

In the shadow of the new national language, what position could Cantonese attain? It existed in the newspaper supplements as popular literature. The writing style called *sanjidi* (the three highest grades of the former third degree), which was prevalent among the tabloid newspapers in early Republican Guangzhou and Hong Kong, reflects the compromise achieved by Cantonese in popular literature. This style, a combination of classical Chinese, new standard Chinese and Cantonese, is illustrated by the novel *Laopo nu* (The Wife's Serf), published in 1926 in Hong Kong.

Thanks to the early Republican historians, philologists and anthropologists, Cantonese was preserved as an "historical relic", marking the passing of local oral tradition. Cantonese literature, oral and written, was collected and reprinted by the Chinese Association for Folklore of the Zhongshan University in Guangzhou. Established in 1927, the association was the centre of the Chinese folk literature movement until 1934, when its role reverted to its predecessor, the National Beijing University. At an exhibition of Guangdong culture, held by a group of Republican scholars and officials in Hong Kong in 1940, Cantonese song books were on display alongside other historical relics. Republican scholars certainly had an antiquarian interest in collecting, preserving and appreciating Cantonese vernacular literature, but none could create his own.

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to suggest that vernacular played only a transitional role in the national movement in modern China. Whereas in Europe Latin was replaced by written vernaculars like Italian, Spanish and French, in China classical Chinese was replaced by a single vernacular based on Beijing dialect. Cantonese writers seem to have been reluctant to introduce any Cantonese usages into the new national literature. While Lao She was able to reinforce the use of Beijing dialect in the standard written vernacular, and Lu Xun experimented with the use of Wu dialect, no Cantonese writer gained merit through adopting his own vernacular in modern Chinese literature. No wonder the Cantonese writers were unable to produce their own Lao She or Lu Xun, whose names entered the history of the May Fourth movement.

Shakespeare adaptation in China

Li Ruru

Introduction

Although the main stream of Shakespeare performance in China since the first production of the Bard's work in 1913¹ still employs spoken drama,² the modern theatre using straight translation, this paper³ however focuses on three different adaptations. They are *Twelfth Night*, *Macbeth* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, which were all adapted into traditional Chinese operatic styles. The traditional Chinese operatic Shakespeare has been controversial, and the three productions I have chosen to discuss exhibit all the promise and all the problems of cross-cultural theatre adaptation.

These three productions are not only in different operatic styles but also are adapted in differing ways. Nevertheless, all face a common problem: how to bring Shakespeare and traditional Chinese theatre together, because it is self-evident that these are two different dramatic forms stemming from two completely different cultural backgrounds.

Traditional Chinese theatre, with its highly stylized form, has to this day retained its conventions and skills of singing, reciting, acting and dance (including martial arts), and it is therefore regarded as total theatre. Clearly, there is an endless range of problems in accommodating Shakespeare to such a theatre. The first and most obvious difficulty in adapting Shakespeare to Chinese opera style is the need to shape the original into the particular musical or aria form required. More profound are the problems relating to Shakespearean structure and characterization. It is not easy to chop or trim an original text, which usually contains two or three plots, to make it suit a Chinese operatic form which normally has only one story line. Furthermore, how are the adaptors to handle Shakespeare's philosophical speculation, psychological reflection and the inner conflicts of his characters? The very language itself, as well as the images and metaphors, present daunting translation difficulties.

A further complication arises from the influence of modern Chinese drama on the work of the adaptors. As indicated above, most Shakespeare performances are in spoken drama style and the introduction of Shakespeare's plays into China has been closely associated with the modern Chinese drama movement. Inevitably, therefore, some modern drama approaches intrude into the three productions and make them into something more than adaptations directly from Shakespeare to Chinese opera form.

In the first place, the directors of the three productions were all educated in the school of modern drama and had been working in modern drama companies. Second, theatrical circles were still influenced by the idea that modern drama was progressive and traditional theatre backward, and therefore both in the ideological and formal sense many traditional theatre productions have been moving in the direction of modern drama.⁴ Third, there is a tendency in many people's minds to generalize about Western phenomena and ideas, ignoring the specific and essential circumstances. For instance, Shakespeare, (an English playwright of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period), modern Chinese drama (a form based on the realistic and naturalistic features of Western drama) and Stanislavsky (the famous Russian dramatist) are all seen as emanating from "the West" in Chinese thinking. The three experimental productions discussed in this paper are therefore a fascinating mixture of many ingredients: contrasting operatic forms, modern Chinese drama, Stanislavsky and Shakespeare, and in each case a different balance of ingredients was used.

Twelfth Night

The adaptation of *Twelfth Night* was performed by the Third Troupe of the Shanghai *Yueju* Company and presented at China's first Shakespeare Festival in the spring of 1986. *Yueju*, one of the younger genres of traditional Chinese theatre, has been popular in south-eastern China since it first came to Shanghai in 1916. It is now also performed widely in cities of central and northern China.

The *yueju* presentation of *Twelfth Night* is distinctly foreign with its Western costumes, make-up and gestures, all of which are far removed from the standard *yueju*. There is no curtain at the front of the stage and the backdrop is a black velvet curtain; the scenery comprises simple white columns and arches which aim to convey the opulence of the baroque era. The *yueju* version of *Twelfth Night* is divided into prologue and six acts:

Prologue	The Shore of Illyria
Act One	The Duke's Palace
Act Two	Olivia's Home
Act Three	The Duke's Palace
Act Four	Olivia's Garden

Act Five	In the Street, near Olivia's Home
Act Six	In the Street, in front of Olivia's Home

In the original, when Viola appears in man's attire, she already enjoys the favour of the court, as revealed by the dialogue between her and Valentine (I i 1-4). With the help of the imaginary "book" (I vi 14) Orsino gives the audience to understand that he and Cesario/Viola have already become soul-mates. Shakespeare seems to persuade the audience to imagine for themselves how Viola has convinced the Duke that she is a boy, how she has gained his favour and how the two have spent the last three days together.

In the adaptation the Captain is Orsino's friend, who frequently used to tell him stories about the sea. This time, after he and Viola have made their plan, he comes to see the Duke and "asks him to help a young man in distress who came here from a foreign land". He reveals that the young man (Cesario/Viola) was a passenger on his ship, which "was completely wrecked in a storm at sea". As soon as Viola sets eyes on the Duke she feels that she knows him well and she sings in an aside: "Why, why don't I feel that he is a stranger to me?" She supposes that this "is the response to my yearning for love all these years".

Orsino is somewhat surprised at Cesario/Viola's elegant appearance and also feels there is something strange about this "young man".

This addition is presumably based on the adaptors' interpretation of Viola. The motives of Viola in the *yueju* version are made plain from the very beginning. The destination of the voyage of Viola and her twin brother is Illyria; and her aim is to see Orsino, because Viola, having heard stories from her late father about the Duke, has been in love with her unseen hero for a long time.⁵ So, when she finds that she is already in Illyria by chance after the shipwreck, she is immediately delighted, since the outcome accords exactly with her wishes.

This addition is thus very archetypal of *yueju* romance. The two lovers fall in love before they even see one another, or they feel when they first meet that they have known each other well. The situation and libretto are both reminiscent of *yueju* repertoire.

The other character who has undergone a great change is Malvolio. The scene in which Malvolio, full of anguish and torment, is confined to a dark house has been virtually deleted. In the *yueju* version of *Twelfth Night* the character of Malvolio is simplified. Malvolio desires to be Olivia's husband even before the story begins, and his purpose makes him antagonistic towards everybody else. He is no longer a "trout that must be caught with tickling" (II v 22), a feature of the play which J. Maningham, a Shakespeare contemporary, highly praised. In the adaptation people want to make an example of him simply because he has such repulsive desires. Malvolio has lost any character development and simply become a pure

"turkey-cock" (II v, 30) of only one colour. He is complete from the start. Perhaps the famous Russian poet Alexander Pushkin's comparison of Shakespeare with Molière can illustrate Malvolio's case both in the original and the adaptation:

Characters created by Shakespeare are not types of such and such a passion, or such and such a vice, as with Molière, but living beings, filled with many passions, many vices... Molière's miser is miserly and no more; Shakespeare's miser is miserly, keenwitted, vengeful, ambitious, sagacious.⁶

These alterations to the characters of Viola and Malvolio were in fact caused by the adaptors' understanding of what a Shakespeare play should be. Unfortunately they did not view a Shakespeare play as the work of an individual but attempted to generalize it, using their own concepts of "Western drama" and the Stanislavsky Method.⁷ They therefore tried to find a "superobjective" of Viola, which then helped them to shape Viola's "through-line of action". Presumably this also led them to change the purpose of Viola's voyage and her original intention in going to Illyria. Likewise, Malvolio in the adaptation has determined to become the master of this household even before the play starts. The generalization also made the adaptors neglect the smoothly-run-through feature of scenes between the original *Twelfth Night* and a traditional Chinese play, and as a result the structure of the *yueju* adaptation became more or less like a 19th century drawing room play.

The duel scene nonetheless is a good piece of adaptation, as it is a well-constructed episode which, while preserving Shakespeare's ideas, comes off successfully in *yueju* style. In this episode, apart from the excision of Fabian, who has been replaced by Maria, most of the original lines remain. Girlish timidity confronts ludicrous cowardice, with Maria and Toby prompting the fears of the duellists from opposing sides. The non-representational stage and the direct and externalized theatrical conventions of traditional Chinese theatre encourage the Shakespearean concept of "two-fold grouping" and "double-action scene"⁸ and furnish a lively picture to underscore the light-hearted atmosphere of the episode. The comic irony is plain for the audience to see, with the two manipulators, regarded by their victims as their supporters, playing with their victims, and the two duellists struggling to escape from the situation rather than come to grips with their adversaries.

Macbeth

The adaptation of *Macbeth* was staged by the Shanghai *Kunju* Troupe and presented at China's first Shakespeare Festival in the spring of 1986. The production was brought to Britain in 1987 for the Edinburgh Festival and

went on tour to Manchester, Birmingham, Cardiff and London in the same year.

Kunju is one of the oldest theatrical forms still extant in China. Both *kunju* and Shakespeare were popular in the 16th and 17th centuries. Both comprise poetic drama and both employ non-realistic stage effects. Indeed, by an ironic stroke of fortune, Shakespeare's great counterpart in China, a *kunju* playwright, Tang Xianzu (1550-1616), died in the same year as Shakespeare. There is a saying in the Chinese theatre that *kunju* is wet nurse to all other genres. This may be an exaggeration, but it is true to say that *kunju* was the first known theatrical form to combine singing, reciting, acting and dancing (including martial arts) artistically.

Macbeth is an authentic *kunju* production with a wholly Chinese story, characters and costuming and all the techniques and skills typical of the traditional style. Its title, *Bloodstained Hands*, has a sensational flavour typical of Chinese drama. It consists of eight *zhe*, or acts. They are:

Act One	Advancement
Act Two	Conspiracy
Act Three	Shifting the Blame
Act Four	The Murder of Du Ge
Act Five	Turning the Banquet Upside Down
Act Six	Seeking Help from the Witches
Act Seven	Frenzy in the Boudoir
Act Eight	Blood for Blood

It is a rather loose adaptation, but the adaptors have paid particular attention to three parts of the original: the witches, the dagger scene and the banquet.⁹

The roles of the three witches are all performed by actors, who play the *kunju* character type of *wu chou* or martial clown. Two of them employ *aizi bu* or crouching steps all the time,¹⁰ and this facilitates the choreographical arrangement for one tall and two short figures. The three witches walk on the stage as smoothly as clouds floating in the sky and in this way convey an atmosphere of mystery and menace. Furthermore, they have masks on the backs of their heads, so that when they face the audience, they have calm and smiling faces, and as soon as they turn round, vile and hideous visages appear. This idea originates from the lines, "Fair is foul, and foul is fair;/ Hover through the fog and filthy air," (I i 11-12); it also echoes the three witches' lines when they first enter the stage.

The dagger scene, or more precisely, the sword scene in the adaptation, is also most effective. *Macbeth's* long soliloquy has been changed into Ma Pei's 24-line aria. This expresses his desires, hesitancy and fear. Ji Zhenhua, in the role of Ma Pei in the adaptation, brings home to the audience his feelings by means of dashing gestures and vivid and changeable facial expressions. The invisible sword is sometimes in front of him and sometimes behind him and his agile movements, executed with the greatest

skill, demonstrate his eagerness to catch it and his failure to do so. All these externalized movements visually reveal the protagonist's inner conflict.

The banquet scene in *Bloodstained Hands*, especially after the ghost of Du Ge (Banquo) appears, is the scene which remains closest to the original. Ma Pei looks triumphant and is enjoying the fruits of his usurpation, but the ghost reduces him to a nervous wreck. The extension of this scene, during which the adaptors arrange for Du Ge's ghost to stand behind the court officials one after another to represent supernatural possession, makes a powerful impression. As soon as Du Ge's ghost stands behind an official, Ma Pei uses his sword to lunge at the man. Ma tries to calm himself when he is sober, but he cannot help shivering when he sees the ghost; he is at one moment furious, and another suddenly terrified. Tie Shi¹¹ (Lady Macbeth) cannot see the ghost, but she knows that something fateful has happened to her beloved husband. She does her utmost to save him from danger. It is true to say that this section of the performance is a perfect combination of the rich and powerful externalized Chinese stage conventions and the Shakespearean psychological dimension.

A lot of Chinese scholars have discovered parallels between Shakespeare and Chinese drama, such as stories with a strong folk flavour, soliloquies addressed to the audience and flexibility in the use of the stage. Neither pays any attention to the idea of the three unities of time, place and action. The guidelines "Thus time we waste, and longest leagues make short" (*Pericles* IV iv 1) and "That he can hither come so soon, / Is by your fancies' thankful doom" (*Pericles* V ii 19-20) are also, in fact, principles of the traditional Chinese theatre. Both are theatres of poetry. Indeed, the affinity is extraordinary, and it would be no exaggeration to say that we would be hard put to find such resemblances between traditional Chinese drama and the works of any other Western playwright.

The similarities between Shakespeare and traditional Chinese drama provide inviting opportunities for adapting the former to suit the latter's style. However, if we examine the similarities more closely, we find that they are more or less linked with the stage and presentation. In terms of drama there are more differences than similarities. *Bloodstained Hands* offers us a good example to see the differing concepts. Involved here are story and theme, the role of the protagonist and the concept of tragedy.

No doubt there have been many usurpers in Chinese history, and they have supplied Chinese theatre with much of its repertoire. However, these plays have been narrated, described and interpreted from an angle different from that of *Macbeth*. They always focus on how loyal people unite to fight the usurpers. To protect their emperor, or restore the country to the legitimate heir, these loyal people have often lost their families and sometimes even their lives. They are typical heroes and models for Chinese. Meanwhile, traditional Chinese drama hardly ever employs villains as

protagonists. Evil is always opposed by good, and serves as a foil to it. The concept of tragedy is more complicated. It must be admitted that the terms for tragedy and comedy in China are, strictly speaking, words borrowed from the West. In pre-modern times the terms did not exist in China. The Chinese translation for tragedy is *beiju*, literally "sorrowful play", which means that in most people's minds in China it simply conjures up sorrow, agony, bitterness, tears, etc. It certainly differs from the main concepts of tragedy in the West.

All these differences have made the *kunju* version travel a certain distance from the original *Macbeth*.

The reaction to the production was interesting, since audiences liked it but most critics expressed reservations. Two critics, Cao Shujun and Sun Fuliang, remarked: "Some comrades were shaking their heads after seeing the performance and thought the production had 'eaten up' Shakespeare."¹²

I confess to being a *kunju* fan myself, and I much enjoyed this excellent performance. I did not experience any of the uncomfortable feelings I sensed when watching the *yueju Twelfth Night*. Yet the doubt remains as to whether *Bloodstained Hands* is a true representation of Shakespeare's work. But, on the other hand, is loyalty to the original a fair basis for the assessment of any adaptation?

Much Ado About Nothing

The *huangmeixi* version of *Much Ado About Nothing* was performed by the Anhui *Huangmeixi* Troupe and presented at China's first Shakespeare Festival in the spring of 1986. It was also chosen by the Ministry of Culture to entertain Queen Elizabeth when she visited China in the autumn of that year.

Huangmeixi is a relatively recent style in traditional Chinese theatre. It has been popular in the country generally, and especially among urban youth. Artistically, this production stands somewhere between *Blood-stained Hands (Macbeth)*, a totally Chinese presentation, and *Twelfth Night*, which was staged in a largely Western form, and it can be seen to be a fusion of Chinese and Western styles. The adaptation now consists of seven acts, most of them taking place in or outside Marquis Li's (Leonato's) garden, except for part of Act Five in a wedding hall and Act Six in prison. The story, characters, costumes, music and stage presentation all have a distinctly Chinese flavour. The events take place at an unspecified time in a remote border region of ancient China where Han people live with minority races. In this Chinese setting Bai Lidi (Benedick) wears a pair of plumes to demonstrate his masculine and martial status, and Hailuo (Hero) is carried to her wedding in a sedan chair.

These features and others make the play very Chinese, but in other respects it is distinctly non-Chinese. For instance, in contrast to the normal Chinese single plot structure, the three plots of the original have all been retained: the serious plot (Claudio and Hero), the comic plot (Benedick and Beatrice) and the farcical plot (Dogberry and Verges). Bicui (Beatrice) has the kind of independent personality in a woman that is not usually found on the Chinese stage. Also, all the women in the play use shawls instead of the traditional long silk sleeves in their dance and movements. The musical modes draw on the *huangmeixi* tune patterns, but there are evident innovations in rhythm and accompaniment. The wording of the original text is combined with operatic tune patterns, so that even "Heigh-ho for a husband!" (II i 301) is sung to a traditional Anhui local melody. The stage design is based on the traditional Chinese concept of a simple and symbolic layout, but modern Western abstract patterns and decorations have also been introduced.

However, this production came up against its own problems when it attempted to engage with Shakespeare. These are problems relating to structure, conventions and customs and character portrayal in the original play. The original includes a masked ball, a church wedding and a monument, and the adaptors had to find the Chinese equivalents for these. The personality of Beatrice is distinctly non-Chinese; and as for Dogberry and his men, most of their jokes and puns are incomprehensible if they are translated directly into Chinese.

The first bout of the "merry war" between Bicui (Beatrice) and Bai Lidi (Benedick) can be used as an example to illustrate how the adaptation deals with the characterization of the Chinese Beatrice.

This episode is based on the original dialogue between Beatrice and Messenger about how many foes Benedick has killed and how Beatrice promises to eat all his victims, and also on part of their confrontation in Act One, Scene One, when they first encounter each other on the stage. The adaptation deletes the discussion about love, because according to traditional Chinese etiquette people, especially young men and women, never talk to each other about sex or love.

In addition to the loose translation of the original lines during the verbal duel, the adaptor adds an exchange in song between Bai and Bicui about Lou Di'ao's (Claudio's) looks. This is a duet sung in alternate lines which mostly follows a question and answer pattern. This duet not only reveals Bai Lidi's arrogance towards women and the outside world but also vividly demonstrates how he is defeated by Bicui's "sharp tongue".

The "ball" is a Western convention, and the plot also requires masks. How to transfer a masque into a Chinese context? Although Chinese opera uses masks in the form of painted faces, they are for character typing or identification.¹³ Jiang Weiguo and Sun Huairan, the *huangmeixi* directors,

found the solution in an Anhui local shaman play, a type of religious theatre. They employed a modified form of the shaman play mask in their *Much Ado About Nothing*.

In the *huangmeixi* version the masked ball takes place in Act Two, but the masks are introduced at the beginning of the play. The first duet of Hailuo and Bicui is about the masks; later Bicui puts on a mask to frighten and challenge Bai Lidi. Therefore, by the time Act Two starts, the audience has already grown accustomed to the idea of masks and they accept the masked ball without hesitation.

The monument in the original has had to be replaced by a Chinese tomb. To split open a tomb to rescue one's lover or to die together with one's lover are popular themes in Chinese folk tales and operas. The colour of the set used in this scene in the adaptation is white and silver, which contrasted vividly with the bright red wedding scene. When Hailuo rises from the tomb, accompanied by the other seven girls in white gowns and veils, the spirit of the play has been purified and enhanced.

Conclusion

The reactions of academics and audiences to these adaptations varied. Many academics held that Shakespeare's work reflected the humanism and new thinking of his age and could not be transposed to the traditional Chinese theatre which, with its origins in times going back over a thousand years, they felt, reflected feudal mentality. An inevitable consequence of this, they claimed, was that Shakespeare's standing as a "king" of literature and drama was reduced and that treating his plays in this way amounted almost to blasphemy.

Another school of thought held that, although the performances had some shortcomings, they did introduce the playwright to a wide Chinese audience, some of whom had probably never even heard of Shakespeare. The theatre had a responsibility to raise the cultural level of the people and by presenting adaptation of this kind it could help to broaden the cultural awareness of the general public.

The audiences who came to see the adaptations also reacted in contrasting ways. Some thought that the new approach to an old form was an interesting and intriguing theatrical experiment; others felt that the productions were both strange and awkward and had lost not only the spirit and poetry of Shakespeare but also the beauty and conventions of traditional Chinese drama.

All these questions in fact reflect the obsession of the Chinese critics with authenticity. In China the only criterion used for judging a production

both by critics and those involved in the practical work of adapting, directing and performing was, "Is Shakespeare still Shakespeare?" No matter how superficial in some cases their understanding of Shakespeare was, all the adaptors tried their utmost to produce genuinely "Shakespearean performances". Hu Weiming, the director of *Twelfth Night*, claimed that he wanted to keep the "original soup and juice". Li Jiayao used the image of Shakespeare as "home" and described his method in *Bloodstained Hands* as "keeping the address [referring to the original Shakespeare] in mind all the time in order to make sure you get back home". Jiang Weiguo admitted that during the rehearsal of *Much Ado About Nothing* all his efforts had been devoted to maintaining the balance of "being both Shakespeare and *huangmeixi*".¹⁴ They were all anxious about being accused of manipulating Shakespeare and further losing Shakespeare.

In fact, when any culture enters another, the resulting confrontation will cause certain reactions, because all translators and adaptors take possession of a foreign culture according to their own perspectives.¹⁵ There are inevitably cross-cultural tensions between Shakespeare and traditional Chinese theatre, as we have seen in these adaptations: tensions between ambiguity and explicitness, between complexity and simplicity, between internalization and externalization, and between the differing performing styles. However, this is where the significance lies and this is why people have pursued this experimental work with such painstaking efforts.

I think that although on the surface the criticism of these Shakespeare adaptations as "not Shakespeare and not traditional Chinese theatre" is quite dismissive, it could perhaps in another way offer a positive commentary on this experimental work, because it pointed to the fact that these adaptations had broken through recognized and respected cultural barriers. The truth was indeed that objective laws are independent of man's will, and it has to be recognized that cultural exchange will almost inevitably lead to changes in both cultures involved. In addition, the adaptations also represented a challenge to Chinese thinking, which has always required people to be respectful and obedient. They were not expected to question the value of recognized artistic masterpieces, which up to now have provided the only criteria for judging new work. By these standards, interfering with Shakespeare or with the traditional theatre was unacceptable. Artaud's argument that there should be "no more masterpieces" probably went too far, but it can be claimed that any masterpiece needs to communicate with contemporary society in order to maintain and enhance its value. The saying "things must break up to begin again, to make a fresh start"¹⁶ has great relevance for China today.

Notes

- 1 An adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice* under the title of *The Contract of Flesh* was staged in Shanghai in 1913.
- 2 The term "spoken drama" which came into use in the 1920s identified the spoken language as the basis of the new theatre.
- 3 When this paper was delivered at the conference, it was accompanied by nine extracts from video tapes of the three productions I discussed.
- 4 The fact that these three directors were all "borrowed" from modern theatre by local opera companies to direct Shakespeare productions illustrates such a tendency in China.
- 5 This is another example to illustrate the different cultural backgrounds of East and West. To fall in love with somebody whom one has never even seen before, merely on the basis of his or her name and reputation is typical of the classical Chinese love affair. In the West it is quite different. Even in the source material *GI'ngannati* and *Apolonius and Silla*, on which the main plot of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* is based, the heroine meets the young man at home and she loves him secretly. After the young man returns to his home town, the heroine decides to pursue her lover by disguising herself. Moreover, Western love emphasizes the function of the eyes. This is the point Hermia argues in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (I i, 56-57):

Hermia	I would my father look'd but with my eyes.
Theseus	Rather your eyes must with his judgement look.

This also helps explain why there are so many contradictory elements in the adaptation. Both the adaptor and director, according to their declaration, have tried their best to be loyal to the original Shakespeare and therefore they have employed as many Western dramatic theories and techniques as possible. However, in the way they think and the approach they adopt to realize their purpose they are entirely Chinese. It is regrettable that in spite of their well-meaning motives and the changes they have introduced in Shakespeare's play these have undermined their efforts, since despite their commitment to be loyal to Shakespeare they see Western social and personal attitudes, i.e. romance, through purely Chinese eyes.

- 6 A. S. Pushkin, "Table-talk, No. XVIII" in *Polnoye Sobranie Sochinenii, Tom XII* (A. S. Pushkin, *The Complete Works, Vol XII*), USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1949, pp. 159-160. The English translation is from *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, by Phyllis Hartnoll (ed.), OUP, 1957, p. 651.
- 7 The director and the script adaptor gave a talk at the forum organized by China's first Shakespeare Festival on their work with *Twelfth Night*. They stressed the importance of reading between the lines, and how they successfully found the "super-objective" and "through-line of action" for the main characters. This terminology was used in the Stanislavsky Method.
- 8 J. L. Styan, *Shakespeare's Stagecraft*, CUP, 1981, p. 125.
- 9 "Zhongxi wenhua zai xiju wutaishang de yuhe - guanyu 'zhongguo xiqu yu Shashibiya' de duihua", (The encounter of Western and Chinese culture on the theatre stage - A dialogue about traditional Chinese theatre and Shakespeare) in *Xiju yishu* (The Dramatic Arts), Shanghai, 1988, p. 42.
- 10 Crouching steps are a specific stage convention for the martial clown.
- 11 In China women used to take their husband's family name and drop their own given names when they married. The pattern of the new name would be: husband's family

name, wife's maiden name and *shi*, which means "the person of those two families". In *kunju Macbeth*, Tie is Ma Pei's wife's maiden name and means "iron".

12 Cao Shujun and Sun Fuliang, *Shashibiya zai Zhongguo wutai shang* (Shakespeare on China's Stage), Harbin Chubanshe, 1989, p. 195.

13 There are exceptions. For instance, the Sichuan Opera or *chuanju* has the special feature of *bianlian* or changing faces, which in part is similar to the use of the mask in the West.

14 *Xiju yishu*, pp. 36-48.

15 I am indebted to Patrice Pavis for the ideas in this discussion.

16 Antonin Artaud, *Le Théâtre et Son Double* (The Theatre and Its Double), trans. by Victor Corti, London: Calder & Boyars, 1970, p. 55.

The Chinese YMCA and the Anti-Christian Movement in China in the 1920s

Chen-main Wang

Introduction

The YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) enjoyed a great popularity in China in the early 20th century. The first YMCA branch was established in Foochow in 1885 and by 1920 the Chinese YMCA had 174 student associations and 31 city branches with a total membership of 60,500. The number of YMCA staff also rose from one foreign secretary to 84 foreign and 42 Chinese secretaries during this period. No matter from which angle it is examined, the Chinese YMCA must be regarded as one of the most prosperous Christian societies in China at the time.

While the YMCA enjoyed this rapid growth in China, its environment became hostile. With the rising tide of nationalism and the growth of disgust with foreign imperialism in the late Ch'ing and early Republican periods, the Anti-Christian Movement gradually gained momentum and burst into action in the 1920s. Because of its outstanding role in society the Chinese YMCA was clearly visible and became a major anti-Christian target. The Chinese YMCA was accused of maintaining close relations with foreign countries and denationalizing Chinese youth through its programmes. The wave of attacks on the Chinese YMCA had a significant impact on YMCA members and thus promoted some action and reform within this Christian institution.

Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Movement of the 1920s forced the Chinese YMCA to redefine its role in national affairs and speak out about its political and cultural identity. This paper will take the example of the Chinese YMCA to examine the cultural and political response as well as the development of indigenization of Chinese Christians at the time of the Anti-Christian Movement. The purpose of this research is to explore how the Chinese YMCA discussed the role of the YMCA in China, how it adjusted to the changing situation in China and how it defined its relationship with