98 there is a drawing of a twenty-two petalled Cabbalistic rose, each

petal marked with a Hebrew letter, and a Rosicross at the center. Beside it is a corresponding geometrical diagram in which zodiacal and occult symbols have been substituted for the Hebrew letters. A schematic table follows in which Yeats correlated each of these symbols with, (a) classical studies, heroes, and powers, (b) Celtic divinities and heroes, (c) forms of evocation and magical rites, (d) character and personality traits, (e) philosophic formulae concerning fate, death, birth, justice, etc., (f) elements and colors of magical and occult tradition, (g) symbolism of the Tarot cards.

In 1917, his wife introduced him to automatic writing which gave a new depth and amplitude to his "system," and finally led him to write *A Vision* in which the "system" attains its last stage of abstraction and comprehensiveness. In *A Vision* the rose and diagram of the beginning have become the Great Wheel on which myths of East and West and all sorts of symbols are collected into correspondences.

The Great Wheel has twenty-eight spokes corresponding to the phases of the moon and representing the twenty-eight basic types of personality. Opposite each type is its Mask, the antithesis of that personality. The last and the first phases of the moon represent the solar, objective types, like scientists, businessmen, athletes, scholars, saints. Their masks are the opposite types — artists and men of passion. The solar types must adhere to the objective and physical and reject their Masks in order to achieve a well integrated personality that reaches simplification through intensity of life. If one type of personality tries to put on its opposite Mask it can only achieve dispersal and unhappiness. The same applies, in reverse, to the lunar personalities represented by the phases surrounding the full moon.

Yeats applied names to the various phases of the moon, except phases one and fifteen which are types so pure that there can be no living examples among men. Phase fifteen is reserved for beings who would have achieved an impossible perfect unity of being.

The twenty-eight spokes also represent the phases any single man must pass through in a lifetime from birth to old age. Furthermore, they represent the phases of world history, or more exactly of the various civilizations of world history, each civilization lasting about two thousand years with a dark chaos at the beginning, an

Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

(Second Coming)

The pure artist in such a phase of civilization, the conjunction of the fifteenth phase of personality with the first phase of civilization, must try to achieve Unity of Being and schematize the world.

In the poetic or imaginative approach to nature, life, and the universe, unity is not essentially logical. In *Essays and Introductions* Yeats feels certain "that the imagination has some way of lighting on the truth that the reason has not."[2] Imagination finds unity through correspondences between things that logic places far apart. In one of the *Letters to the New Island* Yeats is very explicit:

> To the greater poets everything they see has its relation to the national life, and through them to the universal and divine life: nothing is an isolated artistic moment; there is a unity everywhere; everything fulfils a purpose that is not its own; the hailstone is a journeyman of God; the grass blade carries the universe upon its point. But to this universalism, this seeing of unity everywhere, you can only attain through what is near you, your nation, or, if you be no traveller, your village and the cobwebs on your walls.[3]

These correspondences must be symbolic, in the Yeatsian sense of symbol, that is, an image which radiates a complex of thought and feeling and emotion. It is because symbols, like mythological tales, "cannot tell one thing without telling a hundred others"[4] that they are the "links which hold the world together,"[5] and leads the perceiver and the creator of symbols to "the intricate harmony of the universe"[6] It is this intricate harmony that *A Vision* tries to schematize by means of a geometrical pattern of wheels and gyres in perpetual motion. Fascinated by the Cabbalist claim to a magical power over the universe by means of an all-embracing symbol, Yeats devised his Great Wheel to obtain poetic control over the otherwise "uncontrollable mystery of the bestial floor." (The Magi)

Before reaching the insight of *A Vision* Yeats, who had rejected the Christian view of the world, was a new sort of Magus searching for some other revelation:

Now as at all times I can see in the mind's eye,
In their stiff, painted clothes, the pale unsatisfied ones

apogee after one thousand years, followed by a decline into decadence and chaos.

These spokes turn and a great artist belonging to phase sixteen or seventeen of the wheel of personality may find himself synchronized with phase one of the wheel of civilization which is characterized by the need to "kill all thought that would systematize the world."

Yeats was convinced that he lived at the end of the era introduced by the birth of Christ, in a time of mental chaos rejecting all unifying principles in the world and waiting for another birth introducing a new era in history.   John Cage's statement quoted by Marshall McLuhan in his *The Medium is the Massage* gives us an idea of the kind of refusal of systematization Yeats had in mind:

> One must be disinterested, accept that a sound is a sound and a
> man is a man, give up illusions about ideas of order, expressions
> of sentiment, and all the rest of our inherited aesthetic claptrap.
> The highest purpose is to have no purpose at all.   This puts one
> in accord with nature, in her manner of operation.[1]

This phase in which the Christian era has now entered prepares for the coming of a new era:

> Turning and turning in the widening gyre
> The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
> Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
> The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
> The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity.
>
> Surely some revelation is at hand;
> Surely the Second Coming is at hand.
> The Second Coming!   Hardly are those words out
> When a vast image out of *Spiritus Mundi*
> Troubles my sight: somewhere in sands of the desert
> A shape with lion body and the head of man,
> A gaze blank and pitiless as the sun,
> Is moving its slow thighs, while all about it
> Reel shadows of the indignant desert birds.
> The darkness drops again; but now I know
> That twenty centuries of stony sleep
> Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,
> And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,

Appear and disappear in the blue depths of the sky
With all their ancient faces like rain-beaten stones,
And all their helms of silver hovering side by side,
And all their eyes still fixed, hoping to find once more,
Being by Calvary's turbulence unsatisfied,
The uncontrollable mystery on the bestial floor.

(The Magi)

He wandered into the Golden Dawn, Spiritism, Platonism, and Oriental Philosophy. In each of these fields he found unsatisfying attempts at comprehensive and hermetic symbols. In the story of his intellectual progress they are public half-way houses on the road leading this lone Magus to the top of the spiritual mountain whence he could see the ever-whirling gyres of *A Vision*.

Having joined the Rosicrucians, one of the first symbols he found is naturally that of the Tree and the Rose. These foreshadow and prepare his own personal symbol of the Great Wheel. Although he had rejected "Calvary's turbulence," this double symbol, eminently Christian, satisfied him temporarily. Explaining why he substituted rose for lotus in his poetry Yeats wrote: "Because the Rose, the flower sacred to the Virgin Mary, and the flower that Apuleius' adventurer ate, who was changed out of the ass's shape and received into the fellowship of Isis, is the Western Flower of Life, I have imagined it growing upon the Tree of Life."[7]

"The Rose of the World" is typically Yeatsian in that it compresses into one symbol images that suggest at the same time Helen of Troy, the Virgin Mary, and the Irish revolutionary, Maud Gonne. The imagery of the last stanza is predominantly Marian:

Bow down, Archangels, in your dim abode;
Before you were, or any hearts to beat,
Weary and kind one lingered by His seat;
He made the world to be a grassy road
Before her wandering feet.

The imagery of "Rose of Peace" is still more closely related to the traditional image of Mary:

He would go weave out of the stars
A chaplet for your head.
And all folk seeing him bow down,

And white stars tell your praise,
Would come at last to God's great town,
Led on by gentle ways;

"To the Rose upon the Rood of Time" suggests this time the person of Christ. He also hung upon a cross and, like the ephemeral rose, that poor foolish thing that lives a day, embodies nevertheless "eternal beauty," being an eternal being in a human, mortal form.

Yeats soon drops the symbol of the Rose to take up the compass rose shape of his Great Wheel which, like the rose, joins in one reality the eternal and the ephemeral. For Yeats the Tree and the Rose were not only poetic images to be used but the means by which he was trying to grasp the whole of reality intellectually. They were symbols of Christian origin and they show how deeply Yeats was rooted in his own cycle of Christianity. Only when he achieved the insight of *A Vision* was he able to transcend all traditions and place himself in a position whence, free from the shackles of time, he could dominate the whole vista of human history. Then the Christian tradition appeared as one among many and fitted the pattern that includes all civilizations. This domination over Christian myths allowed him to transmute them into a complex of myths of his own creation.

Yeats' diagram of the twenty eight spokes of the Great Wheel is in itself an uncomplicated pattern. Complexities arise from the fact that the same pattern is applied simultaneously to various aspects of intellectual beings. From one point of view each man lives through the twenty-eight phases; from another aspect each man's personality has a definite position among the twenty-eight types of basic personalities the Wheel represents. A first complication arises when a man whose personality is that of the pure artist in the seventeenth phase reaches the last phases of his life and becomes "a tattered coat upon a stick." From a third point of view, history evolves in cycles which, each in turn, runs through the same sequence of phases. Then the interrelations between the three layers of the Wheel acquire further complexities if the artist belonging to the full moon of subjective personality lives in times of artistic decadence

ending a cycle and preparing the next one.

Such complexities, close to the manifold aspects of life itself, with their effects on man's emotional reactions, could find adequate illustrations only in the poetic life of myths. Yeats, who was intent upon fitting all life into his sytem, freely drew illustrations upon the existing mythologies and freely tampered with their stories in order to create the exact mythological objective correlative that could carry the complexities of his thoughts and feelings.

There was abundance of Christian myths, symbols, and legends he could draw from. Those he used could be classified according to their position either on the Wheel of personalities, or on the Wheel of each individual's life cycle, or on the Wheel of historical cycles. "The Second Coming," for instance, belongs to the historical Wheel and refers to the end of one cycle and the beginning of the next, while the figure of Solomon, which recurs so often in Yeats' poems, belongs on the Wheel of personality and refers to the wise artist in possession of a complete insight into the meaning of all things; the Magi, on the other hand, belong rather to the Wheel of life and refer to the period when man is in unquiet search for the all-embracing vision.

Such a simple classification, of course, does not do justice to Yeats' comprehensive grasp of reality. What belongs to one Wheel belongs also to the others if considered from a different angle. The Magi, for instance, would not be in search of the all-embracing symbol if, first of all, they did not belong to the seventeenth spoke on the Wheel of personalities. This classification, then, can only be based on the main stress that each use of myth generally bears.

With this remark in mind, we can classify thus the major poems in which Yeats makes use of Christian imagery:

    I. The Wheel of personality:
        1. "Veronica's Napkin" and "Oil and Blood."
        2. "Solomon and Sheba."
    II. The Wheel of each individual's life cycle:
        1. "The Magi."
        2. "The Mother of God."
        3. "Supernatural Songs: Ribh denounces Patrick."

III. The Wheel of historical cycles:
   1. "Two Songs from a Play."
   2. "Wisdom."
   3. "The Second Coming."

*   *   *   *   *

Yeats seems to have suffered all his life from inclinations to two different ways of life — life of action and life of contemplation.   As poet, he hesitated between the eternal reality of God as his subject matter and the slippery reality of the world of human passions. "Vacillation vii" presents this conflict in the form of a dialogue between Soul and Heart:

The Soul. Seek out reality, leave things that seem.
The Heart. What, be a singer born and lack a theme?
The Soul. Isaiah's coal, what more can man desire?
The Heart. Struck dumb in the simplicity of fire!
The Soul. Look on that fire, salvation walks within.
The Heart. What theme had Homer but original sin?

As man, he seems to have also hesitated sometimes between the life of action and that of poet. "The Choice" suggests such a conflict:

The intellect of man is forced to choose
Perfection of the life, or of the work,
And if it take the second must refuse
A heavenly mansion, raging in the dark.

The emotional effects of this conflict and its universal significance is much more successfully recorded when Yeats, using his myth-transmuting Wheel, fits it into two Christian legends — when St. Teresa's tomb was opened in the middle of the nineteenth century her body was found undecayed and fragrant; when the good woman Veronica wiped Christ's face on the road to Calvary, the towel received the imprint of the Saviour's features.

In "Oil and Blood," St. Teresa becomes the symbol of contemplative life, that belongs to phase fifteen on the Wheel, and is contrasted with personalities surrounding phase one of the moon on the Wheel of personalities, the men and women of violent action, no doubt the Irish revolutionaries who had filled the youthful Yeats with admiration.   Her body drips with fragrant oil while the violent men's

bodies are wrapped in bloody shrouds:

> In tombs of gold and lapis lazuli
> Bodies of holy men and women exude
> Miraculous oil, odour of violet.
>
> But under heavy loads of trampled clay
> Lie bodies of the vampires full of blood;
> The shrouds are bloody and their lips are wet

"Veronica's Napkin" presents the same contrast between those who through the small circuit of their existence (the needle's eye) contemplate the vast Heavenly circuit, the Father and His angelic hierarchy, and those who stand at the opposite pole of the Wheel of personality, the men of action and self-sacrifice who freely give their lives for their brothers. The heroes of the Irish revolution are like Christ in their sacrifice and, like him, they leave an indelible memory to the world. In them a terrible and immortal beauty is born:

> The Heavenly Circuit; Berenice's Hair;
> Tent-pole of Eden; the tent's drapery;
> Symbolical glory of the earth and air!
> The Father and His angelic hierarchy
> That made the magnitude and the glory-there
> Stood in the circuit of a needle's eye.
>
> Some found a different pole, and where it stood
> A pattern on a napkin dipped in blood.

For personalities caught in this inner conflict there is perhaps no solution. In transposing the two Christian legends in his pattern of *A Vision*, Yeats makes them symbols of man's eternal inner conflict.

A much higher form of poetic transmutation is achieved in "Solomon to Sheba" and "Solomon and the Witch." One of the most poetically fruitful combinations of positions on the Wheel of personalities comes from the opposition between Self and Mask, Chance and Choice, Platonic Ideas and Reality of the world. The highest possible state is achieved when these opposites join together, when Self coincides with its Mask, Chance with Choice, the World with Platonic Ideas. Then the personality, in complete possession of itself, escapes the world of moving forms into the world of immutable,

eternal, and spiritual forms. This escape, however, is impossible to the human being, who, no matter how strong his spiritual life, always retains the necessary imperfections of the body. The ideal personality is a limit to which the pure artist can always draw closer and closer without ever reaching it. The ideal state is this impossible marriage between opposites in a perfect act of love.

Yeats found in Judaeo-Christian mythology the figures allowing a poetic dramatization of this theory. The story of Solomon is the Christian myth of the granting of perfect wisdom by God and the consequent obtaining of complete domination over the world, symbolized by Solomon's numerous wives and abundant gold. Furthermore, Yeats must have been attracted to the figure of Solomon by the similarity between the Solomon's Seal of magic lore and his own interpenetrating gyres, the former, with the physical control over the world it gives its wielders, being a perfect counterpart of the poetic control of all reality that the latter gave Yeats. The Queen of Sheba also fits into Yeats's system as a type of Magus, coming from the East, unsatisfied, and searching for wisdom. She is the "dusky" opposite yearning for the ideal union and escape from subjection to the world. In "Solomon to Sheba" perfect wisdom is asserted to be in a loving union of opposites:

> Sang Solomon to Sheba,
> And kissed her Arab eyes,
> "There's not a man or woman
> Born under the skies
> Dare match in learning with us two,
> And all day long we have found
> There's not a thing but love can make
> The world a narrow pound."

In "Solomon and the Witch," the act of love is almost perfect, but not quite. The ideal and eternal Platonic Image is almost realized by the lovers and eternity almost achieved. They hear the bird of the time before the world was created, the bird of the time before the Fall from ideal forms to the base imitations of the world. Their act of love so much approaches the ideal that the bird thought the pre-world perfection was attained again and he sang. But he sang

only once, suddenly aware of imperfections. As Sheba remarks, the
world stays; but it is hardly perceptible in the sound of a falling
petal and sight of crushed grass:

> 'Yet the world stays.'
>   'If that be so,
> Your cockerel found us in the wrong
> Although he thought it worth a crow.
> Maybe an image is too strong
> Or maybe is not strong enough.'
>
> 'The night has fallen; not a sound
> In the forbidden sacred grove
> Unless a petal hit the ground,
> Nor any human sight within it
> But the crushed grass where we have lain;
> And the moon is wilder every minute.
> O! Solomon! let us try again.'

Sheba, the unsatisfied one, passionately desires to try again. Solomon
may have tried again, but he who understood everything must have
known that the next act of love might come closer to the perfect
ecstasy joining the couple to the ideal Image, immutable and eternal,
but could not attain it. Such events could only take place in the
approach of the full moon on the Wheel of personality, when it is
"wilder every minute."

By fitting these figures into the complex pattern of his Great
Wheel, Yeats could discover abundant and fruitful relationships
between them and the Fall, the Platonic images and the poor imitations
of the world, the bird of eternity and the full moon of subjective
and creative personality. In stressing these relationships, Yeats
succeeded in transmuting the Judaeo-Christian myth into a typically
Yeatsian one.

The myth of the Magi did not undergo the same kind of trans-
formation. Written before the author's great insight recorded in *A
Vision*, "The Magi" expresses Yeats' state of mind at a time when
he was an unsatisfied one searching for a solution to the uncon-
trollable mystery of the bestial floor. He must have found some
striking analogy between his own state and that of the characters
in the Christian myth. The Magi represent those who are searching

for the point of intersection between the eternal and the temporal and make this quest the vocation of their lives, laboring until they have attained their goal. The Magi of the story were satisfied with the person of Christ, God and man. Yeats is not, for Christ in his mind is only the initial moment of the Christian cycle of history, a cycle which is nearing its end, for a strange beast is slouching in the desert towards Bethlehem to be born and initiate a new cycle. What he is looking for is not in Calvary's misery and he shows the Magi going on with their quest after knowing Christ. They become Sheba, also from the East, and encounter Solomon's personality, and, finally, they end up being the sages of Meru, the sacred mountain in India:

> Civilization is hooped together, brought
> Under a rule, under the semblance of peace
> By manifold illusion; but man's life is thought,
> And he, despite his terror, cannot cease
> Ravening through century after century,
> Ravening, raging, and uprooting that he may come
> Into the desolation of reality:
> Egypt and Greece, good-bye, and good-bye, Rome!
> Hermits upon Mount Meru or Everest,
> Caverned in night under the drifted snow,
> Or where that snow and winter's dreadful blast
> Beat down upon their naked bodies, know
> That day brings round the night, that before dawn
> His glory and his monuments are gone.
>
> (Meru)

All civilizations end their cycles, end in desolation. But if the sage is also an artist, he finds a joy in singing about the desolation, though the song be sad. In a small lapis lazuli sculpture showing three old Chinamen on a mountain staring at the desolation and singing, Yeats saw a symbol of the artist belonging to the full moon of personality on the Wheel but living in the moonless phase of civilization:

> Every discoloration of the stone,
> Every accidental crack or dent,
> Seems a water-course or an avalanche,
> Or lofty slope where it still snows
> Though doubtless plum or cherry-branch

Sweetens the little half-way house
Those Chinamen climb towards, and I
Delight to imagine them seated there;
There, on the mountain and the sky,
On all the tragic scene they stare.
One asks for mournful melodies;
Accomplished fingers begin to play.
Their eyes mid many wrinkles, their eyes,
Their ancient, glittering eyes, are gay.

<div align="right">(Lapis Lazuli)</div>

The joy of the artist who understands the pattern of all things is not, however, free from all mixture of opposite feelings. To stand above the world and contemplate the whole pattern is, in a way, to be in communion with God, and this communion induces a holy terror in the soul of man. Furthermore, this aloof position cannot be maintained without painful labor and self-sacrifice. When seized by this terror and exhausted by the artistic labor of communicating his vision, the artist must at times regret the common life of ordinary men. In a Byzantine mosaic depicting the annunciation to Mary, Yeats saw a symbol of his complex feelings of union and terror. In "The Mother of God," Yeats suggests the terror and the labor of the artist pregnant with a vision he loves and desires to communicate to the world, but which is also the cause of his isolation from the world and a source of fear and pain. Mary is speaking:

The threefold terror of love; a fallen flare
Through the hollow of an ear;
Wings beating about the room;
The terror of all terrors that I bore
The Heavens in my womb.

Had I not found content among the shows
Every common woman knows,
Chimney corner, garden walk,
Or rocky cistern where we tread the clothes
And gather all the talk?

What is this flesh I purchased with my pains,
This fallen star my milk sustains,
This love that makes my heart's blood stop
Or strikes a sudden chill into my bones
And bids my hair stand up?

Fitted into the pattern of Yeats' Wheel the Marian story acquires a new set of relationships that change it from its Christian meaning. On the Wheel of personality she falls in the same position as the pure subjective artist; on the Wheel of historical cycles, she falls in the same position as Leda introducing the Greek cycle:

> A sudden blow: the great wings beating still
> Above the staggering girl, her thighs caressed
> By the dark webs, her nape caught in his bill,
> He holds her helpless breast upon his breast.
>
> How can those terrified vague fingers push
> The feathered glory from her loosening thighs?
> And how can body, laid in that white rush,
> But feel the strange heart beating where it lies?
>
> A shudder in the loins engenders there
> The broken wall, the burning roof and tower
> And Agamemnon dead.
>   Being so caught up,
> So mastered by the brute blood of the air,
> Did she put on his knowledge with his power
> Before the indifferent beak could let her drop?

Like Leda, Mary receives a sudden revelation, she hears the beating of wings, and she is filled with terror at the knowledge of heaven entering her womb. In linking the Marian story with the Greek myth and his personal experience as visionary artist, Yeats achieves a new myth of universal value expressing man's highest and most complex form of experience.

In "Ribh Denounces Patrick" the Oriental Ribh refutes the father of Irish Christianity. For Ribh, God is not transcendent to the world in the Christian sense of transcendence as an impassable, infinite abyss separating the creator from the created, making the mystery of the heavenly floor absolutely uncontrollable. For Yeats, as for Ribh, the "natural and supernatural with the self-same ring are wed." Christian Trinity, then, is a Greek absurdity. Yeats' trinity is the ideal form of which the trinity of all living things on earth — male, female, progeny — is but an imperfect imitation, and this trinity would be one, like God, if creatures could love like God who begets Himself in His Son by an act of infinite Love:

An abstract Greek absurdity has crazed the man—
Recall that masculine Trinity. Man, woman, child (a daughter or
    a son),
That's how all natural or supernatural stories run.

Natural and supernatural with the self-same ring are wed.
As man, as beast, as an ephemeral fly begets, Godhead begets Godhead,
For things below are copies, the Great Smaragdine Tablet said.

Yet all must copy copies, all increase their kind;
When the conflagration of their passion sinks, damped by the body
    or the mind,
That juggling nature mounts, her coil in their embraces twined.

The mirror-scaled serpent is multiplicity,
But all that run in couples, on earth, in flood or air, share God that
    is but three,
And could beget or bear themselves could they but love as He.

This perfection of love, requiring perfection of will and understanding, is impossible to mere creatures. Consequently, the Wheel of history keeps turning, bringing ever recurring beginnings, apogees, and decadences of civilizations. In situating the various cycles of history and of the stars on his Wheel, Yeats discovers heretofore unnoticed relationships between the various mythologies and astrologies. These relationships allow him to create a new poetry of mythological metaphors. The death and resurrection of Christ, for instance, in the first phase of the Christian era, coincides with the death and rebirth of Dionysus. Yeats, then, could speak of Dionysus in Christian terms and of Christ in Dionysian terms. "Two Songs from a Play" is constructed along those lines of correspondences while adding further analogies between human cycles and the cycles of the stars:

I saw a staring virgin stand
Where holy Dionysus died,
And tear the heart out of his side,
And lay the heart upon her hand
And bear that beating heart away;
And then did all the Muses sing
Of Magnus Annus at the spring,
As though God's death were but a play.

Another Troy must rise and set,
Another lineage feed the crow,
Another Argo's painted prow

> Drive to a flashier bauble yet.
> The Roman Empire stood appalled:
> It dropped the reigns of peace and war
> When that fierce virgin and her Star
> Out of the fabulous darkness called.

In the ever whirling gyres, instants are more significant than persons so that, in Yeats' conception, the person of Christ is secondary in importance to the person of Mary as Helen's was to Leda's, for the instant when King Abundance begot Christ on Innocence (Mary) is the absolute beginning of the present cycle of history. This cycle reached its period of full moon when the subjective artists of Byzantium, working on the given story of Christ, sublimized the Christ of history into the great God of Byzantine art. "Wisdom" reminds one of a Modernist Christian sailing to Byzantium where he discovers the great creative force that fashioned the present Christian beliefs:

> The true faith discovered was
> When painted panel, statuary,
> Glass-mosaic, window-glass,
> Amended what was told awry
> By some peasant gospeller;
> Swept the sawdust from the floor
> Of that working-carpenter.
> Miracle had its playtime where
> In damask clothed and on a seat
> Chryselephantine, cedar-boarded,
> His majestic Mother sat
> Stitching at a purple hoarded
> That He might be nobly breeched
> In starry towers of Babylon
> Noah's freshet never reached.
> King Abundance got Him on
> Innocence; and Wisdom He.
> That cognomen sounded best
> Considering what wild infancy
> Drove horror from His Mother's breast.

Yeats' doctrine of a divine trinity analogous to the trinity in the world makes Christ the offspring of the Father (King Abundance) and divine Mary. Christ's mother, then, sits on a majestic throne and the horror filling "The Mother of God" is now driven away.

When Yeats uses Christian symbolism he refers not to the primitive Gospel accounts but to later Christian art, mostly Byzantine.

That great period of Christian art is, however, a thing of the past. Another cycle is at hand. The *Vision* system opens a third dimension to Yeats' poetry — the future. Greek and Irish mythologies were abundant sources of myths with which Yeats could see poetically the past and the present periods of the Great Wheel. Christian tradition was richer in myths concerning the future. The Christian view of history is itself cyclical with a constant awareness of times to come — the Old Testament, the New, and the second coming of Christ. Each of the first two cycles contains prediction of the next one. The prophets of the Old Testament, Isaiah in particular, with their bitter criticism of their times, with their unique vision of the divine and the future, and their consequent isolation from the rest of humanity, had features that Yeats must have liked to recognize in himself as poet. He writes of himself:

> I turn away and shut the door, and on the stair
> Wonder how many times I could have proved my worth
> In something that all others understand and share.
> (Meditations in Time of Civil War)

> He who can read the signs...
> ....
> Has but one comfort left: all triumph would
> But break upon his ghostly solitude.
> (Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen)

The New Testament like the Old is prophetic. It is characterized by the expectation of the *Parousia*. Matthew's account of Christ's prophecy of his second coming and the *Book of Revelation's* apocalyptic predictions were ready-made myths Yeats could fit on his Great Wheel and thus transform into his own peculiar myths. "The Second Coming" is a superb achievement of Yeats' poetic method and the clearest illustration of Yeats' way of treating Christian myth.

St. Matthew's second coming is the coming of Christ himself to open a new world era. In Yeats' system the next historical cycle has to be an anti-Christ cycle. As such it finds its proper myth in the *Book of Revelation's* coming of the Anti-Christ beast. On the

other hand, the shape and aspect of that beast, introducing the savage beginnings of the new era and symbolysing the inexorable motion of the gyres, is best pictured by the Egyptian Sphynx, man's head and lion's body, come alive after twenty centuries of stony sleep. The Wheel of historical cycles allowed Yeats to compress these three myths into one and create a "vast image" of his own. The Great Wheel was for Yeats a more immediate reservoir of images than the remote *Spiritus Mundi*, source of many of his Platonic images.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *   *   *</p>

"One goes on year after year getting the disorder of one's mind in order" Yeats wrote his father in 1916, while working out the system that lead to the writing of *A Vision* in 1925, "and this is the impulse to create." To create meant, of course, to create poetry.

He was writing in the time of an amazing enthusiasm in Europe for scholarly research in the new science of anthropology which, in England, produced such works as Frazer's *Golden Bough*.

Looking for order and unity in the enormous mass of new data about man and the myths and symbols expressing man's deepest views of human and transhuman existence, Yeats achieved a system of correspondences which became his impulse to create. The correspondences the romantic Baudelaire had seen in Nature beyond and above purely rational connotations, the modern Yeats saw in the myths of the whole of humanity. His system allowed him to create out of the mythologies that sprang spontaneously out of the deepest life of whole civilizations, synthetic myths reduced to the role of expressing this particular poet's vision.

NOTES

(1) Marschall McLuhan, *The Medium is the Message*, New York, 1967, p. 119.
(2) *Essays and Introductions*, London, 1961, p. 65.
(3) *Letters to the New Island*, p. 174.
(4) *The Works of William Blake*, 1282–283.
(5) Arthur Symons, *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*, (1899), p. 146. Quoted by Peter Ure, *Yeats*, London and Edinburgh, 1963, p. 32.
(6) cf. Peter Ure, ibid.

(7)   Quoted by John Unterecker, *A Reader's Guide to William Butler Yeats*,
       (New York, 1959), p. 79.

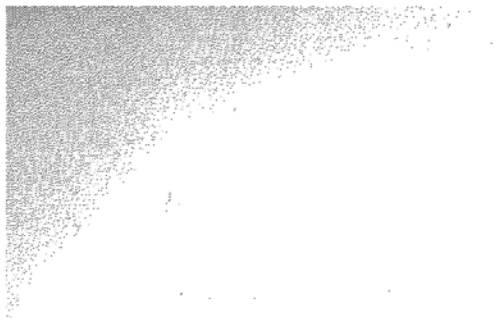# Yeats 在他詩中常用的基督教傳說

PIERRE E. DEMERS, SJ.

摘　　要

將近四十年的時間，W. B. Yeats 致力研究一種更精緻的體系以便能在他的詩裏創造各種意象。

在 *A Vision* 一文中，他的體系成了旋轉的輪圖代表月亮的圓缺和象徵各種不同的歷史上和神話中的人物，同時也用以表示人類歷史的各種文明的發展。此文試想說明 Yeats 在他詩中常用的基督敎傳說，神話在此輪圖中所佔的地位。

THE LOVE SONG OF J. ALFRED PRUFROCK:
A STUDY IN DICTION AND IMAGERY

JOHN J. DEENEY, SJ.

Mais j'ai peur de la vie
Comme d'un mariage!
— Laforgue

According to Mr. Eliot, the primary interest of a literary critic is "to help his readers to *understand and enjoy*."[1] Prior to understanding, he places explanation, not as a substitute, but as a sometimes necessary pre-requisite. Because of the vast cultural background Mr. Eliot incorporates into his poems, the critic must have more than ordinary preparation in order to supply this necessary explanation. As a matter of fact, he

> must have other interests, just as much as the poet himself; for the literary critic is not merely a technical expert, who has learned the rules to be observed by the writers he criticizes: the critic must be the whole man, a man with convictions and principles, and of knowledge and experience of life.[2]

However, this is not to say that the external background we bring to the poem is going to enable us to give the ultimate explanation. The fusion of all the poem's elements and the subordination of the parts to a new whole require that the poem itself be our first and last referent. This paper is an attempt to supply hints of an explanation by considering how Eliot's masterly, but slippery (for the reader), choice of words effect the subtle meanings of *Prufrock*.

Eliot is an extremely careful and conscious artist. Throughout his critical essays, he stresses the writer's responsibility toward his language:

> It is the business of the writer as artist to preserve the beauty and precision of the language.[3]

> Words are perhaps the hardest of all material of art: for they must be used to express both visual beauty and beauty of sound as communication of a grammatical statement.[4]

Eliot would probably consign the analysis contained in these pages to the "lemon-squeezer school of criticism": "The method is to take a well-known poem....without reference to the author or to his other work, analyse it stanza by stanza and line by line, and extract, squeeze, tease, press every drop of meaning out of it that one can."[5]   In 1955, when Eliot saw his own *Prufrock* passed through the "lemon-squeezer," he commented: "The analysis of 'Prufrock' was not an attempt to find origins, either in literature or in the darker recesses of my private life; it was an attempt to find out what the poem really meant — whether that was what I had meant it to mean or not.   And for that I was grateful" (pp. 125–126).   However, Eliot cites a number of the limitations and dangers of such a method: "assuming that there must be just one interpretation of the poem as a whole, that must be right" (p. 126); "assuming that the interpretation of a poem, if valid, is necessarily an account of what the author consciously or unconsciously was trying to do" (p. 126); and finally, the dissipation of one's feelings about the poem, "as if someone had taken a machine to pieces and left me with the task of reassembling the parts" (p. 127).

I believe that this last danger can be avoided in part, at least, if one is careful to analyse the parts as integrated into the whole. Eliot's *Prufrock*, for instance, makes little sense unless one sees the pervading 'form' which relates the words of the poem each and all to the whole.   In other words, it is not necessary to take the "machine to pieces"; just pointing to the parts and distinguishing their function in the whole is sufficient...and far more rewarding.   Eliot seems to subscribe to such a view:

> One can explain a poem by investigating what it is made of and the causes that brought it about; and explanation may be a necessary preparation for understanding.   But to understand a poem it is also necessary, and I should say in most instances still more necessary, that we should endeavour to grasp what the poetry is aiming to be; one might say — though it is long since I have employed such terms with any assurance — endeavouring to grasp its entelechy (p. 122).

Speaking of the mutual interaction between the words of a poem, Maupassant has told us that words have a soul and that it is necessary to discover and bring out this soul by seeing them in their contact with other words; and, we might add, through their participation in the total context.[6]   This, I believe, explains how Eliot can use ordinary words and still attain such extraordinary effects. Through the alchemy of his poetic 'vision,' words of lead are transformed into the shining wings of poetry.   It is impossible, of course, to exhaust all the complex relations and tensions between words, and Eliot's artistic ambiguity compounds this complexity immeasurably.   However, because the diction and imagery in his poetry is functional and intrinsic to the central 'form,' and not merely decorative, it is relatively easy to find examples to indicate this interdependence of words and ideas.

Upon first reading *Prufrock*, a very striking — albeit vague and undefined — impression comes through.   This general impression of the whole provides the proper and necessary context for any analysis of the parts.   Robert Morgan and Albert Wehlstetter, in their "Observations on 'Prufrock'," sum up the *concordia discors* of the love song in this way:

> The matter of the poem is a declaration of love by a middle-aged man.   Or, better, the internal struggle involved in his near-declararation.   The problem he confronts is that of breaking with the past....Decison involves a cut, a biting off, a transformation of himself as well as a reordering of his world.   The declaration of his love requires a summing up of his past and especially an interpretation of things "left unsaid" in his relation with the lady.   In consequence there is the possibility of his being mistaken and the danger of rebuff....His lovesong...is an attempt to still the unrest demanding decision, to delay deciding until the last moment; and it is an internal record of his failure to decide, a rationalization of that failure, and a sublimation of the unrest.[7]

It becomes apparent from the very beginning of the poem that there are two levels inseparably bound up with each other: on the surface level it is the story of Prufrock the failure as lover;   on a much deeper level it is the story of Prufrock the failure as man.   I believe the latter is much more fundamental to a genuine understanding of the poem — before Prufrock can answer the question of

love he must give an answer to the "overwhelming question" of life — and so I have interpreted the poem with emphasis on this underlying level of meaning. This is not to say that the "love" level is in any way negligible; as a matter of fact, much of the force of the poem lies in the subtle shifting of tone that is constantly going on between these two levels. But now, to the poem itself.

The first stroke of J. Alfred Prufrock's character is painted by the title of the poem; it is a mixture of the sublime and the ridiculous. It is a serious love song, yes, but the love song of one J. Alfred Prufrock. The name itself has undertones of middle class respectability and a character from the funny papers. There is a certain unnecessary obtrusiveness in the singularity of the "J." initial and the rest of the name has a "fuddy-duddyness" about it that evokes a smile. The surname is interpreted by some as "touchstone" (Pruf-rock), but if we divide the syllables in another way (Pru-frock), the name has completely different and less serious connotations. Then we recall Prue, the diminutive of the good puritan name Prudence (and its dictionary neighbor "prude," to be sure), as well as "frock," and all the weak feminine connotations which accompany that combination of words.

The epigraph takes us out of Prufrock's private life and leads us into the serious world of Dante's expansive cosmos. This is enough to alert us to the fact that the *Love Song* is liable to take on dimensions transcending those of Prufrock's narrow world.

I take the epigraph to be something of a grim overture to Prufrock's "song." It comes right from Dante's *Inferno* and is part of a speech spoken by Guido de Montefeltro to Dante. Since Guido and Prufrock are both victims of human respect, the two are associated together here in their mutual fear that their "sins" will be made known to those among the living. If we are correct in assuming that Guido is representative of Prufrock's mentality (as we shall see Prufrock has a dual personality and a high regard for his reputation and outside appearances), we can be sure that he will never speak his thoughts to anyone but himself. Therefore, I take the "you" and "I" of the poem as two facets of Prufrock's character;

"I" representing the interior-thinking Prufrock and "you" his outer self, the mask of his public personality.[8] The dramatic monologue, then, is actually a dialogue of a man of divided conscience and assumes something of the tone of a medieval *débat*.

The first two lines of the poem lull us into an expectation of some conventional figure, but the third line wakes us up with a start: "Like a patient etherized upon a table." We notice here that the diction and imagery are characterized by the direct, stark straight forwardness of scientific terms and the operation room. This type of figure is quite frequent in *Prufrock* and tells us more about the viewer than the viewed.[9] We may not get a precise picture but we are certainly left with a definite impression. Prufrock naturally picked that image because, as the rest of his soliloquy will indicate, that is precisely the way he feels — like a sickly patient in a diseased world. The hush of evening is like the quiet breathing of a helpless man "reduced to the living death of anaesthesia."[10]

The words used to describe the sordid setting Prufrock walks through on his way to declare himself to a lady (lines 4–12), are all colored by his serious frame of mind. Again, Prufrock tells us more about his own mood than about the streets. "Half-deserted" (an optimist would have said "half-crowded") and "restless" betray his loneliness and instability. The "vulgar" vocabulary of "one-night cheap hotels and sawdust restaurants with oystershells" (introducing a series of sea references in lines to come), contrasts sharply with conventional poetic diction and suggests his homelessness as well as the tawdriness and disorder of the world as he sees it. "Muttering" further darkens the atmosphere because it has the idea of talking to oneself in a low tone or making obscure complaints, grumblings, threats, and so forth. The argument of the streets also reflects Prufrock's insecure state of mind. Besides the notion of "long and tiresome" associated with the English word "tedious," the original Latin word, *taedium*, adds the idea of "that which causes disgust." "Insidious" means full of snares and treachery and it also has the root notion of danger by ambush (*insidiae*). The "overwhelming

question" the streets insinuate is a question Prufrock does not seem
to wish to face up to; it requires too much effort.   The "question"
is never spelled out by Prufrock in so many words, but from the
total context of the poem we know it to be: "Oh, what is the
meaning of it all!"   Or, on another level, since this is a love song,
the question might be: "Should I or should I not declare my love?"

In lines 12–13, the women are characterized subtly by the topic
of their conversation — Michelangelo. Such a weighty topic for
ladies who "come and go"!   Apparently, it is fashionable to talk of
"the arts" in the present circle. Such high class diction makes the
Prufrock of lines 4–7 feel more and more like an outsider who
simply does not belong to this world. But Prufrock conveys his
value judgment on the artificiality of such a scene by his deft selec-
tion of a single proper noun, made slightly ludicrous by its playful
rhyming position with "go."

The psychic pain that surrounds Prufrock is relieved somewhat
by the silent comforting fog in the famous passage (lines 15–22) so
reminiscent of, yet so different from, Sandburg's *Fog*. Once more
the image reflects Prufrock's mentality. He would rather be a cat
(or even an inert gas) and settle down in some easy mental state
than walk the streets of "tedious argument/Of insidious intent."
Although there is no strict logical connection between this passage
and what has preceded it, there is a definite sequence of associations,
continuing (in Prufrock's mind), the description of his surroundings.
The twilight atmosphere of the first fourteen lines is now chocked
with the grime of "soot" and "yellow smoke." But there is a certain
beauty here yet. Every verb in the fog metaphor is calculated to
find just the right curve of meaning to express the sensuousness of
the fog-cat — a reflection once more (because of Prufrock's identifi-
cation with the catlike fog and smoke), on his mental somnolence
and fundamental softness.

The musing repetition of "there will be time" (lines 23–32) has
an accumulative effect of emphasizing Prufrock's procrastination about
making a decision concerning the vague "overwhelming question"
he has raised. Yes, there is yet time to mask his feelings. And

there is time to perform actions of great evil or great good. Prufrock's bold choice of words here ("to murder and create") might indicate his abortive passion for the heroic deed; would that he could distinguish himself as a man of outstanding virtue or of vice. Or it might simply mean to "murder" the face one has in order to "create" a new, more satisfying expression. And there is also time — for some — to live the good life in a harsh world: the theme of Hesiod's *Works and Days*. The author of this book was a poor farmer whose life was hard and bitter. But he still managed to live the good life. Prufrock visualizes these rough farmer's hands picking up a question and dropping it unceremoniously on his plate: "If I, Hesiod, can do it, why can't you?" There is obvious irony in these happy rustic hands as opposed to sophisticated, but frustrated, urbane society. Before one dines ("Before the taking of a toast and tea" point up the essential pettiness of Prufrock's mentality while he muses on these universal problems), there is time for hundreds of good-intentioned grandiose schemes to be hesitated about, dreamed about, dreamed about again, changed in a minute's time, and eventually discarded. The inter-relatedness of these ideas ("decisions.... visions and revisions") is enhanced by their like sounds and this makes for closer tensions between them. Prufrock will consider all these things but — as we shall see in the following stanzas — he does not dare act upon them.[11]

The transition between stanzas four and five is again associational. The "toast and tea" remind Prufrock of the company in which such dainties are served; hence the refrain:

> In the room the women come and go
> Talking of Michelangelo.

This recurring thought of the women who "come and go" reminds Prufrock of what he fears they say of him, and the next six lines (39-44) are a revelation of his half-comic melancholia. We discover that his middle-aged vanity fears their mockery. Despite the bold reassurance connoted by the words, "my collar mounting firmly to the chin,/My necktie rich and modest, but asserted by a simple pin," he is still self-conscious about his bald spot and fears they will

notice his spindly arms and legs. And perhaps they associate his physical weakness with his moral self too...and perhaps they are right. Since Prufrock's dread of personal inadequacy will not even permit him to risk a disappointment in love, how could he "dare/disturb the universe" with his "overwhelming question"?

For all his knowledge of the world, Prufrock is still ill at ease and victimized by it (lines 49–61). The sheer banality of Prufrock's social life is brought home to us with the tinkling of "coffee spoons." The "dying fall" and "music" is reminiscent of these same words in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (I, i), with a probable ironic reference to Duke Orsino, a man of weak character despite his moderate success and determination. Prufrock dares not to presume to do anything significant and the genteel use of "presume" (repeated in lines 61 and 68), reminds us once more of the polite society Prufrock is trying vainly to move in.

We are not surprised then to find his "pin" — one of the few symbols of his self-assurance left — now plucked from his tie and turned in upon himself. And insignificant pin can fix him "wriggling on the wall" like a helpless bug...not even a butterfly. The fact that Prufrock can conceive of such a horribly degrading image, not to speak of applying it to himself, is an astonishing revelation of his character. Although he is permanently fixed and catalogued there, his "sprawling" and "wriggling" movement is a painful reminder of the cruel ludicrousness of his situation in life. Under these circumstances, no one would want to add insult to injury by further confessing the humiliating experiences of his past life. In line 60, "spit out" has the notion of unwanted, by him or anyone else; his "days and ways" are as disgusting and useless as a smelly cigar butt. There is a certain parallelism, an antithesis actually, between Prufrock's "days and ways" and the fruitful "works and days" of Hesiod in line 29.

Lines 62–69 remind us that this is still a love song, but Prufrock doesn't seem to be addressing it to anyone in particular. He has known (in the sense of sexual experience?) "the arms already, know them all," but what kind of arms are they? The choice of verbs

and adjectives in this stanza indicates that the arms are of a soft and enticing variety. The "arms that lie along a table" are reminiscent of the "patient etherized upon a table" and "arms that....wrap about a shawl" remind us of the sleeping fog-cat "curled once about the house."

And if Prufrock did declare his love what could he say? To speak of the drab lonely existence of the men he passed as he walked through the slums (while being a true picture of his frame of mind and part of his "overwhelming question"), is hardly the way to introduce a marriage proposal. And yet if this is reality, and so it seems to be for Prufrock, what matters marriage? He would just as soon have been

> a pair of ragged claws
> Scuttling across the floors of silent seas.

Earlier, Prufrock had willingly enveloped himself in the warmth and security of the soft fog-cat image. But now he would rather be a blind appetite scuttling (a wonderful word with certain nautical nuances) directionless across the seafloor. Actually, Prufrock would like to combine both images, but what he needs most is a hard shell exterior to protect his sensitive interior self. Wrapped up in his shell at the bottom of the sea he would not have to bear the strains of human life; that would be another world then and he would not have to make decisions about its questionable meaningfulness.

But Prufrock realizes he is irrevocably rooted in this real world, and while harkening back to his original twilight setting, he tries to figure out when and if and how he should "force the moment to its crisis" (a crisis that never will be resolved as long as its solution must follow *after* "tea and cakes and ices"). The verbs in lines 75–78 recall the original images of the etherized patient and the fog-cat. "Malingers" (line 77) is especially effective here because it reminds us that the atmosphere, though quiet, is still a sickly one (*malingre* = sickly or ailing; from *mal* (bad) and the Old French *heingre* (haggard)). "Malingers" reminds us too of the yellow fog that has "lingered upon the pools that stand in drains" (line 18)

and unites us with the sleepy mood of that passage, just as "the evening...stretched on the floor" recalls "the evening...spread out against the sky" (line 2).

In lines 81-119, Prufrock frankly admits his own weakness and inflicts some ironical self-detraction on himself by comparisons with three heroes of the past — John the Baptist, Lazarus and Hamlet. He daydreams about himself as a martyr for some great but undefined cause. Like John the Baptist, Prufrock has "wept and fasted, wept and prayed" (the repetition of "wept" indicates perhaps that Prufrock did a great deal more weeping than prayer and fasting). He has even aspired to a certain kind of martyrdom, but it has all been daydreaming, and he admits that he has neither the strength nor the cause to be a hero. Another reference to Prufrock's head "grown slightly bald" and, this time, "brought in upon a platter," makes the comparison comical in this context, but Prufrock realizes this and acknowledges his vanity and lost youth. Prufrock's reference to John the Baptist may be an allusion to a version of the great precursor's death which was perpetrated by Salome in revenge for rejecting her love. "Timidity has conquered his amorous self — the suppressed 'you.' In excusing himself he has seized on a parallel which both exposes and mocks his weakness."[12]

Prufrock's purpose has always burned unsteadily and finally his "moment of...greatness" passed. A very interesting effect is achieved in the personification of Death as the "eternal Footman" (lines 85-86). Without losing the force of the personification in the least, Death has been debased to a mere footman holding Prufrock's coat. But his bitter snicker becomes all the more devastating when we realize that he is a servant who can laugh with impunity at his superior. But Prufrock would take his coat, admit quite simply "I was afraid" to make a decision, and accept his shameful dismissal and defeat.

Back in the comfortable drawing room which is characterized by rattling teacups and idle chatter, Prufrock reflects upon the event and rationalizes his conduct (lines 87-110).

> Would it have been worth while,
> To have bitten off the matter with a smile,

> To have squeezed the universe into a ball[13]
> To roll it toward some overwhelming question,
> To say: "I am Lazarus, come from the dead,
> Come back to tell you all, I shall tell you all."

Perhaps, Prufrock muses, he should tactfully interrupt these gossips and introduce a real problem, a problem whose essence he would have abstracted from all the great problems of the universe — some "overwhelming question." Lazarus-like, he would exhume his other self and command attention by the extraordinary announcement that this other self would reveal the secrets of the dead. But even if he had the strength to raise the question, he realizes the topics he would propose would be too serious and tedious for his ladylove. There can be no meeting of minds on that level. So rather than chance making himself look more ridiculous in her eyes, he allows the question to remain buried in his mind.

No, it would not have been worth while after all. Prufrock feels that memories of "the sunsets and the dooryards and the sprinkled streets,/...the novels...the teacups...the skirts that trail along the floor" (lines 100–101) only distract him and complicate the decision he is trying to make. Painfully aware of his mental muddlement, he despairs of every expressing, let alone resolving, his "overwhelming question." But even though he cannot express his meaning, he wistfully imagines a lantern with magic power that could somehow formulate into a coherent pattern what is going on in the jangled nerves of his brain. But, again, even if he manages to formulate this momentous question, the very solemnity and importance of his tone might turn to mockery on his lips and she, with a careless gesture, is liable to smother his last traces of self-respect with a disinterested, "I don't know what you're talking about."

Crushed by his feelings of inadequacy, the only answer he can give to the question, "Would it have been worth while" (line 90), is an emphatic "No!" Prufrock now begins to punish himself by spelling out what a shallow thinker and weak-kneed individual he is. Although he has suffered doubt and despair, he is no princely Hamlet

who finally comes to grips with his problem; it is not merely a question of procrastination with Prufrock — he cannot bring himself to act at all!

In this "Hamlet" stanza, as in the references to the Baptist and Lazarus (and Guido and Hesiod, for that matter), the whole vast store of past associations are recalled, and the vitality and greatness of each of these outstanding men is calculated to point up, by contrast, what dejected Prufrock will never achieve.

The choice of words Prufrock uses to describe himself in this passage (lines 111–119), is a brilliant revelation of his outward admission of defeat while still clinging to the remaining rags of human dignity which demand that he play the man. He is an attendant, yes, but "an attendant lord" (the personal pronoun is omitted in this line (112) for the purposes of syntactical compression and intensity); he is just a tiny atom carried along by the tide of some great event, but he is still a part of the "progress"; he may only be in an advisory capacity, but he is advising princes; he is a deferential and easily manipulated tool and a "bit obtuse" perhaps, but he still retains virtues that are "Politic, cautious, and meticulous." But Prufrock stops abruptly at "almost ridiculous." Having carried on this list a little too playfully to be true, he ends this candid self-portrait with the terribly sad line,

Almost, at times, the Fool.

"Fool," of course, by its climactic position, receives the fullest force.

Indeed, Prufrock is no Prince Hamlet, and if he resembles a Fool in the play, it is "wise" old Polonius. A few words of Hamlet to Polonius remind us of the crab image we spoke of earlier:[14] "For yourself, sir, shall grow old as I am, if like a crab you could go backward" (Hamlet, II, 2, lines 204–206). Prufrock, like the "ragged claws" of line 73, grasps out for the good, but at the same time tantalizes himself by walking crab-like away from it. Where Polonius would make us smile, however, Prufrock turns our smiles into grimaces because while being very conscious of his short-comings, he admits defeat too early, and settles down into comfortable me-

diocrity. The fact that he recognizes and virtually admits that he is a Polonius-like character, makes him a Fool. And there is hardly more pitiful a spectacle than an old fool.

"I grow old... I grow old..." laments Prufrock in line 120. The weary repetition of the phrase gives an added note of resignation to the line. His little defiance of social conventions ("I shall wear the bottoms of my trousers rolled" — perhaps a gay and daring thing for 1917), allows him to ignore appearance for comfort. Here he asserts himself again. Here is the type of problems he can handle. And youthful vanity will assert itself too as frivolous questions begin to occupy his mind (lines 122–123). Then he fancies a bright lyrical world of singing mermaids skimming lightly over the waves, but he feels isolated from them:

I do not think that they will sing to me.

Prufrock has aged considerably now. He is tired and worn from past exertions and we find him dreaming in the "chambers of the sea." "Lingered" in this line (129) evokes the calm associations of "lingered" and "malingers" in lines 18 and 77. Here in the "chambers of the sea" is Prufrock's safe haven. In this fancied world of mermaid and seaweed he finds comfort far away from tormenting human problems. But a voice full of human problems from the harsh world of reality breaks in upon his dreams and he suffocates in the narrow world he has tried to escape.

Looking back through the lines of this poem to the original title and epigraph we see more deeply into the implications of both. In short, they manifest something of "the boredom, and the horror, and the glory"[15] of Everyman's world. Prufrock will never have the courage to sing his song of love "outside the inferno of his own mind,"[16] because he cannot understand the song of his own life. Edward J. H. Greene, in his *T. S. Eliot et la France*, asks and answers the same question in this way: "Et pourquoi ne la chantera-t-il pas? La meilleure réponse à cette question est peut-être un passage des *Derniers Vers* [by Laforgue] qui donne l'essentiel de Prufrock et de son problème, passage qui est sans doute la source première du

poème:

> "Bref, j'allais me donner d'un 'Je vous aime'
> Quand je m'avisai non sans peine
> Que d'abord je ne me possédais pas bien moi-même."[17]

NOTES

(1) *On Poetry and Poets* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957), p. 130.

(2) *Loc. cit.*

(3) "The Writer as Artist: Discussion between T. S. Eliot and Desmond Hawkins," *Listener*, XXIV (Nov. 28, 1940), 774.

(4) *Ezra Pound: His Metric and Poetry* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1917), p. 14.

(5) *On Poetry*, p. 125.

(6) In this regard, Empson's *Seven Types of Ambiguity* is a misleading book because it sometimes explores possible meanings without always regarding their limitation by the context.

(7) *Harvard Advocate*, CXXV (Dec. 1938), p. 27.

(8) The interpretation of Prufrock found in Brooks and Warren's *Understanding Poetry* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, revised edition, 1950, pp. 429-443), takes the "you" of the poem as the "generalized reader" and builds a fairly plausible case around it. However, I think the interpretation used in this paper is potentially richer.

(9) This communicating of thought-feeling in imagery by describing a state of mind and noting its response to certain external phenomena, is analogous to how the Chinese communicate their "pictured ideas" through ideographs. For example, the word "sorrow" is comprised of two characters, heart (心) and autumn (秋). The sign for autumn, in turn, pictures the stalks (禾) of the harvest being consumed by fire (火). The ideograph for "sorrow" (愁) is a miniature poem in itself. Perhaps because of its pictographs and ideographs, the Chinese language is one step less removed from the incommunicability of poetic knowlege?

See my article on "A Class on T. S. Eliot's 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock,'" *The Intellectual*, September 1, 1968, No. 9, pp. 15-18.

請閱 "大學" 第九期 (中華民國五十七年九月一日出版) 15-18頁 "傑·阿弗烈·普魯弗洛克戀歌的討論。"

(10) Elizabeth Drew, *T. S. Eliot: The Design of His Poetry* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 33.

(11) In this passage (lines 23-32) and many others throughout the poem, Eliot's use of diction is conspicuous for its lack of "poetic" words. As a matter of fact, Eliot insists on the right of poetry to be prosaic. His words are chosen with reference to this basic rule: "Poetry must not stray too far from the ordinary everyday language which we use and hear. Whether poetry is accentual or syllabic, rhymed or rhymeless, formal or free, it cannot afford to lose its contact with the changing

language of common intercourse" (*On Poetry*, p. 21). A long poem, like *Prufrock*, often represents a highly complex state of mind which has shifting levels of intensity. Therefore, there is a need to relax the tensions sometimes.

> In a poem of any length, there must be transitions between passages of greater and less intensity, to give a rhythm of fluctuating emotion essential to the musical structure of the whole; and the passages of less intensity will be, in relation to the level on which the total poem operates, prosaic — so that, in the sense implied by that context, it may be said that no poet can write a poem of amplitude unless he is a master of the prosaic.

> This is the complementary doctrine to that of the 'touchstone' line or passage of Matthew Arnold: this test of the greatness of a poet is the way he writes his less intense, but structurally vital, matter (pp. 24-25).

Someone has said that in *Endymion*, in order to alternate the high-pitched mood, Keats almost has to burst a blood vessel!

(12) George Williamson, *Reader's Guide to T. S. Eliot: A Poem-by-Poem Analysis* (New York: Noonday Press, 1953), p. 64.

(13) Brooks and Warren see in this line an allusion to Marvell's love poem *To His Coy Mistress*. Lines 41-42 of Marvell's poem run: "Let us roll all our strength and all our sweetness up into one ball," and the comment in *Understanding-Poetry* is as follows:

> Marvell's lovers would squeeze up their strength and sweetness into a supreme moment, but with Prufrock it is the universe which is to be rolled toward the "overwhelming question." In other words, with Prufrock it is not merely the personal relationship, but the meaning of the world, of life, that is involved. But the two are to be somehow related: the personal relationship cannot be significant if life is without significance (p. 437).

This is an entirely possible interpretation because Eliot is a close reader and professed admirer of Marvell's poetry. The same qualities he praises in Marvell, appear in his own work as well. Speaking of the *Coy Mistress*, he says, "the poem turns suddenly with that surprise which has been one of the most important means of poetic effect since Homer." (*Selected Essays*, new edition, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950, p. 254.) And he praises Marvell for the "restraint and quietness of tone which make the surprise possible" (p. 259), and also for the "alliance of levity and seriousness (by which the seriousness is intensified)" (p. 255).

(14) See above, pp. 13-14.

(15) T. S. Eliot, *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1933), p. 106.

(16) Drew, p. 34.

(17) (Paris: Boivin & Cie, (1951)), p. 42. A rough translation follows:

And why would I not sing the song? The best reply to this question is perhaps a passage from Laforgue's *Derniers Vers* which give the essence of Prufrock and his problem, a passage which probably is the primary source of the poem:

"In short, I was going to give myself with an 'I love you'
When it occurred to me — not without pain —
That to begin with I was not well possessed of myself."

傑·阿弗烈·普魯弗洛克戀歌

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摘　　要

這篇文章以「傑·阿弗烈·普魯弗洛克戀歌」這首詩中的語法及比喻為主題使得讀者能透澈瞭解此詩的含意。正如歇立德所說「幫助讀者瞭解並能發生濃厚的興趣。」

TOWARD THE CONSTRUCTION OF
A LITERARY DOCTRINE

Yuan-Shu Yen

After a number of years devoted to the study of literature and speculating about it, I have come to two tentative conclusions: that literature is philosophy dramatized and that literature is a criticism of life. The first is my own formulation while the second a borrowing from Matthew Arnold, whose statement has peculiar relevance to the literary situation in the 20th century. My first proposition is an attempt at defining the nature of literature, and the second proposition is meant to stress the relationship between literature and life; namely, its function for life. These two propositions are actually interrelated. For literature will function for life in a critical way only when it is philosophy dramatized.

Needless to say, my position is just the contrary of art for art's sake, and I reject the idea that literature is only to elicit the so-called static aesthetic emotions. I am tired of the voice dinning constantly about the autocracy of literature. Nothing is autocratic in the world. Those who advocate the autocracy of literature only reflect the atomistic nature of modern civilization which literature should actually oppose. A literary man is a humanist, and a humanist should be loyal to what Yeats called the unity of being. In accordance with this basic recognition, it is only natural for me to see literature as a part of the whole cultural scene and to consider its position therein. Before plunging into a discourse on my literary doctrine, some remarks concerning my outlook on the general cultural situation may be in order.

Ever since the 17th century, two phenomena of paramount importance have emerged into world history, the ascendancy and expansion of the middle class and the accelerated development of science and technology. These two events have a mutually causal relationship. For what really makes a man middle class is his acquisition and accumulation of wealth, and the most effective means

to do this is through the use of technology, which grows only with the nourishment provided by science. But science is essentially a manifestation of man's natural desire, while culture, I boldly assert, is anti-natural. For religion teaches love and to teach means to teach what is wanting. If human beings had enough love among themselves, would there be any need for religion to teach it? Sex is a human instinct; there is no need for religion to tell people to have sex life. Rather, religion through its dogmas and sacraments tries to regulate the sexual urge for fear that it may become a destructive inundation. Confucius' ethical system is again a moral pattern imposed upon humanity in order to prevent the natural human urges from breaking up the civilized social scheme. Consequently, if we take natural to mean following man's natural urges and instincts, I will say then that culture is anti-natural. My fundamental attitude is based upon this premise; consequently, I think the humanities in general and literature in particular, which form the backbone of culture, are anti-natural. It is *natural* for man to seek knowledge and it is *natural* for man to indulge in the flesh, for which science through technology has been discovering ever newer ways. And here we can see the divergent concerns of the humanities and of the sciences. The latter provide means to release human urges while the former try to erect a form to contain the latter. Truly, if natural urges were completely smothered or extinguished, man would no longer be man and perhaps would cease to be. But, it is equally true and necessary that the humanities should create a pattern of thought and behavior in the most liberal sense so that these human urges can be regulated and put under control.

However, a middle class civilization dominated by and mainly devoted to science and technology is hardly hospitable to humanistic values, in which literature has to find the rationale of its own existence. Literature to the middle class becomes by necessity an entertainment, a diversion from their serious engagements of a materialistic nature. A middle class man would as a rule refuse to be bothered by any literature that has no entertaining value. Because of this marketing condition, popular literature seeks only to

repeat what is already familiar to the middle class reader. In the use of language, popular literature tries its best to stick to the conventional so that no new linguistic note would jar the ear of its predestined reader. In content, love intrigues with laughs or tears are in vogue. In technique, strictly traditional plotmaking and character-portraying are employed so that the reader would not be compelled to face something hard and profound. Such a servile literature, repeating whatever its buyer expects, passively prevents literature from becoming a truthful reflection of realities and actively cheapens and lowers the standards of culture. But this is the only kind of literature that a middle class society is willing to pay for, while serious literature is more or less left in oblivion. But, since there is no denying the fundamental importance of serious literature to a healthy culture, such literature should not smile passively like a Mona Lisa from the wall but should ride into life like a Red Cross Knight.

Thus, in the broadest sense, I should like to see literature as a form of education, educating its readers to see things beyond the corporeal world created by science and technology and the sensory world in which their senses indulge. Education in a general sense is an imparting of knowledge. While all kinds of knowledge may perhaps be transformed into wisdom, it is the knowledge provided by literature that may have the biggest possibility to be so transformed. For literature is the most humanistic. Now man stands most in need of wisdom, which I define as the comprehensive knowledge of the human situation and the judgment upon this situation. I might as well admit that I am a moralist in literature. But I reject the implication that I want literature to serve some ethical or moral system. For, all moral and ethical systems are more or less mortal and their careers are more or less limited by time and space, while the basic condition of literature is universality and permanence. However, being a moralist and a moralist in good faith, I still have to discover the primary moral principle to which literature may commit itself And this primary moral principle I formulate simply as "for life" — the opposite implication being that literature which is "against

life" is immoral and thus is not really literature at all. Such a principle, I console myself, could measure up to the fundamental requirements of literature — its universality and timelessness.

It is against such a background that I have formulated my two statements, which, I hope, are at once prescriptive and descriptive. For without being descriptive, they would not be anchored in the reality of literature; without being prescriptive, they would not be able to point up my literary philosophy. Now, to the two propositions. First, I will explain "Literature is philosophy dramatized." By philosophy I do not mean the academic philosophies — although they are not antithetical to the philosophy in my formula. The word "philosophy" in my statement simply signifies the writer's vision of life and his perceptions therein. How does he look at life? What has he found in life? What does he want from life? In short, it is his philosophy of life. Certainly, a writer's perceptions and ideas can be arranged into a systematic philosophy such as the myth of W. B. Yeats or the Christian viewpoint of T. S. Eliot. But for most writers perhaps these ideas and perceptions may remain spotty and sketchy. Since I am not here concerned with the advantage or disadvantage in having or not having a systematic philosophy, I am content to say that in each piece of literature, there has to be some philosophical insight into life. Without it, the work would be superficial or sentimental. With it, the work would be able to reveal some truth about life which is the writer's unique perception.

That literature should become philosophical may have something to do with the times we are living in. I am inclined to think that in an age when man finds himself in harmony with his world, there may be no need for him to look at life hard and long. But when man finds himself in a hostile or estranged world, one like ours, it is inevitable for him to look at life quizzically and critically. He longs to understand himself, his position in the world and his relationship with his fellow human beings. For such a man philosophical inquiries into the cosmos are a need. He wishes to be able to relate things together and put them into some sort of a pattern when things are falling apart. He wishes to have some control over his

own fate when his destiny is managed by a force beyond himself. Consequently, his approach is inevitably philosophical and critical. If we compare English literature in the twentieth century with that in the nineteenth century, and that in the nineteenth century with that in the eighteenth century, it seems that literature gets more and more critical as the centuries roll on. Modern literature perhaps is the most critical of all. On the one hand, modern writers have become increasingly sensitive to the increased pressures of life; on the other hand, modern life has become increasingly tyrannical in its attempt to arbitrarily determine human destiny. The rise of existentialism and its wide impact upon modern literature and the mentality of the intelligentsia is a classical case in point. Works by Yeats, Eliot, Stevens, Frost, Hemingway, Faulkner, Joyce, Lawrence are all philosophical in a broad sense. And all these writers have helped the modern man in one way or another to understand a bit more about himself and his world.

That modern literature is extremely philosophical is due again to the increased complexity of modern life. By his own doing man has created a complicated world for himself to live in. This complicated world frustrates the attempt of any writer who only tries to approach it with the simplicity of a Robert Burns. Sentiments are not enough. For instance, if a writer wants to write a novel about modern China, it would probably take him years of study before he could make head or tail of what has been happening and what are the causes and results. A writer, of course, is not a historian, but he would produce nothing of real value if he does not have a historian's knowledge in this case. To read Lawrence or to write a novel like Lawrence's certainly requires more than just a smack of what Freud's accomplishment has been. If you want to write a piece of anti-utopian science fiction, certainly you have to have some knowledge of what science and technology have been doing and will do. It is quite evident that for a modern writer the mere knowledge of the human heart is not enough although this knowledge remains essential in any writer's creative armory. To really understand human nature of a certain time and space, one has to understand the

matrix out of which human nature emerges. And this matrix can be readily defined as the cultural matrix. Although human nature is essentially constant, it can only realize itself through this cultural matrix. If a writer fails to comprehend it adequately, he could hardly arrive at the truth about human nature which, though constant, is yet never a spaceless and timeless abstraction. The Johnsonian generality has always to anchor itself in some particular situation. Who can write after all about a generalized man?

Writers in Taiwan today lack exactly this intellectual approach toward life and literature. Two factors may be responsible. First, imaginative literature in China has rarely been taken seriously as a way to understand life. Traditional Chinese literature stresses the expression of sentiments and feelings; it is never really philosophical or intellectual. When philosophy made its inroad into literature in the Sung Dynasty, it was expelled as an intruder. In those poems in which philosophy found a foothold, poetry and philosophy existed only side by side as separate entities; poetry failed to consume philosophy, to the detriment of both. Pure literature in China remains a purely aesthetic artifact and has never come to terms with intellectualism. This predominantely lyrical and anti-intellectual literary tradition has come down to the present, still holding many writers in its clutches. Thus, a typical opening for a modern Chinese novel goes something like "The rain outside the window falls as densely as my sadness." And a typical piece of commendation for writing would be something like "It is written with tears and blood." Another reason for the lack of intellectual depth is local and temporal, for most of the very active writers in Taiwan today are from the military services. These writers have had a lot of raw experiences but lack the intellectual perspective to digest and assess them. Some of them are quite powerful, but their talents are in danger of being wasted in the absence of an intellectual mechanism as a processing instrument. Another group of active writers are women. While nobody can say that women are not the intellectual sort, women writers in Taiwan have generally proved themselves less than cerebral. Sentimental and superficial, they prosper in spite

of every literary standard. For they have in their possession the main condition of literary success, a large reading public comprised of housewives, high school girl students, and barberesses. A reading of their novels would leave you with no reference to longitude or latitude. While these writers deserve no serious attention, the first group of writers together with a few really serious women writers, if properly advised, may perhaps become the true literary spokesmen for modern China. Hence, the intellectual emphasis in my formula hopes to work as a corrective and a guide in their creative efforts.

But a local reason can hardly justify any literary theory that pretends to have some universal application. Here, I will not launch a discourse arguing for my case by picking out the philosophy or philosophies in all the world masterpieces. This would take too much time. But if one agrees that, in the discussion of literature, one can hardly avoid discussing the themes, this is sufficient proof that literature is thematic and thus philosophical. Without pinpointing what the theme is so as to save unnecessary argument here, I think no one can deny that there is a theme informing the whole of *Oedipus the King*, and there is also a theme informing the whole of *King Lear*. And these themes serve as the guiding principles in the writing of these plays and are also the fulfillments toward which the plays develop. Truly, there may be a kind of literature, for instance, short lyrics, which start with a simple feeling and remain little more than a feeling, possessing very little intellectual content. Aside from this rather small percentage of work, I think all literature, especially the narrative and the dramatic genres, always have themes as their souls. Truly, many works may start only with a germinal theme or a very vague idea about a theme which only grows and develops during the writing process. Or an initial theme may be modified and changed and even substituted in favor of another. Nevertheless, a theme has to be there to guide the writing and rests finally in the achieved work as the realized embodiment. Otherwise, how could a writer ever begin to write? Nobody could possibly start in total darkness, not knowing where he is driving to. I have no confidence at all in those writers who claim to write by

sheer inspiration, proclaiming that verses are the natural overflowing after a surcharge of coffee, liquor, and chain smoking. Surely, some writers do occasionally write by inspiration. But inspiration is essentially, if rightly understood, a result of intellectual cultivation and accumulation. Suppose you were a creature from Mars, could you possibly be inspired to write about the humans on this planet?

Furthermore, contrary to the formalistic emphasis of New Criticism, I claim that the value of a literary work is in direct proportion to the depth and width of the theme presented. Technique is subsidiary and is at the service of the theme. Why is the early Yeats inferior to the later Yeats? Other factors may count, but the main reason is that the later Yeats is a philosophically mature Yeats. Maud Gonne, Ireland, and the world had hurt him enough and had brought to him philosophical insights. What made him utter such worldly wise (in a good sense) remarks:

> for such,
> Being made beautiful overmuch,
> Consider beauty a sufficient end...?

Or what enabled him to write such lines of metaphysical wisdom:

> When Loie Fuller's Chinese dancers enwound
> A shining web, a floating ribbon of cloth,
> It seemed that a dragon of air
> Had fallen among the dancers, had whirled them round
> Or hurried them off on its own furious path...?

Can't we say that the later Yeats is the Yeats who thought deep and long? and that the power of the later Yeats comes primarily from this mellowed wisdom which infuses the whole of his later poetry? Certainly, formalistically the later Yeats is mature in proportion. But I am of the opinion that it is because of Yeats's profound perceptions into reality rather than his association with Ezra Pound around 1912 that made him feel the need of new verse techniques, which he soon mastered. Auden is right in saying about Yeats: "Ireland has hurt you into poetry."

When I was working for my Ph. D. in English at the University of Wisconsin, there was a professor of the English novel proclaiming to the class that Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* is greater than

George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, because the former is greater in form. I knew at that very moment that he was uttering sheer nonsense. No matter how you stretch the point, *Pride and Prejudice* from an author who remained blissfully in ignorance of the Napoleonic wars is after all only a story about marrying off daughters. But *Middlemarch* is the reflection of a whole age. There is no comparison in profundity and coverage. (And after all, formalistically speaking, *Middlemarch* is at least as well written as *Pride and Prejudice*.) In retrospect, I can only say that this is another typical case where New Criticism has done its harm. It is exactly this kind of approach toward literature in the American academic world that has drawn literary studies further and further away from life. The reaction to the sociological approach of the 1920's seems to be too vehement for its own good. The Chinese attitude is that all learning should be transformed into actions applicable to everyday life. While such a demand may be too pragmatic for the specific good of literature, the other extreme exemplified by the Wisconsin professor is even more dangerous. If the study of literature is a purely aesthetic business and if the writing of literature were (which fortunately it is not) affected accordingly, literature would rarefy itself out of life and would again fall into the trap Georgian poetry once fell into. After all, the Georgian poets did not really fail in their numbers, they failed in the matter — pale moon and twittering birds and solitary trees in the ravine — they sang about. Consequently, my formula, "Literature is philosophy dramatized," requires not only that literature should have philosophical themes but also that literature should be judged more thematically than formalistically.

Now, to the "dramatized" part in my formula. I think there are two ways of dramatization in literature, the fabrication of the fable and symbolization. The first applies most often to narrative and dramatic genres, and the second to lyrical poetry. However, more often than not, the two appear jointly. Dramatization in dramatic and narrative literature needs no discussion here since it is self-evident. But, even an image, the result of symbolization, is also very dramatic. An image is a little drama all by itself. Fcr instance,

"I have measured out my life with coffee spoons" is very dramatic. The concreteness, the conflict, and the theme are all present. To say that "life is but a walking shadow" is again a little drama, and "If they be two, they are two so/As still twin compasses are two" is another. For I define drama essentially as a literary form which, by creating a structure to give rise to conflict or tension, catches the concrete complexity of reality. Thus, symbolization is dramatization, and an image is a drama. By the same token, we can reverse the inference and say that a regular drama is but an extended image of reality.

I am quite aware that "philosophy dramatized" as a description of the creative process may sound pretty mechanical. But, I do not think the creative process is so fluid that it can not admit some mechanicalness in description. There are writers who work in this way. I myself write short stories and I always work in this way: having first a certain idea or concept and then working it into the verbalized and fictionalized equivalent. T. S. Eliot's famous dictum, the objective correlative, points up a similar creative process. He says:

> The only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an 'objective correlative,' in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that particular emotion, such that when the external facts, which must terminate in sensory experience are given, the emotion is immediately evoked.
>
> (*Selected Essays*, 1917–1932, p. 145)

W. B. Yeats often wrote out his ideas in prose and then turned them over into verse. That is as much as to say that he first got his themes and then dramatized them. Stephen Spender in "The Making of a Poem" bears witness to the same tendency in creative writing:

> That is the terrifying challenge of poetry. Can I think out the logic of images? How easy it is to explain here the poem that I would have liked to write! How difficult it would be to write it. For writing would imply living my way through the imaged experience of all these ideas, which here are mere abstractions.
>
> (*Critiques and Essays in Criticism*. ed. R. W. Stallman, p. 23)

Here, Spender admits that he starts with "abstractions" and has to live through the creative ordeal to the "logic of images." His "living my way through" is the process of dramatization.

However, I do not deny there may be cases in which a poet starts with a certain inspired image or even a musical note, and from there he writes out his whole poem. I suppose Edgar Allan Poe must have worked in this way. If I may indulge myself in a little speculation without substantiating proof, I would say that "The World" by Henry Vaughan might have started all with the first image in the second line of the poem: "I saw Eternity the other night/ Like a great ring of pure and endless light,/ All calm, as it was bright." "Like a great ring of pure and endless light" must have flashed into his mind like lightning, that is to say, by ins-piration. But is it possible to say that *Paradise Lost* started with a single musical note (no matter how musical the whole poem is!) or with a round and unanalyzable image? An imagistic poet like Ezra Pound can write a purely imagistic poem which almost baffles rational analysis:

> The apparition of these faces in the crowd;
> Petals on a wet, black bough.

But we know these two lines are the result of rigorous revision, which implies Pound's desire to express accurately something he wanted to express. What is this "something" but some abstract concept or vision before being transformed into the concretizing images? After all, this abstract concept must be in control during the writing and the revising process; otherwise, why didn't he use another set of words, for instance, "radiation" instead of "apparition", "dry, white bough" instead of "wet, black bough"? In the choice of words he indicated his desire to express something definite, which in turn he wanted to elicit in the reader. And these two lines may well be put side by side with Eliot's "Preludes" or "The Waste Land" as a comment upon modern life.

But the transforming process from the idea to the image has to be emphasized. In order to do so, I want the dramatization in my formula to mean also complication. Actually, dramatization inevitably

involves complication even without my wanting it to. For, drama-
tization applies the idea to life and expresses it in terms of life,
whose essence is complexity. When the idea is transformed into the
image, it takes on all the complexity of the image; and complexity
means enrichment in meanings and implications. This is why litera-
ture can be really called an "image" of life. Furthermore, a theme
or an idea, being abstract, cannot help being a simplification, and
simplification is the opposite of the complex reality. Therefore, it is
the writer's duty, if he wants his literature to be a real image of
life, to see to it that his idea is well dramatized. When E. E.
Cummings says: "Progress is a comfortable disease," he has said
something more complex than the abstract idea behind the image.
Virginia Woolf has expressed this dramatization process with a very
powerful word — "consumed" — in her discussion of George Meredith's
novels:

> When philosophy is not consumed in a novel, when we can
> underline this phrase with a pencil, and cut out that exhortation
> with a pair of scissors and paste the whole into a system, it is safe
> to say that there is something wrong with the philosophy or with
> the novel or with both.
>
> (*The Common Reader: 2nd Series*, p. 211)

Mrs. Woolf asks that the philosophy be "consumed" by the novel, the
wordy image of life. And the "consuming" process may be equated
with the complication process in my formula. But, to say complication
instead of "consuming" may be a better way to point up the desired com-
plexity in the resultant image — be it a poem, a drama, or a novel.

However, I should like to anticipate some possible misunder-
standing: complication should not be construed as obfuscation and
complexity should not give sanction to obscurity. I am of the
opinion that ambiguity, as a poetic virtue and contradistinguished
from obscurity, should be envisioned as a "directional perspective."
By "directional perspective" I mean the denotative and connotative
potentials of a word, an image, or a complete work should be projected
into a certain predestined direction. The writer should control and
direct the said potentials, otherwise they would radiate out at
random and the reader's interpretation would be a groping in the

dark. Actually, a good poem such as the one by Ezra Pound quoted above is always "directional." Only when a poet fails to know what he wants to talk about or loses his firm grasp on the means to express himself does his poem become a pot of treacle poured on the table — to borrow a metaphor from T. E. Hulme. The control necessitated by this "directional perspective" lies primarily and ultimately in the theme. Hence, you should not interpret the thunder toward the end of "The Waste Land" as the thunderbolt of Jove. For, if you do so, you deviate from the direction indicated by the theme. I think some of the aberrations of William Empson's "ambiguous" study of poetry may be ascribed to his ignorance of this principle which I call "directional perspective." So much for my first dictum "Literature is philosophy dramatized."

"Literature is a criticism of life" is a dictum formulated by Matthew Arnold with whom I (being a Chinese with all my ethical and moral propensity) have much in common. By stating that "literature is a criticism of life" Arnold dwells upon the thematic function of literature which criticizes life through the presentation of critical themes. I readily agree. But, then we run against the classical dictum that literature is an imitation of life, or, to be exact, poetry is an imitative art. The strict definition of the Platonic and Aristotelian imitation theory should be drawn only from the places where they talk specifically about imitation in literature. These places are *Poetics*, IV and *The Republic*, X. Aristotle explicitly says:

> Poetry in general seems to have sprung from two causes, each of them lying deep in our nature. First, the instinct of imitation is implanted in man from childhood, one difference between him and other animals being that he is the most imitative of living creatures, and through imitation he learns his earliest lessons.

This should be the sole authority for the exact definition of imitation in the Aristotelian dictum. And the above passage proves that imitation means nothing more to Aristotle than copying. Children imitating the movements and speeches of their parents learn to speak and act like them. And that is all. Scholars have scurried to other works by Aristotle in an attempt to make up a more satisfactory

explanation of imitation. But, no other remarks should overrule the above passage where imitation in poetry is being specifically dealt with. Let Aristotle stand or fall by his own words; there is no need to explain things away for him. As for Plato, imitation as copying is never in any doubt. God created the concept of a bed which the carpenter imitates, and the painter imitates the bed manufactured by the carpenter. And the poet is equated with the painter. Plato leaves no room for speculation. What strikes us as strange about Aristotle is that if he had not agreed with Plato on imitation why he failed to make an implicit or explicit retort in his *Poetics* since he never failed to do so on other points. The only possible answer is that he agreed with Plato and is as wrong as Plato.

I think the reason that Aristotle and Plato view poetry as an imitative art should be ascribed to the Greek cosmology which presupposes the existence of an objective world of truth, which Plato calls the world of reality and Aristotle calls the world of appearance through which the world of reality emerges and becomes identical with it. No matter which way you look at it, the Greeks evidently believe in the existence of an objectively existent world of ideality. The arts are supposed to imitate this world (Plato thought they could not while Aristotle thought they could), and the greatest ambition of the artist, be he a poet or a painter, is to get his imitative product resembling the model as closely as possible. But in the modern age, this objective world of ideality has been driven into a subjective existence, finding its haven only in the mind of man. The outside world, still objective, is no longer ideal. It has fallen away and has become a source only of discontent and despair. For ideals man turns to himself. Looking at the outside world and comparing notes with his ideals, he inevitably becomes critical rather than imitative of the outside world. Thus, the dictum that "literature is a criticism of life," as I see it, is really rooted in the changed relationship between man and his world.

On the basis of this recognition, I have formulated a subsidiary theory, namely, literature is the product of a conflict between idealism and reality. The poet with his knowledge and his sensibility discerns

not only what the world really is but also what it ought to be. As his perception into reality and his vision of the ideal come into clash, the spark that is his literary utterance springs up. Perhaps, it is in order here to make a backward reference and say that both the poet's idealism and his knowledge of reality are his philosophy. The idealism of a writer may be revealed in his achieved work, it may lurk behind it, or it may spread itself out in the writer's general intellectual background. But there has to be an idealism. For the absence of idealism could only imply that the writer grovels in materialities. On the other hand, if he has a sense of the ideal, he will have the necessary critical distance to put his material into the proper perspective. No conformer to modern popular values could ever become a serious and meaningful writer. Can we say that it is as a conformer to popular values that Eliot wrote his "Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" or "The Hollow Men" or "The Waste Land"? There is really no need for poohpoohing Arnold when he says that "Literature is a criticism of life." If T. S. Eliot as a theorist thinks otherwise, as a poet he only proves Arnold to be right.

That "Literature is a criticism of life" is valid not only in the thematic sense but also in a technical sense. For the transformation of the raw material to the achieved product is also a critical process. A photographer has to select his object and his angle and light and shade. The more he masters this process of selection, the greater his photographic achievement will be. The same applies to the penning of literature, only perhaps the selecting process is more discriminating and more rigorous. Suppose you want to write a novel about Taiwan today. Evidently you should be equipped with the critical perspicacity to penetrate through what the politicians say, what the insurance men say, what the mass communications men say, and what the cosmeticians say. If one is so inane as to believe in the TV advertisements, one should not write at all. It is necessary to arrange the social phenomena against a large background so that you can see them for what they are. Then, you will be able to make use of them in an intelligent and profound way. If you want to be faithful to the temper of your age, you shouldn't spend

your talents writing about the life of, for instance, the popular female
singers who are but foams on the seas of life. However, you can
still put their life to literary use if you know how to relate their
life to the larger world in Taiwan. Relate it to the wealthy and
leisurely class, to the expanding middle class, to the cheapened taste
of the bourgeoisie and the peasants alike. Again, this relating is a
critical process, for it involves comparisons in width and depth. And
when you have width, I am of the opinion, you will have depth at
the same time. Nowadays, you can't really use only your emotional
tentacles to feel, like a snail. Here, I would like to lay special
emphasis on what some un-intellectual writers contemptuously call
"bookish learning." Truly, personal experiences and corporeal contacts
with life are important, but an understanding of life can hardly be
obtained without assistance from the accumulated wisdom and
knowledge of the intelligent and the initiated whose achievements
are recorded in books. Only when intellectual roots have struck
deep, can the emotions be stirred up without degenerating into the
merely sentimental. Literature, reading or writing, is essentially an
intellectual affair.

To say that the writing of literature is an intellectual affair
implies at the same time that it is an impersonal affair. Having
ranged far and wide in experiencing life and knowing about it, a
writer is expected to remain somewhat impersonal so that he does
not lose himself in complete subjectivity. He should, by striking a
balance between the subjective and the objective, arrive at the
Eliotian state of impersonality. For I believe with Eliot that the poet
should be the spokesman for his age. If he remains too personal, his
work will only affect himself. To achieve this impersonal status,
the process is again inevitably an intellectual one. That a writer
can become impersonal is owing to his efforts to understand things
beyond his private and personal concerns. An impersonal writer, we
may say, has to be intellectual in order to be impersonal, and the
personal writer cannot help being emotional and sentimental. For
feelings and emotions, unrooted in intellectuality, tend to be private
emanations only. And I should further require that such an im-

personal literature be informed with humanism or a humanistic point of view. By "humanistic" I mean "comprehensive." The fact that modern life is increasingly compartmentalized makes more poignant the need to have some sort of a comprehensive view of life. This comprehensive view or review of life is constantly attempted in literature. For literature is always concerned with the relationship between man and his living environment which is constantly changed and shaped by a number of forces, the chief among them being science and technology. Faced with such a task, the writer as a humanist is compelled to look backward and forward, leftwise and rightwise, in order to take most things into consideration and thus to look at life comprehensively.

While all the humanities share more or less the same critically comprehensive attitude toward life, literature is perhaps the most humanistic of all. For, literature through dramatization is able to present a concrete image of life with all its complexity, and is thus able to present the round truth, If to seek truth is to seek the complete truth, literature seems to be the only humanistic means to provide the complete truth, without abstraction and simplification. Furthermore, after stressing all along the intellectual approach, I want to give recognition here to the emotional power in literature, which, by its very nature, engages life both emotionally and intellectually and appeals accordingly to its readers. Hence, both the round truth and the intellectual and emotional approach are the advantages of literature unshared by other disciplines. In these advantages lies the unique power of literature as well as the unique function of this humanistic activity. This, then, is the ultimate justification of the existence of literature — and also the justification of my literary doctrine.
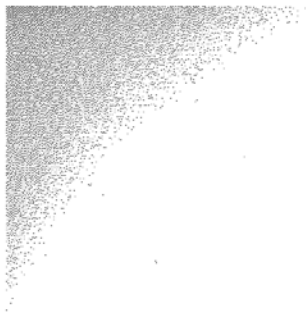
A CASE OF CULTURE LAG

Socio-Economic Problems Confronting Taiwan Today

FRANCIS X. CHANG, SJ.

The success of economic development in Taiwan has been truly remarkable. Rightly has it been hailed at home and abroad as an economic miracle, and looked upon as a model by other developing nations in Asia and Africa.

The purpose of the present article is not to minimize, or detract from, the merits of the leaders and the people of the Republic of China who jointly made this economic miracle possible. Far from it. By presenting a study of the socio-economic problems confronting Taiwan today, the writer intends to bring forth a concrete case of culture lag, that is, the gap resulting from a fast growing industrial economy and a slowly adjusting social framework. While it is gratifying to savor past achievements, it is perhaps more profitable to focus one's attention once in a while on the problems that arise from rapid progress. It is hoped that this self-examination will lead to further improvement of our future performance, and, at the same time, serve the purpose of sharing our experience with other developing countries as well.

I. THE ECONOMY IN GENERAL

Like any other economy, the Economy of Taiwan is made up of three component elements: the people, their habitat or natural environment, and their social environment.

The people

Viewed in a concrete way, the economic life of Taiwan is the life of the 13 million people on Taiwan as producers, distributors and consumers of goods and services to satisfy their basic human needs such as food, clothing, housing, transportation, etc. In other words, agriculture, industry, commerce, transportation, etc., is nothing

but the people farming, making, exchanging, moving things; in short, it is the people working to satisfy their needs.

It is immediately evident that "people" are the essential and most important element of economy, for man is the source, the center and the purpose of all socio-economic life.

Speaking of people, both their quantity and quality have to be considered, for both have a bearing on the economy.

People in Taiwan are numerous, intelligent, ingenious, and industrious. There is a great potential of human resources awaiting development. This is a plus for the future of the economy. On the other hand, however, if the number of people is compared with the small size of the cultivable land and the scarcity of natural resources, Taiwan is over-crowded. Overpopulation at the present stage of development is creating numerous and serious socio-economic problems: unemployment and underemployment; low wages and low per capita income; migration to, and crowding in, the cities; housing shortage; traffic congestion; crowding in public transportation, crowding in hospitals and schools; the population pressure is felt everywhere. In addition, the population of Taiwan is young: 40% of the population is under the age of 15, the group which only consumes and does not produce. This means that a much heavier financial burden falls on the shoulders of the relatively small portion of the productive population. This results in the rather precarious financial situation of the average families here.

In regard to the quality of the people, there is an obvious lack of technological knowledge and skills required for the development of a modern economy. The gap exists on all levels of the economic structure, and the people here have a pressing need, and a long way to go in order to catch up. All this is on the minus side of the present situation of the economy.

The Habitat or Natural Environment

The people of Taiwan are bound to their island habitat; the way they manage their livelihood i. e., their economy, is mostly conditioned and shaped by the land and its resources.

As we know, Taiwan is small, constituting less than 1% of the

total territory of China including the mainland. Taiwan is poor in industrial resources. Agriculture (farming) has about reached the saturation point. Forestry, fishery and the livestock industry are the sectors of agriculture that tend to expand and still have room for expansion. Conditioned by its natural environment, the future of Taiwan's economy depends on its industrialization and international trade. It took industry only a few years to overtake and surpass agriculture in importance in terms of its share of gross national production. The signs of an accelerating industrial expansion are everywhere and the trend is irreversible. In so far as the economic aspect is concerned, Taiwan has not been much favored by nature. Therefore whatever it lacks in natural resources has to be made up and compensated by a greater development of its human resources and a reshaping of its social structure.

The Social Environment

People here as everywhere conduct their economic activities not individually but together, interdependently, and in community. Hence economic activities are social activities, and as such, inseparable from a social framework.

The economy of Taiwan is rapidly changing from rural to industrial, but the social organization and institutions are changing at a much slower rate: changes in the material conditions outdistance ways of adapting to these conditions; old ways of doing things, old customs, old attitudes and values persist. The consequences are inefficiency, wasteful delay in further development, stress and maladjustment.

This phenomenon of culture lag can be observed in many aspects of our social life. For instance, while industry has clearly developed a need for skilled personnel, our educational system has so far been unable to supply it. And as long as people continue to value white-collar work over manual labor, progress in promoting vocational training and trade school education is bound to be slow.

II. RURAL ECONOMY

With three out of every four households engaged in at least

part-time farming, agriculture is still an important sector of Taiwan's economy.

However, accelerating industrialization is rapidly altering the old situation, and in the hitherto prosperous countryside dangers are lurking and threatening further development of agriculture in Taiwan. This has recently been disclosed by the Provincial Government after a special meeting held among interested agencies. (cfr., reports on newspapers of September 15, 1968). The following factors have been pointed out as contributing to the change in the farm situation:

a. As a result of a sharp rise in land prices in urban and suburban areas, many farmers are selling their farmland, thus further reducing the limited acreage of farmland on the island.

b. Farming is no longer profitable in the present phase of free China's economic development. This fact has triggered a mass migration of rural youths to cities in search of better paid jobs.

c. Despite rapid industrial development in Taiwan, the industry still cannot provide low-cost fertilizer and farm machinery for the farmers. As a result, production cost in the agricultural sector remains high.

d. As the available land is being increasingly occupied by new schools, factories and roads, farmland is steadly shrinking, thus posing a serious threat to food production.

The conferees were of the opinion that unless something is done to stop the trend, further development of agriculture in Taiwan will be an extremely difficult task, if not an outright impossibility. (China News, Sept. 15, 1968)

Because of the factors mentioned above, and because farming has about reached a saturation point, there is, at present, in the rural areas a surplus labor force estimated at 600,000 persons.

The result of unemployment or underemployment in rural areas is mass migration from rural areas to the cities which, in its turn, gave rise to other problems: dislocation of family life and family influence especially in the case of migrating youth; lack of skill and poor preparation to obtain better jobs; housing and general living

conditions in the cities are far from ideal; in addition, aggravation of already existing urban problems: housing shortage, poor sanitation, traffic congestion, juvenile delinquency.

The situation of young girls coming from the countryside to the cities in search of work deserves particular attention. Moreover the plight of many of them, who risk becoming preys to some infamous employment service centers, cries to the Christian conscience for help.

As mentioned at the beginning, forestry, fishery (with already 300,000 people involved), livestock industry and the handicraft industry have great potentialities for further expansion. The trend is that activities in these areas will expand and more people will depend on them to make a living. Further development of these sectors of the rural economy is desirable since it would serve to lessen the pressure of population in rural areas and consequently help solve some of its contingent problems.

In general, rural Taiwan is in need of: better living conditions as regard housing, sanitation, health care, entertainment; more technical knowledge and professional skills are required to farm, to fish, to raise livestock, to make handicraft more efficient and more profitable; more credit facilities to operate their enterprises; farm insurance against loss from natural disasters; better organization to run private business and affairs, to provide their own services and thus to protect themselves against exploitation by middlemen and by unscrupulous businessmen. The existing Farmers' Associations, Fishermen's Associations, and similar associations are organized from the top and dominated by a few. With most members playing very little active role in running them, these associations lack the democratic reality of "of the people, by the people, for the people".

Rural leadership, coming not from the outside but from within the rank and file, is needed: a leadership imbued with idealism, fired with enthusiasm to serve, and equipped with organizational skills to work with people. This kind of leadership is required if our farmers and rural people are to become better organized. And, to "organize to solve problems" is a must for rural people, if they want

to survive and prosper in a more and more complex, competitive and organized society.

And last but not least, farmers and rural people need education. It is evident that socio-economic progress in a democracy must come through the action of the citizens; it can only come if there is an improvement in the quality of the people themselves. That improvement, in turn, can come only through education. This education can be imparted in any form, formal and informal, provided it is "geared to the realities of life, capable of preparing and equipping people to cope with the problems of daily life, and the changing conditions of society". (Coady Institute: The Social Significance of the Cooperative Movement p-6)

III. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Taiwan is at present undergoing its own "industrial revolution". The word "revolution" connotes "radical change from the old". Industrial economy is still basically a process involving people, their natural environment and their social environment. But the ways and means of production are radically different. Mass production through division of labor has brought about concentration of population and urbanization.

The effect of all this is a chain reaction of further and deeper socio-economic changes too complex for the average citizen to grasp and understand. Among the multiplex problems faced by countries newly embarking upon industrialization, the basic problem is usually that of adjustment, i. e. how to adjust the old social framework to the new type of economy.

This is the general background of modern industrial economy against which we shall now attempt to describe the particular situation resulting from industrial development in Taiwan. Industrialization has become a major factor deeply affecting the whole texture of the society in Taiwan. The situation can be summarized by considering the following interwoven and interacting salient aspects of its socio-economic life:

1. Human Resources Development

The developing industry needs manpower to take up the ever

increasing number of jobs created by the mechanism of division of labor; at the same time, in industrial circles there is complaint about "skill bottlenecks". On the other hand, in the rural areas, there exists a surplus of labor force estimated at 600,000 people. Both in the cities and in the countryside, there is much unemployment and underemployment. The Northern Taiwan Employment Center, one of a few such centers operated by the Provincial Government, reported in 1966 this significant phenomenon: some 50,000 people were registered there for jobs; in the end only one third of the job-seekers found jobs; on the other hand, 28,000 job vacancies were left unfilled because applicants could not meet the requirements set by potential employers. It is obvious that industry is in need of not just manpower but qualified manpower (skilled workers, technicians, etc.) for which our educational institutions need to be readjusted, and maybe new types of institutions need to be created.

In this regard, the Government has taken the initiative towards a solution. A Manpower Resources Committee was set up (in 1964) within the Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development. A Manpower Resources Development Plan was approved by the Cabinet in 1966. Highlights of this plan are: increasing expenditure for education, extending compulsory education to nine years; offering industrial arts and vocational guidance courses in junior high schools; expanding vocational education including high school level vocational schools and junior colleges; improving existing research institutes and graduate schools in universities; promoting cooperation between educational institutions and industrial enterprises for training more technical and managerial personnel; establishing a National Demonstration Center for Vocational Training. This Center is now being built near Fujen University and is co-sponsored by the International Labor Organization, (ILO). (Shih Chien-Sheng: The Problem of Human Resources Development in Taiwan)

In doing all this, the Government has given a new orientation and new outlook to the nation's educational system. Form now on it must be geared to the socio-economic development of the community.

The task is formidable and the government will need all the support and contributions of the citizenry and private organizations.

2. Labor Conditions

There is an increasing shifting of population from agriculture and other sectors to factories, commercial establishments and services. Confronting this new development, the social framework concerning labor conditions is again lagging behind and in need of readjustment. The existing labor legislation is hopelessly outmoded and weakly enforced. In addition, it covers only large factories constituting only 10% of the total number of factories, thus leaving the workers in the small factories — amounting to 90% of the factories — and all those working in commercial establishments and in the service sector unprotected.

Unions exist only in large factories and are organized from the top, management-orientated and management-dominated. It is understandable that workers under such conditions are not interested in union affairs and remain passive.

A program is needed to educate and train workers in labor organization and labor leadership; similarly a program is needed to train experts in industrial relations, and labor movement.

Working conditions especially in small factories are poor, wages are low, housing inadequate. Working hours are long, many workers especially those working as salesclerks, barbers...work for 12 to 14 hours a day with no rest on Sundays and Saturday afternoons. As a result, labor turn-over or mobility remains high and consequently productivity is adversely affected. Labor insurance established in 1950 has yet to be much more strengthened and extended.

To raise the status of labor is important in view of the people's traditional disdain for manual labor. But this cannot be achieved unless labor conditions are improved, and workers become more skilled and better organized.

3. Urbanization and City Living

Urbanization, a by-product of industrialization, is brought about both by the multiplication of people in the cities and by transplantation of city life to rural settings.

Industrialization thrusts large number of people suddenly into the cities. We must bear in mind that in their old rural settings life was arranged under, and supported by, an established social framework: clan and kinship ties, close relationship with neighbors and other members of the community, mutual help in necessities...

Uprooted and transplanted to the cities, people need to be supported by a new social framework which takes time to develop. In the meantime, city living is characterized by disorganization, dislocation and many problems.

The often publicized urban problems in Taiwan are: traffic congestion, overcrowded public transportation, air pollution, lack of noise control, lack of drainage system, inadequate refuse disposal and sanitation, housing shortage, juvenile delinquency, and, in general, lack of adequate provision of other public services.

It is certain that public authorities have the duty to provide public services; but, in the case of our cities, it is also true that the public generally lacks a sense of social responsibility and solidarity. The Government does need cooperation from the public to make our city a better place for all to live in.

The city man lives with his small immediate family in a little house or apartment; he does not associate with, or even know, his nextdoor neighbor; in his work circle he has only the so-called secondary relations i.e. formal, segmental and rather superficial contacts with others. He depends on a fixed monthly income for his living, and often lives hand-to-mouth. Thus, his position and that of his family are weaker; as city dwellers, they lack the necessary feeling of belonging and sense of security. In many instances and especially in emergencies, the city man is left alone and helpless.

In the advanced western industrial societies, in addition to social security and social insurance, there is a whole range of social welfare services provided by public agencies and private religious organizations to meet the myriad problems of city people. In most of the western countries, social welfare is a well established institution and organized system of services staffed by trained personnel who use scientific tools supplied by the social sciences, to aid individu-

als and groups and to alleviate social problems.

In this field, in our cities, there is still plenty of room for both government agencies and private bodies to operate. To give a few examples, the poor living in the slums, the working mothers with small children, children in very poor or problem homes, the aged, the disabled, the working girls, the housemaids, the unfortunate foster daughters, the problem youth, the salesgirls...almost every category of people have some special problems.

To conclude, we like to emphasize that, in order to establish a new desirable social framework, the people involved must change themselves, they must develop new mental patterns, new behavior patterns, new attitudes and values. In concrete, city people need to develop first a sense of belonging, and a sense of neighborhood, and then proceed to establish gradually a new code of civil couduct or etiquette along the lines of the Norms of Civil Life proclaimed recently by President Chiang. It may be hoped that in this way our urban dwellers will take an active interest in the affairs of their "home town"; that, instead of being spectators and complainers, they will become actors and promoters of the common welfare and well-being. In this respect, our citizens need an education in social awareness and social responsibility. The old attitude of only minding one's own business must go.

4. Industries, Financial Institutions and Professions

Small industries which constitute the mainstay of Taiwan's industry, in addition to lacking managerial skill and skilled workers, are financially and marketwise in a rather precarious situation.

These industries need long-term financing and credit facilities to modernize their plants and expand their capacity of production. But, in Taiwan the banks are generally too conservative and overcautious in giving loans. Consequently, small industries either borrow from private lenders at very high interest rates and place their enterprises on a very unsound basis, or continue to operate with obsolete equipment, and to produce low quality goods at high production cost.

Even without these difficulties at home, the foreign market for Taiwan's light industry and its consumer goods is highly unstable

and unpredictable. Thus, the producers often resort to cut-rate and cut-throat competition from which neither side profits but both sides suffer.

Not infrequently an enterprising but unscrupulous individual, seeing that some product is enjoying a brisk sale, sets up an underground factory, puts out a fake product, dumps it on the market, evades the tax and realizes a quick profit. Even dangerously faked beverages and drugs have often found their way into local pharmacies and groceries.

Even among legitimate businessmen and groups of professionals there is widespread disregard for honesty, good faith, social responsibility and business morality. A few examples suffice to illustrate the points. Circulation of false checks has seriously undermined the use of an excellent means of exchange. Unscrupulous speculation and manipulation in the stock market have rendered this modern economic institution almost useless here. Excessive speculation and manipulation of land by irresponsible realtors have sent land prices skyrocketing and put decent housing farther out of the reach of the average city dweller. In regard to housing, people have an impression that the number of swindling contractors is legion.

What has been said points to the existence of a situation which needs to be corrected if the nation's economy is to develop and prosper unhampered, and if the business climate in Taiwan is to be made favorable and attractive especially to potential foreign investors. It has also brought forth another instance where changes in the mode of economy outdistance changes in the social structure. As always, culture lag results in disorganization, disruption, confusion and social problems. The remedy again lies in readjustment, social reforms and re-education of the public.

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文 化 失 調 之 一 例

— 臺灣當前所面臨的社會經濟問題 —

<center>張　　　　雷</center>

1. 工業快速發展，而社會組織落後，因而造成失調，造成種種社會經濟問題。

2. 農村社會經濟問題：工業化導致農田減少，生產成本提高，農村人口過剩，鄉村人口大量湧進都市，增加都市社會問題。農民面對日趨複雜、高度組織、高度競爭之工業社會，本身缺乏教育、組織與地方領導人材，致影響農村之發展。

3. 工業化與都市化所引起之社會經濟問題：工業化需要大批專業人材與技術工人，而教育制度不能配合人力資源發展之要求。勞工生活與工作環境急待改善。都市人口急速膨脹，舊有社會制度與社會觀念不足以配合新的生活方式，致都市問題日趨嚴重。

HAMILTON'S QUATERNIONS
IN HISTORICAL VIEW

Michael Richartz, SVD.

INTRODUCTION

It is a well-known historical fact that the creation of a consistent geometry without Euclid's fifth postulate, first undertaken by Gauss, has invented non-Euclidean geometries and has transformed large parts of geometry. But what is not well known is the fact that a change in the basic principles of algebra taught for centuries brought about the creation of many algebraic systems, in which the postulates of common algebra are violated in many ways.

By rejecting the commutative law of multiplication, Sir William Rowan Hamilton was the first to create an algebra of vectors in space of three dimensions. This radical departure from traditional orthodoxy carried algebra forward to hypercomplex systems.

The present paper is intended to show in a brief historical outline the important role that quaternions played in the earliest attempts of developing a quadruple algebra. The procedure will be as follows.

1) Hamilton's scientific work before the invention of quaternions. The presentation of the chief features of his papers concerning mathematical physics shows his ability to master the quaternionic project.

2) The invention of the quaternion algebra.

3) Similar attempts of developing quadruple algebra.

4) The usefulness of quaternions.

HAMILTON'S SCIENTIFIC WORK

Sir William Rowan Hamilton (1805–1865) lived in Dublin, where he was born of Irish parents. In 1827, at the age of 21, he became Royal Astronomer of Ireland and held this position until his death. His earliest papers were the "Theory of Systems of Rays" (1828–32), wherein he predicted the "conical refraction" in biaxial crystals.

These were followed by papers on "The Principle of Varying Action" and by two memoirs "On a General Method in Dynamics", published in 1834–35. Hamilton's idea was to derive both optics and dynamics from one general principle; for him optics and dynamics were merely two aspects of the calculus of variations.

Hamilton introduced the variational principle

$$\int_0^1 Ldt = \text{minimum},$$

called *Hamilton's principle*. And by introducing the *Hamiltonian function*

$$H = (p \cdot \dot{q}) - L$$

we get *Hamilton's equation of dynamics* in canonical form:

$$\dot{q} = \partial H/\partial p, \quad \dot{p} = - \partial H/\partial q.$$

The so-called *Hamilton's mechanical-optical analogy* as well as the *Hamilton-Jacobi partial differential equation* are important in wave mechanics. This analogy between mechanical trajectories and curved light rays acquired a deeply physical meaning by the invention of de Broglie's matter waves. The Hamiltonian function on which the modern theory of relativity has based itself as its underlying principle, becomes in wave mechanics the *Hamiltonian operator*.

In 1835 Hamilton turned to algebra. He constructed an algebra of complex numbers on the conception of a complex number as a number pair. He subsequently tried to penetrate into the algebra of number triples, number quadruples, etc.

THE QUATERNION ALGEBRA

The invention of quaternions was announced by Sir W. R. Hamilton at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy in November 1843. The specification of a quaternion requires in general four real parameters, the unit $+1$ of real numbers, and three other units, i, j, k. This requirement follows from the property which a quaternion must possess when considered as an operator, analogous to the plane operator $a + b\sqrt{-1}$, of rotating a line-vector through a given angle

about an axis through its initial point and stretching it in a given
ratio. Two parameters are required to specify the axis, one to
specify the angle of rotation, and one to specify the stretch-ratio.

The fundamental units i, j, k, are subject to the following rules
of multiplication:

$$i^2 = j^2 = k^2 = -1;$$

$$ij = -ji = k; \quad ki = -ik = j; \quad jk = -kj = i.$$

Hence, for these units the "commutative" law of multiplication has
been abandoned.

A quaternion q can be expressed in the form

$$q = d + ai + bj + ck.$$

It consists of two parts: a scalar d and a vector $v = ai + bj + ck$,
where a, b, c, are rectangular Cartesian co-ordinates of a point P
and the units i, j, k, represent unit vectors in the positive directions
of the corresponding axes. The vector v specifies a line-vector from
the origin O to the point P.

Quaternion multiplication is associative and distributive, but not
in general commutative. $pq = qp$ holds only when p or q is a scalar
or when the vector parts of p and q are proportional. The product
of two quaternions is a quaternion.

The product of two vectors v and v' is a quaternion:

$$vv' = -(aa' + bb' + cc') + \begin{vmatrix} i & j & k \\ a & b & c \\ a' & b' & c' \end{vmatrix}$$

$$= -v \cdot v' + v \times v' \quad \text{(Gibbs' notation)}.$$

The *conjugate* of the quaternion $q = d + v$ is $Kq = d - v$, and the
conjugate of the product qq' is $K(qq') = (Kq')(Kq)$.

The *norm* of a non-zero quaternion q is the positive real number

$$Nq = q(Kq) = d^2 + a^2 + b^2 + c^2.$$

The norm of the product qq' is $N(qq') = (Nq)(Nq')$.

By mathematical induction we may extend the foregoing formulas
to products of n quaternion factors:

$$K(q_1 q_2 \ldots q_n) = Kq_n \cdot Kq_{n-1} \ldots Kq_1,$$

and

$$N(q_1 q_2 \ldots q_n) = Nq_1 \cdot Nq_2 \ldots \ldots Nq_n.$$

The *reciprocal* of q is $q^{-1} = Kq/Nq$. The reciprocal of the product of n quaternions is equal to the product of their reciprocals taken in reverse order.

In developing the quaternion algebra, Hamilton invented the important differential operator "del". If this operator acts upon a continuous scalar point function u, it produces a vector point function, known as the "gradient" of u. Operating with del upon a continuous vector point function we get a quaternion. The scalar part of this quaternion is the negative of what is called the "divergence" of v, while the vector part is the "curl" of v.

Hamilton published his investigations on quaternions in two big books: "Lectures on Quaternions" (1853) and "Elements of Quaternions" (1866, posthumous). In the preface to the Lectures he describes the steps by which he reached his important conclusions which form the germ of the later basic theories of hypercomplex numbers. Real and complex numbers may be considered one-dimensional and two-dimensional hypercomplex numbers, respectively. Quaternions are regarded as hypercomplex numbers (or vectors) of order four.

Peter Guthrie Tait (1831–1901), professor of natural philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, was attracted by Hamilton's theory of quaternions because of its promise of usefulness in physical applications, and he became its chief advocate. Although the greater portion of our knowledge of quaternions, both of the theory and of its applications, is due to Hamilton, the applications to physical problems were mainly contributed by Tait. But at that time, quaternions were not yet considered a satisfactory tool by the physicists.

OTHER ATTEMPTS AT DEVELOPING QUADRUPLE ALGEBRA

Long before the invention of quaternions, in 1827, A. F. Möbius (1790–1868) published a remarkable treatise in which the initial steps were taken for the development of a quadruple algebra. but he was

unable to discover appropriate rules to govern the formation of multiple quantities.

J. Wallis (1616–1703), in 1673, represented the complex number $x + iy$ by the point (x, y) in the plane of Cartesian co-ordinates, but he did not use the y-axis as the axis of imaginaries. It remained for a Norwegian surveyor, C. Wessel (1745–1818), to take the final step in 1797. J. R. Argand (1768–1822) independently arrived at similar conclusions in 1806. According to Wessel, a line-vector OP drawn from the origin O to the point P in the plane of the units $+1$ and $\sqrt{-1}$ represents a complex number $a + b\sqrt{-1}$; and, similarly, the terminal point Q of a line-vector OQ represents another complex number $c + d\sqrt{-1}$. The product of the two line-vectors is a new line-vector. Wessel sought to extend his method to the space of three dimensions and if he had been successful, he would very likely have been led to the invention of quaternions.

The French mathematician Servois, in 1813, took up this unsolved problem. He sought to find by analogy from the complex expression $a + b\sqrt{-1}$ for a line-vector in a plane, a corresponding expression $A + B\sqrt{-1}$ for a line-vector in a space of three dimensions, but without success.

In 1844, a year after Hamiltion announced the invention of quaternions, H. Grassmann (1809–1877), professor of mathematics in the gymnasium at Stettin, published the first edition of his treatise on space analysis. A second edition followed in 1862. In this study he introduced the notion of a sort of hyper-number which he called "Extensive Grösse." His theory of extended magnitudes might be interpreted as a greatly generalized vector analysis for a space of n dimensions. It includes quaternions as a very special case.

Gauss in the meantime had recorded his own independent discovery of quaternions. In a brief abstract, which he never published and which is ascribed to the year 1819, Gauss wrote out the fundamental equations of what he called "mutations in space", which are essentially quaternions.

USEFULNESS OF QUATERNIONS

Hamilton hoped that the new algebra would prove the most useful

addition to mathematics after the discovery of the differential and integral calculus. But he was mistaken. Bell (*The Development of Mathematics*, p. 202) states, "If anything could have convinced geometers and physicists that quaternions were the master key to geometry, mechanics, and mathematical physics that Hamilton anticipated, his *Elements* should have done so." As a plausible explanation for the failure of Hamilton's expectations Bell mentions the fact that the calculus of quaternions was too hard for the physicists. J. W. Gibbs' vector analysis was the more practical kind of algebra that would appeal to students of the physical sciences. It gradually displaced quaternions as a practical applied algebra. But we should not forget that vector algebras received their initial impulse from Hamilton's suppression of the postulate that multiplication is commutative in common algebra.

Without going into details, it may be sufficient for showing the utility of quaternions in modern time to draw the reader's attention to most recent treatises on that subject.

Louis Brand, in his "Vector and Tensor Analysis", gives a brief introduction to quaternions and their use in dealing with finite rotations in space.

A. G. Kurosh, in "Lectures in General Algebra" discusses the quaternion algebra and its fundamental role in other algebras.

Furthermore, almost all the books dealing with groups and rings contain a chapter on quaternion group and non-commutative rings, respectively.

Very recently, the journal "Soviet Mathematics" (Nov.-Dec. 1967) published an article of Gel'fand and Graev, entitled "Representations of the Group of Quaternions over a disconnected locally compact continuous field."

The quaternion calculus participated not only in the development of pure mathematics but contributed also considerably in the progress of physical sciences.

In a recent article "Analysis of Elliptical Polarization" (J. Opt. Soc. Am. 39, (1949), p. 136), Richartz and Hsü introduced the calculus of quaternions in the mathematical treatment of the state of polarization of elliptic light.

In a modern book "Theoretical Physics" by A. Kyrala, a special chapter is devoted to quaternions, the contents of which is given by the author in an introductory statement as follows:

> The commutative properties of quaternions are introduced and versors are defined. The conical rotation operation is explained.
> The conciseness of the notation is illustrated by the electromagnetic equations. Finally a suggestion is made of how quaternions may be used in a formulation of wave-particle dualism and the associated quaternion Fourier transforms are given.

While discussing the hypercomplex vectors, the author remarks that the 2×2 matrix representations of the basis quaternions are intimately connected with the *Pauli spin matrices* which are of central significance in relativistic quantum theory.

CONCLUSION

The history of quaternions, Hamilton's invention, the achievement of his forerunners, the recent development of the quaternion calculus, all this shows that Sir W. R. Hamilton was right with his intention to help the physicists in solving their problems — although he did not succeed during his life-time.

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漢彌爾敦四元體在歷史上的觀點

Michael Richartz, SVD.

摘　　要

　　對於四元體在代數系統之發展上的重要性，這篇論文可以給予一個歷史上的簡要描述。

　　首先是介紹漢彌爾敦在數學物理上的科學研究工作，然後是說明匹元體代數的發明及其他類似的探討，最後我們證實四元體在現代數學上仍然是十分有用的。

TOPOLOGICAL INVERSE SEMIGROUPS

John B. Pan, SJ.

INTRODUCTION

In an earlier paper,[1] I defined topological semigroups and proved some theorems concerning them. We refer our readers to that paper for everything concerning topological semigroups. In this paper, I wish to discuss a special kind of semigroups, i.e. the inverse semigroup.

In the following definitions, let S be a semigroup and $x \in S$.

Definition 1. Inversive Element. An element $x^* \in S$ is said to be an inversive element of x if $xx^*x = x$.

Definition 2. Inverse Element. An inversive element x^* of x is called an inverse element or simply an inverse of x if

$$xx^*x = x \text{ and } x^*xx^* = x^*.$$

Definition 3a. Left Identity. If x^* is an inversive element of x then xx^* is called a left identity of x.

Definition 3b. Right Identity. If x^* is an inversive element of x, then x^*x is called a right identity element of x.

Definition 3c. Identity. If x^* is an inversive element of x, and $x^*x = xx^*$, then $x^*x = xx^*$ is called an identity of x.

THEOREMS

Theorem 1. If x^* and x^{**} are two inversive elements of x, whether they are distinct or not, the element x^*xx^{**} is an inverse of x.

Corollary. If $x \in S$ has an inversive element then it has an inverse.

Theorem 2. A necessary and sufficient condition that an element $x \in S$ has one and only one identity is that x has some inversive elements and that x commutes with some of its inversives.

Proof: If x has an identity, then by definition 3c, there is an

inversive x^* of x such that $xx^* = x^*x$. Then obviously x commutes with some of its inversives. So the condition is necessary.

Conversely, if x has some inversives and commutes with some of them, then x commutes with at least one, say x^*; hence $xx^* = x^*x$ is an identity of x. We show that this identity is unique. Suppose there is another inversive x^{**} of x such that $xx^{**} = x^{**}x$ is also an identity of x; then

$$(xx^*x)x^{**} = xx^{**} = x^{**}x = x^{**}xx^*x = xx^{**}xx^*$$
$$= (xx^{**}x)x^* = xx^*.$$

Therefore $xx^* = xx^{**}$, which means that the identity of x is unique. This completes the proof.

Theorem 3. If $x \varepsilon S$ admits inversive elements and commutes with all its inversive elements, then x has a unique inverse.

Proof: If x admits inversive elements, then, by the corollary of theorem 1, x has at least one inverse. Now suppose x^* and x^{**} are two inverses of x. Then by definition 2

$$^*xx^*x = x, \; x^*xx^* = x^*; \; \text{and} \; xx^{**}x = x, \; x^{**}xx^{**} = x^{**}.$$

By supposition x commutes with every one of its inversives. Since the inverses are also inversives, it follows that

$$x^*x = xx^* \; \text{and} \; x^{**}x = xx^{**}.$$

But, by Theorem 2, the identity is unique. This means that

$$x^*x = xx^* = x^{**}x = x^{**}.$$

Therefore

$$x^*xx^{**} = x^*xx^* = x^*,$$

and

$$x^{**}xx^* = x^{**}xx^{**} = x^{**}.$$

But

$$x^{**}xx^* = x^*xx^*;$$

hence

$$x^* = x^{**}.$$

This completes the proof.

Again, suppose that S is a semigroup and $x \in S$. If x admits inversive elements and commutes with every one of its inversives, then, by theorems 2 and 3, x has a unique identity and a unique inverse. We denote this unique inverse of x by x^{-1} and the unique identity of x by e_x.

Definition 4. Inverse Semigroup. A semigroup S is said to be an inverse semigroup if every element $x \in S$ has a unique identity and a unique inverse.

Theorem 4. In an inverse semigroup S every identity is an idempotent, and every idempotent is an identity.

Proof: Suppose x^* is an inversive of x and $xx^* = x^*x$ is an identity of x. Then

$$(xx^*)(xx^*) = (xx^*x)x^* = xx^*.$$

This means that xx^* is an idempotent.

Conversely, if e is an idempotent, then $eee = e$. By definition 2, e is its own inverse and $ee = e$ is the identity of e. This completes the proof.

Theorem 5. Let S be an inverse semigroup and let $x \in S$. If x^{-1} is the inverse of x and if e is the identity of x, then $xx^{-1} = x^{-1}x = e$.

Proof: Suppose e is the unique identity of x. By definition 3c, there is an inversive x^* of x such that $x^*x = xx^* = e$. Moreover, by theorem 1, x^*xx^* is an inverse of x. Since x^{-1} is the unique inverse of x, it follows that $x^*xx^* = x^{-1}$. Now

$$x(x^*xx) = e \text{ and } (x^*xx^*)x = e.$$

This is equivalent to $xx^{-1} = e$ and $x^{-1}x = e$. Hence $xx^{-1} = x^{-1}x = e$. This completes the proof.

The following theorem is due to Munn and Penrose.[2]

Theorem 6. If S is a semigroup in which every element has a unique inverse, then all the idempotents in S commute with each other.

Corollary. If S is an inverse semigroup then all its identities commute with each other.

Proof: The corollary follows from the definition of an inverse semigroup, and from theorem 4.

Clifford[3] has proved the following theorem.

Theorem 7. If S is a semigroup, in which every element has an inverse relative to an idempotent, and in which all the idempotents commute with one another, then every idempotent of S is in the center of S.

Corollary. If S is an inverse semigroup then every identity of S is in the center of S.

Proof: If S is an inverse semigroup, then every element of S has a unique inverse and a unique identity. By theorem 5, the unique inverse of an element x is an inverse of x relative to the unique identity of x. Furthermore, by theorem 6, all the idempotents commute with one another. Hence an inverse semigroup satisfies all the conditions of theorem 7, and so the corollary follows.

Theorem 8. Let S be an inverse semigroup and let e be an identity for some elements in S. Then the set of all elements in S which have e as their identity forms a subgroup of S.

Proof: Let $N(e)$ be the set of all elements in S which have e as their identity. Suppose x_1 and x_2 belong to $N(e)$. Then, by the definition of identity and theorem 4, there are inverses x_1^{-1} and x_2^{-1} of x_1 and x_2 respectively such that

$$x_1^{-1}x_1 = x_1 x_1^{-1} = e, \ x_1 e = x_1,$$

and

$$x_2^{-1}x_2 = x_2 x_2^{-1} = e, \ x_2 e = x_2.$$

Now

$$x_1 x_2 x_2^{-1} x_1^{-1} = x_1 e x_1^{-1} = x_1 x_1^{-1} = e,$$

$$x_2 x_1 x_1^{-1} x_2^{-1} = x_2 e x_2^{-1} = x_2 x_2^{-1} = e,$$

and

$$(x_1 x_2)(x_2^{-1} x_1^{-1})(x_1 x_2) = e x_1 x_2 = x_1 x_2.$$

Hence there is an inversive $x_2^{-1}x_1^{-1}$ of x_1x_2 such that

$$(x_2^{-1}x_1^{-1})(x_1x_2) = (x_1x_2)(x_2^{-1}x_1^{-1}) = e.$$

This means that e is the identity of x_1x_2 and that $x_1x_2 \varepsilon N(e)$.

The associativity of $N(e)$ follows from that of S.

Now if $x \varepsilon N(e)$, then e is the identity of x. If x^{-1} is the unique inverse of x, then, by theorem 5, $xx^{-1} = x^{-1}x = e$. Since x is also the inverse of x^{-1}, it follows that e is the identity of x^{-1}. Hence $x^{-1}\varepsilon N(e)$. Tnis completes the proof.

Definition 5. Maximal Subgroup. We call the subgroup $N(e)$, consisting of all elements of S which have e as their identity element, the maximal subgroup of S relative to e. Since in this paper we will deal only with these maximal subgroups, we simply call them the maximal subgroups.

Theorem 9. An inverse semigroup S can be partitioned into disjoint maximal subgroups relative to the set of idempotents.

Proof: By theorem 4, every idempotent in S is also an identity for some element in S. So we can also use the word identity for the word "idempotent" in the theorem.

By the definition of an inverse semigroup, every element of S has a unique inverse and a unique identity. Hence every element in S belongs to some maximal subgroup relative to some identity.

Suppose that e^* and e^{**} are two identities and that $N(e^*) \cap N(e^{**}) \neq \phi$. Let $x \varepsilon N(e^*) \cap N(e^{**})$. Then there is an element $y \varepsilon N(e^*)$ such that

$$xyx = x, \; yxy = y, \text{ and } xy = yx = e^*;$$

also there is an element $z \varepsilon N(e^{**})$ such that

$$xzx = x, \; zxz = z, \text{ and } zx = xz = e^{**}.$$

In other words, y and z are two inverses of x. But S is an inverse semigroup, so every element has a unique inverse. Hence $y = z$. So $xy = yx = zx = xz$, and $e^* = e^{**}$. Hence we can conclude that the maximal subgroups in S are either identical or disjoint. This completes the proof.

The following theorem appeared in Clifford's paper,[4] but the proof is ours.

Theorem 10. Suppose that $N(e^*)$ and $N(e^{**})$ are two maximal subgroups relative to e^* and e^{**} respectively. Then $N(e^*) \cdot N(e^{**}) \subset N(e^*e^{**})$.

Proof: We first show that e^*e^{**} is an identity, so that there exists such a subgroup $N(e^*e^{**})$. By theorem 6, all the identities commute with one another. Hence

$$(e^*e^{**})(e^*e^{**}) = (e^*e^*)(e^{**}e^{**}) = e^*e^{**}.$$

This shows that e^*e^{**} is an idempotent. By theorem 4 and theorem 8, e^*e^{**} is an identity for some subgroup $N(e^*e^{**})$ of S.

Now suppose that $a \varepsilon N(e^*)$ and $b \varepsilon N(e^{**})$. Then

$$abb^{-1}a^{-1} = ae^{**}a^{-1} = aa^{-1}e^{**} = e^*e^{**},$$

$$b^{-1}a^{-1}ab = b^{-1}e^*b = e^*b^{-1}b = e^*e^{**},$$

and

$$ab(b^{-1}a^{-1})ab = ae^{**}e^*b = ae^*e^{**}b = ab.$$

Hence $b^{-1}a^{-1}$ is an inversive of ab such that

$$abb^{-1}a^{-1} = b^{-1}a^{1-1}ab = e^*e^{**}.$$

This means, by definition 3c, that e^*e^{**} is the identity of ab. Hence $ab \varepsilon N(e^*e^{**})$. This completes the proof.

Definition 6. The triple $(S, \cdot, T)$ is said to be a topological inverse semigroup if

1) S is an inverse semigroup;

2) T is a topology on S;

3) The inverse semigroup operation is continuous in S relative to T. This condition can be expressed in more detail by the following conditions:

3a) If $a, b \varepsilon S$ and $ab = c$, and if W is an arbitrary neighborhood of c, then there are neighborhoods U and V of a and b respectively such that $UV \subset W$;

3b) If $a \varepsilon S$ and a^{-1} is its unique inverse, then for every neigh-

borhood V of a^{-1} there is a neighborhood U of a such that $U^{-1} \subset V$.

In the rest of this chapter we will denote the topological semigroup $(S, \cdot, T)$ by S.

Theorem 11. If S is a topological inverse semigroup, then each maximal subgroup $N(e)$ relative to e (an identity for some elements in S) is a topological subgroup with the relative topology.

Proof: By theorem 7, $N(e)$ is an abstract subgroup of S. So it remains to show that the group operations are continuous in the relative topology.

We first show that if $x, y \in N(e)$, $xy = z$, and if W^* is an arbitrhood of z in $N(e)$; then there are neighborhoods U^* and V^* in $N(e)$ of x and y respectively such that $U^*V^* \subset W^*$.

Let $x, y \in N(e)$. Since $N(e)$ is a subgroup, $xy = z \in N(e)$. Let W^* be an arbitrary neighborhood of z in the relative topology of $N(e)$. Then

$$W^* = W \cap N(e)$$

for some neighboorhood W of z in the topology of S. Since S is a topological inverse semigroup, for any neighborbood W of z, there are neighborhoods U and V in S of x and y respectively such that $UV \subset W$. Now choose the neighborhood of x in $N(e)$ to be $U^* = U \cap N(e)$, and choose the neighborhood of y in $N(e)$ to be $V^* = V \cap N(e)$. Then

$$[U \cap N(e)][V \cap N(e)] \subset [W \cap N(e)].$$

This means that $U^*V^* \subset W^*$.

Let $x \in N(e)$ and let x^{-1} be the unique inverse of x. We show that for any neighborhood V^* of x^{-1} in $N(e)$ there is a neighborhood U^* of x in $N(e)$ such that $(U^*)^{-1} \subset V^*$.

Any neighborhood V^* of x^{-1} will be of the form $V \cap N(e)$, where V is a neighborhood of x^{-1} in S. Since $x \in S$, and since S is a topological inverse semigroup, for any neighborhood V of x^{-1}, there is a neighborhood U of x such that $U^{-1} \subset V$. Choose the neighborhood U^* of x in $N(e)$ to be $U \cap N(e)$. Then

$$[U \cap N(e)]^{-1} = [U^{-1} \cap N(e)] \subset [V \cap \dot{N}(e)].$$

This means that $U^* \subset V^*$. This completes the proof.

Definition 7. Subgroup Having Finite Number of Factors. We say that a maximal subgroup $N(e)$ has a finite number of factors if there are only a finite number of maximal subgroups $N(e_1)$, $N(e_2), \ldots N(e_n)$, such that it is possible that

$$N(e_i)N(e_j) \subset N(e). \quad (i, j = 1, 2, \ldots n).$$

Theorem 12. If each maximal subgroup of an algebraic inverse semigroup S has a finite number of factors, then a topology T can be defined on S such that $(S, \cdot, T)$ is a topological inverse semigroup and each maximal subgroup is a closed topological subgroup.

Proof: Define a topology T on S in which the open sets are of the form

$$S \setminus \bigcup_{i=1}^{n} [N(e_i)],$$

where n is any positive integer and the $e_i's$ are identities for some elements of S.

In this topology every maximal subgroup $N(e)$ is closed, since $S/N(e)$ is open.

We next show that $(S, \cdot, T)$ is a topological inverse semigroup.

Let a and b be two arbitrary elements in S such that $a \, \varepsilon \, N(e_a)$ and $b \, \varepsilon \, N(e_b)$. Suppose $ab = c$, $c \, \varepsilon \, N(e_c)$, and that

$$S \setminus \bigcup_{i=1}^{n} [N(e_i)]$$

is an arbitrary neighborhood of c. Since each maximal subgroup of S has a finite number of factors, each maximal subgroup $N(e_i)$ not included in the neighborhood

$$S \setminus \bigcup_{i=1}^{n} [N(e_i)]$$

can have only a finite number of maximal subgroups, say $K_{i1}, K_{i2}, \ldots, K_{ip}$, such that $K_{ij} \, K_{im} \subset N(e_i)$, where $j, m = 1, 2, \ldots, p$. Since the number of the maximal subgroups not included in the open set

$S\setminus\overset{n}{\underset{i=1}{\cup}}[N(e_i)]$ is finite, there can be only a finite number of maximal

subgroups, say $K_1, K_2,..., K_h$, such that for any maximal subgroup

$N(e_j)$ not included in the open set $S\setminus\overset{n}{\underset{i=1}{\cup}}[N(e_i)]$ only maximal sub-

groups of the set $[K_1, K_2,..., K_k]$ can be such that $K_jK_m\subset N(e_i)$,

where $j, m = 1, 2,..., k$. We denote the set $[K_1, K_2,..., K_k]$ by K.

We consider the following four conceivable cases.

Case 1. $N(e_a) \notin K$, and $N(e_b) \notin K$.

Choose $S\setminus[K_1, K_2,..., K_k]$ as the neighborhood of a and of b. Then

$$\{S\setminus[K_1, K_2,..., K_k]\}^2 \subset S\setminus \overset{n}{\underset{i=1}{\cup}}[N(e_i)].$$

Case 2. $N(e_a) \notin K$ but $N(e_b) \varepsilon K$.

In this case $N(e_b) = K_j$ for some j $(1\leqslant j\leqslant k)$. Choose $S\setminus[K_1,$

$K_2,..., K_k]$ as the neighborhood of a and choose $S\setminus[K_1, K_2,..., K_{j-1},$

$K_{j+1},..., K_k]$ as the neighborhood of b. Then

$$\{S\setminus[K_1, K_2,..., K_k]\}\{S\setminus[K_1, K_2,...K_{j-1}, K_{j+1},..., K_k]\}$$

$$\subset S\setminus \overset{n}{\underset{i=1}{\cup}}[N(e_i)].$$

Case 3. $N(e_a) \varepsilon K$, but $N(e_b) \notin K$.

This case is the same as case 2 by symmetry.

Case 4. $N(e_a) \varepsilon K$ and $N(e_b) \varepsilon K$.

This case is impossible. For, if it were true, then $N(e_a)N(e_b)$

would belong to one of the $N(e_i)$ not included in the neighborhood

$S\setminus \overset{n}{\underset{i-1}{\cup}}[N(e_i)]$, and $S\setminus \overset{n}{\underset{i-1}{\cup}}[N(e_i)]$ would not be a neighorhood of $ab = c$.

This would contradict our supposition.

Therefore in all three possible cases, for any neighborhood W

of c, we can find neighborhoods U and V of a and of b respectively,

such that $UV \subset W$. This shows that the operation: $S\times S\to S$, defined

by the correspondence $(a, b)\to ab = c$ is continuous.

Finally we show that for any $a \varepsilon S$ the mappings operation $a \to$

a^{-1} is continuous.

We note, first, that $[N(e)]^{-1} = N(e)$, because if $a \varepsilon N(e)$ then

$a^{-1} \varepsilon N(e)$.

Suppose $a \varepsilon N(e_a)$ and $S \setminus \bigcup_{i-1}^{n} [N(e_i)]$ is an arbitrary neighborhood of a^{-1}. Then, since

$$[N(e_i)]^{-1} = N(e_i), \text{ for all } i, 1 \leqslant i \leqslant n,$$

we have

$$\{S \setminus \bigcup_{i=1}^{n} [N(e_i)]\}^{-1} = S \setminus \bigcup_{i=1}^{n} [N(e_i)]$$

Let us denote the above neighborhood by V. V is a neighborhood of a^{-1} as well as of a. And, as we have shown, $V^{-1} = V$. So, if we choose V as a neighborhood of a, then $V^{-1} \subset V$. This completes the proof.

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拓 撲 反 元 半 羣

潘　壽　山

摘　要

假設 S 是一個半羣，x 是 S 的元素。如果 x^* 是 S 的元素，使得 $x^*xx^* = x^*$ 而且 $xx^*x = x$，則 x^* 便稱爲 x 的反元素。

假設 x^* 是 x 的反元素，而且 $x^*x = xx^*$，則 xx^* 稱爲 x 的單位。

如果一個半羣 S 中，每個元素都有惟一的反元素，又都有惟一的單位，那麼 S 便稱爲反元半羣。這篇論文證明的定理當中，最主要的有下列幾個：

(一)假設 S 是個反元半羣，e 是某些元素的單位。那麼 S 中一切以 e 作單位的元素構成一個子羣。我們稱這個子羣爲對 e 來說的最大子羣。我們用 $N(e)$ 來表示它。

(二)一個反元半羣可以分析爲不相連接的最大子羣。

(三)如果 S 是一個拓撲反元半羣，則每個最大子羣 $N(e)$ 是一個拓撲子羣。

(四)如果反元半羣 S 中每個最大子羣 $N(e)$ 的因子有限那麼就可以在 S 上定義一個拓撲，使 S 成爲拓撲半羣，而且在此拓撲中，每個 $N(e)$ 是關閉的拓撲子羣。

Contents of Nr. 1.   1968

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