Bernhard Karlgren
Portrait *of a* Scholar

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Preface

ONE DAY IN THE FALL OF 1965 I VISITED BERNHARD KARLGREN in his study at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities and found on his bookshelf two copies of an excellent bibliography of Sinological reference works. When I explained that I had long searched in vain for that book, Karlgren immediately pulled out one of the copies and presented it to me. On the title page I found a dedication to Bernhard Karlgren from the eminent French Sinologist, Henri Maspero. When I showed the dedication to Bernhard Karlgren, he peered at it and said: "It's in pencil, you can easily erase it."

Bernhard Karlgren wrote his works on yellow folio sheets that he had cut into three parts. Once he had read the final proofs of a work, he threw his neat manuscript into the wastepaper basket. Of his extensive correspondence with scholars in Sweden and abroad he kept very little. He did nothing at all to ease the burden of a future biographer, considering his work far more important than himself. Some of Karlgren's correspondents showed greater consideration for posterity than he did. The family archive that his wife Elin (Inna) collected, and his daughter, Chief City Court Judge Ella Köhler, took care of, contains many letters Bernhard Karlgren wrote to members of his family from St. Petersburg in 1909, China in 1910–11, London and Paris 1912–14, and Japan and China in 1922. The archive also contains compositions in Swedish and Latin from Bernhard Karlgren's school years, together with some outstanding renderings into Swedish of Latin and Greek poetry, done when the translator was still in middle school.

While still in high school, Bernhard Karlgren frequently corresponded with Johan August Lundell, professor of Slavonic Studies at Uppsala University and the inventor of a

phonetic alphabet for the investigation of Swedish dialects. Lundell's file of correspondence in the Uppsala University Library contains some seventy letters from Bernhard Karlgren. A number of important letters are also found in Archbishop Nathan Söderblom's file of correspondence, also kept in the Uppsala University Library. I have chosen to quote quite freely from letters and other documents in the Karlgren family archive. It is my hope that this portrait will thereby gain in immediacy. Many of Karlgren's letters show that he possessed a very complex personality and that he himself, especially in his youth, was painfully aware of the contradictions that characterized his psyche. Throughout his scholarly career, he was deeply immersed in his research and ruthlessly put off whoever dared to disturb him in his work. He was, or rather wanted to appear, a cynical and indifferent man who in his own words, "did not give a damn for others." But at the same time he had the greatest empathy for fellow beings who suffered hardship. I have studiously avoided any attempt to explain these contradictions.

For this biography I have chosen the subtitle *Portrait of a Scholar*. For several reasons that I hope will become self-evident I have dwelt at some length on Karlgren's childhood and family background. As Karlgren's scholarly career began while he was still at high school, I have tried to depict the intellectual milieu that Swedish Higher Public Schools were instrumental in creating at the beginning of the twentieth century. For my portrait of the schoolboy Bernhard Karlgren, I have without hesitation utilized material from the extensive collection of letters. In my account of later stages of his life, I have refrained from trespassing on too private grounds.

Bernhard Karlgren's disciples revered and loved him. This does not imply that they were always prepared to swear by the Master's views. During the past few decades, several of them have in their own research had to take a critical position with regard to the assessment of some of Karlgren's research results. Some of his disciples have questioned certain theses and have themselves offered alternative solutions. In an essay entitled "The Rise of Literary Biography," J. Epstein quotes the following statement by H. G. Wells: "A man's biography should be written by a conscientious en-

emy." (J. Epstein's essay was published in *Dialogue* [Washington, D.C.] 1 [1985]: 65–70.) I imagine this is meant to caution biographers against a too reverential attitude toward their subjects. I have tried to keep that exhortation in mind while writing this biography.

Many have assisted me in my work, first among them Bernhard Karlgren's daughter, Ella Köhler, who placed the family archive at my disposal and in many other ways facilitated my task. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Hans Karlgren, Bernhard's nephew, who provided me with a wealth of information about his relatives, and to my friend and former student, Professor David Pankenier, who has read my work and eliminated many textual infelicities.

One of my aims has been to compile a complete list of Bernhard Karlgren's Sinological publications in English, German, and French, together with translations of his works into Chinese and Japanese. In this task I have been greatly assisted by Professor Else Glahn's "A list of works by Bernhard Karlgren," in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 28 (1956): 45–53, which includes the most important publications from the period 1908–54.

Bernhard Karlgren

1
Childhood and Schooldays in Jönköping, 1889–1907

The Home and the Family

Klas bernhard johannes karlgren was born in the Swedish city of Jönköping on October 5, 1889. He spent all his school years in Jönköping, and it was there he began his scholarly career, while he had not yet graduated from high school. The earliest specimen of Karlgren's writing available to me is an essay on his home town, written when he was thirteen years of age. The essay, which bears witness to its young author's precociousness, strong feeling for proportions, acute sense of linguistic economy, and superb stylistic talent, was awarded the highest mark.

In the spring term of 1903, when Bernhard wrote his essay on Jönköping, the family lived in five rooms and a kitchen at 35 Barnarp Street, where they had moved in 1889, the year Bernhard was born. Bernhard's father, Johannes, taught Latin, Greek, and Swedish at the only Higher Public School in the town. Johannes' wife, the clergyman's daughter Gabriella (Ella), née Hasselberg, bore her husband eight children, of which the second, Johannes (born February 11, 1884), did not survive his birthday. Bernhard's eldest brother Anton (born June 8, 1882) had graduated from the Higher Public School in 1900 and was studying Nordic Languages under Professor Adolf Noreen (1854–1925) and Slavonic Languages under Professor Johan August Lundell (1851–1940) at Uppsala University. Both Noreen and Lundell were later to become teachers and mentors of Bernhard Karlgren. Of Bernhard's four sisters, the eldest, Anna (born September 19, 1885), had graduated in 1902 from the Jönköping Elementary School for Girls. Hilma (born August 30, 1887),

was attending the seventh form, and Rakel (born January 19, 1893) was in the third form of the same school. Bernhard's younger brother Hjalmar (born July 16, 1897) had not yet started school, and the youngest sister, Vera (born May 10, 1900), was not yet three years old.

To the large household also belonged Stafva (Johanna Augusta Johansson; b. 1871), a faithful servant who followed her young mistress to her new home and remained there until the latter's death in 1935. Thereafter she served Rakel and Vera, who shared a flat in Stockholm. Stafva seems to have been a remarkable woman. It is said that throughout her life she only read two books, the *Bible* and the *Nordic Encyclopaedia* (in thirty-four volumes), but these she read from cover to cover. Ella's unmarried sister Natalia, who had moved to Jönköping in 1893, often visited the family.

> There are three things in this household: food and drink, which I provide; books and newspapers, which Father provides, and dirt and rags which the children provide.

The above quote, which describes the division of labor in the large household, has been taken from a catalogue of Ella's favorite expressions and sometimes very drastic formulations, compiled by Bernhard's younger sister Vera. The catalogue also contains the beautiful epithets that Ella used when talking to or about her children:

> "My dark wonderful boy!" (Anton)
> "My lovely little dove!" (Anna)
> "My own cute billy-goat!" (Hilma)
> "My handsome man!" (Bernhard)
> "My patient little ant-child!" (Rakel)
> "My little preacher!" (Hjalmar)
> "My beloved blue eye!" (Vera)

To provide food and drink for the large household cannot have been an easy task. Ella, who was "allowed to rest only at the Never-never Festival, when they shear the pigs," reproved idleness in many drastic formulations: "It's hard to part a lazy farmhand from a warm bed!" "My farmhand had a farmhand, and both were lazy!"

Circumstances had taught Ella to fear "black poverty," when "the bread basket hangs high up under the ceiling." She knew only too well that "poverty is a hard nut to crack"; "one has got to put one's back into it"; "of nothing you get nothing!"; "much water flows while the miller is asleep!"; and "you get as much time as you can spend!" Hard work and thrift must walk hand in hand if you wish to keep poverty from your door: "He who buys whatever he sees shall have to sell whatever he owns!"

Ella forced her husband to return books to the bookshop when the housekeeping money ran short, as it often did. The meager salary of a schoolteacher did not really allow for any book purchases. But Johannes had an old friend, a bookbinder who also owned a bookstore a few blocks away from Karlgren's home. To Ella's great despair, he used to send Johannes books on approval. You have to stand on your own feet and trust to your own ability: "Wish in one hand and spit in the other and see which hand gives you the most!" Ella certainly did not lack self-confidence: "My main weakness is that I do too well whatever I do!"

One who refuses to give up "has to smear herself with patience." "You mustn't put a bandage on before you bleed!"; "You mustn't give up even if it stings like bitter fire"; and "You must walk on even with blood in your shoes."

One should be content and satisfied with his lot: "Whatever is on the table is tasty"; "You mustn't put your hunger on another's plate"; "If need be you have to dance on wooden legs!" But you must know your own worth and not let others cheat you: "You mustn't swap a goose for a hen!"

I tend to believe that Bernhard Karlgren's drastic humor and occasionally very sharp language were inherited from his mother.

Bernhard was very attached to his mother and retained his deep love for her throughout his life. In a letter to his girlfriend Inna, mailed in Port Said on March 23, 1910, he writes:

> Sitting alone at the stem of the ship I kind of felt a soft, warm hand stroking my forehead and I heard the dear tender voice of my mother singing, as from afar, the song that she so often sang

> at my bedside when I was little: "Pray that I do not miss, tomorrow when I wake, your mild almighty hand."

In a letter to Inna, mailed in Taiyuan on September 10, 1910, he writes:

> I can never forget how much I enjoyed cuddling up to Mamma when I was a little child. In the afternoon I always had to take a nap until five o'clock, when Stafva, bringing coffee on a tray, passed through the bedroom where I lay on her way to the dining room. In the long autumn and winter evenings I was allowed to leave the dark bedroom and scamper into the dining room where the older children sat doing their homework, and Dad and Mamma started drinking their coffee. Landing with a jump on Mom's lap, pressing my face against her bosom and huddling there until I got fully awake, ah, even today I remember that wonderful feeling, an undefined, boundless happiness from knowing that Mamma loved me and wanted me on her lap. And when Mamma had finished her coffee it was my turn to be fed, and everything was so wonderfully cozy. Yes, I do believe that I am one of those unlucky, or perhaps, lucky people who more than others have an irrepressible need to be loved and treated with tenderness.

In a letter, Bernhard's nephew Hans Karlgren relates his father Hjalmar's opinion of the young Bernhard's disposition and the atmosphere in the family:

> My father described Bernhard as softer, more conciliatory and more considerate than the other children in the family. . . . The atmosphere in the family was warm. The quarrels, which by no means were uncommon, were loud and superficial, and it was a hard and fast rule that they must always be resolved before the sun went down. Whoever was sulky and expected to be paid attention to was immediately ridiculed with the triumphant jingle "X is feeling hurt, haha, X is feeling hurt, haha," accompanied by a dance.

Both Johannes and Ella were warmly religious. Every Sunday the Karlgren children followed their parents in a long line, walking along Barnarp Street and Main Street to the Sophia Church, which was completed the year before Bernhard was born.

Johannes engaged with heart and soul in the education of his first child, Anton, and insisted that the child should learn to speak Latin. He did not give up this endeavor until one day, catching sight of the neighbor girls, he heard four-year-old Anton shout: "Där komma (Here come) *puellae vicinae!*" In spite of the rather great differences in age, the relations between the brothers and sisters were characterized by a great feeling of togetherness. The family letters give ample evidence of the fact that the brothers and sisters were always ready to assist each other. Anton taught Bernhard the use of Professor Lundell's phonetic alphabet and accompanied his younger brother on excursions in the countryside during summer vacation, when Bernhard recorded a number of local dialects. When Vera lagged behind in her schoolwork on account of poor health, it was natural for Hilma and Rakel to give her extra lessons at home. The two youngest children, Hjalmar and Vera, were especially close to one another. Hans Karlgren writes:

> The two youngest ones always played together, on the elder brother's conditions. When he pretended to be a clergyman, Vera had to play the congregation, placed on a small stool in front of the pulpit from which Hjalmar laid out the text at great length, always dividing his sermon into the three prescribed sections.

During Bernhard's sojourn in Paris during 1912–14, he regularly played correspondence chess with both Hjalmar and Vera. In the final stage of work on his doctoral thesis, Rakel, Hjalmar, Vera, and his fiancée Inna all assisted him with the extensive excerpting.

Lars of the Manor and His Two Sons

Both on his father's and his mother's side, Johannes Karlgren was descended from farmers. His father, Lars Magnusson (born in 1814), from 1866 until his death in 1879, leased a property on Crown land, situated in the village of Karleby, in Skaraborg county in the province of Västergötland. His wife, Anna Jakobsdotter (born in 1815), daughter of the farmer Jacob Olofsson (born in 1789) and his wife Stina Ers-

dotter (born in 1787), bore her husband two sons, Johannes (born December 4, 1844) and Claes (Klas; born September 22, 1853).

From Johannes' and Klas Karlgren's great grandfather's father and down to their father's generation, the choice of family name of the head of the family followed a strict patronymic pattern, not uncommon in Swedish peasant society. Magnus Larsson (born in 1729) and his wife Margareta Svensdotter (born in 1737) had three children. Their eldest son Lars Magnusson (born in 1757) had five children, the firstborn Magnus Larsson (born in 1785) and four younger daughters. The crofter Magnus Larsson and his wife Caisa Eriksdotter (born in 1775) had only one son, Lars Magnusson, father of Johannes and Klas. When Johannes and Klas chose their family name, Karlgren, they may have been inspired by the place name Karleby.

Lars Magnusson's leased property, which was registered as one and a half *hide,* was also known as the Karleby Manor. The property comprised 180 acres of arable land and 300 acres of woodland. Lars Magnusson, who seems to have been a respected man in his parish, was also known as Lars of the Manor. A memorial sketch by an anonymous writer states:

> He leased a Crown property in Karleby which comprised about 200 acres of arable land. There he raised two horses, five pair of oxen, each of sixteen quarters girth, 35 cows and twelve heifers. He had many farmhands, and no fewer than four maids served on his farm. In the yard there was a little cottage where the milk was stored. The milk was kept at home, but the cream was sold to a dairy in the town, and it was always Lars of the Manor who brought it there. On his last trip to town he suddenly passed away, leaving behind his wife and two sons. His eldest son, Johannes Karlgren, was a schoolmaster in Jönköping who had three sons and four daughters. All three sons became professors.

Johannes was eleven years old when his father took over the lease of the Crown property. Johannes and his brother Klas presumably had to make themselves useful on the farm. But both sons were given the opportunity to study, first at an elementary school in a neighboring town and later at the pres-

tigious Skara Gymnasium, one of the oldest in Sweden. Both brothers seem to have had an extraordinary gift for languages, both classical Latin and Greek and modern languages (German and French).

In 1865, Johannes enrolled as a student at Lund University in the south of Sweden, choosing as his main subjects Latin, Greek, Modern Languages, Aesthetics, and Philosophy. For several years, the student register noted that he aimed for a doctoral degree in Greek. In his final years at the university, he stated as his aim to become a schoolmaster. In the autumn of 1872, Johannes took his B.A. exam, with highest marks in Latin, Greek, Theoretical Philosophy, and Practical Philosophy. His long sojourn at the university may have been due to his choice of subjects, including two classical languages, and also to his original plan of pursuing a doctor's degree. During his career at the university, he was awarded a number of highly prestigious scholarships that testify to his application to his studies. In 1878, Johannes was appointed Master of Latin, Greek, and Swedish at the Higher Public School in Jönköping. In the summer of 1879, Johannes' mother, recently widowed, moved to Jönköping.

The Clergyman's Daughter Ella Hasselberg and Her Family

As a student, Johannes had spent several summer vacations as a private tutor for Clas Bernhard Hasselberg (1848–1922), only four years younger than himself. Clas Bernhard was the son of a distinguished clergyman, Clas Anton Hasselberg (1812–92) and his wife Natalia Clementina Stabeck, daughter of a wealthy businessman. During his stay in the Hasselberg home, Johannes also taught his pupil's sister Ella, whom he married on August 11, 1881.

The Hasselberg family counted a number of eminent members; clergymen, high-ranking civil servants, and scholars. Ella's brother Clas Bernhard, once Johannes' pupil, eventually gained international reputation as an astrophysicist. Having completed his doctor's degree at Uppsala University, he accepted a position in Russia and became professor in Astrophysics at the observatory of Pulkowa,

near St. Petersburg. After his return to Sweden at the end of the nineteenth century, he was appointed to a Chair at the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. It is quite probable that the marriage of Ella and Johannes, son of a peasant and an indebted schoolmaster, was regarded by the Hasselberg family as a misalliance.

Ella's father seems to have been a mild householder and a great lover of animals. Ella once told her daughter Rakel how her father, when preparing his Sunday sermon, walked to and fro in his study, with a little kitten in each pocket of his jacket. Ella's mother Natalia was a self-assured, capable, and thrifty woman. Before Clas Anton married Natalia, his father gave him the following advice:

> You should let Natalia manage everything that has to do with the household, but you mustn't let her interfere with your official business!

"One crown in my hand is worth more than ten crowns in anyone else's!" Natalia used to say, and she did not seem to have exaggerated. Under her rule, the economy of the vicarage flourished. When Clas Bernhard finished his doctorate, he received the then enormous sum of 15,000 crowns as a gift from his parents, and the same sum was given to his brother and two sisters when they left their parental home. Hans Karlgren, who provided me with interesting glimpses of the family history, told me the following:

> When Johannes proposed to Ella he had to give her the solemn promise that he would complete his doctoral thesis. "I couldn't imagine myself an assistant schoolmasters wife," my grandmother said. After many years of marriage he, equally solemnly, asked to be released from that promise, to which she agreed. Afterwards my grandmother said that she regretted few things as much as that. When I heard of this as a young man, I was horrified at this formal deliberation between husband and wife, and of the harshness to which it bore witness. I have come to realize that my grandmother's thoughts went far beyond considerations of salary and a widow's pension. The difference between a Junior Master and a Senior Master (which required a doctoral degree) was huge, not only in terms of status and salary, but also in terms of teaching load. And above all, Johannes would have been able to live a happier life. Nothing weighs heavier than an

unaccomplished task. My grandmother would have received a much better pension, and she would also have become a widow much later, had she insisted.

The Good and Faithful Servant

When, on the evening of February 4, 1905, Bernhard returned home from a meeting of the Student Association, to whose chairmanship he had been elected the same day, his father had suffered a heart attack, most probably due to overexertion. As his elder brother and sisters were not at home, and as the family lacked a telephone, Bernhard was sent to fetch the school doctor. When the doctor arrived, he found that nothing could be done. Johannes Karlgren passed away soon after midnight on February 5. The obituary stated that Johannes Karlgren, Junior Master at the Jönköping Higher Public School, had passed away at the age of sixty years and two months. For the obituary Bernhard's mother had chosen the Bible passage Matthew, 25:21: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

The estate inventory undertaken soon after Johannes' death lists the following items:

> Cash balance at the time of death: (278 Crowns); personal property, including the deceased's wardrobe, a gravy-boat and a gravy-spoon of silver, a watch and a gold ring (altogether 1,179 Crowns) and a collection of books, valued at 200 Crowns.
>
> Assets: two month's salary (556 Crowns); life insurance (4,235 Crowns). Debts: funeral costs (300 Crowns); rent through October 1st, 1905 (375 Crowns); local taxes (305.90 Crowns); servant's wages through April 24, 1905 (50 Crowns); loan from the deceased's son Hjalmar (600 Crowns) and interest on same (24 Crowns); loan from the deceased's daughter Vera (20 Crowns), and debt to Mr. Nordström's Bookshop (120 Crowns).[1]

When Johannes Karlgren taught at the Higher Public School, the basic salary for a Junior Master was 1,500 crowns a year, and for a Senior Master 2,500 crowns. After every five

years' service 500 crowns was added to the basic salary, which means that the final salary of a Junior Master after twenty years' service was 3,500 crowns. In 1879, one year after Johannes Karlgren was appointed Junior Master, a Government Commission for the Regulation of Salaries assessed the minimal cost of living for a single schoolmaster as follows:

Food, on average	872.35 Crowns
Rent for one room, on average	150.00
Taxes, on average	75.45
Firewood and candles, on average	65.00
Charring work	52.00
Pension contribution	70.00
Sum total	1, 284.40

The commission noted that several items, such as expenses for clothing, laundry, books, life insurance, payments of interest, and amortization of study loans, had not been accounted for in the assessment. It went on to state that these expenses could not possibly be covered by the sum of 215.20 crowns, which remained of a schoolmaster's basic salary. If this basic salary was insufficient for a single schoolmaster, how much more so then for a married teacher with wife and children to provide for? In order to make ends meet, in addition to his heavy teaching load at the Higher Public School, Johannes Karlgren had to take on teaching at two different elementary schools for girls. Together with a colleague, he also started a private school for boys. From 1891 to his death, Johannes served as school librarian, for which he presumably received a very meager emolument. In all probability, he also sought to increase his income by giving private lessons. This amount of extra work must have taxed his health and also made it impossible for him to engage in research.

The Difficult Years

After the death of Johannes, the family's already precarious economic situation grew worse. Beginning in the fall se-

mester of 1905, Bernhard's mother took in school pupils for both board and lodging. In order to increase her meager income, she also undertook translations from both French and English. In a letter to Rakel of October 5, 1911, she writes:

> The English short story which Arthur asked me to translate brought me ten whole Crowns! I imagine that you are dumbfounded, and not without reason. I have just received another three pieces (one English and two French), but I have not as yet got the time to work on them. I badly long to tackle them; it is highly interesting.

Among the girl pupils who boarded with the Karlgren family from 1907 to 1909 was Elin Signe Maria (Inna) Nilsson, born in 1893, who studied at the Western Elementary Girls School from 1903 to 1909. In the autumn of 1907, Bernhard fell deeply in love with the fourteen-year-old Inna, who nine years later would become his wife. The family archive contains several fervent love poems that Bernhard dedicated to his girlfriend.

If Bernhard's mother had had to provide only for herself and the three youngest children, her meager widow's pension and the income from her boarders might have been sufficient. Unfortunately, neither Anton nor the two elder sisters were as yet able to stand on their own feet. Ella was especially worried about Anton's finances and choice of profession. In a letter to Bernhard of July 4, 1910, she mentions that Anton, who was spending the summer at a resort close to St. Petersburg, intended to take up employment in Stockholm in the fall:

> This much I can tell you, that he is going to work as a journalist. One might have expected that it would come to that. His inclination and talent probably tend in that direction. And if he *really* wants to do good, such an employment might serve him well. All the same, I would rather have seen him occupy a Chair. But the choice was not mine.

In a letter to Bernhard, his mother complains that Anton had acted rashly when on February 19, 1911, he married Natalia Nebesnjuk, a twenty-one year-old Russian girl, whom he had met in St. Petersburg. When Bernhard, who himself

dreamt of an early marriage, in his reply stood up for his elder brother, his mother sent him a stern rebuke:

> You speak in favour of early marriages. I won't argue with you as long as they do not involve pressing economic worries. I do not consider Anton too *young* to marry. But he would have been *wise* if he had postponed his marriage half a year or a year, until he had taken his doctor's degree and got his affairs in order. Then he would not have, three weeks after his marriage, had to declare himself hard up and ask his poor old mother for help. You write that when one marries one might allow a couple hundred-crown banknotes to dance without crying. That depends on how well off you are. For my part I would rather spend them on paying tailor's bills, etc., etc. Besides, I do feel that the thought of the old home, where the children barely have clothes on their bodies and where the mother works like a slave and rarely allows herself to pay ten cents for a tram ticket, ought to considerably diminish the pleasure of seeing banknotes dance.

In a letter of September 18, 1911, Ella replies to Bernhard's query about Anton's thesis:

> You ask about his thesis. Presumably he has thrown it in the waste-paper basket, or, hopefully, locked it in a drawer. So much is certain, that Anton has not glanced at it since he came back from Russia. It is even more certain that it never will come into contact with printer's ink. It is more than sad to have to face this fact. Now perhaps you realize that Anton had been wise had he postponed his marriage half a year or a year, until he had reached the goal which was so close. Now he is irrevocably fettered to a journalist's desk. And his life will be an endless struggle and an endless fight with creditors. My poor boy, with his great talent and excellent prospects for the future.

Ella, who bitterly regretted that she had released her husband from his promise to take a doctor's degree, must have been doubly hurt when her eldest son also was weighed down by the heavy burden of work left undone. Judging from Bernhard's correspondence with Professor J. A. Lundell, it is quite clear that he too greatly regretted Anton's inability to finish his thesis. Perhaps this explains why, in the beginning of his career, Bernhard engaged in his research with

The seven children of the Karlgren family. From left: Anton, Anna, Hilma, Bernhard, Rakel, Vera, Hjalmar.

Bernhard Karlgren, 1908.

Bernhard Karlgren's girlfriend Inna, 1908.

an intensity bordering on the frenetic. For Anton, who made a brilliant career for himself as editor-in-chief of Sweden's greatest newspaper at the time and professor of Slavonic Languages at Copenhagen University, the unfinished, or rather unprinted, thesis was to be a lifelong tragedy.

After the death of her husband, Ella received a yearly subsidy from a donor who wished to be anonymous. On Maundy Thursday of 1911, she received notice that her unknown benefactor now considered that the subsidy could be dispensed with "since five of the children now are grown-up and the eldest son has left home." In a letter to Bernhard of April 24, 1911, Ella writes:

> I have now written to my benefactor and submitted my circumstances to him. I have told him that none of my children can support me and that my strength deteriorates with every year. It is hard to have to beg for support, but there is no other way out. Well, that is how things stand right now. I can do nothing else but trust in the Lord.

The available sources have nothing to say about the result of Ella's humble request for continued support. Whatever

the outcome, Ella was able to secure a solid secondary education for all her children. Anna, who graduated from the Elementary School for Girls in 1902, aimed at a career as teacher, an ambition cut short by her marriage to Arthur Jonsson, vicar in a parish near Jönköping where the Karlgren family used to spend summer vacations. Later on, Arthur Jonsson was appointed vicar in Jacob's parish in Stockholm. Hilma, who had graduated the year before her father passed away, also worked as a teacher before she married Harald Dahlstedt in 1913, an engineer who had just returned from Baku, where he had been employed in the Nobel factories. Rakel's poor health greatly worried Ella. In a letter to Bernhard of May 27, 1910, she writes:

> Rakel's delicate health affects her poor head. She is able to study but little. I am all the same happy that she is able to keep up with school-work reasonably well.

Ella need not have worried. Rakel passed her final exams with flying colors. Having graduated from a teachers' college, she took an M.A. degree in modern languages at Stockholm University and thereafter had a distinguished career as a teacher of English, French, Swedish, and History at several high schools in Stockholm.

Ella also worried greatly about her youngest daughter, Vera. In a letter to Bernhard of July 26, 1911, she writes:

> Vera I have to accept as she is, poor girl. She will no doubt have to share her mother's motto: I serve. But that is not necessarily the worst. She does not seem very interested in reading, she would rather help me with the housework, mend socks and run errands. She makes herself very useful, the little crow.

Once she had graduated, Vera was not content with mending socks and running errands. In spite of the fact that she lacked tertiary education, she had a dual career as an executive administrator in the Office of the Governor of Stockholm and head stenographer in the Swedish Parliament.

Ella's care and attention were not only lavished on her own children. Hans Karlgren writes:

> During a visit to Stockholm my grandmother sought an audience with the Queen who was responsible for a fund subsidizing the

> education of poor students. When my grandmother applied for a grant for a young boy boarding with her, a lady-in-waiting to the Queen explained that the fund in question had been exhausted, but the King had established another fund which perhaps. . . . My grandmother's patience at an end, she interrupted the lady-in-waiting's long harangue, saying: "The King's money is as good as the Queen's!" She was not thrown out. The lady-in-waiting overlooked the abrupt manners of the old provincial woman and the boy eventually received a grant.

Ella Karlgren, who passed away on March 18, 1935, at the age of eighty, was able to enjoy the fruits of her self-sacrificing achievement of fostering seven children. Her three sons all became distinguished professors—Anton in Slavonic Studies, Bernhard in East Asian Languages, and Hjalmar in Civil Law. Of her four daughters, two were happily married, and two had made careers in their chosen fields.

Bernhard: Poet, Translator, and Dramatist

Like his elder brother Anton, Bernhard wrote poetry. As a young schoolboy, he also translated Latin and Greek poetry into Swedish. His renderings of classical poetry are far superior to those of venerable scholars of Latin and Greek. His poetry and his translations give ample evidence of his sensitive ear for the prosodic features of the Swedish language and their role in poetry. Bernhard Karlgren possessed absolute pitch, a gift that is not entirely a blessing.

In his translations of Greek poetry, Bernhard Karlgren favored Anakreon, Sappho, Theognis, and Mimnermos. He is equally well at home with iambic dimetre, trochaic verse, elegiac distich, glyconic metre, alcaic stanzas, and sapphic verse. The hexameter in which he dresses some of his own poetry is characterized by bold enjambments, and also by the absence of the present participle, the invariably dactylic form of which far too easily lends itself to hexameter.

In his early teens, Bernhard Karlgren wrote a drama in five acts, entitled *The White Hind,* set in China. The drama comprises the following *dramatis personae:* Tsi-an, empress dowager of China; Hona-la, her daughter; Tzai, her son; Weng-Hien, chief justice; Yung-Tschung, chef; Ping-Chu-Han, chief

teacup bearer; Tang Huan, jailer; Kien-Long, a poor fisherman; Jih-niao (the Sunbird), his daughter, and Lao Lung, a robber. In addition, the cast comprises a ghost, a lion, a white hind, and two rats. A short résumé: Before the fair princess Hona-la eats her breakfast consisting of "a light fricassee of frogs with garlic sauce, octopus in tomato sauce, shark fins and breasts of seagulls," she goes down into the garden to feed her little hind lettuce. While the chef and the chief teacup bearer quarrel with one another, the empress dowager enters the hall. The following dialogue is representative of the style of the drama:

The chef: "Dare I in the deepest humility inquire how your Imperial Majesty has graciously been pleased to sleep last night?"

The empress dowager: "What on earth has that got to do with you? Whether I sleep or not is my concern. You had better keep your impertinent questions to yourself. How I have been pleased to sleep? Well, I never! An empress sleeps if she wants to! And you there, dishwater hero! Why do you simply stand there without as much as asking how I feel? If you lack knowledge of court etiquette you should not have applied for the post as chief teacup bearer."

The chief teacup bearer: "I did not dare . . ."

The empress dowager: "Yes, you do seem rather timid. But since you happen to be here you must tell me what kind of dishwater you have served me the last three mornings. You know very well that I want my tea so strong that the spoon can stand straight up in the cup. I have no time to stand here and listen to your babbling. I shall now go in and dismiss fourteen ministers and condemn a few mandarins to beheading."

The princess returns, deeply heartbroken: Alas! Her hind has disappeared! When someone suggests that a poacher has been up to mischief, the wicked empress dowager sees a chance of getting rid of an archenemy. She commands the jailer to hasten to the cottage where the poor fisherman and his daughter Jih-niao live. Jih-niao looks out through the window:

Jih-niao: "I am so strangely afraid, but know not why. My little grasshopper no longer squeaks in his cage, that is an ominous sign. If only father would soon come back from the lake. The rain

> is so heavy that I cannot see his sail. What a terrible storm last night, the worst that I have ever experienced! The storm howled and it sounded as if wild animals were roaring in the forest. Look, it has stopped raining. There is father's boat, how fast it moves! Now he lands. I fear that he hasn't caught any fish, he leaves the basket in the boat. Father! Father!"

The fisherman returns downhearted, without a catch. Enter the jailer, the chief justice, and the empress dowager who accuses the fisherman of having shot the princess's hind. The fisherman and his daughter are thrown into "the lowest jail in the tower with copper roof."

The empress dowager speaks in private to the chief justice and accuses the fisherman of having shot and killed her beloved husband, the emperor, three weeks earlier in the forest.

In the dungeon, the fisherman tells his daughter that with his own eyes he saw the empress dowager shoot her husband with an arrow, when he had gone into the forest alone to hunt with his falcon. That is the reason why the empress dowager wishes to kill him.

Luckily, a hungry family of rats shares the dungeon with the fisherman and his daughter. When the fisherman wants to kill the rats, he is prevented from doing so by his daughter, who takes pity on a baby rat, "whose eyes glitter like dew-drops." By way of thanks for the girl's having shared with them the rice the jailer has placed in the dungeon, the rats gnaw a hole in the wall. The daughter manages to escape, but the fisherman is caught by the jailer.

The prince and the princess have gone into the forest to search for the hind. There they are caught by the robber Lao-Lung, who takes them to his cave. While the robber goes out to steal a couple of mules, the fisherman's daughter hears their shouts for help and sets them free. Before they manage to escape, the robber returns and again fetters the prince and the princess. The fisherman's daughter escapes. In act 2, the empress dowager and a ghost appear. The scene is set in the empress dowager's bedroom. While the empress dowager worries about her children, "in a voice like thunder" the ghost accuses her of having murdered her husband.

The fisherman's daughter Jih-niao has gone to the palace, where she asks to see the empress dowager. Jih-niao tells the empress dowager that the prince and the princess have been caught by a robber. She promises to tell where they are, as soon as her father has been set free. The empress dowager pretends to agree to that condition. When Jih-niao shows the courtiers the way to the robber's cavern, the empress dowager happens to lag behind. Suddenly she catches sight of the white hind, lying there, dead, on the ground, "torn by a wild animal." At this point the drama reaches its climax:

> (At that moment, a lion dashes in from the left, and pursues the empress dowager across the stage. When the lion and the empress dowager have left the stage, her voice is heard from outside:) "Help! Help! I die! The lion is tearing me to pieces!" (A violent thunderclap and bright lightning; gunshots and clamour of several voices:) "Victory! Victory! The robber has been killed!"

The prince, the princess and the courtiers hasten back to the palace. The stage is empty. Darkness and thunder. Enter the ghost:

> "Hurry back home from this bloody place! But the empress dowager you will not find. She has been punished and no one shall ever know that the empress of China ended her days under a wild animal's claws. She is gone, gone, gone!"
>
> The ghost disappears. Curtain-fall.

This highly melodramatic piece contrasts sharply with a comedy Bernhard Karlgren probably wrote during his first year at Uppsala University. The comedy, which has several alternative titles ("Madame Pompadeura," or "The Wily Marshal of the Court," or "The Princes' Proposals," or "The Cloister Rapine"), carries a note on the title page saying that the play in three acts was meant to be performed in the Karlgren household in the fall of 1908. *Dramatis personae* are Pompadeura, empress dowager of Filogamia; Platta and Melody, princesses of Filogamia; Giraffa and Padella, princes of Filargynia; a marshal of the court; and a governess to the two princesses. The following passage describes how the governess examines the two princesses, who are both keen on getting married:

The governess: "Could you tell me what you know about King Charles XII, Miss Melody?"
Melody: "He was neither married nor engaged."
The governess: "Quite superb! Well, Miss Platta, what about King Gustav Vasa?"
Platta: "He was both engaged and married three times."
The governess: "Excellent!" What about King Gustav II Adolphus, Miss Melody?"
Melody: "He was engaged to one and married another."
Platta: "I know much more, Miss. He was *so* beautiful, Miss. He had a red beard, Miss, and he was fat too."
The governess: " An exceptionally good answer! How fat was he, Miss Melody?"
Melody: "Rather fat. He was so fat that a strong horse was barely able to carry him, Miss."
Prince Giraffa: "Enough! Quite enough, my dear mother-in-law. The princesses shall immediately be elected to our Academy of Sciences." (He makes obeisance to the Governess.) "I pay reverence to you and your incomparable ability to impart in these young ladies a living interest in the sciences and a deeply rooted love for the fatherland and its glorious history."

Bernhard Karlgren's poking fun at "a deeply rooted love for the fatherland and its glorious history" may have been inspired by a speech that his elder brother Anton, in his capacity as chairman of the Students' Association at Uppsala University, gave on November 6, 1907, when the students gathered for the traditional celebration of the memory of King Gustav II Adolphus, who died in battle on that day in the year 1632. On that occasion, Anton allowed himself "a sceptical smile with regard to celebrating the heroic deeds of the past":

> And that smile can be easily explained. This age of fine-sounding phrases has, not least among us students, monopolized these memories and used them for orgiastic displays of eloquence, and usurped chauvinism to reveal its tastelessness. And thus an affected punch-patriotism has come to celebrate its feasts with great hullabaloo.

Anton's speech greatly offended conservative circles and was severely criticized in the press.

In his student days, Bernhard Karlgren sometimes dreamed of letting his pen remedy his poor finances. In a letter to his

fiancée of January 19, 1913, he mentions that he has written a "cinema drama" that he hopes to sell for 300 crowns:

> Anton has several friends who in one single evening have written a drama, for which they were paid 300 Crowns. One evening I wrote a rough draft. Anton and his wife and I edited it together and yesterday I wrote it down. Anton will try to sell it as soon as possible. If he succeeds, during lone walks in the countryside I shall think up dozens of dramas and in that way earn some extra money.

The fairy-tale drama *Puss in Boots* was written on a typewriter Bernhard Karlgren purchased on February 17, 1920, which shows that, as a recently appointed professor, he also found time for literary exercises.

The Dialect Investigator

At the universities at Uppsala and Lund, the students were required to register as members of one of several students' clubs, each representing a Swedish province. These clubs, which are named for their provinces, are housed in their own buildings that provide dining halls, libraries, reading rooms, a limited number of students' rooms, and facilities for sport and other kinds of extracurricular activities.

At the beginning of the 1870s, members of such students' clubs founded "dialect associations" to record and investigate the dialects of the province with which each club was associated.

In 1877, Johan August Lundell, then a twenty-six-year-old graduate student, submitted a draft of a phonetic alphabet to be used for the investigation of Swedish dialects. This alphabet consisting of 120 signs was partly based on an earlier phonetic alphabet, published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences* in 1858.

Lundell, who later became Bernhard Karlgren's professor in Slavonic Languages, played a major role in his career as a scholar. Lundell, who was born in 1851, registered as a student at Uppsala University in 1871; ten years later he became reader in Phonetics. In 1891, he was appointed to the first Chair in Slavonic Languages at a Swedish University.

Phonetics and dialectology remained his main interests throughout his life.

When Bernhard became interested in phonetics and dialectology, he was following in the footsteps of his elder brother Anton, who had studied Nordic Languages at Uppsala and who had mastered the Lundell alphabet. In December 1905 and January 1906, Anton stayed at Gammalsvenskby (the Old Swedish Village), situated by the river Dnieper in Ukraine. The 710 inhabitants of the village were descended from a Swedish colony that had been forcefully removed there in 1782 from their original abode on the island Dagö, situated off the coast of Estonia. During his short sojourn there, Anton collected material for a thesis on the history, livelihood, traditions, folklore, and, above all, the language of the tiny remnant of the former colony. Before the end of 1906, Anton had written a long introduction, a penetrating survey of the phonology and morphology of the language, together with a dictionary of the dialect, covering the letters A to R.

Unfortunately, Anton never completed the dialect dictionary. Another scholar, who had studied the dialect of Dagö, the original home of the villagers, published Anton's introduction in 1940, which was followed in 1953 by his linguistic study. The highly important dialect dictionary remains unpublished in the archives of the National Library of Sweden. This was the first, but certainly not the last, time that Anton was afflicted by the burden of unfinished work.

In the summer of 1904, Bernhard had started to investigate the dialects in a county close to his hometown where the family used to spend their summer vacations. He has himself related how, together with Anton, he walked from farmyard to farmyard searching for suitable informants. Equipped with his student's cap and cane (traditional presents to a student upon his graduation), Anton used to converse with the country folk, while Bernhard stood behind him, recording the conversation as quickly as he could. On one occasion an old farmer, apparently more impressed by the handsome young man than by the teenage schoolboy who accompanied him, explained: "The big one seems to be a sterling fellow, but the little one doesn't seem to be all there."

Throughout his work on the dialects, which necessarily was done during summer vacations, Bernhard corresponded with Lundell. As one of his main informants passed away in the spring of 1905, the major part of his dialect investigations must have been completed by the end of the summer of 1904, when Bernhard was not yet fifteen years old. The results of Bernhard's dialect investigations were published 1908, in the prestigious journal *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* ("Swedish dialects and folklore"), edited by Lundell. The exemplary work contains phonetic recordings of thirty tales from one county and fifteen tales from a neighboring county. One of the notepads on which Bernhard recorded his dialect material also contains transcripts in shorthand of sermons, delivered during nine services in the summer of 1904. In a letter to Lundell, Bernhard mentions that, by using the phonetic alphabet combined with shorthand notations, he has been able to record some tales word-for-word. It is obvious that Bernhard here, in youthful enthusiasm, exaggerates the role of stenography for dialect investigations. Bernhard's nephew Hans Karlgren, a brilliant linguist and former stenographer at the Swedish Parliament, writes:

> Phonetic transcription cannot be taken down in shorthand. No stenographic system has ever been devised for phonetic purposes. . . . The assertion that one should be able to register both what is said and how it is said in continuous speech is utterly preposterous. The affirmation, found in early handbooks on phonetics, that it is possible with the aid of a phonetic alphabet to take down the exact content, the syntactic structure and every phonetic detail of a conversation is at best evidence of self-delusion.

Bernhard was not the only one in the family who found shorthand a highly useful tool. According to Hans Karlgren, his father Hjalmar mastered Arend's system of stenography at the age of seven, which he taught his elder brother Bernhard and his younger sister Vera. Hjalmar, his son Hans, and his sister Vera served for many years during different stages of their careers as stenographers in the Swedish Parliament.

That Bernhard decided to engage in Chinese studies was due to the fact that Lundell had informed him that the

Chinese language was split into a great many dialects that awaited investigation.

Anton served as Bernhard's role model throughout his schooldays. Before Bernhard, Anton had been the chairman of the Student Association. He excelled in writing solemn cantatas and literary prose. Anton graduated from the Higher Public School in 1900 with top marks: High Distinction in Swedish, Latin, Greek, and History, and Distinction in Religion, German, English, French, and Philosophy. The candidates for graduation in 1900 were divided into three study programs: the Latin program with Greek; the Latin program without Greek, and the program concentrating on Natural Science subjects. The same division applied also to the matriculation of 1907, Bernhard's last year at school. Bernhard's grades were somewhat inferior to Anton's: High Distinction in Swedish, Latin, and Greek; Distinction in German; but merely High Credit in English, French, History, and Philosophy.

2
Liber Studiosus, 1907–1909

Studies at Uppsala University

Bernhard Karlgren registered as a student at Uppsala University on September 16, 1907. On the same day two years later, he took his bachelor's degree in Nordic Languages, Greek, and Slavonic Languages. If Bernhard attended the courses and seminars in these three subjects, he cannot have had much time left for other activities. Available sources give no clear information as to when Bernhard Karlgren decided to take up Chinese studies. In a letter to his girlfriend Inna of February 29, 1908, he writes:

> Can you imagine? Professor Lundell asked a group of students, my brother Anton among them, whether they knew of any bright person who would be willing to go to Germany in order to study Japanese and Chinese; for such a person it would be fairly easy to get a Chair here in Uppsala. Hearing that, I was both happy and upset, since it shows that my plan is not too fantastic. But on the other hand someone might pre-empt me. It is really unfortunate that he should mention this in public. If I do not succeed with my plan, I do not know what to do. I definitely do not want to become Junior Master and eventually Senior Master. That is definitely not good enough for *my* girl.

This letter indicates that, by his first term at Uppsala University, Bernhard had already decided to engage in Chinese studies.

When Bernhard began his studies at Uppsala University, exceptional advances had been made in the field of Comparative Linguistics, which had developed since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The study of Sanskrit had contributed to a revolution in linguistic thinking and laid

the foundation for a historical description of the Indo-European language family. The regular sound correspondences found in different languages, established by scholars such as Rasmus Rask (1787–1832), Franz Bopp (1791–1867), Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), Karl Verner (1846–96), and others, came to be viewed as evidence of historical processes, guided by invariable sound laws. Thus, the main interest of linguists came to focus on linguistic change, rather than on actually existing language stages. Conformity to the laws of nature thereby acquired an analog in the realm of languages. Hermann Paul (1846–1921), who in his work *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (1880) summarized the views of the so-called Jung-grammarian school, asserted that the task of linguistics must be to reconstruct original stages and clarify trends of development. In contrast to natural laws, the sound laws were conditioned by time and space, but the nature of the change was invariable. It was this strict method of reconstructing events in the history of language on the basis of variation in time and space that Bernhard Karlgren acquired through his studies under his learned mentors at Uppsala University.

As a schoolboy Bernhard had already had frequent contacts with Lundell, professor of Slavonic Languages. It is therefore quite natural that he chose Russian as one of his major subjects, as Anton had done before him. In choosing Nordic Languages as a second major, he may also have been influenced by Anton. It is also possible that his choice originated in his firm conviction that a thorough command of one's own language constitutes the best possible base for all linguistic research. Adolf Noreen, his professor in this subject, was a brilliant scholar and a highly exacting teacher. In a letter to his girlfriend Inna of April 11, 1908, Bernhard reports some of his reading assignments in Nordic Languages:

> 300 pages Icelandic prose, 80 pages Icelandic poetry, 100 pages Gothic grammar, 40 pages Gothic text, 275 (difficult!) pages Old Swedish. I have very good reasons to rest a little while.

In the spring term of 1909, Bernhard concentrated on Russian, which he now professed to study with considerably greater interest than before, since Professor Lundell had

told him that "almost all research on Japanese and Chinese is published in Russian." In a letter to his girlfriend Inna of August 15, 1909, he tells her of his examination in Slavonic Languages two days before:

> We sat in the arbor of his garden and Lundell spoke to me for about half an hour about my plans for the future. He suggested that I spend a couple months in Russia and then as soon as possible go to China. He told me that a Swedish engineer lives in a city in the center of China and that he would be prepared to provide board and lodging for a young Swede who plans to study Chinese. I probably won't be back for Christmas, but possibly for a little while next Spring. I plan to spend one year in China, and then return to Sweden for my military service. Then we shall have a chance to meet several times. After that I am off to Japan. Lundell said that he probably could get me a job at the Swedish consulate in Tokyo, on the condition that I devote most of my time to language study. After that he started to ask me questions concerning a great many details in Russian history of which I knew next to nothing. I grew nervous, or rather angry, but when he went on and asked me to compare the sound laws in Russian and Polish I managed so well that I even had to rescue the professor when he got all tangled up. . . . I had dinner with the family, which I found rather enervating, as I was curious to know what the professor thought about my knowledge and longed for the final act to begin. At long last the examination was resumed, and after a quarter of an hour it ended in my receiving Distinction.

On September 9, 1909, Bernhard was examined in Greek. The following day he wrote a letter to Inna:

> Yesterday I was examined by Professor Danielsson, a scrupulous and stern old scholar. You know how little time I have spent on Greek and will understand how nervous I was. But I am hopelessly interested in the historical grammar of any language that I study, and in its position in comparative linguistics, and that saved me. As you know, that is the most important field in linguistics. The old man opened his eyes wide and was mightily pleased. And so we sat there for several hours discussing, and I brought up the most difficult topics I could think of and showed off as much as I could. At the end of the examination the old man tested my knowledge of life and institutions, political science, history, literature, etc., and that did not go very well. I sat there,

> blushing and ill at ease, but the old man laughed and said: "Your interest is obviously elsewhere." However, he ended the examination with this harangue: "Your remarkable knowledge of historical grammar really surprises me, a most unusual qualification for a mere Pass," whereupon I got my credit.

Two weeks after his last examination, Bernhard wrote to Inna to express his worry about his financial status. He was also very worried about the fact that during the last two years of hard study he had been forced to neglect his general knowledge, especially of art and literature. Nor had he given due attention to political affairs. He was afraid that he was turning into a bookish pedant. He longed to get away from Uppsala, "with its student riff-raff and stale air."[1]

In spite of the exceptional speed with which Bernhard finished his undergraduate studies at Uppsala, unlike his brother Anton he does not seem to have been awarded any scholarships during his sojourn at the university.

Russian Winter

From a letter to Lundell of October 12, 1909, it appears that Bernhard had applied to the government for a grant to study in St. Petersburg. He writes:

> I have not as yet heard from the government. Presumably the matter has been delegated to the University Chancellor, and the final decision may therefore be delayed. In order not to lose too much time I have been busy trying to borrow some money here in Jönköping and have at long last secured a loan of 1,000 Crowns. In the next few days I travel to St. Petersburg without waiting for the decision. I have received a passport from the university and should therefore have no difficulty in registering at St. Petersburg University.

On October 29, Bernhard sent his first report to Lundell from St. Petersburg, where he found board and lodging with, "Frau Oberst Frese, Nevskij Prospekt 108":

> I have now got over the difficulties with the Russian language and can for the present devote most of my time to Chinese. I hope to be able to make fairly rapid progress, as all practical

> matters have been settled. A few days after my arrival I paid a visit to Professor Ivanov, who is in charge of the university lectures in Chinese and also manages his own private language institute. He advised me not to register at the university, nor at the institute, but instead take one month's private lessons from a Russian student whom he recommended, and thereafter from a native Chinese. He advised me not to stay more than two months in St. Petersburg, since I would learn more in one month in China than I would learn here in Petersburg in two years. I now take five lessons a week from this student, who sold me a compendium used in the first-year course at the university. Professor Ivanov feels that I should be able to get through that in about a month's time. My study here concerns only the spoken language. The literary language will have to wait until I get to China. To my question which field of Chinese studies most needed to be investigated, he replied that the Sinological field of scholars lacked a linguist. Since Gabelentz, who published in the 1880s, there has been a lack of linguists, and there is no thorough work in Chinese phonetics.[2] He advised me to choose linguistics as my main field, partly because so much work is needed there, and partly because it is not as time consuming to do some good work there, as in other fields. While this is precisely to my taste, it is not certain this is what Sweden needs. It is hard to decide what to think about this. He suggested that I stay in China for two years, that would be sufficient. After that I would get more out of a stay in London or Paris. I cannot imagine that I shall be forced to stay here for three months, for which I applied, if this proves to be impractical. It would most certainly be more practical to spend a few weeks in Sweden to brush up on my English.

Bernhard's copy of Professor Ivanov's *Compendium,* which is kept in the library of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm, contains critical notes in the margins that clearly show that Bernhard was hardly prepared to swear by the Master's words.

Bernhard himself naturally found it hard to decide the main direction of his Chinese studies. His teacher in St. Petersburg had told him that in China there existed two different languages, the spoken language and the literary language. He decided to learn the spoken language first, and thereafter to tackle the literary language, which would have the greatest impact on his studies. He could devote himself to the literary language in London, Paris, Berlin, or St.

Petersburg. As he probably would have to spend many years abroad, he advised his girlfriend Inna that it would be in her own interest to read much foreign literature in the original.

Standing on the threshold of his career as a Sinologist, Bernhard could not have hoped for a better adviser than Professor Ivanov. It is quite clear that Ivanov realized how gifted the young Swedish student was. Neither Lundell nor Bernhard was in a position to judge the quality of Sinological research in St. Petersburg. That Bernhard decided to begin his Chinese studies in St. Petersburg was probably due to the fact that his knowledge of Russian was comparatively good. During the second half of the nineteenth century, St. Petersburg had developed into one of the foremost European centers of Sinological research. In 1855, Vasilii Vasilyev (1818–1900) had been appointed to the recently established Chair in Chinese at St. Petersburg University, a post he retained until his death. Vasilyev, who apart from Chinese, mastered Tibetan, Mongol, Manchu, and Sanskrit, devoted his research mainly to the history of East Asian Buddhism. In his historical studies, he concentrated on the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1260–1368) periods. His great Russian-Chinese dictionary, published in 1867, may be said to have laid the foundation for Russian-Chinese lexicography. Ten years later, he published his study of Chinese literature, the first of its kind in Europe.

For language instruction, Vasilyev mainly utilized Chinese teachers, together with Russian scholars who had come to master the language through extended sojourns in China. To this group of scholars belonged D. A. Peshtjurov (1833–1913), who had worked as astronomer and meteorologist at the Russian Ecclesiastic Mission in Peking from 1857 to 1865. Pestjurov served as lecturer at the university from 1867 until 1904. Between 1855 and 1868, Vasilyev took charge of the instruction in Manchu. In 1869, he delegated this task to I. I. Zacharov (1814–85), who as a diplomat in Peking had acquired an excellent knowledge of the Manchu language.

In the mid-1880s, two of Vasilyev's star disciples, S. M. Georgievskii (1851–93) and A. O. Ivanovskii (1863–1903), were appointed teachers of Chinese at the university. Georgievskii was mainly interested in the ancient history of China and intellectual history. Ivanovskii, whose linguistic com-

petence matched that of his teacher, followed his teacher's footsteps in his research. Shortly after Vasilyev's death, Ivanovskii had to retire from teaching due to poor health. P. S. Popov (1842–1914), another of Vasilyev's disciples, who had served as a diplomat in Peking from 1873 to 1902, now became attached to St. Petersburg University, where he served with great success. In 1906, A. I. Ivanov (1837–1937) was appointed lecturer in Chinese. Ivanov, who after his first degree apparently was considered a potential candidate for the vacant Chair, was sent to China for two years' study (1902–04). After his return from China, he was dispatched to various European centers for Sinological research. In 1905, he was appointed "privatdozent" in the Oriental Faculty of the university, a position he held until 1915, when he became professor of Chinese and Manchu Philology. In 1922, he was appointed ambassador to China. After his return to Russia, he served on various posts in Moscow until 1937, when he fell victim to Stalin's purges and was executed.

The Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg took good care of their talented students. After finishing his degree in 1902, V. M. Alekseev (1881–1951), a fellow student of Ivanov's, was sent to England, France, and Germany for further studies. The scholars who exerted the greatest influence on him were Edouard Chavannes (1878–1945), professor at the Collège de France and the greatest Sinologist of his time, and Chavannes' disciples Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), Henri Maspero (1883–1945), and Marcel Granet (1884–1940), who all in different ways came to influence Bernhard Karlgren's career as a scholar. After his return from the sojourn in Western Europe, Alekseev served as lecturer in Chinese at St. Petersburg University and concurrently as curator at the Asian Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences.[3]

From 1906 to 1909, Alekseev resided in China, where he took part in Chavannes' archaeological expedition. During their travels in China, Chavannes and Alekseev visited the university in Taiyuan, where they arrived on October 6, 1907. Unlike many European visitors to China at the beginning of the twentieth century, Alekseev's shoulders were not weighed down by the white man's burden. His interesting diary, which has been translated into German (*China 1907:*

Ein Reisetagebuch, 1989), makes him appear a true humanist, filled with admiration for Chinese culture. It is possible that Alekseev had returned to St. Petersburg before Bernhard left the city at the end of December 1909. Alekseev was one of the few European Sinologists to whom Bernhard Karlgren referred with great respect.[4]

In a letter to Professor Lundell of December 2, 1909 Bernhard writes as follows:

> As to my studies here, I have followed your advice. For the past five weeks I have spent a couple hours every day in the library of the Asian Museum, to whose librarian Professor Ivanov introduced me, and where I enjoy absolute freedom. I have spent a great deal of my time on acquiring bibliographical knowledge and made a short, and of course, very schematic survey of Sinological literature in Russian and other European languages. I have not as yet engaged in any detailed study of these sources, since my limited knowledge of the language would prevent me from achieving results commensurate with the time that it would require. With Professor Ivanov's help I have selected a few works which I aim to read during the Christmas vacation: Hirth,[5] *Ancient history of China,* and Grube,[6] *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur,* which works Ivanov considers to be good preparation for language study. As for my Chinese studies I have limited myself to grammar. Practical exercises and the acquisition of vocabulary I have deliberately avoided, since the Russians have horrible pronunciation and poor transcription, which utterly ignores the accents. The Chinese who serves as lecturer here speaks a dialect which deviates from Mandarin, which is why I have decided to postpone that part of my study until I can tackle it in China.
>
> I believe that I soon will have done as much as I can do here. A few days ago I received a letter from Professor Nyström who welcomes me to China. He writes that he has found a good teacher for me who speaks Mandarin and also possesses good knowledge of Chinese learning. Therefore I feel that I ought not delay any longer, but return home for Christmas, spend a couple of weeks on the books which I have mentioned above and then travel eastward before the end of January.

From letters Bernhard sent from St. Petersburg to Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Sweden, it appears that he owed him a debt of gratitude. Söderblom had apparently advised

Bernhard to contact Professor Erik Nyström, who had been teaching at Shansi University in Taiyuan since the spring of 1902. In his letter to Nathan Söderblom of November 15, 1909, Bernhard writes:

> I should be very grateful if you could send me the name of the city where Professor Nyström resides. I remember the name Shansi, but that seems to refer to the province.

3
The Great Adventure, 1910–1911

Sailing in a Ship Carrying Gunpowder as Cargo

Immediately after his return to Sweden, Bernhard Karlgren paid a visit to Professor Lundell to deliver an oral account of his sojourn in St. Petersburg. He evidently discussed with Lundell the possibility of obtaining free passage to China on one of the ships of the Swedish East India Company. On December 30, 1909, he wrote to Lundell, asking for his advice on an important matter:

> Shipowner Dan Broström in Gothenburg, whom I visited yesterday, was not at all disinclined to support my plan. "It is in our own interest," he said, "that East Asia become known in Sweden." Accordingly, he can provide me with a passage to Shanghai; the food on board I have to pay for myself, but it should not cost more than 250 to 270 Crowns. The problem is that Danish and Swedish ships, owned by the Company, take turns sailing to Shanghai. The next ship that Broström has the right to dispose of does not leave Gothenburg until about February 20th. Do you consider it reasonable that I wait until then or should I choose another route? To travel by train or third class with the German shipping company would cost at least 500 Crowns. (The Swedish shipping company provides only one class, which costs 8–900 Crowns). And travelling under such circumstances I would not be able to do much work. If I were to wait, time would by no means be wasted, as I could read indispensable works on China's geography, history, etc., whereupon I should be able to make faster progress in reading Chinese texts. While I cannot say that I am convinced that it would be best to wait, I will not decide anything without having consulted you and Professor Söderblom. Mr. Broström, who understood that my position is somewhat awkward, suggested that I write him in a week's time and inform him of my decision.

Just as Bernhard was making plans for his journey to China, he received the instruction that he must present himself in March for enlistment in military service, and that his application for a passport could not be granted until he had done so. In a letter to Lundell of January 22, 1910, he asked for a testimonial that he might append to his application for deferment of the enlistment. Lundell reacted as promptly as ever. On January 27, Bernhard wrote to Lundell to thank him for the testimonial and for his promise to procure a cabinet passport for him. In the letter Bernhard mentioned that he now had begun to read English and that on Lundell's advice he had chosen phonetics texts by Sweet. He also read books by Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904), famous for his exquisite descriptions of Japanese culture.

Bernhard Karlgren had taken English as an extra subject in the final form in high school. Only one hour a week was spent on the course, whose curriculum consisted of "75 pages of *David Copperfield* by Charles Dickens, together with the essentials of English grammar." Bernhard's knowledge of English must therefore have been fairly limited.

On February 15, Bernhard wrote to Lundell to inform him that the question of his enlistment had been resolved in a fortunate fashion: "I have been rejected on account of a slight defect in my eyes." (Ever since childhood, Bernhard had suffered from astigmatism, which grew worse with the years.) Bernhard prepared for his journey with the greatest care. In a letter to Lundell of February 19, he writes:

> In order not to be too dependent on the government grant I have tried to get a study loan here in Jönköping and have succeeded in finding guarantors for a bank loan of 1,000 Crowns. I hope to be able to add to my assets by writing newspaper articles.

Bernhard also informed Lundell that he had contacted a Mr. Rydberg, missionary and superintendent of the Swedish Seamen's home in Shanghai, who had promised to meet him when he arrived. He had received lists from various Swedish missionary societies of their missionaries in China and their addresses. On February 26, 1910, the Swedish East India Company ship *Peking* was cleared for its outward journey to Yokohama, via Antwerp, Port Said, Singapore, Hong

Kong, and Shanghai. In letters to his mother, Bernhard several times, and with apparent delight, mentions that the ship's cargo included, among other things, two thousand kilos of gunpowder destined for Shanghai, a piece of information that some members of the family took *cum grano salis.* The bill of lading essentially confirms Bernhard's information: the ship carried one thousand kilos of gunpowder, destined for Yokohama.

On April 28, the *Peking* called at Shanghai. The next day, Bernhard sent Professor Lundell an account of the voyage:

> I have arrived in Shanghai after a voyage lasting somewhat more than two months, which time I spent as well as I could, partly going through 50 lessons in Mateer's "Mandarin Lessons," partly reading some English texts, and in my spare time reading a little on Chinese history and literature.[1] I took the opportunity to visit the Chinese quarters of Singapore and Hong Kong. Unfortunately, the stay in Hong Kong was so short that I did not have a chance to visit Canton. I shall not try to write any newspaper articles about these two ports, as they offer a fairly insipid mixture of European and Chinese culture, and besides, much has already been written about them. I do not as yet know when I shall travel to the interior of the country. There have been outbreaks of violence here and there. I must find out more about that before I decide which route I ought to take to Taiyuan. If everything goes as planned, I intend to stay there over the summer, since the climate is relatively pleasant there. I shall now tackle the Mandarin dialect spoken in Peking, and at the same time find out if the Shansi dialect (or perhaps dialects) differs sufficiently from that in Peking to deserve a special investigation.

On June 2, 1910, Bernhard writes to his benefactor, Archbishop Nathan Söderblom:

> I am very glad that at long last I am able to inform you that I have now safely arrived at my destination and that I have started work. The voyage was pleasant and interesting, and could have been even more so had the ship stopped in more places. In Egypt we stayed but two hours, and Nearer India we passed by altogether. The voyage gave me an excellent opportunity to study and I had brought with me books to read, among them Lehmann's highly interesting work *Buddha,* which you recommended.

Following your advice, I wrote to Professor Nyström and asked for instructions, and in accordance with them I travelled to Taiyuan via Tientsin. I arrived here a couple of weeks ago and now take several lessons a day from a Chinese teacher, who does not know any foreign languages; the lessons consist of his reading aloud for me and I repeating after him as faithfully as possible.

Professor Nyström left Peking a few days ago, intending to ride his motorcycle to Irkutsk and then spend the summer in Sweden.[2] I have taken over his house and his cook; very few things distract me from my reading. Only some 50 Europeans reside here in Taiyuan; I try my very best to keep away from their very lively social life.

I am not yet in position to decide whether the study plans I spoke of last Christmas can be realized. Right now I am concentrating on the Peking dialect. Later on I shall consider more in detail how to proceed with my work.

Taiyuan University

The establishment of Taiyuan University was the positive result of a disastrous political development. The infamous treatment that the Western powers had visited on China in the nineteenth century had fomented among the masses an intense hostility toward foreigners, especially missionaries. It is estimated that, in 1889, about 4,600 missionaries were active in the country. Eager to convert the heathen, the missionaries often offered pecuniary awards and promise of protection from the authorities. Some missionaries were also known to have intervened in legal cases in order to assist members of their congregations.

In 1898, Shandong province was struck by immense floods, which left over a million people homeless. The floods were followed by a long period of drought. Many victims were easily persuaded that these natural disasters had been caused by the obnoxious foreigners, who had affronted the gods with their false doctrines and disturbed the protective powers of Wind and Water with their railway construction. Ever since 1898, the Manchu Court had been dominated by reactionary and xenophobic officials. Many high provincial officials in northern China openly stirred up hostility against

foreigners. In 1895, the governor of Shandong province had summoned members of a secret society to attack the missionaries in the province. The murder of two German missionaries gave Germany the formal excuse to occupy Jiaozhou in the eastern part of the province. It was most certainly not a coincidence that xenophobia found such violent expression in the province of Shandong. The floods and the ensuing famine had created a panic among the population. Shamanic and magical cults, which have characterized many secret societies in the long history of China, had flourished in the province from time immemorial. To the many secret societies operating in Shandong belonged the *Yihequan,* "The Righteous and Harmonious Fists," whose members were termed "Boxers" in the West. During the 1890s, their originally anti-Manchu sentiments gave way to an unrelenting hatred for the foreign intruders and the missionaries under their protection.

In the spring of 1899, the reactionary and xenophobic official Yuxian (d. 1901) was appointed governor of Shandong province. One of the first things he did was to hire Boxers to train his troops. As a result of the protests of the Western powers, the Manchu court was forced to transfer Yuxian to the post of governor in the province of Shanxi. As his successor in Shandong, the court chose Yuan Shikai, who was determined to suppress the Boxers. Driven from Shandong, the Boxers marched north, through the metropolitan province of Zhili, and then west to Shanxi, where fifty missionaries were killed in 1900. At the beginning of June 1900, crowds of Boxers entered Peking. Mission churches were burned to the ground and many Christian Chinese were killed. On June 14, the Boxers began to attack the foreign legations. Prince Duan, grandson of the Daoguang emperor (1821–51) and the Boxers' foremost protector at the court, recommended an all-out attack on the foreign legations and asserted that China ought to declare war on the foreign powers. When the empress dowager learned soon thereafter that foreign troops had occupied the fortresses at the port of Tianjin, China declared war on the foreign powers.

In July 1900, Western troop reinforcements gathered outside Tianjin. By mid-August, they reached Peking, where, after having relieved the legations, they engaged in unre-

Professor J. A. Lundell.

Professor Adolf Noreen.

Temple in Taiyuan. Photo by Bernhard Karlgren, 1911.

strained plundering of the imperial palaces and private residences. A few days before the Western troops forced their way into Peking, the empress dowager, dressed as a simple peasant woman, together with the young emperor and a few trusted advisers, fled to the city of Xi'an in Shaanxi, from which she did not return until January 1902.[3]

After China's ignominious defeat, the old statesman Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) was appointed to conduct the negotiations with the representatives of the foreign powers. The conditions of the peace treaty concluded on September 7, 1901, were exceptionally harsh. China was forced to pay a war indemnity amounting to 450 million ounces of silver, then equal to 67.5 million pounds, for a period of thirty-nine years, at four percent annual interest. The receipts from the maritime and inland customs, together with the income from the salt monopoly, served as security for the war indemnity. The foreign legations were given the right to keep their own troops, while China was forced to demolish all fortresses between the capital and the coast. Civil service examinations were suspended for a period of five years in all areas where the Boxers had been active. The peace treaty amounted to an extremely serious violation of China's sovereignty. The war indemnity, which principally affected the farming population in the form of raised agricultural taxes, precipitated the fall of the Manchu regime.

The missionary societies in Shanxi were entitled to indemnity for the great losses of life and property that the ravages of the Boxers had occasioned. The farsighted Welsh missionary and publicist Timothy Richard (1845–1919), who had resided in China since 1870, succeeded in persuading the missionaries in Shanxi to renounce their right to indemnity.[4] He thereafter approached the Manchu Court and Li Hongzhang, suggesting that the provincial government should spend a sum equal to the renounced indemnity in order to establish a Western university in the city of Taiyuan. The provincial government agreed to earmark the sum of 500,000 ounces of silver, to be paid out over ten years, during which period the university should be managed by Europeans. Timothy Richard hoped that the Chinese authorities would be responsible for the running of the university thereafter.

Timothy Richard selected the Scotsman Moir Duncan (1861–1906), who had served as missionary in the city of Xi'an in Shaanxi since 1890, to be the first rector of the university. In 1902, the Swedish civil engineer Erik Nyström, then twenty-two years old, was appointed to the Chair of Chemistry at the university, a position he held until November 1911. During Bernhard's stay in Taiyuan, William Soothill (1861–1935) served as rector of the university. In a letter to Inna of July 13, 1910, Bernhard writes:

> The Englishmen in Taiyuan are all rather strange. The rector, Soothill, is full of self-importance, believes that he knows all, meddles in everything and is therefore generally disliked. The same is true of his nervous and jealous old wife. I stand high in his favour, which pleases me, as he has an excellent Sinological library.

Bernhard had every reason to stay on excellent footing with Soothill, who had promised to provide him with informants from various parts of the province.

At the end of September 1910, Bernhard had intended to travel to Peking, but the plan could not be realized for some reason. His first visit to Peking was limited to a few days. In a letter to Inna of January 27, 1911, he writes:

> On January 20 I arrived in Peking and put up at Hotel du Nord, where I intended to stay a whole month. I had only been there a couple of days (during which I wrote a letter to your father; did it arrive?) when the whole city, the foreign colony I mean, was in an uproar. In Harbin the plague has been raging for a while, not the less dangerous bubonic plague, but the Black Death which infects via the breath. Just now it has reached Tientsin and Peking; the legations have isolated themselves; there is talk about stopping all trains to Peking and putting the city under quarantine. I managed to get out at the last minute, a few days later the train traffic was indeed stopped. It is now three days since I arrived here. Another two days and I shall know whether I have been infected or not, in Peking or on the train. The incubation time is namely five days. Ninety-seven percent of those infected are bound to die. We have sent a deputation to the governor, asking him to stop all trains to Taiyuan. This has not been done yet, and it may therefore be too late. We can therefore expect the dreadful guest to arrive here at any

> time. In that case all foreigners here will either move up to the mountains, Lungwangshan for example, or isolate themselves within the university. It should be noted that few foreigners until now have been infected. . . . I have now got a house of my own, three rooms of which one will be converted into a kitchen. For the time being I stay with the Nyström family, as before.
> . . . On March 1 I start teaching and on March 1 of next year, if I am alive then, I shall travel to Japan, where I shall stay for two months, whereupon I shall board "the train of ten thousand blessings," as I would put it if I were Chinese.

Bernhard had no hesitation whatever to scare Inna with his, no doubt, somewhat exaggerated account of life in China.

The few days that Bernhard spent in Peking can hardly have been sufficient for a closer study of the dialect. For his description of the dialect of Peking, he depended on informants residing elsewhere. It is quite possible that the pronunciation of his main informant was influenced by the dialect in Tientsin. In a letter to Lundell of March 11, 1911, Bernhard does not touch upon the reason for his hasty retreat from Peking. Instead, he gives an account of his studies and teaching assignments at Taiyuan University:

> After a short stay in Peking I returned to Taiyuan, where I have got a teaching post at the university that really suits me. I am "professor" (approximately equivalent to a teacher in a Swedish high school) in German and French at the university here. These subjects have not been taught before and my pupils are therefore all beginners. I have only agreed to teach 17¾ hours a week, which gives me plenty of time for my own studies. For my teaching I receive a salary that more than covers my needs, which means that I also can save a little. I estimate that my salary and the renewed state scholarship will see me through to Stockholm, in mid December, 1912. I do not intend to stay here more than one year.

The contract signed by the bursar of the university and Bernhard Karlgren on January 9, 1911, stipulated, among other things, that Bernhard should teach French, and German or English, for twenty-two hours a week, for which he would receive a salary of 170 ounces of silver. It could not have been easy for Bernhard to teach French and German to Chinese beginners. He apparently asked his mother to

send him his tetragloss dictionary. In her reply of March 3, 1911, his mother informed him that his tetragloss dictionary had been lost, so she sent him instead three dictionaries (Swedish-English, Swedish-German, and Swedish-French).

The reason Bernhard felt that he could not stay more than another year in China was that he needed access to literature that could be found only in London, Paris, or St. Petersburg. At the end of his stay in Taiyuan, he intended to travel to South China to orient himself about the dialects there. Thereafter he intended to travel to Japan, but only for a few months. In a letter to Lundell of March 11, 1911, he writes:

> It is namely quite clear that I cannot possibly make a thorough study of both China and Japan. As China from a scholarly, culturally, and soon probably also from a political point of view is the more important of the two, I merely intend to spend enough time on Japan to appreciate wherein it differs from China and to acquire the essentials of the colloquial language. To me later on this will not be much more important that Manchu, Mongol, Tibetan, Siamese, Annamese, and Burmese, which languages I shall have to tackle as soon as possible.
> I hope that you approve of this change in the direction of my studies. The reason for this is perfectly clear. Sinology is such an enormous field that I shall need 4 to 5 years merely for a thorough orientation. To try to tackle another subject at the same time would be fatal.
> As I now look at it, I shall return to Sweden in the summer of 1912, continue my studies in London, Paris or St. Petersburg for a couple of years and then once more travel out to China. The journey is a minor matter. I believe that without any hardship I could travel between Stockholm and Peking at the cost of 300 Crowns!

It is interesting to note that, after having spent almost a year in China, Bernhard had not yet determined the topic of his thesis. This means that his dialect investigations must have been intensified during the latter part of his stay in China. He had apparently made good progress in his study of Chinese. In the letter quoted above, he also writes:

> I have now shelved my studies of the colloquial language, which I of course use daily in my teaching, as the students are all be-

> ginners. Right now I work partly with the classics, partly with what is called the documentary language, e.g. official documents, edicts, etc. In addition I read tales of the 17th century, written in an easier language than the classics.

From a letter to Inna of February 17, 1911, it is clear that Bernhard had gained the painful insight that China possesses not one, but several, written languages:

> My work has only just begun. Even if you know the modern colloquial and recognize a couple of thousand characters, you cannot read a single line of Chinese literature. The Chinese themselves have to learn it as a separate language, or rather 6 or 7 different languages, and spend 10 to 15 years doing so. Once you after no end of toil have mastered the language used in the classics, you still cannot read the histories written at the same time. If you master the two languages, you still cannot read a line of poetry. If you master the three languages, you still cannot read novels. If you master the four languages, you still cannot read newspapers. If you master the five languages, you still cannot read imperial edicts, trade agreements, passports etc. And so on, and so on. So you can see that I still have a long way to go. (I forgot the language of the Buddhist canon.) Right now I am reading a grammar of classical Chinese, together with documentary texts. Later on I shall tackle the newspapers. It looks like an endless and slow process, but I am making progress.

The Industrious Dialectologist

Bernhard's investigation of the dialects in his home county, based on Lundell's *Manual for dialectological research,* served as excellent preparation for his work on Chinese dialects. But considering the limited time at his disposal and the large number of dialects that he investigated, it was impossible for him to follow the advice that Lundell gives on the first page of his manual: "Never ask directly for a word or an expression (your informant should not be aware what you are after), but try to elicit it in a context." During the summer of 1910, Bernhard worked hard to acquire the Peking dialect. In August, he began to tackle the dialect in Taiyuan. With the aid of informants, he also gathered material on the dialects of Gansu and Shaanxi, together with

southern and northern Shanxi. On September 17, 1910, he reported that he worked with five different informants, an hour a day with each. On November 6, 1910, he writes to Inna:

> In a few days time I shall send you a booklet containing my notes on the Shanxi dialect. I dare not keep them here, because if they are lost I would be done for. They represent 4 to 5 months of hard work and great expense and *could never* be redone.

During the months of November-December 1910 and January 1911, Bernhard made several adventurous trips by mule, in order to study the dialects in Singanfu (Xi'an) and Kaifeng. After his return to Taiyuan, he told Inna that his first scholarly work would consist of a phonetic description of about twenty dialects in North China. During his stay in Taiyuan and during his trips, he had gathered material on twelve to fifteen dialects in Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu, and Henan. What now remained were the dialects of Nanjing and Hankou, together with the dialects in South China. Bernhard had no intention of shutting himself off in an ivory tower. On April 2, 1911, he writes from Taiyuan:

> It is particularly important to understand that theoretical investigations become valid only when they are applicable. Suppose that I can show that a modern word has developed in such and such a way and that it was pronounced x a couple of thousand years ago. That has no value in itself, only potentially, if it can be made the basis of a valid conclusion. If I can prove that this x is identical with the root z in Indo-European languages, and that there therefore exists a linguistic connection between Mongol and Aryan languages, then I will have produced an important result. Theoretical investigations gain validity only when they come into contact with the outer world, past or present. And again, when one starts a new field of scholarship in a country, as I intend to do in Sweden, a bookworm has no chance of succeeding. Rather than spending ten years writing 15 solid works, one ought to write *first* and on top of that start a scholarly Sinological journal, arrange for the purchase of a Chinese printing press, establish a Chinese museum in Uppsala or Stockholm and create a genuine interest for the Far East, and gather some students in Uppsala. If I had stayed on in Uppsala, I would have become a bookworm, perhaps esteemed in a small circle of experts, and existing only as the author of a few books after my

> death. But if I catch the wind with my present plans, my name shall be known throughout Sweden, and I may even be recognized by the Orientalist circles in Europe. That will be the day! But first 4 or 5 years of study on the quiet. Then some cautious publications, rather like tentacles. But after ten years, my publications will be as plentiful as apples in the autumn.

Worries About the Future

Bernhard's strong self-confidence sometimes gave way to worries about the future. He never doubted his own capacity, but often asked himself if the career that he had chosen would ever be able to support him and his future family. During his stay in Taiyuan, he was tempted by an offer that meant that he would have to shelve his studies temporarily and instead engage in a business that in four or five years' time would have earned him 150,000 crowns. That plan did not materialize. In a letter to Inna of November 17, 1910, Bernhard lowers his sights and expresses joy over his salary from the university: "5,000 Crowns a year at the age of 21, not too bad, eh?" Bernhard's satisfaction should be seen against the background that the salary of a Swedish assistant professor amounted to 2,500 crowns a year. On Christmas Day, 1910, Bernhard writes to Inna from Xi'an:

> I am now more or less ready with my work here. And on Wednesday morning I shall probably set out for Honanfu, where I shall catch the train and travel to Kaifeng, the capital of Honan. The trip to Honanfu will take about ten days. This time I shall travel by cart, to ride on the back of a mule is too cold and tiresome. To travel by cart is rather risky: should it rain the roads will be bottomless and impassable and I shall then have to stay at an inn and wait for a week until they have dried up.
> . . . Yes, it was my first Christmas away from home; it certainly felt strange, but I had a good time here. A lengthy appointment as assistant professor, when I cannot afford to marry you, is a rather dismal prospect, and I admit that a position as professor at a British or, even better, an American university (they pay well) tempts me. Such a position would perhaps be within my reach. When I have served there five or six years and become recognized as a good scholar . . . I could dictate my terms in Sweden. America tempts me especially. . . . I feel too restless to shut

myself off in Uppsala at 23 years of age. When the bear has tasted meat he gets dangerous.

In a letter to Inna, written in Honanfu on January 7, 1911, Bernhard writes:

> I write this letter in a Swedish missionary's home. He has a very beautiful wife, they are newly married. He is a lucky fellow, I should say. . . . Strangely enough, I was not robbed on my way here, as the region swarms with robbers. Yesterday we travelled through a pass where a foreigner was robbed last year and a Chinese murdered a couple of days ago. Just as we had entered the pass, my driver began to whip the animals something terrible, and my otherwise so gentle boy assisted him as best he could. We moved forward at a tremendous speed. The reason was that ten-odd robbers had attacked a cart a couple of hundred metres behind mine. As I only had my little revolver I dared not play the hero and left in a hurry. It really was touch and go that time.

In the same letter, Bernhard ponders how large an income he would need to settle down in Sweden:

> Less than 3,500 Crowns would be unthinkable, I guess, but perhaps it would be sufficient, though rather meager. An academic salary of 2,500 and some spare-time job as teacher at a missionary school or the like, and perhaps some public lectures. But we would be rather hard up. . . . This uncertainty about the future is rather enervating. . . . Had I been a good boy and studied theology I would have taken my exam in Uppsala by now and in a couple of years I would have become a vicar, considering the shortage of priests. But if so, I would have found myself out in the wilds, longing to get away from there. Perhaps it is best as it is.

After his return to Taiyuan, Bernhard returns to his plans for the future in a letter to Inna of February 4, 1911:

> I shall need a couple years of hard work in London before I can produce something that can earn me a job. . . . China is not the most pleasant country to live in, when one is alone. I never have a chance of seeing a play or listen to some good music, and all these dinner parties, with liquor, smoking and bridge every other night, bore me more than they entertain me. . . . Do you know what I think that you ought to do, Inna? You should learn to speak a couple of languages, English and German, or English

> and French. It is highly useful. Get yourself a couple of phrase books, learn two phrases a day and repeat the lessons from the last three days. That will only cost you a quarter of an hour a day, and in a year's time you will master 700 phrases, which is a good start. And people will think highly of you if you can babble in a couple of languages. I speak Chinese quite freely by now, and English also. But while acquiring these languages, my Russian has almost disappeared, and my German and French have become stale. I shall have to spend some time every day brushing up my German and French, since I shall become professor of those languages in a couple of weeks' time.

Before Bernhard left for China, he had received a government grant amounting to 1,000 crowns. At the beginning of 1911, he applied for a renewed grant of the same sum. If he should fail to receive the grant, he intended to aim for a career abroad. Might political developments lend him a hand? China had been forced to pay heavily for the excesses of the Boxers in the summer of 1900, and there was a limit to the patience of the Western powers. On March 21, 1911, Bernhard writes:

> Right now you cannot make much money as an expert on China. But suppose that China puts its foot in it once more. Without doubt the interested nations will then divide up the country, as once was done to Poland, and then my shares would rise 1000 percent. Then England and America, France and Germany would need competent teachers of Chinese.

The Treasures of the Stone Forest

On March 19, 1911, Bernhard writes to Lundell to report on a trip through the provinces of Shansi (Shanxi),, Shensi (Shaanxi) and Honan (Henan):

> The trip was adventurous, but also very interesting. As far as the dialects are concerned, I was rather disappointed. I found very little of interest. The trip was invaluable insofar as I had a chance to observe life in the countryside, which has not as yet been destroyed by the foreigners. In Singanfu I made some purchases about which I would like your advice. Shensi is the seat of the oldest Chinese culture, and there is found a large collec-

tion of inscribed stones from the last 2,000 years. Among them are the oldest and best edition of the 13 Chinese classics, cut in a beautiful style on a large number of stones. There is also the Nestorian Monument, which shows that Christianity reached China before Scandinavia. Most of these stones have been gathered in Singanfu, where I of course visited them. Now, the Chinese are extremely clever at taking rubbings and I let a craftsman copy all the classics and more than 50 of the other stones of interest and value. I brought them home, well packed in a wooden crate.

I know that professor Chavannes who visited Singanfu a few years ago bought the same collection. But in Sweden it ought to be quite unique. If Uppsala University Library wants it, I shall be happy to present it as a gift. But only on condition that it is considered valuable; otherwise I shall keep it myself, especially as it cost me a great deal of money. If you think that the gift would be appreciated, I shall be happy to send it home.

The Confucian "Stone Classics" consist of 114 stele, 207 cm high and 92 cm wide, engraved with 560,000 characters and completed in the Kaicheng reign period (836–40). Some of the stele, destroyed by an earthquake in the sixteenth century, were replaced by newly engraved stele in 1664. The famous Nestorian monument, raised in Chang'an (Xi'an) in 781 and rediscovered there in 1623, relates the fate of the Nestorian church during its first 150 years in China. In 635, the Nestorian faith was brought to the Chinese capital by Syrian missionaries. Three years later, Emperor Taizong (626–49) allowed a Nestorian church to be erected in Chang'an. Chinese annals state that, by the mid-eighth century, Nestorian churches were established in all major cities. The monument seems to have made a great impression on Bernhard Karlgren. When he was inaugurated in his Chair of East Asian Languages at Gothenburg University in 1918, he chose to lecture on the early fate of Christianity in China. The valuable rubbings that Karlgren had procured in the Stone Forest unfortunately never reached Uppsala. Nor have they been found in the Gothenburg University Library or in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. This is all the more regrettable, as the stele have been severely damaged since 1911.

The Foreign Correspondent

During his sojourn in China, Bernhard Karlgren wrote a number of reports to the Swedish paper *Dagens Nyheter.* In one of these, "De europeiska nationernas täflingskamp i Öster. Några reflexioner med anledning av oroligheterna i Kina" ("The European nations' competition in the Far East. Some reflections occasioned by the outbreak of violence in China, June 20, 1910"), he discusses the presence of the United States and the great European nations in China. He declares that even small countries like Sweden could increase their exports to China, provided that all Swedes residing in the country did their share to further the interests of their homeland. Above all he was thinking of the missionaries who constituted a major portion of the Swedish residents in the country. Sweden ought to follow the example of England. British missionaries have always had a double function: at the same time as they preach the Gospel, they have prepared the ground for trade with China.

On November 30, 1911, *Dagens Nyheter* published Bernhard Karlgren's dramatic description of the revolutionary troops' conquest of Taiyuan on October 29, 1911. The report, entitled "Ett dygn bland kinesiska revolutionärer" ("Twenty-four hours among Chinese revolutionaries") is translated *in extenso* below:

> Tai Yuan Fu, November 6, 1911.
>
> The province of Shensi is ablaze and the Tungkuan pass, the key to the interior of China, is in the hands of the revolutionaries. Such was the news that at the end of October reached Tai Yuan Fu. So this is it! The turn has come to us. The province of Shansi has been chosen as the base of operations against Shensi.
> Shansi is one of the strategically most important provinces in northern China. From a point 300 km south of Peking on the railway line from Peking to Hankow, a 250 km train journey due west will take you to Tai Yuan Fu, the capital of Shansi, situated on a large plain, on all four sides surrounded by high mountains with few passes. On the plain surrounding Tai Yuan Fu contingents of all branches of the army were stationed, and within the city, protected by a forty foot high wall, there is a special Manchu

city comprising some 400 families, each keeping one or more well-armed and well-trained Manchu soldiers.

We foreigners in Tai Yuan had long heard that the Chinese soldiers here were permeated with revolutionary ideas. But as the people of Shansi are known as a sluggish and un-enterprising breed, we all believed that Shansi would become one of the last strongholds of the Manchus. The Court apparently shared that belief, as a dispatch arrived from Peking in the week October 22–29, ordering governor Lu to prepare for the reception of the fleeing Court, to recall the cavalry stationed in northern Shansi, and to send troops to southern Shansi to repel the rebels attacking from Shensi. This order sealed the fate of Tai Yuan Fu. The leader of the revolutionaries, general Yen,[5] had but two alternatives: to have the city inundated by Manchu troops from Peking, something that would render the uprising impossible, or to carry out the attack earlier than envisaged, and with incomplete preparations. He chose the latter alternative.

On Friday, October 27, a secret deputation informed the alderman of the missionaries here that Sunday the 29th had been chosen as time of the attack, that the revolutionaries wished to protect the foreigners as far as possible, and that we therefore must leave our private dwellings and gather at a place where a small military force would protect us. We naturally immediately set about it. Two British hospitals, situated next to one another, were chosen as the most suitable location, as they were large enough to accommodate the sixty or so missionaries living on the plain outside Tai Yuan, and also some businessmen and university teachers from the city. On Saturday we gathered together stores of food and coal, and the greater part of the colony moved to the assigned place. Three of the teachers at the university, professor Nyström, professor Williams, and the undersigned, decided to stay on at the university, which is situated close to the Manchu city, the main target of the attack, and probably would be burned down and looted if it were left unguarded.

And so the great day was dawning, Sunday, October 29.

The governor had chosen that day to send off the troops to the south. On Saturday evening hundreds of thousands of cartridges had been carried out to the camps outside the city. General Yen had obtained permission for some of the departing soldiers to enter the city early Sunday morning in order to take farewell of relatives and friends. At half past five on Sunday morning the south gate was opened, and in poured the rebels in two main

forces. One force marched towards the Manchu city. Passing the gates of the university (in China most buildings, apart from shops, are surrounded by walls), they climbed up on the southeast corner of the city wall. The Manchu city is situated right below the wall.

At quarter past six the undersigned woke up to the sound of rifle fire, and a swarm of bullets whistled above the university or hit the brick walls of the university buildings. My house was situated a few hundred meters from where the other Europeans had gathered, and I therefore had to scamper along walls and houses and run across open stretches, my rifle in one hand and a suitcase in the other, filled with silver, cartridges, and whatever I would need in case we had to flee. I found professor Nyström sitting on his bed, loading his gun and Williams desperately trying to put on his socks. Having nothing better to do, I selected a suitable lookout and observed that all soldiers on the city walls aimed their rifles above the Manchu city. As we later learned, this was a manifestation of general Yen's humanity, he did not want to kill too many Manchus, he merely wanted to frighten them away and kept the eastern city gate open, to give them a chance to escape. The effect of this humanity soon began to show: instead of the Manchu city, the university, situated in the line of fire, became the target of a rain of bullets, and we could soon see wounded Chinese being carried away from the streets surrounding the university. A poor devil who was shot through the leg, just outside the university, was carried in and bandaged by professor Nyström.

The firing went on for hours. The counter-fire by the Manchus was hardly more effective than that of the revolutionaries, on account of their unfavorable position. Around two o'clock in the afternoon the latter began to lose patience with this farcical fight. With a great hullabaloo a few cannons were brought up on the city wall quite close to the university, and from our lookout we could soon see how walls began to crumble in the Manchu city. When the Manchus realized that the cannon-balls were not as lenient as the rifle fire in the morning, they fled headlong after having kept on firing until the women and children had managed to escape from the city.

But now we have followed only one of the two forces that had entered the city in the morning. The other force faced an easier task. Running through the streets they headed for the governor's yamen (every high official in China has his own yamen, surrounded by a wall, comprising offices and living quarters for

his staff). At the main gate, the rebels were received by the commander-in-chief of the Imperial troops, who with a dozen soldiers gave them a warm welcome. Over his dead body, the rebels forced their way into the palace. Outside the gate of the main hall, the old and venerable governor and his son calmly awaited them. A moment of hesitation. "Chinese of Manchu?" the rebels shouted. "Manchu," the governor replied, "I have served the emperor my whole life and refuse to serve rebels!" A rolling volley of rifle fire and all is ended. The governor's consort staggers out. Felled by a bullet she falls over the dead body of her husband. The governor's son, an ardent revolutionary, recently returned from Japan, who without a word has witnessed the scene, is shot from behind: he was not considered trustworthy. The hunt continues throughout the city. The provincial treasurer immediately surrenders and is imprisoned in the Parliament building. The chief of police, an official of high rank in China, has managed to disappear through a back door, but his faithful retainer falls with a crushed head just outside the gate of the university. Within less than an hour all yamen are in the hands of the rebels.

Before the last shots have been fired towards the Manchu city, a phase began which at first seemed ludicrous but later on would prove fatal. In his great hurry, the general had forgotten to take steps to prevent looting in the Manchu city. As the Shansi people are known to be exceedingly greedy, the result may be easily imagined. Crouching to avoid the bullets and scampering along the ruined walls, Tai Yuan's ruffians and poverty-stricken devils in no time at all filled the streets of the city. Professor Nyström and I followed the crowds in order to observe the spectacle. At first the crowd laid their hands on clothing, which was natural enough, considering the approaching winter. Here a coolie stands outside a gate, stark naked, putting on five pairs of silk trousers, one pair on top of another, and then wrapping himself up in a couple of motley quilts. There walks a Singer sewing-machine, and here comes a five-meter-high tower of chairs, walking on two legs. Here four men are fighting over a beautifully embroidered table-cloth and depart, each with his wad. A blind little Manchu girl, who has been left by her parents, stands in the middle of the street with a finger in her mouth. A ruffian catches sight of her and swish! goes her beautiful dress. Shivering from cold, the girl crouches on the ground. The innumerable pigs are much sought-after booty, but they are hard to catch and scream like hell. One man finds a way out; he loads a pig on

a cart and grins at me: "How do you like my little pig?" When cash, jewellery, and bric-a-brac are all gone the time has come for pots and pans, fodder, spades and hoes, boards, and God knows what. When twilight sets in, it is getting worse. Fighting, knives, and a terrible confusion. At long last the Manchu city is empty and deserted.

But look over there! A tremendous fire! The governor's yamen is ablaze. This is symbolic. The bulwark of the old oppressive patriarchal regime is being destroyed by fire. From far away the people of Shansi appreciate that the governor has fallen and that the old has passed. The yamen now going up in smoke is the place where a Manchu governor ten years ago with his own hands began killing fifty foreigners, ordering the heads of the men to be nailed to poles and the breasts of the women to be cut off. Now is the time for revenge.

And look over there, another pillar of fire! It is the yamen of the provincial treasurer. And there another pillar of fire and yet another! It is a magnificent spectacle. The whole city is lit up by these fires, and the dead bodies on the city walls, where we walk, take on fantastic contours in the fluttering light. The Manchu city below our feet has begun to be licked by hundreds of small flames.

It is easier to let loose a wild animal than to capture it again. Try baiting with enormous fires and violent looting a people comprising thousands of notoriously poor and then ask them to return home and go to bed at eight o'clock! General Yen believed that he could trust his soldiers, but he was mistaken: they were the ones who played the first violin in the terrible concert that now followed. Already at ten o'clock in the evening we understood from the firing and the shouts that something was afoot. We armed ourselves and went out to look at the "street life," but had to return after a quarter of an hour, since the streets were filled with the worst kind of riff-raff, and bullets from the soldiers' rifles whistled in all directions. The violence started when in order to get a free meal soldiers broke into some larger grocery stores. Thereafter followed methodical looting. All banks, exchange offices, fur shops, antique stores and shops selling foreign bric-a-brac were not only looted but also burned down. The city was soon a sea of fire. It always began with a few soldiers forcing the doors, killing the store owners and laying their hands on hard cash. The riff-raff, reinforced by criminals let loose from prison, were hard on their heels and took what the soldiers had left. And it went from bad to worse These

Shansi soldiers, normally so indolent and good-natured, appeared drunk by the fire and the looting and turned into veritable devils. They killed right, left and center just for the fun of killing, destroying everything that came in their way, and the city resounded with death-screams and the rumble of tumbling houses. Towards morning the military command was ready to


護照
中華民國晉軍府正都督閻 為
發給護照事照得山西大學堂教習名因回國
出城往 處除攜帶行李數件
外並無禁制物品仰沿道各軍一律保
護須至護照者
護
右護照發給教習收執
黃帝紀元四千六百零九年九月廿三日
都督

Bernhard Karlgren's exit visa, 1911.

> intervene. Patrols were rushing through the city and the executioner's axe got busy. Whoever was caught looting was decapitated on the spot, and the streets soon looked like a battlefield. According to official estimate more than 200 hundred persons were killed.
>
> A death-like pall prevailed in Tai Yuan the following morning. Several hundred houses of the rich were levelled with the ground, and a sickening smoke hovered over the city. Wherever you looked, dead bodies lay scattered on the streets, and the telegraph poles which had been spared by the fire were adorned with heads and inscriptions that their owners had been executed for looting. But this is probably nothing compared with what the tumbled houses might hide. The first act of revolution here in Tai Yuan Fu ended with the deaths of a few dozen Manchus and several hundred Chinese.
>
> We cannot guess what the next act might provide. The provincial parliament, recently established as the result of one of the Manchu government's pseudo-reforms, has suddenly become the highest authority in the province. Divided into sections and committees, it has worked under high pressure and achieved considerable results. Under its auspices the students have been armed and now serve as police, supply of food to the beleaguered city has been facilitated, and wellfare services are operating. Negotiations with rich magnates about loans have been initiated, etc. Most soldiers have left the city in order to guard the passes in the mountains surrounding the Tai Yuan plain. We foreigners and the Chinese presently live in Olympian repose, but all of us wonder: what will happen next?

In mid-November, 1911, Bernhard Karlgren left Taiyuan. The exit permit that general Yan Xishan, Commander-in-Chief of the republican troops in Shansi, issued for Bernhard Karlgren, is dated "the 23rd day in the 9th month of the year 4,609 of the Yellow Emperor's reign" (November 13, 1911). In his last report from China, "En spännande färd från det inre av Kina" ("An exciting journey from the interior of China"), published in *Dagens Nyheter* on December 16, 1911, Bernhard Karlgren describes how, together with a group of foreigners, he left Taiyuan to travel to the coast and from there to Peking:

> Any thought of bringing with us heavy luggage must be abandoned. My whole library and my manuscripts, among them the

> result of half a year's dialect investigations in the interior provinces had to be left behind to an uncertain fate, and with the faint hope of recovery some time in the future. Even our travelling funds had to be limited to a minimum. I and a few other teachers at the university had several months' salary due us and therefore approached the provincial parliament with a request for payment. The parliament definitely did not refuse to pay, but it offered us silver ingots, large as clenched fists! For three of us, who were about to leave, the total weight of the ingots amounted to 300 kilos. It would be totally unthinkable to bring along such luggage—it would have meant that we would be plundered on the road. Gold was unavailable and bank remittances even more so, as all banks in the city were in ruins. And so we left, bringing with us only the bare necessities of life.

Bernhard and his traveling companions reached Peking unharmed. At ten minutes to midnight on November 22, 1911, Bernhard sent a telegram to "Karlgren, Jönköping" with the somewhat enigmatic content, "Safe coming." From Peking, he returned to Sweden via the Trans-Siberian Railway. The family archive contains no information about the train journey. On December 30, Bernhard and Inna got engaged.

4
The Irresolute Strategist, 1912–1914

The Interlude in London

After his return from China, Bernhard Karlgren decided to pursue his studies in London, where he attended the lectures by Professor George Owen at King's College.[1] A few days after his arrival in London, he procured reader's passes for both the Reading Room and the Oriental Reading Room at the British Museum Library. Unfortunately, no information about the ordering of books has been kept from that time.

One of the reasons why Bernhard Karlgren decided to study in London was probably that he could get access to the important manuscripts there that the explorer Sir Aurel Stein had brought from Dunhuang a few years earlier. Dunhuang, situated in the northwestern part of the Chinese province of Gansu, served during the Han period (206 B.C.—A.D. 220) as a military outpost and the first stop on the southern Silk Road. The Silk Road ran south of the Taklamakan Desert along the northern reaches of the Kunlun Range, to Loulan, Khotan, Yarkand, and Kashgar. From the eighth century to the eighteenth century, Dunhuang was under the rule of Tibetans, Uighurs, Tanguts, and Mongols for longer or shorter periods. Twenty-five kilometers southeast of Dunhuang are the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which have been cut out of the cliffs of Mount Mingsha. The oldest cave dates from A.D. 352, the youngest from the fourteenth century. The caves are adorned with frescoes and sculptures with Buddhist motifs. One of the larger caves contained an enormous library, comprising manuscripts written in Chinese, Tibetan, Uighur, and several central Asian languages, together with paintings on silk. Of the dated documents, the

oldest dates from A.D. 406, the youngest from A.D. 996. From this it has been concluded that the cave was sealed at the end of the tenth century, when China was at war with the Tangut Xi Xia empire.

Exactly how the cave was discovered is not known. Wang Yuanlu, a Daoist, is said to have settled in one of the caves, where he supported himself by selling magical formulae. One day in the year 1900, when he was sweeping sand from his cave, he found a door to a hidden library, which may have contained as many as fifty thousand manuscripts on different topics: religion, history, literature, art, mathematics, medicine, and economy. The first Westerner to hear of the cave was the German archaeologist Albert von le Coq, who in 1905 visited Hami, situated northeast of Dunhuang, which served as the first stop on the northern Silk Road. Von le Coq had been misinformed and rode westward, toward Kashgar, instead of southward, toward Dunhuang. One who did not ride in the wrong direction was Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943), Sven Hedin's foremost rival in central Asia. Stein, who was born in Budapest, had studied Indian and Persian languages at universities in Germany, England, and Austria. In 1887, he offered his services to the British government in India, in order to be able to follow in the footsteps of Alexander the Great. While he was exploring the northwestern border provinces, he became interested in Buddhist Gandhara art and in the Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang's pilgrimage to India (629–45). It is said that the work *Da Tang Xiyu ji* ("Account of the Western region during the great Tang dynasty") by Xuanzang's disciple Bianji (d. 649) served as Stein's guidebook during his travels in central Asia.[2]

Stein's archaeological investigations mainly concerned the former oases along the southern Silk Road. His greatest coup was made in 1907, when with hard cash he persuaded Wang Yuanlu to let him choose about ten thousand documents from the cave library. Apart from a great many manuscripts in Chinese, Uighur, Tibetan, Sogdian, and Sanskrit, Stein's bounty also included the oldest printed book in the world, the Buddhist "Diamond Sutra" of 868. Stein's Dunhuang collection was divided between the British Museum Library and the National Library in New Delhi. The French

scholar and polyglot Paul Pelliot (1879–1945), who mastered Chinese and a great many central Asian languages, arrived in Dunhuang the year after Stein. I shall have occasion to refer to him later.

In Bernhard Karlgren's letters from London, no mention is made of Lionel Giles (1875–1958) or Arthur Waley (1889–1966), who both were employed by the British Museum at different times and who worked on different aspects of the Dunhuang material. Lionel Giles, son of the Cambridge professor and lexicographer Herbert Giles (1845–1935), published a catalogue of the documents in Stein's Dunhuang collection in 1957. His first work, a highly useful index to the great eighteenth-century encyclopedia, *Gujin tushu jicheng* ("Synthesis of books and illustrations past and present"), was published by the British Museum in 1911.[3] Arthur Waley was one of the first Western Sinologists to take an interest in the popular tales and ballads found in the Dunhuang material. A number of these texts were translated by Waley in his *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang* (1960).

Bernhard now gave up the idea of publishing a major comparative study of the Chinese dialects. In a letter to Inna of April 20, 1912, he mentions that he first plans to write a minor article on the phonetics of some dialects in North China, which would earn him a scholarship, and then write a doctoral thesis on the social system of the Han period (206 B.C.—A.D. 220). (Apparently, Professor Ivanov of St. Petersburg University has influenced his choice of topic.) In his next letter, of May 1, he declares that he has tired of London University, which has not been of any use to him in his studies, and instead will continue his studies in Paris. During his stay in London in the spring of 1912, Bernhard became more and more convinced that he should aim for a career abroad. In a letter to Inna he writes:

> In America there are about 160 colleges offering instruction for academic degrees. As far as I know, three, or possibly five or six of them, have chairs in Chinese.

Bernhard now planned to take an M.A. degree in London in December 1913 and thereafter apply for a post at some American university. The reply to a query Bernhard sent to

Professor John Fryer (1839–1928), head of the Department of Oriental Languages at the University of California, Berkeley, was not encouraging. Fryer informed Bernhard that there were no vacancies at any of the three universities that offered courses in Chinese (Berkeley, University of Southern California, and Columbia University). Fryer's own teaching assistant, a former missionary who had spent ten years in China, taught six hours a week at a salary of sixty dollars a month. When Bernhard learned that the professors in Chinese at the universities of London and Cambridge had an annual salary amounting to 3,700 crowns, his interest in a career in England cooled.[4] Had he realized his plans of taking an M.A. degree in London, he would probably have made the acquaintance of the remarkable mythomaniac Sir Edmund Backhouse (1873–1944), who in 1913 had been appointed to the Chair of Chinese at London University, a post he refused to accept, as he hoped to get the Chair at Oxford University. To the great disappointment of Backhouse, W. E. Soothill, Karlgren's former rector at Taiyuan University, was appointed to that chair. It is rather surprising that in his letters Karlgren never mentions the two books Backhouse published together with J. O. P. Bland, *The Times* correspondent in Peking: *China under the Empress Dowager* (1910) (which, among other things, contains "His Excellency Ching Shan's Diary," forged by Backhouse) and *Annals and Memoirs of the Court in Peking* (1914).

In May 1912, Bernhard paid a visit to Lundell in Uppsala, who advised him first to write a minor paper on the dialects in North China, and then to write a major thesis, to be submitted to the Sorbonne. Lundell was certain that Bernhard thereafter would be qualified for a well-paid position.

At the Feet of Chavannes in Paris

After the summer vacation in Sweden 1912, Bernhard Karlgren moved to Paris, where he was to remain with certain shorter intermissions until April 1914. Professor Ivanov had definitely been right when he advised Bernhard after a sojourn in China to continue his studies in Paris, where two of the world's leading Sinologists, Professor Edouard Cha-

vannes (1865–1918) and Professor Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), were active at the time.

Chavannes was considered the grand old man of European Sinology. He had originally planned to specialize in Chinese philosophy, but the great bibliographer Henri Cordier (1849–1925) advised him to present a translation of one of the twenty-four dynastic histories instead. After a few years study at Ecole des Langues Orientales and the Collège de France, in 1889 Chavannes was employed as attaché at the French legation in Peking. He followed Cordier's advice and chose to translate, not a dynastic history, but the *Shiji* ("Records of the Grand Historian") by Sima Qian (145–90 B.C.), which covers the history of China from the legendary beginnings up to Sima Qian's own time. While working on his translation, Chavannes also gathered material for his monograph, *La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine au temps des deux Han* (1893), which deals with sculptures and reliefs preserved in the province of Shandong. In November 1892, the marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys passed away. He had held the Chair in "Langues et littératures chinoises et tartares mandchoue" at the Collège de France, which before him had been occupied by Abel Rémusat (1788–1832) and Stanislas Julien (1799–1873). In 1893, Chavannes, then twenty-eight years old, was appointed to this Chair, the most prestigious in Europe.

In 1905, Chavannes had completed his translation of the first forty-seven chapters of the *Shiji,* which altogether comprises one hundred chapters. Besides working on his translation, Chavannes had devoted himself to the study of the pilgrimages of Chinese Buddhists, a field that his predecessors in the Chair had cultivated with great success. Abel Rémusat's translation of the *Foguoji* ("Accounts of Buddhist countries"), which narrates the monk Faxian's pilgrimage to Central Asia and India (399–414), was published posthumously in 1836. Abel Rémusat's successor Stanislas Julien published his *Voyages de Pèlerins Bouddhistes* in the years 1853–58, containing translations of Huilin's biography of Xuanzang and of the work *Da Tang Xiyu ji,* mentioned above. Following in his predecessors' footsteps, in 1894 Chavannes published his *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes: Les Religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les Pays d'Occident,*

mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang par I-tsing, a translation of the narration of the monk I-tsing's (Yijing's) pilgrimage to India (671–95), for which work Chavannes was awarded the Stanislas Julien Prize. This work was followed by a long series of studies on travels by both Buddhists and non-Buddhists.

Sir Aurel Stein had entrusted Chavannes with the deciphering of the manuscripts that he had brought home from his two expeditions to central Asia 1900–01 and 1906–08. Chavannes' translations of the documents from the first expedition were published in Stein's *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan carried out and described under orders of H. M. Indian Government* (1907). The translations of the documents from the second expedition were published in *Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental* (1913).

In 1890, Henri Cordier had, together with Gustave Schlegel (1840–1903), founded the journal *T'oung Pao,* published by E. J. Brill of Leiden. After Schlegel's death, Chavannes offered to serve as co-editor in Schlegel's place. Under the auspices of Cordier and Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* developed into one of the leading Sinological journals in the world, a position it still retains. In the following ten years, Chavannes published as many as 170 reviews of Sinological works in the journal.

In March 1907, Chavannes traveled to China by the Trans-Siberian Railway in order to continue the archaeological research that he had begun during his first sojourn in the country. In May of the same year, purely by chance, in Peking Chavannes met the young Russian Sinologist V. M. Alekseev, whose acquaintance he had made in Paris some years earlier. From the end of May until the beginning of November 1907, Chavannes and Alekseev together visited cult places and regions of archaeological interest in the provinces of Shandong, Henan, Shaanxi, and Shanxi. To the most important results of Chavannes' research belong the large monographs, *Le T'ai Chan. Essai de monographie d'un Culte chinois* (1910) and *Mission archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale,* in two volumes (1913 and 1915), of which the first deals with sculptures from the Han period, and the

second with Buddhist sculptures. To Chavannes' important works also belongs his translation in three volumes of a collection of Buddhist tales and fables, *Cinq cents Contes et Apologues extraits du Tripitaka chinois et traduits en français* (1910–11).

During the academic year 1912–13, Bernhard attended Chavannes' courses at the Collège de France. That year Chavannes gave two series of lectures, both of which started in December. In the one series, he dealt with the cult of great men in China's history, starting with Confucius and the hero Guan Yu, of the Later Han period (A.D. 25–220), who later became idolized as Guandi, the God of War. The second series concerned literary texts from the Song period (960–1279). The following academic year Chavannes lectured on the Confucian classics *Shujing* ("The Documents"), *Shijing* ("The Book of Odes"), and the *Chunqiu* ("The Spring and Autumn Annals") and their roles as sources for historiographical research. In his second course, he explicated the work *Lienü zhuan* ("Biographies of Famous Women"), by the learned Liu Xiang (c. 79–6 B.C.), which contains short biographies of 125 women from the legendary past up to the Han period.

Paul Pelliot was an exceedingly versatile and talented scholar. In the Sinological field, he excelled as bibliographer, linguist, philologist, historian, and expert on religion. In addition, he was an eminent Iranist and Mongolist. After studies in Paris under Chavannes, Sylvain Lévi, and Cordier, he obtained a scholarship at Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi (1900). His visit to Peking in the spring of 1900 coincided with the Boxers' siege of the foreign legations. For his brave conduct during the defense of the French legation, the twenty-two-year-old scholar was awarded La Légion d'Honneur. In the years immediately following, he repeatedly visited Peking in order to purchase books, which he described in several articles entitled "Notes de bibliographie chinoise," published in the newly founded journal *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* (*BEFEO*). In the summer of 1904, he returned to Paris, where he was engaged in the preparations for a French expedition to central Asia. The expedition, which he led, started from Paris in June 1906 and reached Peking in October 1908. During this

expedition, Pelliot mainly explored the former oases along the northern Silk Road. During a stay in Urumqi in 1908, he learned about the cave library in Dunhuang and hurried there. Like Aurel Stein before him, Pelliot was successful in persuading Wang Yuanlu to let him select a large number of valuable manuscripts, which now are found in the collection of Musée Guimet and Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. He reported his finds in a letter to the Indologist Emile Senart (1847–1928), later published under the title "Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée au Gansu" (*BEFEO* 8, 1908). In three weeks' time, Pelliot went through fifteen thousand manuscripts, "dans un hâchis de langues," in order to determine what he ought to bring back to Paris.

In 1911, Pelliot was appointed to the Chair of Central Asian Languages and History at the Collège de France. During the academic year 1912–13, he gave two series of lectures, of which one dealt with the organization of the Mongol empire and the other bilingual inscriptions (in Chinese and Turkish) from the Mongol period. According to the catalogue of lectures, he was also to give two courses during the academic year 1913–14. The first of these would deal with the Dunhuang caves and the finds made there. A written account of Pelliot's lectures that year shows that he mainly treated the expansion of Christianity in central Asia from the beginnings to the end of the fifteenth century, partly on the basis of sources written in Syriac. The catalogue of lectures also announced a course on Chinese historical phonetics by Pelliot, based on phonological tabulations of the eleventh century, Chinese transcriptions of words in central Asian languages, and modern Chinese dialects. We shall later see that Pelliot did not offer that course, to Bernhard Karlgren's great relief. According to the annual report of the Collège de France, Pelliot instead lectured on the routes followed by two travelers of the tenth century on their way to Turfan and Khotan.

From Bernhard Karlgren's letters from Paris, it is not clear whether he attended Pelliot's lectures. According to a testimonial, however, written by Chavannes and to which I shall return, Bernhard did attend Pelliot's courses. He probably did not attend the course Sylvain Lévi gave on the Tokharian texts that Pelliot had brought home from Dun-

Bernhard Karlgren, 1912.

Henri Maspero.

Edouard Chavannes.

Paul Pelliot.

huang. Through the good offices of Chavannes, Bernhard attended the Saturday soirées, when Professor Lévi and his wife had open house for the Orientalists in Paris.

The courses at the Collège de France were open for all interested, and individual attendance was therefore not registered. In the Ecole pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences historiques et philologiques, no courses on China or the Far East were offered during the academic year 1912–13. In the Section des sciences religieuses, Chavannes' Chair had been taken over by Marcel Granet, one of Chavannes' disciples, who during the academic year 1913–14 lectured on religious water rites ("Les rites de l'eau"). Bernhard Karlgren's name is not included in the list of attendees.

Bernhard Karlgren had the greatest respect for Edouard Chavannes, whom he considered his great master. In spite of the fact that he was sometimes critical of Pelliot, he felt a great admiration for his scholarship, his courage, and his strong loyalty toward his teacher Chavannes. "Pelliot was a d'Artagnan!" Bernhard Karlgren once said, with tears in his eyes, after having related how Pelliot once challenged to a duel a French scholar who had dared to speak disparagingly about Chavannes' scholarship.

Soon after his arrival in Paris, Bernhard began to search for Chinese informants who could assist him with the dialects of South China. He had found two, but insisted that he would need another dozen. In a letter of October 8, 1912, he complains that the libraries in Paris are poorly supplied with works on Chinese linguistics:

> In the Sinological field, linguistics is considered outdated and most works deal with history, art history and archaeology. For that very reason I shall stick to my field and drag up linguistics by its ears.

A Sinologist of today who has access to union catalogues, interlibrary loan facilities, internet, comprehensive data banks, excellent dictionaries, such as Morohashi's *Dai Kan-Wa jiten,* and *Hanyu da cidian,* and a great many other modern tools, finds it hard to imagine the difficulties that a scholar had to face at the beginning of the last century. In a letter to Inna of October 17, 1912, Bernhard writes:

> I have got stuck in my work. I have in vain searched for an important work on dialects in South China in all the libraries in Paris. If I cannot find it here, I shall have to search for it in Leiden or London. Again, I have not been able to identify more than four southern dialects, of which three are among the most important. For 7 or 8 dialects I shall therefore have to rely on dictionaries, without being able to check the pronunciation myself. It will have to do, but it will of course not be as grand as it could have been.

In mid-March 1913, Bernhard mentions in a letter that he has sent thirty letters to missionaries in China ("at a total postage of six Crowns!"), asking for information on local dialects. As late as at the end of the spring of 1913, Bernhard still lacked a firm point of departure for the presentation of his dialect material. On May 4, he writes:

> Nearly every day I have gone home from the library utterly tired, but with the pleasant feeling that I have come up with an acceptable and completely new theory about the phonetics of ancient Chinese. The following morning the carefully constructed structure has collapsed, on account of a treacherous little detail which cannot be explained by the given premises. As late as Friday night I believed that I could prove that the phonetic tabulations in the Kanghi (Kangxi) dictionary represent the language of the 13th century. I was overjoyed, as for reasons which I cannot explain here that would have been rather sensational. I then went to a cinema and felt very pleased with myself. Suddenly a thought flies through my brain—damn it all, it was *clear* evidence against the theory that I had worked on the whole day, without even going home to eat! It felt like a kick in the rear![5] One thing is certain, however: my critical mind will allow me to crush the latest theories. But to build up something completely new is more difficult. . . . My plan of campaign is on the whole ready. It includes making extensive excerpts from a couple Chinese works in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which will cost me at least 3 or 4 weeks, I am afraid.

The works in the Bibliothèque Nationale that Bernhard refers to in his letter were probably the rhyme dictionary *Guangyun,* a Song edition of the rhyme lexicon *Qieyun* published in 601, and the so-called rhyme tables of the Song period, a kind of coordinated tabulations of all distinctive

syllables in the language, designed to facilitate the use of the *Guangyun* dictionary. These two works, which will be described later on, together with the dialect material, served as sources for Bernhard Karlgren's reconstruction of Ancient Chinese.

Considering that Bernhard Karlgren defended his thesis on May 21, 1915, and that the printing of the thesis proved exceedingly time-consuming, he must have worked very hard indeed from the spring of 1913 until the spring of 1914. From his letters to Inna, it emerges that Inna, his brother Hjalmar, and his sisters Rakel and Vera assisted by making excerpts from certain dialect dictionaries. Inna had even learned to copy Chinese characters in a way that highly surprised Lundell. Bernhard's haste was no doubt influenced by his knowledge that two French scholars, Maspero (1884–1945) and Pelliot, were working in the same field. Maspero was the son of the eminent Egyptologist, Gaston Maspero (1846–1916), and had originally planned to follow in his father's footsteps. His first scholarly work dealt with the financial system in Egypt of the Ptolemaic reigns (1905). In the following years, he studied law and Oriental languages. After his exam at the Ecole des Langues orientales (1907), he was offered the position of "pensionnaire" at the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient (1908), where he met Edouard Huber, an eminent Swiss linguist with broad competence. In November 1908, Maspero was sent to Peking and arrived there at a dramatic juncture, a few days after the death of the emperor of the Guangxu period and his aunt, the empress dowager. (The young emperor died on November 14, and his maternal aunt the following day.)

In 1911, Maspero was appointed to a Chair in Chinese at the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient. In the years before the First World War, he studied such widely different topics as the history of Chinese Buddhism, the phonology of the Thai language, and the history of the Annamese language. In 1915, he was called up for military service and spent the last two years of the war as an interpreter with a colonial unit. During this time he must have been working on his thesis, "Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang" (*BEFEO* 20, 1920), which is partly based on the sources Bernhard Karlgren used for his reconstruction of Ancient Chinese. In 1919,

Maspero was appointed Chavannes' successor in the Chair at the Collège de France.

Maspero took a leave of absence from his post in Hanoi from the summer of 1912 until the summer of 1913; part of that time he spent in Europe, part in Egypt. I have not been able to determine whether Bernhard Karlgren and Henri Maspero met in Paris. They must have met much later, in September 1936, when, after having attended the Fourth International Congress of Linguistics in Copenhagen, Maspero visited Sweden, Finland, and Leningrad.[6]

Bernhard Karlgren spent the summer and most of the autumn of 1913 in Sweden. Soon after his return to Paris in November 1913, Bernhard reported some good news: Pelliot had decided to cancel his advertised course on Chinese historical phonology. This meant that Bernhard Karlgren was spared one of his competitors. On December 14, he writes:

> Yesterday I wrote the general introduction to my thesis, in which I murder everything that has been written before, apart from a work by a Frenchman, who is a close friend of Chavannes and Pelliot. Thirteen large pages. I write best in the mornings, just as I have got out of bed and put on socks and trousers, slippers, and my large overcoat. It must be before I wash, otherwise it will not work.

The Frenchman referred to in the letter must be Maspero, who, like most French Sinologists of his generation, was highly competent in bibliography. If Maspero had guided Bernhard Karlgren in his use of the rhyme dictionary *Guangyun,* much time and energy could have been saved.

In the spring of 1914, Bernhard felt duty-bound to spend some time at Abbé Rousselot's laboratory for experimental phonetics at the Collège de France. In a letter to Inna of February 8, he describes two different schools of phonetics:

> One is the old school to which Lundell and I belong, which relies on the ear and classifies sounds according to how the tongue works. The other school deals with experimental phonetics, a new science which only relies on instruments. The work of the tongue is determined by a loose palate, daubed with chalk, on which you read off the position of the tongue. The old classification of the vowels is considered outdated and incor-

> rect; you speak into an apparatus that registers vibrations which you analyze with a microscope and decipher with complicated mathematical manipulations; you measure pitch, intensity, quantity, etc., and in that way determine the timbre of a sound. If I were to use these methods I would need to employ one Chinese for every dialect I have investigated, and it would take years to treat them all. But on the other hand, I cannot ignore this new trend and risk being considered old-fashioned. The originator of experimental phonetics is none other than abbé Rousellot, a colleague of Chavannes and Pelliot, who has his laboratory at the Collège de France. This is high fashion in France. So you can see what a fix I am in. I have to find a way out of this. . . . I have spent well over ten Crowns on the stuff I need for these experiments. It is rather enervating. To hell with all fashion trends.

On March 1, 1914, Bernhard writes:

> I have now arrived at a scheme for the presentation of the phonetics. I shall use an absolute minimum of experimental phonetics. Some of its most important results I attack violently—I have to take revenge for the many weeks that I spent learning that nonsense. I am well aware that I shall be badly run down for this, but that does not scare me. I have got weapons to fight with, and my arm is strong.

In February 1914, Chavannes invited Bernhard Karlgren to write a review for *T'oung Pao* of Maurice Courant's work *La langue chinoise parlée: Grammaire du Kwan-hwa septentrionale* ("Spoken Chinese and the grammar of Northern Mandarin"), which had just been published and for which Courant for the fourth time was awarded the Stanislas Julien Prize. In his capacity as head of the Chinese department of Bibliothèque Nationale, Courant was held in high esteem by Orientalists in Paris. Bernhard must have been very flattered to have been invited to review Courant's work for *T'oung Pao*. At the same time, he dreaded the task, knowing that he would have to criticize it severely. Bernhard found Courant's phonetic analysis inadequate and vague and criticized the author's choice of transcription. On the other hand, he praised the prosodic analysis, and above all the description of how the Chinese tones are influenced by the intrasyllabic distribution of quantity and intensity. Con-

sidering Bernhard's negative view of experimental phonetics, it is somewhat surprising to find that he here pleads for it: "Même pour l'accentuative dans la phrase, don't l'auteur donne une description suggestive, l'aide des appareils sera peut-être nécessaire pour arriver à des resultats objectifs. L'oreille de l'étranger est ici un instrument bien insuffisant" ("Also for the accentuation of the phrase, for which the author provides a thought-provoking description, the aid of instruments may perhaps be necessary in order to arrive at objective results. The ear of a non-native is here an inadequate tool"). The short review ends with rather ample praise of the syntactic part of Courant's work.

During his stay in Paris, Bernhard seemed to have hesitated between an academic career in France or in Sweden. In a letter to Inna of April 14, 1914, he describes a visit to Chavannes' home:

> He has a high opinion of me. We spoke about how difficult it is to start Sinology in a new country, and I mentioned the risk I took, since I have no means. "Il n'y a aucun risque pour vous" (There is no risk for you), he replied, "parceque vous êtes intelligent" (because you are intelligent), a praise which I value highly, as it was said in all sincerity, without a trace of flattery.

In a letter to Inna of December 1913, Bernhard tells her that Chavannes sometimes turns to him and asks his opinion about a certain rendering of the Chinese text:

> It is an advantageous but at the same time difficult situation. The last time, it was actually on Christmas Eve, I put him in a spot, and I felt rather bad about it afterwards. He was translating a passage in a very complicated manner and made much of his rendering. I began to stroke my beard, looked up at the ceiling and fidgeted. Chavannes felt called upon to ask me if I liked his translation. I then suggested quite a different translation, a simple and ingenious rendering. Chavannes grew red in the face (several elderly gentlemen attended the lecture and one of them seemed to be a professor at the Collège de France), but then said: "Vous avez raison, monsieur" (You are right). To the others: I want you to pay attention to Mr. Karlgren's rendering "qui est très bonne, très bonne" (which is very good indeed) and of course the correct one. Afterwards he thanked me for my comment and said: "C'est un grand plaisir pour moi d'avoir un

élève comme vous" (It is a great pleasure for me to have a student like you). So far, so good, but I have to be careful in the future not to repeat such criticism, as it may turn him against me.

Else Glahn, one of Bernhard Karlgren's Danish students, who served as head of the Oriental Institute in Århus (Denmark) from 1968 to 1986, related the following anecdote, which shows that Karlgren well remembered how he once corrected his venerated teacher:

> When I told Professor Karlgren one day that I would investigate *what* the Chinese express with their language, rather than *how* they express it, he replied: "So would I, if I were sufficiently clever!" Another day I had found a mistake in one of his *Glosses* and told him so. His face looked like a thundercloud, and I realized that I had been struck by a bad idea. But then his face brightened and he said: "Once I found a mistake in my teacher Chavannes' translation and I was very proud." The storm had passed.

Throughout his work on his thesis, Bernhard Karlgren corresponded frequently with Lundell and discussed other problems with him besides phonetics. Lundell had apparently very carefully scrutinized the purely stylistic shape of the thesis and asked Bernhard to send him detailed accounts of his choice of terms. In a letter to Lundell of October 18, 1914, Bernhard writes:

> As to the gender of the French speech sounds I have used masculine form whenever reference is made merely to the speech sound, for example "t, d dentaux." On the other hand I have used the feminine form whenever I refer to a qualified noun. Thus, I write "*les dentales t, ts,*" but "*les t, ts dentaux.*" I cannot render the noun in masculine form when I have "*une initiale, une finale, une explosive, une affriqué, une fricative.*" In analogy I write "*une dentale, une gutturale, une sourde,* (but "*le t sourd*"), *une palatale,*" etc. I am convinced that this will not offend a French ear, especially as I find the same usage in Maspero's writings (and he writes an extremely refined French).

On December 29, 1914, Bernhard writes to Lundell and complains about the slow pace of the translation of his thesis into French:

> The woman translator has since the month of May produced only a couple of dozen pages. We have hardly reached the middle of the phonetic introduction. Then we have the long chapter on phonetics. . . . If the translator could do her very best to finish that part of the thesis as soon as possible, I shall try to lend a hand and in my spare time translate some easier parts, as for instance the vowels. If the publishers receive the manuscripts as they become ready, the printing could perhaps be finished in a few months' time.

This letter was written less than five months before the defense of the thesis was planned to take place. Work on the thesis must have intensified during the spring of 1915. In a letter to Inna of January 24, 1915, Bernhard mentions that, in one week, he translated 97 of the 185–page-long chapter on descriptive phonetics. Just as Bernhard was about to leave Paris, he suffered an attack of dysentery, probably caused by a glass of bad milk he had drunk at the railway station. After his return to Sweden, he was hospitalized in Ystad, a city in the southernmost part of Sweden, where his future father-in-law served as postmaster.

5
The Diligent Correspondent

The Avid Reader

Bernhard Karlgren had suffered since childhood from poor health. Infections and colds often kept him to his sickbed. He was also afflicted by serious astigmatism. His weak eyes meant that for long periods he was advised to read only one hour a day, a catastrophic condition for a young man of his ambition. During his studies at Uppsala University and his sojourns in China, London, and Paris, he often suffered an annoying tinnitus and severe headaches, caused by an abscess a the frontal sinus, which made it impossible for him to concentrate on his studies. Bernhard's mother Ella and his girlfriend Inna were kept well informed about the state of his health. In the summer of 1910, his mother consulted a physician in Jönköping, who prescribed cocaine for his sinusitis. On June 2, she sent the cocaine to Bernhard, together with this warning:

> You should dip a little wad of the attached cotton in cocaine and with a little peg push it up into your nose. But you must not repeat this manoeuvre too often, since cocaine, as you well know, is a potent poison.

In a letter to Inna, Bernhard writes that it feels as if he were running in water whenever he sits down to study. In a letter of May 1, 1912, he complains about his headaches and fears that they have transformed him from "a man with a considerable talent for linguistics, a so-called 'promise,' into a miserable mediocrity, who can hardly concentrate on what he is reading and has lost his power of observation; yes, it is plainly horrible." When attacks of poor health forced Bernhard to abstain from studies and research, he read fic-

tion of the most varied kind. In letters to Inna, he informed her of his reading and also tried to direct her choice of literature. On November 26, 1909, Bernhard writes from St. Petersburg:

> Literature, well! You consider that England lacks good literature—that is something *noch nie dagewesenes!* Now listen, if you are capable of reading Minna von Barnhelm, which is rather boring, if you don't mind my saying so (it is mainly interesting as a document of cultural history, the first genuinely national work to have been written in German), you could hardly turn up your nose at good old Shakespeare, or would you? I am myself no Shakespeare enthusiast, so I would rather recommend something newer. I am referring to Dickens, a wonderful fellow. *David Copperfield* is widely read, but I definitely prefer *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club,* a real masterpiece. *Oliver Twist* and *A Tale of Two Cities* I have not read, but I have heard them praised. . . . Again, you have Kipling, who is splendid. I especially recommend his *Just-so Stories.* Older but not less good are Thackeray and Bret Harte, from whose works you would derive benefit. There is also Oscar Wilde who is harder to read. Of his works you may manage The *Portrait of Dorian Gray.* Others of his works, especially *The Decay of Lying,* I do not recommend. They are hard to penetrate and also presuppose a certain classical education.

During his journey to China, Bernhard mainly read works in English, "such as a heavy novel by Corelli, entitled *Thelma.*" In Taiyuan, where he mainly relied on Professor Nyström's library, he read Scandinavian literature and also "*The Three Musketeers* in French." In Taiyuan, Bernhard also had access to the Swedish paper *Dagens Nyheter,* which he read with the greatest interest. He often encouraged Inna to read books whose reviews appealed to him.

On April 9, 1911, Bernhard reported that he was reading the philosopher *Mencius,* with a commentary in Latin.[1] He had just finished reading *La dame aux camélias* ("an exceedingly moving and well written book"), and had started on Nietzsche's *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* ("You must have heard about him?"). A few weeks later he was reading *Die Geschichte der Philosophy,* "a 500–page excellent introduction to philosophy," and the classic work *Paul et Virginie,* by Saint-Pierre.

Bernhard confessed that what he so far had read of Chinese literature had failed to impress him. The tales he read were either obscene or else mere adventure stories, lacking any attempt at character delineation. Some verses from the oldest poetry of China he found "rather neat," but they could not compare with "the loveliness of Homer."

After the summer vacation of 1911, Bernhard read Ruskin's essays, "mainly on art," which he found "charming." In the autumn of the same year, he studied China's oldest poetry:

> One of the most remarkable products of Chinese poetry is the so-called *Book of Songs,* an anthology of poetry from 1700–600 before Christ. These poems do not, of course, retain their original charm when translated into a modern language. Each line consists of four monosyllabic words, and each verse contains four lines.

In a letter to Inna of October 25, 1911, Bernhard presented a metrically and otherwise perfect translation of the first song in the anthology.

The Great Questions

In his letters to Inna, Bernhard discusses such philosophical, political, moral, and cultural questions as happen to occupy his mind. While preparing for his journey to China, he writes:

> If you remember the last time we discussed my grand idea, the great principle, you know, which makes me long for coherence in everything, makes me wish that everything would fall in its right place, not only the phenomena of life, but everything that I deal with, the study of languages, for instance, I have to my great disappointment found that *nothing* is logical, least of all myself, and that it therefore is impossible to find a formula to cover everything. A language is never logical. . . . In all languages there is an assimilation trend which may transform an expression such as "spritt-spångande galen" (completely mad) into "spritt-språngande galen." At the same time there is a dissimilation trend, which has turned "litle" (little) into "liten." Utterly illogical!

In his letter to Inna of June 4, 1910, Bernhard comments on the similarities of the material culture of China and the Western world:

> When I arrived here I was not at all struck by the great cultural differences, which everybody insists on. To the contrary, I am utterly surprised that China's material culture is so similar to our own. Already in 2,000 B.C. the Chinese used the forearm as a measure of length, and divided it into inches. Is not such a detail wonderful?

In a letter from Taiyuan, dated September 8, 1910, Bernhard discusses the question of man's free will, "this the most dangerous and irreparable inconsequence in the Christian faith":

> A human being is in a given situation faced with a choice between what we call good and evil. If she is able to make her choice of her own free will, then morality, i.e., the capacity to act in accordance with the principle of the good, exists. If it, however, from beginning of time is decided how she will act in each given case, then morality obviously does not exist, nor does the distinction between good and evil. Since she cannot choose between good and evil, she obviously cannot choose between "God and the Devil," which means that she cannot of her own free will be religious, nor can she, even though prodded by God, decide whether she wants to or not. God must therefore, if everything is decided beforehand, either force her to be religious or repudiate her. This is the theory of the double predestination. . . . Christians are forced to believe in fate, while at the same time the very nucleus of their faith declares they do not. Which is rather distressing.

Through *Dagens Nyheter,* Bernhard was able to follow the political developments in Sweden. In a letter of March 12, 1911, he learned that the Swedish prime minister had behaved like a swine when he refused to permit Parliament to debate the question of women's right to vote. While he was not at all convinced that women would do well in political life, he felt that they ought to be given a chance to prove their capacity. "And," writes Bernhard, "it would give me extreme pleasure if they to my surprise would prove capable."

On April 23, 1911, Bernhard tells Inna of one of his reading experiences:

> Today Mencius presented an argument, the sound simplicity of which impressed me. As you know, the Western world has always discussed whether human nature is good in itself, or whether man is afflicted by original sin, as Christianity says. Mencius insists that man's nature is good. "Any human being," he says, "who sees that a little child is about to fall into a well, is frightened, takes pity on the child and rushes forth to save it, not in order to be rewarded by the child's parents, or for fear of being considered unfeeling, but from a natural impulse, which reveals his real nature." Rather ingenious, I think.

In a long letter from London, dated April 1912, Bernhard discusses the question of guilt and punishment:

> If I grab an axe and go out to kill a man, I am equally immoral whether I am unskilful enough to hit the tree behind which he takes cover or really do succeed in killing him. But my punishment will not be the same, as *the Law* is a formal institution that cannot punish intentions, since they so rarely can be established. But you must agree that morally I am equally wretched. Again: If that man happens to be as wretched as I am and exactly at the same time comes out to kill me, it surely does not improve my morals. I have never heard that two blacks make one white!

Self-Searching

In his letters to Inna from the years 1908–14, Bernhard sometimes quite freely comments on his own character traits. On December 21, 1908, he writes:

> I find it quite hard to believe how gloomy I was in my schooldays. That was due to the fact that I constantly longed for and dreamed about beautiful things. But everything that I thought was beautiful when looked at from afar, became so ugly when I got close to it. It is odd how this mania has stuck to me since I was a child. One summer morning, when I was ten years old, I thought that the cliffs at the foot of mount Taberg looked so lovely that I spared no pains to get there. But once I got there I

> found that they were rough and ugly, and I felt so utterly unhappy when I realized that I could not appreciate beauty close at hand.

Bernhard may have inherited his gloominess from his father. In a letter to Bernhard of November 29, 1910, in which his mother worried about the health of her daughter Hilma, she writes:

> I cannot fail to notice that she is frail in both body and mind. She has inherited her father's gloomy mood, his reserve, his contemplative nature and his pessimistic outlook on life. I do believe that you are afflicted in the same way. But your mind is no doubt sounder than hers.

A few months later, Bernhard's mother reverts to the question of Hilma's health:

> Hilma fulfills her duties every day, but she does it without any joy of life. She no doubt belongs to that category of people (like her father) who constantly must live on the shady side of life and freeze for lack of sunshine. My poor little girl!

The days before his departure for China, Bernhard spent in Gothenburg. On February 25, 1910, he writes:

> I spent Saturday in Gothenburg seeing the collection of paintings in the Gallery, which I enjoyed very much. It seems to me much more interesting than that of the National Museum in Stockholm. That is the only value judgement that I dare pronounce. And I am the first to admit, that I am utterly incapable of producing an objectively valid judgement. But I refuse to learn by heart the judgements of others, as every other person in Sweden does nowadays. I find that detestable.

On April 28, 1910, Bernhard writes to his girlfriend Inna from Shanghai:

> You know how disgusted I get by anything bombastic, and how, whenever topics such as duty, morality etc., are touched upon, I simply have to joke in a skeptical, caustic, and nasty tone in order not to be disgusted with myself. Have you noticed that trait in my character?

Having described social life in Taiyuan, Bernhard, not yet twenty-one years old, in a letter to Inna tells her how he manages to keep his colleagues at arm's length:

> You must not let them look at your cards, but always make them believe that you are the kind of person who is hard to get to know. If you give yourself away to every Tom, Dick, and Harry, you always feel bad afterwards. You should be grateful for every kindness shown to you, but at the same time see to it that you treat all but yourself and those close to you with a half-disinterested disdain. That is what I have found to be the best way, and what I try hard to achieve.

The young Bernhard did not hide his light under a bushel. In a letter to Inna of April 2, 1911, he brags openly about his skill in using others for his own purposes:

> Nyström, himself a veritable American when it comes to smartness, has said to Warrington that he admires my business capacity. You back home are unable to appreciate the skill with which I have used Lundell and through him have got 2,500 Crowns from the Swedish government for doing nothing, and how by acting resolutely I persuaded Broström, one of Sweden's foremost businessmen, to give me a free passage to China, and how by utilizing the strangest circumstances I landed this job here in Taiyuan. But Nyström, who knows his way in business, also knows what my tricks are worth. Without wanting to brag, I cannot but laugh heartily when I think about how well I have managed these matters.

Bernhard had also apparently bragged about his ability to exploit others in letters to his mother, who did not hesitate to reprimand her son. In a letter of May 7, 1911, she writes:

> My beloved son! I thank you for your two letters. The first of these contains a line of reasoning which requires that in responding I weigh my own experience of a long life against the principles which you propound therein, which—you must forgive me—bear witness to your immaturity and blind trust in your own judgement. But as Anton at the age of 29 embraces and makes use of the same principles as you consider your own, how could I expect more wisdom from a young man of 21. If I have understood your reasoning correctly, you profess to adhere to this

> maxim: "every person is the architect of his own fortune." Or this maxim: "help yourself and others will help you!" All right, there may be half a truth in that sentence, but only half. My experience is this: . . . As long as you catch the wind and everything goes well, then you may stand on your own feet and trust to your own ability and talent. But when distress and adversity are imminent, then you are extremely grateful and happy if good people give you a hand. Then you will gladly grasp a brother's helpful hand. And there are, thank God, human beings who are genuinely kind and who can prove their love for their neighbour without entertaining selfish motives. You refer to Professor Lundell, when you wish to prove your point. You are no doubt right when you suggest that his interest in you would have been very slight, had you been a blockhead or even a second-rater. Dan Broström's kindness toward you may certainly also be considered a "dubious favor." In order to meet you half way, I am ready to call it "smartness." But let me take another example: was Bengtson, the missionary, "smart" when he took you in and took good care of a young stranger, asking only for a slight remuneration? What kind of business *Geschäft* made my anonymous benefactor year after year support me and my fatherless children, saving us from poverty, not to say utter destitution? Do I need to adduce more examples? I believe that you, when you have come to your senses, will be forced to agree that we human beings cannot make ourselves independent of each other, and that we, above all, are dependent on God. Who but He has given you the intellectual powers that qualify you to embark on a project such as yours? Who has maintained your physical and mental powers and guaranteed success in your work? That you for your part have well used what God has given you, redounds to your credit, and that gladdens my heart. But you own nothing that is not a gift of God.

Even kind Aunt Natalia on occasion found it necessary to tell her nephew off. In a letter of March 28, 1911, she admonishes her nephew, while at the same time thanking him for his letters:

> The only thing that I do not like in them is that they contain a few "dirty" words, which I would rather that you give back to the rascals in the country of wolves. They do not become a fine young man. Nor do they become old men, for that matter.

In a letter to aunt Natalia, Bernhard must have told her about his best friends in Taiyuan, two fox terriers: Taku,

who belonged to Nyström, and Buddha, his own. In the letter quoted above, Natalia also writes:

> How glad I am that you have got a little dog. I hope that you are not too severe when you teach him to be clean. You must consider that, "one cannot hold what is not in one's hand," and that the poor animal cannot inform you of his need. You must treat him with compassion!

In spite of the fact that Bernhard did not feel at home in Taiyuan, he realized that his sojourn there was useful. On May 22, 1911, he writes:

> No one could be gloomier than I was from the beginning. I never felt at home in Uppsala and could never learn to control my temperament when I was at home. But by now I have had to learn that hard lesson.

During the late spring of 1911, Bernhard read Nietzsche's *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft,* a work that he found fascinating and that possibly helped to alleviate his fickle mood. In a letter of June 4, 1911, he paraphrases Nietzsche:

> The thinker sees his own actions as *attempts,* and as *questions* that will give him access to the key to a certain problem. Success or setback are to him above all *answers* to his questions. But to get annoyed at a setback and regret it, *that* he leaves to those who act on the order of others and who expect a flogging if their worthy master is displeased with the result. Damned good.

In the autumn of 1911, Bernhard worried about a problem that no scholar can avoid facing. On August 9, he writes:

> *Could* I but forget myself for my research, then I believe that I might be able to produce something of value. This is one of the most difficult problems to solve in this world, Inna. On the one hand, a man's work demands that he must give up and forget himself in order to pursue it. On the other hand, everybody is in urgent need of advancing his own person, of being famous, through his labor to earn money and thereby to win the woman he loves. To combine these two needs is difficult enough. . . . "A man's work and a women's love, the two are inimical from the beginning of time," that is the motto of Hjalmar Söderberg's drama, *Gertrud.*

In a letter to Inna from London, dated March 6, 1912, Bernhard touches upon a trait of character that probably caused him much distress:

> You know how I am. Mother and most of my brothers and sisters are the same. The grossest of insults we cannot take offence at for more than a couple of hours, however hard we try, and then it is all forgotten. But tactlessness, no matter how trifling and unimportant, may torment us for weeks, and even for years, when you happen to remember it. And this, *nota bene,* is how it should be. Anyone may lose his or her temper, but a noble person or a person in love cannot be tactless. Just as much as being subjected to tactlessness, we are tormented by subjecting others to it.

In a letter to Inna, dated in Paris on March 1, 1914, Bernhard mentions that he has met one of his former schoolmates with whom he could never get along:

> In our schooldays he was a highfaluting nincompoop. Although he has retained some of his stuck-up manners, he seems to have got a lot more in him now and therefore his snobbery may be partly forgiven. That he has an unflinching faith in his own capacity I do not consider snobbery, since that is a meritorious quality, without which you won't get anywhere. You have to exaggerate your own importance to yourself, otherwise you will fight a losing battle and end up dead.

But it is not always easy to follow that rule of conduct. In April 1914, Bernhard writes:

> Yes, time slips through your fingers, and you have not done a tenth of what you wanted to do. I think that what will cause you the greatest sorrow in your old age, is that you have only used one chance out of ten *to leave traces of yourself in research and development.* So many precious days and hours spent in idle pursuits, when you should have marched straight ahead with bold steps, looking neither right nor left, and without listening to that paralyzing voice of the devil from the innermost recesses of your brain: vanity of vanities.

While he worked hard on his thesis, Bernhard sometimes wondered what it was that he had taken on. In a letter to Inna of September 13, 1914, he confesses that he is jealous of his sister Anna's husband, the clergyman Arthur Jonsson:

> Just think how well Arthur is doing for himself. There is no single day when he cannot spend either the morning or the afternoon in light reading. (I can see him before my eyes, sitting in the meadow, perusing one book after another), and when he now and again works it means a pleasant stroll, interrupted by a quarter of an hour's chat with a sick old woman; it must be rather monotonous, though. Oh yes, on Friday and Saturday he has to prepare the sermon for Sunday. How agreeable to be able to dispose of one's time in that way!

When Bernhard felt depressed, he found solace in music. He played piano, violin, and flute. The flute followed him to China, where he mainly played Handel, accompanied by a colleague who played the piano. Having listened to *Romeo and Juliet* at Covent Garden in the spring of 1912, he writes to Inna:

> It was of course heavenly! . . . Music is not some bric-a-brac, as people at home so recklessly assert. . . . When people talk of music as something not part and parcel of all-round education I get furious.

Bernhard, who retained his interest in music throughout his life, had absolute pitch, a gift that was of great help to him in his investigation of Chinese dialects. But absolute pitch (or synesthesia) is not entirely a blessing. In one of Bernhard's novels, which will be discussed in more detail below, he lets the leading character, the young linguist Magnus Bruun, describe how the different keys taste:

> Don't you think that each key has its own taste? Take for instance "Brudefärden i Hardanger" in A major. If the choir sings it correctly, it tastes like pure and delicate vanilla ice-cream, sweet but not too sweet, fresh, but a little spicy. But if it is transposed one half-step higher, into B major, it sounds ridiculous, quite comical. B major should taste like almonds, rather like bitter almond. . . . Sing it in D or A major, and it becomes sweet and ludicrous. When a choir sinks, I feel nauseated.

Bernhard's keen ears entailed that he suffered from all kinds of discordant sounds. In a letter to Inna of May 18, 1913, he urges her not to write "enkel" (simple) as "änkel":

> I know of nothing more horrible than when people pronounce the word "enkel" with an open ä-sound. It jars upon my ears, as

> when one tears a piece of cloth, or a lock squeaks, or one touches velvet with split nails or bites a buttered woollen blanket.

Bernhard Karlgren wanted to be Sweden's first Sinologist. While he was well aware of his own ability, he would rather that competitors kept away from the arena. In a letter to Inna of December 14, 1913, he sent her a clipping from *Dagens Nyheter* containing his review of Harald Svanberg's *Chinese literature: Essays and translations* (1913). Svanberg, who had done a doctorate at Lund University on his thesis *Swinburne, A Study* (1909), had studied Chinese under the missionary Erik Folke, and even studied in China for a few months in 1913. His book contains two essays, "Chinese literature" and "The fundamental ideas of Confucius," together with some translations, among them a tale from the Ming anthology, *Jingu qiguan* ("Strange tales from the present and the past"), one tale from Pu Songling's work *Liaozhai zhi yi* ("Strange tales from the study of leisure") (which texts Bernhard Karlgren later on would use in his teaching at Gothenburg University), and one scene from the play *Pipaji* ("The song of the lute"). Bernhard's review is rather negative and written in a condescending style. In his letter to Inna, he writes: "It is a pity that Svanberg is not a humbug; it makes things worse." From several letters to Inna in the spring of 1913, it emerges that Bernhard looked upon Svanberg as a serious rival. Two years later, Bernhard was given an opportunity to do Svanberg a friendly turn, which he tells Inna about in a letter of October 11, 1915:

> Last Friday while I sat at the Royal Library, an amanuensis came and asked if the national librarian Dahlgren could disturb me for a moment, which I gracefully granted. His query concerned an honorarium to Svanberg, whom I now know as an exceedingly kind, harmless and hard-working man, as remuneration for a catalogue of Chinese books which he had compiled. I told Dahlgren that I had gone through the catalogue carefully, that it was done with great care, without any serious mistakes, and that an honorarium therefore would not be amiss. I hope that Svanberg will be grateful for my help.

Considering the worry that Bernhard Karlgren had felt over the potential rival Svanberg, it is surprising that Ebbe Tuneld

is mentioned only twice in Bernhard's letters available to me, and then without reference to Tuneld's Chinese studies. Having completed a licentiate degree in 1905, Tuneld joined the staff of the *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok* ("SAOB, The historical dictionary of the Swedish Academy"). In 1912, he was given an opportunity to study under the famous Indologist and Buddhologist, Herrmann Oldenburg, in Göttingen, who based his Buddhistic studies on canonical Pali texts from Ceylon. A rival school, the prime representative of which was Sylvain Lévi, professor in Sanskrit at the Collège de France, asserted that the Sanskrit canon from Nepal constituted the authentic version. In his *Une langue précanonique du Bouddhisme* ("A pre-canonical Buddhist language," 1912), Lévi repudiated Oldenburg's point of view. Tuneld made up his mind to determine the relation between the southern Pali canon and the northern Sanskrit canon through a comparative study of available Chinese and Tibetan texts. In November 1912, Tuneld arrived in Paris, where he soon came into contact with Sylvain Lévi and Edouard Huber (1879–1914), professor in Indo-Chinese philology at the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, who in 1908 had been awarded the Stanislas Julien Prize for his translation of the *Lankavatara* sutra into French. Tuneld and Huber soon became very good friends. For a whole year, Tuneld studied Chinese under Huber. He made a deep impression on Sylvain Lévi and other Orientalists at the Collège de France. Fredrik Böök (1883–1961), professor of literature at Lund University and a member of the Swedish Academy, has written a biography of Ebbe Tuneld, from which I quote:

> In November of 1915, in Paris I met with Sylvain Lévi and Antoine Meillet who, during family dinners to which they kindly invited me, informed me of their views on Tuneld's studies. They told me with one voice that they had never come across anyone who in such short time had acquired such good command of Chinese. Previously they would have been disposed to deny the possibility of such rapid progress. It was a judgement given by two scholars who have had almost all contemporary Sinologists as their disciples.

Tuneld never completed his Chinese studies. The work on the SAOB, for which he became editor-in-chief in 1920, ab-

sorbed most of his time. In a letter to Inna of August 29, 1915, Bernhard writes:

> Tuneld in Lund serves as editor of SAOB, concurrently with his academic position. For this job he receives 6,000 Crowns a year; he has to work 6 to 7 hours a day (intellectual work) and enjoys only 6 week's holiday a year. I do not know whether he should be congratulated or not.

Ebbe Tuneld and Bernhard Karlgren maintained sporadic contact in the 1920s. According to a handwritten copy of *Accounts of the Family B & E Karlgren's household expenses 1916–1921,* in February 1919, Bernhard Karlgren received first two hundred and thereafter fifty crowns from Tuneld, presumably in remuneration for contributions to the SAOB.

6
The Scholarly Breakthrough

Uppsala or Paris?

The intellectually stimulating milieu and the excellent resources for Sinological research that Paris afforded may have contributed to the fact that Bernhard Karlgren seriously considered aiming at a career there. Lundell, who initially advised Bernhard to aim for a doctorate at the Sorbonne, later tried to dissuade him from those plans and instead pursue a position at Uppsala University. During a visit to Uppsala in the late summer of 1914, Bernhard discussed his plans with Nathan Söderblom, who had been appointed Archbishop of Sweden the same year, and with Professors Noreen, Danielsson, and Wiklund, who all declared that they shared the opinion of Professor Lundell. Söderblom, who had served as professor in the history of religion at Leipzig University, knew the Leipzig Sinologist August Conrady well. According to Bernhard, Conrady was "a man in his mid-50s, thus too old to have been called up for military service, competent, likable, who most likely would enjoy a trip to Sweden, especially when invited by the Archbishop."

In spite of the attempts to make Bernhard realize that Uppsala would be his best choice, he does not seem to have given up his plans for a career in France. In a letter to Lundell of October 18, 1914, he writes:

> I have just received a letter from Professor Chavannes in Paris. He tells me that the courses will begin on December 1, as usual, and that Professor Pelliot, who is fighting the war, will not offer any courses this academic year. Evidently he cannot serve as examiner of my thesis. Chavannes points out that a doctoral thesis may be defended in Paris, even though Pelliot is absent (he himself, Meillet, Sylvain Lévi, and others, are all there).[1]

Bernhard was probably quite relieved when he learned that in all probability Pelliot would be unable to accept the task of serving as his examiner. In a letter to Inna of February 1, 1914, he writes:

> It would not be too pleasant to have Pelliot as examiner, partly because he knows the subject very well, and partly because he is a very proud man. He considers almost all Sinologists, with the exception of himself, Chavannes and a couple of others, as unskilled labourers, whose task it is to collect and prepare material for a few chosen scholars, who draw the quintessence from it. The highest praise I can expect from him is that my work is "useful," that much I know beforehand. Chavannes, on the other hand, is much more modest and would no doubt judge my work with less presumption. Unfortunately, he is not much of a linguist, but rather an historian and archaeologist, so Pelliot will most likely come to play the first fiddle. But both are of course very kind and benevolent.

The prospect that Pelliot might serve as his examiner obviously worried Bernhard. On January 24, 1915, he writes to Inna:

> Today I shall write to Chavannes and ask him if Pelliot is still alive. He is bound to be, as it would take more than a war to finish him off. Besides, it would be too beastly if they were to kill such a good scholar.

One month later, Bernhard writes:

> Yesterday I had a letter from Chavannes. Pelliot is in the best of health. He serves on the staff of General French, on account of his excellent English, I imagine, and there he is hardly exposed to any major risk. I only hope that the war will continue yet some time, so that he cannot serve as my examiner![2]

The war also impeded contact with Conrady and other scholars who might be invited to serve as examiners. In a letter to Nathan Söderblom of February 14, 1915, Bernhard writes:

> Referring to our conversation last autumn, when you advised me to defend my thesis in Uppsala and thereby qualify for an ac-

ademic post at the university, I now wish to inform you that my thesis will be printed in a couple of months time and that the defence could well take place in May.

You were kind enough to promise your assistance in regard to the contracting of a foreign examiner; I should be exceedingly grateful for your valuable help in this matter.

Professor Pelliot in Paris, who is conscripted, I have not been able to contact since the war began. Lately, even Professor Chavannes has been unreachable. Neither of these two scholars can be called upon to serve as examiner.

In the first place, Professor Conrady in Leipzig ought to be kept in mind. Professor de Groot would hardly agree to serve as examiner for a linguistic work, otherwise he would have done fine. Professor Forke of the Seminar für orientalische Sprachen in Berlin is a practical teacher without scholarly training and is therefore out of the question.[3]

There is a special reason why I bring up this matter so early. From the papers I have learned that you will function as Chancellor of Universities until the end of March. It would be of the greatest value to me if my case (I do have to write a formal application) could come up before the Faculty before that date, especially as it may prove impossible to get hold of an examiner.

As far as I understand, the faculty may then *either* find an examiner itself—Professor Noreen was of that opinion—*or* forgo the demand for a public defense of the thesis. In the former case, the thesis would have to be submitted to the judgement of foreign experts, for example, Professor Chavannes, Dr. Conrady, Professor de Groot.[4] The latter alternative is neither improper nor illegal—especially since the Uppsala linguists are competent to judge my work—and as the University Statutes only demand that the candidate for the academic post of docent shall have "proved his scholarly competence." I cannot see that a public defense of the thesis is necessary. Professor Lundell, who never defended a thesis, proves my point.

In an undated reply, written on Bernhard's letter, Nathan Söderblom writes:

As soon as I have got a clear idea of the matters involved I shall inform you whether the public defense is considered so important that an expert Sinologist must be brought here. For my part I cannot, for the time being, find this absolutely necessary, but

> shall, if so needed, do my very best to get Professor Conrady to come here. The prospect of soon being able to reckon with a competent Sinologist on the staff of the university gives me much pleasure.

On February 19, Bernhard Karlgren again writes to Söderblom to express his gratitude for his swift response:

> It would of course be very advantageous for me if the matter could be arranged without the expensive and complicated public defense.
> I take the liberty to attach a copy of a testimonial, provided by Professor Chavannes in Paris. As he without any question must be considered as the greatest of now living Sinologists and the creator of the scholarly field of Sinology, it may be of some interest.

The copy of Chavannes' testimonial, which is dated October 7, 1914, and whose agreement with the original was confirmed by Bernhard's sister, Anna, and her husband, Arthur Jonsson, reads as follows:

> M. Bernhard Karlgren a suivi pendant deux ans mes cours au Collége de France ansi que ceux de M. Pelliot; mon collègue et moi avons pu apprécier les connaissance approfondies de ce jeune savant et ses rares qualités de philologue. M. Pelliot est parti, appelé par ses obligations militaires; je ne doubte pas que, s'il etait a Paris, il ne se joignît à moi pour donner à M. Karlgren l'attestation de notre haute estime. Les circonstances actuelles ont retardé l'apparition d'un important travail de M. Karlgren sur la phonologie chinoise; quand ce livre aura paru, il assurera à son auteur une place très honorable dans les études sinologiques.
> Mr. Bernhard Karlgren has for two years taken my courses, as well as those of Mr Pelliot; my colleague and I have been able to appreciate the deep knowledge of this young scholar and his rare qualities as a philologist. Mr Pelliot has left Paris on military duties; if he were in Paris I am certain that he would join me in expressing our high regard for Mr. Karlgren. Present circumstances have delayed the publication of an important study by Mr. Karlgren on Chinese phonology; when this book has been published it will assure Mr. Karlgren an honored status in the field of Chinese studies.

On March 18, 1915, Bernhard was at long last able to inform Nathan Söderblom that Conrady had sent a telegram and declared himself willing to serve as examiner. Bernhard writes:

> I intend to ask Dr. Conrady what detailed knowledge he would demand for the licentiate degree. If he merely demands such knowledge as I may be able to revise in a short time, I may be able to gladden the Faculty with a proper licentiate degree, prior to the doctoral degree.

The public defense was set for May 15. In a letter to Lundell, Bernhard bitterly complains over the slow pace of the work by Brill in Leiden, which has undertaken to print the thesis. The hectic handwriting in Bernhard's letter to Lundell of March 25, 1915, betrays how irritated and anxious he is:

> As the public defense shall take place on May 15, the thesis must be printed and bound at the beginning of May. The transport from Leiden is bound to require some time. With this slow progress, we risk that the whole affair gets stuck, which would be fatal, as Professor Conrady, apart from serving as my examiner, also shall have to give the Olaus Petri lectures in Uppsala, whose date cannot be changed. It ought to be a trifle for a printing house such as Brill to set up and effectively correct what now remains in a few weeks, if only they were willing to set about it properly.

The Public Defense of the Thesis

On April 29, 1915, the Philosophical Faculty of Uppsala University requested the chancellor of Swedish Universities to sanction the curriculum for the licentiate examination in Sinology that the faculty had prepared. The next day, Nathan Söderblom, in his capacity of chancellor, sanctioned the curriculum, which had been authored by Conrady and translated into Swedish by Bernhard Karlgren. The knowledge required cannot be considered too extensive.

The requirements for the grade "pass" were:

a) Translation and explication of a relatively easy early classical or late classical text, alternatively a colloquial text from North China.
b) Sufficient knowledge of the grammar of the classical language and a general orientation on the linguistic status of the Chinese language.
c) Knowledge of the general principles of the Chinese script.
d) A general survey of China's history, cultural history, and literature.

For the grade "pass with merit," the requirements were:

> The requirements stated above, though considerably deepened. Translation and explication of both a more difficult early classical or late classical text and a colloquial text from North China; a firm command of the grammar of classical Chinese; a good acquaintance with the more sophisticated aids for the teaching of the language and the script; deeper knowledge of the major problems involved in the study of the Chinese language and script; a deeper knowledge of the development of China's history, cultural history and literature.
> For both these grades the candidate's special fields are taken into consideration in such a way that (potentially in connection with the thesis for the licentiate degree), one or more special topics, such as linguistics with its various branches (phonetics, pre-classical language, Indo-sinitic, etc.), paleography, religion, etc., are emphasized or prioritized, without compromising the general requirements mentioned above.

On the same day that the faculty sent the curriculum to the chancellor of Swedish Universities, Bernhard wrote this letter to Inna:

> I have had a letter from Conrady. His requirements are hard to meet. I have already handed in my application for a licentiate examination. What made me use a somewhat more optimistic tone in my application was that he wrote some beautiful words about my "interessante, inhaltsreiche und gediegene Abhandlung." If I manage, it will be mainly due to my thesis. I worry a great deal about the exam.

In the same letter, Bernhard informs Inna of yet another setback:

> Professor Wiklund, the dean, has declared that Conrady must stay in Uppsala at least nine days: the thesis may not be posted on the university notice board until after passing the licentiate degree and at least eight days before the public defense. God bless it! Conrady cannot stay here more than three days (20–22 May).

Bernhard would therefore have been obliged to travel to Leipzig and complete his licentiate degree there at the beginning of May. On the advice of Lundell, Bernhard traveled to Stockholm to put his case before the minister of education, who suggested that Bernhard apply to the faculty for permission to post his thesis before his examination. In an undated letter, which Bernhard sent to Inna about a week before the public defense of the thesis, he writes:

> The man (Conrady) seems to be a neurasthenic or a neuralgic. I intend to go Stockholm to meet him and get him drunk. Once he is drunk he may sign my examination book. The conferring of my doctor's degree will take place on May 31. According to an old custom, the fiancées of those promoted will gather at the student union and bind wreaths in the evening of May 30. . . . The defense of my thesis will begin at 10 o'clock in lecture-hall number 1. You ought to come early, since the whole of Uppsala will be there.

Bernhard worried about the examination. But having studied under native-speaking teachers in China and under Chavannes and Pelliot in Paris, meeting the requirements of the curriculum ought not have posed any difficulties whatever, since they had obviously been tailored for him. On May 20, 1915, Bernhard's licentiate degree was registered, with the highest grade. The examination had taken place the previous day. In a letter of February 19, 1995, Bernhard's nephew Hans Karlgren writes:

> It must have been quite an experience for Conrady to visit Uppsala in wartime and devote himself to such a peaceful task as examining a young scholar whom he had never met before. His first words when he met Bernhard were directed to himself rather than to Bernhard: "So ein junger Mann! So ein junger Mann!" (Such a young man! Such a young man!) . . . But the ex-

> amination did not proceed without friction. At the very beginning Bernhard was asked to translate a text put before him by Conrady. Bernhard has told me that he read the text, knew all the characters, but was utterly unable to make sense out of them. A complete blackout! Bernhard got frightened: what had he done? He had engaged all good forces, from the Archbishop on down, to organize the examination and the defense of his thesis in an extraordinarily short time, and now he is about to fail in the preliminary examination. The old professor, who of course knew that even the best of scholars can be struck by a blackout, showed no impatience, and after a while Bernhard collected his wits. The examination ended in a pleasant conversation.

On May 21, 1915, Bernhard Karlgren defended his thesis, which consisted of the first 388 pages of his *magnum opus, Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise,* the fourth and last part of which was published in 1926. At the defense, which lasted an hour and a half, Professor Lundell served as the second examiner. According to a report in the local press, Professor Conrady's examination consisted of "a few minor points of criticism, which were refuted in a most satisfactory manner." At the meeting of the faculty board immediately after the short ceremony, Professor Conrady ended his remarks with the following words about the quality of the thesis:

> Ich glaube nicht zu viel zu sagen, wenn ich sie als eine bahnbrechende und grundlegende, wirklich vorbildliche Behandlung des Gegenstandes bezeichne, und erlaue mir die beste Censur dafür zu beantragen.
>
> I believe that I do not say too much when I describe this thesis as a pioneering, fundamental, and truly exemplary treatment of the material, and I allow myself to propose the highest grade for it.

On Professor Conrady's recommendation, both the thesis and the defense of the same were awarded the highest grade. On the very day of the defense, the faculty decided to nominate Bernhard Karlgren to the position of docent in Sinology.

The Young Lecturer

One month after Bernhard's defense of his thesis, Professor Lundell informed him that his appointment as docent had been approved by the authorities. Bernhard immediately sent the following information to the university, asking that it be published in the catalogue of lectures to be given in the fall semester: "Docent B. Karlgren: Introductory course in Chinese: a general orientation together with a course in colloquial Chinese (free of charge and open to the general public)". The general public probably failed to attend Bernhard Karlgren's classes, but several of the language professors turned up on September 15, 1915, when Bernhard gave his first lecture. On the same day, he writes the following letter to Inna:

> I have today given my first lecture. As always, I left the preparations to the very last moment and it was not until late last night that I knew what I was going to talk about. As soon as I got up this morning I wrote it down. About 30 people attended my lecture, among them Lundell, Wiklund, Noreen and his son, and docent Charpentier. I was so nervous that I spoke twice as fast as I ought to, otherwise it was a brilliant lecture. I managed to cover a great deal, rejected all earlier characterizations of the Chinese language and showed that Chinese, like our own language, possessed a great many inflections. Noreen beamed with pleasure. The three professors agreed that my lecture was very comprehensive and clear. Wiklund complained that the presentation was poor, but the content he found excellent. So I am rather pleased. . . . I have applied for a scholarship amounting to 1,000 Crowns.

The letter is interesting in that it shows that, in 1915, Bernhard Karlgren already entertained a train of thought that he formulated in his paper "Le Proto-chinois, langue flexionelle" (1920). K. B. Wiklund, professor of Finno-Ugrian languages, attended Bernhard's courses from the fall semester of 1915 until the spring semester of 1917. Judging from the careful lecture notes preserved in his papers deposited in the Uppsala University Library, Bernhard knew how to keep his students busy. The first academic year

(1915–16) was devoted to grammar, analysis of characters, and colloquial texts. In the following academic year, Bernhard gave courses on both colloquial Chinese and classical texts. In the fall semester of 1917, he gave a course on newspaper Chinese. One week after his introductory lecture, Bernhard reports to Inna that Noreen had registered for his series of lectures:

> When Noreen many years ago took a course in Dutch, given by the young docent Psilander, the whole town talked about it and considered it an enormous distinction.

Bernhard received a very meager salary from the university. In mid-October, he writes to Inna about a plan that was never realized:

> If I were sensible I would travel to Germany and stay there a month over Christmas, get on good terms with de Groot in Berlin and eventually be able to threaten Uppsala with an offer from abroad. That would be the only way of getting money in a hurry.

Bernhard did not feel at home in Uppsala. On only a single occasion does he seem to have enjoyed himself tremendously. In a letter to Inna of November 23, he writes:

> Last Saturday the whole university was invited to a magnificent feast. Professor Schück's portrait, painted by Zorn, was unveiled at the University and afterwards a dinner was given in his honour at Hotel Gillet—150 persons, almost exclusively professors and docents—15 Crowns a person. It was absolutely necessary to attend the dinner, and it was great fun, brilliant eloquence and many new acquaintances. The large new café was filled with dinner tables and the whole affair was exceedingly festive. I did not get to bed until 3.30 in the morning. . . . Right now I am writing to Chavannes about that prize competition. I am going to compete, even though my chances are slim, as the French hate Sweden.

Bernhard did not compete in vain. In March 1916, he was awarded the prestigious Stanislas Julien Prize for his thesis.[5] Professor Chavannes was right when he declared himself convinced that Bernhard Karlgren's thesis would earn him recognition as a sound scholar.

The Struggle to Make a Living

On June 4, 1916, Bernhard and Inna could at long last get married. Ever since the fall of 1907, when Bernhard, then eighteen years old, had fallen in love with Inna (four years younger than himself), they had been forced to live apart from one another. In the years 1907–9, while Bernhard studied at Uppsala, they were able to meet now and again, during vacations. The following years, when Bernhard studied in St. Petersburg, China, London, and Paris, they had even fewer opportunities to meet. Bernhard's letters to Inna from those years reveal how much he missed her and how much he looked forward to the day when they could get married. Bernhard's mother, made wise by the experience of Anton's early marriage, tried to persuade Bernhard in her letters to wait until he could stand on his own feet. But Bernhard was as full of faith as he was impatient. In a letter to Inna of December 29, 1914, he writes:

> Sylvain Lévi and his charming wife started with a handful of francs a month! . . . When Mother and Father set up house, they did so for 300 Crowns (without linen and bedclothes, of course), so we could easily do it for between 800 and 1,000 Crowns.

The family archive does not contain a single letter from Inna to Bernhard. There is therefore no possibility of judging what she thought of an early marriage. No available sources tell how Inna reacted to Bernhard's letters, in which he, often in an paternalistic way, tried to steer her in directions that he himself found appropriate. He told her what to read and what not to read, dissuaded her from continuing her studies toward a high school graduation, and warned her against any kind of frivolous behavior. When Inna told Bernhard in a letter to London in the spring of 1912 that she had attended a dance party, Bernhard retaliated by telling her how he and a friend were going to spend a weekend outside London together with "some Swedish masseuses!"

While Bernhard was studying in Paris, Inna had already helped him make excerpts from dialect dictionaries. She had even learned to copy Chinese characters, something that greatly impressed Lundell. In a letter of March 29, 1914, Bernhard writes:

> Yes, it is great fun writing Chinese characters, once you have learned the trick. I always take great pleasure in tossing them off. One day I shall teach you a little Chinese, so that you can understand and appreciate the beauty of Chinese verse, these extremely short and delicate stanzas, which must be enjoyed in the original.

The same letter contains two strange remarks, which seem taken out of the blue:

> I shall never believe in the practical use of airplanes unless they can rise vertically from the ground and hover still in a given position in the air. This will be brought about by airscrews on vertical shafts. . . . French women consider men with a narrow neck, large heads and curly beards especially handsome. On the whole, it is strange to observe how men of a type that invites other men to punch them on the jaw are considered most charming by women, Strange, eh?

Bernhard's meager salary was clearly not sufficient to support the newly married couple. By the spring of 1916, Bernhard had started to teach in a mission school at Lidingö, outside Stockholm, a teaching post that earned him 150 crowns a month. In a letter to Inna of March 5, 1916, he complained about the long trips from Uppsala to Stockholm and from Stockholm to Lidingö: "It is an hour and a quarter between the Central Station and the school, two streetcars, one ferry and twenty minutes' walk." In order to earn a living and support his wife, Bernhard had to tour the provinces of central Sweden giving lectures on China. The various towns and the remuneration for each lecture—twenty-five crowns—are noted in the family account book, which was kept by Bernhard during the first year. From June 1916 until June 1917, Bernhard entered 1,075 Crowns as the proceeds of forty-three lectures in as many towns in central Sweden. The lectures were based on articles Bernhard had published in *Dagens Nyheter.* Even though these lectures did not demand lengthy preparation, the many journeys must have been a great drain on his health.

Regularly recurrent expenditures were twenty crowns a month to Bernhard's mother and temporary loans to Bernhard's old schoolmate, the poet Gideon Molin, who appar-

ently had to live from hand to mouth. On October 13, 1916, when the household purse had shrunk to thirty-nine crowns, Bernhard lent his friend nine crowns!

The Karlgren family's total income from June 1916 until June 1917 amounted to 8,498 crowns, which sum includes the Stanislas Julien Prize (863 crowns), a stipend from Uppsala University (1,150 crowns), and cash gifts from Bernhard's father-in-law (500 crowns). In order to meet the expenses in connection with the birth of Per Anton, on March 28, 1917, Bernhard had to borrow 100 crowns from his brother-in-law, the successful lawyer Axel T. Nilsson. In the first eight months of 1918, the family budget seems to have been very precarious. The total income during this period amounted to 4,067 crowns, or 508 crowns a month. In the same period, the financial support from Bernhard's father-in-law amounted to 1,600 crowns.

The Farsighted Planner

During the years following his doctorate, Bernhard had to spend much time earning his bread and butter. At the same time, he was keenly aware of the great tasks that awaited him in the Sinological field. In his paper, "Den sinologiska lingvistikens uppgifter och metoder" ("The tasks and methods of Sinological linguistics"), published in *Svensk Humanistic Tidskrift* ("Journal of Swedish Humanistic Studies"), Bernhard Karlgren reflects on the reason why it was not until 1915, when an academic post was established at Uppsala University, that Sweden created the basic conditions for the study of the Chinese language. The main reason for this was that Sweden had its most intimate scholarly relations with Germany, where Sinology, with the brilliant exceptions of scholars such as Georg von der Gabelentz and August Conrady, flourished relatively late. Another reason was that the Sinologists of the nineteenth century were mainly philologists, who devoted their research to the history, epigraphy, art, and religion of China. Had the nineteenth-century Sinologists instead been linguists, their results, according to Karlgren, would have been received with greater attention by Swedish philologists, who were strongly oriented toward

linguistics. In his paper, Karlgren further notes that Sinological linguistics had dealt foremost with principal topics such as elementary descriptive grammar and lexicography, while historical grammar, and above all, one of its important parts, historical phonetics, had been neglected. The time was ripe for a new order of Sinological linguistics:

> With absolute necessity, Sinology in more recent times has had the same bitter experience as other linguistic fields have had much earlier. Philology without linguistics is impossible. But that is not the whole truth. Linguistics, and especially historical phonetics, has proved to be an incomparably more indispensible aid to philology in the field of Sinology than in most other linguistic areas.

In order to describe the demands that this new order posed, Bernhard Karlgren gave a thorough analysis of the Chinese language and the characteristics of the Chinese script, together with a survey of the sources and the methodology that he himself used in his study of Chinese historical linguistics. In this paper, which Karlgren wrote when he had just started his career as a researcher, he outlines, with an almost prophetic eye, the program he would carry out step by step during his seventy-year career as a scholar. The paper is characterized by his realistic assessment of the progress of research and of the stern discipline to which the research worker must subject himself:

> From this survey of the rather strange tasks and methods of Sinological linguistics it ought to be evident that I have sketched narrow limits and mainly discussed the reconstruction of Ancient Chinese several centuries after the beginning of our era. I have deliberately applied this limitation. It is obvious that endless perspectives open up beyond this milestone, but the time has not yet come to study them. Any attempt to do so would be premature.
>
> Several optimistic gentlemen have tried to establish the relation between Chinese and certain other Asian languages—an elegant volume from one of England's best universities has recently, on the basis of a multitude of modern Chinese dialect forms, tried to prove that Chinese is related to Sumerian—and find themselves skating on thin ice. It goes without saying that one has to hurry slowly. Having taken the trouble of clarifying

the history of the Chinese language, one may then investigate its relation to languages with which we have good reasons to believe that it is related, such as the Thai languages and the Tibeto-Burman languages, and only thereafter aim at more distant goals. Only when we have arrived that far would it be worthwhile to speculate about problems related to the ethnic groups and languages of Asia at large.

7
The Gothenburg Years, 1918–1939

The First Years at Gothenburg University

In 1918, Gothenburg University received a donation of 185,000 crowns, which enabled the university to establish a Chair in East Asian Languages and East Asian Culture. Behind the donation stood a number of representatives of Gothenburg trade and industry and the Swedish East India Company in Stockholm. The Gothenburg papers suggested two strong reasons why the first Chair in East Asian Languages was established in Gothenburg: first, the East Asian collection in the Röhss Museum, which had been founded a few years earlier, provided valuable material for research in this field, and, second, Gothenburg served as the base for Sweden's commercial connections with the Far East.

The Röhss Arts and Crafts Museum had been founded with the aid of a bequest by Wilhelm Röhss (1834–1900) and a donation by Wilhelm's brother August (1836–1904). Hjalmar Wijk, a wealthy Gothenburg businessman who had contributed to the Chair in East Asian Languages, also donated funds for the erection of the museum building, which was inaugurated in 1916. Axel Nilsson, a former curator of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm, was appointed to head the Röhss Arts and Crafts Museum in 1914. The botanist and amateur ethnographer Thorild Wulff (1877–1917), who at the beginning of the twentieth century had undertaken an expedition to India and in 1908 had secured a docentship in botany at Stockholm University, was charged with the task of collecting objects for both the Röhss Museum and the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm. During 1912–14, he visited the Far East and brought home comprehensive collections. Bernhard Karlgren, who at that time could hardly

have had any expert knowledge of Far Eastern arts and crafts, was asked to evaluate the material that Wulff had collected for the Röhss Museum. In a letter to Inna of August 17, 1915, he expressed a rather negative opinion of the collection and of Wulff's achievements:

> Thorild Wulff's collections, which Wijk has partly paid for, will be housed in a museum that will be opened in a year's time. Wijk telephoned Axel Nilsson, who came to fetch me and showed me the Wulff collections. Many beautiful things, but also much shit. I managed to read the inscriptions on some of the things, but failed in most cases. It is a damned difficult field, that. . . . The fools thought that a great many things dated from many centuries B.C. Wulff had assured them that he had excavated some old graves on the sly and found the objects there! A bloody bluff! I did not want to assert that, but adopted an attitude of reserve, which evidently irritated Nilsson. Besides, Nilsson was mighty angry with Wulff, who had packed the things so badly that half were broken when they arrived. For mere rubbish he had paid fabulous sums, but some rare things he had got very cheap, as if by chance. "When he left Sweden he at least knew something, but when he came back he was more ignorant and impossible than ever," said Nilsson. The collection is worth 120,000 Crowns!

No formal committee of experts had been set up to evaluate the scholarly qualifications of the sole candidate for the Chair of East Asian Languages at Gothenburg University. But the office of the chancellor of the university had approached Professor August Conrady of the University of Leipzig and Professor Otto Franke of the Kolonial-Institut in Hamburg, requesting them to comment on the competence of Bernhard Karlgren. In their statements, these two scholars praised Karlgren's pioneering achievements in the fields of historical phonology and dialectology of China.[1] On September 21, 1918, Karlgren gave his inaugural lecture on the topic "Occidental propaganda in ancient China," which dealt with the early fate of Nestorianism.[2] Professor Erik Lönnroth (1910–), professor emeritus of history at Gothenburg University and a member of the Swedish Academy, has presented a nostalgic sketch of the idyllic intellectual milieu provided by the young university:

> When as a young student I enrolled at the university in 1928, I had to enter the office of the Rector, be greeted by him and receive my student certificate. The Rector, Otto Sylwan, professor in the history of literature, was an impressive man who commanded both veneration and fear. He was a giant, with a constant enigmatic smile, which hid all nuances of his disposition. In contrast, he spoke in a low and soft voice, which conveyed what he wanted to say in an absent-minded and often rather unclear form. When I much later learned to know him, I felt a deep sympathy for him: he was a man of great wisdom and subtlety. A student of our modern age must find it strange that each new student then, in 1928, had to be received as an individual by the rector of the university.[3]

During Bernhard Karlgren's tenure at Gothenburg University (1918–36), the university was almost totally dominated by the humanities, the only exceptions being Economics, Oceanography, and Botany. Linguistics was especially well represented, with Chairs in Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics, Latin, Greek, Nordic Languages, Swedish, German, English, Romance Languages, and East Asian Languages and Culture. The nonlinguistic departments comprised Philosophy, Pedagogy, History, Political Science, History of Literature, Art History, Classical Archaeology, and Ethnography. Several of these departments were headed by brilliant scholars.

Bernhard Karlgren's appointment to the Chair of East Asian Languages and Culture at Gothenburg University does not seem to have ameliorated the family's living standards. Bernhard was therefore forced to tour the provinces as lecturer. From January 1919 until June 1921, he gave no less than 160 lectures in Gothenburg and western Sweden, for which he received a total of 5,678 crowns. When Bernhard and Inna's daughter Ella Ingrid was born on December 13, 1919, the balance of the family budget was 1,515 crowns, which sum represented a month-and-a-half's salary for Bernhard. Before Bernhard left Uppsala, he had tried to earn some extra money through popular writing and translation. For his book *Ordet och Pennan i Mittens rike* (translated into English as *Sound and Symbol in Chinese,* 1918), he received a mere two hundred crowns. Together with Karl Michaëlsson, who was appointed to the chair of Romance

languages at Gothenburg University in 1937, Bernhard translated a long novel by H. G. Wells (*Mr Britling sees it through*), which was published in 1917, and for which he received the guaranteed sum of 145 crowns, entered into the family account book on May 22, 1918. This sum covered the monthly expenditures for local taxes and milk plus a box of headache tablets. The novel sold well and appeared in three editions in the 1920s. For his anthology *Kinesiska noveller om mandariner, kurtisaner och andra skälmar* ("Chinese tales about mandarins, courtesans and other rogues," 1921), Bernhard was paid 1,350 crowns, 325 crowns more than his monthly salary. For the Swedish and Danish editions of his *Östasien i 19:e århundradet* ("East Asia in the 20th century," 1920), Bernhard received the sum of 1,022 crowns. His scholarly works were less lucrative: an entry in the account book on May 22, 1918, shows that the sale of two copies of his *Mandarin phonetic reader in the Pekinese dialect, with an introductory essay on the pronunciation* yielded fifteen crowns.

During his first semester at Gothenburg University, Bernhard Karlgren gave a propaedeutic course in "High Chinese colloquial, the Peking variant of the language spoken in China north of the Yangtse kiang and in some areas to the south of the river." Apart from this course, which comprised four lectures a week, he gave five public lectures on topics treated in his *Ordet och pennan i Mittens rike* ("Sound and Symbol in Chinese"). In this work, with the aid of comparisons to the Swedish language, Karlgren describes in a learned and yet easily comprehensible way the main characteristics of modern Chinese colloquial and the structure of the logographic script. He touches on the strong phonological reduction that the language has undergone since the sixth century A.D. and discusses the effect of this phonological change on word formation in the language. In a final chapter, he discusses the syntactic structure and stylistic characteristics of the classical language. *Ordet och pennan i Mittens rike* received excellent reviews. K. B. Wiklund, professor in Finno-Ugrian Languages at Uppsala University, wrote a long review, published in the *Stockholms Dagblad* ("Stockholm Daily"):

> As far as I know, no work of a similar kind has ever been published in another European language. The closest equivalent

> would be the relevant articles in the latest edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, but while these articles are written in a concise encyclopedic style, Professor Karlgren's book excels in its easy, popular style which awakens the interest of the reader. The author not only presents already well known results of the investigation into the language and script of China, but also some new results of his own research. Linguists would be especially interested in his general characterization of the Chinese language, which contains certain features which have not been previously observed.

During the spring semester of 1919, Bernhard Karlgren gave a course in colloquial Chinese, based on his book *A Mandarin phonetic reader in the Pekinese dialect, with an introductory essay on the pronunciation* (1918). In the long introduction, he discusses the prosody of the Peking dialect, above all the tones and their different manifestations in connected speech, together with the distribution of stress and quantity in compound words and phrases, and within the syllable. Some of the prosodic phenomena described by Karlgren had not previously been observed, such as the relation between rising tone and a progressive distribution of quantity, and the falling tone and a regressive distribution of quantity. The *Reader* contains twenty tales in idiomatic colloquial, taken from textbooks that Karlgren himself must have used when he learned the language. The Chinese text has been transcribed into the phonetic alphabet invented by Lundell, which must have discouraged many students. During the academic year 1919–20, Karlgren gave a course in literary Chinese, based on tales chosen from the *Jingu qiguan* ("Strange tales from the present and the past"), an anthology published toward the end of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Karlgren's translations of four of these tales were published in 1921, under the title *Kinesiska noveller om mandariner, kurtisaner och andra skälmar* ("Chinese tales of mandarins, courtesans and other rogues"). In his preface to this translation, Karlgren is guilty of underestimating the literary value of colloquial literature:

> Although Chinese drama flourished in the 13th and 14th centuries, it never arrived at a greater degree of dramatic concentration, nor at a capacity for character analysis. With the novel

> it is even worse: Chinese literature hardly possesses a single really well-built novel, containing good descriptions of milieus and characters. Even the short story is put at a disadvantage: with the exception of modern attempts at imitating European models, those Chinese short stories acceptable from a modern viewpoint, can be counted on one's fingers.

As a pupil in high school, Bernhard Karlgren had already produced exceedingly sensitive translations of Greek poetry. It is therefore surprising that during his long career he translated so little of Chinese literature into Swedish. Apart from the Ming anthology referred to above, his translations of literary texts comprise one prose-poem by Tao Yuanming (365–427), an essay by Ouyang Xiu (1007–27), and the philosophical texts of literary value that are included in his works *Från Kinas tankevärld* ("From the Chinese world of ideas"), published in 1929, and *Religion i Kina* ("Religion in China"), published in 1964. His translations of excerpts from the work of the Daoist thinker Zhuang Zi are magnificent.

The course in translation into Chinese, which was given in the spring semester of 1920, was presumably conducted by a young Chinese whom Professor Oswald Sirén, the art historian, had brought to Sweden to help him with the translation of texts relevant to his book *Chinese on the Art of Painting.*[4] The courses given in academic years 1920–21 and 1921–22 comprised both literary and colloquial Chinese. In addition, Bernhard Karlgren taught the romantic seventeenth-century novel *Haoqiu zhuan,* set in the late Ming period, which narrates how the young hero Tie Zhongyu, who embodies the Confucian virtues, after many adventures is joined in matrimony with his beloved, the beautiful and virtuous Shui Bingxin.[5] The students were also acquainted with the Jesuit father H. Boucher's excellent textbook *Bousolle du langage mandarin* ("A compass to Mandarin," Shanghai 1919), which contains monologues and dialogues in idiomatic colloquial Chinese, for which the author was awarded the Stanislas Julien Prize in 1889.

On January 9, 1920, Bernhard Karlgren wrote a confidential letter to Professor Lundell, in which he discussed his plans to revisit the Far East. In the letter, he mentioned that he had written to the Japanese minister in Stockholm and

pointed out that, while the Japanese in a skillful manner had acquired Western science, they had neglected the study of their own and other East Asian languages. He felt that Tokyo University ought to embark on a comprehensive investigation of the East Asian languages, and the results (grammars, recording of texts, dialectal research, and folklore studies) ought to be published in a monograph series. This work must be based on a sound scientific footing. Karlgren offered to place himself at the disposal of the university for a period of two years. The first six months would be devoted to training in phonetics and fieldwork technique in the neighbourhood of Tokyo. Thereafter, he would direct a comprehensive linguistic project, covering the whole of Japan. At the end of the project, the students should devote themselves to recording and describing the Ainu language, which, according to Karlgren, was insufficiently known and threatened with extinction. He was anxious to point out that his plan was not informed by feelings of personal pride. He called attention to the facts that he himself was the only scholar in the Asian field who possessed the competence necessary for the project and that dialectology had nowhere reached such heights as in Sweden:

> As you can see, this is an impressive project for an investigation of East Asia on a grand scale; and, besides, a transplantation of *your* life work in a foreign and *vast* milieu, and, if it succeeds, a success for Swedish scholarship.

(Bernhard Karlgren ends his letter with the request that Lundell burn his letter after having read it.) The Japanese minister declared himself very interested in the project and promised to forward Karlgren's letter to Tokyo University. He also informed Karlgren that a Japanese zoologist, Professor Goto, would visit Gothenburg in the near future. Bernhard Karlgren met with Professor Goto, who became very enthusiastic and immediately wrote to a number of humanistic scholars at Tokyo University, among them the Buddhologist Anesaki Masaharu and the Pali scholar Takakusu Junjiro. Anesaki Masaharu (1873–1949), who Bernhard possibly met during his visit to Tokyo in 1922, was an eminent Buddhologist. In 1904, he had been appointed to a chair at his alma mater, Tokyo University, the first Japanese Chair in

the History of Religion. Takakusu Junjiro (1866–1945), who Bernhard also must have met during his visit to Tokyo, during 1890–97 studied Sanskrit and Indian philosophy under Max Müller at Oxford University. During 1899–1927, he served as professor in Sanskrit at Tokyo University. Bernhard Karlgren's fear lest the Ainu language be threatened by extinction appears to have been exaggerated. Kyosuke Kindaichi (1882–1971), professor in linguistics at Tokyo University, devoted most of his research to the history of the Japanese language and to the language and oral traditions of the Ainu people.[6]

Bernhard Karlgren may have requested that Lundell burn his letter (which Lundell luckily did not) because of fear that an uninvited reader might consider that he advertised himself and his ability too frankly. Unfortunately, Bernhard's grand plan came to nothing. Nor was he given an opportunity to devote all his time and energy to completing his *Phonologie*. His brother Anton's unfinished doctoral thesis apparently claimed much of Bernhard's spare time during the spring and summer of 1920. In a letter to Lundell of April 5, 1920, Bernhard writes:

> My errand today is to make an insistent plea supporting the printing of Anton's thesis. When I visited Stockholm some time ago I gained the impression that unless the matter is finalized this spring it will be impossible to persuade the man to see it through into print; above all he seems to be burdened by other undertakings, so the source of energy will have to be sought elsewhere, that is in me, provided that you are able to speed up the practical matters related to the printing.

During 1919 and 1920, Bernhard was forced to spend much time and energy on Anton's unfinished thesis. Among other things, he translated major portions of Anton's manuscript, presumably into French. The family account book shows that he received six hundred crowns from Anton for this work.

Back to the Far East

In March 1922, Bernhard set out on his second journey to the Far East. This time he traveled on the freighter *Ceylon,* and the route was the same as that followed by the *Peking* in 1910.

During the journey, Bernhard worked on his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (1923). After a short stay in Shanghai, he continued to Yokohama, then proceeded to Tokyo. In mid-May, he started taking lessons in both Chinese and Japanese. To his great delight, he realized that his colleagues at Tokyo University were well acquainted with his works. In a letter to Inna of May 26, he writes:

> I am in good health but find it hard to get enough time for my work. In four months' time I shall have not only to learn a new and terribly difficult language, but also study the people, the press, purchase books for our library, get to know Japanese scholars, gather material for newspaper articles, etc. . . . I take two hours of Japanese and one hour of Chinese a day, even Sundays.

Bernhard evidently found it hard to settle down as a beginning student. Two months and a great many lessons later, he writes: "Damn! It is terribly boring to cram the basics of a new language!" In July, Bernhard escaped from the summer heat in Tokyo and put up at an inn at the tourist resort of Karuizawa, situated on a high plateau on the southern slope of Mount Asama, about one thousand meters above sea level, where he stayed until the end of September. Soon after his arrival there, he was stricken with acute appendicitis. The surgical operation was complicated: not until the end of August was Bernhard able to leave his bed and resume his lessons with the teacher he had brought from Tokyo.

During his stay in Japan, Bernhard sent a number of accounts of his journey to a Gothenburg paper. In one of these, entitled "Preachers and proselytes in Japan: Notes on the religious circumstances in Japan" (1922), he severely criticizes the Protestant British, and above all the American, missionaries working in Japan. While the Catholic and Scandinavian missionaries as a rule are "righteous, good, and zealous men and women," he finds the British and American missionaries "surprisingly lazy, base, and devoid of enthusiasm":

> In the old cultures of East Asia, the missionaries have to combat an abundance of religious stuff, often of a very high standard, and only patient tactfulness, good education, liberal

> tolerance and a feeling for essentials, in contrast to matters not essential to faith, will get them anywhere. And that is exactly what they lack, these American farm-hands and maids, butchers and shoemakers, seamstresses and shop-girls who have come here to hand out spiritual gifts.

On September 20, Bernhard left Karuizawa. After short visits to the old cultural cities of Nara and Kyoto, he proceeded to Shanghai, where he purchased books for the Gothenburg University Library, gave a few lectures, and visited collections of Chinese art.

On November 2, Bernhard presented a lecture to the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, entitled "The Chinese script in the light of phonetics." Few turned up to listen to the learned lecture, but Bernhard felt certain that some of those who did would review his *Analytic Dictionary* and thereby "promote the sales of the book."

As was the case during his first journey to the Far East, Bernhard had to pinch and scrape. In a letter to Inna of November 10, he writes:

> I travel second class from here to Vancouver in Canada, and then by train to the east coast, where I take a boat to Liverpool. The ticket to Liverpool is already paid (1,860 Crowns) and I am so nervous that something will happen to cause me to lose this big sum of money.

Back at the Teacher's Desk

After his return from the Far East, during the spring semester of 1923 Bernhard taught both the *Liaozhai zhi yi* ("Strange Stories from the Leisure Studio") by Pu Songling (1640–1725) and the *Sanguozhi yanyi* ("Romance of the Three Kingdoms"), attributed to Luo Guanzhong, of whom little is known. Pu Songling's tales about beautiful and seductive fox fairies, ghosts, and other strange beings, written in a quasi-classical style, were immensely popular in learned circles. The eminent Czech Sinologist Jaroslav Prusek (1906–80) sat at Bernhard Karlgren's feet in Gothenburg during 1928–30 and attended his courses. Prusek has told me that it was Karlgren's course on the *Liaozhai zhi yi* that later

made him devote much time and energy to the investigation of Pu Songling's work.

During the spring semester of 1923, Bernhard Karlgren also lectured on the *Sishu* ("The Four Books"), namely *Lunyu* ("The Confucian Analects"), *Meng Zi* ("Mencius"), *Daxue* ("The Great Learning"), and *Zhongyong* ("The Doctrine of the Mean"), which since the Song period (960–1279) have been counted among the thirteen canonical works of Confucianism. The journey to Japan resulted, during the fall semester of 1923, in a course on colloquial Japanese and a series of public lectures on Japan past and present, which were offered concurrently with courses in literary and classical Chinese. The following semester, Bernhard offered seminars on the chronicle *Chunqiu* ("Spring and Autumn Annals") and the *Zuozhuan,* a text that since the Han period has been considered a commentary on the *Chunqiu.* The *Chunqiu* narrates in a laconic, dry-as-dust style the most important events in the feudal states that were formally under the control of the house of Zhou in the period 722–468 B.C. The *Zuozhuan* is not only the major source of knowledge of the history and society of approximately the same period, but also an unparalleled literary masterpiece. To Bernhard Karlgren, the *Zuozhuan,* probably written sometime between the years 468 and 300 B.C., and the Daoist work *Zhuang Zi* stood out as the greatest masterpieces of early Chinese literature.

In the following academic years, Bernhard Karlgren gave equal weight to courses on Chinese texts (colloquial and classical) and Japanese texts (colloquial and literary). During the spring semester of 1932, he offered a course in general phonetics, which was repeated in 1932 and 1938. These courses attracted a huge audience. That Karlgren decided to give his first course in phonetics was probably related to a letter of November 30, 1928, in which the eminent Chinese linguist Chao Yuen Ren requested his help in an urgent matter:

> I am now beginning a study of the Cantonese dialects under the joint auspices of Tsing Hua College and the Central Research Institute, Historical and Philological Division. As I am in the South only for a short period, we shall need a man who can be

> here permanently, to train the students to do research on the dialects. Can you recommend someone who has a good ear and a thorough training in both practical and some experimental phonetics, who can come here for some time to train students in phonetics? He need not know Chinese, but if he is interested in it, so much the better.

On June 6, 1919, Bernhard writes to Lundell, attaching Chao Yuen Ren's letter with the following comment:

> I send you a letter from a friend of mine, Professor Chao Yuen Ren, in case you know of some young man with a love of adventure who would like to see the world. The payment is not very great, but it is more than enough for one person, and the experience is worth a great deal—if it is a man with guts, it could be the beginning of a career in China. If someone contemplates the job, he should consult me concerning the practical sides of the matter.

During the 1930s, Bernhard Karlgren often lectured on classical texts with commentaries by the great exegetes of the Han period. The fact that from September 1, 1931, until August 31, 1936, Karlgren served as rector of the university does not seem to have reduced his teaching load, which generally exceeded what was required of a professor.

Bernhard Karlgren's lectures, which were open to the general public, attracted vast audiences. Tor Ulving, one of his former students, writes in a letter of January 2, 1995:

> I do not remember what it was that awakened my interest in the Chinese language. But Bernhard Karlgren's public lectures in the first half of the 1930s most certainly did much to enhance that interest. With his quite unique ability to treat an odd subject such as the Chinese language in a way that everybody understood, he was able to fill the great hall of the university with interested listeners. These years coincided with my studies at Gothenburg Higher Public School, when I became interested in languages, especially more "exotic" ones, such as Finnish and Persian. It was therefore quite natural that I took the opportunity to attend Karlgren's lectures, in order to gain some insight into a language which in all respects seemed exotic. I got hold of a copy of *Ordet och pennan i Mittens rike* (*Sound and Symbol in Chinese*), which I enjoyed tremendously. Through his *A Man-*

darin Phonetic Reader I tried to get an idea of how the language sounded.

At a reception following Bernhard Karlgren's farewell lecture at Gothenburg University in April of 1939, which dealt with Chinese loan-words in the Japanese language, he mentioned that, in the twenty-one years that he had lectured at the university, he had never needed to cancel a single lecture due to lack of students.

The Narrow Confines of the Society of Scholarship

In the spring of 1924, Bernhard Karlgren took the initiative to organize a West-Sweden Congress of Philologists, to be held at Gothenburg University on March 23–24 of the same year. A proclamation, probably authored by Karlgren and signed by all language professors at the university and a number of eminent linguists at Gothenburg Higher Public Schools, was sent out to "all interested philologists at Higher Public Schools in West-Sweden." The congress aimed to break the isolation that severely hampered high school teachers interested in pursuing research:

> Lacking really comprehensive and well equipped libraries and with only a limited time at their disposal for studies, what high school teachers urgently need is regular close contact with scholars in university cities, who are able to devote most of their time to research. Without such contacts, the high school teacher will find it difficult to follow the latest trends in his field; if he wishes to take part in scholarly production, he has difficulty finding proper topics for his research, and may therefore be discouraged from further study, which, on the other hand, also causes scholars working at the university to be isolated. In our country their number is so limited that they cannot, without detriment, do without contact with interested scholars among high school teachers.
>
> The aim of the congress is to break this twofold isolation and, through personal meetings and collegial exchange of ideas, to facilitate contacts and co-operation among university and high school teachers. The former will thereby to a greater extent

> than before gain interested scholarly collaborators within the country, a stimulating exchange of ideas, together with a clearer apprehension of the tasks of the Higher Public Schools and of the problems related to the training of teachers. The latter could gain better opportunities to keep abreast of more recent research, to receive university teachers' advice with regard to selecting proper topics for research, and better opportunities to participate actively in the current scholarly debate in newspapers and journals. The planned congress finally aims at strengthening the feeling of affinity between scholars in this country, co-ordinating their scholarly activities, rendering their cultural achievements all the more important, and thereby also enhancing their significance as factors in society.

With his background, Bernhard Karlgren had better prerequisites than most to appreciate the difficulties facing high school teachers who were interested in pursuing research. A few years later, he tilted at the unfair treatment of the humanities, and especially philology, by the Swedish academies. In an article entitled "Academies and research in the humanities," published in *Svenska Dagbladet* on December 20, 1928, he writes:

> It is not merely a matter of pride, that a scholar wishes to have his subject represented in the official academies, and—provided that he is an eminent scholar—wishes himself to become a member of them. Apart from the standing they bestow on their members (in itself no mean stimulus), academies play an important role. They often handle important funds, they lead and supervise various scholarly projects, publish important journals and monographs, and above all—though this must not be uttered—many delicate decisions are taken within the academies; academicians also have a great, not to say decisive influence with regard to many matters within the realm of scholarship. Government and other authorities refer many important matters to the academies for expert opinion. Membership in the academies bestows a considerable degree of influence over Swedish science and scholarship, in which every ambitious and energetic scientist and scholar must strive to participate. Scholars in the humanities, and especially philologists, therefore view with indignation the fact that they are denied the position in academic life which their foreign colleagues enjoy.

In the same article, Karlgren pleads that the Royal Swedish Academy of Science ought to be transformed into an academy of mathematics and natural sciences, with eighty instead of one hundred members, as the case was then, and that the members of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities ought to be increased from twenty-five to eighty, "in a rational way distributed among philologists, historians, philosophers, etc."

Bernhard Karlgren was not alone in his criticism of the composition of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities. In a letter to the academy of June 3, 1929, several members had requested an inquiry concerning an eventual "broadening of the Academy also to include such branches of the humanities which presently are unrepresented." The committee set up to work out new statutes for the academy recommended that the academy should comprise the four classes of History, Antiquities, Philosophy, and Other humanities subjects. Having deliberated about the matter for a long time, in February 1933 the Board of the Academy proposed that it should comprise not more than fifty Swedish members, distributed in a Historic-Antiquarian class and Philosophic-Philological class. The acceptance of the proposal had as a result that no less than eleven eminent scholars in the humanities, of which eight were philologists, were elected members of the academy in November 1933. Naturally, Karlgren, who had initiated the reform of the academy, was one of the newly elected members.

In 1935, Bernhard Karlgren was elected secretary in the Philosophic-Philological class, a post that he held for many years. In the same year, he became a member of the Humanities Fund, serving as its chairman from 1954 to 1959. Under his guidance, the Humanities Fund played a very important role in the promotion of scholarship.

In the 1920s, Swedish research workers seem to have suffered from a certain isolation, with the result that Swedish research in the humanities was relatively unknown abroad. Bernhard Karlgren tried to do his share to remedy this situation. In an interview published in the major Gothenburg paper in January 1923, he mentions that a Japanese scholar would spend the following academic year at Gothenburg

University, where he would study Swedish and gain insight into research activities in Scandinavia in order to be able to inform his countrymen about Sweden and translate Swedish articles, etc.

An excellent initiative toward international research cooperation was taken by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research on Cultural Matters, which was founded in Kristiania in 1924. Professor Alf Sommerfelt, an expert on Celtic who served as secretary of the program committee of the Institute, wrote to Bernhard Karlgren on November 3, 1924, and invited him to participate in a series of lectures on primitive culture and mentality, which were to take place in September-October the following year. Apart from Karlgren, four of the greatest authorities of that time had been invited to lecture at the conference: Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939), professor of Psychology and Ethnography at the Sorbonne; Sir James George Frazer (1854–1941), professor of Ethnography at Cambridge University and author of the monumental work *The Golden Bough;* Karl von den Steinen (1855–1929), professor of Ethnology and director of Völkerkundemuseum in Berlin (1904–28); and James Henry Breasted (1857–1939), professor of Egyptology and the History of the East at the University of Chicago.

It turned out that Bernhard Karlgren was the only one of the invited scholars able to accept the invitation. The final program of the series of lectures, which were given at the end of September and beginning of October 1925, included several eminent scholars. Franz Boas (1858–1942), professor of Anthropology at Columbia University in New York (1899–1942), lectured on "Primitive Art"; Marcel Mauss (1872–1950), professor of Primitive Religion at the Ecole pratique des hautes études in Paris, dealt with the topic, "La notion de civilisation primitive"; Carl Meinhof (1857–1944), specialist in Bantu Languages and professor at the Kolonial-Institut in Hamburg, lectured on "Die religionen der afrikanischen Völker"; Edwin Diller Starbuck, professor of the Psychology of Religion at the University of Iowa, gave an "Introduction to the Science of Religion"; and Bernhard Karlgren chose to lecture on "Språkvetenskapen och det gamla Kina" ("Linguistics and Ancient China"). His lectures were published in 1926, under the title *Philology and Ancient China.* In this

work, which was dedicated to J. A. Lundell, Karlgren invites the reader to enter into the workshop of a linguist and philologist.

The Conferring of Doctoral Degrees in 1931

At the conferring of doctoral degrees at Gothenburg University on September 12, 1931, nine scholars were awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. One of those was Arvid Jonchell, a senior customs officer, the only one of Bernhard Karlgren's students at Gothenburg University who defended a doctoral thesis. Jonchell's thesis, entitled *Huo Kuang och hans tid: Texter ur Pan Ku's Ch'ian Han Shu* ("Huo Guang and his time: Texts from Ban Gu's *Qian Han shu*"), treats the prime minister Huo Guang's harsh regime in the years 86–68 B.C. Jonchell's thesis was reviewed by none other than Henri Maspero, who noted a number of faulty translations in the text, but on the whole wrote favorably of the thesis. Maspero also regretted, and rightly so, that Jonchell had chosen to write his thesis in Swedish.[7]

Bernhard Karlgren's lecture, which opened the degree-conferring ceremony, was entitled "Buddha's road to salvation and the peoples in the Far East." The lecture begins with a vivid description of Buddhist temple milieus in China and Japan:

> A Western traveller in the Far East, who tries to see more than the Europeanized large cities, will inevitably above all be fascinated by the religious buildings, and in nine cases out of ten it is a Buddhist temple that captures his interest. In the grey seas of simple one-storied houses characteristic of Chinese and Japanese cities, we find here and there green parks and groves —and in a majority of cases they hide a Buddhist shrine. In the countryside, in the most beautiful spots, on wooded hills, in quiet ravines, on verdant islands, far from the main roads, they lie there, these quiet temples, with their magnificent gates, their mighty halls covered by glazed tiles in variegated colors, with flower-decked temple yards, clear pools inhabited by strange goldfish, with tall pagodas and bell-towers, with cleverly and unexpectedly placed terraces with open theatre stages, with jovial monks in robes and with prayer beads in their hands, with won-

> derful interiors in lacquer and gold, Buddha statues, large and small, in exquisite Greco-Indian style, with frescoes and altar tables with splendid bronze vessels; happy pilgrims in festive mood and other visitors move in the temple halls and in the yards, masses are sung to holy music, incense is burned, there is a brisk trade in cheap prints of holy sutras, with cigarettes and lemonade; the temple is a city in miniature, where life and movement, beauty and filth, oriental phlegm and joviality are rarely missing. Meddlesome small mothers come to bow before this or that mighty god, to ask him to save a child who has been smitten by smallpox, or to moderate a husband who beats them too much, or else, bowing to the ground, to present miniature figures of children, hoping to persuade the god to give them plenty of boys. Innumerable fervent prayers from pious hearts are directed toward Kuan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy, and to Amithaba, the mild ruler of Paradise. Glowing incense sticks are rarely wanting in front of the stern, harsh statues of Ti-tsang, the special patron saint of travellers, children and pregnant women. In China, and even more so in Japan, you get the strong impression that Buddhism still is a religious power, with a steady grip on the souls.

To the invitation to attend the ceremony of conferring of degrees was appended Bernhard Karlgren's paper "Chinese Books in Swedish collections," which he characterized as "an enumeration, in alphabetical order, of the head titles of the works which are at the disposal of Sinological students in Sweden."[8] No attempts had yet been made to compile union catalogues of Sinological literature in the various European libraries. Karlgren writes:

> It would be most useful to Sinologists if the great European libraries, instead of waiting for the publication of their detailed catalogues of Chinese books, would publish preliminary lists of the present type, which make it possible for the scientific worker to know if a certain book exists in Europe, and where he can go to consult it: it is better to know this now, without all the bibliographical data, than to have its existence revealed in twenty years, with full particulars about printing year and place, prefaces, editors, format, colour of paper, etc. It is certainly a disadvantage in a list like the present one that the particular editions are not indicated; but this is of less consequence when it is a question of a library which does not go in for rare and precious first editions. . . . The principal need, after all, is to know

> which works are procurable. Chinese literature being immense, and only limited supplies of its most important works being accessible in Europe, research work is often made desperately difficult: it should at least be facilitated by the publication of preliminary book lists from all institutions which possess any serious collections of Chinese imprints: afterwards, detailed catalogues and bibliographies will of course be very welcome.

Bernhard Karlgren and Sven Hedin[9]

In several letters to Inna, sent from Paris in the spring of 1914, Bernhard had severely criticized Sven Hedin's contributions to the heated political debate then going on in Sweden. The correspondence between Karlgren and Hedin—which was initiated at the beginning of the 1920s and which came to touch upon Karlgren's eventual participation in the editing of the inscribed bamboo documents, dating from about 100 B.C. to A.D. 100, which Hedin's collaborator Folke Bergman had found in the area around Juyan (Chüyen) or Etsingol in Inner Mongolia—led to a mutual respect between the two scholars. That Bernhard Karlgren greatly admired Sven Hedin for his courage and his ability to overcome any difficulties is clearly evidenced by his reviews of some of Hedin's popular works, such as *Jehol, kejsarstaden, skildringar från de stora mandschukejsarnas hov* (1931), translated into English under the title *Jehol, the emperor's city, depictions from the Court of the great Manchu emperors* (1932).[10]

Hedin, who in 1913 had been elected a member of the Swedish Academy, was very anxious to find a Chinese candidate for the Nobel Prize in literature. In a letter, which does not seem to have been preserved, Hedin solicits Karlgren's assistance in this regard. Karlgren's reply, dated December 20, 1924, mentions the thorough social and political transformation that China has undergone in recent years. He then writes:

> All these burning questions to an intellectual Chinese are mainly treated as contributions to a debate, but rarely take the form of pure literature. As far as I can see, New China has not as yet produced any major writers, whether of prose or poetry.

> If, therefore, the best works of men like Liang K'i-ch'ao (Liang Qichao), Chang T'ai-yen (Zhang Taiyan) and Hu Shï (Hu Shi) were translated into a Western language, they would be utterly unenjoyable, however important they may be to the Chinese. I therefore find it quite impossible at present to single out a candidate for the Nobel Prize in literature. . . .
> In order not to rashly dismiss an important task I shall discuss the matter with a young Peking professor—without of course mentioning the Nobel Prize—one of the leaders of the movement for language reform and an intimate friend of mine, who presently studies linguistics in Paris.[11] If he is able to point out to me someone who, according to the most eminent Chinese critics, is equal to leading writers in the West, or for example, Tagore, I shall immediately seriously consider his works and later report my views to you.

Liang Qichao (1873–1929),[12] Zhang Taiyan (1868–1936),[13] and Hu Shi (1891–1962),[14] whom Bernhard Karlgren mentions in his letter to Sven Hedin, all played important and, at the same time, widely differing roles in the process that transformed China into a modern society. Karlgren's reply to Hedin's query indicates that in Gothenburg he had not had the opportunity to follow the growth of literature in the wake of the Literary Revolution and that he therefore had not read works by writers and poets such as Lu Xun (1881–1936),[15] who in 1923 had published his *Nahan* ("Call to arms"), containing short stories previously published in literary journals, and Wen Yiduo (1899–1946),[16] who in the same year had published his *Hongzhu* ("Red candles"), a collection of exquisite poetry. During his second journey to the Far East in 1922, Karlgren probably found no time for literary studies.

On January 2, 1931, Bernhard Karlgren replied to a letter from Sven Hedin in Peking, dated December 13, 1930, in which Hedin discussed how Karlgren might assist with the editing of the inscribed bamboo strips found by Folke Bergman.[17] Bernhard explained that, for various reasons, he could not spend any more time in Peking. He had to attend to his post at Gothenburg University. In addition, his physician has advised him against visiting China in summertime, as he still suffered from the complications of a se-

vere attack of dysentery that he had contracted during his visit to the country in 1922. He continues:

> As to the task itself, I wish to clearly and honestly tell you that I may not be the best man for it. My scholarly production mainly concerns the field of historical linguistics, and this is something quite different. I may indeed be equal to other European scholars (with the exception of Pelliot and possibly Maspero), but I can never compare with a relatively good Chinese expert when it comes to interpreting cursive script (grass script). Chavannes, who interpreted Stein's first and second collection, had poor collaborators and his great book therefore belongs to his worst works; Lo Chen-yü (Luo Zhenyu) had to fundamentally revise his readings.[18] Conrady's readings are fair enough, but he could never in his life have produced them without the assistance of the later so famous Ts'ai Yuan-pei (Cai Yuanpei), who happened to be in Leipzig at the time.[19]

In the same letter, Bernhard Karlgren explained that, with certain conditions, he would agree to cooperate in the editing of the material. He wanted access to clear photographs of the material, while a Chinese script expert would go through the whole material in Peking, "with full right, not to say obligation, to consult the best experts available to him, Lo Chen-yü and others." Karlgren and the Chinese expert would initially work independently and then combine their results and meet during a few winter months, either in Peking or in Gothenburg. In a letter to Hedin of December 23, 1931, Bernhard estimated the cost of his participation in the project. The very modest budget, which did not include any fee for his own work, amounted to eight thousand crowns, which was meant to cover the necessary reference literature, five months' stay in Paris or London, four journeys to and from Paris or London, plus salary for a Chinese collaborator. From the same letter, it is evident that the Chinese linguist Liu Fu (Liu Bannong) had been contracted to work with the material in Peking.

Liu Fu (1891–1934), who actually was the young professor Bernhard Karlgren had recommended for the task, had fought on the barricades of the Literary Revolution and had served as one of the editors of the journal *Xin Qingnian* ("The New Youth"), the foremost mouthpiece of the radical

movement for reform of the written language. Cai Yuanpei (Ts'ai Yuan-pei), rector of Peking University, was so impressed by the young Liu Fu that he offered him a post as teacher in Chinese at the university. In 1920, Liu Fu traveled to Europe and studied, as Karlgren had before him, first in London and later in Paris, where he took a doctorate under the guidance of Professor Sylvain Lévi. During his stay in Paris, he studied the manuscripts that Pelliot had brought home from Dunhuang. He also found the time to write a thesis in experimental phonetics, dealing with the tonal accents of the Peking dialect.[20] In 1925, he returned to Peking and was offered a Chair in Chinese at Peking University. Liu Fu taught at various universities in Peking from the end of the 1920s until 1931, when he was offered a research professorship at Peking University. Hedin could not have found a better-qualified scholar for the task of investigating the bamboo documents from Etsingol. Unfortunately, Liu Fu was unable to undertake that task. In the summer of 1934, he traveled to the northwestern province of Suiyuan in order to record ballads and folk songs, genres that had interested him ever since his youth. Soon after his arrival in Suiyuan, he was struck by a severe disease and was forced to return to Peking, where he passed away.

On May 1, 1931, Sven Hedin wrote to Bernhard Karlgren to inform him that Folke Bergman had found a total of ten thousand inscribed bamboo slips, many of which were defective and impossible to interpret. He also mentioned that he had received a letter from Bergman, in which Bergman stated that he also has found "magnificent manuscripts in six languages":

> I found a great many Chinese manuscripts on paper (presumably dating from the Song period) and a lot of manuscripts in Hsi-hsia (Xixia), Uighur, Mongol, Tibetan, and one which may be in an unknown script. I was lucky enough to search the garbage dump of the *yamen,* where no one had looked before.

In his reply of May 5, 1931, Bernhard recommends "the young and energetic Iran expert Professor H. S. Nyberg" as the best scholar to take care of a part of Folke Bergman's finds. In a letter to Sven Hedin of July 27, 1931, Bernhard

mentions that he has received a long letter in Chinese from Liu Fu, in which Liu describes his first impression of the bamboo slips:[21]

> He mentions that the large document comprising 78 slips is an inventory of a military camp written in A.D. 93–95. I was rather disappointed, as I had hoped for something of a greater historical or literary value, but it is of course highly interesting. He also mentioned a writing brush from the Han period, which differs greatly from later types.

The collaboration between Bernhard Karlgren and Liu Fu never materialized. On May 1, 1935, Sven Hedin informed Karlgren that work on the bamboo slips, which had been suspended on account of the Japanese threat, had been resumed.[22] On October 24, 1935, Karlgren assured Hedin that he was prepared to take part in the work on the bamboo slips. He mentioned that he planned a trip to the Far East "in the next few years" and would then be able to inspect the bamboo slips in Peking. As Karlgren had learned that Hedin had been forced to request a large sum of money from the Swedish government in order to finalize his expedition, he emphatically stated that he "for his own part did not wish to receive a single cent of the expedition budget."

On May 13, 1935, Sven Hedin gave a lecture in the auditorium of Gothenburg University. Hedin, who a few months earlier had celebrated his seventieth birthday, entitled his two-hour-long lecture "Glimpses from an eight-year long expedition in Central Asia." In his keynote address, Bernhard Karlgren paid tribute to "the scientist and dreamer who once again has trod the time-honored Silk Road."

The Defender of Human Rights

Even though Bernhard Karlgren did not actively engage in politics, he never hesitated to take a political stand when it was necessary. In an article entitled "The University and the refugees: Gothenburg University stood up against the Nazis," published in *Göteborgs-Posten* ("The Gothenburg Post") on June 9, 1991, the eminent Human Rights activist Ingrid Segerstedt Wiberg wrote:

> "No import of Jews! We do not want an invasion of Jews!" So shouted the students in the 1930s, when the Hitler regime forced the German Jews to take refuge abroad. The shouts of the students were heard in Uppsala. in Stockholm and in Lund. But no noisy demonstrations ever took place in Gothenburg. Surely, there existed Nazi sympathizers even here in Gothenburg, but they never gained as strong a position as in other university towns.
>
> Perhaps the students in Gothenburg were influenced by the stand which the leadership of the University took against the Nazis. Instead of hurrying to join the ranks of those who claimed that the Nazis had created law and order and prosperity in Germany, the rector of the university regretted that brutal violence had been given far too much space.
>
> "The damaging effects of the wave of intolerance that has swept over our Western civilization cannot as yet be foreseen," said Bernhard Karlgren, then rector of Gothenburg University. The year was 1935, and Karlgren's words were uttered when the German Jew, Professor Ernst Cassirer was inaugurated in his personal Chair of Philosophy.
>
> Bernhard Karlgren paid tribute to the freedom of research, freedom of opinion, and the necessity to search for truth. According to him, when the Nazi regime used violence to force each and everyone to accept its political and cultural doctrines, Western civilization had suffered a setback, far more devastating than the bloodiest war.

In his inaugural lecture on October 19, 1935, Ernst Cassirer addressed the theme "Bedeutung und Aufgabe der Philosophie" ("The meaning and the task of Philosophy"). Referring to the ongoing "process of self-destruction," he ended his lecture by "crediting philosophy with an idealistic task which it in our time cannot retreat from." Even Axel Lindquist, who on the same day was inaugurated in his Chair of German, referred to the current political situation in his lecture, "The various German tribes' contributions to the common largeness of vocabulary":

> A faculty of humanities cannot neglect or disdain the language of Lessing and Kant, Goethe and Schiller, Theodore Storm and Thomas Mann. In a time like ours, when the voices of our great, departed masters, who rightly have been called our eternal companions, incur the risk of being drowned out by the shouts

> from the megaphones of today, the tasks of philology carry greater responsibility than ever. In a time when we daily experience how civilizing advances which we consider definitive, are loudly dismissed as aberrations, and how cultural conquests which we have believed to be invaluable and indispensable, are contemptuously thrown aside as useless, and even harmful, then a special responsibility rests on those who devote themselves to the humanities, students as well as teachers. On their shoulders rests the burden of a double service. The words *Gedankenfreiheit* and *Kulturkampf* have gained new actuality.[23]

Among the few letters that Bernhard Karlgren found worth keeping is an anonymous threat, occasioned by his strong support for Ernst Cassirer:

> To B. K.
> Shame on him who lends his *honest* name in support of Jewish criminals, which these so-called "intellectual" refugees unquestionably are. These "gentlemen" who have spent their lives undermining the ideals we Teutons from time immemorial have learned to respect and love. May God protect us from such riff-raff, who as traitors to their own country, Bolsheviks, and distributors of pornographic writings have made themselves impossible in the awakening Germany.
> If you want to help, then help your Swedish brethren in countryside and city, who want to work but cannot find a job.
> In a near future you will be called to account and then you shall be judged according to your deeds.
> Guardian of the Forests

During a visit to Berlin in April 1935, Bernhard Karlgren had met the Jewish Sinologist and librarian Walter Simon (1893–1981), who then found himself in a very precarious situation. Simon, who had studied Chinese with Otto Franke, had served as librarian at the University Library in Berlin since the beginning of the 1920s. In 1932–33, he served as exchange librarian at the National Library in Peking. Soon after his return to Berlin, he was deprived of his permission to lecture. In 1935, he lost his position at the University Library. In 1936, he was offered a lectureship in Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London. Two years later he was promoted to Reader and, in 1947, to a full Chair in the Department of Chinese. Under Professor

Simon's guidance, the Chinese Department at SOAS developed into one of the leading Sinological centers in Europe.[24] Simon's contributions to the investigation of the phonological structure of Archaic Chinese, above all concerning the final consonants, and his Chinese-Tibetan *Wortgleichungen* were of importance for Karlgren's reconstructions. I feel quite certain that it was on Bernhard Karlgren's recommendation that Walter Simon was offered a position at SOAS.

Bernhard Karlgren Outside the Ivory Tower

Bernhard Karlgren never shut himself up within the walls of an ivory tower. The family account book kept during the years in Gothenburg carefully registers membership fees to a great many scholarly associations and clubs with no claim to scholarship.

Music played an important role in Bernhard Karlgren's life. In 1919, Bernhard and one of his colleagues founded the Academic Choir, in which Bernhard, throughout his stay in Gothenburg, sang second tenor.

In Gothenburg, the Karlgren family lived within walking distance of the university. All summer vacations were spent on the coast of Bohuslän, in different cottages that Bernhard had started to acquire at the beginning of the 1920s. Bernhard Karlgren's favorite pastimes during his summer vacations were sailing, rowing, and fishing. He owned a double-ender, with bunks for four people, and a rowboat with two pairs of oars. Sometimes Bernhard and his wife Inna rowed out on the fjord to fish whiting. Fried, freshly caught whiting was Bernhard's favorite dish.

Like the Daoist thinkers of ancient China, Bernhard Karlgren could not be bothered with the results of technical advances. He once told me with what tremendous satisfaction he watched the bubbles rise from the sea, into which he had sunk the outboard engine he had just purchased for his double-ender, which refused to start, in spite of his repeated pulling on the starting cord.[25]

Apart from Bernhard Karlgren's letters from Japan and China in 1922, in which he expresses his longing for his family, the family archive contains no material that sheds light

on his role as father and grandfather. In a letter of February 18, 1995, Bernhard Karlgren's daughter Ella Köhler writes:

> He was very considerate and kind, not only toward me and my brother Per. My friends who knew him from the time in Gothenburg and the coast still speak of him with the greatest affection —they remembered that Father cared about them and partook of their interests. And to my two sons he was a wonderful grandfather. He enjoyed their jokes, and the experiences they conveyed to him. He meant a great deal to both of them.

In the early 1930s, Bernhard and Inna's marriage suffered a crisis.[26] That I here with some hesitation have chosen to tread on private ground is due to the fact that the crisis coincided with a juncture when Karlgren had concluded an important stage in his career, and that it came to influence the direction of his research to a high degree.

With the work "Word families in Chinese" (1933), Bernhard Karlgren had on the whole completed his epoch-making reconstructions of two earlier stages of the Chinese language, which a few years later he summarized in his *Grammata Serica: Script and Phonetics in Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (1940). Ever since the Far Eastern Collections (later renamed the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities) was founded in 1929, he had published the results of his research in its annual bulletin (*BMFEA*). These works mainly dealt with historical phonology, philology, textual criticism, epigraphy, and ancient Chinese cults. Bernhard Karlgren's publications from 1934 to 1938 mainly deal with the chronology of early Chinese bronzes, a field of research that came to play an important role during the rest of his active life. It seems possible that Karlgren's new direction of research was motivated by his wish to exchange his Chair at Gothenburg University for the directorship of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, a position that required documented competence in Chinese art and archaeology. He may, of course, also have been tempted to apply his linguistic and philological methodology to a rich store of seemingly quite different material.

In April 1935, when the matrimonial crisis culminated, Bernhard Karlgren went to Germany to gather material for his work "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes" (1936). In letters to Inna, dated April 20 and 23, Bernhard declares that he cannot possibly stay on at Gothenburg University and that Inna and he therefore must leave Gothenburg, if they wish to save their marriage. Bernhard Karlgren left his post as rector of Gothenburg University on August 31, 1936, and the following day took up his duties as acting director of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, a position he held during J. G. Andersson's leave of absence. Two years later he succeeded Andersson as director of the museum. Karlgren had looked forward to the move to Stockholm and the new tasks that awaited him there. According to Ella Köhler, her mother Inna found settling in Stockholm more difficult. She missed Gothenburg and her friends there, and also the social work she had engaged in.

Bernhard's daughter Ella, who had graduated from high school in 1938, studied law at Stockholm University. Having graduated in law (1943), she served as law clerk in the municipal court in Stockholm. In 1965, she was appointed district court judge and in 1975 chief district court judge of the Stockholm City Court. After study in medicine at Uppsala University, Bernhard's son Per served as a district medical officer for a number of years and was said to be well liked by his patients. His death at the age of forty-one came as a severe blow to both Bernhard and Inna.

8
Proximitatem Linguae Longinquae Manifestam Fecit

China's Traditional Philology

The logographic nature of the Chinese script has conditioned to a high degree the development of traditional philology in China. From oldest times, the Chinese logograph (or "character") has been considered a unit equipped with a unique form, a basic meaning, and a specific pronunciation. Traditional philology has therefore come to comprise three branches of learning, dealing with (1) script analysis, (2) semantic glosses and lexicography, and (3) phonology. The study of morphology and syntax plays a minor role in traditional Chinese philology. It is interesting to note that the first systematic Chinese grammar of the Chinese language, published in 1898, represents an attempt to analyze the structure of the language with the aid of the categories of Latin grammar. The nonphonetic nature of the script is responsible for the fact that Chinese philologists became aware of diachronic linguistic change quite late. Even synchronic (dialectal) deviations from the norm are effectively hidden under the logographic script. Early dialect study was mainly motivated by an interest in semantics.

"He manifested the proximity of a distant language." The Latin motto was engraved on a medallion coined by the Swedish Academy in 1995 in memory of Bernhard Karlgren. The medallion was issued in conjunction with the publication of the Swedish version of this book, which forms part of the Swedish Academy's Memoir Series: *Bernhard Karlgren. Ett forskarporträtt.* Svenska Akademiens Minnesteckningar (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1995).

In traditional China, learned studies were considered an effective means of self-improvement and the strengthening of public order. Search for knowledge, and above all humanistic knowledge, had a strong ideological motivation. Learned studies in script analysis, semantics, and phonology mainly aimed at explicating texts belonging to the Confucian school, which were elevated to canonical status quite early. (We shall later see that the introduction of Buddhism into China in the first century of our era had a great impact on the development of Chinese philology.) The learned gentlemen who engaged in philological research cannot be considered professional linguists. The same is true of the fields of literature, the arts, and the sciences: with very few exceptions, the writers, poets, artists, and scientists of traditional China were learned men who occupied high posts in civil or military administration and who found an outlet for their thorough learning in literary activity or research, often in both.

While philology can hardly be said to have existed as a special branch of learning prior to the Qin dynasty (221–207 B.C.), philosophical texts of the late Zhou dynasty reveal that thinkers of the time interested themselves in such fundamental problems of linguistic philosophy as the relation between name and reality, the difference between generic and specific appellations, and the nature and function of the designation of characteristics. One of the greatest contributions to the debate on the topic of linguistic philosophy was presented by the Confucian philosopher Xun Zi, who lived in the mid-third century B.C. One of the chapters of the work that bears his name is entitled "*Zheng ming*" ("On the correction of names"). In that chapter, Xun Zi presents his views on the arbitrary connection between the signifier and the signified:

> Names have no intrinsic appropriateness. One agrees to use a certain name and issues an order to that effect, and if the agreement is abided by and becomes a matter of custom, then the name may be said to be appropriate, but if people do not abide by the agreement, then the name ceases to be appropriate. Names have no intrinsic reality. One agrees to use a certain name and issues an order that it shall be applied to a certain reality, and if the agreement is abided by and becomes a matter of

> custom, then it may be said to be a real name. There are, however, names which are intrinsically good. Names which are clear, simple, and not at odds with the thing they designate may be said to be good names. (tr. Burton Watson, *Basic Writings of Hsün Tzu,* 141.)

The ruler of the state of Qin, who in 221 B.C. had succeeded in defeating all rivals and unifying China, recruited his advisers from the Legalist School, whose tenets were summed up in a statement by Han Fei Zi (ca. 280–ca. 233), a disciple of Xun Zi:

> In the state of a wise ruler there are no books: the laws serve as instruction. Nor are there any statements by former kings: the officials serve as teachers.

In an attempt to silence the intellectual opposition, mainly represented by Confucian scholars, in 213 B.C. the ruler of Qin decreed that all books in the realm, with the exception of works on agriculture, horticulture, divination, and other useful subjects, should be burned. He also ordered the creation of a new script, the "Small Seal," to replace the older script, which contained many regional variants. After the collapse of Qin in 207 B.C., learned men began to collect and edit remnants of the former literature. The *auto-da-fé* thereby gave rise to a branch of learning, called *xiaoxue* ("little learning"). Scholars were soon divided into two camps: the Old Text School and the New Text School. Adherents of the Old Text School devoted themselves to the texts written in the old script, from the time before the script reform, while the adherents of the New Text School worked on texts that had been written down from memory after the fall of the Qin rule in *lishu* (the Clerical style), a modified version of the Small Seal.

Three lexicographical works—*Erya, Fangyan,* and *Shuo wen jie zi*—played a dominant role in the philology of the Han period and have continued to engage research since that time. The *Erya* is China's oldest glossary. The title of the work consists of a verb-object phrase ("to approach the elegant"). The author of the work and its date have not been established. What we know is that, in the first century of our era, the *Erya* was considered an authoritative aid for the un-

derstanding of the ancient texts and that during the Tang dynasty it was accepted as one of the Confucian canonical texts. Guo Pu (276–324), who wrote a commentary on the *Erya,* asserts in his preface that the work dated from before the founding of the Han dynasty in 206 B.C. The consensus is that the *Erya* is a work of the third century B.C.

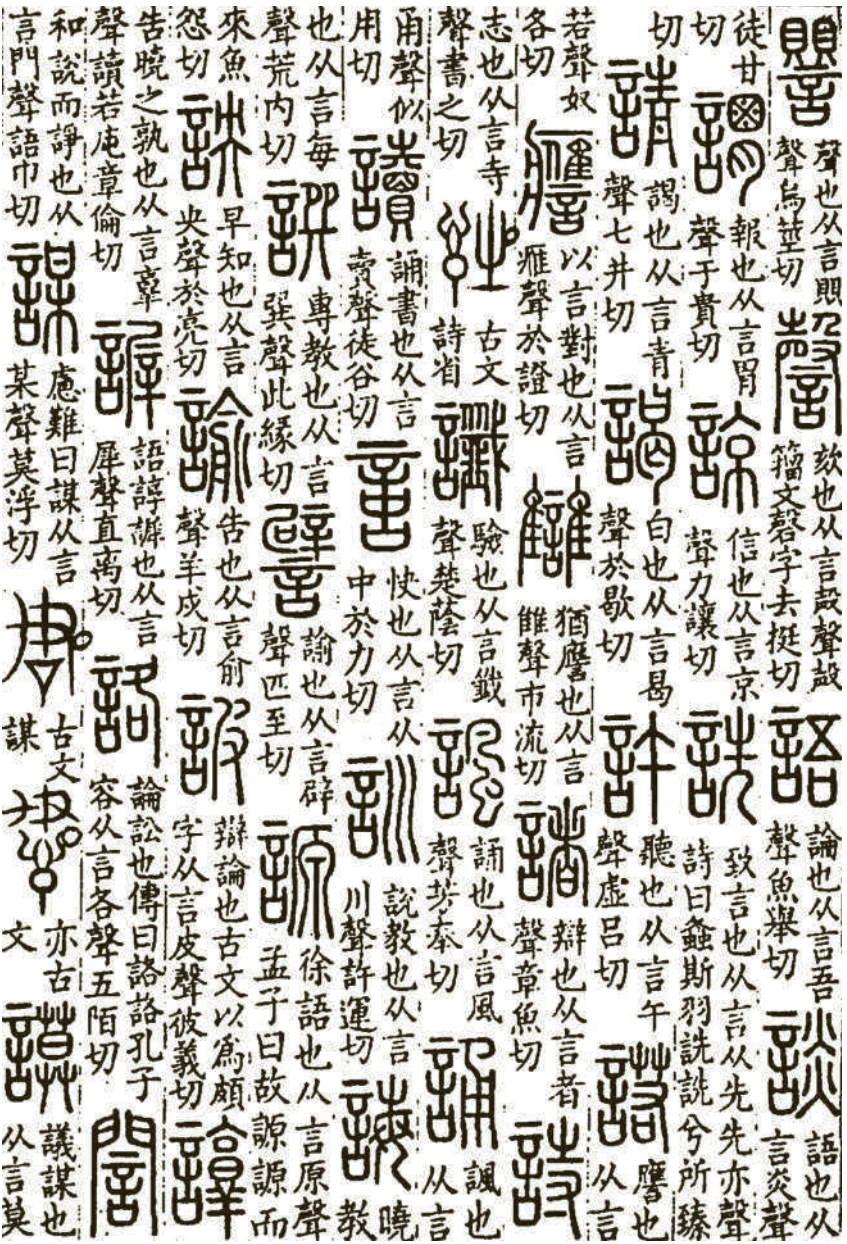
The *Erya* may best be described as a collection of semantic glosses on the Confucian classics and other texts from pre-Qin times. The work consists of nineteen chapters, of which the first three contain glosses on verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and a number of grammatical auxiliaries. The remaining chapters are thematic and present glosses on terms related to kinship; buildings; tools and utensils; musical instruments; astronomy and the calendar; geography and geology; hills and mountains; waters; plants and vegetables; trees and shrubs; insects and reptiles; fish and marine animals; wild birds; wild animals; and domestic animals and fowl. The *Erya* was not meant to serve as a dictionary, but rather as a compendium of glosses on passages in the ancient texts. Many of these passages have been identified by the accumulated research of generations of learned philologists. The favorite formulas of the *Erya* are *a, b, c, d* = *f* ("the words *a, b, c, d* mean *f*") and *a* = *b*.

The *Fangyan* ("Dialects"), which registers vocabulary from different regions, has been attributed to the poet and philosopher Yang Xiong (53 B.C.–A.D. 18). In the preface to his work *Fengsu tongyi* ("An account of customs"), Ying Shao (second century A.D.) refers to a collection of dialectal expressions from the second century B.C. and mentions that Yang Xiong spent twenty-seven years of his life revising and enlarging that material. The *Fangyan* contains 658 entries, divided into thirteen chapters. Some chapters deal with words (mainly verbs, adjectives, and substantives), while other chapters are thematic and deal with clothing, tools, boats, weapons, etc. The favorite formula (*a, b,* and *c* = *d*), taken over from *Erya,* is followed by information on the dialectal affiliation of the words explained by the gloss. Larger dialect areas are defined by reference to topographical features, such as *Guan* ("Hangu Pass in Northern Henan"), *He* ("Yellow River"), *Jiang* ("Yangtze River"), and *Shan* ("Mount Hua in present Shaanxi"); *Zi guan er xi* ("the

area west of the Pass"); *Zi Jiang er bei* ("the area north of the Yangtze River"). Minor dialect areas are indicated by reference to the river that flows through them, or to the name of the feudal state that was situated in the area. Frequently mentioned dialect areas are Qin (present-day Shaanxi), Jin (present-day Shanxi), Yan (present-day Hebei), Qi and Lu (present-day Shandong), Chu (the area north of the middle course of the Yangtze River), Wu (present-day Zhejiang), and Yue (present-day Fujian and Guangdong). The terms *tongyu, tongming,* and *fanyu* ("commonly used words") refer to words used all over the country or within large dialect areas. The glosses have obviously been chosen from the standard language. With very few exceptions, the thirty-two glosses from the first chapter of the work belong to the vocabulary of the standard language of today.

Modern research has shown that the standard language of the Chunqiu period and that of the Warring States (722–221 B.C.) probably was based on the dialect of Jin (present-day Shanxi), and that the standard language of the Han period probably was based on the dialect of Qin (present-day Shaanxi). It seems reasonable to assume that these dialects in Yang Xiong's time had coalesced into a *koinê* and that the vocabulary in this *koinê* during the Han had spread all over North China and eventually also penetrated into the South.

A comparative study of the *Erya* and the *Fangyan* shows that many words that are treated as synonyms in the former work are dialectal variants of the same morpheme. Guo Pu, who wrote a commentary on the *Erya,* also commented on the *Fangyan.* It is interesting to note that Guo Pu often uses bisyllabic expressions in his explanation of the monosyllabic glosses in *Fangyan. Shuo wen jie zi* ("Explanation of simple graphs and analysis of compound graphs") was published in A.D. 121, a few years before the Greek sophist and grammarian Julius Pollux of Naukratis completed his *Onomastikon.* The work registers 9,475 graphs and 1,279 variants. In his preface, the author Xu Shen (58–147) gives his views on the origin and development of the Chinese script and also discusses the structural principles on which it builds. Xu Shen divides the graphs into the following six categories: (1) *simple ideograms* (representations of abstract



Page from the dictionary *Shuo wen jie zi*.

concepts: 上 *shang,* "above; ascend" and 下 *xia,* "below; descend"; (2) *pictographs* (depictions of concrete elements): 日 *ri,* "sun; day"; 月 *yue* "moon; month"; (3) *phonetic compounds* (combinations of a semantic element ["radical"] and a phonetic element: the graph 河 *he,* "river," is composed of the radical signifying "water" on the left and the graph 可 *ke,* "can, may" on the right; (4) *compound ideographs* (a combination of two pictographs or ideographs): 明 *ming,* "clear, bright"; (5) *derived graphs* (graphically similar graphs for words that Xu Shen considered semantically connected). This category comprises only a few items: the graph 考 *kao,* "old age" was traditionally considered derived from 老 *lao,* "old", and (6) *loan graphs* (graphs borrowed to represent a similar or phonetically identical though semantically unrelated morpheme): the graph 令 *ling,* "to command," was borrowed to represent the homophonous word meaning "good."

Of the 9,475 graphs in the *Shuo wen jie zi,* 7,697 are phonetic compounds, 1,167 compound ideographs, 364 pictographs, 124 simple ideographs, 115 loan graphs, and 7 derived graphs. Each of the 9,475 graphs in the dictionary is listed under one of 540 radicals, which constitutes the whole or part of the graph. For each graph, Xu Shen indicates to which category it belongs, and, wherever relevant, the radical and phonetic element; the graphic explanation is followed by illustrative quotations from texts, older forms of the graph, graphical variants and a sound gloss, normally following the formula *x du ruo y,* "the graph x is pronounced y."

Xu Shen belonged to the Old Text School. His work is an important milestone in the struggle between the Old and the New Text School, which was waged throughout the Han dynasty, to be revived in the eighteenth century. Ever since the second century A.D., the *Shuo wen jie zi* has been revered and studied by generations of learned philologists. It is interesting to note that the work has played a great role in the interpretation of the paleographic material (oracle bone inscriptions and certain bronze inscriptions) unearthed in the last century.

During the period from the fall of the Han dynasty until the founding of the Sui dynasty (220–581), many advances were made in linguistics, especially phonology. The assiduous translation of Buddhist texts, written in Sanskrit and

Pali, imparted to the Chinese translators an awareness of the unique structure of their own language. Through contact with the Indian languages, the Chinese scholars for the first time learned to spell the monosyllabic words of their own language with the aid of a sophisticated method—*fanqie*—which will be described later on. During part of this period, China was split into North and South. The political division coincided with a period of cultural prosperity. New prosodic techniques developed in which the tonal accents of the language played an important role in both prose and poetry.

During the same period, great advances were also made in the field of lexicography. The greatest dictionary, published at the end of the period, was the *Yupian* ("Jade tablets"), compiled by Gu Yewang (519–81). This work, which contained 16,917 characters, arranged according to the 540 radicals of the *Shuo wen jie zi,* comprised more quotations from early texts and indicated pronunciation with the aid of the *fanqie* method. Only a minor part of the dictionary has survived.

Zhang Yi, who served in the Imperial Academy in 227–37, compiled an enlarged and modernized version of the *Erya,* entitled *Guangya.* This work provides important information about the development of vocabulary since the publication of the *Erya.* Several important phonological works published in the Tang (618–906) and Song (960–1279) dynasties will be treated later on, in conjunction with the discussion of Bernhard Karlgren's reconstructions of earlier stages of the language.

During the Yuan and Ming (1260–1644) periods, few linguistic or philological works of major significance were published. The most important phonological work of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368) is the *Zhongyuan yinyun* ("The phonology of North China") from 1324. Its author, Zhou Deqing (1277–1365), presented his material in homophonous groups of words, arranged in nineteen rime categories, which reflect the phonological system in dramatic airs from the mid-thirteenth century. Phonological reconstructions based on the *Zhongyuan yinyun* give a surprisingly modern impression. The work *Hongwu zhengyun* ("The correct rimes of the reign period *Hongwu* 1368–1399"), compiled in 1375, de-

scribes a phonological system more conservative than that of the *Zhongyuan yinyun.* The differences between the two works are due to the fact that the compilers of the *Hongwu zhengyun* were from South China and that they were less disposed than Zhou Deqing to deviate from the norms of traditional phonology.

During the two and a half centuries that the Manchus ruled China (1644–1912), great advances were made in all branches of philology, especially in the field of textual criticism. The eminent scholar Gu Yanwu (1613–82) had made a name for himself long before the Manchus conquered the country. The main object of Gu Yanwu's criticism was the subjective speculations of the Neo-Confucian philosophers of the Ming period and their refusal to engage in applicable research. His own research, covering wide fields (economy, geography, public administration, military strategy, literature, history and philology, particularly phonology, and textual criticism), was characterized by inductive methodology.

The great advances in phonological studies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries revived the interest in the dictionary *Shuo wen jie zi,* resulting in a great many exegetical studies. The foremost of these are the *Shuo wen jie zi zhu* ("Commentary on *Shuo wen jie zi*") by Duan Yucai (1735–1815), the *Shuo wen tongxun dingsheng* ("Phonological classification of the glosses in the *Shuo wen jie zi*") by Zhu Junsheng (1784–1854), *Shuo wen jie zi yizheng* ("Textual evidence for definitions in the *Shuown jie zi*") by Gui Fu (1733–1802), and the *Shuo wen shi li* ("The structural principles of the *Shuo wen jie zi*") by Wang Yun (1784–1854).

Duan Yucai's work comprises a careful collating of the different editions of the *Shuo wen jie zi,* together with explanations of Xu Shen's glosses. He attached great weight to the distinction between the basic and the derived meanings of the characters. Gui Fu identified many textual passages that confirm definitions in the dictionary. Zhu Junsheng rearranged the material in the dictionary into rime categories and to a great extent based his definition of the meaning of the graphs on phonological criteria. He especially emphasized the function of loan graphs. Wang Yun attempted to establish a number of subcategories of the six categories discussed in the *Shuo wen jie zi.*

During the first half of the eighteenth century, three major lexicographical works were published: *Peiwen yunfu, Pianzi leibian,* and *Kangxi zidian.* The *Peiwen yunfu* ("A treasury of rimes for the Peiwen Studio") is a rime dictionary, compiled on Imperial command and published in 1711. The dictionary utilizes a series of 106 rimes established in the mid-thirteenth century and deals with compound words and phrases, classified according to the rime of the *last* morpheme in the compound word or phrase. The *Peiwen yunfu* provides no definitions, but presents a wealth of examples of text passages, illustrating the use of the word or phrase in question.

The dictionary *Pianzi leibian* ("Thematic compilation of two-syllabic words"), also compiled on Imperial command and published in 1726, is divided into thirteen sections (Heaven and Earth; the four seasons; mountains and rivers; buildings; costly things; numerical categories; spheres; colors; tools and utensils; herbs and trees; birds and animals; insects and fish; human affairs). Within each section, the words are arranged according to the rime of the *first* morpheme. The *Peiwen yunfu* and the *Pianzi leibian* complement one another; before the existence of extensive databases, both works were indispensable for the identification of literary and historical allusions.

Another work compiled on Imperial command was the *Kangxi zidian* ("Character dictionary of the *Kangxi* period 1661–1722"), published in 1716. The dictionary defines 47,035 characters and 1,995 graphic variants. The editors, who were ordered to complete the work in five years' time, incorporated material from two earlier dictionaries published in the seventeenth century. One of these, the *Zihui* ("Vocabulary"), classified characters under 214 radicals, which scheme was adopted for the *Kangxi zidian.* Under each radical, the characters are arranged according to the number of strokes used to write that part of the character over and above those comprising the radical. For each character, the dictionary gives any graphic variants, *fanqie* spellings from different rime dictionaries, and the modern pronunciation, indicated by a homophonic character. Definitions are often introduced with reference to the *Shuo wen jie zi* and the *Yupian,* by quotations from the literature. In spite of the hur-

ried compilation, which resulted in many mistakes, the dictionary is still an indispensable tool, especially for the identification of graphic variants.

An important philological tool is the *Jingji zuangu* ("Explanation of glosses to classical literature"), compiled by an editorial committee guided by Ruan Yuan (1754–1849), one of the foremost philologists of his time. The work, arranged according to the 106 rimes, contains glosses on words occurring in the literature from earliest times up to the mid-Tang period.

During the Qing dynasty, grammatical studies were almost exclusively devoted to the explication of *xuzi* ("empty words"), which in Western languages correspond to interjections, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, certain pronominal forms, sentence suffixes, modal particles, etc. To the most important of these compilations belong the *Zhuzi bian lüe* ("Compendium of grammatical particles") by Liu Qi, published 1711, and the *Jingzhuan shi ci* ("Explanation of words in the canonical works and their commentaries"), by Wang Yinzhi (1766–1834).

The works discussed above were all kept within easy reach in Bernhard Karlgren's study.

Linguistic Echo-Sounding

The scientific feat above all others that made Bernhard Karlgren the greatest Sinologist of his time was his reconstruction of earlier stages in the development of the Chinese language, which he himself called Ancient Chinese (A.D. 600) and Archaic Chinese (c. 600 B.C.). This accomplishment totally changed the conditions for research in all humanistic branches of Sinology. The terms "Ancient" and "Archaic" reflect the French terms "ancien" and "archaïque" and have been supplanted in Sinological works in English by the terms Middle (Chinese) and Old (Chinese). This epoch-making research was initiated during Bernhard Karlgren's first sojourn in China 1910–11, when, with the aid of Johan August Lundell's dialect alphabet, and based on his teenage experience working with Swedish dialects, he collected a huge amount of material related to the dialects in North

China. The research that led to the reconstruction of Ancient Chinese is accounted for in his *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise,* which comprises 898 pages and was published in four volumes in 1915–26. The first 388 pages served as Karlgren's graduate thesis, defended in 1915. Parts of the work were translated into Chinese in the 1920s and 1930s. A complete translation of the work, produced by three of China's greatest linguists, was published in 1940. That same year, Karlgren published his *Grammata Serica,* in which he summed up his reconstructions of both Ancient and Archaic Chinese. In a series of articles during the 1920s and 1930s, Karlgren dealt with various aspects of his reconstruction work. In "Compendium of phonetics in ancient and archaic Chinese," he discusses his methodology step by step.

For his reconstruction of Ancient Chinese, Bernhard Karlgren used the following as his main sources:

1. The rime dictionary *Guangyun,* published in 1008, an enlarged edition of the rime dictionary *Qieyun,* published in 601
2. Phonological tables from the Song period (960–1279), designed to serve as a guide for users of the *Guangyun* dictionary and listing all distinctive syllables in the language
3. The phonetic shape of Chinese morphemes, which in the sixth and seventh centuries were borrowed into Japanese and Korean, and in the ninth century into Vietnamese
4. The pronunciation of a great number of modern Chinese dialects
5. Chinese transcriptions of foreign words, mainly of Sanskrit and Pali origin

In his preface to the rime dictionary *Qieyun,* published in 601, Lu Fayan tells how he and eight of his friends used to meet in his home in Chang'an at the beginning of the *Kaihuang* reign period (581–600) to discuss what ought to be considered correct pronunciation. They found that the pronunciation of the South deviated from that of the North and that the pronunciation of the past differed from that of the present. Lu Fayan undertook to summarize their discussions. For his compilation of the *Qieyun* dictionary, Lu Fayan utilized older rime dictionaries and other word lists.

山海經曰秦戲山有獸狀如羊一角一目目在耳後其名曰辣又音陳音棟 **傖** 儱傖僝劣皃出字諟 **傖** 上同 **餗** 地理志云東郡館名 **怪** 古文見道經 **凍** 瀧凍沾漬說文曰水出發鳩山入於河又都貢切 **蝀** 螮蝀虹也又音董 **凍** 凍凌又都貢切 **鯠** 魚名似鯉 **徠** 行皃 **崍** 崍如山名 **埬** 上埬地名 **蠬** 蛞蠬科斗蟲也案爾雅曰科斗活東郭璞云蝦蟆子也字俗從蚰 **䰟** 醜皃。 **同** 齊也共也輩也合也律歷有六同亦州春秋時晉夷吾獻其西河地於秦七國時屬魏秦并天下爲內史之地漢武更名馮翊又有九龍泉泉有九源同爲一流因以名之又羌複姓有同蹄氏望在勃海徒紅切四十五 **全** 古文出道書 **童** 童獨也言童子未有室家也又姓出東莞漢有琅邪內史童仲玉 **僮** 僮僕又頑也癡也又姓漢有交阯刺史僮尹出風俗通 **銅** 金之一 **桐** 木名月令曰清明之日桐始華又桐品廬縣在睦州亦姓有桐君藥錄兩卷 **峒** 崆峒山名 **硐** 磨也 **胴** 胴船 **䏰** 獸似豕出泰山 **筒** 竹筒又竹名射筒吳都賦曰其竹則桂箭射筒 **瞳** 目瞳 **甋** 甋瓦 **甗** 上同 **罿** 車上網又音衝 **犝** 犝牛無角 **筩** 竹筩 **潼** 水名出廣漢郡亦關名又通衝二音 **曈** 曈曨日欲明也又他孔切 **洞** 洪洞縣名在晉州北又徒弄切 **侗** 楊子法言云倥侗顓蒙 **橦** 木名花可爲布出字林 **鶵** 鵝鶵水鳥黃喙喙長

Page from the rime dictionary *Guangyun*.

The original *Qieyun,* consisting of five volumes, has been lost. Only fragments remain of two enlarged editions, of 706 and 751, several of which were found at Dunhuang.[1] In 1947, an eighth-century copy of the edition of 751 was found in an antiquarian bookshop in Peking. When Bernhard Karlgren worked on his reconstruction of Ancient Chinese, he had to base his work on the *Guangyun.*

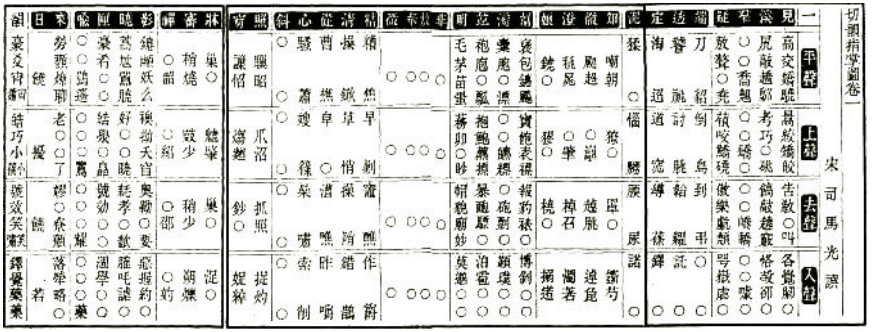
In spite of the fact that *Qieyun* and *Guangyun* differ from one another in some respects, the two works describe identical phonological systems. In rime dictionaries of *Qieyun* type, the words are divided into the four tonal categories *ping, shang, qu* and *ru.* It is possible that the names of these four tonal categories are meant to describe the different tone curves: *ping* = level, *shang* = rising, *qu* = (departing =) falling, and *ru* = (entering =) abrupt. Syllables with the fourth tone *ru* all ended in either *-p, -t,* or *-k.* Words belonging to the tone category *ping* are more numerous than words of any of the other tone categories and fill two of the five volumes of the dictionary. Under each tone category, the words are divided into rime categories. The *Guangyun* comprises 206 rimes altogether, of which 57 belong to the tone category *ping,* 55 to *shang,* 60 to *qu,* and 34 to *ru.* Within each rime, the words are arranged in homophonic groups. For the first word in each homophonic group, the pronunciation is indicated by the *fanqie* method, described below. The *fanqie* spelling is followed by a figure, indicating the number of words in the homophonic group.

The interest in linguistic structures aroused by the translation of Buddhist texts gave rise to a sophisticated technique for the phonological analysis of the Chinese monosyllable. This technique, the *fanqie* spelling, was already used in the first century of our era and was further developed by commentators of texts and compilers of rime dictionaries. A Chinese syllable has three components: an *initial,* a *final,* and a *tone.* Dictionaries, which began to be published in the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (479–581), arranged the word material under the main category *tone* and the sub-category *rime.* If we disregard tones, a similar arrangement would place the English morphemes *ban, pan, fan, man, can,* and *tan* under the rime *an.* There is no one-to-one relation between *final* and *rime.* The English

word pairs *hung* and *young*, *tin* and *twin*, *kite* and *quite* are considered perfect rimes. In their rime classification, the compilers of Chinese rime dictionaries did not always take into consideration the occurrence of certain palatal and labio-velar glides before the vowel of the syllable: the two finals *–ung* and *–iung* were placed under the same rime, as were the finals *–a* and *–wa*. These distinctions were clearly kept apart in the *fanqie* spellings. Translated into the English language, the *fanqie* method may be described in the following way: the English morpheme *man* begins with the same sound as *mat* and ends with the same sound as *can*. The two morphemes *mat* and *can* may therefore be used to "spell" the morpheme *man: m*(*at*) + (*c*)*an* = *man*. In the same way, *kite* may be spelled by *can* and *might*, while *quite* may be spelled by *can* and *white*.

Fanqie spelling came to exert an enormous influence on the development of both Chinese phonology and lexicography. The earliest work utilizing *fanqie* spelling that has been preserved to our time is the *Jingdian shi wen* ("Explanation of graphs in the canonical texts"), compiled by Lu Deming (556–627). Completed in 583, the work contains glosses of words occurring in the Confucian classics and the Daoist texts *Daodejing* and *Zhuang Zi*. The author's preface indicates that he was aware of the fact that language undergoes diachronic change.

Buddhist studies flourished in the Tang dynasty, when many learned monks were engaged in translating and elucidating the holy texts. The greatest of them all was Xuanzang (596–664), who started on a pilgrimage to India in 629. After his return to the Chinese capital Chang'an (present-day Xi'an in Shaanxi) in 645, he organized and led a translation project that resulted in seventy-five important Buddhist texts being made available to pious Chinese Buddhists. The monk Xuanying, one of Xuanzang's assistants, compiled the *Yiqiejing yinyi* ("Glosses on the Buddhist texts"), published in 650, exactly fifty years after the publication of the *Qieyun*. Xuanying used Lu Deming's *Jingdian shi wen* as a model. While the *fanqie* spellings of *Qieyun* and *Yiqiejing yinyi* use different characters, the phonological categories reflected in the two works are nearly identical. Xuanying does not mention the work *Qieyun*, and it is unlikely that he



Double page from the *Qieyun zhizhangtu*.

utilized it. The similarity between the phonological systems of the two works indicates that they were based on the same dialect.

Another work with the same title as Xuanying's was published in 810. Its author, the monk Huilin, writes in his preface that he has based himself on "Qinyin" (the Qin dialect)—that is, the dialect of the capital Chang'an, which by that time most certainly had developed into a *koinê*. Huilin's work shows that certain sound changes, which several centuries later were registered in non-Buddhist phonological works, had already taken place in the language of the ninth century.[2] In the mid-thirteenth century, the 206 rimes of rime dictionaries of *Qieyun* type were reduced to 106, a system that fairly closely agrees with that adhered to by the poets of late Tang and Song. During the Qing period, these rimes were used in several rime dictionaries.

The language of the Song period (960–1279) in many respects deviated from the norms of the rime dictionary *Qieyun*. One result of this was that scholars and poets of the Song period had difficulty using rime dictionaries of the *Qieyun* type. In order to remedy this situation, learned phonologists created the so-called *dengyuntu* ("rime tables"), which register all distinguishable syllables in the language and indicate under which rime a given morpheme may be

sought. There are several different rime tables, none of which can be exactly dated. The works *Yunjing* ("The mirror of rimes") and *Qiyinlüe* ("Summary of the seven sounds") are considered the oldest of these tables. The rime tables used by Karlgren for his reconstruction of Ancient Chinese are the *Qieyun zhizhangtu* ("An easy guide to *Qieyun*"), traditionally attributed (probably incorrectly) to the Song historian Sima Guang (1019–1087). According to learned consensus, the work is probably later than the date (1067) traditionally ascribed to it. In spite of the fact that modern research is mainly based on the older work *Yunjing,* I have here chosen to discuss the *Qieyun zhizhangtu,* used by Karlgren.

The work consists of complete tabulations of distinctive syllables in the language, arranged in twenty tables. The 3,125 graphs registered in *Qieyun zhizhangtu* are identical to the graphs heading the homophonic groups in the *Qieyun.* Within each table, the graphs have been arranged in a coordinate system. The horizontal axis contains thirty-six graphs, representing initial consonants, to be read from right to left. An earlier version of these graphs already existed in the ninth century. The rimes are arranged in the left column of each table. Within each table, the graphs have been divided into the four tonal categories *ping, shang, qu,* and *ru. Syllables* that belong to the tone category *ru* and ending in *-p, -t,* or *–k are* registered twice, in tables whose syllables ended in *-m, -n,* or *-ng and* in tables whose syllables ended with a vowel. Within each tonal category, the graphs are divided into four *deng* ("grades"). According to Karlgren, grade I contains syllables with back vowels, grade II syllables with front vowels, while grades III and IV are characterized by the occurrence of a consonantal palatal glide /j/ and the vowel /i/, respectively, before the main vowel. Certain tables are marked as *kaikou* ("open mouth"), others as *hekou* ("closed mouth"), a distinction that signals the absence or presence, respectively, of a labio-velar glide, /w/ or the vowel /u/ before the main vowel.

The modern Chinese dialects are normally divided into the following seven main groups:

1. The Mandarin dialects
2. The Wu dialects

3. The Xiang dialects
4. The Gan dialects
5. The Kejia or Hakka dialects
6. The Yue dialects
7. The Min dialects

The Mandarin dialects, spoken by more than 70 percent of the Han Chinese population of the country, are divided into a Northern, a Southwestern, and a Southern variant. The Northern variant is spoken north of the Yangtze River, in the plateau around the course of the Yellow River, and in northeastern China. The Southwestern variant is spoken in the provinces of Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan. The Southern variant is spoken in a limited area between Hankou and Nanjing. The Mandarin dialects have a relatively simple phonological structure, on the whole a common vocabulary, and as a rule four tones. (One Northern Mandarin dialect has only three tones; some dialects in Shanxi and a number of Southwestern Mandarin dialects have five tones.) The standard language ("Putonghua") is based on the dialect of Peking.

The Wu dialects are spoken by about 9 percent of the Chinese-speaking population living in the areas around the Yangtze River delta (Zhejiang, Southern Jiangsu, and parts of Anhui). These dialects are characterized by the presence of the voiced initial consonants /b/, /d/ and /g/, which have become de-voiced in most other dialects. The Shanghai dialect has five tones, while the other Wu dialects as a rule have seven or eight.

The Xiang dialects are spoken by about 5 percent of the Chinese-speaking population. Like the Wu dialects, these dialects have retained voiced stop consonants at the beginning of a syllable. Some characteristics of the Xiang dialects, such as the neutralization between initial /l/ and /n/ and the transition from /h/ to /f/ before /u/, are also found in the Southwestern Mandarin dialects, where "Hunan" is pronounced /fulan/. Most Xiang dialects have six tones.

The Gan dialects, which are less well investigated, are spoken by about 3 percent of the Chinese-speaking population, mainly living in the province of Jiangxi and the eastern part of the province of Hunan.

The Kejia or Hakka dialects are spoken by about 4 percent of the Chinese-speaking population, mainly living in Southern Guangxi, northeastern Guangdong, and western and northern Fujian. For unknown reasons, the Hakka or Kejia ("the guest people") emigrated south in several waves during the Tang and Song periods. Their dialects are characterized by a complicated tonal system, comprising eight tones.

The Yue dialects are spoken by about 5 percent of the Chinese-speaking population, mainly living in the province of Guangdong and parts of the province of Guangxi. The dialects are characterized by the final consonants /p/, /t/ and /k/ and a complicated tonal system.

The Min dialects are spoken by about 4 percent of the Chinese-speaking population, living in the province Fujian, Eastern Guangdong, parts of the island of Hainan, and Taiwan. These dialects, divided into a Northern and a Southern branch, contain some ancient traits that give them an exceptional position among Chinese dialects.

For his investigation of the Chinese dialects, Bernhard Karlgren used a word list, mainly comprising the 3,125 morphemes registered in the rime tables. His material comprises thirty dialects, together with Sino-Japanese, Sino-Korean, and Sino-Vietnamese. Twenty-four of these, which in the following list have been marked with *, he investigated himself. For the remaining nine dialects, he used earlier descriptions.

The Mandarin dialects:

The capital of Peking

The province of Shanxi:
Guihua cheng*
Tatong*
Taiyuan*
Wenshui*
Taikou*
Xingxian*
Pingyang*
Fengtai*

The province of Gansu:
Lanzhou*
Pingliang*
Jingzhou*

The province of Shaanxi:
Xi'an*
Shanshui*
Sangjiazhen*

The province of Henan:
Kaifeng*
Huaiqing*
Gushi*

The province of Sichuan
Southern Sichuan

The province of Hubei:
Hankou

The province of Jiangsu:
Nanjing*

The Wu dialects
Shanghai*
Wenzhou
Ningbo

The Min dialects
Fuzhou*
Amoy
Shantou (Swatou)

The Yue dialects
Guangzhou*

The Kejia (Hakka) dialects

Sino-Japanese*
Sino-Korean
Sino-Vietnamese*

Most of the dialects marked with * Bernhard Karlgren investigated on the spot. Some dialects, like those of Gansu, he probably investigated with the aid of informants during his sojourn in Taiyuan. The same is probably true of the dialect of Peking, where he only spent a few days toward the end of his stay in China. In the introduction to his *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise,* Karlgren lists the dialect dictionaries and other phonological works he consulted for dialects other than those he himself investigated.

It seems that, after his return from China, Karlgren had misgivings about the feasibility of producing a graduate thesis on the basis of the enormous dialect material. In a letter to Inna of April 20, 1912, he mentions that he intends to write a short study of the dialects in North China and then go on to write a thesis on the social structure of China in the Han period. During his stay in Paris, where he was able to consult with Pelliot, he changed his mind. In a letter from

March 1913, Bernhard mentions that he had mailed a great many questionnaires to Swedish missionaries in China, requesting information about local dialects. We also know that, during his stay in Paris, he tried and partly succeeded in complementing his material with the aid of Chinese informants living in the city. Judging from his letters from Paris, it took a rather long time before he was able to decide how to handle his material and which sources he ought to employ. Like some of his predecessors in the field, he long believed that he could use the *Kangxi zidian,* which quotes older *fanqie* spellings and also contains rime tables from the 1330s. In a letter to Inna of April 21, 1913, he writes:

> I have arrived at a critical stage in my work. I seek a firm point of departure for the arrangement of my material. I originally thought that the *Kangxi zidian* would do, but upon close examination I found that was a mistake. What a stroke of luck that I did not ask you to begin working on that! Oh well, in the end I may have to content myself with it. It is a bit irritating not to know in which direction I shall steer.

It was not until December 1913, a year and a half before the defense of his doctoral thesis, that Pelliot confirmed that the *Guangyun* would be the most reliable source for the reconstructions.[3] The first step in Karlgren's reconstruction of Ancient Chinese was to identify the total number of classificatory units that could be abstracted from the rime tables and the *fanqie* spellings of the *Guangyun.* The second step was taken when Karlgren, basing himself on a comparative study of the dialect material, supplied phonetic values for the wealth of unknown entities revealed by his sources. A description of the immensely complicated reconstruction work, involving more than 100,000 dialect forms, naturally falls outside the scope of this biography. In his popular works, particularly *The Chinese Language: An essay on its Nature and Use* (1949), Bernhard Karlgren dealt in an easily comprehensible way with the various stages of his reconstructions. I shall here limit myself to a short survey of the content of his *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise.*

In the first volume of *Etudes* (1915), Karlgren discusses the historical source material: the rime dictionary *Guangyun,* the rime tables from the Song period, and the tentative in-

terpretations of the classificatory entities propounded by earlier Western scholars.[4] This section is followed by tabulations of all *fanqie* graphs used in the *Guangyun* to spell initials and finals, together with a survey of the prosodic and phonetic properties of the modern dialects.[5] In this chapter, Karlgren reports in summary fashion on his exercises in experimental phonetics.

In the second (1916) and third volumes (1919), Karlgren accounts for his reconstructions of the initials, finals, and tones of Ancient Chinese. In the fourth volume (*Dictionnaire*), which did not appear until 1926, Karlgren presents his dialect material. In the introduction to this volume, Karlgren refers to the criticism that Henri Maspero directed against some of his results and his methodology, parts of which he accepts. Karlgren here also refers to some corrections occasioned by his own research, published in the paper "The reconstruction of Ancient Chinese" (1911) and in *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (1923), which he dedicated to his teacher Edouard Chavannes.

In the summer of 1924, the Chinese linguist Chao Yuen Ren visited Gothenburg to consult with Bernhard Karlgren about a translation of the *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise* into Chinese. For various reasons, the important project was delayed several years. In a preface to the translation, dated September 1, 1936, the three translators (Chao Yuan Ren, Luo Changpei, and Li Fang Kuei) write that the original intention was that Karlgren himself should edit the translation and add to it such corrections as he and other scholars had made since the original work was published.[6] However, Karlgren did not find the time to do so and left it to be done by the translators. The excellent translation, published in 1940 by Commercial Press in Shanghai, is in many ways more accessible than the French original. The Swedish dialect alphabet, which would have caused non-Swedish readers considerable difficulty, was replaced by the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), and the figures in the original referring to lists of characters were replaced by the Chinese characters.

Karlgren's *Etudes* had a great impact on the development of dialectological research in China. His *Dictionnaire* inspired two similar works in the 1960s, the *Hanyu fangyin*

zihui ("Morpheme list for Chinese dialects," 1962) and the *Hanyu fangyan cihui* ("Word list for Chinese dialects," 1964). Several handbooks and questionnaires used in dialectological fieldwork in China are based on Karlgren's methodology. The three translators of the *Etudes* took an active part in the dialectological research organized by Academia Sinica in the 1930s.

While Maspero had criticized certain details in Karlgren's *Etudes*,[7] other scholars, particularly the Belgian dialect geographer Willem Grootaers, leveled sharp and unfounded criticism against Karlgren's choice of methodology.[8] Grootaers' criticism was refuted by Karlgren's disciple Sören Egerod:

> Thus, Karlgren was reproached because he had used a questionnaire in his work with the informants and had not built on natural speech. But the purpose of his fieldwork was exactly to throw light on the pronunciation of certain characters in certain old dictionaries. Grootaers' method also brought interesting results but of a totally different nature. Karlgren was well aware of the importance of colloquial pronunciation side by side with the literary pronunciation, and in many cases he records both pronunciations in his *Dictionnaire*. The difference between literary and colloquial pronunciation is especially great in the Min dialects (in Fujian), where Karlgren explicitly notices that the colloquial forms cannot be derived from the old standard pronunciation (T'ang *koinê*) that he and Maspero were trying to reconstruct.[9]

Bernhard Karlgren, like Maspero, asserted that the *Qieyun* language represented a homogeneous *koinê* of the dialect of the Sui capital Chang'an (present-day Xi'an in Shaanxi). Karlgren found support for his theory regarding the homogeneous nature of the *Qieyun* language in that most modern dialects can be shown to be derived from it, and also that the *Qieyun* categories had proved valid for the reconstruction of Archaic Chinese. Another school of thought asserts that the *Qieyun* system is eclectic in that the rime dictionary registers many readings taken over from earlier rime dictionaries, and that it also contains many dialectal forms. A third school holds that the *Qieyun* is an artificial construct, representing an attempt to create a national standard on the basis of many widely diverging dialects. It has been argued

that Lu Fayan and his learned friends registered synchronic distinctions in a large number of dialects in order to reveal diachronic distinctions.

In his paper "Qieyun de xingzhi he tade yinxi jizhu" ("On the nature of the *Qieyun* and the base of its phonological system," 1966) Zhou Zumo has clearly shown that the *Qieyun* system represents the *koinê* spoken in intellectual circles in the former Northern capital Ye (present Linchang in Hebei) and the earlier Southern capital Jinling (present Nanjing).[10] Of the nine gentlemen who took part in the phonological discussions, according to Lu Fayan's preface, three were natives of Jinling and three of Ye. When they met in Lu Fayan's home, they had only spent a few years in the capital of Chang'an. It is improbable that they should have abandoned their earlier diction and adopted the new dialect.

Rimes and Sounding Signs in Ancient China

Chinese phonologists early became aware of the fact that the rimes of the *Shijing* did not rime in their own language. In order to explain this phenomenon, they coined the term *xieyun* ("harmonizing rime"). Confronted with the rimes 南 *nan* (Archaic Chinese **nəm*) and 音 *yin* (Archaic Chinese **i̯əm*), a commentator of the sixth century suggests a *fanqie* spelling of the first morpheme that would yield a modern *nin*. Even the great Song master Zhu Xi (1130–1200) adhered to the notion of "harmonizing rimes" in his commentary on the *Shijing*.

Chen Di (1541–1617) wrote *Maoshi guyin kao* ("Study of the rimes in the Mao version of the *Shijing*") and an essay on the rimes in the anthology *Chuci* ("The elegies of Chu"). Chen Di's works show that he was aware of the fact that language undergoes diachronic change.

Gu Yanwu (1613–82) wrote five books on the phonology of Archaic Chinese, four of which deal with the rimes in the *Shijing*. In his *Shi benyin* ("The original pronunciation of the *Shijing* rimes"), which he himself considered his most important work, he dispensed with the notion of "harmonizing rimes," which had played a dominant role in the categorization of the *Shijing* rimes since the sixth century. One of

the greatest phonologists of the Qing period was Jiang Yong (1681–1762), who criticized Gu Yanwu for not having used synchronic dialect material in his study of Archaic Chinese phonology. Jiang Yong was a skilled phonetician and sometimes utilized features in the modern dialects, especially his own Zhejiang dialect, for his categorization of the archaic rimes. Jiang Yong's categorization of the *Shijing* rimes was improved upon by his disciple Dai Zhen (1724–77), one of the boldest and most original Confucian thinkers of the eighteenth century.[11]

An enormously important breakthrough in the research concerning Archaic Chinese phonology was achieved by Duan Yucai (1735–1815), who showed that graphs having the same *sheng* ("phonetic indicator") necessarily belonged to the same *Shijing* rime category. This means that the rime categories of the *Shijing* and the phonetic compounds (諧聲) represent a homogeneous linguistic material. (There are certain exceptions to Duan Yucai's thesis, indicating that the phonetic compounds represent a phonological stage older than that of the *Shijing* rimes.)

Wang Niansun (1744–1832) authored a number of important works on Archaic Chinese phonology, some of which have not yet been published. His categorization of the *Shijing* rimes was published by his son Wang Yinzhi (1766–1834) in the work *Jingyi shu wen* ("Record of what I have heard from my father relating to the interpretation of classical texts").

Jiang Yougao (?–1851) continued in Wang Niansun's footsteps. His and Wang Niansun's categorization of the *Shijing* rimes served as a point of departure for Bernhard Karlgren's and other scholars' research on Archaic Chinese. Jiang Yougao also wrote a number of important essays on rimed passages in several pre-Qin works.

Of the two sources for research in Archaic Chinese phonology—the *Shijing* rimes and the phonetic compounds—the former can be used only for the reconstruction of the finals, while the latter can also be used for the reconstruction of the initials. The phonologists of traditional China were mainly interested in the archaic Chinese rimes. One exception was Qian Daxin (1727–86), who in an inductive way made several important discoveries concerning the initial consonants of Archaic Chinese.

1173 公 a b c d e f g 1174 孔 a b 1175 東 a b c d
凍 e 棟 f 凍 g 蝀 h 1176 同 a b c 銅 d 桐 e 僮 f 筒 g 洞 h 詷 i 侗 j 恫 k
1177 麥 a 僂 b 樓 c 㮣 d 䋣 e 䋣 f 1178 叢 a 樅 b 1179 送 a 1180 弄 a 王 b 1181
蒙 a 幪 b 矇 c 濛 d 蠓 e 饛 f

1175 a—d. **tung / tung / t u n g* **East** (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 49,1), c. is Yin bone (A 6: 32,4), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54).
e. **tung / tung- / t u n g* freeze (Tso). — **f.** *id.* ridge-pole, ridge of a roof (Yi); a kind of tree (Kuan). — **g.** *id.* violent rain (Ch'uts'ī).
h. **tung / tung / t u n g t i - t u n g* rainbow (Shī).

1176 a—c. **d'ung / d'ung / t'u n g* together, join, assemble (Shī); agree, identical, same (Shī); assorted (Shī); make uniform (Shu); partake in (Meng); harmony (Li); pitch-pipe (Chouli); corruption of the arch. char. k i a (34 above) libation cup (Shu). Gls. 469, 1998. b. is Yin bone (B hia 10: 2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 70). The graph shows an opening and a cover: to fit together. — **d.** *id.* bronze, copper (Tso, as part of place name). — **e—f.** *id.* Eloeoooca and kindred trees (Shī). f. is Chou II/III (inscr. 279, sense of name). — **g.** *id.* tube (Lü).
h. **d'ung / d'ung- / t u n g* to flow rapidly (only Han-time text ex.); loan for *id.* respectful (Li).
i. **d'ung / d'ung / t'u n g* all (Shu, Ma Jung's version).
j. **t'ung / t'ung, t'ung- / t'u n g* and **d'ung / d'ung / t'u n g* stupid, ignorant (Shu); **d'ung / d'ung: / t u n g* simple, sincere (Chuang). Gls. 811, 1977.
k. **t'ung / t'ung / t'u n g* pained, grieved (Shī). Gl. 811.

1177 a. **tsung / tsung, tsung- / t s u n g* Shuowen says: gather in the feet and fly (sc. a bird) (no text).
b. **tsung / tsung / t s u n g* fill up, obstruct (Chuang). — **c—d.** *id.* a kind of tree (palm?) (inscr. 328). d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328, char. enl. by rad. 137). — **e.** *id.* sheaf, bundle (Kuoyü); numerous (Chuang). — **f.** *id.* a kind of cauldron (Shuowen, no text ex.); loan for *id.* (properly: same Phon. with Rad. 60) to go (Shī). Gls. 333, 597.

1178 a—b. **dz'ung / dz'ung / t s'u n g* collect (Shu); thicket (Meng). b. is Chou (inscr. 393, name, character enlarged by rad. 75). The graph has t s'ü 'take' and a drawing of a bush.

1179 a. **sung / sung- / s u n g* to escort (Shī); follow after (Shī); send (Tso); to present (Li). Gl. 216.

Page from Bernhard Karlgren's *Grammata Serica Recensa*.

The following examples aim to give the reader an idea of the comparative technique used by Karlgren in his reconstruction of the finals and initial consonants of Archaic Chinese.

Karlgren notes that morphemes belonging to the same phonetic series (諧聲字) as a rule have identical final consonants in the *Qieyun* language. All morphemes containing the *sheng* or phonetic indicator 方 *fang* share the final consonant /-*ng*/. In a relatively few instances, the final consonants are not identical, but merely *homorganic,* which means that they have the same place of articulation: 占 *zhan* (*Qieyun tśi̯äm*),"to divine," serves as the phonetic indicator in 帖 *tie* (*Qieyun t'iep*), "to surrender." There are important exceptions to this rule. In many phonetic series, and in rime sequences, morphemes that in Ancient Chinese contain a rising diphthong (Vi) have contacts with morphemes ending in a dental stop consonant: 害 *hai* (*Qieyun γâi*) serves as phonetic in 轄 *xia* (*Qieyun γat*), "wheel-hub." On the basis of this kind of contact, Karlgren reconstructed Archaic Chinese **âd* for Ancient Chinese *âi.* In other phonetic series, and in rimes, Ancient Chinese morphemes ending in a vowel have contact with morphemes ending in a velar stop consonant: 亞 *ya* (*Qieyun ·a*), "the second (in a series)" serves as phonetic in 惡 *e* (*Qieyun ·âk*), "evil." On the basis of this kind of contact, Karlgren reconstructed Archaic Chinese **·ăg* for *Qieyun ·a.*

In certain phonetic series, and in rimes, a few morphemes that in Ancient Chinese end in a front vowel or a rising diphthong have contact with morphemes ending in a labial stop consonant: 執 *zhi* (*Qieyun tśi̯əp*), "to grasp" serves as phonetic in 鷙 *zhi* (*Qieyun t̂i*), "slow, of a horse." This kind of contact led Karlgren to reconstruct Archaic Chinese **ti̯əb* for *Qieyun t̂i.*

Ancient Chinese comprised the following final consonants:

p	*t*	*k*
m	*n*	*ng*

On the basis of contacts in phonetic series and rimes of the kinds discussed above, Karlgren concluded that Archaic Chinese possessed the following final consonants:

p	*t*	*k*
b	*d*	*g*
m	*n*	*ng*

In addition Karlgren reconstructed a final *–r,* which may be considered a tonally conditioned allophone of *-d.*

Karlgren's reconstructions of the initial consonants in Archaic Chinese build on a similar comparative technique. According to Karlgren, the initials of Ancient Chinese comprised among other consonants, the following nine stop consonants:

p	*t*	*k*
p'	*t'*	*k'*
b'	*d'*	*g'*

Karlgren observes that the initial consonants in Ancient Chinese morphemes whose characters belong to the same phonetic series are either identical or have the same place of articulation. In certain phonetic series, initial *j* interchanges with initial *k, k'* or *g':* 王 *wang* (*Qieyun ji̯wang*), "king," serves as a phonetic in 匡 *kuang* (*Qieyun k'i̯wang*), "square basket," and 狂 *kuang* (*Qieyun g'i̯wang*), "deranged." Karlgren concludes that Ancient Chinese *ji̯wang* has developed from Archaic Chinese **gi̯wang.*

In some phonetic series, there is an interchange between zero initial and dental stops (*t, t'* or *d'*) or palatal stops (*t̂, t̂'* or *d̂*) before *i̯:* 昜 *yang* (*Qieyun i̯ang*), "south side," serves as phonetic in 湯 *tang* (*Qieyun t'âng*), "soup," and 場 *chang* (*Qieyun d̂'i̯ang*), "arena." Karlgren concluded that Ancient Chinese *i̯ang* developed from Archaic Chinese **di̯ang.*

On the basis of such contacts within phonetic series, Bernhard Karlgren asserts that the initial consonants of Archaic Chinese also comprised the voiced and unaspirated stops *b, d,* and *g.* He shows that phonetic series rarely exhibit contacts between dental stops (*t, t', d'*), dental affricates (*ts, ts', dz'*), and fricatives (*s, z*): a form such as *tân* does not serve as phonetic in forms such as *tsân* or *sân.* Ancient Chinese 羊 *i̯ang,* "sheep," occurring in a phonetic series including 祥 *xi̯ang* (*Qieyun zi̯ang*), "auspicious omen," cannot therefore be derived from Archaic Chinese **di̯ang.* In consequence of

this, Karlgren reconstructs Archaic Chinese **zi̯ang,* Ancient Chinese 羊 *i̯ang.* He also suggests that the four-graded distinction characterizing Archaic Chinese dental stops (*t, t', d, d'*) applies also to the dental affricates (*ts, ts', dz, dz'*). Ancient Chinese 羊 *i̯ang* serves as phonetic in 祥 *zi̯ang;* Archaic Chinese **zi̯ang* as phonetic in **dzi̯ang.*

Karlgren reconstructs a number of initial clusters in Archaic Chinese in order to account for the occurrence of contacts, within phonetic series, of the types *k/l, p/l* and *x/m:* 各 **klâk* (modern *ge*), "each" serves as phonetic in 洛 **glâk* (modern *le*), name of a river; 稟 **pli̯əm* (modern *bing*), "to receive" serves as phonetic in 廩 **bli̯əm* (modern *lin*), "granary"; 黑 **χmək* (modern *hei*), "black" serves as phonetic in 墨 **mək* (modern *mo*), "ink." Karlgren suggests that several other clusters may have existed, though they are hard to verify.[12]

In his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (1923), Karlgren presents a rich word material arranged in 1,350 phonetic series. For each morpheme, he indicates its character, its pronunciation in Northern Mandarin, based on the dialect of Peking, its Cantonese pronunciation, the reconstructed form in Ancient Chinese, together with its Sino-Japanese pronunciations. In addition, he provides an analysis of the Chinese graphs. In the introduction to this work, Karlgren presents a survey of the phonological structure of Ancient Chinese and its relation to the Peking dialect, together with a preliminary reconstruction of Archaic Chinese.

Bernhard Karlgren's reconstruction of Archaic Chinese was pursued in a series of works: "Problems in Archaic Chinese" (1928), "*Shï king* Researches" (1932), and "Word Families in Chinese" (1933). Karlgren's reconstructions of Ancient and Archaic Chinese were presented in dictionary form in the monumental work *Grammata Serica, Script and Phonetics in Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (1940), which succeeded the *Analytic Dictionary.* As in the *Analytic Dictionary,* the word material in *Grammata Serica* is arranged in a number of phonetic series. For each graph, Karlgren gives archaic forms, found on oracle bones from the end of the second millennium B.C. and in clearly documented inscriptions on bronze vessels and stones, for which he gives the following dating: Chou I (1027–ca 900 B.C.), Chou II (ca. 900–770 B.C.),

Chou III (ca. 770–ca 450 B.C.), and Chou IV (ca. 450–ca 250 B.C.). All reliable traditional etymologies of graphs are presented, with reference to Xu Shen's *Shuo wen jie zi.* In a number of instances, Karlgren presents his own graphic analysis. For each morpheme, he presents the reconstructed pronunciations in Ancient and Archaic Chinese, together with the pronunciation in the modern standard language, without indication of the tones. In addition, Karlgren gives the various meanings of the morphemes in texts prior to the Han period, in each case with indication of the source text.

In a comprehensive introduction to *Grammata Serica,* Karlgren presents a survey of his reconstructions and detailed descriptions of the transition from Archaic to Ancient Chinese, and from Ancient Chinese to the modern standard language. The revised version of this work, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (1957), lacks the long introduction. In this later version, Karlgren indicates the tones and also refers to his philological glosses to the *Shijing* ("The Odes") and the *Shujing* ("The Documents"), which will be dealt with in Chapter 9.[13]

In his speech paying tribute to the Nobel Laureates of 1957, Bernhard Karlgren stated:

> We should never forget, that every intellectual worker who creates something new and important, be it in the natural sciences, in the humanities or in art, necessarily stands on the shoulders of his predecessors. There is a constant and continuous handing over from man to man, an unbroken and unbreakable chain of evolution, no link of which can be taken out or rejected. In 50 years your names may be entirely forgotten, or at most duly mentioned in the textbooks, with no reminiscence of the men behind the names. But the new ideas you have propounded and vindicated will always be there, a legacy to future generations; you will live on in your contributions to the common intellectual capital of mankind.

Bernhard Karlgren's epoch-making reconstructions of Ancient and Archaic Chinese were completed in the mid-1930s. It is quite natural that research carried out since then in the fields of dialectology and historical linguistics by both

Western and Chinese scholars has produced results that in many aspects supplement and modify Karlgren's reconstructions. In many instances, corrections of Karlgren's reconstructions result from the application of a phonemic analysis of his data. The first volume of Karlgren's *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise* was published one year before the posthumous publication of Ferdinand de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916). The fourth and last volume of Karlgren's *Etudes* was published the year after the publication of Edward Sapir's paper, "Sound Patterns in Language" (1925),[14] and seven years before the publication of Leonard Bloomfield's *Language* (1933), which works had an enormous impact on the formation of phonemic analysis and American structuralism.

In 1936, Chao Yuan Ren had presented "A critical list of errata for Bernhard Karlgren's *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise*."[15] The corrections that this list of errata had necessitated were all entered into the Chinese translation of the work. In 1940, Chao Yuen Ren published his paper "Distinctions within Ancient Chinese," in which the author suggests certain phonemic reductions of Karlgren's phonetic data.[16] Chao Yuen Ren's paper was taken as a point of departure for a thorough phonemic reduction of Karlgren's reconstruction of Ancient Chinese, especially its vowel system, presented by the American structuralist Samuel Martin ("The Phonemes of Ancient Chinese," 1953).[17] During the last three decades, research in the field of Chinese dialectology to an increasing degree has dealt with the internal reconstruction of proto-dialects, without the support of written sources. At the same time, the results of comparative Sino-Tibetan research and new findings concerning the origin of the tonal system have contributed to our knowledge of the phonological and morphological structure of Archaic Chinese, which in turn has thrown new light on certain features of Ancient Chinese.

Having presented a survey of the most important modifications of Karlgren's reconstructions, proposed by Chinese, Japanese, and Western scholars, Karlgren's disciple Sören Egerod wrote:

> We may conclude by saying that even though Karlgren's reconstructions are submitted to revision in all areas, the main patterns, as well as the enormous apparatus on which he built his

> theories, stand unshaken, as the point of departure for all serious scholarly work within the subject. Bernhard Karlgren will remain the solitary giant within Chinese historical linguistics.[18]

Even Professor Edwin G. Pulleyblank, who since 1962 has presented a series of papers whose methodological base and results completely deviate from those of Bernhard Karlgren, has expressed his appreciation of Karlgren's contributions in the following words:

> Indeed, the importance of Karlgren in everything to do with Chinese linguistics has been such that one can really divide the subject into two periods, B.K. and A.K.
> . . . Presenting his results in dictionary form so that they can be used by non-specialists who cannot be expected to immerse themselves in the intricacies of *fan-ch'ieh* and rhyme tables has been a service that goes far beyond the particular merits and defects of his reconstructive system. In all work of this kind Karlgren demonstrated not only his great energy and assiduity but also an exemplary thoroughness and attention to detail. It has given both the specialists and non-specialists reliable reference tools for a wide variety of purposes that extend beyond the theoretical concerns of linguists. It has also tended to give Karlgren's reconstructive system, especially that for Middle Chinese, a monopoly that has been very difficult to shake, in spite of objections that have grown more and more insistent as new knowledge and better linguistic theory have accumulated.[19]

In his solid work *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (1992), William H. Baxter presents his own reconstructions of the phonological structures of what Karlgren referred to as Ancient Chinese and Archaic Chinese.[20] He also discusses the important contributions by traditional Chinese phonologists toward the identification of the rime categories of the *Shijing,* the pioneering contributions by Bernhard Karlgren, and the alternative solutions to problems in Chinese historical phonology proposed by Chinese, Japanese, and Western scholars in the last half century.

Siblings in Families of Chinese Words

Bernhard Karlgren's paper "Word families in Chinese" (1933) is divided into two sections. In the first, Karlgren pursues

his reconstruction of Archaic Chinese and also discusses certain proposals put forward by Walter Simon and Li Fang Kuei, which he partly accepts. In the second section, he establishes a great number of Archaic Chinese "word families" and discusses the phonological frames within which the related words appear. The aim of the investigation is described as follows:

> One of the great goals of Chinese historical linguistics is to prepare the ground for comparative Sinitic linguistics—a systematic comparison of Chinese, the T'ai languages and the Tibeto-Burman languages, which are all undoubtedly cognate though widely differentiated idioms. But in my opinion it will not do to pick out isolated Chinese *words* and compare them with isolated Tibetan or Siamese words. It stands to reason that Chinese does not consist of so and so many thousands of independent monosyllables, none of them cognate to any others; in Chinese, as in all other languages, the words form families, groups of cognate words formed from one and the same primary stem. It is not allowable to identify Chinese Archaic *mi̯ôk* "eye" with Tibetan *mig* "eye" so long as we have not first established the word family to which *mi̯ôk* belongs. Akin to *mi̯ôk* is undoubtedly the Archaic Chinese word *mi̯ôg,* "pupil of the eye": and it is just as likely that it is this *mi̯ôg* which corresponds directly to the Tibetan *mig.* In other words: before Sinitic comparative linguistics can be safely tackled there remains a great task to be solved in each of the language groups concerned. In Chinese the words must be sorted and grouped according to genetic affinity. And the same must be done in T'ai and in Tibeto-Burman. Then, but only then, we can start comparing the word groups of these three great branches and hope for reliable results.

Karlgren chooses to frame the word families with the aid of the consonants at the beginning and the end of the Archaic Chinese syllables. The initial consonants are divided into the following four groups:

A. *k-, k'-, g-, g'-, ng-, χ-, ·-*
B. *t-, t'-,d-, d'-, t̂-, t̂'-, d̂-, d̂'-; tṣ-, tṣ'-, dẓ-, dẓ'-, tṣ-, tṣ'- dẓ-, ś-, s-, z-, ṣ*
C. *n-, ń-, l-*
D. *p-, p'-, b'-, m-*

The final consonants are divided into the following three groups:

1. *-ng, -k, -g*
2. *-m, -p, -b*
3. *-n, -t, -d, -r* (final *-r* has been shown to be a tonally conditioned allophone of *-d*).

In view of the fact that Tibetan is characterized by a highly developed *ablaut* system that allows for many vowel variations within the same stem, Karlgren abstains from dividing the Archaic Chinese vowels into groups, nor does he account for tonal distinctions.

By combining the initial and the final consonant groups in all possible ways (A1, B1, C1, etc.) and filling the resultant frames with vowels, Karlgren succeeds in establishing a great number of word groups exhibiting phonetic and semantic similarities. He makes a point of suggesting that the results are tentative:

> I am far from affirming that all the words in each group *are cognate;* I only mean to say that they *may be suspected* of being cognate. In a few cases the affinity is absolutely obvious and certain. In many more it is strongly probable. In the rest it is only possible and at least worth discussion. So each small "family group" has to be considered merely as a kind of *frame,* containing materials from which a choice will have to be made in future. Definite results can only be gained by comparative Sinitic researches, for the phonetic similarity can sometimes very well be deceptive.

Karlgren's first "word family" comprises the following morphemes:

> 景 **kiang* "bright," 鏡 **kiang* "mirror," 光 **kwâng* "light," 晃 **g'wâng* "bright," 煌 **g'wâng* "brilliant," 旺 **giwang* "bright," 瑩 **giwang* "glittering," 耿 **kěng* "brilliant," 頲 **kiwəng* "light," 螢 **g'iweng* "glow-worm," 杲 **kog* "bright," 赫 **χăk* "brilliant," 熙 **χiəg* "bright," 熹 **χiəg* "bright," 曉 **χiog* "dawn," 英 **·iang* "bright."

In the following section of his paper, Karlgren exhaustively describes the phonetic variations in the various parts of the Archaic Chinese syllable (initial consonants, medials, vowels, and final consonants) occurring within the tentative word families. In "Final remarks," Karlgren touches upon a point of great importance for the understanding of the morphological and syntactic structure of Archaic Chinese:

> We have seen thousands of examples in which the language by their aid has formed parallel words for the same notion or phonetically more or less differentiated words for kindred notions. But do the alternations not sometimes serve as *expressions for purely grammatical functions in a narrower sense?* They certainly do, but this is an extremely complicated topic to which I hope to revert in another work (*op. cit.* pages 118–119).

Karlgren here confines himself to showing that certain instances of phonetic variation signal a transition from one part of speech to another, or similar grammatical distinctions. Examples of this are the following:

> 從 **tsi̯ung* "follower": **dz'i̯ung* "to follow"; 校 **kŏg* "school"; **g'ŏg* "to study"; 背 **pwəg* "back": 偝 **b'wəg* "to turn the back on someone"; 子 **tsi̯əg* "child": 字 **dz'i̯əg,* "to give birth"; 干 **kân* "shield": 扞 **g'ân* "to ward off"; 長 **d'i̯ang* "to be long": **d'iang* "to grow"; 見 **kian* "to see, to look at": 現 **g'ian* "to be seen"; 妻 **ts'i̯ər* "mate, wife": 齊 **dz'iər* "to be equal"; 惡 **·âk* "evil": **·âg* "to consider evil, to hate"; 度 **d'âk* "to measure": **d'âg* "a measure"; 廣 **kwâng* "broad": 擴 **k'wâk* "to broaden"; 小 **si̯og* "to be small": 少 **ṣŏg* "to be few"; 入 **ńi̯əp* "to enter": 納 **nəp*" to introduce": 内 **nwəb* "the interior."

In his popular book *The Chinese Language, an Essay on its Nature and History* (1949), Karlgren provides more examples of phonetic variation within Archaic Chinese word families. In the article "Cognate words in the Chinese phonetic series" (1956), he shows that the inventors of the Chinese script were well aware of the extent of variation permissible within the framework of the word families.

The Bold Pioneer

In a letter to Lundell of April 5, 1920, Bernhard Karlgren mentions that he recently has sent a long article to the *Journal Asiatique* that deals with case inflection in Archaic Chinese personal pronouns:

> The language spoken by Confucius stood on the same level as French does today: case inflection has been dropped except in pronouns which always are conservative. My article, which Pel-

> liot in a letter already has declared himself to believe in, as a matter of fact is rather revolutionary, don't you think?

The article, entitled "Le proto-chinois, langue flexionelle" ("Proto-Chinese, an inflected language," 1920), confirmed Bernhard Karlgren's reputation as a scholar. By way of introduction, Karlgren refers to an article by August Conrady, "Der altchinesische Fragesatz und der steigende Ton" ("The Archaic Chinese interrogative sentence and the rising tone"), in which the author shows that substantial parts of the vocabulary of classical Chinese consisted of bisyllabic words.[21] Karlgren also notes that changes in the initial consonant and the tone of certain morphemes, which he viewed as remnants of prefixes in Proto-Chinese, served to express derived grammatical functions. If it were possible to ascertain that the Chinese language in its earliest stages possessed inflections, like declinations and conjugations, it would no longer appear essentially different from Western languages.

Karlgren based his study on an investigation of the first person pronouns 吾 *wu* and 我 *wo* in the canonical work *Lunyu* ("The Analects"). He finds that the pronoun 吾 occurs 113 times in the text: 95 times as subject, 15 times as attribute, and 3 times as object. In the three instances of 吾 occurring as object, it is placed before the verb, a position normally filled by the subject. The pronoun 我 occurs 46 times in the text, 16 times as subject, 4 times as attribute, and 26 times as object. Karlgren notes that 吾 predominantly occurs as subject and as an attribute, while 我 occurs as both subject and object, though rarely as attribute. The Indo-European languages provide many examples of pronominal object forms usurping positions originally reserved for pronominal subjects. Karlgren asserts that the same phenomenon has occurred in classical Chinese. In the work attributed to Mencius (372–289 B.C.), the pronominal forms 吾 and 我 are distributed in the following way: 吾 occurs 76 times as subject, 47 times as attribute, and no single time as object. 我 occurs 68 times as subject, 14 times as attribute, and 53 times as object. We find here that the form 我 to a higher extent than in the *Lunyu* has usurped the position of the subject.

Karlgren also shows that the distinction between 吾 and 我 is valid also for the chronicle *Zuozhuan* (fourth century B.C.). In that large text 吾 occurs 369 times as subject, 223 times as attribute, and only 4 times as object. Classical Chinese, like the modern language, had normal word order (SVO = Subject—Verb—Object). Comparative research within the Sinitic language family has shown that the original word order was inverted: SOV. The inverted word order has in classical Chinese been retained only in negative sentences. The four occurrences of 吾 as object in the *Zuozhuan* obtain in preverbal position in negated sentences. The pronoun 我 occurs 231 times as subject, 126 times as attribute, and 257 times as object. We thus find that in the *Zuozhuan,* as in the *Lunyu* and the *Mencius,* the pronoun 吾 is predominantly used as subject and attribute, while the pronoun 我 in different degrees has usurped the position of the subject pronoun.

When Bernhard Karlgren wrote this article, he could only refer to his Ancient Chinese reconstructions: *nguo* for 吾 and *ngâ* for 我. In Karlgren's reconstruction of Archaic Chinese, the corresponding forms are **ngo* and **ngâ,* respectively. (On good grounds, Karlgren's **-o* has been revised to *-âg*.)[22] While Karlgren asserted that his "case declination" involved a change of vowels, we therefore find that both forms have identical initial consonants and vowels, and that the contrast between the two forms is upheld by the presence and absence, respectively, of final *-g*.

Karlgren goes one step further and also investigates the distinction between the second person pronouns 汝 *ru* and 爾 *er,* which are less frequent that the first person pronouns 吾 and 我. He finds here a less pronounced tendency for 汝 to appear as subject and attribute, while the object form 爾, like 我, also serves as subject and attribute. Karlgren's reconstructed Ancient Chinese pronunciations of 汝 and 爾 are *ńźi̯wo* and *ńźiĕ,* respectively, which forms reflect Archaic Chinese **ńi̯o* (which should be revised to **ńi̯ag* and **ńi̯a,* respectively). Thus we find also here that the contrast between the two forms is upheld by the presence and absence, respectively, of final *-g*.

One difficulty with Karlgren's thesis concerning pronominal case distinctions in the texts *Lunyu, Mencius,* and

Zuozhuan is that similar distinctions are not found in texts such as the *Shijing* and the *Shujing,* which are several centuries older. Karlgren's explanation of this phenomenon is that the older texts were based on different dialects, in which case distinctions had early been lost. The *Lunyu* and the *Mencius,* on the other hand, are based on the highly conservative dialect of the state of Lu, the home state of Confucius, a dialect that differed from, but at the same time shared, certain traits in common with the dialect on which the *Zuozhuan* was based. Karlgren considers that explanation more plausible than the assumption that case distinction is an innovation in certain texts of the late Zhou period.

In the article "On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan" (1926), which has had a great impact on the development of modern textual criticism in China, Bernhard Karlgren deals with the work that he himself rated highest among texts of the late Zhou period. An account of the *Zuozhuan* and of Karlgren's study of the text requires a fairly long excursion into the fields of canonical literature and textual criticism.

The work *Chunqiu* ("The Spring and Autumn Chronicle"), one of thirteen canonical texts of Confucianism, is a laconic and dry-as-dust account of the most important events in the state of Lu, part of present Shandong province, in the period 722–481 B.C. According to a tradition, which Karlgren helped to invalidate, Confucius (551–479 B.C.) compiled this work on the basis of the annals of the state of Lu. The chronicle, which lacks literary merit, was early used as a handbook of government. An early tradition asserts that the work contains certain moral evaluations (*bao bian,* "praise and blame"), expressed by means of a sophisticated system of stylistic variation in the text, for which Confucius was responsible. Many attempts have been made to interpret the supposed inner essence of the *Chunqiu.* To the most important of these belong the *Gongyang zhuan* and the *Guliang zhuan,* both probably dating from the third century B.C.

The *Zuozhuan* gives a detailed, and probably to a great extent historically reliable, account of the events and the up-

per-class culture in the various feudal states in the period 722–468 B.C. The work, which possesses great literary merit, was probably based on earlier historical sources and cycles of legends. Its homogeneous style indicates that it was written down by *one* person. Of its author nothing is known. We do not even know how its title should be interpreted. Quite early, probably during the Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), the *Zuozhuan* came to be linked to the *Chunqiu*, which covers about the same period. Detailed biographies of rulers and eminent men that may have constituted the framework of the original *Zuozhuan* were cut up into shorter or longer segments, which were inserted as commentaries on the laconic entries in the *Chunqiu*. At the same time, the *Zuozhuan* text was augmented by comments similar to those of the *Gongyang zhuan* and the *Guliang zhuan*. These additions are stylistically different from the main body of the text. The anonymous author of the *Zuozhuan* stands out as a superb narrator. The pregnant style of the narrative passages is often interrupted by rapid and lively dialogue that skillfully mirrors the colloquial of the time. The work also contains many lofty speeches whose rhetorical tricks and many quotes from the *Shijing* and the *Shujing* epitomize the virtues of the Confucian school.

Bernhard Karlgren's article "On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan" consists of two parts. In the first, he deals with the textual history of the work and with differing views on its authenticity; in the second part, he investigates the grammatical structure of the text and its relation to that of other texts. One question that has been debated for two millennia concerns whether the *Zuozhuan* is a genuine work from before the burning of books ordered by the Emperor of Qin in 213 B.C., or whether it is a forgery, perpetrated some time between 191 B.C., when the ban on books was rescinded, and the reign of the Han emperor Ai (6–1 B.C.), when the *Zuozhuan* first became the subject of open debate. If the work dates from before 213 B.C., it can be regarded as a reliable source of knowledge about historical events in the period 722–468, based on the archives in the various feudal states. If, on the other hand, the work was compiled after 213 B.C., when essential parts of the early lit-

erature are thought to have been destroyed, its information about past events must be considered less reliable.

Learned Chinese commentators throughout the ages have pointed out certain discrepancies relating to the recording of names and points of time in the *Chunqiu* and the *Zuozhuan* and therefore concluded that the latter work is a forgery. Bernhard Karlgren counters that argument by pointing out that China's early literature was transmitted partly by written copies and partly by oral tradition, from teacher to disciple. When a text is memorized, sentence by sentence, with a strict observance of prosodic features, there is little risk that the structure of the text will be distorted. Prosodically identical segments, on the other hand, such as two-syllabic or three-syllabic names or indications of time using two cyclical characters, can easily be distorted. As an example of this, Karlgren cites the similarity between the two cyclical combinations 甲辰 *jia-chen* (Archaic Chinese ***kap-d̑i̯ən*) and 甲申 *jia-shen* (Archaic Chinese **kap-śi̯ĕn*), which designate the forty-first and the twenty-first positions in the traditional counting scheme of sixty days. Karlgren regrets that textual criticism in China has failed to give due attention to the oral tradition of texts.

The school of textual criticism that Karlgren most severely criticizes in his article had an important representative in Liu Fenglu (1776–1829), whose maternal grandfather Zhuang Cunyu (1719–88) was an expert on the *Chunqiu* and the *Gongyang zhuan.* Zhuang Cunyu's study of these texts led to a revival of the bitter scholarly battle fought in the Han period between adherents of the Old Texts and the New Texts.

In early Han, certain texts were discovered, written in the script current before the script reform introduced in the reign of the First Emperor of Qin. These texts were called *guwen,* Old Texts. According to a historical source, a number of Old Text documents, among them the *Chunqiu,* were found in the mid-second century B.C., when an imperial prince ordered a wall in the former residence of Confucius to be torn down in order to extend his own palace. (Pelliot has shown that this account is based on a legend of the first century A.D.) A passage in the *Qian Hanshu* ("The History

of Western Han"), undoubtedly authentic, mentions that Liu Xin (ca. 50 B.C.–A.D. 23), archivist in the Imperial Library, had found some Old Text documents, among them the *Chunqiu* and the hitherto unavailable *Zuozhuan.* From this account it is clear that the *Zuozhuan* had been known earlier, though only through oral transmission. Liu Xin belonged to a family related to the Imperial House of Han: his ancestor was the younger brother of the founder of the dynasty. Liu Xin's father Liu Xiang (ca. 79–ca 6 B.C.) was an eminent scholar, serving as an official expert on the *Guliang zhuan,* which belonged to the New Text School. In 26 B.C., the emperor ordered the scrutiny of rare documents throughout the state. In this connection, Liu Xiang was ordered to collate the canonical, philosophical, and poetic texts in the Palace Library. Once the works had been collated and copied onto bamboo slips, Liu Xiang compiled bibliographical notes on each text, which were submitted to the emperor together with the books. Liu Xin made a summary of his father's notes and compiled the catalogue *Qilüe* ("The seven summaries"), which constitutes the basis for the *Yiwenzhi* ("bibliographical chapter") of the *Qian Hanshu* ("History of the Former Han").

At the beginning of his career, Liu Xin, together with Wang Mang (45 B.C.–A.D. 23), served as adjutant at the Imperial Court. Wang Mang, who was related to the Imperial House on his mother's side, eventually succeeded in usurping power in the state. In A.D. 9, he ascended the throne as emperor of the Xin dynasty, which lasted a mere fourteen years and which in traditional Chinese historiography has been regarded as an interregnum. Soon after Wang Mang's accession to the throne, Liu Xin was appointed *Guoshi,* "Teacher of the Nation." The learned Liu Xin took interest in the interpretation of portents that were recorded in texts such as the *Chunqiu* and the *Zuozhuan* and also reported to the court from various parts of the state. The fact that Liu Xin's interpretations of portents were used in the current political debate led to the accusation that he had misrepresented, or even forged, the *Zuozhuan* text.

During the Western Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 9), adherents of the New Text School had held sway, while adherents of the Old Text School achieved dominance during the Eastern Han

(23–220). The rivalry between the two schools was revived in the eighteenth century, when Liu Fenglu was anxious to strengthen the position of the *Gongyang zhuan* as a canonical text. During his study of the *Gongyang zhuan,* Liu Fenglu became interested in the *Chunqiu fanlu,* attributed to Dong Zhongshu (c.179–c.104 B.C.), a scholar of the Western Han. Liu Fenglu asserted that the *Chunqiu fanlu,* a text closely related to the *Gongyang* School, contained a summation of the political thoughts of Confucius. With the aid of the *Chunqiu fanlu* and He Xiu's (129–82) commentary on the *Gongyang zhuan,* Liu Fenglu attempted to interpret the cryptic stylistic formulae with which Confucius, according to tradition, had expressed praise and blame when compiling the *Chunqiu.* Liu Fenglu maintained that the *Zuozhuan* originally was not meant to serve as a commentary on the *Chunqiu,* and therein he was undoubtedly correct. He also maintained that it was Liu Xin who had cut up the *Zuozhuan* text and adapted it as a commentary to the *Chunqiu* in order to strengthen the position of the Old Text School.

Liu Fenglu's ideas were taken up and further elaborated *ad absurdum* by Kang Youwei (1858–1927), one of the leaders of the reform movement of 1898 who aimed at transforming the empire into a constitutional monarchy. Kang Youwei portrayed Confucius as a political reformer and found support for his theory in the fact that the Gongyang school regarded Confucius as *suwang,* "an uncrowned king." According to Kang Youwei, only texts belonging to the New Text School were authentic, and they had all been authored by Confucius. In order to disparage the Old Text School and its texts, Kang Youwei produced his *Xinxue weijing kao* ("An investigation of the forged canonical works of the Xin dynasty"), published in 1891, in which he accused Liu Xin of having forged the *Zuozhuan* and other texts in order to justify Wang Mang's usurpation of power.

The *Chunqiu* and *Chunqiu fanlu* and their textual histories were studied by Otto Franke in his *Studien zur Geschichte des konfuzianischen Dogmas und der chinesischen Staatsreligion: Das Problem des Tsch'un-ts'iu und Tung Tschung'schu's Tsch'un-ts'iu fanlu* ("Studies on the history of the Confucian dogma and the Chinese state religion; the problem of the *Chunqiu* and Dong Zhongshu's *Chunqiu*

fanlu," Hamburg, 1920). Franke gave a detailed account of Kang Youwei's radical ideas and maintained for his own part that the *Zuozhuan* never was meant to serve as a commentary on the *Chunqiu,* and that Liu Xin had made inadmissible changes in the text when he adapted it as a commentary on the *Chunqiu.* Having corrected Otto Franke's and James Legge's translations of the passage in the *Qian Hanshu* that relates Liu Xin's association with the *Zuozhuan,* Bernhard Karlgren provides clear evidence for the existence of the text before the time of Liu Xin.

In his translation of the *Shiji* ("*Mémoires historiques*"), Edouard Chavannes showed that, when citing early sources, Sima Qian (ca. 145–90 B.C.) often replaced rare and difficult expressions with more common and easily understandable formulations. In the paper under discussion, Karlgren lists many passages in the *Shiji* that clearly are adapted from the *Zuozhuan.* Sima Qian, who had taken over the great historiographical project from his father Sima Tan (d. 110 B.C.), completed the major part of the work by 99 B.C. Karlgren concludes that the *Zuozhuan* must have been written sometime between 468 and 100 B.C. The great question is whether the work was written before or after the book burning of 213 B.C. We have already seen that the ban on possession of books was withdrawn in 191 B.C. The learned Sima Tan and his equally learned son Sima Qian, who both served as historiographers at the Imperial Court and had access to its library and archives, would hardly have been taken in by a forgery perpetrated a few decades before their own time.

In order to conclusively prove the authenticity of the *Zuozhuan,* Bernhard Karlgren investigated a number of grammatical features in the text and found, after a comparison with other texts, that, taken together, these features constitute a grammatical structure unique to the *Zuozhuan.* Strangely enough, this is the first time purely linguistic criteria were used to solve philological problems relating to an early Chinese text.

In the paper "The Authenticity of Ancient Chinese texts" (1929), translated into both Chinese and Japanese, by way of

introduction Bernhard Karlgren mentions some of the works that have played a major role in textual criticism and in the authentication of texts: *Junzhai dushuzhi* ("Reading notes from the Junzhai Studio") by Chao Gongwu (twelfth century), *Zhizhai shulu jie ti* ("Bibliographical notices from the Zhizhai Studio") by Chen Zhensun (thirteenth century),[23] *Gujin weishu kao* ("Investigation of forged books ancient and modern") by Yao Jiheng (1647–1715)[24] and the enormous *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* ("Critical catalogue of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries").[25]

Having pointed out that China's traditional philologists often based their judgment on criteria that need to be reconsidered in the light of the methods of modern textual criticism, Karlgren proceeds to discuss nine main criteria commonly used by Chinese philologists.

From the occurrence of historical data in a text the investigator can determine the *terminus ante quem non* for the origin of the text (criterion 1).

Thanks to their thorough knowledge of the older literature, Chinese philologists have made extensive use of this criterion with good results. The fact that quotations from an ancient text found in an early edition of a given text do not appear in the modern version of that text may indicate that the text is a forgery (criterion 2). The early encyclopedias have played a great role in this connection. The most important of these encyclopedias are the *Yiwen leiju* ("Thematic compilation of literary sources")[26] from the Tang period and the *Taiping yulan* ("Material for Imperial reading of the *Taiping xingguo* reign period"), completed in 983.[27]

Chinese philologists have often refused to issue a certificate of authenticity for a given work on the grounds that its style is shallow and vulgar (criterion 3). According to Karlgren, this criterion, based as it is on subjective opinion, must be rejected.

Karlgren finds equally arbitrary the argument that the style of a text attributed to a certain author does not tally with the literary style of his period (criterion 4). In order to lend weight to that criterion, whoever makes use of it must identify the stylistic features involved and also answer the question of why they do not belong in the text under discussion.

Information about the *author* of a given text provided by later editors and commentators may be proven false and therefore the text must be a forgery (criterion 5). This criterion must be rejected.

Data concerning the transmission of a text compiled from different sources show such great time gaps that the authenticity of the text must be questioned (criterion 6). With the exception of the period 220–580, comprehensive catalogues of the Imperial Libraries were published for each dynasty. From the Song dynasty (960–1279) on, this documentation has been supplemented by catalogues of private collections. Too great gaps in the documentation of the transmission of a text may well indicate that the text is a forgery. Early sources, and especially book catalogues, may give different information on the number of sections (*pian*) or scrolls (*juan*) of a certain text. This has often been interpreted as a sign that the text has been tampered with or even forged (criterion 7). Karlgren points out that divergent information of this kind also relates to texts whose authenticity cannot be questioned. This criterion must therefore be used with great caution.

If a certain text A, whose authenticity is questioned, contains a quote from text B, which has been proved a forgery, text A must itself be a forgery (criterion 8). But how can we know, Karlgren asks, that the forger of text B did not intentionally include a passage from text A?

If a certain text A contains passages that occur in other ancient texts, text A must be a pastiche of such passages, with later additions (criterion 9). Karlgren points out that parallel passages, while playing a major role in textual criticism, must be treated with the greatest care. An author who borrows a passage from an earlier text may handle his loan in one of the following three ways: (1) he may take the passage such as it is, without altering it in any way, and insert it into his own text. In this case there are two possibilities: (a) the borrowed passage may grammatically or stylistically deviate from the text in which it has been inserted to such an extent that the reader immediately perceives that it has been taken from another text; (b) the borrowed passage does not differ, grammatically or stylistically, from the text in which it has been inserted. In this case it is impossible to

decide which of the two texts is primary. (2) The borrowed passage may have been transformed in a way that makes it appear to be a variation on the theme occurring in the original text. Also in this case it is impossible to decide which of the two texts is primary. (3) The borrowed passage may have been paraphrased, so that difficult and rare expressions have been replaced by easily comprehensible and common expressions. Karlgren here refers to his paper "On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan" (1926), in which he provides many examples of how Sima Qian in his *Shiji* paraphrased the *Zuozhuan.* Karlgren asserts that only the phenomena described under 1 (a) and 3 above can be used as criteria for the determination of the relation between two texts. Phenomena described under 1 (b) and 2 can, according to Karlgren, under no circumstances be relied on in textual criticism. This applies even when a certain text contains passages occurring *in a great many* early texts. The reason for this is that late Zhou writers made extensive use of a great store of common cultural goods and ideas, without in each case indicating their sources. In many cases, these early sources have been lost. It is not impossible that many sources were transmitted orally and never recorded.

In his paper, Karlgren exhaustively discusses the criterion that he earlier had used to determine the authenticity of the *Zuozhuan:* the grammatical system of a text displays certain traits that give the text a character of its own that cannot have been invented or imitated by a late forger. Having investigated a number of grammatical features in various texts, Bernhard Karlgren was able to prove the existence of a number of dialects in ancient China. One of these, the dialect of the feudal state of Lu, is represented by the texts *Lunyu* ("The Analects"), the *Mencius,* and parts of the ritual collection *Liji,* while the *Zuozhuan* represents a divergent dialect. Defining the meaning of the term *dialect* in this context, Karlgren writes:

> I do not have in mind here "des patois," the *t'u hua* dialects of the Chinese peasant villages, dialects of the lowest social strata, but dialects of the type of the ancient Greek, or, to take a nearer example, dialects as represented by the language of an edu-

> cated Shanghai man and an educated Pekinese. Something of that kind would reasonably have represented the difference between the languages of the literati in Lu, Chou, Wei, Ts'i etc., independent centers of civilization and learning, isolated from each other by political and geographical barriers (the marshes and forests, and the wild tribes living in the centre of China made communication difficult).

A comparison between the dialects of the educated Shanghai person and the educated Peking person, according to Karlgren, reveals great grammatical and phonetic differences, while the vocabulary is more or less common to both dialects. Karlgren has shown that the grammatical differences between ancient Chinese dialects can be defined through careful investigation of a number of key grammatical features. As a result of the logographic nature of the Chinese script, is it more difficult to specify differences in pronunciation. Early commentators occasionally provide information on dialectal divergence. A commentator of the third century of our era notes that the expression 桓表 *huanbiao* (Ancient Chinese *γuân pi̯äu*) in certain parts of the country was pronounced as 和表 *hebiao* (Ancient Chinese *γuâ pi̯äu*). According to Karlgren, the latter pronunciation reflects a dialectal de-nasalization of the first syllable, a phenomenon that characterizes many modern dialects. As to vocabulary, Karlgren suggests that it is difficult to demonstrate dialectal differences, as the received texts as a rule are rather short. That such differences obtained in ancient China is apparent from the fact that the *Zhuang Zi* uses the morpheme 船 *chuan* for "boat," while many other early texts use the morpheme 舟 *zhou*. The availability of indexes, concordances, and reliable databases covering all early Chinese texts has in our time greatly facilitated research on early vocabulary.

In his paper, Karlgren refers to the criticism that Alfred Forke and Henri Maspero level in their reviews of his "On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan" against his thesis concerning the existence of dialectal differences in early Chinese texts. Both Forke and Maspero assert that what Karlgren terms dialectal differences are nothing but stylistic variations. If Forke and Maspero were correct, it

would mean that the results of Karlgren's investigation of the grammar of the *Zuozhuan* would lack value as an argument in textual criticism. Karlgren writes:

> For whereas a dialectal difference is something tied to a certain place and a certain epoch, a passing phenomenon in a living language, and hence peculiar and hardly exposed to imitation (at least by people of later ages, who would scarcely even notice the peculiarities in the use of grammatical words), a difference of style is something obtaining in a literary language, an artificial phenomenon, *the essence of which is imitation.* If the Chou people were already so strongly sensitive to literary style that they created diverging grammatical systems for different styles, then of course the men of Han would have been so too and would have been able to forge "true to style." It is therefore of the utmost interest to examine whether I am right in speaking of different Chou period *dialects,* or Forke and Maspero are right in speaking of different *styles.*

According to Forke, China never possessed a literary language based on the spoken language. He considered the literary language of the Chou period an artificial product without connection to the colloquial of the time. No dialects could appear in a literary language, only separate styles: a poetic style, as in the *Shijing,* a prose style, as in the *Shujing,* a philosophical style, as in the *Lunyu* and the *Meng Zi,* and an historical style, as in the *Zuozhuan.* Karlgren objects to this opinion:

> Now, Forke's fundamental idea is so obviously erroneous. It ought to be clear to any unbiased reader that the dialogues of *Lun yü, Meng-tsï* and *Chuang-tsï,* the dramatically narrated episodes of the *Tso chuan* etc., are the purest possible reproductions of a spoken language. We can positively hear the speakers, with all their little curious turnings, anacoluthic sentences, exclamations etc.

As a good example of a colloquial dialogue of ancient China I have chosen a passage from the *Zuozhuan,* translated into English by Burton Watson. The dialogue takes place just before the great battle at Yanling in 575 B.C., when the army of the state of Jin defeated the army of the king of Chu. The unknown author of the *Zuozhuan* allows the course

of events to be revealed through a dialogue between the king of Chu and Po Chou-li, a defector from the enemy side:

> The king of Ch'u climbed up into a towered carriage and gazed afar at the armies of Chin. Tzu-chung ordered the minister Po Chou-li to attend the king and stand behind him.
> "Why are those people rushing about to left and right?" asked the king.
> "They are calling together the army officers."
> "They are all gathering in the center of the camp!"
> "They are plotting their strategy."
> "They're putting up a tent!"
> "So they may respectfully consult the former rulers by divination."
> "They are taking down the tent!"
> "They are going to issue the orders."
> "Such a commotion, and all that dust rising!"
> "They are filling in their wells and smashing their cooking pots in preparation for the advance."
> "They're all mounting their carriages! Now those on the left and right are holding their weapons and dismounting!"
> "They will take the oath of battle."
> "Will they fight now?"
> "I cannot tell yet."
> "They've mounted, but now those on the left and right are getting down again!"
> "The prayer of battle."[28]

Burton Watson points out that with the exception of the phrase "asked the king" after the first question, there is no identification of the speaker. Exactly as in a modern novel, context alone reveals who the speaker is. Watson's translation is an exact mirror of the original text. Even a reader with a less developed linguistic sensitivity is bound to appreciate the colloquial style of the dialogue.

Maspero also asserted that the grammatical differences characterizing the texts investigated by Karlgren represented different styles, rather than dialects. Maspero distinguishes between the historical style used in the chronicles *Chunqiu* and *Zhushu jinian* ("The Bamboo Annals"); the style of the historical romance, used in the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guoyu* ("Tales of the states"); the philosophical style, used in the *Lunyu,* the *Meng Zi,* and the *Zhuang Zi;* the documentary

style, used in the *Shujing,* and finally the poetic style, found in the *Shijing.* He also refers to the *Fangyan* ("Dialects") by Yang Xiong (53 B.C.–A.D. 18), which lists synonyms collected from different dialects, and argues that early Chinese texts ought to exhibit differences in vocabulary, if they really were based on different dialects. Karlgren raises the following objections:

> Is it likely in the ancient China of the middle and late Chou period, from which we know of only a score of literary products, when the Confucian aphorisms still show evident traces of being colloquial utterances with difficulty turned into connected writing—is it likely that there had developed five (5!) different and fairly strictly observed literary styles, each characterized by a system of its own in the use of the auxiliaries and the pronouns?

Karlgren also argues that the grammatical differences between the various philosophical texts are so great that it is impossible to speak of a uniform philosophical style. The same is also true of the other styles discussed by Maspero.

In the article "The early history of the Chou li and Tso chuan texts" (1931), Karlgren renews his attack on Kang Youwei, who in his work *Xinxue weijing kao* had tried to prove that not only the *Zuozhuan,* but also the *Zhouli* ("The rites of the Zhou") and other works belonging to the Old Text School, had been forged by Liu Xin. The theses of Kang Youwei, which are not supported by the strict methodology of textual criticism, unfortunately seem to have exerted a rather strong influence on textual research in the twentieth century.

The *Zhouli,* also entitled *Zhouguan* ("Officials of the Zhou"), offers a largely utopian account of the complicated administrative organization of early Zhou, with detailed descriptions of higher and lower officials and their areas of responsibility. *Zhouli* was among the texts of the Old Text School that were discovered during the reign of Emperor Wu (140–87 B.C.). The learned scholars of the Han period had different opinions on the dating of the work. The great

exegete Zheng Xuan (127–200) maintained that the *Zhouli* had been authored by Zhou Gong, the Duke of Zhou, brother of Wu Wang, the founder of the dynasty. Zheng Xuan's contemporary He Xiu (129–182), a learned scholar who wrote commentaries on works belonging to both the Old and the New Text School, maintained that the *Zhouli* was a product of the Zhanguo ("Warring States") period (481–221 B.C.). Among Western scholars, also, opinions have been divided. Pelliot argued that *Zhouli* was a utopian product of Han time, while Maspero held that it was produced in the third century B.C, but contained later interpolations. Karlgren shared Maspero's opinion and maintained that the work was produced about 300 B.C., when the feudal structure of the Zhou had crumbled away, as a memento of the ideal society of the past.

Bernhard Karlgren considered it his task to prove, with the aid of purely philological methods, that the accusation against Liu Xin totally lacked foundation. In the article "On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan," he showed that Sima Qian in his *Shiji* often paraphrased passages from the *Zuozhuan,* which therefore could not have been forged by Liu Xin, who lived one hundred years later. In the article under discussion, Karlgren shows that unequivocal quotes from and references to both the *Zuozhuan* and the *Zhouli* occur not only in the *Shiji* but also in texts that unquestionably date from the second century, and in some case perhaps even from the third century, B.C.

The end of Bernhard Karlgren's article is worth quoting *in extenso:*

> The aim of the present investigation was in the first place to vindicate the value of the Chou li and the Tso chuan texts as truly archaic Chinese writings, which can be freely used for archaeological, historical and philological researches. But the question has a moral side as well. A scholar's honor is a precious thing—and it is all the same, to my mind, whether he is a contemporary fashionable Western professor of philology, or a Chinese philologist of 2000 years ago. The one is as much entitled to justice as the other. We have to be pretty careful before we call a modern (and especially a contemporary) text editor a fraud and a forger; we have to substantiate our accusation with solid facts indeed. I do not see why we should be less severe in

> our demands for binding proofs when it is a question of one of the ancient heroes of Chinese letters, a man whose genius, learning, energy and enthusiasm we have to thank for most of what we know of Chinese ancient bibliography. Our investigation seems to me to clear him entirely from the accusations brought against him during many centuries. I think it highly desirable that justice be done to this great scholar who has deserved well of his country.

Unfinished Inceptions

A few letters in the Karlgren family archive indicate that, together with his colleague and friend Georg Morgenstierne, professor in Comparative Linguistics with Sanskrit, Bernhard Karlgren planned to carry out an investigation of Tibetan dialects with the aid of a word list. The word list consists of six hundred words, in both English and Swedish. The following directions were attached to the list:

> Note: No learned words, but popular, local words (pure colloquial). Clear indications of place and tribe (preferably shown on map). Provide a short tale in connected language, for example from the Bible, such as the story of the Prodigal Son, with word-by-word, interlinear translation.

Presumably the word list was meant to be sent to missionaries in Tibet. No results of the investigation are accounted for in the scholarly publications of Karlgren and Morgenstierne.

From Bernhard Karlgren's correspondence with the eminent Danish linguist and Sinologist Kurt Wulff (1881–1939), it appears that in the 1920s he had plans to compile an index of foreign names and expressions in Chinese transcription together with Wulff. Wulff had apparently discussed with Karlgren his plans to compile an index of Chinese transcriptions of Turkish words. In a letter to Wulff of May 8, 1927, Karlgren writes that he cannot take part in Wulff's project:

> The idea behind my planned Index would be to deal with the whole lot of foreign names and expressions in Chinese transcription down to about 750 A.D., in one volume and according to uniform principles. To separate the Turkish words and deal

> with them in a totally different manner would destroy the character of the project. Besides, it is quite impossible *a priori* to decide what is Turkish and what is Tungusic, Tangutic, Indo-European etc. The very advantage of a comprehensive index would be that scholars would have to collaborate in "sharing the spoils." That I am the one who wishes to compile such an index is of course due to the fact that it would serve as a practical utilization of my earlier reconstructions of the language of the 6th century, which incidentally tally exceedingly well with the transcriptions of Sanskrit.
>
> I understand from your letter that it is important to you to be able also to deal with the Chinese transcriptions of the Turkish words and utilize the Chinese texts (I imagine that this is important also for your future as Sinologist at Copenhagen University). This is a point of view which I am most anxious to respect; I find nothing more objectionable than to stand in a colleague's way and, so to say, deflower a field where he hopes to make a contribution that would benefit scholarship and also further his own cause. I therefore beg you to be convinced that I have no wish to proceed ahead of you. As my project must be carried out as one entity, and as that unavoidably would lead to a collision, I am prepared to sacrifice my great plan. Or rather: I shall temporarily put aside my preparations and wait a couple years, until I see how your project is proceeding; I shall inform my German sponsors that I have to postpone my project, as I fear that I otherwise may upset a colleague's plans.

The second part of the letter shows that Bernhard Karlgren was well aware of Kurt Wulff's precarious situation. In spite of his comprehensive and solid linguistic training, and in spite of the strong support of eminent language professors at Copenhagen University, Wulff had long been denied an academic post. In 1926, he was employed as assistant librarian at the Royal Library, which post was linked to a lectureship in Chinese at the University. Two years later, he obtained a readership in East Asian Languages, especially Chinese. During his eleven years as docent at Copenhagen University, Wulff taught both modern and classical Chinese. It is interesting to note that he chose the same texts as Bernhard Karlgren for his classes: the *Zuozhuan,* the *Shiji,* the *Liji,* the *Meng Zi,* Pu Songling's *Liaozhai zhi yi,* and the seventeenth century novel *Haoqiu zhuan.*

Six years after his correspondence with Wulff, Bernhard Karlgren published his article "Some Turkish Transcriptions in the Light of Irregular Aspirates in Mandarin" (1933).

ABC Travels East

On January 19, 1928, Bernhard Karlgren gave a lecture before the China Society in London, entitled "The Romanization of Chinese." By way of introduction, he argued that there is a need for three entirely different romanization systems:

A. A *philological system,* strictly phonetic, for scientific language study
B. A *Sinological system,* for dictionaries, textbooks, treatises on Chinese history, etc.
C. A *popular system,* to be used by the Chinese themselves in creating a new colloquial literature and for use in newspapers, etc.

In the lecture, which cannot have cost Bernhard Karlgren much effort to prepare, among other things he discusses the romanization system created by Sir Thomas Francis Wade (1818–95), a British diplomat and for many years minister in Peking. The system was modified in several respects by Herbert Allan Giles (1845–1935), who in 1892 published his large work *A Chinese-English Dictionary,* which is still useful. For over a hundred years, the Wade-Giles system has been used all over the world, in both learned and popular publications. Even if China's official romanization system, *pinyin* ("sound spelling"), adopted by the Chinese People's Congress in 1958, has recently been accepted by many learned institutions in the West, some great museums and libraries the world over have retained the Wade-Giles system.

According to Karlgren, one of the advantages of the Wade-Giles system is that it is based on *one* dialect, Northern Mandarin as spoken in Peking. The system is also international in the sense that it is not tailor-made for users whose mother tongue is English. As an example, Karlgren notes that Wade chose the form *ku* instead of *koo, niu* instead of *new, lai* instead of *lie* or *lye,* and *fei* instead of *fay.* As the English lan-

guage lacks the vowel occurring in French *tu,* Wade chose to let this sound be represented by German *ü.* By sacrificing spellings that had gained acceptance in English, Wade succeeded in creating a system that has been accepted across all language borders. In that respect the Wade-Giles system differs from the French system, which is built on the phonetic values of French. That system was introduced in 1902, at Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, and has been used ever since by French Sinologists.[29] Karlgren finds certain features of the Wade-Giles system objectionable. To them belong the silent *h* at the end of a syllable, as in *hsieh, hsüeh, shih,* the use of *hs* to denote the palatal fricative, and the use of *ch* and *ch'* to denote both the supradental affricates, as in *cha* and *ch'a,* and the palatal affricates, as in *chi* and *ch'i.*

Karlgren discusses further how the four tones of standard Chinese may best be represented in transcription. He finds that the raised figures, placed after the transcribed syllable in the Wade-Giles system, mark tonal categories, rather than the musical quality of the tones. Some romanization systems use diacritics, placed immediately above the main vowel of the syllable, as in *chú, mài, gè.* Karlgren finds this to be "theoretically false and practically inappropriate." He therefore prefers to place the diacritics after the transcribed syllable, as he does in his *Mandarin Phonetic Reader.* For transcription systems of type C, the situation is quite another:

> The C system, which will have to be created in order to make it possible for the Chinese to write a new, modern, colloquial literature in Roman letters, must be very different from the Wade system or any other of our Western systems with their numerous apostrophes, tone marks, diacritical marks, and so on. The Chinese must demand a spelling which runs easily, with only the ordinary letters on a typewriter, and with no time-wasting signs or marks. And yet these simple letters must be capable of expressing not only the consonants and vowels of Pekingese, but also the tones, for otherwise the romanized text would be unreadable. There would be too many homonyms, syllables which look identical in script, though they are different to the ear because of the tones. It is evident, that in order to create such a simple, practical, easy-running system, the Chinese will have to sacrifice *to a certain extent* the phonetic truth. They cannot afford to be particular and keep the more scientifically correct *pa: p'a,*

> *ku: k'u,* etc., for the apostrophes will be too cumbersome. They will have to write fearlessly *ba: pa, gu: ku* without worrying about the precise values of *b* and *p* in English or French. They will have to grab them and adopt them for the peculiar sounds of their own language, and tell Western sinologues that they do not care the least if it is not correct from an international phonetic point of view. And as they cannot write figures or accents for their tones which would be too awkward and slow, they will have to express the tones by variations in the spelling of a syllable according as it has the 1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th tone.

The transcription system created by Chao Yuen Ren and others (*Gwoyeu Romatzyh,* or *G. R.*) Karlgren refused to accept as it "has the fault of deviating too far from phonetic truth to be practical." Following a suggestion by Lin Yutang, the creators of the G. R. system incorporated the marking of tones in the *spelling.*[30] The following table exemplifies the "tonal" spelling:

Ta tar taa tah
Je jer jee jeh
Tan tarn taan tann
Di dyi dii dih
Shiu shyu sheu shiuh
Hua hwa hoa huah
Hai hair hae hay
Hau haur hao haw

Bernhard Karlgen does not seem to have appreciated what may be considered the greatest advantage of the G. R. system, namely its ability to link syllables together to form words. Most words of the standard language consist of two or more syllables, which with the aid of the G. R. system can be written together to form one graphic unit: *huoochejann,* "railway station"; *tzyhyoushyhchaang,* "free market." Another great advantage is that the tonal spelling helps to create word images that make it easy for the student to remember the tone of the morpheme: a student who knows that the Chinese word for "horse" is spelled *maa* will remember that the syllable is pronounced in the third tone. It is interesting to note that in 1928 Karlgren presupposed that China must adopt romanization in order to create a new literature based on the colloquial language.

9
Stockholm, 1939–1959: The Legendary Master

The East Asian Collection

On July 20, 1939, bernhard karlgren was appointed to a personal Chair at the East Asian Collection, which carried with it the directorship of the Collection. The East Asian Collection, already then considered one of the finest in Europe, had a short but intense previous history, in which Crown Prince Gustav Adolf, the geologist Johan Gunnar Andersson, and the railway engineer Orvar Karlbeck played important roles.

In his youth, the Crown Prince had studied Classical and Nordic Archaeology at Uppsala University. During a visit to London in 1908, he became interested in Chinese porcelain, an interest that later broadened to include ceramics, bronzes, jade, and lacquer ware. In 1914, he took the initiative to mount the first great exhibition of Chinese art in Stockholm. Several of the exhibits came from his own collection; others had been borrowed from collections in Sweden, England, and Germany. In 1921, the Crown Prince was elected chairman of the China Committee, which had been founded two years earlier for the purpose of supporting the geological and palaeographical research that Johan Gunnar Andersson (1874–1960) had been conducting in China since 1914.

Andersson (popularly known as "China-Gunnar") had studied at Uppsala University, where he became associate professor in Geology in 1905. In 1901–03, he took part in the Swedish explorer Otto Nordenskjöld's Antarctic Expedition. In 1906, he was appointed professor and head of Sweden's Institute of Geology. He took a leave of absence in 1914 to serve as adviser to the Chinese government in mining af-

fairs, a post he held until 1924. During his geological prospecting in China in 1921, Andersson made rich finds of artifacts and pottery from the Neolithic period close to the village of Yangshao in the province of Henan. During excavations in the province of Gansu in 1923–24, Andersson and his Chinese collaborators succeeded in localizing and investigating no less than fifty prehistoric sites. When Andersson returned to Sweden in 1925, he brought with him a large quantity of prehistoric artifacts. According to an agreement with the Chinese government, a portion of these were to be returned to China, after having been scientifically studied in Sweden. Unfortunately, much of the material sent back to China was lost during the Japanese invasion.

In 1925, Andersson was appointed professor of Geology at Stockholm University. In the same year, the China Committee offered to hand over to the Swedish government the valuable material that Andersson had brought home from China, on the condition that "scientific study of the material could be safeguarded and guaranteed and that the major part of the collection could be secured in a Swedish museum." On March 5, the government authorized the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities to accept the collection on behalf of the Crown and at the same time appointed Andersson professor of Far Eastern Archaeology and head of the East Asian Collection.

In 1928–35, the collection was considerably enlarged through purchases made by Orvar Karlbeck (1879–1967) on behalf of the China Committee. Karlbeck, who as a young railway engineer had gone to China in 1906, worked on the railroad linking Peking and Shanghai for nearly twenty years. During his work on the railroad, Karlbeck managed to collect a large quantity of archaeological material, mainly consisting of bronzes and ceramics. During these years, Karlbeck acquired an expert knowledge of archaeology, which benefited both the Crown Prince's private collection and the East Asian Collection.

In a cabinet council protocol attached to the government bill, the minister of Cultural Affairs recommended that the East Asian Collection, after the retirement of J. G. Andersson ("by which time the Collection ought to have been scientifically worked up"), should be placed under the supervision

of one of the curators of the Historical Museum. Andersson and the China Committee naturally feared that a realization of this plan would severely threaten the future of the collection. In a petition to the government commission established in 1935 to consider the development of Swedish museums, Andersson pointed out that it would be highly desirable to appoint a scientifically qualified person as director of the collection. Andersson's petition concluded with the suggestion that Bernhard Karlgren be appointed as his successor. The museum commission recommended that the East Asian Collection be amalgamated with the "Sinica-department" of the National Museum and the Asian collections at the Ethnographical Museum. The commission also recommended that research on the material in the East Asian Collection continue "a few years after the retirement of Professor Andersson."

On January 25, 1937, the China Committee submitted a memorandum to the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities that stressed that, thanks to private donations and the services of J. G. Andersson, the China Committee had supplied the State with unique palaeontological and archaeological collections, unmatched in any Western museum, and that the committee even after 1926 had granted huge sums for further purchases, for the scientific study of the material and for the publishing of the *Bulletin of the East-Asia Collection* (later known as the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*), which had appeared in eight large volumes and had already acquired an important position in research on East Asia. The China Committee considered it of great importance that research should continue on the material, which, thanks to private sacrifices, had become State property. The scientific study of this material required a philological competence that could not be expected from a curator trained in prehistoric, Swedish, or classical archaeology. In Sweden, only one man could satisfactorily continue the scientific activity of Professor J. G. Andersson—namely, Karlgren. As evidence of Bernhard Karlgren's eminent position as an East Asian linguist and philologist, the memorandum mentions that he was one of only three Western scholars who had been elected to Academia Sinica, China's foremost scientific institution.[1] In ad-

dition, since 1929, Karlgren had greatly contributed to the scientific study of the material and published one or more substantial papers in each of the eight issues of the *Bulletin* that had so far appeared.

In support of its proposal that Bernhard Karlgren be appointed J. G. Andersson's successor, the China Committee referred to statements by Professor Otto Kümmel (1874–1951), director-general of the State Museums in Berlin, and Paul Pelliot, professor at the Collège de France. Professor Kümmel's statement is exceedingly positive:

> Prof. Karlgren steht wissenschaftlich so hoch, das kaum einer, am wenigsten ich, berufen ist, ihn kritisch zu würdigen. Jenes seiner Werke ist ein Ausgangspunkt. Sie stellen regelmässig neue und durchaus eigene Probleme und gehen stets völlig selbstständig an ihre Lösung. Bewundernswert ist seine umfassende Beherrschung des Stoffes und der ausserordenliche, beinahe mathematische Scharfsinn, der seine Untersuchungen auszeichnet. Mit seinen kühnen Lösungen wird nich jeder in allen Einzelheiten einverstanden sein, aber jeder wird eine Fülle von Anregung und Belehrung aus ihnen schöpfen. Mit Bezug auf das Amt, für das er vorgeschlagen werden soll, möchte ich besonders hervorheben, dass Prof. Karlgren keineswegs nur Sprachforscher ist, wenn er auch die Chinesische Sprache beherrscht wie kaum einer und gerade als Sprachforscher und Textkritiker allen voransteht. Seine archäologischen Arbeiten zeigen dieselbe Beherrschung des Stoffes und dieselbe Originalität in der Problemstellung. Nicht unerwähnt möchte ich lassen, dass er auch ein Meister volkstühmlicher Darstellung ist, wie sein kleines Werk "Sound and Symbol in China" zeigt, das in seiner art ebenfalls unübertrefflich ist. Ich wüsste auf der ganzen Welt niemand, der würdiger wäre, an die Stelle des hochverdienten Prof. Andersson zu treten. Nach meiner Ueberzeugung ist Prof. Karlgren ein Mann auf den Schweden allen Grund hat stolz zu sein. Er ist einer der ersten, wenn nich der erste, seines Faches, und er ist, soviel ich weiss, noch jung, so dass seine Hauptleistung erst noch zu erwarten ist.
>
> (Prof. Karlgren has such a high position as a scholar that hardly anyone, and least of all me, is fit to evaluate him critically. Each of his works forms a point of departure. As a rule his works pose new and altogether original problems and always approach their solution in an entirely independent manner. His broad command of the material and the extraordinary, almost mathe-

matical acuity which characterize his investigations are admirable. Not everyone may agree with all details in his bold solutions, but every reader will derive much inspiration and knowledge from them. As to the position for which he has been nominated I particularly wish to point out that Professor Karlgren by no means is only a linguist, even though he has a better command of the language than anyone else and stands out as unsurpassed as a linguist and scholar of textual criticism. His archaeological works show the same command of the material and the same originality in the approach to problems. I would also like to mention that he is a master of popular presentation, which is shown by his little volume "Sound and Symbol in China," an incomparable work of its kind. I know of no one in the whole world who would be more worthy of taking the place of Professor Andersson, a scholar of great merit. I am firmly convinced that Professor Karlgren is a man of whom Sweden has every reason to be proud. He is one of the foremost, if not *the* foremost, in his field, and, as far as I know still young, why his major achievements may be expected in the future.)

Professor Pelliot's statement, while less exuberant, strongly supports the appointment:

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir qu'à mon avis le choix auquel vous songez serait excellent. Le professeur Karlgren, après s'être montré un linguiste d'une méthode rigoreuse, a abordé depuis quelques années l'étude systématique des bronzes chinois et a abouti à des résultats donc certain détails peuvent être encore discutés, mais qui ont certainement la construction d'ensemble la plus solide qui aits été édifiée jusqu'ici. Il y aura tout avantage pour le progrès des études d'archéologie chinoise à ce que le professeur Karlgren puisse être en contact journalier avec les objects et leur consacrer un enseignement régulier.

(I take great pleasure in informing you that the choice which you are considering in my opinion would be excellent. Having proved himself a linguist possessing a rigorous method of research, Professor Karlgren has for a few years been undertaking a systematic study of Chinese bronzes and has arrived at results, some details of which need to be further discussed, but which certainly have a comprehensive structure, more solid than that which has been achieved up till now. It would be to the advantage of Chinese archaeology if Professor Karlgren could be in

daily contact with these objects and devote himself to regular lecturing on them.)

In his presentation of the proposition at the cabinet meeting on February 4, 1938, Arthur Engberg, the minister of Cultural Affairs, followed the proposal submitted by the China Committee and the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities to the letter. It must have given Crown Prince Gustav Adolf particular pleasure, "in the absence of His Majesty, my most gracious Lord," to recommend that Parliament sanction the proposition.

During the debate in Parliament, several voices were raised against the proposition. The minister of Cultural Affairs had to mobilize all of his considerable eloquence in order to carry the day: "If you want the smithy to be perfect, it won't do to have the hammer in Gothenburg and the anvil in Stockholm!" Engberg ended his impassioned speech by quoting a letter that Professor Otto Kümmel had sent to J. G. Andersson, a few years earlier, in which he declared that it would be a waste of manpower to have Professor Karlgren teach elementary courses to students. In the end, Parliament sanctioned by acclamation the proposition that Bernhard Karlgren be appointed director of the East Asian Collection from August 1, 1939.

The Morphology and Syntax of Bronze Décor

Before Bernhard Karlgren left Gothenburg, he had laid the groundwork for his chronology of early Chinese bronzes by publishing a few important papers: "Yin and Chou in Chinese bronzes" (1936), "New studies in Chinese bronzes" (1937), and "The dating of Chinese bronzes" (1937). A comprehensive survey of Karlgren's contributions to this field of study would require a competence that I myself lack. But a linguistically trained reader cannot fail to be impressed by the ease with which Karlgren in these works applies a strictly linguistic/philological approach to the analysis of bronze décor, a feature that finds expression in the title of one his papers: "Notes on the grammar of early bronze dé-

cor" (1951). As he had done in his research on Chinese historical phonology, Karlgren handled an enormously rich material with the greatest ease, and he did so at a time when the computer was not yet available as a research tool. It is also interesting to note that Karlgren, who in his linguistic research refused to accept structuralist terms such as "phoneme," "phone," and "allophone," in his analysis of bronze décor deals with elements that remind the reader of terms such as "grapheme," "graph," and "allograph."

In 1933, Crown Prince Gustav Adolf took the initiative to organize an exhibition of early Chinese bronzes at the East Asian Collection. In connection with the exhibition, the Crown Prince presented a tentative chronology for the different styles of bronzes. According to Professor Bo Gyllensvärd, who later succeeded Bernhard Karlgren as director of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, this chronology served as a basis for the chronology that Karlgren presented in his papers "The exhibition of early Chinese bronzes" (1934) and "Yin and Chou in Chinese bronzes" (1936).

In the winter of 1935–36, an international exhibition of Chinese art was held at Burlington House in London. For the exhibits that the Chinese government had lent to the exhibition, Chinese experts proposed a chronology comprising four periods:

Shang-Yin (1776–1122 B.C.)
Western Chou (1122–722 B.C.)
The Spring and Autumn Period (722–481 B.C.)
The Warring States Period (481–221 B.C.)

This chronology seemed less satisfactory, as it slavishly followed the historical periodization with its traditional data, which did not tally with the phases that could be established on purely stylistic grounds. The eminent scholar Sir Perceval Yetts, who a few years earlier had catalogued the bronzes in the great George Eumorfopoulos' collection of Chinese antiquities, suggested the following chronology in a lecture at Burlington House in December 1935:

First Phase (Shang-Yin and Early Chou): thirteenth to tenth century B.C.
Second Phase (Chou): tenth to sixth century B.C.

Third Phase (Chou): sixth century B.C. to the end of the Chou period.

In 1937, Bernhard Karlgren published a revised version of his bronze chronology ("New Studies on Chinese Bronzes"), in which he recognized the following periods:

Period 1:
(a) Yin: before 1122 B.C.
(b) Yin-Chou: 1122–950 B.C.
Period 2: Middle Chou: 950–650 B.C.
Period 3: Huai: ca 650–200 B.C.

In his bronze chronology, Bernhard Karlgren considered both the form and the décor of the vessels. The archaic bronzes are characterized by two different, but partly parallel, styles, which Karlgren terms the primary A-style and the secondary B-style. In the A-style, animal figures, often in high relief, always serve as the main motif in the décor. Some of these figures are realistic depictions of real animals, others are heavily stylized, and still others are mythological beasts and imaginary figures. Bernhard Karlgren argued that the aim of the artist was not to depict nature, but rather to create symbols of the magical power with which the vessels were believed to endow the sacrifices to the ancestors. To the frequently occurring décor motifs of the A-style belong the cicada, symbolizing resurrection, the bird, and the snake. But the most frequent motifs are the dragon and the mythological monster called "*taotie,*" which is often depicted frontally as having the head of a beast lacking lower jaw, but having eyes, ears, eyebrows, horns, nose with upturned nostrils, forehead, upper lip, and two tusks. About the *taotie,* the *Lüshi chunqiu* (third century B.C.) has the following to say:

> On a *ding* vessel of Zhou there is placed a *taotie,* who possesses a head but no body. It eats human beings, but before it has been able to swallow them, its own body has been consumed.

Bernhard Karlgren refers to another, more probable, explanation of the origin of the beast:

> The key to its meaning we get through another group of vessels: the mask used in incantation dances in connection with sacri-

> fices to the ancestors and which therefore often were deposited in the grave. The magical mask of the beast is terrifying and again lacks lower jaw, obviously in order to leave the mouth free for speech and singing.

To the A-style also belong certain subordinated geometrical elements, such as a background pattern of small spirals in dense and low relief.

The secondary B-style is characterized by a geometrical décor, in low and discreet relief, often limited to a narrow band circling the vessel. Sometimes the main surface of the vessel is covered by a checked pattern or other kinds of geometrical designs. According to Bernhard Karlgren, this décor is rooted in wood carving or textile handicraft. The animal motifs of the A-style also appear on vessels belonging to the B-style, but then always in a stylized, sometimes totally exploded, pattern, subordinated to the geometrical scheme of the vessel.

The archaeological finds show that the A-style and the B-style occurred side by side in the last capital of the Yin dynasty. In order to defend his thesis that the A-style is primary and the B-style secondary, Karlgren resorted to a sociological method of explanation, based on the assumption that the technique of bronze casting was founded on the esoteric knowledge of artisans employed by certain noble houses. In the paper "New studies in Chinese bronzes" (1937), he writes:

> It stands to reason that inside one such family of metal workers, in one factory handed over from father to son as a sacred legacy, the vessel types and the décor types may often have been piously regarded as a sacred norm in the making of new specimens for ritual use in the ancestral temples. It may therefore have been the achievement of newly-started *rival houses* of casters to create a new style, the B style, on the basis of and yet radically deviating from the earlier A style. It is quite conceivable that the headmen of the earlier house continue for generations to repeat their old decor types . . . parallel with the activities of their more modern competitors. Conceivably the one school was in the service of one noble family, and the other in that of another noble house, a rival of the former.

Bernhard Karlgren's research on early Chinese bronzes, which spans four decades, has been the subject of widely

differing assessments. Chang Kwang-chih, professor of Chinese Archaeology at Harvard University and a leading authority on China's Neolithic and Bronze Age, found Karlgren's "A and B classification well established by his material." He added:

> Unfortunately, his sociological inference is not at all supported by objective evidence, and this interpretation has never been seriously followed either by Karlgren himself or by his critics or adherents.[2]

Lothar von Falkenhausen, professor in Chinese Art History at the University of California, Los Angeles, and disciple of Chang Kwang-chih, writes in a letter of August 15, 1994:

> The interest of Karlgren's studies of Chinese bronzes is mainly a historical one. Working virtually without the benefit of provenienced archaeological finds—and, of course, entirely without computers—his attempt to bring some order into what was in his time a thoroughly confusing and poorly-understood body of data must be rated as a major intellectual achievement. In its time, it might have had an impact on wider circles of art history, were it not for its rather hermetic presentation. Karlgren's pithy writing style (a practice possibly appropriate for philological work but departing quite radically from the kind of writing usually found in art historical work), as well as *BMFEA*'s (the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities) unfortunate practice of separating illustrations from text, make it very difficult to get the author's point, and I know of very few individuals who have made the effort of engaging seriously with the work.

Von Falkenhausen's appreciation of Karlgren's research on bronze mirrors is far more positive:

> Contrasting with his work on vessels, Karlgren's work on mirrors remains some of the best—if not the best—ever published in a Western language. Even though here, too, the author's arguments can be enriched by some recent archaeological finds, the articles are still useful even today.

In his letter, von Falkenhausen refers to Bernhard Karlgren's hermetic presentation of the results of his research. This characteristic of Karlgren's writings was probably con-

nected with the strict economy that he had to practice in his childhood, youth, and throughout his life. Karlgren was utterly solicitous not to be wasteful with funds that had been placed at his disposal for the publication of the results of his research. In the majority of his published works, Karlgren himself wrote the Chinese characters, which were numbered and placed at the bottom of the page, as in his *Glosses on the Book of Odes, Glosses on the Book of Documents,* and *Loan Characters in pre-Han texts,* or in an alphabetical index at the end of the work, as in *Legends and Cults in ancient China.* The saving in printing costs that this arrangement entailed obliged Karlgren to pay heavily by way of hard labor. Other examples of Karlgren's thrift are the indexes to his *Grammata Serica* (1940) and *Grammata Serica Recensa* (1957). Instead of complete indexes, where each character is placed under its radical, Karlgren chose a more space-saving arrangement, which means that users of these works have to look up many characters, not under their radicals, but under their phonetics.

Sinologists of today find it hard to understand how Bernhard Karlgren could handle such large quantities of data without the aid of a computer. In the letter quoted above, Lothar von Falkenhausen refers to a project organized by his teacher Chang Kwang-chih:

> Working in the computer Stone Age of the early Seventies, it took Chang and a host of co-workers a large tome (*Shang Zhou qingtongqi you mingwen de zonghe yanjiu*) to demonstrate systematically that Karlgren's classification of ornaments represents but one of a fairly large number of possibilities.

The Philologist in His Element

The early Chinese texts that predominantly engaged Bernhard Karlgren were the *Shijing* ("The Book of Odes") and the *Shujing* ("The Book of Documents"). The *Shijing* contains a collection of poems, many of which go back to the first centuries of the Zhou dynasty. According to a tradition from the second century B.C., Confucius himself supposedly selected these 305 poems from an earlier and more comprehensive

anthology. According to another, equally old tradition, officials selected by the court had collected these poems from among the people and then submitted them to the king, who thereby was able to gauge the state of mind of his people. The first of these traditions is probably based on the fact that Confucius, according to the *Lunyu,* encouraged his disciples to study the poems, and that his followers often used them in their teaching.

With few exceptions, the poems are songs, the music of which was lost early. They are characterized by a simple and regular form. The verse is normally four-syllabic; interjections or padding words are often found at the beginning or end of verses. Rimes occur, normally in the even verses, and sometimes also alliteration.

The anthology is divided into three main groups of poems: *Feng, Ya,* and *Song.* The first group consists of 160 folk songs from different parts of the Zhou domain. The division into stanzas, occurring in longer songs, is often marked by refrains in typical folk song style. The second group, which consists of court poetry, consists of 111 poems. The recurrent themes of some of these poems are dynastic legends created in early Zhou. They tell of Jiang Yuan ("the First Mother"), who became pregnant after having stepped in the imprint of the big toe of the Lord on High; Hou Ji ("Prince Millet"), the first ancestor; the chiefs who laid the foundation of the power of the clan; King Wu, the martial king, who with the good will of Heaven slew the tyrant king of the Shang, and of the great deeds of his descendants. These songs may be fragments of an epic cycle, lost early. The third main group consists of thirty-four odes, mainly temple hymns and songs of praise, which were accompanied by dance and pantomimes and performed at solemn ceremonies and banquets at the royal court.

The poems in the *Feng* and *Ya* groups follow a uniform system of riming, whose various rime sequences have been more or less correctly identified by philologists of the Qing period (1644–1911). The rimes in the third section, *Song,* however, deviate from that norm to such an extent that different scholars' rime identifications have yielded widely differing results. In his paper "The poetical Parts in the Lao-tsï" (1932), Bernhard Karlgren showed that two differ-

ent rime systems occur in texts of the Zhou period: (1) a relatively uniform system characterizing the major part of the poems in the *Shijing* and the *Chuci* ("Elegies of Chu"),[3] certain rimed passages in the *Yijing* ("The Book of Changes"), and some rimed chapters in the *Xun Zi*;[4] and (2) a less strict system of rimes, sporadically occurring in the *Shujing,* the *Zuozhuan,* and in the Daoist works *Dao De Jing* and *Zhuang Zi.* The less strict system allowed for a greater variation of vowels in rime syllables ending in *-ng, -k* and *-g,* and the occurrence of rimes ending in *-p, -t, -k* in the same rime sequence. In the paper "The rimes in the Sung section of the Shï king" (1935), Karlgren shows that the less strict rime system also characterizes the poems in the third main group of the anthology.

The poems of the *Feng* section depict life in early China with spontaneous freshness. While the interpretation of some of these poems is rendered difficult by obscure allusions, other poems stand out in a wonderfully ethereal immediacy.

In a series of articles in 1942–46, Bernhard Karlgren presented his glosses on and translations of the anthology *Shijing,* correcting many mistaken earlier interpretations occasioned by inadequate knowledge of the phonology of Archaic Chinese.[5] In his introduction to "Glosses on the Kuo feng odes" (1942), Bernhard Karlgren gives a short survey of the text history of the *Shijing.* Of the four partly different text versions existing in the second century B.C. (Han, Lu, Qi, and Mao), only the Mao version has been completely preserved to our time. The Qi and the Lu versions were lost during the turbulent centuries following the fall of the Han in 220 A.D. The Han version did not survive the Tang Dynasty. Quotations from the three lost versions obtaining in early texts have been identified, collected, and published by learned philologists of the Qing period.

The Mao version contains a "Commentary" (*Mao zhuan*), probably dating from the second century B.C., and a "Preface" (*Maoshi xu*), attributed to Wei Hong (first century A.D.). The Commentary consists mainly of philological glosses on

words and expressions, while the Preface presents scholastic speculations, in which the poems are interpreted as allegories containing political and moral allusions. Zheng Xuan (127–200), the greatest philologist of the Han period, wrote a commentary on the *Shijing,* in which he based himself on and further developed the moralizing interpretation of the Preface. The traditional interpretation of the *Shijing* was further strengthened by the comprehensive commentary of Kong Yingda (d. 648). During the Song period, objections were raised against many preposterous allegorical interpretations, especially of the romantic folk songs. The Neo-Confucian thinker Zhu Xi (1130–1200), in his commentary to the *Shijing,* repudiated the scholastic interpretations of the Preface and indiscriminately rejected at the same time many of the glosses of the Commentary. Zhu Xi's interpretation of the *Shijing* was regarded as authoritative and had to be followed by the candidates in the State Examinations until these were abolished in 1905. Karlgren praises Zhu Xi for his courage to break with tradition, but he strongly criticizes his philological methods:

> In very many cases, when he came across a difficult word or phrase, he invented, quite arbitrarily and with a rare lack of philological method, a meaning of his own; it was entirely indifferent to him that such a sense was never attested in early texts, nor in any early dictionaries or commentaries on the classics (written at a time when the ancient vocabulary was still, to a large extent, a living element of the language and not yet obsolete): if he could invent a meaning which, according to his guess, would suit the context, he was content. And through Chu's [Zhu's] enormous influence, the Chinese literary language (and the later dictionaries, including the European ones) has thus been enriched by a great number of word "meanings" which have no ancient foundation at all, and which derive solely from Chu's capricious imagination.

In spite of the fact that Zhu Xi's interpretations had official sanction, many of the greatest philologists of the Qing period dared to ignore them and instead go back to the earliest commentaries to seek support for their own interpretations in early literature. At the same time as they ingeniously developed a philological methodology that far

surpassed that of Zhu Xi, they still allowed themselves to be influenced by the Han commentators' notions of the allegorical function of the poems.

After his short survey of the Chinese philologists' changing attitude to the *Shijing*, Karlgren proceeds to discuss the most important translations into Western languages. In his annotated translation presented in *The Chinese Classics* (Vol. 4, 1871), James Legge mainly follows Zhu Xi's commentary, while at the same time accepting the interpretations of other commentators. As Legge to a great extent neglected to consult the works of the great Qing philologists, Karlgren finds that his translation was already out-of-date when published.

Of Couvreur's translation *Che King, texte chinois avec une double traduction en français et en latin* (1896), which closely follows Zhu Xi, Karlgren writes:

> This translation has therefore all the great faults of Chu Hi's version, and the student should keep in mind that in five cases out of ten his guide is entirely unsatisfactory and misleading.

Karlgren also disapproved of Marcel Granet's translation of a number of songs, presented in his *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine* (1919), on the ground that Granet too slavishly had followed the Preface and Zheng Xuan's glosses. But what Karlgren above all condemns is that Granet adapted his translations to a preconceived notion of the societal function of the songs, namely:

> that they are popular songs, not originating in the class of the gentry but in that of the peasants, that they are stanzas improvised by youths and maidens at the time of the great seasonal festivals, and sung antithetically. Granet's sole support for this is the parallelism of certain modern T'ai peoples' customs, and his whole elaborate structure is for the rest built entirely in the air. Now among the 305 odes in the Shï there are at most half a dozen that may be construed as songs with antithetical couplets; for the rest there is not the slightest resemblance to the T'ai songs in question. Moreover, the idea that these odes are pure folksongs, culled by the music-masters from the lips of the people in the various feudal states, is quite untenable. The odes are so well elaborated, with such a strict metre and rhythm, such a

> consistent and strict (even rigid) rime system, and often such sophisticated and "upper-class" expressions, that it is entirely excluded that they could be the product of improvising uneducated farmers.

The eminent Sinologist and poet Arthur Waley's translation of the *Shijing* ("The Book of Songs translated from the Chinese," 1937) is, according to Karlgren, far superior to that of Legge, Couvreur, and Granet. Karlgren points out that, in his interpretations, Waley has relied on his own judgment, without allowing himself to be influenced by the moralizing scholasticism of Han commentators. For his translation of difficult words and passages, Waley has also consulted the opinions of learned Qing scholars. Karlgren regrets that Waley presented his translation almost entirely without commentary and that the reader therefore has difficulty in appreciating on what philological considerations they are based. What Karlgren foremost objects to is that Waley often emends the text and exchanges one character, which provides good reading, for another belonging to the same phonetic series.

In the preface to the second and revised edition of *The Book of Songs* (1950), Waley writes:

> In making this revision I have had the advantage of constantly referring to Professor Karlgren's word-for-word translation and notes, which appeared between 1942 and 1946. Anyone using my book for documentary purposes, that is to say for the study of comparative literature, folklore or the like, would do well to see what Professor Karlgren has to say. There are many cases in which, after again weighing the evidence, I do not find myself in agreements with him; but few where I feel certain that he is wrong.

According to Bernhard Karlgren, the philologist who wishes to translate the *Shijing* faces a double task. First, he must clarify the meaning of all difficult words and passages and give a philological motivation for his own position against the background of a thorough account of all existing readings and all interpretations presented by earlier philologists. Second, after this philological groundwork, he ought to attempt to establish the inward sense of each poem. Karl-

gren points out that the second task, due to the laconic form of the language, often proves far more difficult than the first. As one of several examples of this, Karlgren presents an a-syntactic word-for-word translation of the first stanza in Song number four, together with the translations by Legge and Waley:

South have curve tree
dolichos creeper bind it
Joy, lo! Noble-person!
Happiness blessing tranquil(ize) that-one.

Legge:
In the south there are trees with curved drooping branches,
With the dolichos creepers clinging to them.
To be rejoiced in is our princely lady,
May she repose in her happiness and dignity.

Waley:
In the south is a tree with drooping boughs,
The cloth-creeper binds it.
Oh, happy is our lord,
Blessings and boons secure him.

The great differences between Legge's and Waley's translations are due to the fact that the "*junzi*" ("noble-person") of the original may refer to both a man and a woman and that the word "*lo*" can serve as both an adjective ("joyful, happy") and a transitive verb ("to enjoy, find joy in").

As far as I can remember, Bernhard Karlgren never spoke to his disciples about Ezra Pound's secondhand rendering of *The Confucian Odes: The Classic Anthology Defined by Confucius* (1954).[6]

Bernhard Karlgren's 1,206 "Glosses on the *Shijing*," which fill 637 quarto pages, must be regarded as one of the greatest achievements in the history of Chinese philology. With this work he paved the way for a new and more complete appreciation of one of the earliest anthologies of poetry in world literature. Karlgren's "Glosses on the *Shijing*" have been translated into Chinese by the eminent linguist and philologist Tung T'ung-ho.

Earlier I referred to Bernhard Karlgren's translation of the first song in the *Shijing,* which he "with immense pains put together" in October 1911, during his first sojourn in China, at a time when he could afford to enjoy a piece of Chinese literature without reading it with the eyes of a stern philologist. The young Karlgren's metrically perfect and rimed translation of this song shows what a magnificent translation of the *Shijing* he would have been capable of had not other tasks, which he found more important, claimed all his time.

The *Shujing* ("The Book of Documents"), dating from the first half of the first millennium B.C., consists of a number of historical documents, arranged in chronological order. Only the sections dealing with early Zhou have been considered historically authentic. Most noteworthy of the authentic chapters are the proclamations and lofty speeches attributed to Zhou Gong, the Duke of Zhou, younger brother of the founder of the dynasty. Even in sections that do not consist of an oration, direct speech plays an important role. In these texts, narrative prose and direct speech are strikingly woven together into a dramatic and compact unit.

At the beginning of the second century B.C., only twenty-nine chapters of the text were extant. In the reign of Emperor Jing (156–140 B.C.) of the Han dynasty, a manuscript was discovered containing another sixteen chapters, written in the old script. According to Sima Qian, Kong Anguo, a descendant of Confucius who in Emperor Wu's reign (140–87 B.C.) had served in the Imperial Academy, was the first to have studied this older version of the text. Several of the greatest philologists of the Later Han, such as Jia Kui (30–101), Ma Yong (79–166), and Zheng Xuan (127–200), wrote commentaries on the work. During the turbulence after the fall of the Han in A.D. 220, the older version of *Shujing* was lost. In the period 317–322, a certain Mei Ze submitted to the emperor a version of the text with a commentary by Kong Anguo. This text was considered authoritative and prescribed as obligatory reading for candidates in the State Examinations. Some of the greatest philologists of the Song period doubted the authenticity of the text. The final proof that the work was a forgery from the fourth century A.D.

was presented by Yan Ruoju (1636–1704), one of the greatest philologists of the Qing period and an expert on historical geography. Yan Ruoju's work, which circulated in manuscript form and was not published until 1745, had a great impact on textual criticism: when one of the most venerated of the canonical texts had been proved a forgery, the way was open for critical scholars to question the authenticity of other early works.

The results of Karlgren's research concerning the authentic sections of the *Shujing* were published in two monumental "articles": "Glosses on the Book of Documents I" (1948) and "Glosses on the Book of Documents II" (1950), which together comprise 419 quarto pages. These glosses constitute a continuation of Karlgren's glosses on the *Shijing*. The first gloss to the *Shujing* therefore is number 1207. The *Shujing* is without peer as the most difficult of the early Chinese texts. As a result of the laconic and archaic style of the text, attempts at interpreting individual words and phrases differ widely. The commentarial literature is therefore enormous. In his "Glosses," Bernhard Karlgren discusses and evaluates interpretations that have been suggested by a long sequence of Chinese philologists, from Zheng Xuan (127–200) to Gu Jiegang (b. 1895). The glosses not only clarify text passages in the *Shujing,* they also throw new light on such text passages in other early Chinese texts as have been quoted by Chinese commentators, or as Karlgren himself has adduced in support of his interpretations.

Bernhard Karlgren's translation of the *Shujing* was presented in *The Book of Documents* (1950).

In his obituary for Bernhard Karlgren, his disciple Sören Egerod gives the following assessment of his "Glosses on the *Shijing* and the *Shujing*":

> A person who has not, himself, worked with old Chinese texts and with the immensely extensive commentaries can hardly form an idea of the staggering work involved behind the Glosses, especially the never failing accuracy and subtlety with which the work has been carried out and brought to completion.[7]

I do not exaggerate when I suggest that Bernhard Karlgren's "Glosses on the *Shujing*" has revealed that text in a different light.

Excursions in Chinese Grammar

In his paper "Excursions in Chinese grammar" (1951), Bernhard Karlgren returned to a problem that he had discussed earlier (*Philology and Ancient China,* and "On the authenticity and Nature of the Tso chuan," 1926), related to whether texts written by the great masters of late Zhou, such as Mencius, Zhuang Zi, and the anonymous author of the *Zuozhuan,* mirrored the colloquial of the time or constituted artificial products divorced from the living language.

With the aid of examples chosen from Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice,* Karlgren asserts that a literary text rarely reproduces the spoken language in all its nuances:

> In all literary nations there has always existed a distinction between literary style and colloquial style. The narrative and descriptive parts in a novel, a short story, an essay or a history are written in a style noticeably divergent from everyday talk; and up to comparatively recent times even in rendering dialogues the authors have generally been (more or less unconsciously) influenced by a wish to write a refined language and have thus tampered with the rough colloquial language of their actors and brushed it up into a literary or at least semi-literary style; it is the modern age which has for the first time dared consistently to let vulgar persons carry on their dialogues in a vulgar colloquial style that is entirely true to nature.[8]

When early Chinese writers formulated their dialogues, they most certainly avoided the idiom of "a ruffian in the suburbs of Chou or a farmer in the fields of Lu." According to Karlgren, both the texts and the spoken language built on the same grammatical system and, on the whole, used the same vocabulary. The literary language constituted a normalized reflection of the language spoken in cultivated circles. Karlgren finds support for this view in a statement by Henri Maspero.[9] H. G. Creel and Homer Dubs did not agree with Karlgren.[10] Their inability to accept his judgment was probably due to their insufficient knowledge of the history of the Chinese language. Creel asserted that the literary language was far too laconic ever to have served as a spoken idiom. The only support that Creel adduces for this view is that it was shared by many learned Chinese, an argument that

Karlgren must have sniffed at. Dubs' objection that the early literary texts of China may be compared to "what we use today in English for telegrams and newspaper headlines" was put forward without any support whatsoever.[11]

Bernhard Karlgren asserts that an early Chinese text cannot possibly be understood if read out with a modern pronunciation.[12] The reason for this is that the development of the language in the past three thousand years, characterized by a far-reaching phonetic leveling, has created too many homonyms. Karlgren notes that the modern standard language possesses 420 distinctive syllables, if the tonal distinctions are unaccounted for, while Archaic Chinese, as reconstructed in his *Grammata Serica,* comprised 2,250 distinctive syllables, excluding tonal distinctions. This means that homophony in early Chinese probably was not much greater than that of present-day English. Karlgren writes:

> The book of *Mencius,* written out in western letters according to the sound system reconstructed in the *Grammata,* and provided with a vocabulary at the end in the same medium, all without Chinese characters, would be perfectly intelligible and, indeed, a most useful textbook for beginners in classical Chinese. There can thus be no doubt that the pronouncements of Confucius, in the formulation they have in the *Lunyu,* if read out by the disciples some decades later with the pronunciation of the words then current, were perfectly intelligible to the listeners as far as the phonetic distinctions were concerned. The individual words were sufficiently differentiated phonetically to be kept apart; the recorded lectures of Confucius *might* very well represent his normal, educated spoken language.

Bernhard Karlgren, never content with mere assumptions, however credible, during his excursions in the fields of grammar offers an excellent, telling argument for the fact that the literary language of early China was rooted in the spoken language. Karlgren demonstrates that the morpheme 也 *ye* (Archaic Chinese **dịa*), normally serving as a suffix for sentences and phrases, also serves as an enclitic suffix to personal names, *but only in reproductions of direct speech.* This function of 也, common in the *Lunyu,* also occurs in texts such as the *Mencius,* the "Tan Gong" chapter of the *Liji,* the *Zuozhuan,* the *Guoyu,* the *Zhuang Zi,* the *Mo Zi,* the *Lüshi*

chunqiu, the *Han Fei Zi*, and the *Zhanguo ce*. Karlgren provides a list of all occurrences of 也 with this special function in these texts. The importance of Karlgren's discovery cannot be overestimated. The passages of direct speech in which the phrase "X 也" occurs do not differ grammatically from such passages in the same text that do not contain direct speech. The contrast X (narrative text) and X 也 (direct speech) obviously could not occur in a literary language totally divorced from the spoken language. Karlgren writes:

> Our *X-ye* phenomenon is priceless, for it reveals that the recorded conversations are reproductions—on the whole quite faithful reproductions though of course to some extent "tidied up"—of the real conversations which they represent. In these extensive quoted conversations we have a mirror of the colloquial of the Chou era, faithful to about the same extent as Jane Austen's dialogues to the spoken English of her time. And since the narrative and descriptive texts have quite the same language (auxiliaries, word sequence, constructions, vocabulary) as these lengthy conversations with but modest divergences, notably our contrast *X-ye/X*, we can conclude that the literary language of the Chou, what we call Classical Chinese, was very closely akin indeed to the colloquial of the time, being merely a stylistically somewhat pruned version of that colloquial. Classical Chinese was to the Chou colloquial approximately what literary English around 1800 was to colloquial "Londonese" of the same epoch.

Karlgren points out that the name suffix *ye* has partly the same function as the definite article in German: "Der Fritz hat gesagt" ("Fritz has said"), "Der Schmidt is eben gekommen" ("Schmidt has just arrived"), and "Haben sie den Heinrich gefragt?" ("Have you asked Heinrich?")

The second question that Karlgren discusses in "Excursions in Chinese grammar" relates to at what point in time the literary language used by the great writers of the Zhou began to become alienated from the spoken language, eventually ending as the "Latin" of China. Karlgren refers to Hu Shi's work *Baihua wenxueshi* ("The history of colloquial literature," 1928), in which the author quotes a memorial to the throne, submitted by the learned Gongsun Hong, active during the reign of Emperor Wu (140–87 B.C.). Gongsun Hong

complained that imperial edicts, written in the literary language, were unintelligible not only to the broad masses of the people, but also to lower officials. From this Hu Shi concluded that the literary language had been dead for two thousand years and therefore had not been influenced by the gradual change that affected the spoken language in the course of history.

In order to check the correctness of Hu Shi's view, Karlgren registered the occurrence in fifteen texts of twenty-seven different morphemes and phrases with clearly differentiated grammatical functions, of which four date from the Han period and the eleven others from late Zhou. The expressions registered comprise, among others, negative morphemes, simple and complex sentence suffixes, interrogative adverbs, clause adverbs, prepositions, demonstratives, and the name suffix 也 *ye*. The four Han texts are the *Chunqiu fanlu,* attributed to Dong Zhongshu (second century B.C.), the *Huainan Zi* ("Prince of Huainan"), a Daoist compendium attributed to Liu An, Prince of Huainan (c. 120 B.C.), the *Fayan* ("Exemplary sayings"), by the Confucian thinker, lexicographer, and poet Yang Xiong (53 B.C.–A.D.18) and the *Lun heng* ("Discourse on the correct balance"), by the rationalistic thinker Wang Chong (27–100). The eleven texts from the Zhou are the *Lunyu,* the *Meng Zi,* the "Tan Gong" chapter of the *Liji,* the historical works *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu,* the philosophical texts *Mo Zi*, *Xun Zi*, *Lüshi chunqiu, Han Fei Zi,* and the *Zhanguo ce.*

Bernhard Karlgren's investigation shows that the grammatical structure in the texts *Lunyu, Meng Zi,* and the "Tan Gong" chapter of the *Liji* is highly homogeneous, a fact that he interprets as evidence that these three texts belong to the same literary dialect, that of the feudal state of Lu. He also finds that the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guoyu* share many grammatical features. At the same time, these, and other texts involved in the investigation are characterized by certain unique grammatical features, which indicates that no uniform literary language had developed in late Zhou.

The investigation also shows that the grammatical structures of the four Han texts relate in different ways to those of the texts from late Zhou. Karlgren notes that Wang Chong in no way tries to imitate the grammatical structure of the

Zhou texts and that the grammar of his *Lun heng* reflects changes that the spoken language had undergone since late Zhou. He also notes that the grammatical features of the texts belonging to the literary dialect of the state of Lu also occur in Yang Xiong's *Fayan.* From these observations Karlgren concludes that Wang Chong and Yang Xiong were exact opposites of one another: Wang Chong's literary language was rooted in his spoken idiom, while that of Yang Xiong was based on a classical norm of late Zhou, which already had become a dead language, alienated from the colloquial.

In the paper "New excursions in Chinese grammar" (1952), Bernhard Karlgren discusses the occurrences of certain morphemes and phrases in five novels from the Ming and Qing periods: the *Shuihu zhuan* ("Tales from the Marshes"); the *Xiyouji* ("The Journey to the West"), attributed to Wu Cheng'en (c. 1500–82); the *Hongloumeng* ("The Dream of Red Mansions"); the *Rulin waishi* ("Unofficial account of learned Confucians") by Wu Jingzi (1701–54), and *Jinghuayuan* ("Romance of the Flower in the Mirror"), by Li Ruzhen (c. 1763–1830).

Two of these novels have complicated text histories. The *Shuihu zhuan* exists in a number of versions of differing length. The best known, comprising seventy-one chapters, was edited by Jin Shengtan (1610–61); the printed version of a longer edition can be dated to about 1630. According to Jin Shengtan, the shorter version was written by a certain Shi Naian of the Yuan period (1271–1368), while the longer version was authored by Luo Guanzhong, active during the Hongwu reign period (1368–98).

The *Hongloumeng,* consisting of 120 chapters, was published in 1792. Before the novel was published, handwritten copies of the first eighty chapters circulated on the book market. These eighty chapters have been attributed to Cao Xueqin (1715–63) on secure grounds. The editors of the longer version, Cheng Weiyuan (ca. 1742–ca. 1818) and Gao E (ca. 1740–ca. 1815), state that they had found a number of manuscripts from which they put together the last forty chapters of the novel. Ever since the novel was published,

opinions have been divided as to the authorship of the last forty chapters. In a 1927 study, Hu Shi attempted to prove that these chapters were authored by Gao E. Hu Shi's theory was generally accepted until 1959, when new manuscript finds were made, seemingly indicating that the whole work was authored by Cao Xueqin.

In his investigation, Bernhard Karlgren distinguishes between Jin Shengtan's shorter version of the *Shuihu zhuan* (*Shuihu* A) and the longer version (*Shuihu* B), and between Chapters 1–80 (*Honglou A*) and 81–120 (*Honglou B*) of the *Hongloumeng*. The main purpose of the investigation is to ascertain whether *Shuihu* A and B, and *Honglou* A and B, respectively, were written by one or several authors.

The investigation, which only deals with such parts of the novels as reproduce direct speech, discusses the occurrence or nonoccurrence in the texts of thirty-eight morphemes (pronouns, negations, interrogative forms, demonstratives, adverbs, substantival suffixes, sentence suffixes, conjunctions, and auxiliary verbs), together with certain types of questions. As the investigation shows a complete concordance between *Honglou* A and B with regard to the thirty-eight criteria, Karlgren concludes that the two parts of the novel must have been written by the same person. If Gao E had written the last forty chapters, it must be assumed that he came from the same locality as Cao Xueqin and therefore spoke the same dialect, or that he was a stylistic genius with a unique ability to imitate a stylistic model. Karlgren's paper, written at a time when Hu Shi's opinion on the matter was generally accepted, was strongly criticized by leading *Hongloumeng* scholars in China.

The result of the investigation also showed that *Shuihu* A and *Shuihu* B probably were authored by different persons. The greatest grammatical difference between the two texts is that only *Shuihu* A uses a question type identical to the English, "You will come tomorrow?" Another difference is the fact that the conjunctions 因爲 *yinwei* and 為因 *weiyin,* "because," only occur in *Shuihu* A. With this paper, Bernhard Karlgren laid the foundation for the investigation of dialectal traits in the colloquial literature of the Ming and Qing periods.

At the 12th Orientalist Congress in Rome, in 1899, Professor Carl Arendt (1838–1902) gave a paper entitled "Has Chinese a grammar and, if so, is it worth being studied?" These questions have been asked and answered with both "yes," "no," and "hmm" a great many times in the last hundred years. Another question, which recurs with painful regularity, concerns whether the Chinese language possesses clearly definable parts of speech. In his paper "The parts of speech and the Chinese language" (1961), Bernhard Karlgren made his contribution to the discussion. He started from a lecture that Maspero gave in 1933, in which Maspero asserts that the Chinese language does not even distinguish between nouns and verbs:

> En réalité les mots chinois ne sont ni noms ni verbes, ils sont quelque chose d'indifférencié qui, sans être proprement ni l'un ni l'autre, peut etablir dans la phrase, suivant les cas, des relations diverses, si bien que notre langue nous oblige à les répartir entre des noms et des verbes, alors qu'en chinois, ils restent indistinctes.[13]
>
> (In reality, the Chinese words are neither nouns nor verbs, they are something indifferent which being neither the one nor the other are capable of establishing, in the phrase, as the case my be, various relations which our language forces us to divide into nouns and verbs, while they remain indistinct in Chinese.)

Bernhard Karlgren notes that Maspero held on to his theory in spite of the fact that Walter Simon in 1934 had produced weighty arguments against it. The exchange of views between Maspero and Simon gave rise to a polemic that had repercussions in the linguistic debate in China of the 1950s. Many Chinese debaters went so far as to deny that the notions and analytical methods of Western linguistics were applicable to the Chinese language. Karlgren suggests that the clearly definable category of pronouns in Chinese ought to have made Maspero and his followers somewhat more cautious.

Karlgren chooses to discuss only the distinction between nouns and verbs. This distinction can be expressed within

the frame of the word and within the frame of the phrase or sentence. He points to the occurrence in modern colloquial Chinese of certain syllabic and nonsyllabic suffixes (子 *zi* and 兒 *er*) that clearly mark the morpheme to which they have been added as a noun. Among the criteria which may be used to define verbs, Karlgren mentions certain suffixes marking aspects of completion and duration. Negatives of Archaic Chinese may also be used for the determination of the distinction between verbs, adjectives and nouns. The negation 不 *bu* negates both verbs and adjectives: 不來 *bu lai,* "does not come"; 不善 *bu shan,* "is not good"; the negative copula 非 *fei* requires a substantival predicative; the modal negative 弗 *fu* can only be used with verbs, never with adjectives or nouns. Karlgren also discusses such distinctions between Archaic Chinese nouns and verbs as are expressed within the frame of the word. This may be achieved through the change of tone: 擔 **tâm* (even tone), "to carry on the shoulder" versus **tâm* (falling tone), "a burden"; through the contrast between voiced and unvoiced initial consonant: 拄 **tı̯u,* "to support" versus **d'ı̯u,* "pillar"; through the contrast between voiced and unvoiced final consonant: 結 **kiet,* "to tie" versus **kied,* "hair-knot"; through the presence or absence of medial *-i:* 偶 **ngu,* "a counterpart" versus **ngı̯u,* "to encounter." Finally, Karlgren asserts that the fact that a Chinese noun on occasion may serve as a verb, as in 父父 *fu fu* ("to treat as father the father") must not be taken as a pretext for denying the distinction between Chinese nouns and verbs. A similar functional variation occurs in many languages, for instance in English ("Let us table the question!").

The Stern Critic

Edouard Chavannes, Paul Pelliot, and Henri Maspero wrote many reviews. (Of Pelliot it has been said that his reviews were far more important than the works he reviewed.) During the years 1924–32, Karlgren reviewed only a few contributions to Sinology. Even though his own works sometimes commented on the works of others, he rarely wrote reviews after 1932. In the long and important article "Legends and

cults in ancient China" (1946), however, he critically examines works by several Sinologists. By way of introduction, he notes that Western Sinologists in the previous fifty years have published extensively on China's history, social functions, and religion before the Han period, and that most of these works are marred by serious mistakes. In their studies, the authors have gathered material from the oldest sources and have thereafter supplemented this rather meager material with information found in later sources, especially the commentarial literature from Han through Song.

Bernhard Karlgren objects to this procedure and stresses the need to distinguish between sources of different periods. Texts from before 200 B.C. can be expected to render a true account of the societal institutions, cults, and conceptions that had been created in early historical times and which had been transmitted from generation to generation by officials at the courts of the Royal Domain and the various feudal states, whose duty it was to uphold the traditions of the past.

About 200 B.C., the situation was radically changed. The feudal system had been crushed; the political and economic barriers between the various cultural centers had been abolished and the conditions of the plebeian classes, the farmers, the artisans, and the merchants, were no longer the same as under the feudal period. The alliance between more and less independent feudal states had been replaced by a strong centralized empire, the ancestral temples of the feudal lords no longer served as centers of inherited cults, and the learned scholars of the nation now constituted a special class, no longer placed under the protection of feudal lords. Inimical to learning, through the book burning of 213 B.C. the first emperor of the Qin had dealt a staggering blow to the literary traditions of the country. Chinese civilization was soon to be subjected to foreign influences, as a result of the expansion into central Asia and contacts with the nomadic peoples to the north and northwest and with the non-Chinese peoples in the south. During the Han period, memories of early traditions and cults gradually faded away.

It is important to distinguish between *free* and *systematizing* sources. To the free sources belong texts from before 200

B.C., which incidentally provide information on events, traditions, and cults. To this category of texts belong the *Shijing,* the *Shujing,* the chronicles *Zuozhuan, Guoyu* and *Zhanguo ce,* the *Lunyu,* the *Meng Zi,* and the works attributed to Zhuang Zi and Mo Zi. Information about ancient times provided in these and other similar texts can be regarded as trustworthy. The systematizing texts, some of which date from before 200 B.C., are the result of conscious attempts to create a uniform picture of the ancient society and its institutions. They do not depict the ancient society such as it was, but such as it ought to have been. It goes without saying that the reliability of these sources diminishes with the distance from the events and the phenomena they describe, and the degree of ideological propaganda characterizing them. In his epoch-making research on the *Shijing,* Karlgren showed that Zheng Xuan (127–200), the great scholar of the late Han, often was wide of the mark when he commented on traditions and rites of the past.

In his long article, Karlgren presents the results of his study of a great number of legendary figures and the cults connected with them. The article gives clear evidence of Karlgren's ability to take in a huge material, comprising a great quantity of data. This ability is here combined with his tendency to overestimate the capacity of the reader to follow the highly compact presentation of his arguments. Providing quotations from free and systematizing texts, Karlgren shows how information culled from the former has been distorted by the latter in order to make it fit into an idealized pattern. In many cases, he is able on phonological grounds to reject speculations by commentators lacking knowledge of Archaic Chinese pronunciation.

Karlgren is most harshly critical of Marcel Granet's *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne,* which he reviewed the same year it appeared (1926). What Karlgren particularly objects to is that Granet finds support for his interpretation of early Chinese legends in late texts of the Song period, and that he refuses to distinguish between authentic and spurious sources. Karlgren writes:

> And then, on the basis of a vast and exceedingly heterogeneous body of material from all epochs of Chinese literature, he con-

> structs a great system that is worse than a caricature: it is a weird and fanciful farrago of abstruse symbolisms and semi-philosophical magic that is entirely foreign to pre-Han China, such as we know it from the only sources that have any decisive value: the free pre-Han texts.

Karlgren finds Granet's work all the more damaging, as it has prompted other scholars to follow in his footsteps. As an example of this, Karlgren mentions Carl Hentze's work *Myths et symboles lunaires* (1932). Other scholars are criticized for a lack of knowledge of the techniques of historiography and textual criticism. As a typical example, Karlgren mentions Friedrich Hirth's *The Ancient History of China* (1908), a work he had read when on his way to China in 1910, and Otto Franke's huge work, *Geschichte des Chinesichen Reichs* (3 vols., 1930–37). Both these works are based mainly on sources dating from the Han and later periods. According to Karlgren, the same is true, though to a lesser extent, of Maspero's work *La Chine antique* (1927). What Karlgren mainly objects to in Maspero's work is that he has based his identification of the provenances of early Chinese clans on late, and therefore unreliable, geographical sources. This article is the only major work by Karlgren that has not been translated into Chinese. It does not seem to have made any impact on the investigation of early Chinese myths.

The Eminent Popularizer

I have already discussed how, in his youth, Bernhard Karlgren engaged in adult education. To be sure, his many popular lectures in his early academic career were dictated by the need to provide for his family. But I am certain that they also were motivated by his wish to share his knowledge of a foreign culture with those who had been denied a higher education. While the learned scholar Karlgren in the presentation of the results of his research sometimes overestimates the reader's ability to follow his arguments, Karlgren the popularizer had a great capacity for making the difficult appear easy.

The Chinese Language: An Essay on its Nature and History (1949) stands out as the greatest of his popular works. Like his brother Anton, Bernhard Karlgren took an active part in the debate about the Far East. Among his major Swedish contributions to this debate may be mentioned his *Östasien* ("East Asia," 1938), *Maktkampen i Fjärran Östern* ("The struggle for power in the Far East," 1939), *Japans väg och mål* ("Japan's way and goal," 1940), and *Chiang Kai-shek* (1945). Bernhard Karlgren's many appearances on radio and television were greatly appreciated by the public. The Karlgren family archive contains many letters from people who had been deeply affected by what he had to say, and also by the enthusiasm with which he shared his knowledge with others. The family archive also contains many undated and unpublished manuscripts, mainly academic and popular lectures on the language, literature, history, and religion of China, past and present.

Scholar in the Service of Society

In 1956, Bernhard Karlgren was elected president of the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities, to which he had belonged since 1933. The eminent Latinist, Professor Dag Norberg, who served as president of the Academy in 1974–77, once answered my question concerning Bernhard Karlgren's performance as president with the following words: "He considered himself to be just the person for the post, as indeed he was!"

During 1945–50, Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf served as the president of the Academy. Long before that, Bernhard Karlgren and the Crown Prince had collaborated on the China Committee and on the board of the Foundation of Humanities. Many letters, kept in the family archive, bear witness to the close friendship between the two scholars.[14] When the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities presented a medal to King Gustav VI Adolf on his eightieth birthday, Bernhard Karlgren gave a speech in which he said:

> In the Confucian *Analects* there is a passage which says: "The Master said: 'The small man is self-important but lacks dignity.

HM Gustav VI Adolf and Bernhard Karlgren, 1962.

HM Gustav VI Adolf and Bernhard Karlgren, 1968.

Bernhard Karlgren at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.

> The noble man has dignity but is not self-important. When Confucius, who throughout history has been called China's uncrowned king, uttered these words, he provided a good characterization of his latter-day Swedish colleague. What we are particularly happy and grateful for, and what makes our congratulations particularly warm and hearty, is precisely that Your Majesty has allowed us to welcome you into our circle as a colleague among colleagues, and that we have always felt the warmth and friendship Your Majesty has shown toward us.

Bernhard Karlgren was not afflicted by academic conceit. When the eminent scholar of Iranian languages H. S. Nyberg was elected a member of the Swedish Academy in 1948, Karlgren's family was no doubt more disturbed than he himself was. It would certainly not have been unreasonable if Karlgren had questioned the justice of H. S. Nyberg being hailed as Sweden's greatest linguist, while his own epoch-making contributions, which had early won him international recognition, were recognized only in Sweden by a small circle of disciples.

On a number of occasions, Anton Karlgren placed his knowledge of Russian literature at the disposal of the Nobel Institute. Bernhard Karlgren seems to have served the Nobel Institute on a single occasion, namely in 1957, when two young Chinese scientists, Li Zongdao and Yang Zhenning, were awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics. As the first speaker at the banquet following the awarding of the Prizes, Karlgren addressed the Laureates: Daniel Bovet and Albert Camus in French, Alexander Todd in English and the two Chinese Laureates in their own language.[15]

Dr. Backman, Docent Spira, and Senior Master Bruun

Using the pseudonym Clas Gullman, in the 1940s Bernhard Karlgren authored three novels. His choice of pseudonym was probably inspired by the Gullmar fjord in Bohuslän, where the Karlgren family spent their summers. Karlgren made half-hearted attempts to remain anonymous as a novelist. Invited to a publisher's dinner, Karlgren turned up with a magnificent beard. The following day, one of Swe-

den's leading evening papers published a photograph of Bernhard Karlgren side by side with Clas Gullman.

In the novel "Två herrar från Uppsala" ("Two gentlemen from Uppsala," 1942), we meet the young historian Gunnar Backman, who in spite of a solid doctoral thesis was denied an academic post by a grudging professor and therefore had to apply for a teaching post in a provincial secondary grammar school. The first few pages of the novel, which describe a stroll in one of the long streets in the small town of Utköping, where "its friendly two-storied wooden houses lay yawning, idling away the Sunday in the tiring Spring air," reveal that Bernhard Karlgren had read and enjoyed the novels by Hugo Swensson, his former master in French, which are all set in a school milieu. Backman is convinced that his exile in a small provincial town, far from a research library, will be a short parenthesis. In two years time the malevolent professor in Uppsala will retire. Backman is working on three major books and hopes to finish them before the Chair is advertised. But threatening clouds soon gather. The woman he marries cannot understand his urge to do research. An addition to the family (twins!) forces him to teach in a girls' school and also to serve as an underpaid librarian in the secondary grammar school, just as Bernhard's father Johannes had had to do. Backman's refusal to apply for a vacant senior mastership in the far north of Sweden, where he would have had to relinquish research, leads to divorce.

In order to pay for the printing of one of his works, Backman is forced to take on a time-consuming translation job and, in addition, to sell a magnificent volume that he values highly. When the income from these sources proves insufficient, he is forced to "borrow" 1500 crowns from the library fund. The unsympathetic Dr. Borrong, also from Uppsala, finds out about the misappropriation, and informs the headmaster. Backman is saved from disgrace by an old dean, who lends him 1500 crowns. Backman's treatises are printed in time, and he successfully applies for the vacant Chair. Professor Backman proposes to a simple but sensible and affectionate young girl, who has served as maid at the boardinghouse where he lived as a bachelor.

The principal character in Bernhard Karlgren's novel *Bröllopet i Kanarp* ("The Wedding in Kanarp," 1945), Do-

cent Spira, is an expert in Nordic Languages, who has just read the proofs of his work *Old Swedish short i and u in Southern dialects.* Spira is a bachelor, forty-seven years old, and a man of means: an inheritance of 300,000 crowns, placed in solid stocks. He feels at home with the freedom that his docentship grants him and refuses to apply for a vacant Chair:

> First, I would be passed judgment on and patted on the back by some minor scholars serving as referees, and then some self-appointed "experts" in the daily press, who believe that they understand Nordic Languages better than the professors, would begin to sing their tunes and decide whether I am competent or not.

Docent Spira has much in common with Professor Karlgren:

> I engage in research because I enjoy it. I write out my results, in spite of the fact that it is mightily tiresome, since it forces me to be explicit and finish my work, not at all in order to be cheered. If others wish to use my results, so much the better—it will shorten their journey to the next stage. If they don't wish to do so, *tant pis,* I couldn't care less.

Just like Bernhard Karlgren, Spira had studied under Abbé Rousselot, "the genial founder of experimental phonetics, who has a little primitive laboratory in a backyard of the venerable Collège de France in Paris."

When Bernhard Karlgren in his old age once told of the restless research fervor that characterized him in his youth, he used almost exactly the same words as Docent Spira in the following soliloquy:

> Outwardly he used to show off his unshakeable composure and self-assurance, and therefore people believed that he was phlegmatic. But they should see how his machinery functioned when he worked. Then he was like a hypersensitive fox terrier. If he picked up an interesting trail, he would rush straight ahead without resting day or night. He rarely stopped to take notes, he rushed on until he knew that he had arrived. He trusted his excellent memory, convinced that he would be able to trace his way back in order to note down and document it all.

NAMN OCH NYTT

Den 16 juli 1947.

Tecknaren mötte vid Ulvesund
denne man och hans trogna hund.
Tecknarn stack in med en fråga i skallet:
— Är detta professor Karlgren, måntro,
som i villan här ovan försports skola bo?
Detta var verkligen också fallet,
och porträttet tillblev i denna stund.
— Jag målar, berättade Kinakännaren,
och pysslar även med oljebrännaren.
Det är märkligt vad folk till min ort flyttar in
där jag bott på mitt berg som en stolt mandarin.
Det var tvunget till sist att villan bemåla,
men nu skall den snart i zinkvitt pråla.
Ja, mångt och mycket får en forskare möta,
men vetandets frukter är alltid söta.

Drawing of Bernhard Karlgren, 1947.

Vem är denne skäggige man?

CLAS GULLMAN
— eller vem?

Vem är pseudonymen Clas Gullman, som utgett en del underhållningsromaner på Gebers (bl. a. "Dansa min ducka" och "Brällopet i Kanarp")?

Diskussionens vågor har gått höga, och när förlaget i sitt senaste nummer av förlagstidskriften till bokhandlarna ökar mystifikationen genom att publicera ett camouflerat porträtt av författaren, har spänningen stigit ytterligare ett par streck. Många kända författare hade dittills blivit "misstänkta" för att dölja sig bakom benämningen Clas Gullman, men sedan man sett bilden i bladet till bokhandlarna blir man något konfunderad. Det mustasch- och skäggprydda ansikte som lyser emot läsaren för nämligen inte tanken till någon känd författare.

Expressen tar sig friheten att publicera fotografiet av pseudonymen Clas Gullman, och frågar samtidigt läsekretsen om den kan lista ut vem han är? Diskussionen är fri och Expressens spalter öppna.

"Who is this bearded gentleman?" Bernhard Karlgren masquerading as Clas Bulman, 1947.

Caricature of Bernhard Karlgren, 1947.

When one of Spira's colleagues tries to persuade him to apply for the vacant Chair and speaks warmly of the great and unselfish contributions to academic teaching of some of the intellectual giants of Uppsala University, Spira puts on the cynical mask and the coarse language, behind which Bernhard Karlgren often tried to hide his tender heart:

> Unselfish? Great? *Vanitas vanitarum.* Why is it considered more noble to be unselfish than to be selfish? Old Christian superstition, or rather, a Christian trick to make those who are worst off to keep within bounds and make a virtue out of necessity. When one is not capable of making one's way, one should humbly accept being beaten, and even be grateful for it, one should never think of oneself and always rejoice in the success of others. To hell with such a slave mentality! Such morality can only be understood in the light of the gruesome social conditions of late classical antiquity. I know of nothing more stupid than the old rule that in distress at sea, one must first save the women and children. Them one ought of course to throw overboard first and then rescue as many as possible of the able-bodied men.

In his youth, Spira had been engaged, "but then a bloody priest, a cousin of mine, by the way, came and stole her away." Since then, scholarship had been his own "real mistress." But Spira cannot forget the girl who let him down. When he reads in the newspaper that the daughter of the "bloody priest" and his former fiancée has become engaged to a rich businessman in Bohuslän, he decides to pay a visit to the vicar and his family. The narration of the drive to the northern part of Bohuslän can be read as a declaration of love for a landscape and a sea that afforded Bernhard Karlgren much happiness.

Here and there the author leaves a clue to his own identity. Lena, the vicar's daughter, has a sailboat, "Lunkentuss," named after a dinghy that Karlgren bought in the 1920s. Bernhard Karlgren's dinghy was named after Professor J. A. Lundell, called "Lunkentuss" by his affectionate disciples.

Spira's vanity is tickled when he realizes that his former fiancée has not forgotten her first love. He enjoys shocking the sanctimonious vicar with his coarse language and experiences the sweet taste of revenge when the newly engaged

young daughter in the family, the very image of her mother in her youth, falls into his arms. The young girl reminds him of a verse by the Greek poet Anakreon: "*O pai partenion blepon.*" But the learned Spira's translation ("O child with maidenliness in her eyes") cannot compare with the metrically perfect translation of the schoolboy Bernhard Karlgren: "Liten jungfru med solskensblick" ("Little girl with sunny eyes"). Spira has apparently not forgotten his Greek. But the vicar's scoffing "*Seri (***sic!**) venientibus ossa!" ("Only bare bones are left for those who come too late") had most certainly made the gentle Latin Master Johannes Karlgren raise his brows. All's well that ends well: Spira runs away with the vicar's young daughter and the two presumably live happily ever after.

The most ambitious of Clas Gullman's novels, *Dansa min docka* ("Dance, my Doll," 1943), totally lacks the bantering and sometimes coarse language of *Bröllopet i Kanarp*. The description of the love between the serious young linguist Magnus Bruun, who had originally planned to become a vicar, and the honest, though flighty and pleasure-seeking, society girl Tanja is characterized by an earnestness and tenderness that Gullman's two other novels lack. Like Bernhard Karlgren, in 1912 Magnus Bruun finds himself in London, where he daily visits the British Library. The description of the London milieu is based on Karlgren's own experiences. Like Karlgren, Magnus Bruun stays at a boardinghouse on Guilford Street, close to the university and the British Museum. The description of the discord in Magnus and Tanja's marriage may be inspired by the matrimonial crisis that befell Professor and Mrs. Karlgren in the mid-1930s and that was the main reason why Karlgren wished to move to Stockholm.

The three novels by Clas Gullman were favorably received by the press. Most reviewers praised the stylistic competence of the author and his ability to depict the milieu. The author's psychological portrayal of the principal characters drew less praise. All three novels were translated into Danish and two of them into Dutch and Finnish. In the paper "Clas Gullman, Sinologist," published a few years before Bernhard Karlgren passed away, Hans Krook writes:

> The books were well received by both the Press and the reading public, and in the time that followed their publication more than one professor allowed himself the pleasure of being suspected of being Clas Gullman. That's how it is with anonymity: as long as it lasts it can be shared by many! . . .
> It is really as puzzling why he stopped writing as why he started —had he continued it would no doubt have turned out very well. And that we need literature of this kind is shown by the flood of translations that reaches our shores.
> The term entertainment literature is really perplexing: it seems that one part of the term cancels out the other. Sweden has always lacked authors of this kind of literature, the characteristic traits of which are a note of jaded indifference, self-evident urbanity, natural familiarity with terms and notions within many different fields, but also a swift mobility, a thrilling plot, preferably also a nimble and cultivated colloquial style and, above all, a lack of false pretensions. All these traits to a high degree characterize the works by Clas Gullman.[16]

It may well be that Bernhard Karlgren had hoped that the royalties from the novels would strengthen his finances. His son Per, who studied medicine at Uppsala University in the 1940s and whom his friends described as a highly talented and pleasant young man, progressed slowly in his studies, and his stay in Uppsala cost a great deal of money. On several occasions, Karlgren had to travel to Uppsala in order to straighten out his son's finances. When the extra income from the publisher proved insufficient, Per was rescued by his maternal uncle, a wealthy and childless lawyer. While Bernhard Karlgren was grateful to his brother-in-law, he was saddened by the fact that he could not assist his son himself.

A Remarkable Family of Brothers and Sisters

When Bernhard Karlgren exchanged the Chair at Gothenburg University for the directorship of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, he became the fourth in the family to settle in Stockholm, where his sisters Anna, Rakel, and Vera had been living for a long time. Karlgren's nephew Hans,

whose memories of his maternal aunts have been of great assistance to me, writes:

> Hardly old enough to marry, Anna was courted by the vicar in a parish close to Jönköping, where the Karlgren family used to spend their summers. To her mother, who was a regular churchgoer, the vicar seemed an ideal son-in-law, and before Anna knew what was happening, the summer was filled with tasks belonging to *matrimonium justum*.
> The vicar was an honest man, very sacerdotal in his ways, but tolerant and reasonable, a man that you could talk to. Eventually he became vicar in Jacob's parish in Stockholm. Anna's choice of profession was thereby given and she managed her role as a vicar's wife in a competent way, though without always being able to hide her impatience with the slowness in thought, speech, and action that characterized clergy in general and her husband in particular.
> In his genetic baggage the vicar brought with him a musical talent, something that, with the exception of Bernhard, was missing in the Karlgren family. Some of the younger members of that branch of the family are very musical and plan a career as professional musicians.

Like Anna, Hilma chose to become a teacher, but again like her elder sister, she found herself adjusting well at home as a wife and mother. Her husband, Harald Dahlstedt, an engineer who had served at the Nobel factories in Baku, found a position after his return to Sweden at an arms factory in Husqvarna, close to Jönköping. From the letters Anton and Bernhard exchanged after Dahlstedt had become associated with the family, it appears that, at least at the beginning, the two humanist brothers looked on Harald as a strange bird. The distance between Husqvarna and Stockholm seems to have limited personal contact between Hilma and her brothers and sisters.

Rakel, who had left her home in Jönköping in 1915, attended the Higher Seminar for Women in Stockholm and thereafter took an M.A. in Modern Languages at Stockholm University (1934). For many years she served as teacher of English, French, and History at several secondary grammar schools for girls in Stockholm. Hans Karlgren's characterization of Rakel is a touching document, which deserves to

be quoted *in extenso,* especially since it helps to explain the attitude toward study common to Bernhard Karlgren and his siblings.

> Rakel was a teacher. But she was not just an ordinary teacher. Like her sisters, Rakel had a solid education in a Secondary Grammar School for girls. Those were by no means lightweight schools, and they were certainly not based on the conception that girls are frivolous and non-intellectual. They provided education and solid knowledge, but no admission to an academic career which lay out of bounds for the girls in a poor family with seven children, and which also exceeded what my otherwise so intellectually inclined grandmother considered necessary for girls. And this proved a great tragedy for those girls who hungered for knowledge.
>
> Rakel, more hungry for knowledge than most, saw to it that she was given a chance to study. Granted an exemption, she managed to secure a post as teacher at a famous "Gymnasium for Girls" in Stockholm. She had a sound knowledge of her chosen subjects (English, French, Swedish, and History) which she continually improved, and also in other subjects, such as Botany. Her knowledge of History was great, and she passionately loved the art and history of Classical Antiquity. But above all: she studied languages.
>
> Rakel always studied. She utilized spare moments: waiting for a bus, she pulled out a dictionary and revised new vocabulary; waiting for dinner to be served, she went through her notes. School vacations gave her a chance to learn and to see more during trips, most often to the Mediterranean countries, long before such journeys became an enjoyment of the middle class. Together with her sister Vera, with whom she lived, she traveled abroad, often several times a year. It is true that every evening they enjoyed a good dinner and a bottle of wine at some place without tourists, but they were certainly no holiday-makers. Rakel spent her time wisely. She and her sister Vera were the first on the spot when the museum chosen for the day opened its gate, and all was planned beforehand so that no time was wasted. The travels were well prepared, with great joy and with the aid of maps and literature covering the past and the present of the places to be visited. And as soon as they had returned home, they started to plan the trips for the next summer. Or should they perhaps set out already at Easter or Christmas . . . ?
>
> Rakel studied. She never experienced the transition from the receptive to the constructive, or destructive which sometimes is

the result of academic studies. I do not believe that she ever published anything. What she once missed in her youth, through a discontinued education, she was never able to recapture. Like all teachers, in a way she was stuck in her school. That was a pity; *she* would never have left a doctoral thesis unfinished.

But she was a teacher with a vengeance: if she did not create anything new, she carried on the heritage. And the message that she carried on—and I here I believe that we approach something essential that to a high degree also was valid for Bernhard—that message was the *joy* of learning and gaining knowledge.

From my teenage point of view, Rakel was hopelessly old-fashioned. She had never been pretty, she moved awkwardly and clumsily and dressed in a way that even a young boy like me found out of date. She was intense in both behavior and speech, always focusing on one thing at a time, so that people of normal health got utterly tired of hearing her speak for ten minutes. She seemed blind and deaf to actualities, such as popular music or film stars, and, for that matter, to gentlemen of flesh and blood. And yet, or perhaps just therefore, they listened to her, those fashionable girl students from a wealthy area of Stockholm, where it was considered embarrassing for a girl to turn up in the same dress at two parties. They realized that Rakel enjoyed telling about Phidias, and Rakel could not imagine that they did not enjoy listening to her.

I have met and still occasionally meet Rakel's disciples who all talk of how they were infected by her enthusiasm. In my youth I met girls who attracted me for reasons other than the purely intellectual, and many of them looked as if they never opened a book unless forced to do so, and yet they told me that they had read thick books on Greek art just because Rakel had put them on the track. Rakel's way of arousing the students' enthusiasm was not strategically clever, as many of her colleagues resented that she made the students spend time on supplementary reading instead of doing their lessons. But economizing on intellectual energy was not a subject that Rakel taught.

Rakel's ideas about how schoolgirls ought to use their time may appear old-fashioned, but she never moralized. I remember an incident from my youth, involving a young girl whom I knew, who had got into trouble and had had an abortion, something that was quite uncommon in those days. Everyone expected the unmarried female teacher to be *moralisch entrüstet,* but Rakel's only comment was: "Now I think that she ought to study for a while."

Apart from deepening her knowledge in her school subjects, as an adult Rakel pursued penetrating studies in Latin, Italian,

> Greek and Spanish, for no obvious reason whatsoever. With the assistance of an old retired Senior Master in Greek she drank deeply from Classical Greek literature. Of course she also acquired a practical knowledge of Modern Greek, so that she could converse with people during her travels in the country. I have inherited her copy of a translation into Modern Greek of the thrilling novel *Rebecca* by Daphne de Maurier, with a shorthand explanation of words in Rakel's hand.
>
> A few years after her retirement, Rakel was afflicted with cancer. When she was hospitalized and realized that she had only a few more months to live, the doctors offered her morphine for her pain. Having considered the proposition carefully, she agreed to a compromise: she accepted the needles, but only after 5 p.m. Before that, the morphine would prevent her from concentrated reading. She was then reading Classical Italian, Dante, if I remember correctly.
>
> It was not duty that made her do it: to cram more information into the brain of a dying body would not benefit society. But her brain needed it—a grotesque manifestation of the *Divine Comedy*.

Vera moved to Stockholm in 1919. Having served for a while as secretary in a lawyer's office, she graduated from a School of Social Studies and was appointed to a post at the Office of the Governor of Stockholm, where she remained until she retired. In spite of the fact that she lacked a law degree, she was eventually trusted with handling many important cases. According to her brother Hjalmar, who was known to not be lavish with praise, she was a very skilled jurist. Hjalmar had taught Vera shorthand while she was still a little girl. Both Hjalmar and Vera became stenographers at the Parliament, Hjalmar during 1919–32 and Vera shortly before Hjalmar relinquished his post. Hans Karlgren, the third Parliamentary stenographer in the Karlgren family, has the following to say of Vera's competence:

> In Parliament, Vera became known as one of the most skilled stenographers. She was eventually promoted to the post of First Stenographer, in spite of the fact that she had fewer years of service than was normally required. She left her post, however, after having served "only" a few decades. She found her double jobs rather a strain. Without any dependents to support, she did not need a large income. From an economic point of view, it

> would have been more advantageous to keep the Parliament post, which was relatively well paid. But she preferred to continue in her civilian job, which she found more important.

Vera and Rakel set up house together with the faithful old servant Stafva, who had moved to Stockholm after Ella Karlgren's death in 1935. Like Rakel, Vera was fascinated by the classical languages and never gave up studying Latin. Stafva stuck to the *Nordic Encyclopaedia.*

Hjalmar, who had inherited his father's passionate interest in Latin, had originally planned to continue his study of Latin at university. But he made the mistake of seeking the advice of his elder brothers. Hans Karlgren writes:

> The two brothers dissuaded him with one voice: "How ridiculously old-fashioned! Latin has already been explored!" His eldest brother had shocked everybody by choosing Russian, a language rather unknown in Jönköping. His second elder brother had gone one better and chosen Chinese. And now their little brother would put them all to shame with such a conventional choice!
>
> Had the conversation taken place a few decades later, my father might have become a specialist on the languages of Northern American Indians, or might it have been him instead of Collinder and Jarring who would have plowed the Fenno-Ugrian or the Turkic field? No such choice could come into question. For psychological reasons, Slavonic languages and Sinology were out of bounds. My father, who himself was a bit hesitant to devote his life to a dead language, went to the other extreme and chose something very down-to-earth, partly guided by a passionate (liberal) interest. All the same, throughout his life he retained a fair amount of bitterness caused by the cocksure advice of his brothers who themselves had recently taken the plunge. Not without melancholy he noticed that the study of Latin was far from exhausted, whenever new discoveries were made in the field.

Hans Karlgren points out that the incident illustrated the attitude of the three brothers:

> First and foremost it was not a question of choosing a profession but rather a question of choosing a research branch. It stood to

reason that to them there was no alternative, which is quite remarkable, considering that their father was the first to break away from a poor peasant family and become a scholar.
Second, there was the attitude of these young men toward research. The question was what was most worth exploring. The usefulness of research did not enter into their minds. The youthful urge to outbid others coincided in a lucky way with good research strategy (a word that did not exist at the time). I do not know what arguments Bernhard used when he persuaded the rich burghers in Gothenburg to stake him and Sinology, but the endeavor to promote trade or bring about contact with another culture (which he later on did with considerable success) probably did not carry great weight when he made up his mind.
The third thing illustrated by the narrated conversation between the brothers is the absolute trust in their own capacity. The question was which branch of learning should be given the honor of being studied by them, no thought was given to what the *studiosus* might be capable of. The notion that a certain branch would be too difficult or that it would be beyond one's own capacity to reach the top simply did not exist. Artistic and practical/technical professions were excluded as uninteresting.

According to Hans Karlgren, what characterized Bernhard Karlgren and his brothers and sisters above all was the joy of work:

I think that joy is something central in the atmosphere that characterized Bernhard Karlgren and his brothers and sisters. Of course they brought with them a fair portion of Christian values —my grandmother experienced a religious revival in her old age —and of course there was a strong consciousness about one's work benefiting others beside oneself, a kind of religious (or biological) necessity in *zoon politikon*. But one did not sacrifice oneself for duty nor accept like an athlete to endure the suffering of valiant exertions.
This was very noticeable in my father, and I do not think that he was the only one in the family to feel that way. He worked constantly, even on a summer's day in the country he did not feel well unless he had worked with pen and paper, quite happy to enjoy sunshine, wind and sea at the same time. But he was annoyed with people who spoke of duty and sacrifice. When he thought that someone showed off by talking about his heavy workload, he could provoke him by saying: "You can't do a job well unless you have learned to despise it!" This is not what you

> expect to hear from a judge. He definitely did not mean to say that one ought to be careless and most certainly not that work of any kind is despicable. What he meant was that whoever takes himself too seriously and makes too much of his role does not function well, just as the driver of a car is highly dangerous if he is possessed with the knowledge that the lives of him and his passengers at every second depend on how he turns the steering wheel he clutches tightly, steering the car in the right direction.
>
> Bernhard probably had a stronger sense of mission, and he definitely had reason to believe that what he himself did not do would remain undone for the foreseeable future. To some extent he was happy believing that the world needed his diligence. But there was also this other thing: *he* needed it. He felt the need to make his contribution, together with the *joy* of doing it. Perhaps the explanation for his intensity and stamina lies in the fact that these two urges never clashed.

Hjalmar became a jurist and, like his brothers, a professor. When in 1943 he left his Chair in Civil Law at Lund University to take up the post of Justice of the Supreme Court in Stockholm, he looked forward to closer contact with his brother Bernhard. According to his son Hans, he was rather disappointed when Bernhard made him understand that he had little time for social intercourse. But he respected that Bernhard's concentration on research had its price. The two brothers still enjoyed one another's company.

Bernhard and Anton had been very close in their youth. It was Anton who taught Bernhard to use Lundell's phonetic alphabet. The two brothers went on long walking tours during the summer. As editor-in-chief of *Dagens Nyheter,* Anton also saw to it that Bernhard got his articles published in the paper during his poor student years. From Bernhard's letters, it appears that he admired his elder brother, not least for his contributions to *Dagens Nyheter.*

We have seen that Bernhard paid his debt of gratitude by helping Anton with his doctoral thesis, which unfortunately was never finished. Hans Karlgren writes:

> The tragedy extended through decades of this energetic man's life. Even in his old age he continued his study of aspect in the Russian language. Ninety years old, he asked his daughter, who

was a librarian, to find him a hard to obtain work dealing with problems of aspect in Russian.

Many letters and reports from Anton to Professor Lundell kept at Uppsala University Library bear witness to the fact that Anton most certainly was not idle. Having gone through the reports on the enormously rich material that Anton wanted to discuss in his thesis, I understand better what Bernhard Karlgren meant when he once told me that "the best is the enemy of the good." (At the time I was struggling with a thesis that seemed never-ending.) Bernhard Karlgren's grief over the burden of unfinished work that had afflicted his father Johannes, his brother Anton, and his son Per may explain the intensity, not to say fury, that characterized a great portion of his active life as a researcher.

The Venerated Master and His Disciples

My first meeting with Bernhard Karlgren took place one day in late May 1946, when I was busy preparing for an examination in Latin at Uppsala University. For relaxation I had read translations into English, German, and French of the Daoist classic *Dao De Jing* ("The Holy book on Dao and its Power"). The lack of concordance between the three translations was so great that I found it hard to believe that they were based on the same original. I took courage, telephoned Professor Karlgren, and asked him whether he could advise me on an urgent matter. He replied that I was welcome to visit him at the East Asian Collection, then housed in the attic of the School of Economics, in the center of Stockholm. The following day, he received me in his study. To my question as to which of the three translations was the best, Karlgren replied: "They are equally poor! The only translation that is any good I have done myself. It has not been published, but you may borrow my manuscript." When I returned the manuscript a week later, Bernhard Karlgren enquired about my studies. I explained that I originally had planned to take a degree in Latin and Greek, but that the receding interest for classical languages in Swedish secondary education had given me cold feet. "Why don't you study Chinese

instead?" asked Karlgren. When I told him that I would be most happy to do so, he said: "Good, come back in early September when the courses start."

Instead of returning to Uppsala at the end of the summer vacation, I went to Stockholm, where, in the autumn of 1946, it was impossible to find a student's den. As I had few friends in the city with whom I could room, during the first few weeks I had to spend many nights on a bench in a waiting room in the Central Station or on a bench in one of Stockholm's many parks. Cold and rainy nights I would spend on streetcar number four, a circular line operating throughout the night. (At that time, it cost only a few crowns to enjoy a Finnish sauna at the Sturebadet Public Bath, where you also could get your clothes washed while you had your bath.) But the slight inconvenience of not having a roof over my head in no way dampened my joy at being able to study under Bernhard Karlgren.

In the autumn semester of 1946, Bernhard Karlgren gave a special course for three Scandinavian students who had been awarded generous fellowships from the Rockefeller Foundation.[17] The fellowships were intended to cover the expenses of two years' study under Bernhard Karlgren in Stockholm, one year's fieldwork in China, and one year's study under Professor Chao Yuen Ren at the University of California at Berkeley. Apart from the three fellows (the Swede Olov Bertil Andersson, the Dane Sören Egerod, and the Norwegian Henry Henne), the following five students took the special course: Hans Bielenstein, Sven Broman, and Göran Malmqvist from Sweden, Else Glahn from Denmark, and Aulis Joki from Finland.[18]

At his first lecture in the autumn of 1946, Professor Karlgren handed each of us students copies of a few pages of the *Zuozhuan* from the standard *Shisanjing zhusu* edition. The text was not punctuated. My knowledge of classical Chinese was naturally nil. But I did know that it was a monosyllabic language, that each strange sign on the page represented a morpheme, and that the text should be read from top to bottom of the page, starting from the right. The lecture proceeded in this way: Professor Karlgren read out a passage, which he then explicated. While he read out the text passage, I counted the number of syllables he uttered, drum-

ming my fingers on the table. If the passage contained thirteen syllables, I quickly counted the characters in the text and wrote a little circle after the thirteenth character. (One of my fellow students years later told me that he thought that I behaved in a rather nonchalant fashion, drumming my fingers on the table while the Professor lectured.)

Professor Karlgren's two-hour lectures on the *Zuozhuan* took place twice a week at the university. His weekly seminars on Chinese historical phonology took place in his study at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, which moved to the attic of the Historical Museum in 1947. During the two academic years 1946–48, Professor Karlgren explicated huge portions of pre-Qin literature (*Zuozhuan, Zhuang Zi, Lunyu, Meng Zi, Xun Zi, Mo Zi, Liji, Shijing, Shujing*), Sima Qian's *Shiji, Han Fei Zi*, Wang Ch'ong's *Lun heng,* and essays by the great masters of Tang and Song. We also had to read the seventeenth-century novel *Haoqiuzhuan,* which Karlgren had used in his teaching in Gothenburg. (Professor Karlgren once explained that the intense pace of his explication of texts was a great contrast to that of Chavannes, who barely managed more that a few sentences per lecture.) The course in colloquial Chinese was mainly limited to a rapid reading of his *A Mandarin Phonetic Reader in the Pekinese dialect* (1948).

Whoever has not enjoyed the privilege of studying under Professor Karlgren can hardly imagine what a real treat it was for his disciples to attend his lectures. He never spoke down to us, never spoon-fed us, and never examined us to find out how much knowledge we had acquired. He seemed absolutely convinced that his disciples spent all their time studying, which we did. In his explication of texts, he dwelt at length on complicated problems of historical linguistics and textual criticism and also provided us with fascinating glimpses into the origins of Chinese culture, often through extensive analyses of characters. When we listened to his interpretations, we had a feeling that we ourselves, though beginning students, had arrived at the front line of research. But it was not only factual knowledge that Bernhard Karlgren transmitted to us in his lectures and seminars. He also taught us to listen to the soughing of the wings (with which he associated true scholarship) and to appreciate the joy of

searching for truth. He tried to impress on us a respect for the demands of research and for the humility that characterizes a true scholar.

Bernhard Karlgren never systematized his observations on the grammar of classical Chinese in a major publication. Like a Zen master, he preferred to transmit his knowledge "from heart to heart." His text explication in an a-syntactic Swedish, which was intermixed with huge quantities of words and expressions from French, German, English, Greek, and Latin, could better clarify the structure of the text than any formal grammar. Here is an example from the first book of Mencius:

> Hui, King of Liang, say: "Jin state, in whole world nothing exist which is strong *auprès de cela.* This be *senioris quod scit.* . . . I have been affronted vis-à-vis Chu. *Sum dedecori maioribus meis!*

This may seem like gibberish to the uninitiated, but I know from experience that it did work.

In the spring semester of 1948, his students asked Professor Karlgren to give a course in Chinese bibliography. He then put together a list of periodicals, comprising *T'oung Pao* (from 1903, when Chavannes became a coeditor), *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Journal asiatique, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Monumenta Serica,* and a few others. Our teacher recommended that we acquaint ourselves with the content of these journals and suggested that we pay special attention to reviews by Chavannes. He also recommended Pelliot's reviews, which he found rewarding, though less well balanced. When we timidly wondered whether he could not give us a somewhat more comprehensive course in bibliography, he handed us a list of the names of some thirty scholars in the Sinological fields and rapidly went through it with us: "Chavannes is good. Read Chavannes! Conrady was a fine scholar, although he sometimes went wide of the mark. Read Conrady!" The "course" lasted about one hour. We students read Chavannes, Conrady, and other great authorities.

In the 1940s and 1950s, Bernhard Karlgren stood out as a great expert on early Chinese bronzes. But it never crossed

his mind that he ought to initiate his students into this field. He saw it as his task to teach us Chinese and refused to spend time (and Rockefeller Foundation money) on anything else. In a letter of December 14, 1994, Sören Egerod writes:

> Another thing he never taught us was the bronzes. My sister once visited me in Stockholm, and one Saturday afternoon I took her to see the Museum. BK was on his way out, but stayed on and gave my sister the best and most comprehensive introduction to the field that you could ever hope for. I had never before heard him talk so much and so long about this subject.

Bernhard Karlgren kept his disciples at arm's length and tried to make us believe that he could not care less for our personal problems, whatever they were. But it did not take long for us to discover the tenderness and warmth hidden beneath the rough surface. His immense learning, brilliant intellect, encyclopedic knowledge, and never-failing memory impressed us tremendously. His drastic humor, down-to-earth language, and total freedom from prejudice also made a great impact on us. The affection that he felt for his students (and that he tried in vain to hide), his students repaid with a devotion that we never dared to express, but that our teacher must have felt.

As I was not supported by any scholarship during my studies under Professor Karlgren, I found it hard to make ends meet. Bernhard Karlgren, who must have understood my situation, offered me a job as assistant in the museum library a few hours a day. The income from that job was sufficient to pay my rent and provide me with a meal a day. My task was to go through the Sinological journals in the library and make a card index of all illustrations of objects of gold and silver. I am convinced that my index never came to any use.

Walking along the road leading to Bernhard Karlgren's summer residence in Bohuslän on July 19, 1948, I met my teacher on his way to buy kerosene at a nearby store. My immodest demand to be examined for a B.A. degree in Sinology in the middle of summer had given me a guilty con-

science. Two weeks earlier, I had been examined by my professor in Ethnography. Having tested my rather weak knowledge in the subject for five hours, the professor declared that he unfortunately had a dinner appointment and therefore was forced to cut short the examination, which he would have liked to continue for some hours more. This summer's day I was prepared for an even more difficult ordeal, as the curriculum in Sinology was far more demanding than that which Professor Conrady had put together thirty-three years earlier at the request of Uppsala University. But I need not have worried: having tested my knowledge of classical and modern Chinese for about half an hour, Bernhard Karlgren entered the highest mark in my examination book, whereupon we went down to the beach to swim and enjoy a cup of coffee. "Ah, so this is how you fulfill your duty as examiner?" asked Mrs. Karlgren. "Oh well," said Bernhard Karlgren, "I know my students!" My fellow student Sören Egerod had the same experience. In a letter of December 13, 1994, he writes:

> I had prepared myself very thoroughly for the exam and was mighty nervous. The examination was very cursory, and Bernhard Karlgren ended it by saying: "I can see that you have done your work properly." If my fellow students at Berkeley two years later had known that this was my sole examination in Chinese, they would have been flabbergasted. They thought that I knew everything about Sino-Tibetan, could memorize Karlgren's reconstructions of Ancient and Archaic Chinese and was an expert on early Chinese bronzes.

In the spring semester of 1948, Bernhard Karlgren succeeded in securing Rockefeller Fellowships also for Sven Broman and Göran Malmqvist. In late summer the same year, five of Karlgren's disciples (Olov Bertil Andersson, Hans Bielenstein, Sven Broman, Sören Egerod, Henry Henne, and Göran Malmqvist) all went to China. The original plan was that, after one year's fieldwork in China, the five Rockefeller Fellows should continue their studies under Professor Chao Yuen Ren at Berkeley, while Hans Bielenstein, who held a State Scholarship, should spend one year in the historical archives in Peking.

In his letter, Sören Egerod reminded me of an episode that gave Bernhard Karlgren an excellent opportunity to display his pretended lack of feeling:

> I am sure that you will remember Bernhard Karlgren's annoyance over any mention of unrest in China, when we were preparing our journey there. One student mentioned that the situation in the Yangtze valley was utterly precarious. "I have not heard anything about that," said Bernhard Karlgren, "Oh well, they may have slaughtered a couple of missionaries." Olov Bertil Andersson mentioned that his mother was seriously ill, and that he therefore may have to postpone his journey. "Is it cancer?" asked Bernhard Karlgren. "No," Andersson replied, "It's her heart." "That need not stop you!" said Bernhard Karlgren. No more discussion. Karlgren then gave us a short lecture on the do's and dont's in the distant country, of which I only remember that one should keep one's stomach warm and abstain from liquor before sunset.

On their return from China, three of Karlgren's students who took up the study of dialects (Sören Egerod, Henry Henne, and Göran Malmqvist) presented their theses for the licentiate's degree, each offering phonemic analyses of different Chinese dialects. Karlgren accepted Malmqvist's and Egerod's theses without grumbling, but when Henne presented his thesis on a Hakka dialect, Karlgren had had enough. To a letter to Henne, in which Karlgren asked him to translate his phonemics into a phonetically intelligible format, he attached the following "Knifematic survey":

> The *knife* consists of:
> 1) Blade + handle.
> 2) Blade + 0.
> a) Blade that has lost its handle,
> b) Blade that never had a handle, reducible to "handleless knife."
> 3) 0+handle. Knives lacking blade must be considered exceptions that statistically may be disregarded.
> Sub 1) we note
> A. The blade is longer than the handle. You have here the choice between the definitions "long-bladed knife" or "short-handled knife."

B. The blade is shorter than the handle. In this case the choice will have to be made between the definitions "short-bladed knife" and "long-handled knife."
C. The blade and the handle are equally long. The choice will here have to be made between the definitions "knives with blades as long as the handles" and "knives with handles as long as the blades." As *spoons* and *forks* as a rule have handles longer than the blades, these knives must from a structuralist point of view be defined as "knives whose blades have been lengthened to the same length as the handles."

This parody of phonemic analysis is typical of the inability of adherents of traditional linguistics to accept new trends, which in the 1950s gave rise to sometimes rather savage attacks on the structural approach to linguistic analysis.

In his *Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese* (1954), Bernhard Karlgren gave his view of phonemic analysis:

> The phonemic principle is, of course, of great importance in all language study and it is naturally and inevitably inherent in every description of any given language. But this simple fact should not entice us to over-emphasize it and make it the all-important feature in our language description, to the exclusion of other aspects of just as great importance in the life of the language. There is a tendency among modern linguists to ride this hobbyhorse so blindly as to reduce their efforts to an intellectual sport—to write a given language with as few simple letters as possible, preferably no other than those to be found on an American typewriter. This modern trend in linguistics has unduly simplified and thereby distorted the real character of the language so studied . . . In short, the "phonemic" language description is often one-sided and over-simplifying. It is my conviction that it will soon have seen its best days, and that new currents will dominate in linguistics which do more justice to the infinite richness of every living language. (366–67).[19]

The statement was made at a time when the analytical methods of American structuralism were characterized by a tendency toward *reductio in absurdum*. Bernhard Karlgren's rejection of structuralism may also be seen as a defense of

comparative historical linguistics, whose strict methodology he had acquired in his youth and to which he remained faithful throughout his life. At the same time, the passage shows that Karlgren's attitude was not motivated by rigid conservatism. He did indeed appreciate the need of new approaches in linguistic research, but he did not find the time to acquaint himself with the new ideas. Much remained to be done with the tools that had been forged by his predecessors in the field of comparative linguistics, which he himself had been instrumental in sharpening.

The special courses that Bernhard Karlgren offered to a few students in 1946–48 paid good dividends: his disciples from those years have all contributed in various ways to Sinological research.

Bernhard Karlgren did not ask for any remuneration from the Rockefeller Foundation for the courses he gave in 1946–48. The fee of $5,000 U.S. dollars that the Rockefeller Foundation insisted on paying him, Bernhard Karlgren handed over to the East Asian Library, for the purchase of modern Chinese literature.

At the end of the spring semester of 1948, Bernhard undertook his third long trip abroad, this time with his wife. The journey, which was part of the Rockefeller Foundation program, took him to the United States and Canada. The Karlgren family archive contains little related to the trip. On May 20, the Department of Chinese and Japanese at Columbia University in New York organized a guest lecture for Bernhard Karlgren, in which he dealt with the dating of early Chinese bronzes. The following day, a great reception was given in his honor. The long list of guests included many eminent scholars from the American East Coast and many collectors of Chinese antiquities. It must have afforded Bernhard Karlgren great pleasure to meet again his old friends Fu Ssu-nian and Luo Changpei, then guest professors at Yale University, and Li Fang Kuei, guest professor at the Harvard-Yenching Institute. I hope he also had the pleasure of exchanging words with Lin Yutang about the danger of quitting smoking.[20]

Bernhard Karlgren lectured at a number of scholarly institutions on the East Coast, among them the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton. He also visited Chicago and Minneapolis, where he spent some time at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, preparing his *Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury Collection* (1952). On June 20, Bernhard and Inna Karlgren arrived in Toronto, at the invitation of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology. On July 3, Bernhard and Inna left New York as passengers on the Swedish-America Line's M/S *Stockholm,* bound for Gothenburg. The list of the 113 passengers in first class included many illustrious names, including "Mr. and Mrs. Eddie Cantor, Beverly Hills, California." I do not know whether Bernhard Karlgren ever saw Eddie Cantor's 1934 film, "The Scandal in Rome." If he had, he must have enjoyed it tremendously.[21]

10
Bernhard Karlgren, Professor Emeritus, 1959–1978

Bernhard Karlgren and the *BMFEA*

Professor Bernhard Karlgren's scholarly works were mainly published in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (*BMFEA*). Several of these works, such as *Grammata Serica* (471 pages), *Grammata Serica Recensa* (332 pages), "Glosses on the Book of Odes" (518 pages), "Glosses on the Book of Documents" (419 pages), and *Loan Characters in pre-Han Texts* (502 pages) are among the references no Sinologist can afford to be without. Had Bernhard Karlgren chosen to publish his works with a commercial publishing house, the royalties would no doubt have remedied the financial worries that plagued him throughout his life. That possibility never seems to have occurred to him. He contributed 66 articles to 42 issues of the *BMFEA* and single-handedly edited 40 issues, from 1936 to 1976.

To the most important works that Karlgren wrote after his retirement in 1959 belong *Religion i Kina: Antiken* ("Religion in Ancient China," 1964); "Some sacrifices in Chou China" (1968); the lexicographical works "Loan Characters in pre-Han Texts I-V" (1963–67) and "Gleanings for a Lexicon of Classical Chinese I-III" (1972–74); and studies of early Chinese bronzes.

In his article "Legends and cults in Ancient China" (1946), Bernhard Karlgren mainly dealt with features connected with the ancestral cult and the cult of legendary heroes, con-

sidered the first ancestors of the various clans. Besides the ancestral cult, there also existed cults of certain nature spirits, representing powers without blood relationship with those who sacrificed to them, such as *Tian,* "Heaven," *Di* or *Tu,*" Earth," *She,* "Spirit of the Soil," *Ri,* "the Sun," *Yue,* "the Moon," and *Xing,* "the Stars." In the paper "Some sacrifices in Chou China," Karlgren deals with the cults of a number of nature spirits. Here he shows that the original distinction between nature spirits and the souls of ancestors gradually grew weaker, and that the cult of certain nature spirits, such as *Tian,* was grafted onto the ancestral cult of the Chou ruler.

Karlgren notes that the interpretation of the cults is hindered by the ambiguity of certain central terms. In the free texts of pre-Han times, the term *she* has no less than four clearly distinguished meanings: (1) the spirit of the Soil; (2) the altar of the spirit of the Soil; (3) to sacrifice to the spirit of the Soil, and (4) the pillar of earth, in which the spirit of the Soil sometimes resided. The free texts often indicate that a feudal lord at the investiture ceremony received a lump of earth from the king's *she* alter, which he immured into his own altar, and that the same procedure was followed when the feudal lord in his turn enfeoffed a vassal. The question is whether the cult of the feudal lords and their vassals was directed toward the universal spirit of the Soil to whom the king sacrificed, or whether regionally differing cults were addressed to a number of vegetation spirits of essentially the same kind. Karlgren leaves that question open.

The paper "Le dieu du sol dans la Chine antique" ("The God of the Soil in Ancient China"), which constitutes an appendix to Chavannes' monograph *Le T'ai-chan* (1910), contains much information about the spirit of the Soil, gathered from sources stretching from pre-Han times to the great encyclopedias of the Tang period (618–907). The great veneration that Bernhard Karlgren held for Chavannes made him abstain from criticizing his lack of methodological stringency.[1]

Several of the cults that Karlgren deals with in this paper are also discussed in his *Religion i Kina: Antiken.* In this

popular work, which covers the period from 1300 to 300 B.C., Karlgren chose to allow the Chinese sources to speak for themselves. The translations, chosen from a collection of oracle bone inscriptions and the *Shujing, Shijing, Zuozhuan, Lunyu, Meng Zi, Daxue, Zhongyong, Mo Zi, Lao Zi,* and *Zhuang Zi,* are preceded by short essays on topics that provide a fascinating picture of the religious beliefs in ancient China.

In the Lexicographer's Study

Above we saw that the character for a given morpheme may be borrowed to signify another morpheme with identical or nearly identical pronunciation. These characters, which are called *jiajie* ("loan characters"), constitute one of the six categories of characters described in the *Shuo wen jie zi* of A.D. 121. In five articles, published in the *BMFEA* 35–39 (1963–67), Bernhard Karlgren comments on a great number of *jiajie* interpretations, suggested by commentators from the Han period down to modern times. The examples have been chosen from the most important pre-Han texts. (The five articles were reprinted in one volume in 1968.)

Bernhard Karlgren divides the *jiajie* characters into the following groups:

A. The character for the morpheme X is used to signify the homophonous but unrelated morpheme Y, which lacks a character of its own: 豆 **d'u,* "a kind of vessel," is used for *d'u,* "bean".
B. The character for the morpheme X is used for the homophonous and unrelated morpheme Y, which already has a character of its own: 公 **kung,* "duke; common," is used for **kung,* "merit," normally written with the character 功.
C. The character for the morpheme X is used for the phonetically similar and unrelated morpheme Y, which lacks a character of its own: 縣 **g'iwan,* "to suspend." is used for **g'ian,* "district."
D. The character for the morpheme X is used for the phonetically similar and unrelated morpheme Y, which already has a character of its own: 殄 **d'iən,* "to destroy," is used for **t'iən,* "plentiful; good," normally written with the character 腆.

E. The character for the morpheme X is used for a synonymous but unrelated morpheme Y, which may or may not have a character of its own and which sometimes, but not always, is phonetically similar to the morpheme X: 還 **g'wan,* "to turn round," is used for 旋 **dzi̯wan,* "to turn round."

Karlgren asserts that loan transactions of the types A and B always can be accepted, provided that they give a better reading. For categories C and D, we have to decide whether the phonetic similarity between the two forms is such that a proposed *jiajie* interpretation may be considered plausible. Karlgren suggests that *jiajie* characters must be regarded as forerunners of phonetic compounds (characters composed of a radical and a phonetic). Many characters belonging to categories A and B were later provided with radicals. Several examples from bronze inscriptions prove that this process had already begun at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty. The phonetic margins of the *jiajie* must therefore be comparable to those appearing in phonetic compounds.

As no phonological objections can be raised against *jiajie* of categories A and B, Karlgren concentrates on categories C and D. In the huge monograph *Loan Characters in pre-Han Texts,* Karlgren presents his material, 2,215 items, in alphabetical order. The absence of a complete index seriously limits the usefulness of the work. At the end of the monograph there is an index of all quoted passages, with reference to the title and chapter of the work.

Bernhard Karlgren's comments on the proposed *jiajie* transactions span a wide spectrum of modal expressions: "Definitely right, evidently right, certainly right, most convincing, quite unnecessary, an amusing speculation, plausible, possible but not very probable, possible but unlikely, very forced, very uncertain, not convincing, unnecessary and unlikely, too scholastic, very eccentric, even more improbable, far-fetched, very arbitrary, a wild guess, wide of the mark, exceedingly improbable, phonetically absurd, arbitrary and unconvincing, exceedingly doubtful, unacceptable." Karlgren's most common comment is the laconic "Reject!" In this work, Karlgren in some cases corrects some of his reconstructions as presented in *Grammata Serica Recensa.*

Bernhard Karlgren was well aware of his unique competence as a linguist and philologist. He raced with time in order to get done what his training and knowledge allowed him to do, and what would remain undone if he did not do it. In advanced age, he often regretted that he would not be able to compile the lexicon of Classical Chinese that would be the crowning glory of his research. In three articles ("Gleanings for a Lexicon of Classical Chinese I, II III", 1972–74), he attempted to show how such a lexicon ought to be designed. In the introduction to the first of these articles, he writes:

> A comprehensive dictionary of Chinese should necessarily register the words and phrases to be found in the classical texts from pre-Han times, above all those which have become the sacred treasures of all times in China, such as the Shï, the Shu, the Yi, Lunyü, Meng-tsï, Li Ki, Tso chuan. The key words should always be illustrated with a rich selection of phrases and passages from those texts and in every single such quotation the source should be meticulously given.

According to Karlgren, the only Western lexicographer who followed these principles is Couvreur, who in his *Dictionnaire classique de la langue chinoise* (1890) gives many quotations from classical works, with clear references to the sources. H. G. Giles' *Chinese-English Dictionary* (1892) also contains many words and passages from the Chinese classics, although without indication of the sources.

Karlgren finds that the interpretations of classical words and expressions in both these dictionaries often are wide of the mark. Couvreur's definitions throughout are taken from his own translations of the Chinese classics, mainly based on the interpretation by the Neo-Confucian School of the Song. Giles has mainly taken over the meanings of words and phrases as they appear in James Legge's translation (*The Chinese Classics*, 5 vols., 1861–72). The time was therefore ripe for a new Western dictionary, based on sound lexicographical principles. In the three articles, Karlgren treats 2,225 altogether words, arranged in alphabetical or-

der. The source is indicated for each quote. Where appropriate, Karlgren refers to his *Glosses* on the *Shijing,* the *Shujing,* the *Liji,* and the *Zuozhuan,* and to his *Loan Characters in pre-Han Texts.*

In his last philological studies, Bernhard Karlgren revisited some of the works he appreciated the most: the magnificent chronicle *Zuozhuan* ("Glosses on the Tso Chuan I and II," 1969 and 1970), which he earlier had treated in several epoch-making works; the Confucian collection of ritual *Liji* ("Glosses on the Li Ki," 1971), which for some reason fascinated him; the enigmatic work *Daode jing* ("Notes on the Lao-Tse," 1975), and the Daoist thinker Zhuang Zi's work ("Moot words in some Chuang-Tse chapters," 1976). In an undated and unpublished manuscript on Daoism, Karlgren mentions that, during his sojourn in Paris, he once asked Chavannes for his view of the *Daode jing.* Chavannes replied that the time was not yet ripe for a translation of the work. When the major part of ancient Chinese literature had been subjected to thorough philological investigation—and that would require decades of combined efforts by all Sinologists in the world—only then would the time be ripe to translate the *Daode jing,* if at that time the text was considered authentic!

Bernhard Karlgren, who more than once warned his disciples not to concern themselves with the *Daode jing,* could not resist the temptation to translate it. I have already mentioned that I was given an opportunity to read his translation before I embarked on my Chinese studies. In several of his popular works, such as *Från Kinas tankevärld* ("From the Chinese World of Ideas," 1929) and *Religion i Kina: Antiken* ("Religion in Ancient China," 1964), Karlgren presented portions of the text. His complete translation into English, which on some points revises his earlier translations, was not published until 1975.

At the end of 1973, when Bernhard Karlgren presumably had started to edit his translation, some of the most remarkable archaeological finds were made in China. Excavations of a tomb at Mawangdui in the city of Changsha in

the province of Hunan sealed in 168 B.C. yielded thirty manuscripts written on silk, comprising two versions of the *Daode jing.* One of the texts, called version A, is written in the "Small Seal" script, created during the Qin dynasty (221–207 B.C.), while the other text, version B, is written in *lishu,* "the Clerical style," first used in the reign of Liu Bang (206–194 B.C.), the first emperor of the Han. According to the strict taboo rules, which prohibited the use of the personal name of the ruler, in version B the character for the personal name of the emperor (Bang), which means "state," was substituted by the synonym *guo.* As the personal names of Liu Bang's successors on the throne, Liu Ying (194–180 B.C.) and Liu Heng (179–156 B.C.), were not tabooed in version B, that text may be safely dated to the reign of Liu Bang. Version A, which does not taboo Liu Bang's name, must have been written before 206 B.C. As it is written in the Small Seal script, it must date from between 221 and 207 B.C. The earliest printed versions of the *Daode jing,* which go back to the Song dynasty (960–1279), are divided into eighty-one sections. The first thirty-seven sections are entitled *Dao,* the remaining sections are entitled *De.* In the two manuscript versions from Mawangdui, the order of the *Dao* and the *De* sections is reversed. Thus the manuscript versions, which ought to be entitled *Dedao jing,* differ in several respects from the printed versions. Strangely enough, the manuscript versions are characterized by a less archaic style than the printed texts. In many cases, grammatical particles make it easier to interpret ambiguous passages. In 1974, Chinese archaeological journals had already published rather poor reproductions of photostat copies of the Mawangdui manuscripts. Even if Bernhard Karlgren had been aware of these publications, his weak eyesight would not have allowed him to read them.

Many of Bernhard Karlgren's devoted admirers all over the world regretted that his translation of the *Daode jing* appeared one year after the publication of the sensational Mawangdui texts. But a comparison between Karlgren's and other scholars' translations of the standard edition of the text clearly is favorable to Karlgren. His interpretation shows how important it is that the translator approach his work with all the "gissighet" ("conjectural ability") of which

he is capable. (The term "gissighet," which Karlgren often used, refers to the linguistic intuition that, in the absence of dependable road signs, leads the interpreter on the right course through the labyrinths of the text, an intuition that is the product of deep insight.) Sören Egerod, the one among Karlgren's disciples who penetrated most deeply into the *Daode jing,* offers the following judgment on Karlgren's interpretation: "The remarkable thing about it is how much closer he got to the truth than many others."

The scattered presentation of Bernhard Karlgren's lexicographical works and *Glosses,* and the lack of comprehensive indexes, have meant that they have not been utilized to the extent they deserve. With the aid of a computer, it would be possible to compile a dictionary of the kind that he dreamed of, on the basis of relevant results of his research. A good beginning has been made by Tor Ulving, who has arranged the Archaic Chinese morphemes in the *Grammata Serica* in alphabetical order from A to Z, with indication of their pronunciation in Archaic Chinese, Ancient Chinese, and Modern Standard Chinese, together with an English translation (*Dictionary of Old and Middle Chinese: Bernhard Karlgren's Grammata Serica Recensa Alphabetically Arranged,* Gothenburg 1997). If this work were complemented with the information contained in Bernhard Karlgren's other lexicographical works and his *Glosses,* the resulting dictionary would be without parallel in Western Sinological handbook literature.

Citizen in the Republic of Scholars

"Well, I'll be damned! How I have toiled!" exclaimed Bernhard Karlgren when on his sixty-fifth birthday the staff of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities presented him with all his articles in the *BMFEA,* beautifully bound in leather. Those articles constituted only parts of his rich *oeuvre.* And toiled he had indeed in the fifty years since as a young schoolboy he had investigated the dialects in a few counties close to his hometown of Jönköping. And he was to continue to toil during the twenty-two years that in 1954 still remained of his active scholarly life.

In my speech in honor of Professor H. S. Nyberg at the Annual Public Meeting of the Swedish Academy on December 20, 1989, I asked myself what propelling force it is that can make a man a slave in the service of humanistic scholarship. I like to think that Bernhard Karlgren would have approved of the answer I then tried to formulate:

> Ambition? Perhaps, at least in one's youth, when the happiness over good reviews is as great as one's sorrow over bad ones, and anger over unfair ones. But far more important is the joy of seeking the truth which every true scholar experiences when terms find their correct places within the paradigm, or when passing fancies mature into thoughts in a strictly defined system.

The letters Bernhard Karlgren wrote to his girlfriend Inna in the years 1910–14 give ample evidence of his ambition. He had claimed that the preserves of Chinese dialectology and historical phonology belonged to him and no other. The great satisfaction with which he greeted the news that the war had put a stake in the wheels of his most serious rivals Pelliot and Maspero may seem, and perhaps also was, a manifestation of a certain ruthlessness in parallel with ambition. But if ruthlessness was part of the young Karlgren's personality, it most certainly vanished when he had reached his goal and achieved international recognition. His strong self-confidence was an inheritance, not from his father Johannes, the dutiful and kind-hearted schoolteacher, but from his mother Ella, who used to say: "My main weakness is that I do too well whatever I do!"

Bernhard Karlgren was a stern critic. The highest praise he could give a scholar was that reading his or her works made one hear the soughing of the wings of true scholarship. Whoever had managed to create a work of that caliber had done his share and added to mankind's store of knowledge. I well remember an occasion when one of Karlgren's disciples made a disparaging remark about a work by Ferdinand Lessing. Karlgren reacted immediately and said: "Whoever has written a work such as Lessing's on the Lama Temple in Peking has done his bit and no longer needs to prove anything!"[2]

In his speech as president of the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities at the Festive Meeting in March 1963, Bernhard Karlgren presented a somewhat unconventional definition of humanistic research:

> A few years ago, a young student who took my courses was asked: "What is the use of learning Chinese?" The young man answered: "It may not be very useful, but I feel that it is very *embarrassing* not to know it." That was a *bon mot* by a young student, but deeply seen, *mutatis mutandis,* it could serve as a *leitmotif* of all humanistic research.

No research results last forever, however outstanding they may seem in their time. Every research worker is aware of the fact that the results that have cost him so much toil and so many sacrifices may be reevaluated, and perhaps rejected altogether, and that he himself may be forgotten in a generation or two. But that knowledge does not diminish his satisfaction at having contributed to the accumulated knowledge of mankind. In his oration delivered to the Nobel Laureates of 1957, Bernhard Karlgren said:

> A wise man once said: "There are no great men, there are only small men, some of whom sometimes happen to do something great." This sounds very clever and witty, but I wonder whether it is true. The history of thousands of years of many countries and nations have given us the impressive spectacle of a long series of men and women who have achieved real greatness through whole-hearted devotion of all their power of will, heart and intellect to a purpose which has seemed to them infinitely superior and more important to mankind than the comfort and success of the individual. Many of them have had to make great sacrifices, sometimes deeply tragic sacrifices, yet never swerving from their chosen paths. Others have been less exposed, but I think it no exaggeration to say that no really great achievement in research or in art is possible without a ruthless renunciation of much that constitutes the comfort and well-being of the average man and woman. It demands a concentration of mind and will, an application of energy and labour, a dedication of all one's being to one all-important and everything overshadowing purpose of which the ordinary man is incapable. Why should we

> not recognize and admit greatness of character and greatness of achievement when we witness them before our own eyes?
> You may yourselves be inclined to smile at this enthusiasm and reply: "The Nobel Prize winners are already a goodly number, the lions of today will be forgotten, if not tomorrow, at least in 20 years." In a way that may be true, but fundamentally it is very untrue. We should never forget, that every intellectual worker who creates something new and important, be it in the natural sciences, in the humanities, or in art, necessarily stands on the shoulders of his predecessors. There is a constant and continuous handing over from man to man, an unbroken and unbreakable chain of evolution, no link of which can be taken out or rejected. In 50 years your names may be entirely forgotten, or at most duly mentioned in the textbooks, with no reminiscence left of the men behind the names. But the new ideas you have propounded and vindicated will always be there, a legacy to future generations; you will live on in your contributions to the common intellectual capital of mankind.

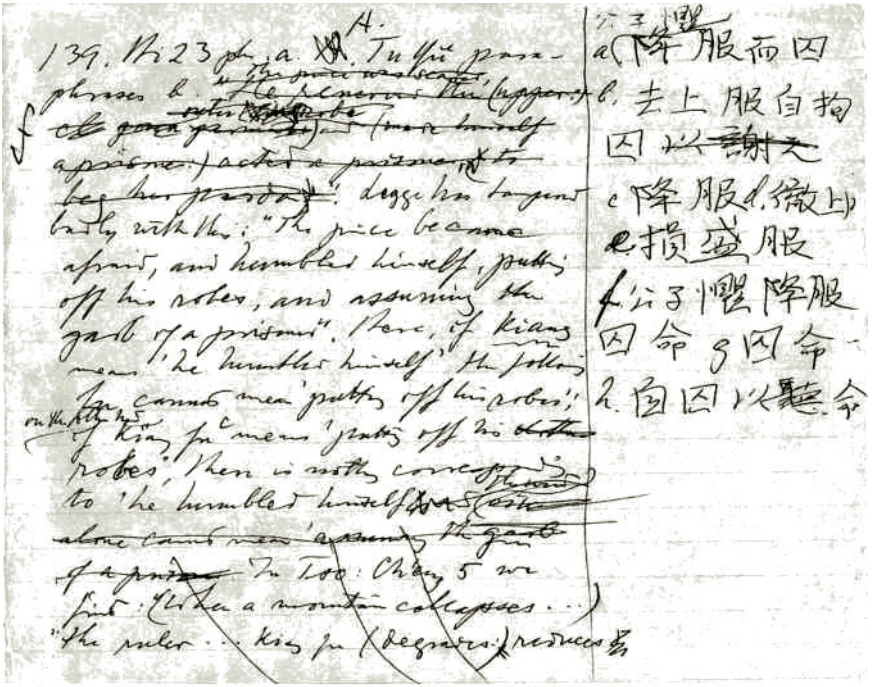
Bernhard Karlgren had a strong feeling of belonging to an intellectual elite, an international brotherhood, to which "ordinary men and women" were not admitted. The members of this intellectual brotherhood need not necessarily be scholars. In his review of the eminent publicist Herbert Tingsten's book *Japan* (1956), Karlgren writes:

> We gain much valuable knowledge of political and social circumstances, and the energy with which the author in 23 days has interviewed politicians, journalists, generals, and even a couple of priests, is admirable. And yet, his answer to the most fundamental question "What is Japan's soul like?" is disappointingly negative. We gain no knowledge of how the educated Japanese thinks or acts. Has he now become a naive idealist of the Eisenhower kind, or, to put it bluntly, a Babbitt? Or is he still a camouflaged samurai, dressed up in Western clothes? Just think if we had gotten to hear about hour-long discussions with a judge, a writer, an artist, a musician, a leading actor. Each of them would probably have their conception of the world, an outlook on life, an apprehension of the relations between Western and East Asian worlds of ideas and way of life. What do they look like inside, these gentlemen who to a higher degree than politicians and military men represent the soul of Japan?

Bernhard Karlgren did not suffer from intellectual conceit, nor did he shut himself up in an ivory tower. That people who did not know him well considered him aloof was due to the fact that time was more valuable to him than to others. He would not allow himself to be disturbed when he sat at his desk in the museum, and he could be furious if for one reason or other he had to interrupt his research. In a letter of December 13, 1994, Sören Egerod writes:

> One day the eminent Indonesian-Dutch Sinologist Tjan Tjoe Som, whom I had met before, visited Stockholm.[3] He had chosen to keep his Indonesian citizenship and was on his way to take up a Chair in Chinese in Jakarta. Before he left Leiden and Europe, he wanted to pay a visit to Bernhard Karlgren, whom he much admired. I introduced him to the Master and withdrew. After a little while he came out from Karlgren's study and looked greatly shocked. BK had given him a notebook and a pencil and suggested that he ask me whatever he wanted to know. Goodbye. My wife and I looked after Tjan a couple of days and we became close friends. As you know later on he disappeared in the terrible racial turmoil in Indonesia. I do not think that he sent any final thoughts to BK.

In the work *Lunyu*, which contains Confucius' conversations with his disciples, the Master says: "To admit that you know what you know and that you do not know what you do not know, that is true knowledge." When the British intellectual giant Joseph Needham visited Sweden in connection with the quincentennial jubilee of Uppsala University, I accompanied him to Bernhard Karlgren's sickbed in a hospital close to Stockholm. During the conversation between the two aged scholars, Karlgren said: "I believe that I have got a grip on the pre-Han literature of China." Uttered by a scholar who had spent six decades on the study of the comprehensive literature of ancient China and who to a higher degree than anyone else had contributed to the solution of many philological problems related to it, this may seem a deliberate understatement. I personally believe that Karlgren meant what he said. The dialectological investigations, which had fascinated him in his youth, had come to serve as the instrument for his reconstruction of Ancient Chinese,



《左传注释》手稿（1970）

Manuscript page from "Glosses on the Tso-Chuan," 1970.

which in turn served as a point of departure for his reconstruction of Archaic Chinese. The results of his research in historical phonology were transformed from goal to means—his reconstruction of Archaic Chinese made it possible for him to tackle problems of philology and textual criticism with tools that had never been used before.

To Bernhard Karlgren, modern China began with the founding of the Han dynasty in 206 B.C. To a certain extent, he also devoted time and energy to the literature of later ages, but mainly for the purpose of writing handbooks in the fields of history and religion, or to use the texts as sources for grammatical investigations. The humility that characterizes the true scholar finds expression in Karlgren's preface to the Chinese translation of his *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise* (1915–26). Having praised the contributions of his

predecessors in the Qing period and contemporary Chinese scholars in the field of historical linguistics, he writes:

> How could a Westerner ever dream of competing with them? Whereas this group of modern scholars, with their perfect command of the classical language and the entire Chinese book world, can extend their activities to the whole field of Chinese culture, the only thing for a Westerner to do is to try and acquaint himself thoroughly with one small corner of the big field and there make his modest contribution. In this way, perhaps, he may still be of some service to a country, a culture, which he admires and loves. This is, at any rate, the fervent wish of the writer of these lines.

The humility Bernhard Karlgren expresses in this preface does not concord with his international renown. Through his epoch-making works in dialectology, historical linguistics, and philology, by the 1920s Karlgren had already gained recognition as one of the greatest Sinologists of his time. The overwhelmingly rich scholarly production that followed upon those early works made him stand out as the greatest among Sinologists of all times. Most of his linguistic and philological works have been translated into Chinese, and many of them into Japanese as well. Generations of scholars all over the world have come to regard him as their Master.

At the end of the 1970s, Gothenburg University was visited by a delegation of scientists from the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The vice-chancellor of the university, a professor of Inorganic Chemistry, received the visitors in his office, the walls of which were hung with portraits of former vice-chancellors of the university. At that time, the portraits were not provided with name-plates. A faculty member of the university, who was present on the occasion, told me the following story:

> I am standing right behind two of the guests. When the vice-chancellor has spoken for a while, one of them begins to look around the room, as one does when one's initial attention to the speaker has flagged. His eyes follow the walls, then stop and settle on the portrait of Bernhard Karlgren. He stiffens, prods his neighbor, points at the portrait and whispers something. His

> neighbor also stares at the portrait. When the vice-chancellor has finished speaking, the man in front of me raises his hand and asks: "Excuse me, but isn't that Bernhard Karlgren?"

Having reached emeritus status myself, I received a visit from a young Japanese Sinologist, who had made a pilgrimage to Stockholm to visit the places where Bernhard Karlgren had worked. I showed him the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities and the gable room that had served as Karlgren's study. I also took him to the East Asian Library, housed in the same eighteenth-century building as the museum, and showed him the Karlgren collection of books kept there. It was moving to see the devotion with which the young Japanese scholar approached this milieu. The following day, he went to Jönköping to visit the high school where Karlgren had studied and walk on the street where he had lived.

Bernhard Karlgren's last scholarly work—"Moot words in some Chuang-Tse Chapters" (1976)—ends with the words "To be continued." When I visited him in the hospital a few weeks before his death, I found on the table by his bed a notebook filled with large Chinese characters, which the hand of the eighty-nine-year-old scholar could form, but which his weak eyes did not allow him to read.

Bernhard Karlgren passed away on October 20, 1978. The funeral service took place on November 6 in the church on Skeppsholmen, quite close to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. His ashes were interred in the cemetery of Resteröd church, dating from the twelfth century and situated a few kilometers north of Ulvesund in Bohuslän, where Bernhard Karlgren had spent many summers.

A List of Works by Bernhard Karlgren in Other Languages than Swedish, Together with Translations into Chinese and Japanese, and a List of His Distinctions and Awards

Abbreviations

The following is a list of abbreviations of the titles of journals referred to in the Notes, Bibliography, and A List of works by Bernhard Karlgren in languages other than Swedish, together with translations into Chinese and Japanese, and a list of his distinctions and awards.

AM:	*Asia Major*
BEFEO:	*Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*
BMFEA:	*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*
BSOAS:	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
DLZ:	*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*
GHÅ:	*Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* (Annual Bulletin of Gothenburg University)
HJAS:	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
JA:	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS:	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JRAS:	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
MS:	*Monumenta Serica*
MSOS:	*Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*
OLZ:	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
QBCB:	*Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography*
TP:	*T'oung Pao*

1914: Review of Maurice Courant, *La langue chinoise parlée, Grammaire du Kwan-hwa septentrionale*. Paris and Lyon: Leroux, 1914. *TP* 15 (1914): 283–85.

1915–26: *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise*. Archives d'Etudes Orientales, Vols I-IV. Leiden and Stockholm: E. J. Brill. 898 pages. Pages 1–388 served as Karlgren's doctoral thesis; Vol. I (pp. 1–316) appeared in 1915; Vol. II (pp. 317–468) appeared in 1916; Vol. III (pp. 469–700) appeared in 1919; Vol. IV (pp. 701–898) appeared in 1926. Chinese translation by Chao Yuen Ren, Li Fang Kuei, and Lo Changpei under the title *Zhongguo yinyunxue yanjiu*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1940; reprinted 1948, with the addition of a dialect map.

1918: *A Mandarin phonetic reader in the Pekinese dialect, with an introductory essay on the pronunciation*. Stockholm: Archives d'Etudes Orientales, 1918.

1920: "Le Proto-chinois, langue flexionelle," *JA* 15 (1920): 205–32.

"Prononciation ancienne de charactères chinois figurant dans les transcriptions Bouddhiques," *TP* 19 (1920): 104–21.

1922: "The reconstruction of Ancient Chinese," *TP* 21 (1922): 1–42. Translated into Chinese by Lin Yutang under the title "Tan Masibeiluo lun Qieyun zhi yin," *Guoxue jikan* (Peking) 1 (1923): 475–97.

1923: "Contributions à l'Analyse des Caractères Chinois," *AM* (*Hirth Anniversary Volume*): 206–21.

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Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese. Paris: Geuthner, 1923; pages 9–33 of this work and the paper "A Principle in the Phonetic Compounds of the Chinese

Script" (1925) have been translated into Chinese by Chao Yuen Ren under the title "Gao Benhan de xieshengshuo," *Qinghua guoxue luncong* 1 (1927): 23–65; pages 9–33 also translated into Chinese by Wang Jingru under the title "Zhongguo guyin Qieyun zhi xitong ji qi yanbian," *Academia Sinica Jikan* (Peking) 2 (1930): 185–204.

1924: "Postscriptum à Mullie: Une caractéristique phonologique, *TP* 23 (1924): 81–82.

1925: "A Principle in the Phonetic Compounds of the Chinese Script," *AM* 2 (1925): 302–308. (For a translation into Chinese se 1923: *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (1923).

1926: Review of Marcel Granet, *Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne*. Paris: Alcan, 1926. *Litteris* (Lund, Köpenhamn, Paris, London) 2 (1926): 249–54.

Review of Alfred Forke, *Der Ursprung der Chinesen auf Grund ihrer alten Bilderschrift*. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen, 1925. *DLZ* (Berlin) 47 (1926): 1155–57.

"Zu den frühesten Verbindungen zwischen China und dem Westen," *DLZ* 47 (1926): 1959–62. (Review of August Conrady, *Alte westöstliche Kulturwörter,* Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1925.

"On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan," *GHÅ* 32:3 (1926): 1–65. This paper and the paper "The Authenticity of ancient Chinese texts" (1929) have been translated into Japanese by Ono Shinobu under the title *Saden shingi kô; fu Shina Kotenseki no shingi ni tsuite,* Tôkyô: Bunkyûdo Shoten, 1939; "On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan" has been translated into Chinese by Lu Kanru under the title *Zuozhuan zhenwei kao ji qi ta,* Shanghai: Crescent Bloom Bookshop, 1927. The volume contains an introduction by Hu Shi and a postscript by Wei Juxian; the second edition of this work (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936) also contains translations of "The Authenticity of ancient Chinese texts" (1929) and "The pronoun Küe in Shu King" (1933).

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Zhongguo yuyanxue yanjiu, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1926, 2nd edition 1934.

1927: Review of George Deniker, *Le mécanisme phonologique du parler de Pékin.* Peking: A. Nachbaur, 1925, *OLZ* 30 (1927): 61–62.

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1928: *The Romanization of Chinese.* Lecture before the China Society, London 1928; for a translation into Chinese see *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (1923).

1929: "The Authenticity of ancient Chinese texts," *BMFEA* 1 (1929): 165–83. Abridged translation into Chinese by Wang Jingru under the title "Lun kaozheng Zhongguo gushu zhenwei zhi fangfa," *Academia Sinika Jikan* 2 (1931): 283–94; complete translation into Chinese by Lu Kanru under the title "Zhongguo gushu de zhenwei," *Shida yuekan* 2 (1933): 201–20; for a translation into Japanese, see "On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan" (1926).

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1948: "Bronzes in the Hellström Collection," *BMFEA* 20 (1948): 1–38 + 50 ill.
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1975: "Notes on the Lao-Tse," *BMFEA* 47 (1975): 1–18.
1976: "Moot words in some *Chuang-Tse* chapters," *BMFEA* 48 (1976): 145–63.

A list of distinctions awarded to Bernhard Karlgren, together with his membership in learned societies:

Recipient of the Stanislas Julien Prize, awarded by Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris (1916)

Created Knight of the Royal Order of the Polar Star (1927)
Created Commander of the Royal Order of the Polar Star (1935)
Created Officier de l'Ordre National de la Légion d'Honneur (1939)
Recipient of La Croix d'Officier de la Légion d'Honneur (1940)
Created Commander 1st Class of the Royal Order of the Polar Star (1946)
Recipient of the Royal Prize, awarded by the Swedish Academy (1950)
Created Commander 1st Class with Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Polar Star (1961)
Recipient of Pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste (1955)
Recipient of the Rettig Prize of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (1967)
Recipient of the Great Prize of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (1968)
Awarded a D. Litt. by the University of Leiden, the Netherlands (1975)

Bernhard Karlgren was a member of:
Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund (The Society of Humanities in Lund), (1920)
Société asiatique (1920)
Vetenskaps-och Vitterhetssamhället i Göteborg (The Society of Science and Humanities in Gothenburg) 1922
Intituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Oslo (The Institute for Comparative Research in Culture) (1925)
Academia Sinica (1929)
The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (1933)
Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien (The Royal Swedish Academy of Science) (1934)
Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernas Selskab (The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences) (1936)
Det Kongelige Norske Vitenskapsakademi (The Royal Norwegian Academy of Sciences) (1940)

Honorary member of:
The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1929)
Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (1930)
Finsk-ugriska sällskapet (The Fenno-Ugrian Society) (1933)
Société asiatique (1935)
Vereening vor Frienden der Aziatische kunst, Amsterdam (The Association of Friends of Asian Art) (1939)
Linguistic Society of America (1940)
American Oriental Society (1941)

Gustav Adolfs Akademien (The Gustav Adolf Academy) (1957)
Association européenne d'études chinoises (1976)

Corresponding member of:
Gesellschaft für ostasiatische Kunst (The Society for East Asian Art) (1938)
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Institut de France (1939)
British Academy (1968)

Two festschrifts were dedicated to Bernhard Karlgren on the occasion of his seventieth birthday: Septentrionalia et orientalia. Studia Bernhardo Karlgren dedicata. (Stockholm: Vitterhets-Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens handlingar, vol. 91, 1960), and *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren dedicata. Sinological Studies Dedicated to Bernhard Karlgren on his Seventieth Birthday, October Fifth, 1959,* Edenda curaverunt Sören Egerod et Else Glahn, Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960.

Notes

Chapter 1. Childhood

1. The estate inventory after Johannes' father Lars Magnusson, which was drawn up on April 19, 1879, shows an estate considerably larger than that after Johannes—4,359 crowns. The most expensive items were 2 mares (450 crowns), 5 pairs of oxen (1,750 crowns), 1 bull (75 crowns), 26 cows (2,600 crowns), 19 heifers (375 crowns), 3 sheep (30 crowns), 4 pigs (40 crowns), together with 4 horse-drawn wagons (75 crowns), 6 wagons drawn by teams of oxen (100 crowns), 9 ploughs (100 crowns), and 12 harrows (72 crowns). (In 1879, the average rate of exchange for the U.S. dollar (USD) against the Swedish crown (SEK) was 1 USD = 3.78 SEK.)

Chapter 2. Liber Studiosus

1. Bernhard Karlgren never became a bookish pedant. But like his alter ego, Dr. Spira, in his novel *Bröllopet i Kanarp* ("The Wedding in Kanarp") (Stockholm: Hugo Gebers förlag, 1945, 34), published under the pseudonym Clas Gullman, he may have reflected upon the price he had had to pay for his scholarly achievements:

> So, that's that! He was driven into a fold between two fences, with no chance of scampering out of the forest; the academic routine had been staked out before him, and now—what had become of him? A highly competent, but ossified specialist, a fruit-tree with all its unnecessary branches lopped off, pruned to produce the maximum with the stump that was left—no longer a free tree, a living tree. Too old, moreover, to have new shoots grafted into its dried up trunk. Deep within him something whined—it no longer shouted—something that he rarely allowed to become articulated, but that he in unguarded moments listened to which said: So this is all, is there nothing more?

2. George von der Gabelentz (1840–93), to whom Bernhard Karlgren refers in his letter to Lundell, was a German linguist, best known for his work *Chinesische Grammatik, mit Ausschluss des niederen Stiles und der heutigen Umgangssprache* ("Chinese grammar, exclusive of lower style and contemporary colloquial"), first published in 1881, the most comprehensive grammar of classical Chinese ever published in a Western lan-

guage. A second, unrevised edition was published by Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, in 1953.

3. I have based my survey of Sinology in St. Petersburg on the following sources: Vladislav Sorokin, "Two and a Half Centuries of Russian Sinology"; "Nikolai Speshnev, "Teaching and Research on Chinese Language at St. Petersburg University in the 19th and 20th centuries"; and L. N. Menshikov, "Academician Vasilii Mikhailovitch Alekseev (1881–1951) and his School of Russian Sinology." These papers have all been published in *Europe Studies China. Papers from an International Conference on the History of European Sinology,* the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Exchange (London: Han-Shan T'ang Books, 1995), 111–48.

4. The archive of Professor Alekseev, kept in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Science, contains six letters from Bernhard Karlgren to Alekseev, dated February 23, March 3, April 10, and August 2, 1927; March 4, 1932; and February 24, 1947. It is not apparent from these letters whether Karlgren and Alekseev ever met in St. Petersburg. In the letter of February 23, 1927, Karlgren writes as follows:

> It is a great pleasure to me to come into contact with you, and I am very grateful for your promise to send your works in Russian. Fifteen years ago I read Russian quite easily, now I have forgotten most of it, but reading your works will give me a pleasant chance of taking it up again.

5. Friedrich Hirth (1845–1927) was employed in the Chinese Customs Service during the years 1870–95. During his stay in China, he wrote several important works on the early contacts between China and the West. In 1901, he was offered a Chair at Columbia University in New York. His *Ancient History of China; to the end of the Chou Dynasty* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923; 1st ed. 1908) was severely criticized by Karlgren in his article "Legends and Cults in Ancient China" (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1946).

6. Wilhelm Grube (1855–1908) was a student of Professor Vasilev in St. Petersburg and thereafter of Professor von der Gabelentz in Berlin. In 1883, he was appointed curator at Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, and concurrently served as associate professor at Berlin University. In 1892, he was appointed to the Chair of Chinese at the same university. Grube, who was a highly versatile scholar, was a pioneer in the field of Altaic studies. Among other topics in this field, in *Sprache und Schrift der Jucen* ("The language and script of the Jurchen," Leipzig: Amelang, 1896), he studied the spoken and written language of the Jurchen people. His *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur* ("History of Chinese literature," Leipzig: Otto Harassowiz, 1902), to which Karlgren refers in his letter to Lundell of December 2, 1909, was among the works Karlgren recommended to his students.

Chapter 3. The Great Adventure

1. A battered copy of the 1892 edition of the American missionary C. W. Mateer's (1836–1908) excellent *A Course of Mandarin Lessons, Based on Id-*

iom (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1922, 1st ed. 1892; revised ed. 1906) is kept among Karlgren's books in the Stockholm East Asian Library. Marginal notes reveal that Karlgren employed three different teachers in Taiyuan ("The Bear," "Number Two," and "Number Three"). From these notes it also emerges that he very quickly arrived at his own analyses of sometimes rather complicated syntactic structures. Mateer's comprehensive introduction, which treats the phonetic, prosodic, and grammatical structure of spoken Chinese, together with the structure of the script, also provides lists of all distinctive syllables in the dialects of Peking, Nanjing in the province of Jiangsu, Jiujiang in the province of Hunan, Dengzhou in the province of Henan, Weixian in the province of Shandong, and Chongqing in the province of Sichuan. These lists gave Karlgren a certain insight into the phonetic differences between Chinese dialects.

2. In his work *Det nya Kina* (The New China), (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1913–14), Nyström describes his journey across the Gobi desert on a 3.5 horsepower motorcycle. Nyström, who had taught science subjects at the Taiyuan University since 1902, seems to have been a competent, though very self-centered, man. In his account of the teachers at the Taiyuan University, he devotes a mere three lines to Bernhard Karlgren: "B. Karlgren, B.A. from Uppsala, spent a two-year visit to Taiyuan in order to study the Chinese language. At the same time he taught modern languages in the Department of Chinese" (*Det nya Kina.* vol. I, 240). In spite of the fact that Nyström spent many years in China, he was content with learning only the spoken language. He writes:

> I found it to my advantage to be able to read only about 4–500 characters; life is too short to waste time on such unprofitable knowledge, and in addition the ambition to write those difficult characters I happily leave to the "Sinologists" (*Det nya Kina.* vol I, 135).

If Nyström had taken the time to read the introduction to Mateer's *Mandarin Lessons,* he might have divested himself of many delusions. In his advice to students, among other things, Mateer writes:

> Do not fail to learn to read, as well as to speak, Mandarin. The two things naturally go hand in hand and mutually help each other. The additional labour involved in learning to read whilst learning to speak, is not great. Even ladies whose time is limited, will not find the task nearly so great as is often imagined. It is needless to say that ability to read will be a great power in the hands of its possessor. It is worthy of remark that one who does not learn to read, scarcely ever learns to speak *well* (*A Course of Mandarin Lessons,* xxvii).

3. An early and extensive description of the Boxers' siege of Peking is found in *Indiscreet letters from Peking; being the notes of an eyewitness, which set forth in some detail, from day to day, the real story of the siege and sack of a distressed capital in 1900—the year of great tribulations,* edited by B. L. Putnam Weale (Dodd Mead and Company, 1922). (Putnam Weale is the pseudonym of Bertram Lennox Simpson (1877–1930). A Swedish translation of this work appeared as early as 1922. In his review of the Swedish translation, the eminent critic Fredrik Böök (1883–1961) writes: "It is ex-

citing and upsetting, it is great, deep and beautiful as a simple truth. A masterpiece, a classical tale which will survive nine tenths of our contemporary literary production." (Böök's review, published in the *Svenska Dagbladet* [Swedish Daily], was quoted on the jacket of the Swedish translation.)

4. Timothy Richard stands out as one of the most impressive figures among the European missionaries stationed in China toward the end of the empire and the beginning of the republic. Having for many years served as a missionary in the field, in 1891 he was elected secretary of the *Guangxuehui* ("Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese"), founded in Shanghai in 1887. From 1895, he served as representative of the society in Peking, where he came into contact with many leading men both at the Court and within the Reform Movement. His journal *Shishi xinlun* ("New Views on Current Affairs") played an important role in the dissemination of information about modern political and intellectual movements in the West.

5. Yan Xishan (1883–1960) was one of the most powerful of the many warlords who fought for power during the first two decades of the Republic. Having graduated from the military academy in Tokyo, he returned to his home province Shanxi, which he governed with the aid of his private army. In the years 1912–27, he served as military governor of the province. On October 31, 1926, Yan Xishan hosted a dinner organized to welcome Swedish Crown Prince Gustav Adolf and his wife to Taiyuan. Yan Xishan seems to have made a good impression on the Crown Prince, who recorded the following in his diary:

> Yan is an amiable man of 45–50 years of age. He is the only one among the governors of China who has retained his position after having been appointed by the last emperor. He seems intelligent and vigorous. . . . I managed to converse with him a great deal, about both archaeology and the administration of the Chinese countryside.

The quote from the diary of the Crown Prince is taken from Professor Bo Gyllensvärd's article "Kronprinsresan 1926" ("The journey of the crown prince in 1926"), published in *Tuppens År: Årsbok om Kina* ("The year of the Cock: China Yearbook"), (Stockholm: Sweden-China Friendship Association, 1981), 73. During the 1930s, Yan Xishan held several important military posts in northern China. From 1943 to 1948, he served as governor in Shanxi. After the retreat of the Guomindang regime to Taiwan, he was appointed president of the Executive Yuan and minister of defense. From 1950 until his death, he served as adviser to President Chiang Kai-shek.

Chapter 4. Irresolute Strategist

1. George Owen, former China missionary, held the Chair in Chinese at King's College, London, from 1908 to 1914. The only publication of his in the catalogue of Oriental and India Office Collections in the British Li-

brary is his inaugural lecture entitled "The evolution of Chinese writing," held in "the Michaelmas Term of the School of Chinese, October 4, 1910."

2. The account of Xuanzang's pilgrimage to India had been translated by Stanislas Julien in *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes* ("Travels of Buddhist pilgrims"), 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1853–58). As Stein's three major expeditions to central Asia took place in the years 1900–16, it is very likely that, besides Julien's translation, he also consulted Thomas Watters' (1840–1901) *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,* 2 vols. (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904–05).

3. The encyclopedia *Gujin tushu jicheng* ("Synthesis of books and illustrations past and present"), compiled on Imperial command and published during the years 1726–28, comprises ten thousand chapters and a total of 852,408 pages. The work is divided into six major categories (Celestial Matters; Geography; Human Relationships; Arts and Sciences; Confucianism and Literature, and Political Economy) and 6,109 subcategories. Each subcategory contains sources gathered from a great variety of literary texts, dating from the early Zhou dynasty to the seventeenth century. Before modern indexes and concordances were placed at the disposal of scholars in the 1930s and 1940s, this encyclopedia served as an important tool for locating text passages in the classical literature. The index compiled by Lionel Giles (1875–1958), *Index to the Chinese Encyclopaedia, Ch'in Ting Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* (London: British Museum, 1911), greatly facilitates the use of the work.

4. John Fryer's Chair ("The Agassiz Professorship at Berkeley") was established with the aid of a private donation in 1895. This Chair, which in time developed into one of the most prestigious Sinological Chairs in the United States., was later occupied by, among others, Ferdinand Lessing and Chao Yuen Ren. The first American Chair in Sinology was established at Yale University in 1876, and the second at Harvard one year later. The fourth Sinological Chair in the United States ("The Dean Lung Chair at Columbia") was established in 1901, with the aid of a great donation by Horace W. Carpenter, general and gold-mining magnate, who thereby wished to honour his loyal Chinese servant Dean Lung. At the end of his academic career (1985–1990), the Dean Lung Chair was occupied by the Swedish Sinologist, Hans Bielenstein, a student of Bernhard Karlgren.

5. In a letter of February 19, 1995, Bernhard Karlgren's nephew, Hans Karlgren, writes:

> Bernhard Karlgren has himself described the agony he suffered during his study sojourn in Paris, when one solution after the other had to be discarded, and how he felt when the puzzle in the end was solved, and the key fit the lock. At long last, and suddenly, he saw the connected whole! He was so scared that this feeling would disappear like a mirage that he bought a few thick volumes by Jules Verne and locked himself in his room for three days in order to read them, not daring to scrape at the result that he felt he had obtained. And that proved correct.

6. In connection with a conference in Weimar, organized by the European Association of Chinese Studies, the conference participants visited the Buchenwald concentration camp on September 7, 1988. At a memo-

rial gathering there, Professor Marianne Bastid-Bruguière delivered the following remarks:

> For many among us, here, loom ahead their own recollections of bitter sufferings, death, and heroic fight for freedom. I just wish to recall the memory of one of many victims in Buchenwald, a scholar who is close to all of us, because he paved the way in many fields to the present successful advance of Chinese studies, and above all because he himself personified that impassioned love for humanity, truth and freedom, born on the shores of the Mediterranean sea, in which European spirit and culture ever find the gist of their finest achievements.
> Henri Maspero died in Buchenwald on March 15 or 17, 1945. A few months earlier, on June 28, 1944, his colleagues had vainly waited for a him at the weekly session of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, of which he was then the president. In the morning Gestapo had arrested him at his home in Paris. The day before, his elder son had been tracked after an armed attack of his Resistance organization against the German occupying forces. He had managed to escape and to advise his father to leave. But Maspero refused. Mrs. Maspero got arrested too. Both were questioned by the Gestapo. Maspero had personal activity in the Resistance movement, but the Germans do not seem to have known about it. According to the record to which Mrs. Maspero could later get access, the charge was "Verdacht terroristischer Betätigung," suspected of terrorist activity. The arrest was retaliation against the parents of a member of the Resistance movement.
> Maspero and his wife were jailed in Fresne, then put on the last train that left for the concentration camps, on August 15, 1944, just ten days before Paris' liberation. Mrs. Maspero was taken to Ravensbrück, where she was rescued by the Soviet Army in February of 1945. Maspero was sent here, to Buchenwald. He arrived on August 20, 1944, in desperate condition, after five days in a cattle truck, packed up with seventy people. He was first put in quarantine, in a tent next to block 61, assigned for the disabled. He was then transferred to block 43, where those seriously ill were assigned, having to lie down all the time, with no space to stand up.
> In early October he was taken back to block 61, and there still had the fortitude to take part in the talks organized with fellow intellectuals. His spirit remained indomitable. In his diary, later handed over to his family, he would refer to Buddhism and pilgrimages in Indochina. But his exhausted body could not resist further against hunger, cold, and ill-treatment. On March 3, 1945, his condition was so serious that he had to accept transfer to the infirmary. He was still seen there by a friend on the 13th, a gaunt shadow overcome with sorrow. He died shortly afterwards, less than a month before the arrival of American troops on April 11, 1945. (Marianne Bastid-Bruguière, personal communication).

Chapter 5. Diligent Correspondent

1. Bernhard Karlgren must have used the translation by Couvreur. The French Jesuit missionary Séraphin Couvreur (1835–1919) translated several of the Confucian classics into French and Latin. His *Dictionnaire classique de la langue chinoise* (Sien-Hsien: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1890; 2nd edition, Ho Kien Fou: Mission Catholique, 1911; Peiping: Henri Vetch, 1947, photolithographic edition of 2nd edition), for which Couvreur received the Stanislas Julien Prize, has served well until the present day. My fellow student Sören Egerod and I found Cou-

vreur's translation into Latin of great use when we together struggled with classical Chinese texts in 1946–48.

Chapter 6. Scholarly Breakthrough

1. Antoine Meillet (1866–1936) had been appointed to a Chair at the Collège de France in 1906. It does not emerge from Karlgren's letters whether he ever attended Meillet's lectures. During his stay in Paris, he had probably read Meillet's work *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque* ("A historical survey of the Greek language," Paris: Klinksieck, 1913).

2. The "General French" to whom Karlgren refers in his letter to Inna must be Field Marshal John French (1852–1925), appointed chief of the British general staff. At the outbreak of World War I he was appointed chief of the British expeditionary forces in France, until he was recalled in December 1915.

3. Alfred Forke's (1867–1944) main scholarly contributions lie within the field of Chinese philosophy. Many important philosophical texts were for the first time made available to Western readers through Forke's translations into German and English. While studying in Paris, Bernhard Karlgren must have become acquainted with Forke's translation into English of the work *Lun Heng* ("Balanced discourses") by the rationalist philosopher Wang Chong (A.D. 27–c. 100): *Lun Heng, Philosophical Essays of Wang Ch'ung* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1907) and *Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch'ung* (Berlin: Reimer, 1911). Forke later presented a monumental survey of Chinese philosophy in three volumes: *Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie* ("History of ancient Chinese philosophy," Hamburg: De Gruyter, 1927); *Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie* ("History of medieval Chinese philosophy," Hamburg: De Gruyter, 1934), and *Geschichte der neueren chinesischen Philosophie* ("History of more recent Chinese philosophy," Hamburg: De Gruyter, 1938).

4. The Dutch scholar J. J. M. de Groot (1854–1921) was appointed to a newly established Chair in Sinology in Berlin in 1912. As his research focused mainly on Chinese history and religion, he definitely lacked the competence to assess Karlgren's thesis. To his most important works belong *Universismus* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1918), a detailed description of the state cult during the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), and *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens* ("Chinese sources for the history of Asia"), 2 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1921–26). In his article "The reconstruction of Ancient Chinese" (*TP* 21, 1922, 1–42), Karlgren asserts that in the first of these two volumes de Groot shows a lack of knowledge of historical phonology.

5. The Stanislas Julien Prize, which rewards an outstanding work in the Sinological field, is financed by a legacy of the eminent French Sinologist Stanislas Julien (1799–1873), among Sinologists perhaps best known for his epoch-making work *Syntaxe nouvelle de la langue chinoise* ("The syntax of modern Chinese"), 2 vols. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1869–70). Julien, who is said to have mastered Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Persian, San-

skrit, Manchu, and Chinese, stands out as the most eminent European Orientalist of his time. To his most important works belong *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes* ("Travels of Buddhist pilgrims"), which comprises translations into French of Hui Lin's (737–820) biography of the Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang (596–664) who undertook a pilgrimage to India, together with the work *Xiyuji* ("Description of the Western Region"), which Xuanzang is said to have dictated to his student Bianji (d. 649). As one of the first scholars in Europe, Julien took an interest in early Chinese drama and translated several dramas from the Yuan and Ming periods.

Since its establishment in 1873, the Julien Prize has been administered by Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. The prize was awarded for the first time in 1875, when it went to the British Sinologist James Legge (1815–97) for his translation of the canonical works of Confucianism (*The Chinese Classics,* 5 vols. London: Trübner, 1861–72). Before Karlgren, the prize had been awarded to many of the greatest scholars of their times, such as Henri Cordier (1880), Léon de Rosny (1885 and 1892), F. S. Couvreur (1886, 1891, and 1895), G. Schlegel (1887), Terrien de la Couperie (1893), J. J. M. de Groot (1894 and 1902), E. Chavannes (1894 and 1897), Maurice Courant (1896, 1903, 1913, and 1915), Herbert Giles (1898 and 1911), and Aurel Stein (1909). Several of the works for which the prize was awarded are reference works that no contemporary Sinologist can do without, such as Henri Cordier's (1878–1924) *Bibliotheca Sinica* (Paris: Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 1878–95. 2nd edition, 5 vols. Paris: Librarie orientale & américaine, E. Guilmoto, 1904–24), a monumental bibliography of Western works on China from the sixteenth century to the 1920s. In some instances, the prize was awarded to authors of elementary manuals of modern spoken Chinese, such as H. Boucher, *Bousolle du langue mandarin* ("A compass to Mandarin," Zi-ka-wei: Mission Catholique, 1889), and M. Courant (*La langue chinoise parlée, grammaire du Kwan Hwa septentrionale* ("Spoken Chinese and the grammar of Northern Mandarin," Paris: Leroux, 1914). The information that Bernhard Karlgren had been awarded the Stanislas Julien Prize reached him in a letter of March 8, 1916, from Henri Maspero's father, the Egyptologist Gaston Maspero (1846–1916), permanent secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Judging from the form of address ("Mon cher confrère et ami") in a letter from Gaston Maspero of May 20, 1916, the two scholars must have met during Karlgren's sojourn in Paris.

Chapter 7. Gothenburg Years

1. Professor Edouard Chavannes had also been asked to assess Bernhard Karlgren's qualifications. No expert opinion seems to have arrived from Chavannes, who passed away on January 29, 1918.

2. In his inaugural lecture, Bernhard Karlgren discussed the Franciscan Johannes de Plano Carpini's expedition as a Papal envoy to the Mongol Court in Karakorum (1245–57); the activity of Johannes de Monte Corvino, elected China's first Catholic archbishop in 1307; and the re-

markable Nestorian monument, discovered in 1623 in Xi'an, where Karlgren saw it in 1911. He also discussed the bitter contention that ensued from Athanasius Kircher's publication of the inscription on the monument in his *China Illustrata* (Amsterdam, 1636). In the learned debate, which was to continue for two centuries, the opponents of the Jesuits, among them Voltaire, asserted that the monument had been faked in order to strengthen the status of the Jesuit mission in China. The debate was brought to an end when the British missionary and bibliographer Alexander Wylie (1815–87) found the Imperial edict of 635 that sanctioned the Nestorian religion in a Chinese encyclopedia of the tenth century. At the end of his lecture, Karlgren discussed the important manuscripts Paul Pelliot had found in Dunhuang, which cast a new light on the early vicissitudes of Christianity in central and east Asia. Karlgren's inaugural lecture was published in *Svensk humanistisk tidskrift* ("Journal of Swedish Humanities") 2.11 (1918), 257–63.

3. Professor Lönnroth's reminiscences have been quoted from his paper "Göteborgs högskola under 1920–och 1930–talen" ("Gothenburg University in the 1920s and 1930s"), in *Profiler och project. Humanistisk forskning vid Göteborgs universitet 4. Göteborgs universitet 1891–1991* ("Profiles and projects. Humanistic research at Gothenburg University 4. Gothenburg University 1891–1991"), Göteborg 1991. Lönnroth's paper contains unerring descriptions of several eminent professors at Gothenburg University, among them Bernhard Karlgren:

> To the pioneers in the non-European fields of the highest class belonged the young Sinologist Bernhard Karlgren, who at the age of 29 was appointed professor at the university in 1918 and who has become internationally known for having revolutionized research in Chinese linguistics. He succeeded Sylwan as Rector of the university in 1931; in 1936 he relinquished this post, and in the following year his chair, in order to take up a personal professorship in East Asian Archaeology at the East Asian Collections in Stockholm. Linguistics and philology were and continued to be his main fields of research, and I have often wondered about his appreciation of the historic-cultural aspects of Sinology. With his sharp and clear intellect he made great contributions wherever he found himself, but subtlety did not belong to his otherwise so rich register. There remains in any case the fact that he was a brilliant scholar, possessing an unusual combination of intellectualism and a hot temper, two sides of his personality which not seldom were incompatible. Quick as lightning, he reacted against everything that he perceived as cultural snobbism, quite readily with a majestically obscene anecdote from the interior of China that delighted everybody, except the victim.

Several of Bernhard Karlgren's letters that have been quoted in this work clearly show that he took a great delight in annihilating an objectionable opponent with a crushing reply. But more often than not he resorted to coarse language in order to hide his embarrassment over his gentle disposition.

4. It turned out that the young Chinese whom Sirén had employed as translator lacked the necessary competence in classical Chinese. Sirén therefore refused to honor his promise to pay for the young man's return journey, which led to a serious tiff between Karlgren and Sirén. Karlgren

took pity on the stranded Chinese, appointed him lecturer in his department, and made it possible for him eventually to return home with some money in his pocket.

5. The novel *Haoqiu zhuan* ("The Fortunate Union") was the first purely literary Chinese work to be translated *in extenso* into a Western language: Thomas Percy, *Hau Kiou Choann or The Pleasing History* (London: Dodsley, 1761). In his *Notes on Chinese Literature* (Peking: The French Bookstore, 1939, reprint of 1st edition Shanghai, 1867, 163), Alexander Wylie comments: "A tale of social life, although very lightly esteemed by the Chinese, has been frequently commended by foreigners, and repeatedly translated into several European languages."

6. A linguistic institute was established at the Imperial University in Tokyo in 1886. The first teacher at the institute was the Englishman Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935), who engaged in the study of Ainu, among other topics. Chamberlain was succeeded by the German Karl Adolph Florentz (1865–1939), who taught phonetics, Romance languages, and the historical grammar of Germanic languages. A number of prominent Japanese linguists graduated from the institute during the Meiji period (1868–1912) and the Taisho period (1912–26). Among them were Kazutoshi Ueda (1867–1937), who in the 1890s had studied in Germany under Karl Brugmann and other German linguists, and who was appointed professor in Japanese at Tokyo University in 1894; Katsuji Fujioka (1872–1935), who also had studied in Germany; and Shozaburo Kanazawa (1872–1967), known for his research on the affinity between Japanese and Korean, and for his Ainu studies.

7. Maspero's review of Arvid Jonchell's thesis was published in *JA* 222 (1933), 26–29.

8. "Chinese Books in Swedish Collections" lists works in the City Library of Gothenburg (then serving as University Library), the library of the East Asian Collection in Stockholm, the Royal Library in Stockholm, Uppsala University Library, and the library of the Röhss Museum in Gothenburg. The list also includes a number of works in Karlgren's private library, "since these books are always at the disposal of students working in Gothenburg." In a footnote, Karlgren mentions the collection of Japanese books that the Swedish explorer A. E. Nordenskiöld (1832–1901) had acquired in Yokohama during his stay in Japan in the autumn of 1879. The collection, which Nordenskiöld donated to the Royal Library and which is now deposited in the Stockholm East Asian Library, was catalogued, via correspondence, by the French Orientalist Léon de Rosny (*Catalogue, de la bibliothèque japonaise de Nordenskiöld* (Paris, 1883). A comprehensive and richly annotated catalogue authored by J. Sören Edgren, was published in 1980: *Catalogue of the Nordenskiöld Collection of Japanese books in the Royal Library,* Acta Bibliothecae Regiae Stockholmiensis (Stockholm: the Royal Library, 1980).

9. I have chosen to treat the contacts between Bernhard Karlgren and Sven Hedin at some length because I hope thereby, on the one hand, to be able to explain how mutual respect could be established between two scholars who in nearly every respect appear diametrically opposed to

one another, and on the other hand, to dispose of the rumor that, prompted by a dislike for Hedin, Karlgren refused to have anything to do with the Chinese manuscripts found during Hedin's last great expedition in 1927–35. As several of Hedin's letters to Karlgren contain information that, as far as I know, has not been published elsewhere, I have decided to quote them at length, and also to reproduce a long and important letter *in extenso*.

10. In his review, Bernhard Karlgren writes as follows:

> To be sure, this is not a depiction of swarming Peking, the majestic city walls and old Manchu palaces of which step by step give way to railway stations, big streets and office buildings. This is the old imperial city Jehol, situated at the far north, in one of the most beautiful regions of Mongolia, where the visitor is confronted with the greatness and the glory of the 18th century, as yet undisturbed by the vulgar creations of the modern time. The contrast between the old and the new stands out in different relief: the old is asleep, while the new is rushing in another direction; the magnificent palaces, the enormous temple halls, the covered pavilions, the fantastic sculptures, everything is withering away, falling into decay; weeds submerging the yards covered by marble slabs, bushes grow between the tiles of the venerable temple roofs; walls crumble; ornaments disappear; silk draperies and golden statues have been stolen; the last priests dart about like timorous down-and-out paupers. Jehol is a shadow of past glory. Everything belongs to the past, nothing is renewed.
> The appalling lack of piety in China of today that allows the cultural heritage to wither away, the modern practicality which refuses to spend money on restoring useless rubbish such as old temples (how could China's poor intellectuals oppose the politicians and generals who control the purse of the state?)—all this is in a caustic way illustrated in once so magnificent Jehol, which Hedin aptly calls China's Fontainebleau. It was in the last moment that Hedin performed this rescue action of meticulously describing its foremost cultural monuments, aided by the eminent Gothenburg ethnographer Dr. Montell.
> *Göteborgs Handels-och Sjöfartstidning* (Gothenburg Trade and Shipping Journal), November 20, 1931.

In this book, Hedin tells the wonderful story of the fate of "The Golden Temple." In 1929, the wealthy Swedish-American inventor and entrepreneur Vincent Bendix (1882–1945) had commissioned Sven Hedin to acquire a lama temple to be exhibited at the World Exhibition in Chicago in 1933. After extensively touring Inner Mongolia, Sven Hedin was convinced that no old structure available for sale could be found there. Instead he turned his interest to the Imperial summer capital Jehol (Chengde), northeast of Peking, where he found a pavilion built on the roof of a temple, claiming to be a reproduction of the Potala, the Dalai Lama's monastic citadel in Lhasa. The pavilion was build by the Qianlong Emperor in the years 1767–71, in honor of his own sixtieth anniversary and his mother's eightieth anniversary. With the aid of a famous Chinese architect and eighty skilled craftsmen, faithful replicas of the pavilion and all its contents were made in Peking. The pavilion was shipped to Chicago, where it was erected and displayed at the "A Century of Progress Exposition" (1932–34). Dismantled in 1938, the pavilion was rebuilt for the New York World's Fair in 1939. Thereafter it was transferred to Oberlin

College in Ohio. Several new owners, including Harvard and then Indiana University, acquired the pavilion, which, however, physically remained in Oberlin. In 1983, it was transferred to a group from Cleveland, which obviously intended to sell the best parts and scrap the rest. It was rescued from this disaster by a Swedish architect, who managed to acquire the pavilion in 1986 and have it shipped to Sweden. No decision has as yet been taken as to the ultimate fate of the pavilion.

11. The "young Peking professor" to whom Bernhard Karlgren refers in his letter to Sven Hedin was Liu Fu (Bannong, 1891–1934). See note 20.

12. Liang Qichao (1873–1929), a native of Guangdong, passed the first level in the state examinations at the age of eleven. Fourteen years old he was accepted as a student at the Xuehaitang Academy, which the eminent scholar-official Ruan Yuan (1764–1849) had founded in 1820 when he served as governor-general of the provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi. (Ruan Yuan must be considered one of the greatest philologists of the nineteenth century. Most of his works were placed within easy reach on the bookshelves behind Karlgren's desk at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.) At the age of sixteen, Liang Qichao passed the second level in the state examinations. The following year he took the examination for the highest degree, but failed. In the years 1890–94, he studied under the reformer Kang Youwei (1858–1927), who was an eager proponent of the establishment of a constitutional monarchy.

When Liang Qichao visited Peking in 1895 together with Kang Youwei, the peace negotiations between China and Japan had resulted in the treaty of Shimonoseki, which forced China to cede Taiwan to Japan and in addition pay a heavy war indemnity. Liang Qichao organized a protest action among the Cantonese candidates for the state examinations. Together with Kang Youwei, he authored a memorandum that requested that the emperor cancel the treaty and carry out a thorough reform of the state administration. The protest action was not heeded by the court.

In 1896, Liang Qichao, together with some like-minded friends, founded the journal *Shiwubao* ("Actualities"), in which he expressed his views on education, social progress, and the need for reforms based on Western models. His knowledge of the Western world and its institutions were to some extent inspired by the British missionary Timothy Richard (1845–1919), whom Liang Qichao had met in Peking and who came to play an important role in the establishment of the university in Taiyuan, where Karlgren taught in 1911. During the summer of 1898, both Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao were received in audience by the young emperor of the Guangxu period (1875–1908), who appointed Liang Qichao head of a recently established bureau of translation. When the empress dowager Cixi usurped power in September 1898, Liang Qichao fled to Japan, where he gained access to Western works translated into Japanese. Kang Youwei was also forced to flee the country. During the years at the turn of the century, Liang Qichao traveled widely to Hawaii, Singapore, Australia, the Philippines, the United States, and Canada, in order to seek financial support for Kang Youwei's reform program. In the last decade of the Chinese empire, Liang Qichao made his greatest contributions as a publicist.

The many journals he founded and edited were widely circulated both within China and among the Chinese living abroad. Eventually Liang Qichao distanced himself from the thought of Kang Youwei. While Kang Youwei held that Confucian doctrine must serve as the ideological base of the constitutional monarchy that he tried to introduce, Liang Qichao asserted that Confucianism would hamper the modernization of China. After the founding of the republic in 1912, he became actively involved in politics, something that did not agree with his temperament. Liang Qichao visited Europe in 1919. The experiences during his stay there made him revise his earlier, too naive, conception of Western culture. After his return to China in 1920, Liang Qichao founded the Jiangxuehui, a society dedicated to inviting foreign thinkers to lecture in China. It was through the offices of this society that Bertrand Russell visited China in 1920–21. The lectures by Rabindranath Tagore in China (1923) were also organized by this society.

13. Zhang Taiyan (1868–1936) as a teenager was already keenly interested in classical philology and textual criticism. In 1892, he was accepted as researcher at a private academy in Hangzhou, directed by the famous philologist Yu Yue (1821–1907), where he mainly devoted his research to the chronicle *Zuozhuan*. In 1896, Zhang Taiyan was invited by Liang Qichao to participate in the editing of the journal *Shiwubao* ("Actualities"), which had been founded in the same year. When Kang Youwei's reform movement was crushed in 1898, Zhang Taiyan had to flee to Taiwan, which three years earlier had been ceded to Japan. In opposition to Kang Youwei, who advocated the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, Zhang Taiyan asserted that the Manchus were the worst enemies of China and that they must be driven out if the reform movement was to succeed. Through his activity as publicist, Zhang Taiyan strongly promoted the revolutionary movement. But his strong interest in philology and his deep roots in China's literary traditions eventually got the better of him. From 1918 to the end of his life, he devoted his energy to studies in textual criticism and philological research. Acknowledged as a great master of classical Chinese prose, he was an opponent of the language reform advocated by Hu Shi (1891–1962) and others.

14. Hu Shi (1891–1962) was one of the central figures in the Literary Revolution (1915–19). After studies in a middle school in Shanghai, which provided instruction in such modern subjects as English, mathematics, and natural history, he went to the United States in 1910, where he studied first at Cornell University and later at Columbia University in New York. At Columbia, he studied under the pragmatic philosopher John Dewey (1859–1952), who came to have a strong influence on his intellectual development. In the autumn of 1917, Hu Shi returned to China and was appointed to a professorship in Philosophy at Peking University. In January of the same year, the radical journal *Xin Qingnian* ("The New Youth") published his tentative proposal for a literary reform, which had a great impact. After his return to China, he published his thesis *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China* (1922), which he had begun writing under the guidance of Dewey.

The main aim of the radical movement led by young teachers at Peking University was to depose the classical literary language that had had a dominating influence for more than two thousand years and replace it with a modern language accessible to everyone. The movement rapidly gained followers in wide intellectual circles. The language controversy soon became linked to political issues. The Chinese government's concessions at the peace negotiations at Versailles aroused violent reaction, especially among China's young students. The literary reform program eventually became identified with the patriotic storm of protest that now followed, the May Fourth Movement. After lame opposition by conservative academics, the literary reform was victorious and the classical literary language was replaced by *baihua,* the plain and unadorned language.

The young radicals now had to face the problem of how to create a new literature in this new medium. Hu Shi asserted that the popular colloquial literature that had developed since the Song period (960–1279) ought to serve as a stylistic model. For various reasons, his proposal was not accepted. Most of the Chinese writers and poets of the 1920s took their models from among Western writers.

15. Lu Xun (1881–1936) stands out as the greatest of the Chinese writers of the 1920s. Like so many Chinese young intellectuals, he had studied in Japan, where he came into contact with Western, and above all Russian, literary currents, in Japanese translation. Lu Xun used the short story and the satirical essay as sharp weapons in his attacks on the traditional society and its values. The collection of short stories entitled *Nahan* ("Call to Arms") (Peking, 1923) contains his most well-known work: "Ah Q zhengzhuan" ("The true story of Ah Q"). In this story, the author criticizes the traits in the Chinese character that to him appeared the most repugnant: self-deception, hypocrisy, defeatism, obsequiousness, and overbearing manners. Lu Xun's satire is highly caustic, but it has a positive purpose: to him, literature was a weapon in the fight for the reform of society. Lu Xun's two collections of short stories, *Nahan* and *Panghuang* ("Wandering"), have been translated into English by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, *The complete Stories of Lu Xun: Call to Arms, Wandering* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981).

16. Wen Yiduo (1899–1946), literary historian and critic, in the 1920s published two collections of poetry, *Hongzhu* ("Red candles," 1923) and *Sishui* ("Deadwater," 1928), which contain some of the greatest lyrics in Modern Chinese poetry. Wen Yiduo's works demonstrate the poet's sensitive ear for the prosodic properties of the modern Chinese language. Parts of the poems of Wen Yiduo's two collections of poetry have been translated into English by Taotao Sanders, in *Red Candle* (1972).

17. In his letter to Bernhard Karlgren of December 13, 1930, Sven Hedin refers to some members of his expedition, among them the legendary Georg Söderbom (1904–73). Son of missionary parents, Söderbom was born in Mongolia and spent most of his life there and in China. Fluent in both Mongol and Chinese, Söderbom served Sven Hedin in many capacities. The sometimes unconventional syntax of the English translation of Hedin's letter mirrors the original:

First of all many thanks for your great kindness also this time to correct the spelling of Chinese names in my new chronicle!

And now I return with a request, an appeal, a question, and I beg you not beforehand to find me too presumptuous, when I venture to propose it.

At Boro-tsonch, not far from Khara'Khoto, Folke Bergman carried out a thorough excavation of a little fortress, in the interior of which he found a great number of inscribed wooden slips, weapons and household utensils. The script proved to date from the Former Han period. That whetted his appetite for historical archaeology and he has since then investigated other fortresses and fortifications from the same period, the most recent at Ulan-taralingin and Ulan-durbeljin, close to Etsin-gol, at about a week's distance from Suchow. According to the latest letter I have received from him, dated at the end of October, he had recovered wooden slips as long as 50 centimetres and inscribed with about 150 characters, and a square one, with writing on three sides. He had found no less than 5,900 slips or fragments of slips. Their content seems mainly to relate to military matters, recruiting, invoices for delivered goods, orders about the stationing of troops, etc.

As Professor Ferdinand Lessing is here and lives with me since the mid of July, I asked him as a support to Bergman's work to write a paper on what the Chinese sources tell about the war history of Former Han in the region of Etsin-gol, and you will here find the results of his studies. He asks me to point out that this paper is preliminary, as certain source material, available in Europe, is missing in Peking.

To aid him Bergman has a couple of clever Chinese archaeologists, one of them, Chin, trained in J. G. Andersson's school. On August 15, I sent Gösta Montell and George Söderbom with our car to Etsin-gol, via Kalgan, Hattin-sume and Beli-miao. They brought with them a great many things, such as literature and provisions which Bergman and the other lads have asked for. On their way back they brought a number of wooden slips. Another large dispatch was sent at the end of October with a couple of our Mongols who travelled through the desert. I am rather worried about them, since the area between Kwei-hwa and Beli-miao is infested with robbers.

Already a few months ago Bergman calculated that his finds were three times richer than Stein's at Etsin-gol. His foremost aim now is to find the town of Chü-yen, and he believes that he knows how to localize it. He will no doubt stay there until spring. The line of fortifications which he is now investigating is apparently connected with the walls that Chinese and Swedish members of our expedition found along the roads between Beli-miao and Etsin-gol. Montell followed one of these that proved to be several hundred kilometres long.

You can imagine that Bergman and I in our voluminous correspondence since these finds were made again and again have expressed our sincere and hearty wish that *you* would study and publish this great material. It would be an honour to us, to the expedition and to Sweden if *you* were the one to take care of this. I realize that this request is presumptuous, since you have so many other things to do, and since the time-consuming and demanding tasks of the Vice-Chancellorship are awaiting you. But I, like Bergman and Lessing still hang on to a hope, the realization of which would be the most ideal solution.

I have many times thought of writing to you about this but did not want to do so before I knew how our Chinese committee looks upon this matter. We feared lest the Chinese should demand that their own scholars study the material. The committee convened tonight and my list of desiderata numbered 15 points. The committee agreed to all these points which included a two years prolongation of our expedition, until May 1933. This stands in sharp contrast to the implacable and energetic opposition to Stein's great expedition.

One of the most important points, or, if the two-year prolongation was number one, the point next in importance was my request that the committee would al-

low *you* to work with Bergman's material. The proposal was granted with acclamation, but one, and a very hard condition, namely that you stay in Peking while working on the material. When I explained that your commitments in Gothenburg would not allow you to do so and suggested that the committee exerted control over the number of wooden slips and other items, I received the following answer: "As you know we do not allow archaeological material to leave the country, not even for the shortest time. The whole collection could be photographed and the photographs sent to Sweden."

I explained that this would not do, as many wooden slips are in such bad condition that even the originals are hard to decipher, and that such slips must undergo a certain treatment before they can be read. They stuck to their wish to get you here and suggested that they offer you a guest professorship at the National University with a salary of 500 (!) Mexican dollars a month during the time you need for your work on the material. Nothing was said about a Chinese collaborator. Instead they suggested that a couple hundred slips also dating from the Former Han, which the expedition member Hwang has found at the fortress Tu-kin situated 80 li E.N.E of Lou-lan, should be handed over to you. Bergman gives the time limit 86–31 B.C. for certain finds, Hwang 80 B.C. It is the same line of fortresses, Stein's line, which reaches as far as Lou-lan.

Well, this is how things are tonight, and I write this letter immediately after the committee meeting—I did not want to lose a single day. I am sure you understand how we Swedes and the Chinese think about this, and our praise of you must have resounded in your ears. My statement that I long had wished to buy a Manchu-palace for the purpose of turning it into a Swedish East Asian research institute was received with great enthusiasm. Several Chinese scholars have repeatedly stated that they would welcome and support such an institute that on the one hand could become a forum for scholarly cooperation, and on the other hand "could teach our students how systematic research should be organized."

In one word our position is now so strong that it would be a pity to discontinue it now. No other nation can compete with us. Lessing, who has seen how we operate in our headquarters and followed our negotiations with the Chinese, finds it quite phenomenal. "Ich verstehe es einfach nicht! Gegen Sie sind die Chinesen keine Chinesen mehr!" (I simply can't understand it! Towards you the Chinese no longer behave like Chinese!) According to the contract of 1927 we ought to have 12 Chinese with us. Now one of them, Yuan, remains in Sinkiang, and a new one, Chen, has been added in Kansu. In Kansu I have four Swedes, one Dane and one Chinese. Andrews has tired, Rickmers' request to travel in Sinkiang was not granted, the American Smith has got 9 Chinese to follow him to Sichuan, and they won't have anything to do with Stein. But they request *us* to stay on. They are afraid that we shall grow tired. I also believe that they will prove equally generous when it comes to sharing the spoils. Besides, the collections are large enough to suffice for the two countries.

But now our funds will soon be running out and I have to go home to get some more. I sometimes wonder whether a couple of hundred thousand Crowns could not be put to better use, and whether I am the only one who imagines that our expedition is so important that it has to be supported. But when I see the enthusiasm of my lads I still believe that our work has a mission to fill, both for science and our Fatherland. But we need moral and material support from home. Presently we have a feeling that we are forgotten and that we must die and then be found after 33 years in order to arouse a wave of sympathy and enthusiasm among our people. For me, these four years in Asia have not been easy. No one knows better than you how hard it is to figure out the psyche of the Chinese. To organize, lead, feed and provide for the expedition, to get funds and instruments, to hand out tasks to the members and keep up an endless correspondence with them—all this is simple compared with the psychological factor, which alone craves your full attention. I am quite prepared to travel here and there to

give lectures and make a collection for further work, although I find it hard that I, who have to handle the whole expedition and the Chinese and the chronicle shall have to travel about, trying to raise funds. Our National Bank ought to place a credit to our disposal that would deliver us from economical worries.

To write articles takes much time and gives so little. Nobody will read *Riddles of the Gobi Desert,* which is not so strange as it is very dull—mainly because I myself did not take part in the last journey. A book about Jehol which I have already sent home is rather good and I hope that it will sell. Just now I am working on a book about Lop-nor: the new shape of the wandering lake, and Lessing helps me with the Chinese sources related to the lake. On top of that I have much to do with the two temples and the ethnographical collections which Montell manages excellently.

I shall return home in February. I shall see to it that we meet then. I await your answer with greater eagerness than ever; its content will be sent on to Chü-yan via the Gobi desert.

Wishing you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year and with thousand greetings from Lessing and Montell, I remain your most affectionate friend,

Sven Hedin

18. Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940), archaeologist, book collector, and bibliographer, was extremely knowledgeable in all branches of classical scholarship. After the revolution in 1911, he settled in Kyoto, from where he returned in 1919 to settle in Tianjin. A dedicated monarchist, he placed his resources at the disposal of the dethroned emperor Puyi. When Puyi was forced to leave the Forbidden City and move to Tianjin in 1924, Luo Zhenyu became one of his three advisers. After Pu Yi was proclaimed emperor of Manchuria on March 1, 1932, Luo Zhenyu's enthusiasm for the monarchy cooled. Luo Zhenyu collected, edited, and published many documents of relevance for historical and archaeological research. He was one of the first to study the inscriptions on the oracle bones found in Anyang in 1899, together with the manuscript finds from Dunhuang.

19. Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940) was one of the most remarkable men in the intellectual history of modern China. At the age of seventeen he passed the lowest, and at the age of twenty-two the highest, degree in the state examinations. At twenty-four years of age, he was elected a member of the Imperial Hanlin Academy. China's defeat in the war against Japan 1894–95 and the crushing of the reform movement that Kang Youwei (1858–1927) and his associates had led during the summer months of 1898 had convinced Cai Yuanpei that only an improved educational system could save China. He therefore left his post at the Hanlin Academy and returned to his home province of Zhejiang, where for several years he served as headmaster of a school offering courses in modern subjects. Together with Zhang Taiyan and other reformers, in 1902 he organized the *Zhongguo jiaoyuhui* ("The society for the education of China"), a revolutionary organization in opposition to Manchu rule. A few years later he was elected president of another organization, *Guangfuhui* ("The society for restoration"), founded by young revolutionaries from the provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang.

In 1906, Cai Yuanpei returned to Peking, where he hoped to obtain a state scholarship for studies in Europe. His hopes went unfulfilled, as the authorities preferred to send students to Japan. The following year, the

German ambassador to China offered to provide him with a stipend for several years' study in Germany. After one year's study of German in Berlin, Cai Yuanpei enrolled in the University of Leipzig, where from 1908 to 1911 he studied Philosophy, Literature, Ethnology, European History, Psychology, and Aesthetics. He returned to China in November 1911. Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), who had been elected president of the republic in the same year, appointed Cai Yuanpei minister of education. When in 1913 Sun Yat-sen was forced to cede his office to Yuan Shikai (1859–1916), Cai Yuanpei left his ministerial position and went back to Leipzig, where he stayed one year. After his stay in Leipzig, he moved to Paris, where he co-founded the Sociéte Franco-Chinoise d'Education and served as its first president.

After Yuan Shikai's death in 1916, Cai Yuanpei was appointed vice-chancellor of Peking University, a post which he held until 1926. This decade (1916–26) stands out as one of the most important periods in modern China's political, social, and intellectual history. Peking University served as headquarters of the radical forces that aimed at remolding Chinese society. It was from among the teachers and students of Peking University that the leaders of the Literary Revolution and the May Fourth Movement were recruited. In 1928, Cai Yuanpei participated in the founding of Zhongyang yanjiuyuan ("Academia Sinica"). Under his guidance, several of the research institutes of the academy gained international recognition. In the fields of the humanities, the most important institute was the Yuyan lishi yanjiusuo ("Institute of History and Philology"), headed by Fu Sinian (1896–1950), a close friend of Bernhard Karlgren. The institute comprised three branches, for History, Philology, and Archaeology. In 1929, Chao Yuan Ren was appointed head of the philological branch and Li Ji (1896–1979), who had close contacts with the Swedish archaeologist J. G. Andersson (1874–1960), was appointed head of the archaeological branch.

20. Liu Fu's studies in Paris gave good results. Apart from the thesis, he edited a volume containing the most interesting parts of Pelliot's Dunhuang material, which he copied by hand in the Bibliothèque Nationale and published under the title *Dunhuang duosuo* ("Selections of Dunhuang material," 1926). His study of the Chinese tones, *Etude expérimentale sur les tons du chinois* ("Experimental study of the Chinese tones") (Paris: Sociéte d'edition Les Belles-lettres, 1925), still deserves attention. Apart from studies in Chinese phonology and grammar, his scholarly works comprise a voluminous collection of vulgar variants of characters from the Song (960–1279) and later periods. After his return from Europe, Liu Fu published two collections of poetry: *Yangbian ji* ("The Whip," Beijing: Beixin shushe, 1926) and *Wafu ji* ("The Clay Pot," Beijing: Beixin shushe, 1926). Apart from Liu Fu's own poems, the latter collection contains folk songs and ballads, collected in his hometown of Jiangyin, situated on the southern bank of the Yangzi River in the province of Jiangsu. Several of Liu Fu's poems have been set to music by his good friend Chao Yuen Ren.

21. Only one of the letters that Liu Fu must have written to Bernhard Karlgren is kept in the Karlgren family archive. The letter, which dis-

cusses the planned cooperation, is dated "On the eleventh day of the fourth month (1931)."

22. It took a long time before the valuable material collected by Folke Bergman could be made available for research. At the outbreak of the war against Japan in 1937, the material was brought to safety in Hong Kong. From there it was shipped to the United States, where it was kept at the Library of Congress for a few years, before it was handed over to Academia Sinica in Taiwan. The results of Bergman's excavations are treated in Bo Sommarström, "Archaeological Research in the Edsen-gol Region, Inner Mongolia," in *Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Sven Hedin,* vol. 39 (Stockholm, 1956) and vol. 41 (Stockholm, 1958).

23. The quotes from the inaugural lectures of Professor Cassirer and Professor Lindquist are taken from an unsigned article in *Göteborgs Handels-och Sjöfartstidning* ("Gothenburg Journal of Trade and Shipping"), October 19, 1935.

24. I had the privilege of serving under Professor Walter Simon as lecturer in Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the beginning of the 1950s. During those years, I learned to appreciate both his kindness and his thorough learning.

25. Like many good stories, the one about Bernhard and his outboard motor is apocryphal. In a letter of February 18, 1995, Karlgren's daughter Ella Köhler writes:

> My father's story has been edited in order to hide that he was well aware of, and disliked the fact, that he did not master technical innovations. No, as he was an economical man he was *not* satisfied with having lost his outboard motor. This is the way it happened: an outboard motor was bought; the boat was supplied with a specially made support for it. The idea was that father and his passengers should be able to get home when the wind abated. One day, when the motor was giving him trouble, father engaged, not the forward gear as he should have done, but the reverse gear. When the motor eventually started, it came loose and dropped into the sea. Father was deeply humiliated on account of this.

26. From a letter to Inna Karlgren from her brother, the lawyer Axel T. Nilsson, dated May 3, 1934, it appears that she had appealed to her brother, asking him to help arrange a divorce. Her brother urged her to calm down and think of her children: her son Per was then attending the next to the last form in senior high school and her daughter Ella had just begun her high school studies.

Chapter 8. Proximitatem Linguae

1. In the year 706, 105 years after the publication of the *Qieyun* dictionary, a scholar-official named Wang Renxu published a critical edition of it. In the first half of the ninth century, this work and other rime dictionaries were copied out by a woman, Wu Cailuan, who was famous for her calligraphy. In the early twelfth century, her copy of Wang Renxu's

Qieyun was acquired by Emperor Huizong (1101–26), who was himself a calligrapher and painter, and who was greatly impressed by Wu Cailuan's calligraphy. From the time of Huizong, the manuscript remained in the Imperial Library until 1924, when parts of the Imperial collection of books were moved to Tianjin, where the young ex-Emperor Puyi took up residence. When the Japanese appointed Puyi Regent of Manchoukuo in 1932, this library followed him to his new capital Changchun in Manchuria. After the Japanese capitulation in 1945, the manuscript fell into the hands of a secondhand book dealer in Changchun. Two years later, it turned up in the book market in Liulichang in Peking, where it was found by two Chinese scholars. In the same year, a photographic edition of two hundred copies was published by the Palace Museum in Peking.

2. Huilin's work shows, among other things, that the transition from the tone category *shang* to the tone category *qu,* which was conditioned by certain voiced initials consonants (aspirated stops and affricates and certain fricatives) had already started in the early ninth century. Huilin's work throws light on another phonological change that had appeared after the end of the seventh century. The phonological system of the *Qieyun* comprised the three nasal initial consonants, *m-*, *n-*, *ng-*, which before the Tang period (618–906) and in early Tang were used to transcribe the nasal consonants in Sanskrit. At the end of the eighth century, the same consonants were used to transcribe the Sanskrit consonants *b-*, *d-*, *g-*. The phonetic background of this change is obviously a partial de-nasalization of the Chinese bilabial consonants: *mu>mbu, nu>ndu,* etc. This phenomenon is common in the modern Chinese dialects in Shaanxi, eastern Gansu, and Sichuan.

3. The reference to Pelliot's view on the *Guangyun* was made in a letter from Bernhard to Inna, dated December 8, 1913, while Bernhard Karlgren was enjoying a lobster:

> For the lobster I am indebted to my conversation with Pelliot. It lasted two hours, from 10 to 12, and I am nearly deaf because he is very exited and when he is exited he shouts nearly as loud as Mama when she talks to aunt Natalia. The main results were: 1) he now considers the *Guangyun* a sound and reliable basis; 2) with some minor reservations, which he did not elaborate, he found my views "très solides"; 3) some "sad family matters"—he did not say which and he is a bachelor—had prevented him from working on phonetics and he had barely had time to look at my paper. For the time being he is therefore out of the running; 4) I would be wise to include my views from last summer in my thesis; 5) on my question whether my introduction to the *Guangyun* language plus the 3,000 characters arranged according to the *Guangyun* initials and finals alone would be sufficient for a thesis, he replied that it probably would be much more valuable than anything written in the past and that it probably would gain a pass, but to reach a higher mark it would probably be too short. He advised me to wait until I could present the whole—which I naturally have aimed at. I put that question to him merely to sound out what he thought of my ideas.

4. Bernhard Karlgren's predecessors in the field of Chinese historical phonology include the British missionary Joseph Edkins (1823–1905), the Italian consular official Zenone Volpicelli (1856–1936), and S. H. Schaank.

Edkins' work *A grammar of the Chinese colloquial language commonly called the Mandarin dialect* (Shanghai: London Mission Press, 1857) contains a section on historical phonetics. He also contributed a notice on "Ancient Sounds" in the introduction to Samuel Wells William's *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1874) in which he discusses the *fanqie* spellings in the dictionary *Kangxi zidian* and the rime tables of 1336, which are appended to this dictionary and which Karlgren studied in Taiyuan and Paris. Edkins, who was a specialist on the Shanghai dialect, tried to reconstruct the thirty-six initials of the rime tables on the basis of the dialects of Suzhou and Hangzhou. Also Volpicelli's *Chinese phonology—an attempt to discover the sounds of the ancient language and recover the lost rhymes of China* (Shanghai: China Gazette, 1896) studied the rime tables of the *Kangxi zidian* and proposed the theory that the four divisions (*deng*) of the rime tables distinguished four different kinds of vowel qualities. In his work "Ancient Chinese phonetics" (*TP* 8, 1900, 361–367, 457–486; 9, 1901, 28–57), Schaank proposed an interpretation of the four divisions, which was accepted by Henri Maspero in his "Etudes sur la phonétique historique de la langue annamite: les initials" (*BEFEO*) 12, 1912, 1–126, and which to some extent was also accepted by Karlgren.

5. We have seen that the *fanqie* technique used two characters to "spell" a third character. Altogether, 450 different characters were used to "spell" the initials and about 1,200 characters to "spell" the finals. When Karlgren compiled his list of all characters employed in the *fanqie* system, he was not aware of the fact that this time-consuming work had already been achieved by Chen Li (1810–82), the only Qing scholar who seriously investigated the *fanqie* system. In his work *Qieyun kao* ("An investigation of the *fanqie* spellings in the *Guangyun,* 1868–70") (rpt. Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1965), Chen Li gives an account of the results of his thorough investigation, which provides a correct analysis of the distinctive phonological categories of the *Qieyun.*

6. Chao Yuen Ren, Luo Changpei, and Li Fang Kuei, who translated Karlgren's *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise* into Chinese, belonged to the elite among Chinese linguists. Chao Yuen Ren (1892–1982) as a child had already become aware of the great differences between Chinese dialects. His family originated from Changzhou in the southern province of Jiangsu, but he was born in Tianjin in the north of China. When he was five years old, a teacher from Jiangsu was appointed to teach him to recite the Confucian classics in the Changzhou dialect. At the age of eighteen, he was awarded a scholarship for studies at Cornell University, where Hu Shi became one of his classmates. Having completed a B.A. in Mathematics and Physics at Cornell University, Chao Yuan Ren continued his studies at Harvard, where he took a doctorate in Physics in 1918. In 1920, he returned to China and taught mathematics at Qinghua University in Peking. When Bertrand Russell visited China in October 1920, Chao Yuen Ren served as his interpreter. Russell toured widely in China, and wherever he gave a lecture Chao Yuen Ren interpreted in the local dialect. During a year's visit to Europe, he studied under Vendryès, Meil-

let, Maspero, and Pelliot in Paris and also visited Gothenburg, where he discussed the possibility of translating *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise* into Chinese with Bernhard Karlgren. In 1925, Chao Yuen Ren returned to Qinghua University. The following year, he began his comprehensive study of the Wu dialects in the lower Yangzi valley. In 1929, he was appointed head of the section of linguistics in the Academia Sinica and became responsible for the planning and the carrying out of dialectal investigations in China. Chao Yuen Ren left China in 1938 and taught at Yale and Harvard until 1947, when he was appointed to a Chair in Oriental Languages and Linguistics at the University of California (Berkeley). During his long scholarly career, Chao Yuen Ren made great contributions in many fields of research, such as Chinese phonetics and historical phonology, dialectology, the grammar of modern Chinese, lexicography, linguistic theory, and socio-linguistics. His *Mandarin Primer* (1948) presents a profound analysis of the grammar and prosodic structure of modern Chinese, later expanded in his *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese* (1965). Chao Yuen Ren's great musicality and exceedingly keen ear for prosodic features made him an excellent translator. His translation into Chinese of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) (*Alisi manyou qijing ji*) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1922) is an unsurpassed masterpiece.

Luo Changpei (1899–1958), who belonged to a Manchu family, had in his youth already become interested in traditional Chinese phonology and wrote a few works on various aspects of the rime dictionary *Qieyun*. After a few years as lecturer at the universities of Xi'an and Guangzhou, he was appointed to a position in the Academia Sinica (1929), where he worked under Chao Yuen Ren. His first great work in dialectology treated the Amoy dialect (1931). Together with Liu Fu, Luo Changpei compiled a number of important fragments of the rime dictionary *Qieyun Shiyun huibian* ("Compilation of fragments of ten rime books," 1935). In 1934, Luo Changpei succeeded Liu Fu as professor in Chinese literature at Peking University. At the same time, he continued his cooperation with Chao Yuen Ren in the linguistic section of the Academia Sinica. From 1937 to 1945 he served as head of the Department of Chinese at *Xi'nan lianda* (National Southwest Associated University) in Kunming, a combination of several universities evacuated from northern China after the Japanese attack. Many of China's most eminent scholars and writers were attached to this university, which offered a highly stimulating intellectual milieu. After a few years as visiting professor in the United States, Luo Changpei returned to Peking, where he was appointed dean of the Faculty of Humanities at Peking University. The year before the Communist takeover he devoted to a comprehensive socio-linguistic thesis in the spirit of Edward Sapir (1884–1939), in which he tried to interpret social and cultural phenomena from purely linguistic viewpoints. Like Chao Yuen Ren, Luo Changpei was highly musical. He regularly gathered a few like-minded friends—among them the literary scholar and poet Yu Pingbo (1900–92)—in order to perform a piece of *kunqu*, a refined opera form originating in the lower Yangzi valley in the seventeenth century.

Li Fang Kuei (1902–87) started his academic career at Qinghua University in Peking, where he studied medicine. In 1924, he was awarded a scholarship for studies in the United States. Having completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Michigan in 1926, he was accepted as a research student in linguistics at the University of Chicago, with which two of the greatest linguists of the time were associated—Edward Sapir (1884–1939) and Leonard Bloomfield (1887–1949). Two years later he presented his thesis for the Ph.D. degree, *Mattole, an Athabaskan Language* (1930), which was considered a pioneering work. After a year at Harvard, Li Fang Kuei returned to China and participated in the dialectological research directed by Chao Yuen Ren. During the 1930s, Li Fang Kuei wrote a number of important articles in the field of Chinese historical phonology, in which he criticized some of Bernhard Karlgren's reconstructions, which criticism Karlgren partly accepted. In his research on Archaic Chinese, Li Fang Kuei sought support for his reconstructions in data collected during his studies of Thai languages and comparative studies of languages belonging to the Sino-Tibetan language family. After two years as visiting professor at Yale (1937–39), Li Fang Kuei returned to China, where he devoted five years to field research on non-Chinese languages in southwest China. In 1946, he returned to the United States. Having served as visiting professor at Yale and Harvard, he was appointed professor at the University of Washington (Seattle) in 1949, a post in which he served until 1969. From 1969 to 1974 he held a professorship at the University in Hawaii. Li Fang Kuei's wide-ranging research covered such fields as North American Indian languages, Archaic Chinese, comparative Sino-Tibetan, Thai languages, and Tibetan.

7. Maspero's criticism of Bernhard Karlgren's reconstructions was presented in his review of the first volume of *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise* (*BEFEO* 16, 1916, 61–73) and in his important study "Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang" ("The dialect of Chang'an in the Tang period," *BEFEO* 20, 1920, 1–124).

8. Willem Grootaers' criticism of Karlgren's field research technique was published in a series of articles in the journal *Monumenta Serica* (8, 1943; 10, 1945; and 11, 1946).

9. Sören Egerod's comment on Grootaers' criticism is from his memorial sketch "Bernhard Karlgren" in *Annual newsletter of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies* 13 (1979), 3–24.

10. Zhou Zumo's work on the *Qieyun* was published in his *Wenxueji* ("Collection of essays," Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966). For a translation and discussion of the work, see Göran Malmqvist, "Chou Tsu-mo on the Ch'ieh-yun" (*BMFEA* 40, 1968, 33–38).

11. One of the most important works by Dai Zhen has been treated by my former student and successor Torbjörn Lodén in his article "Dai Zhen's Evidential Commentary on the Meaning of the Words of Mencius. An annotated translation of the *Meng Zi ziyi shizheng*" (*BMFEA* 60, 1988, 165–313).

12. Bernhard Karlgren points out that there are three possible interpretations of variations of the type k/l: A. *klâk/lâk;* B. *kâk/klâk* or *glâk;* or

C. *klâk/glâk*. Karlgren prefers alternative C. His "*Grammata Serica*, Script and Phonetics in Chinese and Sino-Japanese" (*BMFEA* 12, 1940, 1–471) contains several cases where Karlgren has followed alternative A.

13. In *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), the tones of the Ancient Chinese morphemes are marked in the following ways: tone 1 (*ping*) is left unmarked; tone 2 (*shang*) is marked by a colon (:) after the transcribed unit; tone 3 (*qu*) is marked by a hyphen (-) after the transcribed unit, and tone 4 (*ru*) is marked by final *-p, -t, -k*. A reader with elementary knowledge of Chinese historical phonology can without difficulty ascertain which tones in modern Mandarin correspond to tones 1, 2, and 3 of Ancient Chinese. The tonal correspondences in modern Mandarin of Ancient Chinese tone 4 cannot be derived from the notations in *Grammata Serica Recensa*.

14. Sapir's article "Sound Patterns in Language" was published in *Language* 1 (1925), 37–51.

15. Chao Yuen Ren's list of errata in Karlgren's *Etudes* was published in *QBCB* 3 (1936), 139–51.

16. Chao Yuen Ren's article "Distinctions within Ancient Chinese" was published in *HJAS* 5 (1940), 203–33.

17. Samuel Martin's "The Phonemes of Ancient Chinese" was published as a supplement to *JAOS* 16 (1953).

18. Egerod's statement is taken from his memorial sketch "Bernhard Karlgren," in *Annual Newsletter of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies* 13 (1979), 1–24.

19. Pulleyblank's statement is taken from his paper "European Studies on Chinese Phonology, the First Phase," in *Europe Studies China. Papers from an International Conference on the History of European Sinology.* The Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (London: Han-Shan Tang Books, 1992), 339.

20. William H. Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 64 (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992).

21. Conrady's article was published in *MSOS* 15 (1915), 1–37.

22. On the basis of contacts in rime sequences and phonetic series, Bernhard Karlgren's Archaic Chinese categories *-*âg* and *-*o* in traditional Chinese phonology are treated as one category, termed 魚 *yu*. Karlgren noted that certain morphemes belonging to this category have contacts in rimes and phonetic series with morphemes which belong to his *-*âk* category. For these morphemes, Karlgren reconstructed Archaic Chinese *-*âg*. For morphemes of the *yu* category that lack such contacts, Karlgren reconstructed Archaic Chinese *-*o*. In order to explain the occurrence of rime contacts between morphemes belonging to his categories *-*âg* and *-*o*, he was obliged to assume the presence of certain dialectal differences in Archaic Chinese. The traditional view of the *yu* category as an undifferentiated class finds support in the fact that morphemes belonging to Karlgren's *-*o* and *-*âg* categories have identical reflexes in the *Qieyun* language. The traditional view of the undifferentiated *yu* category was confirmed by Tung T'ung-ho in his article "Shanggu

yinyunbiao gao" ("Draft phonological tables for Old Chinese"), *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 18 (1944), 1–249. Cf. also Tor Ulving, *Dictionary of Old and Middle Chinese: Bernhard Karlgren's Grammata Serica Recensa Alphabetically Arranged* (Gothenburg, 1997), 15.

23. *Junzhai dushuzhi* ("Reading notes from the Jun Studio") by Chao Gongwu (?–1171) is a catalogue of two private book collections of the Song period, one of which belonged to the author. *Zhizhai shulu jie ti* ("Bibliographical notices from the Zhizhai Studio") by Chen Zhensun (c. 1190–after 1249) is a catalogue of the author's private library, which is said to have been the largest private library in the mid-thirteenth century. Chao Gongwu's and Chen Zhensun's catalogues are considered the most important bibliographical works of the Song period.

24. *Gujin weishu kao* ("Investigation of forged books ancient and modern") by Yao Jiheng (1647–1715), which discusses eighty-nine spurious works, is considered one of the landmarks in Chinese historical criticism.

25. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* ("Critical catalogue of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries"), the most important among Chinese annotated bibliographies, catalogues 10,585 works, of which 3,461 were included in the *Siku quanshu* collection, compiled under Imperial auspices between 1773 and 1782. The editorial board, consisting of 361 scholars and headed by Ji Yun (1724–1805) and Lu Xixiong (1734–92), selected books from the Imperial collections and books presented by provincial authorities and private collectors, with the aim of bringing together all the works known at the time that were considered worthy of preservation. A huge team of skilled calligraphers was employed to copy the collection in four sets, each bound into 36,000 large volumes. These four sets were housed in special library buildings erected in the Forbidden City, the Summer Palace, Yuanmingyuan, in Peking, the Imperial Palace in Shenyang (Mukden), and the Imperial Summer Palace in Chengde. In 1782, the emperor ordered three sets to be copied and deposited in the southern cities of Hangzhou, Zhenjiang, and Yangzhou. The copy originally deposited in the Wenyuan Pavilion in the Forbidden City was transferred to Taiwan and housed in the Palace Museum in Taipei. In the 1980s, a photo-facsimile reprint of this set was published in Taipei (*Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* [Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983–86]).

26. The encyclopedia *Yiwen leiju* ("Thematic compilation of literary sources"), compiled under Imperial auspices by an editorial board headed by Ouyang Xun (557–641), was meant to serve as an aid in the composition of learned essays. The work is divided into forty-seven sections, each divided into many subsections. Under each section are given relatively short excerpts from classical works and the dynastic histories, followed by quotes from poems and essays. As most of the sources quoted in the *Yiwen leiju* were lost before the end of the Song period (1279), the encyclopedia has played an important role in the reconstitution of lost works.

27. The encyclopedia *Taiping yulan* ("Material for Imperial reading of the *Taiping xingguo* reign period"), compiled under Imperial auspices by an editorial committee headed by Li Fang (925–96) and completed in 983, comprises fifty-five sections with more then five thousand subsections. It

follows the same format as the *Yiwen leiju,* but has a much broader range of subject matter. About 70 percent of the two thousand sources quoted by the *Taiping yulan* are no longer extant.

28. The quotation from the *Zuozhuan* has been taken from Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 56–57. The original text passage comprises fifty-two different characters, of which 30 percent are phonologically unique in that they lack homophones in Archaic Chinese; 20 percent of the characters have but one homophone, which in the majority of cases belongs to a different function class. Therefore, in Archaic Chinese homophony may not have severely hampered the understanding of a spoken text.

29. In his work *Matériaux pour l'enseignement élémentaire du chinois. Ecriture, transcription, langue parlée nationale* ("Material for elementary teaching of Chinese. Script, transcription, the spoken national language," Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1953), Paul Demiéville gives detailed descriptions of five French systems; Wade-Giles; the system that Bernhard Karlgren introduced in his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese* (Paris: Geuthner, 1923); a German system, created by F. Lessing and W. Othmer in *Lehrgang der nordchinesischen Umgangssprache* (Tsingtau: Deutsch-Chinesische Druckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1912); the Russian system *Latinxua,* adopted at a conference in Vladivostok 1931; the *Gwoyeu Romatzyh* (*G. R.*), created by Chao Yuen Ren and others and promulgated by the Chinese Ministry of Education in 1928; the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and the National Chinese *Zhuyin fuhao,* promulgated by the Chinese Ministry of Education in 1918.

30. Lin Yutang (1895–1976) had many arrows in his quiver. After studies at St. John's University in Shanghai, he taught English at Qinghua University in Peking (1916–19). After one year at Harvard and one year's stay in France, he studied first at the university in Jena and then at Leipzig University, where in 1923 he presented a thesis for the Ph.D., presumably under Professor Conrady, entitled *Altchineschiche Lautlehre* ("Ancient Chinese phonetics"). A summary of the thesis was presented in "A survey of the phonetics of ancient Chinese" (*AM* 1, 1924, 134–46). Upon his return to China in 1923, he was appointed professor of English at Peking University. In 1930, he was appointed head of the department of Foreign Languages at Academia Sinica. During the first half of the 1930s, he frequently contributed to literary journals; many of his humoristic and satirical essays were published in the English-language Shanghai journal *China Critic.* During a stay in the United States from 1936 to 1943, Lin Yutang wrote some of his best works: *The Importance of Living* (New York: Raynal & Hitchcock, 1937), *The Birth of New China* (New York: John Day, 1939), and the novel *Moment in Peking* (New York: John Day, 1939). Lin Yutang, who had a masterly command of the English language, was a superb translator. His translation of the romantic memoirs *Fusheng liu ji* ("Six Chapters of a Floating Life") by Shen Fu (1763–?), serialized in the journal *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 1935, is a masterpiece. From 1967 until 1973, Lin Yutang led the work on a comprehensive dictionary (*Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage,* Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1972).

Chapter 9. Stockholm, 1939–1959

1. In a letter dated February 1929, Cai Yuanpei, President of Academia Sinica, informs Bernhard Karlgren that he has been elected Foreign Member of Academia Sinica. The letter also mentions that two other European scholars have been awarded the same honor: namely F. W. K. Müller (1863–1930) and Paul Pelliot.

2. Chang Kwang-chih's statement is found in his *Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 108.

3. The anthology *Chuci* ("Elegies of Chu or Songs of the South"), compiled in the third century A.D., comprises seventeen poems and cycles of poems, most of which probably date from the third century B.C. In the oldest historical time, the kingdom of Chu was situated around the middle course of the Yangtze River, south of the cultural centers of north China. The people of Chu originally spoke a non-Chinese language. Beginning about the seventh century B.C., Chu became strongly influenced by the northern Chinese culture. The two different metrical structures of the songs in the *Chuci* differ from the mainly four-beat prosody of the *Shijing* songs. For a translation of the anthology, see David Hawkes, *Ch'u-Tz'u, the songs of the South: an ancient anthology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959).

4. The work attributed to the Confucian thinker Xun Zi (b. 312 B.C.) contains two rimed sections, one of which, the ballad "Cheng xiang," uses a metrical structure still used in Chinese working songs. For a study and translation of this ballad, see Göran Malmqvist, "The Cherng shianq ballad in the Shyun Tzyy" (*BMFEA* 45, 1973, 352–58).

5. Karlgren's glosses to the *Shijing* were published in *BMFEA* 14 (1942), 16 (1944), and 18 (1946). His translation into English of the 305 poems of the anthology was published in *BMFEA* 16 (1944) and 17 (1945). *The Book of Odes: Chinese text, Transcription and Translation* (Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950) reprints Karlgren's translations, together with the Chinese text and a transcription, in which the Archaic Chinese reconstructions of the rime words have been indicated.

6. Ezra Pound (1885–1972), who in his secondhand rendering of the *Shijing, The Confucian Odes: The Classic Anthology Defined by Confucius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954) leans on the translations by Waley and Karlgren, was strongly influenced by a posthumously published paper by Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), "The Chinese written character as a medium for poetry" (New York: Arrow Editions, 1936). Fenollosa asserts that the Chinese characters should be regarded as shorthand representations of feelings, things, and events. When Pound here and there glanced at the Chinese characters, he interpreted them in the spirit of Fenollosa. Here follows Waley's, Karlgren's, and Pound's translations of Song number 113, "Shishu," according to tradition a lament over the harryings of harsh tax collectors. The second syllable in the title of the poem (*shu*) means "rat." The character for the first syllable in the title, 碩 (*shi*), contains two graphic elements: to the left the char-

acter 石 (*shi*), which means "stone," and to the right the character 頁 (*ye*) which may mean "head." Waley follows an early commentary and translates the title as "Big rats." Karlgren follows the dictionary *Erya* (third century B.C.), which defines the first syllable in the title as "a kind of rodent." In his masterly secondhand translation, Pound translates *shishu* as "Stone-head rats."

Waley:
Big rat, big rat,
Do not gobble our millet!
Three years we have slaved for you,
Yet you take no notice of us.
At last we are going to leave you
And go to that happy land;
Happy land, happy land,
Where we shall have our place.

Karlgren:
You *shï*-rats, you *shï*-rats,
Do not eat our millet!
Three years we have served you,
But you have not been willing to heed us
It has gone so far that we will leave you;
We go to that happy land;
Oh, happy land, happy land!
Then we shall find our place.

Pound:
RATS,
Stone-head rats lay off our grain,
Three years pain,
Enough, enough, plus enough again.
More than enough from you, deaf you,
We're about thru and ready to go
where something will grow
untaxed
good earth, good sown
and come into our own.

7. Sören Egerod's obituary for Bernhard Karlgren was presented before the Society of Science in Lund on November 23, 1979, and published in the Yearbook of the Society, 1980, 112–28.

8. As examples of a dialogue that has been "brushed up into a literary style," Bernhard Karlgren refers to the following passages from Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice:*

> "Pride," observed Mary, "is a very common failing, I believe. By all that I have ever read, I am convinced that it is very common indeed; that human nature is particularly prone to it, and that there are very few who do not cherish a feeling of self-complacency on the score of some quality or the other, real or imaginary." (Chapter 5, end).
> Do you not feel a great inclination, Miss Bennet, to seize such an opportunity of dancing a reel?" (Chapter 10, end).

9. Discussing the literary language at the time of the philosopher Mo Zi (fifth century B.C.), Henri Maspero writes: "Il n'est pas probable qu'à cette époque la langue parlée et langue écrite aient beaucoup différé" ("It is not probable that at the time of Mo Zi the spoken language would have differed greatly from the written language"). (*La Chine Antique,* Paris: Imprimerie National, 1927, 472, n. 2).

10. H. G. Creel's view on the nature of the literary language was presented in his paper "On the nature of Chinese ideography" (*TP* 32, 1936, 85–161). Homer Dubs' view was presented in his *China, the land of humanistic scholarship; an inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Oxford* (1949), 5. It is interesting to note that his description of the archaic Chinese literary language to a large extent fits the modern language:

> All non-essential words are omitted. Subject, verb, object or two of them may be left unexpressed. A sentence is sometimes reduced to one word, as in the English sentence "Fire." Conjunctions and other words of relation are frequently omitted in this literary language, with the result that only the meaning can decide whether the author is writing one long complex sentence or a series of short ones, for signs of punctuation are nearly always omitted.

11. In a lecture given in the Department of Chinese of Stockholm University on September 16, 1994, Professor Charles Li (University of California, Santa Barbara) stated:

> Most of the literature of the Late Archaic Period (fifth to third century B.C.) is considered "colloquial" because at that time a fossilized written language did not exist. The Late Archaic period is the age of the great philosophers, such as Confucius, Mencius, Lao Zi, Zhuang Zi, Mo Zi, etc. These philosophers were the ones who set the traditions and moral framework of the Chinese civilization. The "Classical language" began as an emulation of their words by scholars of later generations. There is no evidence that during the Late Archaic period, the great philosophers created a written language which was totally different and divorced from the spoken language of the time. If they had, it would have been an important issue and they would have dwelt on it at length in their discourse on what constituted sagacity, nobility and morality. Thus, it is uncontroversial to conclude that the differences between the written records and the spoken language of the Late Archaic period should not vary dramatically from what we now know as the differences between the spoken form and the written form of a contemporary language. In particular, the *Analects* (*Lunyu*), being a book of dialogues, ought to reflect the spoken language of the Late Archaic period more accurately than other texts of that period.

12. I do not share Bernhard Karlgren's view that an ancient Chinese text cannot be understood when read out in modern Chinese. I had no difficulty in understanding the major part of a dialogue from the *Zuozhuan* (fourth century B.C.), read out to me in modern Sichuanese.

13. Maspero's view on the absence of parts of speech in the Chinese language was presented in his "La langue chinoise," in *Conférences de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Université de Paris, Année 1933* (Paris, 1934), 35. Walter Simon's contribution to the debate ("Has the Chinese Language Parts of Speech?") was published in *TPS* (1937), 99–119.

14. With his brothers Anton and Hjalmar, Bernhard Karlgren shared the radical view that monarchy was a relic of the old class society, out of keeping with the times. He had learned to appreciate the Crown Prince (later King Gustav VI Adolf) as a serious and competent colleague, and the contact between the two scholars developed into friendship, founded on mutual respect.

15. In contrast to many Sinologists of the older generation, Bernhard Karlgren spoke an excellent, though rather bookish, Chinese. This is all the more remarkable since after his visit to the Far East in 1922 he had few occasions to speak the language.

16. The literary critic Hans Krook's review article "Clas Gullman, sinolog" ("Clas Gullman, Sinologist") was published in *Svenska Dagbladet* (a major Swedish daily newspaper) on August 24, 1975.

17. The background of the Rockefeller Fellowships is detailed by Sören Egerod in his paper "Östasiatiska sprog" ("East Asian Languages"), in *Köbenhavns Universitet 1479–1979,* vol. VIII, 715–42:

> Six years after Kurt Wulff's death in 1945, immediately after the end of the War, Copenhagen University received the information that the Rockefeller Foundation had taken an initiative to further Chinese studies in Scandinavia. It was clear to many in the U.S. and in Europe that China's role as one of the big five in the UN, and the role of the Chinese language would be much greater after the War than before. The expansion of Chinese could be expected to be explosive, and yet there were few institutions providing competent training in Sinology. Having learned that Bernhard Karlgren, the greatest Sinologist in Europe, gave few lectures and that he since his move from Gothenburg to Stockholm in 1939 had not examined a single student, the Rockefeller Foundation suggested that he on its behalf should train one student from each of the four Nordic countries Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark, and that a university in each of these countries should undertake to employ its own candidate for a fellowship "if he or she acquitted himself or herself well." Finland had to abstain from participating in the scheme as the country was formally at war with the U.S., but the other Nordic countries joined the plan in 1946.

18. Olov Bertil Andersson (1920–93) served for many years as lecturer in Chinese at the Universities of Lund, Copenhagen, Gothenburg, and Uppsala. He possessed an unusually broad linguistic competence, comprising Slavonic languages, Georgian, Finnish, Hungarian, and several central and east Asian languages. His publications mainly fall within the field of Chinese lexicography.

Hans Bielenstein (1920–), historian and geographer, completed a doctoral degree in Sinology at Stockholm University (1952) with a thesis entitled *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty. Vol. I: The Fall of Wang Mang. With Prolegomena on the Historiography of the Hou Han Shu* (*BMFEA* 26, 1954, 1–209). This thesis was followed by several important works that gained Bielenstein international recognition as a specialist on Chinese historiography and the history of the Han period. In 1953, he was offered the Chair of Oriental Languages at Canberra University College and in 1961 appointed professor in Chinese History at Columbia University in New York.

Sven Broman (1923–94) completed a doctorate at Stockholm University (1961) with a thesis entitled *Studies on the Chou Li.* Having worked as a representative for UNESCO on Borneo, in Uganda, and in Nigeria, he served as lecturer in Chinese at the Universities of Lund, Copenhagen, and Stockholm. From 1972 to 1989, he served as curator at the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm. His main publications are in the field of Chinese and Thai shadow-theatre.

Sören Egerod (1923–95) began his scholarly career at Copenhagen University, where he studied Classical Philology and Linguistics. In 1945–46, he studied Chinese and Mongol at Ecoles des langues orientales vivantes in Paris; after two years' study at Stockholm University, he completed a B.A. degree in Sinology, Greek, and Sanskrit. After fieldwork in Hong Kong and Macao in 1948–49, he spent one year at Berkeley, where he studied Chinese under Chao Yuen Ren and Peter Boodberg, Tibetan under Ferdinand Lessing, and Thai under Mary Haas. Having completed a licentiate's degree at Stockholm University in 1952, he returned to Berkeley, where he worked on his doctoral thesis and at the same time studied Thai and Bahasa Indonesia. From 1954 to 1956, he served as assistant professor in Oriental Languages at Berkeley, teaching Chinese and Bahasa Indonesia. In 1956, he completed a doctorate at Copenhagen University, with a thesis entitled *The Lungtu Dialect, a descriptive and historical study of a South Chinese idiom* (1956). In 1958, he was appointed to a personal Chair in East Asian Languages at Copenhagen University, a position he held until 1993. Egerod's extensive publications in the fields of Chinese historical linguistics, dialectology, Southeast Asian linguistics, Sino-Tibetan studies, and typology have made him stand out as one of the greatest linguists of the twentieth century.

Henry Henne (1918–2002) originally aimed at a career in Slavonic languages. After his studies under Bernhard Karlgren in Stockholm from 1946 to 1948, he spent a year in Hong Kong, where he studied a Hakka dialect. After a short stay in Japan, he attended Chao Yuen Ren's courses in Chinese at Berkeley for one year. In 1951, Henne returned to his home country, Norway, where he was offered a lectureship in Chinese at Oslo University. Having taken a licentiate's degree in Chinese at Stockholm University (1952), he served as lecturer in Slavonic Languages, first at the International Christian University in Tokyo and thereafter at Cornell University. In 1965, he was appointed professor in East-Asian Languages and Literatures at Oslo University. In 1981, he was appointed professor in Southeast Asian Languages at the university of his hometown, Bergen.

Göran Malmqvist (b. 1924) completed a B.A. degree in Sinology, Latin, and Ethnography at Stockholm University (1948) and thereafter engaged in two years' dialectological fieldwork in southwestern China. Having obtained a licentiate's degree in Sinology at Stockholm University (1951), he taught Chinese for a year at Uppsala University. In 1953–55, he served as lecturer in Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, and in 1956–58 as cultural attache at the Swedish Embassy in Peking. From 1959 to 1961, he held the post of lecturer in Chinese at Canberra University College; in 1961, he was appointed to the Chair in Chi-

nese at the Australian National University. From 1965 to 1990, he served as professor of Sinology at Stockholm University. In his research, Malmqvist has dealt with problems in dialectology, historical phonology, ancient and modern syntax, semantics, and metrics. He has also been active as a translator of Chinese literature—ancient, medieval, modern, and contemporary.

19. In his obituary for Bernhard Karlgren, presented before the Society of Science in Lund on November 23, 1979, Sören Egerod said:

> These words were written in 1954. From 1957, Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures,* for the younger generation, quickly replaced classical structural linguistics. It is more than doubtful, however, that Karlgren felt any kinship with the linguistic currents through which his prophecy was to be fulfilled.

20. In *The Importance of Living* (New York: Raynal & Hitchcock, 1937), Lin Yutang discusses the perils of giving up smoking: the decision to abstain from tobacco affects not only yourself but also your closest friends. The following anecdote, told by Bernhard Karlgren's nephew Hans Karlgren, shows that Karlgren shared LinYutang's view on this matter:

> I remember that Bernhard berated my father, a moderate smoker who enjoyed both a good cigar and his pipe, when he stopped smoking, protesting against a raised tobacco tax. The money did not matter, and this happened long before people considered the cancer risk. It was a matter of principle: Bernhard argued that it was wrong to abstain from everyday pleasures, of which there were few. Moreover, smoking did not interfere with intellectual activities, rather the opposite.

21. In the 1930s, Eddie Cantor (1892–1964) played the lead in many films that met with great success. Had Karlgren known that Eddie Cantor's original name was Isidore Itzikowitz, he would most certainly have wondered whether he was related to Karl Gustav Itzikowitz, professor of Ethnography at Gothenburg University, who had taken his courses in Chinese, and whose father, the merchant Markus Itzikowitz, regularly advertised his wares in the journal that Karlgren edited as a high school student in Jönköping.

Chapter 10. Professor Emeritus

1. In an earlier article ("Some fecundity symbols in ancient China" [*BMFEA* 2, 1930, 1–54]), Karlgren to some extent utilized late sources, some of which date from the Song period (960–1279), thereby committing the same methodological error that he strongly criticized in his article "Legends and Cults in Ancient China" (1946). In the earlier article, Karlgren produced convincing paleographical evidence showing that certain Chinese characters in their oldest form depict an erect phallus, and that phallicism played an important role in the fecundity cults of ancient China. The rich paleographical material is supported by the finds of phal-

lus-shaped stones from the Neolithic period. Basing himself on certain graphic parallels between Swedish rock carvings and archaic Chinese inscriptions, Karlgren draws the following conclusions:

> By the examples adduced here I do not in any way pretend to have proved any historical connection between the stone and bronze age folklore of Europe and that of prehistoric and ancient historic China. It is true that the symbols discussed here, Sun discs, axes, foot-prints—especially when taken in conjunction with the phallic emblems identified in part I above—are so suggestive that it is hard to refrain from conclusions which would see in the Chinese symbols radiations from the same common Old World stock of folklore which has resulted in their Western counterparts. But conclusions of this kind lie entirely outside the range of this paper, and indeed fall outside my competence. What I decidedly maintain, however, is this: historical connection or not, there is a marked parallelism between a whole series of symbols—symbols coexisting in the Chinese bronze inscriptions, and the same symbols coexisting in the Swedish prehistoric rock carvings. Therefore it is not only legitimate but even natural to expect the same system of ancient mentality, the same set of religious ideas, to lie beneath these symbols in both these ancient "Kulturkreise," Scandinavia and China, and to suspect that the Chinese drawings were also religious, votive symbols, demanding fecundity-fertility from the spirit powers or gods.

Karlgren's article was rather severely criticized by Henri Maspero (*JA* 222, 1933, 18–21).

2. Ferdinand Lessing's study of the Lama temple in Peking is entitled *Yung Ho Kung, an iconography of the Lamaist cathedral in Peking, with notes on Lamaist mythology and cult* (Göteborg: Elanders, 1942). Lessing (1882–1961) studied Chinese at the University of Berlin and in 1905 was appointed as an assistant at the Museum für Völkerkunde. Two years later he went to China, where he stayed for seventeen years. His research early came to focus on Buddhism and Lamaism, fields that demand, besides competence in Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Mongol, a sound knowledge of ethnographic methodology. Lessing returned to Germany in 1925 and was appointed that same year to a professorship in Oriental Languages at Berlin University. Shortly thereafter he was appointed head of the East Asian section of the Museum für Völkerkunde. In 1930–33, he took leave of absence to take part in Sven Hedin's Sino-Swedish Expedition. During his first visit to China, Lessing had begun his study of the Lama temple in Peking, mainly focusing on the iconographical aspects of the temple. His study came to comprise a detailed description of the architectonic structure, the ritual, and the texts accompanying the temple cult. Unfortunately, only the first volume has been published; the rest exists in manuscript, written in German. In 1935, Lessing was invited to a professorship in Oriental Languages at the University of California (Berkeley), where he introduced the teaching of Mongol, a subject hitherto not offered by any university in the United States. In order to lay a good foundation for these studies, he compiled the voluminous *Mongolian-English Dictionary,* which was finished a few years before his death. Work on the dictionary prevented Lessing from completing his study of the Lama temple in Peking.

3. Tjan Tjoe Som (1903–69), who was of Chinese origin, was born in Surakarta in Indonesia, where he studied in a school with a Dutch curriculum. In 1935, he went to the Netherlands, where he studied Chinese at Leiden University under the eminent Sinologist J. J. L. Duyvendak (1889–1954). Having served as "keeper" of the excellent library of the Sinologisch Instituut of Leiden University, in 1950 he was appointed to a Chair of Chinese philosophy at the same university. His thesis, *Po Hu T'ung: the comprehensive discussions in the White Tiger Hall; a contribution to the history of classical studies in the Han period* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1949 and 1952) is an exemplary annotated translation of the historian Ban Gu's (32–92) summing-up of the learned debate between adherents of the Old Script School and the New Script School, which took place in the year A.D. 79. Tjan Tjoe Som's thesis, for which he was awarded the Stanislas Julien Prize, stands out as one of the most important works in the history of Western Sinology. In 1952, the Indonesian government offered Tjan Tjoe Som the Chair of Chinese at the University of Djakarta. Despite his Dutch colleagues' warnings against returning to Indonesia, Tjan Tjoe Som accepted the invitation, hoping thereby to be able to serve the republic that had been founded seven years earlier, and especially the ethnic Chinese minority to which he himself belonged. During the anti-Chinese riots in 1965, he was removed from his Chair. The reason for his visit to Stockholm in 1952 was that he wished to meet Bernhard Karlgren, whom he much admired, before returning to Indonesia. If Karlgren had known the circumstances behind Tjan Tjoe Som's visit, he would no doubt have received him with greater kindness.

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