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# *ORIENTAL STUDIES IN SLOVAKIA*
# TWO DECADES OF LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

LADISLAV DROZDÍK, Bratislava

The scholarly and pedagogical interest in Oriental languages, especially in teaching Hebrew, less regularly Syriac and Arabic, as an auxiliary subject of Biblical studies, has a relatively long tradition in Slovakia (A. Kasanický, d. 1801; J. Derčík, d. 1839; J. Lajčiak, d. 1918; A. Hornyánszky, d. 1939; and others).

One of the first Slovak scholars, specifically concerned with Oriental studies, is Ján Bakoš (1890—1967), member of the Slovak and Czechoslovak Academies of Sciences. The scientific career of Ján Bakoš is primarily guided by his scholarly interest in the history of mediaeval science and its import to the evolution of scientific knowledge (Barhebraeus, Avicenna). Semitology owes to him an important philological work, his doctoral dissertation (Göttingen, 1913), *Die Bezeichnung der Vokale durch Konsonantenzeichen in den semitischen Sprachen* (published in Göttingen, 1920). Ján Bakoš entered the history of the Slovak Oriental studies not solely as a scholar, he was also the founder of a Semitic Seminar at Comenius University (1946) and was the first Professor of Semitic languages at that university.

Pedagogical and scholarly activities, carried on in the Semitic Seminar, involved Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac. Some years later, after Professor Ján Bakoš had retired, the whole teaching and research programme became exclusively focused on Arabic. This orientation has been maintained up to now.

The rapid development of culture, science and technology in post-war Czechoslovakia, as well as a constant growth of co-operation between Czechoslovakia and the developing countries of Asia and Africa, called for the foundation of another centre of Oriental studies in Slovakia. In 1960 the Department of Oriental Studies was founded within the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

The attention paid to linguistics, especially the stressed interest in methodological questions and in applying newly devised methods to the linguistic treatment of Asian and African languages, closely characterizes the main trends of the scholarly work in this centre of Oriental studies. The research work in all fields represented in the Department was greatly stimulated by the foundation of the annual Asian and African Studies (1965) which is just now entering the third decade of its existence.

Somewhat later, another annual has been founded at the Comenius University (1969), Graecolatina et Orientalia, that covers the field of Classical philology, Mediaeval and Arabic studies. Fourteen issues have been published so far.

When regionally classified, linguistic research in the period examined includes the following fields of interest: Austronesian languages and scripts, Bengali, Vietnamese and Arabic.

Austronesian has been studied in the form of individual descriptions (Maori, Fijian, Tagalog; Easter island (script)) and at various levels of genetic clustering (Hawaiian, Polynesian). Austronesian genetic frame, fruitfully exploited for comparative and typological purposes, has frequently been further extended by the inclusion of data drawn from Japanese and various other languages belonging to the Indo-European, Semitic, Bantu or other linguistic families.

*Maori*

Maori is examined in a series of studies and monographs (V. Krupa). Studies, published mostly in Asian and African Studies (AAS in what follows) deal with various linguistic aspects of this language:

Krupa, V.: Prefix (*ku-*) — (*kū-*) in Maori. AAS, *1*, 1965, pp. 139—145. The establishment of the prefixal nature of this unproductive suffix and its distinction from a root- or word-origin prefix. — Rules of Occurrence of the Passiv Suffix Allomorphs in Maori. AAS, *2*, 1966, pp. 9—13. An attempt to formulate a set of statistical rules for the occurrence of the passive suffix allomorphs in Classical Maori. The individual passive suffix allomorphs are here regarded as dependent while the respective verb classes as independent variables. — Dissociations of Like Consonants in Morphemic Forms. AAS, *3*, 1967, pp. 37—44. The structure of morphemic forms is presented as a hypothetical universal which can summarily be formulated as a dissociative tendency of pairs of like consonants in morphemic forms. — Range of Distribution and Word Classes in Maori. AAS, *4*, 1968, pp. 44—48. An attempt to prove that Maori word classes may be defined in exclusive terms of their range of distribution.

Maori data, in a comparative confrontation, constitute the material basis of Krupa's contributions to the theory of translation. Krupa points to the fact that in view of various linguistic and cultural discrepancies it is not possible to construct a set of truly equivalent rules that would directly correlate the utterances in any two languages. This asymmetricity of the translational correspondence is attested by a confrontation of Maori and Slovak kinship terms. Among other aspects of the theory of translation, examined by Krupa, it is worthwhile noting an interesting analysis of word order patterns suggesting a procedure that may be applied to the comparison of pairs of languages as to the linear arrangement of the sentence components.

Krupa, V.: Some Remarks on the Translation Process. AAS, *4*, 1968, pp. 49—56. — Translation and Word Order. AAS, *18*, 1982, pp. 11—16.

A systematic statement of the linguistic structure of Maori may be found in Krupa's monographs:

Krupa, V.: Morpheme and Word in Maori. The Hague, Mouton 1966. — Yazyk Maori (Yazyki narodov Azii i Afriki). Moscow, Nauka 1967.

*Fijian*

Krupa, V.: Noun Classes in Fijian and Their Semantics. AAS, *16*, 1980, pp. 123—125. An analysis of the category of possession in Fijian.

*Tagalog*

Besides Maori, another Austronesian language extensively examined in a series of AAS studies is Tagalog or Pilipino, the official language of the Republic of the Philippines which is used, since the late fifties, in a steadily growing sphere of communication. The investigation of Tagalog contributes to the widening of the scope of the Austronesian linguistic research, carried on in Bratislava, and provides it with further documentary evidence.

Since Tagalog is a mixed language, strongly Hispanized and, more recently Anglicized (Americanized), the evolutional trends of its lexicon cannot be understood without a detailed study of all its constituents. An important step forward has been made in this sense by analysing Spanish loanwords in Tagalog.

Genzor, J.: Spanish Loanwords in Tagalog. AAS, *5*, 1969, pp. 17—25.

In order to find the place of Tagalog in the immense structural diversity of human languages, a typological characteristic of the latter has been presented by using Greenberg's typological indices in a somewhat modified form. On the ground of the typological evaluation obtained it can be assumed that Tagalog is a typical representative of the Philippine branch of Austronesian languages.

Genzor, J.: Towards a Typological Characteristic of the Tagalog Language. AAS, *6*, 1970, pp. 51—56.

The post-war development of Tagalog (Pilipino) is systematically studied not only for purely linguistic purposes, but also with the aim of getting an insight into the language policy of the State, defining the position of Tagalog in the hierarchy of Philippine languages and proposing a prognosis of its future development. The post-war period was noted for rapid socio-economic changes, the most essential of which has been the achievement of national independence. The first serious attempts at regulating the process of language development date from the mid-thirties. On the whole, however, neither the language policy of the Autonomous Philippines (1935—1941), nor the measures taken by the Japanese occupational administration (1942—1945) introduced any substantial changes into the linguistic situation. Even the most recent evolutional phenomena, associated with Tagalog, may only partially be ascribed to the language policy of the State. Despite the fact that no definitive prognosis can be proposed as yet, it is nevertheless clear that Tagalog has better chances to become the national standard than any other native language.

Makarenko, V. (Moscow) and Genzor, J. (Bratislava): The most Recent

Phenomena in the Evolution of Contemporary Tagalog Language and Prognosis of Its Development. AAS, *17*, 1981, pp. 165—177.

The spectacular scholarly production on various aspects of the Philippine reality, achieved in the Soviet Union, is displayed in two substantial review articles:

Genzor, J.: Philippine Studies in the Soviet Union. Part I. AAS, *14*, 1978, pp. 149—158; — Part II. AAS, *15*, 1979, pp. 165—176.

*Easter Island*

Despite the fact that the Easter Island script stubbornly resists any attempt at deciphering, it nevertheless continues to attract the attention of scholars:

Krupa, V.: Some Human Figures and Hand Forms in the Writing of Easter Island. AAS, *8*, 1972, pp. 19—26. — Tane in the Easter Island Script. AAS, *9*, 1973, pp. 115—119. — The Symbol for Lizard in the Writing of the Easter Island. AAS, *10*, 1974, pp. 61—67.

As previously stated, Austronesian languages have been studied at various levels of genetic hierarchy:

*Hawaiian*

Krupa, V.: Gavaiskii yazyk (Yazyki narodov Azii i Afriki). Moscow, Nauka 1982. A brief survey of all linguistic levels of Hawaiian destined for linguists.

*Polynesian*

Krupa, V.: A Contribution to the Comparison of the Polynesian languages. AAS, *5*, 1969, pp. 9—16. An attempt at classifying Polynesian languages on the ground of their vocabularies. The study is, of course, based on the lexicographical material available, a fact that necessarily postpones any chance of setting up a definitive classification. — Consonantal Change in the Polynesian Languages.AAS, *6*, 1970, pp. 57—66. A quantitative analysis of the consonantal change in Polynesian that offers a number of implications for the classification of Polynesian languages. — The Phonotactic Structure of the Morph in Polynesian Languages. Language, *47*, 1971, pp. 668—684.

Polynesian genetic relationships are also studied in Krupa's monographs:

Krupa, V.: Polineziiskie yazyki (Yazyki narodov Azii i Afriki).Moscow, Nauka 1975. — The Polynesian Languages. London, Henley, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1982.

Besides these comparative studies, regionally delimited nongenetic comparisons are available as well:

*Southeast Asian*

Krupa, V.: Classifiers in the Languages of Southeast Asia. Evolution of

a Lexico-Syntactic Category. AAS, *14*, 1978, pp. 119—124 (see also General Linguistic in what follows).

*Bengali*

A good deal of attention has been paid to the investigation of the linguistic structure of Bengali. The series of articles devoted to Bengali may be regarded as a part of a highly qualified description of this Indo-Aryan language. They are mostly focused on the most important and, at the same time, on the most controversial aspects of the linguistic structure of Bengali. The Bengali verb was apparently the first domain to attract Rácová's attention. In an investigation of the system of tenses in relation to the corresponding morphemic structures an attempt was made at obtaining a general structural model of Bengali verbs.

In a number of cases, a grammatical analysis of the Bengali verbal system cannot be carried out without taking into account relevant lexical aspects of the problem. Such a combined approach has been needed to examine the nature of compound verbs in Bengali whose classification involves an extraordinarily high rate of metalinguistic discrepancies.

Rácová's interest in the Bengali verbal system is not limited morphologically and lexically, it frequently extends beyond these limits to examine verbs in their syntactic environments.

Rácová, A.: System of Tenses in Bengali and Their Morphemic Structure. AAS, *8*, 1972, pp. 27—32. — The Compound Verb in Bengali. AAS, *13*, 1977, pp. 29—46. — On the Use of Progressive Participle with Synsemantic Verbs in Bengali. AAS, *11*, 1975, pp. 139—145.

A syntactic dimension was further needed for a highly interesting inquiry into the essence and the surface structure manifestations of the nongrammaticalized (non-article) definiteness in Bengali. The theoretical and stimulative import of this investigation is all the greater as the problem of a nonspecific marking of definiteness has not been systematically examined as yet.

This inquiry has probably been the starting point of Rácová's investigation of nominal grammatical categories in Bengali. The documentary evidence gathered enabled the author to offer a reliable description of the whole set of phenomena that might be found relevant to the matter.

Rácová, A.: On the Category of Definiteness in Bengali. AAS, *16*, 1980, pp. 127—132. — Grammatical Categories of the Substantive in Bengali. AAS, *18*, 1982, pp. 17—28.

Syntactic frame has further been profitably used for the study of the universal category of space in the surface structure of Bengali.

Rácová's investigation contributed to the study of syntactic markers, especially conjunctions and conjunctional expressions. The content and form of these synsemantics are defined by modes of expressing syntagmatic relations.

Quite recently, Rácová attempted an important reclassification of Bengali particles from a functional point of view. In accordance with the classificatory premises adopted, Bengali particles are divided into particles modifying words and those modifying sentences.

Rácová, A.: The Conceptual Category of Space in the Surface Structure of Bengali. AAS, *17*, 1981, pp. 179—186. — On Defining the Content and Form of Conjunctions in Bengali. AAS, *19*, 1983, pp. 165—184. — Bengali Particles. AAS, *20*, 1984, pp. 31—38.

*Vietnamese*

Southeast Asia is linguistically represented in yet another way. Besides studies in Austronesian languages, regularly appearing in AAS, Vietnamese kinship terms have been analysed to create a valuable extension for a number of Austronesian, Indo-European and other comparisons in this domain.

Múčka, J.: Kinship System and Terminology in Vietnam. AAS, *7*, 1971, pp. 33—40.

*Arabic*

Arabic is now the only Semitic language to be subject to a systematic linguistic analysis in Slovakia. Although Arabic, in the bibliographical survey that follows, mostly coincides with what is currently known as Modern Written Arabic (MWA in what follows), it sometimes refers to the whole linguistic domain of Arabic with inclusion of modern colloquial varieties. Unless explicitly stated, colloquial data are mostly taken into account only to create a contrastive background for Classical and/or Modern Written Arabic.

Modern Written Arabic, as a nineteenth and twentieth century medium of the Arab world, cannot identify itself with the lexical heritage of Classical Arabic so easily and immediately as it did in the domain of grammar by absorbing all the main structural features of Classical Arabic. Lexicon, as the most dynamic and variable linguistic domain of MWA, lies in the centre of attention of the native innovators and lexicographers, as well as non-Arab scholars.

Main trends of the lexical evolution of MWA have been examined through a relatively protracted period, mainly with regard to the exploitation of various word-formational procedures, both typical (especially derivation) and marginal (compounding).

Drozdík, L.: Derivation (ištiqāq) as Reflected in the Indigenous Arabic Grammar, Graecolatina et Orientalia (GLO henceforward), *1*, 1969, pp. 99—110. — Inflectional Background of the Arabic Nisba Derivation. AAS, *11*, 1975, pp. 119—138. — Compounding as a Second-Order Word-Formational Procedure in Modern Written Arabic. AAS, *3*, 1967, pp. 60—97. — Towards Defining the

Structural Level of Stem in Arabic. Orientalia Suecana, *16*, 1967, pp. 85—95 (focused on compounding).

The structure of multicomponental lexical units, displaying a high degree of variability, due to an unpredictable occurrence of various analytic elements as well as to other factors, has been examined from various points of view: the extent of a synthetic-analytic alternation; the stability of multicomponental structures in relation to their possible interaction with the context, and the like.

Drozdík, L.: The Structure of Multicomponental Terms in Modern Written Arabic. Zborník FFUK Philologica, *17*, 1965, pp. 7—25. — Reduction of Multicomponental Terms in Modern Written Arabic. AAS, *2*, 1966, pp. 14—23.

The urgent demand for a huge scientific and technical lexicon which would be able to cope with steadily growing needs of a modern society is, no doubt, one of the most decisive factors stimulating the process of lexical borrowing. Lexical innovation through borrowing has been examined in a number of studies and the process of an inflectional and word-formational assimilation has been analysed.

Drozdík, L.: Word-Formational Assimilation of Loanwords in Arabic. AAS, *16*, 1980, pp. 133—144. — Pluralization of Lexical Borrowings in Arabic as a Criterion of Their Inflectional Assimilation. GLO, *11—12*, 1981, pp. 59—81. — Semantic Aspects of Lexical Borrowing in Arabic. AAS, *17*, 1981, pp. 187—197.

Since the most productive word-formational procedure of all varieties of Arabic is derivation, the steadily growing number of derivatives tend to be organized in various derivational systems. A number of binary systems has been studied in relation to the general process of lexical innovation:

Drozdík, L.: The fa$^{cc}$āl- and fa$^{cc}$āla-Patterned Nouns of Instrument in Arabic. AAS, *12*, 1976, pp. 157—170. — Derivational Patterns fa$^{cc}$āl and fa$^{cc}$āla in Arabic. A Study in the Arabic Word-formation and Inflection. GLO, *7—8*, 1978, pp. 155—216. — Derivational System of Verbal and Instance Nouns in Arabic. AAS, *14*, 1978, pp. 125—146. — Derivational System of Collective and Unit Nouns in Arabic. GLO, *9—10*, 1979, pp. 165—207.

Considerable attention has been paid to the study of grammatical categories of Arabic nouns. Besides various deictic, grammatical and generic manifestations of definiteness a hypothesis of a transition value of definiteness in Arabic has been proposed with the aim to refine the traditional presentation of facts that seems to contradict some other well-established issues. The latter investigation further included grammatical gender and number.

Drozdík, L.: Hypothesis of a Transition Value of Definiteness in Arabic. AAS, *5*, 1969, pp. 39—48. — Definiteness Patterning in Arabic. AAS, *6*, 1970, pp. 9—49. — Generic Definiteness in Arabic. GLO, *2*, 1970, pp. 177—190. — Grammatical Gender in Arabic Nouns. GLO, *5*, 1973, pp. 217—248. — The Dual Number in Arabic Nouns. GLO, *4*, 1972, pp. 123—159.

A part of the research work has been devoted to a study of the relative stability of linguistic systems, observable in Arabic. The lack of stability, manifesting itself in a number of inter-systemic restatements, has been demonstrated on various derivational and grammatical systems, taken apart, as well as on heterogeneous restatements involving both derivational and grammatical systems.

Drozdík, L.: Collective and Unit Nouns as Sex-Gender Pairs in Arabic. AAS, *10*, 1974, pp. 41—48. — A Case of Inter-systemic Polysemy in Arabic. AAS, *13*, 1977, pp. 47—79. — A Case of Formal Fusion of Gender and Number in Takrūna Arabic. Recueil linguistique de Bratislava, *5*, 1978, pp. 87—91, — Towards a Hierarchization of Some Types of Inter-systemic Restatement in Arabic Grammar and Lexicon. AAS. *19*, 1983, pp. 185—196. — Root Reconstruction in the Arabic Word-formation and Inflection. AAS, *20*, 1984, pp. 39—48.

A synthetic presentation of transitivity in Arabic is still to be made. As an attempt at presenting transitivity as a patently multidimensional phenomenon, grammatical, derivational and lexical aspects of the latter have been examined.

Drozdík, L.: Grammatical, Derivational and Lexical Dimensions of Transitivity in Arabic. AAS, *18*, 1982, pp. 29—52.

A panoramic picture of the MWA lexicon and its main evolutional trends through the last two centuries resulted from a synthesis of partial results obtained in this field.

Drozdík, L.: Lexicon of Modern Written Arabic in the Period of Scientific and Technological Development. GLO, *13—14*, 1983, pp. 73—115.

Besides studies, oriented synchronically, a diachronic inquiry into a lexico-syntactic category of Arabic numerals has been presented with inclusion of all evolutional and regional varieties of Arabic.

Drozdík, L.: Structural Changes with the 3—10 Cardinal Numbers in Arabic. GLO, *3*, 1971, pp. 81—105.

Mediaeval theories and terminologies of Arab grammarians and their reflexes in recent native theories and conceptual hierarchies, as well as in recent attitudes of Arab linguists, lexicographers and innovators are examined in a number of articles, either passim (these will not be indicated) or specifically:

Drozdík, L.: La conception linguistique de Maḥmūd Taymūr. Studia Semitica Ioanni Bakoš Dicata, Bratislava 1965, pp. 111—118. — Mediaeval Arabic Grammar and Its Influence on Linguistic Theory and Terminology in Contemporary Arab Science. Journal of Maltese Studies, *5*, 1968, pp. 70—79 (Valletta). — Lexical Innovation Through Borrowing as Presented by the Arab Scholars. AAS, *15*, 1979, pp. 21—29. — An Early Grammar of Colloquial Arabic. In: Mediaeval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of A. S. Atiya. Ed. by S. A. Hanna. Leiden, Brill 1972.

*Egyptian Arabic*

Drozdík, L.: The Vowel System of Colloquial Arabic. AAS, *9*, 1973, pp. 121—127.

*Takrūna Arabic:* see Arabic above.

*General Linguistics. Methodology. Typology:*

Krupa's contributions to the linguistic theory are noted for their stimulative character and, for the most part, they are focused on the most essential and, as a rule, on the most controversial aspects of the theory:

Krupa, V.: Language: Its Variability and Reflexive Nature. AAS, *13*, 1977, pp. 11—27. — Some Comments on the Nature of Sign. AAS, *16*, 1980, pp. 117—121. — Structure Marking in Language. AAS, *17*, 1981, pp. 159—163. — Translation and Word Order. AAS, *18*, 1982, pp. 11—16. — Concerning Stability Factors of Linguistic Systems. AAS, *19*, 1983, pp. 159—164. — Some Problems of the Study of Language. AAS, *10*, 1974, pp. 11—16. — Some Remarks on the Category of Relation in Speech Activity. AAS, *11*, 1975, pp. 99—105.

Krupa's interest in typology seems to be aroused by methodological questions while trying to find a linguistically consistent expression of typological indices, stimulated by J. H. Greenberg's article A Quantitative Approach to the Morphological Typology of Language. In: IJAL, *26*, 1960, pp. 178—194. Krupa proposes an important reformulation of some of its basic issues.

Krupa, V.: On Quantification of Typology. Linguistics, *12*, 1965, pp. 31—36. — Relations Between Typological Indices. Linguistics, *24*, 1966, pp. 29—37.

The long series of Krupa's typological studies involve not only Polynesian, Austronesian and even Southeast Asian comparative frame but, for a number of purposes, a global approach to the selection of data has been found useful.

Krupa, V.: Morpheme in Typological Research. AAS, *7*, 1971, pp. 25—31. — A Semantic Typology of Personal Pronouns. AAS, *12*, 1976, pp. 149—155. — Noun Classes. A Typological Comparison. AAS, *15*, 1979, pp. 11—19. — Toward the Typology of Linguistic Situation. AAS, *20*, pp. 23—30.

Some of the most important results of Krupa's concern with general linguistics are incorporated in his monograph *Jednota a variabilita jazyka. Systémový prístup a tzv. exotické jazyky* (Unity and Variability of Language. The Systemic Approach and the So-called Exotic Languages). Bratislava, Veda 1980.

The primary goal of the book is to establish some of the most universal manifestations of the fundamental unity of human language in contrast to a patent typological variability of languages.

One of the crucial notions dealt with in the monograph is the category of system. System is defined in relation to structure which is presented as a set of relations uniting a set of elements into a higher whole (i.e. system).

Language is treated as a semiotic system. The question of uni- and bilaterality of the linguistic sign is regarded as a pseudoproblem since language is bound to the objective reality by two links: its phonic and contensive substance. The discrete structure of this continuous substance is exclusively due to the human factor.

The evolution of language has been examined as a universal process equally affecting both the so-called primitive and developed languages.

The fundamental unity of languages is attested by an analysis of several categories and features of the grammatical structure.

The basic assumption of Krupa's monograph, i.e. the compatibility of the essential unity with the superficial variability of human languages, is corroborated by a number of typological comparisons and proofs supplied by the theory and practice of translation,

# LITERARY ORIENTAL STUDIES IN SLOVAKIA

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

Although research of what is referred to as Eastern or Oriental literatures and languages has a fairly long-standing tradition in Slovakia, it became institutionalized for the first time only after the liberation, in 1946, with the founding of the Seminar of Semitic Philology at the Philosophical Faculty Comenius University in Bratislava, where Arabic, Syriac and Hebrew were taught under the direction of Ján Bakoš (1890—1967). The setting up of an Orientalist establishment within the Slovak Academy of Sciences in 1960 was proof that the times when Slovak scholarship and culture had to keep in touch with cultures (especially literatures) of Asian and African countries through the intermediary of other nations or other European languages, were definitely over. The Department of Oriental Studies came into being at the time of the general collapse of the colonial system and this could not fail to be markedly reflected in the profile of Slovak Orientalist literary scholarship. Right from the very beginning Slovak Orientalists — literary scholars, linguists and historians focused their attention on modern issues, current questions in various disciplines in their relation to the prodigious growth of the significance of Asia and Africa in world politics and world culture. Simultaneously, they also responded to the need of popularizing and making accessible the cultural values of countries of these two continents.

In 1965 the most important Slovak Orientalist publication — the annual Asian and African Studies — was initiated (20 volumes have appeared up to 1984) and Slovak Orientalists thus had a literary vehicle at their disposal for presenting the results of their efforts to readers both at home and abroad.

## 1

Literary research into Oriental languages was initiated in Slovakia through a study of new Chinese literature. Two members of the Department's team (A. Doležalová and M. Gálik) undertook to study the new Chinese literature from the years 1917 to 1937, endeavouring to follow-up the development of this significant Asian literature in its theoretico-literary and creative aspects, against the background of the revolutionary political movement, the Great October Socialist Revolution, progres-

sive, proletarian- and revolutionary-oriented works in foreign literature, particularly Soviet ones. When setting up this task and its subsequent adjustment, account was taken both of our own home needs and also of the situation that was typical of the sixties and the first half of the seventies: very few scholars on a world-wide scale took note of these problems, although precisely the interwar period is the most important to modern Chinese literature for it witnessed the birth of its best works. Moreover, when this goal was being set up and adjusted, the People's Republic of China was plunging headlong into its "Cultural Revolution" — a period lasting over a decade of violence and terror against millions of Chinese inhabitants. Between the years 1964 to 1977, the new Chinese literature was not studied at all in the PRC, not even read, literary works (with the exception of Lu Xun's) were inaccessible, a great deal of literary material was burnt, mechanisms of research at universities and scientific institutions were disrupted and liquidated, work was stopped everywhere where this literature (but also earlier and foreign literature) had been read. Foreign researchers, including in a considerable measure literary scholars from the socialist countries, were the only readers, critics and historians of this literature.

From among the works devoted to the study of Chinese literature of the years 1917—1937 here, mention should be made of three monographs: *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism* (1969), *Yü Ta-fu: Specific Traits of His Literary Creation* (1971), and *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism* (1980). In addition, there appeared a whole series of studies analysing novels, short stories and literary criticism of members of the progressive literary society known as Chuangzao she (Creation) from the years 1922—1929,[1] critical remarks on pseudonyms of new Chinese writers, on the question of the so-called "national forms", on the new Chinese poetry, on the relations between the social and the literary contexts, on the study of this literature in the PRC and the world, with special stress on the works by Soviet Sinologists up to the end of the first half of the seventies.[2]

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[1] Doležalová, A.: *Remarks on the Life and Work of Yü Ta-fu up to 1930.* Asian and African Studies (henceforth only AAS), *1*, 1965, pp. 53—80; *Two Novels of Yü Ta-fu — Two Approaches to Literary Creation.* Ibid., *4*, 1968, pp. 17—29; *Subject-Matters of Short Stories of the Initial Period of the Creation Society's Activities.* Ibid., *6*, 1970, pp. 131—143; *Short Stories in the Second Volume of Creation Quarterly.* Ibid., *8*, 1972, pp. 33—41; *The Short Stories in Creation Daily.* Ibid., *9*, 1973, pp. 53—63; *A Survey of the Views of Yü Ta-fu on Society and Literature.* Universitas Comeniana, Philologica, *17*, 1965, pp. 27—81.

[2] Gálik, M.: *A Comment on Austin C. W. Shu's List of Modern Chinese Pseudonyms.* AAS, *7*, 1971, pp. 113—119; *Main Issues in Discussion on "National Forms" in Modern Chinese Literature.* Ibid., *10*, 1974, pp. 97—111; *A Comment on Two Books on Modern Chinese Poetry.* Ibid., pp. 145—167; *On the Study of Modern Chinese Literature of 1920s and 1930s. Sources, Results, Tendencies.* Ibid., *13*, 1977, pp. 99—121; *On the Social and Literary Context in Modern Chinese Literature of the 1920s and 1930s.* In: Malmqvist, G. (Ed.): *Nobel Symposium 32. Modern Chinese Literature and Its Social Context.* Stockholm 1977, pp. 7—45.

In 1970, the study of Vietnamese (J. Múčka) came to be added to literary Sinology. The goal set here involved a study of the short-story writing in the thirties, novel writing in the forties and literary criticism as a reflection of the social situation between the years 1930—1945. As evident from the temporal data available, this task, too, has been adjusted to the efforts of Sinologists to describe the literary development against the background of revolutionary and social transformations that came to be a reality in Asian countries following the victory of the October Revolution in the USSR, with the difference that these efforts were focused on years chronologically closer, on the period of the world economic crisis, the war in southeast Asia and the Pacific Ocean, when Vietnam suffered most under the French colonial yoke, up to the victory of the August Revolution of 1945.[3]

The early seventies also mark the beginnings of our study of Turkish and Iranian languages. Here too, the tasks were so designed as to harmonize the work of the scientific staff. In Turkey, immediately following World War I, a successful struggle was initiated for national independence, aimed against feudalism and having for its aim the setting up of a democratic republic. In later years, despite very onerous conditions, a democratic, socially-committed and even socially-oriented literature could be created. As a subject of literary investigation, X. Celnarová chose questions relating to so-called social realism. A decisive aspect in the choice of this task was the connection of literature of social realism with critical realism of the thirties and with works of proletarian literature. The greatest share of attention was devoted to the works of Orhan Kemal (1914—1970).[4]

Iranian literature was in for very hard times after World War I. Yet, not even the introduction of a reactionary dictatorship by Reza Shah Pahlevi could prevent a relatively successful advancement of the new Iranian literature, particularly of the novel and novella genres. At the Department of Oriental Studies, K. Baňák studied such literature as carried strikingly critical motifs and intended to show up the decadent morals of the upper strata of society.[5]

An exception in Slovak Oriental literature is a study of mediaeval Arab Literature

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[3] Múčka, J.: *Quelques remarques sur la prose réalistique vietnamienne.* AAS, *9*, 1973, pp. 65—79; *Nguyen Cong Hoan et son roman "Le dernier pas".* Ibid., *11*, 1975, pp. 87—98; *Quelques remarques sur le conte vietnamien de la période de 1935—1945.* Ibid., *10*, 1974, pp. 113—123; *Une esquisse des problèmes idéologiques dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne pendant les annés 1930—1935 (1e partie).* Ibid., *12*, 1976, pp. 135—148.

[4] Celnarová, X.: *Die thematischen und kompositionellen Merkmale der letzten Erzählungen Orhan Kemals.* AAS, *11*, 1975, pp. 73—86; *Orhan Kemals sozial-politische Satire.* Ibid., *13*, 1977, pp. 153—170; *Typologische Auswertung einiger europäischer und westasiatischer Rebellengestalten auf Grund der Volksdichtung und deren Bearbeitung in der Kunstliteratur.* Ibid., *8*, 1972, pp. 95—162.

[5] Baňák, K.: *Moḥammad Masᶜūd "Tafrīḥāt-e shab" — Analytical Approach to the Composition of the Novel.* AAS, *9*, 1973, pp. 81—96; *Mushiq kāẓimī's novel The Horrible Tehran—Romantic Fiction or Social Criticism.* Ibid., *13*, 1977, pp. 147—152.

(J. Pauliny). This bears primarily on a textologic and literary-historical analysis of mediaeval works of a legendary-narrative type: folk cosmographic, cosmologic, prophetologic and eschatological literature. Two of these works deserve attention in particular: the processing of the work of Abu al-Hasan al-Kisai: *Kitab qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* (Legends about Prophets) (1969), and *Kisais Werk Kitab ᶜaga'ib al-malakut* (Cosmological Myths, 1974).[6]

A rather important stage in the development of Slovak Oriental study were the years 1975—1976 when the scientific plans of all Orientalists in Slovakia were unified and tailored to fit a task of a complex character and which was made up of a linguistic, literary and historical component. Up to the end of 1976, Sinologists, too, worked on this project; from thence on they followed certain aspects of Chinese literature after the foundation of the PRC (1949) and of contemporary Chinese cultural policy.

In so far as this complex task is concerned, research in the literary domain became centred on a study of relevant national literatures after the year 1945. This became manifest in the choice of topics and their processing on materials from Vietnamese, Turkish and Egyptian literatures. Between 1975—1980, in Vietnamese literature the period following the August Revolution was studied, as it significantly intervened into the life of that country and by its political, but also cultural consequences helped to create a new era in the development of Vietnamese literature. Under its influence a new cultural and artistic front came into being, developing and concretizing the Theses on the Culture of the Communist Party of Indochina.[7] In the case of Turkish literature, the boundaries were set up to the sixties. Attention was devoted to literature that came after social realists but not to the 'l'art-pour-l'art' type. This literature stood up against artistically valueless schematism and empty descriptiveness, but also against the contemporary — so-called "new" literature reaching out for absurd and pessimistic topics, escaping into a world of dreams, or

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[6] From Pauliny's remaining works we mention: *Die Anekdote im Werke Ibn Ḫallikāns.* AAS, *3*, 1967, pp. 141—156; *Buḫtnaṣṣars Feldzug gegen die Araber.* Ibid., *8*, 1972, pp. 91—94; *Zur Rolle der quṣṣāṣ bei der Entstehung und Überlieferung der populären Prophetenlegenden.* Ibid., *10*, 1974, pp. 125—141; *ᶜUg ibn ᶜAnaq, ein sagenhafter Riese. Untersuchungen zu den islamischen Riesengeschichten.* Graecolatina et Orientalia, *5*, 1973, pp. 249—268; *Glossen zur arabischen eschatologischenVolks-literatur.* Ibid., *9—10*, 1979, pp. 209—223; *Die existenziellen Grundlagen der arabisch-islamischen legendären Literatur.* In: *Arabische Sprache und Literatur im Wandel.* Halle/Saale 1979, pp. 172—182. Old traditional literatures were dealt with occasionally by M. Gálik: *On the Literature Written by Chinese Women Prior to 1917.* AAS, *15*, 1979. pp. 65—99; *The Concept of Creative Personality in Traditional Chinese Literary Criticism.* Oriens Extremus, *27*, 1980, 2, pp. 183—202, and J. Múčka: *Nguyen Du — texte comme problème de fonctionalisme de la méthode littéraire et de contenu idéologique*, AAS, *14*, 1978, pp. 33—43.

[7] Múčka, J.: *Quelques remarques sur le roman vietnamien moderne.* AAS, *17*, 1981, pp. 55—65; *Débuts de la nouvelle prose vietnamienne (1945—1950).* Ibid., *18*, 1982, pp. 77—87.

formal and linguistic experiments with an end in themselves. It has succeeded in overcoming the deficiencies of earlier, rather too straightforward and artistically inexpressive literature. The works of two outstanding representatives of this literature have been processed scientifically — Erdal Öz (1935—) and Necati Tosuner (1944—).[8] In the domain of new Egyptian literature (J. Gella), the investigation included the new developmental trends and forms of Egyptian postrevolutionary drama in the years 1952—1970. Literary development in Egypt was crucially influenced by events following the military coup of 23 July 1952 under the command of G. A. Nasser which marked the start of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. As in the case of Turkish literature, here, too, the task laid stress on authors' intent on getting even with modernist impulses and simultaneously came to rank among foremost authors in contemporary literatures of the Arab world, particularly Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (1898—) — probably the most outstanding playwright in the new Arab literature, generally — and Jūsuf Idrīs (1927—), a representative of socially committed literature.[9]

Alongside a whole series of studies written within the framework of a partial task followed by Slovak and Czech Sinologists, a collective monograph appeared under the editorship of A. Doležalová: Chinese Culture and Maoism (Bratislava, Veda 1982).[10] At that time, M. Gálik completed his monograph, referred to above, *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism.*[11]

## 2

Literary Oriental scholars in most of their studies did not follow the various questions as uniquely a matter of national literatures, but strove to point also to wider interliterary relationships and affinities, for without an explanation of these issues, many phenomena in national literatures appeared inadequately understood

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[8] Celnarová, X.: *The Problem of Man's Relation to Society in the Works of Erdal Öz.* AAS, *16,* 1980, pp. 161—175; *Die Reifezeit des Prosaisten Necati Tosuner.* Ibid., *17,* 1981, pp. 67—81.

[9] Gella, J.: *Marginal Comment on Tawfiq al-Hakim's Symbolic-Intellectual Drama Ya tali'al-shajara.* Graecolatina et Orientalia, *7—8,* 1975—1976, pp. 251—264; *Al-Fararir, A Problematic Experiment in the Search for the Egyptian National Dramatic Form.* Ibid., *9—10,* 1977—1978, pp. 225—241.

[10] See also Doležalová, A.: *Two Waves of Criticism of the Film Script Bitter Love and of the Writer Bai Hua in 1981.* AAS, *19,* 1983, pp. 27—54; *Liu Binyan's Come-Back to the Contemporary Literary Scene.* Ibid., *20,* 1984, pp. 81—100.

[11] See also Gálik, M.: *The Concept of "Positive Hero" in Chinese Literature of the 1960s and 1970s.* AAS, *17,* 1981, pp. 27—53; *Some Remarks on "Literature of the Scars" in the People's Republic of China (1977—1979).* Ibid., *18,* 1982, pp. 53—76; *Foreign Literature in the People's Republic of China between 1970—1979.* Ibid., *19,* 1983, pp. 55—95; *In Footsteps of the Inspector-General: Two Contemporary Chinese Plays.* Ibid., *20,* 1984, pp. 49—80.



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and known. Efforts at establishing contacts with comparative research of world Orientalists, but also with Slovak theoreticians in the interliterary process, were made in the second half of the sixties.

Slovak Orientalists endeavoured to trace the process of the origin and development of the theory of Chinese naturalism. They pointed to its French, German, Japanese and American sources, to Chinese responses to German literary expressionism, Russian and Japanese "proletarian" realism, Soviet and partly also Japanese theory of proletarian and revolutionary literature, to the impact of the ideas of V. I. Lenin, G. V. Plekhanov, A. V. Lunacharsky and of theoreticians of revolutionary and proletarian literature on Chinese literary criticism of the end of the twenties. The effect of these ideas proved such that within a few years, the bourgeois-oriented literary criticism in China completely disintegrated and in particular the influence of the American "new humanism" propounded by Irving Babbitt was entirely eliminated. The investigation also bore on the relation of French, eventually English symbolism to the poetic creation of Feng Naichao (1900—) and Ho Qifang (1912—1977), the relation between E. O'Neill's works and those of the playwright Hong Shen (1896—1955), H. Ibsen's and Cao Yu's (1910—), the relation between Yu Dafu (1896—1945) and the so-called literary anarchism, the relations of the essay-writer and poet Qu Qiubai (1899—1935) and the Indian school Yogācāra, and between the founder of the new Chinese literature Lu Xun (1881—1936) and the works of F. Nietzsche, V. Garshin and L. Andreev. The same also applies to the reception of J. W. Goethe's and V. Mayakovsky's works in China, reception and revaluation of world literature in China in the years 1970—1979. Of interest to Slovak literary scholarship is a study of the reception of Slovak (and Czech) literature in China.[12]

An account was made of the dialectical unity and national-literary and interliterary aspects in the study of the remaining Asian literatures followed by Slovak Orientalists. This was most conspicuous in articles dealing with the new Turkish literature, which showed that Orhan Kemal's work had been considerably influenced by A. P. Chekhov, M. Gorky and probably also by N. V. Gogol. An analysis of E. Öz's short stories and novels revealed connections with Dostoyevsky's novels and

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[12] Gálik, M.: *The Red Gauze Lantern of Feng Nai-ch'ao.* AAS, *10,* 1974, pp. 69—95; *Early Poems and Essays of Ho Ch'i-fang.* Ibid., *15,* 1979, pp. 31—64; *Chao — The King of Hell and The Emperor Jones: Two Plays by Hung Shen and O'Neill.* Ibid., *12,* 1976, pp. 123—133; *Yü Ta-fu's anarchistische Vorstellungen im gesellschaftlichen Leben und in der Literatur.* Asiatische Studien, *29,* 1975, 2, pp. 121—130; *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: Young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (1915—1922).* AAS, *12,* 1976, pp. 82—121; *Medziliterárne aspekty prvých Lu Sünových poviedok, 1918—1919* (Interliterary Aspects of the First Lu Xün's Short Stories, 1918—1919). Slavica Slovaca, *17,* 1982, 4, pp. 283—295; *Goethe in China (1932).* AAS, *14,* 1978, pp. 11—25; *Mayakovsky in China.* Ibid., pp. 159—174; *Die tschechische und slowakische Literatur in China (1919—1959).* Ibid., *6,* 1970, pp. 161—176.

also with works of French existentialists, particularly with Camus's *Stranger (L'étranger)*. Contacts with Camus's essay *The Myth about Sisyphus (Le Mythe de Sisyphe)* are seen in N. Tosuner's first works, although in recent years this author has attempted to break through the vicious circle of existentialist moods in the direction of a more realist expression.[13]

In the case of the Vietnamese writer Vu Trong Phung (1912—1939), the reception-creation process in its connection with French realism proved helpful in the production of remarkable works, although literary critics failed occasionally to understand them correctly. A typological propinquity has been demonstrated in a comparison of short stories by Nguyen Cong Hoan and A. P. Chekhov.[14] A study of Iranian literature has pointed at least at one place to a possible action of works of the so-called "lost generation" of European and American writers after World War I on M. Masʿūd, and in a different connection, to a possible impact of French romantic works, for instance of both Dumas Père et Fils, or of V. Hugo, on M. Kāẓimī. An analysis of the Egyptian play by Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm — *Ya tali'al-shajara* (You, Climbing the Tree), has revealed the possibility of receiving and artistically remoulding impulses emanating from Ionesco's *The Bald Soprano (La Cantatrice chauve)* and consequently also of the French "Absurd Theatre", while an analysis of the play *Al-Fararir* (Clowns) by Jūsuf Idrīs brought out a similarity with Italian writings, concretely with Pirandello's play *Six Characters in Search of an Author.*

The comparative part of Slovak Orientalist scholarship has joined the international efforts in this domain. This is attested to by a detailed review article on the work of Soviet Orientalist literary comparatists between the years 1958—1975 which enabled literary comparatists outside socialist countries to become acquainted with the significant achievements of research in the domain of Asian and African literatures (in so far as they were so minded), particularly by members of the Institute of World Literatures and the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences USSR in Moscow.[15] Slovak Orientalists have taken an active part at two world congresses of the International Comparative Literature Association in Budapest (1976) and Innsbruck (1979)[16] and have organized the IVth International Conference of the

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[13] Celnarová, X.: *Ľudia na dne v pojatí Orhana Kemala a Maxima Gorkého* (The Lower Depths in the Interpretation of Orhan Kemal and Maxim Gorky). Slavica Slovaca, *14*, 1979, 2, pp. 197—206.

[14] Múčka, J.: *Le conte de Nguyen Cong Hoan et le conte de A. P. Tchékhov.* In: *Literaturen Asien und Afrikas.* Ed. F. Gruner. Berlin 1981, pp. 373—376.

[15] Gálik, M.: *Comparative Literature in Soviet Oriental Studies.* Neohelicon, *3*, 1975, 3—4, pp. 285—301.

[16] Gálik, M.: *O'Neill, Baker and Hung Shen.* In: *Proceedings of the VIIIth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association.* Budapest 1980, pp. 381—385; *The Concept of Feeling in Chinese, English and German Literary Criticism.* Neohelicon, *10*, 1983, 1, pp. 123—130, and Múčka, J.: *Le roman vietnamien moderne.* In: *Proceedings of the IXth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association.* Vol. 4, Innsbruck 1982, pp. 219—223.

socialist countries on theoretical questions of Asian and African literatures in March 1980 (at Smolenice). Here, interliterary topics represented about one-third of all the papers and included Chinese, Korean, Indian, Persian, Georgian and some African literatures.[17]

The study of the interliterary aspects of various Asian literatures was rarely programmed in Slovak Orientalist research. Rather, it was carried out in the majority of cases within the ongoing process of investigation when research at the national-literary level proved ineffective and was unable to explain adequately the phenomena followed. Nevertheless, it met with recognition nor only at home (D. Ďurišin), but also in international milieus (V. F. Sorokin, U. Weisstein).[18] It should be noted that some of these works or their parts have been translated, on the initiative of foreign scholars, into Japanese, Turkish and Chinese.[19]

The great majority of studies by Slovak Orientalist scholars have been published in the annual Asian and African Studies and in the collection of the Philosophical Faculty Comenius University appearing every other year — Graecolatina et Orientalia, eventually in the Archív orientální in Prague, the rest in relevant journals and periodicals abroad. There are valid reasons for this way of acting. Orientalist works used to be published in world languages also in the past and at present this mode of acquainting consumers with the results of research fulfils an irreplaceable function: its aim is to help countries of Asia and Africa in the investigation of their culture, literature, languages and history for which they often have not as yet adequate means, nor the institutional instrumentaria and occasionally not even sufficiently prepared cadres. In addition to the two periodicals referred to above, a collection was published — a *Festschrift* in honour of Academician J. Bakoš — *Studia Semitica Philologica Necnon Philosophica Ioanni Bakoš Dicata* (1965), containing, among other papers, also studies on the history of Orientalist scholarship in Slovakia. A further thematic publication, *Orientalistický sborník* (Orientalist

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[17] *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Theoretical Questions of Asian and African Literatures.* Ed. M. Gálik. Bratislava 1983.

[18] Ďurišin, D.: *Dejiny slovenskej literárnej komparatistiky* (A History of Slovak Comparative Literature). Bratislava 1979, pp. 165—167; Sorokin, V. F.: *Sodruzhestvo dvukh literatur* (A Community of Two Literatures). Problemy Dalnego Vostoka (Far Eastern Affairs), *2*, 1978, p. 195 and *Stanovlenie progressivnoi literaturno-kriticheskoi mysli v Kitae* (The Formation of a Progressive Literary Criticism in China). Ibid., *3*, 1980, p. 205; Weisstein, U.: *Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft. Erster Bericht: 1967—1977.* Bern 1981, p. 84.

[19] M. Gálik's study *The Expressionistic Criticism of Kuo Mo-jo*, Bulletin of the Tokyo Sinological Society, *13*, 1967, 5, pp. 98—110 was partly translated into Japanese and appeared in the journal Daian, *5*, 1967, pp. 9—13. A Turkish translation of the above study *Die thematischen und kompositionellen Merkmale der letzten Erzählungen Orhan Kemals* appeared in the journal Birikim, *4*, 1977, pp. 153—170. A chapter on Lu Xun from the book *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism* appeared in the collection *Guowai Lu Xun yanjiu lunji, 1960—1981* (Foreign Studies on Lu Xun from the Years 1960—1981).

Collection, 1963), brought papers of a rather popularizing nature presented at the Vth Orientalist Conference, organized by the Czechoslovak Orientalist Society in 1961 at Smolenice.

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The primacy of Slovak Orientalist scholars could be analysed in this paper only partially. Left out of this evaluation is a relatively extensive work in the field of popularization of the results of their scientific research as this is destined, in view of the languague in which it is written, solely for readers in Czechoslovakia. The numerous translations by Slovak Orientalists from Asian and African literatures are commented in the accompanying review article *Some Remarks about Translations from Asian and African Literatures into Slovak.*

# HISTORICAL ORIENTAL STUDIES IN SLOVAKIA

VOJTECH KOPČAN, Bratislava

The considerable advance in historical scholarship noted after the liberation became reflected also in the research of the history of Asia and Africa even though it was initiated much later. Truly favourable conditions for an organized, consistent development of this research, however, were assured only following the setting of the Department of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAV).

The first historical discipline to be pursued at this newly founded Department was the history of Southeast Asia, primarily the national-liberation struggle in the former Indochina. In 1962 Ivan Doležal, a reader in modern history at the Philosophical Faculty Comenius University who had pursued this subject for a longer time, joined the Department's staff and became its head. In his research he followed primarily the development of the countries of Indochina — Cambodia and Laos — after the Geneva conference up to the early sixties.[1] The American aggression in Vietnam and further countries of this peninsula became later a subject of his investigation.[2]

This discipline was to have been extended through the engagement of the services of postgraduate students who specialized in the history of Malaysia and Indonesia, but because of various objective and subjective reasons these plans could not be realized. I. Doležal worked on the development of Asian socialist countries as a contribution to a team work *The World Socialist System.*[3]

Research of the history of the Far East at the Department of Oriental Studies has been added recently to the Department's programme, as a need had been felt to study alongside the literature of China and Japan, also their modern history. K. Kuťka followed up the question of Japanese reparations following World War II and their impact on the subsequent development of the country.[4] Most recently he has

[1] *Two Attempts at Neutralization of Laos (1954—1962).* AAS, *2*, 1966, pp. 68—102; *The Policy of Neutrality and the International Position of Cambodia.* AAS, *4*, 1968, pp. 57—79.

[2] *Vývoj kambodžskej neutrality a jej úloha v boji proti americkej agresii v Indočíne* (Development of Cambodia's Neutrality and Its Role in the Fight Against American Aggression in Indochina). In: *Americká politika vietnamizace a současné problémy jihovýchodní Asie* (American policy of Vietnamization and the Contemporary Problems of Southeast Asia). Prague 1972, pp. 231—257.

[3] Edited by S. Cambel. Bratislava 1981.

[4] *The Question of Japanese Reparations after World War II and Its Development up to the Year 1949.* AAS, *16*, 1980, pp. 95—119; *Preparation and Conclusion of a Separate Peace Treaty with Japan and the Related Question of Reparations.* AAS, *17*, 1981, pp. 95—119.

devoted his attention to Japanese foreign policy, particularly towards countries of Southeast Asia.[5]

One of the principal tasks of the newly-founded Orientalist workplace of SAS was the research of Ottoman expansion in Slovakia. It was the only homeland's discipline within the framework of our Oriental studies. The very first publications by Slovak Orientalists — *Orientalist Collection* (1963) and *Studia Semitica* (1965) — brought stimuli for this research and pointed to the tradition and task of Turkology in Slovakia.[6] At a conference at Smolenice (1961) J. Kabrda outlined the way to approach the processing of Ottoman expansion in Slovakia. The Department of Oriental Studies in Bratislava also invited Academician L. Fekete from Budapest, a leading personality in publishig Ottoman sources, to help with his views and advice.

The first Turkologic papers in *Asian and African Studies* came from the pen of J. Blaškovič who published new Turkish materials regarding provisioning of Ottoman armies during their siege of Nové Zámky in 1663,[7] and contributed to an elucidation of an expression in the Ottoman texts.[8] J. Blaškovič continued to cooperate with the Department and contributed to our knowledge of Ottoman expansion in Slovakia through several studies[9] of materials and the publication of Ottoman documents from Rimavská Sobota.[10]

In keeping with J. Kabrda's suggestions first to gather basic bibliographic sources and critical reviews of sources relating to the subject of Ottoman expansion in Slovakia, V. Kopčan processed reviews of Ottoman sources[11] together with the bibliography of the results achieved and outlined the prospects of further research.[12]

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[5] *Japan's Foreign Policy towards Asian Countries during the Period since the Signing of a Separate Peace Treaty.* AAS, *20*, 1984, pp. 119—141.

[6] Blaškovič, J.: *Tradice a úkoly turkologie na Slovensku* (Tradition and Tasks of Turkology in Slovakia). In: *Orient. sborník*, pp. 54—61, in German In: *Studia Semitica*, pp. 55—68.

[7] *Einige Dokumente über die Verpflegung der türkischen Armee vor der Festung Nové Zámky im J. 1663 (Zum 300. Jahrestag der Türkenherrschaft in Nové Zámky).* AAS, *2*, 1966, pp. 103—127.

[8] *Gönül-Güğül.* AAS, *1*, 1965, pp. 49—52.

[9] *Türkische historische Urkunden aus Gemer.* AAS, *8*, 1972, pp. 71—89; *Zwei türkische Lieder über die Eroberung von Nové Zámky aus dem Jahre 1663.* AAS, *12*, 1976, pp. 63—69. For J. Blaškovič's Turkologic works with bibliography up to the year 1978, see Kopčan, V.: *Zum siebzigsten Geburtstag von Jozef Blaškovič.* AAS, *16*, 1980, pp. 9—18.

[10] *Rimavská Sobota v čase osmansko-tureckého panstva* (Rimavská Sobota at the Time of Ottoman-Turkish Domination). Bratislava, Obzor 1974, 363 pp.

[11] *Osmanské pramene k dejinám Slovenska* (Ottoman Sources to the History of Slovakia). Historický časopis, *13*, 1965, pp. 113—121; *Turecké listy a listiny k slovenským dejinám* (Turkish Letters and Documents to the History of Slovakia). Historické štúdie, *13*, 1967, pp. 105—122; *Pramene hospodárskej správy Osmanskej ríše k dejinám Slovenska* (Sources of Economic Administration of the Ottoman Empire to the History of Slovakia). Slovenská archivistika, *2*, 1967, pp. 133—149; *Ottoman Narrative Sources to the Uyvar Expedition 1663.* AAS, *7*, 1971, pp. 89—100.

[12] *Bibliografia slovenskej turkológie a osmanskej expanzie na Slovensku* (Bibliography of Slovak Turkology and Ottoman Expansion in Slovakia). Bratislava 1977, 56 pp. *Die osmanische Expansion und*

While processing Ottoman narrative sources bearing on the expedition by the grand vizier Ahmed Köprülü against Nové Zámky in 1663, V. Kopčan has provided evidence that the principal source of the notions of the Ottoman historians Silahdar Mehmed Aga and Raşid for the years 1663—1664 had been the work *Cevahir üt-tevarih* by Hasan Aga.[13] In his further studies he continues to scan sources and thus provides evidence to the fact that Ottoman historical works contain more direct European data than had been assumed and in proof of his statement he published the text of a German leaflet from the year 1663 and its translation in the work *Cevahir üt-tevarih* mentioned above.[14] V. Kopčan has likewise published the itinerary of the Ottoman army's progress through Istanbul towards Nové Zámky in 1663.[15]

An analysis and translation of the work of the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi,[16] a direct participant of the 1663 expedition, gave rise to V. Kopčan's studies dealing with the authenticity of this author's data and the value of his work.[17]

From this author' publishing activity mention should further be made of three Turkish documents from the second half of the 17th century,[18] and his translations of Ottoman codices relating to the territory of present-day Slovakia from the 16th century.[19]

In view of the character of Ottoman domination over the southern Slovakian borderland, it was necessary to investigate also the military aspects of Ottoman expansion.[20]

Hence, V. Kopčan made a special study of the situation prevailing on the

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*die Slowakei (Ergebnisse und Perspektiven).* AAS, *16*, 1980, pp. 35—52; *Die tschechoslowakische Literatur zu den Türkenkriegen.* In: *Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung.* Wien, Franz Deuticke 1983, pp. 79—97.

[13] *Eine Quelle der Geschichte Silihdārs.* AAS, *9*, 1973, pp. 129—139.

[14] *Bemerkungen zur Benutzung der europäischen Quellen in der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung.* AAS, *11*, 1975, pp. 147—160.

[15] *Zwei Itinerarien des osmanischen Feldzuges gegen Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky) im Jahre 1663.* AAS, *14*, 1978, pp. 59—88.

[16] *Evliya Celebi: Kniha ciest. Cesty po Slovensku* (Book of Travels. The Travels over Slovakia). Bratislava, Tatran 1978, 328 pp.

[17] *Einige Anmerkungen zu Evliya Çelebis Seyahatname.* AAS, *12*, 1976, pp. 71—84; *Zur Glaubwürdigkeit einiger Angaben Evliya Çelebis Seyahatname.* In: VIII. Türk Tarih Kurumu Kongresi. Ankara, TTK 1981, pp. 1061—1071.

[18] *Tri turecké listiny zo slovenských archívov* (Three Turkish Documents from Slovak Archives). Hist. štúdie, *18*, 1973, pp. 247—263.

[19] *Osmanské zákonníky ostrihomského, novohradského, sečianskeho a fiľakovského sandžaku zo 16. storočia* (Ottoman Codices of the Esztergom, Sečany, Novohrad and Fiľakovo Sanjak from the 16th Century). Hist. štúdie, *24*, 1980, pp. 267—286.

[20] Kopčan, V.: *The Military Character of the Ottoman Expansion in Slovakia.* In: *Ottoman Rule in the Middle Europe and the Balkan in the 16th and 17th Centuries.* Prague, Academia 1978, pp. 189—214.

Ottoman-Slovak frontier in the 16th century, noting not only military events, but also the mode of Ottoman tax levying.[21]

V. Kopčan also pursued the historical development of the territory in eastern Slovakia and neighbouring regions (the so-called "Seven Counties") which the Transylvanian princes G. Bethlen and George II Rákóczi succeeded in holding for life and which was the basis of the principality of Imrich Thököly.[22] Thematically and temporarily close to this topic are also his studies on the policy of the High Porta towards I. Thököly,[23] and his jubilee paper on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the siege of Vienna, as also his critical review of the publications devoted to this anniversary.[24] V. Kopčan also followed the little known question of Ottoman prisoners in Hungary and particularly in Slovakia.[25]

The foreword to the very first volume of *Asian and African Studies* already mentioned the historico-economical problems of contemporary North Africa among domains of interest of the periodical. Although African-oriented research in Slovakia did not directly follow this line, it nevertheless reflected interest in the most recent issues at stake on the liberating continent. Until the memorable year 1960 when practically a score of African countries had obtained independence, no scientific or publicist studies about this continent existed in Slovakia.

The first reports on the actual problems in the development of Africa were mediated to the wide-reading public by Czech and Slovak journalists. And our history-minded public was made acquainted with the results of international African research through the translation of the work of the Rumanian historian A. Duțu.[26] Although this had not been the best possible choice, for the work was based solely on French literature and the problems of African history were understood in it in a fairly simplified manner, it nevertheless reflected the interest of the editorial staff in these problems.

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[21] *Hontianska stolica v čase osmanskej expanzie* (The Hont County at the Time of Ottoman Expansion). Slovenský národopis, *25*, 1977, pp. 145—152; *XVI—XVII.inci asırlarda kuzey Macaristan boylarında Osmanlı hakimiyetinin karakteri.* In: VII. Türk Tarih Kurumu Kongresi II. Ankara 1973, pp. 618—625.

[22] *Zur historischen und geographischen Abgrenzung der osmanischen Bezeichnung "Orta Macar" (Mittelungarn).* AAS, *17*, 1981, pp. 83—93.

[23] *A török Porta Thököly-politikája* (The Policy of the Sublime Porte towards Thököly). In: *A Thököly-felkelés és kora* (The Uprising of the Thököly and His Time). Ed. by L. Benczédi. Budapest 1983, pp. 119—117.

[24] *Obliehanie Viedne roku 1683 a Slovensko* (The Siege of Vienna in 1683 and Slovakia). Hist. časopis, *31*, 1983, pp. 498—522. *Anmerkungen über die Jubiläumsschriften anläßlich des 300. Jahrestages der zweiten Belagerung Wiens I.* AAS, *20*, 1984, pp. 177—188.

[25] *Osmanische Kriegsgefangene auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei im 16.—18. Jahrhundert.* AAS, *19*, 1983, pp. 197—211.

[26] *Výsledky a problémy súčasného skúmania dejín Afriky* (Results and Problems of Contemporary Investigation of Africa's History). Hist. časopis, *10*, 1962, pp. 263—280.

Research of African history at the Department of Oriental Studies of SAS was initially oriented to north Africa, but for long years then the centre of interest was the history of eastern Africa, particularly Uganda. The first study by V. Pawliková dealt with the effect of the treaty of 1900 concluded by the British with the Buganda *kabaka* (king) on the subsequent development of Buganda as a privileged African colony.[27] This author then followed the social and political changes as a result of the establishment of colonial rule.[28] With regard to the oft-discussed topic of the so-called primary resistance in Africa, V. Pawliková presented an analysis of the different attitude of two East-African kingdoms — Bunyoro and Buganda — towards the imposition of colonial rule,[29] and the problems attending this imposition in Uganda formed the subject of the author's further studies.[30]

V. Pawliková returned to the problems of early anti-colonial struggle in Africa in a theoretical study in which she summarized some of the principal points of the Marxist argument on the study and interpretation of this theme in African conditions.[31]

A positive feature of these studies resides in that the author made use in her research of archival materials of the British colonial administration (Entebbe Secretariat Archives), the White Fathers' Archives (Rome), as well as various sources in African languages and of course, all the then accessible results of professional literature.

Considerable attention has also been devoted to the study of African historiography. Evidently also because the Department of Oriental Studies participated in the work of the "Problems Commission of the Socialist Countries" focused precisely on African historiographies.

Besides numerous reviews and review articles on African publications,[32] V. Pawliková wrote special works on African historiographies. In her first such study she made an effort at informing Slovak historians on the basic issues of African historiography, its methodology, fundamental trends and principal themes that

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[27] *Buganda and Agreement of 1900.* AAS, *4*, 1968, pp. 93—112.

[28] *The Transfromation of Buganda 1894—1914.* AAS, *6*, 1970, pp. 93—130.

[29] *Resisters and Collaborators: Two Cases from Uganda.* AAS, *11*, 1975, pp. 161—175.

[30] *A Military Response to Colonial Occupation: The Baganda Against the British. A Reappraisal of an Afro-European Relationship.* AAS, *12*, 1976, pp. 29—42; *Kabaka Mwanga and Early Anti-Colonial Protest in Buganda.* AAS, *14*, 1978, pp. 89—118; *Omukama Kabarega and the Banyoro Military Resistance to British Colonial Encroachment.* AAS, *18*, 1982, pp. 119—129; *The War of Independence, 1897—1899. The Culmination of Anti-Colonial Activities in the Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro.* AAS, *20*, 1984, pp. 143—173.

[31] *Some Remarks on the Study of the Early Anti-Colonial Struggle in African Conditions.* AAS, *17*, 1981, pp. 121—132.

[32] *Some Recent Historical Publications on East Africa.* AAS, *5*, 1969, pp. 97—103; *Sir Apolo Kaggwa and the Origin of Luganda Literature.* AAS, *11*, 1975, pp. 197—203.

formed the subject of such pursuits in the sixties and early seventies. She devoted special attention to the then available and prospective syntheses of Africa's history.[33] In her second contribution she investigated home African historiographies, their ideological sources and ideational stimuli, the organization of the pursuit of history in Africa and the various schools. She brought information on the principal themes and problems followed by these historiographies,taking special note in the various treatises of the way the colonial question was processed and of the anti-colonial resistance and protest.[34]

In the seventies, research was extended to include also the history of one of the biggest and the most densely populated countries of Africa — Nigeria. The subject of J. Voderadský's scientific interest came to be the impetuous inner development of the country in the seventies, often shaken by military take-overs. In a critical analysis of General Gowon's inner policy he pointed to the cause of his downfall (nonfulfilment of the government programme, his inefficiency in resolving the growing social problems and inadequacies common to all military régimes in developing countries).[35] This work is directly connected with his further study investigating the inner problems of Nigeria under the rule of the generals Mohammed and Obasanjo (1975—1979).[36]

Questions of mediaeval Arab civilization formed the subject of study by J. Pauliny. Besides several literary works he also wrote a study devoted to Arab mediaeval historiography.[37] The majority of his studies are on the borderline between literary scholarship and historiography.

It may be safely stated that despite the small number of historians pursuing the study of history of Asian and African countries at the Department or at other workplaces and despite various objective difficulties in collecting materials, literature and sources, they have achieved through personal initiative, commendable results which will form a permanent part of Slovak historiography.

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[33] *Problémy africkej historiografie* (Problems of African Historiography). Hist. časopis, *23*, 1975, pp. 543—565.

[34] *Formovanie národných historiografií v krajinách subsaharskej Afriky* (Formation of National Historiographies in Subsaharan Africa). Hist. časopis, *29*, 1981, pp. 522—548.

[35] *Inner Political Problems of Gowon's Government after the End of the Civil War in Nigeria.* AAS, *17*, 1981, pp. 133—157.

[36] *Policy of the Third Nigerian Military Government and the Country's Return to Civilian Rule.* AAS, *18*, 1982, pp. 131—151.

[37] *Zur Frage des sogenannten „Kompilationscharakters" der arabischen historischen Literatur des Mittelalters.* Sborník FFUK — Historica, *17*, 1966, pp. 119—124.

# ARTICLES

# STUDIES IN MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY. III. YOUNG LU XUN (1902—1909)

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The aim of this study is to point to the early Lu Xun's essays written during his stay in Japan in the years 1902—1909 and to show his intellectual and ideological development against the background of the contemporary European thought and the indigenous Chinese intellectual situation.

Lu Xun [1] (1881—1936) is the most outstanding personality of modern Chinese culture. The books and numerous studies have been devoted to his ideological and intellectual development, however, not all did justice to the essential elements in the systemo-structural entity of his views and convictions.[1] Taking support in the extensive material of his experiences primarily in the domain of intercultural and interintellectual relations, against the background of a confrontation of the traditional Chinese and modern European world, the present study will attempt to sketch an image of his intellectual physiognomy. Its overall framework will comprise, but not exceed, Lu Xun's activity in Japan, the island Empire which to the adherents of the young Chinese intelligentsia of the Late-Qing period represented a meeting place of the old and the new, a transit station between Europe and the U.S.A., an opportunity to become most conveniently acquainted with Europen scientific, cultural, philosophical, ethical, legal and other values which China had to master, or rather suitably to adapt, if she wanted to be a valid member of the modern "family" of nations.

It is generally acknowledged that Lu Xun was the first modern Chinese writer clearly to have turned to foreign models, to the interliterary and intercultural realities when later in 1918 he decided to write the first short stories in the vernacular (*baihua*) [11]. It is likewise known, but less studied in sinology, although

[1] Sorokin, V. F.: *Formirovanie mirovozzreniya Lu Sinya* (The Formation of Lu Xun's World View). Moscow 1958, He Kanzhi [2]: *Lu Xun sixiang yanjiu* [3] On Lu Xun's Thought. Harbin 1948, Li Yongshou [4]: *Lu Xun sixiande fazhan* [5] Evolution of Lu Xun's Thought. Hsian 1981, Ma Liangchun [6]: *Lu Xun sixiang yanjiu* [7] Studies in Lu Xun's Thought. Peking 1981 and a reprint by Lin Fei [8]: *Lu Xun qianqi sixiang fazhan shilue* [9] A Short History of the Development of Lu Xun's Thought. Shanghai 1981. Cf. also *Lu Xun yanjiu ziliao suoyin* [10] Index of Materials to the Study of Lu Xun. Vol. 2. Peking 1980, pp. 10—17 where the studies are mentioned which are concerned with Lu Xun's intellectual development and published between 1949—1966.

often stated, that he belonged among the first thinkers who, after the year 1900, began seriously to reflect on the question of the ideological system of contemporary China and its institutions and organizations.

It is common knowledge that during the course of more than two millennia Confucianism held sway in China as the ruling ideological system. The encounter between the Euro-American world which began to be felt conspicuously during and after the Opium War (1840—1842), provoked very violent reactions among Chinese scholars at the end of the last and during the first two decades of our century. Confucianism as a system of political, legal, moral, aesthetic and religious views was not able within its sphere of possibilities to resolve the problems deriving from this fateful meeting. To do away with the semi-feudal and semi-colonial economico-political system prevailing in China, required the help of an ideology (or ideologies) quite different from that of Confucianism. A spate of suggestions to resolve this intricate question, or at least of ideas to help the solution, were proposed or outlined towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.[2]

Lu Xun arrived in Japan in April 1902 as one of several hundred Chinese students.[3] He began to learn Japanese at the Kōbun Institute, "a school that had been established to teach enough Japanese to enable them (i. e. foreign students, M. G.) to enter institutions of higher learning in Japan".[4] Lu spent there two years and in 1904 he decided to study medicine at Sendai. During his leisure time there he usally read Japanese books or translations into Japanese, Greek and Roman mythology, Byron's poetry, a biography of Nietzsche and other works. But he was very much interested also in natural sciences. Nietzsche and his *Also sprach Zarathustra* became Lu Xun's love for many years to come, while his interest in Greco-Roman mythology influenced his further development, his rapprochement with the Promethean world of the Western civilization; it seems he did not pass unheeding alongside Judeo-Christian mythology. Familiar to him also were the myths of his native China and of India, although for the most part (probably not on every occasion) he took up a critical, even a negative attitude towards Indian teachings and the Indian quietist spirit.[5] And we may fully believe Lu Xun's friend

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[2] Cf. Lo Jung-pang (Ed.): *K'ang Yu-wei: A Biography and a Symposium*. Tucson 1967, Chow Tse-tsung: *The May Fourth Movement*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1967, pp. 291—293, 300—313, and his *The Anṭi-Confucian Movement in Early Republican China*. In: Wright, A. F. (Ed.): *The Confucian Persuasion*. Ibid., 1960, pp. 288—312 and 369—375, further Staiger, B.: *Das Konfuzius-Bild im kommunistischen China*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1969, pp. 11—33 and Kam Louie: *Critiques of Confucius in Contemporary China*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980, pp. 1—14.

[3] Wang, Y. C.: *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872—1949*. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press 1966, p. 59.

[4] Lyell, W. A., Jr.: *Lu Hsün's Vision of Reality*. Berkeley, University of California Press 1976, p. 52.

[5] Ibid., pp. 60 and 91; also *Lu Xun quanji* [12] The Complete Works of Lu Xun, 3, Peking 1973, p. 18. Henceforth only LXQJ. If no data given, only this edition is meant.

and schoolfellow Xu Shoushang [13] (1882—1948) when he stated that Lu Xun had "loved books to the point of fastidiousness".[6] He read much for his age, and a detailed and deeply conducted comparative research of his works from the period followed here, but also from the subsequent decades, will indoubtedly bring up new discoveries.

Lu Xun's intellectual development from the years 1902—1909 was influenced by several events. One of them was certainly the persisting impact of Yan Fu's [14] (1854—1921) translations, especially those of J. S. Mill's *On Liberty* and Th. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, the last of which he had read some time at the turn of the century during his studies at the School of Mining and Railways at Nanking (1899—1901).[7] Social Darwinism with its dynamism, unusual for China and the Oriental world in general, often constituted for young Chinese intellectuals, the first serious station at which they stopped, and occasionally even lingered on the road of an ideological transformation from the traditional systems of *Weltanschauung* (usually Confucianism and Buddhism), to the teachings and concepts of European provenience, and most often to Marxism. This process was very slow in Lu Xun's case and was completed in the years 1927—1928, hence, at the time of the First Revolutionary War and its failure. In some of his younger fellow-fighters this development became accelerated at the time of the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and later, and in some of them, e.g. in Mao Dun [18] (1896—1981),[8] or Qu Qiubai [19] (1899—1935),[9] there are fewer "intermediary stages" in this process.

Another such event was his acquaintance with the theory of novel (and fiction in general) of the Chinese reformer Liang Qichao [20] (1873—1929) who, towards the end of 1902 published the famous essay *Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi* [21] The Relations of the Novel to Politics in the Xin xiaoshuo [22] New Fiction Magazine.[10] Its publication meant the beginning not only of a new wave of Chinese fiction, but also of fundamental changes in Chinese hierarchy of genres. Without stimuli from Liang Qichao's theory of fiction and his creative works such as *Xin Zhongguo weilai*

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[6] Lyell, W. A., Jr.: op. cit., p. 55.

[7] Ibid., pp. 47—49 and Zhou Xiashou [15] (pseudonym of Lu Xun's brother Zhou Zuoren) [16]: *Lu Xun xiaoshuo lide renwu* [17] Characters in Lu Hsün's Short Stories. Shanghai 1954, pp. 266 and 273.

[8] Gálik, M.: *From Chuang-tzu to Lenin: Mao Tun's Intellectual Development.* In: *Asian and African Studies* (Bratislava), *III*, 1967, pp. 98—110.

[9] Gálik, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History. II. Young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (1915—1922).* Ibid., *XII*, 1976, pp. 85—121.

[10] Martin, H.: *A Transitional Concept of Chinese Literature 1897—1917. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao on Poetry-Reform, Historical Drama and the Political Novel,* Oriens Extremus, *20*, 1973, 2, pp. 178—189 and Hsia, C. T.: *Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as Advocates of New Fiction.* In: Rickett, A. A. (Ed.): *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1978, pp. 221—257. Also Lee, M.: *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873—1929) and the Literary Revolution of Late-Ch'ing.* In: *Search for Identity. Modern Literature and the Creative Arts in Asia.* Sydney, Angus and Robertson 1974, pp. 203—224.

*ji* [23] Future of China, or *Xin Luoma* [24] New Rome (both appeared in 1902), it would be difficult to imagine Lu Xun's first work, partly fictive, partly historical or essayist, entitled *Sibada zhi hun* [25] The Soul of Sparta, from the year 1903.[11]

And finally the third moment made itself felt here: Lu Xun's love of his enslaved motherland, his hatred of the imperialist invaders and oppressors, the apathy of Chinese citizens, at least of their majority towards such a fate, and the incompetence of the political leadership (of the Manchu ruling strata) efficiently to act for the sake of China's salvation and its future. In The Soul of Sparta, a rather short piece, Lu Xun goes back to the year 480 B. C., a time when Confucius had but one year more to live and little Greece was preparing for war with the most powerful Persia. The Greeks decided to try and stop the human ocean of the Persians and their allies at a place not far distant from divine Olympus, strategically very advantageous Thermopylae, where at that time "there was a great cliff on the landward side and the sea to the east, with a tract scarcely wide enough for a chariot in between".[12] The army of Xerxes, more than certain of victory, advanced by land and sea for an encounter with the numerically much weaker united armies of Greek cities. Xerxes wished to avenge the shameful defeat which the Athenians had inflicted on his father Darius I at the battle on the Marathon plain on September 13, 490 B. C.

In the first part of his "narrative", Lu Xun adheres fairly exactly to the historical events. His admiration goes above all to Leonidas, the king of Sparta who fell at Thermopylae in an uneven fight, together with 300 of his countrymen, but also 700 Thespians and 400 Thebans; all these had decided to die rather than be enslaved by the despotic "barbarians". In the second part describing a conversation with a Spartan warrior who allegedly under cover of darkness returned to his wife (hence, ran away and thus violated Spartan laws), the plot is fictive one. Greek records dealing with this most heroic episode of ancient history, know no Spartan traitor. A certain Aristodemus returned allegedly to Sparta with those whose presence at Thermopylae Leonidas considered superfluous, so that they might prepare to defend the country at other places; but he was no traitor and died a heroic death one year later at the battle of Plataea.[13]

Another man could not take part at the battle near Thermopylae, but fought as a footman of the united Greek armies near Marathon and allegedly also near Salamis and Plataea (479 B. C.). He was the first creator of Greek tragedies, Aeschylus

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[11] LXQJ, 7, pp. 374—384.

[12] Wells, H. G.: *The Outline of History*. New York, Garden City 1956, p. 253. Cf. Also *Das Geschichtswerk des Herodotos von Halikarnassos*. Übertragen von Theodor Braun. Leipzig, Insel-Verlag 1956, pp. 603—620. The whole book was devoted to the subject of Persian Wars, see Highnett, C.: *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece*. Oxford, The Clarendon Press 1963. On the battle at Thermopylae pass, see pp. 105—148.

[13] Wells, H. G.: op. cit., p. 254 and *Das Geschichtswerk des Herodotos von Halikarnassos*, pp. 615—616.

(525/524—456 B. C.). Perhaps it may sound rather daring, but typologically it is quite justified to compare these two writers of "tower stature" — Aeschylus and Lu Xun — and their struggles for the liberty of their nations whether at the dawn of the first encounter of the East and West shortly before the *apogée* of ancient Greek civilization, or for the time being, the last serious encounter during the period of the highest upsurge of world imperialism shortly before the collapse of the colonial system. Young Lu Xun, then 22 years old, presented in his short work the statement of a man of his epoch and of his hard-tried country, intimated the necessity (although he could hardly express it directly precisely here) to defend it against the imperialist and Manchu enslavement. It is not of any consequence whether The Soul of Sparta is a translation, or an adaptation, or an original work with historical material taken over and retold by the author.[14] What impresses here is the unusual pathos of the work, its anti-imperialist orientation, its romantic spirit, efforts for salvation and education of his country.

Aeschylus wrote the tragedy *The Persians (Persai)* a few years after the final defeat of the Persians (the Greeks called them Medes according to the name of their original masters) in the narrows of Salamis, at Plataea, and finally under the shadow of Mount Mycale between Ephesus and Miletus. It had its premiere in 472 B. C.[15] Aeschylus, then 47, was able to give eye-witness account or at least fresh testimony regarding the heroism of citizens of Greek towns in their struggle for freedom, independence, to compare two different social systems, i.e. Greek and democratic, Persian and despotic, and to demonstrate the yearning of the Greek *ethnos* for peace. Lu Xun was a living witness to the humiliating defeats of China during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, in the "Boxer rising" (Yihotuan) [26] of 1900—1901, of the signing of the unequal treaties, paying indemnities and the ruthless exploitation of capitalist powers. His China had no heroes of Marathon and Salamis, and there was nothing that could be compared even from afar, with Thermopylae. When in his first literary attempt Lu Xun reached for a plot similar to that processed by Aeschylus that represented in his life the first contact-taking with Promethean traditions of the Greek way of life, its *Weltanschauung* and literature. It was the beginning of Lu Xun's voice which sounded even more urgently sometime later during his second stay in Tokyo in 1907—1908.

To achieve this sense of urgency, he had to acquire some experience. As stated above, on completing the two-year course at he Kōbun Institute, he began to study medicine at Sendai. But he did not stay there very long. In the spring of 1906 he returned to Tokyo, giving up the study of subject which to him had held great

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[14] According to V. I. Semanov this is a short story. See his *Lu Sin i ego predshestvenniki* (Lu Xun and His Forerunners). Moscow 1967, p. 13. V. F. Sorokin regards it as a study.

[15] Tronsky, I. M.: *Istoriya antichnoi literatury* (A History of Ancient Greek and Latin Literature). Moscow 1957, pp. 118 and 120—121.

promise for his China. His unexpected decision was influenced by an incident of which he wrote in the preface to his *Nahan* [27] *Call to Arms:*

"This was during the Russo-Japanese War, so there were many war films, and I had to join in the clapping and cheering in the lecture hall along with the other students. It was long time since I had seen any compatriots, but one day I saw a film showing some Chinese, one of whom was bound, while many others stood around him. They were all strong fellows but appeared completely apathetic. According to the commentary, the one with his hands bound was a spy working for the Russians, who was to have his head cut off by the Japanese military as a warning to others, while the Chinese beside him had come to enjoy the spectacle."[16]

This was certainly a view different from any that Lacedemonians and their allies could present in their struggle against the Persians. Hence, hardly any wonder that he decided to change the preparation for his future profession and become a writer and translator in order to exert an impact not so much on the bodies as on the souls of his compatriots:

"The people of a weak and backward country, however strong and healthy they may be, can only serve to be made examples of, or to witness such futile spectacles: and it is not necessarily deplorable no matter how many of them die of illness. The most important thing, therefore, was to change their spirit, and since at that time I felt that literature was the best means to this end, I determined to promote a literary movement."[17]

## 2

It could hardly be said that it was precisely a "literary movement" into which Lu Xun flung himself on his return to Tokyo. True, he began to devote far more serious attention to literature than he had done until then, but philosophical, cultural and scientific problems did not cease to interest and engross him. His attempt at launching a literary journal together with his younger brother Zhou Zuoren (1885—1966) and Xu Shoushang, ended in failure. Xin sheng [28] New Life — that was to be its name, never passed from the stage of preparation and never reached any readers. The materials that were to have been published in it appeared in the journal Henan [29]. This journal, similarly as Zhejiang chao [30] Chekiang Tide in which The Soul of Sparta had originally appeared, was published by the students coming from the province of that name.

Lu Xun's essays from the years 1907 and 1908, so often referred to, but as yet

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[16] LXQJ, *1*, p. 271 and *Selected Works of Lu Hsun.* Vol. 1. Peking 1956, p. 3.

[17] Loc. cit.

inadequately studied and analysed, provide important material to an understanding of Lu Xun's intellectual development in the first decade of our century, and later also for his most momentous decision: to become a writer of fiction and thus father of modern Chinese creative literature.

The first of these essays was *Ren zhi lishi* [31] A History of Man, which he wrote under the penname Ling Fei [32].[18] In it he presents his opinions on the phylogeny and ontogeny of man especially on the basis of E. Haeckel's works and views. The pseudonym Ling Fei, as also that of Xun Xing [33] which he used alternatively to sign his essays in those years, implies the character of the author, his endeavours, his inner, spiritual constitution.

As to the first pseudonym, we would vainly search for allusions to it in materials belonging to the Chinese traditional world. Lu Xun's interest in man's "creation" as manifested in the successive world evolution embodied (according to him) in the teachings of E. Haeckel, Ch. Darwin, F. Paulsen, G. Cuvier, J. B. Lamarck, A. R. Wallace and other naturalists, should not divert our attention that Lu Xun became familiar with various mythologies. Although in his article on "the history of man" he explicitly stated that "human beings were not created by God, as affirmed in the Bible",[19] he was acquainted with the essential aspects of it.

We meet with something that might be translated into the classic Chinese by the words ling fei [32] in *The First Book of Moses, called Genesis*, 1, 20, dealing with the "creation of heaven and earth', not so much in various translations, including many into European languages, as rather in the original Hebrew text where it is clearly stated that God said the following words on the fifth day of his creative endeavours: "*w'of j'ofef*"[20] which in biblical English means "let fowl fly", where under fowl the original meaning is understood, i. e. birds (*fugel* in old English). Lu Xun had read the *Old Testament*. He may have come across an adequate note in some of the translations of the *Bible* (most likely in a German one), and he may have been fascinated by the dynamic "imagery" of the creation of Heaven and Earth, of light and darkness, of the sun, moon and stars ("lights in the firmament of the heaven"), of fish and fowl, of wild beasts and domestic cattle, and of man in the image of God (in whom Lu Xun did not believe). Ling Fei means nothing else but "let fly".

Lu Xun may have found a liking for this imperative form (even more expressive in Chinese than in English thanks to the semantic charge in the word *ling* and its pictographic form), this brief sentence without a subject, because birds — winged fowl — were, according to the English translation of the *Bible*, the most mobile of all creatures, capable of flying and soaring, getting free of the common, the humdrum,

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[18] LXQJ, *1*, pp. 13—23 and LXQJ, *1* (Peking 1956), p. 496.

[19] LXQJ, *1*, p. 18.

[20] *Biblia hebraica* (Ed. by R. Kittel). Stuttgart, Würtembergische Bibelanstalt 1966.

overcoming distances, and reminded this young Chinese student of the old Taoist *tianyou* [34] Heavenly wanderings.[21] To Lu Xun, however, Ling Fei evoked a meaning of yet greater consequence, certainly wider in its range and perhaps also stronger in its impact. In the first chapter of *Genesis* "let fowl fly" is one of several alternatives of the imperative *fiat (fiat lux, fiat firmamentum, fiant luminaria in firmamento coeli).* It was a sign of mythopoeic creativeness, of something new, unknown in Chinese civilization. It was not by chance that later Lu Xun came to like Prometheus, the "creator" of man in the sense that he delivered human beings from the natural state and made them into a full-blooded, rational and social persons. Lu Xun identified himself later to some extent with Prometheus.[22]

The motif of "flying" cast a spell over young Lu Xun. He probably read, but was certainly acquainted with Byron's *Cain* and his *Heaven and Earth*, where the *topos* of "flying" constitutes one of the basic axes of the narrative structure of both the dramatic "mysteries".[23] In the first work Lucifer (Satan) has Cain to fly together with him above the abyss of Space and Hades, and shows him "the history of past, and present, and of future world".[24] In the second one, again motivated by an episode of the *Bible* (*Genesis*, 6) dealing with the Deluge and the destruction of those who, being "the sons of God" looking after "the daughters of men" became corrupted and had to be destroyed, Byron likewise depicts scenes about the mortals "flying for refuge".[25]

Lu Xun not only knew and read but also translated the following words from the second part of F. Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra*, from the chapter entitled Of the Land of Culture, relating to its beginning and end:

"I flew too far into the future: a horror assailed me. And when I looked around, behold! time was my only contemporary.

Then I flew back, homeward — and faster and faster I flew: and so I came to you, you men of the present, and to the land of culture... My eye had never seen anything so motley-spotted...

The men of the present, to whom my heart once drove me, are strange to me and a mockery; and I have been driven from fatherlands and motherlands.

So now I love only my children's land, the undiscovered land in the furthest sea: I bid my sails seek it and seek it."[26]

In the translation into Chinese, Lu Xun altered this beginning and end of the

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[21] Kaltenmark, M.: *Lao Tzu and Taoism.* Stanford, Stanford University Press 1969, pp. 94—98.

[22] LXQJ, *4*, p. 221.

[23] LXQJ, *1*, pp. 72—74.

[24] *The Complete Works of Lord Byron.* Paris, A. and W. Galignani and Co. 1842, p. 512.

[25] Ibid., p. 426.

[26] Nietzsche, F.: *Thus spoke Zarathustra. Translated with an Introduction by R. J. Hollingdale.* New York, Penguin Books 1967, pp. 142—144.

chapter reminding him of a description of his native *wenming zhi bangguo* [35] land of culture, as traditional China also used to be referred to, into his own image, and so its text is only partially similar to the original:

"I went (wu xing) [36] too far and was left alone when I had lost my companions. Therefore I returned and looked at the present world, at the land of culture and the motley society (*banlan zhi shehui*) [37]. But this society has no firm conviction, the masses lack knowledge and creativeness. If such be my country, how can I stay in it? Hence, I left my motherland and fatherland. My hope lies only in the young posterity (*miao yi*) [38]."[27]

The motif of flying became lost in Lu Xun's translation. The sentences by Nietzsche were also further recast and modified according to the needs of the Chinese cultural structure of the first decade of our century and Lu Xun's "proportions" may be felt in their Chinese rendering. "Flying" is altered into "going". The translation-adaptation expressed the situation in China, not in the text of Nietzsche.

A lack of a firm conviction meant to Lu Xun an absence of such a system of political, legal, social, aesthetic and cultural views as would be capable in virtue of its position, to resolve the problems deriving from the fateful encounter of the East and West, on the soil of the declining and weak China. Confucianism as a ruling ideological system was incapable of solving issues relating to a modernization of the Chinese way of life in any one domain, that of culture inclusive. Lu Xun refused every recipe suggested by Wang Tao [39] (1828—1897), Xue Fucheng [40] (1838—1894), Zhang Zhitong [41] (1837—1909), Kang Yuwei [42] (1858—1927) and Liang Qichao or other reformers. Neither manufacture, nor commerce, nor constitution, nor parliament, nor industry, not even Yang Tu's [43] (1875—1931) proposal to save China by adopting the "gold and iron policy", i. e. strengthening it by means of economic and military reforms, could save China from destruction.[28]

Although what Lu Xun himself called "firm conviction" was likewise at least partly questionable, yet, by his negative approach to the traditional ideological system, he laid down one of the foundation-stones on which would-be builders of the new China could have built, had they became aware of it. Nor could it have been otherwise, for the journal Henan, was a rarity indeed in China itself and hence, Lu Xun's ideas had a minimum, if not a zero impact on both the general and the literary readership in China.

There is no mention in Nietzsche's quoted text of ignorance among the inhabitants of the "land of culture". Lu Xun had in view his Chinese countrymen. Nor does Nietzsche complain of a lack of creativeness, while Lu Xun saw in it, particularly in

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[27] LXQJ, *1*, p. 44.

[28] Cf. Clyde, P. H., Beers, B. F.: *A History of the Far East.* Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1966, pp. 203—204 and LXQJ, *1* (Peking 1956), p. 511.

such as had a pioneering character a *sine qua non* condition of the future of his nation.

During the years 1907—1908 we may witness Lu Xun's unbounded enthusiasm, even a mythopoeic upsurge manifested in the motif of "flying", and a moderate, realistic recognition of shortcomings in the Chinese national character and Chinese civilization vis-à-vis the modern Promethean-Faustian world of Western civilization, a passive approach to reality, inadequate knowledge, and an outdated, unpractical ideological system. Lu Xun concealed himself also behind these feelings and cognitions, this time under the pen name Xun Xing,[29] which in translation means a wild yak, a kind of Himalayan ox, very useful, devoted and sturdy.

## 3

Two of Lu Xun's extensive essays from this period *Wenhua pianzhi lun* [45] On the Perverted Development of Culture and *Moluo shili shuo* [46] On Satanic Power of Poetry, revealed his sensitive and fighting soul, and helped to set up the preconditions for the later development of his genius and the origin of the new Chinese literature.

In Lu Xun's essay A History of Man, right at its beginning, mention is made of the ancient Greek philosopher Thales, who as the first in the world history "ignited" the spark of evolutionary theory. There Lu Xun wrote also with enthusiasm about the successive developments in the natural phenomena of our world. But in his essay On the Perverted Development of Culture we hear quite different tones and feelings. It was due less to the time interval between their origin than to their subject matter. On the Perverted Development of Culture sounds like a funeral oration over the old Chinese culture and civilization, but simultaneously like a call after "new life" which Lu Xun was anxious to usher in with the aid of the *Einzelnen*, i.e. outstanding individuals, the salt of the world. Similarly as S. Kierkegaard in Denmark before 1848, so also Lu Xun in China before the Xinhai Revolution of 1911 was the discoverer of the significance of the human individual. Not only were views on the role of the individual in the socio-political and particularly the cultural reality prevailing in the nineteenth-century Europe reflected in Lu Xun's personality, but also the initially very imperceptible, diffident and vaguely formulated efforts at liberation of the individual and his creative development in a free atmosphere, manifest in the traditional Chinese society in the last centuries, became crystallized in his little known and forgotten work.

Lu Xun mentions Kierkegaard precisely in this essay asserting that the "develop-

[29] Zhongwen da cidian [44] Great Dictionary of Chinese Language. Vol. 33. Taipei 1968, p. 8 (14298).

ment of the personality (*gexing*) [47] is the highest morality, and to care for all other things is of no use".[30] We do not know how far Lu Xun was acquainted with Kierkegaard, but he certainly read about him in a reliable source. It may have been Georg Brandes, or some other work inspired by this critic's view of Kierkegaard. In a relatively extensive writing on this "first-class mind", Brandes states that by discovering the role of a free-thinking individual, a personality of great passion and great independence, Kierkegaard detected a new continent of human endeavours and values.[31] Lu Xun was one of the first in China to point to the significance of this "new continent" and despite all the errors of which he became guilty in this, he laid stress on the decisive share of the freedom of the human individual in the struggle against obscurantism, the iron fetters of dogmas, the powerless and simultaneously all-powerful ideology of Confucianism, against the mistaken policy and the untenable establishment of various spheres of human life. Kierkegaard was a deeply religious Christian, though he had grave doubts about certain points in his "firm conviction". Lu Xun was an anti-Confucian fighter and the dogmas of the principal ideological tool did not bind his hands. Yet both had something in common: their world of values possessed striking positive or negative signs, as if the title of Kierkegaard's work *Either-Or* (his *debut* in the field of philosophy) could have been written over the booklet of Lu Xun's essays from the years 1907—1908, had these ever appeared in print. Nothing like that happened and various scholars often take up these essays superficially (considerable difficulties are presented by their classical language), or apologetically, and defend or excuse Lu Xun before M. Stirner, A. Schopenhauer, F. Nietzsche, and others. Lu Xun would never do that. The views expressed in these essays derived from his most intimate self, they were the quintessence of his "firm conviction", and certain errors, shortcomings were but the outcome, the product of his insufficient knowledge and experience.

Even a brief, though judicious study of the ideas in Lu Xun's essays will permit to set them dichotomously in juxtaposition, or rather in opposition one to another: they represent either positive or negative values, the former exceeding by far the latter and are relatively widely elucidated, documented, the latter serve more or less as negative examples only. Lu Xun's relationship to China of those years and to the Western world generally may likewise be judged dichotomously. The quotation from Nietzsche given above (reshaped by Lu Xun's genius) is a reminder. The native "land of culture" must be abandoned, hope resides uniquely in the "young posterity" and in a "new life". The term "new life" (serving also as the title of a new journal intended to be launched, as we have mentioned above),[32] was not concerned with

[30] LXQJ, *1*, p. 47.
[31] Brandes, G.: *Sören Kierkegaard* (in Czech). Prague 1904, pp. 98—108.
[32] LXQJ, *1*, p. 272.

Dante's *Vita nuova*,[33] since we even do not know whether Lu Xun ever read it, but at least in part with that "new" which Lu Xun used to meet while reading *Also sprach Zarathustra*: i. e. new values, new law-tables, new nobility, new springs, new origins, new peoples and new festivals.[34] Yet, it is rather a paradox that Nietzsche did not believe in a "new life", and this was essential difference between the two. What Lu Xun appreciated primarily in Nietzsche was his ability to uncover the falsity (*wei*) [48] and perversity (*pian*) [49] of contemporary culture.[35] Although such an assessment cannot be accepted at its face value, Nietzsche's criticism of the reality in the European *fin de siècle*, nevertheless served Lu Xun as one of the springboards for setting up his own systemo-structural complex of views. That is why he often turned to Nietzsche, although he devoted far more space in his reflections to several outstanding personalities of the end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century.[36]

A positive basis in the systemo-structural entity of Lu Xun's views was the individual, the product of the post-feudal and bourgeois development of the society, critical towards the deficiencies of the society, ready to become a hero of the kind of Dr. Stockmann from Ibsen's play *An Enemy of the People*, who said: "The greatest man on earth is he who stands alone."[37] In Lu Xun's system the concept of an individual is equivalent to that of a genius (*xingjie*) [55] who has the capability of releasing something or of getting rid of something;[38] he is the carrier of a creative spirit, and simultaneously, he is able, most frequently, as a poet, writer, but also in other spheres of human activity to "stir up the minds of people", or rather of "men", hence, he has also a rebellious, destructive-constructive mission.[39] According to Lu Xun "only the strong and resolute who refuse to retreat in the face of circumstances, could become the pillars of society".[40] Ibsen's life and artistic experience also speak from these words.

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[33] Lee, Leo Ou-fan: *Genesis of a Writer: Notes on Lu Xun's Educational Experience, 1881—1909.* In: Goldman, M. (Ed.): *Modern Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1977, p. 18.

[34] *Thus spoke Zarathustra*, pp. 214—231 and 325.

[35] LXQJ, *1*, p. 44.

[36] For example, to Byron, Shelley and Petőfi. On Lu Xun's relation to the last one, see Galla, E.: *Petőfi in China.* Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Roland Eötvös Nominatae, Sectio philologica, VII, 1967, pp. 25—30, Xing Wansheng [50]: *Lu Xun yu Beiduofei* [51] Lu Xun and Petőfi, Lu Xun yanjiu jikan [52] Lu Xun's Studies Series, *1*, 1979, pp. 268—285 and also his: *Lu Xun zhuzuo zhong yinyong Beiduofei shihwen xin kao* [53] New Research into Petőfi's Poetry in Lu Xun's Works, Lu Xun yanjiu [54] Lu Xun's Studies, *2*, 1981, pp. 299—324.

[37] Ibsen, H.: *An Enemy of the People.* Translated by E. Marx-Eveling. London 1914, p. 315.

[38] LXQJ, *1*, p. 61.

[39] Loc. cit.

[40] Ibid., pp. 51—52.

The linguistic and philosophical concept "individual" (*geren*) [56] was allegedly a fairly new in China in 1907, having come into vogue but three to four years earlier. It soon acquired a pejorative tinge and came semantically to be identified with "robber of the people" (*minzei*) [57].[41] This was to some extent related to a mistaken identification of individualism with anarchism which, especially after 1903, began to be a momentous force in Chinese cultural and political world.[42] Under "individuals" Lu Xun had in mind people of quite different kind: self-aware (zishi) [58], hence, such as were conscious of their own personal dignity, their personal abilities and had freed themselves of the fetters of the anti-individual principle in the Confucian system of institutions and organizations. In addition, Lu Xun characterized these individuals by their "ego-clinging" (*wozhi*) [59], stubborn nature and an emphasis on their own self (*zhuji*) [60].[43] Of interest in this connection is his antitraditional attitude towards both Confucianism and Buddhism, criticizing the postulates of the one and the other. This involves, on the one hand, a denial of Confucian praise for *wuwo* [61] non-ego,[44] and on the other, a condemnation of Buddhist aversion towards the ego-clinging (*ātmā-graha*), i.e. belief in the realness of the ego which runs counter to the teachings of Consciousness-Only School (*Weishi*) [63], claiming that ego, like all other things (*dharmas*) is unreal, empty (*kong*) [64].[45] Lu Xun, similarly as his younger friend Qu Qiubai later, on the basis of his studies, came to the conclusion that becoming conscious of one's own self (*ziwo*) [65] leads to an awareness of the "value of an individual" (*gexing zhi jiazhi*) [66].[46] Lu Xun's individualism was not identical with the individualism of the anarchists much in vogue at that time in Tokyo where he wrote these essays, in Shanghai, or in his native Chekiang province.[47] Lu Xun had quite a different mission in view and intended to make use of different methods to achieve it: he preferred an ideological and cultural radicalism.

Lu Xun's inadequate knowledge of the history of philosophy and his undue confidence in ideas which he failed correctly to interpret, often led him to draw rather quick and not always just conclusions. Being ignorant, e. g. of the systemo-structural reality of the views concealed behind apparently rebellious, but petty-bourgeois phraseology of M. Stirner, or behind the often vague, allegorical or

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[41] Ibid., p. 45.

[42] Bernal, M.: *Chinese Socialism before 1913.* In: Gray, J. (Ed.): *Modern China's Search for a Political Reform.* London, Oxford University Press 1969, pp. 66—95, esp. 73.

[43] LXQJ, *1*, p. 46.

[44] Legge, J.: *The Chinese Classics.* Vol. 1—2. Taipei 1969, p. 217 and *Lunyu* [62] *The Analects* (by Confucius). Book IX. SPPY ed. Taipei 1970, p. 4B.

[45] LXQJ, *1*, p. 46 and Fun Yu-lan: *History of Chinese Philosophy.* Vol. 2. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1953, p. 300.

[46] LXQJ, *1*, p.46 and Gálik's study on Qu Qiubai, pp. 111—115.

[47] Cf. the monograph by Rankin, M. B.: *Early Chinese Revolutionaries. Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang, 1902—1911.* Cambridge,Harvard University Press 1971.

symbolic (and hence liable variously to be interpreted) outbursts of Nietzsche's aphorisms, or behind Schopenhauer's voluntaristic giddiness, he demonstrated opinions regarding the significance of the individual, whether in the European society or in that he desired to build up, which must be taken with reserve.

Personality, genius, man (*ren*) [67] in relation to values that these concepts represent, were set up in the systemo-structural entity of Lu Xun's views, dichotomously (and dialectically) in opposition to mob (*qunshu*) [68].[48] This concept had in some measure a socio-political charge, but its axiologic, ethico-aesthetic and cultural significance was more salient. This and similar words, e.g. *yumin* [69][49] or *qunzhi* [70],[50] referred to people regardless of their socio-political standing or class assignment. And if in this connection a certain hypertrophy is occasionally to be found in Lu Xun, particularly in his attacks on democracy (*minzhu*) [71],[51] these proved correct only so far that they were aimed against the concrete democracies in bourgeois societies of his time, but not against the democratic principle of government in general. How could we otherwise imagine his "Kingdom of Men" (*Renguo*) [72] as a positive alternative to the "Kingdom built on sand" (*shaju zhi bang*) [73][52] as a concretization of the ideal proper to "new life"?

Lu Xun related his own positive ideal of an individual with axiologic concepts ("axiologic" in Lu Xun's interpretation) as "spirit" (*jingshen*) [74],[53] or *shen* [75],[54] dignity of the individual (*gexing zhi zun*) [76];[55] at the same time he set the inner, subjective spirit in opposition to the objective, material world.[56] We must take care not to be misled here by the not quite precise philosophical terminology. In our view, there was no question at all of an antithesis between idealism and materialism, as if Lu Xun preferred the former and rejected the latter. No, a worship of the subjective (*chongfeng zhuguan*) [77],[57] an assertion of the power of will (*zhanghuang yi li*) [78],[58] a boosting of the individual's feelings and will (*geren zhi qing yi*) [79],[59] the individual's creative power (*duchuang zhi li*) [80],[60] and even the axiom that the subjective world is the highest criterion of all things,[61] represented the epistemologi-

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[48] LXQJ, *1*, p. 41.
[49] Ibid., p. 48.
[50] Loc. cit.
[51] Ibid., p. 46.
[52] Ibid., p. 53.
[53] Very frequent and basic concept in Lu Xun's essays from 1907—1908.
[54] LXQJ, *1*, p. 49.
[55] Loc. cit.
[56] Loc. cit.
[57] Ibid., p. 50.
[58] Loc. cit.
[59] Loc. cit.
[60] Loc. cit.
[61] Loc. cit.

cal and ontological outfit of Lu Xun's individual. It is a bit difficult to explain what led some scholars, like the Chinese commentators of Lu Xun's essay,[62] or Lin Yü-sheng,[63] to connect these views with "New Idealism", or with the "neo-idealistic thought". Lu Xun probably took over *shensi* [81] from Liu Xie's [82] (ca 465—522) *Wenxin diaolong* [83] *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, and *shensi*, i.e. spiritual thought being nothing but inner strength, similar to X-rays penetrating into the essence of the phenomena, revealing their true state and permitting them to establish their diagnoses. Lu Xun was not concerned with an epistemological classification of the various philosophers referred to above according to the fundamental philosophical issue; what he had in view was the transfer of their ideas and the way of their application into the sphere of modern Chinese thought, and their turn into the tools of an ideological and cultural transformation. *Shensi*, whether as a chapter of the above book, or as a concept standing in its own right, belongs among the basic terms in Liu Hsieh's work. In his view: "When *shensi* is in operation, all possible vistas open up before it."[64] Acording to Lu Xun, all the philosophers and thinkers he supposed to be the adherents of Shensi xinzong 86],[65]i. e. Kierkegaard, Brandes, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer and others, were only the apostles of modern individualism and aristocratism of noble minds.

Lu Xun rejected neither materialism nor matter. His postulate "to repudiate matter and exalt the mind",[66] or to "negate matter",[67] does not imply an attack on these two philosophical concepts, but comprises in a considerable measure a rejection, a condemnation of what V. F. Sorokin called the "pursuit of material benefit", or "craving for profit".[68] But neither did Lu Xun propagate idealism. Spirit or mind (*xin*) [87] were to him categories combining outstanding, perspicacious individuals of the human species who could be of help in the cultural destruction-construction of the contemporary Chinese world. But if he saw China's salvation in the philosophers mentioned above, then he was mistaken. As is well-known by now, they never belonged among those who in the intercultural reception-creation process have made some major impact on the systemo-structural complex of Chinese ideological superstructure, but evidently left their mark on the evolution of "brave fighters" who

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[62] LXQJ, *1* (Peking 1956), p. 512.

[63] Lin Yü-sheng: *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness. Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era*. Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, p. 112.

[64] Liu Hsieh: *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Vincent Yu-chung Shih. New York, Columbia University Press 1959, p. 155 and *Wenxin diaolong zhu* [84]. Commentary by Fan Wenlan [85]. Vol. 2. Peking 1958, p. 493.

[65] LXQJ, *1*, p. 45.

[66] Ibid., p. 41.

[67] Ibid., p. 45.

[68] Sorokin, V. F.: op. cit., p. 44.

"endowed with the capacity for courage and struggle",[69] were able to realize their ideals face to face often to great dangers.

According to Lu Xun an "adherence to the weak and effeminate side of life, and to the old customs is not appropriate for the struggle for survival in the world".[70] He thereby meant China surrounded on all sides by enemies and persecuted. This state of things had to be changed. Lu Xun's recipe was unambiguous, although not always clear and correct. He demanded of "wise philosophers" in whom he saw the longed-for "individuals", thoroughly "to understand the situation of the world, to weigh and compare, to remove the perverted and one-sided, to select the best and transplant it into China".[71] Methodically, this was to have ensured equilibrium between national and international aspects (including interliterary and inter-cultural ones), between impact and response, reception and creation, to adopt the new (*qu jin*) [88][72] from the West and to revive the old (*fu gu*) [89] from China.[73] "New School of Spiritual Thinking"[74] was to have been a new ideological system that would help to make of The Middle Kingdom (Zhongguo) [90] The Kingdom of Men.

What did Lu Xun imagine under the vague term just mentionned? He never gave any detailed indication on the subject. Did he perhaps have in mind a transplantation of spiritual values of those representatives of various philosophical movements in Europe of the nineteenth century? Hardly so, for Lu Xun did not believe that such a transplantation of systemo-structural entities to Chinese soil would aid in solving the needs of an ideological reform or revolution. He thereby may plausibly have envisaged a gradual evolution of a system of thinking similar to Brandes'aristocratic radicalism, with both indigeneous and foreign sources contributing to its formation. In all probability, Lu Xun never read Brandes' *Aristokratisk Radicalisme* from the year 1889. The two great spirits (or *moderne Geister*) the one who for three decades (1870—1900) exerted a decisive influence on Danish and European cultural life, and the other who for about the same length of time (1907—1936) helped in the formation of Chinese culture as a creative symbiosis of Chinese and European elements, had much in common, at least during the first twenty years of Brandes' impact on Lu Xun when the latter, similarly as the former, believed that the "great men are a fountain-head of culture".[75] Lu Xun's faith or at least confidence in Brandes did not leave him even at the end of his life.[76]

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[69] LXQJ, *1*, p. 51.

[70] Ibid., p. 53.

[71] Loc. cit.

[72] Loc. cit.

[73] Loc. cit.

[74] Loc. cit.

[75] Hanne Marie und Swendsen, W.: *Geschichte der dänischen Literatur*. Neumünster und Kopenhagen 1964, p. 325.

[76] See Lu Xun's letter to Xu Mouyong [91] (1910—1977) dated December 20, 1933. In *Lu Xun shuxin ji* [92] The Letters of Lu Xun. Peking 1976, p. 465.

George Brandes had many reasons for deciding for "aristocratic radicalism", for a struggle against the "ignorance as a bodyguard of deception", against the "lingering prejudices of past epochs" which were offered to mankind as the "things of rare value".[77] When amidst such ideas he mentioned, e.g. a bit of Darwinism, a bit of women's emancipation, a bit of free-thinking, a bit of kowtowing to the common people, he thereby had in mind spiritual indecisiveness, timidness of getting even with stupidity, falsehood and religious obscurantism.[78]

Lu Xun's ideological and cultural radicalism was one of the noble minds. He, too, saw the shortcomings of his country, as was pointed out earlier, residing in an inadequate knowledge from which he did not exclude even himself, in an insufficient ideological equipment and a lack of an overall creativeness. In China, too, there was a bit of Social Darwinism, a bit of parliamentarism, reformism and revolutionism especially of an anarchist shading, a bit of hope in industrialization, a few kilometres of railways and a bit of fragmentary information on Western "barbarians", such, for instance, as that "most women in the State of Massachusetts have preferred to get concubines for their husbands",[79] or a bit of faith that the "production of military equipment"[80] is what China momentally is most in need of.

China needed radical changes, transformations, guarantees for her further development. Radicalism of the noble minds was to have ensured the premises for setting up such systemo-structural complex of moral, aesthetic, philosophical, political, eventually other issues, one that would be capable of solving problems related to an inner break-up of China and its fateful encounter with the Euro-American world.

## 4

In writing his longest essay and his only literary and theoretical study of the first decade of this century, Lu Xun had in mind the above ideal of the Kingdom of Men. The motto of the essay On Satanic Power of Poetry is evidently derived from Nietzsche. This quotation which is in fact a cue to an understanding of the whole essay and of most of Lu Xun's efforts from the period 1907—1908, has also been altered by the translator:

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[77] Brandes, G.: *Vorwort des Herausgebers.* In: *Die Hauptströmungen der Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Band 1. Charlottenburg 1900, p. XVII.

[78] Brandes, G.: *Aristokratisk Radicalisme.* Quoted according to Hanne Marie and Swendsen, W.: op. cit., p. 325.

[79] Quoted according to Clyde, P. H. and Beers, B. F.: op. cit., p. 325.

[80] LXQJ, *1*, p. 39. Here I follow the translation into vernacular by Wang Shijing [93]: *Lu Xun zaoqi wu pian lunwen zhu yi* [94] Five Early Essays by Lu Xun. Translation and Commentary. 2nd printing. Tientsin 1981, p. 121.

According to Nietzsche: "He who has grown wise concerning old origins! behold, he will at last seek new springs of the future and new origins.

O my brothers, it will not be long before new peoples shall arise and new springs rush down into new depths."[81]

According to Lu Xun: "He who sought the old springs, will in future seek the new ones. O my brothers, it will not be long before the creations of new life and the new springs will gush forth."[82]

It was not a vain dodge on Lu Xun's part when he altered the words "new peoples" into "creations of new life" equivalent in his systemo-structural complex to The Kingdom of Men, i.e. China of his fancy and the result of the creative efforts that were to be the ultimate goal of all endeavours. That China, suffering privation because of two calamities, an indigenous brought about by a partial paralysis (*piangu*) [95], and a foreign one, caused by a new pestilence (*xin yi*) [96].[83] could save itself by searching for and finding out "new springs" of strength, but also by exploiting "old sources" of certain tested values. These springs were to have been utilized and managed by new individuals, great personalities, wise philosophers and brave fighters, the only hopes of the new life.

In virtue of concepts propounded by Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Ibsen and others (most probably through the inermediary of G. Brandes), Lu Xun was the discoverer of the significance of healthy individualism in China, prompting the rebellion of the first revolutionaries against the tyranny of Confucian teaching and for a social liberation. Stimulated by the so-called Satanic poets, Byron, Lermontov, Mickiewicz, Petőfi and others (and against mostly through the intermediary of G. Brandes), he also helped, at least in literary theory, to bring about a basic change characterized by a break-up of the Way (*Dao*) [97] in the direction of a creative and expressive *mimesis* proper to post-classicist art. Elsewhere we have pointed to gradual changes in Chinese creative personality from the times of Confucius (and in comparison with Europe from Plato) until the nineteenth century.[84] There we showed that the concept of creative personality in China and in Europe developed along different lines. Lu Xun and the subsequent epoch of the May Fourth Movement were prepared both by the long-term developmental process going on in his own country in this domain, and also by the experiences of the European world and its philosophical evolution.

As a propagator of the Satanic poetry, one of the most important elements in contemporary European romantic literature, he introduced a new understanding of human mind, poetic imagination and artistic genius into China. We gave a relatively

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[81] *Thus spoke Zarathustra*, p. 228.

[82] LXQJ, *1*, p. 55.

[83] Ibid., p. 54.

[84] Gálik, M.: *The Concept of Creative Personality in Traditional Chinese Literary Criticism.* Oriens Extremus, *27*, 1980, No. 2, pp. 183—202.

detailed analysis of the concept of genius in *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, 1917—1930.* More attention, however, ought to be devoted to the concept of human mind, or simply mind and to that of poetic imagination which Lu Xun does not employ explicitly, yet manipulates its content. Nor may we leave aside the concept of "feeling" (*qing*) [98]. All of these are related to works of literary romanticism in Europe and to the transition from traditional to modern literature in China.

Almost at the beginning of the essay On Satanic Power of Poetry we find the following sentence: "Now the most powerful legacy of literature of man for the later generations are the voices of mind."[85] Even a partial acquaintance with old Chinese literary criticism will reveal that literature of man (*renwen*) [99], or literary material of man, and voices of mind (*xin sheng*) [100] may be found in Liu Xie's literary and critical masterpiece.[86] The difference between Liu Xie and Lu Xun with regard to the second, to us the more important concept, is that after a short but very intensive contact with European and Near-Eastern civilization, beginning with Hebrew and Greek literature and ending somewhere with Sándor Petőfi, Lu Xun understood the "voices of mind" far more deeply than, for example Yang Xiong [101] (53 B.C.—18 A.D.), or than Liu Xie himself.

We find an interesting interpretation of the concept of mind in both ancient China and old Europe. During the entire old Chinese history, lasting over three thousand years mind was understood as a sort of a mirror of reality either of the surrounding world, or human inner self, with a dialectical affinity existing between the two. If anything was a voice of mind, then it was a reflection of that external world or some kind of a double reflection of the outer and inner world when lyric responses were to be expressed. After becoming acquainted, however, with the Hebrew tradition, whether from the book of *Genesis* or the *Lamentations* traditionally attributed to Jeremiah, with the literary criticism of Th. Carlyle (his *On Heroes and Hero-Worship*) and with the Satanic poetry, Lu Xun assigned a different meaning to "voices of mind" from the one they had in old Chinese tradition.

According to Yang Xiong, voices of mind are words (*yan*) [102], an image of reality demonstrated with the aid of sounds or signs through the prism of human mind.[87] Liu Xie merely modifies Yang Xiong's view in a literary and stylistic way. In voices of mind on the other hand Lu Xun does not see a mere stylized reflection of reality, but its new form which is a denial, a rejection of its purely semantic meaning, of an apparent reality and its transformation into a new epistemological, ethical, aesthetic and social qualities, often dialectically contradictory and completely different from those that could possibly have been expected from the traditionally

[85] LXQJ, *1*, p. 55.

[86] Liu Xie: *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, pp. 2, 3, 455—456, 609 and 652.

[87] Ibid., p. 455. See also Yang Xiong's *Fa yan* [103] Model Sayings.

understood voices of mind related to a simple "mirroring" of the reality. If Lu Xun called after a Chinese Jeremiah (at the end of his essay), he was concerned with a criticism of the social, political and ideological ailments affecting contemporary China, with the aim to rouse from slumber or to generate the "fighters of the spirit" who would to lead China to Beauty, Goodness, Strength and robust Health.[88] There is hardly any need to observe that these fighters of the spirit were synonymous with the great men referred to earlier in this study. "Voices of mind", as also "the most sincere voices" (*zhicheng zhi sheng*) [104],[89] springing from the depths of the hearts of the fighters of the spirit, similarly as Jeremiah lamenting the state of vile, filthy and polluted Jerusalem, once "great among nations", "princess among provinces", and now a "tributary", the one who has "gone into captivity",[90] had to show that China had been struck by a similar fate and try to pour hope into its sons and daughters in the possibility of a "new life". That was the task, the mission of the "new voices" (*xin sheng*) [105].[91]

Thus a third homonym, "new voices" came to be added to the two spoken of above, i. e. "new life" and "voices of mind". The new voices in Lu Xun's interpretation, homonymous with voices of mind, their aim being the creation of a new life, were the principal goal of Lu Xun's endeavours and strivings. He associated these new voices with prominent figures of world culture, but primarily with men of letters and with the Satanic poetry, particularly that of Byron, Shelley, Lermontov and two Polish poets A. Mickiewicz and J. Słowacki, and finally also of Hungarian poet S. Petőfi. His appreciation of the characters described in their works went as follows: "... all of them were strong and indomitable, possessed genuineness and guarded truth, refused to flatter the mob and observe old customs."[92] And about those poets he wrote: "They sang heroically in order to make a new life for their countrymen and their fatherlands great in the world."[93]

The concept of "poetic imagination", although indispensable to every creative literature, has never been adequately developed in Chinese theoretical works. Probably the first among foreign scholars to take note of this characteristic feature of Chinese literature created under the impact of Confucian views, was I. Babbitt. According to him, China lacked "the sound conception of the role of the imagination",[94] although this opinion was not applicable to the popular literature in the vernacular after the Sung dynasty. Lu Xun with his new conception was bound to get

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[88] LXQJ, *1*, p. 101.
[89] Loc. cit.
[90] *The Lamentations of Jeremiah*, 1, 1 and 3.
[91] LXQJ, *1*, p. 100.
[92] Ibid., p. 99.
[93] Ibid., pp. 99—100.
[94] Babbitt, I.: *Rousseau and Romanticism*. Boston—New York 1930, p. 397.

into opposition with traditional views. Consequently he strongly disagreed with the statement of Confucius that the poems of the *Book of Poetry (Shijing)* [106] do not contain "heterodox views" (*wu xie*) [107].[95] According to Lu Xun, that was false. "If poetry verbalizes the mind's content (or heart's wishes, M.G.), how is it possible to restrain them?"[96] Or: "To insist that it (i.e. mind's content, M.G.) should not be heterodox, it is to disprove that it is really human."[97]

These words clearly revealed Lu Xun's protest against the limiting principle of Chinese culture and civilization. "Is it possible", asked Lu Xun in an almost pathetic way, "to betroth freedom with whips and chains?"[98] As is well known, the traditional Chinese literature never did overstep the boundaries determined for it. Lyric poetry, too, as the most valuable part of old Chinese literary legacy up to about the twelfth century, and one of the genre complexes recognized by orthodox literary criticism, was thrown into a "limitless jail".[99]

Although Lu Xun's above words apply rather to his relation towards the emotional component of human personality and support its free development as an indispensable condition for a revolt permitting the realization of radical demands by the noble minds, yet he simultaneously called also for poetic imagination of a revolutionary and romantic character to be introduced into Chinese literature. How otherwise are we to explain his metaphors where poetry stands for the "strings of the heart" and the "morning sun" that are to help towards an emotional expression and towards a victory of what is "Beautiful, Sublime, Strong, Noble and Good".[100] The various aspects of poetic imagination and feelings are reciprocally interwoven. This becomes clearly evident in an analysis of the representatives of the Satanic poetry where he looked for examples of admiration of strength, a fighting spirit, genuineness, sincerity that could aid in attaining independence, freedom and humanity.

Lu Xun's admiration went first and foremost to Satan who to him was a symbol of the new poetry and new life. It was, of course, Satan of European Byronism, that "great spirit" who stood up against the almighty God, the first in the world who cast doubt or transvaluated the values fixed by him. Lu Xun in a prosaic and free translation, quoted Byron's lines with which he certainly identified himself:

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[95] Legge, J.: op. cit., p. 146. Our translation is different. According to D. Holzman, these words come partly "from the fourth stanza of *Shih-ching*, No. 297", and they are a "description of running horses" that should not swerve. See *Confucius and Ancient Chinese Literary Criticism*. In: Rickett, A. A. (Ed.): op. cit., p. 33.

[96] LXQJ, *1*, p. 62.

[97] Loc. cit.

[98] Loc. cit.

[99] Loc. cit.

[100] Loc. cit.

Byron: "I have a victor — true, but no superior...
He as a conqueror will call the conquer'd
Evil; but what will be the dood he gives?
Were I the victor, his works should be deem'd
The only evil ones."[101]

Lu Xun: I admit that between the Heaven and Earth, he was really stronger than I, but no one is superior to me. He ovecame me and called me evil. Were I to triumph, he would be the evil one. Good and bad may change their positions.[102]

It would seem at first glance that Lu Xun translated Byron through the prism of Nietzsche's teaching on a subjective and historically conditioned nature of ethical categories. In reality, there was question of an essential difference between Byron and Nietzsche which Lu Xun clearly perceived and pointed out. Nietzsche was for self-strengthening (ziqiang) [108],[103] and Byron probably had nothing against it. However, while Nietzsche sang the praises of power in a way which his exegetes could inhumanly misuse, Byron made use of power in order to fight against those who abused it. Therefore, in his help to the Greek people in their struggle against Turkish oppression, Lu Xun saw a manifestation of the spirit of liberty and humanity.[104]

In the case of Shelley, Lu Xun admired *Prometheus Unbound*, with his approbation of the right to rebellious deeds against the tyranny of the highest god of the Greek Olympus, and in Lermontov, besides the short poem *A Poet's Death (Na smert poeta)* he was especially struck by the long poem *The Demon (Demon)*. The former, written after A. S. Pushkin's murder, was aimed against hangmen of human freedom and the Russian genius. An analysis of *The Demon* in Lu Xun's work is very abstract in its presentation. The Demon, a synonym of Satan, the fallen angel who wanted to be like God, "fought" according to Lu Xun, "against the Heaven and Earth and if he saw the mob inspired by petty feelings, he viewed it with contempt".[105] He failed to point out the character of this "great spirit" (*ju ling*) [109], or of his beloved Tamara; nor did he single out the various ideas, or othervise unusually telling pathos of this work. However, he did this in the case of the poem *The Novice (Mtsyri)* where he underlined primarily the love of freedom sketched in the image of the young hero.[106]

Nowhere is Brandes' impact on Lu Xun so manifest as in his analysis of the works

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[101] *The Complete Works of Lord Byron*, p. 522.
[102] LXQJ, *1*, p. 73.
[103] Loc. cit.
[104] Ibid., p. 78.
[105] Ibid., p. 88.
[106] Loc. cit.

of Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Z. Krasiński. Lu Xun speaks of these as of a "trio of Polish romantic poets".[107] He thereby implicitly takes over the idea from Brandes' book published in German under the title *Polen*, with the difference that he does not make use of Brandes' characterization seeing an Eagle in Mickiewicz, a Peacock in Słowacki and a Swan in Krasiński "among the winged spirits of Poland".[108] Lu Xun probably refrained from this play with words lest his countrymen might put an incorrect interpretation on their symbolic message. In fact, he only wrote of "eagle-like" tendencies of Polish romantic literature. And accordingly, he devoted only a few lines in his essay to the least Satanic Krasiński. In all probability, only a remote similarity between biblical Jeremiah and Krasiński caused the latter to be at all included in Lu Xun's work.

The last of the Satanic poets, S. Petőfi, continued for a long time to be among Lu Xun's favourite writers. He drew for material about Petőfi to a greater extent on F. Riedl's *A History of Hungarian Literature*, London 1906. For instance, extensive passages describing events around March 15, 1848, the origin of the Hungarian National Song (Petőfi's work) are so similar in Riedl's book and in Lu Xun's essay that there may be solely question of a free translation.[109] The closing words of the Hungarian National Song: "We truly swear the tyrant's yoke/No more to bear", and Petőfi's assertions: "No sound of my lyre, no stroke of my pen, has ever served a mercenary purpose. I sang and wrote as inspired by the deity within my soul, and that deity was Freedom",[110] struck two chords in Lu Xun's soul that ensured to Petőfi a relatively permanent place in his admiration and literary activity.

Lu Xun translated "mercenary purpose" as *li* [110] profit.[111] In this we should see an original echo of the Kantian premise of "purposiveness without purpose" (*Zweckmässigkeit ohne Zweck*) of which we wrote elsewhere.[112] According to Lu Xun, China had declined over the previous ten years precisely because its aim had come to be solely the "pursuit of profit" (*zhi shili*) [111].[113] As a result, in its meeting with the "new force", the imperialist powers of Europe, America and Japan, China "was torn apart and melted like ice without arising again and fighting (the enemy)".[114] China needed "new men of culture", similar to the creators of Satanic poetry in order to cease to be a "barren, desolate land".[115]

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[107] Ibid., p. 91.

[108] Brandes, G.: *Polen*. Paris—Leipzig—München, Albert Langen 1898, p. 352.

[109] Cf. Riedl, Fr.: op. cit., pp. 200—201 and LXQJ, *1*, p. 98.

[110] Loc. cit.

[111] LXQJ, *1*, p. 98.

[112] Gálik, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, 1917—1930*, pp. 236—237, 245—256.

[113] LXQJ, *1*, p. 100.

[114] Loc. cit.

[115] Ibid., p. 102.

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The essay on Byronic poetry ended in a melancholy, or even depressive atmosphere. And in the unfinished one entitled *Po e sheng lun* [112] On Breaking through the Voices of Evil, Lu Xun reiterated his conviction that a few great men are enough to save the nation from destruction, and he went to paraphrase his understanding of the "voices of mind" as an "inner beam" coming from the human inner self, his creative capacity.[116] Unfortunately, only a negligible fraction of mankind may be proud of having got it, and in this essay Lu Xun mentioned, not quite without reason, a similarity between man, the monkey and the worm.[117] The concept of *e sheng* [113] voices of evil in Lu Xun's system of views created a certain negative counterpole to the voices of mind. It is rather a pity that he made no attempt to elaborate it from the theoretical point of view.

It is likewise to be regretted that because of objective and subjective reasons, Lu Xun could not continue his articles propagating the radicalism of noble minds. It is very probable that a study and reading of certain works, like those of V. Garshin and L. Andreev, and perhaps also of St Augustine, L. Tolstoy and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, had convinced Lu Xun that the voices of mind have to be sincere, must spring from a pure heart, present reality without either bias or embellishment, admit their own failings and estimate their own capacities without superfluous illusions.[118]

This essay had at least two further aims: to cast doubt, firstly, on the efficiency of the struggle against superstitions which was waged at that time by a narrow section of *literati*, and secondly, on a justification of Social Darwinism. Lu Xun never approved of superstitions and always stood against them. He was of the opinion, however, that the Chinese gentry were responsible for the superstitions practised by the common Chinese people because they did nothing to raise their standard of education. This is an echo of Brandes' attitude, but applied to Chinese conditions. Already as a young man Lu Xun had a fine feeling of social differences for higher and lower strata, or classes and always sided with the oppressed majority, even though at first sight, during the period of his "radicalism of noble minds" the opposite may have seemed to be true. This particular trait permitted him later a rather quick transition to Marxist positions. His resolute anti-Confucian orientation enabled him to stress the significance of study and a more concrete utilization of literary and artistic works from the past or the present and of knowledge of various mythologies of the world. He first makes mention of three national mythologies, Greek, Egyptian and Indian, that belong among the most important ones and comments his statement as follows:

"Mythological (*shenhua*) [114] creations have their origin in peoples of old ages;

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[116] LXQJ, 7 (Peking 1958), p. 237.

[117] Ibid., p. 244.

[118] Cf. ibid., p. 239 and *Thus spoke Zarathustra*, p. 42.

they observed natural phenomena from their own unusual angle and then on the strength of their spiritual thought (i.e. *shensi*) they anthropomorphized (*renhua*) [115] them; they fancied what had been, narrated it in such an outstanding manner that we might easily imagine it vividly... Spiritual thought of the peoples of ancient times was like that. As to peoples of subsequent ages, how could they abstain from sighing with admiration over all that and be not thrilled by it? And European art and literature reached out even more eagerly after their hidden riches. Who knows what sublime beauty enriched their thought and literary techniques? Whoever wants to study Western literature must in the first place be conversant with its mythology; if he is not familiar with it, he will not understand literature and art, will not grasp their mysteries, and what sense will it have for his own civilization?"[119]

In this passage Lu Xun combined two important concepts of the systemo-structural entity of his views: *shenhua* (mythology) and *shensi* (spiritual thought). Mythology is one of the genres of literary and artistic creation that have a long-term, lasting value, while spiritual thought is a *modus cogitandi* preceding the artistic and literary remoulding of a reality, full of hidden riches, symbolic multifariousness, suggestiveness or imaginative power. Spiritual thought is something similar to reflection (*Reflexion*) in earlier European aesthetics, as was shown elsewhere.[120] It is one of the forms of "beautification" of the facts of the described reality. According to Lu Xun, we do not find the Chinese dragon in the animal kingdom. It has been created by the imaginative reflection of many poets and artists of Chinese antiquity and there is no reason to feel ashamed for it; rather we should admire the spirit that has helped it towards innumerable variations in its artistic and poetic realization.[121] Nations of north and eastern Europe (he does not mention any others) have created their own myths; rather an absence of myths is a sign of the spiritual poverty.[122]

In this essay Lu Xun finally expressed his sympathy for the weak of this world, for oppressed nations and for his own Chinese people. He agreed with the view that China must be strong, but was against strong nations humiliating weak and defeated ones; and right at the end, in the last lines that came out in print, we read that in the struggle against oppression, people must mutually help one another, the way the Polish general J. Bem had done when he fought on the side of the Hungarian Revolution in 1848—1849, or Lord Byron on the side of the Greeks in 1824. This statement certainly refers solely to the "noble minds", for in the long sentence concerned with the Pole and Englishman, he also used the gnome *zishu ji gu* [116],

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[119] LXQJ, 7 (Peking 1958), pp. 242—243.
[120] Gálik, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, 1917—1930*, pp. 237—238.
[121] LXQJ, 7 (Peking 1958), p. 243.
[122] Loc. cit.
[123] Ibid., p. 247.
[124] Ibid., p. 782.

i.e. to educate oneself in order to be strong.[123] With its first part Zishu he signed his first published work The Soul of Sparta.[124] Thus between the first reference to the battle of Thermopylae, from the year 1903 and the last intimation of Byron's death at Misolonghi, from the year 1908 (both events took place on Greek soil), there was the same ideal followed by Lu Xun: to help the oppressed and silent China.

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The words "to educate oneself in order to be strong" were firmly anchored in the whole of Lu Xun's existence and consciousness during the years of his stay in Japan. He had them embodied within him whether as the bearer of a bird's flight, Ling Fei, or as a deliberate, rather pessimistic Xun Xing. When in 1904 he wrote for Xu Shoushang a poem in which was also the following line: "With my blood I shall sacrifice myself to Emperor Xianyuan",[125] i.e. to China, he had in mind not so much a deed similar to Byron's as rather service to his nation. In 1907 he realized that nothing would come out of his New Life project and in 1908 it became clear to him that only a few read his articles or essays in Japan, and hardly anybody in China. At that time he decided together with Zhou Zuoren to prepare two slim booklets of translations that appeared in 1909 under the title *Yuwai xiaoshuo ji* [117] Tales from Abroad. He translated but a small part, three of the sixteen short stories, and in them followed the same goal as that of his entire stay in japan, i.e. to present to Chinese readers a true, undistorted image of a lonely, but resolute fighter in a genuine, real environment. Once again he was read by hardly anyone.

Xu Shoushang was the first to return to China in 1909 and there he prepared himself for a post of a teacher at the Chekiang Normal School in Hangchow. Lu Xun returned in summer of that year and began to teach physiology and chemistry.[126] After seven years abroad, he again met his native country, still ruled as before by the corrupt alien Manchu dynasty and oppressed by the imperialist countries. He came back like "fowl" that could not fly and like wild yak but with wounded legs. He came back in order to live long years of voluntary, but also forced hibernation that came to an end only in 1918. Nobody and nothing, however, had broken his "spirit", his "voice of mind", and his development (also intellectual) went on progressing, even though with peripeteia that appeared quite natural at the time and milieu. The fact remains that he entered the period of the May Fourth Movement (1919) and the subsequent two decades as the best prepared man of the new Chinese culture for the task that awaited it between 1918—1937.

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[125] Quoted according to Lee, Leo Ou-fan: op. cit., p. 173.
[126] Lyell, W. A., Jr.: op. cit., pp. 100—101.

1.魯迅 2.何干之 3.魯迅思想研究 4.李永春
5.魯迅思想的发展 6.馬良春 7.魯迅思想
研究 8.林非 9.魯迅前期思想发展史略
10.魯迅研究資料索引 11.白話 12.魯迅全集
13.許寿裳 14.嚴復 15.周遐寿 16.周作人
17.魯迅小説里的人物 18.茅盾 19.瞿秋白
20.梁啓超 21.論小説與群治之關係
22.新小説 23.新中国未来記 24.新羅馬
25.斯巴达之魂 26.义和团 27.呐喊 28.新
生 29.河南 30.浙江潮 31.人之歷史 32.今飛
33.迅行 34.天演 35.文明之邦国 36.吾行
37.玉廷文關之社会 38.苗裔 39.王韜 40.薛
福成 41.張之洞 42.康有爲 43.楊度
44.中文大辭典 45.文化偏至论 46.摩罗詩
力説 47.个性 48.伪 49.偏 50.兴万生 51.魯迅
与裴多菲 52.魯迅研究集刊 53.魯迅著作中
引用裴多菲詩文新考 54.魯迅研究 55.性解
56.个人 57.民賊 58.自扶 59.我执 60.主己

61. 無我 62. 論語 63. 雅識 64. 空 65. 自我
66. 个性之价值 67. 人 68. 众数 69. 愚民 70. 众
志 71. 民主 72. 人国 73. 沙聚之邦 74. 精神
75. 神 76. 个性之尊 77. 崇奉主观 78. 張皇意力
79. 个人之情意 80. 独创之力 81. 神思 82. 刘勰
83. 文心雕龍 84. 文心雕龍註 85. 范文澜
86. 神思新宗 87. 心 88. 取今 89. 复古 90. 中国
91. 徐懋庸 92. 魯迅書信集 93. 王士菁 94. 魯迅
早期五篇论文性质 95. 偏枯 96. 新疗 97. 道
98. 情 99. 人文 100. 心声 101. 揚雄 102. 言 103. 法言
104. 至誠之声 105. 新声 106. 持經 107. 无邪
108. 自强 109. 巨忌 110. 利 111. 之实利 112. 石破
恶声论 113. 恶声 114. 神話 115. 人化
116. 白樹既国 117. 域外小說集

# UNE ESQUISSE DU DÉVELOPPEMENT DE LA PROSE VIETNAMIENNE PENDANT LES ANNÉES 1965—1975

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Pendant la période en question la prose vietnamienne se concentrait surtout sur le thème de l'héroïsme révolutionnaire. Elle imprimait aux œuvres une telle spécificité artistique que tout en respectant les traditions, elle atteignit des succès remarquables dans le domaine d'innovation, lors même qu'elle fut marquée par les maladies de jeune âge. Les écrivains avaient un sentiment vif de la volonté progressive dans le monde qui cherche sans relâche un sens nouveau dans l'art et la littérature. Le stimulus intrinsèque, foncier de leurs travaux était le présent et leur parti pris objectif et sans compromis à l'égard des violations et nivellement des droits innés de l'humanité. Le trait caractéristique de cette prose était une contamination de la littérature vietnamienne et mondiale, où les problèmes spécifiques au contexte développemental littéraire du Vietnam acquièrent une validité universelle.

Au début de 1965 la guerre anti-Américaine commençait dans tout de Vietnam. Ce fait exerçait une influence incontestable aussi sur la production prosaïque vietnamienne et sur ses transformations. Comme a écrit Hoang Trung Thong, un poète, écrivain et critique littéraire: «Il n'y a pas d'époque où la littérature patriotique et anti-agressive se développait aussi vigoureusement, richement et dans une telle envergure qu'au temps de l'agression américaine.»[1] On peut constater dès le commencement que tous les écrivains se sont engagés entièrement et activement dans la résistance nationale. L'affaire essentielle et unifiante de toutes les couches de la population était d'assurer l'édification déjà commencée d'une société socialiste au nord du pays, la libération du Sud et le rétablissement de la paix dans une patrie réunie. Dès la première phase de l'agression aérienne et maritime contre la République Démocratique du Vietnam, des œuvres autobiographiques commençaient à paraître avec un thème poignant qui incitait et intéressait tout le monde — par exemple *Ho song va chien dau* (Ils vivent et luttent, 1965) de Nguyen Khai; *Chung toi o Con-co* (Sur l'île des herbes, 1966), par Ho Phuong, et d'autres.

Une particularité assez intéressante était la présence du mot «chemin» dans beaucoup des titres des ouvrages. Comme si les écrivains voulaient souligner l'importance d'une direction et d'une pensée unique et commune contre l'agression étrangère: *Mo duong* (Au commencement du chemin) par Nguyen Kien; *Duong lon*

[1] *Van hoc Viet-nam chong My cuu nuoc* (La littérature vietnamienne dans la lutte contre les Américains et pour la défense de la patrie). Hanoi, Nha Xuat ban Khoa hoc Xa hoi 1979, p. 10.

(Le grand chemin) par Bui Hien; *Quan ben duong* (Le poste près de la route) par Ngoc Tu; *Duong truong* (Le long chemin) par Xuan Trinh; *Ghi chep tren mot chang duong* (Notes d'un voyage) par Do Chu; *Chien dau tren mat duong* (Lutte sur la route) par Xuan Thien; *Duong trong may* (Chemin dans les nuages) par Nguyen Khai et autres. Plus le pays était dévasté par la guerre, plus elle devenait chère aux écrivains. La valeur des choses ordinaires, du train-train quotidien croissait dans leurs yeux, ils parvenaient à éprouver, à sentir profondément et d'une manière sincèrement humaine et puis à exprimer artistiquement les phénomènes de l'époque, l'atmosphère sociale (par exemple le départ d'un fils pour le front; les petits kiosques et salons de thé au bord du chemin servant jour et nuit ceux allant au front; gués de rivières, etc.).

La patrie et le socialisme — ces deux grandes réalités de la vie étroitement entreliées — sont devenues les thèmes principaux de la prose vietnamienne aux temps de la résistance anti-américaine. Mais il faut noter que du côté artistique, au début de cette période les écrivains parvenaient à rendre mieux et plus effectivement les sujets patriotiques que les problèmes relevant de la construction socialiste. Ceci est tout à fait compréhensible dans une certaine mesure, car la plupart des auteurs se sont orientés sur la lutte immédiate avec l'ennemi. Cependant, chaque front a aussi son arrière-pays, son Hinterland, et chaque guerre a sa production et sa construction; il existe des problèmes directement causés par le front, mais il faut se préoccuper aussi des problèmes de chaque maison, du foyer familial; en outre, il existe beaucoup de problèmes qui sont communs aux deux aspects de la lutte de libération nationale. On rencontre une compréhension et un rendement artistique des deux aspects dans telles proses comme *Trong mot gia dinh* (Dans une famille) par Vu Cao; *Tu moi can nha nhu the* (De chaque maison ainsi) par Vu Thi Thuong; *Ngay va dem o hau phuong* (Jour et nuit dans l'arrière-pays) par Nguyen Kien, et d'autres. Deux femmes auteurs ont écrit leurs proses dans le but de lutter pour la victoire du nouveau dans la conscience et la pensée de l'homme, pour la possibilité de caractères féminins forts de se présenter et de se mettre en valeur dans la vie: Vu Thi Thuong[2] et Duong Thi Xuan Quy.[3] Le bonheur peut s'interpréter de manières diverses, selon l'idéal de chacun. Cependant, il y en a qui l'entendent en termes de possibilité de monter sur un échelon plus élevé. Une telle manifestation d'individualisme ne devrait pas avoir de sol nutritif dans la conscience de l'homme nouveau. Ce nouveau, que les femmes écrivains soutiennent, fait part de l'héroïsme révolutionnaire, représente la force de l'homme de servir d'exemple, la morale d'une lutte intransigeante avec le vieux et la constatation de sa place et de son action dans la société. Les porteurs d'héroïsme sont des hommes nouveaux qui, néanmoins,

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[2] *Cau chuyen xay ra khong trach khoi* (Entretien inéluctable). In: *Bong hoa sung* (Fleurs et armes). Hanoi, Nha xuat ban Van hoc 1967.

[3] *Cho dung* (Position). In: *Cho dung* (Position). Hanoi, Nha xuat ban Van hoà 1968.

doivent s'évertuer pour se perfectionner et finalement atteindre une transformation foncière et permanente de leur «ego».

Le roman par Nguyen Minh Chau *Cua song* (L'embouchure de la rivière, 1967) décrit avec assez de succès la période quand le pays entra en guerre avec tous les changements révolutionnaires dans la vie. Cependant, les gens n'en sont pas déconcertés. Au loin les bombes explodent, on entend le grondement menaçant des brisants au bord de la mer, le travail devient irrégulier, les fils et filles quittent pour les régions éloignées, les classes se font à la nuit... Chacun est prêt à travailler deux et trois fois plus qu'à l'ordinaire. Chacun s'efforce de remplir son devoir jusqu'au bout — soit-ce dans la production ou dans le combat. Les gens se devenaient mutuellement plus proches, plus intimes, plus organisés. Tout cela contribuait à ce qu'ils devenaient conscients de leur propre force et ainsi ne permettaient pas de se laisser humilier par aucun ennemi.

La lutte fortifiait le peuple aussi dans la solution des affaires et difficultés quotidiennes. Chacun cherchait à être utile au travail et au combat, comme en témoigne le conte *Hai nguoi du kich cu* (Deux vieux partisans, 1970) par Mai Ngu. Dans des conditions extrêmes, des aspects positifs et négatifs de la société et des individus apparaîssaient au premier plan; comme l'a montré d'une manière intéressante Nguyen Kien dans son ouvrage *Ngay va dem o hau phuong* (Jour et nuit dans l'arrière-pays, 1970). La ligne principale de l'événement s'immisce ici souvent avec de nombreux aperçus secondaires servant à enrichir la variété des observations de l'auteur.

Ainsi, la prose vietnamienne s'est orientée à partir des besoins naturels de la vie, vers le thème central — à savoir, vers l'héroïsme révolutionnaire dont le contenu était l'amour de la patrie et l'appui, le soutien des transformations nouvelles sociales. Ce thème central naturellement n'excluait pas d'autres thèmes et sujets. Au temps de la résistance anti-américaine, des romans sont apparus qui donnaient une image de la vie de la nation vietnamienne dans les étapes historiques antérieures. Un coup d'œil rétrospectif sur la production prosaïque vietnamienne permet de constater que les écrivains ont réussi à découvrir beaucoup de problèmes importants. La vie d'autrefois et ses aspects sombres ont été dépeints de manière assez réalistique et attractive, par exemple dans les romans *Mien Tay* (La région ouest, 1967) par To Hoai; *Con bao da den* (L'orage est venu, 1968) par Nguyen Hong; *Vo bo* (La digue rompue, 1970) par Nguyen Dinh Thi. Cette période présentait des conditions favorables pour un coup d'œil rétrospectif sur le passé et cela surtout du point de vue de la résistance anti-américaine et de la défense de la patrie, de la libération du Vietnam du sud et de l'unification du pays. La lutte pour l'indépendance et la liberté permettait aux écrivains de voir plus clairement le cours de la vie et le destin des gens, ce qui amena une qualité nouvelle correspondant aux besoins de la vie contemporaine.

L'époque aidait l'auteur dans son regard artistique à découvrir plus profondément

les problèmes découlant des transformations dans la vie et la construction du socialisme. L'homme lutte résolument avec la nature et contre tout ennemi, y compris le mode de penser arriéré des gens. Il en est ainsi dans l'œuvre *Bao bien* (Typhon de mer, 1970) par Chu Van, présentant une prise de vue thématique de grande envergure, une abondance d'incidents et d'événements, d'expériences de la vie, une vue critique et exigeante de l'auteur. Il s'agit d'un processus difficile et complexe du passage vers une vie nouvelle à la campagne peuplée de fermiers-catholiques, souvent incités par le clergé contre le gouvernement populaire. L'œuvre présente une image compliquée de la vie humaine, rendant exactement ses dimensions intérieures. En outre de sa teneur philosophique, elle se distingue par la qualité du monologue de l'auteur, l'encadrement du récit et le dénouement du motif central. L'homme y est non seulement présenté en détail, mais aussi «humanisé» au nom d'idéaux constants. L'auteur depeint les contours des personnages comme êtres vivants, avec leur caractéristique psychique, sociale et biologique, en évitant toute fois un psychologisme démesuré. Il n'arrange pas la trame de l'action, mais en donne des particularités précises par le mode d'agir des personnages. Les deux parties constituent une continuité justifiée d'une seule œuvre reflétant une balance bien proportionnée de la vision de l'auteur. La prépondérance du nouveau qui triomphe y apparaît comme un résultat discret, naturel du développement objectif. L'unique vérité à laquelle l'auteur parvient avec une grande conviction est la nécessité d'une construction socialiste et d'une liberté sociale et individuelle pour l'homme ouvrier.

Le thème d'une recherche créative de l'intelligence technique est suivi par Huy Phuong dans son roman *Xi-mang* (Le ciment, 1968) dans lequel if fait justice à toutes les nuances du travail créatif et en utilisant fonctionnellement tous les détails du processus créatif, réussit à augmenter le dynamisme de l'événement entier.

Pendant cette période, en outre des romans, aussi des mémoires continuaient à paraître, comme par exemple *Mot long theo Bac* (A l'unanimité avec oncle, 1965) par un groupe d'auteurs, où ils mettent l'accent sur le message humanistique du président Ho Chi Minh. Ces auteurs s'adonnent au thème avec un intérêt extraordinaire. Ils trouvent dans l'œuvre de Ho Chi Minh une nouvelle source d'inspiration et expriment leurs sentiments, jaillissant du fond de leurs êtres, vers cette grande personnalité de la nation vietnamienne.

Les années de la résistance anti-américaine ont créé pour les écrivains vietnamiens des possibilités de réévaluer à fond le passé et de voir ainsi d'une manière plus tranchante et plus claire le chemin du développement contemporain. Dans l'interprétation des phénomènes nouveaux du socialisme, les œuvres au thème historique fournissaient un certain appui fondé sur une tradition progressive. C'est ainsi que la littérature prosaïque vietnamienne de cette période utilisait d'une manière préméditée les variations très riches des phénomènes historiques effectifs pour faire comprendre l'essence de l'héroïsme révolutionnaire. Peut-être, l'exemple-type le plus saillant en est le roman cité ci-avant, To Hoai — *Mien Tay* (La région ouest,

1967). L'auteur y est attiré par le rôle de rendre artistiquement le changement dans la vie et dans la conscience des tribus montagnardes du Vietnam du nord, qui avait été amené par la révolution. L'image de l'auteur-narrateur prêt un coloris spécial à l'événement — son langage est celui d'un style épuré et il preçoit le milieu ambiant des yeaux du montagnard vietnamien qui se comporte encore d'une manière directe, très vive et émotionnelle envers tout ce qui est nouveau. Dans un effort à distinguer la vie nouvelle de la vieille, To Hoai a utilisé une symétrie compositionnelle qui, cependant, glisse, dans les chapitres concluants, en un cliché des temps. Mais ses images de la nature tropicale des montagnes sont d'une beauté ravissante dans la diversité diaprée de ses formes.

Le sentiment de patriotisme passe comme un fil à travers toutes les œuvres prosaïques pendant les premières années de la résistance anti-américaine et crée un air de poétrie comme un des signes qualitatifs de la prose vietnamienne. On y trouve quelque chose de nouveau qui réside avant tout dans la réalité des améliorations matérielles et le transformations des relations sociale.

Cependant, en présentant le nouveau, certains écrivains ne voient pas clairement les dimensions sociales et historiques du thème. Ils s'arrêtent à constater la réalité sans voir en perspective les tendances conséquentes du développement. Il s'agit ici surtout du besoin d'une vision approfondie de l'auteur de la réalité : le niveau de vie actuel doit être vu et accepté à travers le procédé de la lutte, le triomphe des difficultés et des conflits toujours renouvelés. Cela s'applique partiellement aussi aux romans et contes de Nguyen Kien, Cam Thanh, Nguyen Minh Chau, Vu Thi Thuong et autres.

Le roman *Cua song* (Estuaire de la rivière, 1967) par Nguyen Minh Chau, développe l'événement avec le thème de la résistance dans un motif toujours varié des héros principaux ; cependant, les personnages secondaires participant à la forme ultime de l'œuvre, auraient dû être complétés. Dans le conte *Ong chu tich xa* (Le Président),[4] l'auteur Vu Thi Thuong paraît avoir retranché le model de la réalité, ses personnages sont plutôt des principes abstraits de la vie que des gens en chair et en os. Il s'agit donc ici de procédés hétérogènes de la création artistique et là réside l'endroit le plus sensible si non le plus faible de la conception de l'auteur. L'écrivain Cam Thanh dans le conte *Chi Tham* (Tham),[5] pénètre consciemment dans la structure intérieure du motif principal — l'enthousiasme du combat permet d'oublier les difficultés et problèmes personnels. C'est une œuvre remplie de calme et d'un dynamisme sans frein dont le résultat est une réalité imprégnée de la compréhension du sujet traité par l'auteur. Le roman *Kan Lich* (Kan Lich, 1968) par Ho Phuong thématiquement s'écarte en quelque sorte de ce domaine, mais c'est une œuvre louable (il n'y a en pas beaucoup de pareilles dans le genre autobiographique) qui

[4] In : *Bong hoa sung* (Fleurs et armes). Hanoi, Nha xuat ban Van hoc 1967.

[5] In : *Lang Cat* (Le village Cat). Hanoi, Nha xuat ban Van hoc 1968.

présente la possibilité de résoudre tout problème entre hommes. Son arrière-plan mental dépasse les confins de son époque. Puisqu'elle contient des éléments autobiographiques, le lecteur peut activement sentir avec l'auteur ses recherches et les valeurs atteintes. Le conte *Cai goc* (Racine)[6] par Nguyen Thanh Long reste en grande partie sur le plan de symboles et d'abstractions; il fait preuve d'un certain scepticisme dans l'évaluation des aptitudes de l'homme. Une confrontation mutuelle des personnages et de leur manière d'agir parfois mène même au déraillement des destins humains. Le conte *Tinh rung* (Forêt)[7] par Nguyen Tuan est un effort conscient de l'auteur pour émettre son énoncé intrinsique d'artiste, avec une échelle large de tension intérieure. Il profile les motifs dans une synthèse de connaissances rationales et d'un intérêt affectif, et exprime son attitude envers l'existence sociale et naturelle dans des relations multilatérales de la vie. Nguyen Tuan est maître accompli du lyric tendre en prose — comme il en donne preuve dans son cycle de portraits littéraires où il dépeint le monde spirituel pitoyable des agresseurs et leur psychologie. Le ton de Nguyen Tuan — un raconteur attrayant et doué — par endroits sarcastique, puis amicalement railleur ou badin, devient dans certaines œuvres profondément sensitif et même intimement lyrique. Tel en est le cas dans son essai *Leningrad tuyet dau mua* (Leningrad et la première neige, 1967) traitant de ce phénomène plutôt exotique pour les habitants des tropiques — la neige. Sa perception de la nature et de la campagne en union avec des idées d'un caractère philosophique asser général, rappelle les traditions classiques du lyric pastoral vietnamien. L'écrivain Do Phu dans son conte *Mot dem doi tau* (Attendant le train dans la nuit),[8] usant d'une manière quelque peu romantique, mais en un style tout à fait le sien, décrit ces aspects de la vie contemporaine qui sont proches de son naturel d'auteur et de sa vision artistique.

Un trait remarquable de la prose vietnamienne des temps da la résistance anti-américaine est l'effort pour l'héroïcité du motif, qui aide à rendre la vision du monde plus exactement, plus nettement et plus justement. Ceci est documenté d'une manière frappante par le roman *Ho song va chien dau* (Ils vivent et luttent, 1965) par Nguyen Khai qui présente ainsi les habitants de l'île héroïque des herbes (Con Co), située non loin du 17$^{e}$ parallèle. L'auteur a passé quelque temps en compagnie d'un groupe d'artistes sur cette île. Il emploit une manière simple d'écrire qui est pénétrée par endroits d'une humeur et d'une bonté naturelles. Son but principal est de montrer les gens et les défenseurs de l'Ile des herbes avec leurs caractères divers, leurs destins différents, mais avec leurs efforts patriotiques communs. Le lettré bien connu Che Lan Vien a écrit sur les gens de cette période: «Notre peuple est héroïque, intelligent et sait comment utiliser son habileté pour organiser une rivalité

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[6] In: *Van nghe* (Littérature et art) 1968, No. 260.
[7] In: Ibid., 1968, No. 267.
[8] In: Ibid., 1969, No. 315.

nécessaire en production et une production de guerre dans une union étroite, comme si cela tenait de la science et de la dextérité à la fois, comme si c'était d'un ordre de vie inné et très naturel.»[9] L'esquisse de ces temps constituait un document du grand héroïsme du peuple vietnamien qui au prix d'efforts herculéens repoussait l'agression impérialiste. Souvent les œuvres de ce genre avisent des créations artistiques étendues et compréhensives, témoignent des intentions mûrissantes de l'auteur, mais en même temps elles gardent aussi leur signification littéraire propre.

La demande principale sur la prose était qu'elle présente une image objective du pays et de l'homme, donc, une prise de conscience des changements dans les environs et le milieu, le classement social des personnages et des moyens pour créer les caractères divers. De manière que les procédés comme tels soient acceptables au lecteur et leur interaction artistique soit compatible. Ceci a été accompli avec une grande mesure de succès notamment par To Hoai dans son roman *Nguoi ven thanh* (L'homme de la banlieue, 1966) et par Dao Vu dans *Nguoi cua song* (L'homme de l'estuaire de la rivière, 1966). Les motifs naturels sont rythmés par des indices stylistiques et les personnages principaux possèdent tous les attributs qui sont un dépôt valuable dans l'héritage littéraire vietnamien. L'attrait des deux romans réside dans une confrontation des actes et pensées des personnages avec l'idéal éthique d'une société socialiste.

Evidemment, le problème de la prose vietnamienne avec un thème de résistance anti-américaine ne se bornait pas uniquement à la recherche de l'homme nouveau, mais comprenait aussi une activation de son rendement plastique et le dépassement fonctionnel-typologique de son caractère au plan idéologique et formel-expressif. Nguyen Dinh Thi dans ses romans *Vao Lua* (Dans le feu, 1966) et *Mat tran tren cao* (La ligne de front coupe le ciel, 1967) s'oriente précisément dans les coordonnées du présent, il y trouve un grand nombre de stimules inspirateurs pour la réalisation de ses desseins. L'auteur présente ses héros en un style simple et bref, crée des atmosphères véridiques des années de guerre et des caractères psychologiques authentiques. Son roman Dans le feu parle de quelques jours dans la vie d'un corps d'artilleurs anti-aériens qui luttent contre l'aviation de guerre ennemie. La figure centrale est le commandant Xuan, homme audacieux et réfléchi, qui en toutes circonstances du combat voit dans le simple soldat en premier lieu — l'homme. Le héros principal du roman La ligne du front coupe le ciel est le pilote Luong. L'auteur met l'accent sur la pureté des relations humaines dans la lutte qui sont caractérisées par une réserve de sentiments à l'extérieur et une profondeur de solidarité intérieure et de compréhension mutuelle. Une description précise est donnée dans le roman des scènes de combat qui par leur vivacité, la cadence des événements et le rythme en général rappellent d'un manière réalistique les combats aériens des avions de chasse

[9] *Y nghi doc duong* (Pensées en marge), *Nhan Dan* (Le peuple), 14. 6. 1965.

à réaction. Ces scènes s'alternent avec des descriptions lyriques du paysage sans nuire au plan artistique. Le point important pour l'auteur dans les deux romans est le stimule électrifiant des événements, des idées et des perspectives. A l'aide d'un milieu de combat concret, il révèle les relations humaines, néanmoins, quant à la structuration des caractères de jeunes combattants (tels par exemple Duong, Duc, Luong), il reste redevable au lecteur. Par endroits, le procédé adopté par l'auteur débouche dans une généralisation subjective et reste comme engourdi dans un vacuum supratemporel. Certains dialogues sont trop explicatifs et ne font qu'illustrer le dynamisme de l'action sans révéler l'état mental et la raison d'agir des personnages. «Comme si les expériences de vie de Nguyen Dinh Thi ne suffisaient pas à créer une image de cette couche de jeunes guerriers qu'il aimait beaucoup et dont il défendait l'enthousiasme...».[10] Malgré cela, Nguyen Dinh Thi est dans la prose vietnamienne de cette époque l'un des représentants les plus prominents de la poésie d'avant-garde et de la réalité sociale nouvelle.

Au temps de la cessation temporaire dans le bombardement du Vietnam du nord, le roman de Nguyen Khai *Dung trong may* (Chemin dans les nuages, 1970) parût. Ce qui caractérise les personnages de ces ouvrages précédents, c'est une lutte intérieure entre le bien et le mal, entre le vieux et le nouveau, ce sont simplement des personnages de conflit. Le roman Chemin dans les nuages traite d'une belle image de deux amants, deux jeunes gens Giao et My. L'auteur y a réussi à pénétrer sous la surface des événements et processus de la vie, d'exprimer leurs intérêts inhérents pour le dynamisme de la vie et d'approfondir son intuition réflexive. Quant à la composition du sujet, l'auteur y bâtit sur des principes éthiques relativement stricts, qui cependant ne manquent pas de sublimité, d'émotion et d'efficacité. On peut dire que son roman élargit, tant au point de vue artistique qu'intellectuel, l'échelle des qualités humaines du lecteur.

La prose vietnamienne portant sur la résistance anti-américaine fait cas assez souvent du ravitailleur militaire. Ce thème a compris un grand nombre de destins humains sous diverses formes — arrière-plan social, qualités de caractère, vie affective et milieu ambiant. L'écrivain Do Chu dans son conte *Thanh pho ben kia cau* (Ville au-delà du pont)[11] ne parle pas beaucoup de la vie, ni des qualités du ravitailleur militaire mais plutôt de sa relation envers les «choses» qu'il ne considère jamais comme simplement de objets inanimés, sans vie. L'auteur met constamment en valeur la relation dialectique entre l'individu et le temps, entre l'homme et l'objet produit par lui, entre l'idéal et l'esthétique, entre la société et l'art. Au moyen de la relation vers les choses il arrive à une orientation plus précise dans les phénomènes de la vie et atteint un aperçu philosophique d'en haut, lui permettant de discerner les

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[10] Phong Le, *May van de van xuoi Viet Nam, 1945—1970* (Quelques problèmes de la prose vietnamienne, 1945—1970). Hanoi, Nha xuat ban Khoa hoc Xa hoi 1972, p. 119.

[11] In: *Phu sa* (Dunes de sable). Hanoi, Nha xuat ban Van hoc 1967.

questions fondamentales de la vie humaine (bonheur personnel, amour de la patrie, travail pour la patrie, défense de la patrie).

La prose vietnamienne de cette période a créé une galérie intéressante de types artistiques qui demeurent dans la conscience du lecteur de façon permanente, elle a dépeint la lutte des attitudes différentes de la vie et porta dans la populace un sens de sécurité avec le sentiment que la sécurité de l'individu est la sécurité de toute la nation. Cependant, certains ouvrages (tout spécialement ceux au thème de construction) donnent l'impression d'une minutie recherchée et d'un litéralisme un peu affecté. Les situations présentées languissent quelquefois par prolixité et formalisme. Certains des auteurs ne sont pas encore à même d'amener la thèse et l'antithèse jusqu'à la synthèse, ils s'arrêtent sur la platforme d'un sondage partiel du présent. Ils manquent d'imagination épique suffisante pour triompher de leur inclination vers le poncif, le cliché et didactisme. Ainsi, à peu d'exceptions, le personnage du fonctionnaire rural (*anh can bo*) est toujours la même : c'est «un homme travaillant à l'excès, extraordinairement actif, très adroit, il sait tout faire. Et par contre, les négatifs : il rentre tard dans la nuit des réunions, mange son souper (du riz) froid, ses affaires à la maison sont en désordre, car il se soucie plus des affaires communes, ou bien il a ses propres soucis de famille — il n'a pas assez de cartes de rations, l'enfant est malade, sa grand'mère, il est veuf, sa mère ou sa femme le tance parfois. En fin de compte, cependant, la famille vient à comprendre tout cela, les proches l'aiment bien, ont confiance en lui, les choses vont comme avant».[12] Souvent l'effort pour rendre une haute importance idéologique est au dépens de l'effet artistique, la force du schéma usité semble avoir restreint le courage des auteurs pour l'innovation, pour joindre magistralement une vue critique avec une recherche d'une solution positive. C'est surtout chez les jeunes auteurs que l'on sent une difficulté de s'affranchir de leur sujet circonscrit, de franchir en un certain sens leur propre moi et de par ce fait comprendre plus objectivement les autres et élucider la forme de la vie à partir de différents niveaux et divers angles. C'est pourquoi, beaucoup des ouvrages de cette période nous apprennent bien peu sur divers aspects privés mais aussi non-privés dans la vie du soldat vietnamien ou du chauffeur militaire. Lors même qu'avec certains auteurs l'élaboration du thème acquiert des dimensions psychologiques et philosophiques, le manque d'un regard sobre sur la réalité résulte dans une exagération du pathos artistique. Par exemple l'écrivain Nguyen The Phuong dans son conte *Chuyen nho o vung lua* (Petite épisode de la zone du feu)[13] écrit avec émotion et fierté du peuple de sa région natale. Les formes de la vie nouvelle lui sont une source d'auto-expression artistique et d'une relation spécifique vers la réalité. Le conte fait l'effet d'une confession philosophique conditionée par les connaissances de l'auteur, son expérience de la vie et sa conviction. Néanmoins, il ne profile

[12] Phong Le, op. cit., pp. 122—123.

[13] In: *O vung lua* (Zone de feu). Hanoi, Nha xuat ban Van hoc 1968.

pas ses contemporains dans le contexte des relations sociales humaines au niveau convenant. Il lui manque, en une certaine mesure, la perspicacité et l'innovation du coup d'œil artistique.

Nguyen Kien dans son conte *Chan song* (Creux de vague, 1967), décrit la vie dans un port de radeaux et de propulseurs. Il montre comment l'homme change dans les conditions de guerre, comment chacun atteint l'héroïsme à sa manière. L'auteur y apparaît comme un médecin fort sur le diagnostic des qualités morales de l'homme contemporain, et de la vie. Chez certains personnages il réussit à pénétrer l'essence paradoxale de la manière d'agir humaine. Le sous-texte philosophique de son roman incline vers les positions psychologiques introvertes. Cependant, l'auteur parfois présente les aspects complexes de la personnalité humaine sans aucun but précis, comme s'il s'agissait d'une «spécification peu couteuse» du caractère des personnages.

Dans le conte *Qua bom no cham* (Bombe rélée),[14] l'écrivain Huy Phuong a présenté un homme simple, ordinairement ne faisant preuve d'aucune initiative, pourtant quand il s'y met, courageusement désamorce une bombe rélée. L'auteur y examine si l'individuel est en conformité ou en contradiction avec le social et souligne le principe de moralité par rapport à l'humanisme. Cependant, l'urgence sociale de ses propos est quelque peu émoussée par son faible traitement artistique du thème : le héros Lam se comporte et agit avec peu de naturel, il se décide pour l'exploit héroïque et le sacrifice d'une manière beaucoup trop simple, sans aucun problème. Dans le conte *Phia truoc* (En avant),[15] l'écrivain Bui Hien a exprimé par l'intermédiaire du personnage principal (Cao Ba Tuyet) l'idée que la vérité ne pourrait pas être en contradiction avec l'éthique, mais qu'elle est l'équivalent de la valeur humaine. L'auteur réussit à refléter l'atmosphère des temps, leur humeur et mode de penser quasi authentiquement.

Durant cette période la littérature vietnamienne n'oubliait pas sa tradition très riche et son passé. Elle y retournait comme à la source de valeurs où l'on pouvait puiser pour le présent. On peut considérer comme un acte réussi dans ce domaine la publication du livre *Hop tuyen Tho van yeu nuoc nua sau the ky XIX, 1858—1900* (Recueil de littérature patriotique de la deuxième moitié du XIX$^{e}$ siècle, 1850—1900, 1971) comprenant plus de cinquante auteurs, dont un tiers avaitent été inconnus jusqu'ici, et quelques cent poèmes dont l'idendité des auteurs n'est pas certaine. Il s'agit d'œuvres littéraires qui diffèrent de la production antécédante par un changement qualitatif dans le sens que leur caractère populaire s'est élevé. On y trouve, entre autres, la prose intéressante de Nguyen Dinh Chieu où est représenté,

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[14] In : *Truyen ky ba nam chong My* (Trois ans contre les Américains). Hanoi, Nha xuat ban Van hoc 1968.

[15] In : *Van nghe* (Littérature et art), 1967, No. 223.

pour la première fois dans la littérature vietnamienne, le caractère d'un simple cultivateur-patriote.

Un roman de la première moitié des années soixante-dix qui mérite d'être signalé est celui par la femme-écrivain Nguyen Thi Ngoc Tu, intitulé *Dat lang* (Terre villageoise, 1974) traitant des problème du milieu rural. Employant un style relativement simple, l'auteur réussit à résoudre des situations assez compliquées de la campagne vietnamienne ; cependant, par endroits elle glisse sur la platforme d'une composition schématique de la trame des événements. Un autre roman remarquable, *Ngon lua* (La flemme, 1975) par Hoc Phi, un auteur orienté historiquement, décrit l'époque de la fondation du Parti communiste d'Indochine (1930), et le début de la résistance anticoloniale et antiféodale de 1932—1934. Le journaliste et écrivain vietnamien bien connu, Thanh Tin a publié le livre *60 ngay o Sai-gon* (60 jours à Saigon, 1974). En tant que participant des négociations de la commission militaire mixte de quatre parties à Saigon à la suite de la signature des accords de Paris sur Vietnam (27. 1. 1973) il parle, en forme d'un journal particulier, de divers événements et incidents qu'il avait entendus ou dont il était témoin. Un autre auteur qui puise du milieu rural contemporain est Nguyen Kien avec son roman *Vung que yen tinh* (Foyer tranquille, 1974). Il s'efforce de poser et résoudre le problème touchant l'introduction d'un mode de vie nouveau pour chaque individu à la campagne. Son dessein était d'enjamber artistiquement le présent ; cependant, il ne réussit pas à maîtriser la palette trop large et trop compliquée des destins humains. Peut-être l'œuvre la plus réussie de cette époque est le roman d'un écrivain d'une génération plus avancée Nguyen Hong — *Khi dua con ra doi* (Quand l'enfant vient au monde, 1975). Avec son style captivant il mène le lecteur par les jours les plus agités de la révolution d'Août 1945. La trame du roman a une structure ferme, une cadence rapide et une caractérisation saillante au point de vue linguistique et stylistique des personnages. Les dialogues sont un moyen dynamique pour soutenir le mouvement du thème et pour caractériser les qualités diverses des héros.

En outre des romans ci-cités, un grand nombre de contes et autres nouvelles parurent pendant ce temps dans la prose vietnamienne, pour la plupart ayant pour sujet l'indépendance nationale et la célébration de la victoire historique sur le néo-colonialisme. Parmi ceux-ci on doit spécialement souligner le conte *Trong chuyen xe lam* (Voyage par l'autobus bleu),[16] par Nguyen Cong Hoan, maître passé en ce genre. En un style ironisant qui lui est propre, il parle d'un homme sans joie, solitaire, avec qui il voyage dans Saigon libéré et qui ne connait pas et ne veut pas comprendre la situation nouvelle au Vietnam du sud et ainsi péniblement cache son drôle d'existence.

Quant à la vie littéraire dans les régions libérées de Vietnam du sud, l'origine de la

[16] In: *Van nghe* (Littérature et art), 1975, No. 62.

prose artistique était déterminée ici par la lutte de libération au centre de laquelle est l'homme-combattant qui défend la liberté de sa patrie et au milieu de cette lutte devient conscient de sa position, de sa mission et de sa force. Au Vietnam du sud, la nouvelle comme genre occupait la place la plus importante dans la littérature révolutionnaire.

Dans la prose *Hai anh em* (Frères, 1964), Phan Tu traite d'une situation paradoxale, qui cependant, était suffisamment typicale pour le Vietnam du sud à cette époque. Un guerrier de l'armée libératrice Cam prend un soldat ennemi comme prisonnier. Par la suite il le reconnait comme son frère qui avait été mobilisé de force dans l'armée de Saigon. Cam rêve du jour où son frère pourra lutter à son côté. L'écrivain Phan Tu est attiré par le processus complexe de la transformation mentale de l'homme qui joint la lutte juste de sa nation.

L'écrivain Anh Duc fit son entrée dans la littérature sud-vietnamienne avec ses contes et esquisses *Buc thu Ca-mau* (Lettre du cap Ca-mau, 1966) et son roman *Hon dat* (Grotte sacrée, 1965). L'amour de la patrie unit les héros de tous ces écrits. Le roman Grotte sacrée décrit l'héroïsme de dix-sept patriotes (y compris deux enfants) qui avaient pris refuge dans une caverne de montagne et résistaient vaillamment et courageusement pendant dix jours à la supériorité de l'ennemi. Avec une maîtrise artistique, l'auteur fait cas des relations d'amitié et de fraternité nouvelles qui naîssent dans une lutte commune. Dans le conte *Con chi Loc* (Enfant de la mère Loc), la naissance d'une vie nouvelle dans les cachots symbolise le commencement d'un futur plus beau. Son deuxième conte *Khoi* (Fumée) est de même profondément imprégné d'humanisme. C'est une épisode d'amour né dans la lutte, l'épisode d'une jeune fille qui perd une main afin de sauver son amant. Dans un autre roman *Gia dinh ma Bay* (Famille de la mère Bay, 1961) il a créé avec une conviction artistique l'image d'une mère comme un caractère national héroïque. La trame du roman est placé aux années 1960—1961, au début du mouvement de la libération nationale qui finalement aboutit dans la formation du Front national de libération.

Nguyen Thung Thanh écrit des contes et esquisses au coloris lyrique. Dans le conte *Rung Xa-nu* (Les Sa-nu, 1969), une charge importante retombe sur la nature — les arbres sa-nu mutilés par l'artillerie ennemie. L'histoire d'un garçon Thu procède en parallèle — un gars assortissant d'un groupe minoritaire des montagnes endure et survit les tortures infligées par l'ennemi. L'authenticité des faits, la force attrayante d'événements réels entraient largement dans les œuvres au caractère documentaire. Un tel genre a servi de base au conte *Tren mat tran ben kia cau chu y* (Au front au-delà du pont de Saigon, 1969). Une nouvelle autobiographique Bat Khuat (Insoumis, 1967) par Nguyen Duc Thuan — évoquant en maints points les Reportages de sous la potence de J. Fučík — parle de la lutte héroïque des patriotes dans les prisons de Saigon. De même, le livre de mémoires *Song nhu anh* (Vivre comme lui, 1965) par Phan Thi Quyen, veuve après le héros national Nguyen Van Troi, s'appuie aussi sur des faits vécus.

Deux romans datent d'une période plus récente — *Nhung buoc di lac* (Pas égarés, 1973) par Vo Huy Tam traitant des années 1944—1948 et *Cai so thanh hinh rom* (L'habit d'un garçon comme un brin de paille, 1974) par Nguyen Sang. Ce dernier est fortement lié à sa patrie et connait intimement le milieu sud-vietnamien. Dans sa construction de l'intrigue il emploie le symbole «réminiscences comme personnages». Cependant, par endroits il retombe dans des monologues prolixes. Le roman *Trai S.T.18* (Camp S.T.18, 1974) est le quatrième par Phan Tu et en même temps représente une prose typique de la littérature révolutionnaire du Vietnam du Sud. En forme de notes d'un journaliste, l'auteur y raconte un événement qui avait pris place dans un camp de prisonniers.

Des motifs anticoloniaux et des images y afférentes du régime anti-américain à Saigon étaient caractéristiques aussi pour une partie de la littérature écrite auparavant dans cette ville. Ainsi, par exemple le conte *Gio cuon* (L'ouragan, 1968) traite des effets négatifs de la manière de vie sur la jeunesse sud-vietnamienne. Dans le conte *Vung dien dong* (La mer houleuse, 1967) Vu Giui dépeint le cours de vie d'une femme pauvre qui, pour assurer le traitement médical de son mari, est forcé d'aller dans la rue. Un autre thème qui revient assez souvent est celui de la corruption et de l'usure, comme par exemple dans la reportage artistique *Manh luc do-la* (La puissance du dollar, 1967), par Dung Tam. Dans le roman *Chan troi tim* (L'horizon violet, 1964) par Van Quang, on trouve des motifs «remarque-iens» et un autre ouvrage par le même auteur — *Nguoi yeu cua linh* (L'amante du soldat, 1965) fait preuve d'un individualisme extrême au point de vue psychologique et d'un niveau assez peu élevé dans la structure compositionnelle du sujet. Des idées d'une philosophie existentialiste sont présentées par la femme écrivain Nguyen Thi Hoang dans son roman *Vong tay hoc tro* (Dans l'embrasse de l'élève, 1968).[17]

On peut constater que pendant la période abordée ici, la production prosaïque vietnamienne s'efforçait de résoudre au sens synthétisant du développement historique, les questions de la lutte pour la liberté, le progrès social et les idéals humanistes. Un an après la libération et l'unification du Vietnam (1975) la vie littéraire et artistique s'est aussi unifiée. Des conditions nouvelles ont été créées pour toute la littérature vietnamienne et des possibilités pour son développement intérieur et aussi dans le cadre du processus littéraire mondial.

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[17] Cf. l'étude par S. N. Toporistchev: Eksistentsialistsky roman v Yujnom Vietname i traditsii literaturnogo obchtchestva "Tou Louk" (Le roman existentialiste au Vietnam du Sud et les traditions de la société littéraire «Tu Luc»). In: Traditsionnoie i novoie v literaturakh Yugo-Vostotchnoi Azii. Moscou 1982, p. 208—224.

# GRAMMAR AND REALITY. A PROBLEM OF METAPHOR

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This paper deals with the relation of grammatical categories to reality. From the semantic point of view each grammatical category may be said to have a core and a periphery. The core is immediately motivated by experience while in the case of the periphery the motivation is only metaphorical.

The relationship of the content of grammatical categories to reality is frequently discussed in linguistics. On the one hand, it is obvious that grammatical categories do reflect reality but, on the other hand, this reflexion is partial and distorted, even if to a varying degree.

This contradiction is usually solved in such a way that grammatical categories are characterized as part of the structural framework of language, while their content is admittedly due to some external motivation; it is suggested that in the very process of grammaticalization they cease to reflect experience directly. Becoming autonomous, they may acquire semantic features that are unacceptable in purely cognitive terms. In other words, they cease to conform to the requirement of reflexive adequacy (Krupa, 1977, p. 20).

Language as the most important means of human communication has to meet two requirements. First, it has to be able to communicate about anything (requirement of adequacy) and second, it has to be intelligible to the participants of the communication act (requirement of consistency). These two requirements are to some extent contradictory because only such a language is one hundred per cent reflexively adequate that responds to the constantly changing environment (objective reality) as readily as possible, while one hundred per cent consistency seems to be linked to absolute stability of language. From this point of view, however, any natural language is to be qualified as a sort of a compromise; vocabulary is treated as obeying the requirement of reflexive adequacy, while grammar is governed by the principle of consistency. An analogous idea has been expressed by J. H. Greenberg who suggests that grammatical markers are not susceptible to semantic interpretation in terms of nonlinguistic environment (Greenberg, 1954, p. 15).

Although this point of view contains a grain of truth, it remains unacceptable as an exhaustive explanation because it sheds no light on the process leading to the loss of reflexive adequacy by grammatical categories and also because it does not account for the fact that the semantic basis of any grammatical category may be remotivated

and revitalized. In other words, the semantic background of grammatical categories is not entirely petrified and the awareness of their links to reality is no mere fiction.

Grammar represents the structural framework of language. This does not imply that grammar is identical with structure. In fact, all language elements are carriers of its structure, although they differ as to the specific weight of relationality in their total meaning. Relationality prevails with grammatical elements, while lexical elements are notable for a lower structural load. Put in other words, no language elements are entirely free of the structural load (i.e. relationality) but on the other hand, there may occur in language such elements that fulfil only structural functions. This agrees with V. Skalička's opinion according to which the meaning of morphological markers is a transposition of lexical and — I shall add — syntactic units (cf. Krupa 1981, p. 160). This means that a language may, but need not have morphological structure markers because its structure is marked by syntactic and lexical means as well. Skalička's view is in agreement with the author's interpretation of relations as generalized meanings and with K. Lorenz's treatment of structure as stabilized cognition, i.e. as knowledge. E. R. Atayan (1976, p. 63) qualifies linguistic energeia as a unity of knowledge and cognition. The former is identified with structure and the latter with language elements (lexemes). But the process of cognition is open and constantly modifies knowledge; that is why structure has to undergo gradual change in the course of time. And K. Lorenz goes on to say: "... each accommodated structure comprises knowledge. The latter may be accumulated only in accommodated structure... structure is accommodation in a ready-made state. If further accommodation is taking place, if new knowledge is being acquired, structure has to be at least partly removed and rebuilt" (Lorenz, 1973, p. 261).

The clue to the nature of semantics of grammatical categories lies in the high structural load of grammar, in its basically relational nature. Grammar is ex definitione the most stable language level and as such it may be expected to contain relics of older cognitive attitudes, buried below more recent strata. Meaning or content of the grammatical categories, especially of those that have been termed selective by B. L. Whorf (1945, pp. 5—6), often seems to be illogical and yet in a way, motivated by experience, by reality. A solution to this dilemma may be looked for in metaphor. For the purposes of the present paper, metaphor is defined as a transfer which is heterogeneous from the point of view of the semantic domains involved (i.e. as a transfer from one domain into another); as a consequence of this transfer, what is similar is treated as identical. One of the cognitive advantages of metaphor is its ability to communicate in hints, because it is hints that make one feel the inexhaustibility of objective reality. In this respect metaphor is an adequate means of expression. One certainly should not forget that metaphor is a multilayer phenomenon in the complex *perception — language — cognition,* i. e. that it operates upon several hierarchical levels. One of these levels is that of grammar. A grammatical category is defined as generalized meaning that is consistently and

obligatorily marked for a set of formally defined items included in this set. It is precisely the obligatory nature of grammatical categories that renders the application of metaphor desirable and even inevitable.

Experience persuades us that reality is continuous and inexhaustible and yet our cognition must process it with the aid of a finite and limited set of devices (including language as its main instrument). Cognitively applied language discretizes experience. This discrete linguistic pattern ranges from being fairly subtle, as in the case of vocabulary, to being rather crude, as in the case of grammatical categories. The grammatical patterning is applied to a more or less numerous set of items, but it is reflexively adequate only with a restricted number of these items which may be said to represent the semantic basis or core of the category, being more or less Procrustean in all other instances. The mechanism that is used to span the gap between the fitting and the Procrustean extremes is essentially metaphorical.

A typical example of such a grammatical category is gender in Slovak (and in other Slavic languages). Each Slovak noun has to be assigned to one of the three genders, masculine, feminine or neuter, combining with the appropriate set of suffixes. The Slovak gender is a highly formalized category. Its semantic background is obviously to be looked for in sex. Each of the three genders comprises a core of nouns that are classed as masculine, feminine or neuter because of the sex of their referents. Names of males (*chlap* man, *učiteľ* teacher, *brat* brother, etc.) and of some male animals (*býk* bull, *kohút* cock, *pes* dog, etc.) are classed as masculine, while those of females (*žena* woman, *sestra* sister, *matka* mother, etc.) and of some female animals (*sliepka* hen, *krava* cow, *suka* bitch) are members of the feminine category. The core of the neuter gender consists of nouns referring to things (*vrece* bag, *mesto* town, *sedlo* saddle, etc.) including also nouns referring to youngsters (*dieťa* child, *psíča* puppy, *mača* kitten, etc.). Excepting the sets of motivated nouns forming the core of each gender, the affiliation of a noun with the particular gender is a purely formal matter. All nouns ending in a consonant are masculine except a small and enumerable class of feminine nouns (e.g. *kosť* bone, *noc* night, *zmes* mixture). Likewise, all nouns ending in *-a* are classified as feminine except those referring to male persons (such as *sluha* servant, *hrdina* hero, *kolega* colleague) and those referring to youngsters (*dieťa* child, *psíča* puppy, etc.) while all nouns ending in either *-o* or *-e* are classified as neuter nouns. It follows that the sex motivation is pretty well alive with nouns referring to persons; to such an extent that feminine forms are easily derivable from their masculine pendants by means of productive derivative affixes (cf. the pairs *učiteľ* teacher — *učiteľka* teacher, fem., *maliar* painter — *maliarka* painter, fem., *sluha* servant — *slúžka* servant, fem., *hrdina* hero — *hrdinka* heroine, fem., *kolega* colleague — *kolegyňa* colleague, fem.) and the gender of nouns referring to persons might even be regarded as a modulus category in the Whorfian sense (Whorf, 1945, pp. 6—7). In such a case the pairs *muž* man — *žena* woman, *otec* father — *matka* mother, etc., could be regarded as suppletive.

In addition to the core of motivated nouns, there are nouns which are hard to be classified as either masculine or feminine or neuter upon purely semantic grounds and their gender affiliation is metaphorical. It is essentially a sound metaphor: All semantically unmotivated nouns ending in *-a* are classed as feminine, those ending in a consonant (with the exceptions mentioned above) are classed as masculine, while those ending in *-o* or *-e* are classed as neuter. I have already touched upon the semantic core of the neuter gender. The latter, in my opinion, includes also names of body parts, since a remarkably high proportion of Slovak names of body parts are neuters ending in either *-o* or *-e*, e.g. *ucho* ear, *oko* eye, *čelo* forehead, *líce* cheek, *srdce* heart, *koleno* knee, *brucho* belly, *hrdlo* throat, *temeno* sincput, *tylo* occiput. Their inclusion in the neuter was probably once motivated by their inability to fulfil agentive functions in the sentence.

The sound metaphor may be semanticized, revived in folklore and poetry. Thus death is always personified as a woman in Slovak (*smrť* death is a feminine) while the personified months in the folktale are characterized as men (*mesiac* moon is a masculine in Slovak).

The category of gender overlaps with that of animateness in Slovak and in other Slavonic languages. Its semantic basis is of a more recent date and perhaps this is why considerable differences exist among various Slavonic languages or even dialects. In Slovak, animate nouns refer to living creatures that are classified as masculine. In truth, two close, and yet different generalizations clash here. 1. In the singular all nouns referring to living creatures of the masculine gender behave as animate. 2. In the plural the category of animate nouns includes only those referring to intelligent creatures (of the masculine gender). The clash is between the tendency to treat as animate only nouns referring to intelligent creatures and the tendency to treat as animate all nouns referring to living creatures, both persons and animals. In both instances the opposition animate — inanimate covers only the masculine gender. In West-Slovak dialects, however, the latter tendency has prevailed and as a consequence of this, masculine animal nouns are classed as animate in both singular and plural. Russian has gone further in this direction, as the category of animate nouns includes not only masculine but also feminine nouns referring to all living creatures.

The grammatical gender in Slovak (and in other Slavonic languages) betrays its metaphorical nature. A property that is made the semantic basis of the category holds (in terms of reflexive adequacy) for a core set of nouns and is metaphorically extended upon the basis of homofunctionality to the whole class (although it cannot hold in terms of reflexive adequacy for the periphery of the class). In the case of the grammatical gender, the metaphorical extension may be labelled as anthropomorphous. It is known from psychological investigations that human beings categorize things in terms of prototypes and in the case of the gender, the prototype is taken over from the human world.

The aim of categorization is to make experience ordered, more transparent to

understanding and easier to handle, which means that our categorization is primarily instrumental and as such, may undergo a remotivation whenever necessary. Anthropomorphism is omnipresent in language (and not only in language) and is obviously part of what W. Wildgen terms archetypal basis of semantics (Wildgen, 1983, p. 38) that is notable for its considerable structural stability.

Another example of the metaphorical extension in the domain of grammar is supplied by the category of alienable versus inalienable possession in accordance with which any noun is classed either as alienable or as inalienable in Polynesian (but also in other) languages.

In Polynesian linguistics, the terms dominant and subordinate possession are sometimes used instead of alienable and inalienable. Attempts to interpret this category as a kind of gender are rejected by some linguists because a sizeable group of nouns would have to be assigned to two classes. It is rather the relation between the possessor and the possessed that decides whether the alienable or the inalienable marker is employed in a particular instance. The category of possession is marked within the nominal phrase in most Polynesian languages. Its markers are possessive pronouns that occur in two parallel series, as well as possessive nominal particles, both the former and the latter containing *-o-* for inalienable and *-a-* for alienable possession. The semantic core of this category comprises nouns referring to organically possessed items, such as body parts in the case of inalienable (e.g. Tongan *'ulu* head, Samoan *lima* hand, Maori *waewae* foot) and of conventionally possessed items in the case of alienable, such as various small objects and products which can change possessors (e.g. Tongan *hele* knife, Samoan *'ato* basket, Maori *ika* fish). The semantic basis of the category of possession is anthropocentric; it is built up upon the metaphorical model of the human body, the parts of which are organically, inalienably possessed by their possessors. This model has been extended not only to the animals and plants (cf. Maori *aka* root, inalienable) but also, what is more interesting, to the social domain, as well. Thus, social organization is metaphorically regarded as analogous to the human body. Objects such as villages (Tongan *kolo*), land (Tongan *fonua*), kings (Tongan *tu'i*), masters (Samoan *matai*), country (Samoan *atunu'u*), chiefs (Maori *rangatira*), grandparents (Maori *tupuna*) could not be alienated because they were "given" a priori to the members of a community. None of these objects could be owned by their possessors in the narrow sense of the word, they could not be exchanged and the relation of their possessors to them was inevitably passive. Interestingly enough, feelings are also interpreted as inalienable, which seems to be motivated by their involuntary spontaneity, by their independence of one's own free will, e.g. Maori *aroha* love, Tongan *fatongia* duty, being obliged. Names and clothes are likewise classified as inalienable, cf. Tongan *hingoa* name, *kofu* clothes, which perfectly agrees with their interpretation in Polynesian culture. In general, there is more agreement among the Polynesian languages as far as the semantic core of the category is concerned, the divergencies being confined to the

periphery of the category. Thus, Tongan *fa'ee* mother is alienable, while Maori *whaeaa* mother is inalienable.

The metaphorical extension makes it easy to understand why marital partners and children are possessed in the alienable way. Polynesian society tolerated changing husbands or wives to a much greater degree than we do and the adoption of children was a common phenomenon. It is therefore not at all surprising that Maori nouns such as *taane* husband, *wahine* wife, *tama* son, *tamaiti* child and *pononga* slave are all alienable. As mentioned above, the opposition alienable — inalienable extends to the domain of processes, actions and states alike. While feelings and states are interpreted as inalienable — the possessor or rather experiencer is in a way helpless to love (Maori *aroha*), desire (Maori *hiahia*), sleep (Maori *moe*), and even intransitive actions are viewed as inalienable (Maori *haere* go, *tae* come). On the other hand, the status of actions is more complicated. The category of possession makes it possible to see that an action consists both of an activity and a state. When viewed from the viewpoint of the actor, it is an activity, but when viewed from the viewpoint of the patient, it is a state. Thus Maori *taana patunga* presents the process of killing from the standpoint of its actor (*Taana patunga i te hoariri* His killing the enemy), i. e. as alienable while, on the other hand, *toona patunga* presents the same process from the viewpoint of the target, of its patient who is unable to control it (*Toona patunga e te hoariri* His being killed by the enemy). It follows that the category of possession is partly a modulus and partly a selective category.

The categories of gender (or class in general), animateness and alienation are linked to the organization of sentence and correlate to some extent with the category of voice. Their semantics includes the opposition of activity — passivity, although this is far from obvious, especially with the highly formalized category of gender. In Slovak (and in other Slavonic languages) the coincidence of nominative with accusative in the class of neuter nouns is a residue of the phase when they represented passive entities that could not cause an action to occur and as a consequence of this fact, they did not need an inflexion of the actor case. This condition was subsequently hidden by a reorganization and reinterpretation of the basic sentence structure. This took place under the pressure of the metaphorical extension and canonization of the syntactic model actor — action — patient typical for so many European (and other) languages. The extension operates via an anthropomorphic metaphor which views all processes as analogous to those carried out by human beings. That is why we can utter both sentences like Slovak *Nosič odniesol kufor k vlaku* The porter has carried the suitcase to the train and sentences like Slovak *Voda odniesla čln k druhému brehu* Water has carried the boat to the other bank or even Slovak *Blesk zabil poľovníka* Lightning has killed the hunter. The particular languages differ as to the degree of generalization of the model actor — action — patient. E.g. in Russian we can say *Ego ubilo molniei* literally Him killed with/by lightning, which is different from both Slovak and English.

The reinterpretation of the basic syntactic structure does not concern only nominal constituents, but also verbal predicates. In the course of evolution that encompasses both form and content of grammar, nominal constituents have become emancipated from the predicate verbs and both may be presented as either active or passive. Could there be perhaps a parallel to the transition from syntagmatic associations to paradigmatic associations that is typical of the mental development of children? The above-mentioned emancipation leads to the rise of the category of voice. Its existence gives the speakers a possibility to represent a process as either active or passive. In the active construction the nominative is the case of the actor, but in the passive sentence it is the patient that comes to the foreground, taking the nominative marker "as if" it were the actor. Simultaneously, the actor is relegated to the background, taking the inflexion of an oblique case (usually instrumental), "as if" it were the patient. Inevitably, the passive construction with the patient as its head tends to be static because patients do not carry actions and here it is interpreted as a metaphorical intrusion of states into the domain of actions. The relation between the active and the passive constructions is asymmetrical in terms of frequency as well; passive constructions tend to occur much less frequently than their active pendants. The interpretation of passive as an "as if" stative is confirmed by the inclination of these constructions to display perfective or stative aspectual meaning in Slavic and in other languages as well.

There are classes of verbs or rather predicative constructions that typically resist the extension of the syntactic pattern actor — action — patient. One of them is the class of affective verbs. In Slovak, these verbs take their only obligatory nominal argument in the dative case. This argument is intuitively felt to be different from both the actor and the patient, referring usually to a person (*páčiť sa* like, *chcieť sa* feel like, *protiviť sa* dislike, *vyhovovať* suit, *zunovať sa* get tired, etc.). The attitude of this person to the state expressed by an affective verb is inherently passive, i.e. the person experiencing the state is represented grammatically "as if" he/she had no influence upon that state, "as if" he/she could not control it. This state, however, has its originator that takes the nominative inflexion and thus behaves "as if" it were the actor, e.g. *Páči sa mi leto* I like summer, *Tá kniha sa mu zunovala* He got tired of that book.

In the Polynesian languages there is no special class of affective verbs; they are qualified as inalienable, very much like the intransitive verbs, but unlike the transitive verbs that are classified as alienable, provided the possessor is identical with the actor and as inalienable provided the possessor is the patient. This creates a pattern reminiscent of ergative constructions because the possessor of an intransitive verb (e.g. Maori *toona aroha* his loving, *toona haere* his going) receives the same marking as the patient of a transitive verb (e.g. *toona patunga* his being hit, *toona whakaoranga* his being saved) and different from that of the actor of a transitive verb (e.g. *taana patunga* his hitting, *taana whakaoranga* his saving).

In English the affective pattern has disappeared and this language has generalized the pattern actor — action — patient to a greater extent than Slovak or German for that matter.

Metaphor is also at work in the category of number. The opposition of singular and plural presumes the articulation of objective reality into objects that have a shape and are delimited as against their background. The nouns referring to such objects may be labelled as the semantic core of the category of number because they can be easily counted. This semantic core is surrounded by a peripheral zone comprising, on the one hand, nouns referring to abstractions and substances that cannot be so easily delineated from their background and are shapeless and, on the other hand, nouns having unique referents. The distinction of number may easily be applied to the former class of nouns for which both singular and plural forms are available. However, mass nouns, abstractions and personal nouns cannot avoid the number inflexion either, although the distinction of singular and plural is of no relevance to them. In such instances, it is common for the noun to opt for the formal marker of singular which is the unmarked member of the opposition. The irrelevance of this opposition for mass nouns, abstractions and personal nouns has several reasons. Mass nouns do not take a plural inflexion because their referents are shapeless and can be measured (i.e. quantified) by means of various external devices (receptacles). Abstract nouns like *zlo* evil, *láska* love, *smútok* sorrow, cannot be quantified at all. And, finally, the personal or proper nouns are not subject to any quantification because their referents are unique. If any of them are used in plural, this use is metaphorical, indicating multiplicity of sorts (*voda* water — *vody* various sorts of water), personification (*láska* love — *lásky* loves, i.e. lovers) or metonymical transfer (*pivo* beer — *pivá* glasses of beer).

Another interesting class of nouns is that of pluralia tantum. In Slovak, a plurale tantum refers to an object that is in its own way complex, consisting of two or more components, or it may refer to an event that takes place repeatedly and is cyclical. The former type is illustrated by such nouns as *sane* sledge, *hodiny* watch, clock, *okuliare* glasses, *nohavice* trousers and the latter by, e.g., *prázdniny* vacation, *narodeniny* birthday, *meniny* nameday, *oslavy* celebration, etc. The pluralia tantum do not have their singular pendants but when counted they are compatible with the numeral for 1. Because of the obligatory formal agreement in number this numeral is, strangely enough, used in the plural, e.g. *jedny sane* one sledge, *jedny narodeniny* one birthday.

Some syntactic devices are also metaphorical in the original sense of metaphor as transfer. Earlier, I have turned attention to the metaphorical generalization of the construction pattern actor — action — patient in many European languages. Although this pattern is familiar in other languages as well, it need not be the dominant pattern of the sentence organization. Thus, in Japanese it is the social aspect, the factor of politeness, that plays the foremost part as far as the sentence

organization is concerned. The awareness of the need to pay attention to status parameters of the communication participants forces the speakers not to be too definite in some respects. Courtesy is known to coincide with implicit, imprecise, hint-like way of communication; the Japanese hearer obviously has a higher degree of freedom in his interpretation of the speaker's message. Perhaps this is why the actor need not be mentioned so frequently in Japanese as it is in European languages. It is more common for a Japanese sentence to be introduced by the topic that does not automatically coincide with the actor. Thus, it happens that in Japanese it is the action itself that comes to the foreground (including the patient as its integral part). In other words, the situation is politely deagentized, if possible, cf. the common use of such expressions as *tsugō ga yoi* or *tsugō ga warui* (literally the circumstances being good or the circumstances being bad) instead of the more straightforward expressions *If I am able* or *If I am unable*. Likewise, the Japanese say *Watashi wa niku ga kirai desu* As for me, meat is disgusting,instead of the more direct English expression *I dislike meat*. These and similar instances indicate that the Japanese prefer objectivist formulation, while we are more frequently inclined to use subjectivist frameworks. There are, no doubt, situations in which the Japanese pattern would seem more suitable, while the English formulation would be congenial in other situations. It is interesting, however, that there is a trend towards generalization (canonization) and that this generalization need not be the same in two different languages.

Such a generalization may be viewed as metaphorical in the sense of metaphor as a transfer in terms of which two similar things are treated as if they were identical.

Transfer of patterns also takes place from the level of simple sentence to that of complex sentence, or from coordination to subordination. Thus, in Japanese a complex sentence is structured as if it were a simple sentence, its subordinate clauses being grammatically treated as nominal arguments of a simple sentence and taking the same markers as substantives in analogous positions, e.g. *Kono hon wa atsui* ***kara*** *kyōjū yomikirenai* Today I shall not be able to finish reading this book ***because*** (*kara* is a postpositive particle meaning from) it is thick; *Boku wa kimi ga nani o yonde iru ka* ***o*** *shirimasen* I do not know what you are reading (*o* is a postpositive particle marking the direct object); *Kōbe e iku* ***no ni*** *mada hayai* It is still early ***to*** go to Kobe (particle *no* substantivizes the clause *Kōbe e iku* going to Kobe and *ni* is a case particle referring to direction, beneficiary, aim, etc.).

The transfer of grammatical devices is possible because of their inherent vagueness or porosity (cf. Pinkal, 1980, p. 14); vagueness is presupposed by metaphor as an instrument of reproductive assimilation in Piagetian sense. This mechanism suits the requirement of an efficient functioning of the language system because it is through this mechanism that language can cope with reflecting reality and with its communicative functions merely using and adjusting already available means in new situations.

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# MAORI AS AN ERGATIVE LANGUAGE FROM A FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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In this paper I argue that Maori should be classified as ergative, not, as traditionally, accusative. Particular attention is paid to the question of the nature of the verbal marker -*Cia*; it is claimed that -*Cia* is a marker of the thematic role of the verb.

It is the received view that Polynesian languages fall into two syntactic types — the ergative and the accusative (Krupa, 1973). This view is predicated on the difference between a certain transitive construction in one of the types and a like construction in the other. The difference in question is the presence in one type and the absence in the other of the verbal suffix -*Cia* (where *C* is one of a number of lexically determined consonants). If we ignore this difference, both types have the following construction:

Verb *e* Agent Patient (1)

where *e* is an oblique-case preposition. The existence of this suffixless construction in one type (represented by Samoan and Tongan) for transitive sentences alongside the following intransitive construction:

Verb Subject (2)

has caused the characterization of such languages as ergative. As for languages in the other type (represented by Maori), the existence side by side of the following pair of constructions:

Verb -*Cia* *e* Agent Patient (3)

Verb Agent *i* Patient (4)

has caused their characterization as accusative, with constructions (3) and (4) being regarded as a passive-active pair, and -*Cia* as a passive suffix. Moreover, according to Hohepa (1969), Chung (1978) and Chung and Seiter (1980), the Samoan and Tongan ergative construction stems from the loss of the verbal suffix from an earlier Maori-like passive construction.[1]

[1] Cf. The tradition of deriving ergatives from passives in Indo-European languages, discussed in Bynon (1979, p. 211).

But is the *-Cia* construction in Maori properly to be regarded as a passive ? Indeed, there are reasons for regarding the construction in (3) not as passive, but as ergative. These reasons are discussed below.

## The ergative analysis

The first argument in favour of an ergative analysis of Maori concerns word order. The order of agent and patient NPs in a passive construction is typically the reverse of their order in an active construction in the world's languages (Koutsoudas, 1981, p. 825), whereas there is just as typically no such difference in order of NP constituents with alternations of ergative and antipassive (i.e. non-ergative) constructional types in ergative languages (DeLancey, 1981, p. 627). Bearing this in mind, constructions (3) and (4), with the same agent-patient order, fit the ergative-antipassive description, but not the passive-active description.

Let us now consider the prepositions *i* and *e* which occur in constructions (4) and (3), respectively. The marking of a patient NP by an oblique case marker such as *i* is uncharacteristic of the active member of an active-passive pair of constructions (Sinclair, 1976, p. 24, 72), but is not at all unusual in antipassive constructions (Tsunoda, 1981, p. 411); construction (4) therefore seems to be more in keeping with the antipassive member of an antipassive-ergative pair than with the active member of an active-passive pair. Similarly, as the list of languages in Trask (1979, p. 404) demonstrates, and as the papers on the theme of "ergative, locative and instrumental case inflections" in Dixon (1976) make clear in the case of Australian languages, it is more the rule than the exception for the ergative case marker to be identical with the marker of an oblique case: are we to say that in all these cases the ergative case is really a passive agent, either synchronically (as Chung et al. say of Maori) or diachronically (as they say of Samoan and Tongan) ?[2]

Finally, the proposed ergative classification of Maori accords with its strategy of "passivization" for relativization of patient NPs — a strategy noted widely in the literature (e.g. Clark, 1973, p. 576; Sinclair, 1976, p. 14; Chung, 1978, pp. 69, 73; Keenan and Comrie, 1979, p. 342; Bauer, 1982, pp. 310—311); for if constructions like (3) are employed for patient relativization and constructions like (4) for relativization of agent NPs, then this is precisely the distribution of constructional types one finds in "ergative syntax" (Modini, 1984a).

The question arises as to what exactly is the function of the verbal marker *-Cia* in Maori. In my view *-Cia* indicates that the verb to which it is suffixed, is thematic rather than rhematic. This view is based on the fact that in languages like Maori with

[2] For some speculation about the derivation of ergative agent marker and antipassive patient marker from oblique case markers, not in a passive context, see Modini (1983a, pp. 10, 11).

ergative syntax, the ergative and absolutive cases mark rheme and theme, respectively (Modini, 1984a), so that constructions (3) and (4) have the following functional perspectives, respectively:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Verb-*Cia* (th) | *e* Agent (rh) | Patient (th) | (5) |
| Verb (rh) | Agent (th) | *i* Patient (rh) | (6) |

Verbal markers are a characteristic of ergative languages which have ergative syntax, occurring in one or more of the ergative, antipassive and intransitive constructions. The nomenclature — "transitive", "antipassive", etc. — stems from the type of structure they seem (most often) to occur in. However, their actual function — theme- and rheme-marking — is elucidated by an examination of their total distribution. Thus, as I argue in Modini (1983a, p. 7), the fact that antipassive markers occur also commonly in intransitive constructions shows not that antipassive constructions are in some way intransitive[3] but that the verb in both types of construction performs the same role in discourse — that of (part of the) rheme of the sentence. And the so-called transitive marker, appearing in ergative constructions, indicates that the verb to which it is attached has the other role — the thematic role — as indicated for Maori in construction (5).

The "morphological complexity" of the verb in construction (5) is seen by Sinclair (1976, p. 24) as a major problem for his ergative analysis of Maori. This is apparently because he, like Chung et al., can envisage no other function of -*Cia* than that of passive marker. Indeed, markers like -*Cia* do seem to be rare: in the ergative literature Eskimo is the only language with a "transitive" (i.e. theme) marker as part of the verb in an ergative construction.[4] The Chung—Sinclair tendency to view verbal markers in ergative languages as markers of the passive is reflected in Keenan's (1975, p. 350) creation of a Dyirbal "passive" — apparently (no data are supplied by Keenan) out of the presence of the verbal affix -*ŋay* in a certain

[3] Cf. Kalmár (1979), who disputes the almost universally held view that Eskimo antipassives are intransitive.

[4] Menovščikov (1969). This is apart from, of course, those Polynesian languages like Samoan, where the "transitive" marker is regarded as the "passive" marker -*Cia* historically, and where it occurs in special circumstances (Milner, 1973, pp. 635—636 on Samoan). It is interesting that one construction in which -*Cia* occurs in Samoan has a close parallel in Mam (Mayan), also a VSO language. Thus, both of these constructions, which involve agent focusing, have the agent NP in pre-verbal position; both constructions are ergative, but with no ergative marker (verbal agreement in Mam, preposition in Samoan); and in Mam a verbal marker corresponding to -*Cia* occurs (Cook, 1978, p. 58 on Samoan; England, 1983, p. 5 on Mam). Two words used by England to describe the Mam verbal marker is "passive"; however, its actual function is, or was originally, I believe, that of verbal theme marker, and it occurs in this construction (like -*Cia* in the Samoan construction) as a kind of compensation for the absence of marking of the rhematic function of the pre-posed NP.

construction: this is in reality the antipassive affix referred to in Dixon (1972, pp. 65—66, 99—100; 1979, pp. 127—128).[5]

## An advantage of the ergative analysis

My proposed ergative analysis of Maori offers an explanation for the comparative frequency of the "passive" in narratives — a phenomenon noted by, e.g., Chung (1978, p. 67) and Clark (1973, p. 578).

The nature of certain constructions imposes specific theme-rheme distributions on their constituents. Thus, in relative clauses the relativized NP is thematic (Modini, 1984a); similarly, in inalienable possession constructions the possessor NP is thematic (Modini, 1981, Ch. 3). In yet a third instance, viz. the instance of the locative word in a discourse-initial existential sentence, the NP in question is an example of what I have termed "pretended second mentioning" (Modini, 1983b): i.e. it is treated as having been mentioned before in the linguistic context, without actually having been mentioned before.

Now I suggest that, like this NP, the transitive verb both in imperative sentences and in characteristically past-tense narrative sentences is permitted in certain languages to function as a pretended second mentioning: that is to say, in both cases the verb is permitted to be treated as thematic even though it has not occurred previously in the discourse.[6] For a verb to have a thematic interpretation in an ergative language where absolutive and ergative are theme- and rheme-marker, the patient NP must also be thematic; this is because, as shown in (5) and (6) above, the theme-rheme distributions are:

Agent (th) Verb (rh) Patient (rh) (antipassive) (7)

Agent (rh) Verb (th) Patient (th) (ergative) (8)

There are only two circumstances in which the patient NP can be thematic: a) when it has been defined by the linguistic context, and b) when it functions as an instance of pretended second mentioning, this latter circumstance obtaining when the referent of the NP is "extralinguistically definite". (Outside of these two circumstances, the NP is necessarily rhematic and the construction is antipassive.)

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[5] In similar vein, Meľčuk (1977) calls *-ŋay* a passive marker, though he concedes that, as Hale (1970, p. 763) points out, Australian ergative languages typically do not have passives. (On this typological difference between ergative and accusative languages, see Modini (1982, 1984b).)

[6] The semantic connection between past tense and irreal is mood, reflected by the fact that narrative and imperative verbs are similarly amenable to a pretended second mentioning interpretation, seems to be that they are both "remote from present reality" (James, 1982, p. 398). In many languages past tense and different varieties of irreality are found expressed by the same form.

In some languages the referents of many more NPs are extralinguistically definite than is the case in, say, European languages. In Kalmár's opinion, "all common natural phenomena" in Eskimo, e.g., bushes, stones, etc. are extralinguistically definite (1979, p. 127). Thus, the only cases of NPs in Eskimo *not* able to be candidates for pretended second mentioning interpretation are likely to be Kalmár's "unusual things and the animate protagonists". We thus have a good reason why, as is the case, ergative constructions are superabundant in Eskimo narratives. And the same reason applies, I believe, to the same phenomenon in Maori.[7] Thus, if we examine the patient NP's in the discussion in Clark (1973, pp. 578—579), we see that the referents in the frequently occurring construction, the ergative, are of the "common natural" variety (e.g. pigs), while those in the comparatively rarer, antipassive construction are of the "unusual" kind (e.g. trumpet).[8]

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[7] The comparatively large domain of inalienable possession in Maori noted by Lévy-Bruhl (1916, pp. 102—103) suggests that there is, indeed, an abundance of extralinguistically definite objects. This is because inalienably possessible objects may be considered to be just the sub-category of extralinguistically definite objects which is possessible by people.

[8] Although I am convinced that originally, in a similar way, transitive imperatives could employ both ergative and antipassive constructions, the ergative is now obligatory, perhaps through generalization, in Maori (Clark, 1973, p. 577). Both constructions occur in Dyirbal with apparently no semantic difference (Dixon, 1972, p. 111).

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# LINGUISTIC SITUATION AND POLICY IN INSULAR SOUTHEAST ASIA

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The notion of linguistic situation is applied to three countries of Southeast Asia, i.e. Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines. The authors investigate the process of emancipation of their particular languages which consists in their standardization and structural as well as lexical expansion.

Linguistic situation is here defined as a set of languages which coexist and mutually interact in a region defined politically. This paper concentrates upon the linguistic situation in three important countries of Southeast Asia, i.e. Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. The linguistic situation represents a certain system which undergoes constant changes along the time axis. Two contradictory and yet complementary tendencies characterize the changes in the linguistic situation, i.e. convergence and divergence. Factors responsible for these tendencies are ultimately extralinguistic and are to be sought in the social, economic and political conditions. This is because language, far from being an immanent phenomenon, is merely an instrument serving the human society, an instrument that necessarily undergoes incessant adjustments to the changing needs of this society. There are, no doubt, also internal factors involved in the historical development of languages. According to the structuralists' opinion, only such changes can take place in a language as are acceptable from the point of view of its structure. This is qualified as an overstatement here. In our opinion, the internal factors are of a secondary importance, and their role consists in coping with the consequences of external impact and in incorporating them into the system in question, so as not to disturb its equilibrium or, to be more precise, disturb it as little as possible. Language obviously tries to assimilate its environment, but eventually it is accommodation, not assimilation that prevails (Krupa, 1980 p. 18). Recently the question of external factors has repeatedly been put forward by quite a few linguists (cf. Polikarpov, 1979; Hashimoto, 1976; Zhuravlev, 1982).

Languages involved in any particular linguistic situation enter a complex superordinate system and, being modified by its extralinguistic components, they in turn influence the latter. Languages serving a country enter into mutual relations and fulfil certain functions within this country. Since a country does not represent solely a territorial unit, but also a political, economic and cultural whole, the dominant feature of a linguistic situation is to satisfy the need of an efficient communication among all members of the society. This unifying function of language results in the

selection of a particular language as the vehicle of national communication, i.e. state or official language. This official language does not automatically suppress all the other languages, but is superimposed upon them and restricts their domain of use to a greater or a smaller extent.

If the linguistic situations are classified into monolingual, paucilingual and multilingual, the three countries described below are to be characterized as multilingual. These countries are notable for a variety of shared features. In none of them is the official language used by the majority of the population as the first language. In the case of the Philippines and Indonesia there are other, more numerous language communities and the official language is dominant only due to its economic, cultural and communicative advantages.

Another common feature of the three countries is that they are inhabited mainly by populations speaking various Austronesian languages. At the dawn of the historical era, these countries were subject to a long-term Indian influence which weakened as it spread eastward, and was later superimposed by Muslim influence, which again reached the Philippines marginally only. Since the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries another cultural (and linguistic as well as political) factor has entered the scene when Europeans (Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, British) began to penetrate Southeast Asia. The countries of insular Southeast Asia, as a result of their complex history, represent a multi-layered structure. This is corroborated by many of the local, especially the more advanced languages which abound with elements of Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English origin. Of a different nature is the Chinese factor, virtually omnipresent in Southeast Asia, although reaching its peak in Malaysia. The latter thus stands out as the country with the most numerous non-local population component in Southeast Asia.

The most remarkable feature of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines is their utmost ethnic and linguistic complexity. The number of Indonesian ethnic groupings is estimated at some 200. Some 95.9% persons speak some of the Austronesian languages. Javanese is both numerically and culturally the most important of these (46.2%), followed by Sundanese (13.1%), Madurese (6.0%), Malay (5.5%), Minangkabau (3.9%), Buginese (2.7%), Batak (2.4%) and others. Papuan languages, situated in the Irian Barat and some other islands in the east (Halmahera, Timor, etc.), are spoken by no more than 0.9% of the total population, being much exceeded by Chinese (3.1%).

The ethnic and linguistic situation of Malaysia is likewise notable for its considerable complexity. But this complexity is different from that of Indonesia mainly because of the presence of a sizable Chinese community amounting to 33.7% of the population. Another rather strong community of foreign origin is that of Indians (8.7%). While Malay is being used as the first language by 43%, 1.9% of the inhabitants speak other Austronesian languages (mainly in Sarawak and Sabah). Among these, the most numerous are the Dayaks (7.4%) and the Javanese (more

than 3%). It is worth mentioning that the peninsula acquired its Malay character as late as the seventh-eighth centuries A.D. The advancing Malays have pushed the original inhabitants who still speak their languages (related to the Mon-Khmer family) into the interior. Their descendants, i.e. the present-day Senoi (some 32,000) and Semang (3,000) represent a sort of an internal periphery of the linguistic situation of Malaysia.

The Philippines count some 90 different ethnic groupings, almost all of them Austronesian-speakers. The Tagals hold the most important position among them, although they account for only 22.3% of the total population of the Republic. The most numerous ethnic community is that of the Visayans (43.1%), followed by the Ilocanos (11.5%), Bikols (6.9%), Pampangans (3%), Pangasinans (2.9%) and others. The Muslim peoples of the south are a minority (4.6%) and speak a variety of languages (Magindanao, Tausug, Ilanum, Lanao, Sulu, Yaban, Sangil). They may be characterized as an external periphery of the Philippine linguistic situation, while the so-called mountain peoples or tribes living mainly in the mountain areas of Luzon and representing the remnants of the original inhabitants, account for less than 3% of the total population and are characterized here as the internal periphery. The percentage of foreigners is negligible; the most numerous community, i.e. that of Chinese, hardly exceeds 1%.

The numerical strength of the individual language communities is just one factor involved in the linguistic situation. A multilingual country cannot preserve its integrity unless a language is selected for the national use as an official or administrative language. This selection is influenced not only by the numerical strength of a given community, but also by a variety of other factors which are of a political, economic, geographical and cultural nature. The need of an efficient communication among all members of the state community may sometimes lead to the selection of a language other than the one used by the majority of the population.

Remarkably enough, in none of the three countries discussed here, is the language of administration (official language) spoken by the majority of the population as the first language. In Malaysia, the Malay language is spoken as the first language by 43% of the population; Tagalog as the national language of the Philippines is spoken as the first language by somewhat more than 20%, while in Indonesia the number of native speakers of Bahasa Indonesia is much lower, perhaps around 10%. Malaysia differs from both Indonesia and the Philippines in one important respect. Malay is the first language of the most numerous ethnic community within the country. On the other hand, the most numerous language community in Indonesia is that of the Javanese (almost 50%) while in the Philippines the Visayans predominate (likewise almost 50%). And yet, the selection of Malay as the national language was far from mechanical. This was because of the ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity of Malaysia which is fundamentally different from Indonesian and Philippine heterogeneity. The basic problem of Malaysia is the presence of a substantial Chinese element; besides,

there is a fairly strong Indian element, and both Chinese and Indians differ from the Muslim Malays in cultural, religious, and partly also racial respects.

The linguistic situation of present-day Malaysia cannot be properly described and understood without at least a brief glance into the past. Malay has been used since many centuries as a lingua franca in the area and later it became the vehicle of spreading Islam. As early as in the seventeenth century, Malay was used in the correspondence of local rajas with European powers (Soebardi, 1970, p. 151). But in the course of the nineteenth century, English and Dutch gradually replaced Malay as the language of administration. Malay began losing ground and despite its official status (alongside with English), it has sunk to the language of instruction in elementary schools (ibid., p. 152). Besides, English was much more dominant in Malaya than Dutch was in Indonesia (Vikør, 1983, p. 63). The position of Malay deteriorated also due to the fact that Englisch began to be identified with advance, progress, modernization, while Malay had the connotation of stagnation. The latter's position began improving as a result of the rise of Malay nationalism.

As early as the thirties of the twentieth century, there arose a movement for using Malay in newspapers. Malay nationalism during the fourties and the fifties was stimulated by World War Two which subsequently resulted in the gradual decay of colonialism. As Yahaya Ismail puts it, the Japanese occupation awakened a new political consciousness in the minds of Asians (Ismail, 1978, p. 93). However, this movement was not simply anti-colonial; at the same time, it was also anti-Chinese. The United Malay National Organization declared that a solution of the language problem was part of its political programme in the general elections of 1955. It allied its forces with the Malayan Chinese Association and with the Malay Indian Congress, and when the Alliance won the elections in 1956, Balai Pustaka (later Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka) was founded as an organization aiming at making Malay the national language of independent Malaya. The country was granted independence on 31 October 1957 and Malay was duly proclaimed the national language of the newly-born State. However, Malay was to share this status with English for the period of the next ten years and became the only national language in 1967 (four years after the proclamation of Malaysia) in Malaya, in 1973 in Sabah and in 1975 in Sarawak.

Malay as the national language faced the necessity of rapid standardization and development of its vocabulary. The conservative wing, defending traditional language and purism (represented by Lembaga Bahasa Melayu), was opposed by the radical movement Angkatan Sasterawan 50, led by young writers. The radicals looked beyond the borders, and advocated close cooperation with neighbouring Indonesia. The decisive role in the development of language was played by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, subordinated to the Ministry of Education, and thus it became the official language institution. It has concentrated its efforts upon the standardization of the Malay language and upon the extension of its vocabulary, especially in the

field of terminology. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka has created tens of thousands of new terms based to some extent upon English models. In this process, problems of adaptation arose because of considerable differences between English and Malay phonetics. Besides, not all the terms by far, have been accepted by the public. Consequently, some linguists gradually became aware that the English phonetic shape of internationalisms is not suitable for Malay and that it would be better to pay more attention to their Latin and Greek prototypes (cf. Haji Omar, 1971a). The development of modern Malay is notable for the processes of democratization, internationalization and intellectualization. Haji Omar (1971b) states that Bahasa Indonesia has made a far greater advance in this direction than Malay. These three processes, i.e. democratization, internationalization and intellectualization are closely linked to the increase of education and to the social progress of the masses. Nor should the role of literature and mass media be disregarded or underestimated. Especially the latter play a crucial role in the standardization of colloquial language, particularly under conditions when quite a high proportion of language users cannot read and write, or at least do not read and write regularly.

As is known, in Western Malaysia there coexist two standard pronunciation styles, i.e. 1. Malay Radio and Television Style which is also used in the schools throughout the southern districts and 2. Norhern style common in the schools of the North. In Eastern Malaysia, pronunciation is closer to that of Bahasa Indonesia and resembles more the North Malaysian style than the Radio and Television style (Haji Omar, 1970, p. 453).

Another important development in the history of modern Malay was its introduction into the education system. In the sense of the so-called Razak Report (1956), Malay was made the medium of instruction. Both the Razak Report and the subsequent Rehman Talib Report are of a special import for the fate of Malay. Many secondary schools using Malay as their medium of instruction were established throughout the country. According to the plan, Malay was expected to replace English upon the secondary level by 1964, and upon the university level in the eighties.

The Government has decided to organize Malay language courses for citizens of non-Malay ethnic background and, besides, the National Language Week (in 1960) also the National Language Months (in 1961—1966) have been organized. Everybody who wished to be a Malaysian citizen had to know the Malay language and the latter was regarded as a vehicle of developing the national character and identity (Ismail, 1978, p. 95).

As far as the problem of language planning is concerned, E. Haugen distinguishes four basic phases, i.e. the selection of a norm, the codification of its form, the elaboration of its functions and, finally, its acceptance by society (Haugen, 1966). The Malay language of today has to face the third and the fourth phases, but the first and the second phases have not been entirely terminated; Malay still consists

of the written language, of territorial dialects and Pidgin Malay which seem to have been developing more or less in parallel.

The linguistic problems of Malaysia go far beyond the development of Malay terminology and grammar. It is even more important for the Malay language to be accepted and mastered by all ethnic communities in this multi-ethnic country. In the case of national minorities in a country it is usual to speak of the periphery of linguistic situation. However, if the minority is as strong as the ethnic Chinese in Malaysia (about one third of the population), are we still entitled to speak of a periphery? On the other hand, the immigrants from Indonesia speaking Javanese, Sundanese or any other language become easily assimilated to the Malays and thus cease to be peripheral linguistically. The assimilation of Thai overlapping from the northern neighbouring country is more difficult because the linguistic gap is accompanied by a religious gap as well.

A special position is taken up by the native peoples of the Malay peninsula, i.e. the Negritos, Senoi and Semai. Being the original inhabitants of the country, they have dwindled in their numbers and sunk to the status of a sort of internal periphery. They speak non-Austronesian languages, being both socially and culturally much less developed than all the other ethnic communities. That is why their integration will take some time.

The linguistic diversity of Malaysia is accentuated by differences in religion and race. Most Chinese are Buddhists and Confucianists, while part of the Indians are Hinduists. Therefore, it is very difficult to forecast the future ethnic and linguistic changes in the overall linguistic situation of Malaysia, although one can take it for granted that the linguistic integration will advance at a more rapid pace than the social and cultural integration.

Indonesia is linguistically and culturally related to Malaysia. Both countries use virtually the same language upon the national level although, since 1928, it is called Bahasa Indonesia in the Republic of Indonesia, while the Malaysians now prefer calling their own national language Bahasa Malaysia.

The number of all languages spoken in Indonesia is estimated at some 250 of which only a fragment are non-Austronesian (mainly Papuan). Thus, from the point of view of quantity, the Indonesian linguistic situation is more complex than that of either Malaysia or the Philippines and its diversity is enhanced by the fragmentation of the insular world, as well as by the cultural, religious and racial diversity. Unity of such a vast country inhabited by more than 140 millions of people would be fictitious without a generally accepted language of education, mass media and administration. Such a language is Bahasa Indonesia, a continuation of Malay which was used since many centuries throughout Southeast Asia. When the Dutch colonized Indonesia, they employed Malay as a means of communication with the Indonesians (in the beginning alongside with Portuguese), but later they began using the local languages as well, especially the most important ones such as e.g. Javanese and Sundanese.

The indirect administration of the colony, however, would not be efficient enough without local nobility who needed better education. For this purpose Javanese, Sundanese and Malay were used (the latter in those instances where no important local language existed and also in Javanese and Sundanese regions as a subject besides). Dutch was employed mainly in the Christianized areas (Ambon, Minahasa).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the administration started to prefer Dutch, particularly for the education of the elite. Especially G. J. Nieuwenhuis proclaimed the necessity of teaching Dutch to the Indonesians. Some of the Dutch opposed this policy, but the position of the Dutch language improved considerably, at least among the educated Indonesians. Local languages were used for the purposes of instruction only at primary schools. For some time it looked as if the Dutch language would become the communication medium of the Indonesian unity. However, as early as 1916, K. H. Dewantara publicly declared that Malay would become the language of the whole Indonesia.

Further development has confirmed that Dewantara's prognosis was realistic enough. Malay became the language of the Sarekat Islam, the first nationalist mass organization because it alone could bridge the existing gap between the élite and the masses, as well as between Java and nationalities in other parts of the country. On 28 October 1928, Malay was embraced by the young people at their Congress who proclaimed their loyalty to Bahasa Indonesia. Among several varieties of Malay the most suitable variant was School Malay based on Classical Riau Malay. Its orthographic rules have been laid down by Van Ophuijsen and its vocabulary has assimilated some Minangkabau elements. In the twenties and thirties, the development and propagation of Malay was to a considerable degree supported by the publishing house Balai Pustaka (i.e. Kantoor vor Volkslectuur). This so-called Sumatran period in the history of Bahasa Indonesia has come to an end after the proclamation of independence which led to the so-called Javanese period (cf. Vikør, 1983, p. 54).

During the colonial era, the influence of Malay on the Indonesian society and especially on its elite was negligible (cf. Alisjahbana, 1978, p. 23). However, the Japanese occupation suddenly confronted Bahasa Indonesia with new and complicated tasks. Since the use of any European language was prohibited by the Japanese authorities, Bahasa Indonesia had to be employed as the language of education and administration. The so-called Komisi Bahasa Indonesia was founded and its members (e.g. Sukarno, Hatta and many prominent writers) were expected to fulfil three tasks, i.e. to create new technical and scientific terminology, to write a new grammar and to select words for daily usage (Alisjahbana, 1978, p. 25).

After the proclamation of independence and in accordance with the constitution of 1945, Bahasa Indonesia has become the only national language of the Republic of Indonesia and since that time its development has been regulated by governmental

bodies. Thus, in 1947 the Ministry of Education and Culture founded Panitia Pekerja (The Working Committee) the tasks of which were terminological, grammatical and lexicographical (Hoed, 1972, p. 387). Dutch was abolished as a language of higher education in 1950 and the position of Bahasa Indonesia has never been an object of controversies in Indonesia. In 1948 Balai Bahasa was founded in Yogyakarta. In 1950 it was split into several bodies, one of which was called Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya and it was attached to the Faculty of Letters of the Indonesian University at Jakarta. Another body, i.e. Inspeksi Bahasa Daerah was established in 1954. During the so-called period of confrontation, little was done for the linguistic coordination between Indonesia and Malaysia and advances in this direction have been made possible only after Sukarno's departure.

In the Suharto era, the question of spelling reform as well as that of coordination of terminology and standardization of grammar came to the foreground. As a consequence of these efforts, C. A. Van Ophuijsen's spelling (the so-called Republican or Suwadi spelling) was replaced by the perfected spelling (*ejaan yang disempurnakan*) in 1972 and accepted by both Indonesia and Malaysia.

The process of standardization of Bahasa Indonesia is not only a linguistic, but also a social problem. The Sukarno administration achieved remarkable success in its effort to spread education. Toward the end of the Sukarno era, some 65% of all Indonesians could read and write. In later years, this percentage dropped to 40%.

There were some discussions about the new spelling in both Indonesia and Malaysia and some Indonesian scholars interpreted it as a victory for Malaysia. Despite some objections the cooperation continues and in the field of terminology it is Bahasa Indonesia that is more advanced of the two languages and its influence is being felt in Bahasa Malaysia.

Since the mid-sixties, Bahasa Indonesia seems to be undergoing a crisis. Although Lembaga Bahasa Nasional at Jakarta takes care of grammatical problems and Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa pays attention to standardization of the language since 1975, the interest in correct Bahasa Indonesia seems to have waned. It has been repeatedly stated that Bahasa Indonesia is flooded with foreign, especially English words which are not generally understood, that 50—60% of Indonesians do not speak correct Bahasa Indonesia and even the mass media use Bahasa Indonesia of a rather inferior quality. President Suharto has called on the Indonesians to use correct Bahasa Indonesia, as well as to use Indonesian and no foreign words. Obviously, Indonesian is undergoing a process of internationalization typical of many Asian languages. However, this process has to be regulated so as not to degenerate into chaos. Indonesian develops much faster than any other language of the country, having passed the phase of democratization notable for its predominant purism, and its internationalization (and intellectualization) is obviously inevitable (cf. Zhuravlev, 1982, p. 292). However, the process of internationalization ought to be regulated; otherwise, it may lead to the alienation of Bahasa Indonesia

from the masses of population. According to H. Kähler's conclusions, there is even a danger that Indonesian journalistic style may become unintelligible to common readers (Kähler, 1978).

The position of Bahasa Indonesia differs from that of Bahasa Malaysia in one relevant respect. It is the second language for most Indonesians who learn it later than the regional languages. Despite the general decline in the use of local languages (due to some extent also to migration, urbanization and above all to education) there is a lot of interference. Many Indonesians are bilingual (Bahasa Indonesia versus a local language) and there is necessarily some competition between the two languages. This linguistic competition represents a sort of peaceful coexistence and is accompanied by no political resentments at all (cf. Kridalaksana, 1969, p. 70). Within those strata of population which are bilingual, the regional language is largely used upon the family level while Bahasa Indonesia gains ground elsewhere. Even regional languages spoken by many millions of people, e.g. Javanese and Sundanese, tend to lose ground under the pressure of advancing Indonesian. This trend is accelerated by the school system according to which the regional languages serve as media of instruction during the first three years of elementary schools, while starting from the fourth year, only Bahasa Indonesia is used.

It is worth mentioning that the advance of Indonesian at the expense of the regional languages does not take place in a forcible way. On the contrary, it is entirely peaceful. The regional languages, confined to their specific function of being vehicles of local cultures, abundantly contribute to the enrichment of the means of expression of Bahasa Indonesia (Hendrato-Darmosugito, 1978, p. 168).

As for the Philippines, their linguistic situation combines some features of the situation in both Malaysia and Indonesia. It is reminiscent of Malaysia in so far as the national language (Tagalog, officially called Pilipino) had long to compete with English (and still has, although to a gradually decreasing degree). At the same time, Tagalog is not the first language of the most numerous linguistic community and this again is a feature that the Republic of the Philippines has in common with Indonesia. On the whole, the Philippines have not reached nearly the same phase of linguistic emancipation as Indonesia, or even Malaysia has. One specific feature of the Philippine situation is the continuous, more than four centuries long use of a European language in the administration, education and church (Spanish since the sixteenth century, English since the early twentieth century).

Like elsewhere in Southeast Asia, the first attempts at language planning date from the period before the achievement of independence. As early as 1937, Tagalog was recommended by the Institute of National Language (in accordance with the Constitution of 1934) to become the common national language of the country (Makarenko and Genzor, 1981, p. 166). It was also decided that the new national language should be taught in all schools, and the Institute of National Language was authorized to regulate its development (Pineda, 1978, pp. 11—12).

The situation has changed in favour of Tagalog during the Japanese occupation; although a limited use of English was tolerated by the Japanese authorities, Tagalog was proclaimed the principal official language. In 1944—1945 Tagalog was introduced at all levels of education, including universities. This interlude, however, has had no substantial effect upon the Philippine linguistic situation and after the Japanese withdrawal, the position of English has been restored to what it had been before the war. Thus the advance of Tagalog had been slowed down — until the end of the fifties when the movement Filipino First started. Afterwards, colloquial Tagalog has undergone a gradual extension again. According to the original plans a new national "Philippine" language should have been created, but the so-called Pilipino is virtually identical with Tagalog. This seems to have irritated some circles and in the sixties there even took place the so-called "language war" launched against the dominance of Tagalog. In the process of gradual extension, the Tagalog language has absorbed many lexical elements from other Philippine languages, which is due to a considerable internal migration and urbanization. Schools and mass media exert deep influence upon the present-day Philippine situation. The advance of Tagalog manifests itself, e.g. by an increasing occurrence of Tagalog columns in English newspapers.

Like in Indonesia, the complexity of the Philippine linguistic situation manifests itself in a widespread bilingualism, or even trilingualism (English — Tagalog — regional language). At the same time, the languages involved in the Philippine bilingualism are not hierarchically equivalent; Tagalog is hierarchically superior to the regional language, while English is superior to both.

Makarenko and Genzor state in their paper that the intensification of linguistic Philippinization goes on and one of the important factors in this process is the Constitution of 1973. Some linguists believe that this Constitution is even a step backward (Makarenko and Genzor, 1981, p. 172) and that the status of Pilipino has remained rather vague.

The Tagalog language of today undergoes a tremendous expansion of its vocabulary, chiefly at the expense of English and any English word may be used in a Tagalog text (Makarenko and Genzor, 1981, p. 172). Literary Tagalog is being gradually standardized and unified. At the same time, the number of Tagalog-speaking people is continually growing. According to A. B. Gonzalez, their percentage has risen from 25% to 55%, and by the year 2000 more than 80% citizens of the Philippines will speak some Tagalog. This prediction may be somewhat opimistic but despite this, Tagalog is capable more than any other Philippine language to become the language of a true national unity (Gonzalez, 1978).

To sum up, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines are multilingual countries displaying a high degree of vertically ordered bilingualism, or even trilingualism. In all the three countries a European language had been used upon the national level

before the declaration of independence, and to some extent even afterwards, at least in Malaysia and the Philippines. In Indonesia the influence of Dutch has gradually dwindled and the impact of English is being more and more felt even in this country. Thus Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines have more in common now than they had before. However, they represent different phases of linguistic emancipation, with Indonesia being at the head of the process and the Philippines in its initial stage.

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# LES FRICATIVES POSTVÉLAIRES DANS LES RACINES ARABES ET LEUR ÉVOLUTION

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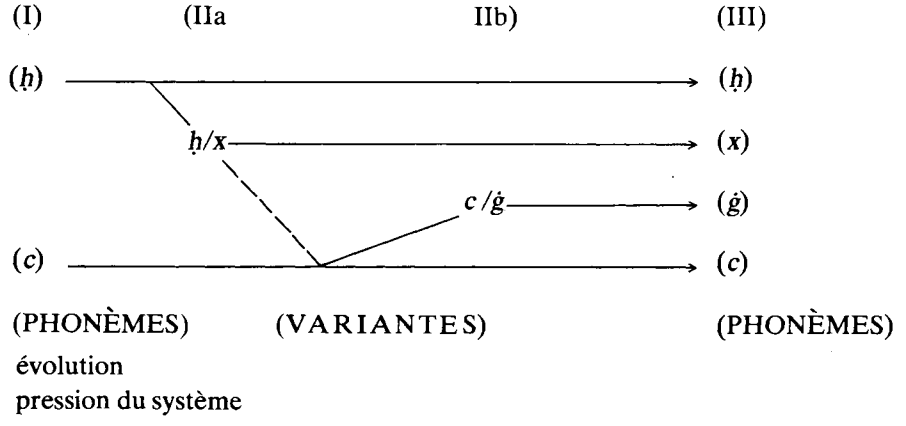
Les fricatives postvélaires (*x*) et (*ġ*) sont tenues pour une série secondaire qui s'est développée de la série pharyngale. Cette évolution phonétique et phonologique est suivie dans l'analyse présente des doublets allophoniques et allosémiques dans les racines arabes du type *ḥ*/*x*23, ᶜ/*ġ*23, etc., et interprétée dans le sens d'un procédé phonétique non-conditionné, mais sous la pression probable de l'expressivité et de l'affectivité dans le lexique arabe.

## 1.0 LES FRICATIVES POSTVÉLAIRES EN SÉMITIQUE

Les fricatives postvélaires (*x*) et (*ġ*) en sémitique sont tenues dans notre théorie laryngale[1] pour secondaires: elles se sont développées comme une copie renforcée de la série pharyngale pendant le processus d'affaiblissement des laryngales (glottales et pharyngales) et par la phonologisation des variantes renforcées (postvélaires) régie par l'évolution du système sémitique à trois étapes avec ses oppositions internes:




[1] Cf. seulement notre première étude sur le sujet: *Der doppelte phonologische Charakter des ġain im klassischen Arabisch.* ArOr, *21*, 1953, pp. 240—262; les dernières études: *Le dynamisme du système phonologique proto-sémitique et les problèmes de la phonologie chamitosémitique.* In: *Hamito-Semitica.* Eds. J. and Th. Bynon. The Hague 1974, pp. 161—165; *Die semitische Laryngaltheorie und die*

Notre thèse, basée sur les idées primaires de R. Růžička, est soutenue (en accord avec nous ou sans nous mentionner) par quelques auteurs,[2] tandis que les autres supposent toujours les postvélaires dans le protosémitique ou dans le protoafroasiatique (protochamitosémitique), sans nier (comme Diakonoff et Porkhomovsky) les difficultés dans leur reconstruction.[3]

L'analyse suivante des racines arabes que nous présentons ici prouve que notre explication est valable et convenable.

Notre méthode utilisée dans ce cas consiste dans l'analyse des doublets sémantiques dans les racines du type *ḥ*/*x*23, etc., ᶜ/*ġ*23, etc., les deux formes (*ḥ*23/*x*23) étant seulement dans une relation allophonique (variantes souvent affectives) avec le même sens ou avec des différences sémantiques menues et compréhensibles. Il s'agit alors d'un test commutatif que nous connaissons de la phonologie de l'Ecole de Prague utilisée souvent dans les études arabes (J. Cantineau, D. Cohen, M. Barbot, etc). Les doublets mentionnés sont quelquefois cités ou en partie analysés dans les études respectives (p.ex. par A. Yu. Militarev, S. S. Maizel', etc.),[4] mais l'explication des postvélaires n'en tire aucune argumentation positive.

Les phones *ḥ*, *x*, ᶜ et *ġ* fonctionnent dans les étapes d'évolution I et III comme phonèmes (*ḥ*), (*x*), (ᶜ) et (*ġ*), tandis que la zone transitoire IIa et IIb prouve le statut allophonique des variantes *ḥ*/*x* et ᶜ/*ġ*. Bien sûr, cette zone transitoire ne représente pas le point de départ de l'évolution du système phonologique sémitique. Au contraire, elle est le produit de cette évolution.

Les données comparatives en sémitique (laissant de côté pour le moment le

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*Sprache von Ibla*, AIOUN, *39*, 1979, 385—394; *K teorii laryngál.* Slovo a slovesnost, *XLII*, 1981, pp. 262—268 (A propos de la théorie laryngale); *Die Laryngale in den Tschadsprachen.* AfrMarb, *XV*, 1, 1982, pp. 56—68; *Les laryngales en chamito-sémitique. Essai de synthèse* (Résumé), pour: Vierter int. Kongreß für Hamito-Semitistik, Marburg 20.—22. September, 1983, sous presse. Notre synthèse monographique est préparée à la publication.

[2] Cohen, D.: *Langues chamito-sémitiques*, In: *Le langage, Encyclopédie de la Pléïade.* Paris 1968; d'après lui Bomhard, A. R.: *Indo-European and Afroasiatic: New Evidence for Connection.* In: *Bono Homini Donum.* Eds. Y. Arbeitman, A. R. Bomhard. Amsterdam 1981, pp. 351—474; indépendamment Roman, A.: *De la langue arabe comme un modèle général de la formation des langues sémitiques et de leur évolution.* Arabica, *XXVIII*, 1981, pp. 127—161.

[3] Yakonov, I. M. D., Porkhomovsky, V. Ya.: *O printsipakh afraziiskoi rekonstruktsii (v svjazi s rabotoi nad sravnitel'no-istoritcheskim slovarem).* In: *Balcanica. Lingvistitcheskie issledovania,* Moskva 1979, pp. 72—84. Cf. aussi leur modèle dans Maizel', S. S.: *Puti razvitia kornevogo fonda semitskikh yazykov.* Moskva 1983, pp. 113—117.

[4] Militarev, A. Yu.: *Varirovanie soglasnykh v semitskom korne.* Avtoreferat kand. diss. Moskva 1973. *O predpolagayemom prasemitskom *ṗ. Istoria i filologia drevnego Vostoka.* Moskva 1976. *Tchereduyemost' i kombiniruyemost' soglasnykh v trikonsonantnom arabskom korne. Sbornik statei po vostotchnomu yazykoznaniu.* Moskva 1973, pp. 58—60; *Korennye varianty v afraziyskikh jazykakh. Problemy rekonstruktsij (tezisy dokladov).* Moskva 1978, pp. 35—38; Mayzel', S. S., o. c. en ann. 3.

chamitosémitique) prouvent que le système primitif sémitique ne connaissait pas les postvélaires, comme l'atteste la situation en hébreu, en araméen, etc. que nous avons jugée à plusieurs reprises mentionnée dans nos travaux comme archaïque. Il serait donc faux de penser toujours (sous l'influence de l'arabe, du sémitique du sud et de l'ougaritique) qu'en sémitique de l'ouest la série des postvélaires eût disparu. On ne connaît aucune explication raisonnable pour la disparition des postvélaires dans l'ancien sémitique ou dans le protosémitique, tandis que le développement des pharyngales vers leurs copies postvélaires renforcées dans la cavité buccale est bien compréhensible comme leur renforcement contre le processus évident de l'affaiblissement des laryngales (glottales et pharyngales).

Les données comparatives attestent aussi que la situation sans postvélaires est primaire:

a) Quelques racines arabes ou ougaritiques (cf. toujours Aistleitner[5]) n'ont pas encore réalisé le passage $^{c}>\dot{g}$, bien que le phonème ($\dot{g}$) ait existé dans les systèmes phonologiques respectifs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| $^{c}$: oug., aram., *h.* | $\dot{g}$: ar. | Nr. 2043,2093,2245 |
| $^{c}$: *h.*, aram., ar., sudar. | $\dot{g}$: oug. | Nr. 2159,2339,2166 etc. |

b) L'arabe et l'ougaritique montrent les reflets *x* dans le cas d'un *ḥ* en guèze:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ḥ*: *h.*, *g.* | *x*: oug., ar. | Nr. 1547,1093a(b),1048, 1111,1458 etc. |

c) L'arabe avec l'hébreu et l'araméen montrent *ḥ* tandis que l'ougaritique connaît déjà *ḥ*>*x*: Nr. 1078,1079,1101,2594,1060, etc.

Il s'en suit que l'ougaritique a réalisé le passage *ḥ*>*x* avec consistance (sauf quelques exceptions), tandis que l'arabe ne montre pas un tel degré de consistance et le guèze ne le montre que rarement. Pour les détails cf. nos études mentionnées.

Le passage pharyngale>postvélaire ($^{c}>\dot{g}$, *ḥ*>*x*) n'est pas réversible.

## 2.0 LES RACINES AVEC *ḥ*/*x* EN ARABE

Le dépouillement du dictionnaire de A. de Biberstein Kazimirski[6] donne le tableau suivant des racines avec les variantes *ḥ*/*x*:

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[5] J. Aistleitner: *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache.* Berlin 1967.

[6] *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, 2 t. Paris 1860.

2.1.1 La distribution ($\underline{h}/x = H$)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Racines à 3 consonnes | H 2 3 | 47 | |
| | 1 H 3 | 26 | |
| | 1 2 H | 32 | 105 |
| à 2 consonnes | H 2 V | 3 | |
| | H V 2 | 5 | |
| | 1 H V | 1 | |
| | 1 V H | 3 | 12 |
| à 4 consonnes | H 2 3 4 | 6 | |
| | 1 H 3 4 | 4 | |
| | 1 2 H 4 | 5 | |
| | 1 2 3 H | 1 | 16 |
| | | | 133 |

Ceci donne des racines

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Iae H | 61 | |
| IIae H | 31 | |
| IIIae H | 40 | |
| IVae H | 1 | 133 |

2.1.2 Les relations quantitatives

Les relations Iae : IIae : IIIae : IVae (61 : 31 : 40 : 1) nous paraissent démontrer le fait bien connu que l'information s'accumule au commencement du mot.[7] Dans notre cas cela signifie que la différenciation phonologique de ($\underline{h}$) à $\underline{h}/x$ et par là à ($\underline{h}$) et ($x$) est en accord avec la thèse générale mentionnée.

Bien sûr, il y a encore d'autres motivations structurelles.

2.1.3 La structure phonique

Le degré d'aperture a peut-être aussi influencé le passage $\underline{h} > x$ qui se trouve dans les positions voisines des fricatives et résonnantes (alors non-explosives).

Les combinaisons des $\underline{h}/x$ avec les explosives ($b$, $t$, $\underline{t}$, $q$, $d$, $k$) sont réalisées dans une proportion de 1/5 : 4/5 des fricatives et résonnantes (inclus $\underline{d}$), c.à.d. avec $\underline{t}$, $\check{g}$, $\underline{d}$,

[7] Un des résultats de la théorie d'information de C. L. Shannon appliquée dans la linguistique dans différentes études, surtout cf. son *Prediction and Entropy of Printed English.* Bell Syst. Tech. Journal, *30*, 1951, pp. 50—64; dans la terminologie traditionnelle cf. Martinet, A.: *Problèmes de langage.* Diogénes, 51, Paris 1965, cité d'après la trad. tchèque: *Slovo.* In: *12 esejů o jazyce.* Praha 1970, pp. 47—62 (53, 55); pour le plan morphonologique Komárek, M.: *Sur l'appréciation des alternances morphologiques.* TLP, *1*, 1964, pp. 145—161 (citée p. 147); Piotrovsky, R. G.: *O teoretiko-informatsionnykh parametrakh ustnoj i pismennoï retchi,* In: *Problemy strukturnoj lingvistiki,* I. Moskva 1964, pp. 49—59, la discussion dans Slovo a slovesnost, *XXV*, 1964, pp. 285—286.

*z ṣ, š, s, ḍ, f, ẓ* et *r, l, m, n*, les dernières formant presque 2/5. Les liquides *r, l, n* y jouent alors un rôle important. Mais en général, le passage *ḥ* > *x* semble convenir à la tendance bien connue dans les langues sémitiques, celle de l'épanouissement des fricatives.[8]

2.1.4 La sémantique

La sémantique de l'évolution *ḥ* > *x* montre un glissement de sens vers un sens spécifié : la variante avec *x* est liée au sens spécialisé, ce qui prouve aussi le caractère secondaire de la fricative postvélaire. L'évolution sémantique inverse n'est pas acceptable dans plusieurs cas.

Nous trouvons la spécialisation du sens des racines avec *x* dans les numéros suivants :

Iae H : 5,6,10,13,19(?),28,31(?),42(?),46.
IIae H : 2,14,15,16,17,20,16(?).
IIIae H : 1,2,9 (renforcement),10,12,14,15,22 (affaiblissement),24.

La relation nom → verbe (*ḥ* > *x*) prouve aussi la priorité des racines avec *ḥ* (IIae H : 8,15,21).

Nous avons constaté plusieurs fois dans nos travaux précédents que les racines qui montrent le passage pharyngale > postvélaire sont liées à la sphère affective. Notre analyse le prouve clairement, car la distribution des champs sémantiques semble convenir à cette opinion. Il s'agit de la sphère descriptive et affective du lexique avec les mots doués encore d'une tendance vers le tabou. Nous le trouvons surtout dans les racines avec 3 ou 4 consonnes, le caractère descriptif des dernières étant bien connu.

Racines avec 3 ou 2 consonnes :

1. activité violente, avec force, contrainte aux hommes :

battre, lancer, piquer, blesser, couper, déchirer, transpercer, presser, jeter qn. par terre, piller, renverser, frapper qn. avec un bâton, frapper sur le derrière, jeter par terre avec force → cohabiter, percer, transpercer (avec une lance), casser, écraser, faire fendre le cerveau, blesser à la tête, aux environs de l'anus, fendre, frapper → chasser, porter un léger coup de sabre, arracher, renverser, enlever de la surface, donner un coup de cornes, forer, donner un coup de poing, détruire, anéantir, arracher, déraciner, etc.

Cf. aussi les racines avec 4 consonnes : pousser en frappant, forcer, disperser.

2. produire des sons :

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[8] Roman, A. : o. c. en ann. 2 ; Leslau, W. : *Spirantization in the Ethiopian Languages.* Atti del Secondo congresso int. di linguistica camito-semitica, Firenze 1974, Firenze 1978, pp. 175—199 ; Corriente, F. C. : *A Survey of Spirantization in Semitic and Arabic Phonetics.* JQR, *60*, 1969, pp. 147—171.

soupirer, voix rauque, produire un son, siffler, pousser un grand cri, un gémissement, souffler, sucer, mugir.

3. mouvements (cf. aussi sub 1):

(1) marcher vite, marcher en rapprochant le devant des pieds;

(2) plonger, enfoncer, entrer, qui a les yeux enfoncés; cf. aussi les racines avec 4 consonnes: mouvement du corps, marcher rapidement, se retirer.

(3) lisser, raser, tisser, cf. aussi les racines avec 4 consonnes: tordre, glisser.

4. qualités:

(1) couleurs: bai-brun, être en partie tel et en partie en tel autre (couleur), rouge, noir, teint en quelque couleur foncée, cf. aussi les racines avec 4 consonnes: foncé, sombre, noir.

(2) qualités positives et de fermeté: opiniâtre, fier, s'enorgueillir, être fier et jeter des regards de dédain, louer, être grand, regarder comme vil, mépriser.

(3) qualités basses, méprisables: être abject, méprisé, s'humilier.

(4) grossièrté: racines avec 4 consonnes — femme grosse et criarde, gras et gros, vieille femme décrépite, violent, jeter sur qn. qch. de sale, boire jusqu'à se remplir le ventre.

5. formes et parties du corps, surtout considerées comme tabou:

(1) parties naturelles (de la femme), vagin, cul (cf. aussi cohabiter).

(2) caca, excrément, urine, péter, écarter les jambes pour uriner, avoir une indigestion.

(3) ventru.

On peut naturellement discuter la distribution des mots dans les catégories que nous avons formées tout simplement, mais en général, le caractère affectif et descriptif du lexique qui manifeste le glissement *ḥ* > *x* est bien net.

## 3.0 LES RACINES AVEC ᶜ/*ġ* EN ARABE

### 3.1.1 La distribution (ᶜ/*ġ* = C, V = voyelle)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Racines à 3 consonnes | C 2 3 | 35 | |
| | 1 C 3 | 28 | |
| | 1 2 C | 20 | 83 |
| à 2 consonnes | C V 2 | 10 | |
| | C 2 V | 4 | |
| | 1 V C | 4 | |
| | 1 C V | 3 | 21 |
| à 4 consonnes | C 2 3 4 | 9 | |
| | 1 C 3 4 | 8 | |
| | 1 2 C 4 | 2 | |
| | 1 2 3 C | 1 | 20 |
| | | | 124 |

Ceci donne des racines:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Iae C | 58 | |
| IIae C | 43 | |
| IIIae C | 22 | |
| IVae C | 1 | 124 |

3.1.2 Les relations quantitatives

Les relations des racines Iae : IIae : IIIae: IVae C ne nous semblent pas aussi claires que dans le cas des doublets *ḥ/x*, cf. surtout la première position contre la deuxième et la troisième (*ḥ/x* 61 : 31, 61 : 40; *ᶜ/ġ* 58 : 43, 58 : 22). Mais en général, le principe indiqué en haut (l'accumulation de l'information au commencement du mot) se fait valoir très sensiblement, en accord avec le même principe dans les racines avec *ḥ/x*.

3.1.3 La structure phonique

La combinaison du glissement *ᶜ* > *ġ* avec les types d'articulation est en général la même que dans le cas précédent des racines avec *ḥ/x*: les combinaisons de *ᶜ/ġ* avec les explosives (21) forment un tiers des combinaisons avec les non-explosives (60: fricatives 27, résonnantes inclus liquides 33), les liquides (*r*, *l*, *n* et *m* nasal) y jouent aussi un rôle important. On y trouve alors la même tendance que nous avons constatée plus haut, celle de l'épanouissement des fricatives qui fonctionne ici avec plus de force, étant donné que le *ᶜain* est considéré quelquefois[9] comme explosive (alors explosive > fricative).

2.1.4 La sémantique

Sur le plan sémantique, on discerne souvent la spécialisation du deuxième terme avec *ġ* qui prouve ainsi son caractère secondaire:

Iae C à trois consonnes: Nr. 1, 5, 18.
IIae C à trois consonnes: Nr. 5, 8, 12, 19.
IIIae C à trois consonnes: Nr. 2, 3, 16, 17.

Dans les verbes à deux consonnes C 2 V (4) et
à quatre consonnes 1 C 3 4 (5: faire germer → jouir d'une vie aisée, cf. le même dans le cas de la racine *rbᶜ* — se trouver en printemps → mener une vie aisée).

Dans quelques cas, l'évolution *ᶜ* > *ġ* n'est pas réversible du point de vue sémantique et la priorité de la pharyngale est ainsi prouvée.

Les racines avec 4 consonnes sont pleines d'affectivité.

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[9] Salman H. al-Ani: *Arabic Phonology*. The Hague 1972, 62; Kästner, H.: *Phonetik und Phonologie des modernen Hocharabisch*. Leipzig 1981, 49 pp.

On peut dire la même chose des champs sémantiques réalisés dans les racines avec $^c/\dot{g}$. Le caractère affectif n'est pas si prononcé que dans le cas de *ḥ*/x, mais la tendance générale (vers l'expressivité, description et vers l'affectivité) apparaît nettement:

1. activité violente, avec force, contrainte aux hommes, mouvement:

couper, presser, arracher, arrêter, combattre, s'emparer violemment (cohabiter), tuer, percer, égorger, se disputer, blesser, fendre, casser, frapper, agir avec injustice, briser, agiter, etc.

2. produire des sons:

bruit dans le ventre du cheval, avoir un râtement, crier, miauler, cris, clameurs, paroles inarticulées d'un bègue.

3. mouvements descriptifs:

mêler, mélanger, être tortueux, agiter, remuer, se dépêcher.

4. qualités:

(1) quelque chose de sombre: avoir les traits sombres, rôder dans la nuit, premières tenèbres, être très sombre, etc.

(2) faiblesse: avoir la vue faible, vieillard, être mauvais, être las, périr, avoir la lèpre, avoir un membre du corps distordu, insolent.

(3) quelquefois on y trouve l'expression de la force (fort et brave, féroce, vigoureux) et des qualités négatives du corps humain (une grosse tête).

(4) les activités et les objets considerées comme tabou, cohabiter, péter, uriner, tenir des propos obscènes; bave, salive, morve, boutons pestilentiels.

Même ici, la classification des mots peut être discutée, le caractère général restant le même.

## 4.0 LES CONCLUSIONS

1. En arabe, l'existence des doublets allophoniques avec *ḥ*/*x* et $^c/\dot{g}$ représente une étape transitoire dans l'évolution du système du lexique et du système phonologique d'un état primitif (/*ḥ*/, /$^c$/) vers le système élargi secondaire (/*ḥ*/, /*x*/, /$^c$/, /*ġ*/).

2. Ainsi les phones $^c$, *ġ*, *ḥ* et *x* ont une double fonction phonologique: dans les doublets allophoniques (étapes IIa et IIb) ils fonctionnent comme variantes (*ḥ*/*x*, $^c/\dot{g}$) dans une partie considérable du lexique (c.à.d. 133 et 124 exemples), tandis que dans l'autre partie (étapes I et III) ils fonctionnent comme phonèmes, les phonèmes /*ḥ*/ et /$^c$/ ayant été hérités du passé, le /*x*/ et le /*ġ*/ représentent des phonèmes secondaires (*ḥ*> /*x*/, $^c$> /*ġ*/).

3. La motivation du passage pharyngale→postvélaire est dans le caractère faible des glides laryngaux avec deux tendances contradictoires (disparition avec les reflets vocaliques ou leur renforcement dans les consonnes postvélaires) ainsi que dans la structure phonique de la racine (une tendance vers l'épanouissement des fricatives) et dans le plan sémantique (expressivité, affectivité, description).

4. Le passage pharyngale→postvélaire n'est pas réversible, ce qui est prouvé par les données comparatives et par la logique du système phonétique sémitique avec les laryngales instables et avec les postvélaires qui ne montrent pas une tendance à disparaître (exception faite pour le *q* glottalisé *k'*>' et quelques cas d'affaiblissement des vélaires, p.ex. dans les langues éthiopiennes, comme *k*>*h* en amharique etc. par aspiration).

La pharyngale ne peut pas suppléer historiquement une postvélaire, elle peut servir dans quelques cas pour le degré renforcé des laryngales faibles (c.à.d. des glottales ' ou *h*).[10]

5. L'arabe n'est pas capable de prouver la thèse (erronée d'après nous) que le sémitique commun connaissait la série postvélaire (avec /*x*/ et /*ġ*/).

6. La théorie de la racine en sémitique peut tirer de notre thèse l'explication des alternances qui, dans ce cas, relèvent leur caractère phonétique que nous avons mentionné déjà auparavant.[11]

## Appendix A — Racines avec variabilité *ḥ*/*x*

(*H* pour *ḥ*/*x*; *a*, *i*, voyelles du parfait; I, II, III etc. formes verbales élargies)

RACINES 3 — *H* 2 3

1. *Hbğ* Ia/Ia péter/lâcher un pet. 2. *Hbq* Ia/Ia id. (id. 3. *Hbk* I, VIII) VIII tisser bien, avec soin/id. 4. *Hbl* Ia/Ia serrer avec une corde/lier; *ḥābil*/*xābil* sorcier/Démon, séducteur. 5. *Htt* I/*xatt* battre/coup de javelin. 6. *Htl ḥutāl*/*xitl* refuge/abri, tanière du lièvre. 7. *Htn ḥatn*, III/*xatn* semblable, égal; entrer dans la famille, s'allier/belle-mère, toute femme alliée par la femme que l'on épouse; *ḥutūn* alliance. 8. *Htr* Ii/Ia être épais et dur à toucher/s'épaissir, devenir épais. 9. *Htl ḥatila*/*xatl* être ventru/qui a un gros ventre. 10. *Htm ḥatmat*/I bout de nez/aplatir (le nez). 11. *Hğ'* Ia/Ii aimer passionnément une chose, la désirer ou en être avare/tenir des propos obscènes (?). 12. *Hğm ḥuğūm*/*xiğām* parties naturelles de la femme, vagin/femme qui a le vagin très large. 13. *Hdr* I/*xādir* prendre garde, chercher à éviter qch./qui se cache et fuit (devant son créancier). 14. *Hdf* Ia/Ia lancer, jeter qch./jeter, lancer. 15. *Hdq* Ii/Ia piquer, blesser/piquer avec un aiguillon. 16. *Hdm* Ia/Ia couper net d'un seul coup/couper. 17. *Hr(r) ḥir*, *ḥirat*/*xarr* parties naturelles de la femme/fente (?). 18.

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[10] Cf. nos travaux cités en ann. 1, surtout des années 1981, 1982, 1983.

[11] Pour la racine en général cf. *La racine en indoeuropéen et en chamitosémitique et leurs perspectives comparatives.* AIOUN, *42*, 1982, pp. 381—402; les procédés phonétiques cf. *Sur le rôle des modalités sonantiques dans l'élaboration de la racine en sémitique*, sous presse (Arabica); Les procédés allophoniques et allosémiques dans les racines arabes, sous presse (Linguistica generalia, Prague); La racine en sémitique d'après quelques travaux récents en russe, ArOr, *53*, 1985, pp. 171—173.

*Hrt* Ia/Ia piller, faire la guerre/saccager, piller. 19. *Hrd* Ia/Ii retenir, contenir, empêcher d'approcher, s'isoler/être encore intacte, vierge (?). 20. *Hrs ḥāris/xāris* gardien, garde/qui ne dort pas de la nuit. 21. *Hrš* Ia/Ia déchirer avec les ongles/gratter. 22. *Hrf muḥārif/muxārif* (malheureux qui n'a pas de chance)/id. 23. *Hzz* Ia/Ia transpercer, percer/tailler, percer. 24. *Hsr ḥasratāh/xasārat* hélas!/perte cf. *jā lal-xasāra*. 25. *Hsl* Ia/Ia regarder comme vil, bas, mépriser/jeter loin de soi avec mépris; *ḥāsil/xusālat* rebut/id. 26. *Hšr ḥašarāt/xušār, xušārat* lie du peuple, le rebut d'une société/lie du peuple. 27. *Hšl ḥašl/xašal* la qualité inférieure, vil/mauvais, de qualité inférieure, vil. 28. *Hṣṣ ḥiṣṣat/xāṣṣ* portion, part qui revient à qn. dans le partage des biens, lot/propre, particulier à qn., privé. 29. *Hṣr* I/III serrer, presser, entourer/prendre, saisir qn. par la main; *xiṣār* ceinture (qui serre le corps). 30. *Hṣl* I, III/I atteindre, arriver à qch., II atteindre le but/l'emporter sur qn. dans l'art de lancer des projectiles; *xaṣl* coup par lequel on atteint le but en tirant de l'arc. 31. *Hṣn* I/*xaṣīn* être fort etc.; *'aḥṣinat* fers, pointes (des lances)/petite hache. 32. *Hḍr* III/III (être présent-mais:) III vendre les fruits ou les produits de la terre avant qu'ils soient mûrs /III id. (de la racine «vert»). 33. *Hṭṭ* I/I lisser et orner de dessins,le cuir à l'aide d'un fer ou d'un bois *miḥaṭṭat*/tracer, tirer des lignes, des raies (l'outil nommé *mixiṭṭ*). 34. *Hṭ'* Ia/Ia jeter qn. à terre, jeter l'écume (une marmite en ébullition) /jeter en dehors (se dit d'une marmite en ébullition qui jette l'écume). 35. *Hf'* Ia/Ia renverser, jeter à terre/arracher et jeter par terre, démolir (une maison). 36. *Hfd* Ia/Ia marcher vite/marcher d'un pas rapide. 37. *Hfs* Ii/Ia, *ḥafisa/xafaša* manger, dévorer/manger peu... boire; *ḥifās/xuffāš* hibou, tout oiseau ou bête qui vole de nuit (chauve-souris de *xfš* avoir la vue faible, n'avoir pas de cils). 38. *Hfḍ* Ia/Ia courber/abaisser, faire descendre plus bas. 39. *Hfl* Ia/xāfil s'appliquer à qch. avec zèle/qui fuit (?). 40. *Hfn ḥaffān/xaffān* petit autruche/id. 41. *Hll ḥalīl/xalīl* camerade, époux/ami intime et sincère. 42. *Hls 'aḥlas*/IV, *xalīs* bai-brun, dont le poil rouge est mêlé de noir/être en partie tel, et en partie un tel autre; qui offre un mélange de deux nuances. 43. *Hlq* Ia/Ia, i raser/rendre égal, uni et poli, *xalīq* rasé, *xawāliq* montagnes, rochers ras. 44. *Hmd ḥumādīj, muḥtamid/xamada* intensité de la chaleur, chaleur excessive, brûlant/cesser de flamber (feu quand la flamme s'éteint quoiqu'il y ait encore des tisons qui brûlent). 45. *Hmr aḥmar*/Ia rouge/rougir devant qn. 46. *Hmṣ* Ia/Ia désenfler et se rasseoir (plante)/désenfler (une plaie dont l'enflure se dissipe). 47. *Hnṭ* Ia/Ia soupirer ou gémir de tristesse/affliger, attrister.

RACINES 3 — 1 *H* 3

1. *bHH buḥḥat*/I voix rauque, enrouement/ronfler en dormant — racine descriptive. 2. *ǧHr* Ia/Ia plonger, s'enfoncer; *ǧaḥr* antre, creux très profond, abîme, trou en terre/avoir l'orifice large (puits), être large (*ǧaxira*), *ǧāxir* vallée large, spacieuse; *ǧaḥrā'* femme qui a le vagin très large. 3. *dHs* Ia/Ia enfoncer la main entre la peau et le péritoine du mouton pour en ôter la peau, pour l'écorcher/faire entrer, enfoncer dans la terre, dans la sable. 4. *dHl* Ia/Ia entrer dans le creux/entrer. 5. *rHm* Ii/*raxmat*

être compatissant, avoir pitié/pitié, compassion. 6. *zHH* I/I faire aller en avant et en arrière, pousser en avant et retirer/pousser ou jetter qn. d'un lieu plus élevé dans un précipice. 7. *zHr* Ia/Ia produire un son, une voix, respirer avec effort/souffler avec force. 8. *sHm saḥam/saxxama, saxam* noir, couleur noire/noircir, noirceur. 9. *ṣHf* Ia/Ia remuer (la terre), creuser avec une pelle/creuser la terre avec une pelle. 10. *ṭHr ṭaḥr/ṭaxr* petit nuage très léger, clair/nuage léger. 11. *ṭHẓ ṭiḥẓ/ṭixẓ* mensonge/id. 12. *fHH* I/I siffler/ronfler et siffler. 13. *fHǧ* Ia/Ii marcher en rapprochant le devant des pieds et en écartant les talons/marcher en écartant les talons et en rapprochant les doigts des pieds. 14. *fHr* VIII/I agir à sa tête ou émettre une opinion, un avis au hasard/s'enorgueillir, être fier ou se venter. 15. *fHl faḥl*, V/V étalon, avoir toutes les habitudes d'un mâle, ressembler à un étalon/avoir une tenue grave, décente et distinguée. 16. *qHz* I/*qaxzat* frapper qn. avec un bâton/claquements produits par le heurtement des corps secs les uns contre les autres, cf. aussi *qaxara* heurter l'un contre l'autre (se dit des corps secs dont le contact produit un claquement). 17. *kHb/kHm* Ia/Ia frapper qn. sur le derrière; *kaḥb* cul, derrière/éloigner, chasser, *kāxirat* partie inférieure du derrière. 18. *lHb* Ia/Ia jeter qn. par terre avec force, cohabiter avec une femme/id. 19. *lHṣ laḥaṣ*/Ii contraction de la paupière supérieure, au point qu'il s'y forme des plis/avoir la paupière de l'œil très charnue, être gonflé. 20. *lHf* i/*laxfat* brûler, faire consommer par le feu/certaine marque que l'on imprime sur le peau des bêtes (?). 21. *mHH muḥḥ*/II le cœur même, la partie la plus pure (d'une chose)/extraire, tirer la moelle d'un os, *muxx* moelle, la meilleure partie d'une chose. . 22. *mHǧ* Ia/Ia remuer, secouer le lait pour en faire du beurre, cohabiter avec une femme/tirer à soi et secouer dans tous les sens, cohabiter avec une femme, cf. *mxs* V agiter, remuer, *mxš* être violemment agité, *maxaḍa* baratter le lait, l'agiter dans une outre, agiter — racines descriptives. 23. *mHḍ* Ia/Ia donner à qn. du pur (p. ex. du lait pur)/excrêmer le lait, cf. Nr. 22. 24. *mHṭ* VIII/I tirer du fourreau (le sabre), tirer, arracher/tirer, extraire tout à fait (se dit d'une flèche), arracher. 25. *mHn* Ia/Ia frapper qn., forcer une fille, adoucir, assoupir (le cuir)/cohabiter avec une femme, peler, dépouier d'écorce. 26. *nHm* Ia/Ia pousser un profond gémissement, rugir/jouer, chanter (?).

RACINES 3 — 1 2 *H*

1. *trH mutarraḥ*/Ia teint en quelque couleur foncée/scarifier la peau. 2. *ǧbH* Ia/Ia jeter les dés, les sorts, pour décider d'une chose/renverser et brouiller les dés pour empêcher de connaître le résultat du jeu. 3. *ǧlH* Ii/Ia perdre des cheveux sur le devant de la tête, II se jeter avec impétuosité sur sa proie/enlever la peau d'une partie du corps, jeter à terre, renverser; *ǧilwāḥ/ǧilwāx* plaine étendue/id. 4. *ǧmH ǧamūḥ/ǧammāx* opiniâtre, obstiné, qui agit toujours à sa guise et n'écoute personne/fier, orgueilleux. 5. *dmH* II/I pencher la tête/casser, briser (la tête, le crâne) (?). 6. *dnH* Ia/Ia être abject et méprisé/s'humilier, s'abaisser, être humilié, être faible, cf. *dāxa* s'abaisser, II se soumettre. 7. *rzH* Ia/Ia percer qn. d'un coup de lance/percer,

transpercer (avec une lance). 8. *rḍH* Ia/Ia casser/casser, écraser. 9. sbH Ia/Ia dormir/dormir d'un sommeil profond. 10. *slH sulāḥ/sulāxat* caca, excrément/urine de bouc de montagne qui forme sur les rochers un résidu noir et visqueux. 11. *ṣmH* Ia/Ia faire fendre le cerveau de qn., frapper qn. avec un fouet/blesser qn. à la cavité de l'oreille, donner un coup de poing sur qch. de creux (cavité de l'oreille). 12. *tmH* Ia/Ia élever, porter vers le haut (ses yeaux), désobéir, être indocile/être fier. 13. *ṭnH* Ii/Ii avoir une indigestion, être gras/se, charger l'estomac de mets gras et en avoir une indigestion. 14. *frH* Ia/Ii être gai, content, joyeux/n'éprouver aucune peur, vivre dans la quiétude. 15. *fsH* Ia/Ia écarter les jambes/id. (pour uriner), cf. *fasaǧa* II écarter les cuisses (pour uriner). 16. *fqH* Ia/Ia blesser qn. aux environs de l'anus, *faqḥat* anus, orifice de l'anus, paume de la main/porter un coup sur la tête ou sur un corps quelconque, creux au dedans, cf. *qafaxa* frapper un corps creux, la tête etc. 17. *flH* Ia/Ia couper, fendre (le sol)/pourfendre, couper en deux, cf. aussi *falaǧa* fendre en deux; s'agit-il de l'évolution *ḥ*→*x*→*ǧ*?. 18. *qmH* I/IV *bi-anfihi* être fier et jeter des regards de dédain/*bi-anfihi* être fier et être assis avec un air de suffisance et d'orgueil. 19. *kfH* Ia/Ia frapper qn. d'un bâton, chasser/porter un coup de bâton sur la tête de qn. 20. *kmH* Ia/Ia tirer à soi avec la bride la tête du cheval/tirer à soi la bride (se dit de cavalier). 21. *lṭH* Ia/Ia *laṭḥ* éclaboussement de boue/salir qn., éclabousser de qch. 22. *lfH* Ia/Ia porter à qn. un léger coup de sabre/donner une tape, un soufflet sur la joue, cf. III *lmx* souffleter qn. 23. *mtH* Ia/Ia tirer de l'eau, renverser qn. par terre/arracher qn. de sa place, ôter, écarter; cohabiter avec une femme (cf. renverser *mtḥ*). 24. *mdH* Ia/Ia louer, venter qn./être grand, préparer à qn. une assistance très efficace; pour l'étymologie louer→servir témoignent plusieurs systèmes poétiques. 25. *mḏH* V/V sucer/sucer la substance sucré *maḏḥ*. 26. *mrH* Ii/Ia être très gai, II oindre/plaisanter, oindre, II oindre, cf. *mazaḥa* plaisanter. 26. *mṭH* Ia/Ia frapper qn. avec la main/frapper qn. 27. *nsH* Ia/Ia enlever de la surface et disperser/effacer, faire disparaître, abroger, abolir. 28. *nḏH* Ia/Ia arroser d'eau/asperger légèrement d'eau. 29. *nṭH* donner à qn. un coup, des coups de cornes/*niṭxu šarr* auteur du mal, auteur d'un crime (?). 30. *nfH* Ia/Ia souffler/souffler avec la bouche. 31. *nqH* I/VIII vider un os en tirant la moelle/tirer, extraire la moelle d'un os. 32. *nkH* Ia/Ia percer, forer/donner à qn. un coup de poing, de la lance sur la gorge.

RACINES 2 — *H V* 2

(V pour voyelle/w/y)

1. *HVb ḥūb/xawb* malheur/inf. de tomber dans la misère. 2. *HVr ḥawar/xāra* taureau/mugir (espèce bovine). 3. *HVṣ 'aḥwaṣu/'axwaṣu* qui a les yeux enfoncés dans la tête/qui a un œil trop petit. 4. *HVṭ ḥāṭa/xuṭ* chercher à éviter qch. de peur de se heurter ou blesser, *ḥuṭ ḥuṭ*! prend garde!/enlève la lance! 5. *HVš ḥāša/xāša* avoir peur, être effrayé/être effrayé.

RACINES 2 — 1 *V H*

1. *ǧVH ǧāḥa/ǧāxa* prendre, détruire, annéantir/ronger, enlever, II renverser, jeter qn. à terre. 2. *zVH zāḥa/zāxa* être loin, s'éloigner/s'éloigner, se retirer. 3. *fVH fāḥa/fāxa* être vaste, spacieux, répandre son parfum/se répendre partout (odeur), lâcher des vents et rendre en même temps des excréments; *faiḥā'* vaste, spacieux.

RACINES 2 — 1 *H V*

1. *ǧHV ǧaḥā/ǧaxā* arracher, déraciner, extirper/renverser.

RACINES 2 — *H* 2 *V*

1. *HtV ḥatā/xatā* coudre deux pièces ensemble, tresser/tordre avec les mains les bordes, les pans de son vêtement. 2. *HdV ḥadā/xadā* faire moucher, exciter, stimuler/aller un pas rapide. 3. *HṭV ḥaṭā/xaṭā* remuer en secouant/faire un pas, marcher (?).

RACINES 4 — *H* 2 3 4

1. *Htrš ḥatāriš/xatāriš* mouvement du corp/mouvement. 2. *HǧHǧ* I/I se retirer, se retenir et se taire ayant voulu parler/se contracter, se ramasser sur soi-même et rester dans cette attitude, se cacher. 3. *Hḏlm* I/I marcher rapidement /se dépêcher, aller vite. 4. *Ḥršf ḥuršuf/xiršāf* sol inégal, raboteux/sol dur et raboteux, tel qu'il est impossible d'y marcher; *ḥaršaf/xaršūf* artichaud/id. 5. *Hšrm ḥišrimat/xašram* petite fosse au milieu de la lèvre supérieure, sous le nez/cartillages du bout du nez, cf. *xšm*. 6. *Hnǧl ḥanǧal/xinǧil* femme grosse et criarde/femme grande, corpulente et criarde.

RACINES 4 — 1 *H* 3 4

1. *bHtr* I/I disperser, disséminer/id. 2. *ǧHdl ǧaḥdal/ǧaxdal* gras et gros/id. 3. *ǧHrṭ ǧiḥriṭ/ǧxrṭ* vieille femme décrépite/id. d'après Biberstein-Kazimirski. 4. *dHms duḥāmis/duxāmis* foncé, sombre (se dit des couleurs)/épais et noir; I/I pousser violemment en frappant par derrière, forcer une femme/chasser, mettre dehors en poussant, forcer une femme.

RACINES 4 — 1 2 *H* 4

1. *ǧlHm* I/I tordre (une corde)/id. 2. *zlHb tazalḥaba/tazallaxa* glisser de dessous qch./glisser sur une pente. 3. *ṭlHṯ* I/I jeter sur qn. qch. de sale/id. 4. *ṭlHf ṭalaḥf/ṭalaxf* violent (coup)/id. 5. *ṭmHr iṭmaḥarra/iṭmaxarra* boire jusqu'à se remplir le ventre/id.

RACINES 4 — 1 2 3 *H*

1. *frsH firsāḥ/farsax* plaine vaste et ouverte de tous côtés/long espace de temps, cf. *faršax* empleur, largeur.

Appendix B — Racines avec variabilité ᶜ/ġ
(*C* pour ᶜ/ġ)

RACINES 3 — *C* 2 3

1. *Cbṯ* Ia/Ia mêler, mélanger/mêler du fromage frais avec du beurre. 2. *Cbr* Ia/Ia passer, traverser, s'en aller/passer, partir. 3. *Cbs* Ia/Ii avoir les traits du visage sevères, austères/être sombre, obscur. 4. *Cbq* Ii/*ġabqat* s'attacher à qn./corde attachée à une pièce de bois etc. 5. *Ctt* I/I ennuyer qn. en lui répétant jusqu'à satiété la même chose, en lui parlant sans cesse, importuner qn./causer de la peine à qn., réduire qn. au silence par un mot, par des paroles. 6. *Cṯr* ᶜ*atarīy*/*ġaṯarīy* plaine qui est arrosée naturellement, par la pluie/(champ, sol) arrosé par la pluie (et non par des moyens artificiels). 7. *Cdd* ᶜ*udd*/*ġadda* I petits signes qui couvrent quelquefois le visage des belles personnes/atteint par la peste et être couvert de boutons pestilentiels (chameau), *ġaddat* peste et bouton pestilentiel ; ᶜ*idād*/*ġidād* nombre etc./pl. de *ġaddat* bande, une partie de troupeau séparée du reste, part, portion (?). 8. *Cdr* Ii/*ġadīr* abonder en eau/un étang etc. 9. *Cdm* Ia/Ia manger avec avidité/avaler, dévorer avec avidité. 10. *Crb* ᶜ*arab*/*ġarb* vivacité, ardeur/id. ; à notre avis, la racine ᶜ*rb* avec le sens «le couchant, l'ouest» connue en sémitique, se retrouve en arabe dans la forme *ġrb*. 11. *Crd* ᶜ*arīd*/*muġarrid* éloigné (du verbe ᶜ*arida* fuir)/éloigné. 12. *Crf* Ia/Ia (à côté de connaître aussi :) couper la crinière à un cheval/couper, retrencher. 13. *Crn* Ia/Ii être affligé du mal, être amolli, devenir mou/faible, débile ; *ġarīn* boue fine, limon qui reste à la surface du sol à la suite d'une inondation. 14. *Czz* I/I être rare et cher/choisir qn. particulièrement parmi les autres et l'avoir spécialement pour soi, VIII id. ; ᶜ*azza*/*ġazzat* être puissant/peut-être étymologiquement *Ġazza* n. pr. loci : «Puissante». 15. *Csr* Ia/Ia presser son débiteur pour le payement de la dette/presser sans pitié son débiteur. 16. *Csf* Ia/IV rôder dans la nuit pour chercher qn./marcher dans les tenèbres. 17. *Csq* ᶜ*asaq*/I premières tenèbres de la nuit/être obscur, *ġasaq* obscurité qui commence à tout envelopper à l'entrée de la nuit. 18. *Csl* Ia/Ia (un mouvement rapide :) trembler beaucoup, vibrer (se dit d'une lance longue et très souple), être agité/(à côté de *ġsl* laver) cohabiter, entrer en coit (provient de laver-inonder la femelle de sperme sans la féconder, ou de trembler ?). 19. *Csn* ᶜ*sn*/*ġasnat* longueur et beauté d'une chevelure (de la racine avec le sens être sombre etc.)/poignée de crins arrachés ou coupés de la crinière, du toupet. 20. *Cšn* ᶜ*uššān*/*ġušānat* base d'une branche, endroit où la branche naît sur la tige/pousses qui viennent tout autour du tronc d'un arbre coupé. 21. *Cṣb* Ia/Ia empoigner, prendre avec la main, etc., II empoigner, saisir avec la main des branche, des rameaux, des herbes, et les réunir dans la main (pour arracher)/arracher. 22. *Cṣn* IV/*ġuṣn* être tortueux et difficile/branche. 23. *Cḍb* Ia/Ii injurier qn., l'attaquer/se fâcher, être en colère. 24. *Cḍr* ᶜ*āḍir*/Ia qui retient, qui arrête qn. et l'éloigne de qch./contenir, retenir et tenir qn. à l'écart, à distance. 25. *Cfn* ᶜ*iffān*/*ġiffān* moment opportun,

saison opportune/temps opportun, saison propre. 26. *Cfṣ* Ia/III arracher qch. et le faire sortir de sa place, vaincre/survenir à l'improviste et surprendre qn., saisir (?). 27. *Cfq* Ia/Ia disparaître, s'en aller on ne sait où, et puis reparaître, revenir/reparaître tout à coup, après avoir été absent. 28. *Cṯl* Ii/Ia combattre avec acharnement/se jeter avec acharnement sur qn. et ne pas lâcher prise. 29. *Cmm* I/I couvrir entièrement, envelopper/couvrir, recouvrir qch. 30. *Cmš* Ii/Ii avoir la vue faible et les yeux sans cesse larmoyants/avoir les yeux troubles et voilés par suite d'un grand affaiblissement. 31. *Cmṭ* Ia/Ia il se montre ingrat envers Dieu/ne tenir aucun compte (des bienfaits reçus), être ingrat. 32. *Cnǧ ᶜanaǧ/ġanaǧ* vieillard/id. 33. *Cšn ᶜunšūš/ġunšūš* reste (de troupeau, de brebis)/un reste insignifiant, le peu qui reste. 34. *Chb* Ii/Ii ne pas reconnaître/oublier, omettre, ne pas penser à qch. 35. *Chq ᶜaihaq/ġaihaq* vivacité, ardeur à la marche/vivacité, ardeur à la marche.

RACINES 3 — 1 *C* 3

1. *dCr* Ii/Ia être mauvais, méchant/d'un mauvais caractère, méchant. 2. *dCl* Ia/Ia tromper qn./*daġal* vice, fausse monnaie, embuscade. 3. *ṯCr* V/Ia être fendu à l'extrémité (se dit du nez)/briser, *ṯaġr* séparé, divisé. 4. *tCb* Ii/Ii être las, fatigué/périr. 5. *ṯCb* Ia/Ia faire couler, verser, *ṯaᶜb* qui coule, liquide, torrent, eau qui coule à travers une vallée/percer d'un coup de lance, saigner, faire jaillir le sang, *ṯaġab* mare d'eau stagnante. 6. *rCl raᶜlat/ruġlat* prépuce/id., cf. *ᶜurlat/ġurlat* id., la racine est *rᶜl; raᶜlat, 'arāᶜīl/raġl* commencement, qui commence à pousser, pousse, bourgeon/céréales dont les épis commencent à avoir des grains. 7. *rCm ruᶜām/ruġām* morve/morve très claire qui coule du nez des moutons; *ruᶜāmā/ruġāmā* lobe du foie/id. 8. *zCr* Ia/Ia s'emparer violemment et injustement de qch./cohabiter, être en copulation. 9. *zCf* Ia/Ia tuer qn. sur place/percer qn. avec une lance. 10. *zCl zaᶜlūl/zaġlūl* vif, dispos/léger et agile (homme). 11. *sCb musaᶜᶜab/musaġġab* permis, licite/id. 12. *sCn suᶜn/suġn* outre fendue par le milieu dans laquelle on fait du vin de dattes etc./vase dans laquelle on trait du lait. 13. *šCf* Ii/Ii devenir éperdument amoureux/id. 14. *šCm šuᶜūm/šuġūm* grang de taille (homme)/long, bien formé de corps (animaux et hommes). 15. *šCn šaᶜan/šuġnat* débris éparpillés d'herbes, *ᶜīd šaᶜānīn* dimanche des rameaux/rameau vert et tendre. 16. *ṣCr* Ii/Ii être petit/id. 17. *ḍCṭ* Ia/Ia égorger/serrer en poussant. 18. *ḍCf ḍiᶜf/daġīf* le double, surcroît/vert et plein de sève (plante) (?). 19. *fCm* Ia/Ia remplir (une vase)/remplir le nez de qch. 20. *lCm laᶜm*/Ia bave, salive qui coule/écumer, avoir la bouche écumante. 21. *mCǧ* Ia/Ia se dépêcher en marchant/se mettre à courir. 22. *mCd maᶜd/maġd* gros, épais/ gras, gros. 23. *mCr muᶜrat/maġrat* toute couleur qui tire sur le rouge/terre rouge. 24. *mCs* Ia/Ia percer avec une lance/id. 25. *mCṣ*/I passif être souffrant (se dit du ventre quand on y éprouve du mal)/éprouver des douleurs dans les entrailles. 26. *mCṭ* Ia/Ia étendre, allonger/tendre en long. 27. *wCd ᶜidat/ġidat* promesse/id. 28. *wCq waᶜīq/waġīq* bruit qu'on entend dans le ventre du cheval qui court/id.

RACINES 3 — 1 2 *C*

1. *ǧlC* Ia/Ia ôter, enlever le prépuce (dans la circoncision)/tailler, massacrer ; III/III se disputer avec qn. (au sujet du butin), *muǧālaġa* lutte, combat, rixe. 2. *dfC* Ia/*dafġ* repousser, écarter qn. en le poussant/paille et balle du millet qui s'en sépare au nettoyage. 3. *rbC* Ia/Ia se trouver au printemps, abonder en pâturages, rester, séjourner paisiblement dans un lieu/mener une vie aisée ; IV laisser boire un chameau à sa soif/id. 4. *rfC* Ia/Ia élever, porter en haut, monter etc./monter à califourchon sur un chameau etc. 5. *zlC* Ia/Ia brûler au feu/se lever (le soleil), flamber, s'élever en flammes (feu). 6. *srC sarᶜ/sarġ* cep de vigne de l'année/cep de vigne. 7. *slC* Ia/Ia fendre, blesser (la tête)/casser, briser, fendre (la tête) ; I/*'aslaġu* avoir la lèpre/lépreux. 8. *ṣlC ṣullaᶜ/ṣalaġ* sol nu, rocher, pierre énorme et plate/colline de terre rougeâtre (?). 9. *fdC* Ia/Ia avoir un membre du corps distordu et tourné en sens contraire/casser, briser. 10. *flC* Ia/Ia fendre, couper/casser (le crâne). 11. *mrC* IV/IV abonder en pâturages/abonder en herbes, de la racine *rᶜj*. 12. *mšC* Ia/Ia a) manger, croquer qch. de tendre, p. ex. un concombre/manger doucement qch. de tendre (p. ex. les concombres) ; b) frapper qn./id. 13. *nbC* Ia/Ia sourdre/id. 14. *nšC* Ia/Ia avoir le râle/avoir une respiration pénible et étouffée, être oppressé et sanglottant, *nāšiġ* qui a le râle. 15. *nsC* Ia/Ia avoir des dents déchaussées/se déchausser (des dents). 16. *nzC* III/Ia s'angager, avoir une dispute avec qn./lancer des propos, des épigrammes contre qn. 17. *hnC* Ia/Ia, III se soumettre à qn./courtiser une femme. 18. *wbC* II/II péter au nez/péter, lâcher un pet. 19. *wzC* Ia/Ia laisser tomber çà et là des gouttes d'urine/jeter l'urine çà et là en cheminant, cf. *wašaġa*. 20. *wmC wamᶜat/wamġat* coup violent des flots, d'un torrent, de l'eau qui se précipite avec violence/un cheveu long (métaphoriquement (?)).

RACINES 2 — *C V* 2

(*V* pour voyelle/*w*/*y*)

1. *CVṯ maᶜāṯ*/I passage, voie, issue/secourir qn., venir au secours de qn., mais aussi *ġawīt* rapidité de la course, d'une course faite de toutes les forces. 2. *CVǧ* I/I *ᶜawiǧa* être recourbé, tortu, cambré/*ġāǧa* être perché, incliné. 3. CVr *ᶜawrat/ġār, ġawr, ġārat* cravasse, lieu où l'on peut se mettre en embuscade de/cavernes, cavité, creux. 4. *CVn* I/V aider, porter secours /être rude, être très-brave et intrépide dans le combat (?). 5. *CVV* (*ᶜwy*) II/VII courber, plier/se courber. 6. *CVb* I/I être mauvais, déshonorer/médire de qn. (à côté d'être absent d'un lieu). 7. *Cvd* I/*ġīd* aller, venir/*ġīd ġīd* allons ! vite ! faites vite ! 8. *CVṭ* II/II crier, pousser des cris/se disputer, engager une dispute. 9. *CVf* I/*ġaif* voltiger et planer au-dessus (oiseau), *ᶜaifat* vol d'un oiseau/bande d'oiseaux. 10. *CVm ᶜaim/ġaim* grande envie de lait, soif/soif.

RACINES 2 — *C* 2 *V*

1. *CtV ᶜātin/ġātiyat* insolent, vil, ignoble/sotte, stupide (femme). 2. *CṯV* I/*ġaṯiya ᶜaṯwat* longue tresse de cheveux, au pl. herbes, plantes, *'aᶜṯān* velu, couvert de

poil/être couvert de plantes, d'une végétation luxuriente. 3. *CsV* I/I être très sombre/id., obscur, couvrir (cf. *ġušiya*). 4. *ClV* I/I, III être haut/dépasser les bornes, III viser trop haut et lancer la flèche en sorte qu'elle dépasse le but, *ġālin* prix trop élevé (?).

RACINES 2 — 1 *V C*

1. *zVC* I/I stimuler (sa monture) à la marche en secouant la bride/tirer (sa monture) avec la bride dans un sens ou dans un autre, cf. aussi *zāġa*(y). 2. *sVC* I(ū)/I(ū) être lâche et laissé en liberté pour paître à son gré/être licite, permis à qn., s'isoler, se séparer des autres, II permettre, cf. aussi *sāᶜa*, *yasīᶜu* s'en aller librement au pâturage ; Iā/Iī disperser, disséminer/séparer, disperser. 3. *fVC fawᶜat*/I odeur qui se répend partout, cf. *fāḥa*/se répendre (se dit d'une odeur). 4. *hVC* I/II couler et répendre/II arroser copieusement le sol (pluie).

RACINES 2 — 1 *C V*

1. *sCV* I/IV être mince et chétif/amoindrir, réduire. 2. *mCV* I/I miauler/id. -racine descriptive. 3. *wCV waᶜan/waġwun* cris, clameurs confuses/clameurs ; *waġan* bruit.

RACINES 4 — *C* 2 3 4

1. *Ctrf* I/I être dur, violent/agir avec injustice et avec violence. 2. *CṯCṯ* I/I séjourner dans un lieu, se reposer/faire halte, s'arrêter dans un lieu. 3. *Crql ᶜirqīl*/I le jaune d'œuf/être gâté et pourri à l'intérieur (se dit d'un œuf). 4. *Cšrb ᶜašrab, ᶜušārib/ġašrab, ġušārib* fort et brave, lion/hardi, courageux, lion, cf. aussi *ᶜušārim/ġušārim* lion. 5. *CqCq* I/I crier/id.-racine descriptive. 6. *Cmls ᶜamallas/ġamallas* fort, rigoureux et bon marcheur (loup, chameau), loup féroce/hardi ou féroce, terrible (loup). 7. *Cndl ᶜandal/ġundalāniy* qui a une grosse tête/id. 8. *Cnḏy ᶜanḏā/ġanḏā* pousser, exciter à qch./exciter, pousser. 9. *Cnṭy ᶜanṭā/ġanṭā* tenir des propos obscènes, raconter à qn. des contes obscènes/accabler qn. d'injures, lui dire des paroles dures et offensantes.

RACINES 4 — 1 *C* 3 4

1. *ṯCṯC ṯaᶜṯaᶜ at*/I paroles inarticulées d'un bègue, effort d'un homme qui vomit continuellement/bégayer, cf. aussi *ṯaᶜᶜa* vomir. 2. *dCms mudaᶜmas/mudaġmas* caché/id., cf. *dxms*. 3. *dCṯr* I/I briser/id. 4. *dCdC* I/I agiter, remuer/id. 5. *rCrC* I/I faire germer et grandir (les plantes), se dit de Dieu/jouir d'une vie aisée et délicieuse. 6. *zCbǧ zaᶜbaǧ/zaġbaǧ* olive/fruit de l'olivier sauvage. 7. *zCbr* I/I seulement d'après de Biberstein—Kazimirski, s. v. *zaġbarat*. 8. *sCsC* I/I oindre d'huile (les cheveux)/graisser un met, graisser (les cheveux).

RACINES 4 — 1 2 *C* 4

1. *slCf* I/I avaler/Id. 2. *dbCṭV dabaᶜṭā/dabaġṭā* sot/sot, stupide.

RACINES 4 — 1 2 3 *C*

1. *hymC haymaᶜ/haymaġ* mort violente/id.

# AGREEMENT AS A LEXICON-FORMATIVE FACTOR IN ARABIC

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Concord in number, as reflected in some annexion-type head-modifier constructions, is examined as a lexically relevant feature in Arabic. Despite the fact that most data are drawn from Modern Written Arabic, some attention is paid to the concord behaviour of these constructions in Classical Arabic as well.

1. In any treatment of agreement phenomena the description is mostly centred on their grammatical function. The aim of the present study is to draw attention to the nongrammatical manifestations of agreement in Arabic. Despite the fact that these can match the former neither in their linguistic significance nor in the assortment of relevant features associated with them, they nevertheless constitute an important part of the linguistic description of Arabic.

1.1 Since agreement may externally be visualized only in the form of a variety of patterns differing from each other both in the type and number of grammatical categories involved, the extent of agreement in any given syntactic environment is of particular classificatory importance.

The extent of agreement in Arabic may depend upon a number of linguistic and extralinguistic factors. Factors responsible for the reduction of agreement in a given syntactic sequence will summarily be referred to as agreement (or concord) restrictors in what follows. Some of them:

(1) some word-order patterns, e.g. a verb in pre-subject position agrees with the subject only in gender as against full-scale concord in a reverse word-order arrangement, as in:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (verb-subject) | *ḏahaba* | *ar-rijāl* | "the men went away" |
| | (masc. sing.) | (masc. plur.) | |
| | went away | the men; | |
| (verb-subject) | *ḏahabat* | *an-nisā'* | "the women went away" |
| | (fem. sing.) | (fem. plur.) | |
| | went away | the women; | |
| as against: | | | |
| (subject-verb) | *an-nisā'* | *ḏahabna* | "the women went away" |
| | (fem. plur.) | (fem. plur.), or: | |

(2) extrahuman reference of nouns: a plural noun referring to nonhuman entities

invariably imposes the same concord as a feminine noun in singular,[1] as in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *al-buyūt* | *al-kabīra* | "the big houses" |
| (masc. plur.) | (fem. sing.) | |
| the houses | the big; | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *inḥaraqat* | *al-buyūt* *wa* | *taxarrabat* | "the houses were |
| (fem. sing) | (masc. plur.) | (fem. sing.) | consumed by fire |
| burnt down | the houses and | went to ruin | and went to ruin" |

It is worthwhile noting that in the verb-subject sequence of the last example two concord restrictors operate cumulatively (pre-subject position of the verb and extrahuman reference of the noun);

(3) membership in syntactic constructions, typically excluding agreement, which may, under special conditions, tolerate some extraordinarily reduced manifestations of the latter to mark the structural coherence and lexical unity of the sequence. Since the latter type of syntactic constructions coincides with annexion-type head-modifier phrases systematically examined in the forthcoming paragraphs of the present paper, no illustrative examples are here given.

2. Grammatical relevance of agreement in Arabic, reveals, relatively sharp and easily recognizable contours and, in some special cases, it may even be illustrated on distinctive pairs like the following one:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N G C D:[2] | *al-muᶜallim* | *al-kabīr* | "the old teacher" |
| + + + + | the teacher | the old | |

in contrast to:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N G C D: | *al-muᶜallim* | *kabīr* | "the teacher is old" |
| + + + − | the teacher | old | |

Both constructions coincide with each other in displaying an agreement in number (singular), gender (masculine) and case (nominative),[3] while they differ from each other in reflecting definiteness.[4] The coincidence of both types of phrases in the extent of agreement permits to describe them rather indiscriminately as noun-plus-adjective attributive or predicative phrases. It is only the differentiated concord

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[1] Exceptions to this general rule are few in number and are, for the most part, stylistically conditioned, as in *as-sinūn aṭ-ṭiwāl* "long years", besides the regular feminine singular *as-sinūn aṭ-ṭawīla*; etc.

[2] N (number), G (gender), C (case: in synthetic varieties of Arabic) and D (definiteness, as inclusive of both its states: definite and indefinite). A concord-signalled relationship in a given grammatical category is here indicated by a subscribed 'plus' sign while its absence by a subscribed 'minus' sign. Some categories, like case and partly definiteness (indefiniteness) are unrepresented in a pausal writing like the present one (see also note below).

[3] Unrepresented in a pausal writing; contextually: *al-muᶜallimu al-kabīru* and *al-muᶜallimu kabīrun*, respectively. Arabic examples at the level of lexical units and syntactic phrases will be represented pausally, only longer quotations will be written contextually.

[4] Or, alternatively, indefinite-indefinite: *muᶜallim kabīr* "an old teacher" in contrast to definite-indefinite: *al-muᶜallim kabīr*.

behaviour in the domain of definiteness that makes it ultimately possible to distinguish between them.

3. In a number of cases, however, agreement may have a lexically distinctive function. In contrast to the grammatically relevant concord patterns which can easily be identified and defined in terms of syntactic rules,[5] lexically significant patterns show a substantially higher degree of vagueness and diffuseness.

Lexical significance of concord patterns will be examined on a somewhat paradoxical case of infiltration of concord phenomena into a typically non-agreeing syntactic environment. The description which follows will examine the extent of number concord in noun-plus-noun attributive constructions, mostly referred to as annexions,[6] which consist of a head and of a normally non-agreeing substantival modifier. The head consituent, revealing a number of constructional changes due to its head status (implicit definiteness reflecting the definiteness state of the modifier;[7]formally modified (affixal) plural and dual markers, as well as some other features some of which will be mentioned in the present paper), is traditionally known in Arabic grammars as *status constructus*. In synthetic variants of Arabic (Classical and Modern Written Arabic), examined in the present study, the substantival modifier is invariably in the genitive while, in analytic variants of Arabic (colloquial variants of Arabic which coincide with regionally differentiated local dialects), it is represented by a caseless noun. Theoretically, the number of constituents of an annexion is not limited. Bicomponental constructions, however, are most frequently met with, e.g.:

*kitāb al-muᶜallim* "the teacher's book", contextually presented:

*kitābu l-muᶜallimi*, lit. (the) book of the teacher
(nom.) (gen.)

3.1 The numeric value of individual constituents of an annexion may be set independently of each other as long as their lexical autonomy is maintained and no

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[5] For a number of interpretational ambiguities due to the generic restatement of definiteness, see our paper *Generic Definiteness in Arabic. Graecolatina et Orientalia, 2, 1970*, pp. 177—190.

[6] Basic terminology is rather divergent. Some of the most common English variants: annexion, annexation, construct state, construct, etc.; French variants: état d'annexion, rapport d'annexion, état construit; German variants: Genitivverhältnis, Genitivverbindung, Constructusverbindung, etc., besides the internationally used status constructus. Nevertheless, the latter term, as well as its derivates, applies sometimes to the nonfinal terms of an annexion only while, in some other instances, it stands for the whole construction. Constructions with pronominal affixes (caseless and invariably definite enclitic formations; when affixed to the noun, they operate as possessivizers) are sometimes classified as annexions, too. With regard to a number of relevant features they share with genuine noun-plus-noun phrases, the latter classification will be followed in the present paper too, e.g.: *kitābu-hu* "his book".

[7] For an attempt to refine this presentation of facts, see our study *Hypothesis of a Transition Value of Definiteness in Arabic*. In: *Asian and African Studies, 5*, 1969, pp. 39—48.

internal restrictions possibly imposed on their quantifiability are present (such as membership in the class of mass nouns, abstract nouns, generically restated nouns,[8] etc.), e.g.:

/S-S/:[9] *kitāb al-muᶜallim* (see above);

/P-S/: *kutub al-muᶜallim* "the teacher's books";

/S-P/: *kitāb al-muᶜallimīn* "the teachers' book";

/P-P/: *kutub al-muᶜallimīn* "the teachers' books".

The duality, morphologically relevant in Arabic, may of course be represented as well:

/S-D/: *kitāb al-muᶜallimayn* "the two teachers' book";

/D-S/: *kitābā al-muᶜallim* "the teacher's two books", etc.

Numerically homogeneous patterns of the present type of constructions, i.e. /S-S/, /D-D/ and /P-P/, will be regarded as a case of *coincidence*. The term will be used technically in what follows, as against what we call *resonance* (§ 3.2) and agreement or *concord* (§ 3.3 ff.). Accordingly, coincident patterns should be related to such numerically identical and lexically autonomous constituents of an annexation whose individual quantifiability in relation to the whole construction is notionally unrestricted.

3.2 In constructions, exhibiting an invariable notionally imposed numeric relationship[10] between their single, lexically autonomous constituents, an independent quantification of the latter is drastically restricted. The strong tendency towards maintaining numeric homogeneity of patterns whose constituents display a one-to-one relationship is one of the most outstanding features of these constructions.

Some examples:

*kaᶜb*, plur. *kiᶜāb* "ankle"; *ḥasan*, plur. *ḥisān* "beautiful";

*al-ḥisān* "ladies" in:

/P-P/ *kiᶜāb al-ḥisān* "the ladies' ankles" (Fersi: *Qanṭara*, 44) or even in a longer context involving another plural (*xalxal*, plur. *xalāxil* "anklet"):[11]

*hāḏihi l'xalāxilu min aḏ-ḏahabi tuṭawwiqu kiᶜāba l-ḥisāni* "these golden anklets embrace the ladies' ankles" (ibid.);

or:

/P-P/ *qulūb an-nisā'* "the women's hearts", and

/P-P/ *ru'ūs aš-šuyūx* "the old men's heads" in:

*wa tayaqqana šuyūxu l-qaryati wa ḥukamā'uhā 'annahu kaṯīran ma tanṭawī qulūbu*

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[8] For some aspects of a generic reinterpretation of number see §§ 3.2.4 and 4.1.1 in what follows.

[9] S (singular); P (plural); D (dual).

[10] I.e. a one-to-one or any other notionally controlled fixed relationship, as in /S-S/ *ra's ar-rajul* "the man's head" or /D-S/ *bi-yaday-hā* "with her two hands", etc.

[11] As previously stated, longer quotations, extending beyond structural limits of syntactic phrases, will be written contextually.

*n-nisā'i ᶜalā ḥikmatin 'ablaġa mimmā yaᶜmuru ru'ūsa š-šuyūxi* "and the old and wise men of the village made sure that the women's hearts often contain more wisdom than (lit. that inhabiting) the heads of the old men" (ibid., 48).

A notionally fixed numeric relationship between lexically autonomous constituents of a numerically homogeneous pattern will be referred to as (numeric) resonance (as against what we call coincidence and concord). A sequence of numeric patterns, consisting of or at least including resonance patterns, will be called resonance sequence.

3.2.1 Substantially the same type of notionally imposed restrictions may be found in head-modifier constructions whose modifier is represented by a possessive suffix,[12] e.g.:

/S-S/ *ra'su-hā* "her head", as against

/P-P/ *ru'ūsu-hunna* "their (fem.) heads", as in:

*(an-nisā' al-ᶜawājīz) wa ᶜalā ru'ūsihinna ṭarhatun sawdā'u*

(with reference to old women) "and around their heads they have a black veil" (Qaddūs: *ᶜAqlī wa qalbī*, 167).

3.2.2 Of course, the notionally petrified numeric relationships of the present type need not necessarily coincide with homogeneous patterns, as can be seen in e.g.:

/D-S/ *ᶜaynay-hi* "his (two) eyes", in:

*wa naqqala (al-badawiyyu) ᶜaynayhi fawqa wujūhinā* "and (the Bedouin) moved his (two) eyes over our faces" (Kanafānī: *Mawt*, 192).

It should be noted, however, that duals, denoting natural pairs, are sometimes replaced by plurals, as in:

/P-S/ *ᶜuyūna-hu* "his eyes (plural : accusative)" in:

*rafaᶜa ṣ-ṣaġīru ᶜuyūnahu ṭujāhī* "the little (boy) raised his eyes towards me" (ibid., 56).

3.2.3 The membership of a noun in the general class of uncountables (esp. abstract, mass and collective nouns[13]) is another factor possibly restricting the extent of numeric homogeneity in constructions whose constituents display a one-to-one relationship, e.g.:

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[12] Despite its enclitic nature, it will be noted in the adopted system of our pattern symbols, as a fully autonomous pattern consituent. To make the identification easier at the level of syntactic phrases, it will be separated from the noun it modifies by a hyphen, as in /S-S/ *wajhu-hu* "his face" or in /P-P/ *wujūhu-hum* "their (masc.) faces", etc.

[13] For a number of problems associated with partly formal (*šajar* "tree(s)", plur. *'ašjār* "trees"), partly still connotationally differentiated plurals, like *laḥm* "meat", plur. *luḥūm* "(great quantities, different sorts, etc. of) meat", see our paper *Derivational System of Collective and Unit Nouns in Arabic. A Contribution to the Study of Arabic Collectives.* In: *Graecolatina et Orientalia, 9—10,* 1977—1978, pp. 165—207.

/S-P/ *mišyata-hunna* "their (fem.) art of walking (accus.)" in:

*(hāḏihi l-xalāxilu min aḏ-ḏahabi tuṭawwiqu kᶜāba l-ḥisāni) tuzayyinu mišyatahunna* ("these golden anklets surround the ladies' ankles) to adorn their gait" (Fersi : *Qanṭara*, 44—45), or:

/S-S-P/ *caraq jabīni-him* "sweat of their (masc.) brows (sing.)", and

/S-P-P/ *dam 'ajsādi-him* "blood of their (masc.) bodies" in:

*huwa hajru kullin man 'assasū hāḏihi l-qaryata wa šayyadū dūrahā bi-ᶜaraqi jabīnihim wa dami 'ajsādihim* "it is a separation from all those who founded this village and erected its houses by the sweat of their brows and the blood of their bodies" (ibid., 47).

3.2.3.1 The strong tendency towards maintaining numeric homogeneity in attributively linked syntactic sequences, containing abstract nouns (as well as other types of uncountables), is obviously responsible for the infiltration of what we call resonance phenomena even into the notional domain of uncountables. Some examples:

/P-P/ *ᶜamāyāt ar-rijāl* "the blindnesses of men" in:

*tasallat ᶜamāyātu r-rijāli ᶜani ṣ-ṣibā* "the blindnesses of men are consoled for youth" (Bateson, 139: *Imru'u l-Qays*).

Quotations from a metrically organized poetry would be, of course, of little value, were they not convincingly confirmed by the general tendency:

/P-P/ *ḥayawāt al-wurūd* "the life (lit. lives) of roses" in: *wa tamtali'u ruwaydan bi-ḥayawāti l-wurūdi z-zāhiyati* "and she (the girl) got slowly filled with the life of these beautiful roses" (Nūrī, 146), or:

/P-P/ *ḥayawāt aṭ-ṭuyūr* "the life (lives) of birds" in: *fa-'anā lā 'aᶜlamu šay'anᶜan ḥayawāti ṭ-ṭuyūri* "for I know nothing about the life ('lives') of birds" (Kanafānī: *ᶜĀlam*, 17).

The tendency towards maintaining what we call numeric resonance, in the syntactic environments examined, makes even possible a numeric quantification of such categories of nouns which may be, in some other languages, incompatible with numeric inflection or which admit it in some very special contexts only, e.g.:

*ᶜaql*, plur. *ᶜuqūl* "mind, intellect, intelligence" in:

/P-P[14]-S/ *ᶜuqūl 'ahl al-maġrib* "the intellect of the people of the West", as occurring in:

*ḥattā 'innahu la-yaẓunnu kaṯīrūm min raḥḥālati 'ahli l-maġribi 'ilā l-mašriqi fī ṭalabi l-ᶜilmi 'anna ᶜuqūlahum ᶜalā l-jumlati 'akmalu min ᶜuqūli 'ahli l-maġribi* (Ibn Xaldūn: *Muqaddima*, 398) "In fact, many Maghribīs who have traveled to the East

[14] The symbol is here somewhat inadequately applied to the derivational value of collectiveness, as conveyed by the collective noun *'ahl* "people" (formally in singular).

in quest of knowledge, have been of the opinion that the intellect of the people of the East is, in general, more perfect than that of the Maghribīs" (Rosenthal, 2. 431).

Or, in the recent MWA usage, illustrated on a dual resonance:

/D-D/ *bi-ᶜaqlay az-zamīlayn* "in the mind of both colleagues" (lit. 'in the two minds of the two colleagues') in:

*kānat nawbatu l-falsafati mā zālat muklibatan bi-ᶜaqlay az-zamīlayni* "a paroxism of sophistry was still storming in the mind of the two colleagues" (Kanafānī: *Mawt*, 194).

Similarly:

*ṭarf* (no plural) "glance, look" in:

/D-D-S/ *bi-ṭarfay ᶜaynayhi* "with his eyes" (lit. 'with the two glances of his two eyes'):

*kāna (l-mudīru) yarmuqu l-'ustāḏa muḥsina wa ṭ-ṭifla bi-ṭarfay ᶜaynayhi bayna l-faynati wa l-'uxrā* "(the headmaster) looked from time to time at Mr. Muhsin and the child with his eyes" (Kanafānī: *ᶜĀlam*, 62).

3.2.3.2 As partly evident from what precedes, the lexical nature of single constituents of an annexion cannot settle the problem of number patterning in its entirety. In view of relatively diffuse boundaries between abstract (typically uncountable and noninflected for number) and concrete (typically countable and freely admitting number inflection[15]), as mirrored in current cases of polysemy, such as *'ījār* "hiring out, leasing; rent, lease" or *taḥiyya* "greeting" (verbal abstract as well as its materialized result), the latter dichotomy cannot be taken for more than an auxiliary criterion.

The feature of inflectibility for number may be used in Arabic as no convincing proof of concreteness, as might be deduced from pairs like:

/S-S/ *'ījār al-maskan* "hiring out a house" (viz., verbal abstract, process; *SAD* 10: "Vermietung"), pluralized in terms of /S-P/ *'ījār al-masākin*, as against:

/S-S/ *'ījār al-maskan* "rent paid for a house" (concrete, deprocessualized; *SAD* 10: "Miete"), typically pluralized as a /P-P/ *'ijārāt al-masākin*, as in *'ijārāt al-masākin al-jadīda* "rents paid for newly erected buildings" (*SAD* 10: "Neubaumieten").

Nevertheless, concurrently with the latter type of formal distinction between abstracta and concreta, the occurrence of nonpluralized concreta is quite common, as in:

/S-S-P/ *taxfīḍ 'ījār al-masākin* "lowering of rents" (*SAD*, 10: "Mietsenkung"); /S-S-P/ *rafᶜ 'ījār al-masākin* "raise of rents" (ibid.: "Mieterhöhung"); etc.

3.2.3.3 The tendency towards numeric homogeneity may be observed even in nouns possibly operating as prepositions or as members of prepositional complexes.

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[15] For some restrictions, due to the feature of genericity, see §§ 3.2.4 and 4.1.1 in what follows.

In contrast to nouns so far examined, they can no longer be identified with entity terms. Despite this, they may display patent features of numeric resonance, a fact unambiguously pointing to the formal nature of similar inflections. When agreeing to apply symbols so far used to denote numeric relationships of entity terms to the latter type of prepositionalized items, quite striking parallels with the numeric behaviour of true entity terms will be obtained.

E.g.:

*ṣadr*, plur. *ṣudūr* "chest; bosom, heart", metaphorically applied to "inner part, interior" with a connotation of "privacy, intimity"; hence *fī ṣadr* — "in the interior of", as in:

/S-S/ *fī ṣadri l-ġurfati* "in the interior of the room", as contrasting with:

/P-P/ *fi ṣudūri l-ġurafi* "in the interior of the rooms", as in:

*fī š-šahri l-'awwali ṣirnā naštarī l-majallāti l-mulawwanata l-ᶜāriyata, fī š-šahri ṯ-ṯānī lam najid ḥarajan yamnaᶜunā min taᶜlīqihā fī ṣudūri ġurafinā* "in the first month we started buying illustrated magazines with nudes, in the second month we found nothing that would prevent us from commenting on them in the interior of our rooms" (Kanafānī: *ᶜĀlam*, 63); or:

*wasaṭ*, plur. *'awsāṭ* "middle, center", in *fī wasaṭ/fī 'awsāṭ* "in the middle of", as in:

*fatātun fī 'awsāṭi l-ᶜišrīnāti min ᶜumrihā* "a girl in her mid-twenties" (lit. 'in the middle of twenties of her age') (Jabrā, 50); etc.

3.2.4 Nevertheless, the most important factor, restricting numeric homogeneity whatever its nature (coincidence, resonance and concord) is quite evidently a generic restatement of numeric values. It is somewhat misleadingly included in the present section dealing with what we call resonance because the latter is the first notionally controlled numeric relationship to be affected by a nonspecifically signalled notional restatement.

When giving credit to Jespersen's speculations, the feature of genericity is largely due to the fact that the correspondence between 'external' (or what Jespersen alternatively calls 'extralingual' or 'notional') and 'grammatical' categories is never complete. Any grammatical category, revealing an incomplete correspondence between 'external' and 'grammatical' in the sense that an element of 'grammatical' potentially covers the whole domain of 'external', is a generic category.[16]

The much discussed incorrespondence between the discreteness of linguistic categories and the continuity of phenomena of the real world is reflected in what M. Joos calls the tyranny of linguistic categories[17] which may conveniently be demon-

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[16] Cf. Jespersen, O.: *The Philosophy of Grammar*. London 1963 (reprint edition), pp. 142 ff., 161, 215 ff., etc.

[17] Cf. Joos, M.: *Description of Language Design* (originally published in: The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America, *22*, 1950, pp. 701—708). The present quotation refers to the reprint edition in *Readings in Linguistics*. Ed. M. Joos. New York 1963, pp. 349—356.

strated also on the linguistic category of number. In these terms, the interference of discreteness with continuity may be brought into focus by the opposition between the English plural (*noses*) and the German singular (*Nase*) in a fanciful English sentence:

"The councillors all put their glasses on their noses (G: Nase)".

The German singular does not imply anyway a numeric incorrespondence between the number of councillors and that of their noses. It is simply used because German, as well as a great number of other languages, has no such numeric category that would mean 'any number' and because a seemingly more economic use of a generically reinterpreted singular is, notionally, fully equivalent to a plural.

3.2.4.1 In sequences organized along the numeric relationship we call resonance some types of numeric patterns are atypical, while some other patterns are totally excluded. The former group of patterns may be illustrated on cases, like /S-P/ *jabīnu-hum* "their foreheads, brows" (in Arabic sing.) as against the expected /P-P/ *jubunu-hum* (see also 3.2.3: /S-S-P/ *bi-ᶜaraqi jabīnihim* "by the sweat of their (masc.) brows"). The latter group of notionally excluded patterns has to be identified with nonsensical phrases, such as /D-S/ *ra'sā ar-rajul* "two heads of a man", or the like.

The factor responsible for the reshaping of pattern sequences of the type /S-S/—/P-P/ (*jabīnu-hu* "his forehead"—*jubunu-hum* "their foreheads") into /S-S/—/P-P/ (*jabīnu-hu* "his forehead"—*jubunu-hum* "their foreheads") into /S-S/—/S-P/ (see above) should be identified with a generic restatement of the underlying value of 'oneness', associated with the singular.

E.g.:

/P-P/ *'aḥmiratu-hum* "their (masc.) donkeys" in relation to a generically restated singular *ẓahr* "back" in:

/S-P-P/ *ẓahr 'aḥmirati-him* "the back of their donkeys":

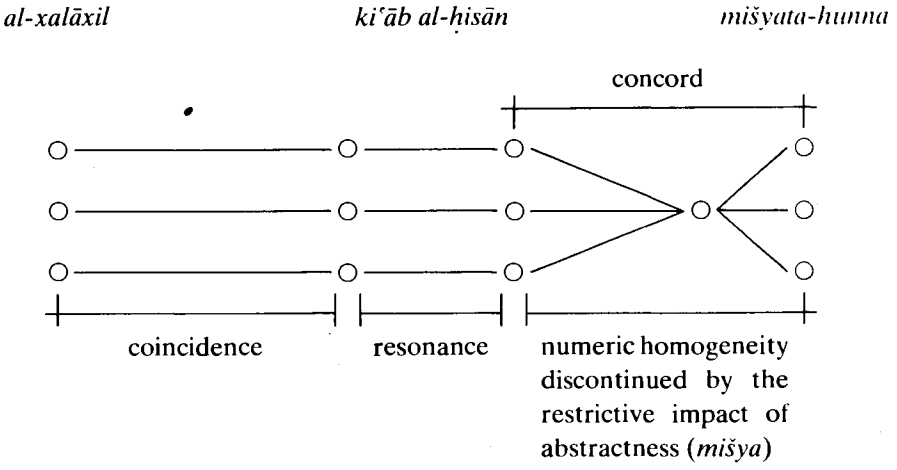
*fa-rakiba ṯ-ṯalāṯatu ẓahra 'aḥmiratihim* "and the three (men) mounted the backs ('the back') of their donkeys" (Fersi: *Qanṭara*, 46); etc.

Since generic restatement plays a more important part in reducing the range of numeric homogeneity in relationships identifiable in terms of concord (cf. terms of the type /S-S-P/ *rafᶜ 'ījār al-masākin* "raise of rents", as against the expected /S-P-P/ *rafᶜ 'ījārāt al-masākin*), more evidence will be provided in paragraphs dealing with the latter type of numeric relationship.

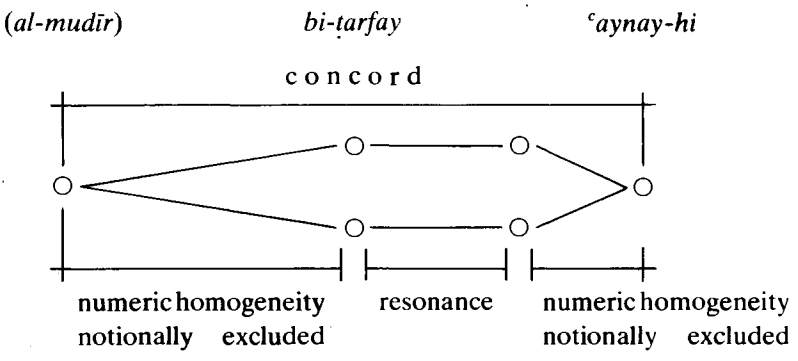
3.2.4.2 When comparing generically unrestated to generically restated sequences (restrictively identified with entity terms, in accordance with the aim and general approach of the present study), the following picture will be obtained:

Symbols used: ○ singularity, ○○ duality, ○○○ plurality

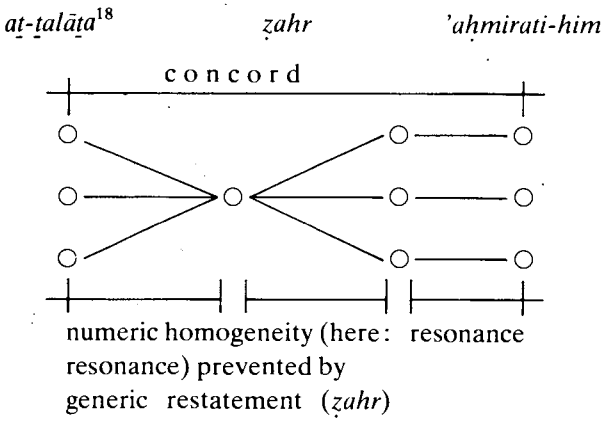
(1) generically unrestated sequences, e.g.:
*hāḏihi l-xalāxilu min aḏ-ḏahabi tuṭawwiqu kiʿāba l-ḥisāni tuzayyinu mišyatahunna* (see 3.2.3):




Or:
*kāna (l-mudīru) yarmuqu l-'ustāḏa muḥsina wa ṭ-ṭifla bi-ṭarfay ʿaynayhi bayna l-faynati wa l-'uxrā* (see 3.2.3.1):




(2) generically restated sequences, e.g.:
*fa-rakiba ṯ-ṯalāṯatu ẓahra 'aḥmiratihim* (see 3.2.4.1):




Despite the fact that the present paper makes a classificatory distinction between generic terms by their inherent lexical nature (the abstract noun *mišya* "manner of walking, gait", in the example quoted) and between generically restated entity terms, i.e. terms with an acquired and accidental genericity (*ẓahr* "back") — both of them have the same restrictive impact on the range of numeric homogeneity.

3.3 In the scope of the present study, the head-modifier annexion-type constructions whose single constituents do not maintain their lexical autonomy are the only ones to exhibit lexically relevant concord phenomena, associated with the linguistic category of number. Constructions whose constituents have lost their lexical autonomy will be called lexicalized constructions, in what follows, and the numeric relationship between their single constituents will be referred to as concord (or agreement), as against what we call coincidence (3.1) and resonance (3.2).

3.3.1 Before embarking on details, it is worthwhile pointing to a fundamental problem of identifying lexicalized syntactic sequences. In fact, the identification of the lexical status of a given sequence (viz., lexicalized vs. nonlexicalized) is extremely difficult at a lexicographical level with no explicative contribution of the context, since the transition from one status to another is very easy, as may be illustrated on the following pair:

(1) /S-S/ *ġurfat al-mudīr* "the director's, headmaster's office" (lit. "the director's, headmaster's room"; syn. *maktab al-mudīr*; for *ġurfat al-mudīr* "headmaster's office", see Kanafānī: *ᶜĀlam*, 61);

[18] *aṯ-ṯalāṯa* "the three (men)", in view of its actual numeric value, conveyed by the numeral "three" (formally in singular), is here interpreted as a plural.

/P-P/ *ġuraf al-mudarā'* (plural of the latter), as against:

(2) /S-S/ *ġurfat al-mudīr* "the director's room" (the room in an appartment, hotel, etc., possessed, occupied, booked etc., by a director);

/P-S/ *ġuraf al-mudīr* (plural of the latter);

/S-P/ *ġurfat al-mudarā'* "the directors' room";

/P-P/ *ġuraf al-mudarā'* (plural of the latter).

Of course, the series may be prolonged by various cross-combinations with the dual.

As evident from the extent of numeric patterning, the former sequence (*ġurfat al-mudīr* "the director's office") is lexicalized in contradistinction to the latter which is not. Notionally, in the former case we have to do with one single entity, while in the latter, with two. In accordance with the definitions given in 3.3 (concord) and 3.1 (coincidence) respectively, the /S-S/ and /P-P/ patterns, related to the former type of sequences, will be described in terms of concord, while, in relation to the latter type of sequences, they will be identified with coincident patterns.

As will become obvious from what follows, the /S-S/—/P-P/ singular—plural correspondence is not the unique one to be found in patterns displaying concord relationships. Since it is not possible to set sharp interpretational contours to notional restrictors of number patterning, such as genericity, abstractness or mass nature of a noun,[19] the /S-S/ is sometimes pluralized in terms of /P-S/ or, even more frequently, in terms of /P-S/P/, as in /S-S/ *ṣāḥib ad-dayn* "creditor" (lit. 'the owner of debt') — /P-S/P/ *'aṣḥāb ad-dayn/ad-duyūn*; or in /S-S/ *ṣāḥib al-barīd* "postmaster (hist.)" — /P-S/P/ *'aṣḥāb al-barīd/al-burud* (for the last example see Reckendorf (*Ar. Syntax*, 169: "Postmeister"): de Goeje: Wright II, 197); etc. For a number of other singular-plural relationships, associated with lexicalized sequences of the type examined, see § 4 in what follows.

3.3.2 The problem of lexical relevance of number concord is further complicated by the fact that not only a shift from lexicalized to nonlexicalized sequences may operate as a lexically distinctive factor (cf. *ġurfat al-mudīr* (1) as against *ġurfat al-mudīr* (2)) but also, in some cases, a mere paradigmatical shift from singular to plural, in sequences identical as to their lexical status (i.e. lexicalized vs. nonlexicalized), may have a quite considerable distinctive power.

E.g.:

/S-S/ *'išārat al-murūr* "traffic light (one of the set)"

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[19] Collective nouns in Arabic are very often pluralized with no noteworthy connotational difference between them and regular plurals, as in: *waraq* (collective noun, masculine singular) "leaf (-ves), foliage", plur. *'awrāq* "leaves", co-occurring with *waraqa* (unit noun, feminine, singular) "a leaf", plur. *waraqāt* "leaves". For some accidental connotational distinctions, possibly occurring between plurals drawn from collective (and mass) nouns and plurals drawn from noncollective (and nonmass) singulars, see our paper quoted in note 13.

/P-S/ *'išārāt al-murūr* "traffic lights (the whole set of red, orange and green; possibly also the whole system of traffic regulation by means of signal lights)"; etc.

3.3.3 It is worthwhile noting that not all numeric patterns in the structural domain of an annexion behave in the same way in governing numeric relationships. From the three types of numeric patterns, described in the present paper, only resonance and concord patterns display an interdependent numeric behaviour, imposed by one (and only one) of their constituents, as against what we call coincident patterns where each single constituent shows a quite autonomous, notionally conditioned numeric featuring.

3.3.3.1 In concord patterns, irrespective of the structure of syntactic environment in which they operate, the governing element may unambiguously be identified in terms of the following rules (restricted, of course, to the numeric relationships between entity terms and, in these illustrative parallels, possibly still to their adjectival modifiers):

(1) outside the structural domain of an annexion (here the range of concord extends over the whole set of grammatical categories inherent in Arabic nouns, i.e. number, gender, case and definiteness[20]):

(1.1) in subject-predicate phrases the concord-imposing element should always be identified with the subject:

| N G C D: | *al* - | *madīna* | *kabīra* | "the city is big" |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| + + + − | | singular | singular | |
| | | feminine | feminine | |
| | | nominative[21] | nominative | |
| | | definite | indefinite | |
| | (the | city | big); | |

(1.2) in head-modifier phrases the concord-governing element invariably coincides with the head, as in:

| N G C D: | *al* - | *bayt* | *al* - | *kabīr* | "the big house" |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| + + + + | | singular | | singular | |
| | | masculine | | masculine | |
| | | nominative | | nominative | |
| | | definite | | definite | |
| | (the | house | the | big); | |

or, alternatively:

| N G C D: | *bayt* | *kabīr* | "a big house", |
|---|---|---|---|
| + + + + | | | |

where the D should be identified with: indefinite-indefinite;
+

[20] See note 2. Restrictions besides those mentioned in 1.1(1) are few in number.

[21] Unrepresented in the pausal writing adopted. See also note 3.

(2) within the structural domain of an annexion (the concord is reduced to number and, for that matter, it will be presented in terms of pattern symbols used throughout the present study) the concord-imposing constituent should invariably be identified with the head, as in:

/S-S/ *rabbat al-bayt* "landlady" — /P-P/ *rabbāt al-buyūt*; or:

/S-S/ *sayyidat al-bayt* "housewife; the lady of the house" —

/P-P/ *sayyidāt al-buyūt*; etc.

3.3.3.2 On the other hand, in what we call resonance patterns, the element, governing the numeric correspondence of individual constituents of an annexion, invariably coincides with the modifier, no matter whether being conveyed by a noun or a pronominal suffix, as in:

/P-P/ *kiᶜāb al-ḥisān* "the ladies' ankles" (see 3.2.4.2);

/S-S/ *ḥayāt ḥassān* "Ḥassān's life" in: *wa ṭiwāla l-'ayyāmi l-xamsati t-tāliyati mala'a l-ḥassūnu ḥayāta ḥassān bi-t-tiṣālin* "and during the five days that followed al-Ḥassūn (a bird's name) was unceasingly filling the life of Ḥassān (a boy's name)" (Kanafānī: *ᶜĀlam*, 16);

/P-P/ *ḥayawāt aṭ-ṭuyūr* "the life ('lives') of birds" (see § 3.2.3.1);

/S-S/ *wajhu-hu* "his face" — /P-P/ *wujūhu-hum* "their faces", etc.

3.3.3.3 When restricting the description to the structural domain of an annexion, the way of governing numeric relationships may be presented as follows:

(1) concord: a head-modifier (or, in Arabic, a progressive) orientation:

(S-S)—(P-P) *rabbat al-bayt* — *rabbāt al-buyūt* (see above);

concord → concord →

Similarly:

/S-S/—/P-P/: *sā'iq as-sayyāra* "car driver" — *suwwāq as-sayyārāt* (Baranov, 383); *haykal as-sayyāra* "car body" — *hayākil as-sayyārāt* (ḤṢ, 38); etc.;

(2) resonance: a modifier-head (or, in Arabic, a regressive) orientation:

(P-P) *kiᶜāb al-ḥisān* (see above); or:

← resonance

(S-S)—(P-P): *wajhu-hu* "his face" — *wujūhu-hum* "their faces"

← resonance ← resonance

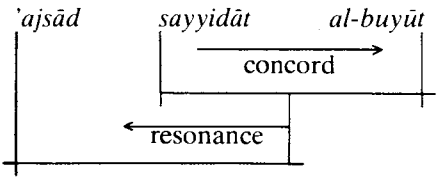
Etc.

3.3.3.4 It is worthwhile noting that in one single syntactic sequence both types of relationships may be concurrently present, as in:

/P-P-P/ *'ajsād sayyidāt al-buyūt* "the ladies' bodies" (lit. 'the bodies of the ladies

of the house/s/' in: *'aṣbaḥat (ḥamīda) taqra'u tafāṣīla 'āxiri l-mōdāti ᶜalā 'ajsādi sayyidāti l-buyūti* "(Ḥamīda, a maid's name) began to study the details of the latest fashion on the ladies' bodies" (Qaddūs: *Muntahā l-ḥubb*, 70).

That is:




4. Lexicalized annexions through number inflection

Lexicalized annexions, in accordance with the type of numeric patterns they adopt in number inflection (for the sake of simplicity only the singular-plural inflectional relationship will be taken into account), may be divided into two main classes:

(1) patterns paradigmatically related to other patterns of an opposite numeric value (singular to plurals or vice versa), and

(2) patterns paradigmatically unrelated to any other patterns.

Patterns, belonging to the former class, will shortly be referred to as paradigmatically related patterns, as against those, belonging to the latter class, which will be called paradigmatically unrelated patterns.

4.1 In view of a number of linguistic and extralinguistic factors, determining numeric relationships in any syntactic sequence which is able to interact with them, numeric patterns in lexicalized annexions display a fairly differentiated picture. In accordance with the type of numeric relationships they reflect, numeric patterns may be subdivided into three classes as follows:

(1) /S-S/—/P-S/, as in: *ġurfat an-nawm* "bedroom", plur. *ġuraf an-nawm; 'aṯar al-ḥayāh* "sign of life", plur. *'āṯār al-ḥayāh*; etc.

(2) /S-P/—/P-P/, as in: *dār al-'āṯār* "museum of antiquities", plur. *dūr al-'āṯār; sayyārat ar-rukkāb* "passenger car", plur. *sayyārāt ar-rukkāb*; etc.

(3) /S-S/—/P-P/, as in: *sā'iq as-sayyāra* "car driver", plur. *suwwāq as-sayyārāt; sayyidat al-bayt* "housewife; the lady of the house", plur. *sayyidāt al-buyūt*; etc.

The listing should have perhaps better been arranged in a reverse order, since the basic singular-plural relationship in a lexicalized annexion sequence seems to coincide with the concord pattern /S-S/—/P-P/ which is, of course, subject to various notional and linguistic restrictions. Some of them will be summarily discussed under the heading of respective patterns in what follows.[22]

[22] For the sake of simplicity, the following listing will almost exclusively be restricted to bicomponental constructions. The latter restriction has also been motivated by the fact that shorter sequences show a greater degree of constructional coherence than longer ones.

4.1.1 The /S-S/—/P-S/ is the only paradigmatically related pattern sequence to exhibit numeric heterogeneity at the plural side of the singular-plural relationship. The latter feature is largely due to the lexical nature of the /S/ constituent in the modifier slot of the /S-S/ pattern which operates as a factor preventing pluralization.

The modifier of the /S-S/ pattern coincides with:

(1) an abstract noun:

(1.1) verbal abstract:

*ġurfat an-nawm/ġuraf an-nawm* "bedroom" (lit. 'sleeping room');

*radd al-fiᶜl/rudūd al-fiᶜl* "reaction (phys.)" (lit. 'return of action');

*mānīᶜ al-ḥaml/mawāniᶜ al-ḥaml* "contraceptive" (lit. 'pregnancy-preventing /device, drug/');

*sayyārat al-'isᶜāf/sayyārāt al-'isᶜāf* "ambulance" (lit. 'first-aid car');

*ṭā'irat 'ījār/ṭā'irāt 'ījār* "charter plane" (*SAD*, 10: Chartermaschine; lit. 'an airplane hired (by a charter)');

*wasīlat al-'iᶜlān/wasā'il al-'iᶜlān* "mass media (plur.)"; etc.

(1.2) any other abstract:

*ṭābiᶜ al-barīd/ṭawābiᶜ al-barīd* "postage stamp";

*madrasat al-būlīs/madāris al-būlīs* "police school"; etc.

(2) a mass noun, as in:

*ka's an-nabīḏ/ku'ūs an-nabīḏ* "wine glass";

*nāqilat al-bitrūl/nāqilāt al-bitrūl* "tanker" (lit. 'oil transporting /ship/');

*sikkat al-ḥadīd/sikak al-ḥadīd* "railroad" (lit. 'iron road'); etc.

(2.1) It should be noted that some mass noun plurals may be reinterpreted in a concrete sense, as in a /P-P/ *muntajāt al-ḥadā'id* "iron products; hardware", or pluralized only formally,[23] as in a /S-P/ *maḥaṭṭat al-miyāh/maḥaṭṭāt al-miyāh* "waterworks (sing.)" (*SDA*, 1367: Wasserwerk); etc.

(3) a collective noun (formally in singular), as in:

*ṣayyād as-samak/ṣayyādū as-samak* "fisher, fisherman"; it should be noted, however, that collective nouns, likewise the mass nouns above, may sometimes be pluralized (see note 13), as in: *tājir ḥubūb/tujjār ḥubūb* "corn dealer", and the like.

(4) a noun that is unpluralizable in virtue of its essential uniqueness, like:

*burj as-samā'/burūj ('abrāj) as-samā'* "sign of the zodiac";

*safīnat al-faḍā'/sufun al-faḍā'* "spaceship";

*qāri' al-qur'ān/qurrā' al-qur'ān* "reciter of the Koran", etc.

(5) a generically restated singular noun, as in:

*ġurfat aṭ-ṭaᶜām/ġuraf aṭ-ṭaᶜām* "dining room" (lit.'room of meals');

*sūq ar-raqīq* (plur.: *'ariqqā', riqāq* "slave")/*'aswāq ar-raqīq* "slave market" (*SDA*, 1090: the plural, however, is not attested); etc.

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[23] For some minor connotational implications, possibly associated with such plurals, see note 13.

(5.1) A /S-S/—/P-S/ term with a generically restated modifier may readily alternate with synonymous terms organized along a /S-P/—/P-P/ relationship with no generic restatement involved, as in:

/S-S/—/P-S/ *sūq ar-raqīq/'aswāq ar-raqīq* (see above),

as against:

/S-P/—/P-P/ *sūq al-ᶜabīd* (sing.: *ᶜabd* "slave")/*'aswāq al-ᶜabīd* "slave market" (*SDA*, 1090: no plural attested); etc.

(5.2) Generic restatement is a truly unpredictable phenomenon that may affect any type of lexical unit, providing a notional space for genericity, and in practically all contextual environments. The latter feature of arbitrariness will be demonstrated on some Classical Arabic examples from Ibn Xaldūn's *Muqaddima* (14th century A.D.). The examples quoted will try to shed some light on the formal and notional featuring of the singular *ᶜilm* in relation to its paradigmatical counterpart, the plural *ᶜulūm*:

*ᶜilm* "knowledge; cognition"; "science" in relation to the plural *ᶜulūm* "sciences"; when generically restated, *ᶜilm* "science" equals the plural *ᶜulūm* "sciences" and adds to it generic connotations, like "all that is science, scientific knowledge in general, etc.". In the latter application, *ᶜilm* gets close to or, stated quite tautologically, equals its underlying value of abstractness which, in itself, could obviously provide another way of explaining the numeric relationship between *ᶜilm* and *ᶜulūm* in the examples which follow.

*ṭalab al-ᶜilm/ṭalab al-ᶜulūm* (for *ṭalab al-ᶜilm* cf. also Wehr, 659: "quest of knowledge, craving for knowledge, studiousness):

/S-S/ *ṭalab al-ᶜilm*:

*fa-r-riḥlatu lā budda minhā fī ṭalabi l-ᶜilmi li-ktisābi l-fawā'idi* (*Muq.*, 509) "Thus, traveling in quest of knowledge is absolutely necessary for the acquisition of useful knowledge" (Ros., 3. 308);

/S-P/ *ṭalab al-ᶜulūm*:

*faṣlun fī 'anna r-riḥlata fi ṭalabi l-ᶜulūmi wa liqā'i l-mašyaxati mazīdu kamālin fi-t-taᶜallumi* (*Muq.*, 509) "A scholar's education is greatly improved by traveling in quest of knowledge and meeting the authoritative teachers" (Ros., 3. 307);

/S-S/ *yanbūᶜ al-ᶜilm* "the mainspring of the sciences" vs.

/(S)-P/ *(yanbūᶜ) aṣ-ṣanā'iᶜ* "(the mainspring) of the crafts"

in:

*wa lā 'awfara l-yawma fi-l-ḥadārati min miṣra fa-hiya 'ummu l-ᶜālami wa 'īwānu l-'islāmi wa yanbūᶜu l-ᶜilmi wa-ṣ-ṣanā'iᶜi* (*Muq.*, 512) "Today, no (city) has a more abundant sedentary culture than Cairo (Egypt). It is the mother of the world, the great centre (*īwān*) of Islam, and the mainspring of the sciences and the crafts" (Ros., 3. 315);

/S-S/ *ḥāmil al-ᶜilm* "scholar (lit. the one carrying knowledge)" as against:

/P-S/ *ḥamalat al-ᶜilm* (in a context rich in notionally conditioned plurals thereof) in:

*mina-l-ġarībi l-wāqiᶜi 'anna ḥamalata l-ᶜilmi fi-l-millati l-'islāmiyyati 'akṯaruhumu-l-ᶜajamu wa lā mina-l-ᶜulūmi š-šarᶜiyyati walā mina-l-ᶜulūmi l-ᶜaqliyyati 'illā fi-l-qalīli n-nādiri* (*Muq.*, 510) "It is a remarkable fact that, with few exceptions, most Muslim scholars both in the religious and in the intellectual sciences have been non-Arabs" (Ros., 3. 311);

as against:

/P[24]-P/ *'ahl al-ᶜulūm* "scholars" (lit. 'people of sciences'), with its plural-based numeric explicitness, contrasts with the generically featured /P-S/ of *ḥamalat al-ᶜilm* in:

*fa-liqā'u 'ahli l-ᶜulūmi wa taᶜaddudu l-mašāyixi yufīduhu (al-mutaᶜallima) tamyīzu l-'iṣṭilāḥāti bi-mā yarāhu min-ixtilāfi ṭuruqihā fīhā* (*Muq.*, 509) "Thus, meeting scholars and having many authoritative teachers (shaykhs) enables the student to notice the difference in the terminologies used by different teachers and to distinguish among them" (Ros., 3. 308); etc.

4.1.2 The /S-P/—/P-P/ relationship, in contrast to the preceding one, is the only pattern sequence to display numeric incorrespondence at the singular side of the sequence. The latter feature is primarily due to the notionally imposed one-to-more-than-one relationship underlying the singular-based pattern, as in:

*ḥadīqat al-ḥayawānāt/ḥadā'iq al-ḥayawānāt* "zoological garden";

*madrasat al-muᶜallimīn/madāris al-muᶜallimīn* "college of education";

*maktab al-'istiᶜlāmāt/makātib al-'istiᶜlāmāt* "information office; news agency";

*ḥujrat al-ᶜamaliyyāt/ḥujarāt (ḥujar) al-ᶜamaliyyāt* "operating theater (in a surg. clinic)";

*qāḏifat al-qanābil/qāḏifāt al-qanābil* "bomber" (shortened from *ṭā'ira qāḏifat al-qanābil*, lit. 'airplane throwing bombs');

*murabbiyat al-'aṭfāl/murabbiyāl* "governess; dry nurse" (lit. 'woman educator of children');

*jalīsat al-'aṭfāl/jalīsāt al-'aṭfāl* "(woman) baby-sitter"; etc.

4.1.2.1 The plurality in the modifier slot may, of course, be prevented by various restrictive factors as those surveyed in 4.1.1 (see 4.1.1 (5.1): /S-P/—/P-P/ *sūq al-ᶜabīd/'aswāq al-ᶜabīd*, contrasting with a generically restated /S-S/—/P-S/ *sūq ar-raqīq/'aswāq ar-raqīq* "slave market").

4.1.3 The /S-S/—/P-P/ is the only pattern sequence to exhibit numeric homogeneity at both sides of the singular-plural relationship. Numeric correspondence (concord, by definition) which is restricted neither notionally nor linguistically,

[24] See note 14.

is one of the most striking features marking the structural coherence of the lexicalized sequences under examination. Some examples:

*sā'iq as-sayyāra/suwwāq as-sayyārāt* "car driver" (Baranov, 383);

*haykal as-sayyāra/hayākil as-sayyārāt* "car-body" (ḤṢ, 38);

*maṣdar al-fiᶜl/maṣādir al-'afᶜāl* "verbal noun (gram.)";

*ra's al-māl/ru'ūs al-'amwāl* "capital" (besides morphological reconstructions: *ra'smāl* (compound) and *rasmāl* (a quadriliteralized noncompound);

*masqaṭ al-mā'/masāqiṭ al-miyāh* "waterfall" (*SDA*, 1367; for the numeric behaviour of some mass nouns, see also 4.1.1 (2.1)); etc.

4.1.3.1 As previously stated (3.3.1), the /S-S/—/P-P/ sequence may sometimes alternate with that of /S-S/—/P-S/.

4.1.3.2 It should be noted that the impact of number concord may be observed in some prepositional sequences outside the structural domain of an annexion, as in:

/S-bi-S/—/P-bi-P/ *al-hābiṭ bi-l-miẓalla/al-hābiṭūn bi-l-miẓallāt* "parachutist, paratrooper"; etc.

4.2 Paradigmatically unrelated patterns may be subdivided into two main classes:

(1) singular-based patterns, i.e. patterns the head constituent of which is in singular: /S-S/ and /S-P/; and

(2) plural-based patterns, i.e. patterns whose head constituent is in plural: /P-S/ and /P-P/.

4.2.1 Singular-based patterns involve factors preventing pluralization in the head constituent of both /S-S/ and /S-P/ and, at the same time, in the modifier of the /S-S/. These factors substantially coincide with those surveyed in 4.1.1.

4.2.1.1 The highest possible range of plural prevention is, thus, associated with the /S-S/ pattern, for its singular-featured homogeneity in the structural frame of the /S-S/ pattern itself is still emphasized by the fact that it cannot be paradigmatically related to any other pattern. Since a systematic classification of singular-based patterns along the main plural-preventing factors would be relatively complicated in view of a considerable number of possible cross-combinations between the head and the modifier, both of them being simultaneously affected by plural-preventing restrictions, only some randomly selected cases will be quoted for illustrative purposes:

(1) verbal abstracts in the head and the modifier slots:

*qiṣar an-naẓar* "short sight, myopia" (Rabat, 5. 58; Khatib, 393: *qiṣar al-baṣar*);

*manᶜ al-ḥaml* "contraception" (lit. 'prevention of pregnancy'; Rabat, 5. 19);

*'izālat at-tasammum* "detoxication" (lit. 'elimination, stopping of toxication'; Rabat, 5. 22);

*'irtifāᶜ aḍ-ḍaġṭ* "hypertension" (lit. 'rise, increase of tension'; Rabat, 5. 34); etc.;

(2) abstract nouns of different types cross-combined in various ways:

*qābiliyyat al-'iṯāra* "excitability" (lit. 'capability for, susceptibility to excitation'; Rabat, 5. 27);

*fiqdān aḏ-ḏākira* "amnesia" (lit. 'the loss of memory'; Rabat, 3. 5); etc.;

(3) abstract nouns combined with mass nouns:

*ṣināaᶜat al-ḥadīd wa-ṣ-ṣulb* "steel industry" (a /S-S/ pattern whose modifier consists of two co-ordinated members; lit. 'iron and steel industry' (*SDA*, 1127: Stahlindustrie); in this connection, it is worthwhile noting that the plural *ṣināᶜāt* is not so much an inflection of *ṣināᶜa*, as rather an independent lexical unit, viz. "various branches of industry");

*'istrixrāj al-bitrūl* "extraction of oil";

*dawrat ad-dam* "blood circulation" (Khatib, 58); etc.;

(4) abstract nouns combined with nouns that cannot be pluralized on the strength of their notional uniqueness:

*ġurūb aš-šams* "sunset";

*ḍarbat aš-šams* "sunstroke" (the plural *ḍarabāt aš-šams* does not represent a quantification of the pathological essence of the disease, as rather its single occurrences, see also *ṣināᶜāt* above);

*xusūf al-qamar* "lunar eclipse" (mostly only *xusūf*);

(5) abstract nouns occurring in combination with generic singulars (mostly in termini technici):

*jafāf al-fam* "xerostomia" (i.e. 'the dryness of the mouth'; Cairo, 2. 106);

*taftīt al-ḥaṣāh* "lithotrity" (i.e. 'crushing of renal stones, uric acid calculi' (surg.); Cairo, 2. 107);

*'isti'ṣāl al-ḥanjara* "laryngotomy (surg.)" (Cairo, 2. 106);

*markaziyyat al-'insān* "anthropocentrism" (Rabat, 3. 41); etc.;

(6) generic singulars in termini technici:

*lisān al-mizmār* "epiglottis (anat.)" (lit. 'the tongue of the *mizmāar'* /a wind instrument resembling the oboe/; Cairo, 4. 29);

(7) the whole sequence has to be classified as an abstract by interpretation:

*kurat al-qadam* "football (game)";

*kurat aṭ-ṭāwila* "table tennis (game)"; etc.

(8) the whole sequence is associated with unique entities, as in:

*kurat al-'arḍ* "terrestrial globe, globe", etc.;

4.2.1.1.1 It should be noted, however, that the /S-S/ pattern frequently alternates with an /S-P/ pattern. The plural in the modifier slot is, in the latter case, mostly a mere matter of form only, as in: *naql ad-dam/ad-dimā'* "blood transfusion" (*SDA*, 229); etc.;

4.2.1.2 On the other hand, the /S-P/ pattern mirrors a notionally imposed relationship between an unquantifiable entity term in the head slot and a plural (or rather nonsingular) in the modifier slot. The singular in the head slot is controlled by roughly the same set of restrictive factors as those surveyed in 4.1.1. Some examples:

(1) the head constituent is an abstract term:

*nisbat al-wafayāt* "death rate, mortality";

*tanāwub al-'ajyāl* "metagenesis, alternation of generations (biol.)" (Cairo, 4. 53);
*takawwun al-ᶜiẓām* "osteogenesis" (in: *takawwun al-ᶜiẓām an-nāqiṣ* "osteogenesis imperfecta"; Cairo, 2. 111);
*nušū' al-jibāl (takawwun al-jibāl)* "orogenesis" (Cairo, 3. 84; cf. Rabat, 1. 45: *takwīn al-jibāl*); etc.;
(2) the term is unpluralizable in virtue of its notional uniqueness, as in:
*dā'irat al-burūj* "zodiac" (lit. 'circle of zodiacal constellations'; Khatib, 692); etc.;
(2.1) the latter feature may be further emphasized by its proper name character, as in:
*baḥr aẓ-ẓulumāt* "Atlantic Ocean"; etc.;
4.2.2 Plural-based patterns differ from the preceding class mostly in that they cannot or, at least, usually do not occur in singular despite the fact that the plurality they denote is, notionally, perfectly relatable to singularity. The plurality of both the /P-S/ and /P-P/ is primarily a linguistic plurality, derived from a specific mode of reference to the phenomena of the real world rather than from their ontological nature. These patterns refer to various groups or classes of phenomena rather than to the phenomena themselves.
4.2.2.1 The plural-preventing restrictions, imposed on the modifier of the /P-S/ pattern, may substantially be identified with those surveyed in 4.1.1. E.g.:
*'ašiᶜᶜat 'iks* "X-rays" (Cairo, 2. 79);
or, less categorically referred to in plural:
*qanawāt al-mirrīx* "canals of Mars" (Rabat, 8. 11);
*'ākilāt al-fuṭr* "Fungivora (biol.)" (Cairo, 4. 35: here, inadequately rendered by the adjective "Fungivorous"; usually singularized by constructional periphrases, like *min 'ākilāt al-fuṭr* "belonging to Fungivora");
*'awjuh al-qamar* "the phases of the moon" (*SDA*, 839); etc.
4.2.2.2 The /P-P/ pattern may be illustrated by cases like:
*'arbāb al-maᶜāšāt* "pensioners" (Wehr, 370); in the singular we shall more likely meet terms, such as *ḏū al-maᶜāš* (Wehr, 775);
*ṣāḥib maᶜāš; mutaqāᶜid* (*SDA*, 897), in turn pluralizable as *ḏawū al-maᶜāšāt; 'aṣḥāb al-maᶜāšāt* and *mutaqāᶜidūn* respectively (plurals are not stated in the sources quoted);
*'arbāb as-sawābiq* "those previously convicted" (Wehr, 370);
*mulūk aṭ-ṭawā'if* "princelings, petty kings" (hist., especially with reference to Muslim Spain); etc.
4.2.2.2.1 The /P-P/ pattern frequently coincides with syntactic reconstructions of noun-plus-adjective phrases. These annexion-type reconstructions involve: (1) the substantivization of the adjectival modifier, and (2) the change of the underlying word-order pattern with a simultaneous repolarization of syntactic functions, as in:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *al* - | *miṣriyyūn* | *al* - | *qudamā'* | "the ancient Egyptians", |
| the | Egyptians | the | ancient | |

as against the reconstructed annexion-type phrase:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *qudamā'* | *al - miṣriyyīn* | "the ancient Egyptians". |
| the ancient of ones | the Egyptians | |

Similarly:
*kibār al-muwaẓẓafīn* "senior officials" (Wehr, 948);
*kibār aḍ-ḍubbāṭ* "senior officers" (ibid.); etc.

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

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(3) *Muṣṭalaḥāt al-falsafa fi-t-taᶜlīm al-ᶜāmm* (Terminology of Philosophy in Public Education);
(4) *Muṣṭalaḥāt ar-riyāḍiyyāt fi-t-taᶜlīm al-ᶜāmm* (Terminology of Mathematics in Public Education);
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(6) *Muṣṭalaḥāt ar-riyāḍiyyāt fi-t-taᶜlīm al-ᶜālī* (Terminology of Mathematics in Higher Education);
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# DIE OSMANISCHE PROVINZ NOVÉ ZÁMKY (EYALET-I UYVĀR)

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Der Autor bearbeitet die Geschichte der osmanischen Provinz Uyvār (1663—1685), die das am weitesten vorgeschobene osmanische Gebiet in Mitteleuropa gewesen war. Außer der politischen und militärischen Geschichte wird in der Studie die Aufmerksamkeit auch der wirtschaftlichen Lage auf dem neueroberten Gebiet gewidmet. Der Autor weist darauf hin, daß die Ausgaben für die Verteidigung der Festung die Einnahmen überschritten, da die kaiserlichen Garnisonen und der ungarische Adel es den osmanischen *Sipahis* verwehrten auf diesem Gebiet Steuern einzutreiben. Dies führte zu andauernden Konflikten zwischen dem osmanischen Statthalter in Nové Zámky und dem Pascha von Ofen, was zu Beginn der achtziger Jahre des 17. Jahrhunderts in eine Verschärfung der Beziehungen zwischen der Porta und Wien mündete und zum Entschluß der osmanischen Führung beitrug einen Feldzug gegen Wien im Jahre 1683 zu unternehmen.

Nové Zámky wurde in den Jahren 1573—1580 als moderne Renaissancefestung auf einem moorigen Gebiet am rechten Ufer des Flusses Nitra unweit der älteren palankartigen Befestigung (aus den Jahren 1545—1546) erbaut. Außer dem Schutz der unmittelbaren Umgebung vor osmanischen Feldzügen hatte die Festung auch eine strategische Rolle zu erfüllen — das Vordringen der osmanischen Armee dem linken Donauufer entlang gegen Wien zu verhindern. Daher wurde es zum Sitz des Cisdanubischen Hauptkapitanats — des Zentrums der antitürkischen Verteidigung der West- und Mittelslowakei — und spielte eine bedeutende Rolle in den Kriegen zu Ende des 16. und in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts.[1]

Im Jahre 1663 wurde die Festung überraschend zum Ziel eines Feldzuges der osmanischen Armee mit dem Großwesir Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha an der Spitze.[2] Osmanischen Quellen zufolge fiel die Entscheidung über das Ziel des

[1] Balás, Gy.: *Újvár (Érsekújvár) várépítészeti rendszere és katonai szerepe.* Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, *1*, 1888, S. 199—223, 431—473. Matunák, M.: *Nové Zámky pod tureckým panstvom 1663—1685* (Nové Zámky unter der türkischen Herrschaft 1663—1685). Slovenské pohľady, *18*, 1898, S. 129—132, 231—236, 486—496, 554—561, 569—578, 668—676. Eine neue Herausgabe dieser Studie befindet sich im Buch Matunák, M.: *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí* (Das Leben und die Kämpfe im slowakisch-türkischen Grenzgebiet). Bratislava, Tatran 1983, S. 215—299. Kočiš, L.: *Nové Zámky v minulosti a súčasnosti* (Nové Zámky in der Vergangenheit und in der Gegenwart). Nové Zámky, Obzor 1967, S. 14—26.

[2] Der osmanische Feldzug nach Ungarn im Jahre 1663 wird von mehreren osmanischen Chroniken beschrieben. Hasan Ağa: *Cevahir üt-tevarih* — das Werk erschien auch in deutscher Übersetzung von E. Prokosch unter dem Titel *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn. Die Ungarnfeldzüge des Großwesirs Köprülüzâde*

Feldzuges erst bei den Beratungen in Ofen, wo die osmanischen Befehlshaber den Vorschlag des Großwesirs annahmen gegen Nové Zámky wegen des ausgedehnten Hinterlands zu ziehen, welches den osmanischen Einheiten und den herbeigeholten Krimtataren eine ausreichende Beute bieten konnte.[3] Von den osmanischen Befehlshabern wurde anscheinend auch die Tatsache in Erwägung gezogen, daß die auf dem Wege nach Wien liegenden Festungen — Komárno und Raab — nicht nur zahlenmäßig größere Garnisonen hatten, sondern auch daß der Zutrittsweg nach Wien von der Feldarmee unter dem Oberbefehlshaber des kaiserlichen Heeres R. Montecuccoli verteidigt wurde.

Geschwächt wurde die Verteidigung von Nové Zámky durch die unüberdachte Aktion von dessen Befehlshaber Graf A. Forgách, der die osmanische Armee an der Überquerung der Donau durch Vernichtung der Pontonbrücke hindern wollte, deren Schutz er jedoch unterschätzt hat, und so erlitt er am 6. August bei Parkan (Štúrovo) eine große Niederlage durch die osmanischen Abteile, die den Brückenkopf bewachten.[4] Im Laufe der Kampfhandlungen fiel oder wurde gefangengenommen die Mehrheit der Garnison von Nové Zámky sowie die eilig versammelten Einheiten aus den Komitaten Bratislava und Nitra.[5]

Die Garnison von Nové Zámky kapitulierte nach fünfwöchiger Belagerung (17. August—25. September 1663) und die städtische Festung wurde vom osmanischen

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*Fazıl Ahmed Pascha 1663 und 1664 nach den „Kleinodien der Historien" seines Siegelbewahrers Hasan Ağa.* Graz—Wien—Köln, Styria Verlag 1976. Von dieser Chronik hängt die Beschreibung der Begebenheiten im Jahre 1663—1664 in folgenden Werken ab: *Silahdar Tarihi I.* Istanbul 1928, S. 235—301 und *Tarih-i Raşid* I. Istanbul 1282 A. H., S. 25—55. Selbständige Versionen der Beschreibung des Feldzugs bringen folgende Werke: Mehmed Necatî: *Uyvar Seferi.* Die Handschrift hinterlegt in Istanbul, *Topkapıserayı Müzesi,* Revan Köşkü No. 1308 und Mustafa Zühdî: *Tarih-i Uyvar.* Handschrift in Istanbul. Üniversite Kütüphanesi. No. TY 2488 und auch Mehmed Halife: *Tarih-i Gilmanî.* Istanbul 1340 A. H., S. 74—92. Am eingehendsten jedoch beschreibt den Verlauf des Feldzuges der osmanische Reisende Evliya Çelebi in seinem Werk *Seyahatname VI.* Istanbul 1318 A. H., S. 278—391.

[3] *Cevahir üt-tevarih,* Handschrift, Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. turc 506, 15a—b; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 84a, 18b—19a. *Silahdar Tarihi I,* S. 249—250; Necatî, 7a, Mehmed Halife, S. 79—80.

[4] Außer den osmanischen Quellen beschreibt die Schlacht eingehend der Bratislavaer Bürger J. F. Auer, den die Türken im Kampf gefangennahmen. Sein Tagebuch gab I. Lukinich heraus: *Auer J. F. pozsonyi nemes polgárnak héttoronyi fogságában írt naplója 1664.* Budapest 1923, S. 73—81. Auf Grund diverser Flugschriften beschreiben die Schlacht genau auch die publizistischen Arbeiten *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus... II.* Frankfurt 1665 und *Theatrum Europaeum... IX.* Frankfurt 1699.

[5] Über die Verluste in der Schlacht schreibt selbst A. Forgách im Schreiben an den Palatin F. Wesselényi vom 7. August 1663, siehe *Két levél gr. Forgács Ádámról 1663-ból.* Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, 6, 1893, S. 718—720. *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus... II,* S. 263; *Theatrum Europaeum... IX,* S. 930. Siehe auch die kurze Beschreibung dieser Begebenheit aus der Feder des Notars von Trenčín M. Vranay. *Descriptio Tartaricae depopulationis in anno 1663.* Ed. E. Marečková-Štolcová. Graecolatina et Orientalia I. Bratislava 1969, S. 129—130.

Heer besetzt. Während der Belagerung plünderten die Krimtataren und Abteile der osmanischen leichten Kavallerie nicht nur die unmittelbare Umgebung der Festung, sondern auch ausgedehnte Gebiete in der West- und Mittelslowakei, Mähren und Schlesien.[6]

Am 27. September zog der Großwesir in die Festung ein, ordnete die Instandsetzung der am meisten zerstörten Stellen an und sicherte die Verteidigung der Festung.[7] Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha setzte anscheinend voraus, daß es dem osmanischen Heer, ob schon durch kriegerische Handlungen oder durch Aufrufe zum Gehorsam und zur Unterwerfung gelingen würde sich eines größeren Gebietes zu bemächtigen, und so erklärte er Nové Zámky zum Zentrum der neuen Provinz (*Eyalet-i Uyvār*). Der erste Statthalter wurde Kurd Mehmed (anderen zufolge Ahmed) Pascha, der zur Zeit der Eroberung der Festung keinerlei Posten (*mazul*) innehatte.[8] Unklar ist die Rolle des Ofener Statthalters Wesir Sarı Hüseyin Pascha bei der Entstehung der neuen Provinz, weil nicht Kurd Mehmed Pascha, sondern er es gewesen ist, der kurz nach der Eroberung der Festung Aufrufe verfaßte und aus dem Lager vor Nové Zámky Briefe an die Städte und Dörfer der West- und Mittelslowakei versandte mit der Aufforderung zu kommen und sich zu unterwerfen.[9] Kurd Mehmed Pascha starb anscheinend sehr bald nach seiner Ernennung zum Statthalter,[10] weil schon Anfang November 1663 der Ofener Statthalter Wesir Sarı Hüseyin Pascha als Verteidiger (*muhafız*) von Nové Zámky erwähnt wird.[11]

Nach der Eroberung von Nové Zámky fielen im Herbst 1663 noch mehrere Städte und Burgen in osmanische Hände, darunter Nitra, Levice und Nógrád. Gleichzeitig mit den Aktionen starker osmanischer Verbände gegen Nitra und Nógrád begann auch die zweite Phase der Plünderungen der West- und Mittelslowakei sowie Mährens durch die Tataren und osmanische Einheiten. In einer solchen Lage, da die

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[6] *Descriptio Tartaricae depopulationis*, S. 128—135. *Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder*. Hrsg. von R. Wolkan. Wien 1923. Die slowakische Übersetzung *Rabovali Turci*... (Es plünderten die Türken...). Hrsg. von P. Horváth. Bratislava 1972, S. 128—135. Die Plünderung beschreibt auch das Werk des evangelischen A. B. Pfarrers Štefan Pilárik aus Senica *Turcico-Tartarica crudelitas, Das ist: Derer Türcken und Tartarn Grausamkeit*... Budissin 1684.

[7] *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 282. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi VI*, S. 349 ff. *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn*, S. 93—94.

[8] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi VI*, S. 342. *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 282.

[9] Den Text des Aufrufs des Wesirs Sarı Hüseyin Pascha an die Stadt Pukanec veröffentlichte Matunák, M.: *Z dejín slobodného a hlavného banského mesta Kremnice* (Aus der Geschichte der freien und Hauptbergwerkstadt Kremnica). Kremnica 1928, S. 410—411. Briefe an Hlohovec und Bratislava *Theatrum Europaeum*... *IX*, S. 686 und 691.

[10] Süreyya, Mehmed: *Sicill-i Osmani*... *IV*. Istanbul 1315 A. H., S. 64. Zum letztenmal wird Kurd Mehmed Pascha in Dokumenten im Oktober 1663 erwähnt.

[11] Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mühimme Defteri Eb. 387. Den kurzen Inhalt der Ungarn betreffenden Dokumente veröffentlichte Fekete, L.: *A berlini és drezdai gyüjtemények török levéltári anyaga*. Levéltári Közlemények, *6*, 1928, S. 302, Dokument Nr. 120.

kaiserliche Armee und die Garnisonen der Städte und Burgen nicht imstande waren die wehrlose Bevölkerung zu beschützen, forderte diese nach mehreren Aufrufen Schutz direkt bei der osmanischen Gewalt. Osmanische Quellen beschreiben, wie Untertanen scharenweise ins Lager von Nové Zámky und später in die Burg Levice kamen, sich um den Schutz des Großwesirs bewarben und sich zur Steuerzahlung verpflichteten.[12] Angst und Schrecken, die die plündernden Einheiten hervorgerufen hatten, beschleunigten den Entschluß auch entfernterer Dörfer sich der osmanischen Macht zu unterwerfen und sich so Schutzbriefe zu sichern.[13] Die Erteilung eines Schutzbriefes (*amân kâğıdı*) bedeutete, die Stadt oder das Dorf hätte sich verpflichtet der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung Steuern zu entrichten, und daher mußten die verantwortlichen Personen, meist die Dorfrichter, den osmanischen Beamten die für die Bestandsaufnahme notwendigen Angaben gewähren. Auf Grund dieser Angaben wurde im Frühjahr oder im Sommer 1664 das erste Steuerverzeichnis des *eyalet* Nové Zámky (*Defter-i mufassal-ı eyalet-i Uyvār*) verfertigt.[14] In diesem Bestandsverzeichnis wurden an die 750 Städtchen, Dörfer und Gehöfte in der West- und Mittelslowakei registriert. Es waren, natürlich, nicht alles neuunterworfene Dörfer, der Großteil der Siedlungen zahlte Steuern bereits im 16. Jahrhundert an Esztergom, Nógrád, Szécsény und nach der Wiedereroberung von Esztergom (1605) zahlten sie wieder der osmanischen Seite Steuern. Im ersten Bestandsverzeichnis von Nové Zámky sind 120 Dörfer,[15] die wir auch im Verzeichnis des Sandschaks

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[12] *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 286. *Tarih-i Raşid I*, S. 53. *Krieg und Sieg*, S. 94 und 120. *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 391.

[13] Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MD Eb 387. Fekete, L.: op. cit., S. 299, Dokument Nr. 112 und 113 Anordnungen an Kurd Ahmed (!) Pascha, den Statthalter von Nové Zámky über den Schutz der Untertanen, die sich den Türken noch vor der Eroberung der Festung in der Umgebung von Nové Zámky und Nitra unterworfen haben. Aus dem Schreiben des Propst von Nové Mesto n/Váhom Lukas Gyorgyovich vom 31. Oktober 1663 erfahren wir, wie die Bevölkerung des Váh-Tals auf diese Aufrufe reagierte: „Iam totus districtus usque inclusive Csejtam (Čachtice) literas salvi conductus seu vulgo Hitlevelet, pasatúl budai vezértül emanatis utuntur. Etiam Vágujhelyienses ut securique domi manere et seminari possunt, pro similibus exmiserunt." Ethey, Gy.: *Vágvölgyi Krónika*. Komárno-Komárom 1936, S. 182. Eines dieser Schutzschreiben (salvus conductus) in türkischer Sprache für die Bewohner des Dorfes Dolný Kamenec im oberen Nitra-Tal blieb uns erhalten. Siehe Rypka, J.: *Čtyři turecké listiny z Dolného Kamence na Slovensku* (Vier türkische Schriftstücke aus Dolný Kamenec in der Slowakei). Prúdy, *11*, 1927, S. 7—8 des Separats.

[14] Ankara, Başvekalet Arşivi, Tapu Defteri Nr. 698. Siehe Kabrda, J.: *Les sources turques relatives à l'histoire de la domination ottoman en Slovaquie*. Archiv orientální, *24*, 1956, S. 568—580. Die Herausgabe dieser Konskription wurde von J. Blaškovič für den Druck vorbereitet, der auch an weiteren Konskriptionen dieses Eyalets arbeitet. Teile davon veröffentlichte er in Beiträgen: *Turecký súpis Nitrianskej župy z roku 1664* (Die türkische Konskription des Komitates Nitra aus dem Jahre 1664). Agrikultúra, *10*, 1971, S. 29—37; *Ziemie lenne* (ḫāṣṣ) *namiestnika Nowych Zamków v latach 1664—1685*. Rocznik Orientalistyczny, *38*, 1976, S. 83—91; *Ein türkisches Steuerverzeichnis aus dem Bezirk Žabokreky aus dem Jahre 1664*. ArOr, *46*, 1977, Nr. 3, S. 201—210.

[15] Hegyi, K.: *A török birodalom Magyarországi jövedelemforrasai*. Századok, 1983, Nr. 2, S. 351.

Esztergom aus dem Jahre 1570 vorfinden,[16] zusammengefaßt. Anscheinend respektierten die osmanischen Befehlshaber in den neueroberten Burgen — Nové Zámky, Nitra, Levice und Nógrád — nicht immer diese Tatsache und versuchten Einnahmen vor allem für eigene Einheiten zu sichern. Wir kennen die Anordnung der Kanzlei des Sultans an den ehemaligen *Beglerbegi* von Adana Çatrapatrazade Ali Pascha, dem *Mütasarrıf* des Sandschaks Levice in der Art eines *Arpalıks*, in dem geschrieben wird: „Laut Meldung zwangen sie zur Gehorsamkeit jene Städte und Dörfer, die dem Sandschak von Esztergom angehören, und die uns den Gehorsam seit fünf—sechs Jahren, ja sogar fünfzehn—zwanzig Jahren verweigerten, und jetzt fordern sie diese Dörfer in den Sandschak Levice einzugliedern. Ihrer Bitte kann nicht stattgegeben werden, da diese steuerzahlenden Dörfer zu älteren Verwaltungsbezirken gehören. Der Burg Levice können lediglich jene angegliedert werden, die sich nach der Eroberung der Burg unterworfen hatten."[17]

Der Fall von Nové Zámky und weiterer Städte und Burgen in osmanische Hände rief ein großes Echo in den westeuropäischen Ländern hervor und so gelang es Kaiser Leopold I. eine ansehnliche finanzielle Hilfe aus Deutschland, den italienischen Staaten, Spanien und vom Papst zu erhalten. Für eine militärische Hilfe stimmten die Reichsstände anläßlich ihrer Sitzung in Regensburg im Februar 1664, und Armeeverbände entsandte Sachsen, Brandenburg und Baeyrn, als auch der Rheinische Städtebund, zu dem auch der französische Hilfstrupp gehörte.[18] So verfügte der Kaiser über eine zahlreiche Armee, die eine neue Ausweitung der osmanischen Macht in Ungarn unterbinden sollte, vor allem sollte sie jedoch versuchen, die Türken aus den neueroberten Gebieten zu verdrängen.

Die militärischen Aktionen leitete der kroatische Ban N. Zrinski noch im Januar 1664 in Südwestungarn ein. Mit deutschen Regimenten operierte in der Slowakei Louis R. de Souchès, dessen Heer auch noch von ungarischen Einheiten verstärkt wurde. Es gelang ihm Nitra (am 2. Mai 1664) und Levice (am 14. Juni 1664) zurückzuerobern, und die osmanischen Einheiten bei Žarnovica und Levice zu besiegen.[19] Infolge dieser Erfolge verkleinerte sich das von den osmanischen Armeen kontrollierte Gebiet. Der nach dem Sieg der kaiserlichen und der Verbündetenarmee (am 1. August 1664) bei St. Gotthard in Vasvár am 10. August 1664

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[16] Fekete, L.: *Az esztergomi szandszák 1570.évi adóösszeírása.* Budapest 1943.

[17] Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MD Eb 387. Fekete, L.: *A berlini...*, S. 304 Dokument Nr. 128.

[18] Redlich, O.: *Weltmacht des Barock. Österreich in der Zeit Kaiser Leopolds I.* 4. Aufl. Wien 1961, S. 183.

[19] Rónai-Horváth, J.: *A Felső-magyarországi hadjárat 1664-ben.* Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, *6*, 1894, S. 285—321, 573—588. Derselbe: *További adatok az 1664-ik évi Felső-magyarországi hadjárathoz.* HK, *6*, 1894, S. 573—588. Wagner, G.: *Das Türkenjahr 1664. Eine europäische Bewahrung.* Eisenstadt 1964, S. 120—132. Peball, K.: *Die Schlachten bei Léva-St. Benedikt und St. Gotthard-Mogersdorf 1664.* Österreichische militärische Zeitung, 1964, S. 257—259.

geschlossene Frieden sicherte den Osmanen auch weiterhin das Beibehalten von Nové Zámky und Nógrád.

Nach der Schlacht bei St. Gotthard kam der Großwesir mit der osmanischen Armee über Esztergom noch einmal vor Nové Zámky mit der Absicht sich der Städte Nitra oder Levice zu bemächtigen,[20] er schaffte es jedoch nicht etwas zu unternehmen, da ihm der kaiserliche Resident S. Reniger am 27. September bei Nové Zámky den ratifizierten Friedensvertrag überreichte.[21]

Obwohl die osmanischen Chroniken (*Cevahir üt-tevarih, Silahdar Tarihi, Tarih-i Raşid*), sowie der direkte Teilnehmer an diesem Feldzug, der berühmte Reisende Evliya Çelebi bei der Beschreibung der Begebenheiten des Jahres 1663 über Nitra, Levice and Nógrád als Sandschaks des *Eyalet* Nové Zámky berichten,[22] teilt das eingehende Verzeichnis (*Defter-i mufassal-ı eyalet-i Uyvār*) das Gebiet der neuen Provinz in sieben Bezirke (*nahiye*), die im großen und ganzen die Grenzen der ungarischen Komitate beibehalten haben. Es waren: Narhid (43 Gemeinden in der Umgebung von Nové Zámky), Barş (195 Gemeinden auf dem Gebiet des Komitates Tekov), Komaran (61 Gemeinden im Komitat Komárno), Hond (93 Gemeinden im Komitat Hont), Nitra (313 Gemeinden im Komitat Nitra), Jabokrek (11 Gemeinden im Oberen Nitratal in der Umgebung von Žabokreky n/Nitrou) und Şele (41 Gemeinden am rechten Ufer des Flusses Váh in der Umgebung von Šaľa n/Váhom).[23]

Auch bei der Bestandsaufnahme stieß die osmanische Verwaltung auf gewisse Probleme, die wir bereits erwähnten. Der Sandschakbeg von Nógrád, so wie früher jener von Esztergom, beschwerte sich im März 1664, daß die osmanischen Befehlshaber aus Levice Steuern und Arbeitspflichten jenen Untertanen abforderten, die einst dem Sandschak Nógrád angehört hatten. Daher mußte die Kanzlei des Sultans dieses Vorgehen verbieten.[24]

Wir wissen nicht, inwieweit die osmanische Verwaltung die vor dem Fall von Nové Zámky herrschenden Verhältnisse im Grenzgebiet verändern wollte. Das neue Bestandsverzeichnis jedoch deutet darauf hin, daß die osmanische Verwaltung der ehemaligen pauschalen Besteuerung ein Ende machen und die Steuerverpflichtungen der unterworfener Dörfer in einzelne Zehnte und andere Abgaben aufteilen wollte. Zu einer ausgiebigen Quelle der Schinderei der Untertanen und der

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[20] *Evliya Çelebi VII*, S. 133—136. *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn*, S. 228.

[21] Der Wortlaut des Friedensvertrages in türkischer und italienischer Sprache ist in Wien hinterlegt, Wien, Staatsarchiv, Türkische Urkunden, Kasten 468, L. 67. Den Inhalt des Friedensvertrags führt auch Hasan Ağa nach Punkten an: *Krieg und Sieg*, S. 216—219.

[22] *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 357, 391, 398. *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 297. *Tarih-i Raşid I*, S. 53. *Krieg und Sieg*, S. 120.

[23] Blaškovič, J.: *Ziemie lenne*, S. 84.

[24] Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MD Eb 387. Fekete, L.: op. cit. II. HK, 7, 1929, S. 70 Dokumente Nr. 183.

Bereicherung der *Sipahis* wurden die Pauschalabgaben, die der Mehrzahl der Dörfer im Grenzgebiet in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts auferlegt wurden. Wir kennen viele Beschwerden über eigenwillige Steuererhöhungen durch die *Sipahis*.[25] Das osmanische Bestandsverzeichnis aus dem Jahre 1664 beschreibt in der Mehrzahl der registrierten Dörfer deren Pflichten, wie aber heimische Quellen zeigen, konnten auch diese Maßnahmen den *Sipahis* nicht verwehren ihre alten Praktiken fortzusetzen. Beim Verhör der Dorfrichter und der Geschworenen der Region Žarnovica im Komitat Tekov im April 1668 beschwerten sich diese, daß ihnen die Türken im Verlauf einiger Jahre die Steuern und die Naturalabgaben erhöhten.[26]

Es scheinen noch immer Unterschiede zwischen jenen Dörfern gegeben zu haben, die bereits seit längerer Zeit von den osmanischen *Sipahis* aus Esztergom, Ofen oder anderen Zentren der türkischen Macht besteuert wurden, und den neuunterworfenen Dörfern, die den Gehorsam und die Steuerzahlung erst nach dem Fall von Nové Zámky gelobt haben. Bis auf gewisse Änderungen im Besitz der Timare hat sich ersteren nicht viel verwandelt. Die neuregistrierten Dörfer stellten ihre Steuerzahlungen nach der Wiedereroberung von Nitra, Levice und weiterer Festungen durch die kaiserliche Armee meist ein, wurden jedoch von der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung auch weiter im Verzeichnis geführt, was eine rechtliche Grundlage zur Anforderung dieser Steuern war. Wir kennen bereits aus der zweiten Hälfte der sechziger Jahre des 17. Jahrhunderts viele Briefe des Statthalters von Nové Zámky, sowie niedrigerer Würdenträger aus Dörfern und Städtchen in der West- und Mittelslowakei, in denen die Steuerzahlung und das Nachkommen der Verpflichtungen als Untertane gefordert werden.[27]

Der Krieg des Osmanischen Reiches mit Venedig um die Insel Kreta, vor allem um ihre bedeutendste Festung Kandia (1666—1669), bedeutete eine Schwächung der osmanischen Macht in Nové Zámky. In den Jahren nach der Eroberung der Festung (1664—1665) und später (nach 1670) wurden die Einheiten in der Festung Nové Zámky durch *Sipahis* aus ganz Ungarn und den Balkanländern,[28] sowie durch

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[25] Das Schreiben der Untertanen aus Brehy an den Judex nobilium des Komitates Tekov vom 28. Juli 1656, wo sich diese über die Steuererhöhungen beschweren veröffentlichte P. Horváth in *Rabovali Turci*..., S. 184.

[26] Szeremi: *Emlékek Barsvármegye hajdanából.* Budapest 1894, S. 195—196.

[27] Die Briefe an Hlohovec, Žabokreky n/Nitrou, Bánovce, Chynorany veröffentlichte Matunák, M.: *Nové Zámky*..., S. 245 f. In ihrem Schreiben vom Oktober 1669 beschweren sich die Untertanen aus Tovarníky ihrem Landsherren: „uhlavný naš neprítel Turek začaste na nas mnohými rozkazy nastupa a listy po listech k nam odsila, v kterych prisne prikazuje pod stracenim životuv a zdravi našeho, žeby sme bez všeho prodlivani nuter do Nového Zamku... šli panu novotnemu se priznavat." (Der Türke, unser Erzfeind drängt des öfteren mit vielen Befehlen auf uns ein und schickt Briefe nach Briefen, in denen er uns streng befiehlt unter Verlust unserer Leben und Gesundheit, ohne zu zögern hinein nach Nové Zámky... zu gehen sich dem neuen Herrn zu bekennen.). *Rabovali Turci*..., S. 208.

[28] Dresden,Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MD Eb 387. Fekete, L.: op.cit. II, Dokumente Nr. 207—8, 235—36, 280, 283—84, 296—297.

Einheiten der Janitscharen oder anderer, aus Ofen, Eger und anderen Festungen besöldneter Abteile verstärkt.[29] Zur Zeit des Krieges um Kreta sank auch der Stand der Garnison Nové Zámky auf etwa ein Zehntel des ursprünglichen Standes. Als im September 1668 zwei Männer aus der Garnison Nové Zámky nach Nitra entflohen waren um nicht nach Kandia gehen zu müssen, teilten diese beim Verhör mit, in Nové Zámky gäbe es nicht mehr als 300 Mann.[30] Gerade diese Schwächung der Festung Nové Zámky sowie der osmanischen Heere in Ungarn überhaupt, nützte die kaiserliche Seite zur Errichtung neuer oder Verstärkung älterer Befestigungen am Fluß Váh. Außer Leopoldov und Guta, deren Errichtung der Friedensvertrag von Vasvár gestattete, wurden verstärkt, bzw. neuerbaut: Šintava, Šaľa, Schanzen bei Guta, die Palanke St. Filip sowie weitere Befestigungen auf der Schüttinsel.[31] Diese machten es der osmanischen Verwaltung und den *Sipahis* unmöglich Steuern am rechten Ufer des Flusses Váh und im mittleren Váh-Tal oberhalb von Hlohovec einzuholen. Auf eine ähnliche Weise, vor allem durch Beisteuerung des Adels wurde auch die Verteidigung des Nitra-Tals und der entfernteren Teile des Hron-Tals verbessert. Dies war ein schwerer Schlag für die osmanischen Einheiten in der Festung und für die Administration der Provinz, da sie dadurch um Mittel zum Lebensunterhalt kamen. Die Besetzung eines neuen Gebietes in Ungarn war daher für das Osmanische Reich nicht rentabel, ebenso wie die spätere Besetzung von Kreta, Podolien und anderer Gebiete. Die Einnahmen aus dem neueroberten Gebiet reichten bei weitem nicht aus um die Ausgaben für dessen Verteidigung zu decken — für die Erhaltung von Nové Zámky, den Sold der Armee und die Lehen für die *Sipahis*. Für die Verteidigung der neuen Provinz mußten daher die Osmanen Einnahmen aus anderen Teilen des Reiches (Ägypten) verwenden.[32] Ähnlich wurde auch für die Reparaturarbeiten in Nové Zámky, die erst Anfang Juni 1665[33] angelaufen sind, die Arbeit der Untertanen aus den Komitaten Nógrád, Ráb, Pest-Solt-Pilis[34] benützt und ebenso die *Çerahor* (Arbeiter beim Bau, der Reinigung und Ausbesserung von Straßen, sowie beim Transport von Militärmaterial) wurden

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[29] Ibid., Dokumente Nr. 261—62.

[30] Freig, J. C.: *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung oder fernere Geschichts-Fortsetzung Ortelii Redivivi et Continuati I.* Wien 1694, S. 122.

[31] Siehe die Karte der Schüttinsel und des unteren Váh-Tals im Werk Krekwitz, G.: *Totius Regni Hungariae... Descriptio.* Franckfurt 1685, S. 766.

[32] Neumann, H.: *Türkische Urkunden und Briefe.* Der Islam, 7, 1917, S. 288—298 veröffentlichte zwei Urkunden betreffend die Besoldung von 59 Kanonieren in Nové Zámky aus dem Jahre 1093 (1682).

[33] Die Anordnung an den Statthalter von Nové Zámky Küçük Mehmed Pascha: „Die Reparatur und Wiederherstellung der Burg von Uyvār ist eine Sache, die aus den Grundforderungen des Staates und der Religion und dem Wesen des Ruhmes und der Ehre des Sultanats hervorgeht." Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MD Eb 387. Zitiert nach Fodor, P.: *Bauarbeiten der Türken an den Burgen in Ungarn im 16.—17. Jahrhundert.* Acta orientalia ASH, *25*, 1981, S. 57.

[34] Salamon, F.: *Ungarn im Zeitalter der Türkenherrschaft.* Leipzig 1887, S. 205.

aus den entfernten Sandschaks Szeged und Eger herbeigeschaft.[35] Das Baumaterial wurde nach Nové Zámky ebenfalls aus dem osmanischen Innenland in Ungarn (aus den Sandschaks Ofen, Gran und Stuhlweißenburg) herbeigefahren.[36]

Nach der Bestandsaufnahme aller Einnahmen aus dem neueroberten Gebiet wurden diese als Eigentümer des Großwesirs, des Statthalters von Nové Zámky und weiterer militärischer Würdenträger oder Beamten der osmanischen Verwaltung aufgeteilt. Nach dem teilweise veröffentlichten Übersichtlichen Defter dieses Gebietes aus den Jahren 1673—1674[37] und dem Eingehenden Bestandsverzeichnis aus dem Jahre 1664 entfiel der Großteil der ertragsreicheren Siedlungen und der sichereren Einnahmen an den Großwesir Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha, an den Statthalter von Nové Zámky, an den Sandschakbeg von Esztergom und an die Offiziere der Lehenskavalerie. Ein Teil des unterworfenen Gebietes wurde für den Großwesir als Privateigentum (*malikane*) ausgegliedert, das er dann zum *vakf* (religiöse Stiftung) verwandelte, aus dessen Einnahmen eine Moschee außerhalb der Festung Nové Zámky erbaut werden sollte.[38] Hierzu gehörten die Städtchen Šurany und Komjatice, sowie einige Dörfer und Gehöfte (Tvrdošovce, Nitriansky Hrádok, Milanovce, Kmeťovo, Kostolný Sek, Malá Kesa, Ondrochov, Černík, Mlynský Sek, Bánov, Jatov und Úľany n/Žitavou).[39] Außerdem gehörten dem *vakf* auch die Einnahmen aus Läden, einem Barbierladen und der Schlachthof in der Festung von Nové Zámky, sowie die Gärten. Diese Eigentümer ließ der Großwesir im Jahre 1675 noch einmal zusammenschreiben.[40] Gesicherte Einnahmequellen trachtete auch der Statthalter von Nové Zámky, dessen Eigentum (*hāss*) 119 Dörfer und Gehöfte mit der Gesamteinnahme von 1,340.000 *Akçe* bildete, für sich sicherzustellen.[41] Entferntere Dörfer, aus denen die Einnahme nicht so sicher war, verteilte die osmanische Finanzverwaltung unter die *Sipahis* als *Timare*.

Der in der zweiten Hälfte der sechziger Jahre entstandene Zustand war eine Quelle ständiger Spannungen. Die Quellen liefern zahlreiche Angaben über zufällige Zusammenstöße, aber auch über offene Schlägereien zwischen osmanischen Abteilen aus Nové Zámky und aus den Garnisonen königlicher Burgen, vor allem

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[35] Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MD Eb 387. Fekete, L.: op.cit., II, Nr. 267—269.

[36] Fodor, P.: op.cit., S. 67.

[37] Fekete, L.: *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung I.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1955, S. 704—717.

[38] Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MD Eb 387. Fekete, L.: op.cit. II, Nr. 277.

[39] Blaškovič, J.: *Das Sultansdekret (Sunurname) über das Vakf im Bezirk Nové Zámky.* ArOr, *42*, 1974, S. 300—309. Derselbe: *Köprülüzade Ahmed pasa nagyvezír kegyes alapítvanyai az érsekújvári kerületben (1664—1685).* In: Új Mindenes Gyüjtemény. Bratislava, Madách 1981, S. 33—63. Derselbe: *Sadrıazam Köprülüzade (Fazıl) Ahmed Paşa'nin Ersekujvar bölgesinde vakıfları.* Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi, *9*, 1978, S. 393—442.

[40] Karácson, I.: *Török-magyar oklevéltár I (1533—1789).* Budapest 1914, Nr. 292.

[41] Blaškovič, J.: *Ziemie lenne*, S. 88.

der von Leopoldov, Šaľa, Komárno und Nitra, oder aber militärischen Einheiten von Edelleuten (Pálffy, P. Eszterházy und, bis zu seiner Einkerkerung im Jahre 1668, auch I. Balassi). Seitens der ungarischen Edelleute und der kaiserlichen Garnisonen ging es oft nur um Vergeltungsmaßnahmen für Zerstörungen von Dörfern oder Anwesen durch osmanische Einheiten, bekannt sind aber auch Fälle von Feldzügen, die zwecks der Erbeutung von Vieh oder Pferde bis zu den Toren der Festung Nové Zámky geführt wurden.[42]

Am häufigsten unternahmen osmanische Einheiten Strafzüge gegen Dörfer und Städtchen, die ihren Steuerverpflichtungen nicht nachgekommen sind, wie dies im Jahre 1669 gegen Belice und Žabokreky n/Nitrou geschah.[43] Anläßlich solcher Handlungen kam es des öfteren auch zu Schlägereien, denen einige hundert Mann zum Opfer fielen. Dies zog dann Proteste bei höchsten Stellen in Wien oder in Istanbul nach sich.

Nach Beendigung des Krieges mit Venedig um Kreta verstärkte die Porta auch die Garnison von Nové Zámky, und um die Verhältnisse im Grenzgebiet zu verändern tauschte sie auch den Statthalter aus. Sührab Mehmed Pascha wurde von Seydi Mehmed Pascha abgelöst, der seinen Vorgänger auf Befehl der Porta im Juni 1669 in Nové Zámky hinrichten ließ.[44] Sührab Mehmed Pascha wurde deswegen hingerichtet, weil er sich angeblich von der habsburgischen Seite bestechen ließ und den Bau neuer Befestigungen am. Váh nicht verhinderte.[45] Der osmanische Geschichtsschreiber Silahdar[46] behauptet, Sührab Mehmed Pascha hätte der Porta Berichte über diese Bauten zukommen lassen, der damalige Kaimmakam des Großwesirs Fazıl Ahmed Pascha, Kara Mustafa Pascha, hätte diese jedoch verschwiegen, um ihn aus dem Weg schaffen zu können. Schließlich ließ der Präsident des Hofkriegsrates R. Montecuccoli die Schanzen bei Guta, die die Ursache dieses Streites zwischen beiden Parteien und letztlich auch die Ursache des Todes des Statthalters von Nové Zámky waren, abreißen.[47]

Der neue Statthalter zeichnete sich durch eine härtere Einstellung so dem ungarischen Adel als auch den unterworfenen Dörfern gegenüber aus. Der nach dem Abschluß des Friedensvertrags von Vasvár in Opposition gegen den Wiener Hof stehende ungarische Adel hielt keine der Maßnahmen der kaiserlichen Seite zur antitürkischen Abwehr für ausreichend, verwickelte sich daher häufig in Konflikte

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[42] In Sommer 1667 z.B. wurden von Nové Zámky von der Weide 30 Pferde, im Februar 1668 wieder 800 Stück Rindvieh weggetrieben. *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 108, 126.

[43] Matunák, M.: *Nové Zámky*, S. 251.

[44] *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 141.

[45] *Kara Mustafa vor Wien 1683 aus der Sicht türkischer Quellen*. Hrsg. von R. F. Kreutel und K. Teply. Graz—Wien—Köln 1982, S. 97.

[46] *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 552.

[47] *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 141.

mit dem stärkeren Gegner und mußte außer erlittenen materiellen Schäden manchmal auch Menschenleben opfern. So wurden zwei Adelige aus Nitra F. Dolinay und G. Apponyi in Nové Zámky von den Türken nach Folterungen hingerichtet. Bei der Versammlung des Komitates Nitra im Oktober 1669 verhandelten die Versammelten über die antitürkische Verteidigung und schlugen ein gemeinsames Treffen von elf an der oberen Donau liegenden Komitate vor, von wo aus der Kaiser um Schutz vor den Türken ersucht werden sollte. Die Versammlung fand am 28. November 1669 in Kremnica statt, wo ein Memorandum verfaßt und von einem Sonderboten nach Wien gebracht wurde. In der gegebenen Lage schöpfte jedoch der Hof Verdacht es könne sich um eine Verschwörung handeln und erklärte die Versammlung für gesetzwidrig.[48]

Seydi Mehmed Pascha ließ auch die Dorfrichter aller unterworfener Dörfer zusammenschreiben, und so wollte er alle zur ordentlichen Steuerzahlung zwingen. Auch der Ofener Statthalter besuchte Nové Zámky und soll dem dortigen Pascha angeordnet haben, sich das Gebiet bis Bratislava zu unterwerfen.[49] Wahrscheinlich ging es eher darum, daß auch die Dörfer am rechten Ufer des Flusses Váh ihre Steuern bezahlen.

Nach dem bewaffneten Widerstand der Untertanen verbot der Statthalter von Nové Zámky diesen sowohl Schieß- als auch Stichwaffen zu tragen und beim Bau von Leopoldov durch Zufuhr von Stein, Kalk oder anderer Baustoffe, ob nun für Entgelt oder umsonst, Hilfe zu leisten.[50]

Überhaupt bildeten die Streitigkeiten um Dörfer, die im osmanischen Bestandsverzeichnis registriert waren, den Türken jedoch keine Steuern entrichteten, die häufigste Ursache von Mißverständnissen zwischen den Statthaltern von Ofen und Nové Zámky, ja sogar der Hohen Pforte einerseits und dem Wiener Hof sowie dem ungarischen Adel andererseits. Die osmanischen Abgesandten, die im Juni 1671 nach Wien kamen, forderten den Präsidenten des Hofkriegsrats R. Montecuccoli auf, sich zur Frage der Steuerzahlung zu äußern. Seine Antwort war für die osmanische Seite anscheinend nicht zufriedenstellend, da er erklärt hat, die Türken sollten die Dörfer nicht zu Steuerzahlungen zwingen außer jener, die in der unmittelbaren Nähe der Zentren der osmanischen Gewalt lägen (in der Umgebung von Nové Zámky, Esztergom, Nógrád, Széchény und Erlau) und die sich zur Steuerzahlung freiwillig verpflichtet hätten.[51]

Anläßlich der Audienz beim Präsidenten des Hofkriegsrats Ende Oktober 1671 erklärte der *Çavuş* des Ofener Statthalters im Namen seines Herren, die Steuern würden von den zu Nové Zámky gehörenden Dörfern „cathegorice" gefordert

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[48] Matunák, M.: *Z dejín*, S. 414.
[49] *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 143.
[50] *Theatrum Europaeum X*, S. 34—35.
[51] *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 221.

werden, „weil er (der Statthalter) sich und seine Garnison von jetzigen Einkünften nicht erhalten könnte...".[52]

Die osmanische Gewalt profitierte anscheinend auch von der Spannung zwischen dem ungarischen Adel und dem Wiener Hof nach der Aufdeckung der Verschwörung des Palatins Wesselényi und ihrer Liquidation. Der Adel hielt den Schutz seiner Untertanen durch die kaiserliche Armee für unzureichend und legte dem Kaiser Briefe vor, in denen der Statthalter von Ofen und Nové Zámky unter Androhung der Todesstrafe den unterworfenen Dörfern verboten hat den kaiserlichen Einheiten Verpflegung zu gewähren, und drohte den hinter dem Fluß Váh, ja sogar in Teilen Mährens liegenden Dörfern mit Schwert und Feuer, sollten sich diese nicht unterwerfen. Der Adel forderte, der Kaiser möge dieser Gefahr durch Verstärkung seiner Garnisonen am Váh entgegentreten, die die Furten schützen könnten.[53]

Ein weiteres Streitobjekt war die von der Garnison Leopoldov irgendwann vor Beginn 1671 erbaute Brücke über den Váh. Gegen deren Erbauung protestierte zuerst der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Mehmed Pascha in seinem Schreiben vom 5. Februar 1671 an den Hauptkapitän des Cisdanubischen Hauptkapitanats P. Eszterházy und bezeichnete dies als eine gegen den Frieden gerichtete Tat.[54] Die Brücke diente anscheinend der Leopoldover Garnison zur schnellen Überquerung des Váhs gegen die am linken Ufer postierte osmanische Truppen. Zur Besichtigung der Brücke erschien der Statthalter von Nové Zámky persönlich und fragte den Befehlshaber von Leopoldov, Graf Souchès jr., warum die Brücke errichtet wurde. Dann versuchte er die Brücke mit seinem Heer zu vernichten, was jedoch anscheinend scheiterte. Im Herbst 1671 brachte der Kurier vom Istanbuler Residenten die Nachricht, daß der Großwesir die Vernichtung der Brücke bei Hlohovec fordert.[55]

Der englische Naturwissenschaftler und Arzt E. Brown, der wahrscheinlich im Frühjahr 1671[56] dieses Gebiet durchreiste und von Leopoldov aus das von den Türken kürzlich niedergebrannte Hlohovec besuchte, erwähnt jedoch die Brücke nicht.[57]

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[52] *Theatrum Europaeum X*, S. 503.

[53] *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 222.

[54] Budapest, Magyar Országos Levéltár, P 125, Fasc. 665, Nr. 4154.

[55] *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 223.

[56] Angaben über den Zeitpunkt der Reise E. Browns aus Komárno in die Bergwerksstädte weichen voneinander ab. Der Herausgeber der slowakischen Übersetzung dieses Teiles J. Vozár (*Cesta z Komárna do banských miest v Uhorsku a odtiaľ do Viedne* (Die Reise aus Komárno in die Bergwerksstädte in Ungarn und von dort aus nach Wien), Martin, Osveta 1975, S. 15) nimmt an, daß die Reise im März 1671 unternommen wurde.

[57] Brown, E.: *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria Servia... London 1673.* Hrsg. von K. Nehring. München 1975, S. 86—87.

Außer Strafzügen setzten die osmanischen Würdenträger auch ihre Aufrufe fort und erreichten mancherorts auch Erfolge. Als Beispiel können wir das Dorf Dolný Kamenec im oberen Nitra-Tal anführen, das sich 1664 unterworfen hat und ins erste osmanische Bestandsverzeichnis in der *Nahiye* Barş eingetragen wurde.[58] Das Dorf zahlte jedoch anscheinend keine Steuern, weil Seydi Mehmed Pascha im Jahre 1671 den Dorfrichter von Dolný Kamenec sowie weitere Richter des Komitats Tekov aufforderte, in einer gewissen Angelegenheit zusammen mit drei weisen Leuten schleunigst in Nové Zámky zu erscheinen.[59] Zweifelsohne ging es um die Wiederaufnahme der Steuerzahlungen. Aus den Jahren 1677—1678 blieben Quittungen (*temessük*) erhalten, die die Einwohner von Dolný Kamenec über Steuerzahlungen erhielten. In fünf Jahren, d.h. von 1672 bis 1677 zahlte die Gemeinde nur 81 *Guruş* an Steuern, und wie die Quittung anführt: „...bleibt noch ein Rest von 69 *Guruş*, von denen — weil sie arm sind — 19 *Guruş* nachgelassen werden, so daß sie noch 50 *Guruş* zu zahlen haben."[60]

Die Strafaktionen der osmanischen Einheiten im Frühjahr und im Sommer 1673 in der Umgebung von Nitra und im Nitra-Tal, wie auch jenseits des Flusses hatten zur Folge, daß viele Dörfer ihren Gehorsam erneuerten. Nicht alle kamen jedoch ihren Verpflichtungen nach, weil Ende 1673 forderte der Statthalter von Nové Zámky die Dörfer der *Nahiye* Žabokreky — Žabokreky, Brodzany, Vysočany, Veľké und Malé Ostratice, Rybany sowie Topoľčany (?) — auf, die kaiserlichen Steuern (*Cizye*) zu entrichten.[61]

Auch wenn uns der direkte Erlaß zu einer neuen Bestandsaufnahme des *Eyalet* von Nové Zámky nicht bekannt ist, erscheint es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß in den Jahren 1672—1673 von der osmanischen Verwaltung eine solche durchgeführt wurde. Davon zeugt nicht nur das neue Verzeichnis der *Cizye* aus den Jahren

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[58] Rypka, J.: op.cit., S. 7—8 des Separats.

[59] Matunák, M.: *Z dejín*, S. 415 die Fotografie des Schreibens, S. 495 die Transkription im modernen ungarischen Rechtschreiben.

[60] Rypka, J.: op. cit., S. 14—15 des Separats.

[61] Budapest, MOL, R 315, Nr. 105. Der Text des bislang nicht herausgegebenen Schreibens lautet: Mÿ Czerem Mehemed pasa az hatalmas giözhetetlen fenlö Thörök Czszarnak titkos tanacza, a Dunan inét levo hadainak fö parancsoloia, Ersek Uÿvarÿ Vagi hadanak hely tarto gond viselöie, etc. Pençe: efkar el-ibad Mehmed Paşa Sahh Latvan ez urÿ czimeres levelemet ti falusÿ birak, hamis ebek, ha lelketeket szeretitek, mingiart ezen Csaszar adoiat ide hoitanÿ(?) hozatok megh, Sambokreti ötven hat taler, Borogianÿ huszon nocz taler, Viszoczanÿ kilenczven taler, Topoczeczeÿ tizen ketö, Velika Osztraticzanÿ harmincz egi taler, Male Osztraticzanÿ tizennocz, Ripanÿ noczvan ketö. Birak hamis kutiak enel töb levelen nem köldöm hozatok le, ha ezen levelemre is nem hozatok igaz urÿ thörök hitemere raba lesztek, meg siratiatok, Ripanÿ biro ez levelem be hozad veled egüd die 28. Novembris 1673.

Sambokretti Varmegie.

Adresse: Adasek az Sambokretti es az töb falusi Biraknak falurul falura hamarsagal lo hatonÿ kezekben.
In arabischer Schrift: Nahiye-i Jābōkrek
Kariye-i Varoş

1672—1673 und das neue übersichtliche Bestandsverzeichnis (*defter-i icmal*) aus den Jahren 1673—1674,[62] sondern auch die Erwähnung des neuen kaiserlichen Defters (*defter-i cedid-i hakani*) im Erlaß an den Kadi von Nové Zámky aus dem ersten Drittel des Monats Cemazi II. des Jahres 1086 (23. Juli—2. August 1675).[63]

Über das Leben der türkischen Bevölkerung in Nové Zámky wissen wir recht wenig. In der Stadt wohnten lediglich Familien der Soldaten, Beamten, bzw. auch der Kaufleute. In den Zeiten des verminderten Standes der Garnison gab es anscheinend auch wenig Zivilbevölkerung. Bei der Eroberung von Nové Zámky durch die kaiserliche Armee im Jahre 1685 befanden sich in der Festung etwa 3000 Mann, von denen sich nur zweihundert retten konnten, und eine größere Anzahl von Frauen und Kindern.[64] Laut der Zählung der Bevölkerung der Stadt aus dem Jahre 1700 kehrte eine türkische Familie in die Stadt zurück, die hier bereits vor der Eroberung der Festung durch die kaiserliche Armee gelebt hat.[65]

Besser kennen wir das Leben auf dem unmittelbar von der osmanischen Gewalt kontrollierten Gebiet. Hinsichtlich der Möglichkeit der Flucht auf das königliche Gebiet versuchte die osmanische Administration und das Militär die Bewegung der Untertanen, vor allem deren Umzug in eine andere Gemeinde zu verfolgen. Es sind uns einige, von den Statthaltern von Nové Zámky oder deren Vertretern (*kaimmakam*), anläßlich der Übersiedlung in eine andere, unter der osmanischen Herrschaft stehenden Gemeinde erlassenen Dokumente bekannt,[66] oder aber solche, die die freie Bewegung auf das Gebiet des königlichen Ungarns gestatten.[67]

Von der religiösen Toleranz der osmanischen Gewalt in Nové Zámky zeugt die Genehmigung des dortigen Statthalters Mehmed Pascha vom 23. Dezember 1680, die es dreizehn Franziskanermönchen aus Nitra gestattete zwei Jahre lang auf dem von Türken kontrollierten Gebiet zu betteln. „Auf meinen echten türkischen Glauben und auf das gesegnete Haupt meines mächtigen, erlauchten und unbesiegbaren türkischen Kaisers gelobe ich, daß unsere türkische Seite und unsere in den

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[62] Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Eb 356 — *defter-i icmal*; Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliye 4016 — *cizye defteri*.

[63] Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. mixt. 683, *Şikayet Defteri*, Bl. 195a. Für diese Angabe danke ich Prof. Dr. V. Boškov aus Skopje.

[64] Teply, K.: *Vom Los osmanischer Gefangener aus dem großen Türkenkrieg 1683—1699*. Südostforschungen, *32*, 1973, S. 52.

[65] Matunák, M.: *Život a boje* (Leben und Kämpfe), S. 292.

[66] Budapest, MOL, R 315, Nr. 118 Erlaubnis und Schutz für Martin Meszáros, der aus Sereď nach Šintava übersiedelte; Nr. 113 Schutzbrief für Laurinc Pataki und seinen Bruder Jakub, der von der Schüttinsel ins Dorf Imeľ übersiedelte. Diese als auch weitere Briefe der Würdenträger von Nové Zámky werden wir im folgenden Jahrgang von Asian and African Studies veröffentlichen.

[67] Budapest, MOL, R 315, Nr. 107. Mustafa Agas Erlaubnis für Pavol Madácz aus Horné Žemberovce, der sich mit der Tochter des Adeligen I. Palotai aus Krupina, die nicht untertan war, vermählen wollte, daß er sich frei bewegen könne.

Kampf ziehenden Kämpfer diesen dreizehn Mönchen aus Nitra auf keinerlei Art Schaden zufügen und sie beleidigen werden. Auf unserer, türkischen Seite können sie gehen, wo immer sie auch mögen."[68]

Hinsichtlich seiner Lage spielte Nové Zámky eine bedeutende Rolle auch beim Austausch und der Freilassung von Gefangenen sowie im Sklavenhandel.

Es wäre überflüssig alle Konflikte, die sich an den Grenzen der Provinz Nové Zámky in den folgenden Jahren abspielten, aufzuzählen. Im Grunde hat sich die Lage an den Grenzen nicht verändert. Unter den sich verschlechternden Beziehungen zwischen der Hohen Pforte und dem Wiener Hof Anfang der achtziger Jahre des 17. Jahrhunderts spielten neben der Kuruzenbewegung I. Thökölys auch die Streitigkeiten in der Provinz Nové Zámky eine bedeutende Rolle. Berichten französischer Spione in Istanbul zufolge verlegten irgendwann im Januar 1682 die Schöpfer der Außenpolitik am Hofe des Sultans ihre Aufmerksamkeit vom Nordosten Ungarns auf die Westslowakei, wo die Pforte kaiserlicherseits Zugeständnisse in der Provinz Nové Zámky erhoffte.[69] In Istanbul war sogar davon die Rede, daß dem erwarteten Internuntius Kaiser Leopold I., A. Caprara die Erlaubnis das osmanische Gebiet in Ungarn zu betreten verweigert würde, solange er die osmanischen Würdenträger in der Provinz davon überzeugt hätte er sei bevollmächtigt, dem Sultan siebzig Dörfer in der Umgebung von Nové Zámky abzutreten. Wie jedoch Capraras Bericht zu entnehmen ist, verfügte dieser über keinerlei solcher Befugnisse, er sollte sich lediglich um die Annäherung der Standpunkte beider Seiten bemühen.[70] Unter den gegebenen Umständen konnte Capraras Mission keinen Erfolg haben, was schon von mehreren Zeitgenossen bemerkt wurde. Trotzdem verbreiteten sich, noch vor der Ankunft des Internuntius, nach Istanbul Gerüchte, die kaiserliche Seite würde außer anderen Zugeständnissen auch die osmanischen Forderungen im *Eyalet* Nové Zámky erfüllen.[71]

Dem Tagebuch des Dolmetschers A. Maurokordatos zufolge sah die osmanische Seite bei Capraras Verhandlungen mit dem Großwesir Kara Mustafa Pascha und dem Aga der Janitscharen am 22. Juni 1682 diese drei Hindernisse für eine Verlängerung des Friedens: „Erstens seien sämtliche neu angelegten Festungen zu schleifen, insbesondere Leopoldstadt jenseits von Komorn, erbaut zu Sührab Paschas Zeiten... sovie Guta und Šaľa, zweitens müßten die Dörfer um Neuhäusel ihre Abgaben gemäß dem Register der Steueraufschreibung ungehindert entrichten

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[68] ŠOBA, Bratislava, Archív mariánskej provincie františkánov. Lad. 9, fasc. 1, Nr. 6.

[69] Stoye, J.: *The English Ambassador at Istanbul and the Great Turkish War, 1681—1687.* In: *Studia Austro-Polonica, 3,* Krakau 1983, S. 316. Der Verfasser benützte die Materialien aus dem Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, Correspondance Politique, Turquie, 16, ff. 327—331.

[70] *Relatio italica de legationem ad Turcam a. 1682—1683.* Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschrift 8717. Hist. N. 408. Mikrofilm MOL, Filmtár W 117.

[71] Stoye, J.: op.cit., S. 316.

(können); drittens seien sämtliche Schäden durch Freilassung der Gefangenen zu vergüten."[72] Auch wenn die Forderung Leopoldov und Guta niederzureißen übertrieben war, da diese Bauten vom Friedensvertrag von Vasvár gestattet worden sind, blieben der osmanischen Seite ein Dorn im Auge die kleineren Befestigungen am Váh, die der Überquerung des Flusses im Wege standen, vor allem jedoch die Steuerfrage und bestimmt ernstzunehmend war auch die Frage des Austausches und der Freilassung von Gefangenen.[73]

Letztlich bildeten die Streitfragen im *Eyalet* Nové Zámky den formalen Grund der Kriegserklärung an Kaiser Leopold I. Im kaiserlichen Schreiben (*name-i hümayun*), den die Pforte Anfang 1683 an den Fürsten von Siebenbürgen Michal Apaffy sandte, steht: „Die Nemçe (österreichische) Abteile erbauten sich und reparierten einige Festungen und Palanken in der Umgebung von Nové Zámky inmitten meiner geschützten Ländereien... Damit sie mit Hilfe von Allah bestraft würden... für dies und weiter für Vernichtungen und Verluste, die sie der Bevölkerung an meinen siegreichen Grenzen verursachten... und damit die Rache durch meine kaiserliche siegreiche Macht verübt würde... wurde dieses erfolgreichen Jahres entschieden und bestimmt, daß aus dem geschützten Edirne, dieser Wohnstätte des Sieges und Erfolgs... meine kaiserliche Armee und meine siegreichen Soldaten aufbrechen und (es wird unternommen) ein kaiserlicher Feldzug gegen die Nemçe (Österreicher).[74]

Die militärischen Vorbereitungen der Pforte für einen Krieg mit dem Kaiser spendeten Mut auch den osmanischen Abteilen in Nové Zámky. Schon seit Beginn 1683 versuchten sie auf die Schüttinsel einzudringen und sich dieser zu bemächtigen.[75] Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky bemühte sich die osmanische Oberherrschaft im Váh-Tal wiederherzustellen. Das Städtchen Hlohovec, das auch nach der Errichtung der nahegelegenen Festung Leopoldov an die osmanische Seite Steuern gezahlt hat, unterließ aus unbekannten Gründen Anfang der achtziger Jahre die Steuerzahlung. Deshalb erhielt es im Laufe des Monats Februar 1683 drei Schreiben vom Statthalter von Nové Zámky und anderen Würdenträgern die Restbeträge in Tuch und anderen Waren zu begleichen, widrigenfalls wurde ihnen Ausbrennung

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[72] *Kara Mustafa vor Wien 1683*, S. 61—62.

[73] Budapest, MOL, R 315, Nr. 125. Im Schreiben vom 8. September 1684, an die Kapitäne der ungarischen Grenzburgen adressiert, verlangen die osmanischen Würdenträger aus Nové Zámky einen gleichwertigen Gefangenenaustausch.

[74] Veselá-Přenosilová, Z.: *Contribution aux rapports de la Porte Sublime avec la Transylvanie d'après les documents turcs*. ArOr, 33, 1965, S. 567—568 türkischer Text, S. 584—585 französische Übersetzung. Siehe auch *Türkische Urkunden, den Krieges Jahres 1683 betreffend, nach den Aufzeichnungen des Marc'Antonio Mamucha della Torre*. Hrsg. von V. Renner. Wien 1888, S. 24—25, Nr. 64.

[75] Klopp, O.: *Das Jahr 1683 und der folgende große Türkenkrieg bis zum Frieden von Carlowitz 1699*. Graz 1882, S. 179.

und Verschleppung von Menschen in die Gefangenschaft angedroht.[76] Solche Drohungen wurden von Hasan Pascha, dem Statthalter von Nové Zámky, im Nitra-Tal in der Umgebung von Topoľčany in die Tat umgesetzt, als er wegen Steuerhinterziehungen einige Dörfer ausplünderte und am Ostersonntag im April 1683 aus dem im oberen Nitra-Tal liegenden Dorf Oslany viele Gefangene nach Nové Zámky verschleppte.[77]

Zur Zeit, als sich das osmanische Heer mit dem Großwesir Kara Mustafa Pascha an der Spitze Ungarn näherte, unternahm der Oberbefehlshaber der kaiserlichen Armee Karl von Lothringen einen Angrif gegen Nové Zámky. Am 6. Juni 1683 belagerte er die Festung, hatte jedoch keine Belagerungskanonen, und so erzielte er keinen nennenswerteren Erfolg. Die Garnison wehrte sich nicht nur erfolgreich, sie unternahm auch Angriffe, die viele Feinde vernichtete. Am 9. Juni unterbrach jedoch Karl von Lothringen die Belagerung von Nové Zámky und zog nach Komárno, zum höchsten Mißmut des Palatins Paul Eszterházy und des kaisertreuen Adels.[78] Bei dieser Gelegenheit brannte der Befehlshaber der ungarischen Armee M. Újlaky die türkische Palanke Šurany sowie einige unterworfene Dörfer in der Umgebung von Nové Zámky nieder.[79]

Nach der Ankunft der osmanischen Armee vor Wien beteiligte sich die Infanterie aus Nové Zámky mit dem Statthalter Hocazade Hasan Pascha an der Spitze an der Belagerung, während die Kavalerie zusammen mit I. Thökölys Kuruzen in dem von Kör Hüseyin Pascha befehligten Heer kämpfte.[80]

Nach der Niederlage der osmanischen Armee vor Wien und vor allem nach der Eroberung von Esztergom (Ende Oktober 1683) durch die verbündete Armee traten für die Garnison in Nové Zámky schwere Zeiten ein. Sie war vom osmanischen Hinterland in Ungarn abgeschnitten, so daß die freie Zufuhr von Waffen und Lebensmitteln unterbunden war. Bei den Bemühungen an Lebensmittelvorräte heranzukommen, kam es zu Konflikten mit den Garnisonen der kaiserlichen Burgen oder ungarischen Einheiten. Im Herbst 1684 gelang es den Einheiten des Komitats Nitra mit A. Czobor an der Spitze die osmanische Palanke Šurany zu erobern.[81] Dadurch verschlechterte sich die Lage in der Festung noch mehr, weil das ungarische Heer in der Umgebung sämtliche Mühlen und Dörfer, die Lebensmittel hätten gewähren können, zerstörte.

Das Problem mit der Versorgung blieb bis zum Fall der Festung bestehen. Nach den Mißerfolgen der kaiserlichen Armee und deren Verbündeten im Jahre 1684

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[76] *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung... I*, S. 6—7.
[77] Matunák, M.: *Život a boje*, S. 261.
[78] Klopp, O.: op.cit., S. 189—190.
[79] Matunák, M.: *Život a boje*, S. 263.
[80] *Kara Mustafa vor Wien 1683*, S. 163, 173.
[81] Matunák, M.: *Život a boje*, S. 266.

wandte sich die Aufmerksamkeit des Oberkommandos Nové Zámky zu, das von Teilen des osmanischen Ungarns isoliert war, und hinsichtlich der Nähe österreichischer Länder sowie großer Befestigungen wie Komárno und Leopoldov sollten keinerlei Probleme mit der Versorgung der belagernden Armee entstehen. Gemeinsam mit der Armee von Oberst Heissler umzingelte Karl von Lothringen am 7. Juli 1685 Nové Zámky. Diese Armee wurde noch von bayrischen und braunschweigisch-lünebürgischen Abteilen verstärkt, so daß die Belagerungsarmee an die 43 000 Mann zählte. Nach den Berichten, daß in Ungarn die osmanische Armee mit dem Großwesir Ibrahim Pascha an der Spitze eingetroffen war, zog ein Teil der deutschen Armee am 20. Juli nach Komárno, um dort Befestigungen zu bauen und Pontonbrücken zu sichern. Als die osmanische Armee Anfang August 1685 Esztergom zu belagern begann, ging Karl von Lothringen zu dieser Festung, und die Belagerung von Nové Zámky wurde von einer etwa 16 000 Mann zählenden Armee unter E. Caprara fortgesetzt. Am Morgen den 19. August 1685 unternahm die verbündete Armee einen Angriff gegen die zerschossenen Wälle und eroberte Nové Zámky.[82] Der Großteil der Garnison fiel im Kampf und eine große Anzahl von Frauen und Kindern wurden gefangengenommen.

Mehr als 20 Jahre lang war Nové Zámky die am weitesten vorgeschobene Festung des Osmanischen Reiches in Mitteleuropa. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, daß die Hohe Pforte ihre Interessen auf diesem Gebiet so genau schützte und daß diese Festung „Stätte der Glaubenskämpfer und Krieger, des hemmenden Dammes der muslimischen Lande" (*dar ül-güzzât-u-câhidîn ve sedd-i sedîd-i diyâr-i müslimîn*) genannt wurde.

[82] Den Verlauf der Belagerung von Nové Zámky behandeln zahlreiche Flugschriften und publizistische Arbeiten.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIA UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF PRESIDENT SHAGARI (1979—1983)

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The present study draws attention to some basic economic and socio-political factors in the development of Nigeria during the first term of the Government of President Shehu Shagari (1979—1983). Chronologically this work takes contact with the author's papers *Inner Political Problems of Gowon's Government after the End of the Civil War in Nigeria* and *Policy of the Third Nigerian Military Government and the Country's Return to Civilian Rule*, published in volumes XVII and XVIII of this annual.

On 1 October 1979, when the head of the Third Nigerian Military Government General Olusegun Obasanjo officially handed over power to the democratically elected civilian Government of President Shehu Shagari, the prevailing feelings among Nigerians were those of impatience and optimism. After more than 13 years of military rule, the most populous and strongest country in Tropical Africa was experiencing its come-back to a constitutional regime which was determined to show the whole world that also the multi-ethnic, heterogeneous African states, full of internal antagonisms, could be ruled in a democratic way, without generals and despots.

The atmosphere of the ceremonial handover which took place at the mammoth Tafawa-Balewa Square in Lagos was quite idyllic. Over the heads of those who were present, a camouflaged Air Force helicopter hovered with a white banner proclaiming: "Welcome Second Republic. We pledge our loyalty." In his short inauguration speech Shagari paid tribute to the soldiers for their services to Nigeria and for having kept "as true men of honour"[1] their word to withdraw from power. At the dinner arranged for the President by Obasanjo, Shagari said that it was "rare in the history of developing countries for those in power to organise their own retirement from Government and to welcome, indeed entertain, their successors".[2]

When the problem of the future role of the former head of State in the national life of Nigeria had been considered, Obasanjo confirmed that he was returning to his farm near Abeokuta. In an interview with the editor of Africa magazine Obasanjo overlooked the allusion to the army's possible come-back and to the question he had

[1] Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series, Exeter, October 1979, p. 5434.
[2] Ibid.

been asked so often during the past weeks and months, he laconically answered: "As a private citizen I will endeavour to live as a good citizen and as a farmer, I will produce maximally."[3]

However, those who pondered over the independent development of African countries and the role of the armed forces in their political life more seriously, did not see things so simply. Although they would not doubt the sincerity of Obasanjo's decision to quit politics, they realized that the 13 years of military rule could not be just wiped out from the Nigerian political anamnesis and that various objective factors which left the army a potentially important element of the power politics even after its return to barracks, had to be taken into account.

According to West Africa's editorial comment, no civilian government which succeeds a military one, can be entirely sure of itself.[4] Or, as observed by Schuster, in the process of gradual withdrawal of the army from politics, the most difficult step to be taken by soldiers is not that of the decision to hand over power. Even more difficult is not to try to regain it if the policy of the elected government runs against their expectations.[5] After several years of stay in the government, the reasons which had previously led the officers to the decision to take over power could only be reinforced by factors such as personal experience in the office or the realization of power superiority over all political institutions and the military's temptation "to take matters into their own hands again" could only increase.

In Nigeria which, inherited the strongest army in tropical Africa from the Civil War, the possibility of a military come-back could never be totally excluded and the politicians were well aware of the fact. One of the Presidential candidates, Obafemi Awolowo, a veteran of the Nigerian political scene, warned those who during the 1979 election campaign seemed to be returning to the excesses of the party politics of the pre-military era, that "if the soldiers stage a come-back, the military would never surrender power again to the civilians, with the result that the youngest Nigerian now alive may not see civil rule in his lifetime".[6] Even more alarming was the prognosis of a group of Nigerian experts in political sciences. Their collection of essays on 13 years of military rule, issued shortly before the coming of the elected Government to power, found "a long civilian rule in Nigeria very doubtful".[7]

The man who, in spite of all these pitfalls has taken upon himself the burden of leading the tempestuous Africa's giant, was the recently elected President Shehu

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[3] Africa, No. 98, Oct. 1979.

[4] West Africa, 1st Oct. 1973.

[5] Schuster, A.: *Vers la fin des régimes militaires en Afrique occidentale? La voie au Ghana, en Haute-Volta, au Mali et au Nigéria.* Canadian Journal of African Studies, *XII*, 1978, No. 2, p. 225.

[6] Daily Times, Lagos, 8th Nov. 1978.

[7] Oyediran, O. (Ed.): *Nigerian Government and Politics under Military Rule, 1966—1979.* London—Basingstoke, Macmillan 1979, p. 283.

Shagari. Shagari, by full name Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari, was born in the village of Shagari in Yabo district of Sokoto State to the family of a local Fulani chief. He received his primary and secondary education in Yaba, Sokoto and Kaduna and after graduating from the Zaria Teacher Training College in 1945, he taught at a Sokoto secondary school. In 1951 he became the headmaster of a primary school and between 1953 and 1958 worked as a Senior Visiting Teacher for Sokoto Province.

Shagari started his political career in 1945, when the Youth Social Council began to mobilize Nigeria's young people against colonial rule. He was active in the national struggle against British colonialism until independence. In 1958 he became Parliamentary Secretary to the then Federal Prime Minister Balewa. Since then he has been at the centre of Nigerian politics. He subsequently held the posts of Minister of Economic Development, Minister of Establishments and Training, Minister of Internal Affairs and Minister of Works. Following the overthrow of Balewa Government in January 1966 by the military coup, Shagari returned to Sokoto, where he became secretary of the Sokoto Province Educational Development Fund and later the State Commissioner for Education.

After the end of Civil War, Shagari was among those civilians whom Y. Gowon asked to serve in his Federal Military Government. In 1970 Shagari became Commissioner for Economic Development and Reconstruction and in 1971, following Awolowo's resignation, he was switched to Finance, an important ministry he led up to 1975.[8]

In 1977 Shagari was elected to the Constitutional Assembly and he actively participated in drafting Nigeria's new Constitution. He used his presence in the centre of the awakening political life in the country to organize the necessary contacts which ultimately led to the formation of the National Party of Nigeria. Following the victory in the 1979 election, Shagari, at 54 the youngest of the five candidates, became the new President of Nigeria. On 1 October 1979, at the end of inauguration ceremonies, he announced his Government programme. Its main general targets were outlined as building a truly united and stable country and achieving economic independence. He promised that he would lead an "open government which shall at all times be close to the people".[9] He stressed his belief in democracy, which, according to his words, was the only system capable of securing unity of the diverse populations of Nigeria.

In the part concerning foreign policy, Shagari confirmed his Government's allegiance to the UN Charter, the fundamental documents of the OAU and the principles of the non-alignment movement. He said his Administration would work

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[8] See Williams, D.: *President and Power in Nigeria: The Life of Shehu Shagari.* London, Frank Cass 1982, 276 pp.

[9] Africa Research Bulletin: Political..., Aug. 1979, p. 5367.

for peace and for curbing the arms race. With regard to the continent of Africa, Shagari commited himself to the legacy of his military predecessors promising to spare no effort to achieve the liberation of Namibia and the liquidation of the racist regime in South Africa. He expressed his Governments' determination to promote the cooperation among the countries of the Economic Community of West African States and he spoke for the strengthening of an all-African economic integration. He said he would work for increasing the role of Nigeria on the international scene using her prominent position for the good of the whole continent, especially through efforts aimed at establishing the new international economic order.[10]

Objectives of this magnitude could only be achieved by a country with a strong and diversified economic basis and Shagari seemed to have realized this context. "We cannot talk of proper stability", he said in an interview, "without building a truly independent nation. We gained political independence in 1960 but we are still far from being truly independent. The struggle for economic independence is still raging..."[11]

If Nigeria was to become a modern industrial nation, as envisaged by Shagari in his inaugural speech, it had to solve many difficult and long term problems, such as diversification of the economy, achievement of a balanced and accelerated development of different branches of the national economy, rationalization of the utilization of manpower and natural resources, introduction of advanced technology, increase in labour productivity, reinforcement of labour discipline, reduction of rural-urban migration and others.[12] Of course, everything could not be achieved the day the new Administration stepped into office, nor during one election term, or a five-year plan. The basic priorities of social and economic development for the following years were defined as stepped-up development of the agrarian sector and achievement of food self-sufficiency, large-scale housing programmes, especially for the low and middle income earners, development and perfection of the system of education and construction of the new federal capital at Abuja.

A closer image of the Shagari Government's economic policy and the problems it had to tackle during its implementation can be sketched through an analysis of the Fourth National Development Plan for the 1981—1985 period. Before we begin to consider its basic characteristics and the situation in the different sectors of the economy, let us try to outline in a few words what was the economic legacy the Second Nigerian Republic inherited from the Military Governments.

Over the two decades of political independence Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product

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[10] See Klíma, V.: *Nigérie*. Praha, Svoboda 1983, pp. 136—140 and Africa Research Bulletin: Political..., Aug. 1979, p. 5667.

[11] Africa, No. 98, Oct. 1979.

[12] Pribytkovsky, L. N.: *The Second Republic in Nigeria in 1979—1983*. Sofia 1983 (unpublished paper).

has increased 14-fold, the country has gone through a period of investment growth unprecedented in its history and the military rulers were openly proclaiming their ambition to put Nigeria among the developed nations of the world. The fast growth of mining, manufacturing and building industries, as well as infrastructure and services, were for the most part financed from her own resources and the programme of Nigerization of foreign enterprises led to a further strengthening of economic emancipation. On the other hand, economic development was not sufficiently diversified, high growth rate has been too closely related to the performance of a sole sector — the oil industry, petrol revenues were unequally distributed among the various parts of the federation as well as among the different social strata, a major part of the national income has been absorbed by non-productive consumption, the policy of Nigerization has in reality also brought only limited results and to achieve the target of independent economic development the country had still a long way to go. Yet, on the whole, especially in African context, at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s Nigeria could be characterized as a country with a relatively strong and fast growing economy. It can be illustrated on the growth of the planned capital expenditures in four Nigeria's development plans from the period of independence. While the First National Development Plan's (1962—1968) total capital allocations came to naira 1.35 billion, in the Second Plan (1970—1974) this figure rose to N3.35 billion, to reach N32.9 billion in the Third Plan (1975—1980).[13] Although the Fourth National Development Plan (1981—1985) which will be subject to our discussion has been after some minor economic problems of the late 1970s worked out in a relatively sober atmosphere, it did confirm the country's high ambitions borne by its petrol boom.

## 1. The Fourth National Development Plan

The total investment for the years 1981—1985 was proposed to be N82 billion. Private sector's investment was estimated at N11.5 billion and the public sector was to account for N70.5 billion. This sum was to be distributed among the Federal Government (N40 billion) State and Local Governments (N28 billion) and the Federal Capital Development Authority (N2.5 billion). Since the foreseen aggregate budget surpluses amounted only to N53.6 billion, the budget deficit of N16.9 billion, which would require some amount of governmental borrowing from internal and external sources, was envisaged.[14]

The main objectives of the Five-Year Plan were defined as the achievement of

[13] See Olaloku, F. A. (Ed.): *Structure of the Nigerian Economy.* London—Basingstoke, Macmillan 1979, pp. 139—141.

[14] *The Fourth National Development Plan 1981—1985,* Lagos, pp. 49, 418.

economic stability and the reducing of dependence of Nigerian economy on oil revenues and foreign investment. The economic policy of the five-year period was to be determined by two cardinal principles: consolidation and self-sufficiency.[15] In the following paragraphs we shall briefly discuss the objectives of the Fourth National Development Plan against the background of the situation in the main sectors of Nigerian economy.

Agriculture was declared priority number one of the Fourth Plan. After a decade of oil euphoria, the end of the 1970s brought with it a somewhat more sober atmosphere and the Nigerian economists began to realize that in a country fast approaching the 100 million inhabitant figure, no task of national economy could be as important as the development of agriculture capable to feed the whole population. Nevertheless, the share of agricultural production in the GNP was steadily decreasing, prices were soaring and the food import bill was alarmingly growing.

The problem the country had suddenly to face was felt as urgent also because of the fact that in the recent past Nigeria had been an agricultural country, self-sufficient in food and in some products it had been the world's chief exporter. In 1960 the share of agriculture in total Nigerian export was 81% the country ranked as the world's biggest producer of groundnuts and palm oil and came second after Ghana in the export of cocoa beans.

However, since the mid-1960s and especially in the 1970s the situation changed drastically. The twenty years of independence have seen the fall of the share of this vital sector of the economy in the GDP from 63 to 19%. Agricultural export came actually to a standstill and Nigeria began to spend her petrol naira even on products such as palm oil, one time its chief export revenues earner. Every year the country imported larger quantities of basic foodstuffs such as rice, maize, wheat, meat, fish and milk to the amount of over N1 billion a year of 17% of the total Nigerian imports.

What are the causes of this relatively sudden reverse when the sector which used to be the corner-stone of the economy has turned out to be its chief bottle-neck? In accordance with Kupriyanov[16] we maintain that both objective and subjective factors were involved here.

Among the objective factors we should at first mention the general socio-economic backwardness of rural areas which, as the twenty independent years have shown, was not easy to get rid of. The organization and technology of soil exploitation has not gone through any significant development, the majority of peasants cultivated traditional crops on their small fields using old methods,

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[15] Africa Research Bulletin: Economic, Financial and Technical Series, Exeter, Dec. 1980, pp. 5713—14.

[16] Kupriyanov, P. I.: *The Agrarian Policy of the Nigerian Government.* Sofia 1983 (unpublished paper), p. 2.

fertilizers and mechanization were an exception and the infrastructure was underdeveloped.

The development of agriculture was negatively influenced also by various natural calamities, first of all the severe drought of the 1970s which hit the northern regions of the country. In the south, the Civil War took its toll, paralysing the whole productive activity and leaving behind it devastated areas of palm oil cultivation.

An important subjective factor working against faster development of agriculture was the inadequate economic policy of Nigerian military governments. The oil boom of the first half of the 1970s overshadowed all the other sectors, the policy makers stopped paying the necessary attention to the problems of a balanced economic growth, oil revenues seemed to have become the sole economic indicator and the agrarian sector reacted to this change in orientation most sensitively. The growth rates of agricultural production began to lag behind the population growth and Nigeria was forced to import larger quantities of food every year.

The oil boom has also brought an exodus of rural population to towns which were marked by the "black gold era" more than the rural areas and they promised good earnings and better conditions of life. Moreover, most of these migrants were young men, irreplaceable in the hard manual work of a Nigerian peasant. While in 1960, 71% of the population of the country was engaged in agriculture, in 1970 and 1980 this quotient dropped to 67 and 54%, respectively.[17]

The growing urbanization also brought changes in the structure of nutrition which led to further increase of dependency on import. Traditional food crops gave way to rice, wheat, sugar, meat, vegetable oil and fats, a greater part of which had to be imported.

The precariousness of the situation of a country chronicaly dependent on the import of basic foodstuffs, while at the same time it was utilizing less than 50% of its cultivable land area and had even larger reserves in the sphere of intensification of its agricultural production, was seriously considered already by the leaders of the Third Nigerian Military Government, but their rather promising project Operation Feed the Nation has brought only limited results and the poor performance of the Nigerian agriculture remained unaltered.

A new large-scale initiative was embarked on by the Government of the Second Republic. In November 1979 Shagari announced the adoption of a whole system of measures aimed at a revitalization and modernization of agriculture, a steep increase of its production and overall development of agricultural areas. The programme, labelled Green Revolution, was to cost N6 billion.[18] The overall public capital

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[17] See Petkov, P.: *Main Trends in the Economic Development of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.* Sofia 1983 (unpublished paper), p. 17.

[18] *The Challenge of Change: Collected Speeches of President Shehu Shagari.* Lagos, Federal Department of Information 1983, Vol. 3, p. 12.

investment in agriculture during the 1981—1985 period, shared among the Federal, State and Local Governments, was planned at N8.8 billion.[19] Agriculture was to receive every year 13% of the total amount of planned allocations (compared to 6% in 1975—1980[20]) and an average 4% growth of the agricultural output (compared to 2.5% in 1975—1980) was expected. The main objectives of the programme were defined as an achievement of food self-sufficiency by 1985 and the return of Nigeria to its former export positions by 1987.

To achieve these objectives a dual strategy was worked out. It envisaged the creation of large agro-industrial complexes with the participation of the State, private and foreign capital, as well as stimulation of the growth of production in small peasant farms which occupied 97% of the cultivated area and yielded 90% of Nigeria's total agricultural output.[21] The Government has undertaken to provide larger enterprises with mechanization and to help build in rural areas agro-service centres for the use of smaller producers. The Government has also promised to supply farmers with abundance of high quality seeds and plants, as well as fertilizers, the consumption of which was to increase four-fold over the five years. Among the Green Revolution priority crops were rice, traditional foodstuffs such as yam and cassava as well as export oriented cocoa, groundnuts and palm oil. To stimulate agricultural production, the Government has introduced various financial measures aimed at attracting potential investors and at stopping the exodus of the working force from the sector.

One of the main objectives of the Green Revolution was the expansion of the total area under cultivation. To expand grain production alone, it was decided to develop 4,000 hectares in each of the 19 states[22] and recultivation of former export crops plantations has also been contemplated.

An integral part of the plans to expand the total cultivated area was the irrigation programme. It included river training, building of dams, canals and wells and also buying the necessary irrigation machinery and equipment which would permit to cultivate 300,000 hectares of soil in five years.[23]

More attention was also to be paid to animal production which according to Nigerian experts failed to utilize about 5 million hectares of pasture land. Still a more urgent task than the expansion of pastures was the intensified fight against the tse-tse fly which caused severe damage to the livestock. The Fourth National Development

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[19] The Fourth National..., p. 88.

[20] See Arnold, G.: *Modern Nigeria*. London, Longman 1977, p. 69.

[21] Kupriyanov: *The Agrarian*..., p. 4.

[22] Ibid., p. 5.

[23] *Hospodářské informace ze zahraničí* (Economic Reports from Abroad). Prague, ČTK, No. 40/1981, p. 63.

Plan's target was 564,000 tons of meat in 1985, compared to 338,000 tons produced in 1974.[24]

Out of 960,000 tons of fish consumed in Nigeria in 1980, only 56% came from local production and fishing has been seen as another important means of achieving the desired self-sufficiency in food. Fishing was allocated N171 million in the Fourth National Development Plan[25] which was to be used to finance purchase of vessels, erection of modern fishing ports and development of the proposed fishing farms and cooperatives.

Although the 1981—1985 plan paid preferential attention to agriculture, it would be wrong to deduce that Nigerian economic policy makers have abandoned their vast industrialization programme. The industrial development has remained a central problem of Nigerian economy and the manufacturing sector, in particular, was expected to grow four times faster than agriculture.

The situation in the mining and quarrying sector was somewhat different. In 1981—1985 the average growth rate of the oil industry was expected to be only 1.5% which meant the fall of its share in GNP from 25% in 1980 to about 15% in 1985.[26] After a decade which apparently made many believe that trade surplus and economic development were synonyms, the beginning of the 1980s saw a better realization of the fact that oil wealth can be a welcome means, but not the end of national economic activity. The orientation to diversification of economic structure and the plans to build up a more complex economic basis have inevitably led to the relative diminution of the importance of the oil sector.

Of course, Nigerian planners did not intend to neglect the industry which in recent years has allowed them to formulate prognoses of future development of Nigeria on a scale the majority of third world countries could only dream of. Thus, in the 1981—1985 plan the mining industry was allocated N5.4 billion (compared to N2.7 billion in the preceding five-year period), of which 95% were earmarked for the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). Approximately one half of this amount was to be spent on exploration and preparation of new oil fields. Other important projects in the oil sector, which formed a part of the NNPC investment programme included the construction of a natural gas liquefaction plant, another oil refinery and a few others.

The stress the plan laid on the development of new oil fields was the result of the fact that the reserves of Nigerian oil, on which the progress of the economy strongly depended, were being quickly used up. With an average production of 2.2 million barrels per day at the end of the 1970s, the country's proven reserves would last for about twenty years and the time Nigeria would have to pay the bill for the "oil credit"

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[24] Ibid., p. 62.

[25] *The Fourth National...*, p. 126.

[26] Africa Research Bulletin: Economic..., Oct. 1980, p. 5713.

that nature had bestowed upon her and prove that she is able to push her economy forward even without such blessings, was unavoidably approaching. The decision to limit maximal daily output and intensify geological survey of unexploited areas, especially in the shelf zone, manifested the desire to delay the day of this trial.

The extreme dependency on fast depleting oil reserves led Nigeria to the search for alternative energy resources. Of particular importance were the perspectives of natural gas. At the beginning of the 1980s, various sources put the Nigerian natural gas reserves at between 1,000 and 2,000 billion cubic metres, but the survey of deposits was only at its beginnings and this figure was expected to rise in the future. On the other hand, out of some 57 million cubic metres of natural gas produced daily, over 90% were flared off and Nigeria was thus wasting a major part of its energy wealth. These factors prompted the Nigerian Government propose the construction of a pipeline network and the erection of a huge natural gas liquefaction plant at Bonny and declare it a priority of the 1981—1985 plan. The Bonny LNG plant was to be built with foreign participation and nearly all of its output was destined for export.[27]

The Fourth National Development Plan has also envisaged revitalization of some other branches of the mining industry. Nigeria is one of the few countries in Africa with substantial coal beds, but once coal got into competition with oil its rather laborious extraction began to be neglected and its production declined steadily every year. The 1958 record output of 925,000 tons has not been achieved ever since and the share of coal in total Nigerian fuel and energy supply declined from 70% in 1950 to only 2% in 1974.[28] One of the objectives of the Fourth National Development Plan was to reverse this trend, renew coal mining at Enugu, start extraction in several new mines and reach the output of 2.4 million tons of coal per annum. Similar measures were proposed to revive and increase the extraction of tin, iron ore and some other minerals.

One of the main tasks of the mining sector which produced both for export and the domestic market was to provide with finances and raw materials the country's own manufacturing industry which was one of the fastest growing sectors of the Nigerian economy. In the period 1960—1970 the growth rate in the manufacturing sector averaged 9.1% and it increased up to 12% between 1970 and 1980.[29] Although these data appear rather impressive, it should be borne in mind that they are based on a comparison with the situation at the end of the destructive civil war and/or the beginnings of independence when the whole Nigerian industry was represented by several enterprises processing a part of the agricultural output, mainly for export. No matter how high the growth rate arising from such a low initial level, it could not

[27] West Africa, 21st Jan. 1980.

[28] Olaloku F. A. (Ed.): *Structure...*, p. 54.

[29] Financial Times, London, 7th Feb. 1983.

automatically ensure economic prosperity, and to achieve the target of making the country an industrial power, Nigeria at the beginning of the 1980s had still a long way to go.

The proposed growth rate for manufacturing in the period 1981—1985 was at least 15% and the Fourth National Development Plan has allocated N7.8 billion to this sector.[30] The largest part of this sum (N3 billion) was destined for the development of the metallurgy. Of special importance to Nigeria has been the construction of the biggest steel complex in tropical Africa which has been built with Soviet assistance at Ajaokuta. The initial capacity of 1.3 million tons would be increased up to 5 million tons of steel per annum in the future. The Soviets have also undertaken to operate the plant for three years after commissioning and to prepare 1,500 local specialists who would gradually replace them. Another steel plant with a slightly lower capacity, built with West German assistance, was nearing completion at Aladja. Among projects which were to help build a modern metallurgical industry in Nigeria were also the expansion of three steel rolling mills at Katsina, Jos and Oshogbo.[31]

One of the pivotal branches of the whole Nigerian economic structure is the petrochemical industry. To the first refinery at Port Harcourt, the silhouette of which has for over a decade been the most publicized symbol of Nigerian industrialization, two new refineries were added in 1978 and 1980, one at Warri and the other at Kaduna, so that the share of locally processed crude oil in its total output has increased to about 18—20%. Yet, the needs of the country's developing economy were growing, so were the export potentials, and Nigeria planned to build another refinery with a capacity twice as large as any of the existing three.[32]

Among the closely watched undertakings of the Fourth National Development Plan were also the nitrogenous fertilizers complex, the completion of which has been impatiently awaited by the agrarian sector, the already mentioned natural gas liquefaction plant and several others. The vast majority of these projects were placed with foreign firms which further increased Nigeria's dependence on the import of technology and materials. Nevertheless, this seemed to be the only way to provide the country as soon as possible with an industrial base which would secure its independent economic development in the future.

A typical example of splendour and squalor of Nigerian industry is the automobile industry. Although Nigeria produces every day new cars of the well-known world makes, this can be hardly considered as a sign of high economic standard. The whole plants, their technology, as well as the parts and components of the cars are actually

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[30] *The Fourth National...*, pp. 143—147.

[31] Africa Research Bulletin: Economic..., Aug. 1979, p. 5215. and ibid., Nov. 1979, p. 5298.

[32] Petkov, P.: *Main Trends...*, p. 12.

imported and the Nigerian share in the production usually consists in mere assembly work.

Among the first automobile manufacturers, drawn to Nigeria by the investment vacuum created by the oil boom, were Peugeot and Volkswagen which completed their assembly plants at Kano and Lagos in 1975. In the same year, British Leyland began the construction of another car, truck, bus and tractor assembly plant in Ibadan. The Italian concern FIAT/IVECO participated in the construction of a truck and tractor assembly plant at Kano. The Japanese companies Mitsubishi and Isuzu received permission to build car assembly works at Ilorin and Maiduguri. Similar licenses were obtained by Mazda and Nissan. Peugeot was going to build another plant in Sokoto State. There are car assembly works in Nigeria built by a number of other automobile manufacturers, such as the West German Daimler-Benz, the Austrian Steyr-Daimler-Puch and others.[33]

One of the strategies of the Fourth National Development Plan, which has been topical also to the automobile industry, was the drive towards lower import dependency and increased participation of local work (both live and materialized) in the total production. Thus Leyland Nigeria, which is partially owned by British Leyland, undertook the obligation for its plant at Ibadan to reach 70% content of local production within seven years. Leyland Nigeria were to be the first automobile company in Africa to produce engines, chassis frames and other components of the new cars.[34] The development of Nigeria's own ferrous metallurgy and other industries would allow for further continuation in this trend, although, on the other hand, the experience with the Peugeot and Volkswagen plants, which by 1981 achieved only 10 and 5% content of local production, was not too promising.

In a country like Nigeria, with an ambitious development programme and large population, a pivotal sector of the national economy is energy production. To secure its growth, the Fourth National Development Plan set aside N2.4 billion which were to be spent for the most part on a programme of electrification of the country. The proposed average electricity supply growth for the period was 15—20% and the total production was to achieve 4,600 megawats in 1985. The 1981—1985 plan envisaged the construction of four new plants — two hydro power and two thermal ones.[35]

Although, as far as the level of infrastructure is concerned, few countries of tropical Africa could match Nigeria, the "blessed oil decade" could not have done away with all the old deficiencies. It is true that this sector was regularly budgeted with large sums of money, but at the beginning of the 1980s the creation of a modern infrastructure which would form the basis for the build-up and smooth run of a developed economy, was still a task to be accomplished.

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[33] Ibid., p. 14.

[34] Africa Research Bulletin: Economic..., March 1979, p. 5033.

[35] *Hospodářské...*, No. 40/1981, p. 63 and ibid., No. 43/1982, p. 74.

The 1981—1985 plan has allocated a considerable amount — N10.7 billion — to transport. N7.5 billion of these were destined for the development and improvement of the road system, to be financed by Federal, State and Local Governments. Having learned lessons from the past and taking into consideration both economic and political objectives, Nigeria after the end of the Civil War, more than ever before, strove for a proportionate economic development of the different regions of the country which meant, among other tasks, also that of building up a transport system comprising all, even the remotest parts of the Federation. In a country with a total area and population density as seen in Nigeria, this was no easy task and it was clear that its implementation was yet to cost much effort and resources. On the other hand, it should be noted that with over 100,000 km of roads, approximately half of them tarred, with five interlinked arteries connecting southern ports with northern centres and with its practically completed section of the Algiers—Lagos—Mombasa trans-African highway, Nigeria ranked among the most developed countries of the continent.

Somewhat worse was the situation in railway transportation, although in comparison with orther African states, Nigeria did not here fare worst. Yet, for a country with the geographical features and economic perspectives of Nigeria, 3,500 km of railway lines could not suffice. Moreover, nearly 90% of the railway network dated from before World War II and in the period of independence railways were among the slowest developing sectors of the Nigerian economy. To improve the situation, the Fourth National Development Plan has allocated N1.6 billion to railways. Out of this total, N1.2 billion was destined for the construction of a new line from Port Harcourt to Ajaokuta and the rest was to be spent on modernization and purchase of new locomotives and passenger vehicles.[36]

The allocation to air transport ammounted to N640 million. Over 70% of this total was to finance the construction of new airports. The 13 existing Nigerian airports were expected to be expanded by six new ones, so that the end of the 1981—1985 period would see the realization of the target, viz. an airport in each of the 19 States of the Federation. About N110 million were to be spent on the purchase of aircrafts for the Nigerian Airways.[37]

The development of water transport, which was assigned over N800 million, envisaged a modernization of sea ports, the dredging and training of the Niger for an all season navigability up to Baro (960 kilometres from the estuary) and the construction of several river ports on the Niger and the Benue.[38]

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[36] *The Fourth National...*, p. 218.

[37] Ibid. and Africa Research Bulletin: Economic..., Dec. 1980, p. 5747.

[38] *Facts and Figures of Development: The Shagari Administration.* Lagos, Federal Department of Information 1983, Vol. 23: *Transport*, pp. 15—16.

N2 billion, allocated to the development of communications, comprised projects in the area of internal telecommunications, external communications and postal services, to which the sums of N1,620 million, N80 million and N300 million have been allocated respectively.[39]

One of the top priorities of the Fourth National Development Plan, often reaffirmed by Shagari in his speeches, was housing. The question of accommodating the masses of migrants streaming into disorderly growing Nigerian towns had in recent years become one of the utmost urgency and although the problem had been already dealt with by the Third Military Government, Shagari decided to make it a highlight of his programme. "The provision of shelter for the teeming masses of our great nation", he said when oficially commissioning the Housing Estate for the Jos Rolling Mill, "is one of the priority programmes of my Administration... We believe that adequate and comfortable accommodation will lead to better morale and greater productivity on the part of the workers and will in the ultimate, enhance the nation's economy."[40]

The Federal Housing Programme envisaged a target of 200,000 units to be constructed annually, including those provided by the private sector, State Governments and Parastatals. Establishments with up to 500 or more employees were expected to build housing estates for their workers with at least 50 units of accommodation.[41] Completely new townships were being set up near large industrial complexes at Aladja and Ajaokuta.

Of special interest to Nigerians was the programme of construction of housing units financed by the Federal Government. In the first phase of the scheme, 2,000 smaller houses (90% of which were of the one-bedroom core type, although they could be expanded by the addition of one or two bedrooms in the future) for low-income earners were to be built in each of the 19 States. The second phase provided for the construction of 1,000 units of two-bedroom core types in each of the States and the following phases would meet the housing needs of the middle and high income earners.[42] The houses were being sold to future owners on credit with a repayment period of 25 years, but only a small part of the numerous applicants could have been satisfied. Although the Shagari Administration allocated to housing larger sums of money than any of its predecessors the rapid growth of population and urbanization contributed to the fast derogation of the results of this policy.

In spite of the importance and the national scope of Shagari's housing programme, Nigerian building and construction sector has been concentrating on another, much bigger and more difficult task — the build-up of the new federal capital at Abuja.

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[39] *The Fourth National...*, p. 252.

[40] *The Challenge...*, p. 19.

[41] *Facts and Figures...*, Vol. 7: *Labour*, p. 29.

[42] *The Challenge...*, p. 41.

The Abuja project prepared by an international consortium of planners and designers, as well as Nigerian experts, envisaged the construction of a stately complex town with modern architecture exploiting all its natural surroundings. In the first stage the town would accommodate 500,000 inhabitants but, the projected system of satellite townships would allow for an increase of up to 1.5 million inhabitants by the end of the century with a final capacity of 3 million.[43]

No doubt, the erection of a new capital required huge investments. According to an official statement, the whole project would cost N9.27 billion (of which N2.5 billion were to be spent during the Fourth Plan's period) but several experts called this an underestimate and considered N20 billion a more realistic figure.[44] There were also voices doubting the necessity of financing such a pompous project in a country still struggling with many basic economic problems, but Shagari made it clear that Abuja would keep its prominent position on his priority list. The Federal Capital Development Authority was accorded full Cabinet ministerial status in his Government, the new President's first trip outside Lagos was made to Abuja and Shagari announced that his Executive office and National Assembly would be the first to move into the new capital.[45]

Education was another sector which was accorded special attention by the Shagari Government. The questions of the improvement of the system of education have become one of the favourite topics of Shagari's speeches and the President has stated that he regards education as "the greatest investment that the nation can make for quick development of its economic, political, sociological and human resources".[46]

Education had experienced a remarkable development even before the coming of the Shagari Administration. During the last two decades, the number of school leavers and graduates has multiplied several times. While in the years before independence Nigeria had only one university, their number increased to 6 by 1975 and to 13 at the beginning of the 1980s. Seven new universities were expected to be established during the 1981—1985 period.

While paying attention also to further growth in quantity, Shagari intended to concentrate more on the progress in the content of education. He subjected to criticism the out-of-date concept of a university totally isolated from the society around it. Such expensive "ivory towers", argued Shagari, were producing educated Nigerians alienated to the needs of their country, whose only dream was "to sit behind a desk and push a pen".[47] The new National Policy on Education, im-

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[43] Africa Research Bulletin: Economic..., March 1979, p. 5024.

[44] Africa, No. 103, March 1980.

[45] West Africa, 20th Apr. 1981.

[46] *The Challenge...*, p. 67.

[47] Ibid., pp. 65 and 96.

plemented by Shagari Government, stressed the necessity to make the educational system more effective and functional and to reorient it according to the concrete economic as well as political and social needs of the society.

Universities were expected to become an integral part of the socio-economic environment they were set in, and to orient their programmes accordingly. Thus a new University of Maiduguri, located in an arid, economically little developed zone, was to gear its teachings and research on problems such as agricultural activities in an arid zone, hydrological and geological research, employment of advanced techniques in irrigation and engineering, better utilization of the economic potential of Lake Chad and others.[48] The university of Benin, situated in the home of an old Nigerian empire and civilization, should not avoid the study of local tradition and culture, but it was also expected to produce professionals for the needs of the two nearby steel plants.[49] Indeed, it was the stress laid on the teaching of technical subjects which formed the core of Shagari's new educational policy. In compliance with this objective the Government has decided that seven out of Nigeria's nineteen universities would be technological universities. The reorganization of the educational system, embarked on by the new administration, was, in the conditions of Nigeria, an extremely arduous project, difficult both to organize and finance,[50] but Shagari made it clear that in furtherance of this aim, his Government would spare neither effort nor resources.

Among sectors which were expected to accelerate their growth was also that of health. The Fourth National Development Plan allocated it N3.04 billion which were supposed to be spent by all Nigerian Governments on the construction of new hospitals, outpatient-clinics and health centres, as well as on the education and training of medical personnel.[51]

The Fourth National Development Plan could generally be regarded as a proportional project with a hierarchy of priorities more or less reflecting the needs of a balanced economic development of the Nigerian Federation. Its relatively high ambitions reflected the country's fortunate financial situation at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s and corresponded with objectives the oil power Nigeria could at that time aim at. In the following part of this paper, concerning the realization of the 1981—1985 plan approximately during the first half of its period, we shall pay most attention to the effects of the financial crisis of the beginning of the 1980s on its implementation.

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[48] Ibid., p. 58.

[49] Ibid., p. 75.

[50] The proposed Fourth Plan's total capital investment in education was N7.7 billion or 9.3% of the total planned public expenditure programme. See *The Fourth National...*, p. 259.

[51] *The Fourth National...*, p. 280.

Although these two notions appear to be one very distant from the other, the beginning of the 1980s in Nigeria saw a proof of the opposite. Yet, before this bitter experience, the country had gone through a decade of rapid economic growth and a fairy-like multiplication of its revenues. In the period 1970—1980, the amount of oil exported from Nigeria approximately doubled, while its price increased as much as 16 times.[52] The milestones in the price development were the years 1973—1974, when the basic price of oil increased from less than 4 to 14 dollars per barrel and 1979—1980 when it rocketed to 34 dollars with the finest sorts, including Nigerian Bonny light, selling at 40 dollars per barrel. If, in 1970, Nigeria sold 1 million barrels of oil a day at a price of 2.24 dollars per barrel, in December 1979 it was 2.4 million barrels at 29.99 dollars a day and in November 1981, when the amount of export somewhat declined, the corresponding figures were 1.6 million barrels and 40.02 dollars. The "oil coup" has affected Nigeria's development more than the three military coups and, as has been already pointed to above, Nigeria has become more and more dependent on the growing inflow of oil revenues. The share of oil in total Nigerian export has increased from 2.6% in 1960, to 57.6% in 1970 and 90—97% in the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s.[53] During the same period, the share of oil in total government revenues grew to about 80%.

The same condition — a high degree of dependence of the economy on foreign currency and staking the economic fate of the country up on one export commodity — had at that time characterized the situation in the majority of the member countries of OPEC. Each of them could boast a relative abundance of oil the demand for which kept growing and, after all, the oil revenues could pay for anything. So why not grasp the chance, throw away the fetters of centuries-old poverty and humiliation, skip across several stages of development, procure ready-made products of modern technology and adapt the style of life to the ideal of the consumer society? As a matter of fact, was it not just thanks to oil that their countries have become members of the organization of developing countries, the abbreviation of which rang familiar throughout the globe, and which has demonstrated its power and capacity to "move the world"?

Of course, the rocketing oil prices could not leave inactive those who were the first to be severely hit by the developments — the nations of Western Europe, USA and Japan. A whole complex of austerity measures: application of alternative energy

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[52] Nevertheless, in 1970 Nigeria already ranked among the world's ten top oil exporters. The growth of export had been most impressive in the period 1960—1970 when it recorded a 50-fold increase (from 0.9 to 51.2 million tons a eyar). See *Hospodářské...*, No. 7/1983, p. 39.

[53] Gromyko, Anat A. (Ed.): *Nigeriya: sovremennyi etap razvitiya* (Nigeria: the Present Stage of Development). Moscow, Nauka 1978, p. 92 and *Facts and Figures...*, Vol. 17: *Commerce*, p. 26.

sources, wide cuts in production programmes related to the overall economic depression, fast installation of new oil fields both at home and in countries more loyal than the "enfant terrible" OPEC, trade protective measures, such as the build-up of enormous artificial oil reserves — these were all steps leading to the decline in world demand, the destabilization of the oil market and the change in the balance of market power to the detriment of the supply. At the beginning of the 1980s, OPEC countries began to lose one contract after another and the utilization of their extraction capacity sharply declined.

Because the world trade in oil is too complicated a structure to be analysed here, we will remain satisfied with the assertion that the OPEC crisis, which began in 1981 and in its first stages was characterized by erratic prices and chaotic production curve, culminated in March 1983 when the extraordinary OPEC conference, held in London, agreed to lower the price of oil from 34 to 29 dollars per barrel, while at the same time limiting the maximal daily output of the particular members by established quotas.

After the London conference, the stormy waters of the world oil economy relatively calmed down, but OPEC members had to accommodate themselves to revenues much lower than the ones they had got used to in the past years. Most severely hit were the countries with highly absorptive economies, i.e. those with large populations, extensive development programmes and the resultant high current expenditure. In the years of oil prosperity they perhaps overlooked the fact that a rapid growth of investment activities is not only an asset of the present, but also an obligation to the future. Moreover, with an underdeveloped economic basis, the progress of their economies full of new projects, was highly dependent on import, a factor which played no significant role at the time when they had a practically open import bill at their disposal, but which, in the conditions of revenue deficiency caused much hardship to the economy.

Nigeria was a typical example of such country within the OPEC. With more than 80 million inhabitants, a Gross National Product exceeding N30 billion, a nearly 10% growth rate, the proposed budget expenditure of over N12 billion and the import worth of N1.2 billion a month in 1981, Nigeria was extremely sensitive to any change in its financial performance.

The consequences of the 1981—1983 crisis proved far reaching. While in 1980 Nigeria received as much as 80 million dollars (N53 million) for its oil sales a day, after the lowering of the price and the imposition of the output quota in March 1983, the revenues from this source dropped to 36 million dollars (N23.9 million). There ensued a sharp derogation of the balance of payments and in order to fulfil its external financial commitments, the country had to reach deeper into its foreign exchange reserves. While in December 1980, these stood at a comfortable margin of N9.6 billion, during the next year they fell to N2.5 billion and in the first quarter of 1983 to as low as N1 billion, a month's worth of import.

Nigeria found itself on the verge of insolvency and among measures which were to get her out of the worst were quite naturally strict import restrictions. A presidential decree completely banned the import of goods such as expensive cars, clothing, cognac, confectionery and perfumery and restrictions were also placed on the import of radio sets, tape recorders, TV sets, air conditioners, leather items and others.[54] All the import licence issued earlier were to be reviewed and revalidated only in cases which the special committee set up for the task would find appropriate.[55] The Government also announced its determination to step up the battle waged against smuggling.[56] All these measures helped to cut down import by approximately one half, nevertheless, among the victims of this policy were not only the consumers of luxury goods but also many development projects which had to be either cancelled or restricted.

The decline in revenues logically led to the decline in expenditure and the imperilment of the development programme. The Fourth National Development Plan which was formulated at the period of the culminating oil prosperity provided for expenditures which Nigeria, finding itself since 1981 in a deep financial crisis, was unable to sustain any longer. A revision of the Plan, which meant its considerable curtailment, and was called by sceptics a total collapse of the programme, had to be announced in 1982.

Although the financial crisis brought major cuts to the development plan, the Nigerian Government has not completely abandoned its economic programme. One of the sectors which were continuously accorded special attention, was that of agriculture. It is true that the attainment of food self-sufficiency, which was to secure Shagari's Administration a prominent place in the economic history of Nigeria, has somehow disappeared from the politicians' vocabulary, but agriculture has continued to be the top priority of the economic policy. In contrast to major financial reductions in most sectors of the economy, the Government subsidies to agriculture have remained practically untouched. The share of agriculture in total Government expenditure has even increased from 13% in 1981 to 14—16% in 1982 and 1983.[57]

Much more affected was the manufacturing sector, dependent for about three-quarters of its supply of raw materials and components on import. The import restrictions introduced by the Government led to the reduction of many production programmes, factory close-downs and mass discharge of workers. Several capital projects had to be stopped and only those with export perspectives, such as refineries, or the gas liquefaction plant, were continuously accorded Government protection. The construction of the new railway-line from Port Harcourt to Ajaokuta was postponed to an unspecified date and the work on a number of

[54] See Pribytkovsky: *The Second...*, p. 7.

[55] *Facts and Figures...*, Vol. 17, p. 17.

[56] *Facts and Figures...*, Vol. 13: *Finance*, p. 18.

[57] Pribytkovsky: *The Second...*, p. 2 and *Hospodářské...*, No. 43/1982, p. 72.

prestigious buildings was also halted. One of the most mourned victims of the expenditure cuts was Abuja — the symbol of the building of new Nigeria.

Although the financial crisis which accentuated the dangerous dependence of the Nigerian economy on oil has thrown the country into a grave predicament, the basic trends of the economic progress of Africa's giant have remained relatively unaltered. The chief objectives of its development were still the modernization of the agrarian sector, the creation of the industrial basis, the education of national manpower and others.

Notwithstanding the frustration of the beginning of the 1980s, oil will probably remain the pivotal factor of Nigerian economic growth also in the future. In spite of the world-wide survey and application of alternative energy sources, nowadays it seems clear that the top ranking of oil among them is not going to be altered at least till the end of this century. Nevertheless, when deliberating on their strategies of economic development, countries like Nigeria should keep permanently in view one inexorable reality: oil, which is supplying their economies with vital power, is a dwindling asset and its reserves will one day be completely exhausted.

## 3. Socio-political development

Since the foregoing parts of this paper attempted to outline and consider the situation Nigeria found itself in at the beginning of the 1980s mainly from the economic point of view, we shall now briefly discuss some questions concerning the country's political and social development. The impatience with which Nigeria welcomed the return of the constitutional regime to the country after 13 years of military rule has characteristically manifested itself soon after the coming of the new Administration. Less than a month after Shagari had assumed the Presidential office, the Nigerian press began to criticize the new Government, which had not yet come out with any remarkable initiative, for passivity and low-key policy.[58] It seemed that during the 13 years of military governments, all of which came to power in more or less dramatic circumstances, Nigerians got used to the personality of a leader who on coming into power dissociates himself by vigorous steps from the policy of his predecessors and proposes a new large-scale and attractive programme.

Shagari who right from the beginning confirmed his reputation as a rather cautious and deliberate politician, was often attacked by adherents of big politics, and it took some time before he managed to convince at least a part of his critics that an absence of the dramatic in politics does not necessarily mean an absence of action and results. In his Presidential New Year message Shagari defended the style of his Government in these words: "In the past few years our country was faced with a lot of economic

[58] Africa, No. 100, Dec. 1979.

problems. In attempting to solve these problems, decisions were hurriedly taken to the detriment of the national economy. Policies that contradict each other were implemented, all in the interest of speedy discharge of government business. It is for this reason that my Administration will not succumb to any pressure to undertake projects or execute policies, however superficially popular, which are not based on sound calculation of the long-term effects on the national economy and welfare of our people. The element of success of any nation lies not in just how fast policies are executed but also how well they are done.

I do not believe in playing to the gallery for the achievement of cheap popularity, all in the name of "dynamism". I believe in serving the nation with sincerity and within the context of resource availability... The consequences of raising public hope in vain include frustration and growing public disrespect for the Government..."[59]

Yet Shagari's chief political opponents refused his arguments and on several occasions subjected the Government to sharp criticism. Among such events were the armed clashes on the borders with Cameroon and Chad which caused a loss of life also on the Nigerian side, but Shagari, in spite of the public ire running high, decided to tackle the conflict in a consistently diplomatic way. In an attempt to exploit the animated nationalistic mood, the opposition emphasized the point that a man who bows his neck to the aggression of incomparably weaker neighbours is not worth leading the strongest country in tropical Africa. In a political climate characterized by latent fears of a possible military come-back, the warnings that the present state of affairs can only increase the army's will to defend the national honour and take things into its hands again, could not be overlooked.

Although Shagari was accused of weakness mostly by representatives of the opposition, it is interesting to note that he was subjected to criticism for this political disgrace also from within his own ranks. Those members of the Northern aristocracy and prominents of the former NPC party who cherished the hope that the return of their man to the top of the political hierarchy would mean the return of the golden era of the First Republic, when the North could practically decide on behalf of the country without taking serious notice of the opinions of the other parts of the Federation, reproached their leader for not making use of all ways and means that are available in Nigerian conditions to the ruling party. Shagari, whose election slogans promised a democratic regime with a strict separation of powers among the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, surprised even many of the members of his own party, when it began to show that he intends to adhere to these principles also in practice. Of course, to assert that Shagari's Government passed through the jungle of harsh political struggle and intrigue without blots on its escutcheon would be an exaggeration, nevertheless, the fact remains that its leader managed to

[59] West Africa, 14th Jan. 1980.

surround himself with the aura of a politician who, having won the election, does not just strive to totalize his power at all costs.[60]

Although Shagari's deliberate tackling of political problems at the end usually came to be approved of, one of the urgent tasks, the solution of which certainly required more initiative and vigour, was the fight against corruption. It is true that corruption had become an integral part of Nigerian social life long before the Shagari Administration came into office, nevertheless, under the democratic regime which moreover came out with no fundamental programme of its elimination, this evil could flourish more than ever. Shagari has often been only too general on the subject; he spoke of the need "to inject a dose of morality into the life of this nation",[61] and when he had to take up a concrete line he stated, in contrast to the reality, that although there existed considerable corruption, it had not reached any disturbing proportions.[62] Yet it was an open secret that the whole civil service was packed with people who were not attracted to the office by the resolve to serve the nation, but by the desire to profit from it.

The attention of Nigerians, who have over the years got used to living with corruption, could only be attracted by multi-million scandals, such as was the loss of N2.8 billion from the accounts of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. Shagari ordered a high-powered judicial inquiry into the finances and administration of the NNPC and the special tribunal appointed for the duty swiftly decided that a number of top NNPC officials, including its Managing Director, be sent on compulsory leave. Although the tribunal's final report took pains to deny any misuse of the "missing billions", public opinion trusted more the inofficial version which said that the money was found at private accounts with a London bank.[63] Another affair which stirred Nigerian public was the burning out of the headquarters of a well-known overseas telecommunication company. The investigation showed that the fire was set up intentionally with the aim of erasing the evidence of large frauds.[64]

Another problem, closely connected with corruption, was that of smuggling. It not only deprived the Federal Government of a large amount of revenues from import duties, but it also hindered the development of Nigerian industry since local manufacturers were finding it difficult to compete with the abundance of smuggled goods in the market. The Government announced various measures aimed at ridding

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[60] This has been well exemplified by the so-called Shugaba affair which saw the Government bowing to the decision of a tribunal upheldingthe cause of the opposition. For more details see Africa, No. 103 and 104, March and Apr. 1980.

[61] *The Challenge...*, p. 71.

[62] Time Magazine, 11th Apr. 1983.

[63] Africa, No. 107, July 1980 and Africa Research Bulletin: Economic..., Aug. 1980, p. 5612.

[64] Světový tisk: studie, dokumenty (World Press: studies, documents), No. 69, Prague, ČTK 1983, p. 30.

the society of this illegal activity (for example a 100% physical examination of containers crossing the borders was ordered and the Customs and Excise Department of the Ministry of Finance was increasing its use of the services of paid informants[65]), but the well-functioning system of smuggling, linked up to the black market, with the corrupted customs officer as its pivotal factor, was difficult to deal with. According to a local estimate, the value of smuggled goods amounted to 30% of Nigeria's official imports. With the import restrictions imposed at the beginning of the 1980s, this quotient could only be expected to rise further.

One of the tragical results of the overall decline of discipline in Nigerian society, was the growth of criminality. According to the Federal Police Minister, who announced the plan to increase the number of the Police from 75,000 to 200,000 men, armed robberies in Nigeria, just for the first six months of 1980, resulted in a total of 1,000 killed and 4,500 wounded persons.[66] Much anxiety was also caused by modern pirates equipped with fast boats and machine guns who attacked ships waiting for discharge in the Lagos lagoon.[67]

After the coming of the civilian administration which allowed more civic and religious freedom than the authoritarian military, several Nigerian towns have seen the abuse of the more democratic climate resulting in mass religious disturbances. On 18 December 1980, the fanatic members of a Muslim sect led by the "Prophet" Muhammad Marwa, popularly called Maitatsine, went berserk at Kano and began to commit violence on those who were staying outside their reformation. From the stronghold quarter of their group they spread to other parts of Kano burning houses and vehicles, destroying property and purging the society of "unbelievers". Although, besides guns they were armed only with bows and arrows, they put up a strong resistance to the Police and the State Governor was forced to call for Federal assistance. Army units were immediately sent in, yet it took two days of mortar, rocket, machine-gun and automatic rifle fire by the Army, with the Air Force providing reconnaissance flights over the area, to break down the fanatical resistance of the mutineers who believed that death in their "holy fight" would bring them salvation. The disturbances lasted 11 days and over 4,000 people were reported killed.[68]

Although among the victims of the riot was also its leader Maitatsine, the members of his sect who dispersed into different parts of Northern Nigeria continued to preach his teachings with no less enthusiasm. In October 1982, a few days after hundreds of those detained for their part in Kano riot were pardoned by amnesty, Maitatsine's followers provoked new disturbances at Maiduguri.[69] These spread to Kaduna and

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[65] *Facts and Figures*..., Vol. 13, p. 18.

[66] Africa Research Bulletin: Political..., May 1980, p. 5687.

[67] Světový tisk..., No. 69/1983, p. 30.

[68] West Africa, 5th Jan. 1981 and Africa Research Bulletin: Political..., Nov. 1981, p. 6253.

[69] See Africa Research Bulletin: Political..., Nov. 1982, p. 6658 and ibid., Oct. 1982, p. 6625.

Kano, resulting in the death of more than 500 people and leaving many Nigerians uneasy about what can happen the next time.

A special tribunal set up for the inquiry into the riots came to some interesting conclusions.[70] As the investigation has shown, the mutineers were not motivated only by sheer religious fanatism, but an important role was played also by social problems of the society they lived in. Because of the insufficient opportunities existing in rural areas, Nigerian cities were constantly growing with young men most of whom soon ended up without securing any employment. They began to earn their living as beggars, pickpockets and other criminals and eventually constituted a reservoir of human potential which could be exploited and used by anybody for whatever reason. Maitatsine's agents who contacted these fortune-seekers at railway stations, market places and motor parks had no problem in directing them to their religious enclave which made provision for their basic social and economic expectations. As several witnesses have testified, to organize and mobilize these young men it was not even necessary to brainwash them religiously. They belonged to the wretched dropouts of the society, they usually did not own more than the clothes they wore, since childhood they had to watch helplessly the ostentatious way of living of the privileged class and they were ready to rise at the first occasion against the unjust social order which preserved the very wide gap between the rich and the poor.

Deep dissatisfaction has also prevailed with groups which found themselves a little higher on the Nigerian social scale. Although having employment and enjoying a regular income, the majority of them differed from the poorest beggars, the life of their families was in practice often just a similar struggle for bare subsistence. With the constant increase in the cost of living, the minimum wage settled in March 1980 at N100, soon proved insufficient even to satisfy such basic needs as food and accommodation and many low-wage earners had to seek an additional, often illegal, source of income.

Although on taking his Presidential office Shagari stressed that the Nigerian economy just could not afford any overall increase in wages and he appealed for cooperation and patience of the Nigerian labour movement, his rather vague promises could do little to secure industrial peace. In less than three years since the coming into office of the new Administration 799 of the reported trade disputes resulted in work stoppages with well over one and a half million workers involved.[71] Nevertheless, most of them were settled without arriving at any significant improvement in the conditions of life of the strikers.

The most serious industrial unrest since the return to civilian rule took place in May 1981. After unsuccessful protracted talks with the Government in which the representatives of the Nigerian Labour Movement demanded trebling of the

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[70] See New Nigerian, Kaduna, 19th Dec. 1981.

[71] *Facts and Figures...*, Vol. 7, p. 17.

minimum wage from N100 to N300, the leaders of this trade union centre decided to call for a general strike on 11 May 1982. However, the participation in the strike was far from total. Although the strike disrupted transport, shut down docks and closed many shops and factories, it did not bring an overall paralysis of the national economy as was the case with the previous nation-wide general strikes of 1945 and 1964. The Government's bargaining position was not seriously circumscribed, the workers could not but accept an increase to N125 a month and on its second day the strike was called off.[72]

As has been later shown, the strike was boycotted mainly by those unions which were influenced by one of the NLC leaders D. Ojeli. Ojeli,who represented the moderate wing of the Nigerian labour movement,got into an open conflict with the NLC's president H. Sunmonu, and after the 1981 general strike this practically led to the split of the NLC into two separate trade union centres.[73] Although before returning to barracks the Obasanjo Government attempted to clear the rather confused labour scene with a decree which ordered all trade unions to form one central organization, the chronic problem of unity of the Nigerian labour movement soon proved to be of greater complexity.

One of the methods which the Government employed in an attempt to clear itself of responsibilities for social and economic problems of Nigerian society was that of finding the scapegoats among the masses of foreign immigrants. They were often mentioned in connection with religious riots, criminality, smuggling, unemployment, low wages,and since each of these accusations was partly based on facts they served the political demagogues as a welcome means of distracting public attention from the real causes of the problems.

During the 1970s Nigeria, as well as other members of OPEC and the relatively rich nations of the world in general, became a magnet for the neighbouring countries, none of which could provide its citizens with comparable employment, income and standard of living. The "oil wonderland" attracted an increasing number of immigrants from nearby Benin, Niger, Chad, Cameroon, as well as from other West African countries, the anglophone Ghana in particular. Migrating for work and trade has had a long tradition in West Africa and it further increased with the adoption of the 1979 ECOWAS agreement on free movement of people within the Community. The open borders brought massive influx of "tourists" into Nigeria, most of whom overstayed the permitted 90 days period and remained in the country illegally. Their number sharply increased to over two million at the beginning of the 1980s.

The accumulated social problems and the economic crisis caused by the decline in

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[72] West Africa, 18th May 1981.

[73] Denisova, T. S.: *Rabochii klass sovremennoi Nigerii* (The Working Class of Contemporary Nigeria). Moscow, Nauka 1983, p. 117.

oil demand eventually led to the adoption of stern measures. On 17 January 1983 the Government ordered all unskilled foreigners residing illegally in Nigeria to leave the country by 31 January. Skilled foreigners such as artisans, secretaries or nurses had to leave by 28 February. Foreigners excluded from the expulsion order were employees of Federal, State and parastatal institutions, as well as citizens of the ECOWAS countries, Cameroon and Chad who had come to Nigeria before 1963.[74]

The news of the expulsion, the boldness of which was little reminiscent of the style of Shagari's policy, took the masses of foreign workers by surprise and spread panic among them. The most difficult problem soon proved to be the instant repatriation of approximately one million Ghanaians, which just could not be realized in such a short time without collision. Practically in one day, hundreds of thousands left their work and started to scramble for any means of transport to take them home. The majority of them remembered well the year 1969 when their own Government expelled 200,000 Nigerians, as well as the exasperated reaction of the Nigerian public over the harassment and molestation of their countrymen residing in Ghana after the December 1981 military take over there.

Fear of the coming revenge and news of the first violent attacks only increased the panic. Hoping to get aboard a ship, the masses of Ghanaians at first flocked to the Lagos harbour but only some 2,500 of them managed to get to Accra by sea during the first week of the exodus.[75] Equally hopeless was the situation at overcrowded airports, bus terminals and lorry parks and the majority of those afflicted had eventually to set on the journey of 440 kilometres distressing to Accra on foot.

Serious problems arose with the passage across Benin and Togo. After the latest military take-over and some bilateral disagreement, the Ghanaian Government decided to close its borders with Togo, and both Togo and Benin now refused entry to the mass of foreign nationals until they received the assurance from Accra that these would be immediately allowed to enter the country of their destination. The caravan numbering hundreds of thousands of people camped out on the road between Lagos and the nearest border crossing to Benin, lived for several days in distressing conditions without enough food, water and any health care. By the time Ghana opened its borders 12 days after the expulsion order, scores of people had died of starvation, in accidents or from other hardships.[76]

The Nigerian Government reacted to indignant comments from around the world with feigned surprise; its chief representative pointed, not quite unjustifiably, to the fact that no sovereign country would tolerate two million illegal immigrants within its borders; yet, the background to the adoption of such stern and uncompromising measures was more complex. Besides the social and economic reasons briefly

[74] Africa Research Bulletin: Political..., Jan. 1983, p. 6697.

[75] West Africa, 31st Jan. 1983.

[76] Time Magazine, New York, 14th Feb. 1983.

discussed above, one important political factor got into the game recently. Nigeria was going to hold its general elections in a few months' time and to secure a safe victory at the polls, President Shagari was determined to get on his side also a part of those opponents who had continuously criticized him for passivity and lack of vigour.

The elections of the President, State Governors, Senators, Federal legislators and State Assembly members scheduled to take place on five successive Saturdays beginning 6 August 1983 agitated Nigeria's political life to the full. The representatives of the respective parties began more vociferously to mark out their merits and criticize their opponents, grandiose programmes were outlined, there was much carpet crossing and behind-the-scenes negotiations. In January 1982 it was announced that all opposition parties had agreed to form a coalition which would seriously diminish the ruling NPN's chances at reelection, but the disagreement as to who should be chosen as the Presidential nominee led to an early break up of the proposed alliance and eventually all parties decided to come to the polls separately.

According to general opinion, out of the six Nigerian political parties, only the NPN, UPN and NPP[77] had any chance to achieve real success at the elections. Both the GNPP and PRP had recently gone through a deep crisis, still accentuated in the case of the PRP by the death of its popular leader A. Kano, in April 1983, and neither the newly-registered Nigerian Advance Party, led by T. Braithwaite, could realistically aspire to any dramatic entry into the national politics of Nigeria. It enjoyed some support especially among intellectuals and students, but during its short existence it had not yet managed to build up a broader electoral base.

As Table 1 shows, the election brought a clear victory to Shagari and his National

Table 1. The 1983 Presidential election results and a comparison with the 1979 election

| Party | Candidate | 1983 | | 1979 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Votes | % | Votes | % |
| NPN | S. Shagari | 12 081 471 | 47.5 | 5 688 857 | 33.8 |
| UPN | O. Awolowo | 7 907 209 | 31.1 | 4 916 651 | 29.2 |
| NPP | N. Azikiwe | 3 557 113 | 14.0 | 2 822 523 | 16.7 |
| PRP | A. Kano (1979) | — | — | 1 732 113 | 10.3 |
| | Hassan Yusuf | 968 974 | 3.8 | — | — |
| GNPP | W. Ibrahim | 643 805 | 2.5 | 1 686 489 | 10.0 |
| NAP | T. Braithwaite | 271 524 | 1.1 | — | — |
| Total | | 25,430,096 | 100.0 | 16,846,633 | 100.0 |

[77] For basic information concerning the parties see the author's *Policy of the Third Nigerian Military Government and the Country's Return to Civilian Rule* published in Vol. XVIII of this annual, pp. 142—146.

Party of Nigeria. Shagari obtained nearly 15% more votes than in 1979 mainly because he managed to secure for himself support also in the States in which, according to the classical Nigerian ethno-electoral pattern, he was expected to be a priori refused. Shagari obtained the important one-quarter of votes, prescribed by the Nigerian electoral law, inasmuch as 16 States (compared to 12 in 1979), while at the same time also Awolowo (one quarter of votes in 8 States against 6 in 1979) and Azikiwe (3 against 2 in 1979) relatively improved their score, all of them at the expense of the three lesser candidates.

Although the Presidential election brought no serious outbreak of violence and Nigeria has been praised for having elected its leader in a democratic way, without the assistance of the army, the very next election round showed this satisfaction to have been premature. After the surprising victories of NPN gubernatorial candidates in Ondo and Oyo, which were known as the strongholds of the Awolowo's UPN, the capitals of these States witnessed grave civil disturbances. Adherents of the UPN candidates who claimed that the results had been tremendously rigged, attacked and burnt several polling stations and houses of the NPN supporters. 43 people were reported killed in the violence and the elections in Ondo and Oyo were indefinitely postponed.[78]

The tense atmosphere which accompanied the gubernatorial election, as well as the high voters' enrollment have only confirmed the oft-expressed opinion that many Nigerians were more interested in who would be elected in their State, than who would become the Federation's President. Several of the 19 States of the Nigerian Federation had larger populations and budgets than many other African countries, their Governors enjoyed extensive powers and they formed the character of the State often more conspicuously than the policy of Lagos.

The first reactions to the disturbances in Ondo and Oyo have pointed to the sectarianism of the UPN which seemed unable to accept the defeat at the polls, but the verdicts of the special election petition courts set up to inquire into controversial cases proved that, at several places, the polling had little to do with a democratic election of the most popular candidate. The petition courts confirmed results from Oyo, but in the case of Ondo and Anambra, where election rigging was also reported, they declared null and void the victory of the NPN representatives and ruled that the Governors were the UPN and NPP candidates.[79] After these corrections the distribution of governorships among the particular parties was as follows: NPN — 11 States (7 in 1979), UPN — 4 (5), NPP — 3 (3) and PRP — 1 (2).

As the results show, in the struggle for the States, the NPN's victory was even more sweeping than was the case with the Presidential election. Shagari was apparently

[78] Financial Times, 19th Aug. 1983.
[79] Ibid., 14th Aug. 1983.

profiting from the "bandwagon effect" which he counted upon when the election timetable was being reorganized. In contrast with 1979, this time the election of the President was not held at the very end of the general elections, but the decisive battle was waged right at the beginning. In this way Shagari was aiming at ballots of those indecisive voters who were above all willing to know who would hold the most executive post in the Government and, in accordance with this, preffered to chose the one who should represent their community. The dim future with the opposition which had it difficult in Nigeria at the best of times, brought many voters to the side of the ruling NPN. The sweeping victory of this party in the 1983 general elections was completed with the attainment of the comfortable majority in both Senate and House of Representatives.

In its first term in office, the Shagari Government strove with varying success, to tackle several problems facing Nigeria. Most laudable were its efforts to preserve the democratic regime in the country and to solve the problems of its balanced economic development, although it was just while promoting these two basic objectives that the Government ran into grave difficulties which it sometimes seemed to be unable to surmount. The financial crisis dealt the country a severe blow, the social problems were accumulating and the overall situation was made worse by the deep-rooted evils of corruption and general lack of discipline in the society, the solving of which will require much effort and more resolute approach in the future. To fulfil the early independence dream of economic prosperity, social equality and political stability, Nigeria at the end of the first term of the Government of President Shagari had still a long way to go.

# REVIEW ARTICLES

# SOME REMARKS ABOUT TRANSLATIONS FROM ASIAN AND AFRICAN LITERATURES INTO SLOVAK

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Translations from literatures of Asian and African countries have come to constitute an inseparable and, of late, not a negligible part of Slovak translation literature. In that we also include biblical texts, they have a longer tradition.[1] But earlier Slovak translation literature cannot boast of any major activity in this respect. The reasons were many. Among them we may point out, e.g. a conviction of the exotic nature of these literatures, the needs of Slovak literary structure which was determined first to get even with the outstanding values of the European world and only then to reach out after something unknown and allegedly strange, offered especially by ancient cultures of Asia and Northern Africa. In addition, there existed here many centuries-old consciousness and reality of a Czech-Slovak literary context, political bonds within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, cultural impact of the Germanic world and Czech, German and Hungarian translations supplied that which for numerous important reasons, both economic and political, did not exist in Slovak.

Almost a quarter of a century after J. W. Goethe had formulated his concept of "world literature", among others also on the basis of his having become acquainted with old Persian and Chinese literature (in 1827),[2] J. M. Hurban mentioned only Greek and later European authors among the great men of letters whom Slovak writers had to follow (in 1851).[3] German and Slovak literary contexts then differed considerably. Slovak literature had to embrace and put itself at the disposal of vital national interests; this involved the preservation of a national existence. Just as before this and after, a specific role was here played by Czech-Slovak literary relations, the awareness of a common literary context on the part of Czechoslovak literary community.

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[1] See *Studia semitica philologica necnon philosophica Ioanni Bakoš dicata*. Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo SAV 1965, p. 52.

[2] Cf. Eckermann, J. P.: *Gespräche mit Goethe*. Erster Band. Berlin, Deutsche Bibliothek n.y., pp. 237—240.

[3] Slovenské pohľady, *1*, 1851, No. 4, p. 133.

While certain works, considered as fundamental in Oriental classics, were translated into Czech and into languages of some surrounding nations long time ago, and a few even some centuries ago, Slovak translation literature began to be active in this domain more or less after the year 1945.[4] Translations into the languages in the Middle-European area were often done through the intermediary of other languages, like French and English, but later also directly from the originals. In Slovak we find a certain number of shorter works from Oriental literatures only at the beginning of this century; these are as a rule tales or fables, and the first book translation as far as we know, was a slim volume of 89 quatrains entitled The Wisdom of Wine (*Múdrosť vína*) by the great Persian poet 'Omar Khayyām (11th—12th cent.). Reportedly a total of 260 numbered copies were published in 1931.[5] In the foreword, E. B. Lukáč wrote a few words which were applicable in a certain measure also to other works from Oriental literatures being made available during the first half of this century, and to the entire preceding period: "While browsing through poetry, quite incidentally I came across a book of verses by the old Persian poet 'Omar Khayyām in the translation of Edward Fitzgerald. A cursory glance at some of the *rubaiyat* (quatrains) sufficed for the charm to take effect. I inserted him into the silver chain of those whose art keeps me society in my hours of solitude. But after a time I went further. The translation of Lőrincz Szabó shone with such a lustre that I returned to 'Omar very often.[6] In the summer of 1930, during starry evenings at Hodruša, I began to translate him, and did not stop until I had his spirit transmigrated into Slovak."[7] Minor works from Oriental literatures without exception came into Slovak by chance, like exotic rarities and as specimens of the creative spirit of distant civilizations quite different from ours. Some years had to elapse before a collection of Japanese fairy-tales appeared on our book market;[8] and during and after World War II, two collections of Arabian and Indian tales followed.[9] It should be said that until 1950, a few other works appeared, the most important of which was the translation of the novel *The Home and the World (Ghare-bāire)* by Rabīndranāth Tagore (1861—1941).

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[4] *Bibliografia článkov zo slovenských periodík 1901—1918. Krásna literatúra a jazykoveda*, zv. VIII (A Bibliography of Works from Slovak Periodicals 1901—1918. Literature and Language, vol. VIII). Martin, Matica slovenská 1972, pp. 809—812.

[5] The booklet appeared in Bratislava (Slovenská Grafia) and was dedicated to the participants of the VIIIth Bibliophil Meeting held in Prague on 31 October 1931.

[6] L. Szabó translated the quatrains by 'Omar Khayyām into Hungarian in 1920.

[7] The Wisdom of Wine, p. 5.

[8] *Japonské rozprávky* (Japanese Fairy-tales). Translated from Russian by P. Denk. Bratislava, Štátne nakladateľstvo 1938.

[9] *Arabské rozprávky z 1001 noci. V ríši kalifa z Bagdadu* (Arabian Fairy-tales from A Thousand and One Nights. In the Kingdom of Caliph of Baghdad). Translated by I. Irmler. Žilina 1944 and 1947, and *Indické rozprávky* (Indian Fairy-tales). Translated by Š. Koperdan. Žilina, T. Trávniček and Co. 1948.

A new page in the history of Slovak translations from Asian and African literatures began to be written at the beginning of the 1950s. As late as one hundred years after J. M. Hurban had gone into extasy over "order", "colour" and "greatness" of outstanding works of world literature in the European languages, the Slovak Turcologist J. Blaškovič prepared literal translations of Nazim Hikmet's (1902—1963) poetry which put into the verse by P. Horov, were included in the collection The Fighting Heart (*Bojujúce srdce*) (Ssp. 1951).[10] Nazim Hikmet, a Laureate of the International Peace Prize 1950, father of the Turkish revolutionary literature, one of the foremost Asian writers of the recent past, truly met the requirements demanded of great literary works by our eminent national awakener J. M. Hurban. N. Hikmet was the most universal of all Turkish authors of modern times, and he came relatively quickly to be the most translated Asian poet and playwright in Slovakia. He started with revolutionary romanticism, but did not stand aloof from avant-garde efforts of the 1920s. He belonged not only to his Turkey, but he devoted his works also to Asian and African countries, and spent long years in the USSR and other socialist countries. His early works, in particular, had not only the impact on the development of the national Turkish literature, but became well known also outside the borders of his country. Shortly after The Fighting Heart another collection of short stories entitled *Ayran* (Ssp. 1952), by one of Hikmet's younger friends Sabahattin Ali (1907—1948) appeared in Slovak in the translation by J. Blaškovič.

Following Blaškovič's departure from Bratislava to Prague, a certain break occurred in translations from Oriental originals. This lull was interrupted by the Arabist L. Drozdík with his translation of *Kalila and Dimna* (Ssp. 1958) based on an Arabic version originally dated 1339 and published in Beirut in 1923. Drozdík's deed is of significance to us because with this book he put into the hands of our readers the first Slovak translation of old Oriental literature: originally Sanskrit literary work *Pañcatantra* (Book of Five Chapters), one of the best known literary masterpieces of all times. The eminent Russian Orientalist S. F. Oldenburg wrote that "after the Bible it became one of the most widespread books in the world."[11] It originated in the 3rd—4th century A.D. and by the 6th century it had been translated into middle Persian (Pahlavi), by the 8th into the Arabic and in the 11th century into Greek, in the 12th into Hebrew and in the 13th into Latin from which Mikuláš Konáč of Hodiškov translated it into Czech. If, according to F. Jílek, the translator of *Pañcatantra* from Sanskrit into Czech, this book appeared for the first time in Czech

[10] Henceforth the following abbreviations will be used for the Bratislava's publishing houses: Ssp. for Slovenský spisovateľ, ML for Mladé letá and SVKL for Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry.

[11] Quoted according to the reference book *Osnovnye proizvedeniya inostrannoi khudozhestvennoi literatury. Literatura stran zarubezhnogo Vostoka* (The Basic Works of Foreign Literature. Literatures of Oriental Countries). Moscow 1975, p. 81.

in 1528, the Slovak translation had to wait a further 430 years. That was an unusual book. More than any other Oriental work it exercised an immense impact on the development of European literature of the Renaissance period (Boccaccio, Morlini, Sacchetti), later on European fables (La Fontaine, Krylov), and even some popular works by L. Tolstoy. Something similar may be said of Asian literatures, e.g. Chinese stories of the Tang period (618—960) and folklore literature in Japan, Tibet and Mongolia.

Drozdík's translation from classical language was one of rare exceptions. The others will be dealt with later in this review. After the World War II translations into Slovak, whether from originals or through the second hand, are mostly from modern and contemporary Asian and African literatures. At the beginning of the 1960s the first translations appeared from Chinese and Japanese. These were short stories by Yu Dafu under the title *Intoxicating Spring Nights (Večer opitý jarným vetrom)* (Tatran 1960), Mao Dun's *Shop of the Lin Family and Other Stories* (*Obchod rodiny Linovej a iné poviedky*) (Ssp. 1961), and Lao She's world-renowned novel *Rickshaw Boy (Rikšiar)* (Ssp. 1962). As regards the selection from Yu Dafu, it should be mentioned that this was the first major set of his short stories translated into a European language, and that Xiangzi from the *Rickshaw Boy* has come to be in the modern Chinese literature the most important expression of Sisyphus vainly trying to push his rock up to its destined place. Lao She's hero is a faithful image of a Chinese man of his times with all the virtues and vices as an accusation of a semi-feudal system and a semi-colonial world. The rock that he has to push somewhere into the unknown is his life's lot in which there is no love, no family happiness, but only misery, hunger, prostitution, veneral diseases, and ultimately dreary death.

V. Krupa's translation of the progressive Japanese writer Tsuboi Sakae's book Twenty-Four Eyes (*Dvadsaťštyri očí*) (ML 1961) opened the way to a series of translation from original Oriental works destined to children and the young readers. This was followed by a selection of fairy-tales from the Southeast Asia and Oceania under the title Ibis and Moon (*Ibis a mesiac*) (ML 1962) and a paraphrased translation of an autobiographic novel The Sun Shines on my Nile (in the original *Ayyām aṭ ṭufūla*) by the Egyptian author Ibrāhīm Abd al-Hālim. Two years later, in 1964, Publishing House Mladé letá published translations of two Chinese novels for children: Zhang Tianyi's *The Magic Gourd (Čarovný balónik)* and Yan Wenjing's *Next-time Port (Príhody malého Siao-si)*. The following year there appeared a translation of the novel Guilty (*Vinník*) by the Turkish writer Orhan Kemal and then at intervals followed Maori fairy-tales The Giant's Footprint (*Obrova stupaj*), Philippine folk tales The Magic Tree (*Čarodejný strom*), Swahili folk tales Three Truths (*Tri pravdy*), Bengali Tales from Raja's Garden (*Rozprávky z radžovej záhrady*), and the Lotos Princess (*Lotosová princezná*) by Dukshināradjan Mitra Mazumdār. It might seem at first sight that the view prevalent formerly in Slovakia, at least among translators and publishers, has persisted also over the past two

decades, namely, that Asian and African literatures are predominantly those of fairy-tales and fables. This was not so. From 1951 right up to the present, works of different genres have been translated into our language.

An important group among the works translated is that of myths or legends of various nations. Translation of Oriental myths was likewise initiated by V. Krupa. One of the most remarkable works in this domain was Polynesian Myths (*Polynézske mýty*) (Tatran 1973) which won him the Ján Hollý Prize. We owe to him also a selection from the old Japanese chronicle *Kojiki* (Tatran 1979) comprising, among others, also mythological narratives about Japanese gods and about the creation of the world, and a translation of Hawaiian Myths (*Havajské mýty*) (Tatran 1978). J. Genzor and V. Pucek translated old Korean myths and legends Mysteries of the Sky-Blue Dragon (*Tajomstvá belasého draka*) (Tatran 1978). L. Matouš and V. Zamarovský translated the first epic in the world literature — *Gilgamesh* (Tatran 1975) from its Assyrian, Babylonian, Sumerian and Hittite versions.

Alongside the considerable scholarly value of myths to various disciplines, their knowledge is of unusual interest also to contemporary literary scholarship, especially in the case of certain Asian and African literatures. Many contemporary writers from the so-called Third World began to make use of mythologic poetics; they reached back to rich folklore materials little known in the world and to the folklore and mythological consciousness which is unusually strong in certain countries. It will suffice if, as an illustration, we briefly analyse three novels that reached readers of our country during the year of 1982: *The Woman Who Had Two Navels (Žena s dvoma pupkami)* (Ssp.) by the Philippine writer Nick Joaquín, *Nedjma (Vábna Nedžma)* (Tatran) by the Algerian writer Kateb Yacine, and *A Grain of Wheat (Zrnko pšenice)* (Ssp.) by the Kenyan novelist Ngugi wa Thiong'o (James Ngugi).

In the novel *The Woman Who Had Two Navels* the author takes a creative contact with the Greek myth related to Electra and Clytamnestra, especially as depicted by Sophocles, in a manner reminiscent of novels by G. G. Márquez, who won the 1982 Nobel Prize for Literature, but with a difference: while Márquez and other Latin-American writers connect European mythologemes (as a rule peculiarly adapted) with folklore traditions of their own nations and the mythologic consciousness of the common people, Joaquín ignores the foklore treasure-house of the Philippine nationalities and ethnic groups and in his novel deals with the mythic elements from both Euro-Asian and Indo-Chinese systems, reserving the Philippine aspect of the literary context to modern history connected with the national liberation movement aimed against the U.S.A. and its aftermath.

In African countries, too, a considerable part of modern literatures is connected with the national liberation movement. These literatures, practically the youngest in the world, occasionally surprise by the value of their works. Modern literatures of Black Africa, however, are beginning literatures apparently only, for as a rule, they link up to a rich oral folk literature: myths, fairy-tales, legends, and even chronicles

that were handed down from generation to generation by professional story-tellers. Although Negro art enjoys greater popularity over here thanks to efforts of the European art avant-garde, V. Pawliková was right when in her Foreword to an anthology of African short stories After Night Comes the Dawn (*Po noci svitanie*) (Ssp. 1978) she wrote that African civilizations are an "art of word". Not only African nights are heavy with impressive poetic atmosphere, as we read in the short story The Robbers by the Benin writer Olympe Bhely-Quénum. Events of the past decades, too, have contributed to it: the years of anticolonial struggles for liberation, and also years of political independence, singularly presented through the prism of the peculiar consciousness, or at least freshly delineated in a nonschematic, nonconventional manner and thus showing up numerous domains of a very colourful life of African present or its recent past. Ngugi's novel *A Grain of Wheat* points to the biblical motif: a grain of wheat falls on fertile soil and dies in order to yield a rich harvest. That soil is East-African Kenya and the harvest is *Uhuru* (Freedom), even though this freedom brought new problems only too "painfully real" to the hard-tried Kenyan people. This is a noteworthy novel, particularly in its closing part. Ngugi's genetic-contact relations with events or parables from the *Old*, but also the *New Testament* does not always sound natural enough. The question, however, is whether this can simply be blamed on the author's lack of skill as an unconvincing remelting of various Judeo-Christian traditions into the Kenyan reality. He could hardly choose his models in the book of *Exodus*, e.g. those of Mugo, the traitor, Kihika, the martyr for the cause of *Uhuru*, and absolutely not for Mumbi, the beauty, who is rather an ideal of Kenyan (or even African) woman, a new Wangu Makeri from native folklore or legends. But in the description of the journey of the children of Israel to the land of Canaan, Ngugi found an analogy to the struggles of his own people and much of his book reminds the reader of the style, but also events from the second book of the *Old Testament*.. Perhaps the most valuable feature in this novel is Kenyan mythopoeia itself where myths are evidently created as easily as human dreams and the hopes that accompany them.

The most challenging, however, and one laying the greatest claim on the reader among three mentioned novels is Kateb's *Nedjma*, representing, at least in the most general traits, the historical panorama of Algerian reality since the times of the legendary hero Keblut, an ancestor of Algerians, right up to the recent past, the anti-imperialist struggles after World War II. The protagonist in the novel, but also in Kateb's other works, is Nedjma, *femme fatale* of the Algerian people in the past and the present, functionally perhaps one of the richest literary images of all times. Nedjma is *alter ego* of Carthaginian Salambo, of Susanna from the *Old Testament* and of a Roman vestal. She is a daughter of a French woman (or a French Jewess) and of one or two Arab lovers-brothers; she is the ill-omened star, Siren's embrace and a bond of incest, wife and lover, wife and sister or cousin to her own impotent husband, she is an unknown, the essence of Algerian spirit, a woman whom everyone

loses who dares to come close to her. Against the background of Nedjma's mystery, the author gives a bold outline, without a consistent and all-round description, of the May Eighth 1945 generation struggling for the national liberation from French colonial rule.

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Rabīndranāth Tagore, the first Asian Nobel Prize Winner in Literature (1913) is so far the most translated Oriental writer into Slovak. Following his novel *The Home and the World* referred to above, his best novel *Gora* and his short stories Hungry Stones (*Hladné kamene*) appeared in 1960—1961 on the occasion of his 100th birthday. At that time the drama entitled *The Post-Office (Ḍāghar)* was published and especially a major selection from various literary genres under the title The Shipwrecked (*Stroskotanci*). This same selection also comprises translation of his poetic collection *Gitānjali* which made an unusual impact on European men of letters on the eve of World War I. The first Slovak translation from Bengali originals of Tagore's works is a selection of short stories The Solitary Pilgrim (*Osamelý pútnik*) (Tatran 1981). A. Rácová searched for the stories pointing out in a wonderful manner the contrasts of the caste system in its social and personal consequences. The events, often ending in tragedies and bearing dramatic points, are neither representations nor the outcome of powerful passions, but the results of ordinary human feelings, usually depicted in a lyrical manner and rejected or thrown off by the caste-bound society. A preordained fatalism, as if a mighty deity veiled in darkness, holds sway there. Veneration of other deities of hunger and thirst, laughter and weeping characaterizes a small hamlet in the novel Boatman of Padma (*Člnkár na rieke Padme*) (Tatran 1979) by Māṇik Bandyopādhyāy. Nevertheless, the feeling of a mythic atmosphere in these Indian works is quite different from that felt while reading those analysed above. In contrast to the violent activity caused by the impact of a Faustian-Promethean principle proper to the European cultural area and areas under its impact, everything in the works of Bengali authors flows slowly like the water of a river through the immense plains of India. There, life is determined by the period between floods, droughts and downpours and its content is an incessant struggle for the bare existence in the company of hunger, toil and drudgery, mourning, sickness, egoism, but also of love, not always blessed by the deities or the law — and home-made wine.

Mythical is also the world in the novelette The Blind Owl (*Slepá sova*) (Ssp. 1977) by a foremost Iranian writer Sādeq Hedāyat. Hedāyat does not adjust the mythological skeins to the demands of his own topic, but creates them himself according to the requirements of the moral, emotional and intellectual models he follows. He is clearly influenced by the old Persian Zoroastrian and old Indian Sivaite mythology. His interest in Zoroastrianism was probably fired by his stay in Europe (certain

passages clearly bear the impact of F. Nietzsche's work) and he became acquainted with Indian cults during his stay in Bombay. In The Blind Owl there are two principal characters: an unnamed narrator and his wife. The narrator is the son of an Indian girl dancing in front of the big *lingam* of Siva and his father is one of two twins unrecognizable one from the other. He is brought up in the family of his aunt and the latter's daughter becomes his wife. Similarly as in the case of Nedjma, Hedāyat's unnamed woman with her "Turkmenian eyes" is the apple of discord and a bond of incest. Her image, however, is but an incarnation of the dark sides, the negative emotions or values: to the narrator this woman is a metamorphosis of the temptress, seductress, adulteress, vulgar love and the female part of the mythical root of the mandrake. The narrator is anything but her husband, her murderer and grave-digger; he is also a *shaman* using opium and other drugs as a source of energy on his imaginary travels and succeeds constantly to change his identity: he is a devil and a man, a yogi and a butcher, an old man and a child, a painter of stereotype pictures, but above all, a modernist superman, a new Demon with impassive feelings and soul, a god above other gods. In a word, he is an incessantly changing embodiment of a Baudelairean decadence, always drunk not to feel the burden of his horrid destiny, alienation and guilt.

While Sādeq Hedāyat strove might and main to exclude everything Islamic from the context of his novelette, the Turkish writer Sadri Ertem took Islamic realities as his starting point, but saw in them, for the most part, a brake to progress. His novel Idle Spinning-Wheels (*Zastavené kolovraty*) (Tatran 1980) in the translation by X. Celnarová is the first work of the modern Turkish literature in which the opposition of a wretched, oppressed people to a feudal-capitalist exploitation and expansiveness of foreign capital is reflected. Within a few years Celnarová translated several books from contemporary Turkish literature: the novel Gate of Salvation (*Brána spásy*) by Yilmaz Güney (Tatran 1979), Cemo (*Džemo*) by Kemal Bilbasar (Ssp. 1982), a selection of outstanding short stories Woman in a Swallow's Nest (*Žena v lastovičom hniezde*) by Sait Faik (Tatran 1982) and the Turk epic The Magnanimous Brigand Köroglu (*Šľachetný zbojník Köroglu*) (ML 1981).

Compared to fiction, rather little has been translated into Slovak from Asian and African poetry. A few booklets appeared: Wounded Bamboo Does not Die (*Ranený bambus neumiera*) (Tatran 1973) comprising poems by three Vietnamese authors Ho Chi Minh, To Huu and Song Hong, Mother Our Africa (*Matka naša Afrika*) (Ssp. 1978), an anthology of Swahili poetry, and A. Doležalová together with Ľ. Feldek translated Ashma (*Povesť o krásnej Ašme*) (ML 1971), a popular epic of the Shani nationality living on the territory of the People's Republic of China.

J. Múčka made available to Slovak readers, besides the above collection from Vietnamese poetry, also two novels: The Thief (*Zlodejka*) (Tatran 1973) by Nguyen Hong, and especially The Western Region (*Západný kraj*) (Tatran 1981) by Tô

Hòai. In the latter novel the most successfully described is the character of Giang Sua, expelled with her little children from her tribe simply because her husband had tragically perished when forced to transport smuggled opium for a tyrannical chief. She won the ill-fame of the local "she-devil" and of a bad spirit bringing disease and death. A mythical view of the world as apparent in this novel was proper not only to the illiterate old woman, but practically to all the members of the heterogeneous national and tribal groups living in mountains of Vietnam near to Laos. With the exception of a few individuals who had been for a longer time exposed to the impact of the communist world-view, the different myths meant a reality more objective than the material and spiritual world around them. The novel by Tô Hòai meant a considerable contribution to the modern Vietnamese literature as regards a faithful and attractive description of the old way of life. This, however, cannot be said of the author's attempt to overcome a mythical image of the world and to replace it with a scientific, progressive *Weltanschauung*. Here he was less familiar with reality, or else succumbed to its schematic representation.

A special place in our translation literature goes to two anthologies of modern Asian short stories: The Sun's Way (*Cestou slnka*) (Ssp. 1976) and Solar Fan (*Slnečný vejár*) (Ssp. 1979). Let us recall at least the names of the various Asian authors included in the two anthologies: Ye Shengtao, Xu Dishan, Zhang Tianyi, Ai Wu, Ma Feng and Lu Wenfu from Chinese literature; Shiga Naoia, Kawabata Yasunari and Oe Kenzaburo from Japanese literature; Na Tohyang and Yi Chongsuk from Korean literature; Chadraavalyn Lodoidamba from Mongolian literature; Nam Cao, Nguyen Hong and Tran Thanh Giao from Vietnamese literature; Premdiand and Rājendra Yādav from Hindi literature; Subodh Ghosh and Samaresh Basu from Bengali literature; 'Iṣmat Chughtāi and Sa'ādat Hasan Manṭo from Urdu; Armiyn Pané and Utuy Tatang Sontani from Indonesian literature; M. Arguilla and N. V. M. Gonzalez from Philippine literature; Sādeq Hedāyat, Sādeq Chūbak, Bozorg 'Alavī and Moḥammad 'Alī Jamālzāde from Persian literature; Ömer Seyfettin, Refik Halit Karay, Bekir Yildiz and Sait Faik from Turkish literature; finally, Mārūn ᶜAbbūd, Dhū an-Nūn Ayyūb, ᶜAbdussalām al-ᶜUjaylī, Ghāda as-Sammān and Ghā'ib T. Farmān from various Arabic literatures.

We may not omit in these remarks to give credit to the Indian Slovakist Nasīr Ahmed Zoberi, living in Bratislava, for his efforts at making Urdu and Bengali (Tagore) literature accessible to Slovak readers. In the 1960s Zoberi was the most industrious translator from Oriental literatures in this country. Besides numerous translations of Slovak classical writers and contemporary works into his native Urdu, he translated many works into Slovak: Krishan Chandar's stories I Shall Wait for You (*Budem ťa čakať*) (SVKL 1962), his novel The Vales of Hearts Have Gone to Sleep (*Údolia srdc zaspalí*) (Ssp. 1960), framed stories by Khvaja Aḥmad 'Abbas

entitled The Road and Loves (*Cesta a lásky*) (Smena 1966), poems by Asraru'l-ḥaqq Majāz Melodies (*Melódie*) (SVKL 1960), an anthology from Urdu poetry under the name Dream of Dawn (*Sen o ráne*) (Ssp. 1959) and some other works.

An indirect aid in making modern Asian literatures available to Slovak readers came from Czech Orientalists, particularly B. Krebsová, D. Zbavitel and some others. At a time when we had as yet no translators from Oriental original texts, our publishing houses reached out for their translations. Such was the case of Guo Moruo's stories The Return of Old Master (*Návrat starého majstra*) (Ssp. 1962), Zhou Libo's novel *Hurricane* (*Uragán*) (Ssp. 1954), a selection from Lu Xun's short stories and poems in prose Fire and Flowers (*Oheň a kvety*) (Ssp. 1960) and Cao Yu's Play *Thunderstorm* (*Búrka*) (SVKL 1961). Likewise, Tagore's novel *Gora* and the work of the Korean autor Ch'oe Sŏhae Bloody Traces (*Krvavé stopy*) (SVKL 1962) appeared in Slovak through Czech translations.

In the last two years a reprint of Lao She's *Rickshaw Boy* together with seven short stories, further a collection of Philippine short stories The God Stealer (*Zlodej bohov*), and finally of Swahili folk tales entitled Swahili Tales about Love (*Swahilské rozprávania o láske*) have appeared on the Slovak book market.

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Very little has been translated into Slovak from traditional Oriental literatures. Besides *Kalila and Dimna* only a few book titles appeared. At least one reached Slovak readers through Czech: *Twenty-five Stories of a Demon* (*Démonove poviedky*) (Ssp. 1962). This outstanding collection of Sanskrit narrative literature entitled *Vetālapañchavimsatika* may be found as one section in Somadēva's (11th cent.) Ocean of the Streams of Story (*Kathāsaritsāgara*). From old Turkish originals, V. Kopčan translated Tales of Hoca Nasreddin (*Príbehy Hodžu Nasredina*) (ML 1962) and especially Description of Journeys (*Seyâhatnâme*) by Evliyā Çelebi (1611—ca 1682). This historical and literary work deserves attention. We may see particularly in this book with the rather colourful history, its numerous editions, how important it is that similar works be made accessible to the readers by Orientalists-specialists familiar with old and new languages used in the various countries in the past and the present, experts thoroughly acquainted with the literatures and also with the political and cultural history, and, of course, with various textual variations, editions, their interliterary connections and art value. Only experts thus prepared are able to meet the tasks required of them by contemporary Marxist literary scholarship, but also the needs of our literary structure, for by and large, Slovak national literature stood aside the horizon of these literatures.

Of a pioneering character are several book translations from old Arabic. Mention should be made in the first place of J. Pauliny's translation of Vanity of Love (*Márnosť lásky*) (Tatran 1973), a collection of eight tales from *A Thousand and One*

*Nights* translated from Arab originals.[12] Until then, selections from this eminent treasure-house of world literature used to be translated usually through Czech. Pauliny translated also Life of Muhammad the Messenger of God (*Život Muhammada Posla Božieho*) (Tatran 1967) by Ibn Ishāq (died 768) and later *The Book on the Beginning and End of Narration about the Prophets* by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kisā'ī (fl. about 1000) (Tatran 1980). A deed of cultural significance is the recent publication of the work *al-Muquaddima* (Tatran 1984) by Ibn Khaldūn (1332—1406) in L. Drozdík's translation. In this *Introduction to History* the ingenious writer reflected on important historiographic questions and in contrast to his contemporaries (not only Islamic but also Christian) understood social development as a determined process that in some manner is incessantly repeated, inevitably passing through the successive stages of origin, unfolding, flourishing, decline and extinction. He evidently took contact here with Aristotle's idea of evolution and with certain thoughts of mediaeval Arab philosophy, but in a great measure he also negated the contemporary religious interpretation of history according to which mankind goes forward towards a religious salvation.

We remain, however, great debtors to the Arab cultural area. For example, we have not a single translation of the basic book of Islam — *The Koran*, although there are three translations in Czech, the first of them appeared in 1498.[13]

Similarly we lack and shall probably lack for a long time to come the important works from Sanskrit literature which at a certain time had considerable impact on the European world, e.g. *Upanisads*, or *Bhagavadgitā*, by the way, the last mentioned was five times translated into Czech. With the exception of the poem *The Cloud Messenger (Meghāduta)* by Kālidāsa (4th—5th cent.),[14] we have absolutely nothing from this greatest poet and playwright of ancient India. We are missing in the first place a translation of *Śakuntala (Abhijñānaśakuntala)* familiar to the Czech readers as far back as 1873. Without this famous work Goethe's *Prelude* to *Faust* would probably have never been written (as observed already by H. Heine)[15] and the impact of this work also found a response in Schlegel brothers, F. Schiller, G. Herder and others. In December of 1795, F. Schiller wrote about it to W. von Humboldt that "there is no such poetic representation of beautiful woman nature or beautiful love in the whole of Greek antiquity as would at least come close to Śakuntala...".[16]

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[12] It was translated on the basis of Arabic originals edited by H. Wehr: *Das Buch der wunderbaren Erzählungen und seltsamen Geschichten.* Wiesbaden 1956 and of the book *Alf layla wa layla* II. Ed. Būlāq of 1252 of hegira.

[13] Pauliny, J.: *Der älteste tschechische Druck vom Propheten Mohammed aus dem Jahre 1498.* Graecolatina et Orientalia, *XI—XII*, 1981, pp. 83—94.

[14] See the selection *Perly a ruže* (Pearls and Roses), Ssp. 1962, pp. 137—162.

[15] Cf. Erman, V. G.: *Kalidasa*. Moscow 1976, p. 211.

[16] *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Schiller und Wilhelm von Humboldt.* Band I. Berlin, Aufbau-Verlag 1962, p. 264.

In these words the great German man of letters underlined the lyrical genius present not only in Kālidāsa's work, but also in the majority of those by old Oriental writers. Traditional Asian literatures, their literary theories never laid stress on the mimetic character of literature and art. A lyrical or a reflexive view of reality was typical of them. These two aspects reciprocally supplemented each other and in some measure supplanted a dramatic, occasionally also an epic (e.g. in China) representation. The greatest lyric poets of the Orient were probably born in Persia and China.

In Slovak we have so far only one translation of the poetic work of 'Omar Khayyām from Persian originals. It is also the first translation in Slovakia from the poetry of one of traditional Oriental literatures at all. The selection under the title *Love, Clay, Song and a Cup of Wine* (*Láska, hlina, spev a čaša vína*) (Ssp. 1977) was put into poetry from a literal translation by K. Baňák. After 1859, when the first paraphrases by E. Fitzgerald of 'Omar Khayyām's quatrains appeared, but particularly since the 1870s, the poetic pearls of this outstanding lyric, penetrated with the spirit of a healthy skepsis, but simultaneously striving after a "simple, although ephemerous happiness in this mercilessly limited time space that is called man's life, and yet unique because not repeated",[17] spread in the world. With the exception of a few paraphrases by I. Kupec, we have nothing at all from the remaining Persian poets. A score of poems from Ḥafēz's (1320—1390) abundant heritage is very little indeed when we come to think that his work attracted Goethe's interest, who devoted more attention to him than to other Oriental poets in his collection *West-östlicher Diwan* from the years 1814—1815, two years after the publication in two volumes of translation of Ḥafēz's poetry by the Viennese Orientalist J. von Hammer-Purgstall. His poems about wine and love, with philosophical motifs presenting moments of religiousness and malediction, ridiculing the mighty of this world, hypocricy and obscurantism, have never been outdone in Persian literature.

From outstanding classical Chinese lyrics we again have in Slovak only paraphrases by I. Kupec. Taking support in Russian and German translations, Kupec performed a meritorious deed when he devoted relatively considerable attention to old Chinese poetry. In his Epilogue to the selection entitled Pearls and Roses he stated that he did it out of necessity. In the 1950s when he worked on them, there existed as yet no Sinologists in Slovakia. However, not even now, more than twenty years of their existence, has any classical Chinese poem been translated into Slovak from the original texts. Yet such great poets like Tao Yuanming (365—427), Wang Wei (699—759), and particularly Tu Fu (712—770), or the very popular Li Po (701—762), would certainly deserve attention. From old Chinese literature the only works published here are the selection The Master Said (*A riekol majster*) (Tatran

[17] Horov, P.: *Predhovor* (Preface). In: *Love, Clay, Song and a Cup of Wine*. Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1977, pp. 8—9.

1977) in M. Čarnogurská's translation, and the well-known novel *Water Margin (Shuihu zhuan)*, traditionally ascribed to Shi Naian (14th cent.), translated from Czech by G. Rapoš (SVKL 1964).

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Some fifteen years ago, J. Felix wrote that our specialists had elaborated a plan of the so-called Golden Fund of World Literature which had to have been implemented within the next years and the outcome was to have been the translation into Slovak of "all the outstanding works of world literature, those works which have constituted and constitute a contribution not only to full understanding of Man, but also to the enrichment of his emotional life and its deep humanization".[18]

The historian of Slovak translation literature alone could assess how far we have in reality progressed in the immense field of becoming familiar with masterpieces of European literatures, of the two Americas, of Australia ; as to Africa and particularly Asia, we shall probably still feel for long a lack of basic literary works. Attention has been directed to some of them above, but there are far more of those which we could single out. We do not intend, however, to set down here any directives, nor forcibly interfere into the living process of literary translation in the national sphere. Yet, it would be only right if Slovak Orientalists devoted more attention to old, classical literatures which often comprise works of exceptional qualities. They should undertake translation of some Asian or North African novels, e.g. *The Dream of the Red Pavilion (Honglou meng)* by the Chinese writer Cao Xueqin (1715—1764) is being translated for Tatran Publishing House by M. Čarnogurská, but it would be fitting to translate also some mediaeval Japanese or Arabic novels, short Chinese or Arabic fiction or prose works of a literary or philosophical character. Not a single translation exists in Slovak of the world-renowned Laozi's (4th cent. B.C.) *Sacred Book of the Tao and the Te (Daode jing)*, although there are three in Czech. We lack translations of great Chinese and Japanese lyrics and since at present we have no specialists in Sanskrit, Hindi and other Indian languages (with the exception of Bengali and Urdu), in Persian literature and ancient literatures of the Near East, much that is valuable will remain for a longer time outside our direct reach.

Be it as it may, our Orientalists ought to take the conviction of Dr. Felix as a challenge and strive to do their utmost to permit Slovak readers to meet every year with new translations from Asian and African literatures which (at least some of them), thousands of years ago, stood at the beginnings of human written expression and communication and today take contact with the universal international literary movement.

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[18] Felix, J.: *Úvodom* (An Introduction). In: Kněžek, L.: *Preklady z iných literatúr do slovenčiny 1945—1968* (The Translations of Foreign Literatures into Slovak 1945—1968). Bratislava, Diliza 1969, p. XVIII.

# ANMERKUNGEN ÜBER DIE JUBILÄUMSSCHRIFTEN ANLÄßLICH DES 300. JAHRESTAGES DER ZWEITEN BELAGERUNG WIENS. II.

VOJTECH KOPČAN, Bratislava

Wir müssen unsere Fortsetzung des kritischen Überblicks über die Publikationen, die dem 300. Jahrestag der zweiten Belagerung Wiens durch die osmanische Armee und deren Niederlage gewidmet sind, mit der Feststellung einleiten, daß die Zahl der herausgegebenen Bücher, vor allem in Österreich, alle Erwartungen übertroffen hat. Wir müssen auch, leider, zugeben, daß wir den Großteil dieser Bücher nicht zur Verfügung hatten und ein kurzes Durchblättern bei verschiedenen Ausstellungen oder in Buchhandlungen kaum ausreichend ist diese objektiv zu bewerten. Daher erhebt auch diese unsere Übersicht keinerlei Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit.

Das Jubiläum brachte auch mehrere Biographien von Persönlichkeiten, die bei der Verteidigung und der Befreiung Wiens eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt haben. Im Vergleich zum 200. und 250. Jahrestag trat die Persönlichkeit des polnischen Königs Jan III. Sobieski mehr in den Vordergrund, und das nicht nur in der polnischen Historiographie. Auch die österreichischen Leser wurden von den Ergebnissen der Forschung der polnischen Historiographie über Jan III. Sobieski informiert, vor allem in den Studien Z. Wójciks.[1] Außer einiger populärer Biographien des polnischen Königs aus der Feder österreichischer Journalisten erschien anläßlich des Jubiläums auch eine geringfügig überarbeitete Herausgabe des heute bereits klassischen Werks des in Wien tätigen polnischen Historikers Otto Forst de Battaglia.[2] Von der Qualität des Werkes zeugt nicht nur dessen zweite Herausgabe, sondern auch die Tatsache, daß zum Jubiläum auch dessen Übersetzung ins Polnische mit einem Vorwort von Z. Wójcik vorbereitet wurde. Schon dem Inhalt des Buches ist zu entnehmen, daß der Autor das Hauptgewicht seiner Erläuterungen auf die Jahre der Zusammenarbeit Jan III. Sobieski mit Österreich, vor allem auf die der belagerten Stadt Wien im Jahre 1683 geleistete Hilfe des polnischen Königs

[1] *Johann III. Sobieski, ein polnischer Staatsmann.* In: *Die Türken vor Wien. Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau 1683.* Salzburg—Wien 1982, S. 179—186 und *Jan III. Sobieski — Politiker und Feldherr.* In: *Der Sieg bei Wien.* Wien 1983.

[2] Der ursprüngliche Titel *Jan Sobieski König von Polen.* Einsiedeln—Zürich 1946. Die Neuausgabe unter dem Titel *Jan Sobieski. Mit Habsburg gegen die Türken.* Graz—Wien—Köln, Styria Verlag 1982, 320 S.

legte. Er geht aus seiner hervorragenden Kenntnis der Quellen und der zeitgenössischen Literatur hervor und bearbeitet diesen umfangreichen Stoff auf gutem literarischen Niveau. Auch wenn er sich manchmal von Vorstellungen, die durch die ältere Geschichtsschreibung fixiert sind, hinreißen ließ, gehört außer eines objektiven Zutritts zum Thema und der sachlichen Kenntnis der Problematik die literarische Bearbeitung zum positiven Kennzeichen des Werkes von O. Forst de Battaglia.

*Jan Sobieski. Mit Habsburg gegen die Türken* ist eine ausführliche Chronik des Lebens und Schaffens des polnischen Königs mit dem Schwerpunkt auf den erfolgreichsten Jahren seines Lebens. Natürlich erläutert der Autor alle Taten des polnischen Königs auf dem Hintergrund der internationalen und innerpolitischen Lage Polens und versucht die Gründe seiner Handlungen zu erklären. Wohl etwas abseits blieb Sobieskis Politik dem Osmanischen Reich und dem Chanat Krim gegenüber, die — wie es in jüngster Zeit Z. Wójcik zeigte — keineswegs zweitrangig gewesen war und die die Einstellungen und Entscheidungen des Königs in der europäischen Politik stark beeinflußte. Das Prisma der polnisch-ungarischen Freundschaft gestattete es jedoch dem Autor nicht das Problem von I. Thökölys Aufstand tiefer zu erfassen. Darunter leidet aber nicht nur O. Forst de Battaglias Werk, sondern auch die neueren polnischen Arbeiten, die dieser Frage gewidmet sind.[3]

Bei der Vorbereitung der Neuauflage des Buches von O. Forst de Battaglia wäre es angebracht gewesen, außer der Neuausstattung auch die Transkription der türkischen und tatarischen Namen und Termini überprüfen zu lassen. So wird z.B. auf den Seiten 16 und 81 Subhan Kazi anstatt Subhan Gazi, auf S. 81 Seraskier anstatt Serasker, auf S. 92 Reis-Effendi anstatt Reis Efendi, usw. angeführt. Wer war der auf S. 177 erwähnte Oglu Pascha? Hier geht es wahrscheinlich um Osmanpaschaoglu Ahmed Pascha, der die anatolischen Einheiten am rechten Flügel der osmanischen Armee in der Schlacht bei Wien befehligte.[4]

Aus mehreren Ungenauigkeiten, die im Buch erscheinen, möchten wir darauf hinweisen, daß I. Thököly vom Ofener Statthalter Uzun Ibrahim Pascha zum König von „Mittelungarn" (und nicht Ungarn) erst am 16. September 1682 bei der eroberten Festung Fiľakovo, und nicht am 10. August, wie es O. Forst de Battaglia (S. 128) anführt, gekrönt worden war. Das, dem „Volk von Mittelungarn" auf dessen eigenen Wunsch gegebene *Ahdname* (Vertrag), wurde von der Kanzlei des Sultans in der ersten Dekade des Monats *Şaban* 1093 A.H.(5.—14. August 1682)

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[3] Wieliczko, M.: *Jan III. Sobieski und der Aufstand von I. Thököly.* In: *Wiktoria Wiedeńska i stosunki polsko-austriackie 1683—1983.* Lublin,Univ. M. Curie-Skłodowskiej 1983, S. 89—102.

[4] Siehe *Kara Mustafa vor Wien 1683 aus der Sicht türkischer Quellen.* Hrsg. von R. F. Kreutel und K. Teply. Graz—Wien—Köln, Styria Verlag 1983, S. 346.

ausgestellt.[5] Ebenfalls das an I. Thököly adressierte *Ahdname* ist mit der gleichen Dekade des Monats *Şaban* 1093 datiert.[6] Problematisch ist auch die Feststellung des Autors, I. Thököly hätte dem Großwesir Kara Mustafa Pascha den Rat gegeben Wien zu erobern (S. 132). Es geht hierbei nicht so um den Ratschlag Thökölys, der übrigens diese Anschuldigung dem moldauischen Fürst D. Cantemir gegenüber selbst zurückwies und dies auch von den osmanischen Würdenträgern bestätigt wurde,[7] sondern vielmehr um die Tatsache, inwieweit dieser Ratschlag beim Großwesir ins Gewicht fiel. Wie die jüngste Forschung (Z. Abrahamowicz) zeigte, spielten Thökölys Anregungen oder Ratschläge beim Großwesir keine so wichtige Rolle bei dessen Entscheidungen, wie es dies die kaiserliche Publizistik Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts zu beweisen versuchte.

Es ist interessant, daß der Autor eine nur so geringe Aufmerksamkeit dem litauischen Heer widmete, das unter der Führung der Hetmane Sapieha und Ogiński, der Feinde Sobieskis, im Herbst 1683 durch die Slowakei gezogen sind und dem König die Lage nicht nur in der Beziehung zu den Kuruzen und Thököly, sondern auch zur dortigen Bevölkerung komplizierte.

In der Auffassung mancher Probleme ist O. Forst de Battaglia auch im Vergleich zu seinen polnischen Zeitgenossen veraltet, wenn er z.B. K. Piwarski dafür kritisiert, daß dieser in Sobieskis Feldzug bei Wien die Staatsräson Polens sieht und opponiert: „Wir möchten lieber behaupten: der König hat als scharfsichtiger Politiker im Sinn der polnischen Staatsräson gehandelt, wenn er ein Vertreter der damals von hohen sittlichen Schwung getragenen Kreuzzugsidee gewesen ist. Denn Polen ist als Vormauer des abendländischen christlichen Europa groß, mächtig und blühend geworden wie Ungarn, wie Österreich. Polens Feinde waren die Feinde des Kreuzes, Polen und seine Freunde haben Kultur und Freiheit gegen Barbarei und Despotie verteidigt" (S. 205).

Der Reedition des Werkes von O. Forst de Battaglia hätte zweifelsohne ein Vor- oder Nachwort gut getan, das das Werk nicht nur eingeschätzt, sondern dieses auch

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[5] Veselá, Z.: *Quelques chartes turques concernant la correspondance de la Porte Sublime avec Imre Thököly.* Archiv orientální, *29*, 1961, S. 553—556 türkischer Text, S. 566—568 französische Übersetzung.

[6] Das Dokument wurde in der Ausstellung *Österreich und die Osmanen*, Nr. 188 ausgestellt. Der Irrtum entstand anscheinend durch die deutsche Übersetzung dieses Dokuments von J. von Hammer: *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches VI.* Pesth 1830, S. 731—732, die der Herausgeber mit dem 10. August 1682 datiert.

[7] Siehe *Dimitrie Cantemir Historian of the South and East European and Oriental Civilisations.* Bucharest, AIESEE 1973, S. 266. "They who say that Tekeli was the adviser of that undertaking, accuse him falsely. For my part (i.e. Hazinedar Ibrahim Pasha) I know, he not only was against the siege of Vienna, but advised very different things (those mentioned by me in the text); which if my master followed, he would not have brought so great a dishonour upon the Ottoman Empire, nor been deprived of his dignity and life."

mit den Ergebnissen der Historiographie, vor allem der polnischen, der letzten dreißig Jahre konfrontiert hätte.

Unter den neuen Monographien über den polnischen König Jan III. Sobieski verdient zweifelsohne unsere Aufmerksamkeit das Werk Zygmunt Wójciks.[8] Wir bedauern, dieses Werk nicht in die Hände bekommen zu haben, die polnische Fachkritik und die Werbeschriften schätzen es jedoch sehr hoch ein.

Das Buch wird als erste vollständige Biographie Jan Sobieskis in der polnischen Historiographie betrachtet, auch wenn es sich um ein populärwissenschaftliches, einem breiteren Leserkreis bestimmtes Werk handelt. Das Buch widmet seine Aufmerksamkeit auch den weniger bekannten Lebensabschnitten des polnischen Königs und betrachtet nicht nur seine Erfolge, sondern auch seine Niederlagen und Irrtümer. Der Autor weist auf die Bemühungen Jan III. Sobieskis hin den polnischen Staat zu reformieren und ihn gegen die zerstörerischen inneren Kräfte zu festigen, welche von den Versammlungen des Adels in den verschiedentlichen Teilen des Königreichs — den *sejmikis* — dargestellt wurden. Sobieskis dynastische Politik — also seine Versuche die Nachfolgerschaft seines Sohnes durchzusetzen und Polen in eine Erbmonarchie umzugestalten — war nur ein Teil seiner inneren Politik und nicht ihr Hauptziel. Wójcik wies auch auf die Fehlschläge des polnischen Königs, vor allem in der Außenpolitik hin, wobei er als besonderen Fehltritt dessen Beitritt zur Heiligen Liga und die Teilnahme an den Kämpfen gegen das Osmanische Reich hält. Eine ganz besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmete Z. Wójcik der Erläuterung von Sobieskis letztem Lebensabschnitt, den neunziger Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts, die in der Fachliteratur weniger bearbeitet und daher auch weniger bekannt sind.

Die diversen Aspekte von Sobieskis Tätigkeit, vor allem seiner Teilnahme an der Befreiung Wiens 1683 und den internationalen Widerhall dieses Ereignisses behandelt der erste Teil des von der Maria-Curie-Skłodowska-Universität in Lublin herausgegebenen Sammelbandes.[9] Der Sammelband veröffentlicht die bei der gemeinsamen polnisch-österreichischen wissenschaftlichen Tagung am 4.—5. November 1982 in Lublin vorgetragenen Referate. Das ist der Grund, daß die herausgegebenen Referate und Studien von einem recht bunten Charakter sind — von Beiträgen feierlichen Charakters bis zu genauen Analysen und Materialbeiträgen hin.[10] Mit seiner Konzeption reihte sich der Sammelband jedoch passend in den Rahmen der Feierlichkeiten anläßlich des 300. Jahrestages der Befreiung Wiens ein.

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[8] *Jan Sobieski.* Warszawa, PIW 1983, 619 S.

[9] *Wiktoria Wiedeńska i stosunki polsko-austriackie 1683—1983.* Lublin, Univ. M. Curie-Skłodowskiej 1983, 362 S., Abbildungen.

[10] Im Teil betitelt Sobieski bei Wien bringt der Sammelband folgende Beiträge (wir führen lediglich deren deutsche Übersetzung an): Witusik, A. A.: *Jan III. Sobieski — der Sieger von Wien*, S. 13—36; Abrahamowicz, Z.: *Jan III. Sobieski und die Wiener Schlacht nach muslimischen Quellen*, S. 37—48;

Sichtlich höhere Ansprüche hatten die Krakauer Zusammensteller des Jubiläums-Sammelbandes *Studia Austro-Polonica*,[11] der als dritter in dieser Reihe erschienen war. Außer von polnischen und österreichischen Orientalisten sind hier Beiträge auch von Fachleuten aus den USA, England und der Türkei. Wir finden darin Beiträge, die nicht nur der Belagerung und Befreiung Wiens,[12] dem Vorspiel dieses Ereignisses,[13] sowie dessen Widerhall in der Literatur, den Quellen und der Numismatik,[14] sondern auch den Folgen des Ereignisses, ob schon für das Osmanische Reich oder für Polen,[15] gewidmet sind. Besonders interessant ist die Gruppe jener Beiträge, die dem Widerhall dieses Ereignisses in den österreichischen Schulbüchern und den populären Bearbeitungen gewidmet ist, sowie auch die genauen Analysen der Feierlichkeiten und der Publizistik anläßlich des 200. bzw.

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Myk, W.: *König Jan III. Sobieski und die europäische Presse über den Wiener Entsatz*, S. 49—71; Hamm, J.: *Der Wiener Entsatz im zeitgenössischen polnischen Volkslied*, S. 72—78; Müller, W.: *Das Jahr 1683 in den Vatikanischen Quellen*, S. 79—83; Donath, H.: *Briefe des Königs Jan III. Sobieski in den Wiener Archiven*, S. 84—88; Wieliczko, M.: *Jan III. Sobieski und der Aufstand von I. Thököly*, S. 89—102; Gmiterek, H.: *Die Gesellschaft Böhmens, Mährens und der Slowakei und der Wiener Entsatz*, S. 103—112; Piątkowski, L.: *Rußland und der Entsatz von Wien*, S. 113—124; Adamek, T.: *„Sobieski vor Wien" von Jan Matejko*, S. 125—131; Łoch, E.: *Im Kreise der polnischer Literatur im Zeitalter des 200. Jahrtages des Wiener Entsatzes*, S. 132—148; Radłowski, Z.: *Stereotyp des Jan III. Sobieski im Bewußtsein der heutigen Wiener*, S. 149—154.

[11] Krakau, Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1983, 478 S. Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego *DCLXII*, Prace Historyczne, S. 75.

[12] Barker, Th. M.: *The Siege of Vienna and the Habsburg Officer Corps: The Case of the Dauns* (S. 45—52); Heppner, H.: *Der innenösterreichische Adel und seine Beteiligung an der Türkenabwehr* (S. 69—80); Hummelberger, W.: *Bemerkungen zur Taktik und Bewaffnung der Verteidiger Wiens 1683* (S. 81—110); Petritsch, E. D.: *Die tatarisch-osmanischen Begleitoperationen in Niederösterreich* (S. 207—240); Przyboś, A.: *Die Waffenbrüder Königs Jans III. Sobieski im Jahre 1683* (S. 241—256).

[13] Abrahamowicz, Z.: *Der politische und ökonomische Hintergrund des Wiener Feldzuges von Kara Mustafa* (S. 7—44); Leitsch, W.: *Il dolce suono della pace. Der Kaiser als Vertragspartner des Königs von Polen im Jahre 1683* (S. 165—197); Serczyk, W. A.: *Beziehungen zwischen der Rzeczpospolita, Rußland und dem Reich vor der Schlacht vor Wien* (S. 267—284); Stoye, J.: *The English Ambassador at Istanbul and the Great Turkish War 1681—1687* (S. 311—331).

[14] Borowiejska-Birkenmajerova, M.: *Der triumphale Empfang Jans III. in Krakau nach dem Wiener Sieg* (S. 53—64); Got, J.: *Die Belagerung Wiens in kretischer Volksdichtung* (S. 65—68); Klimaszewski, B.: *Der Entsatz von Wien in der europäischen Literatur des Jahres 1683* (S. 111—135); Schulz, K.: *Die zweite Türkenbelagerung Wiens im Spiegel der Medaille* (S. 257—266); Tomiak, J. J.: *English Public Opinion and the Siege and Relief of Vienna in 1683* (S. 333—358); Köhbach, M.: *Der Tārīḫ-i Mehemmed Giray — eine osmanische Quelle zur Belagerung Wiens durch die Türken im Jahre 1683* (S. 137—164).

[15] Ortayli, İ.: *Die gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Folgen der zweiten Belagerung Wiens für das Osmanische Reich* (S. 199—206); Sowa, A.: *Die finanzielle Lage Polens vor der Gründung der Heiligen Liga (bis 1684)* (S. 285—310).

250. Jahrestages der Befreiung Wiens in Polen und Österreich.[16] Einen besonderen Platz unter den Beiträgen nimmt die militärgeschichtliche Analyse der polnischen Armee im letzten Viertel des 17. Jahrhunderts ein.[17] Die im Sammelband *Studia Austro-Polonica 3* erschienenen Studien gehören eindeutig zu den wertvollsten Beiträgen, die in Polen anläßlich des 300. Jubiläums der Schlacht bei Wien herausgegeben wurden.

Eine bedeutende Zusammenfassung der Literatur und der herausgegebenen Quellen zur Geschichte der Türkenkriege in Mittel- und Südosteuropa stellt der Sammelband *Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung* dar.[18] Es ist dies ein Kollektivwerk von Historikern und Turkologen aus Österreich, Polen, der Tschechoslowakei, Rumänien, Ungarn, Jugoslawien und der Türkei.[19] Wenn auch die Struktur der einzelnen Beiträge nicht gleichmäßig ist, bringen sie eine große Anzahl von kommentierten bibliographischen Daten zum gegebenen Thema und ermöglichen so einem breiten Umkreis von Forschern den Zutritt zur Literatur in polnischer, tschechischer und slowakischer, ungarischer, serbokroatischer und türkischer Sprache. Ein Namensregister wäre dem Buch von Nutzen, um so die Arbeit mit dem umfangreichen Material zu erleichtern.

Außer historischer Arbeiten und Editionen von Quellen erschienen zum Jubiläum der Belagerung und Befreiung Wiens auch ethnographische Beiträge.[20] J. Bauer sammelte Volkssagen über Türken aus jenen österreichischen Ländern, die von türkischen Überfällen oder vom großen Feldzug der osmanischen Armee in den Jahren 1529, 1532 und 1683 heimgesucht wurden. Der Autor charakterisiert den

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[16] Vocelka, K.: *Die zweite Wiener Türkenbelagerung von 1683 und ihre Reflexe in der Wissenschaft, den Schulbüchern und Jubiläumsveranstaltungen* (S. 359—380); Bieńkowski, W.: *Wien und Krakau 1883. Die Feierlichkeiten zum 200-jährigen Jubiläum* (S. 401—440); Buszko, J.: *Politische Aspekte der Feierlichkeiten zum 200. und 250. Jahrestag des Wiener Entsatzes in Polen* (S. 441—456); Dobijanka-Witczakowa, O.: *Der polnische Beitrag zum Entsatz Wiens in der österreichischen Literatur vom Jahre 1933* (S. 457—478).

[17] Zgórniak, M.: *Die Struktur des polnischen Heeres zur Zeit des Großen Türkenkrieges (1672—1699)* (S. 381—400).

[18] Wien, F. Deuticke 1983, 184 S. Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte, Hrsg. von F. Czeike, Band 13.

[19] Ins Buch wurden folgende Beiträge eingereiht: Teply, K.: *Das österreichische Türkenkriegszeitalter* (S. 5—51); Abrahamowicz, Z.: *Neuere und neueste polnische Literatur über den Krieg und Frieden mit den Türken und Tataren vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (S. 53—77); Kopčan, V.: *Die tschechoslowakische Literatur zu den Türkenkriegen* (S. 79—97); Serban, C.: *Die rumänische Geschichtsliteratur über die Kriege gegen die Osmanen und deren internationale Auswirkungen im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (S. 99—118); Marosi, E.: *Der ungarische Abwehrkampf gegen die Türken 1352—1718* (S. 119—142); Moačanin, N.: *Die Türkenkriege des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts in der jugoslawischen Literatur nach 1945* (S. 143—146); Kunt, M.: *Türkische Beiträge zur Untersuchung der Beziehungen zwischen dem Osmanischen und dem Habsburger-Reich* (S. 165—183).

[20] *Die Türken in Österreich. Geschichte, Sagen, Legenden.* St. Pölten, Verlag Niederösterreichisches Pressehaus 1982, 223 S.

gesammelten Stoff folgend: „Die Türkensage ist eine ‚historische Sage', sie ist doch in einen bestimmten Zeitabschnitt der Geschichte hineingestellt. Als Dokument im strengen Sinn kann man die Sage aber nicht betrachten, wenngleich sie andererseits gerade die zu Wort kommen läßt, die die Geschichte als Wissenschaft erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten zu entdecken begonnen hat: die kleinen Leute, die nicht ‚Geschichte machen', auf deren Rücken aber Geschichte immer gemacht wurde." J. Bauer charakterisiert die typischesten Türkensagen im österreichischen Milieu. Es ist interessant, daß viele von ihnen gemeinsame Motive mit den Sagen im kroatischen, slowenischen, ungarischen aber auch slowakischen und mährischen Folklor aufweisen.

In der historischen Einführung der Feind aus Osten (eine historische Einführung) gibt der Autor auf sehr traditionelle Weise ein Bild über die Türken und die türkischen Überfälle auf die österreichischen Länder. Anschließend charakterisiert er die Türkensagen und bringt eine Zeittafel, die alle bedeutendere türkische Plünderungen in den österreichischen Ländern umfaßt.

Der Autor klassifiziert die gesammelten Türkensagen nicht nach Motiven, sondern reiht sie nach den Lokalitäten in folgenden Ländern ein: Steiermark, Kärnten, Burgenland, Niederösterreich, Wien und Randgebiete. Das gesammelte Material ist nicht einheitlichen Charakters. Meist übernahm der Autor Sagen aus älteren Sammlungen, die keine echten folkloristischen Texte, welche von Forschern durch Geländeforschung zusammengetragen wurden, sondern nur kürzere oder umfangreichere Inhalte oder Charakteristiken der einzelnen Sagen bringen. Den Texten fügt J. Bauer manchmal Anmerkungen historischer oder sachlicher Art, oft auch Auszüge aus Chroniken oder anderen Quellen bei, in der Bestrebung den Kern der historischen Erzählung zu erforschen. Viele Sagen haben einen allgemeinen kulturgeschichtlichen Charakter und die Beziehung zu den türkischen Motiven ist oft zweitrangig (die Begebenheiten könnten sich ebensogut auf die Taten der ungarischen oder der Hussitenarmee beziehen). Mehrere der Sagen betonen die türkische Grausamkeit und sind wahrscheinlich eher ein Werk der barocken antitürkischen Propaganda, als die Widerspiegelung der Wirklichkeit. Auffallend bei diesen Sagen ist auch die häufige Verknüpfung der Ereignisse mit Kirchen, Wunderbildern, Glocken, usw., was ebenfalls von deren künstlichem Ursprung zeugen würde.

Interessante gemeinsame Kennzeichen finden wir in den slowenischen Sagen aus Kärnten, sowie in den Sagen aus der Slowakei und Ostmähren, wo die Türken Hundsköpfe (*Kynocefales*, slowenisch *pesjani*, slowakisch *psohlavci*) genannt wurden. Ein anderes gemeinsames Motiv ist die Benützung türkischer Gefangener zum Graben tiefer Brunnen.

Die große Menge des gesammelten Stoffes ist im Buch *Die Türken in Österreich* leider nicht genügend verarbeitet, weder vom historischen noch vom folkloristischen Gesichtspunkt. Für die vergleichende Folkloristik bietet jedoch die Arbeit wertvolle

Angaben. Der Text ist passend durch wenig bekannte Bilder und Votivbilder aus verschiedenen Teilen Österreichs illustriert.

Ein Bestandteil der Feierlichkeiten zum 300. Jahrestag der Belagerung Wiens durch die osmanische Armee und deren Niederlage waren auch zahlreiche Ausstellungen in der Hauptstadt Österreichs sowie in weiteren Städten. Es gehört zur guten Tradition österreichischer Museumsmitarbeiter, Bibliothekare und Archivare anläßlich solcher Ausstellungen genaue Kataloge auszuarbeiten.

Als erstes Beispiel eines sorgfältig und auf hohem Niveau ausgearbeiteten Katalogs können wir den Führer durch die Ausstellung *Kultur des Islam*, die von der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek im Juni—Oktober 1980 anläßlich der 1400. Wiederkehr der Hedschra des Profeten Mohammed veranstaltet wurde, anführen.[21]

Nach Prof. Dr. O. Mazals Einleitung, in der er über die Bestände der orientalischen Handschriften in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, sowie auch über deren Entstehung und Bearbeitung informiert, gibt T. Al Samman einen kurzen Überblick über die Geschichte der islamischen Welt mit dem Schwerpunkt auf die kulturelle Entwicklung.

In dieser Ausstellung stellte die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 167 Handschriften aus, die die einzelnen Zweige der islamischen Wissenschaft und Kunst sowie auch die Buchkunst dokumentierten. Jede Art der Wissenschaft oder der Kunst wird von einer umfangreicheren oder kürzeren Einleitung eingeführt, die grundlegende Angaben bietet und auf Erklärungen zu den ausgestellten Exponaten eingestellt ist. Die orientalischen Handschriften wurden nach folgenden wissenschaftlichen Zweigen und Umkreisen kultureller Aktivität ausgestellt: 1. Koran und die Schrift; 2. Koranwissenschaft, Tradition, Glaube, Rechtswissenschaft; 3. Ethik, Mystik und Philosophie; 4. Enzyklopädie, Bibliographie und Lexikographie; 5. Rethorik und Schöne Literatur; 6. Geschichtsschreibung; 7. Geographie; 8. Naturwissenschaften; 9. Medizin; 10. Musik, und als separater, umfangreicher Teil: Islamische Buchkunst, der Proben illustrierter islamischer Handschriften sowie deren wertvolle Einbände brachte.

Ein jedes ausgestellte Exemplar ist eingehend (nach den in Katalogen üblichen Prinzipien) beschrieben, mit Literaturangabe und Informationen über den Autor und das Werk. Der letzte, von Dorothea Duda bearbeitete und der islamischen Buchkunst gewidmete Teil bringt nicht nur bei der Beschreibung der Handschriften, sondern vor allem bei der Analyse der Miniaturen oder der Bucheinbände sehr genaue Angaben und bietet so zu den einzelnen Miniaturen kleine Studien dar.

Der Katalog ist mit einem Literaturverzeichnis, der Konkordanz zwischen Bibliothekssignaturen und Katalognummern, einem Register zum Katalogteil und einer

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[21] Al Samman, T.—Duda, D.: *Kultur des Islam.* Ausstellung der Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Red. O. Mazal. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1980, 280 S., 48 Abb.

Landkarte der islamischen Welt versehen. Farbige und scharzweiße Abbildungen bringen Proben aus den reichhaltigen Beständen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

Zur 300. Wiederkehr der zweiten Türkenbelagerung Wiens veranstaltete die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek gemeinsam mit dem Österreichischen Staatsarchiv im Prunksaal der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Mai—Oktober 1983) die Ausstellung *Österreich und die Osmanen.*[22]

Die Ausstellung beschränkte sich natürlich nicht nur auf die Ereignisse im jahre 1683, sie bot vielmehr auf Grund von Dokumenten, Handschriften, Drucken, Bildern, Plänen und Landkarten aus beiden Institutionen ein breites Bild der osmanisch-österreichischen Beziehungen vom 14. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. An die 400 Exponate, von denen mehrere erstmals einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit zugänglich gemacht wurden, dokumentierten größtenteils die militärische Konfrontation zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und den Ländern unter der Herrschaft der österreichischen Habsburger. Die Ausstellung faßt jedoch nicht nur die Grausamkeit der Kriegszeiten, sondern auch die kulturellen und wissenschaftlichen Beziehungen, insbesondere die Verdienste der österreichischen Orientalistik um die Erkenntnis der Geschichte und der Kultur des Osmanischen Reiches.

In der Einführung geben H. Nader und E. Petritsch eine umfassende Charakteristik der osmanisch-österreichischen Beziehungen und jener Exponate, die diese Beziehungen dokumentieren. Der Einführung folgt eine Beschreibung von 380 Dokumenten, Handschriften, Büchern, Flugschriften, Bildern, Plänen und Landkarten mit Literaturangaben, sowie weiteren Daten über jedes Exponat. Sämtliche Beschreibungen wurden von Fachleuten aus beiden Institutionen auf hohem fachlichen Niveau ausgearbeitet.

Der Katalog wird durch ein Register, Verzeichnis der gekürzt zitierten Literatur und der Konkordanz zwischen den Bibliothekssignaturen und Katalognummern vervollständigt. 52 größtenteils farbige Abbildungen bieten wenigstens teilweise eine Vorstellung über ausgestellten Exponate.

Die Hauptausstellung des Jubiläumsjahres unter dem Namen *Die Türken vor Wien, Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau 1683,* die vom Historischen Museum der Stadt Wien veranstaltet wurde, fand im Mai—Oktober 1983 im Künstlerhaus statt.[23] Außer der heimischen Exponate wurden auch Materialien und Exponate von Institutionen sowie von Privatsammlern aus ganz Europa geliehen,

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[22] *Österreich und die Osmanen.* Gemeinsame Ausstellung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek und des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs. Gesamtredaktion: R. Neck, H. Nader, Ch. Vonwiller, E. D. Petritsch. Wien, ÖNB-ÖStA 1983, XV + 259 S., 52 Abb.

[23] *Die Türken vor Wien. Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau 1683.* Wissenschaftliches Konzept und Ausstellungsleitung R. Waissenberger und G. Düriegl. Wien, Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien 1983, 411 S.,Abb., Mappen.

was von der großen Aufmerksamkeit und Wichtigkeit zeugt, die die Veranstalter, an der Spitze mit Dr. R. Waissenberger dieser Aktion beigemessen hatten. Ebenfalls wurden auch zur Bearbeitung des ausgestellten Materials für den Katalog ausländische Fachleute zugezogen.

Die Exponate der Ausstellung (über 1200 Exemplare) wurden in 29 Komplexen ausgestellt: 1. Der Fall Konstantinopels 1453; 2. Sultan Süleyman, genannt der Prächtige, und die Erste Türkenbelagerung Wiens 1529; 3. Wenedig und die Osmanen; 4. Die Schlacht bei Mogersdorf 1664; 5. Die ungarische Magnatenverschwörung; 6. Frankreichs Streben nach der Vorherrschaft in Europa; 7. Der Kaiser; 8. Der König von Polen Johann III. Sobieski und andere Verbündete; 9. Die Personen des Geschehens; 10.—13. Belagerung und Entsatz; 14. Das Geschehen im Diorama; 15. Die Waffen der Verteidiger; 16. Die Waffen der Osmanen; 17. Die Personen des Geschehens II; 18. Die Rückeroberung Ungarns; 19. Osmanische Fahnen; 20. Die Erinnerung an das Jahr 1683; 21. Türkenkopf und Türkenkugel — Der Wandel des Türkenbildes in der Volkskunst; 22. Wien, um 1683; 23. Austria triumphans; 24. Osmanisches Kunsthandwerk; 25. Osmanische Keramik; 26. Istanbul, um 1683; 27. Der Islam; 28. K. u. K. — Kaffee und Kipferl; 29. Zur politischen und kulturellen Rezeption des Ereignisses.

Dr. R. Waissenberger, Direktor der Museen der Stadt Wien, charakterisierte im Vorwort kurz die Bedeutung der zweiten Belagerung Wiens durch die osmanische Armee im Jahre 1683 für die Stadt sowie die gesamte österreichische Geschichte und informierte über die Konzeption der Ausstellung, bei der, im Unterschied zur Exposition vor hundert Jahren — „Nicht allein das Ereignis der Türkenbelagerung sollte im Mittelpunkt der Betrachtung stehen, sondern auch die historisch-kulturellen und, so weit dies möglich ist, auch die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse der einstigen Gegner".

Dr. Waissenberger ist auch der Verfasser des einleitenden Artikels zur Ausstellung *Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau.* In diesem Artikel charakterisiert er kurz die Entstehung und den Aufstieg der osmanischen Macht in Europa, die Entwicklung der politischen Verhältnisse in Europa nach dem Westfälischen Frieden und zuletzt widmet er seine Aufmerksamkeit der zweiten Belagerung Wiens durch die osmanische Armee im Jahre 1683.

Alle Ausstellungskomplexe haben ihre geschichtlichen Einführungen, die teilweise aus jenen Studien hervorgehen, die im Buch *Die Türken vor Wien 1683* veröffentlicht wurden.[24]

Die einzelnen Exponate sind recht eingehend beschrieben. Außer den technischen Daten, dem Aufbewahrungsort und der Literatur bieten manche Beschreibungen der Exponate relativ umfangreiche Charakteristiken der Be-

[24] *Die Türken vor Wien. Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau 1683.* Hrsg. von R. Waissenberger. Salzburg—Wien, Residenz-Verlag 1982.

gebenheiten oder der Personen. Da die einzelnen Zeitabschnitte, Themen und Materialien von Experten getrennt behandelt wurden, kam es in einigen Fällen zu unterschiedlichen Bewertungen oder Angaben. So führt z.B. auf S. 37 W. Schlag als Geburtsdatum des Großwesirs Mehmed Köprülü das Jahr 1596 an, während W. Deutschmann eine Seite weiter die Jahre 1575 oder 1583, die übrigens wahrscheinlicher sind, angibt.

Im Vergleich zu den Katalogen der Ausstellungen in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek sind die Illustrationen in diesem Katalog durchlaufend, die farbigen Bilder inbegriffen, veröffentlicht. Wie bereits aus dem obenangeführten Überblick der Unterteilung der Ausstellung ersichtlich ist, wurde die größte Aufmerksamkeit der Belagerung und der Befreiung Wiens gewidmet. Deshalb haben die Zusammensteller auch im Text des Katalogs dieser Begebenheit eine große Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. G. Düriegl veröffentlichte hier ein umfangreiches Tagebuch der Belagerung, in dem er die eigene Auslegung mit Zitaten aus Quellen kombiniert.

Orientierung in der Geschichte der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts bietet eine Zeittafel, die die europäische, österreichische, türkische und überseeische Geschichte und separat die Entwicklung der Kunst und der Kultur parallel verfolgt. Ähnlich wie die früher erwähnten Kataloge verfügt auch dieser über ein Personenregister.

Als Beispiel der Kataloge zu kleineren Ausstellungen möchten wir die Kataloge zu folgenden Ausstellungen anführen: *Niederösterreich im Türkenjahr 1683*, die im März—Oktober 1983 im Schloß Pottenbrunn (St. Pölten) stattgefunden hat[25] und *Was von den Türken blieb* (mit Katalog des Türkenmuseums *Die Osmanen in Niederösterreich*) im Museum Perchtoldsdorf (April—Oktober 1983).[26]

Beide Kataloge haben eine ähnliche Struktur wie der Katalog des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien. Die Expositionen sind in kleinere thematische Teile unterteilt, zu denen die Zusammensteller jeweils instruktive Einführungen allgemeinen sowie faktographischen Charakters verfaßt haben. Den Veranstaltern der Ausstellungen in Niederösterreich ist es gelungen eine überraschend große Anzahl an Originalexponaten, ob schon aus eigenen Beständen oder geliehener zusammenzubringen. Ähnlich ist auch die Bearbeitung der Exponate durchaus mit der in den

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[25] *Niederösterreich im Türkenjahr 1683.* Veranstaltet vom Museumverein Pottenbrunn in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Stadtmuseum St. Pölten. Wissenschaftl. Leitung: Univ.-Prof. Dr. K. Gutkas. St. Pölten, NÖ Pressehaus 1983, 72 S., Abb.

[26] *Was von den Türken blieb.* Veranstaltet von der Marktgemeinde Perchtoldsdorf. I. Teil: Wissenschaft. Leitung: Univ.-Prof. Dr. K. Gutkas. II. Teil: *Die Osmanen in Niederösterreich* (Katalog des Türkenmuseums). Nach Vorarbeiten von S. Petrin und K. Teply verfaßt von K. Gutkas. Perchtoldsdorf. NÖ Pressehaus 1983, 88 S., Abb.

Katalogen zu Wiener Ausstellungen gleichzustellen, bis auf die Tatsache, daß diese in manchen Fällen kürzer sind und die Literatur bescheidener angeführt ist.

Erstklassig bearbeitete Kataloge zu Ausstellungen — und dies kann von allen obenerwähnten gesagt werden — sind ein ebenso wertvoller Beitrag zum Jubiläum wie herausgegebene Bücher und bleiben bestimmt ein kostbares und begehrtes Studienmaterial für spätere Generationen erhalten.

# BEITRÄGE ZUR MIGRATION TÜRKISCHER WERKTÄTIGER UND IHRE WIDERSPIEGELUNG IN DER TÜRKISCHEN GEGENWARTSLITERATUR

XÉNIA CELNAROVÁ, Bratislava

Anfang der sechziger Jahre, als die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den Zeitraum der Konjunktur eintritt, war die türkische Volkswirtschaft wieder zerrüttet infolge der verantwortungslosen Wirtschaftspolitik der Führer der Demokratischen Partei, die das Land das ganze vorangehende Jahrzehnt regiert hat. Die erhöhte Nachfrage nach Arbeitskräften einerseits und der katastrophale Mangel an Arbeitsgelegenheiten andererseits führte zu einem massenhaften Abgang arbeitsuchender türkischer Männer, aber auch Frauen in die BRD und in andere Länder Westeuropas. Beginnend mit dem Jahre 1962 verlassen hunderttausende türkische Werktätigen ihre Heimat mit der Hoffnung die materielle Lage ihrer Familien bessern zu können. Trotz der Tatsache, daß die Nachfrage nach Arbeitskräften schon im Jahre 1973 aufgehört hat, leben auf dem Gebiet der BRD und Westberlins 1,5 Millionen Türken. Trotz objektiver und subjektiver Probleme, mit denen sie all die Jahre ständig konfrontiert wurden, hörte nämlich dieser Staat für viele von ihnen nur eine zeitweilige Heimat zu sein auf; sie faßten hier bereits Wurzeln, vor allem als ihre Kinder hier groß oder sogar auch geboren wurden.

Einer von ihnen ist auch der Schriftsteller, Publizist und Übersetzer Yüksel Pazarkaya (1940), der in der BRD seit seinem siebzehnten Lebensjahr lebt. Zuerst absolvierte er hier sein Chemiestudium und setzte dann mit dem Studium der Germanistik, Linguistik und Philosophie fort. Im Jahre 1960 fing er an seine Werke in türkischen und deutschen Zeitungen und Zeitschriften zu veröffentlichen, lieferte Beiträge für den Rundfunk und das Fernsehen. Bislang erschienen sechs seiner Gedichtsammlungen, ein Band Erzählungen und ein Roman für Kinder in türkischer Sprache, zwei Gedichtsammlungen in deutscher Sprache, drei Bücher in zweisprachiger Ausgabe und eine Arbeit zur Theorie des Theaters; er schrieb zwei Theaterstücke und drei Hörspiele, sowie eine zwölfteilige Fernsehserie. Er ist der Autor vieler Übersetzungen von Werken türkischer Schriftsteller ins Deutsche,[1] ins

[1] Als Illustration von Pazarkayas übersetzerischer Aktivität führen wir einige der wichtigsten Titel an: *Orhan Veli Kanık, Poesie.* Frankfurt, Suhrkamp 1966; *Moderne türkische Lyrik — eine Anthologie.* Tübingen-Basel, Erdmann 1971 (Die Rezension siehe in Asian and African Studies, *IX*, 1973, S. 235—238); *Behçet Necatigil, Gedichte.* Stuttgart, Hattusa 1972; *Der Drachen im Baum. Eine*

Türkische übersetzte er eine Auswahl aus der deutschen Gegenwartspoesie. In den Jahren 1980—1982 war er der Herausgeber der zweisprachigen Zeitschrift Anadil, in die auch beginnende, in der BRD lebende türkische Autoren beigetragen haben.

Im Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit Yüksel Pazarkayas als Schriftstellers und Publizisten, aber auch als Menschen stehen die komplizierten Probleme, die seinen Landsleuten als auch den „Gastarbeitern" aus anderen Ländern und ihren Familien das Leben in der Fremde mit sich bringt. Der bislang letzte Beitrag Yüksel Pazarkayas zu dieser Problematik ist ein Buch von Essays mit dem kennzeichnenden Titel *Spuren des Brots.*[2] Aus der Sicht eines Betroffenen betrachtet der Autor darin die einzelnen negativen Seiten der Position von Fremdarbeitern in der BRD und versucht perspektive Lösungen der gegebenen Probleme anzudeuten, die sich von Jahr zu Jahr immer mehr zuspitzen.

Die erstrangige und wichtigste Voraussetzung einen Ausländer in die Gesellschaft des Gastgeberstaats, an dessen Prosperität er sich mit seiner Arbeit Jahre- oder sogar Jahrzehntelang beteiligte, zu integrieren ist, ihm dieselben Rechte einzuräumen, die ein jeder Bürger dieses Staats genießt. Nur wenn man aufhört ihn als einen zweitrangigen Menschen zu betrachten, kann er seine Identität bewahren.

Als den besten und wirkungsvollsten Zutritt zur Normalisierung der Stellung ausländischer Arbeiter führt Pazarkaya das Betriebsverfassungsgesetz aus dem Jahre 1972 an, das die Gleichstellung des Ausländers in der Betriebsorganisation der Arbeiter gewährleistet.

Die Probleme, die aus dem langjährigen Aufenthalt von Fremdarbeitern und deren Familien in der BRD hervorgehen, hätten nicht aufkommen müssen, wären die Arbeitsverträge zeitlich begrenzt gewesen. Zur Zeit der Dauer der Konjunktur war es jedoch günstiger den Aufenthalt jenen Arbeitern zu verlängern, die bereits eine Ausbildung erreicht hatten und der deutschen Sprache mächtig waren, als an ihre Stelle neue Arbeitskräfte aufzunehmen. Im Zusammenhang mit der sich vertiefenden Krise verlor jedoch die Regierung der BRD das Interesse an der Verlängerung des Aufenthalts auch hochspezialisierter Arbeitskräfte und nahm solche restriktive Maßnahmen an, infolge welcher hunderttausende Fremdarbeiter und ihre Familien in ständiger Spannung leben. Und, darüber hinaus, verbergen die Politiker und sogar hohe Gewerkschaftsfunktionäre nicht, daß die Ausländer nur so lange notwendig sind, wie es die Inländer ablehnen unbeliebte Tätigkeiten auszuüben. Mit Recht hält Yüksel Pazarkaya eine solche Argumentation als diskriminierend und gefährlich, und stellt die Frage, ob dieses Schicksal auch die

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*Anthologie mit Gedichten, Erzählungen, Märchen, Dramen und mit Illustrationen von Orhan Peker.* Wien—München, Jugend und Volk 1976 (Die Rezension siehe in Asian and African Studies, *XIV*, 1978, S. 260—263); Nazim Hikmet, *Das Epos von Scheich Bedreddin.* Berlin, Ararat 1982.

[2] Yüksel Pazarkaya: *Spuren des Brots. Zur Lage der ausländischen Arbeiter.* Zürich, Unionsverlag 1983. 157 S.

Kinder der Fremdarbeiter betreffen wird, obwohl viele von ihnen bereits ihre Mittel- und Hochschulbildung abgeschlossen haben. Die jungen Leute jedoch, die bereits im Gastgeberland großgeworden sind und vom Kulturschock daher nicht mehr so betroffen wurden als die erste Generation der Einwanderer, denken darüber nach, warum ihre Lage um soviel schlechter ist, als die anderer Mitglieder jener Gesellschaft, inmitten der sie aufgewachsen sind. Ihre Rückkehr ins Herkunftsland ist dabei noch mehr als problematisch nicht nur deshalb, weil dieses an ihnen noch weniger interessiert ist als an ihren Eltern, sondern auch aus dem Grunde, daß ihre Lage nach der Rückkehr mit der Lage dessen, „der vom Pferd auf einen Esel umsteigt" zu vergleichen ist. Dazu gesellen sich noch die sprachlichen Probleme, weil es bei der zweiten Generation fast ausnahmslos gilt, daß ihre Hauptsprache Deutsch ist. Besucht jedoch ein Kind die Nationalschule, d.h. eine, in der in seiner Muttersprache unterrichtet wird und die für die Kinder der Ausländer in einigen Bundesländern zwecks Erleichterung ihrer Reintegration nach der Heimkehr errichtet wurden, verschließt sich einem solchen Kind der Weg zur Weiterbildung im Falle, daß seine Eltern die Möglichkeit haben ihren Aufenthalt in der BRD zu verlängern und dies auch wünschen.

Als die Ideallösung hält Pazarkaya die Einführung der Muttersprache nationaler Minderheiten als Unterrichtssprache in deutsche Schulen, was den Kindern der Ausländer nicht nur ermöglichen würde sich in ihrer Muttersprache zu vervollkommnen, die — lediglich auf ihre gettoisierende Rahmenbedienung beschränkt — sich nicht weiter entwickelt und sich daher deformiert, sondern auch zur kulturellen Identität und gleichberechtigten Integrierung beiderseits führen würde.

Eine bessere Informiertheit würde dazu beitragen, daß die Ausländer, die derzeit in der BRD 7,5 % der Bevölkerung bilden, aufhören würden in den Inländern feindschaftliche Gefühle, Verachtung, oder bestenfalls absolutes Desinteressement zu erwecken. Trotz der Tatsache jedoch, daß zur Zeit in den Massenmedien eine ganze Reihe sog. Ausländerspezialisten arbeitet, hat sich das Bild der Ausländer im Vergleich zur Vergangenheit nicht allzusehr gewandelt und noch immer sind negative Aspekte vorherrschend. Die Ursache dafür ist, daß ein jeder, auch der engagierteste Zutritt stets nur ein Zutritt zu einer Rand- oder Problemgruppe bleibt.

Als Beitrag zu einer eingehenderen Kenntnis und Verständnis des nationalen Charakters der gegenwärtig zahlreichsten Nationalitätengruppe in der BRD schrieb Yüksel Pazarkaya das Buch *Rosen im Frost.*[3] Sein Untertitel deutet an, daß es dem Autor um einen Abriß der kulturellen Traditionen des türkischen Volkes, um eine Übersicht der gegenwärtigen Entwicklung der Lyrik, der Prosa und der Dramatik in der Türkei geht. Für jene Leser, die ein tieferes Interesse an der angedeuteten

[3] Yüksel Pazarkaya: *Rosen im Frost. Einblicke in die türkische Kultur.* Zürich, Unionsverlag 1983, 216 S.

Problematik haben, führt Y. Pazarkaya am Ende eines jeden thematischen Kreises die Bibliographie jener Titel an, die zur gegebenen Problematik im Deutschen erschienen sind.

In der Einleitung seines Buches betont Y. Pazarkaya, daß auch wenn die Türkei nicht zu den entwickelten Industriestaaten gehört, dies nicht bedeutet, sie hätte keine entwickelte Kultur. Im Gegenteil, vor allem die zeitgenössische Literatur, Malerei und Musik haben die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Landes weit überholt.

In wohlbedacht konzipierten Kapiteln und mit einer großen Portion von Invention macht Yüksel Pazarkaya den Leser mit der Geistesgeschichte seines Volkes, mit der Volkskultur, mit der Entwicklung, die die türkische Lyrik und Prosa durchgemacht haben, mit der Theatertradition bekannt. Trotz der gefühlsmäßigen Voreingenommenheit, die des Autors Zutritt zum Stoff positiv gekennzeichnet hat, stellen die einzelnen Kapitel des Buches objektive, treffende Charakteristiken der einzelnen Bestandteile der türkischen Kultur dar.

Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient das Kapitel Karagöz — das Schattenspiel als Vorwegnahme des epischen und absurden Dramas? (S. 155—175), in dem Pazarkaya seinen Ruf als Dramatiker und gleichzeitig als Kenner des modernen Weltdramas bestätigt. Er konfrontiert das traditionelle türkische Schattenspiel mit dem modernen Drama der Weltliteratur, u.a. mit Brechts Auffassung des Theaters, wobei er manche Analogien findet.

Pazarkaya vergleicht den Schauspieler im Schattenspiel mit Gott: „Der Spielmacher bringt nämlich innerhalb der abstrakten Scheinrealität der Leinwand eine Ordnung zustande, derer Herr er ist, solange die Kerze hinter der Leinwand brennt. Die Kerze ist die Sonne der Leinwandwelt, der arme, unterdrückte Karagözspieler ihr Gott."[4]

Versuche das Schattenspiel wiederzubeleben stammen bereits aus den dreißiger Jahren. Den Karagöz auf die Theaterbühne oder seine Dialoge in die Rundfunksendung zu übertragen, bedeutet einen Wechsel des Mediums. Der Autor läßt die Möglichkeit der Adaptierung des Karagöz für das Fernsehen zu.

Eine unmittelbare Beziehung zur Problematik der türkischen Werktätigen in Deutschland haben die zwei letzten Kapitel des Buches *Rosen im Frost*. Im Kapitel, das die Übersetzungen aus der türkischen Literatur ins Deutsche behandelt, verfolgt Pazarkaya, wie sich mit der wachsenden Anzahl der Türken in der BRD auch die Zahl der übersetzten Titel erhöhte. Während seit dem Ende des 2. Weltkrieges bis 1962 dreizehn Titel in deutscher Sprache erschienen, erhöhte sich ihre Anzahl bis zum Ende der sechziger Jahre um zwölf und in den nachfolgenden zehn Jahren erschienen bereits einunddreißig Bücher.

Im ersten untersuchten Zeitabschnitt waren es Turkologen, die sich um Übersetzungen türkischer Belletristik verdient machten, namentlich Annemarie Schimmel

[4] Ibid., S. 160.

und Otto Spies, in den sechziger Jahren Horst Wilfrid Brands. Den Höhepunkt von Brands' Übersetzungskunst stellt die Übersetzung des dritten Buches von Nazim Hikmets Hauptwerk Menschenlandschaften[5] (*Memleketimden insan manzaraları*) dar, die auch von der neueren Übersetzung aus dem Jahre 1980 nicht übertroffen wurde.

Das größte Verdienst für die Propagierung der türkischen Literatur in Deutschland hat der spezialisierte Verlag Ararat, der im Jahre 1977 in Stuttgart gegründet wurde. Seit 1979 gibt er zweisprachige Texte heraus; ein Jahr später übersiedelt er nach Berlin.

Ein weiterer Propagator der türkischen Kultur ist der Züricher Unionsverlag, in dem unter anderem die Werke Yaşar Kemals erscheinen, und der auch die zwei hier besprochenen Bücher von Yüksel Pazarkaya herausgegeben hat.

Im letzten, „Gastarbeiter in der Literatur" betitelten Kapitel bewertet der Autor kurz die literarischen Werke im Rahmen der sog. Deutschlandliteratur (Almanya edebiyatı). Er teilt diese in zwei Kategorien ein, und zwar in jene, die in der Türkei als Produkte der Beobachtung aus der Ferne und in Werke von Autoren, den Betroffenen, die gemeinsam mit ihren Landsleuten, im engen Kontakt mit diesen in der BRD und in Westberlin leben und arbeiten, entstanden sind.

Der autobiographische Roman von Bekir Yıldız *Türkler Almanyada* (Die Türken in Deutschland, 1966) ist das Ausgangswerk der Deutschlandliteratur. Die Sammlung von Erzählungen desselben Autors *Alman ekmeği* (Das deutsche Brot, 1974) charakterisiert Pazarkaya als ein tendenziöses Werk, in dem sich Bekir Yıldız' Befangenheit dem Land gegenüber, in dem er vier Jahre verlebt hat, widerspiegelt. Als tendenziös bezeichnet er auch zwei Titel der Schriftstellerin Füruzan *Yeni konuklar* (Neue Gäste, 1977) und *Ev sahipleri* (Die Gastgeber, 1981). Objektiver in der Gestaltung der Situation des türkischen Arbeiters in einer neuen, für ihn fremden Umgebung erscheint ihm Nevzat Üstün zu sein.

Das Motiv der Fremde entwickelte die Volksdichtung jahrhundertelang. Das Leben auf dieser Welt wurde mystisch wie das Leben in der Fremde aufgefaßt, der Mensch als Fremdling dargestellt.

Der Einfluß der konsumorientierten westlichen Zivilisation auf den Menschen aus Anatolien ist bereits im Titel des Buches *Gastkonsument* (1982) angedeutet, dessen Autor der in Westberlin lebende Aras Ören ist. Dieses Thema entwickelt weiter in ihrem Roman *Fikrimin ince gülü* (Die zarte Rose meiner Sehnsucht, 1976) auch die Schriftstellerin Adalet Ağaoğlu.

Die literarische Bearbeitung der Migration türkischer Werktätiger in die Länder Westeuropas ist erst in ihren Anfängen. Der Ansicht Yüksel Pazarkayas nach ist eine neue Perspektive der Gestaltung dieses Phänomens vor allem aus der Feder

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[5] Nazim Hikmet: *In jenem Jahr 1941.* Aus dem Türkischen übertragen von H. Wilfrid Brands. Berlin, Hermann Luchterhand Verlag GmbH 1963, 129 S.

dauerhaft in der BRD angesiedelten Autoren zu erwarten. Unter diesen befinden sich Güney Dal, Fakir Baykurt, Ömer Polat, Mahmut Makal, Dursun Akçam, Habib Bektaş. Zur zweiten Generation der türkischen Einwanderer gehören die deutsch schreibenden Autoren Akif Pirinçci und Levent Aktoprak.

In einer breiteren Dimension befaßt sich mit der Problematik der Deutschlandliteratur Wolfgang Riemann in seiner Monographie *Das Deutschlandbild in der modernen türkischen Literatur.*[6] Das Ziel seiner Arbeit ist zu erforschen, wie sich in dieser Deutschlandliteratur, aber auch in den Reiseskizzen türkischer Autoren das Bild Deutschlands widerspiegelt, in welchem Licht darin die Deutschen erscheinen.

Vier bedeutende Literaten von der Wende des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, der Gründer und Herausgeber der literarischen Zeitschrift Servet-i Fünun Ahmet Hasan Tokgöz, der Bahnbrecher des Symbolismus in der türkischen Literatur Cenap Şahabettin, der Prosaist Ahmet Mithat und der Angehörige der Dichtergruppe Fecr-i Ati Ahmet Haşim haben in ihren Reiseskizzen als erste die Eindrücke von ihrem Aufenthalt im kaiserlichen Deutschland notiert. Neben der Beschreibung historischer und kultureller Denkmäler in Deutschland beobachten die Autoren auch die gesellschaftliche und politische Lage in Deutschland, machen auf den im Volk herrschenden Geist des Militarismus aufmerksam und haben andererseits bei den Deutschen ihre Arbeitsamkeit und Sinn für Organisation und Ordnung hervor.

Die Greuel des 2. Weltkrieges auf dem Gebiet Deutschlands fanden ihre Widerspiegelung im kleinen Büchlein von H. Kuraoğlu *Almanya'dan geliyorum* (Ich komme aus Deutschland, 1944). Seine Erlebnisse in deutscher Gefangenschaft aus nationalistischen Positionen schildert in seinen Werken Cengiz Dağcı.

In der Nachkriegszeit erscheint beim Blick auf Deutschland ein neuer Aspekt, der mit der Tatsache zusammenhängt, daß dieses Land zur zeitweiligen Heimat für hunderttausende türkische Werktätigen wurde. In seinen zwei Reisebeschreibungen *Sovyetler Birliğinden Batıya* (Aus der Sowjetunion in den Westen, 1966) und *Almanya beyleri ve Portekiz'in bahçeleri* (Die Herren aus Deutschland und die Gärten Portugals, 1975) versuchte der Schriftsteller Nevzat Üstün eine gesellschaftlich-politische Analyse der Ursachen der unerfreulichen Lage seiner Landsleute in Deutschland durchzuführen. Ein zweites wichtiges Problem, daß er der Kritik unterwarf, ist der Fortbestand nationalsozialistischer Ideen in der BRD. Dieses Problem behandelte bereits im Mai 1951 Suat Efe, der Anfang der fünfziger Jahre in der BRD als Arzt einen Studienaufenthalt verbrachte, in seinem, in der Zeitschrift Varlık veröffentlichten Artikel *Bugünku Almanya* (Das heutige Deutschland).

Seit der Mitte der sechziger Jahre beginnen auch literarische Werke mit der Problematik der Migration türkischer Werktätigen in die BRD zu erscheinen. W.

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[6] Riemann, W.: *Das Deutschlandbild in der modernen türkischen Literatur.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1983, X + 133 S.

Riemann macht auf die Tatsache aufmerksam, daß neben literarischen Werken, die sich um eine objektive Kritik der negativen, von der Begegnung zweier verschiedener Welten sich ergebenden Erscheinungen bemüht, in der Türkei auch eine „Trivialliteratur" entsteht, die lediglich auf die Befriedigung der Sensationslust orientiert ist. Leider vermied auch Aziz Nesin in seiner, in der Zeitschrift Milliyet (15. 12. 1980—4. 1. 1981) in Fortsetzungen veröffentlichten Reportage *Almanya Almanya* (Deutschland Deutschland) einen solchen Zutritt nicht.

Riemann teilt die literarische Bearbeitung der Problematik türkischer Werktätigen in der BRD in drei Entwicklungsetappen ein: 1. In der ersten Phase überwiegt die Beschreibung des Arbeitsmilieus und der Lebensbedingungen der Fremdarbeiter; 2. später beginnt sich in der Literatur das Einwirken der Migration von Arbeitskräften in der gesellschaftlichen Sphäre in der Türkei, als auch in Deutschland zu widerspiegeln; 3. In der dritten Etappe treten solche Probleme in den Vordergrund, die mit der Rückkehr in die Heimat und die Reintegrierung in die heimische Gesellschaft verbunden sind.

Eine solche Entwicklung kommt sehr markant im Werk Yüksel Pazarkayas zum Vorschein, den Riemann als den Bahnbrecher der Deutschlandliteratur bezeichnet. Während die erste Gedichtsammlung von Pazarkaya *Koca sapmalarda biz vardık* (Wir gerieten auf den großen Irrweg, 1968) die Probleme des Lebens seiner Landsleute in der BRD nur am Rande berührt, nimmt er acht Jahre später in der Gedichtsammlung *Aydınlık kanayan çiçek* (Die Blume, die Erleuchtung spendet) die deutsche Realität unter Beschuß der Kritik. Die Gedichte aus dem Buch *Incindiğin yerdir gurbet* (Die Fremde ist der Ort, wo du gekränkt wirst, 1979) enthüllen bereits jene Mechanismen, die die Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung der Arbeiter ermöglichen, und deuten auch die perspektive Lösung an — die Solidarität der Fremdarbeiter verschiedener Nationalitäten. Pazarkaya setzt sich auch mit dem Begriff „gurbet" auseinander, er erweitert dessen Bedeutung, verleiht ihm neue Dimensionen: „Gurbet, das ist der Ort, wo man nicht als Mensch leben kann, wo man nicht nur fremd, sondern auch unerwünscht und von der Gemeinschaft ausgeschlossen ist."[7]

Ein besonderes Unterkapitel von Riemanns Monographie ist auch Nevzat Üstün gewidmet, obwohl dieser lediglich drei Erzählungen mit der Problematik der negativen Einwirkung des Lebens in der Fremde auf die Familien türkischer Werktätigen geschrieben hat. In der Deutschlandliteratur nimmt Üstün jedoch eine bedeutende Position ein hinsichtlich der Tatsache, daß seine Erzählung *Almanya Almanya* (Deutschland Deutschland) aus der gleichnamigen, im Jahre 1965 erschienenen Sammlung zum Impuls für weitere Schriftsteller geworden ist.

Der dritte Bahnbrecher auf diesem Gebiet ist Bekir Yıldız, dessen Schaffen Riemann recht negativ bewertet. Er hält ihm vor die „Gastarbeiter" mit den Opfern

[7] Ibid., S. 58.

des Faschismus zu vergleichen, am erniedrigten nationalen Stolz der Türken übertrieben zu basieren und dadurch die Gefühle des Lesers anzusprechen, daß er seinen Landsleuten ausschließlich positive Eigenschaften zuspricht, während er bei den Deutschen Schwarzweißmalerei betreibt.

Objektiver als Bekir Yıldız in der Gestaltung der Lage türkischer Werktätigen in Deutschland ist Fethi Savaşçı, der seit 1965 in München lebt. Seine drei Sammlungen von Erzählungen bieten dem türkischen Leser eine gute Informationsmöglichkeit sich ein Bild von der Arbeitswelt in Deutschland zu machen.

Aus der Sicht des deutschen Lesers hält Riemann für besonders interessant den Roman von Adalet Ağaoğlu *Die zarte Rose meiner Sehnsucht* (Stuttgart 1979), weil, mit den Worten des Autors gesprochen „eröffnet er doch die Möglichkeit eines Einblicks in die Denkweise und die Wertvorstellungen vieler in Deutschland beschäftigter türkischer Arbeiter".[8]

Wie bereits gesagt wurde, äußert Yüksel Pazarkaya in seinem Buch *Rosen im Frost* die Meinung, daß die Deutschlandliteratur sich erst in ihren Anfängen befindet, und da die mit dem Leben türkischer Bürger im Ausland und auch mit derer Rückkehr in die Heimat zusammenhängenden Probleme noch immer andauern, ja sich immer mehr zuspitzen, kann das Entstehen weiterer Werke türkischer Schriftsteller mit dieser Thematik mit Gewißheit vorausgesetzt werden. Dasselbe gilt auch für die Erforschung der Problematik der Migration türkischer Werktätigen und ihrer Widerspiegelung in der Literatur. Yüksel Pazarkayas und Wolfgang Riemanns anregende Beiträge zu dieser Problematik werden gewiß weitere folgen, die zum wechselseitigen Verständnis zwischen den ursprünglichen Einwohnern der BRD und den Einwanderern aus Kleinasien ihren Beitrag leisten können.

[8] Ibid., S. 109.

# BOOK REVIEWS

Sternemann, R. (Ed.): *Einführung in die konfrontative Linguistik* (Introduction into Confrontational Linguistics). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1983. 148 pp.

This volume has been produced by seven linguists from the Humboldt University in Berlin (GDR) under the guidance of R. Sternemann. It consists of three chapters subdivided in their turn into several sections.

Chapter One (pp. 9—24) gives a general characterization of confrontational linguistics in relation to its position within linguistics as a whole and from the point of view of its applications.

The object of confrontation is defined as differences and correspondences among various languages irrespective of their origin or type. It is the relation of expression to content that is always in the foreground. However, confrontational linguistics cannot be regarded as a branch of comparative linguistics. Both disciplines focus on comparison but the confrontational comparison is synchronous and usually limited to pairs of languages one of which is a mother language, the other being a foreign language to be learnt. Confrontational linguistics cannot be confused either with typology or with theory of translation. Its aims are of a practical nature and its results are of relevance especially for language teaching. In other words, confrontational linguistics investigates linguistic interference. In most instances it is a one-way interference, i.e. mother language — foreign language interference.

Chapter Two (pp. 25—93) deals with the linguistic foundations and methods of confrontational linguistics.

The authors discuss such questions as basic postulates of confrontational linguistics, interrelation of confrontational and contrastive linguistics, comparability of languages, semantic equivalence, differences in structuration of meaning, etc. A section devoted to methodology is followed by another one dealing with the relation between form and meaning, with statistical procedures and, more particularly, with the unilateral confrontation.

Chapter Three (pp. 94—137) overlaps, at least as far as its title is concerned, with Section One of Chapter One, being titled The Confrontational Linguistics within the Framework of Comparative Linguistics. It includes some comments on historical comparison, typology, areal linguistics as well as theory of translation.

Each chapter is followed by a list of recommended literature. There is also a list of literature on pp. 140—147.

This publication is based upon a previous handbook destined to students and postgraduate linguists. As such, it is the result of many years of experience in the field of language teaching and there can be no doubt that it can be helpful and informative to everybody interested in confrontational linguistics.

*Viktor Krupa*

Harrison, Paul: *Inside the Third World.* Harmondsworth, Penguin Books 1982. 480 pp.

The author, a keen journalist, sees the developing countries as the decisive political and social arena of the present world in which three-quarters of mankind live, the majority of whom are struggling for their mere survival and are being daily deprived of the hope that their lot may improve. He advocates that the remaining quarter of humanity should show more interest in the developing world, which would be in its own interest as well, the author suggests.

Paul Harrison began to study the developing world in 1968 when he accepted the position of a teacher of French in Nigeria. Since then he has visited 23 developing countries on three continents and has become a permanent co-worker of the World Health Organization and the International Labour Office. He strives for a broad, complex view of the developing world and an analysis of its crucial problems of poverty and inequality.

In the first part of his work, Harrison examines the geographic and historical roots of poverty in the developing world. He shows how the imperialist countries had "developed" that part of the world, and only to the extent that would ensure them that it would become their permanent raw-material base. The leaders of some developing countries are carrying on this policy even after the liberation of their countries and are continuing to implement the Western models of development, which in many cases ties the countries in question to the former colonial powers even more than before.

The second section of the book is devoted to agricultural and agrarian problems. As the various continents must cope with different problems, each of the three continents is discussed in a separate chapter. According to the author, in Africa development is being impeded by primitive technology. In Asia the main obstacles are the growing numbers of the landless and an insufficient mechanization, while Latin America is badly in need of agrarian reforms. Only 23% of the villages are electrified in the latter, while in the developing countries of Asia this amounts to 15% and in Africa to no more than 4%. On each of these three continents

agricultural production is jeopardized by the spreading of deserts, the increasing content of salt in the soil and by deforestation.

The third part of the book under review follows the process of urbanization and the astonishing urban population explosion which in town adds to the problems of an urban economy. People wish to have less children and larger earnings, but in reality things work out just the opposite, the size of the families grow and earnings decrease. People try to escape from this fatal spiral by abandoning the traditional social formations, but this only aggravates their hopeless situation. The poor rural population is swarming into the towns, where unemployment is increasing. Big industry has solved nothing and hopes are being placed in small and traditional industries the possibilities of which, however, are also limited. In spite of this, earnings in agriculture are exceeded by those in the other sectors. Thus, the latter are 15 times greater in Gabon, 9.5 greater in Liberia, 8.5 times greater in the Ivory Coast, 5.3 times greater in Venezuela, 4.1 times greater in Mexico, 2.4 times greater in the Philippines and 1.9 times greater in India. The 40% of the population having the highest incomes receive, in Czechoslovakia 2.25 times more than the 40% having the lowest incomes, whereas the figure is 4 times higher in the USA, 4.14 times higher in Great Britain, 6.3 times in Sweden, 6.9 times in the German Federal Republic and 11.3 times in France; on the other hand it is 12.3 times higher in Brazil, 13.6 times higher in Kenya, etc.

In the fourth part, the author turns his attention to the human resources of the developing world and investigates the question of why the people there have become poor. He also investigates the dynamism and consequence of the population explosion, the extent of inadequate nutrition and illness and their effects on the population, the state of the school system and the failure in most of the developing countries of literacy efforts. Television has become a very powerful source of information; the developing countries import a large part of their TV programmes; the extent of this in Singapore is 78%, Malaysia 71%, Zambia 64%, Uruguay 62%, Chile 55%, Iraq 52%, Egypt and Lebanon 40%, Pakistan 35%, the Republic of Korea 31%, and the Philippines 29%, whereas in Great Britain it is 12% and in the U.S.A. only 2%. Thus, by exploiting the world market, Western bourgeosie provides for a cosmopolitarian character of TV production and consumption in many countries.

In the fifth section the author deliberates from a progressive point of view on the interrelations between the developing countries' national and international policies on the main problems of world economy and on the role of a new economic order, the activity of supranational corporations and the political mechanism due to which the poor countries remain poor. He also discusses corruption, the sources of political instability, as well as the roots of the dictatorial regims in the developing countries and shows how all these phenomena influence economic and political relations throughout the world.

The index of literature used or recommended in connection with the individual chapters indicates how seriously and responsibly the author has studied the various problems. At the same time, his style is extremely lively. Appended to the book are six interesting thematic maps of the developing world and a 14-page index.

The publication is written in a progressive vein with the obvious purpose of helping to improve the life and economy in the developing countries.

*Ctibor Votrubec*

*The Diffusion of Material Culture.* Ed. H.H.E. Loofs-Wissowa. Asian and Pacific Archaeology Series 9. Honolulu, University of Hawaii 1980. 393 pp.

Proceedings of a seminar on The Diffusion of Material Culture that was held within the framework of the 28th Congress of Oriental Studies at Canberra in January 1971, appeared in the Monograph Series after a 9-year delay. Many further discoveries have since been made — on the other hand, these have made no major contribution to the solution of the basic issues relating to the diffusion and antidiffusion discussed at the seminar. And the editor invokes precisely this fact to justify the delay in the publication of the materials.

The contention between diffusionists and their adversaries is as old as archaeology itself, but it seems that in recent years strict diffusionism is being abandoned and the majority of investigators favour the theory on an autonomous internal development of archaeological cultures (particularly adherents of the so-called new archaeology). Nevertheless, diffusion and innovation need not be self-excluding, quite the contrary, they usually act in common in the cultural development of a given association according to the principle of synergism whereby the total effect is greater than the sum of the two processes taken independently. And the book under review should be judged from this point of view. Diverse diffusionist concepts often connected with population migrations have been evoked in Asia more than anywhere else. In what measure this was warranted and justified still remains a moot point and the object of investigation.

The present volume is made up of two parts: Part 1 — Origin and spread of the earliest ceramics in northeastern, southeastern and south Asia. 2 — Origin and spread of the earliest metal in eastern, central and southeastern Asia. One of the most interesting papers in the first part was that dealing with the diffusion of the earliest ceramic into northeastern Asia (H.H.E.Loofs-Wissowa) in which the author reflects also on general questions of diffusion. He underlines the specific nature of the tropical zone where, in contrast to the other regions, ceramic production evidently developed independently of agriculture. The ready and sufficient availability of other vessels (of vegetable origin) in fact precluded an independent invention

of ceramic which in this region thus represents a foreign element. Its acceptance was related to a new mode of preparing meals — by cooking.

W. G. Solheim II spoke of ceramic from the locality of the Spirit Cave in Northern Thailand which has surprisingly been highly dated back into the 7th cent. B.C. The author is an adherent of the so-called "long" chronology and supports the view regarding the discovery of ceramic in southern Asia between 15,000 and 10,000 years B.C. by the people of the Hoabinh culture.

K. S. Leshnik has been following for quite a time the famous group of burying grounds on the Deccan plateau in southern India, dated into the lower Iron Age. He finds its analogues as far as Iran (!) which would speak for a population migration.

Among the more interesting papers in the second part of the volume are those dealing with the earliest processing of bronze in northeastern Thailand (D. T. Bayard) and the beginnings of metallurgy in China (N. Barnard). Bayard assumes the appearance of bronze industry by about the year 3300 B.C. — however, no unanimous chronological support for this assumption has been forthcoming as yet. Here, too, the "long" or "short" type of chronology is an issue — both have their adherents. N. Barnard made a detailed survey of the techniques of bronze and copper making and assigns the beginnings of metallurgy in China to the period about 1700 B.C.

The heterogeneity (and the varying standard) of the papers does not allow to assess the collection as a whole, but the lapse of a decade since the seminar was held must have of necessity affected the factographic part of the papers.

Some further items in the contents refer to: The earliest Japanese ceramic (T. Esaka), The Neolith in the Ganges valley (B. P. Sinha), Metallurgy in ancient India (D. P. Agrawal, S. Guzden), and in Central Asia (K. Jettmar).

*Eduard Krekovič*

Puchkov, P. I.: *Etnicheskaya situatsiya v Okeanii* (Ethnic Situation in Oceania). Moscow, Nauka 1983. 250 pp.

Puchkov's work is one of the very few books dealing with the overall ethnic situation in this part of the world. The author is known for his work in enthnology of Oceania beyond the borders of USSR and his experience makes him competent to make valid conclusions and generalizations.

The present publication consists of four chapters. The first chapter (pp. 17—57) characterizes the geographical setting of the area as well as its settlement, the voyages of discovery and the post-contact economical development of Oceania.

The second chapter (pp. 58—82) discusses the possibilities of subdivision of Oceania into various regions based upon historical peculiarities, economical and

cultural characteristics. This discussion is a prelude to the classification of Oceanic ethnic communities. Puchkov distinguished the following regions:

(1) Papuasia (New Guinea and adjacent islands),

(2) Melanesia (Bismarck Archipelago, Trobriand Islands, Murua Islands, d'Entrecasteaux Islands, Louisiade Islands, Solomon Islands, Santa Cruz Islands, Banks and Torres Islands, New Hebrides),

(3) Austromelanesia (New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands),

(4) Melano-Polynesia (Fiji and Rotuma),

(5) Western Micronesia (Marianas, Palau),

(6) Eastern Micronesia (including probably Nauru as well?),

(7) Polynesia.

The classification into these regions is historically and culturally based and is fully valid only for the pre-contact period.

The post-contact historical events and population changes make the separation of Fiji, New Zealand and Hawaii more or less inevitable (p. 64).

Puchkov's ethnic classification is based upon linguistic data. Having discussed Dyen's, Capell's, Grace's, Pawley's and Green's classifications, he proceeds to classify Papuan ethnic communities, largely in accordance with S. A. Wurm's classification.

In the third chapter (pp. 83—140) the author describes ethnic composition of the population of Oceania. He mentions instances of racial mixing and its importance for the present ethnic and racial characteristics of Oceania. The chapter contains several tables with demographic data. The countries of Oceania are classified into 8 types in terms of their ethnic heterogeneity (p. 129).

The fourth chapter (pp. 141—222) may be characterized as the most important in the book. Here the author launches on an attempt at a typologization of ethnic communities, discusses the ethnic consciousness, analyses relevant factors of ethnic processes as well as demographic processes such as e.g. migration, urbanization, and proceeds to characterize the linguistic situation and religious composition of Oceania as a factor relevant to ethnic problems. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of national policy and interethnic relations in Oceania.

In the end the author makes an attempt at a prognosis of the future ethnic development of Oceania (pp. 223—232). The book is furnished with an extensive bibliography (pp. 233—249).

Puchkov's book arouses interest not only because of its novelty, but also because of the author's theoretical competence. His approach, far from being positivist, is notable for an effort to define the most basic notions such as ethnic situation, ethnic composition, ethnic community, ethnic processes, demographic processes. This makes his book useful not only as a reference publication, but also as a theoretically consistent ethnotypological description.

*Viktor Krupa*

Geraghty, Paul A.: *The History of the Fijian Languages.* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1983. 483 pp.

This voluminous publication is the first book by Paul A. Geraghty. During his four years of field work and at various universities, he has gathered data for his monograph that has been issued as No. 19 in the series Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications.

Most readers will at once notice that the author has paid ample time and attention to the composition and internal organization of his book which is notable for its precision and internal consistency. Altogether there are seven chapters in the book organized in as homogeneous manner as possible.

Introductory remarks are followed by a discussion of the particular problem and by a brief summary of the subject. Three chapters deal with phonology, namely Chapter 2 (The Sound Patterns of Fiji), Chapter 3 (Regular Sound Changes), and Chapter 4 (Less Regular Sound Changes).

In Chapter One, Geraghty sets forth his methodological approach, while in Chapter Five he concentrates upon morphological and syntactic questions. The last two chapters draw consequences for the subgrouping of Fijian communalects, while Chapter Seven surveys the historical development of the Fijian group of languages. In this chapter, the author expresses his view on the Central Pacific hypothesis as well as upon the relationship of Fijian and Polynesian, a problem which cannot be solved apart from that of the Polynesian homeland. The core of Geraghty's argument may be reduced to the idea that a language can change its subgroup membership over time (p. 381). This is the case of Tokalau Fijian (i.e. Lau and Eastern Vanua Levu) that originally subgrouped with Polynesian but now unambiguously subgroups with Fijian as a whole. Geraghty's hypothesis looks plausible, as instances of a language changing its subgroup membership are known from elsewhere. Slovene seems to have been originally a West Slavic language that now subgroups with South Slavic. On the other hand, Central Slovak dialects display some ancient South Slavic features but today are grouped with the West Slavic group.

In the light of Geraghty's own investigations, some languages in the Southeast Solomons, as well as in the New Hebrides seem to be closer to Fijian than Polynesian is (cf. pp. 352—353, 389). Geraghty's argumentation relies, however, only upon lexicostatistical data.

One of the most refreshing and sympathetic features of Geraghty's approach is his genuine effort to be as precise as possible. He calls for caution in etymologizing and very carefully defines his notation, thus decreasing the possibility of ambiguity in his statements.

The value of Geraghty's book is enhanced by an Appendix comprising a list of Fijian words containing *p* or *f*, a Bibliography, an Index of Proto Eastern Oceanic Reconstructions, an Index of Proto Central Pacific and Proto Tokalau Polynesian

Reconstructions, an Index of Proto Polynesian Reconstructions and, finally, an Index of Fijian Words.

*Viktor Krupa*

Krause, Erich-Dieter: *Gesprächsbuch Deutsch-Indonesisch*. Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1983. 214 pp.

Indonesian ranks among the most important languages of Asia and indeed of the whole world. It is the national language of the Republic of Indonesia with more than 140 millions of inhabitants; Malay, its twin language, is used in the same function in Malaysia (13 millions of inhabitants). In addition to its wide dispersal throughout insular Southeast Asia, Indonesian (and Malay) has a long-standing literary tradition that reaches back to the 7th century A. D.

Today, Indonesian is developing at an extremely rapid rate, especially in the domain of vocabulary. It uses Latin-based writing and its syntax has undergone a considerable internationalization. As a consequence of this, Indonesian is more reminiscent of a European language than most other Asian languages. That is why Indonesian poses no insurmountable problem for those who have decided to learn and master it.

Krause's handbook pursues purely practical goals and is destined to beginners. The author has prepared it during his long-term stay in Indonesia. He employs the so-called perfectioned spelling which has been accepted alike by Indonesia and Malaysia in their efforts to unify the language standard.

The Introduction (pp. 11—19) discusses the most essential grammatical features of Indonesian; they are explained from a contrastive Indonesian-German point of view. The explanations are succinct and clear. Yet, readers would no doubt appreciate at least a few remarks on sentence syntax, in addition to those remarks that are scattered throughout the grammatical sketch.

Explanations of Indonesian phonetics and pronunciation (pp. 20—24) are likewise given upon the phonetic background of German, and the author furnishes them with numerous examples.

The conversational subjects covered by Krause in his book include common phrases, time, weather, travel, accommodation, food, traffic, nature, offices, police, schools, jobs, newspapers, radio, post, banks, shopping, culture, sports, recreation, diseases and health service, as well as family.

Each chapter contains a word list followed by useful expressions relating to the subject. Where necessary, alternative expressions and pronunciation are indicated in brackets.

The volume is complemented with a list of common inscriptions, several lists of numerals, numeratives, data about Indonesian money and measures. There is also a list of colour terms and a list of abbreviations.

The author pays attention to recent developments in Indonesian and has included also some Javanese, Balinese and Jakartan expressions that are in common use nowadays. This also enhances the value of his handbook which can be used both by Germans in Indonesia and by Indonesians in Germany.

*Viktor Krupa*

Svensson, Thommy—Sørensen, Per (Eds): *Indonesia and Malaysia.* Scandinavian Studies in Contemporary Society. London—Malmö, Curzon Press Ltd. — Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies 1983. 282 pp.

The present volume comprises papers delivered at the first Scandinavian conference on Indonesian and Malaysian Studies that was held in Kungälv near Gothenburg from 3 to 5 June 1977.

Although Asian studies have been carried out in Scandinavia for several centuries, the interest in Southeast Asia is of a relatively recent date. It is founded both upon theoretical traditions of research and upon practical activities. The organizational and economic conditions for research in Southeast Asia have improved especially after the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies had been founded in 1967. It is the social sciences and contemporary problems that dominate the stage. This is confirmed by the programme of the conference in which some fifty scholars participated and a variety of papers were presented. They can be classified into three groups.

The first category of papers concerns language. Elisabeth Lind in her study analyses the rhetoric of the former Indonesian President Sukarno who was able to make use of the pattern of Javanese symbolic structure in his effort to influence the masses of Indonesians. In his extensive paper Lars Vikør sketches the history of the development of Indonesian and Malay, and pays attention to language regulation and language planning in both Malaysia and Indonesia.

The second category of papers deals with social and economic problems of present-day Indonesia. Thommy Svensson describes the activities of the popular organization Sarekat Rakyat in Priangan and the process of proletarization in rural Java. Lien Pekih Aass and Svein Aass have demonstrated dramatic changes that have taken place in rural Java during the Suharto era and that have led to the proletarization of peasants. Ingela Gerdin has concentrated upon changes in property and labour relations that have taken place since pre-colonial time in West Lombok. Magnus Lindgren investigates changes in the kinship system of the New Guinea Highlands. According to him descent can be viewed as an ideology which legitimizes and obscures social inequality.

The last category comprises papers concerned with various aspects of rural life and aiming at interpreting common peoples' behaviour. Altogether there are three papers in this category. Sven Cederroth discusses the way in which the local elite

utilizes traditional institutions and beliefs in their own interest (upon data from Lombok). Wil Lundström-Burghoorn maintains that names and terms of address deserve a lot of attention on the part of anthropologists. His conclusions are based upon the study of Minahasa data. Ingrid Rudie in her essay based upon her field work describes social change and role negotiation in Malay Kelantan.

The content of this collective volume indicates that the Scandinavian scholars engaged in the research of Southeast Asia focus on modern problems of Indonesian and Malaysian societies and make serious efforts at applying up-to-date methods to data gathered during their field work.

*Viktor Krupa*

Makarenko, Vladimir A.: *A Preliminary Annotated Bibliography of Pilipino Linguistics (1604—1976).* Manila, De La Salle University Libraries and Linguistic Society of the Philippines 1981. xiv + 257 pp.

Although several bibliographies of Philippine language studies have appeared so far, this is the first bibliography of Pilipino (Tagalog) linguistics ever published. It has been compiled by the Soviet scholar V. A. Makarenko, well known for his work in the field of Philippine studies.

One of the unique features of this bibliography is its comprehensiveness. It covers the long period of time from 1604 to 1976. Altogether there are almost 1,800 entries concerned with descriptive, historical, comparative, sociolinguistic, stylistic and literary research.

Makarenko lists not only Western and Philippine sources but also items published in the Soviet Union which have largely been unaccessible to scholars in Western Europe, USA and in the Philippines.

The bibliography covers books, linguistic periodicals and also nonscholarly papers. Besides, some Philippine and American dissertations have been included. This bibliography will be appreciated by all scholars interested in the Philippine studies. It is a welcome contribution to the rapidly expanding Philippine linguistics.

The Foreword supplies information on the author and on the specific features of his bibliography while the Introduction sketches the history of Philippine linguistics and also contains information on the arrangement of the bibliography and on the structure of entries.

Bibliographical sources are listed separately (pp. 1—20) as well as works in Russian are (pp. 21—33). However, the bulk of the volume includes works in West European and Tagalog languages (pp. 34—245).

The publication is complemented with subject, authors and languages index.

The scholars will especially appreciate the fact that this is an annotated bibliography in which each entry is supplied with a brief characteristics of the work listed.

The reviewer hopes that V. A. Makarenko will continue his meritorious work along these lines because the linguistic production in the field of Philippine studies has been steadily rising after 1976.

*Jozef Genzor*

Grünendahl, R.: *Hochschulschriften zu Süd- und Südostasien. Deutschland—Österreich—Schweiz (1959—1979).* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1981. XXVIII+254 S., ca. 1300 Titel.

Das ständig ansteigende schriftliche Informationsmaterial macht es dem Wissenschaftler und auch dem Bibliothekar immer schwerer, sich durch die Fülle dieser Informationen durchzufinden und sie im vollen Umfang zu erfassen. Deshalb gewinnt die bibliographische Erschließung von Schriften in fach- und regionenbezogenen Verzeichnissen immer mehr an Bedeutung. Bibliographien, wie die vorliegende, ersparen oft mühsame Einzelrecherchen. Sie bewahren manche Arbeit im Gedächtnis der Wissenschaft, die sonst möglicherweise nicht die zukommende Beachtung geniessen und in Vergessenheit geraten würden. Die Hochschulschriften zu Süd- und Südostasien erfassen die in Deutschland (Bundesrepublik Deutschland), Österreich und der Schweiz zwischen den Jahren 1959 und 1979 herausgegebenen Arbeiten sowie Nachträge aus der Zeit vor 1958. Es ist der dritte Band, der im Rahmen der „Bibliographischen Erschließung deutschsprachiger Hochschulschriften über die Länder Asiens und Afrikas" veröffentlicht wurde. Über zwanzig Jahre sind seit dem Erscheinen von K. L. Janerts „Verzeichnis indienkundlicher Hochschulschriften", das für die Orientalistik des deutschen Sprachraumes als Pionierwerk gilt, vergangen. Die seitdem veröffentlichten Bibliographien zur Thematik Süd- und Südostasiens boten immer nur eine relativ kleine Auswahl. So erhebt auch diese Bibliographie aus bekannt vorauszusetzenden Gründen keinen Anspruch auf eine vollständige Erfassung aller diesbezüglichen Arbeiten.

Der Autor weist in seinen einleitenden Worten selbstkritisch auf einzelne Mängel, die meist objektiven und allgemeinen Charakter tragen, hin. Er beschreibt hier seine Arbeitsweise und die Quellen des erfaßten Materials. Er zieht einmal Verzeichnisse aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum (u.a. S. XVIII—XIX) heran und stellt zum anderen Spezialverzeichnisse von Hochschulschriften über Süd- und Südostasien, die außerhalb des deutschen Sprachraumes erschienen sind, vor (S. XXIII—XXVIII).

Der Aufbau der Bibliographie sieht folgendermaßen aus: Das Literaturmaterial wurde zunächst nach geographischen Regionen (Südasien S. 1—130, Südostasien S. 130—203) und innerhalb dieser wiederum nach Staaten geordnet. Die zweite, sachliche Ordnung erfolgt nach alphabethischem Schema, das z.T. nochmals untergliedert wurde. Es reicht von Architektur über Kunst, Naturwissenschaften,

Philosophie bis zur Wirtschaft. Diese Ordnungsbegriffe sind im Stich- und Schlagwortverzeichnis (S. 219—248) bewußt nicht erfaßt. Innerhalb der einzelnen Sachgebiete sind die Titel chronologisch nach dem Erscheinungsjahr geordnet. Zur Veranschaulichung dieses Ordnungsprinzips soll ein Beispiel angeführt werden: als Region — Südostasien allgemein (S. 130—203), die zweite, sachliche Ordnung mit den Ordnungsbegriffen Architektur, Biologie, ..., Geschichte und Politik, ..., Medizin, Naturwissenschaften, ..., Sozialwissenschaften, Wirtschaft — nochmalige Unterteilung in: Finanzen, Handel und Industrie. Die geographische Region Südostasien wird dann in die einzelnen Staaten aufgeteilt, wobei die Literatur für die jeweiligen Staaten abermals nach dem gleichen zweiten Ordnungsprinzip untergliedert ist.

Am Schluß des Bandes stehen die Nachträge (S. 249—254), die nach Eingang zusammengestellt sind. Die Nachträge sind nicht indiziert. Ferner schließt der Band auch einen Verfasserindex (S. 204—217) ein, so daß auch von dieser Seite her eine schnelle Orientierung möglich ist.

Der Autor bezeichnet seine Bibliographie als einen Versuch einer vollständigen Erfassung, der meiner Meinung nach jedoch relativ (gegenüber älteren Arbeiten) geglückt ist. Insgesamt wurden über 1300 Hochschulschriften erfaßt.

*Cornelia Trunkvalter*

Hoang Thi Chau: *Grundkurs Vietnamesisch.* Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1982. 212 S.

Der *Grundkurs Vietnamesisch* füllt wenigstens teilweise die Lücke aus, die im Bereich der Herausgabe moderner Lehrbücher der vietnamesischen Sprache noch immer klafft. Deren Bedarf wird stets als höchst aktuell empfunden, und daher muß man die Arbeit der vietnamesischen Autorin, die dieses Lehrbuch auf Grund ihrer eigenen methodischen Kenntnisse vorbereitet hat, begrüßen.

Das Buch ist als Hochschullehrbuch konzipiert, es setzt gewisse allgemeine philologische Kenntnisse der Studenten voraus, kann aber auch anderen Interessenten gute Dienste leisten. Mit seiner einfachen, genauen und konsequenten methodischen Vorgangsweise überwindet es die Mängel der traditionellen Methodik der Auslegung grammatischer Gesetzmäßigkeiten und der Interpretation des Fremdsprachentextes. In seiner Konzeption vereint das Buch organisch den Aspekt der Ausdrucksweise und des Denkens in der Fremdsprache.

Den eigentlichen Lektionen, deren es insgesamt zweiundzwanzig sind, geht eine kurze Einleitung über die Geschichte und die Struktur der vietnamesischen Sprache voran. Die ersten fünf Lektionen sind vor allem der Bewältigung der verhältnis-

mäßig komplizierten Aussprache, die folgenden wieder sind der grammatischen Struktur der Vietnamesischen gewidmet. Die Auswahl der Texte entspricht der notwendigen aktuellen Thematik sowie den vorausgesetzten Konversationsfähigkeiten der Studenten, eine größere Variabilität dieser, im Rahmen der Themen gesellschaftlichen Charakters wäre jedoch von Vorteil gewesen. Positiv ist die Interpretation der Sprachübungen zu bewerten, mit deren Hilfe die Studenten die grammatische Charakteristik der Sprache verhältnismäßig leicht identifizieren, ihre Sprachfertigkeiten stabilisieren und den notwendigen praktischen Konversationseffekt erreichen. Texte und Übungen knüpfen semantisch aneinander an. Der Autorin ist es gelungen die adäquate Auswahl der Lexik dem Streben nach einer Vertiefung der Kenntnis der Struktur der vietnamesischen Sprache zu unterwerfen. Neue Vokabeln werden in jeder Lektion selbständig angeführt. Das Lehrbuch enthält verhältnismäßig zahlreiche Übungen, die Voraussetzungen für eine gute Aneignung des lexikalischen sowie grammatischen Materials schaffen. Die Erläuterung neuer grammatischer Probleme knüpft konsequent und vom praktischen Standpunkt aus gesehen sehr geschickt an bereits bekannte grammatische Erscheinungen an, so daß deren systemhafte Kontinuität gewahrt ist, was wesentlich zum Verständnis der inneren Logik der gegebenen Sprache beiträgt.

Abschließend ist noch hinzuzufügen, daß das Lehrbuch der vietnamesischen Sprache von Hoang Thi Chau dank dem Akzent auf das Praktische auch für jene Interessenten geeignet ist, die die deutsche Sprache nur passiv beherrschen.

*Ján Múčka*

Lewin, Bruno—Müller-Yokota, Wolfram—Fujiwara, Michio: *Einführung in die japanische Sprache* (Introduction into the Japanese Language). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1983. 382 pp.

Nowadays there seems to be no shortage of textbooks of the Japanese language but good textbooks are still not to be taken for granted.

The present handbook is the result of an extensive and careful preparatory work. It has arisen in the course of experience in the instruction of Japanese at the Ruhr University at Bochum. It is destined for university students and its chief aim consists in furnishing the students with basic knowledge of modern written Japanese language to enable them to read Japanese texts with the aid of dictionaries and, possibly, other reference books. Since it is merely an introduction, the number of Chinese characters is restricted to the 340 most frequent ones. Besides, the users of the textbook can learn 607 frequent Japanese expressions as well as basic grammatical rules and syntactic patterns.

There are altogether twenty lessons in the book. These twenty lessons are preceded by three preparatory lessons (0.1—0.3). The latter concentrate upon the hiragana syllabary and upon Japanese phonetics.

The remaining lessons are structured in a more or less uniform way and consist of four sections. Section One comprises a text presented in Japanese script and followed by a Latin transcription of the Japanese text and its German translation (lessons 1—9). The texts are concerned with carefully selected subjects such as, e.g. university, bookshop, newspapers, year, students' life, library, a trip, Japanese society, economics and geography, etc.

Section Two gives a list of words and characters; the entries are supplied with examples and combinations of items, each lesson introducing some 12—26 new characters.

Section Three discusses grammatical phenomena relevant from the point of view of the text and, finally, Section Four contains exercises (generally five of them).

Two out of the twenty lessons are somewhat deviant from the others, concentrating upon recapitulation.

The instruction is complemented with a systematic survey of grammar (pp. 301—336), a word list, a character list and a key to exercises.

The reviewer highly appreciates the clarity of grammatical explanations, the selection of subjects as well as the concentration upon up-to-date vocabulary. Students and even autodidacts who use this textbook will be able to build up a solid basis for their further improvement in Japanese, one of the most important and at the same time one of the most difficult of modern languages.

*Viktor Krupa*

Ma Wei-yi: *A Bibliography of Chinese-Language Materials on the People's Communes.* Ann Arbor, Center of Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan 1982. xx + 301 pp.

The series Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies has already made available an interesting, useful, even pioneering scholarly publication to Sinologist in many fields of research. The present book is the 44th in this series and will certainly prove an important, welcome aid primarily to those studying the problems of the people's communes in China, but from certain aspects also to Sinologist doing research in other topics in the People's Republic of China after the year 1958.

The author, Chinese Bibliographer in the Asia Library at the University of Michigan, based his bibliography on the collections of this library. In the present volume he has processed 137 Chinese-language journals, principally from the PRC, but also from Taiwan and Hong Kong. The bibliography comprises a total of 2826

articles published mainly between 1858—1965, but in several cases going up to the early seventies.

This carefully and systematically processed bibliography is arranged under 25 principal subjects and many sub-subjects that help the problems to be further differentiated and concretized, and then in a chronological and alphabetical order in the pinyin system. Entries whose titles convey no information on their content, are briefly annotated. The user thus has at his disposal an effective tool permitting ready retrieval and prompt orientation. The scale of subjects covers practically all the aspects of people's communes, from ideological, through historical, economic, production, working, technical, educational, cultural, sociological, cadres, etc. The Reference Index presenting a geographical grouping of articles is arranged according to provinces, listing the name and location of each commune in an alphabetical order in the respective province. This index permits prompt retrieval of any article dealing with some particular region of China, of interest to the searcher.

Beside the Foreword by Weiying Wan, the present book is introduced with a Preface in which R. Dernberger and M. Oksenberg discuss in brief the development and the characteristic feature of people's communes. A Pinyin/Wade-Giles Conversion Chart is provided at the end of the book.

*Anna Doležalová*

*Chrestomathie der chinesischen Literatur der 50er Jahre* (Chrestomathy of Chinese Literature of the Fifties). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1982. 448 pp.

To work out a chrestomathy of a ten-year development of contemporary Chinese literature is undoubtedly an exacting and meritorious enterprise which, in this case, will certainly be appreciated particularly by teachers and students of sinology in the German-speaking area. This task, as yet probably unique of its kind, has been undertaken by the Berlin experts Shuxin Reichardt and Manfred Reichardt. The instructive, synoptic Foreword to it was written by Fritz Gruner.

The present chrestomathy has embraced a broad scale of literary genres: the novel, short story, poetry including, folk poetry, drama, dialogue xiangsheng, and comprises 56 works or fragments by forty-five writers, published in the People's Republic of China in the fifties of this century. The works, with the exception of ten specimens of folk poetry in the last section of the book, are arranged chronologically according to their date of publication. The closing part of the book is made up of a list of bibliographic sources.

The authors of the chrestomathy introduce each writer with entries — occasionally too brief — comprising main biographic and bibliographic data with a characteristic of his literary works. The names and titles of works are given in the pinyin system of

transliteration, with tones being marked and also with Chinese characters, and another useful device, with a reference to an eventual German translation.

The user of the chrestomathy is assumed to possess a basic knowledge of Chinese. The more complex characters and terms are numbered and in the text following each section, are reprinted from the original edition, transliterated, again with tones marked, and explained in German.

The choice of authors and works in a chrestomathy such as the present one has of necessity to be made through compromise. The editors, as they observe in the foreword, endeavoured to select the most important writers and simultaneously to capture the diversity of topics and styles in Chinese literature of that decade, but were also limited in their efforts not only by the prescribed space, but in some cases also by inaccessibility of the original. Every reviewer, including the present one, even while minding the criteria in the foreword, will probably miss some author or work in such a chrestomathy. For instance, as regards achieving a fuller diversity of literary styles and topics, the present reviewer would like to see here excerpts, e.g. from the tales *Zuzhebu xinlai de qingnian ren* (A Young Man Who Recently Came to the Organization Department) by Wang Meng, which is a representative work of the period of the Hundred Flowers Campaign, or from *Laifangzhe* (The Visitor) by Feng Ji. But of course, a "completion" of such a chrestomathy might be suggested by every student of contemporary Chinese Literature, while hardly anyone would like to see any writer or work dropped out of the chrestomathy, for this would also disrupt the criteria set down in the foreword.

The authors of the Chrestomathy of Chinese literature of the fifties have done a tough, laborious bit of work, worthy of appreciation which will certainly not be lacking on the part of users. Their work will prove a useful and welcome aid in the teaching of Chinese literature and language at universities with German as the teaching language and also to those from this linguistic sphere intent on supplementing their knowledge of Chinese language and contemporary Chinese literature.

*Anna Doležalová*

Feuerwerker, Yi-tsi Mei: *Ding Ling's Fiction. Ideology and Narrative in Modern Chinese Literature.* Cambridge, Mass. — London, Harvard University Press 1982. 196 pp.

Ding Ling (1905—), one of the foremost women writers of Chinese modern literature, began her literary career as a member of the May Fourth generation. In her works she has created unusually arresting and living images, beginning with young women undergoing individual crises of love, sex and identity, up to a monumental picture of the land reform peopled with characters of the Chinese coun-

tryside. By her life and work, she is a grateful object of analysis. Yi-ti Mei Feuerwerker, Lecturer at the Residential College, University of Michigan, turns to good account here her deep and intimate knowledge of Ding Ling's work acquired by a sustained study over several years and during a stay in China in 1981 where she had occasion to meet the writer in person (after her rehabilitation in 1979) and many of those who knew her and had been associated with her during the most strenuous period of her life, to present in the book under review an analysis of that work from various aspects of her narrative art. Many of these aspects reflect the ideological context within which Ding Ling applied her creative genius. The principal attention in this book is focused on the various stages of development in the writer's belletrist work and on an explication of the ways in which thinking affected her narrative practice.

In the Introduction, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker confines herself to briefly sketching the writer's biography treating in more detail salient events in her life in the different chapters while analysing her work, and this in the measure which she deems fit for a better understanding of the relations between her life and her work.

Chapter one entitled Subjectivism and Literature deals with works of the writer's initial creative period, i.e. from the years 1927—1929, putting stress on her greatest achievement from this period — *Shafei nushi de riji* (The Diary of Miss Sophie). Here the authoress analyses the degree of autobiography in the writer's works beginning with her first collection *Zai heianzhong* (In the Darkness), endeavouring to grasp and make plain the very nature of the relation between autobiography and fiction. As the most characteristic example for this relationship, for this transition of an autobiographical fact into a literary work, she mentions the short story *Guonian* (New Year's), which portrays the birth of Ding Ling's typical heroine in the first, initial period of her writing — when as yet a hypersensitive, self-conscious child, lonely and ill-at-ease in a cold world. Further sections of this chapter are devoted to images of the heroines from the aspect of portraying "the Self in the World", i.e. a searching for one's own identity and opinions, witnessing crises in life, in love and in interhuman relations. The stories *Mengke* (Mengke) and *Amao guniang* (Miss Amao) are again interpreted in autobiographical connotations. From an analysis of such characters as Miss Amao and Mengke, the authoress deals with the most representative and perhaps also the most extreme, though the most exactly portrayed personage — Miss Sophie, with the problem of love and sexuality as contradictory traits of personality. Against the background and in the vortex of such large cities as Shanghai and Peking, Ding Ling creates types of "liberated" women with a rich psyche that are typical also of the writer's beginning period.

Another topic, likewise an important part of these early works is also dealt with in this chapter, viz.the question of the meaning of writing which Ding Ling's heroines ask themselves in one form or another, and of a literary representation of this problem. The closing section of this chapter is devoted to The Diary of Miss Sophie,

an extremely subjective world, portrayed in great detail thanks to the narrative method chosen by Ding Ling. Miss Sophie is one of the few first-person narrators to be found in Ding Ling's works and the Diary is one of the rare cases where Ding Ling endeavours to present the episode exclusively from the standpoint of the protagonist's inner feelings.

The second chapter is devoted to the writer's road towards revolutionary literature — a period in which Ding Ling turns away from the subjective aspects of the lives of her heroes towards the milieu in which they live. In the stories from this period they struggle, just as she does, for progress on this road (she portrays the milieu). Feuerwerker mentions here stories from the year 1930 — *Wei Hu* (Wei Hu) and twin stories *Yijiusanlingnian chun Shanghai (zhiyi, zhier)* (Shanghai, Spring 1930, I and II) — which belonged to her "love and revolution" fiction and through which Ding Ling achieved a more rounded view of the outside world. A short section is devoted to unfinished works, principally to the novel *Muqin* (Mother); while writing this novel, Ding Ling was arrested and imprisoned by Kuomingtang agents. The chapter is concluded by an analysis of the short story *Yi tian* (One Day), written in 1931 and which, too, is an attempt at determining literature's place within the revolutionary context.

Chapter three, headed Yenan and the Uses of Literature, describes the writer's transition from the "Shanghai phase" of writing to the new period (1936—1946). Her works from this period already adhere to the criteria as outlined by Mao Zedong's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, i.e. they should be popular, "fresh, lively and loved by the masses". In this section the authoress strives to bring out Ding Ling's attempts, full of harrowing conflicts, to get even with the change in the intellectual position that gave rise to literature serving the revolution. One section of the chapter is devoted to the writer's participation in the Northern March and her related works, to an extension of her writing horizon by way of presenting "the bright sight of reality", to characters and models in her writings from this period. The concluding part of the chapter is concerned with *Scenes of Northern Shaanxi* (Shaanbei fengguang). Here, comparing her work *Minjian yiren Li Bu* (The People's Artist Li Bu), built firmly on facts, with her story Mengke, standing on the opposite pole of her writings, the authoress goes to show the road Ding Ling had crossed since her early beginnings and pinpoints the features by which her "new literary style" differs in her means of expression.

The last chapter is devoted to Ding Ling's only completed novel — *Taiyang zhao zai Sangghanhe shang* (The Sun Shines on the Sanggan River) and the related way of looking at literature as a reproduction of historical reality. Here, the authoress analyses various aspects of the work, e.g. the mode of representing the village as a collective hero, of characterizing various members of the community, of portraying nature, the ongoing struggle, of grasping social changes and of forming one's world outlook. The concluding section of this chapter attempts to resolve the relation

between plot, history, reality on the one hand and literature on the other, with a brief comparison of traditional Chinese historiography with socialist novels carrying a historical plot.

Thanks to her stay in China, the authoress has succeeded in collecting Ding Ling's complete work and in locating the place of the first publication of the various writings. A complete chronological list of her fiction is appended.

*Henrieta Krčová*

Wagner, Rudolf G.: *Literatur und Politik in der Volksrepublik China.* Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag 1983. 366 S.

Das rezensierte Buch präsentiert eine Auswahl der in den Jahren 1979—1980 entstandenen Werke, die auch unter dem Namen "Wundenliteratur" bekannt geworden sind, und legt sich die Aufgabe vor, diese als soziale Dokumente zu deschiffrieren. Die hier vorgestellte Texte behandeln aktuelle allbekannte Probleme, die nach dem Sturz der „Viererbande" zum Vorschein gekommen sind, und damit mehr oder weniger den gegenwärtigen Entwicklungs- und Diskussionsstand der Gesellschaft, wie auch der Literatur der heutigen Tage in der Volksrepublik China widerspiegeln.

Die Auswahl enthält verschiedene Literaturformen — fünf Erzählungen, ein Gedicht und ein Theaterspiel. Es handelt sich teilweise um Werke von Autoren der mittleren Generation der rehabilitierten Schriftsteller, die bereits vor 1957 schrieben, und um die von jüngeren chinesischen Autoren.

Den eigentlichen Texten bevorsteht am Anfang eine Einleitung, die die Rolle der Literatur als regulierter Selbstaufklärung an dem breiteren historischen Hintergrund behandelt. In den Vorbemerkungen zu den einzelnen Texten ist dann das konkrete Problem, mit dem sich der Text befaßt, in politische und soziale Zusammenhänge gesetzt. Der Verfasser verfolgte mit seinen Vorbemerkungen das Ziel zu erläutern um was für ein Problem es sich im politischen Kontext handelt, auf welche Weise es dargestellt wird und welche Auswirkungen es auf die ofizielle Einstellung zur Literatur und auf die Diskussionen, die der Text verursachte, hat.

Wie es R. G. Wagner selbst betont, ist in diesem Buch über Stil und Erzählungskunst nicht viel die Rede, und ist, wie auch die innenchinesische Diskussion, ganz vom Inhalt der Texte beherrscht.

Auf diese Weise präsentiert die Auswahl in der ersten Erzählung von Zheng Yi *Roter Ahorn* das Bild der „realistischen Darstellung des Klassenfeindes" und erleuchtet im Kommentar die Situation der Abrechnung mit dem Erbe der Kulturrevolution. Die Geschichte hat einen real historischen Hintergrund — die militärischen Kämpfe um die Qinghua-Universität im Beijing während der Kultur-

revolution. Der rote Ahorn ist und bleibt ein Leitmotiv der Geschichte — die Universität ist von roten Ahornbäumen umgeben, die Heldin trägt diesen Namen, und die rot verfärbten Blätter des Ahorns sind wie ein Zeichen der revolutionären Begeisterung am Anfang des Kampfes — eines Kampfes, deren Ziele und Absichten nie gennant waren und die auch für die teilnehmenden Jugendlichen nie klar waren. Der tragische Konflikt zwischen zwei sich liebenden Menschen aus verschiedenen Fraktionen, die schließlich die Gewähre gegeneinander richten, mündet am Ende in ein Bild, das eigentlich noch Kinder wie ahnungslose Opfer der Anleitungen, die sie zu einer abnormalen sinnlosen Tat bringen. Diese Geschichte ist eigentlich der einzige Text, deren Handlung sich während der Kulturrevolution abspielt. Die anderen Texte behandeln auf diese oder andere Weise nur das Erbe der Kulturrevolution und das nicht wie ein Hauptthema. Es handelt sich vielmehr um aktuelle Probleme im Zeitabschnitt der Entstehung der Texte.

Die Auswahl präsentiert auf der schon erwähnten Weise weitere Texte: Ru Zhijuans *Pfad durch die Steppe*, Yen Wenfus Gedicht *General, so nicht*, das Theaterstück *Und wenn ich es wirklich wäre* von Sha Yexin, Li Shoucheng und Yao Mingde, Liu Binyans „Skizze" *Unter Menschen und Dämonen*, die Erzählung Wang Mengs *Das dankbare Herz* und schließlich die Erzählung *Direktor Qiao übernimmt das Kommando.*

Die Charakteristik dieser als sozialpolitische Dokumente betrachteten Werke wird im Nachwort vertieft. Der Verfasser will hier mit Zitaten der Staats- und Parteispitzenfunktionäre und aus dem literarischen Kreise kommenden Stimmen und deren Kommentieren zeigen, wie sich der Spielraum der Literatur entwickelt.

Das Buch, zusammengestellt und sehr ausführlich in den breiteren Kontext von R. G. Wagner gesetzt, läßt uns genauer den Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Literatur beobachten.

*Henrieta Krčová*

Bauer, Wolfgang—Hwang, Shen-chang (Eds): *German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History. Deutschlands Einfluß auf die moderne chinesische Geistgeschichte.* Münchener ostasiatische Studien, Band 24. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH 1982. 510 pp.

This long awaited bibliography, that had been in preparation for over ten years, is finally available to scholars interested in Sino-German relations. The initial idea to compile such a work appeared back in autumn of 1967 when the present reviewer met at Ebersberg, Bavaria, with Professor Herbert Franke from Munich University. Professor Franke then suggested that his younger colleague Professor Wolfgang Bauer be responsible for the project of Sino-German cultural relations which was the

subject of our conversation. During the school-year 1969—1970 I had an opportunity at the Munich University, but also elsewhere, to collect bibliographic materials which appeared in a mimeographed form in 1971 under the title *Preliminary Research-guide. German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History.* Work on the project was later carried out particularly by Dr. Hwang Shen-chang, Professor Helmut Martin, Dr. Hwang-cherng Gong, Professor Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, Miss Barbara Ascher and some others. While my initial bibliography comprised 1,858 items, the one under review lists 12,137 entries which means that over a period of some ten years, as a result of several researchers and also of new materials that have appeared since, the number of items has increased more than six-fold.

Both the editors of the present volume decided for practically the same internal division as I used in the *Preliminary Research-guide.* At that time I read with interest A. O. Lovejoy's book entitled *Essays in the History of Ideas,* and primarily on its basis, and also critical remarks by others, I opted for the following classification of the bibliography: philosophy and its history, science and its history, religious beliefs and theological doctrines, literature, comparative literature and their histories, economic history and the history of economic theories, education, psychology and their histories, political and social history, sociology and law. Two more groups have been added to my list: books concerned with the German impact on China in European languages and articles concerned with the same problem and also published in foreign languages. Every part of my bibliography has been divided, insofar as the collected data allowed, into four subdivisions: translations of books, translations of articles, books by Chinese authors, and articles by Chinese authors. The difference between the *Preliminary Research-guide* and the present publication is that the latter comprise a section concerned with war and military science, and the section of history embraces also geography; the so-called miscellanea consists of language teaching books, general dictionaries, periodicals and a few bibliographies of Sino-German relations by Wei I-hsin, Wolfgang Franke, Cheng Shou-lin, Yüan T'ung-li and Su Ming-fa, all published in China or Taiwan.

The inclusion of the group of materials concerned with military affairs into this bibliography was the result of pressure due to the large quantity of books, periodical articles and historical material available. Many books and articles on this topic had been translated into Chinese. For instance, the clasic book on military tactics by Carl von Clausewitz *Vom Kriege* (On War) in various editions (even abbreviated or partial) at least eight times, for the first time in 1913. This book enjoyed great success in the military world, and its fame was contributed to German, particularly Prussian militarism, and probably to German advisers who were staying in Guomindang China between 1927 and 1938. The most diverse books dealing with military technology, engineering, topography, were translated into Chinese. Personally, I am of the opinion that such works do not belong to the intellectual history or *Geistesgeschichte.*

One may subscribe to Professor Bauer's view that it was not the intention of the editors "to create a meticulous compendium but a reference book giving information of essential publications" (p. XV). But then every competent scholar may ask: "Who is to guarantee that the bibliography comprises precisely the essential information?" Every experienced student of Sino-German relations, and the editors, too, are aware of how many data in the bibliography are represented by "ghost books" or "ghost articles" that are and who knows how long will remain beyond the reach of the interested scholars. Every research-worker wishes to have the most complete bibliographic data possible. A surprising feature in the present bibliography is the low degree of accessibility of translations. Translation as a form of relation occupies an unusually important place in the sphere of mutual impact of diverse components when various complexes meet, those forming part of systemo-structural wholes that once apart, now coming close. The majority of them are certainly not to be found in the libraries outside the PRC, but most of them may gradually be traced in the big libraries in Peking, Shanghai and elsewhere. Translation represents the most direct form of relations between the various entities within the complex of intellectual history (foreign and indigenous). Unless the share of a body of translation is examined, some other sort of knowledge may remain questionable, e.g. that obtained on the basis of Chinese articles on various issues, for often they may involve merely the so-called external contacts which in no way affect the receiving structure and environment. This is true of many articles written about Goethe, usually on the occasion of anniversaries.

In the present volume, but also in all the preceding ones, there is a complete lack of data from various anthologies, collections of essays, articles in which authors wrote, sometimes incidentally, at other times in a programmed way, with a varying degree of knowledge, about the problems concerned with Sino-German relations. We have in mind translations and original works by people who knew the one and the other pole and who thus contributed in a larger or smaller measure to an intensification of the impact of German culture on China during our century, for example, Guo Moruo, Liu Dajie, Bian Zhilin and many others. Cognition is a long-term and incessant process. These data which will not always be easy to come by could be included in the next volume, apparently due to appear in the not too distant future.

The next, a supplementary volume, ought to follow also for other reasons. A certain amount of relevant material could be found in bibliographies that have appeared in the PRC after the year 1976 and will probably appear in the future. As a point of fact, I have one of them in mind: Lu Yongmao et alii, *Waiguo wenxue lunwen suoyin* (A Bibliography of Articles on Foreign Literature), Teachers' College of Honan Province 1979. Suffice it to observe that while the present bibliography lists three entries referring to G. E. Lessing, Lu's bibliography has nine; in the case of T. Mann this ratio is twelve to nine, but Lu's compilation mentions works that are not in this bibliography. Again in the case of B. Brecht, the ratio is two

to fourteen, although neither compilation lists articles that were written in the PRC during 1978—1979, particularly following the Peking performance of *Leben des Galileo Galilei*; according to W. Schlenker's article in Brecht-Jahrbuch 1980, pp. 136—137, this amounted to eighteen articles. On the basis of over thirty items (not counting translations of Brecht's works into Chinese), one could make quite a fair analysis and draw concrete conclusions. In future, bibliographies like the one under review, must not omit numerous book and periodical publications published in the PRC after 1978 which contain a large quantity of new material relevant to Sino-German relations, all the more so, as material from the PRC are represented in a far smaller measure in the present bibliography than those from Taiwan. This is due to the situation in the German Federal Republic where books and journals published in the PRC in the 1950s and early 1960s were inadequately available, and to the far greater openness on the part of Taiwan and possibilities of communication.

It is a pity that only one index is provided, i.e. concerning German names as subjects, but not, for instance, as the authors of books, articles, literary or other works. Topical index would be also welcome.

Despite certain minor drawbacks that cannot be imputed either to the compilers nor to the editors, we must say that this is a work with which everyone interested in this domain must become acquainted with.

*Marián Gálik*

Siu, Bobby: *Women of China. Imperialism and Women's Resistance 1900—1949.* London, Zed Press 1982. 209 pp.

Dr Siu has already written two books concerned with woman question: *A Sociology of American Feminism* and *Fifty Years of Struggle.* Now, in the book under review, starting from a Marxist approach as manifested in Lenin's book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and a large quantity of Chinese and foreign material, he analyses the life of Chinese women against a background of indigenous feudalism and capitalism, and also foreign imperialism in the first half of our century.

The book itself is made up of the Introduction, six chapters and an Epilogue entitled Lessons from the Chinese Women's Movement. The first two chapters introduce the readers into the political and economic environment, pointing to the diverse facets of imperialism, its development in Great Britain, the United States of America and Japan, hence, countries that had exerted the greatest impact on China during the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. As to the economic aspect of the problem, most attention here is devoted to the consequences felt in the domain of the textile industry and agriculture. Although the first third of the book is less original than the other two, the reader might be struck by

at least a few observations, e.g. the statement that in the "Chinese traditional peasant economy, all the work related to production was done within the family" (p. 38). By family is here, of course, meant the extensive Chinese family, rather a clan, with several generations of close kins sharing one roof, in the closed community ruled hierarchically. The large traditional Chinese family was truly the basic unit of the entire Chinese social system organized according to Confucian teaching. Only in the eighteenth century cracks began to appear in this monolithic system as a result of the end of the self-sufficiency of the peasant economy and a separation of agriculture and handicraft industry. Any negligible nuclei of a possible capitalist development in China were nipped in the bud early in the nineteenth century by the inflow of cheap and permanent goods, first from Great Britain and then also from other countries. A later development of national capitalism was forestalled by imperialist monopolies. Chinese enterprises were very weak as regards financial investments; being founded on a very low level of capital, they could not afford means for the necessary investments, innovation of production, were incapable of adjusting themselves to the situation on the international market and were thus at the tender mercies of the financially stronger foreign industry and banks. The Kuomintang as the ruling party, originally showed small interest in the promotion of industry, but gradually the percentage of factories whose owners were members of the Kuomintang went on increasing and in 1941 amounted to half the total volume. A typical trait of Chinese agriculture was a concentration of landownership, so that in the 1930s, according to a rough estimate, "half of the Chinese peasants were landless" (p. 51). Other important characteristics of Chinese agriculture beginning towards the end of the 19th century were a shrinkage of farm size in wheat and rice zones and the so-called commodization of agricultural products. This was related to the extinction of the self-sufficiency of the peasant economy. The peasants had to buy some products, even daily food, and for this they needed money. For this reason large-scale production of mulberry trees (for the cultivation of silkworms), of tea and of "cash crops", especially poppies for the domestic production of opium, was within the frame of interest. The increasing militarization, recurring natural catastrophes, the most diverse forms of economic exploitation and extra-economic oppression constantly led to situations that directly promoted states of famine. The best land and its acreage were used to produce poppies and there was not enough soil for growing an adequate quantity of food crops.

The next two thirds of the book under review are devoted to the consequences of the above analysed situations for the life of the Chinese. The author takes note principally of the fates of peasant and working-class women, hence, of the most numerous components of the Chinese women world. He says of the former that they "were peripheral to rural economy" (p. 79), although this applied more to the traditional China than to the development in our century, particularly during the years of the Anti-Japanese War (1937—1945) and the struggles of the Chinese

Communist Party and the Kuomintang. The decline of the handicraft industry released manpower, including also women, first for handicraft workshops and later for capitalist enterprises in towns. The largest number of women were employed in the textile industry, usually about 12 hours a day, with hardly any breaks, not even for meals. Working conditions were shocking and most frequently girls were hired between the ages of 10 and 18. This was often done through the intermediary of the "middlemen". These women received inadequate food and lived in desolate conditions. They had to work without medical care and had no claim to maternity leave.

The woman question was dealt with in diverse ways during the first half of this century. Economic and educational plans were worked out and the issue was to have been resolved within the family framework and on the basis of legal norms. But all proved abortive, for the competent agents looked upon such plans as being the less pressing item in the wider social and economic problems. Individual tactics were often altered without leading to any positive outcomes that would have primarily brought relief to the dreadful suffering and permitted practically half the Chinese population to lead a more decent human life. The author of the book devotes most attention to the common struggle of the women, peasants and workers for a political and social liberation, points to their successes and failures, dwelling rather more on the former. This is not quite correct, for these failures (if we have in mind the woman question) may be very instructive and indicate certain development whether in the PRC or Taiwan after 1949. For instance, no mention is made of the struggle of Ding Ling (1907—) with some cadres in Yanan in the early 1940s, nor of the fact that women had practically no possibility of self-realization on the places that were of economic and political importance. Such a procedure on the part of the author may be explained (but not justified) by the fact that one of his aims had been: to draw the lessons from the Chinese women's movement for the contemporary world, especially in the developing countries.

The book is provided with a very thorough bibliography of primary and secondary sources. A great drawback is the lack of an index.

*Marián Gálik*

Spence, Jonathan D.: *The Gate of Heavenly Peace. The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895—1980.* New York, Penguin Books 1982. 516 pp.

This is the fifth book of a series written by the author Jonathan D. Spence, George Burton Adams. Professor of History at Yale University. At the same time it may be expected to attract the largest readership from among all his books and to influence to some extent the "image" of China in English-speaking countries.

Mr. Spence is a historian and is especially interested in certain aspects of Chinese history of the Qing dynasty (1644—1911). And neither does he deny the historian within him in this book, carrying on along the road he followed when writing *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor* (1966), or *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-hsi* (1974) and when, with the aid of minor or greater "medallions", he investigates the intellectual, literary and social history of China of later years, hence periods closer to us, beginning shortly before the end of the last century and coming up to the time of five years ago. A specific feature of this book is that its author, a strict critic of historical reality, a man of rare erudition and uncommon insight, makes use in it more or less of a method of old Chinese novel-writers and by a method close to the traditional *zhanghui xiaoshuo* (chapter-divided novels) faithfully brings close to us Chinese reality of over ten decades. Through this book, Spence has created a new *Rulin waishi* (The Unofficial History of the Literati) and its similarity with the one written around the year 1750 by the writer Wu Jingzi (1701—1754) could not possibly be denied. Both books are written in a satirical vein (although, in the case of Mr. Spence's work, the satirical is contained within historical truth), both primarily take note of the cultural phenomenon (*wenhua*) and within this context, mainly of literature, and both remain an original expression, each within its own sphere, of Chinese *jingshen wenming* (spiritual civilization), although already influenced by the world of culture, and its representatives are very prominent, occasionally even the most prominent personalities who left their mark on the overall cultural physiognomy of the society. This is a review of Mr. Spence's book and not an inner-literary comparative study. However, similarly as Wu's *chef-d'œuvre*, this historical work is divided into three parts, of which the first and third are some sort of a complement of the second one. In fact, it seems that Spence's principal aim is to bring out the creative aspect of the new Chinese culture at the time of its impact on and response to the world — a great period of China which takes up the two decades betwen Lu Xun's short story *Kuangren riji (The Diary of a Madman)* (1918) and the heroic stand of Chinese units against the attacking Japanese armies of intervention near Lugouqiao (The Marco Polo Bridge) (1937).

The book by Spence has three protagonists: Kang Yuwei (1858—1927), Lu Xun (1881—1936) and Ding Ling who says about herself that she was born in 1904 — see her autobiography in *Zhongguo zuojia zhuanlue* (Short Biographies of Modern Chinese Writers). Chungking 1981, p. 62. In the majority of publications her year of birth is given as 1907 and Mr. Spence states it as 1905 (p. 161). But from a temporal aspect, the year of central interest is 1927 — more or less incidentally the year of Kang Yuwei's death, the culmination and defeat of the Revolution of the Northern Expedition, Lu Xun's passing over to Marxist positions, the beginning of proletarian and revolutionary literature in China and also the start of Ding Ling's writer career; she published her first literary work *Meng Ke* in the December issue of the foremost literary magazine of the times Xiaoshuo yuebao (The Short Story Magazine). The

central point in the spatial sense is Tiananmen (The Gate of Heavenly Peace) which "guards the southern approach to the former imperial palace complex in Beijing. Until the fall of China's last dynasty in 1912, it was through this gate that the main axis of the Emperor's power was believed to run, as he sat in his throne hall, facing south, the force of his presence radiating out across the court yards and ornamental rivers of the palace compound, passing through the gate, and so to the great reaches of the country beyond" (p. 17).

After the setting up of the Republic of China, thousands of demonstrators assembled in front of this gate at important moments of the Chinese cultural and political life, as for instance on May 4th, 1919, which meant the beginning of the May Fourth Movement, the most important event in China's new cultural history, when after two decades of vacillation, she definitely decided to take the road of modern world culture, or in the year 1925 when young students gathered in front of this gate to protest on the so-called May 30th Movement, against the interventions of world imperialism into Chinese affairs, etc. On October 1, 1949, from its rostrum Mao Zedong proclaimed the constitution of the People's Republic of China, then greeted hundreds of thousands, or millions of Chinese people on the occasion of Mayday celebrations or of some State festivity, and also when inaugurating the notorious "Cultural Revolution" he waved to the endless ranks of "Red Guardists" who wanted — but failed to alter China.

In the book under review, those who moved the masses, the politically strong, are kept in the background. They are mentioned in it, e.g. the emperor's widow Cixi, Chiang Kaishek, Mao Zedong or Zhou Enlai, for no complete image could be drawn without them, but they do not come out as involved participants of Chinese reality, of its various aspects. The selected protagonists or antagonists are members of various political convictions, members of political parties or literary associations and on the chessboard presented by this book they are made to move so as to paint as faithfully as possible the atmosphere of the times, the general tuning, inner dynamism, opportunities and limitations, hopes and despairs. Kang Yuwei's image supplements that of his pupil Liang Qichao (1873—1929) and these are joined by one of the ablest poets of China of the 1920s, Xu Zhimo (1896—1931) and the latter, but not the two former, is joined by yet another poet Wen Yiduo (1899—1945) who was hit by bullets of Guomindang agents when he advocated a democratization of postwar China. The noncommunist Lu Xun, the greatest personality of modern Chinese culture, has in this book aids or counterplayers in the Communist Qu Qiubai (1899—1935), in the critics Zhou Yang (1908—) and Hu Feng (1903—); he was positively made use of, but also unfairly misused during the course of half a century during which he was able to influence the genesis and development of Chinese culture. The communist Ding Ling is presented in relation with her friends and her enemies, with the writer Shen Congwen (1902—) and her agitated history, familiar with glory and decline and fall, with honours, but also imprisonments in both the

Chinese republics. She clearly went through the most stirring peripeteia, although she did not achieve the climax reached by her husband Hu Yepin (1905—1931), or by the writer Lao She (1899—1966) who paid with their lives for their inner conviction.

Much of what is dealt with in this book is familiar to sinologists, yet even the most erudite among these will still find something new in it, and this adds to its value. But it is likewise suitable for the wider circuit of readers interested in the cultural history of Chinese literature of the past three centuries. A certain drawback of the book is that it devotes relatively little attention to the cultural development after the year 1976 — an issue of present interest, and for instance literature of the scars is not even mentioned in it. On the other hand, the excellent, up-to-date Bibliography appended to the book and the Index may be said to make up for this defect.

*Marián Gálik*

Bryant, Daniel: *Lyric Poets of the Southern T'ang. Feng Yen-ssu, 903—960 and Li Yü, 937—978.* Vancouver — London, University of British Columbia Press 1982. 151 pp.

It is quite possible that many a European reader — whether of the earlier or the younger generation — of translations of old Chinese poetry, will be reminded, on opening this book, of Alfred Hoffmann's *Die Lieder des Li Yü, 937—978, Herrschers der Südlichen T'ang-Dynastie*, Köln, Greven Verlag 1980, by which this well-known sinologist, now Professor Emeritus of Ruhr University, Bochum, introduced himself to the European sinologic literary scholarship on his return from several years of stay in China. His second book bore the title *Frühlingsblüten und Herbstmond. Ein Holzschnittband mit Liedern aus der Sung-Zeit (960—1279)*, likewise Köln, Greven Verlag 1951. It is rather a pity that this presentation was a single event and has never been repeated in his activity. As a matter of fact, Prof. Hoffmann subsequently devoted himself primarily to ornithology. It is not easy to determine how far Mr. Bryant followed Hoffmann's investigations. Although he writes that Hoffmann "brings to the poems a thorough knowledge of the conventions of the *tz'u* and a profound understanding of their meaning and imagery" (p. 134), he never refers directly to him and, with the exception of one single passage in which he rather sides with Robert van Gulik, does not even mention him (p. 79).

One part of the book under review that must be read is the extensive *Introduction*, as it presents the history of the Southern T'ang dynasty which started in 937, hence, in the year of birth of its most significant man of letters, and came to an end in 978, the year of his death. As a matter of fact, the book is concerned with the life and work of three poets. To the two named in the heading of the book, we should also add Li

Ching (916—961), "the Middle Ruler" of the dynasty — a poetic double of his son Li Yü. Li Yü's significance to international sinology was uncovered by Hoffmann and Li Yü has since become a poet much studied and translated in China and elsewhere. And considerable attention has been devoted to him also in the PRC. During the years 1955—1956 he was much discussed primarily on the pages of the Kuang-ming jih-pao and those interested may read the relatively easily accessible collection from this discussion *Li Yü tz'u t'ao-lun chi* (Discussion of Li Yü's Poems), Peking 1957. But he did not remain unnoticed also later, between 1957—1960, at a time when a discussion went on about the life and work of the greatest Chinese woman writer and poet of *tz'u* — Li Ch'ing-chao (1081—after 1141). I was present once at such a discussion during a stay of study at the University of Peking in 1959. Feng Yen-ssu (also known as Feng Yen-chi) belonged among poets who were relatively little studied, although his collection *Yang-ch'un chi (Springtime)*, consisting of over a hundred poems, would deserve greater attention and a place among the best Chinese poets of the 10th century. About half of the poems have been translated by Mr. Bryant in the present book. The collection *Nan-T'ang erh-chu tz'u (Tz'u Poems of the Two Rulers of Southern T'ang)* is translated in its entirety here, i.e. four poems by Li Ching and thirty seven by Li Yü.

Besides the translations in the book, I was mostly interested by that part of the *Introduction* which speaks about the "world" of the *tz'u* poems, where the author evidently takes contact with notes from the books by James J. Y. Liu, particularly his *The Poetry of Li Shang-yin: Ninth-Century Baroque Chinese Poet*, Chicago 1969. The same also holds for the outstanding study by M. E. Workman entitled *The Bedchamber Topos in the Tz'u Songs of Three Medieval Chinese Poets: Wen T'ing-yün, Wei Chuang, and Li Yü*, published in W. H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Ed.): *Critical Essays in Chinese Literature*, Hong Kong 1976, pp. 167—186. There the reader will learn in a condensed form (and not in the form of commentaries as in Hoffmann's translations), about the necessity of being familiar with things essential in the poetics of the *tz'u* form, e.g. about seasons of the Chinese year, about spring and autumn as only important for poetry, with their characteristic features; about the imagery concerned with women, usually courtesans or ladies of the highest class living in the wineshops or pavilions, inside the latticed windows, in the rooms shaded by blinds, where the expensive beds are spread with embroidered coverlets. Big mirrors are reigning there, water-clocks, heavy incenses, and loneliness, since the lovers (or husbands) are always expected and absent. The same situations, actions and *topoi* are being repeated in this poetic form (but that also applies to Chinese poetry in general). It is rather sympathetic that Mr. Bryant, in the treatment of this subject, raised the question of artistic value. He finds it primarily in the "sounds of the poems", hence, in their phonetic aspect, and in the "meaning of the lines" (pp. xi—xii), although he might have scrutinized in more detail the problem of the "lyric object" and personal poetic statement as an expression of the relation towards

life and the world. The *tz'u* poems of the 9th and 10th centuries represent very good analogues to the later European troubadour poetry (11th—14th cent.). The "objectification" of women in a great part of this poetry, although generally weaker poets than those dealt with in the book under review, was the result of an impotent and decadent society condemned to extinction; in it, male authors used to hide behind feelings which they could not possibly know, but only feigned to; they wrote not to make statements about some concrete situation, but in order to show their ability to manipulate content and linguistic clichés.

The translation of the poems is provided with Appendix A comprising one poem by Feng Yen-ssu, two by Li Ching, seventeen by LiYü and his two so-called prose writings: *Dirge for Chaohui, The Empress Chou,* and *Rhapsody on Refusing to Ascend the Heights,* and Appendix B showing eight *tz'u* poems misattributed to Li Ching and Li Yü. The Bibliography with some critical comments will certainly prove of profit to interested researchers.

*Marián Gálik*

*La littérature chinoise au temps de la Guerre de Résistance contre le Japon de 1937 à 1945* (Chinese Literature During the Anti-Japanese War, 1937—1945). Paris, Éditions de la Fondation Singer-Polignac 1982. 402 pp.

This is a collection of papers presented at the International Conference on Chinese Literature of the Anti-Japanese War, organized by the Singer-Polignac Foundation in Paris, June 1980.

Judging by the nature of the papers which may be read in this volume in English, French and Chinese, this was a successful and much needed conference. The period between the Marco Polo Bridge Accident in July 1937 and the end of the war in the Far East in August 1945, belongs among those less studied in modern Chinese literature. Coming as it does after the monograph by E. Gunn, *Unwelcome Muse: Chinese Literature in Shanghai and Peking 1937—1945,* New York, Columbia University Press 1980, this publication should be welcome in particular because the great majority of the 29 papers in it constitute a contribution to our knowledge of Chinese literature of that period.

If we exclude the dogmatic contribution by Liu Baiyu, the vice-president of the Union of Chinese Writers, on the problem of development of Chinese literature during this period, which in fact says nothing new about it, the very next paper by C. T. Hsia, *The Korchin Banner Plains: A Bibliographical and Critical Study,* and that by C. Tung entitled *Experience and Conviction in China's Wartime Drama, 1937—1945* which concludes the entire volume, may be said to take pride of place as regards standard of erudition and value of information.

Hsia's paper strikes the reader by the author's intimate familiarity with Duanmu

Hongliang's (1912—) work, the author's life, and with literature, little known as yet, then produced in Manchuria, or with writers who were born there. Tung's paper presents an analysis of some plays from this period: Hong Shen's *Fei jiangjun* (The Flying Heroes), Cao Yu's *Shuibian* (Metamorphosis) and *Qiao* (The Bridge), Chen Baichen's *Luanshih nannu* (Men and Women in the Chaotic World), *Dadi huichun* (The Returning of Spring to Earth) and *Suihan tu* (The Evergreens), Song Zhidi's *Wu Chongqing* (Ch'ung-ch'ing in the Fog), Xia Yan's *Tang cao tianyu* (The Beauty in a Lonely World) and Mao Dun's *Qingming qianhou* (Before and After Qingming Festival). A striking trait underlying these works is that although some of them show a tendency to turn into tragedies or end in a catastrophe, their authors have recourse to diverse manipulations in order to achieve an optimistic ending which exerts a negative impact on the truthfulness, the veracity of the statements and on the artistic standard of the work.

There are other papers between these two that, in fact, mean an enrichment of contemporary sinological knowledge, such as, for instance, C. Alber's *Ting Ling and the Front Service Corps*, D. L. Holm's *National Form and the Popularization of Literature in Yanan*, Wong Kan-ming's *Animals in a Teahouse: The Art of Sha Ting's Fiction*, the late Kai-yu Hsu's *Between Eucalyptus and Gunsmoke: The Kunming-based Poetry of 1937—1945*, and W. Lyell's *Lu Ling's Wartime Novel: Hungry Guo Su-e*. The last two in particular are of value mainly because the former is unique being the contribution of the participant and scholar. In it Mr. Hsu brings closer the poetic atmosphere at the town of Kunming, one of the places of refuge of Chinese intellectuals during the difficult war years which far more than other centres of the time "has left its own enduring mark on the path of development of modern Chinese poetry" (p. 308). The analysis as presented here of Lu Ling's novel is likewise an exception in the sinological world, for Lu Ling (1921—) belonged among writers most persecuted during more than two decades and he "spent 1955—1975 in various prisons and was, during that period, three times committed to Ward Five of the Anding Hospital in Beijing where he was given electric shocks and insulin treatment for schizophrenia" (p. 267). Hungry Guo Su-e (*Ji-e de Guo Su-e*) is one of the best novels of the war period. In contrast to the majority of other works in which the otherwise realist image of the epoch was distorted in the name of the reponsibility of the citizens living and fighting in the war, Lu Ling portrayed his characters without any romantic moods and hopes as a harsh reality, seen and expressed critically, in which nothing changed, at least not for the better, despite life tragedies and struggles for the salvation of China.

From the Chinese papers perhaps the best is *Shidai de haoshou* whose title in French reads *La poétique de Ai Qing* (1910—) by Gao Xingjian, dedicated to the outstanding Chinese poet of modern times who may safely be placed side by side with P. Neruda and N. Hikmet. The paper sensitively combines Ai Qing's creative work with his theoretical views.

The remainig papers in the book under review deal with various topics: e.g. Xiao Jun's novel *Countryside in August* (R. G. Wagner), wartime essays by Liang Shiqiu (Leung G. Kai Loh), short stories by Qiu Dongping (M. Goetz), Ding Ling's feminism (T. E. Barlow), Ding Ling's short story *The Night* (W. Kubin), Mao Dun's works (F. Gruner), Lao She's life and work between Wuhan and Ch'ung-ch'ing (P. Bady), short stories by Yu Dafu, the only study in the entire volume without any relation to the years 1937—1945 (Shuhsi Kao), Zhang Tianyi's satirical wartime stories (Shu-ying Tsau), Ai Wu's stories (E. Müller), Chinese "modernist" poets (M. Loi), recollections of the theatre life at Ch'ung-ch'ing (Wu Zuguang), Wu Zuguang's play *Fengxue yeguiren* (A Man Who Returned in the Night During the Snow Storm) (D. Baudry-Weulersee) and about Yingren Ensemble, one of the many theatrical troupes in China of those years (A. Hsia). Were we to pick out works of major value among these, then in the reviewer's view these would be the papers read by Wagner, Barlow, Wu Zuguang and A. Hsia.

With the exception of A. Hsia, there were no literary comparatists among the participants of the conference, but his namesake C. T. Hsia intervened quite successfully into the comparative domain. An interesting observation is made by Wong Kang-ming stating that the traces of Gogol's impact may be found in Sha Ting's stories *Laoyan de gushi* (The Old Droopy) and *Xunguan* (The Patrol Officer) from the collection *Kanchajia xiaojing* (Scenes from Kanchajia). So far, nobody has attempted to prove (or disprove) the statement of the modern Chinese writer Shen Congwen (1902—) according to which three heroines of the French novels *Notre Cœur* (G. de Maupassant), *La Dame au camélias* (A. Dumas fils) and *Madame Bovary* (G. Flaubert) exerted a considerable influence on Ding Ling's writing, especially in the twenties (cf. Shen Congwen: *Ji Ding Ling*, Shanghai 1939, pp. 86—87). No such claim was made by Y. T. Feuerwerker in her study *Women as Writers in the 1920's and 1930's*, nor by M. C. Pisciotta in *I problemi dell'emanzipazione femminile nell'opera letteraria di Ding Ling*, nor T. E. Barlow in the book under analysis. Ai Qing in his paper points out the proximity between Verlaine's *Chanson d'automne* and Dai Wangshu's (1905—1950) *Yuxiang* (Raining Alley), and Gao Xingjian states (likewise as Ai Qing without proving his assertion) that Rimbaud, Baudelaire and Verhaeren influenced Ai Qing's work. A. Hsia observes that the play *Fangxia nide bianzi* (Drop Your Whip) originated in a Mignon-episode from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*.

The English-written section contains numerous misprints, and through some inadvertance in the editing, pages 292 and 362 in the Chinese texts changed places.

*Marián Gálik*

Gunn, Edward M. (Ed.): *Twentieth-Century Chinese Drama. An Anthology.* Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1983. 517 pp.

It was truly a rather happy idea to organize active students of modern Chinese drama and exploit their scholarly interests, to collect their earlier translations or persuade them into preparing new ones and thus to present to the reading public the first comprehensive anthology in the English-speaking world. Prior to this achievement by American sinologists, something similar had been attempted, though on a smaller scale, by German scholars and translators in the book *Moderne Stücke aus China*, edited by Bernd Eberstein (Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1980, 475 pp.). Drama is still the least reconnoitered domain in modern Chinese literature and the awakening interest in it during the past few years is an encouraging phenomenon.

Those readers who could appreciate a critical study by Joseph S. M. Lau on Ting Hsi-lin's *Ya-p'o (Oppression)* in the *Festschrift* for Professor Wu-chi in W. H. Nienhauser's, Jr. (Ed.): *Critical Essays on Chinese Literature*, Hong Kong 1976, will find in the book under review a reprint of the translation. Those, on the other hand, who acknowledge David Pollard's stylistic mastery of the language of modern Albion (he is quite particular about it and demands it also from others, even foreigners), may read in the anthology Li Chien-wu's *Ch'ing-ch'un (Springtime).* They certainly won't have to hunt for Pollard's unpublished paper Li Chien-wu and Modern Drama Standard, read at the conference on "The Role of the Writer in Modern China", Dedham, Massachussetts, August 1974, as recommended by Mr. Gunn. It will suffice for them to read the generally accessible study which is a revised variant of the conference paper and which appeared under the title *Li Chien-wu and Modern Chinese Drama* in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, *XXXIX*, 1976, 2, pp. 364—388.

And lastly, those familiar with *Luan-shih nan-nü (Men and Women in Wild Times)* in a lecture by Constantine Tung, read at the international conference on Chinese literature of the Anti-Japanese War held in Paris in 1980 and entitled *Experience and Conviction in China's Wartime Drama*, may now become acquainted in this book with the translation of Ch'en Pai-ch'en's play in E. M. Gunn's translation (Tung's paper: see in: *La littérature chinoise au temps de la Guerre de Résistance contre le Japon de 1937 à 1945*, Paris 1982, pp. 377—394). Mr.Gunn is not only the editor of the book, but also the most diligent among its contributing translators. The best translation appears to be that of Yang Chiang's *Feng hsü (Windswept Blossoms).* To the sinologist world, Mr. Gunn is the discoverer of Mrs Yang Chiang, just as C. T. Hsia had been that of her husband, the well-known literary historian and writer Ch'ien Chung-shu. In his book *Unwelcome Muse. Chinese Literature in Shanghai and Peking 1937—1945*, he devoted to both of them over 30 pages of text in the chapter entitled Antiromanticism. *Windswept Blossoms* belongs among the

most remarkable tragedies of modern Chinese drama and it would probably be possible to show its contact-taking with Ibsen's *The Wild Duck*, or *Hedda Gabler*, but Gunn satisfies himself with intimating this without attempting to substantiate it. Gunn has the merit of having translated one of the first plays of modern Chinese literature generally — the one-act comedy *Chung-shen ta-shih (The Greatest Event in Life)* by Hu Shih who had written this first and last attempt of his as a response to what he termed Ibsenism, and that probably under the impact of *A Doll's House*. Only, in contrast to Nora, Miss Ya-mei did not abandon her husband and children, but her parents and her home, when, on account of their Buddhist and Confucianist prejudices they refused her permission to marry the man she loved. Nevertheless, under the conditions then prevailing in China, this was fully equivalent in its significance to the decision taken by the Norwegian woman.

The anthology brings the first known play by Hung Shen *Chao Yen-wang (Ya-ma Chao)*. The translator Carolyn T. Brown perhaps succumbed to David Y. Chen's authority when adopting the title in parallel with *The Emperor Jones (i.e. The Yama Chao)* as it appeared in Chen's article *Two Chinese Adaptations of Eugene O'Neill's Play* (Modern Drama, *9*, 1967, 4, pp. 431—439). What is rather less comprehensible is why the Chinese word *yen-wang* had to be replaced for Anglo-Saxon and other readers by the Sanskrit word *yama* when an understandable word or expression might have been used, e.g. The King of the Demons, or of Hell. But otherwise, this play is one of the milestones in Sino-Western literary confrontations and deserves the attention of students both of modern Chinese national literature, and of the interliterary process.

A certain drawback of the book is that in its second part where it presents primarily plays from the period of the People's Republic of China (i.e. after 1949), it often gives just summaries of the acts, or deletes some scenes completely. Although some interested persistent readers may often reach out for other works with full texts, e.g. a translation of T'ien Han's *Kuan Han-ch'ing*, published by the Foreign Language Press, Peking 1961, or Wu Han's *Hai Hui Dismissed from Office*, published by the University of Hawai 1972, he cannot do it in every case: for instance, not with the play *Pu-ku-niao yu chiao-la (Cuckoo Sings Again)* by Yang Lü-fang where only three of the four acts have been translated; or the comedy *Chia-ju wo shih chen-ti (If I Were Real)* by Sha Yeh-hsin et al., where, on the contrary, only a single one out of the six scenes has been translated.

The author is to be commended on the excellent *Introduction* which gives a balanced view of the state of Chinese drama in the 20th century and on the very useful Notes on Authors and Texts.

*Marián Gálik*

Ivanovsky, A. O.: *Mandjurica. I. Specimens of the Solon and the Dagur Languages.* Materials for Central Asiatic and Altaic Studies. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1982. 79 + XIV pp.

The publication represents in fact a reprint of the work, rare by now, of the Russian orientalist A. O. Ivanovsky (1863—1903) from the year 1894 published in Petrograd. It is prefaced by a brief foreword written by G. Kara whose initiative within the Research Group for Altaic Studies was instrumental for its re-edition.

Among his other interests, Ivanovsky devoted attention also to languages and nationalities of south-western, southern and north-eastern China. He had planned to publish a series Mandjurica, but the project ended with this first volume. The author collected in it valuable linguistic material of two nationalities of north-eastern China — the Solons and the Dagurs. In the introduction he deals with the Dagurs, the Solons and the Oronchons, the first being considered as the descendants of the Kitans (from whom derives also the name of China — Kitai), while the Solons descend from the Jürchens. P. Poucha writes that they evidently correspond to the wild Jürchens (Ye Nüzhen) who belonged to the Tungus ethnic clans. The Solon and Oronchon languages belong to the Manchu-Tungusic group, while Daguric is currently assigned to the Mongolian group. Long centuries of coexistence, however, and close mutual contacts among the speakers of these languages have resulted in numerous loans.

After the Introduction in which Ivanovsky provides detailed data regarding his informants and his method of work, he presents specimens of Solonic (25 sentences) and Daguric (28 sentences, 6 proverbs and specimens of texts written in Manchu script). The second part of his work is made up of a glossary of words from these two languages (according to the Mongol alphabet), and the third part of a glossary of Russian words with translations into Solonic or Daguric. The work is completed with a list of words taken down from Mongolian Barguts as informants.

Solonic is not considered today to be an autonomous language. Its speakers the Solons (Suolun), living in the People's Republic of China (PRC) are counted among the Evenki (Ewenkezu) who earlier numbered some 5,000 people. Originally they lived near the Amur, from where the Manchus moved them in 1635 further to the south for fear lest they would accept Russian subjugation, and gave them the name Solons, which is of Manchu origin. According to Poucha, they spread to the places in north-eastern China only during the 1st half of the 18th century. They call themselves Evenki and the Mongols refer to them as Solongos(!). Today, the Evenki together with the Solons count some 10,000 souls in China (1981), while some 28,000 of them live in the USSR (1979). A group of the Evenki, numbering some 4,000, live in eastern Mongolia under the name of Khamnigans.[1] In the PRC, the Evenki have their own autonomous banner and an administrative centre Nantun

south of the town of Hailar (Ewenkezu zizhiqi) and a nationality minzuxiang Orguja, situated on the territory of Ergun Youqi in Hulun Buir Meng, both in Inner Mongolia. A part of them live also in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, where they had been transferred by the Manchus in the mid-18th century as soldiers, further, on the territory of the Nahe district in the Heilongjiang province, and together with the Dagurs in the Dagur autonomous banner Molidawa Dawoerzu zizhiqi, on the territory of Inner Mongolia.

Daguric is spoken by the Dagurs (Daguurs, Dahurs, Daurs, Dawoerzu etc.) who are today recognized in the PRC as one of 55 minority nationalities (1981). They too had in the past lived on the Amur and in the valley of the Argun and Zeja rivers, from where the first reports about them were brought back in the 40s and 50s of the 17th century by Russian colonists. In 1654, the Dagurs were resettled by the Manchus to the right bank of the Nonni (Nunjiang) river in Inner Mongolia and to the Heilongjiang province. They are generally considered to be descendants of the Kitans, however, their language contains numerous Manchu-Tungusic elements. Their original territory, today lying in the Soviet Union, is known under the geographic name Dauriya. The Dagurs in the PRC have their own autonomous banner with the administrative centre of Nierji, Molidawa Dawoerzu zizhiqi, set up in 1958, counting today in the PRC some 70,000 people (1981). Formerly Daguric used to be considered only as a Mongolian dialect. Originally, the Dagurs made use of Manchu writing, but in 1920 Merse designed a Dagur alphabet based on Latin characters, and since 1957 they have been writing the Cyrillic alphabet.

From among authors who have written about the Solons and the Dagurs, mention should be made at least of N. Poppe, S. M. Shirokogoroff, L. Ligeti, B. Kh. Todaeva, S. M. Martin, Zhong Suchun, Činggeltej etc. In 1957, also the Czech Mongolist Pavel Poucha paid a visit to the Solon banner (Suolun qi) 25 km south of Hailar and to the territory inhabited by the Dagurs.[2] Elementary data on Solonic and Daguric may be found also in the synoptic work on world languages.[3]

Ivanovsky occupies a place of honour in the survey of Solonic and Daguric. A further study of Mongolian and Manchu-Tungusic languages and dialects, particularly of such as preserve archaic traits, will undoubtedly help to resolve the question of the ethnogenesis of their speakers.

*Jiří Šíma*

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[1] See, e.g. Mišig: *Mongol ard ulsyn zarim nutgijn Xamnigan-ajalguug survalžilsan n'*. Mongolyn sudlal, tom I, fasc. 30, Ulaanbaatar 1959; K. Uray-Kőhalmi wrote about them in AOH, Vol. 9, Fasc. 2, pp. 163—204, and elsewhere.

[2] Poucha, P.: *Do nitra Asie* (Into the Interior of Asia). Prague, Orbis 1962, pp. 218—221.

[3] Krupa, V.—Genzor, J.—Drozdík, L.: *Jazyky sveta* (The Languages of the World). Bratislava, Obzor 1983, pp. 224—228.

Bethlenfalvy, Géza: *A Hand-list of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-rtse Them spaṅs-ma.* Materials for Central Asiatic and Altaic Studies 1, Fontes Tibetani I. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1982. 111 pp.

Numerous scholars from the East and the West are studying the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur, especially in countries possessing texts of these valuable collections that comprise 4,566 works on various kinds of "insight" or sacred (*naṅ-gi rig-pa*) literature (dealing mainly with Buddhist philosophy and religion), as well as "outsight" or profane (*phy'i rig-pa*) writings on the most diverse 'mundane' topics such as grammar, poetry, logic, medicine, astrology, etc. The significance of these works is evident from the great importance which these scholars attach to them.

In this book, the noted Hungarian Tibetologist G. Bethlenfalvy pays attention to the handwritten Tibetan Kanjur called *Rgyal-rtse Them spaṅs-ma*, 111 volumes of which are stored in the Tibetan Fund of the Mongolian State Library, Ulan Bator. During his study trip to Mongolia in 1981 and at the time of the 4th Congress of Mongolists the year after, he prepared a transliterated list of the contents using MS's Dkar-chag (or catalogue). In a short introduction to his book (pp. 5—10), the author follows the way this precious collection came to Mongolia. According to tradition, it is considered to be exact text and it played an important role in the corrections of other editions of Kanjur and was also known as "Not to be taken out of the temple". There are some unresolved questions concerning the time of compilation, as well as the period of the MS' s appearance in Mongolia. On the basis of scarce references in different sources, G. Bethlenfalvy concludes that the Kanjur *Rgyal-rtse Them spaṅs-ma* was presented by the great Fifth Dalai Lama (1617—1682) to the first Rje-btsun dam-pa Khutukhtu Blo-bzaṅ Bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1635—1723) approximately in 1671, and supposes, that Khutukhtu was given not the original text but an exact copy.

A hand-list of volumes and titles amounting to 834 items occupies the pages 11—55. Each title is provided with the abbreviation (Toh. No.) which however, remains unexplained in the text. Probably it refers to the famous catalogue quoted in specialized literature as the Tohoku Catalogue. If this assumption is correct, then there is no necessity at all to point it out, because the Tohoku Catalogue in fact represents the full register of the Derge edition of Kanjur and Tanjur (see below).

On the pages 57—81, the author draws up a table of correspondences of the titles in various Kanjur editions (Ulan Bator Them spaṅs-ma, Tokyo MS Kanjur, *Derge*, Narthang, Peking, Lhasa, Cone) with the works entered under their serial numbers. Using this table one can easily locate any title in other editions or note where it is missing.

The final part (pp. 83—110) of the book contains an index of the titles according to the Tibetan alphabet and a copy of one page from the microfilm of this MS in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

A considerable deal of an accurate, precise and meticulous work has gone into to preparation of this reference book. Its usefulness is obvious as it enables us to get our learnings in the apparent labyrinth of Kanjur volumes. We also welcome the appearance of the new series Materials for Central Asiatic and Altaic Studies of which Fontes Tibetani this hand-list of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur *Rgyal-rtse Them spaṅs-ma* by Géza Bethlenfalvy was published in No. 1.

*Lygžima Chaloupková*

Gandhi, K. L.: *Yazykovaya politika v sovremennoi Indii* (Language Policies in Modern India). Moscow, Nauka 1982. 183 pp.

The language issue occupies an important place among the weightiest problems in every country where multiple languages are spoken and multinationality India with its hundreds of languages and dialects is no exception in this respect. But of course, only a score or so belong among the so-called great languages and of these only fifteen are recognized by the Constitution as principal languages.

Naturally, language problems can be followed from any one of several aspects and the author of the present publication focuses his attention mainly on the question of the official language. He presents a rather detailed analysis of pertinent discussions in the Parliament, studies and comments on articles of the Constitution and other legislative enactments relating to the official language, shows how representatives of the various language groups make of this problem a political issue and endeavour to resolve it so as to promote their own group interests. The book also deals with discussions on the type of writing and of numerals that should be used in official documents, and on the length of time that will be required to pass from English to Hindi in the role of official language.

The author has correctly grasped that discussions in the Parliament on the language question has essentially turned into a political duel between advocates of Hindi on the one hand, and adherents to English on the other, and that the remaining languages have somehow disappeared from the scene. He himself devotes something like a dozen pages of text to a brief characteristics of those languages that figure in the Constitution and endeavours to show that, alongside numerous specific traits by which these languages — belonging to two language families, i.e. Indo-European and Dravidian — differ, there exist here also a great number of identical language features. In virtue of this fact he expresses a rather hopeful conclusion: given favourable conditions, it is not excluded that a common language might come out sometimes in the future from the numerous and rich Indian languages.

Various political parties of India have also joined in the fight for an official language and as Gandhi shows, the more successful have been those that were

against Hindi. Parties supporting Hindi were ready to compromise and make concessions and this attitude, together with the inefficient and inadequately planned activity of many bodies and institutions that should help promote Hindi, evidently resulted in that to this day Hindi does not truly occupy the principal position in the role of an official language in the Republic of India. Although, in Gandhi's view, it fully deserves to play this role, for far better than English and best among Indian languages it meets various rational, economic, political and spiritual criteria that must be taken into account in the selection of an official language. Such are, for instance, ensuring effectiveness in the government of the country, help in promoting science and technology, ensuring equality of opportunities as regards employment, acceptability of the language by the inhabitants who do not speak it, etc. Of course, Gandhi admits that Hindi, too, has drawbacks that will have to be removed in future (e.g. inadequate development for an affective use in administration, for the promotion of science and technology — clearly due to the lack in the past of opportunities of functioning in this domain as English had). He suggests certain elementary steps that should be undertaken if Hindi is totally to supersede English as the official language: the official language should take on such a form of Hindi as would ensure this language its structure in its fundamental traits, but on its periphery would be the result of a mixture, a compendium of many Indian languages and dialects; the percentage of literacy should be increased; guaranties should be taken that the language will not be turned into a tool of cultural and economic exploitation, etc.

The author of the book is familiar with Indian conditions as also with various official documents relating to the language problem. In virtue of a thorough analysis of these sources he arrives at interesting and convincing conclusions. And more than that. By way of proposals, plans and prognosis he seeks his own model for resolving the existing state of things, in particular the touchy problem of the official language of the Republic of India.

*Anna Rácová*

Khubchandani, Lachman M.: *Plural Languages, Plural Cultures. Communication, Identity and Sociopolitical Change in Contemporary India.* Honolulu, Hawaii University Press 1983. 217 pp.

In this book, the author investigates various aspects of the intricate linguistic situation prevailing on the Indian subcontinent, and presents a complex view of the multi-faceted socio-linguistic reality and of the multifarious problems accompanying the changes related to language over the past three decades.

The book is made up of two parts of four chapters each. In the first chapter of part

one the author studies the basic traits characterizing the Indian multilingual society: highly functional diversity of speech, fluidness of language boundaries, differential use of languages (dialects) in various strata of society, different degree of standardization in the various languages, grass-roots of bilingualism (multilingualism). He devotes a special chapter to modernization in which he makes a critical assessment of various attitudes towards this issue and points out present-day trends in language development, of which classicalization and modernization are to be considered as the most important. Of no lesser interest are questions connected with language identity in the Indian context, viz. mother-tongue identity and bilingual identity, further politization of language data and language manipulation as a tool for social planning which is dealt with in Chapter 3. He devotes adequate attention to the language policy at the national level and in the individual states, the results of which are not always satisfactory. A constant tension and discord exist here among different competing language pressure groups, for language has become "a very distinct weapon in the power struggle" (p. 67). The most fierce conflict takes place betwen advocates of English and those in favour of indigenous languages.

A serious problem underlines the choice of a language for instruction and education, and the author presents a characteristic of the prevailing situation. In India, over 80 languages are being used as media of instruction at different stages of education. A heterogeneity of educational media is tolerated in multilingual areas, but the justifiability of the supremacy of the mother tongue as a language of education and the role of contact languages in a community are being investigated. The author levels criticism at the "elitist" education system residing in an introduction of elaborate instruction and orientation programmes with the aim to alter the speech habits of the masses. He underlines the role of active bilingualism in the process of standardization of major Indian languages and points out the lack of a sensitive approach to the topic on the part of language-planning agencies.

The second part entitled *Challenges of Change* also comprises four chapters and their very headings: *Plural Speech Communities, Language Ideology in Education, Pressure from Language Elites, Direction of Language Planning* go to show that essentially the same basic problem circuits are being followed as in the first section, but of course, from a different angle of vision. The core here is given by the result of investigations bearing on the changes that have come about in the relevant areas since the declaration of independence. Such are, for instance changes in language labels that do not necessarily signify changes in speech habits, shifts in declaration of mother tongue from one language to another in successive censuses, depending on the social and political climate, changes in the education system as also in ideas as to which language should serve as the medium of instruction, in administration, mass media and so on. The author pinpoints the reasons that have led to handicaps in implementing language education policies by different education agencies and takes up a critical attitude also towards past attempts at language planning, simultaneously

presenting concrete proposals and suggestions for making such planning more efficient.

Even this cursory view, without any claim to depth analysis of the subject dealt with in the book under review, reveals that the author has focused attention on a wide range of phenomena that characterize the language scene in South Asia. He scrutinizes them thoroughly, from every aspect, and results of his investigation constitute a significant contribution to our knowledge of the functioning and the roles of language in a pluricultural society.

*Anna Rácová*

*From Hunyadi to Rákóczi. War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary.* War and Society in East Central Europe, Vol. III. Eds. János M. Bak and Béla K. Király. Brooklyn, Brooklyn College Press 1982. xiv + 542 pp., maps.

The book is predominantly the work of investigators from Hungary, but experts from the U.S.A., Canada and Austria have also contributed. It presents almost 30 contributions to the military history of Hungary and the surrounding countries from the 15th up to early 18th century.

In the introductory paper Politics, Society and Defense in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary, J. M. Bak succeeded in conveniently condensing the entire subject of the military confrontation between the Hungarian State and the Ottoman Empire. At the same time the author briefly outlined the development of the army under the rule of the Arpads and the Anjous so as fittingly to point out, by a contrasting comparison, the changes that occurred in military matters at the time of open hostilities with the Ottoman Empire. In addition, he summarized the results of various studies and provided valuable stimuli for the explanation of certain issues. For example, in the case of the anti-Habsburg rising of the Transylvanian and Hungarian nobility he suggests to adduce comparative arguments and global considerations rather than internal explanations. We may likewise accept the explanation of the failures of other anti-Habsburg uprisings in that "they were rooted in the relative backwardness of Hungary and her internal social and ideological conflicts".

The second introductory paper Society and War from Mounted Knights to the Standing Armies of Absolute Kings: Hungary and the West from the pen of Béla K. Király also deals with the military-historical development of Hungary during the years between the battle near Nicopole and the Szatmár peace (1396—1711). However, the author presents the process against a background of the general development of the military standard in Europe. A rather surprising point in this explication of the military situation in Europe is that the author devotes no attention

at all to Habsburg military leaders and theoreticians, such as, e.g. L. Schwendi, or R. Montecuccoli, who in our view, significantly contributed to the setting up of effective tactics in the fight against Ottoman detachments and became the basis of the successes of the imperial armies against the Ottomans towards the end of the 17th century. Secondly, as the study is oriented mainly to the development of warfare, the author devotes too much superfluous attention to the uprising by Francis II. Rákóczi which, from the military point of view, was of a far smaller significance than what the author ascribes to it. And finally, the attempt to match Rákóczi with Washington is rather far-fetched, for apart from the fact that both were very rich, they just had nothing in common.

The series of special studies assigned to the section In the Shadow of Ottoman Advance: Late Medieval Hungarian Society and War to the Battle of Mohács is initiated by a short study of E. Fügedi on the Medieval Hungarian Castles prior to the start of the Ottoman Advance. A. Borosy deals with the type of army called Militia Portalis which played a significant role in the Hungarian military system. The author in fact deals with material from his monograph published over a decade ago and supplements it with new notions. The oft debated question of the peasants joining in the anti-Turkish defence and of the 1437 peasant rising is dealt with by J. Held, while P. Engel devoted his study to the decisive years in J. Hunyadi's career (1440—1444). He gives an objective and factual appraisal of the causes of Hunyadi's rise, but in a like manner records his failures. The mercenary army which was the principal instrument of king Matthias Corvinus's expansive policy is the subject matter of a study by G. Rázsó. F. Szakály undertook to process the important question of anti-Turkish defence of Hungary in the second half of the 15th century until Mohács, namely, the Hungarian-Croatian Border Defense System and its Collapse. The author deals with this problem from a broader point of view and devotes attention also to other than military matters.

The Road to Defeat: Hungarian Politics and Defense in the Jagiellonian Period is the title of reflections by A. Kubínyi who has condensed in a very succinct manner the principal problems of Hungary's defence during the period 1490—1526.

The victory at Mohács is here seen from the Ottoman point of view by Andrew C. Hess (The Road to Victory: The Significance of Mohács for Ottoman Expansion). He holds that the victory at Mohács turned the direction of Ottoman expansion to Europe. The battle at Mohács is also the subject of L. M. Alföldi's study. The author attempts to describe the campaign strictly from the military point of view and also to present some of the leading scholars' controversial views on the Mohács campaign. The last study in this section of the book The Battle of Mohács as a Cultural Watershed from L. S. Domonkos' pen is a valuable contribution to the cultural history of Hungary at the end of the Middle Ages.

Between the Millstones of Great Empires: Ottoman Wars and Anti-Habsburg Insurrections is the title of the second part of the book. It brings partly turkologic

contributions, partly reflections devoted to the military aspects of anti-Habsburg uprisings. Among them is also F. Maksay's study Peasantry and Mercenary Service in Sixteenth-Century Hungary, an unusually valuable addition to the history of Hungarian military standing of that time.

How Hungary lived for one hundred and fifty years under Ottoman rule is a question to which G. Bayerle attempts and answer in his study which is a successful summary of the military, political, economic and cultural aspects of life on the Ottoman-Hungarian borderland.

T. Halasi-Kun, using Ottoman records from the Timişvar *sandjak*, shows how the Ottomans adopted for their administration preconquest territorial divisions. Hence, Ottoman data from the 16th century can be utilized to reconstruct medieval administrative and other geopolitical phenomena.

The significance of the siege of Szigetvár (1566) to the social development of Hungary is dealt with by L. Rúzsás, while K. Benda devotes attention to the Haiduks in Bocskai's army. K. Péter investigates two factors in Bethlen's armed insurrection against the Habsburgs — the motives of the Transylvanian prince himself, on the one hand, and those of the Hungarian nobility who supported him in this fight, on the other.

An analysis of the cultural development in Hungary and Transylvania in the 17th century against a background of military conflicts is presented by T. Szendrey. It is rather a pity that this author is not familiar with recent professional Slovak literature about Timon (R. Marsina).

The conflicting views on the military tactics in the fights against the Turks held by two prominent military leaders in the 17th century — viz. N. Zríny and R. Montecuccoli — were taken up by G. Perjés who sides with the first one.

The closing study in this part The Warrior Estate in the Seventeenth Century with Special Reference to the Thököly Uprising (1678—1685) by L. Beczédi is a superb analysis of the Hungarian army, its ideology, national consciousness and social relations.

The last section of the book entitled "For God, Freedom and Fatherland": The War of Independence of Ferenc II Rákóczi is introduced by A. Várkonyi's study: Rákóczi, War of Independence and the Peasantry, dealing with the complex issue of relations between the prince and the serfs during the first stage of his uprising, against a broad historical background.

The papers by G. Perjás and G. Heckenast about Rákóczi's strategy, equipment and supply of his army, are of a military nature.

Questions of foreign policy of the insurrections are studied in the papers by K. Benda and B. Köpéczi. But a real enlivening to this topic is brought by Linda and Marsha Frey's paper (Rákóczi and the Maritime Powers. An Uncertain Friendship) which, making use of abundant material, shows why the insurgents failed to find a greater support for their cause against the Habsburgs in England and the

Netherlands. P. Pastor investigated the Hungarian-Russian relations during Rákóczi's uprising and found that despite Russia's sympathies for the rebels, she provided no help for such a situation was to her advantage. The closing study of the whole book is by the Austrian military historian F. Broucek The Border Defense of Lower Austria, Styria and Moravia against the Turks and Rákóczi's Insurgents, who surveys the problem from the 16th century and deals very briefly with operations by Rákóczi's army on the borders of Austrian countries.

The book is provided with auxiliary sections: Chronology, Gazetteer of Hungarian Local names and their present names and an Author — or Name Index.

The book *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi* presents the most up-to-date explanation of Hungarian military history from the 15th to the 18th century in a world language and therefore, it will remain for long a basic manual for a study of the history of wars in the Central-European region. Hence, it should have included also a part devoted to the liberation of Hungary from under the Ottoman domination.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

Reindl, Hedda: *Männer um Bāyezīd. Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bāyezīd II. (1481—1512).* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 75. Berlin, K. Schwarz Verlag 1983. IV + 415 S.

Die Regierungszeit Sultan Bāyezīd II. erschien den Geschichtsschreibern des Osmanischen Reiches hinsichtlich seines Vorgängers Mehmed II. sowie seines Nachfolgers Selim I. als nicht interessant genug, um ihr größere Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen. H. Reindl geht auch aus dieser Tatsache hervor und stellt fest, daß sich die Unterschätzung der politischen Taten Sultan Bāyezīd II. daraus ergibt, daß unsere Kenntnisse über die staatstragende Persönlichkeiten dieser Zeit ziemlich gering sind. Ihr Buch ist daher ein Versuch diese schwachen Kenntnisse über die während der Regierungszeit Bāyezīd II. die höchsten Ränge einnehmenden Männer zu vervollständigen.

Für die Bearbeitung der reichhaltigen Ergebnisse ihrer Forschung wählte die Autorin die prosopographische Methode, sie sammelte also sämtliche zugängliche Daten über jene Personen, die zur Regierungszeit Bāyezīd II. die höchsten Ämter bekleideten. Sie war sich jedoch selbst dessen bewußt, daß dieser methodische Vorgang vielseitig Enttäuschung hervorrufen wird. Dieser Zutritt zum Problem hat seine Vorteile freilich darin, daß er uns über viele Würdenträger von Bāyezīds Regierung reichhaltigere und vollere Bilder dieser Leute bieten kann, als dies in biographischen Wörterbüchern oder in Enzyklopädien nachzulesen ist. Andererseits verlieren wir hier den Gesamteinblick in die einzelnen Ämter dieser Zeit und deren Entwicklung.

Die Mehrzahl der Angaben für ihre Arbeit entnahm die Autorin den osmanischen Chroniken und teilweise auch dem veröffentlichten Archivmaterial. Passend ergänzt sie diese jedoch durch Arbeiten abendländischer Historiker, vor allem durch Tagebücher des Venezianers Marino Sanuto. Wir möchten darauf hinweisen, daß weitere Angaben, wenn auch wahrscheinlich keine Grundlegenden, über einige Würdenträger, die als Beglerbegs von Rumelien oder Sandschakbegs in Bosnien oder in Semendria (Smederevo) tätig waren, noch auch in ungarischen Chroniken aufzufinden wären.

H. Reindls Interesse konzentriert sich in ihrer Arbeit auf Großwesire, Wesire, Beglerbegs, Sandschakbegs, Kadiasker und gelegentlich auch auf Beamte der Finanzverwaltung (Defterdar).

Nach den einleitenden Teilen, in denen die Autorin über die Quellen und die höchsten Beamten des Reiches informiert und einen umfangreichen Überblick über die politischen Ereignisse zur Regierungszeit Bāyezīd II. bietet, bringt sie mehr als zwanzig verhältnismäßig umfangreiche Biographien und Schilderungen der Amtskarrieren osmanischer Würdenträger. So ist es der Autorin trotz aller Schwierigkeiten — ob diese nun dem Charakter arabischer Namen, der Widersprächlichkeit und Lückenhaftigkeit der Quellen entstammen — gelungen, ein Bild über die Beamtenhierarchie im Osmanischen Reich zur Zeit Bāyezīd II. zu schaffen. Übersichtliche Tabellen der Großwesire und der Beglerbegs von Rumelien und Anatolien zeigen, daß der Kreis dieser Würdenträger relativ eng gewesen war.

Mit ihrem Buch hat die Autorin mit Erfolg an die anregenden Bücher ihrer Lehrer aus der Münchener turkologischen Schule angeknüpft. Ein jeder, der sich künftig mit der politischen Geschichte der Regierungszeit Bāyezīd II. befassen wird, wird nach diesem Buch greifen müssen.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

Schwarz, Klaus—Kurio, Hars: *Die Stiftungen des osmanischen Großwesirs Koğa Sinān Pascha (gest. 1596) in Uzunğaova/Bulgarien.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 80. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1983. 81 S.

*Vakfīye* (Stiftungsurkunden) bilden bedeutende Quellen zu den ökonomisch-sozialen Verhältnissen im Osmanischen Reich. In der Bestrebung zumindest einen Teil des Eigentums ihren Nachkommen zu bewahren wandelten osmanische Würdenträger diese in Stiftungen um. Aus den Erträgen der zu diesem Zweck bestimmten Eigentümer wurden dann Moscheen, Medressen, Klöster oder öffentliche Gebäude wie Herbergen, Garküchen, Badehäuser und Kaufläden erbaut und erhalten.

Das rezensierte Buch publiziert die *Vakfīye* des Großwesirs Koğa Sinān Pascha aus der Zeit seines dritten Großwesirats im Jahre 1593, die sich in der Staatsbiblio-

thek Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin/West) befindet. Im Falle von Sinān Paschas Stiftung ging es um die Errichtung eines Gebäudekomplexes, dem die Einkünfte der hier behandelten Stiftung zufließen sollten (eine Freitagsmoschee, zwei Herbergen, eine Garküche, zwei Badehäuser, Kaufläden) an einem Paß an der Straße von Uzunğaova (heute Uzundžovo) nach Filibe (Plovdiv). Nicht minder bedeutsam als die Bauten war die Besiedlung dieser Region, denn die Umgebung dieses Passes war öde. Der Meinung der Autoren zufolge, „handelt es sich bei dieser Unternehmung des Paschas in erster Linie um eine militärstrategische Tat, denn es ging um Sicherung der Heerstraße nach Belgrad" (S. 5). Diese Ansicht wird auch durch die Tatsache bekräftigt, daß der Großwesir Sinān Pascha vierzig türkische Familien aus Anatolien nach Uzunğaova umsiedelte, die für ihre Dienste von der Steuerzahlung befreit wurden. (Siehe Hynková, H.: *Europäische Reiseberichte aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert als Quellen für die historische Geographie Bulgariens.* Sofia 1973, S. 71—72, und sie beruft sich auf das Werk Ž. Čankov: *Geografski rečnik na Bulgarija.* Sofia 1958, S. 476).

Im einleitenden Teil bieten die Autoren grundlegende Angaben über den Großwesir Koğa Sinān Pascha und dessen Stiftungen in Verschiedenen Teilen des Osmanischen Reiches dar. Anschließend beschreiben sie genau die in der Berliner Staatsbibliothek unter Sig. HS. or. 8302 aufbewahrte *Vakfīye* und geben den Inhalt des Schriftstückes wieder. Ihre besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmeten die Autoren den Stiftungsgütern in Uzunğaova sowie deren Ausgaben, und abschließend vergleichen sie das Berliner Exemplar mit den Istanbuler Exemplaren, die im Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Sign. S-P 214 und 215 aufbewahrt sind.

Das Faksimile des arabischen Textes (S. 33—77) stellt den umfangreichsten Teil des Büchleins dar.

Kurze Anmerkungen zum arabischen Text und ein Literaturverzeichnis ergänzen das Buch.

Die Herausgabe des arabischen Textes der *Vakfīye* des Großwesirs Koğa Sinān Pascha ist eine Bereicherung der Quellenbasis zur Kenntnis der religiösen Stiftungen im Osmanischen Reich sowie zur Geschichte der Bulgarischen Stadt Uzundžovo und seiner Umgebung.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

Dávid, Géza: *A Simontornyai szandzsák a 16. században* (Der Sandschak von Simontornya im 16. Jahrhundert). Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1982. 342 S., Karte.

Die Herausgabe und die Übersetzung von Quellen der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung im besetzten Ungarn kann auf eine sehr alte Tradition zurückblicken. Noch im vorigen Jahrhundert hat A. Velics eine umfangreiche Sammlung von Über-

setzungen dieser Quellen (*Magyarországi török kincstári defterek I—II.* Budapest 1886—1890) herausgegeben.

Eine regelrechte Schule, die sich der Forschung und Herausgabe von Quellen der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung widmet, gründete L. Fekete (1891—1968), Professor an der Budapester Universität und Verfasser mehrerer Editionen dieser Quellen. Es sei nur die erste moderne Herausgabe der Konskription des Sandschaks Esztergom (*Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570.évi adóösszeírása*, 1943) und das monumentale Werk *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung I—II* (1955) erwähnt. Seine Schüler zu Hause (Gy. Káldy-Nagy, K. Hegyi, E. Vass) und im Ausland (T. Halasi-Kun, J. Blaškovič, G. Bayerle) setzen diese Arbeit fort.

Der Verfasser des rezensierten Buches, Dr. G. Dávid, Fachassistent am Lehrstuhl für Turkologie der Budapester Universität gehört zu den jüngeren ungarischen Turkologen, die Schüler Gy. Káldy-Nagys waren. Als Grundlage dieses Buches diente seine Doktorarbeit.

Das südungarische Städtchen Simontornya fiel in die Hände der Türken wahrscheinlich im Frühjahr 1545 und wurde für 140 Jahre zum Zentrum des Sandschaks. Des Sandschak Simontornya gehörte nicht zu den größten Sandschaks des Eyalets Ofen und es wurden in ihm an die 300 Siedlungen registriert. Dies ermöglichte dem Verfasser nicht nur die Verwaltung und das Steuersystem des Sandschaks monographisch zu bearbeiten, sondern auch demographische Analysen von bahnbrechender Bedeutung anzustellen.

G. Dávid geht nicht den traditionellen Weg der Herausgabe von Sandschak-Konskription er bedient sich vielmehr der Methode der Bearbeitung des sämtlichen zugänglichen Materials und seiner Analyse. Im ersten Teil präzisiert der Autor das Datum der Eroberung des Städtchens durch die Türken mit Ende Frühjahr 1545. In der Übersicht der Quellen bringt er die wertvolle Analyse dieser, und zwar nicht nur der osmanischen, sondern auch der ungarischen. Im Vergleich zu anderen Grenzsandschaken sind viel mehr osmanische Bestandsaufnahmen des Sandschaks Simontornya erhalten geblieben. Der Autor konnte mit sechs *Tahrir-defters* aus den Jahren 1545, 1552, 1565, 1570, 1580, 1590 arbeiten, während z.B. aus dem Sandschak Fiľakovo kein einziges Exemplar eines *Tahrir-defters* erhalten blieb, obwohl dieser drei- bis viermal aufgezeichnet wurde. Außer den Konskriptionen des Sandschaks Simontornya (*Tahrir-*, *Timar-* und *Cizye-defters*) benützte der Autor auch weitere osmanische Quellen.

Der dritte Teil ist der osmanischen Verwaltung des Sandschaks gewidmet. Dávid befaßt sich eingehend mit den Grenzen des Sandschaks und der Entwicklung der Besiedlung, die er passend mit einer Tabelle veranschaulicht. Interessant und man kann sagen auch neu ist die Analyse der Struktur der Beamtenschaft im Sandschak, wobei er nicht nur aus den Quellen, sondern auch aus der osmanistischen Literatur hervorgeht und auf die ungarischen Spezifika hinweist.

Außerdem möchten wir unterstreichen, daß es dem Autor gelungen ist eine

beinahe komplette Liste der Sandschakbegs von Simontornya zusammenzustellen, was keine leichte Aufgabe gewesen ist. Der Anschaulichkeit wegen stellte Dávid auch ein Schema der Verwaltung des ungarischen Sandschaks zusammen (S. 35).

Der umfangreiche vierte Teil ist der Bevölkerung des Sandschaks gewidmet. Es ist dies bislang die genaueste, aus den osmanischen Konskriptionen hervorgehende demographische Analyse. Nach und nach analysiert der Autor die Fragen der Quellen, der Bevölkerungszahl, den Durchschnitt der Bevölkerung in den Dörfern, die Größe der Familien, die Kontinuität der Besiedlung, die Plünderung der Dörfer und schließlich die Nationalität der Bevölkerung.

Seine Aufmerksamkeit widmet er auch der doppelten Besteuerung im Sandschak Simontornya mit wertvollen Angaben über Distribution der Einkünfte aus den Steuern und jener aus anderen Quellen.

Auch der letzte, dem wirtschaftlichen Leben des Sandschaks gewidmete Teil der Analysen bringt interessante Schlüsse und illustriert diese passend in zahlreichen Tabellen und Diagrammen.

An Beilagen bietet das Buch ein alphabetisch geordnetes Verzeichnis der in den Listen des Sandschaks Simontornya registrierten Siedlungen mit Angaben der Quellen und der Literatur. Die Beilage B stellt eine Liste der Namen dar, die in den Inventaren registriert wurden.

Für Historiker der Wirtschaftsgeschichte stellen die Tabellen ein höchst interessantes Material dar, das in einer solchen Form auch den Osmanisten zum ersten Mal in die Hände gelangt.

Das Faksimile bringt Proben aus den *Tahrir-defters* aus den Jahren 1546, 1552, 1565, 1570, 1580 und 1590 von Simontornya und den umliegenden Dörfern. Dem Buch ist noch ein Ortsnamenverzeichnis beigefügt.

Dávids Bearbeitung des Sandschaks Simontornya kann als methodisch neu betrachtet werden und bringt eine große Anzahl an neuen Erkenntnissen, deren Gültigkeit gesamtungarisch ist. Schade, daß dieses hervorragende Buch nur von Fachleuten, die der ungarischen Sprache mächtig sind, benützt werden kann. Ein ausführliches fremdsprachiges Resümee wäre für das Buch ein Beitrag.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

Ambros, Edith: *Candid Penstrokes. The Lyrics of Me'ālī, an Ottoman Poet of the 16th Century.* Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1982. XXII + 520 pp.

This voluminous monograph is devoted to the life and work of a less known Ottoman poet from the first half of the 16th century whom the authoress has chosen as the object of her study because of the originality of his poetic work characterized by wit, humour and a candid tongue, but also because his work has been preserved

not in fragments, but completely. E. Ambros was primarily concerned with making the poet's message accessible and thereby, though indirectly, with presenting a view of the poet's times. She does not aspire to make a comparison of Me'ālī's poetry with the works of other Ottoman poets, nor does she attempt to determine in what measure they mutually affected one another.

The introductory section to the book (pp. VII—XXII) is made up of notes on transcription from Arabic into Latinized versions, of references to quoted works and of information on the sources contributing to a knowledge of the poet's life and writings. The only know copy of Me'ālī's *dīvān* is to be found in Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), and it is not complete. To complete and compare this text, Edith Ambros made use of collections of poems by various poets, the so-called *mecmūʿas*, but in particular the collection of Me'ālī's contemporary, the poet Naẓmī of Edirne comprising a larger number of Me'ālī's poems.

The first part of the book is devoted to the poet's life. The sources helping towards a knowledge of the lives and works of Ottoman poets are the *teẕkires*, i.e. biographical memoires. But the most abundant information about Me'ālī has been provided by the *teẕkire* of ʿAṣıq Çelebi which was complete thirty years after the poet's death.

Me'ālī, signifying "The Meaningful" is the poet's pen name (*maḫlaṣ*). Mehmet, his real name, was the son of a learned man who still three years before his death occupied the eminent office of *kadi* of Istanbul. The father's name Yarḥiṣārī Muṣṭafā Efendi readily suggests the conjecture that the family originated from a locality called Yarhisar. E. Ambros turns this conjecture into a conviction stating that there is question of the village Yarhisar in the Bursa province which, at the time of the poet's life, was a town (*kasaba*) of no small significance, as attested to also by Ottoman historical sources.

The year of Me'ālī's birth is not known, nevertheless, since the earliest poem of his *dīvān* contains a chronogram stating the year 911/1505—6 as that of its origin, it may be surmised that he was born before the year 1490. He died in 942/1535—6. Seeing a model in his father, Me'ālī strove all his life to achieve the position of a teacher in the *medrese* or that of a judge, for both of which he had the necessary aptitude thanks to his education, but on the other hand, he himself frustrated these efforts by his profligate life. His situation improved somewhat when Sultan Süleymān I ascended the throne in 1520. The ruler's favour which Me'ālī won thanks to his poetry finally ensured to him the judgeship of Gelibolu and the trusteeship of Bolayır.

The authoress documents Me'ālī's life course with quotations from his poetry in which the poet makes humorous and ironic utterances concerning his physical deficiencies and vices, thanks to which his portrait acquires a very concrete and plastic shape. Me'ālī makes no secret in his poems about his liking for wine and hashish, nor of his inclination to pretty boys.

E. Ambros makes an analysis of the formal aspects of the poet's work in the second

part of her monograph (pp. 61—155). In virtue of the fact that several *mecmūᶜas* contain various Me'ālī's poems, she notes that even if not the whole of the poet's *dīvān*, then at least certain fragments attracted the attention of lovers of poetry in the subsequent centuries. This is also attested to by the fact that Me'ālī's elegy on the death of his favourite cat inspired Namık Kemal (1840—1888) to write his poem *Hirrennâme*.

Numerically, the most represented form in Me'ālīs *Dīvān* is the *ġazel* (270 poems) which goes to show what favour this poetic genre enjoyed among Ottoman poets. Likewise in accordance with Ottoman poetic tradition, Me'ālī prefers *ġazels* consisting of five (139 poems) and seven (78 poems) verses. With 61 units *müfreds* come second in the divan and then follow 37 *qiṭᶜas*, one of which is in Arabic. These *müfreds* and *qiṭᶜas* represent for the most part *hezlīyāt* (facetiae), often with an erotic colouring.

Contrary to traditions of the *Dīvān* Me'ālī included in his collection also a *destān* consisting of fifteen quatrains of the *qoşma* type. This is the oldest poem of this genre with a historical topic. It reflected the revolt of the Qızılbaş under their leader called Şāhquli in the last but one year of the rule of Sultan Bāyezīd II (1481—1512).

With this single exception where Me'ālī made use of the traditional Turkish folk literature, he adhered to the rules of classical Arabic prosody. Edith Ambros makes a detailed analysis of the various types of prosody licence and their frequency in Me'ālī's work. He was relatively successful also in abiding by the rules of rhyme and showed a certain liking for the *redīf* — the repeated post-rhyme element.

The authoress compares the poet's language to that of his contemporary Ẕātī. Me'ālī used rather scantily loans from Arabic and Persian. He was a past-master of puns based on amphibology and idiomatic expressions. He did not create new metaphors but contended himself with those in use. Concrete sensual details are rare in his poetry.

From the formal and the thematic aspect, Me'ālī's *gazels* correspond to the character of Ottoman erotic-mystic poetry. Only, in cotrast to mystic poets, Me'ālī addressed his message of love to concrete objects and not to the divine. Similarly when speaking of drunkennes, he had in mind not a mystical intoxication, but the physiological phenomenon related to an immoderate consumption of wine.

The third, the most voluminous section of the monograph (pp. 159—502), carries the transcribed text of Me'ālī's *Dīvān* provided with notes and references to the translation of the various verses, eventually whole poems given in the preceding section of the book.

The publication is supplemented with an Index of Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions used in the *Dīvān* (pp. 503—520).

The work by Edith Ambros makes accessible the lyrics of a less known representative of classical Ottoman poetry and thereby contributes to its better knowledge. Another positive trait of this book resides also in that the authoress brings closer the

poet's personality, one who wrote in the second half of the 16th century also from his human side, thanks to which his poetry comes nearer to contemporary reader, becomes more comprehensible to him.

*Xénia Celnarová*

Uturgauri, S. N.: *Turetskaya proza 60—70-kh godov. Osnovnye tendentsii razvitiya* (Turkish Prose of the 60s—70s. Basic Trends of Development). Moscow, Nauka 1982. 215 pp.

The past two decades have been unusually fertile for Turkish literature as alongside the quantity of literary production, there was also an evident growth in the quality of individual works of art. Credit for this goes not only to renowned authors, but likewise to representatives of the younger generation. This significant stage in the development of Turkish literature achieved its peak recently only and thus a thorough investigation and evaluation are understandably still in the offing. The first to have attempted a rounded view of the past twenty years of development in the domain of prosaic writing has been the Soviet Turkologist Svetlana N. Uturgauri.

A quite characteristic feature of Turkish short story and novel is that these have been right from their beginning a sensitive seismograph of the social situation in the country. And this applies in an even enhanced measure to novels and stories written in the sixties and seventies. The opening chapter of this monograph outlines the political arena in which ideological struggles of Turkish working people — among them also of writers — took place during the period under study. In the closing section of this chapter the authoress picks out four generalizing trends in the literary process of the past two decades, each of which is then devoted one special chapter.

The first of these is concerned with the trend of a transition of the representatives of the *bunalım* literature to a realistic moulding of reality. This subjectivistic, introvertly-oriented literature which found its adherents mainly among young poets and prosaists, took birth in the mid-fifties and the early sixties, represented by itself an autonomous literary movement. The authoress makes a point of the fact that this modernist trend in Turkish literature had its specific trait by which it differed from the decadent literary movements in the West: "The work of the most talented among representatives of the *bunalım* literature, objectively embodying criticism of bourgeois society and reflecting its degradation, represented something like a complex synthesis of a modernistic and realistic conception of reality" (pp. 20—21). Thanks to this, many of the representatives of this movement — among prosaists they were Leyla Erbil, Erdal Öz, Adnan Özyalçıner, Tahsin Yücel, Demirtaş Ceyhun and others — as a result of the stormy political events at the turn of the fifties and sixties and of the sharpened ideological struggle, overcame the ideational-aesthetic crisis and went over to positions of realistic socially committed writing.

The next, the most comprehensive chapter of the publication (pp. 36—157) is devoted to the so-called social realism (*toplumsal gerçekçilik*). This term was introduced by Turkish literary critique in relation to realistic works of Turkish authors in the second half of our century. "A characteristic trait of social realists", writes S. N. Uturgauri in the introductory chapter of her monograph, "is a creative searching linked with a transition from the criticism of various aspects of bourgeois reality to a repudiation of the social order as such, their own effort at portraying reality in its many-sided relations and immanent expressions" (p. 12).

In connection with this term, the authoress reflects on the problem of penetration of socialist ideas into Turkish literature which has not as yet been adequately surveyed. She speaks of three aspects of an artistic realization of the socialist ideal that were represented by such personalities as Kemal Tahir, Orhan Kemal and Nazım Hikmet.

Kemal Tahir in his novel *Devlet ana* (Motherland, 1967) propagates his concept of the so-called "national", that is, "specific Turkish" socialism. S. N. Uturgauri observes that a tendencious antihistorical view of reality had caused the writer to deviate from the realistic method and to distort historical truth.

She sees Orhan Kemal's contribution to Turkish literature particularly in his attempt at setting up an essentially new type of the literary hero, an active, working man who realized the inevitability of a dedicated protest and struggle for his rights. The writer was the first to have portrayed a new stage in the social development of the Turkish village, its transition into the stage of capitalization. Orhan Kemal was not concerned solely with an uncompromising denunciation and refutation of the existing order, but also with laying bare the causes of social evil and searching for a prospective way out for the whole society.

While Orhan Kemal in his works only outlined the prospects of a socialist transformation of the country, Nazım Hikmet's novel *Yaşamak güzel şey be kardeşim* (Life Is a Fine Thing, Brother, 1964) shows, from the author's Marxistic positions, the revolutionary road towards a communist reshaping of the world.

The authoress compares a further personality of contemporary Turkish literature, Aziz Nesin to Orhan Kemal as regards the range of interest in reality with its social, economic, political and moral aspects. Aziz Nesin carries on his struggle for a new man, for a just social order with the aid of humour and satire. S. N. Uturgauri devotes attention to his satirical novel *Zübük* (1961), whose principal character presents a satirical caricature of representatives of the State power. The image thus created proved so convincing that the word *zübük* has passed into the spoken language as an attribute for people who build up their position and welfare with the aid of lies and frauds.

In the second part of this chapter the authoress presents an analysis of the specific features in the works of Kerim Korcan and Bekir Yıldız. In the case of the latter

whose very first work *Türkler Almanya'da* (Turks in Germany, 1966), as also several short stories reflect the writer's experiences from a four-year stay in the GFR, S. N. Uturgauri touches on problems of the emigration of Turkish workers to West-European countries, dealt with in the works of contemporary Turkish writers (Nevzat Üstün, Leyla Erbil, Fakir Baykurt, Adalet Ağaoğlu, Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca).

The last part of the chapter concerned with social realism investigates folkloristic elements in the works of Kemal Bilbaşar and Yaşar Kemal. Analysing Kemal Bilbaşar's dilogy *Cemo* (1966) and *Memo* (1970), S. N. Uturgauri came to the conclusion that their author, similarly as Kemal Tahir in his novel *Devlet Ana*, turns to folklore with the purpose to realize a tendentious, antihistorical conception of reality. As against this, Yaşar Kemal in his works reinforces through folklorist elements the tense conception of reality. S. N. Uturgauri focused her attention on two of the author's works: *Ağrı Dağı Efsanesi* (The Ararat Legend, 1970) and *Yılanı öldürseler* (If They Kill the Snake, 1976).

The events preceding the military coup and the proclamation of the Memorandum of March 1971, as also the wave of reprisals against progressive forces in the land that spread in their wake, found a reflection in many works of Turkish poets and prose writers. Turkish critique has designated them as Literature of March Twelfth. S. N. Uturgauri deals with prose works involved in this issue in the chapter entitled Politizovannaya proza — Traditsii i novatorstvo (Politicized Prose — Tradition and Innovation, pp. 158—187). She singled out the novels by Samim Kocagöz *Tartışma* (Conflict, 1976) and by Erdal Öz *Yaralısın* (You Are Wounded, 1974) which she mutually confronts. She underlines the new aspect in the representation of the intelligentsia—people relationship in the two writers. Samim Kocagöz does not apprehend this problem simply as a relationship to people as such, but concretely to the working class as an efficient force in social and political struggles (p. 166). A knowledge of the people, a hero's fusing with the people, forms the conclusion of the novel *Yaralısın*. Into this finale the author projects his knowledge of the people as a force restoring in a sorely tried intellectual his confidence in the people, awakening in him optimism and hope in the future.

The closing chapter of the publication is devoted to socio-psychological prose that takes contact with Sait Faik Abasıyanık's works. Evaluating four decades of development in socio-psychological prose, the authoress speaks of its departure from an abstract conception of reality and personality towards a reinforcement of social motivation in human behaviour and acting, and towards a more active search of ways to overcome estrangement. At the same time, she stresses that authors of socio-psychological works see the way to overcoming estrangement to reside precisely in an improvement of man's moral world. The writers Oktay Akbal, Tomris Uyar, Muzaffer Buyrukçu, Bilge Karasu, Nezihe Meriç lay emphasis on a spiritual renaissance of man, on his return to himself and thereby also to the society.

In conclusion, S. N. Uturgauri observes that the past twenty years may not be taken as an independent, completed stage in the development of Turkish literature, as the movements and trends initiated thus far continue in their evolution.

The publication is provided with a list of references and an index of titles of works, unfortunately set up according to their version in Russian translation.

S. N. Uturgauri's monograph, by its systematic approach to the past two decades in the development of Turkish prose and by its evaluative view of this period, represents a pioneering undertaking and is a new step forward in the investigation of Turkish literature. It would be desirable that this work be translated into Turkish, or at least subsequently to publish a more extensive summary in English, presenting the most important notes and concepts.

*Xénia Celnarová*

Sydykov, Akbaraly: *Geroicheskie motivy v epose "Manas"* (Heroic Motifs in the Epos "Manas"). Frunze, Ilim 1982. 135 pp.

The Kirghiz folk epos *Manas* was formed during the course of centuries and reflects the forming of the Kirghiz nation and its social consciousness in which an important role was played by the ideal of a hero. The Kirghiz epos is still a living and developing literary form. Since 1856 when the first written record of *Manas* appeared thanks to the Kazakh ethnographer Valihanov down to the present time, new variants of the epos have been registered, some of them of a remarkable literary standard. The manuscript fund of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic boasts at presence of nearly thirty variants of this epos.

A. Sydykov sets up as the aim of his work to investigate the processes of formation and evolution of heroic motifs, their place and significance in the ideological-artistic structure of the work. He takes as his basis the variants proposed by Orozbakov and Sayakbay Karalayev which are considered to be the most complete.

In the first chapter (pp. 8—56), the author subjected to an analysis the social conditionedness of the ideological-artistic content of the epos *Manas*. Since the Kirghiz tribes had lived for centuries in incessant fightings, incursions, warring scenes easily predominate in the epos. It is practically a rule that a mass clash of enemies is preceded by the struggle of one or several pairs of heroes. Courage, strength, alacrity in fight, these are the essential qualities of the ideal hero. The synthesis of the ideal attributes is represented by the titular hero of the epos who stands out in all its variants as the liberator and unifier of the Kirghiz tribes.

Sydykov notes that elements foreign to the folk spirit appear in some of the later variants of the epos. These are mainly a deepening of the social inequality and

religious motifs connected with the expansion of Islam. This found a reflection even in the figure of Manas himself who in these variants manifests an inclination to tyranny, haughtiness, vaunt and religious fanaticism.

The most primitive element in the iconic-artistic structure of the epos reaching back to the matriarchate, represents the image of a woman fighter. And even in the epic biography of the invincible *Manas*, there is an episode about the victory of a woman fighter over the hero. The more a variant is marked by the epoch of feudalism, the less heroic traits are attributed to female figures.

The entire second chapter (pp. 57—102) is devoted to a detailed analysis of the description of fighting scenes in the epos. Comparing the two versions by Orozbakov and Karalayev, the author remarks that while the latter devotes most attention to mass clashes by which the narration culminates, the former keeps in the foreground the struggle of two heroes.

Sydykov investigates the reasons for the stabilized forms of the different stages of the battle. He sees one of them to reside in the artistic conditionedness of the composition; in this manner, the narrator achieves a gradation of his narration thus ensuring a mounting tension. The other reason, in his view, is that, seeing the extent of the epos (Orozbakov's variant represents over one hundred and eighty thousand verses, Karalayev's practically four hundred and twenty thousand), learning it by heart was just out of the question and thus improvization stepped in. And thus, a traditional sequency of the various stages of the fighting facilitated the interpreter of the epos — the *manaschi* — the retention of the text.

The closing chapter of the book (pp. 103—128) follows up the evolution of the heroic motif in the epos. A. Sydykov observes that, although the concept of State is foreign to the epos, the process of disintegration of family ties and relations had manifestly crept in, especially into its second part whose titular hero is Manas' son Semetey. To this is also related a weakening of heroic motifs, for the hero and heroic feats disappear when the hero — the leader of all the Kirghiz tribes had been replaced by a ruler who initiated his rule by suppressing members of his own family. The third part of the epos, concerned with Seytek, gives the description of just one fighting scene.

The epos *Manas* represents an inexhaustible springhead of inspiration to contemporary Kirghiz poets. In the closing part of the book, the author points to some concrete cases, namely to poems from the times of the Great Patriotic War, into which heroic motifs, precisely from the epos *Manas*, were projected.

Through a study of the heroic motifs in the epos *Manas* in their historico-social conditionedness A. Sydykov has uncovered new dimensions of this unique cultural monument of the Kirghiz nation.

*Xénia Celnarová*

*Études de linguistique arabe.* Extrait d'Arabica, XXVIII, 1981. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1982. 125—401 pp.

The present volume, devoted to the Arabic linguistics, is one of a number of special issues of *Arabica*, published since 1954. The remarkable methodological development of linguistics, observable in the last two decades, begins to be mirrored in the linguistic treatment of Oriental languages. The Prague school has fruitfully contributed to the advancement of Arabic linguistics, especially in the phonological description of Classical Arabic and several dialects (J. Cantineau, D. Cohen, N. Tomiche and others). Descriptivism is underlying the spectacular collection of dialectological studies (mostly in Cairo Arabic), published in the U.S.A. and Europe in the last two decades (R. S. Harrell, W. Lehn, P. Abboud, H. M. Hanna, H. M. Aboul-Fetouh, S. M. Gamal-Eldin, Z. N. Abdel-Malek (Cairo Arabic); R. S. Harrell, W. M. Erwin, H. Sobelman, K. Stowasser, M. Ani,etc. (other colloquial varieties). Fruitful attempts have been made at finding a common way of description of Classical and Cultivated Colloquial (S. A. Hanna, N. Greis and others). Some colloquial varieties have already been treated along the methodological premises of transformational grammar (H. Wise) and interesting studies have been made in the domain of language acquisition (M. K. Omar). Etc.

The present volume offers a valuable survey of new methodologies recently used in the linguistic treatment of Arabic. The contributions included may roughly be subdivided into two main groups:

1. Studies predominantly concerned with various aspects of linguistic analysis:

(Arabic)

A. Roman, *De la langue arabe comme un modèle général de la formation des langues sémitiques et de leur évolution;*

K. Petráček, *Le système de l'arabe dans une perspective diachronique;*

J. Blau, *The state of research in the field of the linguistic study of Middle Arabic;*

S. Ghazeli, *La Coarticulation de l'emphase en arabe;*

A. Gai, *Two points of Arabic grammar;*

S. Elbaz, *La subordination en arabe d'Oujda;*

J. P. Angoujard, *Marqueur du féminin et système vocalique dans l'arabe de Damas;*

H. J. Bergé, *Mutations vocaliques dans les dialectes hispano-arabes;*

Ph. Marçais et F. Viré, *Gazelles et outardes en Tunisie;*

(Arabic in relation to South Arabian)

A. F. L. Beeston, *Languages of the pre-Islamic Arabia;*

(South Arabian)

P. Swiggers, *A phonological analysis of the Ḥarsūsi consonants;*

2. Metalinguistic considerations primarily focused on the native Arabic grammar and its compatibility with modern conceptual hierarchies:

G. Bohas, *Quelques aspects de l'argumentation et de l'explication chez les grammairiens arabes;*

J. P. Guillaume, *Le statut des représentations sous-jacentes en morphonologie d'après Ibn Ǧinnī;*

G. Troupeau, *La logique d'Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ et les origines de la grammaire arabe;*

R. Talmon, *Appositival ᶜAṭf — An inquiry into the history of a syntactic category;*

A Fassi Fehri, *Théorie lexicale-fonctionnelle, contrôle et accord en arabe moderne.*

To the theory of learning and teaching is devoted the last of the studies included:

J. Dichy, *Pour un apprentissage "environnemental" de l'arabe.*

A similar classification can, of course, be made on the assumption that only the prevailing tendencies are taken into account, for the linguistic and metalinguistic aspects are in constant interaction.

It is very gratifying to see that a substantial part of the volume deals with methodological questions. Nevertheless, in some cases, meta-levelled confrontations (e.g. Angoujard/Bohas) seem to be somewhat hypertrophied to the detriment of the analysis proper. At any rate, they contribute to the clarification of different approaches and to the statement of their respective efficiency.

As for the behaviour of the feminine suffix *-t* or what may equal it in Damascus Arabic (Angoujard), or any other colloquial variety of Arabic, a junctural explanation of its loss or retention seems to be more than doubtful. In fact, the distinction between 'frontière unique' (#) and 'double frontière' (##) overtly fails in explaining the difference between:

| | | type of juncture: |
|---|---|---|
| *-t* is lost: | | |
| *sāᶜa-ġálya* | "an expensive watch" | (##) |
| *issā́ᶜa-ġálya* | "the watch is expensive" | (##) |
| as against: | | |
| *-t* is retained: | | |
| *saᶜít-na* | "our watch" | (#) |
| *sā́ᶜit-ᶜáli* | "Ali's watch" | (##) |
| *sā́ᶜt-iggámᶜa* | "the University clock" | (##) |
| (Cairo Arabic) | | |

As evident, the identity of junctural phenomena need not necessarily lead to an identical behaviour of the feminine marker. The retention of *-t*, juncturally corresponding to both (#) and (##) may be regarded as a specific feature of feminine singular nouns that display an implicit, syntactically conveyed definiteness (as inclusive of both its states: definite and indefinite). The phenomenon is, no doubt, by far more a matter of morphosyntax than that of morphophonemics.

The volume will meet the interests of Arabists, dialectologists and Semitologists. It will be read with profit by all those who pay some attention to the methodological growth of linguistics and to the application of the newly devised methods to the linguistic description of Oriental languages.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Schregle, Götz: *Arabisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* (Arabic-German Dictionary). Unter Mitwirkung von Kamal Radwan und Sayed Mohammad Rizk (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Orient-Institut, Beirut). Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH 1981 (fasc. 1—4). XXIII + 368 pp.

Schregle's *Arabisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* is once again a remarkable achievement in Arabic lexicography. By the extent of carefully classified lexical material, by a truly enormous stock of true-to-life phrases and idiomatic expressions, and by a great number of lexicographical innovations, it cannot be compared with anything produced so far. In fact, it is one of the most hopeful modern attempts to widen the scope of Modern Written Arabic (MWA, in what follows), as far as a lexicon can at all achieve this goal, by guiding it simultaneously towards a written and an oral communication. In an Arabic-Arabic version, the present lexicon might have a chance to influence the whole linguistic destiny of MWA even better on condition, however, that a deeply-rooted mistrust of foreign-origin works dealing with Arabic, observable in Arab cultural environment, will gradually be eliminated.

The uniqueness of the present lexicon is derived from two essential features:

— from a maximally efficient process of dearchaizing the traditional, lexicographically sanctioned stock of the MWA lexicon (principle of modernization), and

— from a somewhat anticipative, but still reasonably realistic treatment of MWA as a well-balanced communicative medium. Despite the fact that the written communication is so far the unique one to be fully expanded in the linguistic domain of MWA, the lexical contours of an oral communication, as traced by the present lexicon, are decidedly more than a mere potentiality. No Arabic lexicon, foreign-made or native, has more efficiently contributed to the 'oralization' of MWA than the present one ( principle of creating balance between a written and an oral communication).

The only draw-back of this editorial project seems to result from long intervals between successive fascicles. A shortening of the publishing time, needed for the completion of the lexicon, would be of great value and would help to maintain the chronological homogeneity of the lexical corpus included. This fact certainly cannot be neglected in recording the lexicon of a rapidly developing language, like MWA.

One of the top-class innovations in the lexicographical treatment of Arabic is

a quite independent entrying of intransitive and transitive verbs, as in *'atā i ('aty, 'ityān, ma'tāh)* I intr. 1.~-*hu* (pers.)/-*hu* (rei) (*'ilā*) zu j-m/an e-n Ort kommen (to come to s.o./to a place, arrive at); etc.; II tr. 1.~-*hu* (rei) etw. tun, ausführen, vollbringen (to do, perform, carry out s.th.); etc. (pp. 3 and 4 resp.).

The importance of this new arrangement stems from the fact that the distinction between transitivity and intransitivity, despite the high degree of formal marking involved, is not quite unambiguous. This ambiguity, associated with respective markers, may be explained by their lack of specifity which allows but a distinction between what is statistically typical and what is not. E.g.:

| *CaCCaCa:* e.g. | typical value: | atypical value: |
|---|---|---|
| *ᶜallama* | transitivity/causativity: "to teach" (a causative verb derivationally related to *ᶜalima* "to know", i.e. "to make s.o. know"); or: | intransitivity/reflexivity: unrepresented |
| *ᶜajjala* | "to hurry, rush, urge, impel, drive"; etc. | "to hurry, hasten, speed, rush, be in a hurry"; etc. |
| *taCaCCaCa:* e.g. | intransitivity, transitivity/reflexivity: | transitivity/causativity: |
| *taᶜallama* | transitive/reflexive: "to learn" (a reflexive verb derivationally related to *ᶜallama*, i.e. "to make oneself know"); or: | unrepresented |
| *taᶜajjala* | intransitive/reflexive: "to hurry, hasten, speed, rush, be in a hurry; to seek to get ahead in a hurry"; etc. | transitive/causative: "to hurry, rush, urge (~-*hu*/pers./*'ilā* s.o. to)"; etc. (Wehr) |

The use of *taškīl* instead of a Romanized transcription is, to be sure, more economic but it cannot represent the true pronunciation of foreign words with sufficient precision, e.g. Schregle's *tilifizyūn* (200) and *tilīfizyūn* (201) "Fernsehen"

("television, telecast"), as against *tilivisyōn* (old Wehr, 96); *talavizyōn* (Sa'id, 49); *tilivizyōn, televizyōn, talavizyōn* (new Wehr, 116), etc. It must be recognized, however, that the phonological variation in the domain of lexical borrowing is extremely high and that it is not always easy to identify the most hopeful variant(s). In some casses, the lexicographically conveyed information of the latter type may even be misleading.

As already anticipated, Schregle's approach to the lexicographical presentation of phraseology is certainly one of the most remarkable qualities of the lexicon. The amount of phrases, idiomatic expressions and various stereotyped formulae included is so copious that the lexicon may safely be used for most purposes calling for a specialized phraseological lexicon. E.g.:

*ta'azzama: ta'azzama l-jawwu bi-ṣ-ṣamt* "es herrschte ein mit Spannung geladenes Schweigen" ("the atmosphere was loaded with a strained calm") (29), or:

*'āxir: sawā'un 'a-kānat fī miṣra 'am fī 'āxiri d-dunyā* "sei es in Ägypten oder sonstwo auf der Welt" ("were it in Egypt or elsewhere in the world") (16), etc.

When extending the term to any lexically (and, of course, terminologically) relevant syntactic sequence, Schregle's lexicon shows once again a spectacular stock of multicomponental units, both technical and nontechnical, that cannot normally be found elsewhere. The amount of technical terms recorded is, in general, markedly higher than in current nontechnical lexicons and roughly corresponds to the state of knowledge of an undergraduate.

Although the lexicon, in general, provides the user with reliable information about the formation of plural, a number of unpredictable plurals, especially in the domain of multicomponental lexical units, have not been recorded.

When comparing a number of randomly selected multicomponental terms, like

*'aṯar al-jurḥ* "Narbe, Schramme" ("scar, cicatrice");

*'aṯar ḥarq* "Verbrennungsnarbe" ("burns scar");

*'aṯar ad-ḍarb* "Strieme" ("discolouration, bruise");

*'aṯar al-ḥayāh* "Lebenszeichen" ("sign of life") (p. 7); etc., it seems rather unlikely that a current German student will be able to form the corresponding plurals as follows:

*'āṯār al-jurūḥ/al-jirāḥ*;

*'āṯār al-ḥurūq* (the singular *ḥarq* is here interpreted as a concrete noun although, theoretically, an abstract interpretation thereof (viz., "the act of burning" or "the state of being burned") is here equally possible);

*'āṯār aḍ-ḍarb*, and

*'āṯār al-ḥayāh*, respectively.

A higher degree of explicitness would have been here in place because the inflectional behaviour of the Arabic abstracta markedly differs from what is currently observable in most Indo-European languages. It may even vary in accordance with the syntactic function they perform. While *al-ḥayāh*, in the sequence quoted above

where it operates as a modifier, behaves as an unpluralizable abstract noun, in sequences where it occupies the head slot, it may freely be pluralized, as in (plural-plural) *ḥayawāt aṭ-ṭuyūr* "the life (lives) of birds" in: *fa-'anā lā 'aᶜlamu šay'an ᶜan ḥayawāti ṭ-ṭuyūri* "for I know nothing about the life (lives) of birds" (Kanafānī; see our paper in the present issue of AAS).

On the other hand, the high number of phrasal sequences in Schregle's lexicon helps the user more efficiently than any other lexicon of the present generation to distinguish between the unpredictable occurrences of singulars and plurals in sequences like:

*kurat aṯ-ṯalj* "Schneeball" ("snowball");

*qalᶜat aṯ-ṯulūj* (Schneeburg" ("snow palace");

*tasāqut aṯ-ṯulūj* "Schneefall, Schneefälle" ("snowfall"), etc.

The decade that lies between both Schregle's lexicons: German-Arabic (*Deutsch-arabisches Wörterbuch.* Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz 1963—1974 (SDA in what follows)) and the present Arabic-German lexicon (in the contrastive examples which follow, referred to as SAD) — reflects a considerable step forward in the lexical maturation of Arabic, largely motivated by the evolution of knowledge, as well as by the emergence of new hierarchies and new sets of priorities in the real world. At least one example. While, in SDA, the concept of an ecologically interpreted 'environment' has been covered by one single unit of specific reference (*Umwelt*), SAD already offers a whole series of specifically ecological terms:

(SDA, 1256): Umwelt: *al-bī'a al-muḥīṭa (al-xārijiyya),* lit. '(external) surrounding milieu, environment', co-occurring with several nonspecific terms like:

(SAD, 826): Milieu: *wasaṭ* ('milieu', 'environment'), *al-bī'a (al-xārijiyya)* ('(the external) environment'), *muḥīṭ ('ijtimāᶜī)* ('(social) environment'), *jaww* ('atmosphere, milieu'); etc.

(SAD, 170): *al-bī'a al muḥīṭa (aṭ-ṭabīᶜiyya); al-bī'a wa l-muḥīṭ* "die Umwelt"; *ẓurūf al-bī'a (al-xārijiyya)* "die Lebensbedingungen; die ökologischen Bedingungen" ("conditions of life, ecological circumstances"); *ᶜilm al-bī'a* "Ökologie" ("ecology"); *naẓāfat al-bī'a* "saubere Umwelt" ("clean, unpolluted environment"); *xidmat al-bī'a* "Umweltschutz" ("protection of environment"); etc. A couple of other units may further be expected to occur under *talwīṯ* "pollution", *mulawwaṯ* "polluted"; etc.

It is worthwhile noting that in the case of polysemous terms of an extraordinarily rich reference Schregle has devised a highly useful system of differentiation by means of auxiliary headings that is truly unprecedented in Arabic lexicography.

Thus, for instance, under *'anīq* (66), the reader will find the following distinction:

*Gesicht* fein, edel, hübsch, apart; *Gestalt* wohlgeformt, anmutig, reizvoll; *Bewegung* anmutig, graziös; *Schrift* sauber, wie gestochen; *Lokal, Geschäft, Möbel* elegant, schick, modisch, stilvoll; *Geschirr* fein, erlesen; *Villa* hübsch, schmuck, elegant, modern; *Auto, Yacht, Uniform* schnittig, schick; *Speisen* appetitlich, lecker, etc.

Colloquial usage that keeps high the level of realism in the Schregle-proposed reading of loans, as in *'infulwanzā* "Influenza, Grippe" ("influenza, grippe") (66), as against a more conservative *'influwanzā* (Wehr, 39), has nevertheless led to a number of overcolloquialized forms, as in the case of *banāṭlīn*, a supposed MWA plural of *banṭalūn* "trousers, pants", that should, no doubt, have been far more adequately rendered by the more regular (if not the only possible) plural *banṭalūnāt.* To the best of our knowledge, the only recent source to record the plural *banāṭlīn* is Prokosch's *Osmanisches Wortgut im Sudan-Arabischen*, Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1983, p. 45, with further reference to Person A. and J., Streck (Arabic) and Redhouse (Turkish). As far as *banṭalūn* is concerned, a very frequently used shortened variant thereof, viz. *banṭāl*, is unrecorded in Schregle's lexicon.

In quoting the names of months, it would have been perhaps worthwhile indicating their regional identity e.g. *'āb* "Augustus" ("august"), used mostly in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan, and *'aġusṭus* (38), used in some other Arab countries, especially in Egypt. With regard to the francophone Arab countries of the Maghrib, even the French-based corruptions should have been quoted for the convenience of the user, viz. *'ūt* "august", etc.

The low degree of lexical codification of MWA is necessarily reflected in Schregle's lexicon too. When comparing both versions of Schregle's lexicon, German-Arabic (SDA) and Arabic-German (SAD), numerous incorrespondences may be found:

(SDA, 808): Massenmedium (medium of mass communication, mass medium): *wasīlat al-'iᶜlān, ad-diᶜāya ; wasīlat al-'ittiṣāl bi-l-jamāhīr*; as against:

(SAD, 307): *'ajhizat al-'iᶜlām* "die Massenmedien" ("mass media"); or:

(SDA, 1286): Urologe (urologist): *ṭabīb 'amrāḍ al-bawl*, as against:

(SAD, 175): *ṭabīb al-masālik al-bawliyya* "Urologe" ("urologist"); or:

(SDA, 1319): Vernichtungslager (extermination camp): *muᶜaskar al-'ibāda*, as against:

(SAD, 178): *muᶜaskar al-'ibāda wa-l-'ifnā*; etc.

At any rate, Schregle's lexicon is free of such puristically motivated neologisms, as e.g. *baṯmar'iyyāt* (a compound noun aiming to substitute for the borrowed *tilivizyōn* "television" (*Technical Dictionary. Radio and Television. English-French-German-Arabic.* Compiled and revised by Dr. Anwar Mahmoud Abd-El-Wahed. Edition Leipzig 1980, p. 24)) "television"; or *miqḥal* "transistor" (aiming to replace the loanword *tranzistar, tranzistor* (ibid., 75); etc. Similar neologisms have an obvious ring of one-man-coinages and they have a rather retardative impact on the lexical evolution of MWA.

In quoting terms like *jalīsat al-'aṭfāl* "Babysitter" ("woman/baby sitter") (269), Schregle's lexicon is certainly the first lexicon of an Arabic—non-Arabic orientation to accept words of a patently non-Arab socio-cultural background. In the latter sense, it constitutes an important step forward towards establishing a relative

symmetry between both directions of a bilingual lexicon (an absolute symmetry, can, of course, never be achieved).

Phenomena, traditionally unfamiliar to native speakers, tend to be indiscriminately denoted by mostly unspecified polysemous units. Despite all the disturbing impact they may have on the student, they cannot be obviated in the present generation of MWA lexicons, for they constitute an inseparable part of the present-day linguistic reality of Arabic. Records of the latter type are necessarily represented in Schregle's lexicon, too:

(SAD, 218): *ṯalj* "Schnee; Eis" ("snow; ice");

(SAD, 268): *jalīd* "Eis; Schnee" ("ice; snow");

(SAD, 218): *tazaḥlaqa ʿalā ṯ-ṯalj* "Ski laufen (fahren)" ("to ski");

(SDA, 1015): *tazaḥlaqa ʿalā l-jalīd* "Schlitten fahren" ("to ride sled, sleigh");

(SDA, 1016): *'inzalaqa (tazaḥlaqa) ʿalā l-jalīd* "Schlittschuhlaufen" ("to skate"); etc.

It is worthwhile noting that some recent dictionaries, even dictionaries noted for their high qualities, try to reduce the latter type of polysemy by introducing unjustified distinctions in cases like:

*ṯalj* "snow; ice", and

*jalīd* "ice" (Wehr, both old and new).

A similar distinction is certainly more than a result of recording, since it involves undue and possibly also unintentional features of normativeness.

Despite the fact that recent neologisms are extensively represented in the lexicon, some modern concepts are still missing or their presentation is deficient.

While going through *barmaja* "programmieren" ("to program"), *barmaja* "Programmierung" ("programming"), and *mubarmaj* "programmiert; programmatisch" ("programmed; programmatic") (116), we were surprised at the omission of *mubarmij* "programmer".

The correspondence between *Cinemaskope* and *sīnamā mujassama* (260) does not seem to be correct. As obvious, the motion picture system known as *Cinema Scope* has nothing in common with three-dimensionality even if being, of course, fully compatible with a stereoscopic projection. The SDA equivalent is merely *sīnamāskūb* (253). As a descriptive equivalent, *sīnamā bānūrāmiyya*, or something of this sort, would have been much better. The latter term would, of course, cover all wide-angle and extreme wide-angle motion picture systems inclusively of *Cinerama* and the like.

Schregle's lexicon is a tool absolutely indispensable for all those who are seriously interested in Modern Written Arabic. Owing to numerous linguistic data related to German, the lexicon will render excellent services to Arab students learning German or using German as a linguistic medium.

As already stated, a monolingual Arabic version of Schregle's lexicon might have

a stimulative and, in the native linguistic environment, perhaps even a normative effect on the linguistic evolution of Modern Written Arabic and it might help to define the linguistic identity of this powerful Modern Standard as against Classical Arabic.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Prokosch, E.: *Osmanisches Wortgut im Ägyptisch-Arabischen* (Turkish Loans in Egyptian Arabic). Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 78. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1983. 141 pp.

Prokosch, E.: *Osmanisches Wortgut im Sudan-Arabischen* (Turkish Loans in Sudan Arabic). Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 89. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1983. 75 pp.

Despite the fact that the amount of Turkish[1] words in various Arabic dialects is constantly diminishing, they nevertheless constitute an important part of Oriental borrowings in Arabic. Besides an invaluable documentary significance of recording the stock of Turkish borrowings in Arabic, Prokosch's vocabularies are decidedly more than that. They present a highly reliable historical and linguistic introduction which offers the reader a short but precise information about all he needs to make an efficient use of the two lexicons.[2]

Some minor remarks and additions:

Even if it is of no great importance how the word *baqšīš/baxšīš* (of a Turkish-Persian background) found its way into Egyptian Arabic, Prokosch's assumption that it was borrowed by way of the English loan *baksheesh* does not seem to be correct. Had it passed into Egyptian Arabic via English, the word would quite evidently be missing in Bocthor's *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, Paris 1828 (2nd ed.; E. Bocthor had been

[1] In this review, the term will be summarily applied to all Turkic elements possibly infiltrating into the Arabic lexicon.

[2] These present a valuable addition to the list of works recording Turkish borrowings in colloquial Arabic:

Littmann, Enno: *Türkisches Sprachgut im Ägyptisch-Arabischen.* In: *Westöstliche Abhandlungen. Rudolf Tschudi zum 70. Geburtstag.* Hg. von F. Meier. Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 107—127;

Vollers, K.: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der lebenden arabischen Sprache in Aegypten. IX. Türkische Entlehnungen.* In: *ZDMG,* LI, 1897, pp. 305—310;

Ben Cheneb, Mohammed: *Mots turcs et persans conservés dans le parler algérien.* Algier 1922 (Université d'Alger, Faculté des Lettres);

Saussey, E.: *Les mots turcs dans le dialecte arabe de Damas.* In: *Mélanges de l'Institut Français de Damas,* I, 1929, pp. 75—129.

living in France since 1812!). In this lexicon of a strongly Egyptianized Standard Arabic, both *baxšīš* and *baqšīš* are quoted under "pourboire (petite libéralité)".

Bocthor's *Dictionnaire*, evaluated by Prokosch only indirectly (Dozy: Bc.), would have been of great help to the author while compiling his lexicons.

Another source of prime importance that should not have been omitted is Ṣabbāġ's *Risāla* (Mīxā'īl ibn Niqūlā ibn 'Ibrāhīm Ṣabbāġ: *ar-Risāla at-tāmma fī kalām al-ᶜāmma wa-l-manāhij fī 'aḥwāl al-kalām ad-dārij*, edited by H. Thorbecke: *Mīḫā'īl Ṣabbāġ's Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Aegypten*. Strassburg 1886. Nevertheless, Thorbecke's somewhat deficient and unduly over-classicized edition should be corrected by the manuscript No.889 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (formerly Münchener Hof- und Staatsbibliothek)).

Ṣabbāġ's *Risāla* contains the first grammar of Egyptian Arabic and the first lexicon thereof, primarily focussed on Turkish and Persian borrowings. In what follows, a number of items will be quoted from Ṣabbāġ's *Risāla* which might perhaps be found relevant to the matter. No attempt will be made at rephonemicizing Ṣabbāġ's writing. His classificatory errors, as well as numerous colloquialisms and pseudoclassicisms will also be presented as they are. The quotations refer to Thorbecke's edition:

50: *bāzarčān — yaᶜnūna bihi t-tājira yakūnu min 'aᶜyāni tujjāri l-baladi wa huwa 'ismun turkī;*

53: *baylīk — 'ismun turkiyyun wa lahu fī luġati l-qawmi d-dārijati maᶜnayāni al-'awwalu 'ismun li-s-safīnati 'aw al-markabi l-ḥarbiyyi s-sulṭāniyyi wa kaḏālika yaqūlūna baytu fulānin 'aw matāᶜuhu nazala fi-l-baylik 'ay 'anzalahu fi-s-sūqi yuᶜarriduhu ᶜalā-t-tujjāri qaṣdan li-bayᶜihi;*

53: *buġāja — 'ismun li-faṭīriñ raqīqin maᶜjūnin wa maqliyyin bi-s-samni bi-luġati š-šām;*

55: *čalabī* (quoted, nevertheless, under *ḥarf al-jīm*) — *hāḏā 'ismun turkiyyun li-sāḥibi ẓ-ẓarāfa wa-l-laṭāfa wa hāḏihi l-jīmu tulfaẓu qarīban min aš-šīn wa 'ahlu miṣra yusammūna bihi 'ibna-llaḏī 'abūhu turkī wa huwa wulida bi-miṣra;*

55: *čūx* (but *jūxdār* in the next entry) — *hāḏā l-'ismu 'aẓunnuhu turkī wa huwa 'ismu l'qumāši mā kāna min ṣūfi-llaḏī yūradu li-š-šarqi min al-bilādi l-firanjiyyati wa l-jūxī* (!) *'allaḏī yabīᶜu l-jūxa* (!) *wa minhu al-jūxdāru 'ismun turkiyyun li-man yatawallā ᶜinda l-'amīri muḥāfaẓata malbūsihi wa qumāšihi...;*

56: *ḥalwanjī — 'ismun mansūbun bi-tarīqati n-nisbati t-turkiyyati li-man yabīᶜu l-ḥalāwata 'aw yaᶜmaluhā;*

57: *dāyah — hiya l-mar'atu l-qahramānatu-llatī tuwallidu l-ḥabālā wa tasūsuhum fī ḥablihim;*

61: *šišmā* (interpreted in terms of Prokosch's sources as well ("Brunnen")) — *'ismun fārisiyyun 'aw turkiyyun li-l-makāni llaḏī tuzīlu fīhi ḍarūrata ṭ-ṭabīᶜati wa huwa 'adabxāna;*

When giving credit to Ṣabbāġ, *ġalyūn* "(tobacco) pipe" is used in Syria only, as against the Egyptian *ḥajar (ḥagar)*:

63: *ġalyūn — fi-š-šām yaqūlūna li-l-ḥajari llaḏī yašrabūna bihi d-duxxāna-llaḏī yūḍaᶜūhu waṣlan maᶜa d-dawāyati-llatī ḏakarnāhā fī ḥarfi d-dāl fa-yūḍaᶜūna* (Thorbecke's *taškīl: yawḍaᶜūna*) *fīhi t-tutuna 'ayi d-duxxāna-llaḏī ḏakarnāhu fī ḥarfi t-tā' fa-yusammūnahu ġalyūn wa 'ahlu miṣra yusammūnahu ḥajaran.*

In connexion with the Turkish origin *duġri* (Prok., 65), it would have been worthwhile specifying that the word may be applied both as an adjective and as an adverb. For the latter application see e.g. *timši duġri*, synon. *timši ᶜala-ṭūl.*

Some remarks, concerning Egyptian Arabic, obviously apply to Sudan Arabic as well (*baqšīš*). For the (Chad-)Sudan dialectal area it would have been useful to evaluate A. Roth-Laly's *Lexique des parlers arabes tchado-soudanais (An Arabic-English-French Lexicon of the Dialects Spoken in the Chad-Sudan area).* Paris, CNRS 1969, or some of its main sources:

Carbou, H.: *Méthode pratique pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé au Ouaday et à l'Est du Tchad.* Paris, Paul Geuthner 1913;

Hillelson, S.: *Sudan Arabic: an English-Arabic Vocabulary.* 2nd ed. London 1930;

Lethem, G. L.: *Colloquial Arabic. Shuwa Dialect of Bornu, Nigeria and of the Region of Lake Tchad.* London 1920;

Trenga, G.: *Le bura-mabang du Ouadaï.* Paris, Institut d'ethnologie 1947.

By the neat formal presentation and a consistent and easy-to-handle lexicographical arrangement, both volumes constitute an important contribution to Arabic dialectology. In many respects, they may serve as a model for similar works in other dialectal areas of the Arab world.

The volume dealing with Cairo Arabic has a quite special significance by being a pre-requisite for a modern and reasonably comprehensive lexicographical recording of Cairo Arabic which as long overdue. This gap is one of the most paradoxical features of the recent state of Arabic dialectology which is totally incompatible with the cultural significance of this variety of Colloquial Arabic.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Piamenta, M.: *The Muslim Conception of God and Human Welfare as Reflected in Everyday Arabic Speech.* Leiden, E. J. Brill 1983. XIV + 226 pp.

Everyday Arabic makes an extensive use of constantly recurring pious formulae that are, to a considerable degree, inspired by religion. They include idiomatic invocations and ejaculations, wishes, congratulations, greetings, farewell expressions, condolences, etc. A considerable deal of these stereotyped formulae has already been published in Piamenta's *Islam in Everyday Arabic Speech.* Leiden, E. J. Brill 1979. This volume covered formulae used in situations of anxiety and fear,

formulae expressing man's recourse to God. The present volume covers thematically classified formulae reflecting man's veneration of God (Part One), as well as those elicited from socio-emotional contexts relating to God and human welfare (Part Two).

Piamenta has largely succeeded in filling in gaps, still observable in *Islam in Everyday Arabic Speech*, and in securing regional balance by evaluating new sources, especially sources covering North Africa and Yemen.

Piamenta's monograph, having to be regarded as a fruitful extension of the work previously quoted, is an invaluable collection of formulaic expressions, occurring in all varieties of Arabic, whose understanding and correct interpretation is categorically required by any contact with Arabic, no matter whether written or oral.

The book will be an invaluable source of information for Arabists, translators from and into Arabic, social linguists, dialectologists, ethnographers and many others seriously interested in Arabic.

Unless having done so previously, the reader is advised to get in possession of Piamenta's *Islam in Everyday Arabic Speech*, quoted above, since both works constitute a unique body of religion-inspired idiomatic expressions the knowledge of which is absolutely indispensable for any intimate contact with Arabic.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Müller, Gottfried: *Ich bin Labīd und das ist mein Ziel. Zum Problem der Selbstbehauptung in der altarabischen Qaside* (I Am Labīd and that is My Goal. The Problem of Self-vindication in the Archaic Arabic qaṣīda). Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1981. XV+244 pp.

Franz Steiner Verlag has in a relatively rapid succession published at least three works on Arabic poetics and poetry of essential importance. Two of them are devoted to *al-Muᶜallaqāt* (poetics: R. Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣide*, 1971; archaic poetry in its historically relevant social and human context: the book under review), the third contains valuable source materials providing an insight into the native approach to poetics (the edition of the treatise on rhetorics, a part of the voluminous *Naẓm ad-durr wa-l-ᶜiqyān fī bayān šaraf Banī Zayyān*, by a 15th century Maghribi scholar Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAbdaljalīl'Abū ᶜAbdallāh at-Tanasī at-Tilimsānī: Nuri Soudan (Editor), *Westarabische Tropik. Naẓm IV des Tanasī* (1980)).

In contradistinction to a predominantly literary approach to the archaic poetry, analysing formal characteristics of poetic genres, especially that of the *qaṣīda*, the present book is a successful attempt to study the archaic poetry in relation to its historical, social and cultural scene. A similar approach starts from the assumption

that any great cultural achievement is not only a reflex of the reality but, at the same time, an indivisible part of the reality itself, as well. The poet, the network of his social relationships, as well as his poetic and extrapoetic activities at a given stage of historical development, are the main topic of the present book. The book is divided into three parts as follows:

Part A: Die Gesellschaft und der Dichter: Labīd ibn Rabīᶜa und sein Stamm (The society and the poet: Labīd ibn Rabīᶜa and his tribe);

Part B: Die Enthüllung des Selbst im Sprechen und Handeln: der Aufbau der Qaside (Unveiling of the self in speech and conduct: structure of the *qaṣīda*);

Part C: Die Brechung des ursprungsmythischen Bewußtseins: die Deutung der Qaside (Discontinuation of the primitive mythic consciousness: the interpretation of the *qaṣīda*).

The present monograph is an important contribution to the study of archaic Arabic poetry. It adopts an entirely new approach to the analysis and interpretation of archaic poetry, the position of the poet in the social hierarchy, his activities and aspirations as an inseparable part of a historically identifiable reality.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Shatzmiller, Maya: *L'historiographie mérinide. Ibn Khaldūn et ses contemporains.* Leiden, E. J. Brill 1982. XII + 163 pp.

The present monograph is a rather untraditional attempt at explaining the main lines of Ibn Xaldūn's historical and, in general, methodological achievements by resorting to the immediate historical scene of his learned contemporaries, the Merinid historiographers of the 14th century.

The historiography of the Merinid dynasty, issued from the Berber tribe of the Zanāta, is primarily concerned with the rise and progress of the dynasty, the expansion of which was suddenly stopped near Kairouan (1347) where the Berber conquerors suffered a disastrous defeat.

The book is thematically divided into four parts: 1. Merinid historiographers; 2. Ibn Khaldūn; 3. Ibn al-Aḥmar, and 4. Social climate of the Merinid historiography.

The wide frame of the Merinid historiography, evaluated by the author, sheds new light on many aspects of the splendid methodological achievements of Ibn Xaldūn, historiographer, diplomat, *qāḍī al-quḍāh*, great thinker and discoverer of *ᶜaṣabiyya* — the propulsive force of history, inaugurator of a science that could be, by modern standards, labelled by the term 'sociology', quite nearly to its 20th century interpretation. The main source of information is, of course, the voluminous *Kitāb al-ᶜibar*, especially its *Kitāb al-'awwal*, as the author currently refers to *al-Muqaddima*.

To the most important results of the present study undoubtedly belongs the elucidation of the problem of the mythical origin of the Ṣanhāja and Zanāta Berbers, anonymous and ahistorical nomads, who have quite unexpectedly and unprepared, seized the political power.

Schatzmiller's monograph is not only an important contribution to the study of Ibn Xaldūn and his conception of history, but also a fresh and well-documented study in the historical scene of the 14th century Maghrib.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Donohue, John J.—Esposito, John L. (Eds): *Islam in Transition.* New York —Oxford, Oxford University Press 1982. 322 S.

Die Zusammensteller dieser Anthologie des modernen islamischen Denkens wurden vor ein relativ kompliziertes Problem gestellt. Es ging ihnen darum, in einem Buch von verhältnismäßig kleinem Umfang die grundlegenden Trends in der Entwicklung des islamischen Denkens seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart zu erfassen. Sie bemühten sich vor allem darum durch passende Proben beim Leser eine richtige Vorstellung über die Beziehung des Islam zu den politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Veränderungen, die die westliche Welt durchmachte und noch immer durchmacht, zu wecken und ihm gleichzeitig bewußt zu machen, daß die moslemische Denkart nicht eingleisig ist und das sie nicht als eine Monolithstruktur dargestellt werden kann.

Die Herausgeber unterteilten die Anthologie in einige thematische Teile. Im ersten Teil (Early Responses: Crisis and the Search for Identity, S. 9—54) finden wir Proben der moslemischen gedanklichen Widerspiegelung der Kontakte mit Europa. Vertreten sind hier die Fundamentalisten Džamál-adadín al Afghání (gest. 1897) und Muḥammad ᶜAbduh (gest. 1905), der revolutionäre ᶜAlí ᶜAbdarráziq (gest. 1966), sowie der indische Reformist Sir Saiyid Aḥmad Khán (gest. 1898).

Die theoretischen Versuche um eine Sich-Aneignung europäischer politischer Systeme und das Streben die Funktion der Religion (des Islam) in der modernen Gesellschaft zu erfassen, widerspiegelt das zweite Kapitel (Islam and the Modern State, S. 55—177), das in drei Unterkapitel zerfällt: Islam and Nationalism; Islam and Socialism; Islam and the Contemporary Secular State. Hier befinden sich Proben aus dem Werk von vierundzwanzig Autoren verschiedentlicher Orientierung (Theologen, Politiker, Literaten u.ä.) vom liberalen Táhá Ḥusayn bis zum ideologischen Führer der Moslemischen Brüderschaft (al-Ikhwán al-muslimún) Hasan al-Banná' und dem libyschen Präsidenten Muᶜammar al-Qadhdhófí.

Auf eine ähnliche Weise ist in drei Unterkapitel auch der weitere thematische Kreis in der Anthologie (Islam and the Social Change, S. 177—235) geteilt. Unter

anderem kann hier der Leser die unterschiedlichen Einstellungen moslemischer Rechtswissenschaftler und Staatsmänner zur Funktion und Anwendung des islamischen Religionsrechts (*šarīʿa*) in der zeitgenössischen moslemischen Gesellschaft konfrontieren. In den Proben werden auch die Bemühungen für eine Rückkehr zur islamischen Lebensweise dokumentiert, die vor allem für den Iran charakteristisch sind.

Dem gegenwärtigen Stand religiösen Denkens und vor allem der Tendenz, die Stellung des Islam im privaten und öffentlichen Leben des Moslems anzuheben, ist der letzte thematische Kreis in der Anthologie (The Re-emergence of Islam: Three Case Studies, S. 237—322) gewidmet. Die Herausgeber bringen darin Proben aus Zeitungsartikeln, Petitionen, politischen Auftritten von Staatsmännern u.ä.

Die rezensierte Publikation ist eine wertvolle Einführung ins Studium des modernen Islam. Außer Ausschnitten aus dem Werk bekannter, heute bereits klassischer Autoren, finden wir in ihr auch passend gewählte Proben diversen Inhalts und Ausrichtung, die einander harmonisch ergänzen und ein zuverlässiges Bild der dynamischen Entwicklung des Islam in der Gegenwart schaffen.

*Ján Pauliny*

Klein-Franke, Felix: *Vorlesungen über die Medizin im Islam.* Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1982. 161 S.

Der bekannte Fachmann für arabische Medizin im Mittelalter Felix Klein-Franke präsentiert in diesem Buch die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Medizin im Islam als Bestandteil des wissenschaftlichen Denkens des islamischen Mittelalters. Obwohl das rezensierte Buch den Charakter eines Hochschullehrbuchs hat, überschreitet es mit seinem Inhalt und seiner Orientierung bei weitem die bescheidenen Ziele, die sich der Autor in der Einleitung gesteckt hat. Seine Erudiertheit äußert sich unter anderem auch in der systematischen und ausgewogenen Darstellung der Medizin im Islam. Mit der altarabischen Heilkunde beginnend und der dogmatischen und empirischen Medizin abschließend geht der Autor alle Stadien der Entwicklung dieser Wissenschaft durch und erforscht aufmerksam die Beziehung der Medizin zur islamischen Ideologie und Philosophie. Diese Relation ist sehr wichtig, da es sich auf ihrem Hintergrund zeigt, inwiefern die islamische Gesellschaft die Medizin und ihre Möglichkeiten (zumindest in der Theorie) schätzte. Dem Autor erscheint auch die Beziehung der Medizin zur Astrologie und Alchemie als sehr bedeutend. Ohne diese zwei „Wissenschaften", vor allem jedoch ohne die Astrologie, konnte die praktische Medizin nicht so richtig funktionieren. Hauptsächlich zu Beginn der Regierungszeit der Abbasiden waren die Ärzte den Astrologen, ohne deren Vorhersagen mit der Behandlung des Patienten nicht begonnen werden konnte, oft ausgeliefert.

Ein bedeutender Beitrag dieser Publikation ist, daß Felix Klein-Franke darin das Maß der Abhängigkeit der arabischen Medizin von der griechischen festzuhalten versuchte. In diesem Zusammenhang hob er die typischen Merkmale der arabischen Medizin hervor.

Das besprochene Buch erweist nicht nur den Islamforschern und Interessenten für die Kulturgeschichte des Islam große Dienste, sondern hilft auch vielen Nichtorientalisten sich in der geschichtlichen Rolle, die die Medizin im Islam spielte, zu orientieren. Wie bekannt, wurde die Originalität dieser Medizin und ihr Einfluß auf Europa in der Vergangenheit entweder überschätzt oder grundlos unterbewertet.

*Ján Pauliny*

Giese, Alma: *Waṣf bei Kušāǧim. Eine Studie zur beschreibenden Dichtkunst der Abbasidenzeit.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 62. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1981. 300 S.

Die künstlerische Bewegung der frühen Abbasidenzeit ist noch bei weitem nicht richtig und vollständig bewertet. Dies gilt in gleichem Maße für die bildende Kunst als auch für die Literatur. Zur Zeit der frühen Abbasiden befand sich die Intelligenz in einer heftigen Bewegung und Entwicklung. Sie bemächtigte sich verschiedener Impulse mit der Absicht diese zu Ende zu denken, zu realisieren und sie mit den Gesetzmäßigkeiten in Einklang zu bringen, deren Umrisse sich vorerst nur noch ganz undeutlich abzeichneten.

Das rezensierte Buch erfaßt den Prozeß des Umformens dichterischer Strukturen am Beispiel der Poesie von Kušāǧim. Abu l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn as-Sindī Kušāǧim war Nachkomme einer indisch-persischen Familie, die in den ʿIrāq übersiedelt war. Er selbst wuchs in Palästina auf, er wurde Sekretär, Dichter und später Gesellschaftler und Koch vom Emir Sayfaddaula in Aleppo. Er starb wahrscheinlich im Jahre 971 A.D. In der vorliegenden Monographie wird sein Werk zum ersten Mal eingehend analysiert. Wie es aus dem Titel und natürlich auch aus dem Inhalt der Publikation hervorgeht, konzentrierte sich die Autorin vor allem auf die Analyse der beschreibenden Dichtung (der *waṣf*-Gedichte) des Poeten. Dieser Teil von Kušāǧims Schaffen wird jedoch nicht isoliert beurteilt, sondern als ein integrierender Bestandteil der künstlerischen Aussage des Dichters bewertet. Gleichzeitig untersucht Alma Giese auch die breitere literaturgeschichtliche und gesellschaftliche Lage; auf ihrem Hintergrund schafft sie ein komplexes Bild des Dichters und seines Werkes.

Einen bedeutsamen Teil der Arbeit bildet der Register der einzelnen Typen der *waṣf*-Gedichte und eine eingehende Behandlung der Kunstsprache der *waṣf*-Gedichte. Diese Analysen sind durch Proben aus Kušāǧims Poesie reichlich dokumentiert.

Die Arbeit ist ein wichtiger Beitrag nicht nur zur literaturwissenschaftlichen Erforschung der arabischen Dichtung des 9./10. Jahrhunderts. Die Erläuterung der Autorin dessen, wie aus dem Schoße traditioneller poetischer Strukturen neue Genres (in diesem Fall die *waṣf*-Gedichte) entsprangen, ist von einer breiten literaturgeschichtlichen Gültigkeit. Diese Arbeit sollte ein jeder Historiker der Arabischen Literatur der älteren Zeit kennen.

*Ján Pauliny*

Rebstock, Ulrich: *Die Ibāḍiten im Maġrib* (2./8.—4./10. Jh.). *Die Geschichte einer Berberbewegung im Gewand des Islam.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 84. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1983. 366 S.

Die vorliegende Publikation stellt einen ernsten Versuch dar, das Entstehen, die Entwicklung und den Umfang der ibāḍitischen Bewegung in Nordafrika zu erläutern. Ihr Verfasser Ulrich Rebstock bewies in ihr eine ungewöhnliche Kenntnis von Quellenmaterial, als auch von Sekundärliteratur. Es war jedoch nicht leicht sich in diesem oft heterogenen, unvollständigen, widersprüchlichen und manchmal auch unverläßlichen Material, das Geschichtsschreiber und Kulturhistoriker diverser religiöser oder politischer Orientierung über die Ibāḍiten hinterlassen haben, zurechtzufinden. Ulrich Rebstock ging an diese schwere Arbeit mit großer Begeisterung aber auch mit Sinn für Maß heran. Seine Interpretierung von Fakten ist nüchtern und zurückhaltend.

Ein bedeutender Beitrag dieser Publikation ist das Streben nach einer systematischen Auslegung der ibāḍitischen Bewegung. Diese Auslegung hat keinen linearen Charakter, sondern ist mehrgleisig. D.h., daß sich der Autor für die Ibāḍiten nich nur als eine religiöse Sekte (wenn wir wollen, als um einen der Hauptzweige der Ḫāriǧiten) interessiert, sondern verknüpft ihre Tätigkeit mit der allgemeinen sozial-politischen Lage, die in Nordafrika nach dem Einmarsch der Araber entstanden war. Er widmet eine große Aufmerksamkeit der Organisation der Ibāḍīya von den einfachen Formen bis zum Ibāḍitenstaat in Tripolitanien und in Tāhert. Als geschlossene Gemeinschaft von Gläubigen (umma) stellte die Ibāḍīya über einen Zeitraum von zweihundert Jahren eine bedeutende politische Macht in der Geschichte Nordafrikas dar. Sie hörte jedoch auch nach der Vernichtung des Fürstentums der Rustamiden nicht auf zu existieren, ja sogar noch heute finden wir ibāḍitische Kolonien in Nordafrika. In diesem Sinn ist die besprochene Arbeit eine wichtige Quelle auch für das Studium der zeitgenössischen islamischen Gemeinschaft in Nordafrika.

*Ján Pauliny*

Kolker, Boris Mikhaïlovitch: *Afrika i Zapadnaya Yévropa: politicheskiye otnocheniya* (L' Afrique et l'Europe occidentale: les relations politiques). Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S. Institut de l'Afrique. Moscou, Naouka 1982. 216 pp.

L'auteur, travailleur scientifique de l'Institut de l'Afrique de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S. à Moscou, se propose, comme but de sa monographie, d'effectuer une analyse des aspects les plus importants dans les relations politiques des pays capitalistes de l'Europe occidentale par rapport aux pays africains au tournant des 70-èmes et 80-èmes années. Il dirige son attention avant tout vers la politique africaine poursuivie par les pays principaux de la Communauté économique européenne — C.E.E. (Grande Bretagne, France, Allemagne occidentale), aussi bien que vers la politique africaine de l'Espagne et du Portugal.

Le livre comprend six chapitres. Le premier, «La formation de la politique africaine des Etats de l'Europe de l'Ouest» traite des Etats capitalistes de l'Europe occidentale et de la politique extérieure des pays africains. Ensuite, l'auteur y relève les traits nouveaux dans cette politique telle qu'elle est pratiquée par ces Etats de l'Europe de l'Ouest. En outre, il met en jeu l'attitude de l'Internationale Socialiste à l'égard des pays en voie de développement, et particulièrement à l'égard de l'Afrique, à partir de la deuxième moitié des 70-èmes années. Poursuivant ce sujet, il étudie, ensuite, le rapport «Nord — Sud: le programme de l'espoir de survivre», élaboré par la commission internationale, avec le président de la social-démocratie ouest-allemande et de l'Internationale Socialiste, Willy Brandt à la tête (pp. 24—27).

Le deuxième chapitre «Les aspects principaux de la politique des Etats de l'Europe de l'Ouest en Afrique» essaye de concrétiser les buts de la politique étrangère des Etats capitalistes de l'Europe occidentale en Afrique. D'après l'auteur, la Grande Bretagne s'efforce de conserver ses positions en Afrique, la France d'étendre la coopération avec les Etats africains, et l'Allemagne de l'Ouest néo-colonialiste entre sur la scène de la politique étrangère en Afrique avec les drapeaux du réformisme. Ce sont les petits pays de l'Europe occidentale (Belgique, Pays-Bas, Danemark, Irlande et Luxembourg) et l'Italie (pp. 66—71), qui s'efforcent aussi de faire concurrence aux pays capitalistes plus forts de l'Europe de l'Ouest (Grande Bretagne, France et Allemagne occidentale). Quant aux métropoles coloniales anciennes classiques, c'est le Portugal qui trouve — après le renversement du régime colonial-fasciste de Caétano en avril 1974 — les relations nouvelles à l'égard de ses colonies africaines anciennes, tandis que son voisin sur la péninsule Ibérique n'a pas jusqu'ici fini la décolonisation en Afrique. Le sous-chapitre de Kolker sur la politique étrangère espagnole en Afrique (Sahara Occidental, Guinée Equatoriale) représente une nouveauté dans l'africanisme soviétique (pp. 75—80).

«Les relations de C.E.E. avec l'Afrique» forment le titre et le contenu du troisième chapitre. L'auteur s'y occupe des problèmes du dialogue euro-arabe, des conven-

tions de l'association des pays africains, caraïbes et pacifiques envers la Communauté économique européenne (Lomé I et Lomé II), aussi bien que des relations de C.E.E. à l'égard des situations conflictuelles en Afrique et à l'égard des plans du trialogue euro-afro-arabe. La problématique de l'association des pays afro-caraïbo-pacifiques à la C.E.E. — bien connue d'après les études polonaises et tchécoslovaques — présente une image expressive de la relation dialectiquement contradictoire des possibilités des pays en voie de développement dans le cadre de l'association à la C.E.E. et la réalisation de ces possibilités sur la base des conventions de Lomé, quand les pays en voie de développement couronnaient, avec un succès partiel, leurs efforts pour exploiter l'institution de Fonds Européen de Développement (F.E.D) en leur faveur. L'auteur soviétique ne fait mention de F.E.D. qu'en passant. En conclusion de ce chapitre, Kolker constate: «La coopération dans le cadre Lomé II s'effectue dans les conditions d'une lutte acharnée entre la C.E.E. et les pays afro-caraïbo-pacifiques» (p. 115).

Le quatrième chapitre «Les interventions armées des Etats de l'Europe de l'Ouest aux affaires des pays africains» traite pour la plupart des interventions militaires de la France néo-colonialiste en Afrique. Cela se conçoit pleinement, parce que c'étaient les milieux gouvernés par la grande bourgeoisie française néo-colonialiste à Paris, qui ont réussi à intégrer le principe d'interventions militaires armées dans la politique étrangère française en Afrique. La France néo-colonialiste est devenue le gendarme de l'Afrique Tropicale. Kolker cite ici les exemples concrets d'interventions militaires françaises au Zaïre, au Tchad et en République Centrafricaine. Le sous-chapitre sur le Tchad aurait du préciser le temps de la présence militaire française au pays, éclaircir les relations mutuelles entre les personnages politiques principaux au Tchad (François Tombalbaye, Félix Malloume, Hissène Habré, Goukouni Oueddei), montrer comment les milieux gouvernants de la grande bourgeoisie française mettaient en train divers stratagèmes pour amener des échanges de politiciens tchadiens pro-néo-colonialistes, qui étaient devenus incommodes aux néo-colonialistes français (Tombolbaye et Malloume). Le sous-chapitre ne fait aucune mention des événements survenus au Tchad vers la fin de 1981 (le départ de l'armée libyenne du Tchad) et dans la première moitié de l'année 1982 (la chute du président Goukouni Oueddei et l'arrivée au pouvoir de Hissène Habré). Le coup d'Etat africain à la française est illustré sur l'exemple de la République Centrafricaine qui avait lieu le 20 septembre 1979 (l'empéreur Bokassa, un politicien pro-néo-colonialiste généralement discrédité, était alors déposé — en son absence, au temps de son séjour officiel en Libye — et remplacé par l'ex-président Dacko, un politicien centrafricain d'orientation pro-néo-colonialiste, transporté de bonne grâce au pays par l'aviation militaire française.

Le cinquième chapitre «Les relations des Etats de l'Europe de l'Ouest avec les pays africains de l'orientation socialiste» présente un relevé des relations internationales de l'Europe occidentale avec l'Angola, le Bénin, le Congo-Brazzaville, la

République Populaire Révolutionnaire de Guinée, le Mozambique, la Madagascar, les Iles Seychelles et les Iles Comores.

Le dernier chapitre — le sixième — «La liquidation des restes du colonialisme et du racisme au Sud de l'Afrique et la position de l'Europe occidentale» est consacré aux traits caractéristiques de la politique de l'Europe de l'Ouest au Sud de l'Afrique, ensuite aux relations de l'Europe occidentale vers le Zimbabwé, aussi bien qu'aux relations de l'Europe de l'Ouest vers la lutte de la Namibie pour son indépendance et aux relations mutuelles de la République Sud-Africaine et des Etats de l'Europe occidentale.

Dans la conclusion de son livre, Kolker constate: «Au début des années 80-èmes les pays africains jouent un rôle important dans les affaires mondiales. ... Mais les Etats africains continuent encore à faire partie du système capitaliste mondial, formant, tout avec les autres pays en voie de développement, sa périphérie. ... Mais les pays africains, tout en étant une partie composante de l'économie capitaliste mondiale, n'entrent pas dans le système politique de l'impérialisme. Les pays en voie de développement ont — dans les conditions de l'existence de deux systèmes socio-économiques contradictoires dans le monde — la possibilité de choisir indépendamment la voie de leur développement» (p. 200). Ensuite, l'auteur continue en un autre endroit de son livre par les mots suivants: «Les Etats de l'Europe de l'Ouest s'efforçaient d'isoler et de liquider les pays de l'orientation socialiste sur le continent africain. Dans ce but, ils ont utilisé des moyens sans façons, partant d'une interruption des relations diplomatiques et d'une limitation de coopération économique et finissant par l'intervention militaire. Mais ils n'ont pas réussi à retourner le développement en arrière. L'orientation socialiste en Afrique s'est affermie comme la voie la plus sûre pour vaincre le sous-développement et pour édifier la nouvelle société» (p. 201). Et puis Kolker conclue sa monographie: «Les pays africains prennent une part active au mouvement de non-alignement, qui s'exprime résolument contre la course aux armements, pour la défense de la paix. Garder la paix, c'est dans les conditions actuelles, quand les milieux impérialistes accentuent la tension, le problème principal de nos temps. La défense de la paix est le forme la plus importante de la lutte antiimpérialiste» (p. 204).

La bibliographie citée représente un choix de livres, de gazettes et de journaux de provenance soviétique et occidentale (en ce qui concerne les publications de l'Europe de l'Est ce n'est que «Scînteia» roumaine qui est citée). Le résumé court en anglais exigerait nécessairement aussi sa version française. Il serait fort utile si une réédition éventuelle du livre, était pourvu d'un index nominal et d'un index géographique.

Le livre de docteur Kolker est le résultat d'un travail assidu et de longues années de recherche dans le domaine des relations internationales des Etats africains à l'Institut de l'Afrique à Moscou. L'avantage positif de la monographie est donné par l'abondance des données et des faits aportés. L'apport de cette publication marxiste

pour la connaissance des relations politiques — mais aussi des relations économiques — entre les pays de l'Afrique et les pays de l'Europe occidentale est incontestable. C'est une monographie très actuelle et très nécessaire pour une compréhension des relations internationales de l'Afrique contemporaine.

*Josef Poláček*

*Les Langues dans le Monde Ancien et Moderne.* Ouvrage publié sous la direction de Jean Perrot. Première partie — Les Langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne. Textes réunis par Gabriel Manessy. Deuxième partie — Pidgins et Créoles. Textes réunis par Albert Valdman. Paris, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1981. 691 pp. + XII cartes en couleur.

Chaque génération de chercheurs d'une quelconque discipline (et la linguistique ne fait pas une exception) rêve de présenter aux lecteurs — ne fût-ce qu'une seule fois — les résultats de son travail de façon synthétique. La publication des atlas et de manuels encyclopédiques sur les langues du monde est, par conséquent, une necéssité pratique en même temps qu'une grande occasion et un défi théorique pour les chercheurs-linguistes.

De ce point de vue, la situation de la linguistique africaniste française durant des dernières décennies était particulièrement fâcheuse. En effet, la patrie de Rousselot, Gilliéron et Meillet, grande puissance européenne en linguistique, avait donné au monde un aperçu représentatif des langues de l'Afrique dès 1924. Les noms de ses deux auteurs principaux, A. Meillet et M. Cohen, constituaient alors les meilleures garanties du grand ensemble des Langues du Monde. Malheureusement, même à l'époque de la compilation de la première édition de ce manuel, les parties concernant les langues dites négro-africaines n'avait pas de chance de présenter des résultats au moins comparables à ceux des parties concernant les autres langues du monde. L'état de connaissance extrêmment faible à cette époque des langues de l'Afrique n'en était que partiellement responsable, certains autres facteurs, objectifs et subjectifs, gouvernant les travaux linguistiques africanistes français au temps de la génération de Mlle Homburger ayant exercé aussi leur influence. Or, depuis une trentaine d'années, le climat général, les conditions et les perspectives de la recherche linguistique de l'Afrique en France ont changé d'une façon fondamentale. C'est pourquoi il était parfaitement juste de commencer une nouvelle édition de «Langues du Monde» avec le volume concernant les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne. Rédigé par G. Manessy, ce volume témoigne de la maturité de la linguistique africaniste contemporaine en France. Une nouvelle génération de chercheurs, souvent influencée par les idées d'André Martinet, fonde ses recherches à la fois sur une maîtrise profonde des méthodes de la linguistique générale et sur les résultats

solides d'un travail énorme effectué sur le terrain africain. En collaboration avec plusieurs chercheurs étrangers (qu'ils soient africains — comme G. Canu, britanniques — comme G. Innes, A. N. Tucker, ou allemands — comme B. Heine, H. Jungraithmayr, O. Köhler) les auteurs brossent un tableau général des langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne dans le contexte des résultats achevés par notre discipline durant les années 60. et 70.

Les auteurs ont délimité l'objet de leur publication de manière géographique. Ce volume (à part les parties relatives aux pidgins et aux créoles) est consacré aux langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne, quelles que soient leurs affinités génétiques réelles ou supposées. C'est pourquoi les langues dites tchadiques et les langues khoisan y figurent en bonne place avec les langues dites (traditionellement en France) négro-africaines (famille Niger-Kordofan et Nilosaharan de J. H. Greenberg). Par contre, les langues sémitiques (y compris les langues sémitiques de l'Ethiopie) et les langues berbères en sont exclues, tout autant que la langue malgache. Bien qu'à l'occasion d'une telle publication les chercheurs puissent se sentir téntés de formuler de nouvelles hypothèses en matière de classification génétique, nos auteurs résistent avec succès à cette tentation. Au lieu d'élargir l'inventaire des fantaisies linguistiques mal fondées, ils ont préféré de dresser un bilan critique des essaies classificatoires concernant les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne (principalement de ceux de M. Delafosse, D. Westermann et J. H. Greenberg). Cette tâche achevée, ils ont basé les chapitres du présent volume sur les principes géographiques: les langues du Soudan Occidental et de la Guinée (ensemble avec le Songhay et les langues résiduelles du Togo), les langues du Plateau de l'Afrique Centrale, les langues du Soudan Oriental du Nord (y compris les langues du Kordofan), les langues du Soudan Oriental du Sud (une vue détaillée des langues nilotiques et paranilotiques était préparée par A. N. Tucker), les langues Bantu. Les sections sur l'ensemble tchadique (préparées par H. Jungraithmayr en collaboration avec Cl. Gouffé, E. Wolff et J. Fédry) et khoisan (l'œuvre majeure d'O. Köhler) sont presentées en tant que «livres» II et III, séparées ainsi analytiquement des autres sections sur les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne («livre I»).

Tout en respectant les affinités génétiques sérieusement établies, les éditeurs du présent volume préfèrent ainsi les critères géographiques, laissant au lecteur intéressé et informé une certaine latitude. Ils utilisent dans un esprit critique les résultats positifs de toutes les classifications génétiques disponibles, sans pour autant en devenir prisonniers. On note, par exemple, à plusieurs endroits, les liens génétiques établis entre le groupe bantu et plusieurs sous-groupes des langues de l'Afrique occidentale, bien que les auteurs se laissent la liberté méthodique de présenter les langues bantu dans un chapitre à part. La présentation du chapitre sur les langues du plateau de l'Afrique centrale met en lumière un procédé méthodique très intéressant. C'est dans cette région que se touchent les deux grandes familles génétiques supposées par Greenberg (Niger-Kordofan, Nilosaharan). En présentant

les langues de cette région de l'Afrique comme une entité méthodique, établie sur une base géographique (tout en soulignant la diversité génétique possible et supposée) on aide le lecteur à mieux comprendre les traits différents de ces langues, mais aussi tout ce qu'elles ont en commun. Cette méthode, qui dépasse les frontières génétiques supposées dont, après tout, la validité rigide est si souvent contestable en Afrique, pave — peut être — de nouvelles voies de présentation des langues africaines sous un aspect global. Comme l'a dit G. Manessy : «L'image proposée par les diverses classifications des langues négro-africaines a toujours été le reflet des connaissances acquises et de l'organisation de la recherche au moment de leur élaboration plutôt que celui de la réalité linguistique.»

Chaque chapitre donnant une vue générale et comparative d'un groupe des langues, d'une famille ou d'une région géographique est suivi d'un ou plusieurs aperçus monographiques sur les langues concrètes. Parfois on choisit une langue sociolinguistiquement importante, parfois une langue intéressante au point de vue de sa structure. Ainsi, par exemple, dans le cas des langues ouest-atlantiques on choisit le peul (aperçu excellent par P. F. Lacroix), le wolof (décrit de même façon par S. Sauvageot) et le bassari (M. P. Ferry). Parfois choisit-on une seule langue (le bambara en tant que réprésentatif des langues mandé — l'œuvre de M. Houis, le mo:re pour les langues voltaïques — texte rédigé par G. Canu). Pour les langues bantu P. Alexandre choisit une parallèle : celle du swahili et du bulu. Pour les langues véhiculaires, l'aspect sociolinguistique est toujor souligné (le swahili, le haoussa etc.), mais le point de vue structurel n'est jamais négligé (l'aperçu du haoussa, préparé par Cl. Gouffé le manifeste très clairement). Notons finalement que chaque aperçu monographique d'une langue est suivi d'un court texte de cette langue. Celui-ci paraît en transcription phonétique, mais accompagné d'une traduction morphématique («mot par mot») qui donne une idée approfondie de la structure de la langue présentée de façon interlinéaire. Une traduction élégante en français et la bibliographie concluent chaque aperçu.

En bref, les éditeurs et les auteurs du présent ouvrage sur les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne ont accompli une tâche majeure. Ils ont non seulement prouvé la maturité de la linguistique africaniste en France, mais ils ont encore confirmé qu'une telle maturité repose non sur les théories fantaisistes, mais sur une discipline de travail et un respect profond des faits et des méthodes de recherche.

La deuxième partie de ce livre — consacrée aux pidgins et aux créoles (compilée par A. Valdman, I. Hancock et R. Hall, Jr.) renferme un répértoire très utile des pidgins et des créoles dans le monde. Elle repose sur plusieurs travaux antérieurs de ces auteurs. Il est impossible dans le cadre d'un même compte-rendu de soumettre à un examen critique les qualités et les points faibles de cette seconde partie. Aussi nous bornerons nous à faire remarquer qu'il nous paraît assez singulier que cette seconde partie d'un même livre ignore plusieurs résultats du travail des auteurs de la première partie (comme, par exemple, les travaux de l'éditeur de la première partie

G. Manessy sur la pidginisation des langues africaines de 1977, ainsi que des travaux comparables de B. Heine, O. Obilade etc.).

*Petr Zima*

Zhukov, A. A.: *Kultura, yazyk i literatura suakhili* (Swahili Culture, Language and Literature). Leningrad, Leningrad University Publishing House 1983. 152 pp.

Swahili certainly belongs not only to the sociolinguistically most important languages of sub-Saharan Africa, but it also belongs to the limited group of languages of this continent that possess a relatively long tradition of writing in the Arabic script. That is why it always attracted attention of linguists and the Leningrad school of Prof. D. A. Olderogge has retained a very distinguished place in Swahili research. A. A. Zhukov, one of its well-known members, has set a major task for his book: to follow the development of written Swahili within the general context of cultural and even national integration, especially during the pre-colonial period. The book under review may be analysed in terms of four unequal parts.

The first part (roughly corresponding to Chapter I) presents the results of the author's studies on the ethnocultural aspects of written Swahili. Zhukov underlines the importance of the early trading settlements and towns on the East African Coast for the emergence of various Swahili dialects. He analyses the interdependence of the original (African) and the external (Oriental) elements merging in the process of the development of the Swahili community, its language and culture.

The second part of the book (corresponding roughly to Chapter II) is by far the most important. It deals with the complicated (and nowadays almost delicate) problem of the development of the Swahili literary standard. First of all, Zhukov gives a critical survey of the relations of the main Swahili dialects to literature and analyses their chances to become literary standards. In this respect, his book goes much further than, e.g. the respective sections of the late W. H. Whiteley's Swahili (1969). Critically working with results of his own field and archive research in Africa and elsewhere, as well as with data of such recent works as G. Miehe's *Die Sprache der älteren Swahili Dichtung* (1979) or Sharifa Zawawi's *Loan Words and Their Effect on the Classification of Swahili Nominals* (1979), and various other sources, the author of the book under review comes to the following conclusion: the *ki-ngozi* dialect was the presumably pre-Islamic (originally perhaps oral) basis of the first Swahili literary standard. The other dialects of the northern cluster (such as *ki-amu*) and the dialects of the central cluster (*ki-mvita*) may have followed as nuclei of literary standards. Furthermore, Zhukov does not underestimate the role of the Zanzibar dialects (and especially *ki-unguja*) during the pre-colonial period. Moreover, he stresses the role of *ki-unguja* in the emergence of *ki-mrima*, its possible "continental" variant.

The third section (corresponding to Chapters III—IV) is an analysis of Swahili literary texts, presenting a critical survey of both their content and form. Their genuinely African character is stressed and their development is followed within the more general context of Swahili cultural and even national development during the pre-colonial period. We particularly appreciate the author's thesis about the shifts of integrational nuclei of the pre-colonial and later periods. This idea has, perhaps, a broader validity in African sociolinguistics in general.

The fourth part (corresponding roughly to Chapters V—VI) is, in fact, a sort of an illustrating appendix, consisting of a translation of traditional Swahili texts, collected by Velten, into Russian (Desturi za Waswahili).

Zhukov's monograph represents without any doubt a major step forward not only in the field of Swahili studies, but in drawing a more general sociolinguistic typology of Africa, as well. Two possible ways of further research seem to be worth considering in the light of its conclusions:

1. The role of differing social units (such as traditional ethnic or city states) in the possible emergence of Swahili dialects is obvious. So it was, after all, in other African areas, and elsewhere. Further research must check, however, how far these socially and ethnically prestigious social labels correspond to dialectal (linguistic) realities (see results of my paper Research in the Territorial and Social Stratification of African Languages, Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft u. Kommunikationsforschung, *28*, 1975, pp. 311—323 for comparable problems in the Hausa, Yoruba and Songhay areas).

2. Swahili is not an isolated case of an African lingua franca developing under the influence of Islam with the competing African and Oriental factors. Parallels and contrasts with Hausa too, may bring new lights for the future sociolinguistic and even sociocultural typology of Africa.

We may only hope that research in this direction, using ancient texts within the framework of the best European philological traditions for purposes of modern sociolinguistics, will bear further fruits.

*Petr Zima*

Knappert, Jan: *Epic Poetry in Swahili and Other African Languages.* Leiden, E. J. Brill 1983. IX + 171 pp.

This is a tiny book on a large subject written by one of the best connoisseurs of traditional Swahili literature. The productive output of Professor Knappert in the field of Swahili literature is quite an achievement. He has applied his expertise to produce numerous scholarly contributions, such as were his *Traditional Swahili*

*Poetry* (Leiden, Brill 1967), *Swahili Islamic Poetry* in three volumes (Leiden, Brill 1971) or *Four Centuries of Swahili Verse. A Literary History and Anthology* (London, Heinemann 1979) many learned articles in various periodicals as well as books intended for a wider readership, such as *Myths and Legends of the Swahili* (London, Heinemann, African Writers Series 75, 1970) or *A Choice of Flowers: An Anthology of Swahili Love Poetry* (London, Heinemann, AWS 93, 1972).

This last work from his pen is interesting by both its subject-matter and its method of presentation. The very subject of epic poetry is not an easy one in literary studies, and the rather slim size of this volume dedicated to the memory of the late John Allen whose work had centred around Swahili epics and sagas, belies the considerable research which has gone into its writing. Actually, as its author tells us, the original much larger work, conceived as a continuation of the earlier volume *Four Centuries of Swahili Verse*, had to be severely pruned.

Basically, the book falls into two parts: the first part entitled Aspects of the Epic in the Literatures of Africa contains brief survey of epic and other narrative and panegyric oral literatures of Africa, arranged alphabetically by language names, while the second one, subdivided into five chapters, concentrates on Swahili epics and sagas. The reason for inserting the survey of epic poetry in some African literatures, which is of necessity far from complete, is to give the reader "an idea of the immense variety of narrative verse and song" so that a lover of the Swahili epic or utenzi "may have some material for comparison, and may realize the great differences between the utenzi and the narrative poetic literatures in other parts of Africa" (p. 8).

A few words must be said about the method of presentation, analysis and edition of the texts. This becomes clear when one reads Chapter One which is some sort of a theoretical and methodological platform-presentation and an analysis of basic notions and terms. As the different types of oral literatures in various parts of Africa are passed in review, they are tested by the criteria for epic formulated on pages 1—9 and further discussed in Chapter Two devoted to the Swahili epic. In Chapters Two to Five, dealing with the Swahili epic, the hero and the heroic, the themes and scenes, the structure and the formula in Swahili epic poetry, Jan Knappert not merely warms to his themes, but also provides us with the fruits of his wide reading and research into Swahili literature. He tries to offer a description of the available epic texts, extrapolate the internal evidence and construct a theory of evolution in order to be able to answer three crucial questions: what is epic, what is the origin of Swahili utenzi tradition and is there a true epic poetry in Swahili? His analysis eventually leads him to the conclusion that "Swahili literature possesses true epic poetry and in this respect it is unique in Africa, and indeed in the world of Islam with the exception of Persia" (p. 56). To quote the author, "Every comparison of the Swahili epic with any other literature draws a blank, every search leads to a dead end: Swahili epic

poetry stands on its own as an independent creation of the Swahili poets" (p. 57). The last Chapter Six examines thoroughly the utenzi tradition of the national hero of the Swahili people, Liongo.

If Professor Knappert's book is not all that one might have hoped for in terms of presentation, if epic poetry and its ramifications are treated too briefly for real satisfaction, it is still a very creative incentive for further development of research in this area. While quite a lot of material is presented, with the author's own translations, it is greatly to be hoped that he will present his undoubtedly rich data on this more fully elsewhere and, as has been promised, "the actual epic tales will be published in a separate volume".

*Viera Pawliková-Vilhanová*

Fodor, István: *Introduction to the History of Umbundu. L. Magyar's Records (1859) and the Later Sources.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1983. 327 pp. with a map and a Portuguese summary.

The career and exploits of the Hungarian traveller and explorer of Central Africa László Magyar is almost totally unknown, especially to the English-reading public, despite the fact that he was the first to visit and describe large territories and he played a significant part in the opening-up of the territory of present-day Angola to contemporary Europe. As Dr. Fodor, a compatriot of this pioneer discoverer of Angola, tells us in Part I of his book, "Magyar's life and career almost fell into oblivion, and many facts concerning the course of his life remained obscure even during his own lifetime and immediately after his death" (p. 15). By and large, our understanding of his contribution is still incomplete. True enough, he has been a subject of a penetrating biography by Gusztáv Thirring (1861—1941), a pupil of László Magyar's patron and editor J. Hunfalvy, entitled *László Magyar's life and scientific activity. Critical observations to the history of geographical research in Hungary. With some unpublished writings of László Magyar* (Magyar László élete és tudományos müködése. Kritikai adalék a magyar földrajzi kutatások történetéhez. Magyar László kiadatlan irásaival. Budapest, Kilián Frigyes 1937). Thirring made all-embracing investigations into his topic. He was still able to use the candid reminiscences of Magyar's contemporaries, relatives and friends, and was lucky enough to discover several new documents and letters. Though he had finished his researches by the end of the last century, his manuscript was published only in 1937 in Hungarian with the result that it remained inaccessible to interested readers who had not mastered this language. Non-Hungarian readers had available a paper in French from the pen of N. de Kun *La vie et le voyage de Ladislas Magyar dans l'intérieur du Congo en 1850—1852,* published in 1960 in the Bulletin des Séances

de l'Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Bruxelles, and a monograph by Judith Listowel *The Other Livingstone*. Lewes, Sussex, Julian Friedmann Ltd. 1974, which is the first publication in English trying to summarize Magyar's life and discoveries and draw parallels among some contemporary travellers of that region of Africa. Perhaps this reviewer may be permitted to add, by way of a small tribute, that László Magyar's life and activities as traveller and discoverer, have become the subject of researches of the Hungarian scholar László Krizsán, who has done a lot of work to popularize László Magyar's achievements in Hungary.

Dr. Fodor of the Institute of African Studies, the University of Cologne, has attempted to make his compatriot László Magyar better known to the English-reading scholarship. He has set out to examine Magyar's linguistic records published in his narratives, since "these data — together with Koelle's, Hale's and Bleek's less numerous ones — are the oldest records of Umbundu", and, having been made available to other scholars, can become the basis for future historical and comparative research on this Bantu language, as well as on the more closely related idioms.

The book is divided into four parts. In Part One entitled László Magyar, the author tries to evaluate Magyar's life and travels, his narratives and their non-linguistic data. He provides a very useful analysis of Magyar's personality and character, his command of languages, including the knowledge of his native tongue. Part Two is devoted to the critical assessment of Magyar's linguistic records and the Umbundu material in his narratives as well as in some other sources. It contains also a survey of Magyar's Umbundu material which formed the substance of Chapter X of his work *Délafrikai Utazásai 1849—1857 években*. Pest 1859, and a brief survey of other sources of Umbundu.

Part Three of the book under review is a bold attempt to reconstruct the grammatical system of Umbundu of the mid-19th century — the prosodic, phonetic and the grammatical system, as well as lexicological and semantic features of Umbundu. Part Four offers the documentation of the Umbundu lexemes and Part Five examines Magyar's Moluwa and Kalobar data which were originally published in Petermann's Mitteilungen and had been recorded during the course of Magyar's first journey into Lunda country in 1850—1852 and his third voyage into Luvale in 1855.

Dr.Fodor's work is, no doubt, a very interesting attempt to elaborate completely a written record of an African language by the methods of philology and historical linguistics. Other scholars will find in the material presented here a mine of information as well as an invaluable guide for orientation.

The book is equipped with an appendix, a facsimile of the title page and of Chapter X of L. Magyar's narrative, a map of L. Magyar's itineraries in Central Africa, notes, references and a Portuguese summary.

*Viera Pawliková-Vilhanová*

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# ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES XXI

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