

**VEDA**

**PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

**SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

**INSTITUTE OF LITERARY SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES**

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# **ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES**

SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES BRATISLAVA  
INSTITUTE OF LITERARY SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

**XXIII**

**1987**

**1988**

VEDA, PUBLISHING HOUSE  
OF THE SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES • BRATISLAVA  
CURZON PRESS • LONDON



ii - II - 4461

Kabinet orientalistiky  
Slovenská akadémia vied  
813 64 Bratislava, Klemánseva 13  
4 396

PUBLISHED OUTSIDE THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES  
SOLELY BY CURZON PRESS LTD • LONDON  
ISBN 0 7007 0211 3  
ISBN 0571 2742  
© VEDA, VYDAVATEĽSTVO SLOVENSKEJ AKADEMIE VIED, 1988

## CONTENTS

Articles	
Gálik, Marián: <i>Some Remarks on the Process of Emancipation in Modern Asian and African Literatures</i> . . . . .	9
Gruner, Fritz: <i>Some Remarks on Developmental Tendencies in Chinese Contemporary Literature since 1979</i> . . . . .	31
Doležalová, Anna: <i>New Qualities in Contemporary Chinese Stories (1979 — Early 1980s)</i> . . . . .	45
Kalvodová, Dana: <i>Time and Space Relations in Kong Shangren's Drama The Peach Blossom Fan</i> . . . . .	69
Kutka, Karol: <i>Some Reflections on the Atomic Bomb Literature and Literature on the Atomic Bomb and Occupation of Japan</i> . . . . .	77
Múčka, Ján: <i>Le caractère du mariage dans la famille vietnamienne classique</i> . . . . .	87
Klíma, Vladimír: <i>Ethnicity in Sub-Saharan Writing</i> . . . . .	101
Ekpo, Monday U.: <i>Symbol and Myth in Ibibio Cultures</i> . . . . .	115
Krupa, Viktor: <i>The Role of Metaphor in the Extension of Indonesian and Malay Vocabulary in Comparison with Maori</i> . . . . .	131
Drozdík, Ladislav: <i>Culturally Conditioned Shifts from Multiword to One-Word Units in the Lexicon of Modern Written Arabic</i> . . . . .	141
Zima, Petr: <i>Notes sur le dynamisme du système verbal dans un dialecte haussa du Niger</i> . . . . .	149
Blaškovič, Jozef—Kopčan, Vojtech: <i>Türkische Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Eyālet Nové Zámky. II</i> . . . . .	157
Sorby, Karol: <i>Decline of Mamlüks' Power in Egypt (1803—1804)</i> . . . . .	171
Voderadský, Ján: <i>Economic Factors in Anticolonial Movements in West Africa</i> . . . . .	201
Pawliková-Vilhanová, Viera: <i>The Knowledge of Africa in Slovakia. From the Earliest Times till 1900</i> . . . . .	221
Review Articles	
Gálik, Marián: <i>Some Remarks on Contemporary Asian and "African" Philosophy</i> . . . . .	235
Celnarová, Xénia: <i>Zwei Beiträge zur Problematik Bewegung des Volkswiderstands in der Türkei</i> . . . . .	251
Zimová, Nada: <i>The Atatürk Centennial</i> . . . . .	263

## Book Reviews

<i>Methapor. A Bibliography of Post-1970 Publications.</i> By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	269
Dev Sen, Nabaneeta: <i>Counterpoints. Essays in Comparative Literature.</i> By Marián Gálik . . . . .	270
Doi, Toshio: <i>The Study of Language in Japan. A Historical Survey.</i> By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	272
Novotný, Bohuslav et al.: <i>Encyklopédia archeológie.</i> By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	274
<i>Natsionalno-kulturnaya spetsifikasiachevogo obshcheniya narodov SSSR.</i> By Slavo Ondrejovič . . . . .	275
Butinov, N. A.: <i>Sotsialnaya organizatsiya polineziitsev.</i> By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	277
Stingl, Miloslav: <i>Kunst der Südsee.</i> By Jozef Genzor . . . . .	278
Simmons, D. R.: <i>Iconography of New Zealand Maori Religion.</i> By Jozef Genzor . . . . .	279
Savage, Victor R.: <i>Western Impressions of Nature and Landscape in Southeast Asia.</i> By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	281
<i>Ngu phap tieng Viet.</i> Par Ján Múčka . . . . .	282
Phan Cu De—Ha Minh Duc: <i>Nha van Viet Nam (1945—1975).</i> Par Ján Múčka . . . . .	284
Itoh, Teiji: <i>Die Gärten Japans.</i> By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	285
<i>Modern Chinese. A Basic Course.</i> By Viktor Krupa . . . . .	286
Gernet, Jacques: <i>A History of Chinese Civilization.</i> By Marián Gálik . . . . .	287
Yue Daiyun—Wakeman, Carolyn: <i>To the Storm. The Odyssey of a Revolutionary Chinese Woman.</i> By Marián Gálik . . . . .	293
Chiu, Hungdah—Leng, Shao-chuan (Eds): <i>China. Seventy Years after the 1911 Hsin-hai Revolution.</i> By Marián Gálik . . . . .	296
Chan Sin-wai: <i>Buddhism in Late Ch'ing Political Thought.</i> By Marián Gálik . . . . .	297
<i>Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen. Relations Habsbourg-ottomanes.</i> Wien 26.—30. September 1983. Von Vojtech Kopčan . . . . .	300
<i>Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit I, II.</i> Von Vojtech Kopčan . . . . .	303
Faroqhi, Suraiya: <i>Town and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting: 1520—1650.</i> By Vojtech Kopčan . . . . .	307
Bomhard, A. R.: <i>Toward Proto-Nostratic. A New Approach to the Comparison of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Afroasiatic.</i> By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	310
Versteegh, Kees: <i>Pidginization and Creolization: The Case of Arabic.</i> By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	311
Kästner, H.—Waldmann, A.: <i>Aussprache und Schrift des Arabischen.</i> By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	312
Schregle, Götz: <i>Arabisch-deutsches Wörterbuch.</i> By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	313
Pabst, Klaus-Eberhard: <i>Kleines Wörterbuch marxistisch-leninistischer Termin. Deutsch- Arabisch- Englisch- Französisch.</i> By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	320
Sublet, Jacqueline (Responsable): <i>Cahiers d'onomastique arabe (1982—1984).</i> Par Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	321
Brugman, J.: <i>An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt.</i> By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	323
Hamilton, A.: <i>William Bedwell The Arabist. 1563—1632.</i> By Ladislav Drozdík . . . . .	324
Collins, Jeffrey G.: <i>The Egyptian Elite under Cromer, 1882—1907.</i> By Karol Sorby . . . . .	325
BOOKS RECEIVED . . . . .	327

## ARTICLES

## SOME REMARKS ON THE PROCESS OF EMANCIPATION IN MODERN ASIAN AND AFRICAN LITERATURES

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

This comparative study aims to present the characteristic features of the interliterary process in Asian literatures especially between 1917—1945 and in African literatures chiefly after the World War II up to 1960. A brief analysis is made of the genesis and the initial development of these literatures before the mentioned period, but attention is paid principally to the questions relating to transformations that took place within the domain of social consciousness, literary traditions, innovations, Western impact and domestic response. East—West literary relations are shown here against the background of representative modern literatures of Asia and Africa.

Under the “process of emancipation” we understand here the second stage in the development of modern literatures of Asian and African countries which in the 19th and 20th century took the road of modernization or began to be formed. The first stage of development had begun in 1839 in Turkey, in Bengal about 1860, in Iran in 1875, in Japan in 1880, almost at the close of the century in China, and during the first years of the 20th century in Vietnam.<sup>1</sup>

This significant period in the history of various national literatures does not mark a time of the first meeting with the European cultural area, not even with European literatures, but modern national literary structures then began to be formed for the first time, considerably differing from those of earlier days; such structures for which the foreign impact on the part of European literatures was a *sine qua non* condition. In this connection, V. I. Lenin spoke of an “awakening of Asia”<sup>2</sup> and had in mind the substantial transformations that had taken place in various domains of social existence and social consciousness. K. Marx

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<sup>1</sup> A very good description and analysis of this first stage of development in some Asian literatures (Chinese, Japanese, Bengali, Iranian and Armenian) may be found in a book by Czech Orientalists entitled *Setkání a proměny. Vznik moderní literatury v Asii* (Meetings and Transformations. The Rise of Modern Literature in Asia). Prague, Odeon 1976. In the Academia Publishing House three preliminary volumes appeared under the title *Contributions to the Study of the Rise and Development of Modern Literatures in Asia*, between 1965—1970.

<sup>2</sup> Lenin, V. I.: *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (The Complete Works). Vol. 23. Moscow, Gosizdat 1961, p. 146.

and Fr. Engels, too, had precisely these circumstances in mind when writing in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848: "The intellectual product of single nations will become common property. National one-sidedness and narrowness will become increasingly impossible and from the many national and regional literatures a world literature will emerge."<sup>3</sup>

## 1

The first stage in this process, of great consequence to individual countries of Asia, is that of the genesis and the initial development of these literatures. As to time, it takes up, as already mentioned, for the most part the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The pattern, however, is very different in the case of African literatures, for even during the first half of the present century, there was question of very tenuous beginnings, of the first attempts.

Before undertaking any more detailed characterization of the emancipation stage in the development of Asian literatures, we present a very brief outline of the most important traits proper to genesis and the initial period of development of modern Asian literatures. Our aim here is to facilitate an understanding of the characteristic features of the next stage and advance scholarly reasons to justify their existence.

The genesis of modern Asian literatures took place during the period of the upsurge and crisis of the colonial and semicolonial system in the various countries, against a background of a class and social differentiation on the part of imperialist powers and an extraordinarily strong European impact in the domain of social consciousness.

Conditions for such a genesis did not come to maturity in each country at the same time; moreover, they were dependent on the intra-social situation, on the country's relationship to the imperialist power (or powers, as, for instance, in China beginning with 1842), on the strength of traditions or readiness to get free of them usually with the aid of reforms, "convergent currents" that were being formed within the bosom of the indigenous structures; further, on the willingness of the ruling classes in the different Asian countries to help in the solution of issues relating to this momentous, decisive meeting even at the cost of certain concessions, particularly in the ideological domain, but also in the field of culture, politics where at least the reforms were inevitable.

After the Portuguese had started their colonial quest (15th—16th cent.), later

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<sup>3</sup> Marx, K. and Engels, Fr.: *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*. In: *Werke*. Bd. 4. Berlin 1964. p. 466.

followed by the Spaniards, Dutch, French, English and other nations, the political, economic and military impact of the West on the Oriental countries acquired a character of a permanent phenomenon. A strong cultural impact, and particularly a response to it, came later. This response arose on the initiative of the Western powers which had but little interest in it. They promoted missionary activities and the training of the future employees of the colonial administration, or tried to reshape social consciousness, at least of the intellectual strata of the subjected nations, to the European image. A deterioration of the economic and political situation and a threat of liquidation of an indigenous social consciousness and thereby also of a cultural identity, prompted members of the intelligentsia of Asian countries to save, in a patriotic endeavour, their ethnic values, particularly in the cultural domain, to adjust their traditional system of social consciousness to the new conditions. To achieve this end, they exposed themselves voluntarily and designedly to the cultural impact of the more advanced West (i. e. countries of the European cultural area including, in addition to those already mentioned, also Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary and U.S.A.) and subsequently even promoted it in their own peculiar way, usually adjusted to their domestic conditions. By adjustment is here understood a suitable adaptation, eventually a removal of and a substitution for certain elements which did not satisfy the new conditions, or had to be integrated into new structures.

In the whole domain of social conditions the systemo-structural entities were in a dynamic process of change. The transformations were initiated by a wide-ranging educational work and embodied the construction or organization of new kinds of schools from the elementary grade up to universities, sending delegations on tours of study to Europe and the U.S.A. and students to institutions of higher learning abroad, the launching of newspapers and journals which had not been appearing in Oriental countries, and subsequently played an enormous role in the communication and transformation process. They significantly contributed to destroying gradually or at least disrupting the ruling ideologies and structures that had hardly undergone any change over the centuries, even millennia; they helped to form a healthy individualism which became the guarantee of a successive disintegration of the old stereotypes. The situation that ensued resembled that in Europe at the transition period from feudalism to capitalism when the monolith of Christian ideology had to be demolished. Simultaneously, in this process of an ideological rebuilding or at least adaptation, a national and patriotic consciousness was formed (which occasionally grew into nationalism, even chauvinism) as a substitute for the consciousness of a religious unity, as was the case, e. g. in India, in various Islamic countries, or during the so-called "culturalism" in China (Zhongguo, i. e. the Middle Kingdom, the centre of the world), or in Japan during the last

centuries prior to the Meiji revolution (1868). Other factors that helped in no small measure to destroy or at least to disrupt the immense inertia of the entire complex of social consciousness and traditions in Oriental countries were the numerous cultural societies, corporations and associations which, by their activity, contributed to prepare or to carry out the various changes.

The literature as such, whether critical or creative which originated during this period of genesis and initial development, was socially strongly concerned and oriented towards deflection of the aesthetic or ethical function of literature in its traditional apprehension. It involved predominantly a practice of the didactic function in terms of ideals of a new social consciousness. Only a minor part of the literary production, and this not in every one of the national literatures, achieved rather high artistic standard. Such works, satisfactory from this aspect, may be found in Japan or in Iran. Very little worthy of notice was produced in Chinese, Bengali or Turkish literatures. Substantial changes took place in the genre hierarchy. New genres, non-existing until then in the Asian literatures, came to be created, while changes were seen to have occurred also in moulding procedures. In traditional Asian literatures, pride of place went to poetry as the basic kind of literature. It was Oriental poetry in the true sense of the word, as a *régulier* speech, occasionally of a predominantly lyric (e. g. in China or Japan), elsewhere of an epic character (e. g. in India or Iran). At the time of the genesis and the initial development of modern Asian literatures, the highest place came to be occupied by fiction (this involved novels and short stories, although these were not always so close to the European kind, for the strength of tradition was still too evident), and the essay as a form of non-plot prose.<sup>4</sup>

It should be also observed that in view of the transformations that took place in the entire sphere of social consciousness, a need was felt to undertake an adequate reform of the linguistic means, for this was urgently required by communication claims. In Asian countries usually classical literary languages for the most part unintelligible to the majority of the common people, were employed until the onset of the modernizing process, in which only members of intellectual strata could communicate: such were, for example, *grabar* language in Armenian, *wenyan* in Chinese, and even two languages in Japan: *kanbun* (Japanized Chinese) and *bungo* (literary Japanese). Practically everywhere differences existed between the written and the spoken form of languages which sooner or later had decidedly to be done away with for the sake of the gradual democratization of culture, for its greatest possible expansion, utilization of the European impact in the most diverse domains of social consciousness, including literature.

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<sup>4</sup> Meetings and Transformations, pp. 231—241.

The emancipation stage in the development of modern Asian literatures followed that of their genesis and initial development. Although the term “emancipation” is not used in the literary sphere, and absolutely not in the European literary world, on the whole it aptly characterizes the period in modern Asian literatures which was ushered in the majority of Asian countries between 1877 and 1917, hence in the course of three decades, and came to an end approximately at the time of World War II. Essentially this involved a more or less final extrication from the shackles of their own fettering traditions which, in view of their feudal normativeness, their outdated aestheticism, their affinity to old axiological requirements, dynamically no longer satisfied the demands of modern times. On the other hand, the anti-traditional tendencies act according to the feedback principle and in an effort to prevent complete destruction of a nation's own, indigenous structure, they induce a conscious or at least an unconscious contact-taking with the vital elements in the traditional system. As regards a creative following literary gains of the European cultural area, a typical feature of the interliterary process is its far greater differentiation as compared to the preceding period. True, the development went on in the initial steps, but emphasis was now laid on the time-tested European forms and creative devices. For the most part literature became socially concerned, although modernist trends were accepted or adapted. On the whole, however, more striking results were achieved along the axiological line. New revolutionary and proletarian works appeared in Oriental countries modelled especially after those in Soviet literature.

In Japan, the year 1887 may be considered as the beginning of the emancipation stage, when Futabatei Shimei (1864—1909) completed the first part of his novel *Ukigumo (The Drifting Clouds)*, indeed, the first truly modern and revolutionary work in Japanese literature.<sup>5</sup> In China, it is the year 1918, when Lu Xun (1881—1936) wrote and published his story *Kuangren riji (Diary of a Madman)*.<sup>6</sup> In Bengali literature the emancipation period began with writings of Rabindranāth Tagore (1861—1941) in the 1890s, and in Turkish literature after the

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. the analysis of this work in Miyoshi, M.: *Accomplices of Silence. The Modern Japanese Novel*. Berkeley, University of California Press 1974, pp. 17—37 and Lewin, B.: *Futabatei Shimei in seinen Beziehungen zur russischen Literatur*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1955, pp. 40—47.

<sup>6</sup> Gálik, M.: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation (1898—1979)*. Bratislava, Veda — Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1986, p. 19.

bourgeois revolution in 1908.<sup>7</sup> In Vietnam it began only after the Great October Socialist Revolution and already in the 1920s it immediately showed traits of a revolutionary literature.<sup>8</sup>

The most salient features of the emancipation stage of the modern Asian literatures could hardly be characterized in any detail without a general outline of the overall social and political situation, the historical conditions under which this developmental stage proceeded, of the social consciousness, the inertia and the adaptability of the traditional ideological system and of the Western impact — particularly in the literary sphere.

In a certain measure, our earlier remarks concerning the stage of genesis and initial development apply also to the socio-political situation of the entire colonial and semicolonial system. It might be appropriate to note here that the entire phase of emancipation took place during the high tide and crisis of imperialism. Shortly before, still at the time of "free trade", the Suez Canal was constructed in 1869, which shortened the road to colonial and semicolonial countries of Asia and Eastern Africa and made possible their more effective exploitation. After 1890, the conquest of colonies came to be intensely accelerated ushering in a period of struggles for a new division of the world. An unusual exuberance here was shown by Germany (1884), the U.S.A. (1898) and by the very aggressive Japan. Through industrial reforms in 1870s and 1890s, from a feudal and semicolonial country, Japan soon grew into a strong capitalist and imperialist state which defeated China in 1894—1895 and Czarist Russia in 1904—1905.

A phenomenon associated with the first and the second stage of development of modern Asian literatures is that of the "awakening of Asia". The strongest single factor that influenced it was the Russian revolution of 1905—1907. This revolution found an echo in the whole of Asia. This fact is best illustrated by revolutions in Turkey (1908), Iran (1905—1911), China (1911—1912), as well as by anti-British demonstrations and peasant rebellions in India.

A great impact on the subsequent course of development in the world during this century and the political events in Asian countries was exercised by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Imperialist countries became exhausted in the world war. The capitalist chain burst at its weakest link, the territory of

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<sup>7</sup> More about the situation in these literatures see in *Literatura Vostoka v novoe vremya* (Oriental Literatures of the Modern Period). Moscow, Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta 1975, pp. 134—162. Also Zbavitel, D.: *Bengali Literature*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1976, pp. 251—262.

<sup>8</sup> Nikulin, N. I.: *Internatsionalism i zarozhdenie revolyutsionnoi literatury* (Internationalism and the Birth of Revolutionary Literature). In: *Vyetnamskaya literatura X—XIX vv.* (Vietnamese Literature between the 10th and 19th Century). Moscow, Nauka 1977, pp. 304—308.

Czarist Russia, ruled by despotic military-feudal imperialism. During the course of a few years, the first socialist state in the world, the U.S.S.R., became not only constituted, but also consolidated. The revolution stimulated the onset of a national liberation movement, initiated an epoch of colonial revolutions and by its example and influence furthered a gradual dissolution of the colonial system. In Turkey, a national bourgeois revolution broke out under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk which ended in 1923 by the proclamation of the Turkish Republic.

Certain alterations within the content of social consciousness in Asian countries already took place during the genesis and the initial development of modern literatures. They proved most radical and most consistent in Japan where, e. g. Nishi Amane (1829—1897), the father of Japan's new philosophy, while preparing a draft of a new syllabus for philosophical studies in Japanese institutions of higher learning in 1877, excluded from it all teachings of Oriental provenance.<sup>9</sup> This aimed at promoting efforts for a complete westernization in the sphere of social consciousness. A consistent or wholesale westernization, however, could not be realized, for it would entail a loss of cultural identity. Finally, a compromise was adopted: creative contacts began to be established with various Western philosophical disciplines, but the traditional Japanese ethics was preserved and brought to life (with abundant aid of the state apparatus). In 1912, the philosopher Inoue Tetsujirō (1855—1944) set up a system of ethical principles that took into consideration the following characteristic premises: the immutability of the Japanese political structure, the identity of loyalty to the Emperor with Japanese nationalism, faith in a divine origin of the imperial family, ancestral worship and a strong family solidarity.<sup>10</sup>

The rapid transition in Bengali literature to the emancipation stage was due to the extraordinary effect of the "Bengali Renaissance". In contrast to Japan, Indian philosophy, with the exception of certain aspects of Islam, was an autochthonous phenomenon and extremely diversified. True, after the example of Bengalis, other Indians succeeded in learning something from the culture of their modern conquerors, but failed to overcome the inertia of their own ideological systems, at best reforming some of their parts.<sup>11</sup> A serious shortcom-

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<sup>9</sup> Riepe, D. (Ed.): *Asian Philosophy Today*. London—New York, Gordon and Breach Science Publishers 1981, p. 223.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 232—235.

<sup>11</sup> Litman, A. D.: *Traditsii vedant v obshchestvenno-filosofskoi mysli Indii* (The Traditions of Vedanta in India's Socio-philosophical Thought). In: *Filosofskoe nasledie narodov Vostoka i sovremennost* (Philosophical Heritage of Oriental Peoples and Today). Moscow, Nauka 1983, pp. 149—151.

ing of the new reformist teachings in India was the fact they were always professed by only a handful of adherents, schools or associations and they never affected the social existence, the life of the masses, and hence evoked but a negligible response.

In China the transition from the genesis of modern literature about 1898 to its emancipation stage after 1918 was extremely slow. This retardation was caused by the ruling class and the Manchu dynasty, and later by the power struggles in the Republic of China (1912), involving the strict censorship, Confucian ideology and the traditionalists. In China after the year 1919, probably under the influence of the Japanese example, Confucian ideology (dubbed "cannibalistic" by Lu Xun) came to be violently resisted and refused.<sup>12</sup> The Japanese took contact with the Confucian ethics and combined it with certain elements of native teaching of *shintō* (way of gods) and *bushidō* (way of warriors). The Chinese (with the exception of ineffectual, futile efforts on the part of Chiang Kaishek and his adherents) repudiated it and if they partially adhered to it, then solely because it had become a part of their social psychology. The Japanese profited by a unique, strong leadership, an ability in a creative way to follow various components of the European social consciousness, science and technology and in time overtook even their European teachers. In China no political unity had been achieved until the end of World War II, the social consciousness lacked concord, and Marxist philosophy, although absorbed by a considerable part of the individuals, failed to become the decisive instrument in social practice.

Even slower was the transition to the emancipation stage in Turkish literature. Practically seven decades passed between 1839 when the genesis and the initial development of modern Turkish literature had begun and the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 after which we may speak of the emancipation stage. The retarding factors active here were the régime of feudal dictatorship which turned even more reactionary after the year 1876, a strict censorship and the overall deterioration of the country's economic situation.<sup>13</sup> In contrast to Japan and China, no major confrontations took place in Turkey with the most important content of social consciousness in the country, i. e. with Islamic teaching, although later in the 1920s and 1930s, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk intervened into it more than any other reformer among the Muslims when he legalized separation of state from religion, introduced a new civil and criminal law, reform of dress, Latin alphabet and franchise for women.

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<sup>12</sup> Chow Tse-tsung: *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1967, pp. 300—313.

<sup>13</sup> Oriental Literatures of the Modern Period, pp. 99 and 134—137.

At the stage of emancipation of modern Asian literatures, the Western impact proved even stronger than it had been during the preceding period, intervening in a greater or a smaller measure into all the domains of social consciousness and social being, and in fact, this stage could hardly be imagined without it. Thus, for instance, the very first great work of this period of modern Asian literatures, Futabatei's novel *The Drifting Clouds* could not conceivably have been written without the impact of Russian classical literature, particularly without such authors as I. S. Turgenev, I. A. Goncharov and F. M. Dostoyevsky. Futabatei as a student grew up in the milieu of Russian teachers who knew very little Japanese and he had an opportunity to become familiar with the entire course of study and syllabus of middle school standard, both by means of Russian written and spoken word.<sup>14</sup> He came to know Russian literature through A. S. Pushkin, N. V. Gogol, M. Yu. Lermontov, L. N. Tolstoy and through revolutionary-democratic criticism, particularly by V. G. Belinsky. The father of modern Chinese literature Lu Xun knew no Russian, but Japanese and German became to him the gate to the foreign literary world. His first work *Diary of a Madman* bears evident and provable traces of Fr. Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra*, L. Andreev's *My Records* and V. Garshin's *Red Flower*.<sup>15</sup> And we thus might go on analysing one after many other more or less significant representatives of Asian literatures.

Russian literature was not the first to exercise an impact on the development of modern Asian literatures. And moreover, at the beginning it was weaker. It grew and became reinforced only during the emancipation period when realist trends began to prevail, eventually when efforts became evident at a deeper psychological representation of intricate mental situations, feelings of loneliness and impasses and deadlocks, so typical of authors describing the reality of colonial and semicolonial countries. At present, Soviet literary scholars in particular endeavour to show how classical Russian literature influenced the different Asian (and African) literatures, as attested by a whole series of special studies, but also such as follow up these issues only partially.<sup>16</sup>

Foreign literatures, or knowledge about them, reached Asian literatures by ways described in theories of literary comparative studies in the form of external and internal contacts, through periodical and other materials, visits to or studies in foreign countries, sale or exchange of books and particularly through the translations of foreign literatures. In general it may be said that during the

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<sup>14</sup> Miyoshi, M.: op. cit., p. 18. B. Lewin has a different opinion asserting that Futabatei had only one teacher of Russian literature, cf. op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Gálik, M.: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation (1898–1979)*, pp. 19–41.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. bibliographical data in a collection Gromkovskaya, L. E. et al: *Russkaya klassika v stranakh Vostoka* (Russian Classics in Oriental Countries). Moscow, Nauka 1982, pp. 4–7.

emancipation period, the majority of translations from foreign literatures are given more or less exact, stylistically and artistically adequate forms of the originals, in comparison with the preceding stage when for the most part abbreviated, truncated and adapted translations used to appear, with an altered form of genre and means of expression, in order that they would satisfy the systemo-structural entities of indigenous literary forms, partly still traditional, and be suitable to fulfil also further extraliterary functions, e. g. political ones. At the time of the genesis of the modern Japanese literature, there was no major difference between the translations of Shakespeare's plays and *Tales from Shakespeare* by Charles and Mary Lamb.<sup>17</sup> In China the translation of Hugo's novel *Les Misérables* from the years 1903 - 1904 (in fact only a fragment of some 100 pages) became an opportunity for an anarchist explication of the text, its adaptation and supplementation with anti-Manchu attacks and therefore its exploitation by adherents of the young Chinese intelligentsia in the contemporary economic and political struggle.<sup>18</sup>

Writers of Asian literatures may be said to have been influenced in their foreign orientation by their linguistic training or education, their studies, or at least visits abroad, the political and economic conditions in the different countries, their philosophical, religious or political persuasion, etc. Already during the period of the genesis and initial development, not only the indigenous literary structure began to be disrupted, but likewise its closest interliterary assignment, interliterary entity, i. e. the traditional literary community, grouping of national literatures. The first to break away from the Far Eastern literary community was Japan, then followed Korea, Mongolia and Vietnam. In the new conditions following the definitive fall of the "sinocentric world order",<sup>19</sup> the national literatures of the Far East sought possibilities of development that would be independent of China, weak both economically and politically, and this within a framework provided by the overall sociopolitical and cultural situation. Thanks to the unprecedented facilities of communication, the inter-literary process reach far beyond the borders of a geographically limited "sinocentric world order".

A thorough study of the different modern literatures of Asian countries will help to elaborate a geoliterary map that will show important external and

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<sup>17</sup> Campbell, O. and Quinn, E. G. (Eds.): *The Reader's Encyclopaedia of Shakespeare*, New York 1966, pp. 396 - 398.

<sup>18</sup> Gálik, M.: *Between Translation and Creation: Victor Hugo's Entry into Chinese Literature (1903 - 1904)*, paper read at the 11th Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, Paris, August 24, 1985.

<sup>19</sup> For more about this concept see in Fairbank, J. K. (Ed.): *The Chinese World Order*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press 1968, pp. 1 - 11.

internal contacts with foreign literatures and will especially set down more exactly the internal elements, for that is the chief object of the investigation; it will bring out, in fact, the measure of impact of foreign literary structures on their Asian counterparts. This will simultaneously help to outline the contours of possible new literary communities that will differ from the traditional ones. A close look at the new Chinese literature after the year 1918 reveals that it follows or links up with ancient and medieval mythologies, with Greek tragedy, but then it leaps over two millennia of European literary development in order to take contact with French 17th century classicism. In China the greatest attention was devoted to European realist or romantic literature of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, and this because of the acquired sense for literary evolutionism, *littérature engagée*, and also because of the intense interest in symbolism and equally (but in a lesser measure) in expressionism. This image certainly will be altered by virtue of a deeper knowledge. It would be hardly possible at present to construct similar geopolitical schemes for various modern Asian literatures, for interliterary study in this field is only being initiated.

Starting from the premise of a determining role of the receiving phenomenon in the interliterary process,<sup>20</sup> and realizing that further components of social consciousness play a decisive role in it, then it is understood that a number of factors may effect the choice, mode of reception and restructuralization in the receiving environment, e. g. knowledge of foreign literatures, receiving subject (translator, author, reader), politico-economic situation, etc. After 1920, Vietnamese literature became mostly oriented to that of the "metropolis", to the new French literature, romantic, naturalistic and realist, and only later to Russian and Soviet literature.<sup>21</sup> In Korean literature, voices were heard as far back as 1921—1922 that Korean readers have no need of Shakespeare or Goethe, but do need M. Gorky and revolutionary literature.<sup>22</sup> No matter how motivated, this calling certainly failed to contribute, in the first place, to the artistic aspect of the then newly produced works. In Iranian literature, perhaps as a reaction to the colonial efforts of British and Czarist imperialism, French impact was evident in a predominant measure. In the second half of the 19th century, mostly French literary or historical works were being translated: Voltaire, A. Dumas père, Molière, Chateaubriand, B. de Sainte-Pierre and Le Sage. The greatest impression was produced by the heroes of Dumas reminding

<sup>20</sup> Ďurišin, D.: *Theory of Literary Comparatistics*. Bratislava, Veda 1984, p. 61.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Múčka, J.: *Quelques remarques sur la prose réaliste vietnamienne*. In: Asian and African Studies, Vol. IX, 1973, pp. 74—76 and Nikulin, N. I.: op. cit., pp. 310—311.

<sup>22</sup> Li, V. N.: *O periodizatsii istorii sovremennoi koreiskoi literatury* (On the Periodization of the Contemporary Korean Literature). In: Braginsky, I. S. (Ed.): *Problemy periodizatsii literatury narodov Vostoka* (The Problems of Periodization of Oriental Literatures). Moscow, Nauka 1968, p. 199.

the Iranians of heroes from Ferdousi's (ca 940—ca 1020) *Shāhnāme* (Book of Kings). They found an echo, e. g. in the novel Horrible Teheran by M. Kāzīmī (about 1900—). But after 1921, here too the possibilities of the interliterary process came into play in a greater measure. Bozorg 'Alavī (1904—) in his first short stories takes contact with Freud's metapsychology and the greatest Iranian writer of this century Šādeq Hedāyat (1903—1951), who although he had studied in France, nevertheless followed non-French authors: Dostoyevsky, E. A. Poe, S. Zweig and F. Kafka.<sup>23</sup> In the Mongolian literature of the 1920s and later, as can be deduced from its political development, the impact of Russian and Soviet literature predominates, although significant works from Western literatures were also translated.<sup>24</sup>

The outbreak of World War II (raging in the Far East from July 1937) ushered in certain changes into the literary life of different countries. In some of them they were positive as, for instance, in Iran where following the overthrow of Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlevi's dictatorship, democratic life was restored in some measure and conditions were created for social and cultural progress. Turkey, after the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, sympathized with Nazi Germany, although it remained neutral. Similarly, a sorting of spirits took place also in other Asian countries: some went on with German fascism, others sided with Japanese imperialism, some became silent, or began with an active or passive resistance. Japanese militarists interrupted for a time the development of their own, one might say great literature when, after 1941, they disbanded all the literary organizations and founded at first Nihon bunkei chūōkai (Centre of Japanese Writing) and later Nihon bungaku hōkokukai (Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature). These organizations manipulated writers according to the needs of the military propaganda, and suppressed all that carried even a faint positive relation to Europe and America (with the exception of German, Italian and French literatures and cultures). Japanese writers either kept silent, adapted themselves, or at least did not publish. The "mobilization of the national spirit" following Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) pursued one single aim: to serve to build up "Greater East-Asian Co-prosperity Sphere" under the Japanese leadership and the liberation of the Far East, South-East Asia and the Pacific Area from under the yoke of the West. Using various popular slogans, such as "New

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<sup>23</sup> Kubičková, V.: *Novoperská literatura XX. století* (New Persian Literature of the 20th Century). In: Rypka, J. et al: *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury* (History of Persian and Tadzhik Literature). Prague, Nakladatelství ČSAV 1956, pp. 286, 298 and 316—319.

<sup>24</sup> Sharkhuu, A.: *Razvitiye sovremennoi mongolskoi prozy i problemy literaturnykh vzaimosvyazei* (The Development of Modern Mongolian Fiction and the Problems of Interliterary Relations). In: Grintser, P.A. (Ed.): *Literaturnye svyazi Mongoli* (Mongolian Interliterary Relations). Moscow, Nauka 1981, pp. 401—411.

Order in East Asia”, “Renovation”, “Rejuvenation”, etc., the Japanese strove to enforce their militaristic designs in all these regions. Japanese ideologists exploited the drawbacks of the capitalist system, strikingly evident in the great economic crisis in the 1930s and started to blare out that European (Western) values and social order had failed and that the world had to be rebuilt according to the Japanese pattern and on the basis of Asian traditions. Takigawa Seijirō, a professor at the pro-Japanese Academy of Renovated People in Peking, alleged that Japan was the treasury of all Asian virtues.<sup>25</sup> Collaboration with the Japanese in China, however, was but very modestly reflected in the cultural or the literary field. The reason for it lies not only in the mass exodus of Chinese creative intelligentsia deep into the interior where the Japanese did not penetrate during the war, but also in an unwillingness to co-operate with the ideologists of the “Greater East Asia” and in the incompetency of Japanese instructors who often knew no Chinese and therefore could hardly responsibly control the literary and cultural life in land. The Anti-Japanese War made a deep impression on Chinese literature. Those responsible for the cultural and political arena directed it towards the struggle against the Japanese on the territories under the Chinese communists or the Kuomintang, but also, in an effort to make it accessible to the masses at large, they endeavoured to orient it towards popular forms or to historical topics, particularly such as would hearten the audience during the years of subjugation. Because of economic difficulties, the quantity of translated works declined. Only Soviet and Russian literature was translated in a greater measure. After the year 1937 there was a general decline also in the artistic standard of the contemporary Chinese literature.

A different situation prevailed in Indonesia. The Japanese were welcome there as liberators from under a 350-year old Dutch yoke. Instead of the compulsory Dutch language, Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) began to be used. The Japanese exploited Indonesian nationalism and succeeded, at least during the initial period of occupation, to win over the writers to their side for propagating an “independent Indonesia within the framework of Greater Asia”. But soon the Indonesians understood Japanese plans and began to boycott them. While they continued to write, they expressed themselves in an Aesopian manner, or had recourse to historical themes from the times of anti-Dutch struggles.<sup>26</sup> In occupied Burma, too, works of any value were those with an anti-British orientation.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Iriye, A.: *The Chinese and the Japanese. Essays in Political and Cultural Interactions*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1980, p. 257.

<sup>26</sup> Z dějin literatur Asie a Afriky. V. Literatura jihovýchodní Asie a Indie (From the History of Asian and African Literatures. V. Literature of the South-East Asia and India). Prague, SPN 1964, pp. 122—125.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 172.

The emancipation stage in the development of Asian literatures came to be marked by a certain codification of the genologic systems which had appeared in the various countries at time of the genesis and initial development and these correspond, to a considerable degree, with European genres. The genre situation as a system of values during the emancipation stage remains relatively stabilized. Fiction occupies the place of honour, being generally preferred for practical purposes and for its power as an instrument for influencing readers, but also as a means of artistic expression and of coping with the complexity of the present world.

Modern Chinese literature of the emancipation period begins with a new short story, considerably different in its structure, creative devices and representation of characters from the short stories of the traditional period. Novels entered literature later, and this for several reasons. One is that the short story was better suited to comply with the socio-political and art requirements of the day and being less time-consuming, could be produced more quickly. From the compositional aspect, the European kind of novel as a verbal expression of interrelated, often considerably intertwined phenomena, events, social relations, psychological situations, built up of multiple motifs and artistic procedures, greatly differs from its classical Chinese counterpart which is made up of a series of consecutive incidents or episodes broken down to chapters (often fairly forcibly) in an effort to create tension and a thrilling transition from one episode to the next and thus to keep up the attention of readers. The new novels and short stories are conspicuous by an absence of versified passages which reached traditional Chinese fiction from Indian Buddhist text. As to modern Chinese drama, this has had no predecessor in traditional literature. Chinese opera (*xiju*) represented a different literary and musical genre. The beginning of modern Chinese dramatic activity is generally taken to be the year 1907 when a group of Chinese students in Tokyo played one act from *La Dame aux camélias* by A. Dumas fils. Modern Chinese dramas began to appear after the year 1921. While outstanding short stories appeared in China right at the beginning of the emancipation stage, it took over 12 years for the first extensive novel to be written, one that would stand international criteria (Ba Jin's *Family*, 1931) and another three years passed before such a play saw the light of day (Cao Yu's *The Thunderstorm*, 1934). Several outstanding poems were written at the time of the first short stories, around the year 1918 (for example, poems by Guo Moruo). Evidently the strength of the literary tradition came into its own here, there was no need to start anew, it sufficed to re-evaluate the principal formal merits of Chinese poetry in the domain of rhythmic organization. The most important single gain of the new Chinese poetry was certainly

*vers libre* which resulted from the reception-creation process especially of the poetry by Ch. Baudelaire, W. Whitman and R. Tagore.<sup>28</sup> Simultaneously it proved to be the most striking reaction to the regulating *jinti shi* (new style poems) from the times of the Tang dynasty (608–907), strictly bound by prescriptions, as also to some others of a later date. The prescriptions bore on the number of syllables, alteration in tonality, rhythmic system, parallelisms, etc. From among explicitly European forms of *vers régulier* the sonnet enjoyed a relatively great popularity in the new Chinese poetry.

In modern Iranian literature, the first outstanding short stories by Mohammad 'Alī Jamālzāde (ca 1895 –?) entitled *Yekī būd va yekī nabūd* (There Was Once — Or Was There?) were written at about the same time as Lu Xun's first stories (shortly before 1921). Iranian short stories and novellas achieved perfection in the work of Šādeq Hedāyat in the second half of the 1930s and later. The novel in Iran, following its first more or less successful attempts in the early 1920s declined and rose again only towards the end of World War II. Nevertheless it never succeeded in overcoming the sentimentality of bawdy houses, prostitutes, deceived wives, murders, suicides or historical episodes.<sup>29</sup> As regards the temporal relation between the short story and the novel in Chinese and Iranian literature, it may be said that in Iran the novel appeared before the short story and novella, but the short story asserted itself better in the Iranian literary structure. In contrast to Chinese literature, where old poetry was cultivated very rarely during the emancipation period, rather as a means to prove the poet's own classical education, but not as a mode of joining in the overall literary process, in Iran the classical poetic tradition persisted very much alive; modern poetry could assert itself very slowly. This was evidently due not only to a consciousness of the greatness of medieval Iranian poetry, but also to its unusual popularity among the people; thus, for example, even illiterates succeed in reciting classical poems.

In Bengali literature, too, the short story and not the novel achieved greater success, although numerous novels were written during the emancipation period. The same also holds for Urdu and Hindu literatures. The novel made little progress in Urdu.<sup>30</sup>

A broad spectrum of circumstances and numerous forces that stood behind them resulted in pushing all Asian literatures upon the road of modernization. As mentioned above, the new literary systems encountered the retarding action

<sup>28</sup> Cherkassky, L. E.: *Novaya kitaiskaya poeziya. 20—30-e gody* (New Chinese Poetry of the 1920s and 1930s). Moscow, Nauka 1972, p. 193.

<sup>29</sup> Kubíčková, V.: op. cit., pp. 269—314.

<sup>30</sup> Z dějin literatur Asie a Afriky. IV. Indické literatury (From the History of Asian and African Literatures. IV. Indian Literatures). Prague, SPN 1962, pp. 114 and 160.

of the old traditional systems, and occasionally vigorous elements of these traditional systems began to exercise a corrective role. It should not be forgotten that the strength of tradition continued to act and, although, for instance, the new genre systems suited better the requirements of the times, indigenous consumers had first to find an affinity to these “Europeanized forms” and begin to like them; in addition, many works written in these forms remained unintelligible to the masses at large, for the most part uneducated.

In some places the strength of tradition was so great that the correction in some of the genres continued throughout the whole period, e.g. in Iranian poetry. Elsewhere, tradition had been overcome at the beginning to such a degree that it had to recede into the background, e.g. in Japan, China or Vietnam and therefore remnants of systemo-structural entities for some period persisted at the literary periphery and only later grew up in a new environment. In Japan, poetic works of the new romantic poetry at the beginning of the 20th century became expanded with the addition of the reformed traditional pattern of *tanka* (a classical Japanese five lines form) and with *haiku* (a classical Japanese form in seventeen syllables), likewise adjusted to the requirements of the times. The early years of our century witnessed in Japan a birth of a literary genre *watakushi-shōsetsu* (I-novel) a characteristic feature of which is a very personal, lyrical, empirical and irrational tone. It came into being as a reaction to the demand of an objectivity in European naturalist fiction. Its typical trait is a ruthless self-expression laying bare the most intimate feelings, thoughts, transgressions, vices; it describes everyday worries, troubles, miseries, illnesses, etc. With regard to traditional Japanese literary theory and practice the I-novel takes contact with the principles of *jitsu* (reality) and *makoto* (sincerity).<sup>31</sup>

The iconoclastic approach in modern Chinese literature was so effective as to relegate the traditional Chinese literature to the very periphery of literary life. In the 1930s, however, it was realized that the modern literature was rather incomprehensible to potential consumers and after the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, contacts were made with the forms of old Chinese novels, partly also short stories, but mainly with diverse forms of popular or folklore literature. All in all, it may be said to have helped to expand the communicative function of literature and art, but failed to contribute to its artistic standard.

Modern Asian literatures were at the stage of the genesis and were passing into the emancipation stage when European literary theory and criticism were dominated by the idea of literary evolution at the end of the 19th and the

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<sup>31</sup> Hijiya-Kirschneite, I.: *Selbstentblößungsrituale: zur Theorie und Geschichte der autobiographischen Gattung "Shishosetsu" in der modernen japanischen Literatur*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1981.

beginning of the 20th century.<sup>32</sup> A direct, or indirect contact with European literatures, a direct or indirect study of famous philosophers such as G. W. F. Hegel, A. Comte, H. Spencer and Ch. Darwin, of critics, like H. Taine and F. Brunetière had as a result that in certain countries theoretical or practical attempts were made to repeat the romantic and postromantic development in a new Asian environment which proved to be an illusory effort. The history of national literatures has its own specificity determined by their local social situation, various elements of the social consciousness, tradition, etc. Concepts *per se*, such as romanticism, realism, naturalism, interpreted in a European context, however broad and inwardly differentiated their exposition may be, will not stand up in the Asian milieu. There they require a special understanding, interpretation, apprehension, and cannot possibly be viewed in a mutual shifting as in Europe. This shifting has asserted itself in some measure in Japanese literature; this was manifest in romanticism at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, followed by realism and simultaneously with naturalism (all these are Japanese analogues). In Futabatei's work realism even precedes romanticism! This shifting could not be enforced in China despite the theoretical efforts of Mao Dun (1896—1981), where a certain form of realism-naturalism, or realism-symbolism, or even romanticism-expressionism held sway in one and the same period during the 1920s.<sup>33</sup> In Hindu literature poetry of *chāyāvād*, a literary trend close to romanticism and symbolism of the 1920s and 1930s, enjoyed the longest duration. Simultaneously realist fiction was written in the same language and at the same time was represented, for instance, by Prem Chand (1880—1936) and other authors.<sup>34</sup>

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed an intense acceleration in literary and art developments within the European cultural area. Schools and movements alternated in rapid succession, occasionally appearing simultaneously; modern society loosened its control over literature and art, and diversified social consciousness made possible their heterogeneity. In Asian literatures the impact of the old social organism made itself felt but modestly during the emancipation stage, the society intended to make use of literature and art as a weapon in its struggle for new ideals and saw them, particularly in the first years, in a global manner, undifferentiated, in the whole of Western literature and art. A considerable polarization took place when certain modernist trends

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<sup>32</sup> Wellek, R.: *The Concept of Evolution in Literary History*. In: *Concepts of Criticism*. New York—London, Yale University Press 1963, pp. 37—53.

<sup>33</sup> Gálik, M.: *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1969, pp. 29—41, 70—82 and 106—110.

<sup>34</sup> From the History of Asian and African Literatures IV, pp. 130—134 and 137—142.

became practised in the Asian literary structures. They were not sufficiently socially effective because of deformation of reality. Shortly after that the first attempts appeared at a revolutionary or proletarian literature in some countries. This may perhaps be best noted in Japan which directly reacted to certain modernist trends: futurism, dadaism, surrealism. In 1924, these various impulses gave rise to a movement called *shinkankakuha* (neosensualism). Proletarian literature in Japan was initiated with the launching of the journal *Tanemakuhitō* (The Sower) and later became concentrated around the *Bungei sensen* (Literary Front, 1924) and other periodicals; two associations were founded — *Nihon puroretaria bungei renmei* (Japanese League of Proletarian Art, 1926) and *Zennihon musansha geijutsu renmei* (The All-Japan League of Proletarian Art, 1928).<sup>35</sup> Although proletarian literature in Japan, as compared to other countries, achieved considerable creative and critical successes, yet as a movement it was never sufficiently united, at least not to the degree achieved in China. Modernist trends, so typical of Japan of the 1920s, made no great impact in China, only expressionism alone left there certain traces. The movement for a proletarian and revolutionary literature took root there later than in Japan, towards the end of the 1920s with the help of Japanese mediation, and the roof organization *Zhongguo zuoyi zuojia lianmeng* (League of Chinese Left Writers), never had to fight with dissidents from its own ranks, at the most only with the differences of views among its members. Revolutionary and proletarian writers were persecuted in one country and another and several of them paid with their lives for their views and convictions.

A similar opposition of modernist and proletarian literature had an opportunity to find a fertile soil in the 1930s in Indian literatures. At that time modernist tendencies had taken root there and in April 1936 the Association of Progressive Writers of India was founded and it achieved successes in setting up a socially concerned, realist literature, although it had not a Marxist orientation.

Such a complete or partial break-up of old traditional literatures and literary communities in Asia, namely in Western Asia (Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, the Arab countries), in South and South-East Asia (especially India, Pakistan, Nepal, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Malaya, present-day Indonesia and the Philippines), in the Far East (especially China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam), compelled the new literatures to do some creative searching. In countries ethnically or ideologically close to one another, such as the Arab countries, the European impact intervened less vigorously into the various aspects of the interliterary process; other national or ethnic literatures, e. g. all in the Far East,

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<sup>35</sup> Shea, G. T.: *Leftwing Literature in Japan*. Tokyo, The Hosei University Press 1964, pp. 127—152.

had to turn to literatures of the European cultural area in order to draw impulses for their further development.

In general, it may be stated that during the emancipation stage, the modern Asian literatures proceeded along roads similar to those briefly characterized at the beginning of the second section of this study. It should be observed, however, that it was a differentiated development, conditioned by the needs of the times, the possibilities of literary creation, criticism or theory, and by the relationships governing the elements of this complex systemo-structural organism in the various literatures and their interliterary relations.

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The term African literatures is here meant to subsume solely literatures of the Sub-Saharan (Black) Africa. North African literatures belong to the Arab group (or community) and come closer to Asian than to African literatures. Much of what has been said in the preceding sections refers also to them. As regards the genesis and initial development of literatures of Sub-Saharan Africa, our remarks from the first section of this study apply in some measure also here. Certain differences derive particularly from the nature of traditional African literatures which, with the exception of old Bantu literatures and a few others influenced by Islam (e. g. Hausa or Fulba), had no written, but only oral tradition.<sup>36</sup> The educational movement characteristic of this period proceeded here in a somewhat different manner than in Asian countries, as a rule through the medium of missionary schools and colonial institutions, translations of the Bible and other religious texts, or literature that satisfied Christian norms (like J. Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which Is to Come*), then through spelling-books, primers, readers and school manuals. The European impact in the domain of social consciousness, too, acted differently from its effect in Asia. With the exception of Islamic regions, there was neither native, nor imported and elaborated philosophical or religious system. One may not speak here of any indigenous philosophy, only of an ethnophilosophy at most, into which we may include, for the most part, ethnographic materials, like myths, superstitions, fables, sayings, proverbs and the related "institutionalized practices": animism, totemism, fetishism, etc.<sup>37</sup> This ethnographic material, immensely

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<sup>36</sup> Klíma, V., Růžička, K. F., Zima, P.: *Black Africa. Literature and Language*. Prague, Academia 1976, pp. 30—57.

<sup>37</sup> Sagadeev, A. F.: *Mezdu logosom i mifom: problemy "afrikanskoi filosofii"* (Between Logos and Myth: Problems of "African Philosophy"). In: Philosophical Heritage of Oriental Peoples and Today, pp. 157—182.

abundant as to quantity, partially serves as substitute to this day for philosophy, law, historiography, ethics and aesthetics. To be more exact, the traditional thought of common people has been preserved in various popular products of the narrative, poetic, dramatic, or other art. There is no need specifically to underline its enormous significance for modern literary development of the individual tribes, nationalities and nations. The subsequent literary career is influenced by native myths, e. g. Yorubian in the work of W. Soyinka (1934—), or Judeo-Christian in the works of Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1938—).

On a temporal and spatial plane, the genesis and initial development, together with the emancipation stage of the modern African literatures, present an even more complex picture than those of Asia. It is difficult, in the first place, to determine the beginning of this process, and also its overall range; moreover, the dividing line between the first and second period of development in the individual countries, if there is one, is often so faint as to defy tracing.

We may consider as the first manifestation of the genesis of modern African literatures, literary works that appeared in the 1920s or somewhat earlier on the territory of present-day Republic of South Africa: in Sotho, Zulu and Xhosa languages. In 1910 Thomas Mofolo (1873—1949), generally considered to be the first African novelist, wrote the novel *Pitseng* (In the Pot). We may take as such a point in the Yoruba literature the year 1921 when Ajayi Kolawole Ajisafa published his collection of poems *Ayié akamara* (The World is Beautiful). The first noteworthy African novel in Senegalese literature is *Karim*, written in French in 1935 by Ousmane-Socé Diop (1911—).<sup>38</sup> In 1947, the most important Africanist magazine so far began to appear — *Présence Africaine*, followed by a few others later. In 1948 the East-African Literature Bureau was founded and in Nigeria, in the same year, the West-African Society.<sup>39</sup> Thus, an intense literary development has begun in Africa, such as has no precedent in the literary history of the world.

In contrast to Asian literatures (with the exception of India and the Philippines where a viable English-written literature has taken root), in Africa, literatures written in European languages are more common, more widespread than those in domestic ones, and at the same time, from the artistic point of view, represent the most valuable parts of the various national or ethnic literatures. Their characteristic feature consists, among others, in their orientation to the literatures of the metropolitan countries. They take contact with them, or on the contrary, strive in at least some measure, to negate them by their attitudes,

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<sup>38</sup> Klíma, V.: op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>39</sup> Keszthelyi, T.: *Afrikanische Literatur. Versuch eines Überblickes*. Berlin—Weimar, Aufbau-Verlag 1981, pp. 163—173.

particularly by their assertion of their own originality and independence which clearly stems from the new nationalism. Thus came into being the movement called *négritude* as a celebration of the blacks in general, their history and culture. In general, however, it took on such hyperbolizing forms that it lost contact with reality, with facts, with life and absolutely failed to understand numerous facets of the European culture. Many African writers in English usually criticized *négritude* and rightly reproached its rhetorical and exalted romanticism.<sup>40</sup>

A trait characteristic of all the new African (and Asian) literatures is that they originated under the impact of older or contemporary literatures of the European cultural area. Hence, a deeper study ought to uncover the contact—genetic relations existing between the two, even though it will demand more effort in the case of African than in that of Asian literatures. The latter have for the most part themselves admitted such an influence, while in Africa the contrary is often the case. African writers are polyliterary and mostly polyglots, experts in, or at least good connoisseurs of the literature of the metropolitan country, and are at home in several literatures, native and foreign.

A further characteristic aspect of all the new African literatures is that they have been slightly or not at all, affected by the indigenous tradition of written literature. As if in compensation, however, the abundant folklore and mythological traditions found in them an enormous echo and stimulated their unusually rapid and attractive development from the point of view of literary art.

The modern African literatures reached the arena of history at a stage when the consciousness of literary evolutionism in Europe and the world had faded out. That is one reason why they do not set themselves the goal, unrealistic in any way, to repeat the experience of older European literatures.

In conclusion, it should be observed that the new African literatures constitute interliterary communities, or rather types of bi- and polyliterary communities in which literature written in the language of the former colonial oppressors is the one most differentiated. For instance, the community of West-African literatures is made at least in part of literatures written in English, Yoruba, Onitsha, Hausa, etc. The study of modern African literatures and their interliterary communities in future will certainly enrich our knowledge of the interliterary process and thereby also will deepen our understanding of world literature.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Klíma, V.: op. cit., pp. 64—69.

<sup>41</sup> A short but excellent exposition of modern African literatures may be found in Gérard, A.: *1500 Years of Creative Writing in Black Africa*. In: Pinxten, R. (Ed.): *New Perspectives in Belgian Anthropology*. Göttingen, Edition Herodot, n. d.. pp. 94—100.

## SOME REMARKS ON DEVELOPMENTAL TENDENCIES IN CHINESE CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE SINCE 1979

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The aim of this study is to show a short outline of the development tendencies of modern Chinese literature in the People's Republic of China after the fall of Gang of Four, especially in the field of cultural policy and belles lettres.

The change undergone by Chinese literature in the People's Republic of China since the end of the 1970s has been remarkable in every respect. It resulted from a new climate favourable to literary activities, emerging with the vanquished consequences of the "Cultural Revolution", or the "Ten Chaotic Years" (1966—1976) in China and spreading with the transition to a sociopolitical line of socialist modernization. In the field of literature it was above all the official break with the so far existing literary taboos and the rehabilitation of unjustifiably banned and persecuted writers. This was coupled with the revival of broad publication activities of the writers and the promotion of young talents. At the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Federation of Writers and Artists held in autumn 1979 The Chinese Writers Association was reactivated. All writers were called upon to write on those themes that were stirring and moving them, on all the sunny and shady sides of contemporary life in China. It was completely left to them to opt for that method apparently suitable for them, or for the subject and genre preferred by them in line with the motto "Let hundred flowers blossom..." The former exclusive claim to the method "Combination of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism" was officially abandoned. Zhou Yang, the new chairman of the Chinese Federation of Writers and Artists after the death of Guo Moruo (1892—1978), proclaimed at the Fourth Congress that no motto whatsoever chosen for a creative method should be converted into a dogma. A writer who had identified himself with the principle that literature had to reflect real life was free to select his own creative method. In doing so he should aspire to reflect life by observing it from a Marxist point of view.<sup>1</sup> Thus

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Zhou Yang: *Our Achievements, Lessons and Tasks*. Chinese Literature (Beijing). 1980, No. 3, p. 38 ff.

at this Congress the theoretical, political and organizational basis was provided for a new or renewed realistic literature in the PRC. In spring 1980 the CCP proclaimed the thesis that literary and artistic work is "subject to politics" would be replaced by "serving the people and socialism".<sup>2</sup> At a meeting with writers and artists in 1982 Hu Qiaomu, as the Secretary of the CC CCP, reaffirmed the transition from the motto "Art and literature serve the politics" to the slogan "Art and literature serve the people and socialism". He pointed out that politics is no end in itself, but a means for a purpose and could even be wrong, as was shown in the time of the "Cultural Revolution". Hu Qiaomu conceded that art and literature were, of course, able to serve also politics, yet only in a closely restricted sense, as in the case of an artistic political poster. However, it would be entirely unsuitable and wrong to attach to art and literature the label "to serve politics" through all the centuries. All literary works should be welcome, as long as they did not split up people or offend it and as long as the emotions of the people are reflected. He demanded that the mainstream of literature should encompass the support for the people and socialism as well as the treatment of meaningful political subjects, but also admitted that it did not imply to exclude all those works from the category of literature where these principles were not so manifest. Even those works corresponded fully with the needs of the people, especially with regard to the use of various genres.<sup>3</sup>

The first successes of the new cultural-political course in the PRC became soon visible in the reinvigorated creativity of Chinese writers. Not only the still living writers of the old generation such as Ba Jin (born 1904), Ouyang Shan (born 1908), Ding Ling (born 1904), Bing Xin (born 1900), Ai Qing (born 1910), Yao Xueyin (born 1910), Sun Li (born 1913), and others, but also quite a number of writers of medium age who had begun writing in the 1950s and had soon come under fire of official criticism, brought their talents to full display, like Wang Meng (born 1934), Liu Binyan (born 1925), Liu Shaotang (born 1936), Deng Youmei (born 1931), Li Zhun (born 1928), Ru Zhijuan (born 1925), Gao Xiaosheng (born 1928), Lu Wenfu (born 1928), Malqinhu (born 1930), Wan Zengqi (born 1920), etc. However, it should be particularly mentioned that since the end of the 1970s a great number of mostly young writers appeared on the literary stage, such as Jiang Zilong (born 1941), Mo Yingfeng (born 1938), Wang Anyi (born 1954), Ye Wenling (born 1943), Zhang Kangkang (born 1950), Jia Ping'ao (born 1953), etc. All of them published a number of new works

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<sup>2</sup> Cp. Beijing Rundschau, 1981, No. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Hu Qiaomu: *Relation between Art and Politics*. Chinese Literature, 1982, No. 10, p. 138 f.

within a short time in which they took issue with all aspects of the immediately past and present-day life. It was already in 1979 that Zhou Yang, in preparation for the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Federation of Writers and Artists, was able to state: "Writers and artists now enjoy more freedom of mind than ever before. They are doing away with blind faith, entering formerly 'forbidden areas' and fighting against all restrictions which hamper the development of literature and art."<sup>4</sup>

Zhou Yang wanted to point out that under the new cultural-political line Chinese writers were given an extraordinarily large margin of creative freedom compared with former times. Most of the writers were also aware of the great responsibility they had taken over with it. Wang Meng, one of the most distinguished writers, expressed his ideas at the Congress in the following words: "...So we must write the truth and speak the truth... In addition we must boldly seek for improvements and new ideas in artistic creation. We must be faithful to our own styles and souls, writing about what we really see and feel. We must create bolder and freer artistic images. It is wrong to consider realism as conflicting with bold imagination, because literature involves a mental process. Literature depicts people, especially their inner worlds and spiritual lives. Without the emancipation of people's minds there will be no literature... Despite arduous trials very few of us have become pessimistic, depressed, degenerate, or scared. We are determined to work indefatigably and produce more and better works, making our contribution to literature worthy of the first generation of New China's writers."<sup>5</sup>

In the last few years literature has undergone such a broad and diversified development, as it was unprecedented and unobservable so far in the PRC. This applies both to the treatment of burning and even socially explosive subjects and themes and to the use of various literary genres and categories of literary compositions. In the theatre the literary and dramatic creations were particularly focused on the portrayal of relevant present-day social problems. The task is conceived as a special concern to take up current conflicts and problems, to create new heroes and examples fighting against the impediments of social progress, attacking grievances and seeking for ways to push ahead the economy, to raise the effectiveness of labour in enterprises and to improve the living conditions of men, as in the play "The Future Calls" (1979, *Wei-lai zai zhaochu*). In the play "Power Versus Law" (1979, *Quan yu fa*) by Xing Yixun (born 1940) the question is raised how the remnants of feudal thinking in the legal system

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<sup>4</sup> Zhou Yang: *Reality in Literature and Other Questions*. Chinese Literature, 1980, No. 1, p. 92 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Wang Meng: *Our Responsibility*. Chinese Literature, 1980, No. 4, p. 104 f.

are eliminated, the misuse of power is terminated and how to consolidate a socialist sense of justice and the legal system. A great success was reached by the play "If I were what I claimed to be" (1979, *Jiaru wo shi zhende*) with the sub-title "The Swindler" (*Pianzi*). The central figure is an impostor who pretends to be the son of a high-ranking official and thus capitalizes on the dishonest relations brought about. It was written by the three young authors Sha Yexin, Li Shoucheng and Yao Mingde. Reference will also be made to such plays, as "Who is the Powerful?" (*Shui shi qiangzhe*) by Liang Binkun, which turns against corruption, bribery and "relations". The play "The Blood is always Warm" (1981, *Xue zong shi rede*) by Zong Fuxian (born 1947) and He Guofu deals with the economic reforms in a silk factory and the human conflicts resulting from it. The approach of dramatic works to the topical social questions of the present day, their open and true-to-reality portrayal have been instrumental in renewal of dramatic creation as a literary genre, although it should not be disregarded that the treatment of questions moving the people of today is not accompanied with the philosophical depth and creative power required for the play to survive the present time.

Remarkably new lines of development become also apparent in poetic art. The political party-line poem that predominated in the last few years is increasingly replaced by the lyrical poem of sentiments. Such old masters of poetry, as Ai Qing, Zou Difan (born 1917), Zhang Zhimin (born 1926) or Bai Hua (born 1930), in their subtle and responsive approach to society, individual and to nature, are again able to develop their talents unimpeded, with quite a number of younger and up-and-coming poets emerging with their poems marked by a downright personal style, for instance, such young women, as Shu Ting (born 1952), who found already international repute, Luo Xiaoge (born 1951), Shen Aiping (born 1942), Li Qi (born 1956), or Yu Xiaoping (born 1955), etc.

The literary reportage has also gained increasing importance, not in the least by such works as "Between Man and Demon" (1979, *Ren yao zhi jian*) or "A Man and His Shadow" (*Yige ren he tade yingzi*) by Liu Binyan, "The Goldbach Conjecture" (*Gedebahe caixiang*) and "Light in Geology" (*Dizhi zhi guang*) by Xu Chi (born 1914) or "Beautiful Eyes" (*Meili de yanjing*) by Huang Zongying (born 1925), etc. In the majority of cases these reportages are concerned with the new tasks in socialist construction and with the people forging it ahead. Even essayistic literature has renewed its former rights and is being cultivated. In a profound and artistically sophisticated manner the essays seek to stimulate further reflections by presenting certain ideas.

However, the broadest and the deepest progress made in the last few years had been achieved in the field of narrative prose, with the short and the medium-long form of fiction initially determining the creative progress, whereas

the novel required a longer period of maturing. Already at the beginning in 1977 there was a kind of traumatic literature called "wound literature" (*shanghen wenxue*) in China which derived its stimuli from the horrible events and the bitter personal experiences in the time of the "Cultural Revolution". These "scars" can be perceptible to the eye, or caused and afflicted by flogging, torture and other outrages in the days of the "Cultural Revolution", but they can also make themselves felt in these narratives as invisible mental anguish and agonies that often go down still deeper, are more painful and more protracted than the visible wounds. In some cases they become noticeable in connection or on the occasion with a "re-encounter", i.e. a person of the narration returned to the former place of suffering and met there a person associated with the former event.<sup>6</sup> In such a way such "scars" are elevated to a literary motif, a leitmotif that determines the entire character of the narrative. The model of this kind of literature was the story "The Scar" (1977, *Shanghen*) by Lu Xinhua (born 1954). The central figure in this narrative is a young girl who suffered injury and harm during the "Cultural Revolution". She "swears never to forget who it was" who had afflicted her with the wounds in the heart. The topic of the scars is especially glaringly reflected in the scenario of the film "Bitter love" (1979, *Kulian*) by Bai Hua,<sup>7</sup> and they continue to play a dominating role in the literary development until the year 1980. Such a literature of "scars" had profound social causes. It revealed mental situations and intellectual thought, as hardly before any other literary works in the PRC. However, it was mainly backwards oriented and was thus not in a position to provide a sound basis for the further development of narrative fiction and for literature in the PRC at large. Wang Meng said in a comment the following:

"Since the end of '77 there has appeared in China the so-called 'wound-literature'. Much writing of this kind was produced within a short period of time, to give concentrated descriptions of our sufferings and tears, to cite many heart-rending events to reflect the savagery of the dark forces and the mistakes in our work. It all had the nature of trenchant social criticism and even political criticism. This was a remarkable phenomenon... This kind of literature has exercised an enormous influence. But its concentration on the same or on similar themes is after all only a transient phenomenon in a given historical period."<sup>8</sup>

Certainly, this kind of traumatic literature has its shortcomings which become especially apparent in the less important literary and artistic works, in

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Gálik, M.: *Some Remarks on "Literature of the Scars" in the People's Republic of China (1977—1979)*. In: Asian and African Studies, Vol. XVIII, 1982, pp. 53—76.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Doležalová, A.: *Two Waves of Criticism of the Film Script Bitter Love and of the Writer Bai Hua in 1981*. In: Asian and African Studies, Vol. XIX, 1983, pp. 27—54.

<sup>8</sup> Wang Meng: *For a Better Life*. Chinese Literature, 1981, No. 2, p. 130 f.

immature narratives written with a social bias. Nevertheless, the judgement passed by H. Goldblatt in a review on this literature appears to be somewhat too harsh. Goldblatt writes: "In these stories, one finds no sophistication, no imagination, no style — in a word, no art. It is not enough to say that romance is no longer 'off limits', that confession is good for the soul, or that conflict occur among otherwise good people; these are only the raw materials of literature, not literature in and of themselves."<sup>9</sup>

H. Goldblatt expressed this opinion in connection with a review of translations of these works into English, with this selection not strictly made in line with literary-artistic views. Undoubtedly, the works belonging to the "scar literature" are not all and not even in their majority of such a literary quality that would justify them to survive time. But it is a matter of fact that specifically this kind of literature marked a new point of departure in the development of literature in the PRC since it initially had done away with many of the so far existing taboos and, if unconsciously, evoked the desire and the aspirations of authors and recipients to make it better and thus to reorientate the view forwards. In this way the "scar literature" has become a special kind in the most recent literary development of the PRC.

When considering narrative fiction since the end of the 1970s in its entirety, the richness of themes and their extension is strikingly obvious. In the years before the writers had been imposed with the obligation to write "in the interest of the workers, peasants and soldiers", causing a rigorous narrowing down of the themes. At the same time the writer was compelled to concentrate his activities on the day-to-day political directives and thus to confine himself to the requirements emanating for literature according to the formula "the subject-matter decides everything" and "literature serves politics". In the final analysis the specificity of belles lettres was all but lost, i.e. literature as a kind of intellectual production and as a means to satisfy aesthetic needs. But only with the elimination and liquidation of this "leftist" cultural and political line that was highly detrimental to literary activities was it again possible for the writer in the PRC to determine, among others, also the theme of the work or of his work by himself and to shape it in a literary manner in conformity with his own concerns. In the wake of this development a great number of new works of fiction have appeared since 1979 covering a great variety of themes. The central figures in these works are peasants, intellectuals, officials of various levels, workers, old and young people in extraordinary or daily situations of life. Especially the intellectuals who in the time of the "Cultural Revolution" were the "ninth stinking category" and who were banned as positive figures from the

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<sup>9</sup> Cp. Goldblatt, H.: Review of *The Wounded and Stories of Contemporary China*. Chinese Literature Essays Articles Reviews, Vol. 2, No. 2, July 1980, Madison (USA), p. 293.

literature of the past years again re-emerged. In the new narratives there is again the intellectual as the carrier of intellectual and scientific and technical progress, but above all as a patriot. The woman writer Shen Rong (born 1935) reports in her story "At Middle Age" (1980, *Ren dao zhongnian*) about a forty-year-old eye-doctor who despite difficult working and living conditions had worked for 18 years in the PRC in a diligent, conscientious and dedicated manner for her patients. During an operation she suffered a collapse on account of over-exertion. Her past life passes in front of inner eyes. Shen Rong, totally internalized, portrays the long ordeal and the sufferings of the eye-doctor to convey an idea on the sense of high moral qualities (*qingcao*).<sup>10</sup>

Another subject often used in the short stories and novels is related to the destinies of party cadres persecuted in the "Cultural Revolution" and later rehabilitated. A number of stories by Wang Meng are of this kind. In the story entitled "With Bolshevik Greeting" (1979, *Buli*) the fate of a party cadre is depicted, who as a young man, imbued with lofty revolutionary ideals, had devoted himself fully to the construction of a new China, but later labelled as a "rightist" and exposed to persecutions. When during the "Cultural Revolution" he was savagely beaten up by the instigated Red Guards, he constantly repeated again and again the completely unrelated words "Buli, buli..." (the Chinese abbreviated form for "Bolshevik greetings"). The Red Guards do not understand it and take him for a secret agent. The narrative "The Butterfly" (1980, *Hudie*) portrays an old communist who lost his freedom and had to scrape a living as a prisoner and a banned exile for some twenty years. Meanwhile he was rehabilitated and appointed to deputy minister. He travelled incognito to the distant village, where at that time he had to work as a peasant and to wait for his rehabilitation. His personal wishes related to the trip to the remote village remain unfulfilled and he is wondering whether he had learnt from his errors made in his previous functions or whether he will repeat them. All these stories about rehabilitated intellectuals and officials, without any outwardly shown optimism, elicit new hopes for a better future.

The love theme, the description of intimate personal experience and related fields, has again gained general recognition, such as in the short stories "A Corner Forgotten by Love" (1980, *Bei aiqing yiwang de jiao luo*) by Zhang Xian (born 1934), or "Love is Not to Be Forgotten" (1979, *Ai, shi buneng wang jide*) by Zhang Jie (born 1937), etc.

The stories and novels depicting life in rural regions are also often novel in their themes and their structure. Gao Xiaosheng, e.g., who continues the

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<sup>10</sup> Cp. Lee, Leo Ou-fan: *My Interviews with Writers in the People's Republic of China*. Chinese Literature Essays Articles Reviews, Vol. 3, No. 1, January 1981 (Madison, USA), p. 138.



narrative traditions of Zhou Libo (1908—1979) and Zhao Shuli (1906—1970) in the portrayal of peasants and rural life of the 1940s and 1950s, describes the strength and the weaknesses of peasants, from the point of view of history and economy, their difficult way of life and their intellectual approach towards social changes. In the great period of radical change of China these peasants were bound to embark on a meandering and difficult way. Often their fate reveals a profound tragedy, but their eyes are always focused on a better future, again full of hope directed forward. Such writers, as Gao Xiaosheng, He Shiguang, Ma Feng (born 1922) a. o. have revealed their sympathies also for the backward peasant, yet they also allow these peasants to face up to the future and often depict it in a satirical and ironic manner. Thus the story “Chen Huansheng’s Adventure in Town” (1980, *Chen Huansheng shang cheng*) by Gao Xiaosheng depicts not only how after the years of the “Cultural Revolution” such a peasant came back to life again and made use of the new possibilities of some extra earnings, but also how this peasant understood to extract profit for his prestige among the rural inhabitants under adverse circumstances during a visit to the town. Even the longer story “Xu Mao and His Daughters” (1980, *Xu Mao he tade nüermen*) by Zhou Keqin (born 1937) has an old peasant as the central figure who was actively involved in the rural co-operative movement in the 1950s. Later on, he became embittered and self-centred since he as a peasant had to suffer greatly from the “left”—radical detrimental policy pursued in the PRC. Ultimately his main efforts are fully used up in getting a good match for his daughters. But his diverse aspirations to achieve and safeguard the happiness of his family are met with an unfavourable and, in part, even hostile social environment. Thus his hardened authoritarian views in family matters result inevitably in conflicts with his own daughters. This negative behaviour of his main hero is characterized by the author as follows:

“Those who are familiar with country life know that the Chinese peasants in the early fifties had a very strong sense of emancipation both politically and economically. Indeed, those were good times! But the situation changed in 1958. Peasants were forced to join the advanced co-operative and criticized at random; their personal freedom suffered. About the decade of chaos from 1966, I need to say no more; nothing was worse than that. This upset Xu Mao and his like. They became estranged from the Party. I think it is sympathy, not reproaches, that we should give Hu Mao.”<sup>11</sup>

The narratives that deal with the industrial environment and with workers are not so numerous and not so differentiated as those concerned with the life in the countryside. The former amateur writer Jiang Zilong has set himself the

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<sup>11</sup> Cp. Xue Ling: *A Peasant Writer Zhou Keqin*. Chinese Literature, 1981, No. 5, p. 60.

task of depicting the process of maturing of workers that is connected with many difficulties. In several stories he portrayed the obstacles to be overcome in setting up order and regaining performances in the industrial enterprises run down by mismanagement in the “Cultural Revolution”. In a longer narrative “All the Colours of the Rainbow” (1981, *Chi chen huang lü qing lan zhi*) he made a description of a group of young men of today. A young driver stands in the centre of the story; he turns against insensible administrative practices in his enterprise. Although he is a capable and intelligent young lad, he considers the situation with irony and unsuitable cynicism so that he is often disappointed in his aspirations to fulfil his lofty ideals. All in all, the figures of workers in the stories of the last few years portray a wide range of human qualities, but all of them are still characterized by the detrimental political and economic effects of the “Ten Chaotic Years”. Only gradually these workers regain their self-confidence, with their class consciousness still lagging behind. It is remarkable, however, that the stories and novels reflecting the industrial world do not focus on the description of production processes, but are centred around human destinies.

There is a key word consisting of two symbols *tansuo* — explorations<sup>12</sup> which applies to the new stage of fiction that begins by the end of the 1970s in the PRC. Of course, so far neglected or tabooed problems of subject-matter resulting above all from the change of social conditions, the break with the “leftist” line in the policies of the PRC since the end of the 1950s with all its negative social and human consequences. These explorations also cover the new social tasks, the “four modernizations” with special consideration of the Chinese specificity in socialist construction. Such explorations also cover the use of new and differentiated literary and artistic means and methods. The hitherto usual direct narrative art aimed at describing external acts was overcome or supplemented by psychological descriptions. By resorting to the various means of the interior monologue, a complicated method of reflexion, by using the “stream of consciousness”, the author puts his readers into the interior of his figures and thus explores new psychic and psychological fields which had remained untapped, or only little explored in the last few decades in the literature of the PRC. Wang Meng in his contribution *For a Better Life* explains the need for such an approach: “...our writers have to depict life and society more profoundly, paying greater attention to the portrayal of their character’s souls, their innermost thoughts and feelings. After overcoming the tendency simply to describe ideological concepts, their works have become richer, more evocative and comprehensive. Although our literary cause has suffered a great deal from

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<sup>12</sup> Cp. Wu Bingjie: *Ge huan minggai ge jinshen* (On Diversified Styles of Fiction in the New Era). Wenzue pinglun, 1985, No. 3, p. 38 ff.

short-sighted and excessive stress on serving social or political policies, our writers and readers now take a wider view and are interested in all subjects that tempt or will tempt men of letters to explore them, including human life, ways of thinking, psychology and feelings".<sup>13</sup>

Based on this approach Wang Meng in narrative literature pursues his own "explorations" and is thus in the forefront of today's writers who have renewed this genre of literature in the PRC or are still about to renew it. In this context the relationship between national tradition and foreign models plays a great role. The foreign models comprise a wide spectrum, yet they are not absorbed mechanically and without any criticism, but they are creatively applied in line with the specific Chinese literary conditions. In making use of the traditions they are seeking fruitful points of departure. Initially the idea was mainly to overcome a formalized relationship of traditions, to reach comprehension for the cultural heritage, to conceive the relationship in its historical and controversial dimensions since it is determined also by the needs of the present time. Therefore it was necessary to combine the reflection of the historical aspects in their approaches to the present time and to the future into a unified entity, within which the creative writer — free from utilitarian intentions — was able to let his ideas move back and forth, associate them and connect them.

Wang Meng, in depicting the inner states and the mental processes of his heroes, resorts preferably to the "stream of consciousness". In such stories, as "The Butterfly", "The Voices of Spring" (1980, *Chun zhi sheng*) or "Motley" (1981, *Zase*) the stream of consciousness is the main mode of portrayal. The story "Motley" is exclusively concerned with the reflections and the emotions of a former music teacher who was exiled to the countryside. The stream of consciousness reveals the innermost emotions or the emergence of the emotions of a man in a time of social upheaval. This revelation is presented to the reader in many associations in a multi-coloured and "motley" manner, such as the skin of a horse as the companion of the carrier of ideas. However, there are also critics who criticize Wang Meng for using the stream of consciousness as a lack of substance in the narrative, in the plot and the description of the characters.<sup>14</sup> The structure of such "medium-long" narratives written mostly in the present time is oriented both towards western models and towards traditional literary techniques. In leaning towards western models it is mostly a structure of narrative widely spread in modern world literature and primarily aimed at reproducing emotions and atmosphere, with the formation and shaping of

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<sup>13</sup> Wang Meng: *For a Better Life*, op. cit.

<sup>14</sup> Cp. Zeng Zhannan: *Ye tan "Zase"* (Also on "Motley"). *Zouping yu zhengming*, 1983, No. 5, p. 54. W. Tay presented a different view in his article *Wang Meng, Stream of Consciousness, and the Controversy over Modernism*. *Modern Chinese Literature*, 1, September 1984, pp. 7—21.

characters taking second place together with the description of definite external features. The aesthetic concern of such a story without any solidly made plot is to convey an atmosphere resulting from a certain social situation. This kind of writing was disapproved of during the long years of stagnation and the decline of writers' activities in the PRC and had to be learnt and virtually newly practised by the Chinese writers. How rapidly and expertly the current writers have acquired this literary style in the field of fiction is not only evidenced by the stories of Wang Meng, but also by such woman writers, as Zong Pu (born 1928), Zhang Jie (born 1937), Shen Rong, etc. But such writers, as Deng Youmei, Lu Wenfu, Feng Jicai (born 1942), Wang Zengqi, Liu Shaotang, etc. have also conquered with their works new spheres of narrative art in the PRC. They also lean towards foreign examples frequently in their works. Feng Jicai, e. g., has been influenced by the works of Turgenev, Tolstoy and Chekhov. The Soviet sinologist Riftin is convinced that today there is hardly any Chinese writer to be found who would not be influenced by Russian and Soviet literature.<sup>15</sup>

But even if the younger writers in their search for adequate forms of narrative expression have increasingly turned to foreign examples they find themselves thus in a certain "line of tradition" with the new Chinese literature. Similar ways before them had been embarked upon in the 1920s and 1930s by such prominent writers as Yu Dafu (1896—1944), Bing Xin, Mao Dun (1896—1981), Ba Jin, etc. Also in the 1940s and 1920s the Chinese writers had trained and stimulated themselves at foreign literature, in particular Soviet literature. In addition, such a phenomenon as the influence of American black humour on the works of Wang Meng and Feng Jicai should not be overlooked. But it is also quite possible that Soviet writers, such as Sholokhov, Tvardovsky or Shukshin stood godfather to Wang Meng, Gao Xiaosheng, Lu Wenfu, Gu Hua, etc.<sup>16</sup>

A mode of narrative deeply rooted in national traditions is revealed in the present-day so-called novels and stories having the character of genre-picture, i. e. a portrayal of the customs and manners of an epoch (*yansuhua xiaoshuo*). What is meant are fictional works, with national style and expressions predominating and the local peculiarities and specifics flowing together into a kind of genre-picture and presenting a harmonious entity. Such a combination of national and local peculiarities, customs and manners with a general characterization of man and society is to be found in the works of Gu Hua (born 1942), Deng Youmei, Wang Zengqi, Jia Ping'ao, etc. They have combined the charac-

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<sup>15</sup> Cp. Riftin, B.: *Literatur in China, Begegnungen in Tianjin 1981*. Kunst und Literatur, Berlin, 1984, No. 4, p. 484.

<sup>16</sup> Cp. Chen Xiaoying: *Rang dangdai wenxue yanjiu yu bijiao wenxue "lianxin"* (On the "Marriage" of Contemporary Literary Studies and Comparative Literature). *Wenxue pinglun*, 1984, No. 6, p. 93 ff.

terization of their figures very closely with the traditional habits of a definite society and a definite region. This is conducive to a profound portrayal of men. But, as a rule, the narrative works of this type encompass several tendencies, with the portrayal of habits penetrating in a way the depiction of details of social relations in a poetic manner. Typical of it are such stories, as "The Monastic Consecration" (1980, *Shoujie*) by Wan Zengqi, "The Search for the 'Picture-Han'" (1981, *Xunfang 'Huaer-han'*) by Deng Youmei or *Qiqiao'er* (1982) by Jia Ping'ao. The novel "A Small Town Called Hibiscus" (1981, *Furong zhen*) by Gu Hua belongs to this category. This novel portrays the fate of a woman and the surrounding complicated relations and social changes of the recent past against the background of a small town in a remote mountainous region in southern China in deep and rich colours. The works of Lu Wenfu who may be taken as the representative of "urban literature" in this field are characterized by a vivid depiction of national peculiarities and their local colour. Lu Wenfu, in his stories, combines the customs and manners surrounding the south China town of Suzhou with the thoughts and emotions of the people who have been resident and deeply rooted there for generations, yet are subject to a process of social changes. The story "The Gourmet" (1983, *Meishijia*) may be taken as an example.

The novel "Bell and Drum Tower" (1984, *Zhonggulou*) by Liu Xinwu (born 1942) was paid great attention by the Chinese critics because of its mode of narrative. This novel provides excerpts from life and experiences of some 40 persons living in Beijing around the Bell Tower. The novel covers a period of 12 hours, from the morning till the evening of December 12, 1982. There is no plot, nor any detailed depictions of characters. In this respect it is possible to draw some parallels to the modernistic examples taken from the late bourgeois literature with its "opened structures". However, the original way of narrative, the description of the daily life, reveals clearly the national colours. The author has described his approach to the episode-like depiction of life in Beijing in the following way:

"What I have used here, can be called the 'type of flowered scoop' or the 'kind of orange peeling'? That is, proceeding from the heart of the blossom, the petals are opened piece after piece in every direction, or layer by layer, like the peeling of an orange."<sup>17</sup> Even though only a few aspects of tradition processing and foreign influence can be considered within the framework of this paper, it can in general be stated that all the prominent contemporary writers are affected by it. They have made use both of their old and even their more recent traditions

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<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Zhang Zhong'e: *Ping "Zhonggulou"* (Notes on the Novel "Bell and Drum Tower"). Wenzue pinglun, 1985, No. 2, p. 100.

and have shown to be receptive to all foreign experiences that might prove as useful to them. It is also quite natural that one writer prefers more the customary mode of description with plot, positive and negative heroes, critical conflicts and a detailed description of character, etc., whereas the other one makes use of a more "opened" style, uses the interior monologue, the stream of consciousness and a complicated technique of reflexion; this appears to be due different artistic dispositions. It is, however, important that many contemporary writers have acquired the ability of treating the diversified influences and their own literary views independently. Despite their different modes of narration it is possible to identify a socially engaged humanistic tendency in all their works. The figures depicted have not lost their confidence in human values irrespective of all the blows dealt at them especially during the "Cultural Revolution" so that they are optimistic based on their own force and those of their fellow-men that they may ultimately succeed in shaping life still better and more beautiful. The Chinese writers are fully aware of the fact that in creating a "literature for the people and for socialism" they are still faced with great tasks of creation and with new possibilities. At a working meeting of The Chinese Writers' Association held in autumn 1985 in Beijing it was possible to state that the current main tendency in literary creations is good. The most encouraging fact, however, would be that quite a number of writers have turned to the great changes in the contemporary life of the Chinese people, as they did before, and that they are trying to portray the seething life and the social reforms by standing in the foremost ranks for socialist construction in the PRC by resorting to diversified literary means and methods. But at the same time several negative aspects have surfaced that have to be overcome. There is also a vulgar literature existing in the PRC, disregarding any social effects, inferior in its literary quality and unsound as to its content. Such a kind of literature, in the view of the Chinese Writers' Association, is even rather widely spread within a certain period. Several writers take the view that literature has to keep aloof from practical life and that now a "dreary period" has come. As a result the atmosphere of life was equally dreary and lacks the spirit of the time. Such writers and such works, as was stressed at the working meeting, are unable to comply with the requirements of the time.<sup>18</sup>

Wang Meng, in his capacity as the deputy chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association, thought it necessary at this meeting to recommend the following warning warmly to his colleagues:

"As before we have to engage ourselves for modesty, sincerity and useful activity. We have to seek to consider the general situation and to bring the

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<sup>18</sup> Cp. Guangming ribao, dated November 5, 1985, p. 1.

popular masses together. We have to penetrate deeply into reality, to expand the creative activities and to retain the good habit of mutual solidarity assistance. We should in no case reconcile ourselves to self-adulation, to protectionist careerism and intrigue, to such machinations as striving for prestige and benefit or even to unlawful acts of indiscipline.”<sup>19</sup>

In their great majority, however, the Chinese writers are fully aware of their social responsibility. Jiang Zilong has expressed himself explicitly in favour of this aim:

“Literature is by no means a frivolous matter, neither is it the property of those who only seek fame and personal gain. It is ignorance and prejudice to regard creative writing as a way of achieving these things or to think that people who write do so entirely in order to obtain these ends... Literary creation expresses the soul of a people; it is work which needs to be approached in an extremely solemn manner and with a special sense of duty.”<sup>20</sup>

Based on such a sense of responsibility the writers of the PRC who have grown into a mighty group of creative writers have extracted and are still extracting their confidence, force and creative phantasy. This was also the source from which has emerged the vigorous change in literary activities of the past few years which, undoubtedly, will continue also over the next few years.

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<sup>19</sup> Cp. *Wang Meng zai zuoxie gongzuohuiyi shang zuo changpian fayan* (The Great Speech of Wang Meng at the Working Meeting of the Chinese Writers' Association). Wenyibao, November 9, 1985, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Jiang Zilong: *How I Took up Writing as a Career*. Chinese Literature, 1982, No. 7, p. 73.

## NEW QUALITIES IN CONTEMPORARY CHINESE STORIES (1979 — EARLY 1980s)

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The present study offers a brief survey of some of the new creative methods and new treatment of such subjects as rural themes, problems of intellectuals, love and marriage, in the portraying of the past and present-day life. The new approaches to a moulding of reality in short stories and novelettes, perceptible since 1979, are strikingly marked by a deepening of the psychological aspect. The introduction of new qualities into contemporary Chinese stories, especially in the initial stages, came about thanks in a large measure to rehabilitated "bourgeois rightists" who, after having been silenced for over twenty years, returned to literature as mature writers.

During the past several decades Chinese literature had laboriously to plod along a twisting and, with the exception of a few brief spells, a constantly begrimed road. This confused, often exhausting road was not due to any lack of literary culture or writing talents, but came about purely through the peremptory dictates of an unqualified ultraleftist and short-sighted utilitarian cultural policy. Since the end of the seventies, when conditions of the literary life began to get normal, Chinese literature has very fast testified its creative potential.

In October 1985, a total of 543 literary periodicals were being published in the People's Republic of China. And during the first ten months of that same year, there appeared almost 200 new novels, over 1,000 novelettes and more than 11,000 short stories.<sup>1</sup>

Naturally, not all this literary production, so impressive as to quantity, represents true and lasting literary values; yet, alongside average and below-average writings, there appear quite a number of remarkable works. And this is also attested to by a reviving translation of contemporary Chinese literature abroad. Major interest in the past few years has been rightly elicited by short stories and novelettes.

The milestone marking the beginning of the most recent period of Chinese literature was the publication of the artistically mediocre short story *Banzhuren* [2] Class Counsellor, by the then 35-year old teacher Liu Xinwu [3] in November

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<sup>1</sup> These figures were quoted by Bao Chang [1]. Member of the Secretariat of Chinese Writers' Association at a press conference in Beijing, November 8, 1985.

1977<sup>2</sup> set in a school milieu. This was the first work in the wave of short stories, novelettes, dramas and poetry of the “literature of the scars”<sup>3</sup> which, during the ensuing period of at least two years, flooded Chinese periodicals and bookstores. This literary stream was given its name from the short story *Shanghen* [5] The Scar,<sup>4</sup> by the then 25-year old student Lu Xinhua [6], describing the tragedy of a girl student who had come to believe that her mother was “an enemy of the people”, had publicly disowned her and, like the majority of urban youths, went to work in the countryside. Nevertheless, she could not get rid of the opprobrium that she was daughter of a counter-revolutionary mother. When, after the fall of the “Gang of Four”, she found she had been deceived, her mother was not alive any more. She could start a new life with her faithful sweetheart whom she had abandoned earlier in order not to mar his career, but a scar from what she had gone through remained on her soul. All the works of the “Literature of the Scar” were of a similar tune and carried the same purport.

The “Literature of the Scars” elicited an enormous response despite the fact that it involved works for the most part artistically poorly processed, often by authors of little literary experience (although some of them, like Liu Xinwu, or Li Tuo [8] soon made their marks as interesting writers). The essential, the vital point in this first period of upsurge which had been preceded by a decade of cultural nihilism brought about by the “cultural revolution”, was that literature ceased demagogically and cynically to lie and to deceive, that it was now allowed to write about tragedies perpetrated under the ultraleftist policy since 1966. The “Literature of the Scars” impressed not by the way *how*, but about *what* it wrote.

Of great importance for the further development of Chinese literature were the changes in the cultural situation which culminated in the resolutions of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in December 1978. As a consequence, the room of a realistic portraying of the Chinese society became enlarged in both the ideological and the temporal aspect. Of unusual significance proved to have been the rehabilitation of the “Hundred Flowers” period of 1956—1957<sup>5</sup> and thereby the condemnation of the anti-rightist campaign of the year 1957. Writers who had then been criticized, silenced and

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<sup>2</sup> First published in *Renmin wenxue* [4] People's Literature, 1979, No. 11.

<sup>3</sup> An English translation of eight “Short Stories of the Scars” appeared in *The Wounded --- New Stories of the Cultural Revolution 77—78*. Hong Kong 1979. “Literature of the Scars” is dealt with in numerous articles, e. g. *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 18, 1982, carried an article by M. Gálik: *Some Remarks on “Literature of the Scars” in the People's Republic of China (1977—1979)*.

<sup>4</sup> First published in *Wen huibao* [7] Literary Report, Aug. 11, 1978.

<sup>5</sup> Literature from this period has been translated into English and dealt with in recent years in Hualing Nieh (Ed.): *Literature of the Hundred Flowers*. Vols I and II. New York 1981 and in a study by Wagner, R. G.: *The Cog and Scout*. In: Kubin, W.—Wagner, R. G. (Eds.): *Essays in Modern Chinese Literature and Literary Criticism*. Bochum 1982.

persecuted as "bourgeois rightists", returned into literature after a break of over twenty years, as mature, experienced, talented and courageous men of letters in their forties and early fifties.<sup>6</sup>

Credit for the new, remarkable qualities in the development of Chinese literature since the year 1979,<sup>7</sup> at least during the initial period, went in a large measure to the rehabilitated "rightists". Several of them, by their stories published immediately after their rehabilitation, laid down the foundations of a new type of contemporary Chinese literature whose principal traits entail a psychological processing and new creative techniques. Among the most prominent of them, mention might be made of the outstanding stylist Wang Meng (b. 1934), the writer of rural stories Gao Xiaosheng (b. 1928), the author of stories of the persecuted intelligentsia Zhang Xianliang [12] (b. 1934), the fine ironist Lu Wenfu [13] (b. 1928), as also the bard of ancient Beijing Deng Youmei [14] (b. 1931).<sup>8</sup>

Wang Meng elicited attention — and in several Chinese critics initially also negative responses — by his modern creative techniques influenced by contemporary world literature. His most interesting stories as to style have neither a closed plot, nor a developed fable. They are sketches of the real world, perceived by the subjective principal hero, the topic being developed by his associations. The author utilizes certain traits of the narrative method of the stream of

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<sup>6</sup> Of these, Wang Meng [9] and Liu Binyan [10] attracted the greatest deal of attention abroad. Besides the above-mentioned works and translations of their writings into several languages, their literary production since the year 1979 has been dealt with in numerous articles; e.g. by Tay, W.: *Wang Meng, Stream-of-consciousness and Controversy over Modernism*. In: *Modern Chinese Literature*, September 1984, Vol. I, No. 1, and series of articles by Toroptsev, S. A., e.g. *Van Men o literaturnom tvorchestve* (Wang Meng on Literary Creation). In: *Sovremennaya khudozhestvennaya literatura za rubezhom* (Contemporary Literature Abroad), 1983, No. 4, and *Van Men: Tvorcheskie poiski i nakhodki* (Wang Meng: Creative Searches and Finds). In: *Problemy Dalnego Vostoka* (Problems of the Far East), 1984, No. 2. A study on Liu Binyan appeared in *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 20, 1984, by A. Doležalová: *Liu Binyan's Come-back to the Contemporary Chinese Literary Scene*.

<sup>7</sup> Chinese literature of the year 1979 is the subject of a study by Jenner, W.J.F.: *1979: A New Start for Literature in China?* The China Quarterly, June 1981, No. 86.

<sup>8</sup> In the present brief survey, only such works and writers are mentioned that, to my mind, are the most remarkable and the most characteristic as regards new treatments of topics and innovation in creative methods. A team from the Literary Institute, Chinese Academy of Sciences, elaborated a review of the general development of Chinese literature from October 1976 until September 1982, in *Sin shiqi wenxue liunian* [15] Six Years of Literature of the New Period, Beijing 1985, 551 pp. The book comprises a very useful chronological supplement and a list of awarded works. A review of contemporary stories and fictions may be found, e.g. in the extensive article *Wenming yu yuwei de chongtu* [16] Conflict of Culture and Ignorance, by Ji Hongzhen [17], published in two instalments in *Zhongguo shehui kexue* [18] Social Sciences in China, 1985, Nos 3 and 4.

consciousness and free associations. This author has introduced an original deposit into contemporary Chinese literature.

Alongside his novelette *Buli* [9] Bolshevik Salute<sup>9</sup> — an intricate structure of a temporal stream of actions dealing with the horrors of the recent past — his first experimental work is mainly the story *Ye de yan* [21] The Eyes of Night.<sup>10</sup> It describes the protagonist's way through a city in the night, where he has returned for a few days after a stay of over twenty years in the country. On the way, he takes in the kaleidoscope of a modern city, new to him. The object of his walk, however, is to hand over a letter from his boss to his old acquaintance, a higher-situated party functionary. But he finds only the latter's cynical son, listening off a tape to the song of a Hong Kong star — which would terrify folks back in his distant little town “more than the raid by a cavalry unit”.<sup>11</sup>

A rather interesting specimen of Wang Meng's production is his story *Chun zhi sheng* [24] Voices of Spring.<sup>12</sup> Similarly as in the case of The Eyes of Night, the plot takes place in a temporarily brief sector of the protagonist's life, portraying the inner world of the physicist Yue during his less than three hour's journey by train from his town to a village to pay a visit to his father. A woman with a child enters his carriage and soon plays German songs off a tape-recorder, in order to get practice in German. In Yue, these songs evoke impression from his recent visit to the German Federal Republic, which he puts into relation with his memories of the past and the Chinese countryside outside the train's windows. Pictures of modern factories, highways, advertisements overlap with the poverty and backwardness of the landscape through which the train speeds. The rhythm of the wheels produces resonance in the excited, perturbed parts of his inner monologues from which hopes come forth of a speedy development of China.

Wang Meng has created a whole series of interesting, psychologically processed short stories and novelettes with a complicated, abruptly changing temporal and plot construction, in which he reverts to the harsh fate of his generation.

In contrast to the direct, explicit descriptions of events from the years of the “cultural revolution” in stories of the “Literature of the Scars”, the modern woman-writer Zong Pu [26] (b. 1928), likewise criticized in 1957, took hold of the “cultural revolution” in a far more sophisticated manner.

<sup>9</sup> First published in Dangdai [20] The Present Times, 1979, No. 4.

<sup>10</sup> First published in Guangming ribao [22] Bright Daily, Oct. 21, 1979. English version in Wang Meang: *The Butterfly and Other Stories*. Beijing 1983.

<sup>11</sup> Wang Meng xiaoshuo baogao wenxue xuan [23] Selection of Wang Meng's Stories and Reportages. Beijing 1981, p. 137.

<sup>12</sup> First published in Renmin wenxue [25] People's Literature, 1980, No. 5. English translation in the same collection as *The Eyes of Night*.

In her story *Wo shi shui* [27] Who Am I,<sup>13</sup> amidst inhuman tortures and self-tortures, both the wife and her husband driven to suicide, turn into snakes. Her other story *Wu ju* [29] Snail's Abode<sup>14</sup> describes the nightmare of people who had been turned into snails and hide in their shells. Yet, they are still hunted, persecuted and their shells smashed. The bodies of actors in the “cultural revolution”, having fulfilled their task, now march headless into the distance, expressing readiness to sacrifice their heads for a better future of the world. Their leader expresses the faith that the day will come when it will no longer be necessary to offer one's head for the sake of truth.

Zong Pu is also the authoress of the successful short story *Lulu* [31]<sup>15</sup> whose sad hero is a dog, and of the not less successful novelette *San sheng shi* [33] Stone of Three Lives<sup>16</sup> about emotional and social problems of her contemporaries during the harsh times. In the story *Xin ji* [34] The Heart's Memorial Ceremony,<sup>17</sup> which, as she told me in March 1985, she likes best of all her stories, using an alteration of the temporal streams of action, she has described in a lyrical symbolism and psychological suggestiveness the fragile, subtle relation between a married man and a married woman. Their deep affection grew into an amorous emotion, which the young woman in particular, refuses to admit even to herself. After the death of the man, due to persecution during the “cultural revolution”, she realizes that the affection had just dissolved.

A qualitatively new level was attained by literature in its best works with plots set in the countryside. A large number of short stories appeared in China that showed up the sufferings of peasants caused by leftist deviations. However, the farmer's emotional and ideational world, his inner reactions became lost behind the erroneous policy, behind the mistaken ideological trends. In these connections, post-1979 literature poses itself questions regarding specificities of the national character and the psychology of Chinese peasants. From having been objects, peasant personalities have come to be subjects. Literature ceases to teach what a peasant ought to be, how he ought to act and shows what he actually is.<sup>18</sup>

A break-through in this sense is Gao Xiaosheng's first story, published after

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<sup>13</sup> First published in Changchun [28], 1979, No. 12.

<sup>14</sup> First published in Zhongshan [30], 1981, No. 1.

<sup>15</sup> First published in Shiyue [32], October 1980, No. 6.

<sup>16</sup> First published in Shiyue, 1980, No. 3.

<sup>17</sup> First published in Xingang [35], 1980, No. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Contemporary Chinese stories and fictions with rural themes are dealt with in the article *Jinnian nongcun ticai xiaoshuo gailun* [36] An Overview of Recent Fiction with Rural Themes by Zhang Zhizhong [37] in *Zhonongguo shehui kexue*, 1984, No. 5. This article appeared in English in the English edition of this journal, *Social Sciences in China*, 1985, No. 2.

his rehabilitation, *Li Shunda zaowu* [38] Li Shunda Builds a House.<sup>19</sup> In contrast to Wang Meng, Gao Xiaosheng does not experiment with creative methods of foreign literatures. His style is smooth-flowing, deeply national. In his stories he repeatedly addresses himself directly to the reader, his works carry certain traits of traditional texts of storytellers intended to be listened to. Gao Xiaosheng searches for positive and negative traits typical of the Chinese farmer, shows how deeply feudal and Confucian morale survives in him, how his responses are deeply affected by his ingrained respect towards every authority, or his effort "not to lose face". Several Chinese critics have pointed to a similarity of certain traits of Gao Xiaosheng's with those of A Q in Lu Xun's *A Q zehngzhuan* [40] True Story of A Q.<sup>20</sup>

The credulous, naive and honest wretch Li Shunda had for three decades concentrated his dreams and his drudgery on building himself a house in which he might live as a human being. Every time he came close to this goal, he was somehow deprived of his building material and stripped of his hard-earned money through the consequences of political campaigns. On each occasion Li Shunda submitted without resistance. He trusted the authorities, did not rebel in his deceptions, however, he asked many wise questions. Ultimately he achieved his goal, he completed his house in 1977, but at the cost of concessions to his moral imperatives.

Gao Xiaosheng's do not lack irony, yet they are thoroughly impregnated with understanding for and sympathies with his heroes' frailties. He published scores of stories on rural themes, including several on the characteristic, a bit funny figure — though funny only at first glance — of the simple peasant Chen Huangsheng, e. g. *Chen Huangsheng shang cheng* [41] Chen Huangsheng Goes to Town.<sup>21</sup> In this story, full of wit Chen Huangsheng has a feeling of inferiority complex among his fellow villagers, because he has no interesting experiences which he could relate to them. Going to town one day to sell some produce on the free market, he was suddenly taken ill. On seeing him in such a wretched condition, the county Party secretary takes him to the doctor in his car and then to a fine hotel. The author superbly captured Chen Huangsheng's reactions in his luxurious environment which he had never known, but also when he was told that the night at the hotel would cost him the enormous sum of five yuan. Ultimately he became conscious that he had experienced something that none of his fellow villagers had: he drove in the Party secretary's car and slept at an

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<sup>19</sup> First published in Yuhua [39] Rain Flowers, 1979, No. 7.

<sup>20</sup> E. g. Ji Hongzhen, Zhongguo shehui kexue, 1985, No. 3, p. 17 — see Note 8.

<sup>21</sup> First published in Renmin wenxue, 1980, No. 2. English translation in Chinese Literature, 1980, No. 12.

expensive hotel. At last he, too, will have something to talk about! And indeed! his prestige at the village grew considerably after that.

In 1979, a further noteworthy work appeared about a simple Chinese peasant, *Jianji cuole de gushi* [42] A Badly Edited Story,<sup>22</sup> by a woman writer, Ru Zhijuan [43]. This story coming close to those written by Gao Xiaosheng by its depth of insight into and understanding of a peasant's personality, is processed in a nontraditional manner. Its cadence is determined by an abrupt alteration of the temporal stream of actions revealing totally different reactions of the old uneducated peasant — communist, to similar events which, however, had taken place as meaningful events during the war, and a second time as nonsensical during the Great Leap Forward, always on orders of the same man. The hero tries to be loyal, but common sense convinces him of the absurdity of shamming high yields, or of cutting down fruit trees before picking season. A respected, wise farmer becomes a broken man under the pressure of a world that is incomprehensible to him.

Many of the stories depict the contemporary village in an atmosphere of tension between traditional values and the penetration of modern approaches to life. An interesting figure of a countryman of the new type was created by Lu Yao (44) (b. 1950) in his novelette *Rensheng* [45] Life,<sup>23</sup> according to which a successful film was turned in 1984 under the same name. Young, intelligent and ambitious Gao is not satisfied with a farmer life in his conservative village, nor with the love of a simple, uneducated, honest-hearted girl. Full of illusions, he leaves for town where through connections he obtains a job as journalist. However, he is not prepared to assert himself in complex circumstances. Gao is forced to return as loser to his village. His former unhappy sweetheart is married — he realized too late that she is a fitting partner for him. Gao finds a way out of his perplexing situation in a resolution to become an honest, modern farmer.

Contemporary Chinese village living its traditional life, but not in isolation any more, is shown in the novelette *Lao jing* [46] The Old Well,<sup>24</sup> written in a calm, flowing style, by Zheng Yi [47] (b. 1947). As in the case of Lu Yao's life, so also here, a young peasant leaves for town in search of education and self-realization. But this time it is a young female peasant who leaves, after some hesitation, her family and also her beloved fiancé. She returns for a visit, but refuses to stay, although feeling bound to her native village and her beloved. The author left most room in the novelette to a sensitive, but convincing demonstra-

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<sup>22</sup> First published in Renmin wenxue, 1979, No. 2. English translation in Ru Zhijuan: *Lilies and Other Stories*. Beijing 1985.

<sup>23</sup> First published in Shouhuo [46] Harvest, 1982, No. 3.

<sup>24</sup> First published in Dangdai, 1985, No. 2.

tion of values which prevent the boy friend to live anywhere else and otherwise than at their village.

One of the top-ranking works on the countryside is the novelette *Xiaobao zhuang* [48] The Village Xiaobao,<sup>25</sup> by the young, successful female writer Wang Anyi [50] (b. 1954), daughter of Ru Zhijuan. Authoress of many stories from the urban milieu, Wang Anyi set this episode in an isolated little village in which next to nothing has changed over the centuries. She has peopled her novelette with full-blooded figures, characterized by a suggestion of artistry, highlighted with local dialect. A major priority of this novelette resides in its portraying their spiritual and emotional life. The village here described differs from thousands of similar ones solely in that the local "literate" records events pertaining to the inhabitants and ultimately rouses the attention of county officials through the tragic death of a boy who unselfishly gave help to an old man. In his honour, the village is given a monument. The novelette does not contain any great, attractive plot — it comprises a series of mutually intertwined destinies of very common, natural, honest, original folks who know practically nothing of life beyond their village. The poor hamlet lives with centuries-old values, interhuman and interfamilial relationships, problems, prejudices, superstitions, fatalistic acceptance of human joys, tragedies, and the never-ending drudgery. For instance the belief reigned firm about a woman with four consecutive stillbirths that it was a punishment for some concealed sin from her youth. The village took her into favour only when, after a fifth stillbirth, she went mad, thereby washing away her "guilt". Besides a stylistic and psychological bravura, the novelette is also interesting in that it shows up the village such as it will evidently cease to be in time due to gradual modernization and an outstanding example of the "searching for roots" literature.

Zhang Xianliang is interested in the personality of an intellectual who, like the author, had been driven in the late fifties by fate to the remote regions of the Chinese northwest. He depicts the countryside and the local folk in those harsh latitudes through the polarizing prism of his perception.

Considerable response was elicited by his short storly *Ling yu rou* [51] Soul and Body<sup>26</sup> which, under the caption Herdsman, formed the script to the most successful film of 1982. In cogently selected sequences, the author shows in it the life peripeteia of a teacher, Xu, during the course of a few days' at a luxury hotel in Beijing. He came there from a distant steppe hamlet to a meeting with his rich father who had emigrated to the U.S.A. in 1949 and now came to visit his son in whom he had shown no interest at all until then. The mother had died soon

<sup>25</sup> First published in *Zhongguo zuojia* [49] Chinese Writer, 1985, No. 2.

<sup>26</sup> First published in *Shuofang* [52] North, 1980, No. 9. English translation under the title *Herdsman's Story*. In: *Zhang Xianliang: Mimosa*. Beijing 1985.

after the father's departure. Xu had gone to college and became a teacher. But when in 1957 his school had to meet the quota of "bourgeois rightists", as son of a bourgeois and an emigrant, he proved the suitable victim. He found himself in a shack at the end of a steppe settlement. He was the only educated person in the wide environs about. The local people did not mind at all that he was a condemned "rightist"; they appreciated his diligence at work and respected him for his education. They even brought him a wife from among the simple girls of the famine-stricken areas — the author described with delicacy and taste their getting gradually acquainted and familiar. After rehabilitation, he decided to stay with the people who had formerly helped him and whom he came to like. He became a respected teacher. His father grasped that his son would not leave to go abroad. The counterpoles of luxury and amusement at the Beijing international hotel, and of a harsh, but meaningful life in the steppe, permeated with interhuman understanding, seen through Xu's mature, harmonious personality, impart an impressive inner tension to the story.

Another of his interesting short stories, *Xiaoerbulake* [53] Sharbulag,<sup>27</sup> is constructed from beginning to end as the monologue of a long-distance truck-driver, addressed to a casual fellow traveller — the writer. Occasionally, the speaker puts in rhetorical questions to which he expects no answer from his companion. He talks in order not to fall asleep during his exerting drive through the Xinjiang desert. His monologue, although occasionally interrupted by comments of the landscape, is a coherent, witty narration of the driver's biography. He speaks tersely, without sentimentality, of his young dreams, marred by the famine at the turn of the fifties-sixties, which drove him to Xinjiang. He speaks in a matter-of-fact way, though with feeling of the failure of his first marriage enforced, without his knowledge, on a girl who was in love with another man, of the perplexed, helpless college students who had been driven into the rough environment of Xinjiang during the "cultural revolution", and also of how he had met his second wife, a middle-school graduate, daughter of a capitalist from Shanghai, who had been raped by the rebels' company commander and gave birth to an illegitimate child. Two years before, her father had been rehabilitated, but she declined the alluring opportunity of returning to Shanghai. She became the vice-principal of a local Middle School and decided to stay with her husband in Xinjiang, for "whether you live a good or a bad life does not depend on where you are, but who you are with".<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The name of the hamlet in Xinjiang. The story was first published in *Wen hui* [54] Literary Report, 1983, No. 2. English translation under the title *Bitter Springs*, in the collection *Mimosa* mentioned above.

<sup>28</sup> Zhang Xianliang: *Xiaoerbulake*, Shanghai 1984, p. 372.

In 1984, his novelette *Lühua shu* [55] *Greening with Trees*<sup>29</sup> provoked quite a polemic. It described, in an interesting way, the episode of a “bourgeois rightist”, banned for years into a labour camp and to a primitive village. The starving intellectual Zhang, living in cruel conditions, which he often comments with a good dose of sarcasm, finds consolidation and aid in the love of a simple village woman, whom however he finally disappoints, though through no fault of his own. He perceives his wretched fate as a struggle for the bare life which has also taught him — the son of a rich family — many things and thereby forced him to prove to himself that he can manage to earn his living with his own hands and shrewdness, fills him with a new self-confidence. He quite understands his casual fellow-sufferer when the latter upbraids him: “People like you are true ‘bourgeois rightists’! You’ve been around, unrestrainedly enjoying life. And I had to beg for food since my childhood, then I joined the army and, damn it, I also became a ‘bourgeois rightist’! Rot! Had I been given just one day to live as a bourgeois and then would be dubbed ‘rightist’, I wouldn’t mind...”<sup>30</sup> The only book Zhang had with him was Karl Marx’s *Capital* in which he found certain explanations and encouragements, and a groping intellectual turned into a Marxist.

The novelette forms part of a series of nine stories he had planned, expressing the hope that on completing them, he would be able to say as Marx did in the final line of his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*: “Dixi et salvavi animam meam.”<sup>31</sup> One section of Chinese critics saw in the novelette traces of an ultra-leftist deviation: the disoriented hero, although with a taint of irony, doubted at times whether after all he was not a “bourgeois”. The persecution helped him to get to know the qualities of the simple folk whom he had not known before, helped him better to know himself, and only as a miserable wretch did he turn Marxist. Later, the author justified the hero’s political proclamation in a concise, inorganic conclusion as follows: “Chinese readers like their stories to have a discernible beginning and end, and I must accommodate to their tastes.”<sup>32</sup>

Another, problem-free, somewhat sentimentally tuned portrait of a “bourgeois rightist” was created by another rehabilitated “rightist”, author of successful novels in China, Li Guowen [57] (b. 1930) in his short story *Yueshi* [58] *The Moon Eclipse*.<sup>33</sup> He did not depict his hero during the time of persecution,

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<sup>29</sup> First published in *Shiyue*, 1984, No. 2. English translation under the heading *Mimosa* in the collection *Mimosa* referred to above.

<sup>30</sup> *Xiaoshuo xuankan* [56] *Selected Stories*, 1984, No. 4, p. 67.

<sup>31</sup> Author’s Preface to the collection *Mimosa* in English, p. 10.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> First published in *Renmin wenxue*, 1980, No. 3. English translation in *Prize-Winning Stories from China 1980—1981*. Beijing 1985.

but before it and after rehabilitation, when the journalist Yi Ru came to pay a visit to the little town in which he had worked before his condemnation. After a lapse of 22 years, he reminisces and compares the country and the people of those times with the present. As a young man, he found his one great love in life, in a simple country girl, but when he was branded a “rightist”, he took leave of her in a letter, in order not to mar her life. However, the girl waited for him, and on his return he found he had with her a very sympathetic grown-up daughter, and there was nothing that prevented them to form a happy family.

Cong Weixi [59] (b. 1933) focused on describing persecution of intellectuals and his own experiences of “bourgeois rightists”. He attracted attention particularly by setting his stories in labour camps in which communists became victims of senseless physical and psychic tortures. In the novelette *Daquiang xia de hong yulan* [60] Red Magnolia under the Big Wall,<sup>34</sup> a criminal, remembering the interned communist from the times when the latter was a high Party functionary, crudely settles old scores with him, under the fervid instigation of the camp superintendent. Cong Weixi’s stories do not generally have a happy end, a fact that some critics reproached him. The imprisoned communist from the Red Magnolia under the Big Wall ultimately performs a heroic deed, ideologically motivated, in which he loses his life. Likewise, the narrator’s wife in the novelette *Nining* [61] The Mud,<sup>35</sup> portraying the life-long peripeteia of a love couple of revolutionaries, persecuted since 1957, perishes during the “cultural revolution”. This novelette is composed as an uninterrupted narration of a fellow-traveller in a train. Similar in design is the stylistically more compact and shorter novellete *San* [63] The Umbrella.<sup>36</sup> This time the writer speaks to an editor of his and his wife’s experiences from a village into which they were banned as “rightists” (in December 1985, the author told me that this involved a true episode from his life). The miner’s entire family — in whose house they dwelt — behaved towards them naturally, kindly even, with the exception of a fanatical daughter. At the cost of physical violence the father prevented her from humiliating the “rightists”, until finally she softened somewhat in her attitude. By its matter-of-fact, sentimentality-free processing and its lively language, this novelette belongs among the author’s better, artistically more successful works.

Lu Wenfu utilizes the fight against “bourgeois rightists” as a starting point for ironizing human meanness and pettiness. Characteristic of this approach is his

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<sup>34</sup> First published in Shouhuo, 1979, No. 2. English translation under the title *The Blood-Stained Magnolia* in Chinese Literature, 1980, No. 4.

<sup>35</sup> First published in Hua cheng [62] Flower Town, 1980, No. 5.

<sup>36</sup> First published in Xiaoshuo yuebao, 1981, No. 11, included in the collection of Cong Weixi’s novelettes *Yilu zhehua* [64] Broken Flowers on Post Road. Beijing 1985.

story *Menling* [65], The Doorbell.<sup>37</sup> It describes a short visit by the rehabilitated “rightist” Meng and his beautiful, elegant new wife to his former colleague, an overcautious, cagey petit bourgeois Xu. The host is wary, for he thinks that Meng has come to ask him for something. Gradually he realizes with illwill that, on the contrary, Meng has surpassed him: he has a higher social status, a higher standard of life (Xu vainly hoped for a moment, that he had acquired it through a perspectively uncertain work for foreigners), that he is dynamic, free and happy. After the visitors’ departure, frustrated Xu orders his daughter, to whom Meng had promised a better job and a flat, to install the old doorbell which had all his life signalled to him the approach of incoming visitors and warned him of them — at the start of the story, he had removed the doorbell in the assumption that a time had come when he did not need it any more. Lu Wenfu turned to advantage here his ability to utilize a psychological hint, an innuendo and fine, unobtrusive irony.

In the novelette *Jing* [66] The Well,<sup>38</sup> Lu Wenfu narrates in a chronological sequence, with stress on the motley throngs crowding in a city lane, the tragic life course of a victim of the times, of an overbearing mother-in-law and a cold-hearted husband. A young graduate engineer is branded as of “bourgeois class origin”, which makes her an even more defenceless object of bad treatment in the family, and at certain times even in the factory. Lu Wenfu shows, not without a tinge of sarcasm, the interpretation of changing political slogans and of the political atmosphere in the thoughts and acting of his characters. When the political campaigns came to an end, the engineer makes her only attempt to extricate herself from her unbearable personal situation. Rumour, though untrue, had long been rife at the workplace that she was having an affair with a colleague, similarly unhappy in marriage. The latter was interested in her and now she, professionally successful, herself makes him an offer to start together a new life. But her colleague proves to be a coward, refuses the offer with the justification that they would thereby only substantiate the old gossip, that such a step would make his entry into the Party more difficult and would brake his professional advancement. The young woman, frustrated, disappointed with the whole world, decides to end her life by jumping into the well in the courtyard. The last she hears before her death are her neighbour’s words: “Indeed I’ve told you long ago, a woman shouldn’t reflect much, she shouldn’t shilly-shally, she should only endeavour not to give people a cause for deriding you.”<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> First published in *Renmin wenxue*, 1984, No. 10. English translation in Chinese Literature, Summer 1986.

<sup>38</sup> First published in *Zhongguo zuojia*, 1985, No. 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Xiaoshuo xuankan*, 1985, No. 8, p. 34.

The Well is the fifteenth of Lu Wenfu's series of stories about "people from the lanes".

One of his stories that enjoyed considerable success is *Weiqiang* [67] The Boundary Wall,<sup>40</sup> situated in the present times. The management of the Architectural Design Institute must speedily ensure the construction of a boundary wall around its headquarters, for the old one had crumbled down. The most effective, modernly conceived project was submitted by a young Ma, but nobody was willing to accept it because of its innovativeness. The wall is finally built according to his project. When at the concluding banquet, the Institute reaps praise for the unconventional building and those present obsequiously flaunt political slogans actually in vogue, Ma takes part at the banquet as a waiter of whom nobody takes any notice.

Many of Lu Wenfu's stories take place in the town Suzhou, famous for its ancient gardens, beautiful women and outstanding kitchens. The author did honour to this last named priority of the town in his novelette *Meishijia* [68] The Gourmet,<sup>41</sup> which he peopled with characteristic figures from Suzhou and warmed with love for his town. Through the vision of the narrator, who is simultaneously an active personage in the novelette, he presented the gourmet Zhu's life stages — a figure whose lifelong interest lies in Suzhou's delicacies. These used to be the focus of his life as a rich man among starving people before 1949, and they remained so also later, when he was not rich any more and in the complicated circumstances he could indulge in his Epicurean tastes with the utmost difficulties. In the novelette, the author revives the picturesque atmosphere of the town and the life style of its inhabitants and succeeds in capturing in an attractive manner the persisting originality and the changing atmosphere of this town.

Two further Chinese towns have their writers in contemporary literature, i. e. Tianjin in Feng Jicai [69] (b. 1942) and Beijing in Deng Youmei. Through their stories, situated in the times at the turn of the 19th – 20th century, these authors have introduced a new quality into contemporary Chinese literature. In contrast to stories and novels focusing on important historical personalities and particularly on social struggles, and in a great measure leaving aside the individual as an autonomous being, these writers help the reader to find his own identity, to come to know the pride and the weaknesses of traditions specific to the nation. In their densely crowded stories, they are interested primarily in the atmosphere of the times, the local period colouring, the way of thinking and the motivation of reactions of the popular masses.

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<sup>40</sup> First published in *Renmin wenzue*, 1983, No. 2. English translation in Chinese Literature, Spring 1984.

<sup>41</sup> First published in *Shouhuo*, 1983, No. 1. English translation in Chineser Literature, Winter 1985.

Feng Jicai, the well-known author of numerous stories about the past decades and also about the present times, in his historical novelette *Shen bian* [70] The Miraculous Pigtail,<sup>42</sup> goes back to Tianjin at the time of the Yi He Tuan Movement. In an ironic vein, he attacks both the extreme attitudes of the Chinese against the foreigners: a feeling of superiority and inferiority complex. The victor in the novelette is, of course, a fighter who had ceased to rely on the miraculous pigtail and became a miraculous sharp-shooter.

The past of Beijing is revived in the stories of its connoisseur and admirer Deng Youmei. Among his best known short stories are two novelettes — *Na Wu* [72]<sup>43</sup> and *Yan hu* [74] Snuff-bottles.<sup>44</sup>

In the former, he created a tragic-comical portrait of the descendant of a high-ranking official at the court who could not find his place among the people after the proclamation of the Republic. He cheats and swindles, because he cannot do any work and those about him make of him a laughing-stock because he is so helpless. After Liberation it is found that in fact Na Wu had done nothing wrong politically, that he belonged to the category of “poor urbans” and gets a job in the popularization of literature and art.

Snuff-bottles deals with the milieu of folk artists, painters of insides of snuff-bottles. One of them, the outstanding painter Nie, refuses, out of national pride, to paint portraits of allied forces inside snuff-bottles — and prefers to mutilate his hands. The novelette brings back to life the atmosphere of old Beijing with no longer existing buildings, gates and tea-houses, with the hectic life of handicraftsmen, customs and hierarchy of values of the Beijing people. In capturing the flavour of old Beijing in his stories, Deng Youmei is becoming the successor to Lao She [75].

Episodes of present-day inhabitants of Beijing are set in the existing lanes of this city in stories by Liu Xinwu. In the novelette *Ruyi* [76] Token of Good Luck,<sup>45</sup> he described a moving episode of a life-long devotedness and friendship of a simple workman and an unhappy woman, persecuted by destiny, which had morally triumphed over the political storms. An interesting testimony on the strained lodging circumstances in present-day Beijing, on the strifes and solidarity in the overcrowded lanes, on frauds, deceipts and on unwritten social rules, on social degradation of unmarried women, inducing neuroses, is provided in his novelette *Liti jiaocha qiao* [77] Flyover.<sup>46</sup> Liu Xinwu is not out after new

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<sup>42</sup> First published in *Xiaoshuojia* [71] Novelist, 1984, No. 3. English translation in Chinese Literature, Spring 1986.

<sup>43</sup> First published in *Beijing wenxue* [73] Beijing Literature, 1982, No. 4.

<sup>44</sup> First published in *Shouhuo*, 1984, No. 1. English translation in Chinese Literature, Autumn 1985.

<sup>45</sup> First published in *Shiyue*, 1980, No. 3.

<sup>46</sup> First published in *Shiyue*, 1981, No. 2.

creative procedures, his style is balanced, focused on the episode and the actors in it.

This author elicits considerable response through his choice of topics of present-day interest, processed on the borderland between fiction and factography literature. On May 19, 1985, following a football victory Hong Kong over the PRC's national team, hooligans staged a riot lasting several hours in front of the stadium, with some anti-foreign elements. Two months later already, he published his story *Wu yiju chang jingtou* [78] The 19th May through Long-distance Lens<sup>47</sup> — a truthful account of that explosion of dissatisfaction seen through the eyes of a fictive participant. In the story *Gonggong qiche yongtandiao* [79] The Autobus Aria,<sup>48</sup> again through the eyes of fictive characters of employees of the Beijing city transport, he points out the state and subjective and objective reasons for the existing problems of Beijing's bus lines. Through its veracity and the burning nature of the issue discussed, the story elicited a great response.

Literary works that deal in a realistic manner with social problems of present-day interest, always evoke extraordinary attention in China. The woman author of many short stories, Shen Rong [80] (b. 1936) is popular to this day thanks mainly to her novelette *Ren dao zhongnian* [81] At Middle Age,<sup>49</sup> although she has since published more stimulative works as regards composition and style. On the person of a female eye surgeon, she shows the dreadful life problems — unattended to even at the time the story was written — of intellectuals of the middle generation, which in this case induced a grave cardiac disease: miserable lodgings, low salary, stress from the constant tension between the demanding duties of profession and mother-housewife, reproaches of conscience because her husband, a scientist, deprived of opportunity of pursuing his work during the “cultural revolution”, cannot fully concentrate on his work under these dwelling conditions and participation in household chores in order to make up for the lost years. The heroine does not condemn her friend and colleague living in similar circumstances, when she decides to emigrate to Canada. This novelette had the distinction of being cited by responsible party and government cadres as an argument for an acute need to improve the life and work conditions of intellectuals of the middle generation.

A novelty in Chinese literature since the year 1978 are works centred on amorous topics. In the preceding decade this theme occurred in Chinese literature rather as an exception and marginally only, and then “love” was con-

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<sup>47</sup> First published in *Renmin wenxue*, 1985, No. 7.

<sup>48</sup> First published in *Renmin wenxue*, 1985, No. 12.

<sup>49</sup> First published in *Shouhuo*, 1980, No. 1. English translation in *Seven Contemporary Chinese Women Writers*. Beijing 1982.

ditioned exclusively by a congruency of class origin and political attitudes. This silence was broken in January 1978 by Liu Xinwu in his short story *Aiqing de wizh* [82] Place of Love,<sup>50</sup> in which, however, he showed love in a banal, overideologized interpretation. Since then, a quantity of love stories have been and are appearing, describing this topic from unconventional aspects that are new within the context of modern Chinese literature.

A love story enjoying a great and persisting success is *Ai shi buneng wangji de* [83] Love Must Not Be Forgotten,<sup>51</sup> by the female writer Zhang Jie [85] (b. 1937). This episode of a life-long love sacrificed to a man's sense of responsibility towards his wife, whose father had perished during the war in order to save his life, is narrated by the daughter and is intertwined with passages from her dead mother's diary. This sentimentally written story shows several places well processed psychologically, as for instance the moment of the casual meeting of the mother and daughter with the man. The new element in this story that the 30-year old daughter, on learning of her mother's love story, decides to remain single rather than to marry a man with whom she is really not in love — such a decision is fully unconventional in conditions prevailing in Chinese literature up to that time.

A story with a more dynamic plot is this author's more recent novelette *Zumulü* [86] Emerald,<sup>52</sup> the episode of the weakling Zuo Wei and two women who are in love with him. It is divided into several temporal and episodic units of action. During the Hundred Flowers Campaign, undergraduate Zuo anonymously wrote a political proclamation which subsequently meant the threat that the author would be branded as "bourgeois rightist". His fellow-student and girl friend Linger declared to be the author of the pamphlet and thus took on herself the opprobrium of "rightist". She declined the inconvincing gesture of cowardly Zuo — an offer of marriage, motivated solely now by a feeling of responsibility. Before leaving the university she gave herself to him. She spent years in misery in the countryside with her son of whose existence Zuo was ignorant and who died a tragic death. Zuo married another fellow-student Beihe and spent his life under the protective wings of his wife and his mother. Linger remained alone. She attained professional successes and was offered a responsible post in the plant where Zuo was employed. After a talk with Beihe asking her to take up the job and help her professionally incompetent husband, she resolved to accept

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<sup>50</sup> First published in *Shiyue*, 1978, No. 1.

<sup>51</sup> First published in *Beijing wenyi* (84) Beijing Literature and Arts, 1979, No. 11. English translation in *Seven Contemporary Women Writers*, mentioned above.

<sup>52</sup> First published in *Hua cheng*, 1984, No. 3. English translation in *Chinese Literature*, Summer 1985.

the post. “Not out of love or hatred for Zuo, nor out of pity of Hu Beihe. Simply to do something meaningful for this society.”<sup>53</sup>

Quite a stir was provoked by the short story *Bei aiqing yiwang de jiaolu* [88] A Corner Forsaken by Love,<sup>54</sup> by Zhang Xian [90] (b. 1935) turned also into a film which in 1981 won the award of the Golden Coq. As one of the first authors, Zhang Xian realistically showed love problems among peasants in a backward, poor village of the present times, on the example of a mother and her two daughters. The mother had formerly married against her parents' will, for love, a poor farmer. Gradually, her love waned under the load of the drudgery and misery. Her elder daughter had an affair with a village boy whom she loved. When their premarital love was discovered, the police took the boy away before the eyes of the entire village and, to escape the shame and humiliation, the girl committed suicide. The younger daughter refused to marry a fairly rich distant relative, whereby she would materially help the family. The mother feels convinced that her daughter's rebellion is a form of vengeance for her own and that a fate similar to her own, is in store for her daughter. However, the girl is persuaded that times have changed and ceases even to believe that her sister had committed any crime at all through her love.

Another new trait has been vehicled into literature by stories propagating a girl's right to oppose conventions and the family's pressure and to break off an engagement with a socially advantageously situated young man who had not committed anything serious — for the sole reason that she finds out that they do not understand each other, eventually that she fell in love with another one.

Hue Haixiang [91] (b. 1951) has processed this topic in an artistically very average novelette *A, shenghuo de langhua* [92] Spindrift of Life,<sup>55</sup> in the form of a diary and letters of a university girl student who gradually realizes that her life attitudes and notions are irreconcilable with those of her fiancé. In the concluding part, she herself declares her love to a boy who is closer to her — but only after his calculating, self-interested fiancée had left him, refusing to follow him into distant Lanzhou.

A novelette artistically better processed and more modern in its views is *Beiji guang* [93] Northern Lights,<sup>56</sup> treating of the same subject, by the woman writer Zhang Kangkang [94] (b. 1950). The novelette is set in a north-Chinese industrial town. It shows an initially passive, submissive sandwich-course girl student at a university, Lu, who is less and less satisfied with the spiritual world

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<sup>53</sup> Zhongjian xiaoshuo xuankan [87] Selected Novelettes, 1984, No. 5, p. 75.

<sup>54</sup> First published in Shanghai wenxue [89] Shanghai Literature, 1980, No. 1. English translation in *Contemporary Chinese Short Stories*. Beijing 1983.

<sup>55</sup> First published in Zhongshan, 1981, No. 1. Abbreviated English translation under the name *Drifting Through Life*, in Chinese Literature, 1982, No. 3.

<sup>56</sup> First published in Shouhuo, 1981, No. 3.

and interests of an energetic, materially ensured fiancé and his friends, concentrated on superficial amusements and material goods. She looks in vain for understanding in an ambitious fellow-student, the egocentric intellectual Fei, so tenacious of purpose. She is attracted by the intelligent, active, natural and human Zeng, without any fortune, a craftsman at the university, towards whom she begins to feel a sympathy, respect and gradually also love. A symbol of beauty and comprehension to her are the northern lights, after which her uncle had formerly set out on an expedition to Xinjiang. Her fiancé just refuses to think of such "nonsense", Fei sees in northern lights only a materially explicable natural phenomenon and only Zeng admits that he used to dream of them formerly. The fiancé, jilted shortly before the wedding, who had heaped presents on her and would be able to ensure, on the outside, a pleasant life to her, sincerely is unable to grasp the reasons for which she is leaving him and thereby also socially humiliating him.

Chinese literature, including love stories, remains prudish. Sexual life in literature remains a peripheral issue that is not spoken of.<sup>57</sup> But there are sings that this taboo, too, is being removed. Towards the end of 1985, the novelette *Nanren de yiban shi nüren* [98] Man's Half is a Woman by Zhang Xianliang appeared.<sup>58</sup> An important role in the life of a persecuted man is played by sex, and his sexually experienced partner comes out as quite a sympathetic human character.

Modern and young Chinese writers have an important patron in the person of Li Tuo (b. 1939), who is better known as a literary critic than a writer. His stories from the eighties carry traces of the author's main profession of literary critic; they give the impression of having been written after much thought but without the spontaneous narrative joy. This is also apparent from his interesting story *Qi nainai* [99] The Seventh Granny.<sup>59</sup> He shows in it a short, but clearly constantly recurring cut-out of the old woman's life. She is fully concentrated on the trifling work of her daughter-in-law in the kitchen — she cannot see her, is practically deaf and immobile, but constantly schemes how to get to know what the daughter-in-law is doing. About half of the story is taken up by passages in which the old woman tears herself away from her pitiful existence and in her recollections goes back to events from her life of a simple woman, in which she finds a justification for her present way of acting.

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<sup>57</sup> When in 1981 several literary works appeared in which sex was explicitly described, they came under severe criticism and disappeared from the literary scene, e.g. the novel *Yige dongtian de tonghua* [95] Winter Tale by Yu Luojin [96], or stories by Li Jian [97], published in provincial journals. It is rather paradoxical that this same Li Jian had made his name in 1979 as an ultraleftist literary critic.

<sup>58</sup> Published in book form in Beijing 1985.

<sup>59</sup> First published in Beijing wenxue, 1982, No. 8.

Several younger, promising writers have appeared recently in Chinese literature. One of the best known among them is the enthusiastic interpreter of attitudes of her generation Zhang Xinxin [100] (b. 1953), whose works often provoke contradictory criticism.

An avalanche of positive and negative reviews was set off by her novelette *Zai tongyi dipingxian shang* [101] On the Same Horizon.<sup>60</sup> In it she shows a couple of young talented people who had been banished during the “cultural revolution” to the countryside. Towards the end of the seventies they returned to town and already as husband and wife, earnestly set to study in order to make up for lost time. She was preparing for her entrance examination to the Film Faculty, he wanted to study painting. Soon, an atmosphere of egocentrism and rivalry set in between the young couple and the difficult life conditions began to tell on them, provoking conflicts that they could not overcome. Although they felt affection for each other, they could not live together and resolved the situation by divorcing.

The chasm between ideals of youth and the reality of everyday life of a working woman, wife of a down-to-earth husband, and a mother, was depicted in the novelette *Women zhege nianji de meng* [102] Dreams of People of Our Age.<sup>61</sup> She feels a sense of disappointment when she finds out that her uninteresting neighbour is the young man with whom years ago, as a young girl she became slightly acquainted and of whom she had dreamed all these years.

Zhang Xinxin gives proof of her extraordinary observer talent in her interesting short story *Qiungchen, sanshi fen zhong* [104] Early Morning, Thirty Minutes,<sup>62</sup> in which she describes the daily half-hour's stress-laden bicycle ride from home to work in Beijing, during the morning rush-hour. The novelette is composed as an inner monologue. Nothing unusual took place during the journey, yet the authoress succeeded to convey in an exciting manner the narrator's thoughts centred on the one goal, how to get to work as fast as possible and in the most convenient way through the overcrowded streets. In the meantime, she takes note, sometimes with irritation, at other times kindly, of the daily recurring scenery.

Considerable interest was aroused by her serial of oral accounts *Beijing ren* [105] Beijing People,<sup>63</sup> written with Sang Ye [108] as co-author. These interesting

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<sup>60</sup> First published in Shouhuo, 1982, No. 6.

<sup>61</sup> First published in Shouhuo, 1982, No. 4.

<sup>62</sup> First published in Shanghai wenxue, 1984, No. 3. Included in the first book collection of her stories: *Zhang Xinxin xiaochuo ji* [103] Collection of Zhang Xinxin's Stories. Beijing 1985.

<sup>63</sup> A part of the one hundred of these oral accounts appeared in 1985 in the first issues of Shouhuo, Zhongshan, Wenxuejia [106] Literatti, Shanghai Wenxue, Cuojia [107] Writer. Seven of them appeared in an English translation in Chinese Literature, Spring 1986. A book edition of Beijing People was announced for the end of 1985.

accounts written on the basis of interviews and speaking of the destinies and views of Chinese of the most diverse types, constitute an original deposit into contemporary Chinese literature. Zhang Xinxin gained great popularity by her bicycle journey along the Grand Canal. A cameraman recorded her conversations with the local people on their problems, ideas and way of life, which were telecast as a TV series in 1985.

In 1984, the novelette *Qi wang* [109] King of Chess by A Cheng [110] (b. 1949), a promising, cultured and original new writer, appeared as his debut in Chinese Literature.<sup>64</sup> He made an impression by his mature style and the philosophy of his stories influenced by Taoism. The young man, King of Chess, is banished with his fellows of equal age to do manual work out in the countryside during the “cultural revolution”. He is a fanatic chess player. From the first moment after he had boarded the train, nothing interests him, nothing bothers him, he accepts everything stoically. He only wants to survive. He succeeds in living a harmonious life wherever he has a chance of playing a game of chess, be it only by snatches. And his recollections are mostly related to this hobby and only in the conclusion does he hesitantly come out of his shell. The narrator is his friend who, although of a quite different temperament, succeeds in understanding this chess maniac and in respecting him.

Another young writer, considered by several Chinese literary critics as the most promising, is Mo Yan [111] (b. 1956). His most successful work thus far is the novelette *Touming de hong luobo* [11] Transparent Red Radish which gave the name to Mo Yan’s first collection of stories.<sup>65</sup> The hero, a very young apprentice, has a very hard life in the family where his step-mother is harsh to him, and at the workplace where nobody understands him and all treat him rudely. The boy became reserved to himself, did not communicate with anyone, and found refuge in nature and in his dreams from the malevolence of the surrounding world. Characters of country children, closely united with nature, endowed with perceptiveness and a rich fantasy, are the principal topics of Mo Yan’s novelettes and stories which he publishes since 1981.

A work that awoke interest by its innovative trait within the context of contemporary Chinese literature is the first novelette by the woman writer Liu Suola [113] (b. 1955), *Ni bie wu xuanze* [114] You Have No Other Choice,<sup>66</sup> which elicited divergent appraisals. It depicts numerous crazy ideas and deeds of the students and professors of the Academy of Music. But beyond the farce,

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<sup>64</sup> First published in Shanghai wenzxue, 1984, No. 7. It appeared under the same name in Beijing in 1985 in the collection of A Cheng’s stories. An English translation under the name *The Chess Master* came out in Chinese Literature, Summer 1985.

<sup>65</sup> Appears in Beijing 1986.

<sup>66</sup> First published in Renmin wenzxue, 1985, No. 3.

one may sense a feeling of insecurity, doubt and confusion among the sensitive young people in a milieu which they do not find easy to conform to.

In the PRC there is a palpable lack of good leisure, entertaining literature. Only very few detective stories attain a satisfactory standard. In recent years, a large quantity of trash, inspired by the Hong Kong model, has been published for commercial reasons. Banal stories about supermen, invincible masters of gong-fu, coarse criminal, detective stories, soft, sloppy love episodes of beautiful girls and enchanted tycoons appearing in enormous editions, only help to debase readers' taste and encumber the already inadequate printing facilities. In autumn of 1985, Chinese authorities decided to undertake steps so that no publication of that genre could exceed 100,000 printed copies.<sup>67</sup> The most effective way in which Chinese literature can cope with this quite weighty problem is to improve the standard and attractiveness of the so-called "popular literature".

Foreign investigators and readers of contemporary Chinese literature rightly consider it as the best source and barometer of knowledge of the Chinese society. Very many of its stories carry predominantly, or even exclusively only these values. However, the overall standard of Chinese literature gone up considerably during the course of the past decade and the best of its contemporary stories are of interest also by their literary nature. Following numerous uneasy peripeteia, contemporary Chinese literature is entering into the context of world literature into which it could, in its further stage, bring its original contribution towards a universal notion of human existence in this world of ours.

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<sup>67</sup> Same source as in Note 1.

1. 鲍昌 2. 班主人 3. 刘心武 4. 人民文学 5. 伤痕  
6. 卢新华 7. 文汇报 8. 李陀 9. 王蒙 10. 刘宾雁  
11. 高晓声 12. 张贤亮 13. 陈文夫 14. 邓友梅 15. 新  
时期文学六年 16. 文明与愚昧的冲突 17. 李红真  
18. 中国社会科学 19. 布礼 20. 当代 21. 夜的眼  
22. 光明日报 23. 王蒙小说报告文学选 24. 春之声  
25. 人民文学 26. 宗璞 27. 我是谁 28. 长春 29. 蝴蝶  
30. 钟山 31. 曹雪 32. 十月 33. 三生石 34. 心祭 35. 新  
港 36. 近年农村题材小说评论选 37. 张志忠  
38. 李顺大造屋 39. 雨花 40. 鲁迅：阿Q正传 41. 陈奂  
生上城 42. 剪辑错了的故事 43. 苗志鹃 44. 路遥  
45. 人生 46. 收获 47. 郑义 48. 小鲍庄 49. 中国作家  
50. 王家忆 51. 灵与肉 52. 朔方 53. 尚尔布拉克 54. 文汇  
55. 绿化树 56. 小说选刊 57. 李国文 58. 月食 59. 从  
维熙 60. 大墙下的红玉兰 61. 淮海 62. 花城  
63. 年 64. 马峰踏折花 65. 门铃 66. 井 67. 周墙

68. 美食家 69. 冯骥才 70. 钟英 71. 小说家 72. 那五  
73. 北京文学 74. 烟盒 75. 老舍 76. 40岁 77. 立体交叉桥  
78. 一九长镜头 79. 公共汽车咏叹调 80. 遗容 81. 人到  
中年 82. 爱情的位置 83. 爱是不能忘记的 84. 北京文艺  
85. 张洁 86. 祖母绿 87. 中篇小说选刊 88. 纪念爱情遗忘的  
角落 89. 上海文学 90. 张弦 91. 薛海翔 92. 呀, 生活的  
浪花 93. 北极光 94. 张抗抗 95. 一个冬天的童话  
96. 遇罗锦 97. 李剑 98. 男人的一半是女人 99. 七夕  
100. 张辛礼 101. 在同一地平线上 102. 我们这个年纪的  
梦 103. 张辛礼小说集 104. 清晨, 三十分钟 105. 北京人  
106. 文学家 107. 作家 108. 梁日华 109. 摆王 110. 阿城  
111. 莫言 112. 透明的红萝卜 113. 刘索拉 114. 你别无  
选择

## TIME AND SPACE RELATIONS IN KONG SHANGREN'S DRAMA *THE PEACH BLOSSOM FAN*

DANA KALVODOVÁ, Prague

The objective of this article is to delineate the system of conventions of the Ming drama in China as an outcome of two factors: its narrative technique and subjective, lyrical poetry expressed without any limitation of space and place of action.

In Chinese traditional theatre the time and space relations are determined by particular means. Two main factors affected their formation and stabilization within the system of conventions observed by both the dramatist and the actor, namely: 1. Drama is closely linked to the narrated epics and lyrical poetry. Under the strong influence of epic-lyrical literary forms, there crystallized, in the Mongol era, a specific drama structure in which there was no limitation of time and space of action; 2. The stage was traditionally conceived as an empty space for the play of the actor who has the time and space relations completely under his control. It is an open stage.

The fact that it is the actor, and not the stage decorations, props, who determines the place of action, is probably rooted in the traditional conception of the place and space which in China and Japan was different from that usual in Europe. In the oldest Chinese dictionary *Shuowen* the term *chang* [1] which in the early development stages of theatre designated the acting area, is interpreted as *xudi wei chang* [2]: *chang* means an empty (unlimited, free) place.

Concluding his study *The Japanese Sense of Place*, G. Nitschke says that in Japan space was never conceived as a "physical factor" as something existing "beyond immediate human experience", "beyond human consciousness". He analyses the term *ma* [3] as a "consciousness of space", "space in one's own experience", "*Ma* is far more objective (existing in imagination, than objective (physical))."<sup>1</sup>

The purely subjective conception of space in connection with the person involved, was rooted likewise in China. It permeated also the feeling of the stage

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<sup>1</sup> Nitschke, G.: *The Japanese Sense of Place*. Architecture and Design (London), March 1966.

space. It is in this sense that likewise the significant role of the actor must be comprehended as creative element of the stage space. As a gesticulatory expression it was far from simple imitation of genuine action and had always dance-styled character. In the course of time, it led to a symbolic gestic and motion vocabulary precisely composed and including also time and space symbols. The place of the dramatic action could not exist outside and independent of the actor. It was himself who had the power to determine, limit, change or cancel it. Dramatic space existed only where he acted and how he wished it to appear.<sup>2</sup>

Tying up with the older tradition, actors together with dramatists created, in the *zaju* of the Mongol (Yuan) era, the gesticulatory-mimical models completed by the vocal component, to determine the time and space of the dramatic action. The particular features of these models are based nearly always on visual-acoustic inceptions mediated only by the actors, sometimes emphasized by costumes and stage props. Only symbolical props are sometimes used. The *zaju* time-space conventions passed on to *chuanqi* of the Ming era.

In *The Peach Blossom Fan* quite a number of examples can be found to demonstrate the rules of stage-portraying of the time-space relations in *chuanqi*. The actor articulated the stage space by his motions and gesticulatory action both in a horizontal and vertical sense. With conventionally established pantomimic paces and gestures he passed over the non-existing high threshold to enter an imaginary room, he “opened the door”, “descended the staircase”, “ascended to the rooms in upper stories”. This action was almost always accompanied by a vocal expression. Verses of a song or poem delineated precisely the visual character of the motion action and emphasized its emotive contents:

LI CHENLI (*sings, miming descending the staircase*)

Red lanterns light the street below;

Out in the night, a bitter wind will blow.

Once swept away, the flower may not return.

(Scene 22. The Rejected Suit)<sup>3</sup>

In another scene of the play, the actor avails himself of a costume while miming his ascending the staircase, with song verses describing synchronically his action:

HOU FANGYU (*sings, miming going upstairs*)

Clutching my gown, I part the drooping branches,

And climb the crumbling staircase step by step,

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<sup>2</sup> This conception of theatrical space in the Far East as deriving from the oriental philosophical concept is close to some older, non-illusionistic European popular theatre forms, such as *Commedia dell'arte* and also folk theatres.

<sup>3</sup> *The Peach Blossom Fan* (1976), p. 167.

Among the dust and cobwebs. Out-of-doors  
The spring is all-pervading.

(Scene 28. The Painting Inscribed)<sup>4</sup>

In both cases, only the place was changed. The accompanying time shift corresponds to reality.

On the other hand the time shift can be expressed without being accompanied by the change of place. — In scene 4 the character Yuan Dacheng, dignitary and dramatist, talks in his study with the scholar Yang. The scene's time is interrupted twice by the servant entering and bringing news. Yuan Dacheng had sent him out to observe what the effect of his drama was on young scholars who had got it staged:

FIRST SERVANT (*entering hastily*)

I bring my random words to allay my master's concern.

(Scene 4. The Play Observed)<sup>5</sup>

Then he relates about the enthusiastic reception given to the play. Yuan Dacheng sends him again to the theatre and after a while, as early as one song and three sentences of the dialogue are over,

FIRST SERVANT (*returning*)

I ran out like a rabbit,

I fly back like a raven.

Your Honour, now that they have been half the  
play, I have returned with another report.

(Scene 4. The Play Observed)<sup>6</sup>

This purely stage-like treatment of time enlivens the whole scene. The two verses recited by the servant, his gesticulatory and mimical actions undoubtedly accompanying its verbal expression, bridged over the temporal interval.

If there occurs, within the limits of a scene, a change of place by means of implication of the way, the time level changes as well. The time of such scenes is very contracted and their model includes a synchronic vocal and motion action. Styled paces expressing the walking, riding on horseback, driving on carriage or sedan-chair, are composed, through traditional stage choreography, in circle or ellipse. In this point, they resemble very much the analogous scenes of European popular and folk theatres.

MASTER OF CEREMONIES

Bless me! Then it is the anniversary of the late  
Emperor's death. A decree has been issued that the  
sacrificial altar is to be raised outside the

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

Gate of Peace. I had almost forgotten my duties.  
I shall have make haste. (*Walks and says*):  
One mound after another,  
Dense clumps of pine and bamboo.  
Here I come to the altar. Thank goodness none of  
the officials have yet arrived. I'll have arrange  
the ceremonial vessels.

(Scene 32. The Imperial Mourning)<sup>7</sup>

In the original text the rhythmical phrasing of the words accompanying the walking is given as follows:

*Gang gang luan luan*  
*Jie jie lian lian*  
*Zhu zhu sung sung*  
*Mi mi cong cong. [4]*<sup>8</sup>

The model structure of such scenes usually consists of two prosaic parts, at the beginning and at the end, respectively. In the middle, there is a phrase in verses, sung or recited. Concluding sentences announce the aim of the way. Here is another example:

STORYTELLER LIU

Her place is called the Halcyon Lodge; it is not far  
from here. I'll show you the way. (*As they proceed,  
each recites one line of the quatrain*)

HOU FANGYU

Before the worship at the tombs each family hangs out a willow branch.

STORYTELLER LIU

Everywhere the bamboo flute celebrates this festival.

HOU FANGYU

Three miles of streets are adorned with birds and flowers.

STORYTELLER LIU

We cross two bridges over the misty river.

(*Points*) Here is the house. Let's go in.

(Scene 5. A Visit to the Beauty)<sup>9</sup>

The motion component of the riding on horseback model is given by an exactly

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>8</sup> Here for comparison I give the rendering of my Czech translation, which tries to follow the rhythm of the original:

Hills and mounds, hills and mounds,  
near and close, near and close,  
bamboo-tree here, pine-tree there,  
dense and thick, dense and thick.

<sup>9</sup> *The Peach Blossom Fan* (1976), p. 41.

formulated model of mounting the horse and riding in circle. An important function is here the prop, a tasseled whip representing a horse.

ZHANG WEI's GROOM (*leads in horse*)<sup>10</sup>

ZHANG WEI (*mounts it*,<sup>11</sup> *singing*)

In the spring, evening petals fill the sky,  
Green undulating mountains soothe the eye,  
South of the city, I waken from the dream  
As a tired traveller finds a gushing stream.  
(Speaks) Here I am back in my Pine Wind Pavilion.  
It deems as far from the world as the Peach Blossom Spring.  
I'll go and enjoy the view.

(Scene 30. Return to the Hills)<sup>12</sup>

A similar presentation can be made, by help of props — banners or oars — of the drive on carriage, on sedan-chair, or sailing in a boat. In the *chuangqi* scenes of riding on horseback, use is frequently made of one of the vocal peculiarities of these dramas, namely, the choral singing. Sometimes, one of the acting characters begins an air and the other voices join in. Such is the case also in the scene of General Gao Jie and his soldiers:

GAO JIE

... We'll ride into the city for some refreshments. See that the discipline is maintained among the troops during my absence.

(*Exeunt officers. They re-enter with four guards*)

GAO JIE (*continues*)

Let us be off (*sings*):  
The Yellow River forms a safe frontier to the southern dynasty,  
Plunging from cloudy heights towards the east.  
When even birds find it too far to fly.  
What use is the strongest bow a man could buy?

ALL TOGETHER (*singing*):

Towards the deserted city  
Over the ruined bridge:  
Light-hearted warriors,  
Slowly our steeds advance. (*Exeunt*).

(Scene 26. The General Tricked)<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The groom holds the tasseled whip in his outstretched hand and hands it over to Zhang Wei.

<sup>11</sup> Zhang Wei holds the tasseled whip in his right hand and with his legs, torso and the left hand mimes a few stylized movements and gestures of mounting the horse. Goes quickly and after the words "I'll go and enjoy the view", mimes dismounting.

<sup>12</sup> *The Peach Blossom Fan* (1976), p. 224.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 194.

For denoting the action, Kong Shangren used in two places of the play, another convention known for instance also in the Elizabethan theatre, namely a placard. In the beginning of scene 13, a stage assistant hangs out the placard reading "Yellow Crane Tower", scene 25 takes place in the imperial palace under the placard "The Hall of Balmy Breezes". Chinese theatre, however, only rarely resorted to this simple means. That is to say, it could profit by the traditional advantage of Chinese poetry, namely, verses able to evoke suggestively the form and atmosphere of the place of action, to depict by imaginative suggestions the visual and acoustic inceptions. Thus, the verses are important for denoting the dramatical space too.

In the drama *The Peach Blossom Fan*, there occur many examples proving that a song's or poem's function consists in evoking the place where the scene is located. One, taken from the opening of scene 2, will be sufficient. It is a part of a typical opening passage, *yinzi*, containing a song and poem, followed by the self-introducing monologue. By the passages Li Chenli, the courtesan and heroine's foster-mother is introduced. The verses evoke the atmosphere of spring day in the Nanking courtesans' quarter.

LI CHENLI (*sings*)

With delicate form strokes I paint my eyebrows.  
The doors of these red chambers are seldom closed,  
The drooping willows by the wooden bridge  
Cause riders to dismount.  
I shall embroider the bag of my reed-organ  
And tighten the strings of my lute.

(*Recites a quatrain*)

The pear blossoms are like snow, the grass like mist;  
Spring settles on the banks of the Ch'in-huai River.  
A row of pleasure-chambers fronts on the water,  
Reflecting from each window a lovely face.

(Scene 2. The Singing Master)<sup>14</sup>

In respect of the space arrangement, likewise scenes 2 and 20 are interesting. The way of evoking the "sailing in boats" is, of course, not the invention of the dramatist. The oar representing a boat, the pantomime played by the rower and his passengers, suggesting a perfect imagination of an unsteady boat on the water level, all these were conventions already known in the theatre of this time. Kong Shangren's art consists in the kind of poetry used to create a dynamic and exciting scenery of night passages on the river, organized at the Dragon Boats Festival. Illuminated boats to strains of music emerge from the darkness, each one occupied by another company. And to present the scene, mere extras are

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

sufficient, clad in their corresponding costumes and controlling the paces of the “sailing in boats” and representing the rowers with their oars, the servants with Chinese lanterns, as well as the music accompaniment. That which is not told by the motion action is completed by the verses sung by one of the onlookers.

CHEN (*sings*)

Black scholar's cap and crimson skirt appear to strains of music,  
How full of grace against the setting sun  
By yonder willow bank! Poet and beauty,  
Companions in natural harmony,  
As a handsome boat should sail near handsome house.  
The sight of this heavenly pair  
Has warmed my soul in the cool evening air.

(Scene 8. A Riverside Occasion)<sup>15</sup>

Scene 28, The Meeting on the Boats, appears more static, but is remarkable, too, with the stage changing through the gesticulatory action representing the casting of an anchor into the two boats floating near each other.

The time-composition of the whole drama is delineated exactly. It is conjoined by the Prologue One, opening the First Part, and the Prologue Two, opening the Second Part, both of them situated in the year 1684. The action proper, a kind of extensive retrospect, proceeds from Spring of 1643 to the Autumn of 1645. The drama is concluded by an Epilogue situated three years after the last scene.

The time of the Prologue One is purposely placed in the year 1684. This is evident from the author's endorsing the character of the Master of Ceremonies. However, by the sentence “The young lord Hou is coming, please look!” — by which the Master of Ceremonies concludes his role of inaugurator and, in the scenes to follow, becomes one of the characters of the play — this time-flow is interrupted and transferred forty-one years back, into the year 1643. Both the Prologue One and the analogically conceived Prologue Two are excluded from the time and space of the drama. They are located on the stage of the Great Peace Theatre where the play is presented.

It is necessary to take account of the fact, that the *chuanqi* dramas usually contain events which are considerably distant from each other in respect of time and space — but, always within the frame of single scenes, a relative unity of time and space remains preserved.

Major time and space differences in *chuanqi* are possible between the scenes, but usually they do not occur within the scenes. This can be demonstrated likewise in the time and space stratification of the forty-two scenes of Gao

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

Ming's drama *Pipa ji*, The Lute, where sixteen scenes are located in the native village of the hero, Cai, two scenes proceed on the way to the capital and the remaining ones at the capital. Two action lines of this *chuangqi*, namely that of Cai who left for the imperial seat to find his career there, and that of his first wife, Wuniang, who remained with his parents in the country struck by famine, are thus always interwoven. The action is transferred from the country to the town, in one scene, however, as far as the travel is not included, the time and space do not change considerably.

In *The Peach Blossom Fan*, Kong Shangren specifies the time of every scene by a superscription indicating beside the title, also the month and year of action. Likewise in this drama a substantial change of time occurs only between single scenes. The action of the two dramatic levels, historical and amorous, proceed in chronological and parallel way. Frequently some of the mutually tied-up scenes proceed in the same month (scene 3 and 7 in the third month of 1643, scene 19 and 20 in the fifth month of 1644, scene 28 to 33 in the third month of 1645). In other cases there are one-month time differences between the scenes and four months between the First Part and the Second Part.

Likewise, greater geographic differences exist only between the single scenes. Twenty eight are located in Nanking or its near vicinity, four proceed in the distant Wuchang, five scenes in Yangzhou, one in Fengyang, one in Suizhou, one on the Yellow River, one in Jiangsu and one in Anhui.

The authors of *chuangqi* dramas which was a form with a very involved narrative character, made full use of the traditional treatment of time space. This enabled them to achieve smooth shifts in time and left them free to spread the action over a large range of territory when required.

1. 場 2. 虛地牙場 3. 間 4. 團圓轂轤，  
接連，竹竹松松，密密叢叢。

## SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE ATOMIC BOMB LITERATURE AND LITERATURE ON THE ATOMIC BOMB AND OCCUPATION OF JAPAN

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The first part of the study focuses on general aspects of literature dealing with the atomic bomb, its significance, place in Japanese postwar literature, as also on questions relating to its periodization. The second part is intended to point to the significance of the first developmental period of atomic literature and the effect of the occupation policy on the evolving literature on the atomic bomb.

During the forty-odd years that have elapsed since the devastating explosions of the atom bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki that marked mankind's unpropitious entry into the new atomic age, a large number of works have been created in the broad range of art on a worldwide scale, portraying the tragedy of the two cities. Hiroshima and Nagasaki have thus become a "preview" of the destruction of the world, a symbol of horror and suffering, a warning to man and humanity. It is therefore quite understandable that the explosion of these bombs and the disastrous sequels should have entered into the consciousness of the whole mankind and that writers of various countries, regardless of their political views or religious adherence, though linked by a deep sentiment of humanism and fear for the fate of humanity, should express their views on this momentous event. As K. Recho puts it: "This purely humanistic theme related to the preservation of life on Earth, is incontestably one of the most acute topics of worldwide art and literature at the present time."<sup>1</sup> The topic of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is constantly alive, mainly because it touches on problems that by their impact intervene into the present. Its significance grows in relation to the development of new, perfected atomic weapons which the United States intend to place in space. The topic Hiroshima and Nagasaki is closely linked with the question of the struggle for peace, for a world free of atomic weapons, for doing away with the threat of atomic war that hangs like Damocles's sword over mankind.

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<sup>1</sup> Recho, K.: *Sovremennyi yaponskii roman* (Contemporary Japanese Novel). Moscow, Nauka 1977, pp. 251--252.

Literature, as one form of reflection of the social consciousness related to diverse phenomena of the society's life, is in fact duty-bound to express its views regarding the issue of atomic bombs from various aspects, must take its stand regarding life in the atomic age — pointing, on the one hand, to a peaceful use of the atom, and on the other, to its military misuse and the dangers lurking in this for the whole mankind. This was put in a nutshell by the eminent Japanese scholar Odagiri Hideao [1] who was among the first to deal with the relationship between Atomic Energy and Literature, in the English supplement to the publication *Genshiryoku to bungaku* [2] The Atomic Energy and Literature under the heading *The Atomic Problem and Japanese Literature*, when he wrote: "The importance of the atomic problem has come to be realized by all the peoples of the world. Particularly the Japanese people are most aware of the grim realities of the atomic age, as they were once treated as human guinea pigs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki for the first time in history."<sup>2</sup> Odagiri simultaneously notes that such an experience was inevitably bound to be reflected in Japanese literature. He justifies it as follows: "This may be explained not only generally by the fact that everything that concerns humanity is subject of deep interest to writers, but particularly by the fact that the question of atomic energy, with its close relations to the material and spiritual life of the Japanese people, was something that had to be grappled with by Japanese writers."<sup>3</sup>

The first works about Hiroshima and Nagasaki began to be written immediately following the dropping of the atomic bombs. Japanese literary scholarship has accepted the term *Genbaku bungaku* [4] Atomic Literature or Atomic Bomb Literature for these works. According to the literary dictionary *Bungei yōgo no kiso chishiki* [5] Basic Knowledge of Literary Terms, literature about the atomic bomb is defined as "literature that thematically draws on various tragic events brought about by atomic bombardment".<sup>4</sup>

The artistic moulding of the atomic bombs topic is one that is always open, that unceasingly expands whether it be through a search for new forms of expression, or of new literary procedures and views. It embraces all the literary genres and types in which traditional Japanese literary forms are particularly represented numerically. The artistic message encompassed in these works is unusually weighty. Not only do these works present a picture of destruction, portray hell and torments through which the surviving victims have gone since the explosion up to now, but also point to the impending danger threatening the

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<sup>2</sup> Odagiri, Hideo: *The Atomic Problem and Japanese Literature*. In: Odagiri, Hideo (Ed.): *Genshiryoku to bungaku*. Tokyo, Dai Nihon yūbenkai Kōdansha [3] 1955, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Hasegawa, Kiyoshi [6] and Takahashi, Shintarō [7], ed.: *Bungei yōgo no kiso chishiki*. Tokyo, Shibundō [8] 1982, p. 190.

whole mankind in case of a nuclear conflict — and in this resides their major significance.

Seeing that the problem of the atomic bombs dropped on the Japanese cities found a wide response also in other national literatures, the use of the expression Atomic Literature, or Atomic Bomb Literature has its justification not only in relation to Japanese, but also world literature. In a broader sense of the term, we may include here also works that, although not drawing directly on the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, yet are concerned with problems of an eventual future nuclear explosion and its consequences for mankind. Nevertheless, most works of this type, falling into the genre area of science fiction, derive from the known reality of the fateful day of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Although, from the aspect of the development of Japanese postwar literature, the Atomic Bomb Literature occupies a special place, it nevertheless forms an inseparable part and parcel of the progressively and democratically oriented stream of this national literature. "By creating works on the tragedy of Hiroshima," K. Recho says with emphasis, "progressive Japanese writers achieve the podium of a sharp ideological struggle in literature and art of contemporary Japan."<sup>5</sup>

Atomic Bomb Literature holds an important place in Japanese postwar literary life. The writer Nakano Kōji [9], in a conversation with the literary scholar Nagaoka Hiroyoshi [10], published in the magazine *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* National Literature Interpretation and Appreciation, points to this reality in connection with his characterization of the postwar period, as follows: "Our postwar period, initiated by the defeat in 1945, has outwardly brought permanent peace, but the most characteristic trait of this period is that we have gradually become exposed to the growing nuclear threat. The postwar period begins with the first experience of destruction in the history of mankind caused by a nuclear weapon and on this account I believe that literature on the atomic bomb symbolizes most strikingly this postwar period."<sup>6</sup>

The Atomic Bomb Literature is assigned into the context of literature with a war topic, which is characterized by a strong anti-war accent. Within it, however, it holds a very specific position. In view of the harsh repressions against progressively thinking writers during the entire "period of darkness", anti-war literature could adequately develop only following the defeat of militarist Japan. Literature with a war topic which formed one of the central themes in the first postwar years, — similarly as in the case of the emerging Atomic Bomb Literature — derived primarily from the writers' personal experiences.

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<sup>5</sup> Recho, K.: op. cit., p. 253.

<sup>6</sup> Nakano, Kōji and Nagaoka, Hiroyoshi: *Taiwa* [12] Dialogue. *Genbaku bungaku o megutte* [13] About Atomic Bomb Literature. *Konkubungaku kaishaku to kanshō*. Vol. 50, No. 9, 1985, p. 11.

Japanese militarism was condemned in these works and writers openly took their stand with regard to Japan's responsibility for the war. It was some sort of a confession, a revealing of truth, an unveiling of the true face of Japanese militarism before the entire nation, the nations of Asia which had been the direct victims of Japanese expansion, and before the whole world.

The recourse to atomic bombs for the first time in the history of mankind, even though it was against a fighting enemy, whose fate however was sealed by then, was a deed that went far beyond appliances of war utilized until then, an act stigmatized by mankind as inhuman, although its author was an ally fighting against fascism. Hiroshima and Nagasaki thus rank among victims of such crimes as German and Japanese fascism had perpetrated at Auschwitz (Oświęcim), Lidice, Oradour, Nanking. A specific trait of the Atomic Bomb Literature that comes to the forefront, particularly in a comparison with the rest of postwar literature, is the fact that while the atomic bombardment of the Japanese cities by the United States is rightly branded as an inhuman act, the question of Japanese responsibility for the war is too often just forgotten. "There is not a single literary work on the atomic bomb — Nagaoka Hiroyoshi says with emphasis — that would deal directly with the question of Japanese responsibility for the atomic bombardment."<sup>7</sup>

The Atomic Bomb Literature during the forty years of its existence has passed through several developmental stages related, on the one hand, to the overall politico-economic progress and development of social consciousness in Japan, and on the other hand, to the growth of nuclear weaponry. In the publication *Genbaku bungaku shi* (History of the Atomic Literature), Nagaoka Hiroyoshi assigns the development of this literature up to the year 1967, into four periods: the first lasted until the years 1950—51, the second until 1955, the third up to 1961—62, and the fourth up to 1967.<sup>8</sup> In the magazine *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* from the year 1985, this author brings a new periodization in which he divides the development of the Atomic Bomb Literature into the following four periods: I — 1945—1952, II — 1952—1961, III — 1961—1969, and IV — 1970—up to the present.<sup>9</sup> It seems, however, that the beginning of the 1980s may be considered as a new period and this not solely because a number of remarkable works have been published, such as *Hiroshima* (1981) by Oda Makoto [17] and *Ashita* [18] Tomorrow, 1982, by Inoue Mitsuharu [19], but also because a striking enlivening, an activation of writers for peace and averting

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<sup>7</sup> Nagaoka, Hiroyoshi: *Genbaku bungaku shi* [14] History of Atomic Literature. Nagoya, Fūbai shuppan [15] 1973, p. 172.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 5—6.

<sup>9</sup> Nagaoka, Hiroyoshi: *Genbaku bungaku no rinkei* [16] Outline on Atomic Bomb Literature. Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō, pp. 24—30.

of the nuclear threat has come about within literary circles themselves. An extraordinary response was elicited by the declaration *Kaku sensō no kiki o uttaeru bungakusha no seimei* [20] Writers' Appeal on the Danger of Nuclear War from January 1982, signed by over five hundred writers. From an International Conference of Writers held in Hiroshima in 1983, the so-called *Hiroshima Appeal* was addressed to all the writers of the world. The increasing nuclear danger and the growing international movement for peace in which also Japanese progressive writers have joined, have brought about a revaluation of works of the atomic literature, whose significance is increasing with the newly evolved situation. In 1983, a comprehensive selection of the most significant works of the atomic literature was published precisely on the initiative of Japanese writers who stand at the head of the peace movement in their country.<sup>10</sup>

In the dictionary *Nihon Kindai bungaku daijiten* [24] Comprehensive Dictionary of Japanese Modern Literature, Kawanishi Masaaki [23] divides Japanese literature in the "nuclear situation" into three principal movements. The first is made up of literature describing the picture of horror seen in detail by writers present at the time of the atomic explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The second one is represented by works whose authors had been exposed to the atomic bombardment as pupils or students and only subsequently became writers. Their writings reflect insecurity as a result of the atomic explosion, sufferings and pain inflicted by the atomic bomb on their relatives, friends and acquaintances, but they also include memories of those who died of the results of the atomic explosions. The third movement comprises literature whose authors were not directly affected by the atomic bombardment but encountered the Hiroshima and Nagasaki topic as writers and decided to process this theme from their own inner conviction.<sup>11</sup>

In the conversation on atomic literature with Nagaoka Hiroyoshi mentioned above, the writer Nakano Kōji refers to two generations of writers. In the first, he includes writers such as Tōge Sankichi [27], Ōta Yōko [28], Shōda Shinoe [29], Hara Tamiki [30], Kurihara Sadako [31] who witnessed the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as adults and considered it their duty to pass on the experience they had gone through. The second generation is made up of those who experienced the atomic bombardments when still young, but in whom the memories of the horror they had witnessed survived undiminished in their vividness and they return to them after a lapse of time. He assigns to a third group those writers who had not been direct witnesses of the atomic destruction,

<sup>10</sup> *Nihon no genbaku bungaku* [12] Japanese Atomic Bomb Literature. Vol. 1—15. Tokyo, Horupu shuppan [22] 1983.

<sup>11</sup> Kawanishi, Masaaki: *Kaku jōkyōka no bungaku* [25] Literature under Nuclear Situation. In: *Nihon kindai bungaku daijiten*. Tokyo, Kōdansha [26] 1984, pp. 1812—1813.

but the theme engendered by the atomic bomb became an organic part of their writings.<sup>12</sup>

It is an indisputable fact that the initial developmental period in the Atomic Bomb Literature (1945—1952), which overlaps with that of the occupation of Japan, played a significant role from the aspect of the overall development of this literature. The reason is not simply that the foundations were laid during this time of an artistic processing of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki theme, but also that these works carry a highly humanistic message of the authors themselves. The contents of the initial writings clearly point to the weighty nature of this topic.

In comparison with the subsequent developmental periods of the Atomic Bomb Literature, the works of the initial period originated under the most strenuous conditions and were confronted by the greatest obstacles put up by the occupational authorities of the United States of America. The literature of the first years following the defeat of Japanese militarism did not lay any special stress on the fact that it was a period of occupation, but emphasized all the more that it was a “postwar period”. This explains why the influence of the occupation policy of the U.S.A. was less apparent in the literature than it was in the political and economic sphere.

Immediately following Japan's capitulation, all the organs controlling culture were dissolved in accordance with the principles of the Potsdam declaration; however, they were replaced by new ones, set up by the occupation organs of the U.S.A. These introduced a harsh control over the spiritual life of the Japanese. All that was printed was subject to censorship by the occupation authorities. According to Press Code published 19 September 1945, publication of everything that cast a shadow on “allied armies and criticized their policy” was prohibited.<sup>13</sup>

Directly following the defeat of militaristic Japan, the measures of the occupying organs in the domain of culture were designed to prevent a spread of militarist, ultranationalist ideas and to enforce democratic principles. These measures were indispensable and derived from the principles of the allied policy. The Japanese progressive intelligentsia welcomed them and the initiative to enforce them came directly from the ranks of Japanese writers who had endured with difficulty the long-lasting period of “darkness”, as for instance many of those belonging to the prewar movement of proletarian literature. The society

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<sup>12</sup> Nakano, Kōji and Nagaoka Hiroyoshi: *Taiwa. Genbaku bungaku o megutte*, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> *Sengo shiryō* [32] Postwar Materials. *Masukomi* [33] Mass Media. Tokyo, Nihon hyōronsha [34] 1970, p. 1.

Shin Nihon Bungakukai [35] Society of the New Japanese Literature which took contact with the prewar traditions of proletarian literature, set itself right from the start to create and pursue a new literature in the spirit of democratic principles.<sup>14</sup> Neither the writings of the majority of authors who resumed their literary activity immediately after the war, nor those by the new, beginning generation, met with any major problem in publishing, that would come from the occupation organs, although publication of certain works with a strikingly democratic orientation, as e. g. the novel *Furyoki* [37] Prisoner of War by Ōoka Shōhei [38], or *Busosuru shigai* [39] Armed Town by Kuroshima Denji [40], was not allowed by these organs. As underlined by Odagiri Hideo in *Gendai bungaku* [47] History of Contemporary Literature, Japanese organs of censorship were dissolved and censorship began again to work, this time that of the American occupation army; only ultra-nationalist, militarist works and works dealing with the atomic bomb were proscribed, but outside these, full liberty reigned.<sup>15</sup>

However, the situation in the case of the emerging literature about the atomic bomb was totally different. The American occupation organs, referring to the Press Code, right from the beginning proscribed publication of all works that would deal with the topic of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Thus, the occupation of Japan exerted a decisive influence on the emerging literature on the atomic bomb and this influence remained the determining factor throughout the first postwar period. The ban on publication of works with ultra-nationalistic and militaristic tendencies was of course understandable and justified, but such a ban imposed on works with the Hiroshima and Nagasaki topic clearly spoke of the character and essence of the occupation policy pursued by the U.S.A.

However, not even the strict censorship of the occupying powers failed to silence writers — witnesses of the atomic apocalypse. Works describing the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki began to be written practically at the moment of the atomic flash and despite difficulties, connected with their publishing, their numbers went on increasing from year to year. Right in the first period we encounter a broad typological and genre representation; at the same time, many works from this period occupy a prominent place in Japanese postwar literature. In the domain of prose, such are primarily the works by Hara Tamiki as a collection of tales *Natsu no hana* [44] Summer Flower, 1949, the novels by Ōta Yōko *Shikabane no machi* [45] Town Corpses, 1948 and *Ningen ranru* [46] Human Rags, 1950, the short story by Yamashiro Tomoe [47] *Aru romurai* [48] A Certain Funeral, 1951, and the story by Sata Ineko [49] *Rekihō* [50] Round of Calls, 1951.

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<sup>14</sup> *Sengo shiryō. Bunka* [36] Culture. Tokyo, Nihon hyōronsha 1970, pp. 1—5.

<sup>15</sup> Odagiri, Hideo: *Gendai bungaku shi. Gekan* [42] Last volume. Tokyo, Shūeisha [43] 1983, p. 551.

Among the most significant poetic works are those by Hara Tamiki — *Genbaku shōkei* [51] Atomic Landscape, 1951, Tōge Sankichi's *Genbaku shishū* [52] An Anthology of Verses about the Atomic Bomb, 1952, as also poetry by Shōda Shinoe and Kurihara Sadako. But the nonfiction genre, too, is widely represented. Internationally known are the works of two Japanese physicians — victims of the atomic bomb — Nagai Takashi [53] *Nagasaki no kane* [54] We of Nagasaki, 1949, and Hachiya Michihiko [55] *Hiroshima nikki* [56] Hiroshima Diary, 1950. In the domain of literature for youth, two noteworthy anthologies date from this period, bringing statements by children who survived the atomic explosion. The compiler of the first — a prose selection *Genbaki no ko* [57] Children of the A-Bomb, 1951 — was the poet Osada Arata [58] and the second one — a poetic anthology *Genshikumo no shita yori* [59] From Under the Atomic Cloud, 1952 — was compiled by Tōge Sankichi and versified by Yamashiro Tomoe.

The authors of these works were all eye-witnesses — victims of the atomic cataclysm. The atomic bomb intervened deep into their innermost privacy, affected their life and their literary production. The atomic hell through which they had gone determined their way of thinking, influenced their moral and ethical attitudes. Their work sprang from a deep inner need to give testimony of the horrors caused by the atomic bomb, from a deep consciousness of responsibility as men and as artists towards the society, towards mankind. They understood an artistic processing of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki theme as their moral-ethical duty and neither in their subsequent works did they succeed in impersonalizing themselves from this theme. Their artistic statements, permeated with ideas of humanism, faith in man, are simultaneously a warning to mankind.

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2. 原子力と文学
3. 大日本雄弁会講談社
4. 原爆文学
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6. 長谷川泉
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50. 歴訪
51. 原爆小景
52. 原爆詩集
53. 永井隆
54. 長崎の鐘
55. 蜂谷道彦
56. ヒロシマ日記
57. 原爆の子
58. 長田新
59. 原子雲の下より

## LE CARACTÈRE DU MARIAGE DANS LA FAMILLE VIETNAMIENNE CLASSIQUE

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Le mariage dans l'institution de famille patriarcale au Vietnam comporte une importance particulière tant du point de vue social que légal. Il en découle tout un nombre de règles précises ayant rapport à la conclusion de liens matrimoniaux légitimes et partiellement aussi illégitimes.

Un trait de premier ordre, certes, une règle de mariage dans la famille vietnamienne classique, est son caractère obligatoire, engageant les deux partis, car il remplit deux buts essentiels; il préserve la morale sexuelle et assure la continuation de la famille et ainsi maintient le culte des ancêtres. De là vient que la législation vietnamienne en matière de la morale sexuelle est d'une rigueur à outrance. Le *Code annamite* comporte toute une série d'articles qui concernent ceux qu'il désigne de «coupables de fornication».<sup>1</sup> Ces textes nous révèlent en plus que si le célibat dans cette société était obligatoire pour les moines bouddhistes et taoïstes, l'état conjugal était, à peu près de la même manière, obligatoire pour les autres hommes et femmes, car les notions et buts des gens se bornaient généralement à l'établissement de leur propre famille.

Comme on l'a déjà évoqué, la loi prévoyait des peines rigoureuses pour toute violation des normes morales de la société. Un cas plus modéré était représenté par les «coupables de fornication avec accord».<sup>2</sup> Le commentaire officiel du *Code de Gia-long* explique que même si le garçon et la fille consentent de même accord à l'acte de fornication, ils seront punis.<sup>3</sup> Sans égards aux circonstances dans lesquelles le délit pût être commis, les auteurs du *Code annamite* sont prêts à fixer une peine cruelle. Si l'inculpée est une femme mariée, la peine s'élève par un degré en dessus. Si le délit est le résultat d'un acte de rapt ou de séduction, la peine est plus sévère, n'importe si la femme est mariée ou non. La loi est extrêmement rigide envers le ravisseur, car celui qui enlève ou séduit la femme ou la fille d'un homme, détruit en fait la porte intérieure du chez-soi de cet

<sup>1</sup> *Code annamite* ou *Code de Gia-long*, ou bien *Viet luat le*, VIII<sup>e</sup> partie, p. 524—549.

<sup>2</sup> Le mot «fornication» dans le code sus-cité est toujours qualifié de quelque expression, comme «avec consentement», «par rapt», «sous menace», etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Code annamite*, Commentaire officiel, art. 332.

homme. Si l'instigateur en est une femme, c'est un acte de fornication exceptionnellement grave pour elle, qui est sévèrement puni. Cette sévérité est aussi confirmée par des expressions populaires qui par la suite sont devenues des symboles de certaines qualités distinctives. Ainsi, par exemple l'expression *voi giay* (au sens propre du mot éléphant — marcher, ou fouler aux pieds) fait cas de la forme effroyable de la peine et, jointe au mot «fille» (*co gai*), est encore utilisé même à nos jours pour indiquer une femme de virtu légère (*co gai loai voi giay ou co gai hang voi giay*). De même, l'expression *gai hu dem ma buong song* fait allusion à la punition de «faire entraîner par le fleuve» et aujourd'hui est employée pour indiquer une femme aux mœurs dépravées.

Les enfants nés hors du mariage, presque toujours font cas de circonstances aggravantes pour l'homme, donc le père, qui selon la loi, doit les accepter et les élever. Seulement au cas où le père reste inconnu, l'enfant est assigné à la mère.

Ces punitions étaient fixées pour des relations charnelles entre individus qui n'étaient pas encore tenus par des liens matrimoniaux propres. Quant à l'inceste, la législation le considère dans tous les cas comme un crime et lui réserve des peines extrêmement cruelles. Incestes avec les femmes des oncles, frères, neveux et avec diverses tantes du côté maternel, étaient punis par l'étranglement. Cas de relations charnelles avec une concubine du père ou du grand-père, avec la femme d'un fils ou d'un neveu, comportait la décollation.<sup>4</sup>

Pour que le mariage pût être légalement valide, certaines conditions devaient être remplies lors de sa conclusion, dont les deux suivantes, figurant parmi les plus importantes: consentement des parents et le rôle du médiateur. On a déjà signalé antérieurement que mariage dans la société vietnamienne a pour but de garantir l'existence continue, ininterrompue des générations et ainsi assurer l'entretien du culte ancestral. Un principe caractéristique pour la famille vietnamienne classique est que «les morts régissent les vivants»,<sup>5</sup> et que «les vivants se sacrifient pour les morts, les enfants pour leurs parents».<sup>6</sup> Les ancêtres défunt doivent être au courant de chaque changement qui a lieu dans la famille, et donc tous les événements tenant du mariage leur sont communiqués. Par exemple chaque fois qu'on a demandé la main d'une jeune fille, son père ou son représentant, s'occupe de la préparation de son trousseau exclusivement dans la salle des ancêtres, d'où aussi il sort pour accueillir l'émissaire (le médiateur) de la famille du jeune homme. Au cas où les ancêtres n'auraient pas été informés de cette manière ou d'une manière semblable, le mariage ne pouvait pas être conclu

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<sup>4</sup> Dans la législation vietnamienne, la peine de mort par décapitation est considérée plus sévère que par étranglement, car le condamné avec la tête séparée du corps ne peut pas vivre dans l'autre monde.

<sup>5</sup> Tran Van Trai: *La famille patriarcale annamite*. Paris, Université de Paris 1942, p. 86.

<sup>6</sup> Cung Giu Nguyen: *Volonté d'Existence*. Saigon 1954, p. 19.

validement. D'autre part, tant que la jeune fille n'est pas introduite selon toutes les manières et règles aux ancêtres de son mari, elle reste une «étrangère» et membre de sa famille originelle. L'introduction de la nouvelle mariée aux ancêtres de son mari se fait d'habitude le jour de noces-même. Lors même que cette introduction ne soit pas ancrée dans aucune des conditions officiellement prévues par la législation, la pression sociale et les coutumes morales demandent que l'on se soumette à ces obligations.

Quant au consentement des parents, la loi en fait cas formellement en déclarant qu'il constitue une condition foncière de la validité du mariage. Le mariage d'un fils ou d'une fille dépend toujours des grands-parents et des parents. Si aucun d'eux ne sont plus en vie, les plus proches des apparentés les remplacent et le mariage alors dépend d'eux. En cas de décès du mari, si la veuve prends ses filles et se marie de nouveau, le mariage de ces filles dépend du consentement de leur mère. La nécessité du consentement des parents pour conclure un mariage constitue un des éléments stabilisateurs du système patriarcal de la famille vietnamienne. Le mariage se conclue plutôt dans l'intérêt de remplir ses devoirs envers la famille, que par égard pour soi. Ce qui donne lieu à des mesures d'où découle le pouvoir de contrôle et de décision de la part des parents. Ceci est certainement une marque de despotisme de la famille patriarcale, où souvent les parents de fait prescrivent ou dictent à leurs enfants leurs critères dans le choix de leurs conjoints/conjointes.<sup>7</sup> De ces mesures découle aussi la désignation de la personne, qualifiée dans la législation comme «personne de qui dépend le mariage».<sup>8</sup>

Selon la morale confucienne, le mariage est, dans un certain sens, une matérialisation de l'amour. Un choix individuel dans l'amour est pratiquement une conception étrangère à ce genre de morale et parler de préférences dans l'amour (*tinh yeu tren het*) est tenu pour amoral. Par contre, la morale confucienne manipule des termes comme «sacrifice de l'amour individuel» (*hy sinh tinh yeu ca nhan*), respect filial (*hieu nghia*), respect filial est de premier plan, amour conjugal vient en second lieu (*hieu cha me la hang dau, tinh yeu vo chong la hang thu*). Il est évident que les différences que nous rencontrons ici (en comparaison avec la morale des sociétés européennes) sont de nature idéologique. Deux idéologies avec une tradition très forte s'y croisent — l'enseignement chrétien d'Europe et l'enseignement confucien des pays de l'Extrême Orient. Tout un autre point est, lequel de ces deux enseignement et quand avait jouait un rôle plus progressif; quelque soit la réponse à cette question, les différences qui persistent dans leurs conséquences jusqu'à nos jours, décidément ne pourraient pas être schématiquement déclarées des déformations ni de part

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> *Code de Gia-long*, art. 109.

ni d'autre. Et il semble que dans l'avenir non plus, ni l'une ni l'autre de ces sociétés, fondées sur des morales divergentes (ou bien seulement sur leurs conséquences), ne sera pas à même de reviser ses idées de base dans ce domaine en faveur de l'autre. Autant qu'on en sache, leur développement restera individuel comme jusqu'ici, ce qui va continuer à engendrer sans cesse certaines différences entre l'Europe et l'Asie, et qui pourront être résolues uniquement en vertu d'une connaissance mutuelle.

En ce qui concerne la relation entre deux jeunes individus, il est à noter que le deux idéologies puisent leurs notion de l'amour dans son sens général, de l'humanisme universel. Alors que l'enseignement chrétien a déclaré cet amour être une qualité naturelle à tout être humain, le confucianisme s'efforce de le cultiver dans l'homme par des moyens divers; il en résulte que dans le premier cas, on met l'accent sur l'amour individuel du sujet, dans le second on fait ressortir quelque institution capable d'assurer cet amour. C'est pourquoi, dans la famille vietnamienne on considère comme naturelle l'existence de quelqu'un qui dirige, gère ou régit tous ce qui concerne la conclusion d'un mariage et qui répond au titre, déjà souligné plus haut, de «personne de qui dépend le mariage».

Selon le cas, cette fonction est remplie par des gens divers: le père, la mère, frères ainés, oncles, etc. Hickey a dépeint l'état de chose actuel à ce point dans la société rurale contemporaine au sud Vietnam: «Beaucoup des mariages à Khanh Hau sont préparés par les parents. Souvent des amis s'accordent que leurs enfants, fois d'âge convenable, concluent le mariage. Ces enfants sont alors élevés dans cette idée et acceptent l'idée sans rouspéter. Souvent les parents du jeune homme préparent son mariage en vertu du conseil de quelque proche ou ami, ou bien confient cette tâche à quelque personne (homme ou femme) plus âgée. Le médiateur doit être de bon caractère, parent de beaucoup d'enfants, et s'il s'agit d'un homme, il est d'ordinaire souhaitable qu'il porte la barbe — marque de sagesse.»<sup>9</sup> Mythologiquement, l'existence du médiateur est dérivée de la Voie lactée (*Ngan ha*) qui représente une barrière séparant Vénus (*Chuc Nu*) de la constellation du Taureau (*Nguu Lang*), qui symbolisent le sexe féminin et masculin. Ces deux êtres mythiques ne peuvent pas se rencontrer (s'unir), à moins que quelqu'un — un tiers parti — ne place un pont à travers la Voie lactée (*O, Cau O*; — *o* = invisible) qui est le signe de l'intermédiaire. Généralement il passe sous les noms de *bang nhan, mai uoc*, ou plus simplement *ong mai*, qui a résolu la tâche de construire le Pont invisible. Il est possible que l'origine de l'intermédiaire matrimonial remonte jusqu'aux temps reculés où les chefs de familles agissaient de leur position de force, par l'intermédiaire d'un envoyé. Plus tard, quand Confucius voulait affirmer la société patriarcale, il eut recours avec

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<sup>9</sup> Hickey, G. C.: *Village in Vietnam*. Yale University Press 1965, p. 100.

profit à cet ancienne institution et, d'un envoyé primitif de clan, il fit un intermédiaire de mariage de grande portée sociale.

Aux temps passés l'institution de l'intermédiaire matrimonial au Vietnam était d'une telle importance que d'habitude la femme refusait de conclure une alliance légitime sans l'intervention de cette personne, et si elle y consentit quand même, elle passait pour quelqu'un à qui on ne pouvait pas se fier. Vraisemblablement, l'intermédiaire était à même d'écartier maints obstacles au mariage, éviter des malentendus, pouvait même parvenir à réduire le nombre des cérémonies préalables au mariage, car c'était «toujours un homme d'âge mur, honnête et instruit, possédant beaucoup de tact et d'esprit et qui, en fait de principe, avait une épouse principale et de nombreux descendants».<sup>10</sup>

Dans la société vietnamienne classique, la fonction de l'intermédiaire revenait toujours aux personnes du côté du jeune homme et elles recevaient la jeune fille. À la suite des consultations avec les parents du jeune homme, l'intermédiaire rendait visite informativement, à la famille de la jeune fille dont les parents — soit qu'ils fussent au courant ou non de sa mission — exprimaient la plus grande surprise à sa venue. Alors ils étudiaient l'horoscope des deux jeunes gens pour trouver s'ils sont mutuellement compatibles, si l'avenir en commun leur permettra d'avoir des enfants, s'ils seront heureux, et si la famille va prospérer. Lors même que la jeune fille ait eu formellement consenti aux négociations, tout d'abord elle effecte une répugnance, mauvaise volonté; et si elle est vraiment en désaccord (dans la plupart des cas ce serait là une bien bonne surprise pour les parents et elle s'en rendrait compte avant d'exprimer son désaccord), c'est d'ordinaire parce qu'elle est encore trop jeune, ou que leurs horoscopes ne présagent pas un avenir favorable.

Cette manière d'intervenir en qualité de médiateur en matières de mariage s'appelle en vietnamien *lam moi* (*lam* — faire, *moi* — intermédiaire). Quant à la situation actuelle, l'affirmation faite par Hickey est, à mon avis, quelque peu précipitée quand il dit que «dans la plupart des cas, c'est une formalité, mais les deux familles sont conscientes que des pourparlers devraient prendre place».<sup>11</sup> Cela heurterait de front l'essence de la morale confucienne qui fuit l'hypocrisie en matières touchant au mariage et par ailleurs, probablement il existe aujourd'hui aussi des raisons bien plus sérieuses qui exigent la préservation de cette institution. Il ne faut pas les chercher uniquement dans la sphère émotionnelle, car les relations sentimentales ne constituaient pas la condition décisive et indispensable pour la conclusion de mariage. Ceci est confirmé par des institutions pareilles dans d'autres pays de l'Extrême Orient. «Au Japon moderne, on trouve deux genres de mariage, certes, égaux selon la loi, mais strictement

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<sup>10</sup> Tavernière, E.: *La famille annamite*. Saigon 1927, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Hickey, G.C.: op. cit., p. 100.

différenciés par l'usage social. L'un, mariage d'amour, ce qu'en Europe on considère comme correspondance idéale entre l'amour et le mariage, et l'autre, conclu en vertu de *miai*, c'est-à-dire, quand les deux fiancés se sont connus par l'intermédiaire d'un tiers parti.»<sup>12</sup> Z. Vasiljevová écrit encore concernant cette deuxième forme: «Les motifs principaux qui donnent l'impulse au procès entier, sont au nombre de deux: Le premier d'eux est la conscience d'une nécessité d'être marié(e), le second est la création de conditions favorables pour ce pas dans la vie, c'.-à.-d., atteindre l'âge de mariage chez la fille et une position assurée chez l'homme. Donc, le premier pas qui mène à la conclusion du mariage ne dépend pas de ce qu'un individu rencontre un autre avec qui il désirerait vivre. L'important dans cette phase initiale est la décision de conclure le mariage; considérations au sujet du partenaire viennent en second place seulement.»<sup>13</sup>

Une absence d'émotions avant la conclusion de mariage est une caractéristique commune à la manière japonaise *miai* et la forme vietnamienne *moi*. Par conséquent, plusieurs critères divers viennent au premier plan et un rapprochement de sentiments commence en fait à se développer seulement quand l'alliance est déjà conclue. De cette façon, l'aspect émotionnel est ici subordonné à l'aspect rationnel en matière du choix d'un partenaire, ce qui comporte la susdite matérialisation d'amour dans cette morale.

«Cependant, alors qu'au Japon ce *miai* a passé par la modernisation, tout spécialement par un changement radical de la décision sur le résultat du rendez-vous»<sup>14</sup> (*miai* littéralement signifie «se rencontrer»), il paraît que les efforts modernisateurs au Vietnam étaient faibles, ou ne trouvèrent pas un tel echo dans la société. Au Japon, un rôle important y fut certainement joué par le facteur d'une rapide industrialisation du pays, alors que les relations sociales et de famille au Vietnam sont restées, même après la guerre, sans aucun changement essentiel et ainsi l'institution de l'intermédiaire du mariage a conservé un caractère traditionnel.

Une comparaison de ce mode de conclure le contrat de mariage avec celui en vogue en Europe élicite tout un complexe de questions de caractère généralement social. Par exemple, la forme *moi* abaisse-t-elle la valeur du mariage ou non? La réponse est assez compliquée, car l'Européen, qu'il le veuille ou non, pense dans les catégories de sa morale et, de ce fait, l'objectivité du jugement serait ébréchée. Par contre, le Japonais ou le Vietnamiens n'a pas l'expérience si consciente du concept d'un amour individuel librement choisi, de sorte que son point de vue est modifié d'une manière différente. Ceci met en cause la question

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<sup>12</sup> Vasiljevová, Z.: ...sans elle la vie n'est pas possible..., Plamen, 1966, No. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

de la portée de certains concepts sociologiques communs, qui demandent la création d'un contenu nouveau pour qu'une validité universelle puisse leur être attribuée. Une autre question se rattachant à cette forme non-intime de faire connaissance est celle du développement sexuel propre des partenaires. De quelque côté qu'on l'envisage, elle paraît un frein de ce développement. «La société européenne a résolu le rôle délicat de la régulation et de la maîtrise de l'amour et du mariage en élevant l'amour au plus haut sentiment...».<sup>15</sup> En obtenant à toutes relations sentimentales préalablement au mariage, la société patriarcale vietnamienne s'est créée de force une institution qui supplée leur rôle. Il est possible que cette institution se conserve toujours, en une forme quelque peu modifiée, tout spécialement à la campagne. Les époux souvent expriment leur gratitude à l'intermédiaire. Au temps entre les premiers contacts et la conclusion de l'alliance conjugale, l'intermédiaire répond de l'interprétation vérifique des engagements pris de part et d'autre. Bien que, une fois le mariage conclu, l'intermédiaire n'est plus tenu à entretenir des relations avec les familles des deux nouveaux-mariés, ce sont précisément elles qui ont recours à lui avec leurs difficultés.

L'intermédiaire n'obtient presque rien pour ses services. Selon les coutumes, il ne demande jamais aucune récompense pour ses bons offices. Donc, il n'est pas un «médiateur professionnel», comme le désignent certains auteurs. Il est à noter qu'au Vietnam, c'est considéré un honneur pour celui qui parvient avec succès à mener deux jeunes gens à conclure une alliance matrimoniale; en outre, c'est une tâche si délicate que les parents la confient uniquement à un homme honnête et respecté. Cette appréciation et, en quelque sens, distinction que les parents confèrent à un homme n'est pas exprimée par une récompense, mais par de petits cadeaux donnés à l'occasion d'une fête ou d'une visite. En cas de décès de l'intermédiaire, les époux qu'il avait aidés vers le mariage lui apportent des offrandes cérémoniales, ce qui donne un démenti complet à certaines assertions que c'est un agent, un entremetteur de familles traffiquant de cadeaux de noces. Cela contredit aussi la requête de Durkheim<sup>16</sup> à savoir, avant d'expliquer une règle quelconque ou une institution, il faut faire cas de son origine. Ici il est question de règles sociales de l'enseignement de Confucius souvent ajustées aux principes de vie de leurs avocats, et préconiseurs.

Par ailleurs, le *Code annamite* interdit le mariage entre personnes du même nom patronymique. Il y a lieu de noter ici que le nombre de noms patronymiques (*ho*) au Vietnam s'élève à une centaine tout au plus. Cette interdiction tire son origine à partir de l'enseignement confucien. Cependant, rien que son principe a survécu les générations passées. La raison n'en est pas difficile à saisir

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Durkheim, E.: *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*. Paris, Alcan 1895.

dans le cas du Vietnam, les noms y étant beaucoup moins variables qu'en Chine. Par exemple, un grand nombre de familles portent le nom patronymique de Nguyen et donc, le code spécifie la différentiation ainsi: des personnes portant le même nom patronymique peuvent mutuellement contracter le mariage si elles n'appartiennent pas à la même branche générique (d'ou aussi l'expression *dong tinh bat dong phai* — de même nom patronymique et non de la même branche). Alors, il ne doit pas y être une appartenance évidente à un ancêtre commun, le fondateur de la famille. Cependant il est difficile de reconnaître en pratique et de déterminer si deux individus avec le même nom appartiennent ou non à des familles d'origine commune. On en peut déduire la conclusion qu'aux temps de Confucius, la règle interdisant le mariage entre personnes du même nom patronymique avait été établie évidemment dans le but de restaurer l'état traditionnel d'exogamie dans le milieu social tout entier. Le fait que ses violations étaient critiquées dans les livres confuciens classiques démontre sa pleine légalité à cette époque. Elle s'étendit graduellement à toute la Chine, puis passa au Vietnam où elle s'est conservée pendant plus de vingt siècles. En Chine, cette règle était appliquée pratiquement dans toute son étendue, sans limitations, alors qu'au Vietnam le Code y a introduit une clause précisant que si les époux portant le même nom ne sont pas d'une origine commune, ils ne sont pas tenus par la portée de la règle.<sup>17</sup> Philastre dans sa traduction du *Code annamite* observe qu'une application directe de cette loi n'est pas possible surtout chez les filles portant le nom de Nguyen, car elles risqueraient de rester célibataires toute leur vie — ceci par rapport au grand avantage de celles qui ont un nom patronymique différent.<sup>18</sup> Cependant, il est douteux si au Vietnam contemporain, où cette règle n'est plus valide législativement, elle a été définitivement délaissée, car le respect rigide des relations de sang — parentage naturel — et la réprobation de l'inceste sont trop profondément enracinées pour qu'elles puissent être exprimées uniquement d'une manière formelle.

En outre, on trouve dans le Confucianisme la limitation au sens qu'un seigneur d'ordinaire défendait à ses serfs de se marier avec des filles de ses propriétés.<sup>19</sup> Cette mesure peut être considérée comme relevant des traces des clans primitifs où tout élément dans l'espace était exactement défini. Cette hypothèse aide à expliquer pourquoi les habitants d'un même village, même à nos jours, rarement concluent le mariage entre eux, donnant comme raison qu'ils sont en quelque sens apparentés. Hickey aussi corrobore ce point de vue quand il écrit concernant un village au sud Vietnam: «L'exogamie villageoise, appliquée avec vigueur avant la deuxième guerre mondiale, n'est plus un objet

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<sup>17</sup> *Code annamite*, art. 100.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., Tome I, p. 515.

<sup>19</sup> Voir *Li ki* (Livre des Rites).

vétiteur, lors même que beaucoup des villageois encore sentent le besoin de donner préférence au mariage en dehors de leur village.»<sup>20</sup>

On peut donc constater qu'il est évident dans la société vietnamienne que deux individus portant le même nom patronymique n'en sont pas inévitablement parents par le sang, mais il est admis que le principe d'interdiction de mariage entre eux peut avoir, en certains cas, une application positive. Ainsi, la législation vietnamienne juge cette question dans l'article 100 du *Code die Gia Long* d'une manière tout à fait sobre, toutefois elle maintient l'interdiction d'alliance légitime entre membres de diverses générations et degrés.

En ce qui concerne l'interdiction de mariage entre personnes appartenant à différentes générations, M. Granet déclare que cela se rapporte à un sentiment «d'horreur de l'obliquité»<sup>21</sup> et Tran Van Trai l'appelle «le respect des appellations». <sup>22</sup> Pour plus de lucidité, assignons des exposants aux diverses générations avec le signe — en sens ascendant, et le signe + en sens descendant, réservant l'exposant 0 aux apparentés de la génération des partenaires. Ainsi, tous ceux qui appartiennent à la génération du père et de la mère portent l'exposant — 1 et, analogiquement, ceux de la génération des grands-parents — 2, des arrières grands-parents (bisaïeuls) — 3, et des trisaïeuls — 4. De même, la génération des enfants portera + 1, des petits-enfants + 2, des arrière-petits-enfants + 3 et leurs enfants + 4. Supposons qu'un homme H<sup>0</sup> se marie avec une femme F<sup>-2</sup>. Dans les circonstances normales, l'homme H<sup>0</sup> adresse cette femme selon la coutume «grande-mère» (*ba*). Cependant, par la conclusion du mariage, celle-ci devient la femme de H<sup>0</sup>, ce qui est considéré, selon la terminologie du système, commeinceste, car la grande-mère s'est mariée avec son «neveu». M. Granet dans son travail cité avant, l'appelle «inceste verbal». Par contre, F<sup>-2</sup> considère F<sup>-1</sup> être son «enfant» et conséquemment, l'appelle *con*, mais du fait du mariage, elle passe à la génération avec exposant 0 et devient ainsi elle-même «enfant» (*con*) F<sup>-1</sup>. D'où le rébus défiant toute solution — comment F<sup>-2</sup>, adressée comme «mère», peut evenir d'un jour à l'autre, «fille» de ces mêmes personnes et en même temps femme F<sup>0</sup>? Des mariages pareils provoquent, comme dit Granet, «un décalage des générations», ce que les Vietnamiens considèrent une monstruosité et vulgairement l'appelle *lôn ngôn* (désordre vaginal). Mais un terme plus à propos serait *ngôn ngôn* (désordre terminologique). Un point de grave conséquence ici était la responsabilité de l'intermédiaire, qui, par exemple, était sujet à être condamné à la potence s'il aurait arrangé un mariage avec une tante du côté maternel.

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<sup>20</sup> Hickey, G. C.: op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>21</sup> Granet, M.: *Catégories matrimoniales et relations de proximité dans la Chine ancienne*. Paris, Alcan 1939, p. 38.

<sup>22</sup> Tran Van Trai: op. cit., p. 108.

Conclusion de mariage ou de concubinat avec la concubine du père ou du grand-père, avec la femme de l'oncle (du côté paternel), lors même qu'elle fut veuve ou répudiée — avec une demi-sœur, comportait selon le *Code annamite* la peine de mort. Le législateur précise que dans ce cas il n'y a pas question d'un mariage au sens propre du mot, mais seulement d'une «prise» (*lay vo*), car «en prenant comme épouse la concubine du père ou du grand-père, la femme de l'oncle ou du frère, on détruit par là les relations de parentés et ce n'est jamais un acte humain, mais un acte bestial».<sup>23</sup> Mais il semble qu'on ne peut pas mettre en opposition formelle et complète (comme le fait le législateur) les deux termes «mariage» (*cuoi vo*) et «prise» (*lay vo*), ou imputer à ce dernier une signification dérogatoire. Les Vietnamiens emploient couramment les deux expressions pour désigner la conclusion régulière d'une alliance matrimoniale, le terme *lay vo* étant plus familier. Cependant, pour le jour de noces, ils emploient l'expression *ngay cuoi vo* où les termes *cuoi vo* ne sauraient être remplacés par l'expression *lay vo*.

Notre analyse de l'article 102 du *Code annamite* nous permet de conclure qu'en toute vraisemblance, le lévirat n'était pas connu des Viets (Kinh), car chez eux le mariage avec une belle-sœur était strictement prohibé et puni. Cependant, on le trouve parmi les membres de certaines minorités nationales (par exemple les Meo). Par contre, le «sororat» n'avait jamais été et n'est pas proscrit chez les Viets (Kinh) et se pratique couramment à la campagne. On ne peut pas souscrire à l'avis de Tran Van Trai qui écrit par rapport à l'existence du sororat au Vietnam: «...le sororat et la polygamie sororale, telle qu'elle existait en Chine féodale, semble avoir été interdite.»<sup>24</sup> Dans sa conjecture l'auteur évidemment considère le fait que dans le *Code annamite*, dans la Table stipulant le deuil pour les parents d'une épouse, figurent aussi ses sœurs aînées, en fait, apparentés d'après le mariage. Cependant, à mon avis, ceci ne constitue pas une raison justifiée pour en conclure à une nonexistence de sororat, et même à son interdiction par la loi. En plus, cela ne correspond pas à l'enseignement confucien sur le respect filial et l'amour envers les vieux qui demande certaines obligations des jeunes envers ceux plus âgés. Il en est de même dans le cas des frères et sœurs, d'où il résulte qu'après la mort d'une sœur aînée, le devoir échoit plus au moins à une des sœurs puînées de se marier avec le mari devenu veuf et de s'occuper de ses enfants et de son ménage. Le fait accentué ici est surtout l'éducation et le soin des enfants qui avaient perdu leur mère. J'avais l'occasion de m'assurer que cette coutume s'est conservée jusqu'au présent et qu'elle est tenue en respect tant du côté des parents que du côté de la société entière. Il est vrai qu'en maints cas cela se pratique sous la pression et la contrainte des parents, cependant, une

<sup>23</sup> *Code annamite*, Tome I, p. 520.

<sup>24</sup> Tran Van Trai: op. cit., p. 110 – 111.

telle conclusion de mariage est considéré même par la génération des jeunes comme quelque chose d'honnête. Par contre, le sororat ne contredit du tout l'interdiction de mariage entre parents, dont l'issue est inceste. Conséquemment, il n'y a pas raison de douter son existence au Vietnam.

Il existe encore une règle qui est observée encore à présent. Elle se rapporte aux mères-veuves qui, en général, ne se marient plus une seconde fois. Un certain rôle y est joué aussi par leur âge — après la trentaine, d'ordinaire elles ne se marient plus (même si elles n'ont pas d'enfants). Cela découle du principe moral de *tiet hanh* (pureté morale et abstention). Le principe physiologico-moral forme la base à deux autres conditions de mariage au Vietnam classique. La première concerne l'âge minimum, c'est-à-dire, une certaine limite d'âge doit être atteinte. Cette condition d'âge, citée dans les codes vietnamiens, tire son origine du Livre des Rites (*Li Ki*), qui y stipule comme minimum 14 ans pour les filles et 16 ans pour les garçons. Quant à la limite de dessus, on y trouve des notions telles que le bon ordre dans l'état a pour base le bon ordre dans la famille, le bon ordre dans la famille est basé sur le bon ordre des rapports sexuels qui à leur tour, doivent être fondés exclusivement sur le mariage que l'homme devrait conclure avant d'atteindre 30 et la femme 20 ans.

La majorité des auteurs sont d'avis que les mariages au Vietnam classique étaient conclus prématûrement, de même qu'en Chine et en Corée (e. g. Saunderson). Cependant, il paraît qu'il s'agissait plutôt d'une conclusion prématuée des fiançailles que de mariage. La législation vietnamienne ne spécifie juridiquement en aucune manière la limite inférieure d'âge pour un mariage légitime. Le *Code de Gia-long* constate de manière générale seulement que «pour tout cas, l'âge pour le mariage des garçons et filles est stipulé».<sup>25</sup> Cependant, dans le *Code des Le* (des temps du roi Le Thanh Ton, 1460—1497) on trouve que le mariage n'est pas autorisé avant que les partis n'atteignent 18 et 20 ans. Ceci est confirmé aussi par E. Diguet quand il remarque que chez les Vietnamiens «c'est d'ordinaire à l'âge à partir de 20 ans chez les hommes et à partir de 18 ans chez les filles que les mariages se concluent au plus tôt».<sup>26</sup>

La seconde condition restreignant la conclusion de l'alliance matrimoniale touche à la période de deuil. Conclusion d'un mariage pendant ce temps constitue une offense grave contre les obligations du respect filial. Cette restriction est en vigueur sans égard au partenaire qui est en deuil. Si des parents ou des proches sont gravement malades, il faut se hâter avec les cérémonies et le mariage, selon le proverbe bien connu *Cuoï chay tang* (que le mariage devance la mort). Essentiellement il s'agit de deux genres de deuil l'un durant trois ans

<sup>25</sup> *Code annamite*, art. 94, Tome I, p. 495.

<sup>26</sup> Diguet, E.: *Les Annamites — Société — Coutumes — Religions*. Paris, Université de Paris 1906, p. 133.

et un moins important. Le premier suit le décès des parents ou de l'épouse, et en certains cas, même des grands parents du côté paternel. Le *Code annamite* dit ceci à ce sujet: «Chacun (garçon ou fille), qui se marie au temps du deuil pour le père, la mère, épouse (concubine), comme aussi la personne dont le mariage dépend, sera puni par 100 coups de la canne. Si le fils au temps du deuil pour son père ou sa mère prend une concubine, ou si une femme (en deuil après son époux), ou la fille (en deuil après ses parents) se marie comme concubine avec un homme, le châtiment dans tous les cas sera réduit par deux degrés.»<sup>27</sup> Quant aux autres genres de deuil, ceux-ci sont moins importants (durent moins d'un an) et le Code n'en s'occupe pas au point de vue du droit pénal. D'autres obstacles placés par la législation patriarcale vietnamienne pour restreindre la conclusion de l'alliance matrimoniale étaient, par exemple interdiction de mariage entre les Viets (Kinh) et membres d'autres nationalités, tels les Khmers, les Chams, les Nungs etc. Cependant les études ne sont pas disponibles qui montrentraient à quel point ces restrictions ont été observées. Cependant, il est de fait que des métis (et métisses) existaient et existent aujourd'hui au Vietnam (lors même que leur nombres ne soient pas importants). Mais il est à observer que le mariages avec un Européen (une Européenne) fut considéré comme une perte partielle de l'identité nationale et qu'en général, il n'était pas approuvé par la société vietnamienne classique.

Hormis la femme, considérée comme la femme principale (*vo chinh, vo ca, the* — au Vietnam du Sud *vo chanh*) et que Philastre dans sa traduction du *Code annamite* nomme «épouse», la société vietnamienne classique connaissait dans certains cas des femmes secondaires (*vo hai, vo le, thiep*). Philastre les mentionne sous le nom commun de «concubines». Chez certains auteurs on trouve la désignation «femme de second rang», mais ce terme ne figure ni dans la législation chinoise, ni vietnamienne. Et aucun d'eux n'est ni précis, ni convenable. Le mot «concubine» évoque implicitement dans le subconscient l'idée de l'amoral, alors que le *thiep* vietnamien jouit d'un statut légal, social et régulier. Par contre, l'expression «femme de second rang» implique l'expression analogue «femme de premier rang», ce qui ne serait pas désirable et signifierait même un changement actuel de sens, car la société vietnamienne classique admettait l'existence d'une seule femme comme «épouse» au sens propre du mot, à savoir, *the*, qui est strictement différenciée dans la législation et ne pourrait être assimilée à aucune des *thiep*. D'ailleurs, comme Tran Van Trai<sup>28</sup> remarque, dans le langage courant on ne dit pas *cuoi vo le* (contracter mariage avec une femme de second rang), mais plutôt *lay vo le* (prendre une femme de second rang). On doit, cependant, observer qu'il n'y a pas une différence claire entre ces deux termes même dans

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<sup>27</sup> *Code annamite*, art. 98: Du mariage pendant le deuil.

<sup>28</sup> Tran Van Trai: op. cit., p. 170.

la législation vietnamienne. Tran Van Trai a pris cette expression d'un passage dans le *Code annamite* qui traite d'une forme de concubinat dont la conséquence est l'inceste. Donc, on n'en peut pas déduire une généralisation absolue que cette expression est usitée dans la terminologie légale sur le concubinat. Dans la langue familiale (comme je l'ai déjà remarqué), l'expression *lay vo* (prendre une femme) et cela sans égard s'il s'agit de l'épouse ou de la concubine, est beaucoup plus courant et possède une signification plus générale. Par contre, le terme *cuoi vo* (contracter mariage avec une femme) est limité dans sa signification et se rapporte surtout directement au jour des noces. Alors, il n'y a pas lieu ici de mettre ces expressions en une opposition sémantique tranchante. Le mariage avec l'épouse principale est sans contredit le plus important, alors que l'alliance avec «une femme de second rang» est influencée par divers facteurs et relations, tels, par exemple, stérilité de l'épouse principale, sa relation envers les parents du mari et inversement, etc. Quoique la terminologie vietnamienne relative à la parentèle permet de mettre en cause des phénomènes sociaux divers, on n'en doit pas moins se garder de tomber dans une terminologie mécanique.

La législation vietnamienne adjuge à la concubine (*thiep*) d'une manière compulsive une existence légale. Le mobile de cette mesure est probablement l'intention d'assurer la continuation de la famille et la préservation du culte des ancêtres. Par contre, cependant, elle spécifie la préséance importante revenant à l'épouse principale (*the*), délimite la position inférieure de *thiep* par rapport à elle, et se prononce avec un air quelque peu hautain de *thiep* en ce sens, que la concubine est admise au ménage, mais qu'il ne lui est due qu'une visite par occasion de la part du mari. Une différence existe entre celle qui est de «haute lignée» et celle qui est subordonnée et aucun échange n'est admissible.<sup>29</sup> La remarque introduite dans article 284 du *Code annamite* fait ressortir encore plus clairement la position sociale différente entre *the* and *thiep*. Elle tient que le mari et l'épouse (*the*) sont des personnes du même degré: Si l'épouse n'est pas sujet à aucune des sept raisons pour être répudiée, le mari ne peut s'en séparer en vertu de sa seule autorité. La concubine ne jouit pas d'une telle importance, et sa position est inférieure. Si le mari l'aime, elle est sous sa protection, si non, elle est généralement répudiée. Ce problème ne présente aucune question d'importance, et la concubine ne peut être jamais considérée comme une vraie épouse.<sup>30</sup>

Autrefois la polygynie était tolérée sans réserve uniquement en cas de stérilité de l'épouse principale. Elle était admise aussi pendant une longue et grave maladie de cette épouse, et aussi en cas où, après 10 jusqu'à 12 ans, celle-ci ne portait pas un descendant mâle au mari. Hickey dans son étude écrit que

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<sup>29</sup> Voir *Code annamite*, art. 96: Commentaire officiel.

<sup>30</sup> Voir *Code annamite*, Explications coordonnées de l'art. 284, De l'épouse et de la concubine qui frappent l'époux, Tome II, p. 331.

«d'ordinaire, le mari prend une seconde femme ou concubine seulement après dix ou quinze ans de mariage», et «qu'au village (Khan Hau) on ne connaît pas des cas de polygynie chez les hommes au dessous de l'âge de trente ans».<sup>31</sup> L'épouse principale jouait aussi dans une certaine mesure le rôle d'une personne de qui le mariage dépend. Sans son agrément formel, le mari ne pouvait prendre aucun concubine. Cependant, ce droit de consentement ne lui appartenait pas si elle n'avait pas ses propres fils qui seraient capables dans l'avenir de conserver le culte des ancêtres. L'institution de femmes secondaires était probablement apportée à partir de la Chine où la polygynie avait été connue pendant plus de deux mille ans antérieurement à notre ère.

G. C. Hickey rapporte une forme particulière du «concubinat» au village du Sud Vietnam. Dans ce cas, la fille reste avec sa famille et son amant y a le droit de visites privilégiées. Cette forme se rapproche d'avantage à l'interprétation européenne de l'idée du concubinat et il serait intéressant d'examiner plus profondément sa motivation au Vietnam. S'il est question d'une telle concubine, son père a le droit de décider si les enfants sont ses héritiers ou non, et la concubine doit s'incliner devant sa décision. Cette question ne survient pas si la concubine vit dans la famille du mari — dans ce cas, les enfants sont les descendants légitimes du pré-mari.

Cette institution du concubinat pratiquement n'existe plus au Vietnam contemporain. Par la Loi sur le mariage et la famille de 1960 dans la République Démocratique du Vietnam, comme aussi par la Loi de 1959, sur la famille du Vietnam du Sud d'autrefois, la légalité de polygynie et du concubinat a été annulée.

En conclusion on peut constater que le mariage patriarcal au Vietnam suivait avant tout un double but: assurer la possibilité d'une durée permanente de la famille et de conserver le culte des ancêtres. Si ces buts ne pouvaient pas être réalisés, le mariage perdait raison d'être et son droit à l'existence.

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<sup>31</sup> Hickey, G. C.: op. cit., p. 112.

## ETHNICITY IN SUB-SAHARAN WRITING

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Criticizing cultural determinism, the paper deals with ethnic elements in modern creative writing of Sub-Saharan Africa. This part of the world with numerous languages and dialects offers a variety of literary works inspired frequently by oral traditions. The paper points out the influence of religious faith upon imaginative writing and discusses both ethnophilosophy and the scientific "new" African philosophy. The case of the Igbo is briefly analysed for illustrating how ethnic elements affect Nigerian English-written literature. Then the paper shows how some African critics tend to ignore ethnicity, which, however, deserves more serious scholarly interest.

The advanced disintegration of traditional social structures in African countries south of the Sahara raises the question of their readiness to accept (or select) essentially alien sets of cultural values in the sphere of social superstructure. Under colonialism and neocolonialism, there has always existed a risk of the mechanical transfer of Eurocentric categories to the phenomena of African history and culture.<sup>1</sup> This risk seems to be imminent particularly in the sociological studies of large African cities where the process of acculturation is proceeding most rapidly. The progress of science and technology brings about an accelerated disintegration of traditional societies, which, however, is not accompanied by an equally rapid constitution of new social relationships.<sup>2</sup> Large numbers of villagers cannot get integrated into urban social structures so rapidly and there ensues a relatively long period of "laborious co-existence of archaic consciousness with various elements of modern ideas".<sup>3</sup>

Our studies in culture development as depending on the standard of social production may enable us to bridge over an imaginary gap between the material and spiritual aspects of culture and to notice their dialectical unity. The spiritual aspect of culture has in fact been overestimated by cultural determinism tending to consider it as a relatively autonomous entity affecting man rather than being affected by man. Man was thus seen as a passive product of the process of culture formation, not as its active agent. In such conceptions, culture appeared to miss its links with social production and to become a motive power of its

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<sup>1</sup> Konrad, N. I.: *Zapad i Vostok*. Moscow, Nauka 1972, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Iordanskii, V. B.: *Khaos i garmoniya*. Moscow, Nauka 1982, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

self-development. Consequently, cultural determinism has encountered with obvious difficulties in interpreting particularities of culture in different parts of the world including Sub-Saharan Africa.

The lack of written historical accounts and other sources has retarded the application of a consistently diachronic approach to the studies in African culture, where accidental features seemingly prevailed over regular ones. Under the specific circumstances of the white man's "discovery" of Africa, scholars had to be content with mere descriptions of the existing situation, frequently viewed as a stable one of long standing. The synchronic approach has affected ethnographic and religious studies but modern methods in history and archaeology have been supporting the diachronic approach.

Cultural values are to be determined according to how they enable man to appropriate reality and to carry out his aims in satisfying his material and spiritual needs. Resulting from biological potentialities, they invariably have to be transformed and included in the process of socially determined activities. But this fundamental prerequisite of the whole mankind explains neither the existence nor the essence of cultural differences. Natural science alone cannot solve the question why advanced civilizations of the past vanished while others rose in the regions that are so backward at present.

Theoretically freeing an individual from his social bonds, cultural determinism tends to ignore collective efforts and their significant role in the process of culture formation. Thus the African's allegedly everlasting psychic qualities (emotionality, conformism, "intuitive" way of thinking, ability of performing repetitive acts etc.) have mistakenly been considered responsible for tribal structure and socio-economic backwardness. Cultural determinism failed to see the long-time exploitation of Africa as a cause of the state of affairs inspiring rather pessimistic opinions concerning the African role in history. With certain modifications, cultural determinism has also stirred up the South African conception of "multiculturalism" as racial segregation.

Neocolonialist and racialist misuse of ethnic differences naturally increases the importance of interethnic integration in unifying national liberation organizations in Sub-Saharan countries. The existence of numerous ethnic groups speaking different languages (or dialects) has been a serious handicap for Pan-African efforts. Some authors<sup>4</sup> even rejected expressions "tribe", "anim-

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<sup>4</sup> Okot p'Bitek: *African Cultural Revolution*. Macmillan Books for Africa, Nairobi 1975; cf. also an analysis of his opinions in G. A. Heron: *The Poetry of Okot p'Bitek*, p. 134 and B. Sharevskaya's introduction to Okot p'Bitek: *Afrikanskie traditsionnye religii*. Moscow, Nauka 1979. Okot p'Bitek recommended only to describe --- not to interpret --- African cults, whereas Sharevskaya correctly points out that "no essential knowledge is possible without interpretation".

ism" etc. as pejorative. Other Africans believe that "tribe" does not mean anything "primitive, bad, reactionary" and contrasting with "good, modern, European" nations.<sup>5</sup> Nowadays, there exist different kinds of ethnic groups in Africa, tribes as well as nations, and ethnic processes are in continuous development.

Another problem is whether the present-day ethnic situation in Sub-Saharan Africa enables scholars to find a common basis of any "Black African philosophy" precisely in traditional religions. There appeared numerous works trying to discover what black Africans have in common and what makes Sub-Saharan Africa different from the other parts of the world.<sup>6</sup> There have been remarkable attempts at emphasizing a contrast between African way of thinking and non-African philosophical trends based on Descartes' dualism.<sup>7</sup> There has also been some amount of scepticism on the part of those who believe that African way of thinking, being essentially religious, lacks any prerequisites for its future orientation towards philosophy.

Non-African as well as African scholars — particularly in the 1940s and the 1950s — devoted their attention to African traditional religions in order to reveal their philosophical essence. Thus, for instance, the so-called Bantu philosophy of living forces was analysed by Roman Catholic theologians in the then Belgian colonies. Traditional myths and cosmogonies were taken for a basis of the so-called African ethnophilosophy, which provoked passionate discussions later on.

Within traditional communities, the process of culture formation presupposes man's adaptation to a particular ecological milieu and resulting cultural values — in the context of Sub-Saharan variety of conditions — have logically assumed numerous specific and differentiating features. On the level of the tribal way of living, culture really tended to possess ethnocentric character and ethniculture could find important formative instruments in language and artistic activities, which, in V. B. Mirimanov's words, "most adequately express ethnic self-consciousness and specificity. An ethniculture's stability is safeguarded by tradition."<sup>8</sup> In his opinion, ethniculture gets oriented towards the past. The

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<sup>5</sup> Chinua Achebe in *In Person: Achebe, Awoonor and Soyinka*. Seattle, University of Washington 1975, pp. 51—52.

<sup>6</sup> This tendency was obvious also in the early works by Nyerere, Nkrumah, Senghor, Kaunda and other African statesmen.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Alsasane N'Daw: *Is It Possible to Speak About an African Way of Thought?* Présence Africaine, 30, 1966, No. 58, where other characteristic speculations of that time can be found.

<sup>8</sup> Mirimanov, V. B.: *Sotsialnye preobrazovaniya i sudby kul'tury v stranakh Tropicheskoi Afriki*. In: *Sovremennye literatury Azii i Afriki i ideologicheskaya borba*. Moscow, Nauka 1982, p. 30.

reason probably is that it is — together with religious beliefs — conserved by tradition.

This does not mean, however, that the Africans' faith has invariably been conservative in politics. In the early development of the national liberation movement, there were very few political parties to express the emancipation aspirations of popular masses in tropical Africa and religious societies and sects often played a positive role in public life.<sup>9</sup> They left the political arena much later when modern organizations including trade unions, political parties, unions of women, youth etc. started their activities. But even then religion continued to play its role in the Sub-Saharan countries and numerous leading personalities in the new independent states found it necessary to proclaim their own attitude to religion. Certain doctrines tended to compromise between socialism and Christianity.<sup>10</sup>

The role of religion has been preserved in Sub-Saharan countries with a strong influence of Islam or Black Islam.<sup>11</sup> In the countries that have not yet been liberated from the (neo)colonialist domination popular religious feelings have been associated with the common people's longing for freedom. Religious cults included pieces of oral tradition which were closely linked up with the often idealized precolonial past. As a result, awakening and reminiscences of old traditions assumed at least partly anticolonialist character, especially in confrontation with what has been brought to Africa by European colonizers. Similarly, folk or biblical accounts and tales might acquire their new political topicality.<sup>12</sup>

In mostly illiterate societies, the oral art of the word has been of great significance; also well-educated Africans, who wished to learn more about their past from such sources, took some interest in collected folk accounts. Simultaneously, they became acquainted with non-African philosophy, realizing and evaluating differences between Sub-Saharan thought and the currents developing outside Africa. Most African students in Europe and in North America have become aware that Sub-Saharan Africa in non-African academic circles has been expected to provide nothing more than the so-called indigenous metaphysics as reflected in folklore and religious cults. Moreover, few non-Africans could study

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<sup>9</sup> Kaczyński, G. J.: *Religijne ruchy obnowy społecznej*. In: *Afryka naszych czasów*. Wrocław, Ossolineum 1976, pp. 195—228.

<sup>10</sup> Senghor, L. S.: *Nation et voie africaine du socialisme*. Présence Africaine, Paris 1961; Nyerere, Julius K.: *Freedom and Socialism*, Dar-es-Salaam 1968.

<sup>11</sup> Mrozek, A.: *Filosofiya chernogo islamu*. In: *Istoriya, sotsiologiya, kultura narodov Afriki*. Moscow, Nauka 1974, pp. 275—305.

<sup>12</sup> Detailed analyses were presented by Veronika Görög-Karady: *Parental Preference and Racial Inequality: An Ideological Theme in African Oral Literature*. In: *Forms of Foklore in Africa*. Austin, University of Texas Press 1977, pp. 104—134.

Sub-Saharan thought for their lack of knowledge of numerous vernacular languages.

Some Africans themselves have tended to relegate traditional myths and cosmogonies to the realm of oral literature, rejecting the idea of the so-called ethnophilosophy. It would have been necessary to dilute precisely its ethnic elements in order to get philosophy as a "pure" science, free from social application.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, ideological conceptions presented by political leaders of the national liberation movement are not accepted as philosophy by the scientific representative of the so-called new African philosophy. For others, however, Senghor, Nyerere, Nkrumah or Kaunda will become philosophers of tomorrow's Africa.<sup>14</sup>

The so-called new African philosophy ignores political, economic, ideological, military and other applications of science and overestimates the relative independence of social superstructure. Much as it emphasizes philosophy as new "pure" science, it is liable to treat it in the spirit of religion. In fact, the so-called new African philosophy does move within a triangle demarcated by Islam, Christianity and animism, though its authors usually speak about the West instead of Christianity and about spiritual heritage instead of animism.

The philosopher's origin from Africa and his intention are not enough to create a new philosophy but it is worth noting that there has been done so much to satisfy the continent's alleged need of a unifying philosophy. There obviously prevails an opinion that European and North American philosophical doctrines as they appear in a more or less systematic form in published books have been products of an established research process, which has provided them with some universal applicability to various situations.<sup>15</sup>

But we are not justified to talk of any unifying African philosophy embracing the continent as a whole and the black man's culture is a pure abstraction. Mirimanov's analysis of traditional cultural elements shows them as closely related with their counterparts in traditional cultures of other continents. Local specific features can clearly be discovered only on the level of a particular tribal culture, whereas the elements existing in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as in other parts of the world are not racial, specifically ethnic symptoms but symptoms of a particular stage of development, which are common to all cultures on the same level of development.<sup>16</sup> Despite the local peculiarities of tribal symbols and

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<sup>13</sup> Hountondji, P. J.: *African Philosophy*. London 1983, p. 71 sqq. and Abiola's Irele's Introduction to this book, p. 28.

<sup>14</sup> Ruch, E. A.: *Is There an African Philosophy?* Second Order (Ile-Ife), 3, 1974, No. 2, pp. 3—21.

<sup>15</sup> Alo, O. I.: *Contemporary Convergence in Sociological Theories: The Relevance of the African Thought-System. Theory Formation*. Présence Africaine, 1983, No. 126, p. 47.

<sup>16</sup> Mirimanov, V. B.: op. cit., p. 32.

patterns, we may suppose that the symptoms of a certain stage of development now continuing in Sub-Saharan Africa occurred also many centuries ago when tribal communities in Europe were passing through the same stage of development.

All this can well be applied to the interrelations of oral traditions and written literatures. It is characteristic that creative writing in European languages is now studied within the present day political entities — independent countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, while oral traditions are analysed on the level of tribes or other ethnic groups of a lower degree. For instance, we speak usually of "Nigerian literature" meaning a rising national literature produced mostly in English but we feel that most of what has been produced in the Igbo language belongs to the field of folklore rather than that of literary history and criticism. Consequently also critical criteria differ as Sub-Saharan vernacular languages have a more or less (or no) advanced standard literary form.

The Igbo writers' part in Nigerian English-written literature exceeds the Igbo proportion in the total number of Nigeria's population. This is partly due to the Igbo writers' activity, partly due to the fact that the Igbo generally prefer publishing their works in English. The traumatic experience of the late 1960s has relegated ethnic specificity to history and folklore but this may be understood mainly as a tendency in the present-day "anti-tribalist" conception of cultural policies in Nigeria. While ethnicity is still present even in literatures of European national states, it could not have disappeared in the independent countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. It does exist also in Nigerian culture, where interesting differences between ethnic groups can be followed. Among the Igbo, for instance, there has been much emphasis laid on group solidarity probably resulting from their way of living in the countryside. In the past, the Igbo never reached so high a degree of centralization as the Yoruba who created their own kingdoms and empires.

Among the Igbo, aristocratic or semi-feudal traditions are lacking. Their collective self-confidence has resulted from their appurtenance to an advanced ethnic group, enhancing at the same time their individualism. This individualism is "rooted in group solidarity".<sup>17</sup> Life in traditional Iboland was illustrated by a number of concentric circles: individual, family, extended family, village, village group, Igbo people.<sup>18</sup> We can follow how national written literature has been enriched by a number of folkloric anecdotes, fables and proverbs taken over from the Igbo oral tradition. E. N. Obiechina even mentions their "fas-

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<sup>17</sup> Ochendu, V.: *The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria*. New York 1966, p. 103.

<sup>18</sup> Okafor-Omali, D.: *A Nigerian Villager in Two Worlds*. Faber and Faber, London 1965, p. 32.

tidious art of conversation... raised into a ritual act of social communion".<sup>19</sup> Let us remember here R. N. Egudu, who compared the role of fabulous or folkloric anecdotes with "salt put into one's story" as "a mark of effective story-telling in Igbo tradition".<sup>20</sup>

Oral histories or historical descriptions, which have been passed over from one generation to another, are often used by historians but for their relative accuracy<sup>21</sup> they are usually excluded from literature "because they lack as rich a fantasy element as other materials...". But they should not be excluded, says Simon Ottenberg,<sup>22</sup> who believes that despite their accuracy they have remained an important part of oral creative literature. Similarly, the Igbo proverbs belonged there though they possess at the same time five other principal functional properties: depersonalization, foregrounding, authoritativeness, reference to societal norms and values, and prestige.<sup>23</sup> The Igbo speakers tend to avoid expressing their ideas directly and often quote "traditional wisdom" for giving advice, pointing out an offence save a relationship, defeating an opponent through a verbal duel, making peace through reconciliation, etc.<sup>24</sup>

The Igbo proverbs are not only embellishing vignettes of art but also perform their utilitarian function as "Igbo culture is constantly anxious to remind you of the complexity of the world".<sup>25</sup> Sub-Saharan authors trying to utilize ethnic folklore, imagery and ideas in their work written in European languages had to look for their specific methods of "translation". This is how Gabriel Okara proceeded to Africanize his English:

"I have endeavoured in my words to keep as close as possible to the vernacular expressions. For, from a word, a group of words, a sentence or even a name in any African language, one can glean the social norms, attitudes and values of a people. In order to capture the vivid images of African speech, I had to eschew the habit of expressing my thoughts first in English. It was difficult at first, but I had to learn. I had to study each Ijaw expression I used and to

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<sup>19</sup> Obiechina, E. N.: *Culture, Tradition and Society in the West African Novel*. London, Cambridge University Press 1975, p. 166.

<sup>20</sup> Egudu, R. N.: *Achebe in the Igbo Narrative Tradition*. Research in African Literature, 12, 1981, No. 1, p. 53.

<sup>21</sup> Isichei, Elisabeth: *Igbo Worlds*. Philadelphia 1978.

<sup>22</sup> Isichei's book was reviewed by Simon Ottenberg in *Research in African Literatures*, 12, 1981, No. 1, pp. 120—121.

<sup>23</sup> Penfield, Joyce A.: *Quoting Behavior in Igbo Society*. *Research in African Literatures*, 12, 1981, No. 3, p. 312 sqq.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 332.

<sup>25</sup> Chinua Achebe in an interview at the University of Florida at Gainesville. *Research in African Literatures*, 12, 1981, No. 1, p. 2.

discover the probable situation in which it was used in order to bring out the nearest meaning in English. I found it a fascinating exercise.”<sup>26</sup>

The language distribution may depend on literary forms and genres as suggested by Chinua Achebe: “I think certain ideas and certain things seem better done in Igbo and other things seem better in English — that’s poetry. I have not written any fiction in Igbo. I don’t think I want to do that. I would probably write some play...”<sup>27</sup> But though we speak of English in general, we are aware that its Africanization differs, which was well pointed out by Kofi Awoonor:

“...each of us will bring into the English language our own understandings, our own transmutations of our own languages into English. So when I write English it will be a bit different from Achebe’s English. Achebe recreates Igbo in his English, and in a lot of my poetry I recreate Ewe. And I’m sure that Wole Soyinka creates Yoruba in very large segments of his novel, or even his poetry. So we carry the distinction belonging to these specific linguistic groups, but yet the thrust is to deal with a certain consensus of emotions, consensus of awareness, or concerns, to create an amalgam out of our total experience.”<sup>28</sup>

The same writer discussed the question of how English could become internalized into an African cultural system, how it could “become an internalized weapon of our own self-assertion”. He mentioned the need “to liberate ourselves from the stranglehold of Western cultural structures” as the first step and continued: ...“then in the same process we reassert those vanishing cultural forms of our own history, our own culture, our own traditions.”<sup>29</sup>

Achebe’s optimism was expressed in his well-known essay as follows: “I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings.”<sup>30</sup> For this purpose, he simulates “in English the language used in Ibo villages. In other words he consciously fashions an Ibo prose style in English.”<sup>31</sup> G. D. Killam reminds us “that African writers are faced with difficulties not usually encountered by novelists writing in a world language, in this case English”.<sup>32</sup> Under

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<sup>26</sup> Okara, G.: *African Speech... English Words*. In: *African Writers on African Writing*, London, Heinemann 1973, p. 137.

<sup>27</sup> *In Person: Achebe, Awoonor and Soyinka*. Seattle, University of Washington 1975, p. 27 (Achebe’s televized discussion).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 154 (Awoonor’s class discussion).

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>30</sup> Achebe, Chinua: *English and the African Writer*. Transition, 1965, No. 18, pp. 29—30.

<sup>31</sup> Lindfors, B.: *Yoruba and Ibo Prose Styles*. In: *Folklore in Nigerian Literature*. New York, African Publishing Corporation 1973, p. 168.

<sup>32</sup> Killam, G. D.: *The Novels of Chinua Achebe*. London, Heinemann 1969, p. 7.

such circumstances, an African writer has to choose: "He can try and contain what he wants to say within the limit of conventional English or he can try to push back those limits to accommodate his ideas. The first method produces competent, uninspired and rather flat work. The second method can produce something new and valuable to the English language as well as to the material he is trying to put over. But it can also get out of hand. It can lead to bad English being accepted and defended as African or Nigerian."<sup>33</sup>

Similarly optimistic views were expressed by John Pepper Clark, when dealing with the task of any Nigerian or African artist:

"...finding the verbal equivalent for his characters created in their original and native context. The quest is not on the horizontal one of dialect and stress which are classifications of geography, society, and education. It is on the vertical plane of what the schoolmasters call style and register, that is, the proper manner, level and range of dialogue and discussion... there is a faithful reproduction of the speech habits of one people into another language..."<sup>34</sup>

There are, of course, important differences concerning African vernacular languages. No rich Igbo-written literature has developed so far as "the Igbo parents let their children read English — the language of opportunity — enabling them to gain a position of power in colonial Nigeria, while the Igbo language was neglected".<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, Swahili as a literary language can boast of a long and impressive tradition. "It is not associated with any particular ethnic group, nor even with any particular nation, being widespread in Somalia, Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya."<sup>36</sup>

Consequently a writer who does not want to get cut off from lower social classes tends to use it in East Africa. Ngugi wa Thiong'o expressed the following opinion:

"An African writer should write in a language that will allow him to communicate effectively with peasants and workers in Africa — in other words, he should write in an African language. ... Market pressures might even have the added advantage of forcing those who express themselves in African languages to strive for local relevance in their writing because no peasant or worker is going to buy novels, plays, or books of poetry that are totally irrelevant to his situation. Literature published in African languages will have to be meaningful

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<sup>33</sup> Achebe, Chinua: *The Role of the Writer in a New Nation*. Nigeria Magazine, June 1964, No. 81, p. 160.

<sup>34</sup> Clark, J. P.: *Aspects of Nigerian Drama*. Nigeria Magazine, June 1966, No. 89, p. 125.

<sup>35</sup> Gérard, A.: *African Language Literatures*. Washington, Three Continents Press 1981, p. 260.

<sup>36</sup> Booth, J.: *Writers and Politics in Nigeria*. London, Heinemann 1981, p. 63.



to the masses and therefore much closer to the realities of their situation.”<sup>37</sup>

Ngugi’s ideas are neither accepted nor followed by most African writers of our time. Although the second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Rome (1959) proposed to choose and enrich one African language, little has been done so far. Moreover, Olabiyi Babalola Yai has warned us: “It should not be taken for granted by critics that any material, just because it is written in an African language and labelled poetry or fiction, is literature. African literature in African languages receives little encouragement from African states, most of which have no cultural policy thus perpetuating the cultural policy of the colonial powers.”<sup>38</sup>

A better approach to oral traditions — and traditional cultures in general — would require significant modifications within the present-day educational system. There have remained survivals of the colonial past as Olabiyi Babalola Yai correctly observes: “Most specialists of African oral literature and their Euro-American mentors in a teleological and apologetic gesture, try to equate oral literature with folklore... the European schema is not necessarily universal. In other words, folklorization of literature can and must be reversed in Africa.”<sup>39</sup>

In the literary field, there has risen a production of genuine fiction instead of pieces of anthropology. But similar tendencies have developed in Sub-Saharan culture as a whole. Achebe stressed this dynamic change in the following words: “The only place where culture is static, and exists independently of people, is the museum, and this is not an African institution... This has been the problem of the African artist: he has been left far behind by the people who make culture, and he must now hurry and catch up with them — to borrow the beautiful expression of Fanon — in that zone of occult instability where the people dwell.”<sup>40</sup>

We have mentioned the Igbo case as one example of ethnicity exerting some influence on English. B. Lindfors has shown that the Igbo English-writing authors prize verbal economy instead of verbal ebullience, for they would far rather instruct than entertain. They aim at a realistic rendering of moral truths and of straightforward message as content has always been considered more important than form in Igbo villages, whose vanishing rural democracy conflicts with the continuing process of urbanization in south-eastern Nigeria. B. Lind-

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<sup>37</sup> Ngugi wa Thiong’o: *On Writing in Gikuyu*. Research in African Literatures, 16, 1985, No. 2, p. 151.

<sup>38</sup> Yai, Olabiyi Babalola: *Fundamental Issues in African Oral Literatures*. Isala, 1982, No. 1, p. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>40</sup> Achebe on Commitment and African Writers. *Africa Report*, March 1970, p. 16.

fors quotes an interesting letter written by Peter Young: "The Yoruba hierarchical kingship system may have encouraged ornamented oratory while Ibo democracy fostered direct but figurative communication."<sup>41</sup>

The new industrialized centres with their modern requirements of production greatly affect social structures. "The Igbo personality has changed hardly at all in the course of two hundred years but the Igbo community, under the pressure of an outside world and of passing time, has changed very markedly and so has the relation of the individual to the community."<sup>42</sup> Hence the frequent theme of psychological disintegration in modern Nigerian novels written by the Igbo authors. And analogical relationships can be followed in other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa as well. "We can substitute any other ethnic group in place of the Igbo and what its members write regarding their contact with whites will hold true for other African societies... All African writers are faced with the problem of making both the novel and the foreign languages respond to their own literary aesthetics and thought patterns."<sup>43</sup> Let us add that ethnic criteria in African literary criticism provoke numerous objections. For instance, Ernest Emenyonu's monograph *The Rise of the Igbo Novel* was objected to because it deals with novels not in Igbo but in English though written by Igbo-speaking Nigerians.

As the author tried to follow Igbo thoughts and feelings as they are conveyed in a foreign language, Biodun Jeyifo in his review asks the following question: "What criteria make the "thoughts and feelings" expressed in such novels as *No Longer at Ease*, *A Man of the People* and *My Mercedes Is Bigger Than Yours* irreducible "Igbo thoughts and feelings"?"<sup>44</sup> The reviewer here observes one of the effects of the ideology of particularistic ethnocentrism: "obscurantist and mystificatory masking of the needs, feelings and aspirations across the ethno-national groups making up the Nigerian population".<sup>45</sup>

His attack on ethnocriticism does not concern a single monograph but the possibilities of studying ethnicity in Sub-Saharan literature in general. This task is undoubtedly difficult as "any work executed by an individual informed by the unique values, perceptions, aesthetics, and the whole system of social, political, and economic structures of an ethnic group — black or white, Moslem or Christian, educated or nearly illiterate — contributes to and defines the litera-

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<sup>41</sup> Lindfors, B.: *Folklore in Nigerian Literature*, p. 175.

<sup>42</sup> Olney, J.: *Tell Me Africa*. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1973, p. 160.

<sup>43</sup> Phanuel Akubeze Egejuru reviewing Ernest Emenyonu's *The Rise of the Igbo Novel* (Ibadan 1978). *Research in African Literatures*, 13, 1982, No. 1, p. 79.

<sup>44</sup> Biodun Jeyifo reviewing Emenyonu's book in *Positive Review*, Ibadan, 1, 1979, No. 3, p. 42.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

ture of that group".<sup>46</sup> Thus Emenyonu was only one of those who "test the validity of the assumption that every tribe or group of related tribes produces a distinctive literature, even when its writers express themselves in a foreign language".<sup>47</sup>

Jeyifo's approach to ethnocriticism or the exclusive, emphatic concentration on ethnic literatures, or the ethnic background of African literatures in English, French or Portuguese can be characterized by the following quotation from his above-mentioned book review:

"Ethnocriticism is a delicate, ambiguous affair, especially when carried into literary works in an adopted national lingua franca, and when promoted by Western scholars, acting, consciously or unconsciously, under the imperialistic design of divide-and-scatter-in-order-to-dominate. Ethnocriticism has both a positive, healthy possibility for African national cultures, as well as negative, chauvinistic and obfuscatory dangers in "wrong" hands or insufficiently perceptive minds."<sup>48</sup>

Whereas B. Lindfors believes that it "seems quite legitimate for literary critics to search for tribal prose styles in African literature in English",<sup>49</sup> some African philosophers and critics tend to consider this search for ethnicity as something alien to their present-day needs. This brings us back to their rejection of ethnophilosophy; by the way, this term was suggested by an African philosopher.<sup>50</sup>

Discussing theory and practice in African philosophy, one interesting article in Positive Review comments on this problem as follows: "Can one speak of ethnomusicology, ethnolinguistics or ethnophilosophy? Decidedly not. Only ethnology, which is a discussion conducted by the West on other cultures, exists... our Young African Hegelians, who see themselves as iconoclasts, almost never glimpse the relevance of African languages to African philosophy... Could it be that their elitist concept of philosophy relegates African languages to the realm of mythology and poetry while the European languages which they speak (and because they do?) are thought to be better suited to philosophical discussion?"<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Armstrong, R. P.: *The Characteristics and Comprehension of a National Literature — Nigeria*. In: Proceedings of the Conference on African Languages and Literatures, Northwestern University, April 1966 (Ed. Jack Berry), pp. 120—121.

<sup>47</sup> Lindfors, B.: *Folklore in Nigerian Literature*, p. 155.

<sup>48</sup> Biodun Jeyifo in his above-mentioned review of Emenyonu's book, p. 41.

<sup>49</sup> Lindfors, B.: *Folklore in Nigerian Literature*, p. 156.

<sup>50</sup> Towa, M.: *Essai sur la problématique philosophique dans l'Afrique actuelle*. Yaoundé, C.L.E. 1971.

<sup>51</sup> *Theory and Practice in African Philosophy: The Poverty of Speculative Philosophy*. A review of the work of P. Hountondji, M. Towa et al. Positive Review, 1, 1979, No. 2, p. 15.

Despite this scepticism, ethnicity in Sub-Saharan writing is to be studied in close connection with the present-day social and economic development, which depends primarily upon the following factors: decolonization, progressive policies of African governments and systematic creative activities of their citizens,<sup>52</sup> directed against tribalism, survivals and backwardness.

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. also factors of advancement in *Afrika: kultura i obshchestvennoe razvitiye*. Moscow, Nauka 1984, p. 370.

## SYMBOL AND MYTH IN IBIBIO CULTURES

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This essay is based on the data collected in 1983 and 1984 in five Ibibio villages in Nigeria. The study emerged as the result of the examination of several events in relation to symbols and myths among the Ibibio people. The paper attempts to relate myths and symbols to social relationships and show that Ibibio beliefs, practices and world view cannot be understood unless through an analysis of the interaction of myths and symbols.

Anthropologists have used projective data from supernaturalism, art, folklore, humour, myths and other sources to probe sociocultural and personality forms (Barnouw, 1963; 197—330). Other scholars and professionals such as theologians, psychologists, philosophers, sociologists and art historians have also analysed societies through their myths and symbols. The earliest anthropological study of symbols such as those of Durkheim in his analysis of totems as "flags" and symbols with reference to social groups, dealt exclusively with religion and rituals. Myths and symbols do not exist in culture merely as constant verbal and expressive forms but also they play an active role in social affairs. The living myths of human communities are true stories presenting in symbolic form — through characters, actions, objects, events — truths about the most deeply felt, shared experiences of the people whose traditions they are part of. Myths provide the basis of the meanings and values that make up the community's world, a guiding model for its members' activity in the world. Myths, as Malinowski (1944, 1960) has observed, are real for they do not only acquire greater concreteness, they also become culturally effective forms. They, as every single element in culture, are contributing factors to the maintenance and continuity of social groups. Myths therefore are means to an end which instrumentally satisfy social and spiritual needs. They are spoken of contextually in relation to the culture as coherent whole. Among the leading theories of myth are Emile Durkheim, Bronislaw Malinowski, A. R. Radcliff-Brown and Claude Levi-Strauss. Discussing myth as an aspect of religion, Durkheim holds that myth arises following ritual in order to explain it. "In principle, the cult (ritual) is derived from the beliefs, which Durkheim most confusingly calls "mythology". But the mythology of a group is the system of beliefs common to the group. So the rite serves and can serve only to sustain the vitality of these

beliefs, to keep them from being effaced from memory (1966: 49). Where Durkheim considers myth less important than ritual, Malinowski considers it more important than ritual. It serves, he says to justify phenomena. The myth comes into play when rite ceremony or a social or moral role demands justification, warrant of antiquity, reality, and sanctity (1948: 84—85). Myth justifies phenomena of diverse kinds, not only natural occurrences and catastrophes but also, for example, kinship systems, beliefs, morality, magic and ritual. The survival of society depends on the continuing acceptance of practice of these phenomena. Whatever phenomena myth concerns, it justifies in a single, limited way, not by making them good but by making them unavoidable. “The function of myth, briefly, is to strengthen tradition, and endow it with a greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, more supernatural reality of initial events” (Malinowski, 1948: 122). Myth does not rationalize the world, it pronounces the world not the best possible one but, in the wake of primordial events, the only possible one.

Radcliffe-Brown, like Malinowski, discusses myth from its functional perspective. Myths, according to Radcliffe-Brown, uphold society by similarly kindling of feelings, positive or negative, toward phenomena with a social value. In the last twenty years a reaction to the lopsided emphasis by all of these “functionalists” on the practical aspects of myth and religion has inevitably developed and intellectualist views have re-emerged. Among the leading contemporary theorists of myth is Levi-Strauss. Whereas Tylor saw myth as evincing the content of primitive thought, Levi-Strauss sees it as evincing its structure. Myth, for Levi-Strauss reveals the way man thinks. Every man, he maintains, thinks in form of classifications and projects them on to the world. He thinks in the form of not just any classifications, but specifically pairs of oppositions which Levi-Strauss classes “binary oppositions”. Not only myths and science, which Levi-Strauss treats as taxonomies, but all human activities display man’s pairing impulse. Myth is distinctive because it not only expresses oppositions, which are equivalent to contradictions, but also resolves them. Contradictions expressed in myth are many and are apparently reducible to instance of the fundamental contradiction between “nature” and “culture”, a contradiction which stems from the conflict man experiences between himself as an animal, and so a part of nature, and, himself as a human being and so a part of culture. That conflict is simply the projection on to the world of the oppositional character of man’s mind.

The actual function myths fulfil is subject to observation and interpretation. Moreover, the actual social unit which myths serve may fluctuate in size from an individual person to a splinter group, to an ethnic group, and to a nation. On the basis of such consideration, Leach (1954, 1964) and Firth (1960, 1967) reversed the interpretation of the function of myths conceiving of them, among

other things, as manipulative and divisive rather than as cohesive and integrative forces. Agreeing with the general thesis of Malinowski's, Thomas Williams considers the myths of North Borneo as having validating, explanatory, and magical functions. They serve as a conceptualizing mechanism and as he puts it "as one of several integrative forces in maintenance of social structure" (1955: 38). From this perspective, myths function in rhetorical contexts, social conversations, personal interactions, and even in individual attempts to cope with conflicting forces.

Because myths are presented through the medium of a symbolic story and not in the form of rational propositions, they draw the community into a relationship with the "world" of the myth, into a participation in the sacred dimension of reality expressed in the myth. The truth of a myth then in its form as a symbolic story depends upon its ability to express these deeply felt, shared experiences of a community. But the need to relate one's experience to myths seems to persist in various forms in all human history. Even in the modern world where there is such an emphasis as explaining things in terms of rational propositions or abstract ideas there is a human tendency to "make" myths, and a common need to relate one's life to myths.

### Some Preliminary Definitions: "Symbol" and "Myth"

As used in current literature, the terms "symbol" and "myth" refer to very complex human realities. A symbol may be defined as "a stimulus largely verbal, pictorial, or material — which stands in place of, or suggests, or represents, some object, situations or relationship, by reason of some association of the two in experience" (Young 1956: 92). A symbol is actually an abbreviated substitute for something else, the relationship to which is analogous to the relationship of a part to a whole. In theory, as Dewey (1910: 171) has said "we care nothing for what they are in themselves, but everything for what they signify and represent". Symbols thus have dual aspects, "a literal reference and a much greater range of unwritten meaning, implication and emotion" (Slote, 1963: p. v). Symbols are therefore "masks" for social reality (Duncan, 1968: 6).

As agents charged with messages and with invitations to conform and to act symbols thus have instrumental value: as instruments of expression, of communication with stores of meaning, of knowledge and of social organization and social control. Stated otherwise we may say that a symbol is a special kind of sign which has social consensus and convention to back it up; "we organise or adjust our behaviour toward things and persons by means of symbols and these symbols come to embody a plan of action" (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1949, 1956, 1968). When a sign becomes a true symbol, it points to a meaning or set of meanings "larger" than what it signifies in ordinary experience. Because sym-

bols appeal to the observers' experience, senses and life processes, they have more than just a rational thought component. The natural experience mediates an effective relationship with the symbolized, thus it is not always easy to say what a symbol means, as for example, symbols like the Cross for Christians or ancestral skulls in certain Ibibio societies. Symbolism thus seems to be the only way human beings express deeply felt, shared experience. Some writers have gone beyond this and have pointed to a general attitude towards the world that is implicit in the very use of symbols and therefore common to all those who use language. They have called this general attitude the "categorical attitude". In its simplest terms it may be described as the realization that

- (i) things can be named and talked about;
- (ii) events and objects may be grouped or classified, and
- (iii) by naming and classifying the features of our environment new modes of behaviour, as well as new possibilities of manipulating that environment are brought into existence.

On the other hand myth may be defined "as an imaginary interpretation of past, present, or future events" (Young, 1956: 196). As part of its belief system every society has its myths. Myths are not created out of nothing but rather they have a basis in some crisis. They arise sometimes as a wish-fulfilling device in some difficult situation and serve to stabilize man in the presence of distress. Myths not only take as narrative and descriptive form, but become associated with various rituals and ceremonies. According to Malinowski (1926: 18—19).

"Myth as it exists in a savage community,  
that is, in its living primitive form, is  
not merely a story told but a reality  
lived. It is not of the nature of  
fiction, such as we read today in a  
novel, but it is a living reality,  
believed to have once happened in  
primeval times, and continuing ever  
since to influence the world and human  
destinies. The myth is to the savage what  
to a fully believing Christian, is the  
Biblical story of creation, of the Fall,  
of the Redemption by Christ's sacrifice  
on the Cross. As our sacred story lives  
in our ritual, in our morality, as it  
governs our faith and controls our conduct,  
even so does his myth for the savage.

Studied alive, myth is not symbolic, but  
a direct expression of its subject matter;

it is not an explanation in satisfaction of a scientific interest, but a narrative resurrection of primeval reality, told in satisfaction of deep religious wants, moral cravings, social submissions, assertions, even practical requirements. Myth fulfils in primitive culture an indispensable function; it expresses, enhances, and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man. Myth is thus a vital ingredient of human civilization; it is not an idle tale, but a hard-worked active force; it is not an intellectual explanation or an artistic imagery, but a pragmatic character of primitive faith and moral wisdom."

Myths, symbols, characters, objects, actions and their interrelationship express and communicate universal values which guide the community's life. Myths lead to observable behaviour usually prompted by some situation, objects, art or symbol, and directed towards an end. Symbols and myths have some conscious or unconscious intentionality; both interact in crucial ways that determine the actions and relationships between individuals and societies. Their interactions are mutually reinforcing involving an assignment of meanings which generate propensity to act in a particular, often predictable way, and through which an individual actor and groups of people interpret the world around them and conduct themselves accordingly. Specifically, myth and symbol are related in their interaction in two ways. On the one hand, some myths deal with common "archetypal" human experiences such as death, sexuality, ritualism, discordance or evil in the world. The process here seems to follow the human experience that is "projected" into particular symbols only to be interpreted by means of mythical stories. For example, people view death as inconsistent with their desire for life. This may be expressed symbolically by the society in the image of a snake shedding its skin yet continuing to live. A mythical story is created out of this which tells of a skin-shedding, life-renewing process on the part of human beings. This process is later interrupted from which death occurs (Flannery, 1959: 439). Myths of these kinds have speculative, explanatory or problem-resolving functions.

On the other hand, other myths are related to a particular context and history of human groups and concern the origin of the group, its basic way of life, social instructions etc. Such myths not only employ central symbols drawn from the

experience of the group, those symbols also appear in a ritual or communal celebration of the group evoking those important myths by which the community understands itself and makes sense of its historical experience. Such symbols in Ibibio societies would include the ram, the cock, the yam — depending upon the group. Similar symbols in Christian religion would be the Lord's Supper, the Cross, the Kingdom of God. In these cases, the powerful actions related in the myths become a reality for the participants in the ritual.

### Symbols, Myths, and the Understanding of Culture

A reasonably safe generalization about observable social structures is that they are characterized by a variety of symbolic forms. Most of the contemporary interactionist — oriented research that examines the nature of man's response to his environment has emphasized that man not only creates and manipulates symbols he also relates to his external environment through the medium of symbols. As Cassirer has rightly said:

“Man lives in a symbolic universe...  
(He does not) confront reality immediately,  
he cannot see it, as it were, face to  
face... Instead of dealing with  
things themselves man is in a sense  
constantly conversing with himself.  
He has so enveloped himself in linguistic  
forms... that he cannot see or know  
anything except by the interposition of  
this artificial medium.”

Thus, man's environment, does not consist merely of natural and external events and processes, it also includes the symbols by means of which man names, classifies, and forms conception of things as well as of the world of ideas and values. These symbols are products of group living. They reflect the fact that the members of groups in the process of communication and adaptation devise linguistic schemes for classifying, describing, and responding to persons, objects, and events.

But culture is not only made of symbols. It is made of myths as well. The relationship between the three is a dialectical one. Each is in interaction with the other. Neither culture, nor myth, nor symbol is understandable only in terms of itself. Each is defined largely in terms of its opposition to, and accommodation and reinterpretation of the other. Consequently, none necessarily forms a single coherent system of beliefs and actions.

Research that has been done by anthropologists, social psychologists and sociologists indicates very strongly that there is a constant interplay between the

cultural, the mythical and the symbolic both in terms of individuals moving from one sphere to another, and in terms of elements from the culture passing to one of myth and from one of myth to one of symbol. Field research has further shown that culture, myth and symbols are not only related, man's ideas about them, interpretation of, and participation in them flow back and forth between them all. The lines in which culture, myths and symbols exist cannot be drawn so easily, but they do exist.

Finally, there is a constant process whereby man's ideas, beliefs, forms and practices which have emerged out of his myth into his symbol reach towards his culture. According to Clifford Geertz (1973) culture is just not concrete sets of behaviour patterns that can be listed as customs, usages, traditions and clusters of habits, or even language, food habits, arts, taboos, religious practices, myths, and marriage customs. Rather culture can be thought of as humanly created networks of meaning, socially established, embodied in signs, symbols and myths.

By way of these networks, human beings communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge and attitude towards life — their world view and ethos. At the same time these networks provide a kind of "recipe" which gives order, form and direction in life.

A culture's basic meanings, myths and values may never be explicitly expressed in the form of abstract propositions. Rather they may be communicated and preserved through its institutions, accepted patterns of behaviour, social and economic relationship expressed in a wide variety of symbolic forms.

Culture, myth and symbol each has a certain structured systematic aspect each of which is interrelated and interact in a dynamic way. They become pathways for reinforcing traditional meanings and values for processing new ones, as well as for correlation, integration and innovation.

### Symbols, Myth and Religious System

Among the symbolic systems operative in a culture, the religious system stands out as the more comprehensive, fundamental and compelling expression of the community's way of thinking about and relating to the world. Sacred symbols express negative as well as positive values, pointing to the existence of evil as well as good and the conflict between them. Cultures and myths form ideas about evil in terms of destructive forces interpreting murder, crop failure, famine, illness, earthquakes, poverty and oppression in a way that makes it possible to come to terms with them.

In a religious system, there are certain dominant symbols and myths — i. e. the Cross, the Eucharist and Genesis (Leach, 1969) for Christians, the ram and blood and ancestral skulls for the Ibibio. One will likely relate to different

dimensions of a people's life experience and so convey in a condensed way many meanings and values. These symbols are key elements in myths and rituals.

They can shift in meaning when a shift in context or life situation occurs and innovation can be expected. New elements may be incorporated into the traditional meaning system. Or new symbols may be assimilated into the existing system and traditional meanings attached to them. This has been the case in the initial stages of Christian conversion. Or old symbols can take on new meanings, and this would be an important dynamic to take into account in the process of Christian evangelization. The role of myth as a dynamic religious symbols has been brilliantly discussed by Edmond Leach (1969: 7).

According to Leach (1969: 7)

“It is common to all mythological systems that all important stories recur in several different versions. Man is created in Genesis (1: 27) and then he is created all over again (ii: 7). And, as if two first men were not enough, we also have Noah in chapter viii. Likewise in the New Testament, why must there be four gospels each telling the ‘same’ story yet sometimes flatly contradictory on details?”

Among the functions of a culture's central religious symbols, system the following are particularly important:—

- (i) It explains and expresses certain deeply felt, shared experiences of the present.
- (ii) It helps the individual to classify and order his experience, enabling him to integrate himself into society and the world.
- (iii) It validates social institutions and norms of conduct.
- (iv) It sanctions as well as supports authority.
- (v) It provides for the transmission of valuable information from a generation to generation.

### The Setting

The Ibibio are the fourth largest ethnic group in Nigeria. Located in the South-east in what is now Cross River State, they number some four million people. The basis of Ibibio social organization is patriliney coupled with virilocality.

The central theme of Ibibio religion is the worship of an all-powerful deity who rules the physical universe. God (Abasi) is viewed as the creator who cares for all creatures. He is the Father with whom every believer may have a close

and direct relationship. This view of God represents that part of Ibibio Christian's view of the Universe which is closely related to the Bible, and in which they further recognize Satan as being in opposition to God (Abasi) and Jesus Christ as the Son of God and Saviour of mankind.

But what the Ibibio Christian meets in church does not necessarily account for the people's Christian's world-view. More often than not, this world is also inhabited by dead ancestors not far from him in Heaven, but present in his homestead approving and disapproving anything that he may do. There are also the "bad people" with evil minds. They represent a source of misfortune in the sense that they harm others.

Ibibio tradition however, does not ascribe all misfortunes to supernatural causes since there are "medicine men" who counteract natural causes of misfortune. Usually, the ancestors may punish the neglectful and disobedient, and are particularly severe as breaches of discipline and of duties which members of the family owe each other and the family head. In short, it is the way the Ibibio view the universe that governs and determines their reaction and adjustment in almost every aspect of cultural life, though to a varying degree. For sociological purposes, the manner in which man "adapts" himself psychologically is immediately relevant only in so far as it throws light on the nature of the adaptation itself. For the Ibibio, their adaptation involves a positive acceptance of the world or universe as it is found. This includes phenomena that are regarded as inexplicable and unpredictable. But more explicitly the Ibibio adaptation provides a system or techniques for dealing with such phenomena. Such a system does not claim complete efficiency, but it offers what one can consider as a reasonable and working hypothesis of supernatural manipulation. One such hypothesis is demonstrated in their myth and symbols.

### Some Ibibio Examples: Symbols

Since a people's symbol evolve from their shared experience including their environment, history, and traditions it is possible to talk of certain natural symbols that are based on common human experiences that go beyond the bounds of culture. Some examples of these would be meanings associated with natural elements like water, fire and blood, although the symbolic meanings that these elements convey in a particular human context will be determined as well by such culture-specific factors as environment and traditions. A basic symbol like water conveys several meanings and values that touch many areas of life. Some of the meanings conveyed in an Ibibio context include: life (as necessary bodily fluid, as blood); refreshment (as drink, as coconut milk); red (as danger, as fire, as a bad omen); nourishment (as source of food, as a woman's milk); black (as impure; as devilish, as full of guilt); destruction (as

flood); growth (as rain, as embryonic fluid); power (as painful) white (as pure, as goodness). From this description we see that the meanings and element such as water conveys are founded on common human experiences such as the need of water for bodily functions and plant growth. But they also depend on historical-environmental experiences such as flooding. Whatever complex of meanings an element like water takes on in a cultural context will be reflected in social institutions and established patterns of behaviour then expressed and reinforced in rituals and myths. Blood conveys some overlapping meanings in Ibibio cultures. In the first instance it is viewed as a substance working individuals and groups within the society. In the second instance blood is viewed as a bodily substance that is the “giver of life”, “umiana idoho se owo abiat” is a common saying among the Ibibio (literally it means, blood is too precious to be destroyed). Other natural objects and processes associated with a people’s culture specific way of life are likely to become symbolic mediums for conveying important meanings and values of the group. In Ibibio, some examples are the cycle of planting and harvesting, the “red” and “black” colours; feasting and exchange. The same is true of cultural artifacts such as musical instruments, weapons (bows and arrows). Certain objects are created specifically for symbolic functions usually associated with ritual such as masks, “spirit houses” and dancing regalia.

### Some Ibibio Examples: Myths

According to Kirk (1970: 254—255) the functions of myth can be roughly divided into four main types. In using his typology for analysing Ibibio myths, it is important to note that a single myth usually has several functions.

#### 1. A narrative and often entertaining function

This engages the imagination of the hearers and draws them into the “world” of the myth. This is especially significant in cultures like those in Ibibio which rely heavily upon memory and oral means for communicating knowledge.

#### 2. A model-providing, repetitive, validating set of functions

These functions are important in myths concerned with the established order of present experience or order seen as the outcome of the originating activities of certain kinds of beings in some kind of primordial time.

These tend to be symbolically re-enacted in ritual or on ceremonial occasions so that the power made available in the mythical action becomes operative in the present. Many fertility myths are of this kind. Such myths validate and give emotional support to the attitudes and beliefs of the existing socio-cultural background. They provide a charter for social identity and institutions (marriage, exchange, etc.), for methods of food production, for differentiation of social roles, for establishing land boundaries. Many Ibibio myths function as such.

### 3. A speculative and/or explanatory function

Some myths attempt to resolve certain oppositions such as life and death, male and female, nature and culture. In Ibibio, many myths seek to explain certain outstanding cosmological or geographical features, the origin of sexual relationships and why human beings die. Other myths offer imaginative speculations about the life of sky beings, or noon people, or life beyond death.

### 4. An eschatological or apocalyptic function

Ibibio myths projects an eschatological vision. There is concern with the continuous cycle of life, though people do look back with nostalgia to good times in the past in the hope these will be repeated. Many so-called “cargo” myths have an apocalyptic function; they point to some kind of dramatic reversal of the present historical situation, usually within the foreseeable future. To illustrate the multi-functional and multi-levelled character of some of Ibibio important myths, I take as an example a traditional narrative of the Ikot Ufok people as told by my informant:

“First there was a hyena “Atan Ekpe” —  
who came down, went to the base of  
very large tree, He bit off the roots  
and dug holes under the trees. Then he  
pulled the first humans out of such holes  
in many places. The people were glad to  
be out of the ground. They danced and  
sang. But these first Ikot Ufok people  
had not carried any food with them.  
The dance made them hungry and they wanted  
food, but another animal (edue ekpene)  
remained in the hole eating the food.  
Neither hyena “Atan Ekpe” nor the  
people dared go down into the hole to  
get some of the food from “edue ekpene”.  
Finally the swallow “okudan ubon”  
(the literary meaning of this name  
is the “razor of the King”). It  
went into the hole but was  
frightened. He tried again, and  
was still frightened. The third  
time, he managed to snatch the  
remaining food from edue ekpene and  
ran outside with it. The people were  
very angry with “edue ekpene”. They

swore that they would kill him and eat him up as he ate their food. They thanked "hyena" "Atan Ekpe" for bringing them out of the hole. They also thanked "swallow" (okudan ubon) for getting a part of their food from "edue ekpene"."

When edue ekpene came out of the hole to get the food from swallow (okudan ubon) the people closed the hole but he escaped into the bush. From that day on, edue ekpene did not live in a hole again. In considering this myth in relation to the first three types of functions, we could say that some elements of the narrative have an obvious relationship to its story-telling function, namely — mentioning of the people's anger after dancing; the swallow's three attempts before actually succeeding to get the remaining portion of the food.

The story also relates the emergence of the first people from the ground; their anger with "edue ekpene", and their happiness with "the hyena" and "the swallow". It refers to the establishment of the peoples' history with some animals. For while 'edue ekpene' is a "good meat" for Ikot Ufok people, they do not eat 'atan ekpe' and 'okudan ubon' — the animal and bird that helped them at the time they were in need of food. Myth thus functions in various ways. A simpler myth which illustrates a common mythical tradition of many Ibibio societies is the story on how "coconuts (isop eyop) came to Ikot Ekop". This is reported as given by my informants.

"Once a couple and their daughter lived in a small village near a big forest in Ekpene Ete. One day the little girl went to dig for yams. When she returned from the garden, her mother said "my daughter, will you go and fetch some water for us? We have no water left in the house". The girl went to a little spring a long way from the house. While she was gone, her parents cooked and ate all the yams which she had dug all by themselves. Returning from the spring, the girl saw her yams were gone and said "Who came and took my yams away?" Her mother said, "I am very sorry, but your

uncle came, and we gave the yams to him.  
He is already gone”.”

The same happened day after day, until one day the girl was so sad that she refused to go to the garden. So her parent left her in the house and went by themselves to the garden. After they left, the girl got up and started to pack her belongings...she carried them down to the beach and looked for a tall tree which was bending towards the sea. She climbed the tree to the very top and threw her belongings down to the sea where big fish tore them to pieces. After this, she threw herself down, and the crocodiles came and ate her up leaving her head floating on the sea.

When her parents came home, they saw no sign of their daughter, so they began to look for her. Many days later the girl’s mother got her fishing net and went down to the beach to fish. When she arrived there, she caught sight of something floating on the water. As she went nearer, she saw that it was her daughter’s head. She caught it with her net and took it back to show to her husband and buried it near their house. The following morning when they went outside, they saw a tree growing on the spot where they had buried their daughter’s head. The tree had a strange fruit on it which was very sweet to eat. This is how they found the “coconut”.

This myth has a theme common among tropical tuber cultivators. It is related to the figures in certain traditional narratives — culture heroes, “mbio ekon eset” whose lives mixed human, pre-human and supra-human activities. They were the originators of significant features of Ibibio material, social and religious culture. Very often this happened as the result of their death giving rise to a cultural practice or institution. The availability of coconut as food following the girl’s death is a common example of similar myths among agricultural peoples. The cause of death is usually presented as some fault or mistake in the life history of culture heroes committed either by themselves or by someone else. In case where the heroes were killed, sometimes at their own request, their creative, spiritual power was released by sacrifice, and this power became available to the killers and other descendants.

Earlier, I suggested that myths can “die” when their meaning loses contact with the ordinary shared world of experience in a particular human context. Myths can also change or be revived for a similar reason. They can be interpreted to integrate new experiences. This has often been the case in the initial appropriation of Christian beliefs and practices by Ibibio societies, especially where Christianity has been introduced side by side with other changes brought about through European culture contact. Messenger describes how the Annang Ibibio used their myth to interpret the economic, social, political, and religious

changes that came with the colonial administration and the Christian missions (Messenger 1959). This interpretation of Christianity that evolved on the basis of the traditional framework of the Annang myth identified Jesus Christ as a "hero", a powerful source of "odudu". Certain Christian practices are thus seen as a means of access to the fruits of this "odudu", namely, the kind of wealth and power which Europeans obviously enjoy in comparison with the local people. Thus, a peoples' symbols and myths are important means for identifying and coming to understand their guiding ideas, values, interests, significant life processes, aspirations and questions some of which will likely continue through changing circumstances.

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## THE ROLE OF METAPHOR IN THE EXTENSION OF INDONESIAN AND MALAY VOCABULARY IN COMPARISON WITH MAORI

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Lexical metaphors occur in all languages but they play a more prominent part in some languages than in others. They appear in critical situations. From this point of view the vocabulary of Malay and Indonesian is of a special interest. The motivational diversity of the Malay and Indonesian metaphor can be reduced to several basic conceptual models. A comparison of Malay and Indonesian data with Maori indicate that there are some significant differences linked to the differing functions of those languages.

Vocabulary is more than any other language level exposed to external stimuli and pressures that force it incessantly (although gradually) to accommodate to changing demands of communication in human society.

However, the systemic nature of language guarantees that changes that take place are not chaotic (despite a rather loose structuration of the domain of vocabulary) but are regulated intralinguistically. The development of vocabulary is a time-oriented and irreversible process. This means that individual elements may disappear from the vocabulary without leaving any traces but, on the other hand, new elements do not appear suddenly. Quite the contrary, in a decisive majority of instances they are linked to the extant system via their motivation that is a factor supporting the continuity of language development and likewise a guarantee that each signal carries some degree of information even for those who can derive their interpretation of this signal only from its internal form. Thus, together with the system of derivative mechanisms and phonetic restrictions (cf. the process of borrowing), the motivation belongs to the inventory of means serving the regulation of language development. It is important because the communicative collapse can be avoided only provided form tends to lag behind content or, in other words, if old means are used in new functions (so-called reproductive assimilation).

New lexemes are frequently linked to the vocabulary in a metaphorical way. There can be no doubt that metaphor covers a very wide range of phenomena and cannot be confined to the vocabulary. However, in this paper we concentrate upon the metaphor as a means of extension of the word stock. For this

purpose we shall define it as a device that makes it possible to refer to a phenomenon with means that are conventionally used to refer to another phenomenon (cf. Petrov 1985: 204). This implies foregrounding connotative aspects (cf. Mirvaldová 1972) as well as a certain interpretational openness and internal bi-planarity of the metaphor.

An adequate description of the metaphor requires distinguishing deep and surface levels. Upon the deep level tenor interacts with vehicle (Richards 1936) as representing such two conceptual domains that are conventionally more or less incompatible. This structure may be projected upon the surface level in more than one way. If only lexical metaphors are taken into account, unary and binary metaphors may be distinguished. As far as the unary metaphor is concerned, it is represented only by the vehicle (upon the surface level) while in the binary metaphor both terms are explicitly present upon the surface, i. e. vehicle and tenor. Truly enough, the tenor may be represented indirectly, one could almost say metonymically. E. g., in the lexical metaphor *mata hari* (literally eye of the day) sun the vehicle is *mata* eye but the tenor is hinted at by *hari* day.

The question of metaphor is sometimes restricted to the so-called live metaphors, i. e. metaphors that are still felt to be creatively individual and lacking unambiguous interpretation that is assigned only to conventionalized metaphors. In truth, the semantic mechanism of metaphor is present even in the so-called established metaphors and the latter are no less interesting than the live metaphors, at least from the cognitive point of view. That is why they are of equal importance for linguistics, cognitive psychology and philosophy.

Even if lexical metaphors do occur in all languages of the world, they seem to play a more prominent part in the derivation of some languages than in that of others. Languages differ also as to the relative frequency of unary and binary metaphors in their vocabulary. Each of these two types has advantages and disadvantages of their own. The most undesirable by-product of unary metaphors in vocabulary is an increase of homonymy. On the other hand, binary metaphors are too long and awkward. Therefore they often undergo a reduction consisting in the elimination of the tenor.

Binarity, i. e. syntagmatic nature of quite a few metaphors indicates that they come into being during the process of communication, in the speech, as free collocations of words. They appear in those situations when it is necessary to designate a phenomenon for which there are no ready-made adequate linguistic means available. Such situations may be termed critical and there are several types of them. For instance, euphemisms are being resorted to when the social convention compels the speakers to refer to unpleasant phenomena in descriptive terms. Courtesy again elevates speech when one feels like paying his respect to the hearer or to the other persons while word taboo forbids to use conven-

tional word labels for other reasons. And, finally, in some instances a need arises to achieve an efficient communication with a relatively restricted inventory of basic lexical units. This last mentioned reason is obviously instrumental in extending the vocabulary of languages that function (or functioned) in inter-ethnic contacts, i.e. as lingue franche.

In this respect the vocabulary of Malay (Indonesian) is of a special interest. Malay has been used for centuries as a communicative means by many different peoples of the Southeast Asia, both in the insular world of present-day Indonesia and the littoral zones of the adjacent Asian continent. Originally, Malay was the first language of the inhabitants of East Sumatra and the opposite peninsula. However, its position as a lingua franca of the Southeast Asia was different. As such it was used in a fairly restricted set of functions and these circumstances do not lead to any increase in the complexity of morphology. It would be likewise disadvantageous to have a vocabulary consisting of a great number of disparate lexical units not connected with motivational links. Quite the contrary, in a situation when the participants of the communication act have to master a language in as short a time as possible, it is useful to possess a simple grammar, esp. morphology, as well as a fairly small number of basic, unmotivated lexical units that may serve as a basis for creating new lexemes with the aid of transparent combinatorial rules that are easily understandable. In such a case we may assume an increased incidence of compound and complex lexical units many of which are metaphorically motivated.

The metaphorization itself takes place along several lines. Usually it is analogy that is regarded as a basis of metaphorization. For example, R. J. Sternberg assumes that something new can be understood by the way of the old only via analogical reasoning and because analogy comprises a wider interval of mental phenomena than metaphorical thought, metaphor may be considered to be a form of analogical reasoning (Sternberg 1977). In Malay (and Indonesian) vocabulary, there are more than enough examples of metaphorization based upon functional analogy, cf. the following metaphors: *bunga uang* interest (literally flower of money), *anak bukit* hillock (lit. child of a hill), *ibu kota* capital (lit. mother of the cities), *tahi besi* rust (lit. filth of iron), *air mata* tears (lit. water of the eyes), *kepala susu* cream (lit. head of milk), etc.

It would be, however, wrong to ignore metaphors based rather on external similarity than on strict functional analogy, e.g. *ular danu* rainbow (lit. snake of water), *ubat bedil* powder (lit. medicine of guns), *mata air* spring (lit. eye of water), *daun telinga* auricle (lit. leaf of the ear), *gigi rambut* uneven fringes of hair (lit. teeth of hair).

Lexical metaphors in Malay (and Indonesian) are not felt as decorative element by the speakers of the language. They serve practical purposes and extended expressive possibilities of the language, and therefore, instead of being

individually original or aesthetically efficient, they are valued for being easy to understand, transparent and accessible to as many speakers as possible. This demand is especially imperative in those languages that are used in the interethnic contacts and have undergone the process of a spontaneous pidginization and creolization as, for example, Malay. It is therefore not surprising that the motivational diversity of the Malay (and Indonesian) lexical metaphor is only seeming and can be reduced to several basic, virtually universal models according to the conceptual characteristics of the metaphorical vehicle. These metaphorical models both increase the semantic transparency of the vocabulary and derivation and, at the same time, they are means of the internal organization, structuration of the vocabulary.

An investigation of the Malay vocabulary (Wilkinson 1961) indicates that the basic metaphorical models used in creating new lexemes are: (1) human or animal organism or rather its basic anatomy, (2) human social organization, (3) plant organism (usually tree), (4) natural phenomena, (5) activities and properties of human beings. Artefacts, fauna and flora are used much less frequently in the metaphors. This survey shows that lexical metaphorical images are usually taken from the human world (items 1, 2, 5), which confirms the predominantly anthropocentric nature of language and thought.

As far as the first domain is concerned, the vehicle is often represented by *kepala* head (e. g. *kepala daerah* district chief, *kepala lakon* protagonist, *kepala kereta api* engine, *kepala susu* cream, *kepala tahun* beginning of the year, etc.), *mata* eye (*mata air* spring, *matahari* sun, *mata jalan* scout, *mata kayu* a knot in wood, *mata jerat* eye of a snare, *mata luka* orifice of a wound), *mulut* mouth (*mulut sungai* mouth of a river, *mulut kulit* pore, *mulut meriam* mouth of a gun barrel), *gigi* teeth (*gigi rambut* fringe of hair, *gigi hutan* forest margin), *kaki* foot, leg (*kaki langit* horizon, *kaki dian* candle-stick), *tahi* filth, excrement (*tahi angin* light clouds, *tahi besi* rust, *tahi bintang* meteorite, *tahi gergaji* sawdust), etc.

The most frequently metaphorized words from the second conceptual domain are *ibu* mother (e. g. *ibu akar* main root, *ibu jari* thumb, *ibu kota* capital, *ibu kunci* lock, *ibu pasir* gravel, *ibu sungai* main riverbed, *ibu tangga* railings) and *anak* child (*anak baju* petticoat, *anak bukit* hillock, *anak jentera* wheel-spoke, *anak kunci* key, *anak lidah* uvula, *anak panah* arrow, *anak saku* small pocket, *anak tangan* finger, *anak sungai* stream, *anak tangga* stair, *anak telinga* tympanum).

The conceptual domain of the plant organism is often represented by words such as *pokok* root, stem, metaphorically cause, origin, basis, capital (*pokok hujan* rain cloud, *pokok kalimat* subject of a sentence (the gist of a thought), *batang* stem, stalk (*batang hari* noon, *batang air* river, *batang tubuh* trunk), *daun* leaf (*daun dayung* oar, *daun telinga* auricle), *buah* fruit (*buah baju* button, *buah bibir* or *buah mulut* subject of conversation, *buah pikiran* thought, *buah hati*

sweetheart), *bunga* flower (*bunga api* fireworks, spark, *bunga latar* prostitute, *bunga tahi* indecent talk, *bunga bibir* flattering, *bunga uang* interest on money, *bunga tanah* humus, *bunga air* small fish).

The conceptual domain of natural phenomena may be documented with such words as *air* water (*air mata* tears, *air kelapa* coconut milk, *air muka* face expression), *angin* wind (*kabar angin* rumours, *masuk angin* catch cold, *percaya angin* vain hope, *cakap angin* boast, *kereta angin* bicycle), *api* fire (*kereta api* train, *api-api* matches, *tali api* fuse).

The conceptual domain of human activities and conditions is frequently utilized in metaphors. This is especially true of *makan* eat (*makan angin* breath fresh air, *dimakan air* washed away by water, *dimakan api* burnt, *dimakan karat* rusty, *dimakan peluru* killed with a bullet, *makan ampun* beg for mercy, *makan bawang* angry, *makan darah* fret, *makan emas* take a bribe, *makan hak* trespass upon one's rights, *makan sumpah* perjure, *makan tangan* hit with the fist), *buka* open (*buka bicara* begin to speak, *buka akal* broaden mind), *main* play (*main angin* unpredictable, *main gila* joke, fool, *main mata* wink, flirt, *main perempuan* chase women, *main pukul* hit at random, *main tangan* gesticulate, *main tembak* shoot without provocation), *hidup* live (*gambar hidup* movie, *menghidupkan lampu* light the lamp, *menghidupkan mesin* start the engine), *mati* die, dead (*mati rasa* apathetic, *gambar mati* slide, *harga mati* fixed price, *pintu mati* forgotten door, *lampu mati* the lamp went out, *jalan mati* blind alley, *huruf mati* consonant, *suku mati* closed syllable), *duduk* sit (*duduk perut* pregnancy, *angin duduk* chronical cold, *lampu duduk* desk lamp).

A separate category is that of words with spatial meaning which may be transferred into the temporal domain, which seems to be a universal phenomenon throughout the world. This will be illustrated with, for example, *panjang* long, *pendek* short, *belakang* behind (also later, afterwards), *muka* in front (also before), *jalan* way, road (*jalan sejarah* course of history, *jalan lima tahun* five years have elapsed), *antara* between (also a time interval).

However, words belonging to the spatial conceptual domain can also be metaphorized into another domain, always referring to abstractions, e. g. *tinggi* high may also mean important, superior, generous, expensive while *rendah* low may also mean cheap, humble, etc.; *tebal* thick also means strong, insensitive, stupid, frequently in combination with other words (*tebal jangat* insensitive, *tebal hati* merciless, *tebal muka* insensitive, impudent, *tebal telinga* indifferent, unabashed, stubborn, *tebal kantong* rich); *tipis* thin also means slight, slim (e. g. *harapan tipis* slight hope, *kantong tipis* poor, without money, *tipis telinga* touchy, irritable, sensitive); *sempit* narrow may also be used in the meaning restricted as to time or abilities (*sempit pekerjaan* busy, *sempit hati* explosive).

The metaphorical basis is easy to detect with many of the so-called numeratives that in fact subdivide nouns into several classes. They are obligatory when

the nouns combine with numerals. For instance, the numerative *buah* fruit is used for counting round objects; its productivity seems to be growing. Another numerative, *biji* serves for counting small objects, *batang* for cylindrical objects. Some of the numeratives are of a metonymic nature, e. g. *ekor* tail (used for counting animals), *catuk* spoonful (used with liquids), *cekak* a bit (used for salt, spices, etc.). The numeratives in general seem to classify nouns upon the basis of directly observable, external properties of their referents.

Interesting facts have been revealed through comparison of Malay and Indonesian with Maori (data taken from Williams' dictionary 1957), a language belonging to the same Austronesian family and notable for a historical development in isolation from external influences. In this respect Maori may be said to differ markedly from Malay or Indonesian. In addition to this, Maori was always the medium of a single, relatively small people inhabiting a fairly moderate territory. Despite obvious differences, however, some basic regularities may be observed to hold in both languages. Thus there are very many lexical metaphors in Maori that utilize notions from the human world, especially from the domain of human organism (anatomy). Social organization is also used, even if less frequently than in Malay or Indonesian. The degree of utilization of human activities and conditions is roughly the same in both languages. Lexical metaphors based upon the anatomy of plants and trees are quite common while metaphors based upon fauna are more common in Maori than in Malay and the same is true of metaphors utilizing natural phenomena.

The first conceptual domain (human anatomy) will be exemplified with these expressions: *aro* forehead (*aro maunga* mountain face), *ate* liver (metaphorically heart, emotion), *ewe* placenta (land of birth), *arero* tongue (upper point of a wooden sword), *hinengaro* spleen (seat of emotions, heart, desire), *hope* loins, waist (main body of an army), *huru* hair (brushwood, undergrowth), *ihu* nose (bow of a canoe), *iwi* bone (nation, people), *ngutu* mouth (mouth of a river), *kaokao* ribs (side of a boat), *kuuwaha* mouth (entrance), *koromatua* thumb (chief), *mahara* spleen (thought, memory, recollection), *manawa* belly, bowels (bowels of the earth, heart, breath, patience, mind, spirit), *mata* eye, face (surface, edge, point, headland, mesh of a net), *matikuku* nail (claw, hoof), *nifo* tooth (thorn, edge), *pewa* eyebrow (new moon), *rae* forehead, temple (promontory, headland), *upoko* head (*whakaupoko* upper end of a cultivated field; *Ka ara te upoko o te tai* flood is starting; literally, the head of sea is rising), *tuaraa* back (ally, support), *whatumanawa* kidneys (heart, seat of the affections, bowels of the earth). Animal anatomy is closely linked to this domain and represented by e. g. *hiku* tail (*hiku awa* headwaters of a river, *hiku wai* ibid. or light early rains, *hiku tau* head of a valley, end of a season, *hiku toto* expedition to avenge murder).

As far as the domain of social organization is concerned, the most frequently metaphorized terms are *ariki* chief (*Ariki mata nui* the moon on the tenth day,

literally chief of a large face, *ariki rangi* the name of a star which marks the sixth month), *atua* deity (*atua piko* rainbow, literally crooked deity), *matua* parent, father (division of an army, hull of a canoe, body of a calabash, placenta, *matua iwi* main range of hills), *tama* son (*tama roto* emotion, desire, *tama a hara* object of revenge).

The domain of plant anatomy is also used to some extent, cf. *hiwi* dead branch (genealogical branch), *kau* stalk (handle of a tool), *kaawai* shoot, branch of a gourd (pedigree, lineage), *koouru* top of a tree (head of a river or valley, *koouru matangi* first puff of a breeze), *mae* withered (languid, struck with astonishment, paralysed with fear), *manga* branch (brook, rivulet, ditch), *more* tap-root (cause, extremity), *pouaru* a solitary branch (widow, widower), *pua* flower (foam of the sea), *tara* thorn (horn of the moon, rays of the sun, courage), etc.

Natural phenomena are also metaphorized as illustrated by *amai* swell on the sea (giddy, dizzy), *hoata* the moon on the third day (pale, colourless), *huka* foam, frost, snow (trouble, agitation), *koorehu* haze, mist, fog (regret, disappointment), *kare* ripple (long for, desire ardently; *kare a roto* object of passionate affection), *poo* night (Hades), *poko* extinguished (beaten, defeated), *poouri* dark (sad, distressed), *rangi* sky (high chief), *rehu* haze, mist, spray (dimly seen, obscure, render drowsy or unconscious), *tai* sea, tide, wave (anger, rage, violence), *taawhati* ebb (die).

Human activities and conditions may be exemplified with such lexical metaphors as e. g. *ara* rise (*araara* renowned, much talked about), *mate* die (go out, deeply in love), *moe* sleep (die), *oro* sharpen (defame, backbite), *paahao* catch in a net (acquire information stealthily, glean), *pupuri* hold (keep in memory), *taakiri* untie, loosen (free from tapu), *tinei* put out, quench (destroy, kill).

Unlike Malay and Indonesian, a prominent part is played by the domain of fauna in Maori lexical metaphorization. Thus *huuia* Heteralocha acutirostris, a rare bird, may refer to anything much prized. Likewise, *ika* fish may metaphorically denote something valuable (cf. *ika toto nui* chief, i. e. a fish of great blood, *ika nui* god, *ika takoto a Tiki* corpse, literally a stretched fish of Tiki where Tiki is a deity, *Ika Roa* The Milky Way, i. e. The Long Fish, *ika whenua* main range of hills, i. e. fish of land; *ika* itself may also refer to a victim in war), *kaahu* hawk (chief), *kekeno* seal, sea-lion (figuratively chief), *koohanga* nest (birthplace, fort), *manu* bird (person held in high esteem, *manu waero rua* violent wind, literally bird of two tails), *mangoo* shark (*Mangoo Roa* The Milky Way, literally The long Shark), *paraaoa* sperm whale (also chief, well-born, aristocratic).

Flora is metaphorized at rare occasions in Maori (cf. *kahika* white pine, figuratively chief). On the other hand, the domain of artefacts is a fairly common source of metaphors, cf. *kaha* rope (line of ancestry, lineage), *imu* earth oven (*imu rangi* sun-dog, fragmentary rainbow, literally oven of the sky),

*koopere* sling bow (rainbow), *kete* basket (uterus), *pou* post, pole (support), *takere* keel, main part of the body of a boat (chief of a tribe), *tau* string, loop (*tau o te ate* deep emotion, literally string of the liver), *tatau* door (*tatau o te poo* death, literally the door of night), *whare* house (*whare hau* a bank of clouds betoking wind, literally the house of wind, *whare o te riri* a part of the picked braves of the army, literally the house of wrath).

It is no surprise that the spatial conceptual domain is metaphorically utilized to refer to time, e. g. *tuuaarangi* distance (ancient, old), *mua* front (before, in the past, but in the expression *a mua* since now), *muri* rear (in the future, afterwards), *roa* long, tall (also of long duration).

The comparison of the lexical metaphor in Malay (Indonesian) and in Maori confirms the essential role of anthropomorphism via which the human body is utilized as an important motivational source for the extension of vocabulary in various conceptual domains. Its basis may be seen in the analogy of relations holding among parts within a whole. Within the domain of social organization it is the opposition parent (more frequently mother than father) — child (or son) that is used, especially when it is necessary to stress differences in size, importance or causality. Human activities and conditions are metaphorized in accordance with the cognitive advance from concrete toward abstract. The same is true of the metaphorization of the domain of natural phenomena that is especially helpful in the emotional sphere when it is necessary to describe or stress human feelings and moods.

It is hard to decide whether the lexical metaphor is more frequent in Malay (Indonesian) than in Maori. However, Malay (Indonesian) clearly prefers binary metaphors, probably because their considerable transparency especially suits the communicative needs of interethnic contacts.

A contrastive study of two languages does not permit any inferences concerning the universal validity of the lexical metaphors. Too little research has been done along these lines. But the conclusions arrived at by M. Coyaud in his description and classification of Japanese metaphors in the domain of fauna and flora indicate that this is a promising subject of future investigation (Coyaud 1974: 123—144).

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## CULTURALLY CONDITIONED SHIFTS FROM MULTIWORD TO ONE-WORD UNITS IN THE LEXICON OF MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC

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In the present study, some types of culturally conditioned shifts from multiword to one-word units in the lexicon of Modern Written Arabic are examined. These cases of lexical restructuring are presented in terms of a comparison between the early 19th century lexical units and those drawn from the 20th century sources.

1. Several factors are responsible for the uncommonly high number of multiword units in Modern Written Arabic. The prevailing number of new scientific, technological and generally cultural concepts that have passed to the Arab cultural environment since the beginning of the 19th century are of foreign origin. This cultural process, mostly one-sided in nature, took form of a constant flow of new concepts that had to be lexically covered and lexicographically recorded and codified. Since the codificative and norm-giving centres of the Arab world could not as, in fact, they still cannot keep up with this unceasing stream of new coinages, the stormy lexical evolution of Modern Written Arabic through the last two centuries may be characterized as a predominantly spontaneous and uncontrolled process.

Most of these hastily coined units, however, tend to be critically reviewed and lexically remodelled in subsequent periods along with the progress of cultural assimilation of concepts they are related to. By a cultural assimilation a rather unrestrictedly complex process will be understood, inclusively of the whole spectrum of its scientific, technological and generally cultural aspects. In the present study, this process will be examined in terms of a comparison between lexical units that have originated in the early 19th century, on the one hand, and those drawn from the 20th century sources, on the other. The former stage will be represented by the Bocthor's *Dictionnaire français-arabe* (Paris 1828—1829), the latter by a set of representative bilingual lexicons, mainly those of a non-Arabic — Arabic orientation, although the oppositely oriented sources are not totally neglected, either.

2. In the case of multiword units, the process of remodelling may aim at achieving a higher degree of adequacy of the term, within the structural domain

of multiword units, by using more up-to-date and more unambiguously defined constituents, as in:<sup>1</sup>

MW(i): *tadbīr al-mamlaka* “political economy” (Boc., 1, 291: économie politique; lit. ‘economy, management of the state’)<sup>2</sup>/

MW(ii): *iqtisād siyāsī* (generally used; lit. ‘political economy’); or:

MW(i): *al-‘umūr al-barrāniyya* “foreign affairs” (Boc., 1, 329: les affaires étrangères; lit id.)/

MW(ii): *aš-šu‘ūn al-xārijīyya* (generally used; lit. id.); or:

MW(i): *‘idn li-l-‘ubūr* “passport” (Boc., 2, 134: passe-port, permission de passer librement; lit. ‘permission of travelling, crossing’)<sup>3</sup>/

MW(ii): *jawāz as-safar* (generally used; lit. id.); etc.

It should be noted that even the whole sets of multiword terms may successively be reworded, as in:

MW(i): *ṭarīq at-tibn*; *durayb at-tabbāna*; *‘umm as-samā* (for *as-samā*’); *ṭarīq al-labbāna* “the Galaxy, the Milky Way” /

MW(ii): *darb at-tabbāna*; *ṭarīq al-majarra*; *aṭ-ṭarīq al-labānī*; *nahr al-majarra* “‘idem”;<sup>4</sup> etc.

3. Another way of remodelling multiword coinages consists in reducing the number of their descriptive constituents that may appear largely superfluous and incompatible with the subsequently achieved levels of knowledge, classificatory competence and familiarity with the concepts to which these units are related. In general, it can be said that any shift from verbally more involved to verbally less involved terms, that, in extreme cases, manifests itself as a shift from multiword to one-word units, signals a loss of verbal explicitness that has to be compensated by a correspondingly higher level of implicitly coded content. The latter is, in turn, quite necessarily accompanied by an increased rate of arbitrariness.

The process of deverbalizing the hasty multiword descriptions of a pre-vailingly explanatory nature may start at the very initial stage of the search for an adequate lexical covering of a new concept. The latter feature is externally signalled by the co-occurrence of multiword and one-word units at the very beginning of the nominative process.

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<sup>1</sup> The following symbols will be used in what follows: MW: multiword (unit); OW: one-word (unit); (i): reference to the early 19th century sources; (ii): reference to the 20th century sources; /: dividing line between the (i)- and (ii)-quotations.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the MW(i)-unit stands very close to the early 19th century term for ‘policy’, viz. *tadbīr al-mamālik* (Boc., 2, 178: politique, art de gouverner un état); see also the term ‘policy; politics’ in § 5.1.

<sup>3</sup> Literal translations refer to the Arabic terms and not to the second-language definitions that may markedly differ from the latter.

<sup>4</sup> For references, see our paper *Descriptive Terms in Modern Written Arabic. A Study in Lexical Classification*. In: Asian and African Studies, Vol. 22, 1986, pp. 19–31.

In what follows, two sets of the early 19th century multiword units will be confronted with their 20th century one-word counterparts: (1) multiword units occurring alone, and (2) multiword units co-occurring with their one-word alternants. The latter set will further be subdivided into (2.1) sets whose one-word elements are identical with their 20th century counterparts, and (2.2) sets whose one-word elements miss the above defined feature of identity.

Summarily, the whole inventory of shifts, examined in the present study, may symbolically be presented as follows:

- (1) MW(i) > OW(ii);
- (2) MW(i), OW(i) > OW(ii);
- (2.1) MW(i), OW(i) > OW(ii) where OW(i) = OW(ii);
- (2.2) MW(i), OW(i) > OW(ii) where OW(i) ≠ OW(ii).

4. In the historical scene of the present study, maximum contrast between various levels of verbal explicitness is displayed by the 19th century multiword units immediately faced with their 20th century counterparts with no intermediate attempts to create one-word equivalents. While examining the adequacy of terms at both sides of the chronological dividing line, the respective levels of scientific knowledge and technological competence should be taken into account (see terms associated with concepts that show an eye-striking evolutional differentiation, such as ‘electricity’, ‘telegraph’, etc., in what follows).

Some examples:

- (1) “budget”:

MW(i): *ḥisāb madxūl al-bilād wa muxrajātihā* (Boc., 1, 116: budget, état de l’actif et du passif d’un pays; lit. ‘estimate of income and expenditures of a country’)/

OW(ii): *mīzāniyya* (generally used; lit. ‘equilibrium, balance’);

- (2) “cigar”:

MW(i): *waraq duxxān malfūl li-š-šurb* (Boc., 1, 156: cigare, feuille de tabac roulée pour fumer; lit. ‘roll of tobacco leaves for smoking’)/

OW(ii): *sījār, sikār* (*sigār* in Wehr-reading);

- (3) “contrabandist, smuggler”:

MW(i): *muta‘āṭī bidā‘a muḥraja* (Boc., 1, 200: contrebandier; lit. ‘one who is engaged in illegal commerce’)/

OW(ii): *muḥarrib* (generally used);

- (4) “democracy”:

MW(i): *qiyyām al-jumhūr bi-l-ḥukm* (Boc., 1, 248; démocratie, gouvernement populaire; lit. ‘government exercised by the people’) or, simply, *ḥukm al-jumhūr* (ibid.; lit. ‘people’s government, government by the people’), as can be deduced from the related terms, like: *tābi‘ li-ḥukm al-jumhūr* “democrat” (ibid.: démoncrate, attaché au gouvernement populaire; lit. ‘one who pertains to the people’s

government'); *yaxuṣṣ ḥukm al-jumhūr* “democratic” (ibid.: démocratique; lit. ‘concerning people’s government’);<sup>5</sup> etc. /

OW(i): *dīmuqrāṭiyya*, *dīmūqrāṭiyya* (Wehr-reading: *dimuqrāṭiyya*); besides an unsuccessful neologism *jawmiyya*, coined by al-Karmalī (Hamzaoui, 63);

(5) “diplomacy”:

MW(i): ‘ilm ‘iṣṭilāḥāt al-mamālik bayna ba‘dihā (Boc., 1, 270: diplomatie, science des rapports, des intérêts de puissance à puissance; lit. ‘science of relations between states’) /

OW(ii): *diblūmāsiyya* (*diblōmāsiya*, in Wehr-reading; SDA, 292: also *as-silk as-siyāsī*, properly “diplomatic corps”, with no immediate relation to the abstract interpretation of ‘diplomacy’ as a know-how of conducting international relations); apart from an unsuccessful neologism *‘ihāda*, created by al-Karmalī (Hamzaoui, 63);

(6) “electricity”:

MW(i): *jādibiyya tażhar fī al-ajsām ‘inda da‘kihā* (Boc., 1, 298: électricité, propriété d’attraction des corps frottés; lit. ‘/faculty of/ attraction appearing in substances when rubbed’); or its context-controlled reduced variant *jādibiyya* within the lexical domain of some MW-terms, such as: *‘ahdata fīaš-šay’ al-jādibiyya* “to electrize” (ibid.: électriser, développer, communiquer la faculté électrique)<sup>6</sup>/

OW(ii): *kahrabā’* (in general usage, as well as its numerous variants, like *kahrubā’*, *kahrabiyya*, *kahrabā’iyya*, *kahrubā’iyya*)<sup>7</sup>;

(7) “faculty”:

MW(i): *jamā‘at al-‘ulamā’* (Boc., 1, 341; faculté, corps des savans; lit. ‘assembly, society of scholars’) /

OW(ii): *kulliyya* (in general usage; Wehr, 978: “faculty, school (of a university); college; institute of higher learning, academy; etc.”);

(8) “newspaper”:

MW(i): *warqa xabariyya* (Boc., 1, 380: gazette; lit. ‘newspaper’) /

OW(ii): *jarīda*, *ṣaḥīfa* (generally used modern terms);

(9) “restaurant”:

MW(i): *dukkān ṭabbāx* (Boc., 2, 275: restaurant, établissement de restaurateur; lit. ‘cook’s shop’; the fact that this concept has been largely unfami-

<sup>5</sup> Apart from *dīmuqrāṭiyya*, Doniach quotes also a MW-featured *ḥukm aš-ša‘b* (lit. ‘people’s government, government by the people’), as an explanatory definition of the latter.

<sup>6</sup> The term *jādibiyya*, related to the early 19th century concept of static electricity, is recently used to denote the physical phenomenon of ‘gravitation’.

<sup>7</sup> Rifa‘a aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī’s neologism first used in his work *Taxlīṣ al-‘ibrīz ‘ilā talxīṣ Bārīs* (“Refining Gold for a Brief Description of Paris”), Būlāq 1834.. The first modern description of a western country ever written in Arabic (see Monteil, 32—33). For the term ‘amber’ (Lat. *ēlectrum*, from Greek *ēlektron*), see ibid., 134.

liar to the early 19th century cultural milieu may be corroborated by a highly tentative nature related terms, like *bayyāc* *ṭa‘ām*, *ṭabbāx* (*ibid.*: restaurateur, sorte de traiteur; lit. ‘food vendor; cook’)/

OW(ii): *maṭ‘am* (a late 18th or an early 20th century neologism, recently generally used);<sup>8</sup>

(10) “telegraph”:

MW(i): *‘ālat išāra*, *burj al-išāra*, *bayt al-’axbār* (Boc., 2, 364: télégraphe, machine pour transmettre les nouvelles par des signes; construction en forme de tour sur laquelle est placée cette machine; lit. ‘machine for signalling, tower for signalling, information centre /house’)/

OW(ii): *tilīgrāf* (Wehr, 116: *tilīgrāf*, *talīgrāf*); apart from this: *tilgāf* (Bar., 103); *mubriqa* (Khat., 609: telegraph; Khat., 610: teletype: *mubriqa kātiba*); etc.

5. As already stated, the co-occurrence of multiword and one-word units at the very beginning of the nominative process bears witness to an early awoken awareness of the tentative nature of the descriptive term. At the same time, it signals the search for a more adequate and verbally more economic rendering of the concept it is related to because the original description is no longer compatible with the state of knowledge subsequently arrived at. Some of these one-word satellites passed to the 20th century lexicon, most of them, however, have been replaced by new coinages.

5.1. The first set (i.e., MW(i), OW(i) > (OW(ii) where OW(i) = OW(ii)) may be illustrated by examples, like:

“policy; politics”:

MW(i): *tadbīr al-mamālik*, *ḥukm al-amālik* (Boc., 2, 178: politique, art de gouverner un état; lit. ‘rule, management of states; governing of states’);

OW(i): *siyāsa*<sup>9</sup>;

OW(ii): *siyāsa* (generally used), etc.

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<sup>8</sup> Wahrmund’s *Handwörterbuch* (1898) does not mention the latter application of *maṭ‘am*, either, viz., “Speise, Nahrung, Geschmack” (“food, nourishment; appetite”). Al-Bustānī’s definition, as given in *Muḥīṭ* (1866–1869), does not seem to cover the modern concept of ‘restaurant’, any more; viz., *al-maṭ‘amu mawdū‘u-t-tu‘mi wa mā yu‘kalu ka-l-maṣrabi li-mā yušrabu, yuqālu huwa ḥasnu-l-maṭ‘ami ay aṭ-ṭa‘ami* “*al-maṭ‘am* is a place of (storing) food as well as of what is eaten, in the same way as *al-maṣrab* refers to what one drinks; one says: he is a hearty eater” (*Muḥīṭ*, 551). In Dozy’s presentation, *maṭ‘am* has to be interpreted in the sense of ‘goût, saveur’ (“taste, flavor”), as well (Dozy, 2, 46).

<sup>9</sup> The term *siyāsa*, in al-Bustānī’s presentation, despite the fact that it is already devoid of its exclusive etymological relation to ‘horse’ (for the Semitic root *s-w-s*, see Grande, 18), still parallels ‘training of animals (*dawābb*)’ with ‘policy, statecraft’, as might be inferred from the following definitions: *sāsa fulānun ad-dawābba, yasūshā siyāsatān, qāma ‘alayhā wa rādahā wa addabahā, wa-s-sulṭānu wa-l-wālī ar-rāfiyyata, tawallā amrahā wa dabbarahā wa ‘aḥsana-n-nażara ‘ilayhā* (*Muḥīṭ*, 440). It is worthwhile noting, however, that al-Bustānī’s interpretation of *siyāsa* reflects not so much its true 19th century application as rather the definitions given by the mediaeval lexic-

5.2. The second set (i. e., MW(i), OW(i) > OW(ii) where OW(i) ≠ OW(ii)) is by far more numerous and more closely reflects the typical case. Some examples:

(1) “administration”:

MW(i): *tadbīr ‘umūr al-jumhūr* (Boc., 1, 14: administration des affaires publiques; lit. ‘management of public affairs’); *ḥall wa rabṭ* (ibid.: idem (délier et lier); lit. ‘untying and tying’); *daxl wa xarj* (ibid.: idem (l’entrée et la sortie); lit. ‘entering and going out, leaving’); *‘amr wa nahy* (ibid.: idem (permettre et défendre); lit. ‘order and prohibition’);

OW(i): *tadbīr* (ibid.: administration, direction des affaires); the modern term *tadbīr* cannot be related to the latter as more than an approximation, viz. “planning, organization; direction, management; economy, economization” (Wehr, 312)/

OW(ii): *‘idāra* (in general usage);

(2) “apartment, flat”:

MW(i): *jumlat ‘uwaq mutawāṣila* (Boc., 1, 46: appartement, ensemble de pièces de suite; lit. ‘suite of adjoining rooms’);

OW(i): *mahall, bayt /*

OW(ii): *šaqqa, šiqqa* (generally used, the last variant mostly in Iraq (Wehr, 561));

(3) “(military) barracks”:

MW(i): *qā‘at al-‘asākir* (Boc., 1, 131: caserne, logement de soldats; lit. ‘hall for housing soldiers’);

OW(i): *hujra /*

OW(ii): *tukna, takna; qisṭāq* (Don., 97), *quṣṭāq* (Wehr, 896); *qaṣla* (ibid.: Syrian usage);

(4) “university”:

MW(i): *dār al-‘ilm* (Boc., 2, 403); université, corps de professeurs et d’écolières, établi par l’autorité publique pour enseigner et apprendre les belles-lettres et les sciences; lit. ‘the house of science’);

OW(i): *madrasa* (in recent as well as in mediaeval usage: “madrasah (a religious boarding school associated with a mosque); school” (Wehr, 321));<sup>10</sup>/

OW(ii): *jāmi‘a* (generally used);<sup>11</sup> etc.

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graphers, as evident from the Lane’s quotations: *sāsa-d-dawābba siyāsatān* “he managed, or tended, the beasts (*qāma ‘alayhā*) and trained them” ... *sāsa-r-ra‘iyyata* “he ruled, or governed, the subjects; presided over their affairs as a commander, or governor, or the like” (Lane, 4, 1465). The connection of the Semitic root *s-w-s* with ‘horse’ (cf., the Hebrew *sūs* “horse”) is still reflected in the Arabic *sā‘is* “stableman, groom”.

<sup>10</sup> See also Freytag, 2, 23: “gymnasium, academia, collegium”.

<sup>11</sup> The latter interpretation of *jāmi‘a* is still missing in Wahrmund, either (cf., “großer Kessel; Halskette, Halstuch; Pranger”; in this presentation, to *jāmi‘a* the plural *jawāmi‘* is related).

6. The coincidence between recent and earlier terms may already be observed at the level of lexical constituents of MW(i) terms in confrontation with their MW(ii) and/or OW(ii) counterparts, as in:

MW(i): *māṣabb nahr fī nahr ’āxar* “confluence” (Boc., 1, 185): confluent, jonction de deux rivières; lit. ‘confluence, flowing of one river into another; point of juncture of one river with another’); *multaqā nahrayn* (ibid.; lit. ‘meeting place of two rivers, streams’)/

MW(ii)/OW(ii): *multaqan* (/*multaqā/ ’anhār*) (Don., 259: confluence; lit. ‘meeting place of rivers, streams’);

MW(ii)/OW(ii): *maqrān* (*’anhār*) (ibid.; lit. ‘point of juncture (of rivers, streams)’);

OW(ii): *multaqan* (SDA, 1451: Zusammenfluß); etc.

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References to multivolume units (Boethor, Dozy, Freytag, Lane, Wahrmund) include two juxtaposed numbers. The first of them refers to the respective volume, the second indicates the page.

## NOTES SUR LE DYNAMISME DU SYSTÈME VERBAL DANS UN DIALECTE HAOUSSA DU NIGER

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La structure dialectale du haoussa de la région de Dogondutchi (République du Niger) montre le processus de l'intégration des pronoms-substantifs dans les paradigmes verbonominaux et verbaux comme une force dynamique vivante, affectant les paradigmes en dehors des limites de l'accompli, pour lequel ce processus a été accepté par plusieurs auteurs. L'utilisation du morphème *gà* non seulement en fonction verboïde et prépositionnelle, mais aussi en fonction prédicative inaccomplie assume une importance considérable dans ce contexte. Les deux phénomènes témoignent, en effet, l'étape moins «verbalisée» du développement des constructions verbonominales. D'après cet auteur, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une pression externe du zarma-songhay, mais plutôt des tendances archaïques conservées par le complexe occidental des dialectes haoussa en général et le dialecte marginal de DD en particulier.

0.1. Deux phénomènes semblent assumer l'importance fondamentale dans la discussion actuelle sur le développement du système verbal en haoussa et en tchadique en général. Il s'agit, d'un côté, des formes indépendantes des pronoms personnels, appelés souvent «pronoms substantifs» et de leur pénétration possible dans les paradigmes verbaux, de l'autre, des relations entre les bases verbales et les bases à caractère verbonominal, appelées souvent «noms verbaux». Les travaux récents de H. Jungraithmayr (1978, 1983), P. Newman et R. G. Schuh (1974, 1976), et E. Wolff (1979) — au delà des différences d'opinions de leurs auteurs — ont contribué considérablement à préciser les modalités éventuelles du développement du système verbal en haoussa et en tchadique, tout particulièrement dans un contexte comparatif de plus en plus large. Bien que les matériaux des dialectes haoussa ne soient pas négligés dans ces derniers travaux, l'importance attribuée à la stratification dialectale de cette langue semble moindre que celle que lui assignent les travaux de chercheurs de la génération de F. W. Parsons et Claude Gouffé. Loin de nous de sous-estimer les valeurs et les mérites de la méthode comparative pour éclaircir des problèmes à caractère essentiellement diachronique et dynamique. Il ne nous paraît pas moins utile d'attirer à nouveau l'attention sur certaines particularités de la structure dialectale du haoussa qui nous semblent acquérir une importance nouvelle à la lumière de la discussion actuelle. En effet, cette discussion soulève deux problèmes étroitement liés l'un à l'autre. Le développement du système

verbal tchadique en général, dont le haoussa fait probablement partie intégrante, ne peut être analysé que dans le contexte comparatif le plus large, soit génétique (les branches du tchadique ou même du afro-asiatique) soit aréal (le problème du développement parallèle des systèmes verbaux des langues telles que le songhay, le kanouri ou même du système des langues mandé — pour les détails voir Zima, 1986). Par contre, le développement du système verbal haoussa doit être examiné non seulement sur la base d'une reconstruction comparative externe mais aussi sur la base d'une reconstruction interne, car même s'il peut partager plusieurs traits généraux avec le développement du système tchadique, il peut aussi présenter des traits spécifiques. En effet, le degré du particularisme propre au développement du système verbal haoussa dans le contexte tchadique, afro-asiatique ou même dans un contexte aréal génétiquement non affilié représente l'un des sujets majeurs de la discussion actuelle. C'est pour l'établissement de ce degré du particularisme du système haoussa que l'évidence dialectale de cette dernière langue pourrait revêtir un rôle capital.

0.2. C'est pourquoi nous considérons utile de revenir sur quelques données offertes par le système d'un dialecte marginal ouest-nord-ouest du territoire homogène haoussa. Dans la région de l'Aréwa (ou Dallol Maouri), située dans la circonscription de Dogondutchi (localité à quelque 300 km à l'est de Niamey, capitale de la République du Niger), pays intéressant non seulement au point de vue linguistique mais aussi au point de vue ethnologique (voir M. H. Piault, 1970) nous avons effectué plusieurs missions<sup>1</sup> au terrain, dont les résultats ne furent que partiellement publiés jusqu'à présent (cf. la liste des références). Quelques aspects du système dialectal de cette région ont été aussi l'objet d'une enquête de Claude Gouffé (1969), dont l'intérêt linguistique principal s'est alors concentré plutôt sur la région du Gobir (le dialecte de Tibiri, la base de ce chercheur étant à l'époque la ville de Maradi, située à 400 kilomètres à l'est de Dogondutchi (voir Gouffé, 1963—1969)).

1. Dans l'une des deux notes grammaticales consacrées à ce dialecte, ce chercheur éminent commente la distribution et l'utilisation du morphème *gà* dans les constructions du type *naamàa naa yaaRòò gà ciì* = c'est la viande que l'enfant mange (Gouffé, 1969, p. 4—7). Il classe le morphème *gà* employé dans les constructions de ce type comme différent de *gà* apparaissant dans les constructions du type *yaaRòò naa (nan) gà ciìn naamàa* = l'enfant est occupé à manger de la viande. Dans ces dernières constructions, le morphème *gà* apparaît

<sup>1</sup> Il s'agissait de plusieurs missions effectuées sur le terrain entre 1967—1969 dans le cadre du C.N.R.S. et C.N.R.S.H. sur recommandation de l'Institut Oriental de l'Académie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences, ainsi que d'une mission accomplie en qualité de consultant de l'UNESCO pour l'alphabetisation au Niger. Je tiens à remercier MM. Jean Rouch et D. Laya, directeurs du C.N.R.S.H. à Niamey à l'époque, pour leurs assistance pendant mes séjours et mon travail au Niger.

aussi dans d'autres dialectes du haoussa, ainsi que dans HS,<sup>2</sup> étant classifié comme «préposition» signifiant «à, dans, pour, sur, vers...». (Voir Bargery, 1957, p. 333s.) Par conséquent, toujours d'après l'opinion de Cl. Gouffé, le premier cas de l'utilisation de ce morphème constitue un exemple d'une variante contextuelle du morphème *kà* de l'inaccompli II, dont l'existence parallèle au *kè/kèè* du HS est signalé par Gouffé à plusieurs reprises dans le dialecte de T. Ce *ga*, en tant que variante contextuelle du *ka* de l'inaccompli II en DD, est donc, toujours d'après cet auteur, en distribution syntaxique complémentaire avec le morphème *nàa* de l'inaccompli I (Gouffé, 1969, p. 5). Pour de bonnes raisons, ce même auteur met l'utilisation de ce morphème *gà* en relation avec celle du morphème *ga/go* du songhay, employé, lui aussi, dans les constructions de l'inaccompli. Il souligne à la fois les possibilités d'une pression externe du songhay vis-à-vis du dialecte haoussa de DD, son voisin géographique immédiat, et celles d'une pression interne du système haoussa (similitude phonétique *ga — ka*).<sup>3</sup> Selon nos recherches dans ce terrain dialectal basées sur plusieurs informateurs de générations, groupes ethniques et localités différents,<sup>4</sup> le système verbal du dialecte de DD (le fonctionnement du morphème *gà* y compris) nous paraissait plus compliqué, ce que nous n'avons pas manqué de relever dans notre analyse préliminaire publiée à l'époque (Zima, 1969a). Aujourd'hui, après l'analyse d'un corpus de textes beaucoup plus représentatif, et dans le droit fil de la discussion actuelle, il devient de plus en plus clair que c'est le système verbal du dialecte tout entier de DD qui diffère, de par ses traits essentiels, de ceux des autres dialectes, y compris les dialectes «plus centraux» du complexe occidental. La caractéristique de ce système réside dans un degré beaucoup moins «verbalisé» des constructions verbonominales. On a déjà constaté que ce degré de verbalisation moins développée concerne des bases. C'est ainsi que la construction verbale de l'ingressif du HS *zaa sù tafi* est exprimée dans les dialectes du T et de DD par les constructions verbonominales analogues du type *zaà su/zaa sù tahiyyàa*. (Voir Gouffé 1963—69, III, p. 32, Zima 1969a, p. 211.) Mais il faut souligner que ce degré de verbalisation moins développée concerne aussi les pronoms-sujets.

<sup>2</sup> J'utilise l'abréviation DD pour le dialecte de l'Aréwa à cause de son symbolisme clair. Je sais fort bien que cette étiquette est imprécise, parce que peu d'informateurs provenant de ce centre administratif parlent ce dialecte, d'une façon conservée. L'abréviation HS signifie le haoussa dit standardisé, fondé plus au moins sur le dialecte du Kano, l'abréviation T signifie le dialecte de Tibiri (Gobir).

<sup>3</sup> Notons que Gouffé base ses notes concernant le dialecte de DD sur l'idiome d'un seul informateur déplacé (et probablement assez influencé par d'autres dialectes, car il s'agissait d'un instituteur provenant de la région de DD, enseignant à l'époque à Maradi. Pour les détails voir Gouffé, 1969, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pour les détails sur les problèmes sociolinguistiques du choix des informateurs dialectologiques dans cette région ethniquement et linguistiquement très complexe, voir Zima, 1969b, p. 881 s.

2.1 Remarquons, tout d'abord que les formes *sunàà* des pronoms-sujets de l'inaccompli I en HS et dans plusieurs dialectes du complexe occidental, encore que passivement acceptées par les informateurs qui proviennent de la communauté de la ville de DD, ainsi que par d'autres, influencés plus au moins par le contact interdialectal, ne sont point considérées en tant que traits dialectaux autochtones par ceux, dont l'idiome dialectal est moins touché par la communication avec l'extérieur. Dans les idiomes ces informateurs moins influencés par d'autres dialectes, les formes *sunàà* sont remplacées en règle générale, par un paradigme intégral du type *suyàà/suwàà*. Il s'agit du paradigme suivant:

Singulier

1. *niyàà*
- 2.m. *kayàà*
- 2.f. *kiyàà (keyàà)*
- 3.m. *shiyàà*
- 3.f. *tayàà (rare)*

Pluriel

1. *muyàà (mu"àa)*
2. *kuyàà (ku"àa)*
3. *suyàà (su"àa)*

Laissant de côté pour le moment le problème de l'alternance *y/w* dans les formes du pluriel (voir pour les détails Zima, 1969a, p. 203), nous pouvons constater que c'est ce paradigme qui est utilisé dans la fonction des «pronoms-sujets» de l'inaccompli I. Nous obtenons ainsi dans le système autochtone du dialecte de DD les constructions du type *shiyàà zakkùwaa* = 'il est venant', il vient, ainsi que les constructions du type *shiyàà gidaa* = il est à la maison. Les constructions identiques avec *shinàà/sunàà* sont possibles dans les idiomes des informateurs influencés par d'autres dialectes, à titre de variantes libres.

2.2. Il est important de souligner que plusieurs formes du paradigme de «pronoms-sujets» mentionnées au part 2.1 peuvent aussi remplir la fonction de «pronoms-substantifs». Notons que les formes très proches de celles référencées par nous en DD ont été signalées par F. W. Taylor (1959, p. 117) qui les classe comme des variantes des formes indépendantes des pronoms personnels dans le dialecte du Sokoto. Dans le système dialectale de DD les formes pronominales en *su"àa/suyàà* coexistent dans les fonctions des pronoms substantifs en plusieurs personnes avec les formes pronominales monovocaliques longues. Ces dernières formes étant classifiées par la plupart des auteurs en tant que pronoms substantifs du HS, il est intéressant de noter, que l'alternance de ces formes monovocaliques longues avec les formes *su"àa/suyàà* dans le système dialectal de DD n'est pas totale. Tandis que les formes monovocaliques longues sont utilisées dans la fonction des pronoms substantifs à travers le paradigme tout entier, les formes *su"àa/suyàà* ne peuvent apparaître en tant que pronoms substantifs qu'en 2ème personne masc. et fém. et en 3ème personne fém. du singulier. On trouve ainsi en DD l'alternance suivante:

## Singulier

1. *yaa tahoo taaràd dà niyàa/nii*
- 2.m. *yaa tahoo taaràd dà kay*
- 2.f. *yaa tahoo taaràd dà kee*
- 3.m. *yaa tahoo taaràd dà shiyàa/shii*
- 3.f. *yaa tahoo taaràd dà itaa*

## Pluriel

1. *yaa tahoo taaràd dà mu<sup>w</sup>àa*
2. *yaa tahoo taaràd dà ku<sup>w</sup>àa*
3. *yaa tahoo taaràd dà su<sup>w</sup>àa*

3. En tout état de cause, le morphème *gà* ne peut être — considéré — du moins dans les idiomes des informateurs «autochtones» du DD — en distribution syntaxique complémentaire avec le *nàa* de l'inaccompli I, pour la simple raison que ce dernier n'existe, dans ce dialecte, que comme un phénomène emprunté par le contact interdialectal.

3.1 En revanche, ce morphème *gà* entre en distribution syntaxique complémentaire avec des formes du paradigme *suyàa/su<sup>w</sup>àa*, tout au moins dans les formes de la 3ème personne. Il y a donc une alternance *suyàa—su<sup>w</sup>àa // O gà*. Dans les idiomes des informateurs qui acceptent les formes du paradigme *sunàa* en tant que variantes libres, il y a donc une double alternance:

*suyàa — su<sup>w</sup>àa ou sunàa // O gà ou sukà*

3.2. En ce qui concerne les constructions relatives ou emphatiques de la 3ème personne avec un élément nominal «topicalisé» au début de la phrase, il semble que le dialecte de DD distingue deux types de constructions, dont les différences dépendent des fonctions syntaxiques du nom «topicalisé».

3.2.1. S'il s'agit du sujet de la phrase relative suivante, ce système offre les constructions suivantes:

*dookin dàg gà mutuwàa = c'est le cheval qui meurt (dookin dà shikà mutuwàa)*  
*yaaRaa dàg gà wàasaa = ce sont les enfants qui jouent (yàaran dà sukà wàasaa)*

Il paraît très probable qu'il s'agisse, en l'occurrence, de l'utilisation de la construction originale *dà + aC + gà*. Ces constructions pourraient renforcer l'hypothèse formulée jadis par Cl. Gouffé sur l'origine possible de l'*aC* d'un morphème hypothétique pronominal relatif (Gouffé, 1963–1969, I, p. 50 s.).

3.2.2. Par contre, dans le cas des constructions similaires, dont l'élément nominal «topicalisé» fonctionne en tant que l'objet ou le complément, le morphème *gà* ne peut être suivi que par le nom-sujet la phrase ou par le pronom substantif, substitué à sa place. Nous obtenons ainsi des constructions suivantes:

*dookin dà Abdu gà hawaa = le cheval que A. monte*

*dookin dà shii gà hawaa = le cheval qu'il (= A.) monte*

Une construction du type \**dookin dàg gà hawaa* semble impossible dans ce contexte pour des raisons à la fois grammaticales et sémantiques.

3.3. C'est très probablement cette construction rélatrice qui est à l'origine de tant un paradigme prédicatif de ce dialecte, qui est constitué par l'une des formes des

pronoms-substantifs + le morphème *gà* + une base verbonominale ou nominale. Signalons que ce ne sont que les formes monovocaliques, longues, des pronoms-substantifs qui peuvent être utilisés dans ce paradigme. En employant une base verbonominale («nom verbal»), on obtient ainsi, dans le dialecte de DD, le paradigme suivant:

Singulier	Pluriel
1. <i>nii gà zakkùwaa</i>	1. <i>muu gà zakkùwaa</i>
2.m. <i>kay gà zakkùwaa</i>	2. <i>kuu gà zakkùwaa</i>
2.f. <i>kee gà zakkùwaa</i>	3. <i>suu gà zakkùwaa</i>
3.m. <i>shii gà zakkùwaa</i>	
3.f. <i>ita gà zakkùwaa</i>	

Signification approximative: c'est moi qui va venir.

Comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, si cette construction apparaît obligatoire dans les contextes subordonnés (relatifs, emphatiques), elle n'est pas exclue des contextes non subordonnés ‘narratifs’, son alternance avec la construction *suyàa/su"àa gà zakkùwaa*<sup>5</sup> étant ainsi régie par les lois similaires à celles qui régissent l'alternance syntaxique du couple *sun/sukà* en HS (v. Zima, 1967). On pourrait dire qu'il s'agit dans ce cas aussi d'un couple de paradigmes qui n'est pas encore entièrement intégré par les lois structurelles de l'alternance syntaxique.

4. Au demeurant, et à titre d'hypothèse, nous pensons que le système dialectal de DD témoigne d'une étape du développement du système verbal du haoussa qui présente plusieurs traits archaïques, bien qu'une certaine proportion de ces traits puisse être renforcée par des pressions éventuelles du contact linguistique avec le zarma-songhay (ou avec d'autres langues).

Le rôle des pronoms-substantifs dans ce système dialectal semble beaucoup plus important que dans d'autres dialectes du haoussa. Tout indique que ces formes pronominales sont en voie de s'intégrer dans les paradigmes verbonominaux en voie de s'intégrer dans les paradigmes verbonominaux en fonctions préfixales, tout en coexistant avec des éléments préfixaux déjà intégrés. L'étape actuelle du développement de la structure dialectale de DD montre le processus de l'intégration des pronoms-substantifs dans les paradigmes verbonominaux comme une force dynamique vivante, affectant les paradigmes en dehors des limites de l'accompli, pour lequel ce processus a été accepté par plusieurs auteurs.

Le rôle du morphème *gà* dans ce dialecte ne nous semble point marginal.

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<sup>5</sup> Pour l'analyse du paradigme *suyàa/su"àa gà zakkùwaa* et son contexte structurel voir Zima, 1969a, p. 206 s.

Cependant, nous pensons qu'il existe des liens entre son usage prédicatif en fonction de l'inaccompli et ses autres fonctions dans ce système, notamment avec la fonction prépositive, qui subsiste aussi dans les autres dialectes haoussa. D'après notre opinion, l'utilisation «verboïde» du *gà* est en relation avec un niveau plus élevé de l'utilisation des autres «verboïdes» et «actualisateurs» dans ce dialecte. Notons, en marge, que des liens entre la fonction «inaccompli» et la fonction «prépositive» du *ga/go* en zarma-songhay dans le système de cette dernière langue ont été relevés récemment par N. Tersis-Surugue (1981). C'est pourquoi nous pensons que pour ce qui est de l'utilisation complexe du morphème *gà* dans le dialecte de DD, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une pression externe du zarma-songhay. Il s'agit plutôt des tendances archaïques du système haoussa, conservées par le complexe occidental des dialectes haoussa en général et le dialecte marginal de DD en particulier. C'est ici qu'on dépiste encore plusieurs traits de convergence aréale non seulement avec le songhay, mais aussi avec d'autres langues génétiquement probablement non-affiliées de la région, y compris les langues mandé. Dans le cas du dialecte marginal de DD ces tendances ont été ou bien conservées, ou bien revitalisées au contact avec le zarma-songhay.

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## TÜRKISCHE BRIEFE UND URKUNDEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES EYĀLET NOVÉ ZÁMKY. II

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In einer kurzen Einleitung, in der auf die Bedeutung der osmanischen Quellen zur Geschichte des Eyālet-i Uyvār hingewiesen wird und die von den Statthaltern von Nové Zámky herausgegebenen türkischen Briefe einer inhaltlichen Analyse unterzogen werden, veröffentlichen die Autoren fünf Urkunden, die Steuerzahlungen, die Rückgabe von Flüchtlingen und den Gefangenenaustausch betreffen.

Die mehr als zwanzigjährige Geschichte der osmanischen Herrschaft in Nové Zámky (1663—1685) ist hinsichtlich der Bedeutung dieses Phänomens seitens der slowakischen Historiographie noch nicht ausreichend erforscht. Auf Grund des zugänglichen Materials — der herausgegebenen Briefe, der deutschen publizistischen Arbeiten und Literatur — schrieb gegen das Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts M. Matunák eine umfangreichere Studie, die bis vor kurzem die hauptsächliche und im Grunde die einzige Information über die Geschichte der osmanischen Herrschaft in der südwestlichen Slowakei in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts gewesen war.<sup>1</sup> Zu einem weiteren Impuls für die Forschung wurde die 300ste Wiederkehr der Eroberung von Nové Zámky im Jahre 1963. Die Mehrzahl der Beiträge widmete sich jedoch dem Jubiläumsereignis<sup>2</sup> und nur ein kleinerer Teil der Herausgabe von neuen Quellen.<sup>3</sup> Es zeigte sich, daß das Veröffentlichen von neuen Quellen zur Geschichte der Provinz Nové Zámky der gängigste Weg zur Erweiterung unserer Kenntnisse ist.

<sup>1</sup> *Nové Zámky pod tureckým panstvom (1663—1685)* (Nové Zámky unter der türkischen Herrschaft (1663—1685)). Slovenské pohľady, 18, 1898. Reediton M. Matunák: *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí* (Das Leben und die Kämpfe im slowakisch-türkischen Grenzgebiet). Bratislava, Tatran 1983, S. 217—299.

<sup>2</sup> Vlastivedný časopis, 12, 1963, Nr. 4. Príroda a spoločnosť, 12, 1963.

<sup>3</sup> Blaškovič, J.: *Einige Dokumente über die Verpflegung der türkischen Armee vor der Festung Nové Zámky im J. 1663* (Zum 300. Jahrestag der Türkeneherrschaft in Nové Zámky). Asian and African Studies, 2, 1966, S. 103—127. Kabrda, J.: *Kánonnáme novozámockého ejáletu* (Kánunnáme des eyālet Nové Zámky). K 300. výročí dobytí Nových Zámku Turky (Zum 300. Jahrestag der Eroberung von Nové Zámky durch die Türken). Historický časopis, 12, 1964, S. 186—214. Turková, H.: *Über die Belagerung von Uyvār (Neuhäusel, Nové Zámky) im Jahre 1663 durch die Türken*. Archiv orientální (ArOr), 41, 1973, S. 325—339.

Ein bedeutender Meilenstein zur Erkenntnis der inneren Verwaltung des Eyālets Nové Zámky war die Bearbeitung des osmanischen Detaillierten Verzeichnisses der Provinz Nové Zámky (*Defter-i müfassal-i eyālet-i Uyvār*) aus dem Jahre 1664 von J. Blaškovič.<sup>4</sup> Leider ist es bislang nicht gelungen diese so bedeutende Quelle zu veröffentlichen, aber auch die publizierten Auszüge aus dem Defter und die Bearbeitung einiger Teilprobleme weisen auf dessen grundlegende Bedeutung für die Erkenntnis der osmanischen Verwaltung und des Steuersystems auf dem Gebiet der südwestlichen Slowakei in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts hin.<sup>5</sup>

Ein Teil der Einnahmen aus dem besetzten Gebiet wurde zum Privateigentum des Großwesirs Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha. Dieses Eigentum wurde zu einer religiösen Stiftung (*vakf*) umgestaltet. Das Verzeichnis dieser Eigentümer wurde von J. Blaškovič bearbeitet.<sup>6</sup> Nicht minder bedeutend sind auch die Angaben aus weiteren osmanischen Verzeichnissen, die die Staatssteuer (*cizye*) oder die Distribution der Einkünfte der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung (*defter-i icmal*) registrieren.

Eine wertvolle Quelle zur Erkenntnis des Alltagslebens und eine Ergänzung der narrativen Quellen oder publizistischen Arbeiten, als auch der finanziellen Verzeichnisse bilden die von den osmanischen Würdenträgern in Nové Zámky herausgegebenen Urkunden. Während die Fiskuslisten lediglich eine Norm darstellen, die die Höhe der Steuer usw. vorgeschrieben hat, ergänzen die Urkunden der Statthalter und anderer Würdenträger von Nové Zámky die wirkliche Lage. Diese widerspiegeln am häufigsten die Realität des alltäglichen Lebens im Grenzgebiet. Sie betreffen verschiedene Probleme, vor allem Steuerzahlungen, kleinere und größere Scharmützel, Friedensbrüche, den Schutz der Bevölkerung, der Gefangenen usw. Da es sich meist um vereinzelte Urkunden handelt, ist es nicht immer leicht deren Hintergrund zu ermitteln, und es erfordert eine gute Kenntnis der Verhältnisse in der Provinz Nové Zámky.

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<sup>4</sup> Başvekalet Arşivi, İstanbul, Tapu Defteri Nr. 698. Über dieses Verzeichnis informierte J. Kabarda: *Les sources turques relatives à l'histoire de la domination ottoman en Slovaquie*. ArOr, 24, 1956, S. 568—580.

<sup>5</sup> Blaškovič, J.: *Turecký súpis Nitrianskej župy z roku 1664* (Türkisches Verzeichnis des Komitates Nitra aus dem Jahre 1664). Agrikultúra, 10, 1971, S. 29—37; Derselbe: *Ziemie lenne (hāss) namiestnika Nowych Zamków v latach 1664—1685*. Rocznik Orientalistyczny, 38, 1976, S. 83—91; Derselbe: *Ein türkisches Steuerverzeichnis aus dem Bezirk Žabokreky aus dem Jahre 1664*. ArOr, 46, 1977, S. 201—210.

<sup>6</sup> Blaškovič, J.: *Das Sultansdekret (Sunurname) über das Vakf im Bezirk Nové Zámky*. ArOr, 42, 1974, S. 300—309; Derselbe: *Köprülüzade Ahmed pasa nagyvezir kegyes alapítványai az érsekijvári kerületben (1664—1685)*. In: *Új Mindenes Gyűjtemény*. Bratislava, Madách 1981, S. 33—63; Derselbe: *Sadriazam Köprülüzade (Fazıl) Ahmed Paşa'nın Ersekujvar bölgesinde vakıfları*. Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi, 9, 1978, S. 393—442; Derselbe: *Vakfy v novozámockom a nitrianskom okrese* (Die Vakfen im Bezirk Nové Zámky und Nitra). Historické štúdie, 18, 1973, S. 265—275.

Kerem Mehmed Paschas Brief an die Dorfrichter von Žabokreky und weiterer Dörfer der *nahiye* Žabokreky-Brodzany, Vysočany, Trebošovce, Veľké sowie Malé Ostratice und Rybany beweist uns, daß die Nichterfüllung der Steuerpflicht zu den ernstesten Problemen der Provinz Nové Zámky gehörte. Žabokreky als auch die umliegenden Dörfer verpflichteten sich zur Zeit der großen Bedrohung im Herbst 1663 Steuern zu entrichten, als die ganze Westslowakei und ein Teil der Mittelslowakei von Tatarenabteilen und der osmanischen leichten Kavallerie Plünderungen ausgesetzt war. Aber schon im Jahre 1666 drohte der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Küçük Mehmed Pascha dem Dorf Žabokreky nach Nové Zámky zu kommen und sich zu „unterwerfen“.<sup>7</sup> Augensichtlich ging es nicht um eine Unterwerfung, da diese Dörfer in dem Detailierten Verzeichnis aus dem Jahre 1664 registriert waren und ihre Pflichten festgelegt wurden,<sup>8</sup> diesen jedoch nicht nachgekommen waren. Ähnliche Briefe erhielten im Jahre 1666 auch naheliegende Bánovce, Horné und Dolné Vestenice sowie weitere Dörfer im oberen Nitra-Tal.<sup>9</sup> Žabokreky ist dieser Aufforderung anscheinend nicht gefolgt, da es zu Beginn des Jahres 1669 ausgeplündert wurde.<sup>10</sup>

Im November 1673 hatte das Städtchen Žabokreky der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung gegenüber eine weitere Schuld von 56 Talern an Haushaltssteuern oder „kaiserlichen Steuern“, wie sie im Brief bezeichnet werden, bezahlt. Nachrechnungen zufolge war Žabokreky zweieinhalb Jahre im Rückstand. Weitere Dörfer (Vysočany, Trebošovce, Malé Ostratice, Rybany) entrichteten die Steuer sogar vier Jahre lang nicht, also seit Beginn des Jahres 1670. Diese und weitere Urkunden<sup>11</sup> zeigen, welche große Probleme die osmanische Finanzverwaltung mit der Steuereintreibung von entfernten Gemeinden hatte.

Man muß auch darauf hinweisen, daß hinsichtlich des Nichtvorhandenseins osmanischer Münzen im unterjochten Ungarn, die osmanische Verwaltung Steuerzahlungen in solchen Münzen forderte, die die Untertanen zur Verfügung hatten (ungarische Währung, Gelder, die in der habsburgischen Staatengemeinschaft benutzt wurden, sowie fremde Gelder). Die osmanische Finanzverwaltung oder die einzelnen Sipahis erhöhten ihr eigenes Einkommen auch dadurch, daß sie den unterschiedlichen und sich ständig ändernden Kurs der verschiede-

<sup>7</sup> Matunák, M.: *Život a boje*, S. 247—248.

<sup>8</sup> Blaškovič, J.: *Ein türkisches Steuerverzeichnis aus dem Bezirk von Žabokreky*, S. 206—207.

<sup>9</sup> Matunák, M.: *Život a boje*, S. 248.

<sup>10</sup> Feig, J. Ch.: *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung oder fernere Geschichts-Fortsetzung Ortelli Redivivi et Continuati. I.* Wien 1694, S. 137.

<sup>11</sup> So zahlte z. B. das Dorf Dolný Kamenc im oberen Nitra-Tal in fünf Jahren nur 81 Taler anstatt 105 an Steuern. Siehe Rypka, J.: *Čtyři turecké listiny z Dolného Kamence na Slovensku* (Vier türkische Urkunden aus Dolný Kamenc in der Slowakei). Prády, 11, 1927, Separat S. 13—15.

nen Geldarten ausnutzten und die Abgaben von den Untertanen in der wertvollsten Währung — in Talern — forderten.<sup>12</sup>

Mit Steuerfragen hängt auch der Brief des Statthalters von Nové Zámky Seydi Mehmed Pascha an den Dorfrichter von Dolný Kamenec, sowie die Richter weiterer Städtchen des Komitats Tekov aus dem Jahre 1671 zusammen. In diesem Jahre kam es zwischen den Darstellern der osmanischen Macht — den Statthaltern von Ofen und Nové Zámky einerseits und dem Wiener Hof und dem ungarischen Adel andererseits zu Zwistigkeiten wegen Steuerzahlungen durch die unterworfenen Dörfer. Im Juli 1671 äußerte sich der Präsident des Hofkriegsrats R. Montecuccoli zu dieser Frage in dem Sinne, daß die kaiserliche Seite die unterworfenen Dörfer zur Steuerzahlung nicht zwingen könne, aber „diejenige Dörfer vnnd Oerther, welche by jüngstem Krieg die Huldigung der Ottomanischen Pforte abgeleget, den Tribut positive abstatten vnnd einrichten lassen sollen...“.<sup>13</sup> Der ungarische Adel beschwerte sich im Sommer 1671 beim Kaiser und legte die Anordnung der Statthalter von Ofen und Nové Zámky vor, in der es den unterworfenen Gemeinden unter Strafandrohung untersagt wurde den kaiserlichen Garnisonen Verpflegung zu gewähren, und den jenseits des Váh-Flusses gelegenen Dörfern „bey Bedrohung des Schwerdts, Feuer und ewiger Dienstbarkeit“ gedroht wurde, sollten sich diese nicht sofort und ohne weitere Verzögerung unterwerfen.<sup>14</sup> Es ging hier anscheinend nicht um die Unterwerfung neuer Dörfer, sondern darum, die in der Liste eingetragenen Gemeinden zur Zahlung zu zwingen. Eine ähnliche Lage herrschte anscheinend auch im oberen Nitra-Tal und in den entfernteren Teilen des Komitats Tekov, und daher lud Seydi Mehmed Pascha die Dorfrichter nach Nové Zámky ein, damit sie die Steuern regelmäßig entrichten. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß die Anwesenheit der Dorfrichter mit „drei weisen Personen“ in Nové Zámky von der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung zur Präzisierung der Angaben für das vorbereitete *defter cizye* genutzt wurde.<sup>15</sup> Im Herbst 1671 äußerte sich der Bote des Ofener Statthalters in dem Sinne, daß die Steuern von den unter Nové Zámky gehörenden Dörfern bedingungslos, im Notfall auch mit Gewaltanwendung angefordert würden, da der Statthalter von den bisherigen Einnahmen

<sup>12</sup> Horváth, P.: *Posledné obdobie tureckej moci na Slovensku* (Die letzte Ära der türkischen Herrschaft in der Slowakei). Historický časopis, 33, 1980, S. 428. Nach dem Jahre 1669 stieg der Wert des Talers um etwa 10 %. Zur Frage des Kurses und des Wertes des Talers liefern wertvolle Erkenntnisse die Studien des ungarischen Historikers J. Buza: *A tallér és az aranyforint árfolyama, valamint szerepe a pénzforgalomban Magyarország török uralom alatti területén a XVII. században*. Történelmi Szemle, 1977, Nr. 1, S. 73—106 und *Der Kurs der Löwentaler in Ost-Mitteleuropa (mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Siebenbürgen in Ungarn)*. Acta Historica, 27, 1981, S. 335—358.

<sup>13</sup> Feig, J. Ch.: *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 221.

<sup>14</sup> Feig, J. Ch.: *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 222; *Theatrum Europaeum X. Friedens und Kriegs Beschreibung...* von M. Meyer. Frankfurt 1673, S. 502.

<sup>15</sup> Defter cizye aus dem Jahre 1672. BA, Istanbul, Maliye No. 4016.

weder sich, noch die Garnison erhalten könne.<sup>16</sup> Diese Behauptung demonstrierte der Statthalter von Nové Zámky durch einen Einfall in die Mittelslowakei, was der Wiener Hof anscheinend mit einem Versuch um die Unterstützung der Anhänger von Wesselényis antihabsburgischen Verschwörung in Verbindung brachte.<sup>17</sup>

Zwei weitere Briefe der Statthalter von Nové Zámky, die die Rückerstattung eines jungen Flüchtlings, bzw. die Überführung des unbekannten Juraj (Georg) Šanta nach Nové Zámky fordern, widerspiegeln auch die Verhältnisse im Grenzgebiet, wo die Flucht von einer Seite zur anderen und umgekehrt keine Seltenheit war. Die Flucht eines Jünglings samt Pferd und Geschirr in eine unbekannte Festung auf der kaiserlichen Seite ist kein Einzelfall gewesen. Die Motive solcher Fluchten waren unterschiedlich. Im November 1669 ermordete der Diener František Kováč aus Hlohovec den Janitscharen Aga Ali und dessen Familie in Nové Zámky und flüchtete nach Vráble.<sup>18</sup> Den Beweggrund des im Brief aus dem Jahre 1679 erwähnten Jünglings kennen wir jedoch nicht.

Das Objekt des Briefwechsels im nächsten Brief, Juraj Šanta, schädigte auf irgendeine Weise die Interessen der osmanischen Macht und zog daher den Zorn des Statthalters von Nové Zámky auf sich. Da die Gemeinde Šoporňa, in der der Erwähnte anscheinend gelebt hat, zwischen königlichen Festungen — der Burg Šintava und Nitra — lag und es daher auch für die osmanischen Abteile gefährlich war ins Dorf einzudringen, ordnete der Statthalter von Nové Zámky dem Dorfrichter aus Šoporňa an, den Schuldigen Šanta nach Nové Zámky zu schaffen, dieser kam jedoch, wie es dem Brief zu entnehmen ist, dem Befehl nicht nach.

Die Frage der Gefangenen und deren Freilassung bzw. Freikauf gehörte im Grenzgebiet zur alltäglichen Realität. Zahlreiche Scharmützel zwischen osmanischen Abteilen und Garnisonen der kaiserlichen Festungen oder Armeen des ungarischen Adels, Strafzüge gegen Steuerzahlungen verwehrenden Dörfer und andere Aktionen boten häufig Gelegenheit Gefangene zu machen. Waren es Zivilpersonen, mußten sie von ihrer Familie oder von Verwandten, des öfteren mit Unterstützung des Komitats oder der Gemeinde freigekauft werden. Kriegsgefangene wurden meist ausgetauscht, auch wenn weder die eine noch die andere Seite das Lösegeld verschnähte. So z. B. als es im Jahre 1673 bei Nitra gelungen war ein vom Raubzug heimkehrendes osmanisches Abteil zu überfall-

<sup>16</sup> „...die zu Neuhäusel gehörige Contribution und Huldigung cathegorice begehrt, widrigen Falls hätte der Bassa in gemeldeten Neuhäusel, weil er sich und seine Guarnison von jetzigen Einkünften nicht erhalten könnte, von der Pforte Befehl bekommen solche mit Gewalt zu suchen.“ *Theatrum Europaeum X*, S. 502.

<sup>17</sup> Feig, J. Ch.: *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 223.

<sup>18</sup> Extract-Schreiben Auß Neutra vom 15. Decemb. Anno 1669. Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Röpl. 704. Feig, J. Ch.: *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung*, S. 144.

len und über sechzig Türken gefangen zu nehmen, wurden diese alle für eigene Gefangene ausgetauscht.<sup>19</sup> Nach der Eroberung von Esztergom (27. Oktober 1673) verschlechterte sich die Lage der Garnison von Nové Zámky, indem sie vom osmanischen Hinterland in Ungarn abgeschnitten war. Zu dieser Zeit versuchten die Offiziere in Nové Zámky ihre Gefangenen aus einer nicht genannten Festung, wahrscheinlich aber aus Nitra, unter Vermittlung der Gemeindevertretung aus Veľký Cetín zu befreien. Der Brief liefert leider keinerlei weitere konkrete Angaben.

Trotz der bescheidenen Angaben ist die Veröffentlichung der Briefe der Statthalter und Offiziere aus Nové Zámky eine Bereicherung der Quellenbasis zur Geschichte dieser westlichsten osmanischen Provinz in Mitteleuropa.

## I

Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Kerem Mehmed Pascha befahl den Dorfrichtern von Žabokreky sowie von weiteren Dörfern der nahiye Žabokreky-Brodzany, Vysočany, Trebošovce, Veľké und Malé Ostratice als auch Rybany, die kaiserliche Steuer (*cizye*) zu bezahlen.

Nové Zámky, 28. November 1673

Orig.: MOL Budapest, R 315, Nr. 104 (20,2 × 30 Doppelblatt)

Pençe: Ahkar el-ibad Mehmed

Sahh: Allahu billah

Mŷ Czerem Mehmet pasa az hatalmas giözhétetlen fenlö Thörök Czaszarnak titkos tanacza, a dunan inet levö hadainak fö parancsoloia, Ersek üy Varý Vegi hazainak hely tarto gondviselöie Isten e(ngedemibül).

Latvan ez urý czimeres levelemet ti falusŷ birak, hamis ebek, ha lelketeket szeretit/ek mingiart ezen Czaszar adoiat ide hosztoný hozatok megh, Sambokrettj ötven hat / taler, Borogianý huszon nocz taler, Viszocsaný kilenczven taler, Topoczoczaý / tizen ketö, Velika Osztraticzaý harmincz egi taler, Male Osztraticzaý tizennocz, / Ripaný noczvan ketö. Birak, hamis kutiak enel töb levelem nem küldöm / hozatok le, ha ezen levelemre is nem hozatok igaz urý török hitemre / raba lesztek, megh siratiatok, ripaný biro ez levelem be hozad veled / egüt. üy Vár, die 28. Novembri 1673 Sambokrettj Var megie.

Tergum: (Adresse) Adasek az Sambokrettj es az töb falusi Biraknak falurul falura hamarsagal lo hatoný kezekben

In arabischer Schrift: nahiye-i Jabokrek  
kariye-i varoş

<sup>19</sup> Matunák, M.: *Život a boje*, S. 255.

## ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir, Kerem Mehemet Pascha, (der wir sind) mit Gottes (Erlaubnis) der Geheimrat des mächtigen, unbesiegbaren und strahlenden türkischen Kaisers, der Oberbefehlshaber seiner Heere an dieser (Seite) der Donau, Statthalter und Fürsorger des Grenzhauses (d. h. der Festung) Nové Zámky.

Pençe: Der demütigste der Diener (Allahs) Mehmed Pascha  
Richtig. Ich schwöre auf Allah

Ihr, Dorfrichter, ihr falschen Hunde, sobald ihr diesen meinen Brief sehet, der mit meinem herrschaftlichen Wappen versehen ist un die ihr eure Seele (Leben) liebet, bringet sofort und schnell hierher die kaiserliche Steuer (*cizye*), und zwar; Žabokreky<sup>20</sup> sechsundfünfzig Taler, Brodzany<sup>21</sup> achtundzwanzig Taler, Vysočany<sup>22</sup> neunzig Taler, Trebošovce<sup>23</sup> zwölf, Veľké Ostratice<sup>24</sup> einunddreißig, Malé

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<sup>20</sup> Žabokreky nad Nitrou, Bezirk Topoľčany. Das Städtchen gehörte zum Komitat Nitra. Es wurde im Detaillierten Verzeichnis des eyālet Nové Zámky aus dem Jahre 1664 (*Defter-i mufassal-i eyālet-i Uyvār*, S. 265) als Stadt (*varoş*) eingetragen und es war Sitz der *nahiye* (Bezirk). Siehe: Blaškovič, J.: *Turecký daňový súpis žabokreckého okresu z r. 1664*. Agrikultúra, 15, 1978, S. 65—76; in deutscher Sprache *Ein türkisches Steuerverzeichnis aus dem Bezirk von Žabokreky aus dem Jahre 1664*. ArOr, 46 1977, Nr. 3, S. 201—210. Diesem Verzeichnis zufolge zahlte das Städtchen eine staatliche Steuer (*cizye*) oder wie der Brief anführt eine „kaiserliche Steuer“ von 44 Häusern oder genauer Haushalten zu je 50 *akça*, zusammen also 2200 *akça*. Da ein Taler (türkisch *sim guruş*) 100 *akça* zählte, machte die Jahressumme der *cizye* 22 Taler aus. D. h. das Städtchen Žabokreky war mit der Steuer für zweieinhalb Jahre (22 + 22 + 12 anstatt 11 Taler für ein halbes Jahr) im Rückstand.

<sup>21</sup> Brodzany, Bezirk Topoľčany. Das zum Komitat Tekov gehörende Dorf war zusammen mit anderen Dörfern im oberen Nitra-Tal der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung in Nové Zámky steuerpflichtig. Blaškovič, J.: op. cit., S. 74, *Defter-i mufassal*, S. 268. Von 29 Haushalten zu je 50 *akça* machte die *cizye*-Steuer 1450 *akça* pro Jahr aus. Wurden vom Dorf 28 Taler gefordert, heißt das, sie waren mit der Steuer für 2 Jahre (2800 *akça*) im Rückstand. Wurde die Summe im Falle Žabokreky um 1 Taler nach oben abgerundet, wurde dem Dorf Brodzany 1 Taler nachgelassen.

<sup>22</sup> Vysočany, Bezirk Topoľčany, in der Nähe von Bánovce nad Bebravou, gehörte zum Komitat Trenčín. Blaškovič, J.: op. cit., S. 71, *Defter-i mufassal*, S. 265. Von 45 Haushalten zu je 50 *akça* zahlte das Dorf 2250 *akça* jährlich (22,5 Taler). Schuldete es 90 Taler, bedeutet dies, die Dorfbewohner zahlten vier Jahre lang keine staatliche Steuer.

<sup>23</sup> Trebašovce, heute ein Teil der Gemeinde Ostratice, Bezirk Topoľčany im ehemaligen Komitat Trenčín liegend. Blaškovič, J.: op. cit., S. 72, *Defter-i mufassal*, S. 266. Von 6 Haushalten wurden 300 *akça* gezahlt. Die Schuld von 12 Talern bedeutet einen Rückstand von 4 Jahren.

<sup>24</sup> Veľké Ostratice, Teil der Gemeinde Ostratice, Bezirk Topoľčany, gehörte zum Komitat Trenčín. Blaškovič, J.: op. cit., S. 72, *Defter-i mufassal*, S. 267. Im Dorf waren 24 Haushalte registriert, von denen jährlich 120 *akça* — 12 Taler an *cizye* zu zahlen waren. Der Rückstand von 31 Talern bedeutete, daß die Dorfbewohner zweieinhalb Jahre lang diese Steuer nicht entrichtet hatten (12 + 12 + 6 mit einer Abrundung nach oben auf 31 Taler).

Ostratice<sup>25</sup> achtzehn, Rybany<sup>26</sup> zweiundachtzig. Ihr Richter, ihr falschen Hunde, mehr Briefe schicke ich euch nicht (mehr). Bringet ihr auch (nach dem Erhalten) dieses Briefes nicht (das Geld), (schwöre ich) bei meinem wahren herrschaftlichen türkischen Glauben, daß ihr zu Sklaven werdet und es beweinen werdet! Der Dorfrichter von Rybany soll uns diesen Brief persönlich bringen.

Nové Zámky, am 28. November 1673. Komitat Žabokreky.<sup>27</sup>

Tergum: (Diesem Brief) schafft schnell, mit dem Pferde, von Dorf zu Dorf in die Hände der Dorfrichter von Žabokreky und der anderen Dörfer.

## II

Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Seydi Mehmed Pascha ordnet dem Dorfrichter von Kamenec und den Richtern der Städte des Komitats Tekov an mit drei weisen Leuten nach Nové Zámky zu kommen.

Nové Zámky, 27. August 1671

Orig.: ŠOBA Nitra, Archiv der Gemeinde Kamenec<sup>28</sup>, aufbewahrt im Fonds

<sup>25</sup> Malé Ostratice, heute Teil der Gemeinde Ostratice, Bezirk Topoľčany, gehörte zum Komitat Trenčín. Blaškovič, J.: op. cit., S. 73, *Defter-i mufassal*, S. 267. Die Höhe der *cizye* von 9 Haushalten war im Jahre 450 *akça* — 4,5 Taler. Bei einer Verschuldung von 18 Talern, war dies ein Rückstand von vier Jahren.

<sup>26</sup> Rybany, Bezirk Topoľčany. Die Gemeinde gehörte zum Komitat Trenčín. Blaškovič, J.: op. cit., S. 73 – 74, *Defter-i mufassal*, S. 267 – 268. Das Dorf hatte 41 Haushalte und zahlte im Jahr 20,5 Taler an *cizye*. Die Schuld von 82 Talern entstand durch den Rückstand von vier Jahren.

<sup>27</sup> Das Komitat Žabokreky (Sambokreti vármegye) ist eine Übersetzung der türkischen Bezeichnung *Nahiye-i Jabokrek*. Außer den angeführten Gemeinden gehörten dazu noch auch Lehota pod Vtáčnikom, Bezirk Prievidza, mit dessen beiden Teilen Malá und Veľká Lehota (Komitat Nitra), Otrhánky (Otruhany, Ostradice), heute ein Teil der Gemeinde Haláčovce, Bezirk Topoľčany (Komitat Trenčín) und Nedanovce, Bezirk Topoľčany (Komitat Nitra). Die Einnahmen aus den Steuern und Abgaben Žabokreky, Vysočany, Malé Ostratice und Rybany gehörten dem *hâss* — dem Eigentum des Statthalters von Nové Zámky. Obwohl sich die osmanische Finanzverwaltung bei der Bildung ihrer administrativer Einheiten gewöhnlich an die Grenzen der ehemaligen Verwaltungseinheiten hielt, gehörten im Falle der nahiye Žabokreky Gemeinden dreier Komitate dazu: der Komitate Nitra, Trenčín und Tekov.

<sup>28</sup> Der Brief war im Archiv der Gemeinde Dolný Kamenec, heute Kamenec, Bezirk Prievidza, später im Staatlichen Archiv in Bojnice und zuletzt im Staatlichen regionalen Archiv Nitra aufbewahrt worden. Die Fotokopie und die Transkription des Textes in moderner ungarischer Rechtschreibung veröffentlichte mit mehreren Fehlern M. Matuňák: *Z dejin slobodného a hlavného banského mesta Kremnice* (Aus der Geschichte der Frei- und Hauptbergwerksstadt Kremnica). Kremnica 1928, S. 415 (Fotokopie), S. 495 Transkription. Aus der Zeit der Unterwerfung von Dolný Kamenec der osmanischen Gewalt in Nové Zámky (1663 – 1685) blieben vier türkische Urkunden und weitere Dokumente erhalten. Siehe Rypka, J.: *Čtyři turecké listiny z Dolného Kamence na Slovensku* (Vier türkische Urkunden aus Dolný Kamenec in der Slowakei). Prády, II, 1927, Nr. 6 und 8.

Zbierka listín rôznej proveniencie (Sammlung von Urkunden unterschiedlicher Provenienz).

Mi az Hatalmas es Gyöszhetetlen Török Csaszarnak az Dunan Inend Levő Hadainak szerdarja Ersek uj var Varassanak Heli tartoja es paran Csoloja, Vas veszer<sup>29</sup> Szeidi Mehmet Passa

Pençe: el-hakir Seydi Mehmed Paşa  
Sahh. Allahu billah

Te Kemenczi biro es abban az var megieben levő varosi / birak. Valami dolog felöl hol levő minden varosbul / a biro harom emberrel eszes okos be iüön minden / hamarssagal veletek dolgunk vagyon irvan Czimerös / Levekünket hílik hozzank, hamarosan a var megei birak / iüvedienek minden varasbul harom okos ember / mert veletök dolgunk vagion ezt el ne halgassatok / mert az utan meg banjatok, es nagi büntetesel meg / lesztek büntetve, hamarosan ti birak iötön iüvednek be

Datum uy var 27 die augusti 1671

#### ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir, der Hauptbefehlshaber der diesseits der Donau liegenden Heere des mächtigen und unbesiegbaren türkischen Kaisers, Statthalter und Befehlshaber der Stadt Nové Zámky, der Eiserne Wesir Seydi Mehmet Pascha.

Pençe: Der arme Seydi Mehmed Pascha  
Richtig. Ich schwöre bei Allah

Du, Kamener Richter und die Stadtrichter dieses (Tekover) Komitats!

Die Richter aus jeder Stadt, die sich dort (im Komitat Tekov) befindet sollen schleunig mit drei weisen und gescheiten Menschen herkommen. Wir haben diesen Brief mit unserem Zeichen geschrieben, (weil) wir mit euch etwas zu besprechen haben. Ich rufe euch zu uns. Es sollen die Komitatsrichter aus jeder Stadt mit drei weisen Personen schleunigst herkommen, weil wir mit euch etwas (zu besprechen) haben. Vernachlässigt das nicht, weil ihr dann bereuen und mit einer großen Strafe bestraft werdet. Die Richter sollen schnell kommen!

Gegeben in Nové Zámky, am 27. August 1671

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<sup>29</sup> Vas veszer — der Eiserne Wesir — wird auch in den Briefen an den Palatin Paul Eszterházy aus dem Jahre 1671 erwähnt.

### III

Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Küçük Mehmet Pascha ordnet dem Richter von Šoporňa an, Juraj (Georg) Šanta<sup>30</sup> nach Nové Zámky zu bringen.

Nové Zámky, 1667

Orig.: Egyetemi Könyvtár, Pécs 31 × 21 cm

My küczok mehemet Passa az Hatalmas gyözhettek török Chaszarnak az dunan inet levő hadaýnak feö paranczolloja Titkos Tanacza es Ersek üy Varanak heli tartoja

Pençe: Ahkar el-ibad Mehmed Paşa

Sahh

Ezen Czimeres levelemet latvan Te hamis hitetlen diszno sopornaý biro nagion Paranczollom Teneked, ha elletedet es fejedet szereted, hogy se orat se napot ne varj hanem mingiart nagý hamarsagal az santa Giörghöt hozton hozad, hamis ellető diszno imar egy Nehan levelem ment hozatok azon santa disznoert mijert hogy anný vartok es nem hozatok hitetlen ebek, megh lattjatok hogý sereget kj küldök raýtatok mint az disznokot észe kööttzettel az tömlöcz feneken el rotvaszlak benne teket az illen tökelletlen hamis szo fogadatlansagtok ert ha ezen levellemre be nem hozatok nagy Hamar sagal.

Datum in ersek uy var. Anno 1667.

### ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir, Küçük Mehmet Pascha, der Hauptbefehlshaber der diesseits der Donau liegenden Heere des mächtigen und unbesiegbaren türkischen Sultans, Geheimrat und Statthalter von Nové Zámky.

Pençe: Der ergebenste der Diener (Allahs) Mehmed Pascha  
Richtig

Du falsches, ungläubiges Schwein Šoporňaer Richter<sup>31</sup> wenn du diesen Brief mit

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<sup>30</sup> Der Brief wurde in den ungarischen Zeitschriften Haszons Mulattaó, I, 1826 und Esztergom Közlöny, 1883, Nr. 49, sowie von M. Matunák im Werk *Nové Zámky pod tureckým panstvom* (Nové Zámky unter der türkischen Herrschaft) (1663—1685), Slovenské pohľady, 18, 1898 veröffentlicht. Neuausgabe im Werk M. Matunák: *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí*. Bratislava, Tatran 1983, S. 245.

<sup>31</sup> Šoporňa, Bezirk Galanta. Dieses große Dorf war im 16. Jahrhundert dem Esztergomer Sandschak steuerpflichtig, siehe Fekete, L.: *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570.évi adöösszeirása*. Budapest 1943, S. 177. In den Jahren 1663—1685 gehörte es zum eyálet Nové Zámky (*Eyálet-i Uyvár*), in die nahiye Nitra.

meinem Zeichen erblickst, ich befehle dir strengstens, wenn dir dein Leben und Kopf lieb sind, warte nicht eine Stunde und nicht einen Tag, aber bringe Ďuro Šanta sofort schleunigst zu mir.<sup>32</sup>

Du falsches und trächtiges Schwein, euch habe ich schon wegen dem Schwein Šanta einige Briefe geschickt, warum wartet ihr so lange? Bringet ihn her, ihr ungläubigen Hunde! (Wenn nicht), ihr werdet sehen, ich schicke das Heer auf euch. Ich lasse euch zusammenbinden wie die Schweine und lasse euch verfaulen am Boden einer Dunkelzelle für eure falsche Ungehorsamkeit, wenn ihr ihn nach diesem meinen Brief nicht sofort herbringet.

Datum Nové Zámky. Im Jahre 1667.

#### IV

Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Kücük Mehmed Pascha ersuchte Paul Eszterházy, den Hauptkapitän der vor der Donau liegenden Gebiete, einen Jüngling zurückzuerstatten, der aus Nové Zámky samt Pferd und Geschirr auf das königliche Gebiet geflohen war.

Nové Zámky, 13. August 1679

Orig.: MOL Budapest, Eszterházy Pál nádor (P 125), Fasc. 44, Nr. 4156

Mi Küczük Mehemet Passa az Hatalmas és Giöszhetetlen Török Csaszarnak az Dunan Innend levő Hadainak Gongya viselöye, Ersek ujvar veg Haszanak Heltartoya és parancsoloya Istentül kivanunk minden iokat, mint mi nekünk / szomszed vitez ur, baratunknak.

Ez felöl kelletek Kegyelmedet megtalalnom mint szom/szed vitez urat, ezen napokban, egi Ifijuczka / legin innend uj varbul arra ki szököt ugian / az magunk udvarunkbul, egi fő paripankat / el vidte minden szerszamaval, azert, azon / keröm Kegyelmedet hogi ha az szomszedsgaban valo / baratcsagot es az io akaratot egi mas köszöt / meg akaryuk tartani, es egik az masikunkat / meg beczülni, tehat Kegyelmed azt az mi / leginünket, lovaval, minden raita valo / ruhaýaval, az lo szerszamaval, Kegyelmed nekünk / meg külgye, és ugi teczik ki köstünk az / szomszedsgaban valo egimashosz baratesagunk / és az io akaratunk, hozzam Kegyelmed az legit / ki külgye az mi keszünkhösz, minket az / szomszedsgaban, Kegyelmednek köztunk essendő dol/gayban örömöst szolgunk.

Isten tarcsa eletyet Kegyelmednek nagi io egesegben.

Datum Új Var 13 die augusti 1679

Tergum: Az Tekintetös es Ngos Vitezlo urnak Eszterhaszi Pal Csaszar es

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<sup>32</sup> Sánta — ung. krumm, hinkend, konnte ein Spitzname des gesuchten Juraj (Georg) sein.

koronas kirali szentölt vitezlo Magyar orszagi Fö generalissanak, nekünk szomszedi vitez urnak adassak ezen Level

## ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir Küçük Mehmed Pascha der Fürsorger der vor der Donau liegenden Heere des mächtigen und unbesiegbaren türkischen Kaisers, Statthalter und Befehlshaber des Grenzhauses (Festung) Nové Zámky. Wir wünschen Euch vom Gott alles Beste als unseren Nachbarn und heldenhaften Freund!

In der (unten angeführten) Angelegenheit muß ich Euch aufsuchen (sich an Euch wenden) als unseren nachbarlichen heldenhaften Herrn. In diesen Tagen ist von hier, aus unserem Hof in Nové Zámky ein Jüngling geflohen. Er entführte unser Pferd mit dem ganzen Geschirr. Deshalb bitten wir Euer Gnaden, wenn ihr die Freundschaft und den guten Willen zwischen uns erhalten wollt und wenn wir einander ehren sollen, Euer Gnaden soll uns unseren Jüngling samt Pferd, Kleidung (di er hat) an sich und dem Geschirr zu schicken (zurückzugeben). Wenn Euer Gnaden diesen Jüngling in unsere Hände zurückerstattet, wird er dadurch unsere gegenseitige nachbarliche Freundschaft und guten Willen bezeugen. Wir werden Euer Gnaden in Angelegenheiten, die in unserer Nachbarschaft entstehen, mit Freuden bedienlich sein.

Gott beschütze das Leben von Euer Gnaden in guter Gesundheit.

Datum Nové Zámky, am 13. August 1679

Tergum: Bringet diesen Brief zu Händen unseres heldenhaften Herrn Paul Eszterházy,<sup>33</sup> dem Hauptgeneral des ungarischen Landes (Seiner Majestät) des geheiligt en und gekrönten Kaisers und Königs.

## V

Die Offiziere der Festung Nové Zámky an einen nicht genannten Kapitän<sup>34</sup> in Sachen des Gefangenenaustausches.

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<sup>33</sup> Paul Eszterházy (1635—1713), Sohn des Palatins Nikolaus Eszterházy, seit 1668 Hauptbefehlshaber des Hauptkapitanats von Cisdanubien, 1681 zum ungarischen Palatin gewählt.

<sup>34</sup> Hinsichtlich der Lage von Velfký Cetin zwischen Nové Zámky und Nitra, kommt in Betracht entweder Nitra, von wo der Befehlshaber der dortigen Kavallerie Adam Czobor häufig Überfälle in die Umgebung von Nové Zámky unternahm, oder aber Levice, dessen Garnison auch jene türkischen Abteile attackierte, die Vorräte nach Nové Zámky brachten. Siehe Matuňák, M.: *Život a boje na turecko-slovenskom pohraničí*, S. 265 ff.

Nové Zámky, 8. September 1684  
Orig.: MOL Budapest, R 315, Nr. 125

Mi az Hatalmas Czazarunk Ersek Uivarának Tistei, az Nagi sagos Janczar Aga Alý Bek, Giönlí Aga, Nasup Aga az töb Agakal Egiut Ayanliuk Szolgatunkat Kegielmednek mint szomsed Vitéz kapitáni Uri baratunknak, Isten algia kigiel-medet kivanniuk.

Vier in roten Wachs eingedrückte Siegel.

Nem akarank Elmulatni Levelünk altal meg / ne talaltuk volna az szomsédt-sagban kidielme/det Niavalias Rabiaink szabadulasa veget. Ezen fel bodult időben mivel ki ki hova valók / legienek nem tudhattiuk, azért advan ertesire / Kegielmednek, hogi mostanaban nem tudvan / kinek kel hinnie, hanem valasztvan olj igaz / Postat az meli igassagossan jar. Az melinek / máskint Postaia nem talalkozik, tehat Czetiný / Birak keziben advan hozzak ki lassa szabadula/sat ha sabadulhat, sabadullion, holot nem vissa/külgük. Mi Mel-tosagos Urak fogadgiuk az / Mi igaz Uri Török Hitünkre senkit az Ra/bok kozül nem tartoztatunk, Ezen Uri Hitle/velünköt tartvan maganal. Kigelmetek is / külgie Maga Uri hit/levelit oli forman / rabiainkat nem foghia tartoztatni, meljnek / Nagiob bizonisagara es erössegere att/uk ezen Uri Hit Levelünköt és Peczetünkel is / megh Erösítven. Költ Uivarban, die 8. Septembris / Anno 1684.

Idem qui supra m. p.

## ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir, die Offiziere von Nové Zámky, der Festung unseres mächtigen Kaisers: der hochwohlgeborene Aga der Janitscharen Ali Beg, Giönlí Aga,<sup>35</sup> Nasup Aga zusammen mit den übrigen Agas empfehlen unsere Dienste Euer Gnaden als unserem Nachbarn, dem heldenhaften Kapitän und herrschaftlichen (edlen) Freund. Euer Gnaden wünschen wir Gottes Segen.

Wir möchten (die Gelegenheit) nicht versäumen, sich nicht an Euer Gnaden in der Nachbarschaft zu wenden, betreffs der Befreiung unserer armen Sklaven.<sup>36</sup> In diesen bewegten Zeiten können wir nicht wissen, welcher von wo herkommt.

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<sup>35</sup> Giönlí Aga — hier geht es wahrscheinlich um den Befehlshaber des Abteils der *gönüllüs*, einer Art leichter Kavallerie.

<sup>36</sup> Es geht um Kriegsgefangene, die im Kampf oder bei Überfällen gefangen genommen wurden. Diese sollten jedoch laut Punkt 7 des Friedensvertrags in der Mündung des Flusses Žitava ohne Lösegeld freigelassen werden. Diese Bestimmung wurde auch in weitere Friedensverträge übernom-men.

Aus diesem Grunde, weil man heutzutage nicht weiß wem man glauben soll, tun wir Euer Gnaden kund, daß wir einen verläßlichen Weg gewählt haben, der (diesen Brief) sicher befördert. Weil es gibt keine andere zuverlässige Post. Gebet (die Gefangenen) in die Hände der Richter von Cetín, damit sie sie herbringen. Veranlaßt die Befreiung jener, die befreit werden können. Die sollen befreit werden. Die, welche nicht, schicken wir ihnen zurück. Wir, die hochwohlgeborenen Herren schwören auf unseren wahrhaftigen herrschaftlichen türkischen Glauben,<sup>37</sup> daß wir keinen der Sklaven zurückhalten werden. Dieses unsere herrschaftliche Schutzschreiben<sup>38</sup> behaltet bei Euch. Euer Gnade soll (uns) auch Eueren Schwurbrief schicken, in der Sie auch (verspricht), daß Sie unsere Sklaven nicht zurückhalten wird. Des größeren Beweises und der Sicherheit willen haben wir diese unsere Schwururkunde ausgefertigt, die wir auch mit unseren Siegeln bestätigt haben. Gegeben in Nové Zámky, am 8. September des Jahres 1684.

Idem qui supra m. p.

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<sup>37</sup> Igaz úri török hintük — unser echter herrschaftlicher türkischer Glauben, d. h. der Islam.

<sup>38</sup> Hitlevél — Privilegien-Urkunde, Glaubensurkunde, oft aber auch im Sinne einer Schutzurkunde gebraucht.

## DECLINE OF MAMLÜKS' POWER IN EGYPT (1803—1804)

KAROL SORBY, Bratislava

An analysis is made of the political and social development in Egypt in 1803 and 1804 when a keen struggle was waged by British and French diplomacy in attempts to gain a decisive influence in Egypt. Contacts of British and French agents with Mamlük Beys in Egypt and interventions on the part of representatives of their embassies in Istanbul in favour of the Mamlüks resulted in that the Beys stepped up their demands. They failed to realize that the social conditions in Egypt had considerably altered since the time of the French occupation in 1798 and that their traditional forms of governing ran counter to the claims of the nascent bourgeoisie represented by rich merchants, tradesmen and, not least, by religious Muslim leaders. The insurrection of the population of Cairo in March 1804 put a definitive end to Mamlüks' rule in Egypt and shattered all hope of the Beys ever regaining again their former power and glory.

The French, through the capitulation of their army in Egypt in 1801, temporarily lost their strategic initiative in their colonial penetration into eastern countries. And the British, aware of this advantage, did not intend to let it slip cheaply from their hands. Consequently, a fundamental line in their policy towards Egypt and the Ottoman Empire generally, was to ensure at all costs an effective defence of Egypt against any possible attempt on the part of Napoleon to take possession of it a second time. In the light of this political priority — aware of the Turks' ability and overestimating that of the Mamlüks — the British came gradually to revise their original contracts towards the Sublime Porte.<sup>1</sup> This led into a paradoxical situation: "yesterday's" enemy, France, gradually ceased to be an enemy, while "yesterday's" ally of the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain, gradually came into this role.

Both the British and the French were under the impression that in Egypt, uniquely the Mamlüks constituted a force capable of realizing the aims of the one who would win them over to his side. That explains why the activities of the two diplomacies were directed so tenaciously to this end. Nonetheless, neither the British nor the French wished to turn the legal ruler of Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, into a foe: the British, to prevent Turkey from becoming an ally of France, and the French, to win the Turks' favour in their fight against the British.

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<sup>1</sup> Pact of alliance between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire of January 5, 1799. In: Hurewitz: *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*. Vol. I, doc. 25, pp. 65—67.

The Mamlūk Beys, typical representatives of a dying-out mediaeval military-feudal aristocracy, were firmly convinced that they alone had the right to rule in Egypt. Interventions on the part of the British and the French in favour of the Mamlūks resulted in that the Porte adamantly rejected all their proposals and withdrew its own insistence on an evacuation of the Mamlūks from Egypt only when its power in Egypt was wrenched from its hands and the Beys became in fact the true lords of the country, excepting Alexandria. However, this concession of the Porte's in the face of objective reality did not produce the expected result: the Beys did not believe any more in the sincerity of the Porte's intentions and, encouraged by the British and French support, decided to renew their former power and introduce the old order of things.

True, the battle of November 11, 1802 near Damanhūr between units of the Ottoman viceroy Khusraw Pasha and those of the Mamlūks did disrupt the proportion of forces in Egypt, but its consequences became fully manifest only after the evacuation of the British expeditionary corps (March 1803). The victory brought no direct gain to the Mamlūks, for instead of moving on Cairo, they indulged in local skirmishes about Alexandria. They did not lend help to Beys in Upper Egypt, although the Turks commanded there three important centres: al-Minyā, Asyūt and Gīrgā.

Following the evacuation of the British forces, the Mamlūks retreated into Upper Egypt, approaching al-Minyā as the first of the centres referred to above. This town commanded an advantageous strategic position: the bed of the Nile here was narrow, affording control of riverine navigation. Anyone in command of this site could interrupt the river traffic between Upper Egypt and the other districts of Middle and Lower Egypt and thus divide the country.<sup>2</sup>

The Mamlūks, led by the Beys Ibrāhīm and al-Bardīsī approached the town in the first half of April 1803. The Turkish garrison refused to meet the Mamlūks' requests, hence the latter made a violent attack on the town. A bloody battle ensued, lasting four days and nights and ended in a Mamlūk victory. The news of al-Minyā's fall into the hands of al-Bardīsī reached Cairo on April 17th and caused great consternation, for this meant a possible interruption of supplies from Upper Egypt and widespread famine. Khusraw feared that also Asyūt and Gīrgā might fall and therefore called up units of Ṭāhir Pasha and Muḥammad ‘Alī from Lower Egypt to Cairo.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Ar-Rāfi‘ī, ‘Abdurrahmān: *Tārīkh al-ḥarakah al-qawmiyah wa taṭawwur nizām al-ḥukm fī Miṣr* (History of Popular Movement and Development of the System of Government in Egypt), 4th ed. Cairo 1955, Part I, p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Jabartī, ‘Abdurrahmān: *‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār fī at-tarājim wa al-akhbār* (Peculiarities in Biographies and Reports), 1216–1220 H. (1801–1806). Cairo 1905, Part III, p. 236.

When the army reached Cairo, Tāhir Pasha's units could enter the city, while Muḥammad ‘Alī's units had to camp outside its precincts. Muḥammad ‘Alī saw that Khusraw was in trouble and thought he could well exploit the situation to get rid of him.<sup>4</sup> He had no will to fight the Mamlūks for his sake, especially after he had learned that Khusraw had requested the Porte to remove the Albanians from Egypt. After the battle near Damanhūr, Khusraw had indeed asked that the Albanian units be withdrawn from Egypt, but by the time the decree of the Sublime Porte on their withdrawal arrived, the pay withheld from the mercenaries had reached a very high amount. Khusraw's government had levied the money on the inhabitants but wishing to drive the Albanians out of the country, meant to keep the money for itself.<sup>5</sup> In these circumstances, Muḥammad ‘Alī and Tāhir Pasha instigated their soldiers to demand without delay that the viceroy pay their arrears.

When the soldiers learnt that they were to go and fight without pay in Upper Egypt, they began to protest. Khusraw, however, gave little heed to these disorders: he summoned Tāhir Pasha and peremptorily ordered him immediately to quit Cairo with all his soldiers, otherwise they would be fired upon.<sup>6</sup> That was the last drop which overflowed the cup: the Albanians revolted, with Tāhir Pasha at their head.

On Saturday April 23rd, a group of Albanian commanders called on Khusraw and asked that payments to their soldiers be duly made. Khusraw still failed to appreciate the danger that threatened, refused to accede to the Albanians' legitimate demands and referred them to his daftardār. News of the rebellion swept like fire across the town and the population awaited with anxiety the development of the situation for, as a rule, soldiers in revolt began to pillage. Merchants closed their shops and carried home what they could to save it from looting.<sup>7</sup> The soldiers quietened somewhat when the daftardār promised them that they would get their pay in six days.<sup>8</sup>

On Friday, April 29th, the soldiers assembled at the al-Azbakīyah Square, surrounded the daftardār's house and demanded their dues.<sup>9</sup> Daftardār Khalīl efendī sent an urgent request to Khusraw to send him money, for the sum he had would be insufficient. Instead of a reply, the Pasha gave orders for fire to be opened on the soldiers from the citadel. The infuriated soldiers ransacked the

<sup>4</sup> Ar-Rāfi‘ī: op. cit., p. 305.

<sup>5</sup> Shukrī, Muḥammad Fu’ād: *Miṣr fī maṭla‘ al-qarn at-tāsi‘ ashar, 1801—1811* (Egypt at the Beginning of the 19th Century). Vol. I. Cairo 1958, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Ar-Rāfi‘ī: op. cit., p. 305.

<sup>8</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 239.

<sup>9</sup> Yaḥyā, Jalāl: *Miṣr al-hadīta 1517—1805* (Modern Egypt 1517—1805). Alexandria 1969, p. 577.

daftardār's house. Gun fire was heard in the city, shopkeepers closed again their shops and panic spread among the population.<sup>10</sup>

Tāhir Pasha with his escort went to Khusraw pretending he would act as mediator between him and the soldiers, but Khusraw refused to admit him, for he still failed to ascribe any unusual importance to the mutiny, feeling convinced that he was able to repress it.<sup>11</sup> The fighting between soldiers faithful to Khusraw and the insurgent Albanians went on also the next day and the latter succeeded in conquering the citadel. On Sunday May 1st 1803, the Albanians occupied all the strategically important positions in the city and bombarded Khusraw's palace at al-Azbakīyah. Fearing encirclement, Khusraw with his family, his followers and a group of soldiers who remained faithful to him, fled in the direction of Qalyūb.<sup>12</sup> His flight, however, meant in fact the end to his rule which had lasted about sixteen months.

During these events, Muḥammad Ḡalī preserved discretion: he refused to be drawn in, and left Tāhir Pasha recklessly to court danger through his mutiny against the lawful representative of the Sublime Porte in Egypt. He preferred cautiously to wait for the reaction from Istanbul, what would be the attitude of powers interested in a stabilization of conditions in the country, what the attitude of the Mamlūk Beys and finally what standpoint the Janissaries would adopt.<sup>13</sup>

Khusraw's defeat and his flight from Cairo gave proof that the Turks were incapable of setting up a firm government, one that could defend the country against foreign aggression. The mutiny of the soldiers, on the other hand, was clear evidence that the Albanian contingent (forming the backbone of Ottoman army in Egypt) could not be relied upon to defend the country. The military successes of the Mamlūks in fighting the Turks confirmed British agents in their view that the Mamlūks were the only force capable of repelling foreign aggression and succeeded in convincing also their politicians about the correctness of this view. French agents endeavoured to mar British attempts at establishing solid bonds with the Beys, trying to win the latter to co-operate with France. Egypt was thus an arena in which British and French policies struggled to win a decisive influence and this struggle only helped to make the political anarchy in the land even more acute.

By evening of May 1st 1803, the whole of Cairo was in the hands of Tāhir Pasha and his Albanians.<sup>14</sup> The viceroy's throne was vacant and Tāhir Pasha

<sup>10</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 240.

<sup>11</sup> Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 577.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 242.

<sup>13</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> Ar-Rāfiʻī: op. cit., p. 306.

would fain have acquired it for himself. However, the overthrow and expulsion of Khusraw Pasha were acts of open insurrection against the power of the Porte and its lawful representative in Egypt. Tāhir Pasha, the initiator and leader of the overthrow, was an insurgent in the eyes of the Porte and as such, had first to explain the reasons that had prompted him to adopt such a procedure and impart to his position a semblance of legality pending the arrival of the relevant *farmān* from Istanbul.

On Friday May 6th, shaykhs, ulemas and representatives of the various types of arms (*al-wujāqīyah*) assembled at the house of the supreme judge (*qādī*) at the request of Tāhir Pasha and together called at the Pasha's house.<sup>15</sup> Following the opening of the session (*dīwān* — or Council of State), Tāhir Pasha asked the supreme judge to prepare a document in writing on the events that had taken place in connection with the overthrow and expulsion of Khusraw Pasha. In this document Khusraw was accused of having spent all the public revenues on the building and fortification of his palace and of having for a long time retained soldiers' pay. When the Albanians asked payment of their dues, he sent them to the *daftardār*, although he knew that his treasury was practically empty. As the Albanians had become an inconvenience to him, he tried to get rid of them by physical liquidation. The Albanians were saved from massacre by an uprising of the people who were no longer willing to put up with tyranny, took up arms and overthrew the hated Pasha. The violent outbreak of the people's anger subsided only on the appeal of Tāhir Pasha who, in the interest of order and peace, was compelled to occupy the citadel with his Albanian units.

This version, with which Tāhir wished to explain and legalize his rebellion against Khusraw, was not accurate insofar as the people's uprising was concerned. During the fighting between Khusraw's and Tāhir's soldiers, the people did not take part in anything and followed the course of events solely as spectators. Nonetheless, the shaykhs, *qādī* and the other dignitaries signed this declaration or protocol and on May 9th despatched it to Istanbul.<sup>16</sup>

At the meeting, the *qādī* invested Tāhir Pasha in a sable cloak as a sign of his being confided the function of deputy viceroy (*qā'immaqām*) pending his being confirmed in that office, or the arrival of a new viceroy.<sup>17</sup> Several shaykhs and also 'Umar Makram spoke out at the meeting, describing the misery and hardships suffered by the common people. All requested that violence, injustice and wrong be done away with. The shaykhs informed those present of the contents of a letter sent to them by Mamlūk Beys from Upper Egypt asking that a truce be arranged through the intermediary of the shaykhs. The Beys ex-

<sup>15</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 245.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 245.

pressed their devotion and obedience to the Sultan and refuted the allegation that they had sought pretexts for fighting. They clearly laid the responsibility for the protracted fighting on Khusraw who was bent on their liquidation. Although they had so far always defeated the Pasha's soldiers, nevertheless, they now proposed cessation of hostilities and the signing of a truce.<sup>18</sup> Tāhir Pasha decided to make use of this situation to win the Mamlūks' favour. He wrote them a letter informing them of the events that had taken place and asking them to draw closer to Cairo. In order to strengthen his position, Tāhir Pasha considered it essential to come to an agreement with the Beys and conclude an alliance with them.<sup>19</sup>

But the fact remains that Tāhir Pasha came to power by illegal means, by force of arms. His demand that the qādī, the shaykhs and ulemas should approve his rule, enhanced their authority and place them in the light of a body capable of dealing with a crisis. Their importance was further enhanced also by the Mamlūks who had chosen them to be their mediators with the viceroy. Finally, their endeavours to do away with violence and wrongdoings raised their authority in the eyes of the people who, looking for protection, became united around them.<sup>20</sup>

Tāhir showed earnest efforts to rule with justice: he issued a decree in which he assured the people that they need have no fear for their lives and property and forbade soldiers to threaten the population. During the first days following the overthrow of Khusraw, power was fully in Tāhir's hands: the people felt more secure and, according to Missett, there were no signs at all that he could be removed.<sup>21</sup> Tāhir manifested loyalty to the Sublime Porte and assured Europeans in Cairo that he would ensure their safeguard, would preserve respect towards them and would not allow that they would incur damage to their property. He expended considerable effort to persuade foreigners not to leave Cairo for Alexandria. Missett was at a loss whether to consider Tāhir as a rebel, or as a loyal subject of the Sultan; he was not certain whom to look upon as the representative of Salīm III in Egypt, since Khusraw had not been deposed from office by a *farmān* of the Sublime Porte.

However, the rapid course of events left Tāhir neither the time nor the possibility of implementing his good resolutions. Difficulties began quickly to crop up everywhere. Khusraw Pasha, who had not been recalled from office, continued to be the lawful representative of the Sultan in Egypt. He settled down at al-Manṣūrah and placed a strong garrison at ar-Rahmāniyah which

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>19</sup> Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 579.

<sup>20</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 182.

<sup>21</sup> Missett to Hobart, May 4, 1803. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*. Vol. II. *La politique mameluke (1803—1807)*. Cairo, Société royale de géographie d'Égypte 1930, doc. 14, p. 14.

permitted him to control sailings on both the arms of the Nile. In view of the prevailing situation, the Governor of Alexandria Khūrshīd Pasha called a meeting of the consuls on May 4th and agreed with them to sever connection with Cairo. Fearing attacks by the Mamlūks, he ordered bridges and the dam near the lake al-Ma<sup>q</sup>dīyah to be destroyed, had passages and roads leading to the town guarded and fortified the defence of Alexandria by posting batteries at strategically important sites. This implied that Cairo was isolated from the other areas of Egypt, so that Tāhir's rule was confined to Cairo and its close environs.<sup>22</sup>

But Tāhir did not command a strong position even within the city itself. He was faced right from the beginning with the same problems as Khusraw had been before him: the treasury was empty and he urgently needed money a) to cover the expenses of the administration, b) to pay the soldiers, c) to organize an expedition against Khusraw.<sup>23</sup> In order to raise funds, he imposed enormous taxes on Khusraw's adherents. Within a short lapse of time, Tāhir had committed numerous wrongdoings and crimes: he mulcted money from merchants, from the Coptic and Jewish religious communities and had many of those who could not pay, beheaded near one of Cairo's gates.<sup>24</sup> Such outrageous acts could only weaken Tāhir's already very precarious position.

Tāhir took support in his Albanian soldiers with whose help he had carried out the coup d'état. He incited them against the Janissaries who had arrived to Cairo on April 23rd, i. e. before Khusraw's downfall. They were on their way to al-Jiddah to suppress the Wahhābī agitations at al-Hijāz. They were lodged in the az-Zāhir Mosque beyond the city's gates and did not interfere in the events that led to Khusraw's overthrow. Yet Tāhir considered them as his enemies: when they came to him to ask for their overdue pay, he flew into a rage and told them that he was responsible for payments only since he was in power and they had to ask for the rest from Khusraw.<sup>25</sup>

The Janissaries felt offended; moreover, they resented that Tāhir heaped money on the Albanians leaving them a free hand in looting, while treating them — the Janissaries — contemptuously as if they had been defeated.<sup>26</sup> They therefore resolved to have their vengeance on the Albanians, to kill Tāhir and set their own commander in his place. On May 26th, a group of some 250 armed Janissaries came to Tāhir to complain of the way the Albanians behaved towards them and asked for their pay. When Tāhir rejected their complaints, a

<sup>22</sup> Misett to Hobart, May 14, 1804, op. cit., doc. 17, p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 186.

<sup>24</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 246.

<sup>25</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 188.

<sup>26</sup> Ar-Rāfiq: op. cit., p. 309.

violent quarrel ensued and in a fit of fury, one of the Aghas cut off Tāhir's head. Then they pillaged Tāhir's house and set it on fire.<sup>27</sup>

The Janissaries, surprised that they had so easily snatched power on their side, prepared then a bloody revenge on the Albanians, ruthlessly killing everyone who fell into their hands. Khusraw's adherents thought that a favourable situation had developed for his return and called him back. However, it came out that the Janissaries had no wish that Khusraw should return, but to place their commander — Ahmād Pasha — instead of him.<sup>28</sup> The latter informed the shaykhs, the ulemas and the dignitaries of what had happened and asked them to call on Muḥammad ‘Alī and to induce him to subordination and obedience.

Following Tāhir Pasha's murder, the Albanians became panic-stricken. All those who saved themselves from the Janissaries' vengeance, flocked to Muḥammad ‘Alī's camp and he thus became the supreme commander of all the Albanian mercenaries in Egypt.<sup>29</sup>

Through the duration of Tāhir Pasha's rule, Muḥammad ‘Alī preserved neutrality and distanced himself from his misdoings. Tāhir's feat — the overthrow of Khusraw — was to him a welcome opportunity, but he did not wish to incense further the Sublime Porte by giving open support to a rebel. And by his attitude, he also won the respect of the shaykhs, ulemas and notables who had recourse to him to moderate Tāhir's tyranny.

However, the murder of Tāhir Pasha and the preponderance of the Janissaries who made Ahmād Pasha the deputy viceroy (*qā’immaqām*) posed a mortal danger to the Albanians — an end to their power and their probable withdrawal from Egypt. To recognize Ahmād Pasha's authority ran directly counter to Muḥammad ‘Alī's interests and he consequently refused subordination and obedience. To the shaykhs who had come to him as Ahmād Pasha's intermediaries, he gave these reasons: Ahmād Pasha had been nominated viceroy in al-Madīnah and thus he had nothing in common with Egypt; the defence of Egypt was the Albanians' business. He asked them that for the sake of preserving peace, Ahmād Pasha should leave for al-Hijāz and take his Janissaries with him.<sup>30</sup>

On seeing the trend of events, Muḥammad ‘Alī began immediately to act: he went to al-Gīzah where the Mamlūks were encamped to negotiate with the Beys. But he succeeded in convincing only Ibrāhīm alone, viz. that as the supreme authority had ceased to exist in the land, he Ibrāhīm had a prior right to take on the function of *qā’immaqām* before some “foreigner” without influence and

<sup>27</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 247.

<sup>28</sup> Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 580.

<sup>29</sup> Ar-Rāfi‘ī: op. cit., p. 309.

<sup>30</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 248.

adherents. Muḥammad ‘Alī proposed to Ibrāhīm to write a letter to Aḥmad Pasha requesting him immediately to hand over the murderers of Ṭāhir and to leave the country.<sup>31</sup> Muḥammad ‘Alī’s design was to liquidate, in co-operation with the Mamlūks, the danger threatening from the Janissaries commanding Cairo.

The following day (May 27th) many Mamlūks left for Cairo. The Janissaries fortified themselves in their fortresses and continued to pillage the city and to persecute the Albanians.<sup>32</sup> Aḥmad Pasha even tried to make use of the shaykhs to incite the city’s inhabitants against the Albanians. But the Janissaries made the serious mistake not to have immediately occupied the citadel. The Albanians soon recovered from the catastrophe that had come on them and when they saw Mamlūks about the streets and a great number of them and of Bedouins beyond the gates Bāb an-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ, their courage came back. They began to fire from cannons on Aḥmad Pasha’s house and on the Janissaries who intended to attack the citadel — they came too late — from the ar-Rumaylah Square.<sup>33</sup> Events soon took a different turn: the shaykhs who had assembled in the al-Azhar Mosque to deal with the question of the inhabitants’ rising against the Albanians, just dispersed and went home. Ibrāhīm Bey sent an ultimatum to Aḥmad Pasha: immediately to hand over Ṭāhir Pasha’s murderers and within a few hours to leave Cairo. That same evening (May 27th) peace was restored in Cairo “according to the orders of Ibrāhīm Bey and Muḥammad ‘Alī”<sup>34</sup>.

The events of May 26th and 27th 1803, and particularly Aḥmad Pasha’s request that the shaykhs should intervene on his behalf in obtaining Muḥammad ‘Alī’s support pointed to the evident authority which this Albanian commander enjoyed already at that time. His position became strikingly reinforced after he had become the commander of all the Albanians and in these circumstances he decided to exploit the crisis to his advantage. It was clear to him that the Albanians alone were not able to withstand Khusraw Pasha’s forces from outside and simultaneously to suppress the Janissaries’ attacks inside Cairo, and consequently he concluded an alliance with the Mamlūks, in virtue of which a tripartite government (a triumvirate) was formed, consisting of the Beys Ibrāhīm and al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad ‘Alī.<sup>35</sup> This arrangement permitted the Mamlūks to return to Cairo after an absence of practically two years and convinced of their preponderance, they did not hesitate to accept the Albanians’ proposals.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>32</sup> Ar-Rāfi‘ī: op. cit., p. 310.

<sup>33</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 250.

<sup>35</sup> Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 581.

Many contemporaries<sup>36</sup> surmised that despite an apparent unity, the alliance between the Mamlūk Beys and Muḥammad ‘Alī would soon break down, for a mutual diffidence reigned among the parties. The Albanians were in a knotty situation: the reaction of the Porte to the latest events was not yet known, but there were grounded fears that after two such upheavals they would be definitively removed from Egypt. Muḥammad ‘Alī did not as yet hold the situation firmly in hand and therefore he deemed it reasonable and right to reinforce the alliance between the Albanians and the Mamlūks. When the Beys in the interest of stabilizing conditions asked that the citadel be handed over, Muḥammad ‘Alī, in sign of good will, handed it over to them on June 6th 1803. He also agreed that the Beys would take over the principal functions in Cairo.<sup>37</sup> In this manner he dispersed doubts in the minds of the Mamlūks and the new government now holding power firmly in its hands, could successfully face the dangers that threatened it.

As already noted, Khusraw Pasha after his flight from Cairo settled down at al-Manṣūrah. He gathered about him some three thousand horsemen with the aim to keep the town and to subdue gradually the entire Lower Egypt. Following the last events, however, he feared that the Porte would restore to the Mamlūks their former power, therefore, on the advice of the British, he exerted maximum efforts to achieve an agreement with the Mamlūks with the aim to regain his lost office.

When the Albanians under the command of Ḥasan Bey (brother of the murdered Ṭāhir Pasha) drew close to al-Manṣūrah, Khusraw with his detachments retreated to Damietta, but a group of his soldiers joined Ḥasan Bey. Ḥasan Bey encircled the town and when reinforcements arrived on July 2nd under the command of al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad ‘Alī, Damietta fell and Khusraw was taken prisoner. Al-Bardīsī gave orders for him to be escorted to Cairo, then ruled by Ibrāhīm Bey and on July 8th 1803, Khusraw became a prisoner at the citadel.

Following the fall of Damietta, the Turks held only Rosetta and Alexandria. Al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad ‘Alī were resolved to conquer both the towns: al-Bardīsī went forward with his cavalry and Muḥammad ‘Alī followed him with his infantry and artillery. The meeting place was ar-Rahmānīyah.<sup>38</sup>

On the day Khusraw was brought as prisoner to Cairo, ‘Alī Pasha al-Jazā’irlī, nominated by the Porte viceroy of Egypt, arrived in Alexandria. The “trium-

<sup>36</sup> E.g. the famous historian Felix Mengin.

<sup>37</sup> I.e. “Shaykh al-Balad” = governor of Cairo; “amīr al-ḥajj” = leader of annual pilgrimage to Mecca; Shukrī: op. cit., p. 192.

<sup>38</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 193. Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 584.

virate" thus faced a new threat which reinforced the bonds between the Mamlüks and Muḥammad ‘Alī.

The Porte's reaction to the news of Khusraw's expulsion from Cairo and Tāhir's nomination as qā’immaqām was one of being reconciled to the fait accompli. It issued a *farmān*<sup>39</sup> in which it approved the soldiers' right to mutiny against a pasha who refused to give their pay and recalled Khusraw from Egypt in view of the injustices which he perpetrated. Until the arrival of the new viceroy, the office of qā’immaqām was to be exercised by Aḥmad Pasha and Tāhir was to look after public order. Hence, the Porte refused to confirm Tāhir in this function, as he was an Albanian and as such could not occupy such a high office. In all probability, this standpoint on the part of the Porte convinced the other Albanian Muḥammad ‘Alī that in the midst of such a total anarchy, it was best, nay, urgent to adopt the tactics of biding one's time.

The above *farmān* reached Cairo on June 19th, when Tāhir Pasha was already dead, Aḥmad Pasha had been driven out, the Mamlük Beys ruled in Cairo and Ḥasan Bey's army pursued Khusraw Pasha. The whole of Egypt with the exception of Rosetta and Alexandria had slipped from Turkish hands and the expedition of al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad ‘Alī against these two towns presaged that the Porte ceased to have any power at all in Egypt. True, Ibrāhīm Bey who ruled in Cairo proclaimed the Mamlüks' loyalty to the Sublime Porte, both before the shaykhs and before emissaries from Istanbul,<sup>40</sup> but this was but a tactical dodge with the aim to regain the Porte's benevolence.

In Istanbul, they were still occupied with the question of nominating a new viceroy for Egypt when news came about Tāhir's murder. Members of the Ottoman dīwān received the news with satisfaction, wrongly thinking that now it would be enough to nominate a new viceroy, give orders that payments be made to the Albanians and the crisis would be over. They were also under the impression that the new viceroy, would be able to convince the Mamlük Beys in a peaceful way to agree to leave Egypt.<sup>41</sup>

It should be objectively remarked that the Porte was extremely ill-advised in the choice of its representative. Al-Jazā’irlī was notorious for his guile, slyness, deceit, frauds, intrigues and betrayals, hence, he lacked qualities that would permit him successfully to exercise his function in so intricate a situation. The times called for a strong personality, one that would command respect from both the Mamlüks and the Albanians: an energetic man capable of restoring Turkish domination of Egypt, one who would first push the Beys out of the

<sup>39</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 254.

<sup>40</sup> Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 585.

<sup>41</sup> Drummond to Hawkesbury, June 7, 1803. Douin: op. cit., doc. 21, p. 21.

government and then ensure their removal from the country. The new viceroy, however, fell far short of the stature of such a man.

The nomination of al-Jazā'irlī<sup>42</sup> provoked various conjectures. The hard course towards Egypt which the Porte tried to enforce, failed to stabilize conditions and did not restore peace. Some expected that the nomination of a man who had formerly lived in Egypt and was well acquainted with the Mamlūks would mean a more moderate course. On the other hand, many expressed doubts concerning the wisdom of such an appointment at a time when the Mamlūk Beys held sway over practically the entire country and had Alexandria within their reach.<sup>43</sup>

‘Alī Pasha al-Jazā’irlī arrived in Alexandria by boat on July 8th 1803 and immediately wrote a letter to the Beys of Cairo reproaching them for having taken over the city with the help of the Albanians, killed the Janissaries and other faithful subjects of the Sultan and disregarded the Porte’s orders. He referred to his former solid contacts with the Mamlūks and advised those whom the Sublime Porte had requested, to leave Egypt without delay, for they would not escape the Sultan’s punishing hand.<sup>44</sup>

The Beys justified their arrival to Cairo by the shaykhs’ appeal to put an end to the wanton misdeeds perpetrated by the Janissaries, refused al-Jazā’irlī’s proposal and made it clear to him that they would accept such a form of government only as had existed in Egypt before the French invasion.<sup>45</sup>

A refusal to submit to the Porte’s order signalled that the Beys were resolved to go on fighting to get control over the last two centres still in the hands of the Turks: Rosetta and Alexandria. Their first care was to prevent Rosetta falling into al-Jazā’irlī’s hands, which would give him control over shipping on the Nile and ensure lines of supplies to Alexandria; therefore, their units were on their way to the town. But al-Jazā’irlī Pasha, too, appreciated the significance of Rosetta and sent in his brother as-Sayyid ‘Alī Pasha to occupy it militarily.<sup>46</sup>

Al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad ‘Alī decided to attack Rosetta without any delay. As they reached the town and as-Sayyid ‘Alī saw their largely superior forces, he evacuated the town and withdrew into the fortress. ‘Alī Pasha al-Jazā’irlī sent reinforcements to his brother and a gun-boat which would ward off attempts at seizing the fortress from the riverside. Both brothers had one design in view: to arrive at an agreement with the Mamlūks through negotiations. After his arrival

<sup>42</sup> Brune to Talleyrand, Aug. 10, 1803. Douin, Georges: *L’Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Cairo, Société royale de géographie d’Égypte. Cairo 1925, doc. 40, p. 59.

<sup>43</sup> Missett to Hobart, July 30, 1803. Douin: *L’Angleterre et l’Égypte*. Vol. II. *La politique mameluke (1803—1807)*, doc. 28, p. 27.

<sup>44</sup> Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 586.

<sup>45</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 198.

<sup>46</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 259.

to Alexandria, al-Jazā'irlī contacted British agents and asked them to mediate on his behalf with al-Bardīsī. However, all their attempts came to nought, countering al-Bardīsī's statement that if the Pasha wished to be recognized as viceroy, he should come to Cairo on the basis of "former conditions".<sup>47</sup>

Rosetta fell on August 12th 1803: as-Sayyid 'Alī capitulated in the face of overwhelming forces and was sent captive to Cairo.<sup>48</sup> Al-Jazā'irlī was so dismayed by this event that he started feverishly to fortify Alexandria. He had the dam separating the lakes al-Ma'dīah and Maryūt destroyed so as to flood the fields around Alexandria. Then he again tried through British agents to achieve some agreement with the Mamlūk leaders, but they turned down every offer that was not based on a restoration of the conditions that had prevailed before the French invasion.<sup>49</sup>

It was clear that the Beys would not resist from their demands and that having occupied Rosetta, they were determined to attack Alexandria. This eventuality provoked increased interest on the part of British agents in the Beys' true designs. The British feared that once Alexandria would be in the hands of the Mamlūks, the French could easily occupy it after an agreement with them. Consequently, Missett commissioned the British vice-consul Petrucci to call on al-Bardīsī at Rosetta and ascertain how far the Beys were inclined towards Great Britain or towards France. Petrucci met al-Bardīsī and Sulaymān Aghā and from their conversations it followed that the Mamlūks of Ibrāhīm Bey sympathized with Great Britain, while those of al-Bardīsī and the former Murād's faction would give preference to France.<sup>50</sup> Hence, it could be expected that if the Mamlūks were to occupy Alexandria, they would ask France for protection feeling convinced that alone, they would not be able to hold Egypt.

Al-Bardīsī felt sure that by occupying Alexandria he would definitely do away with Ottoman power in Egypt. He therefore hastened to Damanhūr in order to settle with his ally Muḥammad 'Alī the preparations for a march on Alexandria.<sup>51</sup> After the fall of Rosetta it was clear that al-Jazā'irlī could not defend Alexandria; he had but few soldiers and the destruction of the dam provoked anxiety and unrest in the city. The fact that Alexandria did not fall into the hands of the Mamlūks was because Muḥammad 'Alī with his Albanians had withdrawn from Damanhūr, so that al-Bardīsī had to abandon his plan and return to Cairo.

<sup>47</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>48</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 261.

<sup>49</sup> Bulletin de la situation de l'Égypte au 4 fructidor an XI (Aug. 22, 1803). Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*, doc. 44, p. 66.

<sup>50</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 263.

When al-Bardīsī prepared to set out for Alexandria from the camp near Damanhūr, the Albanians who formed the major part of his army refused to obey and mutinied. They asked to have their pay which for four and a half months had reached an enormous amount.<sup>52</sup> What infuriated them most was the fact that the exorbitant taxes and fines which the inhabitants of Rosetta Damietta and all the surrounding villages had to pay, became lost in the pockets of al-Bardīsī and his friends and they received nothing from it. During al-Bardīsī's attempts to quell the mutiny, several Mamlūks lost their lives. The role of mediator in the conflict between the mutineers and al-Bardīsī came to be played by Muḥammad ‘Alī who “succeeded” in quietening the Albanians with the promise that they would be allowed to return to Cairo and to continue in service only after having been paid their dues. Al-Bardīsī could do nothing but agree to this arrangement in order to avoid a major conflict and was grateful to Muḥammad ‘Alī for this mark of his loyalty. Muḥammad ‘Alī continued to enjoy al-Bardīsī's confidence and played his role so perfectly that Missett reporting on these events, wrote: “Had not the leader of the Albanians Muḥammad ‘Alī intervened at the right moment, a major clash would probably have taken place between the Albanians and the Mamlūks in the camp near Damanhūr.”<sup>53</sup> Muḥammad ‘Alī, then, with his units left Damanhūr and on September 16th 1803 reached Cairo.

This decision on Muḥammad ‘Alī's part proved to have had weighty consequences for the subsequent course of events and was almost a repetition of the situation from November 1802, when he did not intervene in the battle near Damanhūr. Muḥammad ‘Alī had no interest in Alexandria's falling into the hands of the Mamlūks, for that would mean ousting the Turks from the struggle for power and thereby weakening his own position.<sup>54</sup> Events soon proved him right in his calculations, for his power grew steadily.

At that time, his greatest competitors for power were the Mamlūks: they ruled in Cairo (they held the citadel) and their influence spread over the whole country except Alexandria. Should they conquer Alexandria, they would become — in view of their resources and the support of both the British and the French — practically invincible. Under these circumstances, Muḥammad ‘Alī had no wish to help the Mamlūks to capture Alexandria; rather the contrary, he intended to weaken their influence. While it was not clear what the outcome of British and French intervention on behalf of the Mamlūks with the Porte would be, he adhered to his tactic of “biding his time”, waiting for an opportu-

<sup>52</sup> Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 586.

<sup>53</sup> Missett to Drummond, Sept. 30, 1803. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*. Vol. II, doc. 34, p. 34.

<sup>54</sup> Ar-Rāfi‘ī: op. cit., p. 312.

ity to sow the seed of contention among the Beys and bring dissension into the ranks of the Mamlūks. It suited his plans that Alexandria remained in the hands of al-Jazā'irlī, who decided to stay there and not go to Cairo.<sup>55</sup>

Muhammad 'Alī was fortunate in that neither the Turks, nor the Mamlūks reckoned that he could become one of the competitors in the struggle for power. In the pursuit of his aim, he made use of his alliance with the Mamlūks to give "counsels and recommendations" to the Beys. Al-Bardīsī trusted him completely despite warnings from Ibrāhīm Bey who instinctively distrusted him and looked sceptically on his advice. To carry out his plans, Muhammed 'Alī could rely solely on his own units (infantry and artillery), on whose aid also the Mamlūks were dependent.<sup>56</sup>

On the way after his goal, Muhammed 'Alī had no need to have recourse to some extraordinary means; the problem of paying soldiers had not been resolved and kept on recurring with a pressing urgency. It was a simple matter to make this smouldering gun-powder barrel explode at any desirable time: after all, soldiers' mutiny because of unpaid salaries had been the direct cause of the overthrow and expulsion of Khusraw Pasha and the murder of Tāhir. It was no great trouble to Muhammed 'Alī to provoke a new mutiny of the soldiers and to exploit it to weaken the Beys' power and bring contention into their ranks at the time when there was an opportune occasion to seize Alexandria.

The withdrawal of the Albanians from Damanhūr meant an end to the Mamlūks' military operations against Alexandria. Al-Bardīsī, too, was forced to abandon Damanhūr and on September 24th he returned to Cairo. He cursed the incident which had deprived him of the opportunity to besiege Alexandria, but he failed to grasp the deeper implications at play. The problem of payments to the soldiery persisted and came up again and again with all its urgency. Sharp dissensions took place not only between the Mamlūks and the Albanians, but also among the Beys themselves: Some of the dissatisfied Beys and Kāshifs with their Mamlūks retreated to Upper Egypt. The Albanians openly threatened that unless their dues were paid, they would start plundering the town, especially in the European quarter.<sup>57</sup>

Since the Mamlūks had taken over power, conditions in Cairo went on deteriorating and Ibrāhīm Bey was incapable of coping with the situation. Cases of violence by Mamlūks on the inhabitants went on multiplying. A drought and a fall in the level of the Nile only added to the misery of Cairo's inhabitants, by then threatened with famine.<sup>58</sup> Al-Bardīsī tried to save the situation: he assumed

<sup>55</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 203.

<sup>56</sup> Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 588.

<sup>57</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 205.

<sup>58</sup> Ar-Rāfiṭ: op. cit., p. 313.

supreme power and certain measures in order to quell the panic among the population, provoked by the threat of famine. Granaries at Būlāq and in Old Cairo were open and grain was sold to the inhabitants. These came in throngs, but each could get only 1 waiba<sup>59</sup> and that, too, after considerable difficulties. Although the price of wheat, beans and barley had been set down, many could get what they wanted only on the black market. Yet, al-Bardīsī succeeded in warding off famine for a time and many extolled him.<sup>60</sup>

However, the difficulties of the Mamlūk government were not resolved by this respite in Cairo's catering crisis. The Beys and Kāshifs were gaining control over cereals and hoarded it in their own houses to sell it later at exorbitant prices. This provoked new dissatisfaction and complaints by the inhabitants. Moreover, the problem of payments to the Albanians had not been resolved as yet and thus the soldiery continued in their violence on the inhabitants.

Immediately on al-Bardīsī's return to Cairo, the leaders of three of the principal Mamlūk clans — al-Bardīsī, Ibrāhīm and al-Alfī junior — agreed that each Bey, Kāshif and Mamlūk would pay a certain sum “according to his income and possibilities” towards the soldiers' salaries. However, selfishness, greed and political short-sightedness proved stronger than reason: the rates agreed upon were so low (from one half to 20 purses)<sup>61</sup> that the sum came far short of the requirements. They then decided to pick the rest from the pockets of Cairo merchants and tradesmen by way of taxes and confiscations. From the Cairo Christians they asked for a “loan” of two hundred purses with the threat of dire consequences in case of refusal. The harsh conditions of the inhabitants became still worse when the effects of speculation with wheat became manifest on the market: instead of benediction, showers of curses fell on al-Bardīsī and the Mamlūks in general.<sup>62</sup>

Muhammad ‘Alī distanced himself from all this. He pretended that he pursued no personal goals at all. Outwardly he left all power in the hands of al-Bardīsī and Ibrāhīm, although he continued to direct things with his “recommendations” from the backstage, behind al-Bardīsī. He was the mediator between the soldiers and the government in matters of their pay and he managed these so adroitly that al-Bardīsī had not the least inkling of his true designs. The conflict between the Beys and the Albanians went on steadily in a sharper form. Missett noted that the Beys paid no attention to the Albanians' grumblings rightly claiming their dues<sup>63</sup> — they evidently relied on their commander's

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<sup>59</sup> *waiba* (dry measure) approx. 33 liters (57.75 pts.).

<sup>60</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 264.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>63</sup> Missett to Hobart, Oct. 28, 1803. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*. Vol. II, doc. 43, p. 47.

“friendship”. The Albanians knew that the Beys imposed enormous taxes on Cairo under the pretext that soldiers’ salaries had to be paid, but they kept that money for themselves, not heeding that thereby they exposed themselves and the inhabitants of Cairo to extreme danger. But the time of retribution had not come as yet.

Since the time of al-Bardīsī’s return to Cairo, the Beys were preoccupied primarily with two matters: al-Jazā’irlī and Alexandria. Muḥammad ‘Alī, too, was anxious to know what attitude the Beys would take towards al-Jazā’irlī at the time when their power in Cairo began to decline. Al-Jazā’irlī Pasha was ready to promise wonders to Muḥammad ‘Alī in an effort to win him over to his side, but the latter kept al-Bardīsī informed of all this and suggested to him to lure the Pasha to Cairo under the Beys’ safeguard, which would simultaneously facilitate occupation of Alexandria.<sup>64</sup>

Muḥammad ‘Alī succeeded in convincing the shaykhs to invite al-Jazā’irlī to Cairo with the proviso that they guaranteed his safety. The shaykhs did indeed write a letter to al-Jazā’irlī in which they asked him to come over to Cairo and take up the exercise of his function in the interest of ensuring pilgrimages to Mecca, which were endangered by the state of war and in the interest of restoring peace in the country.<sup>65</sup> In reply, al-Jazā’irlī sent the secretary of his dīwān to Cairo with a copy of the farmān which set down the conditions under which the Mamlūks could remain in Egypt.<sup>66</sup>

A few days later, an envoy came to Cairo from Istanbul bringing two farmāns. The first, addressed to Muḥammad ‘Alī and the other Albanian officers, contained an order that they would return without delay to their own country. By removing Muḥammad ‘Alī and the Albanians from Egypt, the Porte intended to deprive the Mamlūks of a potential ally without whom they were incapable of capturing Alexandria and thereby also of taking over power over the whole of Egypt.<sup>67</sup> The second farmān was addressed to the viceroy of Egypt, ‘Alī Pasha al-Jazā’irlī, the Governor of Cairo Ibrāhīm Bey and his aid ‘Uthmān Bey al-Bardīsī, to the judges and the commanders of corps of Janissaries.<sup>68</sup> This farmān contained a solution of the Egyptian question, which the Sublime Porte considered as definitive. It recognized the Mamlūks’ power positions under the proviso that it would reserve the major part of revenues for itself.

By this solution the Porte meant to put a definite end to the Mamlūk

<sup>64</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 209.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 266.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>67</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 212.

<sup>68</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 267.

problem, but the Beys refused it: they were not ready to pay such a high price for their “amnesty” at a time when they were de facto the rulers of the whole country. And they saw proof of the righteousness of their attitude also in the orders delivered to the Albanians whom the Beys needed to carry through their designs; hence, it suited them that despite express orders, the Albanians decided to stay in Egypt. The Beys’ attitude towards al-Jazā’irlī remained irreconcilable and they were ready to do anything to get rid of him. Time pressed hard on the Beys, the situation was becoming critical, for the alliance with the Albanians could be dissolved at any time. The Beys wished quickly to wind up matters with al-Jazā’irlī in order to be able finally to settle accounts with the Albanians,<sup>69</sup> relying here on the help of the British.

The Mamlūks’ situation looked dreary indeed: the country, devastated by constant fightings did not provide sufficient means to cover essential expenses. Ibrāhīm Bey, standing at the head of the Mamlūk government in Cairo, because of his advanced age, was but a figure with a great name. Anarchy reigned in all the branches of civilian and military administration which inevitably brought about decline in the Mamlūks’ fighting morale. Moreover, the Beys, as the representatives of the executive power in the land, had not paid for six months the Albanian mercenaries and had no real outlook to pay them in the near future. Their government was faced with a dilemma: a) to pay the soldiers’ arrears meant to levy new taxes through enhanced terror, risking a popular uprising, b) not to pay the soldiers meant tolerating the Albanians’ bestialities towards the inhabitants, an impossibility to exact their obedience or give them orders and await their rebellion any day.

Early in December 1803 the news came from Alexandria that al-Jazā’irlī would come to Cairo and gave orders that preparations of the pilgrimage to Mecca be speeded up. Al-Jazā’irlī had then accepted the invitation presuming that he would succeed in deceiving the Beys, disrupting their unity and thereby reinforcing his position in Cairo. He felt convinced that he would incline Muḥammad ‘Alī and the other Albanian commanders to his side. Having thus weighed up the situation, he set out for Cairo on December 26th.

According to the Beys’ recommendations, al-Jazā’irlī Pasha’s route was to have led to Cairo through the towns Damanhūr and aṭ-Tarrānah and his escort should not exceed one thousand men. The Beys justified these measures by the fact that Cairo was not able to feed a large number of soldiers. In reality, the Beys had the following scheme in view:

- 1) if al-Jazā’irlī came with a small escort, to take him prisoner and send him

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<sup>69</sup> Missett to Hobart, Nov. 18, 1802. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*. Vol. II, doc. 47, p. 56.

back to Istanbul; simultaneously to profit by the occasion and together with the Albanians to attack Alexandria where the garrison would feel secure;

2) if al-Jazā'irlī came to Cairo with all his soldiers, they would treat him as an enemy who was indifferent to Cairo's misery and whose designs were suspect.<sup>70</sup>

The Pasha did not adhere to the Bey's "recommendations" and marched on Cairo with 2,500 infantrymen and 500 horsemen. Near the town Idku he wished to make a detour in the direction of Rosetta, but Yaḥā Bey its Governor and the commander of the Albanian garrison 'Umar Bey guessed his intent, went to meet him and the astonished Pasha assured them that he would not come close to the town. That same evening (December 27th), guards at Rosetta caught two Turkish soldiers carrying a letter from the Pasha to 'Umar Bey with a request for his help against the Mamlūks. In protest, the whole garrison marched against the Pasha, but he did not dare to fight and continued on his way to Cairo along the left bank of the river.<sup>71</sup>

On the way, the Pasha's soldiers plundered the surrounding villages and committed various acts of violence. About half-way to Cairo, the Pasha with his soldiers crossed to the other bank of the river with the explanation that there was no possibility of procuring foodstuffs on the left bank. By the time he reached Minūf, his soldiery had perpetrated innumerable bestialities on the inhabitants.<sup>72</sup>

Al-Jazā'irlī then did not follow the route set down by the Beys. On January 3rd 1804, the Beys in Cairo received news of the events near Rosetta and on the number of the Pasha's escort which convinced them of his intentions. They immediately sent units under the command of al-Alfi junior to the village Shubrā in order to prevent the Pasha's entry into Cairo. On January 14th the Pasha reached Shalqān where he had to pitch a camp.<sup>73</sup> When news of this reached Cairo, Albanian units with Muḥammad 'Alī at their head marched out and put up their camp between the villages Shubrā and Shalqān. Al-Bardīsī, too, set out at the head of a Mamlūk army for the village Shubrā, leaving Ibrāhīm Bey in Cairo with some 500 men.<sup>74</sup> On January 18th, al-Alfi junior met al-Jazā'irlī and asked him to send his soldiers either to Syria or to al-Hijāz and to go to Cairo with only a hundred soldiers. The Pasha refused this but began to fear for his safety: when leaving Alexandria, he was under the impression that the journey would be without any problems and that in Cairo he would take

<sup>70</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 270.

<sup>71</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 270.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 270.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 271.

over power without any difficulties. Now he was faced with an army consisting of about one thousand Mamlūks, and about the same number of Maghribi cavalrymen, besides Bedouins from the environs of Cairo, and Albanians.<sup>75</sup> His soldiers refused to fight saying they were far outnumbered and that no order had come from Istanbul to fight. The Pasha wished to return back to Alexandria, but the Beys, anxious to settle accounts with him, refused to agree to this. Al-Jazā'irlī, who had to fear his own soldiers, saw his ships fall into the hands of the Mamlūks, his army encircled, and realized that all resistance was futile. He therefore submitted to al-Bardīsī's orders and on January 21st crossed into his camp. But the very first night he sent a secret messenger to 'Uthmān Bey Hasan with a request to come to Cairo.<sup>76</sup>

However, the Mamlūks caught the messenger and the Pasha's letter came into the hands of the Beys. Similarly, another of the Pasha's letters was intercepted — addressed to shaykh as-Sādāt in Cairo, asking him to incite the inhabitants of Cairo against the Mamlūks. The Beys qualified these letters as treason and a disclosure of the Pasha's true intentions, to which he admitted during a confrontation on January 25th. The Beys, with al-Bardīsī at their head, immediately decided to send him to Syria and from there to Istanbul with a small escort. He was also accompanied by a Mamlūk unit commanded by the Beys Sulaymān and al-Malwānī (also nicknamed al-Manfūkh).<sup>77</sup> Al-Bardīsī and Muhammed 'Alī returned to Cairo with the army on January 26th.

On the way to Syria, a conflict took place near the village al-Qurayn between the Pasha's men and the Mamlūk escort. On January 27th 1804, the Mamlūks provoked a quarrel with the Pasha's servants which soon grew into an armed skirmish. The death toll included al-Jazā'irlī Pasha, his nephew Ḥasan Bey and others, on the other side, several Mamlūks and al-Manfūkh Bey were among the dead.<sup>78</sup> The Beys ascribed the Pasha's death to an unfortunate incident, but their opponents qualified it as premeditated murder. Whether al-Jazā'irlī perished by a fateful accident, or his death had been schemed beforehand is anybody's guess, but it must be admitted that in a certain measure he himself was responsible for his miserable end.

After the fall of Rosetta in 1803, the Turks held only Alexandria in Egypt and hence, its Governor, Ahmād Pasha Khūrshīd, had the task of preventing it falling into the hands of the Mamlūks. If originally the Mamlūks had meant to take Alexandria by assault, now they wished to get it without a fight. They figured that the simplest way to achieve this end would be to have Ahmād

<sup>75</sup> Shukrī: op. cit., p. 217.

<sup>76</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 275.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 275.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 276.

Khūrshīd nominated viceroy of Egypt. They were prompted in this by the following reasons: a) they needed to conclude a new truce with the Porte, as they had violated the preceding one through the murder of al-Jazā'irlī Pasha: they reckoned that Khūrshīd's presence in Cairo as the Sultan's representative would facilitate a conclusion of a new truce;<sup>79</sup> b) under the circumstances when they did not pay the Albanians, they could not use them in an armed expedition against Alexandria.

The situation prevailing in the capital was confused: the Albanians, who received no pay, took revenge on the population and anarchy grew still worse following the murder of al-Jazā'irlī. The Beys hoped that once they succeeded in having Khūrshīd Pasha transferred to Cairo and acknowledged him as the viceroy, they would be able with his aid to break the Albanians' resistance and eventually to drive them out of the country. Moreover, through Khūrshīd's shift to Cairo, also Alexandria would indirectly fall into their hands, for they would be able to influence nomination of its new governor.

Thus, the Beys began to negotiate with Khūrshīd and at the same time a lively correspondence went on also with the Sublime Porte. The Beys made an official request for Khūrshīd to be named Egypt's viceroy. In their negotiations with Khūrshīd, the Beys relied on mediation by British agents. Initially, the situation developed favourably for them, for Khūrshīd himself was interested in being Pasha of Egypt and he, too, was confident that British agents would serve as his intermediaries with the Beys in Cairo.<sup>80</sup>

As at the time Egyptian policy in Great Britain was determined by men convinced that the Mamlūks alone were capable of defending Egypt against the feared French attack, British agents readily supported the Beys' efforts and accepted the role of go-betweens. Missett had several "secret" meetings with al-Bardīsī and the outcome was an agreement that Reggio, an interpreter at the British consulate, would go to Alexandria and ask Khūrshīd to accept the office of viceroy and simultaneously approve of Alexandria's being occupied by Mamlūk forces.<sup>81</sup> Khūrshīd was repeatedly approached also by the British vice-consul in Alexandria, Briggs, with the same mission.

But neither did French agents look on with folded arms. Lesseps asked Drovetti to find out how Khūrshīd regarded the Beys' efforts at a rapprochement with him, and to make clear to him the danger lurking in these endeavours. Hence, Khūrshīd was warned by Drovetti before accepting the British proposals, who also pointed out that the British were always working against

<sup>79</sup> Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 591.

<sup>80</sup> Missett to Hobart, Feb. 22, 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*. Vol. II, doc. 80, p. 109.

<sup>81</sup> Missett to Hobart, March 2, 1804, op. cit., doc. 84, p. 112.

the Porte's interests and their aim was to occupy Egypt. Khūrshīd Pasha assured him that at the moment there could be no question of handing over Alexandria to the Mamlūks or of authorizing a foreign garrison to be located in the fortress without consent from Istanbul.<sup>82</sup>

Khūrshīd saw through the Beys' designs hidden under their offer of viceroyalty and recognized the danger he would have to face were he to accept his office under the prevailing circumstances. A warning to him was the ignominious end to al-Jazā'irlī, moreover, he did not know the Porte's standpoint, consequently he declined the offer with the statement that he would not allow anyone to seize Alexandria and that he would defend it with all possible means. On February 12th, naval manoeuvres of the Ottoman fleet began in the old harbour to demonstrate its preparedness to go into action against any and every assailant.<sup>83</sup>

During these events, the British ship Argo dropped anchor in Alexandria, with one of the Mamlūk leaders among its passengers — Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi — returning from a visit to Great Britain. The ship's captain Hallowell and the vice-consul Briggs met several times with Khūrshīd during those days, trying to convince him that the French army was again preparing to invade Egypt.<sup>84</sup> These meetings but helped to reinforce the Pasha's decision to defend Alexandria from the Mamlūks, as well as the French or the British. As he had received no instructions to hand over Alexandria, he took precautions to ward off any attack and thus Reggio's mission ended in failure.

Missett himself left Cairo for Alexandria where he arrived on February 23rd, in an attempt to persuade Khūrshīd. He met him immediately but did not succeed: Khūrshīd declared that he had strict orders to prevent the Mamlūks and the Albanians from entering the city.<sup>85</sup> Missett became convinced that the Porte was resorting to tactics and that by the last farmāns it had ceded to the Beys those territories only over which it had long lost control. Khūrshīd was strengthening his position as Governor of Alexandria at a time when the whole of Egypt was under Mamlūk control and the Sublime Porte appreciatively approved his attitude. It sent him orders not to allow any armies to enter Alexandria except reinforcements that the Porte would send him by sea or by land and assured him that six ships were ready in the Istanbul harbour to sail for Alexandria.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Drovetti to Brune; Feb. 20, 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*, doc. 108, pp. 167—170.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>84</sup> Hallowell to Khūrshīd, Feb. 19, 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*. Vol. II, doc. 78, p. 106.

<sup>85</sup> Misset to Hobart, March 2, 1804. Ibid., doc. 84; p. 112.

<sup>86</sup> Conférence entre Brune et le Reise effendi, Péra, 21 ventôse an XII (March 12, 1804). Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*, doc. 118, pp. 186—189.

The Sublime Porte looked with displeasure at the way the British interfered in Egypt's affairs in violation of their agreements. As to the Mamlūk Beys, the return of Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi from England unusually complicated the solution of the problem of Alexandria, not to mention the subsequent tragic consequences that resulted from it.

The Mamlūk Beys took over power in Cairo after the murder of Ṭāhir Pasha, but were incapable to form a strong government that would enforce order in the capital and stabilize the situation. This reality was the resultant of several factors:

1) Ibrāhīm Bey, formerly one of the most powerful Mamlūk grandes and Murād Bey's partner, had grown old and no longer succeeded in controlling some of the Beys who terrorized the population and wantonly plundered (for instance, Husayn az-Zanṭāwī, al-Alfi jr. and others) at a time when al-Bardīsī was fully occupied with driving out Khusraw and later with removing al-Jazā'irlī, and finally in pursuing Muhammad al-Alfi.

2) The ceaseless fighting that raged in the whole country paralysed trade, disrupted agriculture and thereby caused a decline in incomes and yields. All this resulted in that the public treasury was constantly empty.

3) A further intense deterioration of the economic situation was brought on by an unduly low water level in the Nile in September 1803 which meant a threat of famine for Cairo.<sup>87</sup>

4) The Albanians, allies of the Mamlūks, extorted money by force from the inhabitants. The Beys could not keep them under control, for they were unable to pay them, on the other hand, they needed them. The Beys did not want to bear the expenses related to the upkeep of the Albanians units: the taxes and all other dues which they collected in towns and the countryside, these they divided among themselves and the Albanians had to go empty-handed.

In the summer of 1803, due to the disastrous economic situation and the exorbitant taxes numerous villages were deserted as the inhabitants ran away in masses from the unbearable misery. At the beginning of September, the level of the Nile began to decline and the Beys confiscated by force all the grain coming in by ships to Būlāq and stored it on their own. Soon there was a shortage of flour on the market and bakers could not bake bread.<sup>88</sup> The inhabitants grumbled and under these circumstances the shaykhs, having consulted among themselves, called on Ibrāhīm Bey and asked him to do away with injustices and to remedy the situation as regards food supplies, but fruitlessly. Soon after, early in October 1803, they imposed a new tax on the inhabitants of Cairo — on the

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<sup>87</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 263.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 263.

merchants, tradesmen and all the religious communities. People grumbled, shopkeepers closed their shops and all asked for a mitigation of the tax load.<sup>89</sup>

The situation did not improve, rather the crisis became more acute: there was no bread on the market and consequently prices of grain on the black market rocketed sky-high. The Mamlūks and the soldiers grabbed everything that fell into their hands: cereals, fats and oils, figs, etc. When a ship loaded with agricultural products — vegetable or animal — came in from Upper or Lower Egypt, they would despoil it of everything, whereby they only helped to accelerate the impending calamity.<sup>90</sup>

The shaykhs held another consultation and on October 20th met with Ibrāhīm Bey in order that measures be taken to ward off the crisis, but this intervention, too, remained fruitless. The hardships of the population still grew: cases of assaults and hold-ups multiplied, when soldiers would steal pieces of clothing and pick money from passers-by and the Beys just could do nothing to prevent it.<sup>91</sup> The Beys therefore decided to impose a further tax on the country to be able to pay the soldiers. They just took no notice of the protests made by shaykhs, ulemas and the city's notables.

The tyranny and injustices affected not only the home population, but also foreigners. Representatives of foreign offices in Egypt constantly complained of the rule of the Mamlūks and the taxes which were unlawfully imposed on their fellow countrymen and people under their protection.<sup>92</sup> The Beys asked foreigners for "a loan" of 200 purses, but al-Bardīsī threatened that if it is not provided willingly, it will be taken by force regardless of the consent of the consuls. The Austrian consul Rosetti, the British consul Missett and the French consul de Lesseps saw themselves forced to advise their fellow-countrymen to pay the required sum lest the Beys implement their threat.<sup>93</sup> The weakness of the Beys' rule stemming from conflicts within their own ranks, was evident also in their incapacity to keep the Albanians under obedience and to control the situation. Complaints on the Albanians who looted and murdered even in market places went on increasing. By the end of January 1804, the Albanians stepped up their misdeeds towards the population; as they had not received their pay for over half a year, they threatened the whole Cairo with reprisals.<sup>94</sup>

The warship Argo put Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi on shore near Abū Qīr. On his arrival at Rosetta he was solemnly welcomed by the highest dignitaries,

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 263.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>92</sup> De Lesseps to Talleyrand, Sept. 20, 1803. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*, doc. 45, p. 68.

<sup>93</sup> De Lesseps to Talleyrand, Oct. 24, 1803. Ibid., doc. 56, pp. 82—85. Likewise Missett to Hobart, Oct. 28, 1803. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*. Vol. II, doc. 43, pp. 47—51.

<sup>94</sup> De Lesseps to Talleyrand, Feb. 7, 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*, doc. 96, p. 156.

consuls and inhabitants. But he set out for Cairo in the boat belonging to the British vice-consul Petrucci. Yaḥyā Bey immediately despatched a fast messenger with this news and already on February 17th Cairo learned of al-Alfi's return from England.<sup>95</sup> On hearing this news, al-Alfi Bey junior had salvoes fired in his camp at al-Gīzah in honour of his commander and sent orders to the other Beys and Kāshifs of the Alfi clan to appear in person for the welcome. The invitation was accepted with enthusiasm and that same evening three Kāshifs and one Bey arrived and pitched their camp along with their Mamlūks on the left bank of the Nile, between al-Gīzah and Imbābah, to await Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi's arrival.<sup>96</sup>

For the Beys al-Bardīsī and Ibrāhīm who had gone to great lengths in order to convince the British of the urgency to detain al-Alfi and prevent his return to Egypt, the news of his arrival was an unpleasant surprise. Al-Bardīsī and Ibrāhīm permitted al-Alfi junior — an aid and representative of al-Alfi senior — to share power with them. But al-Alfi junior committed numerous injustices, therefore al-Bardīsī who after his return from Damanhūr in September 1803 had assumed supreme power, began gradually to deprive him of his participation in government. Al-Alfi junior took it to mean that al-Bardīsī intended to deprive the whole Alfi clan of power, hence the numerous conflicts between the two. Al-Alfi junior concentrated his Mamlūks — infantry and artillery — at al-Gīzah and awaited his commander's return.

The ostentatious expressions of joy at al-Alfi's return infuriated al-Bardīsī who feared that his rival, supported by the British, would seize supreme power in the land. Therefore, instead of salvoes from the citadel in honour of the occasion, al-Bardīsī hastened to Muḥammad ‘Alī. He went to seek advice from the man who enjoyed his full confidence and who on every occasion gave the impression that he had no personal goals and therefore never interfered in the dissensions that went on among the Mamlūks. Muḥammad ‘Alī disposed of a military strength with which al-Bardīsī could defeat his rival. Muḥammad ‘Alī saw in this an opportunity to carry on with his plan: at the stage following the liquidation of al-Jazā’irlī, to work on a weakening and a breaking of the Mamlūks' power, profiting by their own conflicts.

The conversations between al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad ‘Alī lasted two days and the outcome was an elaboration of a plan for murdering Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi and dispersing his clan. By this step, al-Bardīsī violated ancient customs and traditions among the Mamlūks, according to which all Mamlūks belonging to one chief were considered as members of one clan and should not commit any

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<sup>95</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 279.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 279.

inimical act one towards another, or treason.<sup>97</sup> And both al-Bardīsī and al-Alfī were Mamlūks of Murād Bey.

On February 19th, al-Bardīsī sent orders to the Governor of Rosetta for al-Alfī's murder and similar orders were also received by further commanders in that area.<sup>98</sup> In the night of February 19th – 20th, three assaults were made at the same time: one was led by al-Bardīsī at Imbābah against Ḥusayn Bey al-Washshāsh, the other two were led by Muḥammad Ḩalī against al-Alfī junior and his Mamlūks at al-Gīzah. Ḥusayn Bey al-Washshāsh was waylaid and al-Bardīsī's Mamlūks murdered him. One Albanian detachment captured al-Alfī junior's horses and another attacked his camp at al-Gīzah. Al-Alfī jr. ran away and instead of pursuing him, the Albanians plundered al-Gīzah. This pillage lasted until February 22nd, 1804.<sup>99</sup>

On February 21st, al-Bardīsī learned that his orders sent to Rosetta had arrived too late and that al-Alfī had already left for Cairo. Therefore, together with Muḥammad Ḩalī, he left to meet him. They concentrated a large number of river craft occupied by Albanian soldiers. Al-Alfī sailing on vice-consul Petrucci's boat had no inkling of what was going on. The Albanians attacked his boat, carrying all the valuables which he had brought from England, when it was close to Minūf; but al-Alfī succeeded to escape, though the boat was completely pillaged.<sup>100</sup> It was only after his flight that al-Alfī learned what had happened in the meantime in Cairo. He successfully evaded all the traps al-Bardīsī had devised for him and with a few faithful Mamlūks penetrated deep into the desert eastwards of Bilbays. Already on February 22nd, al-Bardīsī informed Missett that he had removed al-Alfī from the scene but that this deed was not intended against the British, it was simply a liquidation of his disastrous influence among the Mamlūks.<sup>101</sup>

The Albanians were immensely happy to see how the Mamlūks slaughtered one another and they lent them a helping hand in it. They lost all respect towards the Mamlūks and their commanders were preparing to submit to al-Bardīsī their request for payment of their arrears for the past 8 months with the threat that unless this is done, they would pillage Cairo.<sup>102</sup> Hardly had the

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<sup>97</sup> De Lesseps to Talleyrand, Feb. 23, 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*, doc. 109, pp. 170—171.

<sup>98</sup> Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 279.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 279.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 280.

<sup>101</sup> Missett to Hobart, Feb. 22, 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II, doc. 80, p. 107.

<sup>102</sup> De Lesseps to Talleyrand, Feb. 23, 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*, doc. 109, p. 171. Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 282.

Beys' government succeeded in driving away al-Alfī and dispersed his adherents, that it had to deal with the problem of payments to Albanian soldiers. It was at a time when this government was unusually weakened and the inhabitants of Cairo, driven to the brink of despair, were preparing to rise against the Mamlūk despotism.

Under these circumstances, all who could were leaving the city. Misset left for Alexandria on February 23rd, but not before lodging a firm protest with al-Bardīṣī and Ibrāhīm against their way of acting towards al-Alfī. De Lesseps managed to leave Cairo on February 27th, for he did not feel secure there any more and Rossetti likewise was preparing for departure to Alexandria giving as his reason that he needed "a change of air". All the Europeans who could, were either leaving or preparing to leave Cairo as soon as possible.<sup>103</sup>

Such was then situation in Cairo less than one year after the Mamlūks had taken power into their hands: injustices, wrongs and confiscations, violence by soldiers against the inhabitants, murders. Indignation and hatred on the part of the inhabitants and grumbling of shaykhs, ulemas and notables against the despotic and simultaneously weak government of Beys al-Bardīṣī and Ibrāhīm grew from day to day. Indisputably, one of the causes of the greatest difficulties with which this government had to cope was the permanent mutiny of the soldiery because of their pay, but this was only the outward reason. The inner causes of the failure of Mamlūks' government went deeper, and resided in outdated notions and conceptions. It was no longer possible to rule by oriental feudo-despotic methods of the 18th century which the Beys had fixed in their minds, under the new historical conditions into which Egyptian society had entered following a confrontation with the liberal ideas of the French revolution. The gap between the development of production forces separating the Orient and Europe — especially manifest in the equipment, training and organization of European armies and in their crushing superiority over the armies of the Orient — was so enormous that it in itself should have given enough stimuli to the new rulers to reflect on and re-evaluate their attitudes. Mamlūk Beys — in contrast to Muhammad ‘Alī — failed to adjust themselves to the new conditions and consequently they irretrievably lost the opportunity again to rule in Egypt.

It used to be a custom for leaders of a rebellion to summon the shaykhs, ulemas and notables and these had to write a petition to the Sultan, in which they justified what had happened and recommended him to adopt a positive standpoint towards the new situation. Following the murder of al-Jazā’irlī, the Beys could not stage a similar scene, and thus the population looked upon them

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<sup>103</sup> De Lesseps to Talleyrand, March 5, 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*, doc. 114, pp. 179–182.

as on criminals, and the injustices which they continued to perpetrate only multiplied the people's hatred towards them. It was rather paradoxical that under these circumstances, the Mamlūks were more and more dependent on the support of the Albanians and their leader Muḥammad ‘Alī, although their own conviction grew steadily stronger that they must get rid of the Albanians at all cost and by any means, as soon as possible.

Hence, the fate of the Beys' government in Cairo depended on Muḥammad ‘Alī's attitude and he decided to finish with the Mamlūks and drive them out of Cairo. Through a planned overthrow of their rule he followed an all-round consolidation of his position: after all, according to the decision of the Sublime Porte (*farmān* of September 1803) the Albanians ought to have left Egypt and their departure would have meant to Muḥammad ‘Alī the ruin of his plans for gaining influence and power in the country, which had developed in so promising a manner following the murder of Tāhir Pasha.

Muḥammad ‘Alī did not trust the Sublime Porte. He knew there was no mercy for rebels, hence he looked for ways how to win de Lesseps' friendship so as to be able to take support in the French against the Porte's intrigues. It was clear to him, that should he return to his own country, they would have him secretly murdered at the first opportunity regardless of any amnesty and therefore he did not intend to leave Egypt.

The Mamlūks were in open enmity with the Porte and Muḥammad ‘Alī, as their ally, inevitably bore his share of responsibility. Muḥammad ‘Alī and his Albanians also had had their fingers in the original luring of al-Jazā’irlī out of Alexandria and although they took no direct part in his murder, his liquidation suited them. It was clear that as long as Muḥammad ‘Alī would go on supporting al-Bardīsī and did not fulfil the Sultan's orders to leave Egypt with all the Albanians, his position would go on worsening. It was therefore imperative for him to undertake something that would remove from him the stigma of a rebel and an insurgent and present him as a man who wanted to restore Egypt to its lawful lord and destroy his adversaries. In this way he could hope that the Porte would no longer insist on his departure from Egypt, for he would be in the position of a man whose presence is indispensable for enforcing the power of the lawful ruler. To carry through this design, there was no other way than to drive the Beys out of Cairo, which did not appear difficult seeing the deep disunion reigning in their ranks.

His plan of the revolution was quite simple: the Beys were unable to pay the soldiers and imposed new taxes on the inhabitants. This measure provoked an enormous wave of dissatisfaction, indignation and anger among the people who, led by the shaykhs and notables, rebelled against the tyranny. This popular uprising was the right opportunity to carry out his plan of overthrowing the regime with the aid of his Albanians.

From the moment Muhammed 'Alī had decided to carry out his coup, he acted as one who understood the hard situation of the city's inhabitants and condemned the Beys' tyranny; but it is an indisputable fact that he also stood behind the popular uprising which culminated between March 8th and 13th 1804. This uprising, together with operations carried out by the Albanians, dealt the final blow to the Beys and put an end to all their hopes of ever regaining their former power and glory.

## ECONOMIC FACTORS IN ANTCOLONIAL MOVEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA

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This study suggests that in the history of colonialism and anticolonial movements in West Africa economic factors played a more significant role than has been sometimes perceived. Attention is accorded to the economic basis of developments which on the surface manifested themselves as pure political matters.

Within the framework of African studies the problem of colonialism is certainly not among the least studied subjects. Hundreds of articles and dozens of monographs (some of them quite monumental in scope) concerning this theme have been written in the past 25 years. Another attempt to add to this amount then requires a justification. Our approach here comes from the assumption that in the analyses of colonialism (and anticolonial struggle, which is actually the prime focus of our interest) less than adequate treatment has been given to the economic aspects of change. This is not to claim at all that we are short of fine works characterizing and describing the development and principles of colonial economies. What we are trying to suggest is that in the literature on the history of colonialism in Africa the role of economic background of political decision making in individuals, movements and governments, has not yet been given full treatment.

To delineate in general terms the place and the role of the economy in social and historical development is not at all an easy task. The social reality is formed under the influence of different factors — economic, political, social, ideological, cultural, religious which can be, in theory, examined independently of each other, but in reality they are usually all interconnected by a dense network of more or less perceivable mutual bonds which make it virtually impossible to delimit strictly the share of a particular factor (hardly quantifiable by its very principle) in the socio-political change. Yet, in our opinion, which we would like to support partially by this study, the largest number of causal links in this structure emanates from the sphere of the economy.

Some authors refuse on principle to occupy themselves with the question of the primacy or predominance of one or another factor of social development

arguing that they are all integral, not additive parts of the social reality,<sup>1</sup> and they cannot be practically distinguished since in particular social situations "everything is cause to everything else in an interlocking circular manner".<sup>2</sup> However, in spite of all difficulties which have always accompanied endeavours to analyse complex social processes we do not think that historians should succumb to agnostic defeatism. On the other hand, also going to the opposite extreme and attempt to write an integral, synthetic or "total" history would mean overreaching the scope of this study and our ambition.

In the following paragraphs which deal in the first place with the anticolonial struggle in West Africa, we would like to concentrate our attention on one important aspect of this process — the role played by economic factors, with a special view to point to the economic basis of phenomena which, on the surface, often appeared as pure political matters and decisions. Although we could not have avoided presenting some historical background, the theme itself has set the chronological lines of the study mainly to the period after the Second World War when the anticolonial struggle in West Africa fully emerged as a force of effectual historical importance. Concrete examples, wherever we refer to them, are usually drawn from the four most important (both from the point of view of the history of the anticolonial struggle, and their contemporary position within the region) West African countries — the Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria, the Ivory Coast and Senegal.

If we want to find the answer to the question to what extent anticolonial struggle was "economic", it may be of some help to try at the beginning to appreciate to what extent colonialism itself was "economic" and to what extent the traditional African society was able and prepared to react "economically" to it.

Under the influence of works by social anthropologists who, since the time of Malinowski, began to take closer interest also in the economic life of some isolated traditional societies, the image of an irrational, culturally determined, "non-economic" man of the underdeveloped world gained general acceptance although any broad validity of the field studies which gave origin to such generalizations has hardly ever been sufficiently tested or proven. Of course, there is some logic in the words of Dalton, a representative of this school of economic anthropologists, when he says that "it is gross ethnocentrism to assume that the monk, the feudal lord, the Inca priest-king, the commissar and

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<sup>1</sup> Dalton, G: *Economic Anthropology and Development; Essays on Tribal and Peasant Economies*. New York—London, Basic Books 1971, pp. 284—285.

<sup>2</sup> Myrdal, G.: *Rich Lands and Poor; the Road to World Prosperity*. New York, Harper and Brothers 1957, pp. 19—20.

the Trobriander are directed by the same market rules that drive the London stockbroker and the Iowa wheat farmer”,<sup>3</sup> but his point of view only tells us something about the undisputable difference in form, not in the substance of the motivation. Indeed, as has been demonstrated by Smelser,<sup>4</sup> there is perhaps more ethnocentrism in an assumption contrary to that of Dalton, e. g. in the Europeans’ established belief that Africans do not behave in an economically rational way — the standpoint based on mere assumption which expected rational economic behaviour to take the same form in both the underdeveloped and the Western economies. A good example of this is the African migrant labourer who does not stick to his newly attained economic station but apparently unable to break with his clan, after a brief period of employment in the town, repeatedly returns to his village. However, what looked like economically irrational to Europeans was often dictated by the migrant’s refusal to risk the loss of the position he occupied in his subsistence-indigenous economy, i. e. by considerations purely rational and economic in substance.

A closer view of the place and the role of economics in traditional society has been offered by Owusu.<sup>5</sup> Although he draws his evidence mainly from his deep knowledge of the Akan social structure, it seems obvious that his opinion and conclusions are not limited to this group of West African people. Owusu does not renounce the importance of such factors as religion and ritual in the social life of the traditional community, but maintains that the ties holding it together have been more economic in origin than is often realized.

The political power in the traditional community, Owusu reminds us, derived largely from the control of wealth, of which land was the major source, and the chief had to achieve authority over his people by his ability to maintain and expand the economic resources he controlled.<sup>6</sup> The accumulation of wealth by the chief was accompanied by an occasional conspicuous display and redistribution of its part among subjects and followers. Thus politics justified itself in terms of economics, in promotion of good life and abundance. There has been a major dose of the rational even in the sphere of religion, as seen from the utilitarian and matter-of-fact character of the chief’s obligatory prayers for prosperity and well-being of the community.

Owusu, for example, also maintains that the fierce intertribal wars of the precolonial period were to a large extent fought over the control of commerce

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<sup>3</sup> Dalton, G.: *Economic...*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Smelser, N. J.: *The Sociology of Economic Life*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall 1976, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Owusu, M.: *Uses and Abuses of Political Power; A Case Study in Continuity and Change in the Politics of Ghana*. Chicago—London, The University of Chicago Press 1970, 360 pp.

<sup>6</sup> Similar opinion has also been expressed by A. J. Richards in her book *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe*. Cleveland—New York 1964.

and economic resources. Similarly, the ensuing peace efforts and the ability of the various states to forget past conflicts, to come together again and combine for action, was not always necessarily dictated by pure ethnic politics, but owed much to a desire to protect material interests of the partners.<sup>7</sup>

Of course, the implications of all this are far-reaching since it can be quite logically supposed that the capacity of the traditional West African society to respond economically to change has not disappeared with the advent of macro-economics in the period of colonial rule and the creation of modern nations.

There is perhaps no special need to elaborate here on the importance of the economic factor in the development of the European attitude towards colonial penetration and rule in sub-Saharan Africa since many prominent authors have already expressed this point in their works.<sup>8</sup> We will therefore only briefly summarize that although many different factors, and with changing intensity, played their role in acquiring and maintaining colonial empires, it was principally the desire to harness the productive capacities of these regions to the needs and demands of the Western industrial economies, which induced most of the strategic, diplomatic, political and administrative initiative in this process. True, there was some immediate post-conquest hesitation concerning the best use of the territories acquired, due to intense imperial rivalry, in a more hasty and feverish way than originally contemplated (hence the temporarily increased influence of strategic or non-economic factors), but the things have soon returned to order which saw the effective exploitation of the human and material resources of the colonies to the advantage of European powers as the most important single factor accounting for their presence there.<sup>9</sup> The arguments to the contrary, which became part of the ideological superstructure of the colonial system, largely proved to be mere rationalizations of economic interests.

The colonial empires thus won and ruled can therefore be seen as primarily economic and not political systems (if, of course, such clear-cut distinction between these two mutually interdependent concepts could at all be drawn in this case). Indeed, it was in terms of supply, transport, trade, market, sale and

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<sup>7</sup> Ovusu: *Uses...*, p. 34.

<sup>8</sup> Ajayi, J. F. A.—Crowder, M. (Eds.): *History of West Africa*. Vol. II. London, Longman 1974; Hopkins, A. G.: *An Economic History of West Africa*. London, Longman 1973; Hrbek, I.: (Ed.): *Dějiny Afriky* (History of Africa). Vol. II. Prague, Svoboda 1966; Munro, J. F.: *Africa and the International Economy 1800—1960: An Introduction to the Modern Economic History of Africa South of the Sahara*. London—Totowa, J. M. Dent and Sons — Rowman and Littlefield 1976; Myrdal, Rich...; Wallerstein, I. in Gutkind, P. C. W.—Wallerstein, I. (Eds.): *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*. Beverly Hills—London, Sage Publications 1976 and others.

<sup>9</sup> Afigbo, A. E.: *The Establishment of Colonial Rule, 1900—1918*. In: Ajayi—Crowder (Eds.): *History...*, Vol. II, p. 466.

rentability that the colonial system has increasingly and most tellingly began to express itself, as its grasp of the new territories became firm.

The initial reactions of West Africans to colonialism were essentially of two types — elemental resistance and opportunistic accommodation. Out of the latter, the peaceful protest was later to emerge.

Although the elemental resistance was in many cases directly provoked by excesses of the conquest, by disruptive political and administrative measures of the new rulers or by the socio-cultural destabilization of the traditional community, still even here, either interwoven with other factors or acting more independently, new economic pressures played a very important role. Of critical consequence was the subjugation of whole regions to the interests of the market economy which undermined the economic basis of power of traditional rulers and the stability of entire populations. It is significant that the resistance took the most radical forms in regions where economic affliction was most direct and drastic, as was the case with the attempts to introduce taxes among populations of Southern Nigeria where no such form of economic compulsion had ever been experienced.

The economic motivation was even more symptomatic for the other, opposite wing of the reaction to colonialism which we have termed opportunistic collaboration. Typical representatives of this group were the traditional rulers in regions where the British introduced their system of indirect rule which preserved the traditional economic powers of the chief in exchange for their exercising the function of intermediary in the system of colonial administration.<sup>10</sup> Another group prone to collaboration was formed by the new local businessmen who were growing rich from profits resulting from their role of merchant middlemen in the system of colonial trade as well as by those entrepreneurs, already well established at the time of the conquest who, in the initial stages, managed to survive European competition and even benefited from the development of infrastructure and the growth of trade. The falling into deep dependence on the development of the colonial economy has also accompanied the emergence of the group of African planters in the regions of production of cash-crops such as cocoa, coffee or groundnuts in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. As for the members of the first generations of educated Africans, the majority of them found, at least up to a certain period, their position within the colonial system relatively profitable and acted accordingly.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Hrbek: *Dějiny..., Vol. II*, p. 490.

<sup>11</sup> It is obvious that this broad categorization of attitudes to colonialism is relative and especially from the point of view of the development of anticolonial struggle only temporary. For it was just from the groups liable to collaboration in the initial stages of colonialism, that the leaders of anticolonial movements were later to emerge. Often the relations within particular strata were quite

Another major group of Africans formed for the most part of the so-called "apolitical peasants" could influence the anticolonial struggle only in an insignificant and indirect way. However, we believe that this group was much less numerous than has been sometimes assumed. The different opinions concerning this question probably stem from different understanding of the notion 'apolitical'. If this term is applied to everyone who does not apparently express his political view, then one must come to a conclusion that in the period referred to the overall majority of West Africans was totally apolitical. But if we agree to consider as completely apolitical only the man who, outside personal relations, i. e. within his politico-institutional environment, has nothing to gain or lose (a conception which, from the point of view of the analysis of political potential of particular groups or societies, offers a more telling evidence), the problem will appear to us in a different perspective.

Nevertheless, in spite of the actual complexity of the phenomenon, we are of the opinion that in the initial reactions to colonial penetration and in the nascent anticolonial movement, two basic tendencies can be discerned: that of accommodation and collaboration which was characteristic of the behaviour of privileged groups and which was later to give birth to peaceful protest movements; and that of resistance which, in a more or less open, or latent form, characterized the position of the hardest afflicted and the most deprived classes. As we have tried to suggest, in the basis of both of these attitudes, economic motivation was of importance. It is interesting to note that the victory of the anticolonial struggle has only been attained when these two, at the beginning deeply contradictory branches, combined at the platform of political parties. Significantly, as we would like show below, it was their mutual opportunism, again to a considerable extent economic in substance, which cemented their new, albeit short-lived, alliance.

However, before we concentrate our attention directly on the mass liberation movements of the 1940s and especially the 1950s we will try to characterize briefly the organized anticolonial protest which preceded them in the years between the two world wars and in some cases even in the earlier period. We are not going to make use any longer of the division into resisters and collaborators which more or less sufficiently categorizes only the narrow period of the direct reaction to conquest and establishment of colonial rule, but will rather speak of a radical and a peaceful protest which appear as continuations of the initial reactions in the period of settled and stabilized colonialism.

During the first period of colonialism in West Africa, the colonial role, but

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inconstant, as was the case, for example with the Gold Coast chiefs whose pragmatic responses have been characterized by "the undulating pattern of cooperation and resistance". See Owusu: *Uses...*, p. 121

also the reality of internal conditions, allowed for only very limited political activity. On the other hand, it should be remembered that even on occasions when favourable conditions have occurred, the first national leaders, either due to their indecision or even unwillingness, failed to get the colonial system under substantial pressure. In the majority of cases they were content to have won some concessions from the colonial government (always in the name of Africans but as a rule also to their own benefit) and afterwards they concentrated on preserving their privileged position of representatives of the people which the colonial government was partially prepared, and with the advent of time more and more obliged, to tolerate. No matter if it was Blaise Diagne in Senegal, Caseley Hayford in the Gold Coast, or Herbert Macaulay in Nigeria; all of them chief proponents of anticolonial agitation in their respective territories, they all "tended to equate progress with the requirements of their class".<sup>12</sup>

Besides educated Africans who were better than other groups prepared to grasp the exploitative nature and inequity of the colonial system, within the group of the first national leaders an important role was also played by local entrepreneurs, most of them established already in the precolonial period of the so-called legitimate trade, who were now finding it increasingly difficult to withstand the growing competition from European firms, which became acute especially during the Great Depression. However, their common failure was that in spite of the increased potential for change, brought about by the deteriorating economic situation and the ensuing mass discontent, they continued in their attempts to advance their interests through political reforms and in their struggle they underestimated the importance of economic factors and the radical following. They did not seem to realize that these two notions were closely tied one with another; that the inclusion of economic issues is one of basic prerequisites of political activation of the masses.

It would be an oversimplification to assent that in the inter-war period the time was not yet ripe for the understanding of this correlation. For in their own countries precedents which they all knew had already occurred. The Cape Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, which even before the Second World War stood up against the attempts on the part of the British administration to expropriate communal lands and forests and declare them the property of the crown, derived its success from the fact that it fought for an economic issue which concerned lots of Africans. Similarly, the 1937 cocoa hold-up, "the largest demonstration of rural discontent in West African colonial history",<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> July, R. W.: *The Origins of Modern African Thought; Its Development in West Africa during the 19th and 20th Centuries*. London, Faber and Faber 1968, p. 456.

<sup>13</sup> Webster, J. B.: *Political Activity in British West Africa, 1900—1940*. In Ajayi—Crowder (Eds.): *History...*, Vol. II, p. 586.

which was organized by John Ayew, was significant for its attempt to unite people on the basis of their economic grievances.<sup>14</sup>

However, the majority of national leaders of this period saw moderate reforms within the existing order as the more realistic and safer way of furthering interests of their organizations. Typical among these was the National Congress of the British West Africa (NCBWA), created in 1920, which also worked out an economic programme, but this aimed only at removing the obstacles which were restricting activities of local entrepreneurs. In reality the leaders of the NCBWA were more directly interested in political than economic problems.

A different direction was proclaimed by the Gold Coast Youth Conference (GCYC) whose programme, adopted at the second convention of the organization, held in April 1938 in Accra, was almost purely economic in character and whose leader J. B. Danquah had himself on several occasions reiterated this orientation of the Conference. But the relatively radical programme of the GCYC was not accomplished because even the group of young leaders, who were actually supposed to introduce a more radical brand of protest, limited themselves to attempts to reach their goals mainly through petitions and reforms, without efforts to secure for themselves the support of the masses.<sup>15</sup> From this point of view, the anticolonial struggle in West Africa has seen a substantial change in the period after the Second World War.

The Second World War and the years which followed it brought to West Africa many substantial changes in the sphere of the economy which consequently, either directly or in interplay with other factors, accelerated the political developments. The shortages of the war economies of the metropolitan countries greatly stimulated the demand for West Africa's basic exports and the war saw the turn of West African territories "from colonial backwaters into strategic areas of importance".<sup>16</sup> To secure a regular supply of colonial imports, metropolitan countries introduced systems of production quotas, price controls and regulations of trade which brought about further subjection of colonial

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<sup>14</sup> For more information concerning rural as well as urban protests on the part of West Africans in the inter-war period see Hopkins: *An Economic..., pp. 255—258*, as well as his *Economic Aspects of Political Movements in Nigeria and in the Gold Coast 1918—1939*. Journal of African History, 7, No. 1, 1966, pp. 133—152.

<sup>15</sup> See Mazov, S. V.: *Ideologiya politicheskikh organizatsii Zolotogo Berega 1918—1939 gg.: programmnye dokumenty antikolonialnoi borby* (The Ideology of Political Organizations of the Gold Coast 1918—1939; Programme Documents of Anticolonial Struggle). In: Tupolev, B. M. (Ed.): *Antikolonialnaya borba i obshchestvennaya mysl v tropicheskoi i Yuzhnoi Afrike* (Anticolonial Struggle and the Social Thought in Tropical and Southern Africa). Moscow, Nauka 1983, pp. 69—70.

<sup>16</sup> Crowder, M.: *The 1939—45 War and West Africa*. In: Ajayi—Crowder (Eds.): *History..., Vol. II*, p. 597.

economies to metropolitan demands. The principles of self-sufficiency and laissez-faire, which more or less formed fundamental laws of the colonial strategy in the inter-war period, were now eventually abandoned and governments began to intervene in the economy of colonies on the scale they had never undertaken before. Perhaps the most significant among metropolitan efforts to accelerate economic development in colonies was the establishment of the British Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and its French equivalent Fonds pour l'Investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social, both of which provided a hitherto unparalleled amount of sources of investment in the West African colonies. In French West Africa more than twice as much public investment took place in the years 1946—1956 than in the whole period 1903—1946 and the trend, although not so conspicuous, was similar in British West Africa.<sup>17</sup>

The growth of interest in West African colonies was accompanied by an increase in European immigration to West Africa. Tens of thousands of Europeans settled in West Africa in the first post-war decade, the majority of them, again French citizens. In the Ivory Coast, for example, the number of French settlers increased from 4,900 to 12,400 within the five years between 1946 and 1951.<sup>18</sup>

All the changes that the war and its aftermath had brought with it were to have a profound influence on the future of West Africa. The economic impetus triggered changes in other spheres of social life which tended to reinforce one another and evoked transformations of the whole social system. A larger and more intensive inclusion of millions of West Africans into the system of the colonial economy led (due to the position they occupied within this system) in many places to the growth of social and political discontent.

In the villages the peasants were required, often under the threat of reprisals, to produce increased amounts of export crops, usually to the detriment of production from their subsistence farm plots. Where the designs of the colonial economy found it desirable, farmers could be forced to change abruptly from one crop to another. Sometimes whole indigenous plantations were destroyed on the grounds of crop disease, though in several cases, this was clearly motivated by European business self-interest.<sup>19</sup> In spite of the post-war export boom and the new favourable international terms of trade, the local purchase prices in British West Africa were kept extremely low by the Marketing Boards whose impact was most perceivable and also most resented in the cocoa produc-

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<sup>17</sup> Hopkins: *An Economic...*, p. 280.

<sup>18</sup> Wallerstein, I.: *The Road to Independence; Ghana and the Ivory Coast*. Paris—Le Haye, Mouton 1964, p. 36.

<sup>19</sup> Crowder: *The 1939—45...*, p. 607.

ing areas of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Thus, the stepped-up exploitation of the colonies' agricultural resources, initiated in the war years, increased the protest potential even among politically hitherto rather inarticulate peasants.

The rapid growth of cities, called forth by the mass migration from villages to a more promising livelihood in the centres of modern sectors of the economy, led to a considerable increase of the population dependent on money incomes and vulnerable to fluctuations of the market economy. The rising post-war inflation, the accelerated social differentiation, the sprawl of slums in the over-crowded capitals and the display of bright new economic and social opportunities of which, in reality, only a small proportion was generally accessible, created powerful centres of concentrated frustration which, this time, were not to be left unnoticed by the new political leaders who emerged after the war.

The other wing of the anticolonial protest potential, the privileged, but at the same time discriminated classes, had also drawn strength from the war and post-war economic recovery. The West African export boom aroused by the war metropolitan demands, but simultaneously seriously hampered by the shortage of available shipping space, led to the creation of some small industries which processed agricultural production on the spot. Similarly, the war-time lack of goods imported from Europe, caused by the same transport deficiency, brought about the revival and development of a wide range of secondary industries in West Africa. The monopolistic tendency to hold back the establishment and development of local industries which formed a part of the colonial economic strategy in the inter-war years was now abandoned and the first steps towards industrialization were taken. This, naturally, led to the emergence of a new group of indigenous entrepreneurs, more wealthy and powerful than any of their predecessors.

However, in spite of their relatively privileged class standing, they also had their own grievances against the colonial government. Their capitalist enterprise was systematically curbed by restrictive measures on the part of the colonial government which often impeded the furtherance of their class interests. They found a natural ally in the ever more eloquent group of graduates from the metropolitan universities who found it increasingly unbearable to cope with the fact that the expatriates, many of them with lower educational standard than theirs, still occupied the most profitable positions in the administration of their native countries. What distinguished these men from their pre-war predecessors most remarkably was their better understanding of the fact that a successful fight for a national cause requires some form of alliance with the masses.

This understanding had been intensified under the influence of more recent mass demonstrations on the part of the proletariat. The first general strike in the history of Nigeria, with a participation exceeding that of the officially announced figure of some 33,000, resulted in the victory of the workers and in an increase

of their wages by 50%.<sup>20</sup> In a like manner, the November 1949 strike of Enugu miners, which led to armed suppression by the police and the ensuing anticolonial riots, pointed to the power of the political potential of organized masses. Similarly, the 1948 disturbances which took place in several towns in the Gold Coast and which brought about concessions on the part of the colonial government, convinced the local young radical leaders that in their drive for self-government, the masses could make a powerful ally.

The development of political consciousness among the masses followed the same strategic line. The experience of severely crushed revolts against the colonial establishment brought with it a better understanding of the fact that for their fight to be successful, the masses would definitely need an able political leadership. The platform for such an alliance was provided by modern political parties which were more open and democratic in outlook than their pre-war precursors. The majority of political parties formed under these conditions were necessarily pragmatic than ideological coalitions by means of which both sides hoped to achieve their own, often incongruous, goals.

The position of political leaders was clear — they were convinced that the only real way to gain access to greater economic opportunities, both entrepreneurial and administrative, largely blocked in the colonial society by the expatriate monopoly, went through the winning of political power in the name of nationalism, which could not be effectively practised without some form of mass following. This proved essential especially on occasions like election days and rallies, when the politicians needed a visible display of mass support to use in their negotiations with the colonial authorities.

From the point of view of the masses, political parties were primarily seen as instruments for amelioration of economic hardships. Their political participation went usually hand in hand with hopes for the elimination of unemployment, the Africanization of posts held by Europeans, improvement of wages, better conditions of service, the reduction in the high cost of living, greater access to loans offered by banks and the construction of infrastructural amenities, such as hospitals, health centres, schools, roads, water mains and wells in their respective localities. For the majority of them, nationalism meant, in the first place, a lessening of poverty and a better life.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Hrbek (ed.): *Dějiny...*, Vol. II, p. 505; Zotova, Ya N.—Sledzevskii, I. V.: (Eds.): *Istoriya Nigerii v novoe i noveishee vremya* (Modern and Contemporary History of Nigeria). Moscow, Nauka 1981, pp. 215—217.

<sup>21</sup> See for example Davidson, B.: *Africa in Modern History; The Search for a New Society*. London, Allen Lane 1978, pp. 203, 216; also *Dokumenty k národněosvobozeneckému hnutí 1955—1961* (Documents on National Liberation Movements 1955—1961). Vol. II, Prague, NPL 1963, p. 287.

It was no surprise that the political leaders who “found themselves in the midst of a pool of economic and social grievances”,<sup>22</sup> which they were best prepared to articulate and exploit, found it quite opportune and easy to persuade their supporters that the winning of political independence would bring the immediate fulfilment of all these cravings. They realized that in the absence of a widely accepted and established ideology, political following could only be built up and maintained by the ability to protect and reward. The partial concessions they had managed to wrest from the colonial governments for the benefit of the masses in the initial stages of their struggle, gave their promises and political programmes an air of trustworthiness.

Under the umbrella of nationalist movements thus built, different and often contradictory regional, sectional and individual interests had come together, which was later to account for the fragility of these associations. Their pragmatism became most conspicuous in the course of elections when the casting of vote by the elector was often seen as an investment which would be returned by material or social rewards, once the local candidate reached the spheres of political and economic decision making and power.

Although, in the period after the Second World War, the most remarkable change in West African colonies was that of rapid and mass politicalization of social life, which led some authors to assume that the modern African was a man primarily concerned with politics, in our opinion this process had been largely economic in substance and motivation. Perhaps it was only because after 1945, with some reforms and concessions on the part of colonial governments, politics provided the more easily accessible outlet for the accumulated general discontent with the colonial situation than the sphere of the economy, where quick emancipation seemed further out of reach, that economic issues, both individual, sectional and national, began to be increasingly channeled into the much more vivid and promising political stream. Here, again, we are falling into the temptation to separate the economic from the political which is, perhaps, quite possible in general terms but rather precarious in particular cases where the macro-optics of our theory often communicates only a vague image. However, we feel that an attempt at such an operation may, in some cases, provide a revealing look under the skin of the body politic.

Throughout the history of anticolonial movements and decolonization in West Africa, economic factors can be seen as being of greater importance than is prevailingly acknowledged. Here much depends on the particular standpoint of the viewer which can show one and the same phenomenon in quite different perspectives. Even such a familiar pronouncement as Nkrumah's famous “Seek

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<sup>22</sup> Owusu: *Uses...*, p. 195.

ye first the political kingdom and all things will be added into it”<sup>23</sup> which is widely considered as a proof of the primacy of politics in the anticolonial struggle in the Gold Coast, in our opinion conceals in itself also an indication of something quite converse. For, is not the real aim and aspiration foreshadowed by this slogan the economic kingdom of plentitude and well-being to which politics is but the most opportune means?

To explain why economic considerations became so important in the anti-colonial struggle in West Africa, we do not find it necessary to resort to notions such as the essential hedonism, or the dominant materialist ethos of the societies of the Guinea coast. Especially in the case of the Gold Coast, which was Britain’s most developed West African colony, the “economization” of socio-political life, on a scale probably larger than in any other of the countries of the region, was quite natural.<sup>24</sup> Here, the development and the fluctuations of modern market economy influenced not only the lives of the ever-increasing numbers of urban dwellers, but also of large groups of rural entrepreneurs, such as cocoa-growers, whose farms in the Gold Coast formed “the most highly capitalized of all African cash-cropping ventures”<sup>25</sup> and who “formed a powerful lobby”<sup>26</sup> in the politics of the Gold Coast. Economic issues thus began to concern and integrate a large proportion of the population and economic protests reached the root of most political talk and change.

Significantly, the post-war struggle for independence flared up in the Gold Coast with the consumers’ boycott of the expatriate stores, which were seen as the cause of the high cost of living, and with the demonstration of the World War II ex-servicemen who seized upon their own as well as generally-felt economic grievances of the post-war period.<sup>27</sup> Although the report of the Coussey Commission of Inquiry into the ensuing nationwide disturbances pointed to three categories of underlying causes, i. e. political, economic and social, even the first and the third of these sections were full of considerations which were obviously primarily economic.<sup>28</sup>

In Nigeria, another relatively rich British West African colony, the post-war economic boom also resulted in a considerable “economization” of the socio-political life. However, here the rational economic considerations were

<sup>23</sup> Convention People’s Party General Election Manifesto, 1951. In: Metcalfe, G. E. (Ed.): *Great Britain and Ghana; Documents of Ghana History 1807—1957*. London, Nelson 1964, p. 707.

<sup>24</sup> Apter, D. E.: *Ghana in Transition* (3rd revised edition). New York, Atheneum 1966, pp. 69—70.

<sup>25</sup> Munro: *Africa...*, p. 163.

<sup>26</sup> Kilson, M.: *Emergent Elites of Black Africa, 1900 to 1960*. In: Duignan, P.—Gann, L. H. (Eds.): *Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960*. Vol. 2, p. 373.

<sup>27</sup> See Apter: *Ghana...*, pp. 164—170.

<sup>28</sup> See Metcalfe (Ed.): *Great...*, pp. 682—683.

often completely obliterated by acute ethnic contradictions. In comparison with the Gold Coast, where the Akan occupied the central position, the relatively balanced ethnic triangle of Nigeria's three major regional groups, alongside of which flowed the majority of political developments, was much more apt to drain and overshadow all other factors and influences in decision making.

In contrast to Owusu's picture of Swedru in the Gold Coast, where the inhabitants "realize that all the ethnic groups need and depend on one another for social and economic betterment"<sup>29</sup> as seen, for example, from the rational, utilitarian intentions of Swedru migrants ("We are in Swedru to work for a living", "We are in Swedru to make money and not to fight among ourselves"<sup>30</sup>), or from the willingness of local young women to enter interethnic bonds ("I go with whoever is able to maintain, or look after me properly"<sup>31</sup>), the situation in Nigerian polyethnic towns which have experienced intense ethnic rivalry and bloody clashes, was much less idyllic in this matter.

Yet, political developments in Nigeria have also been strongly influenced by the changes brought about by the economic expansion and the opening of new economic perspectives which took place in the first post-war years.<sup>32</sup> This was most dramatically shown in the 1945 general strike and during the 1949 disturbances initiated by a similar trade union protest and the unwarranted reaction to it by the police. These protests, initially economic, had quickly turned into powerful political demonstrations on a mass scale which the emerging modern political parties were ready to comprehend and exploit.

Indeed, these political parties were certainly not just artificially created superstructure groupings of ambitious power seekers. Their policy makers understood well the workings of society and their considerations grew, more than could be sometimes perceived, from the reality of the economic basis. Even behind such a hot and sensitive issue, as the ethno-regional competition among Nigeria's major groups, much rational thought was present.

For example, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), the party created by Ibos of Eastern Region, could initially preach national rather than sectional approach to the anticolonial struggle just because the enterprising and best educated Ibos could realistically aspire to occupy most of the top-scale positions at the national level, once the independence of Nigeria was achieved. Moreover, the conditions for their peaceful expansion were already being laid by the continuous migration of qualified Ibo workers, artisans, merchants and intellectuals outside their economically weaker region.

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<sup>29</sup> Owusu: *Uses...*, p. 151.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>32</sup> See Zотова—Следзевский (Eds.): *Iстория...*, pp. 189—207.

On the other hand, the Yoruba dominated Action Group (AG), which was expressing the opinion and interests of the local bourgeoisie, chiefs and intellectuals who were convinced of the economic primacy and self-sufficiency of Western Region, had opted for further horizontal and vertical regionalization.

The reluctance of the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) to accelerate the struggle for independence was also understandable owing to the economic and manpower underdevelopment of the Northern Region and the related fears of the loss of position it enjoyed within Nigeria under the protective policy of the British indirect rule.

During the struggle for independence, the positions of the three major Nigerian political parties became partially modified, but their ethno-regional particularism, which in the 1950s (and even more deeply in the 1960s) dominated Nigeria's political life, continued to be motivated to a considerable extent by the economic reality and perspectives.

Within the ranks of the educated and entrepreneurial élite, the struggle for independence and for an assertion of the position of their region within the country, went hand in hand with the contest of individuals and interest groups for top senior posts in the state apparatus. This scramble was intensified in the second half of the 1950s when the Nigerization of the civil service took on an impressive pace and thousands of Nigerians entered lucrative superscale employments.<sup>33</sup>

In the Ivory Coast, together with Senegal, one of the France's most developed West African colonies, the economic factors played a more immediate role in the formation of the anticolonial movement than in any other of the countries of the region. Here the struggle for independence was begun by the political party turned trade union, Syndicat Agricole Africain (to become Partie Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire, PDCI, in 1946), the association of native farmers who resented the French colonial policy favouring European planters against Africans.

The latent conflict was intensified with the arrival of thousands of French settlers in the post-1945 immigration wave. Although this gave the Afro-European struggle the appearance of racial and nationalistic intolerance, and it led some commentators to describe it from this angle,<sup>34</sup> the dominant issue was evidently that of economic discrimination.

In comparison with the system of Marketing Boards in the Gold Coast, another West African major cocoa exporter, no such price fluctuations moderating mechanism operated in the Ivory Coast which, naturally, created

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<sup>33</sup> Aluko, O.: *Politics of Decolonization in British West Africa, 1945—1960*. In: Ajayi-Crowder (Eds.): *History...*, Vol. II, p. 656.

<sup>34</sup> For example Sir A. Burns quoted in Wallerstein: *The Road...*, p. 36.

greater scope for the producers to react and organize on their own. They found many sympathizers among the urban poor and the new African middle class who understood that their common grievances against the colonial rule could be best represented by a proper political party. Thus, in contrast to many modern West African political parties, the PDCI was built from the bottom up and not vice versa.

The character of the PDCI owed much also to the personality of its leader, the Baulé planter F. Houphouet-Boigny who, unlike for example Nkrumah in the neighbouring Gold Coast, advocated the principle of "economics first".<sup>35</sup> To achieve his economic aims, he was prepared to accede to serious political compromises in the anticolonial struggle.<sup>36</sup>

Another leader of a West African nationalist movement, Senegal's L. S. Senghor, was also a controversial figure. In spite of his well-known background as artist and proponent of the theory of superiority of the spiritual and the cultural over material conditions of living, when, after many years abroad, he had returned from Paris to his native Senegal to take the lead of the rapidly spreading anticolonial movement, he declared that "the real problem lies in the secular sphere: it is not the salvation of souls that matters, but the improvement in the conditions of living of workers and peasants".<sup>37</sup> On the eve of independence, he elaborated on this theme and often called for special attention to be accorded to economic and social issues. On another occasion, for example, he said: "African peasants are not so much in need of theoretical freedoms, as of new school-buildings, dispensaries, wells, roads and above all — the possibility to sell their produce for profitable prices."<sup>38</sup> However, after 1960, when he stood more firmly at the head of independent Senegal and the only possible distress now seemed to be menacing from the political left, he began to revoce his old convictions of the primacy of culture over economy.<sup>39</sup>

Senghor's sense for economic rationality was also demonstrated by his attempts to entrench Senegal's privileged position within French West Africa. He became the chief advocate of the idea to preserve, even after independence, the unity of the federation of eight West African territories created by France, of which Dakar was the capital.<sup>40</sup> Under this arrangement, the particular

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<sup>35</sup> Wallerstein: *The Road...*, p. 35.

<sup>36</sup> See Hrbek (Ed.): *Dějiny...*, Vol. II, p. 473.

<sup>37</sup> Cit. in Shabaev, B.A.: *Evolyutsiya obshchestvenno-politicheskikh vzglyadov L.S. Senghora, 30—70e gody* (Evolution of Socio-political Ideas of L. S. Senghor between 1930s and 1970s). In: Tupolev (Ed.): *Antikolonialnaya...*, p. 124.

<sup>38</sup> Cit. in *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 97—149.

<sup>40</sup> It is true that Senghor's position in this matter cannot be fully explained in pure economic matters. It should not be dismissed from view that it was also neatly congruous with his philosophy

colonies had practically no legislative and budgetary autonomy and Senegal was apparently profiting from Dakar's prominence.

Senghor argued, not quite unconvincingly, that as small, separate states, the majority of French West African underdeveloped colonies would not be able to stand on their own feet and economically survive and that only through the federal alternative could West Africans hope to achieve any real independence.<sup>41</sup> However, this stance was not shared by Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast. The Ivory Coast, which had become the largest earner of the federation,<sup>42</sup> resented the fact that so much revenue it earned went to the federation's coffers for redistribution to the poorer territories and only a relatively small amount was returned back.<sup>43</sup> Houphouet-Boigny who was at that time a member of the French government in Paris, agitated ardently for the disintegration of the federation and for France to enter into direct relations with each of its West African territories. And it was no surprise that France, which was already pondering about its post-independence relations with her former colonies, embraced the idea of the division.

Another event, which compelled all nationalists in French West Africa to think in economic terms most explicitly, was that of the pre-independence referendum concerning the future relations of their countries with France. With the exception of Guinea, led by the radical trade-unionist Sékou Touré, which had chosen to assume all the responsibilities connected with full independence, all the other French colonies opted for membership in the French-African Community which envisaged the continuing collaboration with the metropolitan country.

The reasons for their canniness were clear. Foremost among them was the poverty of their countries in resources and educated personnel. It is true that some economic development had taken place in French West Africa, especially in the period after the Second World War, but this went hand in hand with the increased dependence on the metropolis. The economy of these colonies was not only tied to France financially, but it was also, to a considerable extent, directly run by French settlers.<sup>44</sup> Any sudden rupture with France thus implicated

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of négritude — a conception much more widely pan-African than narrowly national. See Hrbek (Ed.): *Déjiny...*, Vol. II, p. 480.

<sup>41</sup> Crowder, M.—Cruise O'Brien, D.: *French West Africa, 1945—1960*. In: Ajayi—Crowder (Eds): *History...*, Vol. II, p. 683.

<sup>42</sup> July, R.W.: *A History of the African People*. London, Faber and Faber 1970, p. 539; Wallerstein: *The Road...*, p. 63.

<sup>43</sup> The position of Houphouet-Boigny and the political economy of federalism in French West Africa in general is well dealt with by E. J. Berg in his study *The Economic Bases of Political Choice in French West Africa*. American Political Science Review, LIV, No. 2, 1960, pp. 391—405.

<sup>44</sup> Crowder—Cruise O'Brien: *French...*, p. 686.

serious dislocations of trade, administration and services and the freedom of political choice of leaders of nationalist movements in these territories was in principle substantially limited by economic considerations.

As for the position of France herself, De Gaulle was unequivocal. A few weeks before the referendum was held, he said: "One cannot conceive of both an independent territory and a France which continues to aid it."<sup>45</sup> The message was clear and the leaders of nationalist movements, who were not, in the majority, willing to destroy the whole system, but only "to convert it to their own advantage",<sup>46</sup> now took pains to assure France of their enduring loyalty. Their opportunism was perhaps most excellently expressed in the following words of Senghor to the French National Assembly in 1957: "In Africa, when children have grown up, they leave the parents' hut and built a hut of their own by its side. Believe me, we don't want to leave the French compound. We have grown in it and it is good to be alive in it. We want simply to build our own huts."<sup>47</sup>

Having, hopefully, indicated in the preceding sections how economic factors have continuously influenced anticolonial struggle by black nationalists in West Africa, it would be perhaps of some interest to have a brief look at one aspect of the reaction to it on the part of the Europeans concerned. The fact that the British and the French had left West Africa without much violent resistance to the ascending nationalist movements has been sometimes misinterpreted as a proof of European goodwill to withdraw once the local leaders felt prepared to take the reins of government into their own hands. This, of course, was only aimed at rehabilitating the old concept of colonialism as a civilizing mission.

On the other hand, it would be equally wrong to go to the opposite extreme and assert that the Europeans have actually never agreed to leave Africa and that they were simply chased from it by the anticolonial movements. The decision to withdraw had been arrived at by themselves, but only at the stage of developments when they were forced to consider it the optimal solution within the existing constraints. Perhaps, again, in analyses of this topic in the history of colonialism, political influences, especially those emanating from the changed post-war international situation, are often accorded much more attention than economic considerations which, in reality, usually accompanied them.

A theme such as the economics of decolonization would certainly deserve a separate study, but here we are only going to present one or two suggestions concerning this subject. In the first place, it should be stressed that once

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<sup>45</sup> Cit. in *ibid.*, p. 693.

<sup>46</sup> Davidson: *Africa...*, p. 215.

<sup>47</sup> Cit. in Crowder - Cruise O'Brien: *French...*, p. 698.

anticolonial movements had acquired mass proportions, they became a nuisance to the metropolis not only in the political sense, but also as a severe drain on colonial budgets. For both the costs resulting from the need to expand colonial state apparatus for purposes of political control and repression, as well as the costs of investment in infrastructure, required for purposes of political appeasement, increased (or threatened to increase) dramatically under these conditions.<sup>48</sup> For Britain, which “emerged from the war so militarily, economically and financially weak that there seemed to be lacking in the country not only the will but also the physical and financial power to resist national demands for self-government”,<sup>49</sup> the new reality was most painfully demonstrated by its own inability to halt its cherished colony, India, on its drive for independence. In the case of France, the recent traumatic experience with the costly war in Indochina had a similar discouraging effect.

Thus, in the first post-war decade, when the fate of their West African colonial empires had to be reconsidered under the circumstances, neither of the two European powers was in a position to stick to it at all costs. The situation was somewhat different in countries like Kenya or Algeria, with stronger European settlement and economic involvement, but in most of West Africa, French and British interests were not so vital.<sup>50</sup>

However, by the 1950s, when the decisions to succumb to the pressure of anticolonial movements and to grant independence to the majority of West African colonies were being taken, the Europeans were becoming increasingly convinced that these interests need not necessarily be endangered by the new political arrangement. Before their departure, they took considerable pains to ensure that the political and economic power in the new independent states would remain in the hands of their like-minded black successors. The colonial policy makers suddenly ceased to regard African enterprise as a source of annoying competition and they began to support local capitalists in whom they now recognized their future business partners.<sup>51</sup> A rapidly increasing number of future top cadres was sent to metropolitan or the local expatriate-staffed universities to make sure that post-independence administrations of these countries would be composed of sympathizers worshipping Western values and the way of life. The anticolonial movements were sometimes granted political con-

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<sup>48</sup> Wallerstein, I.: *The Three Stages of African Involvement in the World Economy*. In: Gutkind—Wallerstein (Eds.): *Political...*, p. 48.

<sup>49</sup> Aluko: *Politics...*, p. 626.

<sup>50</sup> Hargreaves, J. D.: *The End of Colonial Rule in West Africa*. London, Macmillan 1977, p. 22.

<sup>51</sup> Iliffe, J.: *The Emergence of African Capitalism*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press 1982, p. 37; Hopkins: *An Economic...*, pp. 277—278.

cessions even before they had to be painfully fought for in order that similar "flexibility" and "magnanimity" could be expected and required when the Europeans' turn to ask for concessions would come. Thus, foundations of a new order of relations between Europe and Africa, which were to conserve the former's dominance in what it considered the objective of primary importance — the sphere of the economy — had been securely laid before the political stage was ostentatiously cleared with the coming of independence.

In spite of the fact that throughout this study economic aspects of socio-political change have been accentuated, we were far from trying to display any total adherence to the rigid principles of economic determinism. The aim, here, was simply to concentrate on one of the many factors in the history of colonialism, the importance of which, in our opinion, has not yet been sufficiently emphasized. In a more general perspective, this study would also like to have encouraged further considerations about the role of economy in history.

## THE KNOWLEDGE OF AFRICA IN SLOVAKIA. FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TILL 1900

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Based on preliminary research into a wide range of sources, the present study traces the knowledge of Africa in Slovakia from the earliest times till the end of the nineteenth century. Divided into three parts, the first deals with a relatively little known new source for the history of Africa which was found and has been since kept in the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, while the two subsequent sections dwell about African collections in Slovak historical libraries and the news, reports and articles published in the nineteenth-century Slovak newspapers and popular press.

The first source of information about Africa available to the Slovak intelligentsia were the travel accounts of other nationals who had visited the continent. Some news left over by ancient Greeks and Romans may well have been known in Slovakia and the travel descriptions of Africa written in 1526 by an early sixteenth-century Muslim Arab traveller to the African interior, Hasan al-Wazzán, better known to posterity as Leo Africanus since he had been converted to Christianity in Rome and baptized Johannis Leo de Médici by Pope Leo X, actually found their way to Slovak library.<sup>1</sup> Beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, the Portuguese started to send ships to the African coasts and before the end of that century, the Portuguese had reached the Cape of Good Hope, the east coast of Africa and India. A number of travel accounts by persons accompanying the Portuguese expeditions appeared, some of which have only recently came to light.

In the early 1960s two eminent Czechoslovak historians Josef Polišenský and Peter Ratkoš found in the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava a manuscript, an incomplete fragment of an apparently very extensive convolute comprising six Latin and four German contributions to cosmography and geography dated from the end of the fifteenth and the early

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<sup>1</sup> Leonus J. Africanus: *Africæ descriptio IX. Lib. Absoluta.* Lugduni, Batavorum, Elzevirius 1632, kept in the Čaplovic Library, Dolný Kubín.

sixteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> The two historians first reported about it in 1962.<sup>3</sup> Of the greatest value and interest, especially to a historian of Africa, are the contributions devoted to accounts about Portuguese overseas explorations. This incomplete convolute which the two authors called *Codex Bratislavensis* includes different notes on the early voyages of the Portuguese round Africa to India and of the Spaniards to Cuba and the coast of Mexico. These notes were probably collected by a Seville merchant of German origin Lazar Nüremberger and have been saved thanks to the librarian Dr. J. Čaplovic.<sup>4</sup> This German trader, born in 1501, participated in 1517 in a Portuguese voyage to India. In 1520 he planned a second voyage to India but instead he married, moved to Seville and settled there as a prominent merchant trading in spices, pearls, white women slaves and black men slaves.<sup>5</sup> *Codex Bratislavensis* can be a fragment of his memorial book. On lists Nos. 167—172 *Codex Bratislavensis* contains four Latin cosmographical descriptions or reflections, then there are four German accounts of Vasco da Gama's second voyage to India in 1502, a survey of Portuguese voyages to India between 1497 and 1517 (Nos. 173—1719), Nüremberger's description of his own voyage to India in 1517 (Nos. 180—187) and a German account (*glosa*) about a travel to the land of Prester John in 1519 (Nos. 187v—189). There are also notes in Latin on a voyage to Cuba dated from the year 1500 (Nos. 189v—190) and voyages of the Spaniards from Cuba to the coast of Mexico between 1517—1518 (No. 190).<sup>6</sup>

The most interesting part of the *Codex Bratislavensis*, from the point of a historian of Africa, is the description of Vasco da Gama's second voyage to India in 1502. Nine years after Bartolomew Dias had reached the Indian ocean, proved that an open sea route lay to the east and discovered the Cape of Good Hope and Table Bay (1487—1488), Vasco da Gama was sent by the Portuguese king Manoel I to complete the route to India (1497). He rounded the Cape of Good Hope in November 1497 and then sailed up the East African coast being the first European to reach the coast of what are now Natal, Mozambique and

<sup>2</sup> Konvolut rukopisných příspěvků ke kosmografii a cestopisné literatuře 16. stol. Sign. rukopisu XXVII/6, Zákl. knižnica SAV, Bratislava.

<sup>3</sup> Polišenský, J.—Ratkoš, P.: *Nové pramene k dejinám objavných ciest* (New Sources to the History of Early Overseas Explorations). Historický časopis, X, 1962, No. 4, pp. 563—568; also Polišenský, J.: *Otázky studia obecných dějin I.* Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Historica, 1957, pp. 105—106 and Polišenský, J.—Ratkoš, P.: *Codex Bratislavensis a jeho správy o objevení Ameriky* (Codex Bratislavensis and Its Notes on Discovery of America). Historický časopis, 24, 1976, No. 3, pp. 397—407.

<sup>4</sup> Polišenský, J.—Ratkoš, P.: *Codex Bratislavensis...*, p. 398.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 398—399.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 399. cf. with Polišenský, J.—Ratkoš, P.: *Nové pramene...*, op. cit., pp. 564—565 and Polišenský, J.—Ratkoš, P.: *Eine neue Quelle zur zweiten Indienfahrt Vasco da Gamas*. Historica (Praha), 9, 1964, pp. 53—67.

Kenya. Vasco da Gama clashed with Muslim authorities at Mombasa in April 1498, but was well received in Malindi where he picked up the pilot Ibn Majid, who led him to Calicut. His voyage was not a commercial success, but the Portuguese soon sent further expeditions. After Pedro Cabral's successful expedition, da Gama revisited India in 1502. On his return trip he bombarded Kilwa and established a legacy of ill feeling against the Portuguese on the East African coast. In 1524 he was sent back to India to serve as viceroy, but died shortly afterwards.<sup>7</sup>

The author of the description in *Codex Bratislavensis* gives an account of the voyage from Lisbon to the Canary Islands and Cape Verde, round the Cape of Good Hope to Sofala and Kilwa. There are interesting data about economic importance of some settlements on the coasts of the Atlantic and Indian oceans and about Portuguese attempts to explore the coasts of Africa and to develop trade with them. Moreover, it has been proved that the description of Vasco da Gama's second voyage to India, contained in the above-mentioned convolute, is not identical with other known narratives in Portuguese, Italian or Flemish and, if compared with a similar German relation, it adds useful details to our knowledge.<sup>8</sup> Besides, the very existence of the *Codex Bratislavensis* also testifies to the early interest of the Slovak intelligentsia in the outer world.

An investigation of collections in several Slovak historical libraries has proved that the educated layers of Slovak society could gather reasonable information about Africa at a relatively early date. This investigation carried out between 1962 and 1964 by students of Oriental and African studies resulted in the publication of a bibliography.<sup>9</sup> A survey of the respective entries shows that some of the libraries were quite well stocked with books dealing with Africa and its peoples. Among the oldest books are a Latin translation of the History and Description of Africa and the Notable Things Therein Contained by Leo Africanus published in 1632, which is at present kept at Čaplovic Library at Dolný Kubín, two books on the kingdom of Dahomey by R. Morris published at the end of the eighteenth century and a number of books describing different

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<sup>7</sup> See Lipschutz, Mark R.—Rasmussen, R. Kent: *Dictionary of African Historical Biography*. London, Heinemann Educational Books 1978, pp. 55—56 and 71.

<sup>8</sup> Polišenský, J.—Ratkóš, P.: *Nové pramene,...* op. cit., pp. 565—567; cf. Horáková, J.: *Cesty Evropanů do Indie v první čtvrtině XVI. století*. Dipl. work. Praha, FFKU 1970, 114 pp. (European Voyages to India in the First Quarter of the 16th Century) and Vosečková, A.: *Nový pramen k druhé cestě Vasco da Gamy do Indie r. 1502*. Dipl. work. Praha, FFKU 1970, 94 pp. (A New Source to the Second Voyage of Vasco da Gama to India in 1502).

<sup>9</sup> Brunner, F.—Kopčan, V. (Eds.): *Bibliografia publikácií s orientalistickou tematikou. (Z fondov vybraných starších slovenských knižnic.)* Bratislava, Slovenská orientalistická spoločnosť pri Slovenskej akadémii vied 1972, 231 pp. (Bibliography of Publications on Asia and Africa in the Collections of Some Historical Slovak Libraries).

African peoples dated from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> Most common are, however, books written by European explorers and travellers in Africa, ranging from the travel accounts left over by one of the earliest travellers to West Africa, the Venetian Alvise Cadamosto, who between 1455—1456 explored the rivers Gambia and Casamance, to those by most major and minor eighteenth and nineteenth centuries travellers and explorers — Mungo Park, H. Barth, D. Livingstone, S. Baker, H. M. Stanley, E. Holub, László Magyar, J. Bruce, F. Hornemann, J. Lobo and many others.<sup>11</sup> Collectively, the books housed in Slovak historical libraries quite well reflect the range of approaches to the discovery of the dark continent and the processes of the exploration of tropical Africa as reflected in the published output. Works written by European explorers of Africa came to be circulated in Slovakia in foreign languages, usually in German, but also in French, Hungarian, English and in Latin, in the languages which were understood only by members of the Slovak intelligentsia and not by the wider Slovak readership.

The first information and news of Africa reached the broader layers of the population through Slovak newspapers and the popular press — magazines, calendars, etc. — regularly published in the Slovak language since the end of the eighteenth century. The development of a cheap, popular newspaper press in Slovakia ran parallel to the rise of political and national consciousness. The rise to self-assertion of the Slovak nation and the beginnings of the Slovak national awakening and of the slow transformation of the Slovak people into a modern nation can be dated back to the 1780s. The eighties of this enlightened century, siècle de lumière, were an important milestone in the Slovak history. The campaign for the promotion of the national literary language resulted in 1787 in the codification of the first Slovak literary language, an event which could be regarded as a historical turning point in the life of the Slovak nation.<sup>12</sup> The backbone and leadership of the Slovak nationalist movement were supplied by the intelligentsia. During the eighteenth century the population in Slovakia more than doubled. According to 1782 and 1787 census the population in Slovakia numbered 2 millions. Under the reign of Joseph II, the number of the Slovak intelligentsia reached an estimated 10,000 people.<sup>13</sup> Because of the social

<sup>10</sup> Morris, R.: *Afrikanisches Königsreich Dahome in Guinea*. Leipzig 1790; Morris, R.: *Beiträge zu einer genaueren Kenntnis des afrikanischen Königreichs Daomei*. No date; Almandinus F. P.: *Historische Beschreibung der in Congo, Matamba und Angola ... verrichteten apostolischen Missionen*. München, Jäcklin 1694; Bartholini, C.: *De pygmaeis opusculum*. Hafniae, Hantzschius 1628; Koben, P.: *Beschreibung des Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung und derer darauf wohnenden Hottentotten*. Frankfurt, Monath 1745, etc., see Brunner, F.—Kopčan, V. (Eds.): *Bibliografia...*, op. cit., pp. 192—195.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 195—209.

<sup>12</sup> See *Slovensko. Dejiny* (Slovakia. History). Bratislava, Obzor 1978, pp. 418—461.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 428 and 442.

structure of the Slovak society Slovak intelligentsia represented not only nationalist cultural efforts but also political aspirations of the Slovak nation, and the emerging Slovak press gave voice to Slovak grievances and nationalist aspirations. The contemporary newspapers written in Slovak had a considerable effect on the growth of the political erudition of the Slovak readership and the rise of the political and national consciousness. Quite naturally, the newspaper press in Slovakia paid great attention to the deepening and stimulation of the national confidence, national pride, assertiveness and consciousness and waged a campaign designed to serve the broader purposes of popular education and enlightenment and to meet certain pedagogical and educational aims. But even though the popular newspaper press gave prominence to the main aspirations of the Slovak nation in the nineteenth century, i. e. national freedom, independence and the cultivation of the Slovak language instead of the Hungarian or German forced upon the country by the cultural policy of the Habsburg monarchy, and most of the contents were designed to appeal to the national and patriotic feeling, part of its policy was also dissemination of the knowledge of the outer world among the popular Slovak readership.

In particular, *Národné noviny* (The National Newspaper) published since 1870 in Martin, *Slovenské noviny* (Slovak Newspaper) established in Vienna in 1849 and the magazines *Obzor* (The Horizon) started in 1863 and *Vlast' a svet* (My Country and the World) published since 1886, abounded with a wealth of information on Africa. It was through these newspapers and magazines that the wider Slovak readership became acquainted with world events and Africa.

A bibliography of Slovak writings from the earliest times till 1900 compiled by Ľudovít Rizner lists only some 106 items dealing with Africa.<sup>14</sup> Actually, the number of news, reports and articles is much higher. The nineteenth-century Slovaks had no first-hand experience of Africa, they were not involved in the process of the opening up and colonization of this continent and the sum of their knowledge was advanced by means of a second-hand information provided by the press and by available records of European geographical discoveries. Their image of Africa was therefore built up on the basis of accounts of experience gained in Africa by representatives of other nations. The daily and popular press was the main source of information. Articles and reports on Africa sporadically appeared not only in the above-mentioned main Slovak newspapers and magazines, but also in a number of lesser ones such as *Včielka* (A Bee), *Priateľ dieťok* (A Friend of Children) and various calendars — *Živena*, *Domová pokladnica*,

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<sup>14</sup> Rizner, L. V. (Ed.): *Bibliografia písomníctva slovenského na spôsob slovníka od najstarších čias do konca r. 1900, s pripojenou bibliografiou archeologickou, historickou, mestopisnou a príroovedeckou*. Martin, Matica slovenská 1929—1934. 6 volumes.

etc.<sup>15</sup> A survey shows that, with some delays, the popular press picked up the themes elaborated by European visitors in their writings about Africa or in their public lectures. As for their chances to collect information on what was going on the wider Slovak readership was not particularly worse off than the public in other neighbouring countries, and especially *Národné noviny* soon became an abundant source of reliable news of the press published in Slovak.

The coverage was sufficiently extensive and diverse to arouse and sustain interest of the nineteenth-century Slovak readership and quench the popular thirst for excitement and pageantry. The nineteenth-century Slovak press provided its readership with more or less detailed and accurate knowledge of the opening up of the dark continent by European explorers, missionaries, traders and empire-builders. The number of articles on African discoveries betrays a rather widespread interest in the processes of the exploration of sub-Saharan Africa and the geographical achievements and destinies of European travellers and explorers. In 1877 *Národné noviny* devoted, for example, a long article to the journey of Verney Lovett Cameron, during which he traversed the African continent from Bagamoyo in the east to Benguela in the west.<sup>16</sup> Some years later this same newspaper brought a short biography of Henry Morton Stanley with a description of his geographical achievements and almost every day reported in detail about the conference of Berlin in 1884–1885 which determined the Congo question as well as colonial claims and future policies of Britain, France, Germany and other nations with regard to Africa.<sup>17</sup> *Národné noviny* commented on the scramble for African colonies, Anglo-German rivalry and competition for colonies and influence and paid much attention to the activities of King Leopold's African International Association in the Congo basin.<sup>18</sup> Press articles and reports also discussed other aspects of European activities in Africa such as the abolition of the slave trade, missionary expansion and the pre-conditions for the establishment of colonial rule.<sup>19</sup> Special attention was paid to some geographical regions — Egypt, Maghrib, South Africa, in West Africa to the kingdoms of Dahomey and Ashanti, to the Congo and to Uganda. A series of articles was devoted to the opening of the Suez Canal in Egypt in 1869 and the importance of this event for the development of Africa.<sup>20</sup> The Slovak press

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 12—13.

<sup>16</sup> *Križom cez Afriku* (Across Africa). *Národné noviny* (NN), VIII, 1877, No. 113, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Národné noviny*, XV, 1884, No. 131, Nov. 6, Nos. 137, 139, 141, Nov. 29, p. 4, No. 142.

<sup>18</sup> *Národné noviny*, XV, 1884, No. 107, Sept. 11; XVI, 1885, No. 5, p. 26, March 3, No. 29.

<sup>19</sup> *Obchod s divochy* (A Trade with Savages). *Slovenské noviny*, IX, Nos. 101—105; *Poľovačka na otrokov* (A Hunt on Slaves). *Pútnik sv.-Vojtešský*, V, 1892, Nos. 2—3; *Polovka na otrokov v Afrike* (A Hunt on Slaves in Africa). *Vlast' a svet*, IV, No. 6; *Ako „civilizujú“ divochov v štáte na Kongu* (How Savages Are Civilized in the State on the Congo). NN, XXVII, 1986, No. 208, etc.

<sup>20</sup> *Obzor*, II, No. 2; VII, Nos. 17—18, 22, 23.

also reported on local efforts to contribute to the saga of African geographical exploration and colonization, such as an expedition to the African interior prepared by an Austrian officer Karl Grimm<sup>21</sup> and discussed various attempts to solve one of the greatest geographical puzzles of all times — the problem of the location of the ultimate sources of the river Nile, which had engaged the curiosity and attention of men from the earliest times.<sup>22</sup> Thus in October 1856 Slovenské noviny reported about an expedition prepared by a French count Escayrac to discover the sources of the Nile, which consisted of twelve learned men from France, Austria, Italy, Germany, Great Britain and America, accompanied with a certain number of servants and some 300 soldiers.<sup>23</sup> A series of accounts published in the Slovak press described ancient Egypt and North Africa, dealt with Ethiopia under King Menelik and Christianity in this ancient kingdom, and provided good narratives of developments in South Africa and the Anglo-Boer war or the Mahdi uprising in the Sudan and general Gordon.<sup>24</sup>

The Slovak newspaper press gave a generally sympathetic and fair rendering of events happening in Africa. Some political news and reports from Africa are remarkable for the reliability of information, the sober tone and the high level of journalism and of presentation of facts, though accounts based on sensational news and interspersed with journalistic exaggerations were far from uncommon. Slovenské noviny was a more sensational newspaper than either Národní noviny or the magazine Obzor, exaggerations and sensations were more frequent there and the general level of journalism was much lower than in the two latter ones. There was a critical undertone in the descriptions of the partition of Africa among European powers, of the British empire in Africa and India and of plundering of the autochthonous population,<sup>25</sup> and an open critique of the European involvement in the slave trade. "No wonder," the author of this article concluded, "the Negroes imagine that the devil is white. It is not to be wondered since Europeans have not proved as yet that they are Christians."<sup>26</sup> The perspective from which the nineteenth-century Slovaks viewed the African continent and its inhabitants was quite inevitably a product of many factors

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<sup>21</sup> NN, XI, 1880, No. 151, p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Slovenské noviny, 1856, No. 122; Obzor, II, No. 25.

<sup>23</sup> Slovenské noviny, 1856, No. 122, Oct. 14.

<sup>24</sup> See Rizner: *Bibliografia...*, op. cit., pp. 12—13; NN, XIII, 1882, Nos. 84, 100, 111; XVII, 1884, Nos. 101, 119; XXIX, 1898, Nos. 69, 129; Obzor, XV, Nos. 25—26; Slovenské noviny, 1852, No. 24; Vlasť a svet, XIV, No. 43; Ľudové noviny, IV, 1900; NN, XI, 1880, No. 153; XIX, 1888, No. 6; XXVII, 1896, Nos. 58, 154, etc.

<sup>25</sup> *Udalosti v Afrike* (Events in Africa). NN, XX, 1889, No. 53, May, 7; *Niečo o Afrike* (Something about Africa). NN, X, 1879, No. 37.

<sup>26</sup> *Kráľovstvo Aschantis v Afrike* (The Kingdom of Ashanti in Africa). In: *Živena na rok 1853* (Živena for the Year 1853). Vol. I, p. 99.

-- some purely personal, others more general, and among these the conditions of society in their own time and the state of development of the historical and social knowledge of Africa were obviously among the most important. The very fact that the Slovak people for centuries were socially and culturally oppressed and their very existence as a nation was threatened, no doubt influenced their point of view to African peoples and to colonization of this continent by Europe, even though foreign observations, experiences and conceptions helped form the image of Africa and Africans in the Slovak culture.

Nineteenth-century Europe generally viewed black men and the black continent as needing a white master to make of Africa the rich and prosperous region that, by the calculations of traders, explorers and colonial experts and officials, it could and should be. Explorers and travellers focused the attention of Europe upon the sufferings and misery of African peoples, stimulated an overwhelming commercial and evangelical interest in the hitherto unknown and uninvestigated African interior and helped to spread an opinion that only a close contact of Africa with Europe, the introduction of European commerce and Christianity in Africa and its settlement and colonization by Europeans could help Africa to overcome its age-long backwardness and stagnation and lead Africans to the path of civilization. Decisions taken between 1792 and 1836 by the European nations trading to Africa to cease dealing in African slaves and to intervene against both the slave trade and slavery in Africa itself, led to attempts to introduce instead legitimate trade and to seek ways of economic exploitation of tropical Africa. Until colonial control had been established in Africa, there was little or no exact knowledge of the resources available there. It was, however, commonly claimed that Africa had great potentialities for agriculture and great mineral wealth which, according to Stanley, was concentrated in the area of the great African lakes Victoria and Albert Nyanza. As an article published in 1789 in the *Národné noviny* betrays, this area from which two great rivers the Nile and the Congo flowed and enabled connection with the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, was generally believed to be a key to enormous African riches.<sup>27</sup> The contemporary Slovak press informed its readership of projects and plans to build railways in Africa which would open the African interior to the world trade and of suggestions made by Stanley and other European travellers for the better advancement of commerce.<sup>28</sup> The reports in general were very matter-of-fact, with an occasional critical bite, as e.g. in the statement commenting on the European penetration into Africa

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<sup>27</sup> *Niečo o Afrike*, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Železnica v Afrike* (Railway in Africa). NN, XI, 1880, No. 123, Oct. 19; *Železnica údolím Konga* (Railway in the Congo Valley). NN, XV, 1884, No. 107, Sept. 11; *Kongo*. NN, XVI, 1885, No. 26, March 3.

— “human greediness fought its way to this wild bush, traders greedy for gain paved the way for the church” —<sup>29</sup> or on the involvement of the Dutch, established in the Ashanti kingdom on the Gold Coast in the slave trade.<sup>30</sup> And a deep concern for African peoples and their lot could be distinguished in a report entitled Events in Africa and commenting on revolutionary upheavals and anti-European movements: “The dark continent, which has been dreaming since the times of Egypt and Carthage, is now awakening to a new life and, roused from sleep, is announcing it by events that would surprise the whole Europe, the Europe which since long ago had looked upon Africa as her province inhabited by irresponsible slaves. But now the slaves seem to have stopped being slaves and have risen against their self-appointed masters ignorant of how to justify their right to rule them.”<sup>31</sup>

To give the rank and file of the population general news of an exciting kind the nineteenth-century Slovak press published also articles bringing personal and “on the spot” observations of aspects of life of African peoples based on accounts provided by European travellers, traders or missionaries. Such accounts were sure to captivate the popular minds of the Slovakia of their day. An article entitled The king of the Dahomean Amazons reported on the unusual political structure existing in the kingdom of Dahomey in which the whole range of officers of state was duplicated with women officers and where was also a female army, known to Europeans as the Amazons, whose military prowess had earned it the honoured centre position in the Dahomean military forces.<sup>32</sup> Živena, a calendar for the year 1853, gave an account of the Ashanti Confederacy according to an eyewitness description by a German missionary A. Riis.<sup>33</sup> Other reports described the life, physique, manners and customs of different African peoples, the Herero, Xhosa or Kaffirs, Hottentots, Tswana or Betschuana and some others.<sup>34</sup> Shocked by some customs, such as cannibalism, human sacrifices offered during the sacrificial rites performed annually in Dahomey or the position of woman in African society, they seem to have been appreciative of others. Common in the articles dealing with African religions were comments warning against a dangerous spread of Islam in Africa and

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<sup>29</sup> *Královstvo Aschantis v Afrike*, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>31</sup> *Udalosti v Afrike* (Events in Africa). NN, XX, 1889, No. 53, May 7.

<sup>32</sup> *Král amazoniek dahomejských* (The King of the Dahomean Amazons). NN, XXI, 1890, No. 36; *Abomey, hlavné mesto v Dahomeji* (Abomey, the Capital of Dahomey). Vlast' a svet, VIII, 1893, pp. 93—94.

<sup>33</sup> *Královstvo Aschantis v Afrike podla popisu očitého svedka nemeckého vierožvestca Bazelskej spoločnosti A. Riisa*. In: Živena na rok 1853 (Živena for the Year 1853). Vol. I, pp. 92—101.

<sup>34</sup> See Rizner: *Bibliografia*, op. cit.

stressing the necessity to evangelize Africans and thus bring them into contact with civilization and education.<sup>35</sup>

Ever since the sixteenth century the initial sporadic contact with Africa and Africans and more continuous contact in the following centuries led European visitors to reflect on the nature of blacks. European observers were struck by the Africans' black skin colour, physique, heathenism, customs and manners and social and political institutions which seemed so very different from those of Europe. It was common to stress the uniqueness and barbarity of African ways and question institutions such as polygamy, tattooing, bride-price, witchcraft and African religious systems. These apparent differences coupled with preconceived ideas of the superiority of white race, religion, the customs and institutions, of the home country and Europe, led to speculations about the place of the Africans in creation. There developed a number of explanations, which are, however, not to be dealt with here.<sup>36</sup> It was also popular in Europe to bring myths and legends of different African peoples explaining the origin of the black and white people and the Slovak press was no exception to the general rule. As might be expected, the Africans' skin struck the Slovaks as unusual and stirred their curiosity, and they tried to explain how the Africans had become black. However, contrary to most prevailing assumptions affirming that Africans were descended from Ham or were descendants of another cursed biblical figure Cain, the author of an article, published in the newspaper *Národné noviny* in 1886 and entitled *What Do the Savages Think of Us*, claimed the existence of a myth asserting the descent of white people from Cain who, having murdered his brother Abel grew pale because of his guilty conscience and hence became the first white man.<sup>37</sup>

It was quite natural that some of the negative stereotypes, biased conceptions and racial prejudices ingrained in the culture of the main European expansionist powers in regard to blacks could penetrate into the Slovak press. Thus, the newspaper *Slovenské noviny* published in 1856 the learned opinion of a German traveller and writer Maur. Wagner (Vagner) who in his public lecture had compared various human races and then relegated blacks to the lowest order of humanity. Africans were castigated by him as uncommonly cruel, treacherous, stupid, sexually depraved and unable to build highly organized state systems. In accord with the climatic theory elaborated by the ancient Greeks and Romans which emphasized that extreme temperatures made people act in extreme savage ways, whereas temperate climates were a prerequisite for civilization, the lear-

<sup>35</sup> See NN, XXI, 1890, No. 122; *Ludožrústvo na Kongu* (Cannibalism on the Congo). NN, XXVIII, 1897, No. 142; *Žena v Afrike* (The Woman in Africa). NN, VI, 1875, No. 77, etc.

<sup>36</sup> See Cohen, William B.: *The French Encounter with Africans. White Response to Blacks, 1530—1880*. Bloomington—London, Indiana University Press 1980, pp. 1—34.

<sup>37</sup> Čo si divosi myslia o nás (What Do the Savages Think of Us). NN, XVII, 1886, No. 24.

ned man claimed that the further to the south and the nearer to the equator, the more would be the Negroes stupid and savage-like. The worst kind lived just like animals and devoured their own children.<sup>38</sup>

Though similar accounts were very rare in the Slovak newspaper press, accounts based on sensational news and interspersed with journalistic exaggerations were quite common. The evidence upon which such reports and accounts were based was grossly inaccurate and distorted. An example can be taken from the East African Lacustrine region and the kingdom of Buganda which is the area of this author's main specialization and competence. While the news published in the newspaper *Národné noviny* in January 1889, describing the latest political upheavals and civil wars in the kingdom of Buganda, the overthrow of the kabaka Mwanga and the political takeover by the Muslim Baganda with their Arab allies and advisers, were generally reliable and only in some details in variance with the historical truth (e. g. Mwanga was falsely declared dead), the report published by the same newspaper in 1886 and giving account of the murder of bishop Hannington was just the opposite. According to this "report" from London, bishop Hannington and some fifty (sic!) missionaries were beheaded at the orders of the Ugandan king Mutesa, who had actually died two years earlier! They were condemned to death because they had brought measles (sic!) to the country. Four of them managed to escape and bring the news of the massacre to Europe. Mutesa himself beheaded Hannington and his own grandson who had tried to defend the missionaries to the very last moment. Other missionaries and Ugandans suspected to be in league with them were beheaded by the dignitaries of state or those Ugandans whose relatives had died of measles (sic!).<sup>39</sup> There were other fictitious reports at complete variance with the historical truth published, such as that of the baptism of Mutesa's son in London in 1880 or of the death of the kabaka Mutesa himself who, according to the report, had left behind some seven thousand widows but no son and therefore had to be succeeded on the throne by one of his grandsons.<sup>40</sup>

### Conclusion and assessment

In examining the historical record I found that the nineteenth-century Slovaks were relatively well-supplied with information about Africa. The continued expansion of Europe into Africa since the eighteenth century and the

<sup>38</sup> *Kpoznání života černochů čili muřeninů* (Learning of the Life of Negroes or Moors). Slovenské noviny, 1856, No. 31, March 11.

<sup>39</sup> *Nová mohamedánska riša v Afrike* (A New Mohammedan Empire in Africa). NN, XX, 1889, No. 8, Jan. 19, pp. 3—4; *Ztátie biskupa Hanningtona* (Execution of Bishop Hannington). NN, XVII, 1886, No. 42, March 19, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> *Pokrstený africký princ* (An African Prince Baptized). NN, XI, 1880, No. 47, Apr. 21; *Sedemtisíc vdov* (Seven Thousand Widows). NN, XVI, 1885, No. 32, March 17, p. 4.

opening up of the dark continent led to a considerable increase of news from this part of the world.

The image of Africa presented to the Slovak public derived primarily from foreign nationals who reported their first-hand observations and impressions of Africa and described their contact with African peoples. These included travellers, explorers, traders, various adventurers, slavers, missionaries, soldiers, etc. Most of what was known about Africa and its peoples before the colonial era was what the Europeans were told about them by contemporary European observers. From the fifteenth century onwards European writings helped to spread the knowledge of Africa in Europe and also in Slovakia. Although, theoretically at least, the nineteenth-century Slovak public should have been able to cull some information from a handful of compatriots working in Africa as missionaries, the research hitherto done makes it impossible to reflect on the nature of information or the ways of reaching Slovakia.

Africa was quite naturally seen by the foreign observers through their culture filters and African images presented by them to the European and hence also to the Slovak public were often influenced and distorted by assumptions derived from their own European cultural values and an acute awareness of their own racial distinctiveness and alleged superiority. At that time it was also quite common to build up images of African peoples and the whole continent on the basis of experience gained in a very small part of Africa. The evidence upon which the African images were built was sometimes false or curiously distorted and exaggerated.

Slovak opinion seems to have been not only informed but also to some extent shaped and influenced by the contemporary European knowledge and view of Africa, though the historical and social conditions of the Slovak society were an important contributing factor. The image was, of necessity, ambiguous. The overall impression is of a very mixed and uneven nature of available information. The information on Africa provided by the Slovak newspaper and popular press was scattered and of uneven quality. Much information was reliable and matter-of-fact, much was superficial, distorted or somehow inaccurate, some was wrong. This could be complemented with available literature on Africa. The composition of the available knowledge may have been also to some extent influenced by the limited expectations of the contemporary Slovak readership, since other parts of the world received more attention than did Africa. Considering, however, the remoteness of the continent, the lack of direct commercial and political relations with Africa and the very conditions of the Slovak society of that time, Africa and Africans were observed and treated by the Slovak newspaper and popular press with sufficient interest and, generally, with sympathy. A proper assessment of the knowledge of Africa in the nineteenth-century Slovakia would, however, need more research along the lines suggested.

## REVIEW ARTICLES

## SOME REMARKS ON CONTEMPORARY ASIAN AND "AFRICAN" PHILOSOPHY

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

Scholarly interest in philosophical teachings of non-European or non-American provenance is quite understandable. European philosophers of earlier centuries made considerable efforts to grasp certain elements, for example of Neo-Confucian philosophy and to incorporate them, although in a greatly altered form, into their own systems (Leibnitz, Wolff, Voltaire) or of Buddhist philosophy (into the system of Schopenhauer's thought). Although there exist numerous monographs and articles devoted to philosophical teachings of various Asian countries in the past, there is a dearth of such as would deal with the modern times.

It is generally known that four Asian philosophies, or rather four Asian "sets" of philosophical systems attached to the ethnic or national communities of the Arab, Indian, Chinese and Japanese world have in the course of long development in history, won for themselves a foremost position, and eventually exerted a certain impact on medieval and modern philosophy of the European cultural area. Of these "national" philosophies, the last three have still preserved much of their own vitality; the Arab philosophy is considered rather as a compendium of philosophical teachings of the Middle Ages. This, however, does not in any way imply that it would be the least among those that have contributed to the culture of mankind as a mediator between the ancient, particularly the Greek, and the medieval Latin world, but also with distant China (although this has not been as yet sufficiently studied); it has done much that is creditable and deserves a foremost place in the hierarchy of values. Of these three last mentioned "sets" two are autochthonous: Indian and Chinese. Both have contributed to the common treasury of this special field of social consciousness far more than we are wont to realize. Because of the as yet unsurpassed Eurocentric orientation of philosophical research and knowledge, many philosophical messages of the Orient are hidden by the veil of *māya* (Sansk. illusion) which conceals from us the true state of things. This also holds

for modern and the recent history of important and the less important Asian philosophical movements. The Indian and the Chinese philosophies have exerted in the last thousand years an extraordinary impact on the ideological physiognomy of Southeast Asia and the Far East and in some cases have either fundamentally formulated, or essentially transformed it. As regards our times, it is generally accepted that thanks to universal contacts, communication facilities, the spiritual production of individual nations, has since the 19th century, and even earlier, become the common property of mankind. The size of the share in this property is conditioned by scholarly involvement and an inquisitive spirit. If it be below the desirable standard, the fault will be found to lie with us.

# 1

There is certainly no Oriental philosophy that would by its abstractness, imaginative capacities, contemplativeness and depth (even though artificially fancied in some cases), surpass Indian philosophy. Up to the 19th century, the latter developed autonomously, without any impact of systems of foreign origin excepting perhaps Arab or Islamic teachings, e.g. Kabīr's pantheism (15th cent.). Philosophy in India went through a different course of development from that in Europe. It is a product of "Indian thought", of a typical way of thinking, whose origin and evolution had been aided by the overall social, cultural and political life. Characteristic features of this mode of thinking are a disregard for or neglect of facts or events (very few source materials to Indian history have been preserved), insistence on what lies behind events with little attention to the events themselves, respect for traditions even though not required by historical exigency, subordination of the individual and particular to the universal, of the concrete to the abstract, their reciprocal substitution, frequent manipulation with the illusoriness of being, lack of interest in the latter's changeable aspects, weak delineation between the real and the ideal, preference of the mental and the spiritual to the bodily and the physical, stressing of the ideational and sensory polysemantics; and not least, an explicitly or at least relatively negative attitude towards objectively proved results of natural and social sciences.

Of the numerous philosophical teachings of the classical and the medieval period, the most influential up to now has been the *vedānta* (i.e. *advaita* and *viśista-advaita*, absolute non-dualism and differential non-dualism). *Vedānta* together with other objective idealistic schools represents up to one half of contemporary Indian philosophical systems. After India had achieved independence in 1947, interest increased in philosophical realism and neo-realism (G. E. Moore, B. Russell), neo-positivism (A. Ayer), Kant's philosophy, German and French existentialism (M. Heidegger, K. Jaspers, J. P. Sartre, A. Camus).

Knowledge of Marxism-Leninism has considerably spread over the past few decades, but not at the universities where dialectical and historical materialism have not been included in the syllabus, but among the scholars, left-oriented intellectuals and political workers. A major role has here been played by books dealing with Marxist philosophy and sociology reaching India from the USSR and accessible by their price also to financially weaker strata. According to the statement of an eye-witness, *Capital* by K. Marx in three volumes may be purchased at a twelve times lower price in New Delhi than in New York. As things stand, it appears that India will have to re-evaluate fundamentally her own traditional teachings and also European and American philosophies mainly because she must solve important social and political issues as one of the most densely populated countries of the world.

It is downright distressing to see how little interest the major part of Indian philosophers show in contemporary scientific concepts and achievements. Dale Riepe, an American scholar, who has also studied at the Moscow State University, explains this trait on the example of the well-known philosopher and political figure Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888—1973). Radhakrishnan refused to concede that any mutual and fertile relationships existed among the various scientific disciplines, for example between biology and philosophy. Science to him was a “diabolic tool”, for it had been imported to India by capitalism and imperialism.

Contemporary Indian philosophers realize with difficulty only the very need or necessity of becoming conscious of social problems. Among such we count D. M. Datta (1898—). He was well versed in classical Indian teachings and as an expert in gnoseology he gradually worked his way towards views that to us appear self-evident, but do not stem from traditional Indian philosophy: “Philosophy is nothing if it is not objective. Philosophy, in so far as it is rational, tries to establish views which will be acceptable to all rational beings... Philosophy, therefore, is not one man’s game; it is a social affair; it is not mere soliloquy but a conversation. Hence the objective attitude cannot be denied.”

A representative of contemporary Indian Marxism who started out from philosophical realism, is Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (1918—), perhaps the most authoritative connoisseur of Indian materialism. He took contact with the well-known Madhava’s collection *Sarva darśana samgraha* (Compendium of All Systems) and using the methodology elaborated by G. Thomson, the renowned Marxist and author of outstanding studies on Greek history and culture, but primarily that by J. Needham, a historian of old Chinese science, endeavoured to characterize Indian philosophical materialism and ancient Indian science. In his monograph *Lokayāta: A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism* (1959), he goes to show that in India the primordial philosophical *Weltanschauung* rested on the *deha-vada* premise according to which human “ego” is material and there is

nothing supranatural in our world. He even asserts that the first Vedic literature (originated sometime in the 12th cent. B. C.) is a demonstration of a *lokayatika* apprehension of the world and contains little of the transcendental. He refutes the existing idealist views advocating that *lokayāta* was a form of hedonist ethics. He sees it, however, similarly as Needham, as certain practices of old Chinese Taoists, as a cultic manifestation of a magic view of the world in the primitive agricultural society. In his very important monograph *What is Living and What is Dead in Indian Philosophy* (1976), translated into Russian (1981), Chattopadhyaya went over completely to Marxist positions. In this book the author underlines the significance of *prakriti-vada* (teaching about nature) and *pradhana-vada* (teaching about matter) as a developed system of philosophical views. This does not entail a mere statement on a materialist nature of *lokayāta* as in the preceding work, but it is an attempt at assigning its thought-potential into the philosophical evolution against the background of a competition between the idealist and materialist tendencies. *Lokayāta* was the most important materialist philosophy in India, critically directed against numerous idealist movements and their principal concepts, e. g. *karma* (literally action), conviction, according to which a human being is meted out a destiny which it has deserved in virtue of its deeds (good or bad) in the previous existences (*samsāra*). Chattopadhyaya points out also the positive aspects of various idealist trends in Indian philosophy, but neither according to S. G. Sardesai, a prominent personality in the Indian national liberation and communist movement, nor in the view of the Soviet philosopher and translator N. P. Anikeev, has he done so consistently: he focused unduly on their criticism, forgetting the while that one ought to have a very sensitive, attentive and extremely balanced attitude to the traditions and cultural or spiritual heritage of one's own nation.

In India too much philosophizing used to be and is still being carried out from idealistic positions. This is very apparent in ethics. Stress is laid on its bonds with religion, with Hinduism and *karma*. The caste system, one of the forms of unjust, unnatural and inhuman division of people into mutually excluding and discriminating groups, is consistently defended, although it has been condemned by the Constitution of the Republic of India. True, old Indian philosophy had a social orientation, nevertheless, social and political philosophy never developed to the same extent or in the manner seen in Greece or China. The Indians were not interested in the question of the State form or administration, its functioning or control, but solely: how the ruling dynasties could maintain their power. Hence, the most important treatise of the early social philosophy was Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (On the State) (about the year 200 A. D.) which in some respects is reminiscent of Machiavelli's famous work *The Prince*. Indian ethics of the present times is concerned for the most part with the higher castes and being unusually transcendentally oriented is in fact made up of a mixture

of European bourgeois and Indian idealist conceptions. This also holds for social ethics and, as a rule, the best works are written by non-philosophers, for instance, socially and politically committed writers, such as Raj Mulk Anand (1905—).

Chinese traditional philosophy was considerably different from, and in some respects even contradictory to Indian philosophy. It was the product of “Chinese thought” and its typical features were: stress on the concrete, the particular and, with some exceptions, disregard of the abstract thinking and of the category of the universal; conservatism and therefore also exaltation of the ancient, the classical; efforts at adjusting every foreign philosophical teaching (such as Buddhism) to its own measure; underlining the practical, utilitarian aspects of human life, of the anthropocentric attitudes in the ethical domain (individual and social); lack of interest in gnoseology, ontology, metaphysics, in life after death.

Of the various indigenous schools, or such as became sinified there, the greatest impact is still wielded by Confucianism, although not in the People's Republic of China. Towards the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, a certain part of intelligentsia put their hope in Buddhism, particularly into the *Yogācāra* (*Weishi*, Consciousness-Only) school. One to have worked his way from subjective idealism of this school, through philosophical realism to Marxism-Leninism, was Qu Quibai (1899—1935), a leading member of the Chinese Communist Party who was murdered by the Kuomintang. A great number of young Chinese had the possibility of pursuing their studies in the first half of this century in the U.S.A., Great Britain, Germany, France and the U.S.S.R. A certain section of these students took contact with influential philosophical schools and on their return to China, eventually still during their stay abroad, many propagated these teachings or strove to utilize them in setting up their own philosophical systems. One of the most prominent exponents of the movement for New Culture, Hu Shih (1891—1962), John Dewey's disciple and follower, expended considerable effort in order to transplant philosophical pragmatism into his native China. Chinese pragmatists, however, tried to transplant Dewey's instrumentalism into their country without the necessary adjustment and their efforts were naturally doomed to failure. Their programme of “total Westernization” came to naught.

Almost all the other philosophers strove after something else: as a rule after a symbiosis of adequately close elements from Western and Oriental philosophies, or after a certain adaptation, e. g. Confucianism or Buddhism to the new

political, economic and cultural situation that ensued following the fall of imperial rule (1911), with the onset of the New culture movement (1917—1919) and after the proclamation of the PRC (1949).

Perhaps the most talented Chinese philosopher of our century Feng Youlan (1895—) went all the way from the Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi (1130—1200), up to Bergson, Dewey, Russell, only to return back to his original sources. His philosophical system which he presented for the first and last time at the turn of the 1930s and 1940s, has its foundations in the Neo-Confucian philosophy of the Song Dynasty and it is generally held that he had been influenced by positivism. A more discerning examination, however, reveals that of all the modern European philosophical teachings, Feng Youlan came closest to Henri Bergson's intuitionist concept of life and his original contribution to the new Chinese philosophy contains but little outside these two teachings, although he possessed a good grounding in philosophy and was familiar with its history from Plato up to the Vienna Circle. Having in mind Confucius' words from the very end of the book *Lunyu* (*The Analects*) according to which: "Without recognizing the ordinances of Heaven (*ming*), it is impossible to be a superior man. Without an acquaintance with the rules of Propriety (*li*), it is impossible for the character to be established. Without knowing the form of words (*yan*), it is impossible to know men", Feng Youlan decided to write a series of books in which he would, on the basis of Chinese and European philosophical legacy, generalize the gnoseologico-epistemological and linguistico-logical principles corresponding to his philosophical orientation. The first treatise, and simultaneously his own philosophical system, is entitled *Xin lixue* (New Neo-Confucianism). He wrote it at the time of the exodus of Chinese patriotic intelligentsia during the war against Japanese invaders when he had no access to many basic manuals or texts, but in the presence of numerous personalities of the contemporary cultural history. The work was the outcome of intuition rather than of any long-term investigation, of a great quantity of accumulated knowledge and experience, rather than of direct, immediate study. There exist two fundamental principles that set up and direct the structure of macro- and microcosm: one of them is *li*, practically an untranslatable word which in his system means something which out of things, phenomena and all that is about us, makes what we, or they (things phenomena, other people) are. It is something resembling Bergson's *le moi profond*. However, instead of *élan vital* which in Bergson apprehension means a rounding-off the premise just mentioned, Feng speaks of *qi*. While *li* is an ideal, *qi* is a real principle by means of which all that is in us and about us is being realized. The principal role of philosophy is to show the way to a moral, intellectual self-perfection. A man's ideal should be to become a sage. Potentially, such a road is open to every human being. A

sage is more than a highly moral or saintlike man for he grasps the true meaning of the existence of human individuals, of mankind and the universe.

Liang Shuming (1893—1988), “the last Confucian” as one American sinologist has called him, is truly the last remarkable Confucian philosopher in the PRC but not elsewhere in the world. As a child he neither read nor memorized Confucian classics as was then the custom; his primer comprised essential data on the world geography. As if a seven hundred year old feeling had awakened in him and in his father that they belong also to another, not only the Chinese world; as a matter of fact, Liang is a descendant of Khubilai Khan (1215—1294), the first and the greatest Mongol ruler to sit on the Chinese throne. Neither as a secondary student was he interested in Confucianism, but rather in Buddhism of the *Yogācāra* school, similarly as many other Chinese of his time. Before he came to Confucianism, he had become acquainted with Bergson and was enchanted by him, read Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. In his principal philosophical work *Dongxi wenhua ji qi zhixue* (Eastern and Western Cultures and their Philosophies), he started from an analysis of culture as a fundamental phenomenon in the structure of the contemporary world and the unique platform from which to start in trying to alter and reform the future world. Laying stress on spiritual values, he took a negative stand towards material culture for he linked it with European culture based primarily on need satisfaction of the material life. Chinese culture, according to him, satisfied for the most part spiritual needs and was characterized by an endeavour at equilibrium, harmony between material and spiritual values. Indian culture achieved the third level of development, where people hold the world to be an illusion and seek ways to an ultimate cessation of being and to nirvana transcending the suffering, *karma* and *samsāra*. Liang was not satisfied by either the Western or the Indian culture. He sought the future of the world in a “renaissance” of Chinese culture. Thus, it would be a repetition, but on a far greater measure, of the renaissance of Graeco-Roman culture in Europe in the 15th and 16th century. According to Liang Shuming the “misery of philosophy” of modern times could be remedied solely by the “philosophy of life” represented by Bergson and Eucken, laying stress on intuition, emotion, creative evolution in association with the Confucian philosophy of intuitive orientation as represented by Wang Yangming (1472—1528).

An author to have achieved a greater depth in philosophy than Liang Shuming was Xiong Shili (1885—1968). He took contact with similar authorities (Wang Yangming and Bergson), yet in his book *Xin weishi lun* (On New Consciousness-Only), he did not set up a modern variant of *Yogācāra*, but rather a new form of contemporary Confucianism. More than any other modern Chinese philosopher, Xiong Shili was a syncretist of Buddhism, Neo-

Taoism and Neo-Confucianism. This is not strange in China where, in contrast to India, it is usually, though not always, held that the various schools, at least the indigenous ones, teach the same concepts using different terms and stylistic variations. His concept of constant transformation (*heng zhuan*) is reminiscent of Bergson's creative evolution, his vital principle (*sheng yi*) of Bergson's *élan vital*, although both are profoundly Chinese. One of the basic concepts in Buddhist philosophy *tathatā* (thusness, suchness) is in Xiong Shili's teaching identical with Neo-Taoist concept *ben ti* (original mind). And so thusness, the reality in us or about us, are in an incessant process of change. Since according to Wang Yangming, original mind is identical with human-heartedness (*ren*) and with righteousness (*yi*), with moral duties towards others, Xiong's teaching, too, is primarily ethical, and in this it come close to other idealist Chinese philosophical systems. Buddhist philosophers of this century in China and Hong Kong have produced nothing new, they only published, translated or commented teaching of *Yogācāra*, eventually some other. Recently, some have attempted to study the relationships between Chinese Buddhism and poetry or painting. This is a rather promising field of research.

An important place in the 1920s till 1940s was occupied by the activity of Marxists philosophers. But during those years they concentrated more attention on political, propagandistic and organizational work in the national liberation struggle than to deeper theoretical problems. If any outstanding results were achieved, then it was in the domain of the history of Chinese philosophy, such as Hou Wailu's (1896—1987) monograph *Zhongguo jindai sixiang xueshuo shi* (A History of Chinese Philosophy in Modern Age) (1947). In this connection, mention might be made of Guo Moruo (1892—1978), best known as a writer; great credit is due precisely to him for the introduction of Marxist teaching into China and the application of Marxist methodology in historical scholarship, less so in the history of Chinese philosophy, where he committed numerous faults by failing to correctly appreciate the importance of historicism, and succumbing to his own a priori schemes, most frequently in the domain of ancient philosophy.

In these notes we shall refrain from analysing the philosophy of the period of the PRC, for this has been repeatedly dealt with in the last years.

Japan, like China during the traditional period of the development, had no term for philosophy in its language. *Tetsugaku* (teaching about wisdom) is a neologism that was coined around 1877. Towards the end of the 19th century it was taken over by the Chinese into their vocabulary. That, however, does not

imply that philosophy had not existed previously in either Japan or China; it was simply concealed under different names. Japanese philosophy has far much more in common with Chinese than with Indian philosophy, evidently due to the mutual contacts of the two and the similarity in their social and economic structure. But there is also much that is different, due mainly to the somewhat different relation on the part of the individual towards the family, society, the emperor, to the possibility of dynamic changes, to various philosophical teachings, to historiography, militarism and nationalism.

At the time of the Meiji Revolution (1868) when Japan opted for a wholesale “Europeanization” and shortly after it, the philosophical domain in China was characterized by efforts at a complete modernization which was equivalent to “Westernization”. It did not last long, however, and before the end of the century steps were rapidly taken to revive the traditional philosophical teachings, particularly in the ethical sphere. Nishimura Shigeki (1828—1902) condemned European ethical systems as being too abstract and unsuitable to the Japanese who, allegedly, needed a strong and strict morale.

The general awakening of Japanese nationalism towards the end of the 19th century did not spell the end of the study or promotion of the foreign philosophical systems. Pragmatism and Neo-Kantianism were the two most in vogue. The Japanese were interested in pragmatism during the period of philosophical and political liberalization following World War I (J. Dewey, W. James, F. C. S. Schiller), in Neo-Kantianism even earlier, at the beginning of the Taishō era (1912). Both the eminent German schools of Neo-Kantianism, that of Baden and that of Marburg enjoyed far greater popularity in Japan than in Germany, and W. Windelband's book *Einleitung in die Philosophie* was the most important manual of philosophy in Japan for students of the pre- and post-war generation. Bergson and Heidegger, too, commanded considerable respect in Japan.

The most distinguished Japanese philosopher of the 20th century was Nishida Kitarō (1870—1945). His philosophy bears the name *basho no ronri* (logic of space) or of field. From an analysis of his work it appears that H. Rickert was closest to him, operating with “consciousness in general” and with “consciousness of existence” which approximately corresponded to Nishida's “self-consciousness of the universal” and of the “absolute nothingness”. The latter does not imply a negation of being, but stands for something like negation of a certain part of being, not meaning its non-existence, but an existence that is in some manner “determined”, as for instance in Chinese Taoism or Buddhism. This determinant in Nishida is an absolutely free will. In the 1930s and 1940s, Nishida's collaborator and successor Tanabe Hajime (1885—1962) “amended” Nishida's theory by propounding the “logic of the species”, in reality “logic of the (Japanese) nation”. The absolute, or the absolute being came to be

nation. Following Japan's defeat in 1945, Tanabe turned to Christianity and Buddhism, propagating Christian love and Buddhist apprehension of nothingness as means of saving mankind in the atomic age.

Several influential philosophers, eventually cultural and political personalities were responsible for the propagation of Marxism, especially Kawakami Hajime (1879—1946) and Miki Kiyoshi (1897—1945). While Kawakami was more interested in economic questions, Miki did much to make Marxist philosophy accessible, had a great appreciation of it, although his own studies are rather an elaboration of certain problems of existentialist anthropology. In an attempt to combine existentialism with Marxism, he had a lead over J. P. Sartre of fully three decades.

Between 1935 and 1945, Japan was under the rule of "neo-barbarism" which left no room for any philosophy unless it recognized a New Order in East Asia, "Japanese spirit", militarism and war, as its obligatory premises.

Neither Nishida Kitarō, nor Miki Kiyoshi lived to see the end of World War II. Miki died in prison after he had helped the communist writer Takakura Teru to escape from it. The vacuum that inevitably ensued after the discredited philosophers had been reduced to silence was filled in by existentialists and Marxists. Sartre came into vogue, and also G. Marcel's existentialism towards the end of the 1950s.

After World War II, Marxist philosophers left more distinct traces in the history of Japanese philosophy. The marked popularity which the teaching of Marxism-Leninism enjoyed was due not only to its scholarly value, but likewise to the efforts on the part of Marxists in their fight against the military régime, to the revolutionary tenor of this teaching, in which Japan saw the only guarantee that order would be restored in the Augean stables of post-war reality. In 1947 the Association for Democratic Scholars was set up and not only was Marxist teaching propagated within it, but also genuine work was pursued which gave rise to a number of studies and monographs, such as Dialectical Materialism (Mori Kōichi) or Japanese Materialists (Saigusa Hiroto).

In general, practically all the post-war trends, or at least the relatively recent philosophical schools, are represented in it. In recent years comparative philosophy began to be promoted in which Nakamura Hajime, in particular, stands out by his extensive work *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India, China, Tibet, Japan* (1964).

characterized by the term “transformations” or “metamorphoses”. They were triggered at the time of colonial oppression, but took on in intensity during the liberation struggles and the subsequent autonomous development. These transformations affected also the spiritual culture of these countries, including philosophical thought. Philosophical teachings constitute an important part of the cultural heritage. In the various Asian and African countries, relations are established in different ways towards both philosophy as a cultural legacy (provided they have it), and foreign philosophical systems as potential sources for further development. The most diverse forms of relationships were formed in the past and are forming at present that may be defined as an uncritical exaltation of their own philosophical heritage, or as a nihilist attitude towards it. In between there exists a broad scale of varying hues of these relations. Philosophical traditionalists are generally wont to hyperbolize the significance of their indigenous philosophy, modernists, on the other hand, deprecate or at least underestimate it and would readily barter it for one of the system of European or American origin. Reformers advocate the need of the integration and usually suggest some modernized profile of Confucianism, Buddhism or Islam.

All these approaches are meant to represent a temporary solution of the problem. Philosophical legacy is but a part of the cultural heritage, and that is but a fraction of the entire culture which in turn is but a portion of the overall social life, nature and human activity. Relation towards it should be dealt with in a complex manner, taking into account the concrete socio-historical conditions and contexts and this not merely within the framework of a single country, but on an international scale. A methodology should be elaborated that would solve intraphilosophical issues (within the framework of a single country or a larger unit) and also interphilosophical questions (within various countries with divergent philosophical systems); in addition, it should satisfy also demands from other domains of social consciousness and thus help to set a viable ideology suitable for the present times and capable of successfully dealing with tasks in the political, economic and cultural life.

Unfortunately, a different way is usually adopted, that of the least resistance: stock is taken of the prevailing situation, a few principles are set forth and subsequently the corresponding philosophical doctrine is formulated. Let us take as an example the case of two Asian countries: Pakistan and Burma. The situation in these two countries is, up to a point, similar to that prevailing in the majority of Asian countries. They had experienced a period of colonial oppression, went through national liberation struggles, their philosophical systems took contact with home structures and were enriched in only a minor measure with stimuli from the philosophical world of the European cultural area. According to Pakistan’s “spiritual father” Muhammad Iqbāl (1877—1938) philo-

sophy “must take support in the key position of religion”. He had in mind Islam, and the philosophical teachings on which he tried to set up his own system were the following: Sufic mysticism of the Persian poet Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī (1207—1273), Leibniz’s pluralistic monadologism, and certain adapted ideas from Fr. Nietzsche. After World War II, certain doubts have appeared as to the possibility of solving existing economico-political issues from the aspect of Islam. Certain philosophers turned to logical positivism and to existentialism.

Burma has a vast philosophical hinterland as a country of Buddhism. General Ne Win who took over power in the country in 1962, opted for the philosophy of the Burma Socialist Programme Party which takes contact with the essential principles of Abhidhamma (a philosophical part of Pali Buddhist Canon) and the conception of three worlds (material, animal and phenomenal), but also with certain categories of historical materialism, e.g. the tasks of productive forces and relations of production in the socio-economic development, the existence of five socio-economic formations and the decisive contribution of the working masses into the historical process.

Probably in no other Asian environment has the relationship between philosophical traditionalism and modernism such a rich scale of shades as in the Arab, eventually Islamic world. Every student of modern Asian philosophy is startled (unless he is an Arabist or expert on Islam) by the extraordinary power of religious tradition. According to the Egyptian traditionalist Anvar al-Jundi: “...for believers in Islam there is no other aim in life, but to abide by the Koran and until the end of the world to follow the teaching of this school (that of the *ash’arits*, M. G.) in their thoughts, point to its results, carry it over to further epochs as future generations will demand.” He considered such philosophers as al-Kindī (ca 800—879), al-Fārābī (died 960), Avicenna (980—1037) and Averroes (1126—1198) to have been imitators, not philosophers, who have gained a prominent place in the history of world philosophy. Muhammad Iqbāl belonged among Islamic reformers. To him the Koran was an instrument for action, while Greek philosophy was rather an embodiment of idea. Another Egyptian philosopher excelled among modernists — the writer Tāhā Husain (1889—1975). His close relations to the Western world were motivated by historical contingencies. If not the entire Arab cultural area, Egypt certainly was closer to Greece, Rome and Byzantium, hence, to the Mediterranean culture. Personalities such as Mustafa an-Nuheri are rare among Arab or Muslim philosophers. He in the year 1973 had courage to write: “The mythological mode of thinking (i.e. religion) ruled for fourteen centuries in the Arab world and had a reactionary impact on it.”

“African philosophy” lies somewhere “between Logos and Myth”. That is what the Soviet scholar A. V. Sagadeev had to say about it. In this terse characterization he perhaps followed another Soviet scholar F. Kessidi who in 1972 had given something similar as a title to his book about Heraclitus at the beginning of Greek philosophy born of a myth, or rather, at that time parting from it. If we read two outstanding reviews of “African philosophy”, one from the pen of A. V. Sagadeev published in *Filosofskoe nasledie narodov Vostoka i sovremennost* (The Philosophical Heritage of the Oriental Peoples and Today), and the first chapter entitled The Quest for an African Philosophy: False Roots from the monograph *African Philosophy. A Historico-Hermeneutical Investigation of the Conditions of its Possibility* by Th. Okere, we find that the views of the two authors are in agreement that there is no African philosophy as a kind of special social consciousness, but merely myths, legends, fables or proverbs. What certain authors or historian of “African philosophy”, e. g. P. Tempels in his *Philosophie Bantoue*, A. Kagame in *La Philosophie Bantou-Ruandaise de l'être*, or John Mbiti in *African Religions and Philosophy* purport to give out as philosophy, are merely pre-philosophic forms of consciousness, expressions of folk wisdom, or a doubtful ontologizing of the Ruandese grammar (Kagame). In contrast to Sagadeev Mr. Okere maintains that an African philosophy does exist, only it has to be sought out, the conditions of its possibility must be found and investigated. This view might be subscribed to only so far as it implies the future. One fact is certain, Africa has had no philosophy either in the past or the present that could be compared to Greek or later European philosophy. If anything like it exists there, then it is but a sort of ethnophilosophy with numerous variants, for Africa does not represent either a cultural or a political unity. References to “African philosophy” served a political mission and had a social function when wisdom of the original genius of the African people was pointed out especially in the struggle against the colonial yoke. But there it ended. Now it can serve only as a part of the building material for a higher form of social consciousness, for true philosophy on condition, of course, that also non-African impulses will be utilized. It may naturally come in handy also for a study of folklore, mythological consciousness, literary or artistic production for which the inhabitants of Africa seem to have considerable skill and understanding.



Such a concise review did not permit even a brief reference to the philosophical physiognomy of the other Asian countries, otherwise this would turn into a dry enumeration of names, -isms and problems. In addition, many of the issues

relating to contemporary philosophical or ideological development of these countries remain obscure, unresearched. For example, we touched only very lightly on the very important idea of evolution or criticism of traditional philosophical systems. A startling fact is that Japan, a country of immense possibilities, because of economic and cultural priorities has not as yet adequately researched its traditional heritage and consequently this issue can hardly be dealt with in this country. China has repeatedly, without full knowledge of the studied subject, condemned its own traditional legacy (the last time during the "Cultural Revolution" in 1966–1976) without finding ways to draw a lesson from it all. In other countries, too, a more serious approach ought decidedly to be taken to the study of their own philosophical heritage.

It would be well in future resolutely to resist the Eurocentric orientation that has prevailed until lately, but likewise also more recent nationalist efforts of apologists of diverse Oriental philosophies. Doubt should be cast on the well-known East-West dichotomy and on cheap generalizations that have stemmed from it, as for instance that on the scientific or materialist culture of the West and the spiritual or idealist culture of the East, the extravert nature of the Western and introvert nature of the Eastern thought, etc. The East (and this implies both to Asia and Africa) has never been and is not an antithetical monolith of the West. The relation between these two extensive and multifarious entities has been entwined with numerous stereotypes stemming, as a rule, from an inadequate knowledge of the political system, ethical views, religions, art, literature and other domains of social existence and social consciousness. The East represents several cultural areas which have to be taken into account in any study of their philosophical message and what to do about it, how to promote it. North Africa is a part of the Arab cultural area. As has been pointed out, in the rest of Africa south of the Sahara, in the so-called Black Africa, one cannot speak of any philosophical legacy. There are certainly individual "national" philosophies, or rather cognate philosophical "communities" with their own specific traits which mutually distinguish or link them. Some of them were referred to above, when dealing with Indian or Chinese philosophy.

Important researches of the last years have revealed that serious considerations on various philosophies of Asian countries whether the past or the present will have to be preceded by serious studies of Western and Eastern traditions, by their national and supranational aspects, usually within the territorial conditions (cultural areas or philosophical communities) and only then may they be accompanied with a study either of the genetic-contact or the typological character, and in their mutual relatedness. Especially the typological studies should not be an opportunity for verbal jugglery. Rather appropriate knowledge and a reliable methodological apparatus ought to guarantee a scholarly objectiveness of the study.

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## ZWEI BEITRÄGE ZUR PROBLEMATIK DER BEWEGUNG DES VOLKSWIDERSTANDS IN DER TÜRKEI

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Die Herrschaft der Türken in Kleinasien stand nicht nur im Zeichen der expansionistischen Politik, sie war vielmehr auch durch ständige Unruhen im Staat selbst gekennzeichnet. Es waren nicht nur Palastintrigen und Umstürze, die die Stabilität des Staats erschüttern ließen, sondern auch eine ganze Reihe von Massenaufständen und Rebellionen, die zwar eine religiöse Färbung hatten, deren Grundlage jedoch sozial gewesen ist. Obwohl niedergeschlagen, hinterließen sie im Bewußtsein des Volkes eine tiefe Spur. So wie dies im Falle der Folklore der Epoche des Feudalismus im allgemeinen gewesen war, so wurde auch in der türkischen Volksepik der Volksanführer, der Rächer, der Beschützer, der die Ideale der verarmten Massen verkörperte, zum charakteristischen Helden.<sup>1</sup>

Neben den großen Wellen des Volkswiderstands äußerte sich die Unzufriedenheit mit den herrschenden Verhältnissen in Auftritten von Einzelgängern oder kleineren Gruppen, die dann auch ihre Idealisierung in der Gestalt von Räuberliedern erlangten. Während in Europa das Räubertum im 17.—18. Jahrhundert gipfelt, ist dies in der Türkei die Wende des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts der Fall. In den Jahren des nationalen Befreiungskrieges wurde diese Tradition zum Wappenzeichen des Unabhängigkeitskampfes des türkischen Volkes erhoben. Neue Fakten bedingten die Aktualisierung des Inhalts der Räuberlieder, deren Konkretisierung. Anschaulich beweisen das die Liedertexte in der Anthologie von Räuberliedern, die den zweiten Teil der Publikation von Mehmet Bayrak Das Räubertum und die Räuberlieder<sup>2</sup> bilden. Die Mehrzahl der in die Anthologie eingereihten Lieder knüpft an konkrete Einzelpersonen, die um die Wende des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, oder aber in den ersten zwei Jahrzehnten unseres Jahrhunderts wirkten, an.

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<sup>1</sup> Gussew, W. J.: *Estetika folkloru* (Die Ästhetik der Folklore). Praha, Odeon 1978, S. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Bayrak, M.: *Eşkiylık ve Eşkiya Türküleri. Inceleme — Antoloji* (Das Räubertum und die Räuberlieder. Studie — Anthologie). Ankara, Yorum Yoyrubam 1985, 368 S.

Den ersten Teil von Bayraks Buch stellt eine theoretische Abhandlung über die Abspiegelungen des sozialen Widerstands in Volksliedern dar. Der Autor faßt das Räubertum als einen „Akt der Rebellion und des Protestes“, als eine „Bewegung des Widerstands und der Ablehnung“ (S. 30) auf, die durch „deformierte Zustände einer kranken Gesellschaft“ (S. 26) hervorgerufen wurden. Die Räuberlieder sind so ein wichtiges Zeugnis von konkreten Begebenheiten aus der Geschichte der Gesellschaft, sie werden zum Vermittler der Ansichten des Volkes über jene Begebenheiten, d. h. sie liefern über diese ein unterschiedliches Bild, als es die zeitgenössischen Amtsdokumente und die osmanische Geschichtsschreibung tun.<sup>3</sup>

Im idealisierten Bild des Volkshelden, des Rebellen dominiert dessen Verbundenheit mit der Natur. Er wird zum Symbol der Gerechtigkeit, Wahrheit, Gleichheit. Seine Hilfsbereitschaft den Armen gegenüber sowie die Beschützung von Wehrlosen gehören zu seinen hauptsächlichen Charakterzügen. Er ist vor allem ein Rächer. Es sind also die kennzeichnenden Elemente, die dem Bild des Räubers in der Epopäie der verschiedenlichsten Nationen gemeinsam sind. Dies beweist letztlich auch Bayrak indem er zum Abschluß des ersten Teils seiner Publikation mehrere Autoren zitiert.

Bayrak betont, daß das Volk in seiner Poesie diese positiven Züge nur mit edelmütigen Räubern verbindet, daß es nur über diese Lieder verfaßt. Wurde in der Volksüberlieferung auch die Erwähnung über den gewöhnlichen, gewalttätigen Räuber erhalten, so befindet sich diese lediglich im Klagelied über dessen Opfer. Einige Liedertexte und die dazugehörigen Kommentare im zweiten Teil der Publikation bestätigen die Worte des Autors.

Im allgemeinen gilt es, daß die Lieder über den Rebellen erst nach dessen Tod entstehen. Als Grundlage für eine weitere Bearbeitung, Abänderung des Textes, sowie des musikalischen Bestandteiles dient ein Klagelied, meist verfaßt von einem seiner Gefährten oder Verwandten.

Drei Kapitel weichen vom Thema teilweise ab und sind dem Protest in der Volkspoesie in der Vergangenheit und in der Gegenwart, als auch den demokratischen Traditionen der türkischen Volksdichtung gewidmet. Die ersten Äußerungen der Ablehnung der offiziellen Ideologie kamen aus den Reihen der mystischen Dichter, deren Schaffen der Volkspoesie näher stand als der Literatur des Dīvāns.<sup>4</sup> Sie richteten sich gegen das Sunnitentum und das Schariats-

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<sup>3</sup> Diese Ansicht Bayraks kann durch folgendes Zitat belegt werden: „Das Volk ... schafft sich neben dem offiziellen ideologischen Bild der Geschichte sein eigenes Bild, in dem an Stelle objektiver historischer Motivationen subjektive vorherrschen.“ Marčok, V.: *Estetika a poetika ľudovej poézie* (Ästhetik und Poetik der Volkspoesie). Bratislava, Tatran 1980, S. 33.

<sup>4</sup> „Als Zwischengattung zwischen der höfischen und der volkstümlichen Literatur war die Literatur der Religionsbrüderschaften zugänglicher und mit dem Leben enger verbunden als die höfische Literatur, im Vergleich mit der Volksliteratur bot sie jedoch einen anderen, viel tieferen

recht als der Grundlage der Staatsmacht. Im 19. Jahrhundert wurden gerade die Derwischorden zu Verbreitern revolutionärer Ideen unter der Landbevölkerung, wozu dem Autor zufolge zweifelsohne der Aufenthalt des Vorstehers des Bektaschi-Ordens in Frankreich noch vor dem Ausbruch der Großen französischen bourgeois Revolution beigetragen hat.

Die Verschiebungen in der Denkweise, die die Tanzimat genannte Epoche der Reformen im Osmanischen Reich mit sich brachte, widerspiegeln sich auch im Schaffen der Volksdichter. Sie unterzogen darin einer scharfen Kritik alle Mißstände ihrer Zeit. Unter ihnen ragte Seyrani (1807—1866) hervor.

Nach dem Entstehen der Türkischen Republik stumpfte sich die Schärfe der Kritik im Schaffen der Volksdichter für eine gewisse Zeit ab. In diesem Zusammenhang zitiert Bayrak die Ansicht von İlhan Başgöz, derzufolge die Volksdichter aus Dank zur republikanischen Regierung, die über ihnen die schützende Hand hielt, panegyrische Gedichte verfaßten, was bis zum Ausbruch des 2. Weltkrieges andauerte. Bayrak stimmt mit dieser Ansicht von Başgöz überein, fügt jedoch hinzu, daß hier auch andere Ursachen mitgewirkt haben, vor allem das, daß die Volksdichter mit den neuen Gedankenströmungen nicht genügend vertraut wurden. Übrigens, der Protest ging auch in der Zeit zwischen den beiden Kriegen aus der Volkspoesie nicht ganz verloren. Er ertönte vor allem im Schaffen der Volksdichter aus den östlichen Regionen des Landes im Zusammenhang mit den Repressionen der Regierung nach der Unterdrückung des kurdischen Aufstands im Jahre 1925.

Zu einem bedeutenden Wendepunkt in der Entwicklung der Poesie der Volksdichter wurde das Jahr 1960, als der Sturz der ein ganzes Jahrzehnt andauernden volksfeindlichen Herrschaft der Demokratischen Partei die gesellschaftliche Gärung der nachfolgenden Jahre vorauszeichnete. Die Volksdichter, die Bayrak als die “Volksintelligenz“ (*halk aydınları*) bezeichnet, fingen an sich in ihrem Schaffen den neuen Werten und Kriterien zuzuwenden. Eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Beeinflussung der Weltanschauung der Volksdichter mißt der Autor der Türkischen Arbeiterpartei (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*) bei. Vom Wandel der Weltanschauung der Volksdichter zeugt auch der Wortschatz in der dichterischen Produktion. Anstatt der Begriffe Glück, Paradies, Hölle, göttliche Gerechtigkeit u. ä. traten Wörter wie Arbeiter, Unabhängigkeit, soziale Gerechtigkeit, Frieden<sup>5</sup> in den Vordergrund.

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Inhalt an. Ihre Schöpfer wandten gewöhnlich so das Zeitversmaß, als auch das syllabische Versmaß und pflegten zwanglos die Formen beider Literaturen.“ Plaskowicka-Rymkiewicz, S.—Borzęcka, M.—Labecka-Koecher, M.: *Historia literatury tureckiej. Zarys.* (Die Geschichte der türkischen Literatur. Grundriß). Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków—Gdańsk, Ossolineum 1971, S. 330.

<sup>5</sup> Auf diese Tatsache machen die Abhandlungen zweier bedeutsamer Persönlichkeiten im Bereich der Volkspoesie, ihres Kenners İlhan Başgöz und ihres Interpretors Ruhi Su aufmerksam.

Bayrak führt Proben aus der Protest-Poesie einiger bedeutender Volksdichter an und beweist an deren Beispiel, wie das zeitgenössische Schaffen zur Ablehnung der Ungerechtigkeit, der Gewalt, des Imperialismus sowie sämtlicher reaktionärer Ideologien hinzielt. Es kommt hier, freilich, auch die Andeutung einer negativen Verschiebung zum Vorschein, und zwar wenn ein Gedicht zum Propagieren von ausgegebenen Lösungen wandelt.

Die Aktivierung der revolutionären Kräfte in der Türkei der siebziger Jahre brachte auch eine Vertiefung des Interesses für jene demokratischen Traditionen mit sich, die im Schaffen der Volksdichter beinhaltet sind. Und so wurde die Poesie der rebellierenden Dichter Pir Sultan Abdal (16. Jahrhundert), Köroğlu (16. Jahrhundert), Dadaloğlu (19. Jahrhundert) zum Vermittler der revolutionären Stimmungen der Werktätigen. „Die Arbeiterklasse nutzte diese Werte und schuf, ihnen die eigenen hinzufügend, eine völlig neue Kultur“ (S. 92). So bereicherte sich das türkische Liederschaffen um eine neue Gattung — die Arbeiterlieder, die eine eigene ästhetische Struktur aufweisen. Die Mittel der traditionellen Poetik wurden durch solche ersetzt, die dem neuen Inhalt entsprachen.<sup>6</sup>

Ein interessantes und anregendes Kapitel in Bayraks Buch ist die Konfrontierung der Ansichten zweier türkischer Prosaiker über die Räuberproblematik. Kemal Tahir (1910—1973) und Yaşar Kemal (geb. 1922) haben zweifelsohne ein großes Verdienst an der Entfaltung und Vervollkommenung der Methoden des kritischen Realismus in der türkischen Literatur. Auf ihren realistischen Positionen verbleibend, wandten beide Schriftsteller in ihren Werken folkloristische Elemente an, ein jeder von ihnen natürlich mit einem anderen Vorhaben. Für Yaşar Kemal werden die traditionellen Helden des Volksepos zum optimalen künstlerischen Modell für eine sozial zugesetzte Konzeption der Wirklichkeit.<sup>7</sup> Kemal Tahir hingegen nutzte in seinem Roman *Die Mutter Heimat (Devlet ana,* 1967) das folkloristische Modell des Helden zu einer künstlerischen Realisierung seiner tendenziösen, antihumanistischen Konzeption der Wirklichkeit. Die Widersprüchlichkeit in den Ansichten Kemal Tahirs, der in vielem jener traditionellen Denkart unterlag, die für die kleinbürgerliche Intelligenz der Entwicklungsländer kennzeichnend gewesen war,<sup>8</sup> und in jenen Yaşar Kemals, kam sehr

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Başgöz, İ.: *Türk Halk Edebiyatında Protesto Geleneği* (Die Tradition des Protestes in der türkischen Volksliteratur). Politika, 21.—25. 7. 1976; Su, R.: *Günümüzde Türküler* (Volkslieder unserer Tage). Politika, 16. 9. 1976.

<sup>6</sup> Gussew, W. J.: *Estetika folkloru*, S. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Uturgauri, S. N.: *Turetskaja prosa 60—70-ch godov. Osnovnye tendencii rasvitija* (Die türkische Prosa der 60er und 70er Jahre. Grundtendenzen der Entwicklung). Moskau, Nauka 1982, S. 144.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., S. 54.

markant gerade auch in ihrem Zutritt zum Räubertum als sozialem Phänomen mit historischer Reichweite zum Vorschein.

Das, wie die von Kemal Tahir und Yaşar Kemal in ihrem Gespräch über das Thema Räubertum<sup>9</sup> geäußerten Meinungen voneinander diametral abweichen, überrascht niemanden, der sich mit ihnen, diese Problematik gestaltenden Romanen vertraut gemacht hat. Während Yaşar Kemals Romantrilogie *İnce Memed* (1955, 1969, 1971) den Werdegang der Legende vom Volkshelden — einem edlen Räuber, Beschützer der Unterdrückten darstellt, streitet Kemal Tahir seinerseits im Roman *Der Regenguß unterbrach die Wege (Rahmet Yolları Kesti*, 1957) diese Legende ab, er faßt die Räubertradition als ein Gesellschaftsübel auf.<sup>10</sup>

Im erwähnten Gespräch läßt Kemal Tahir die Möglichkeit nicht zu, wonach das Räubertum die Gesellschaft hätte beeinflussen können, da er keinerlei Unterschied zwischen einem Räuber und einem gemeinen Dieb sieht. Yaşar Kemal hingegen faßt das Räubertum als eine gewisse Art von Rebellion auf. Einzelne Taten von Räubern hätten zwar in der Geschichte keinerlei dauerhafte Spur hinterlassen können, es könne aber auch nicht behauptet werden, daß eine ganze Reihe solcher Taten als soziale Erscheinung ohne jedwede geschichtliche Wirkung geblieben wäre. Aus der Geschichte seien Fälle bekannt, wo sich das Räuberelement in große Protestbewegungen eingeschaltet hat, was zuletzt in der von Mustafa Kemal geführten Bewegung für die nationale Unabhängigkeit geschehen war.

Im Unterschied zu Yaşar Kemal, der das Räubertum als die Folge gesellschaftlicher Mängel auffaßt, behauptet Kemal Tahir, daß diese Erscheinung durch nichts anderes bedingt sei, als vom menschlichen Hang zu Sittenlosigkeiten. An diesem Sittenverfall des Menschen trage die Gesellschaft keine Schuld, die Sünde sei im Menschen eingewurzelt und könne nicht entschuldigt werden. Darin geht die Meinung Kemal Tahirs auch von der seines Altersgenossen, dem Prosaiker Orhan Kemal (1914—1970) auseinander, dessen ganzes Lebenswerk als die Verteidigung des gesunden Kerns in jedem einzelnen Menschen und als Anklage der Gesellschaft ertönt, jener Gesellschaft, durch deren Verschulden dieser Kern deformiert wird oder abstirbt.

In seinem Kommentar zu dieser Polemik äußert Mehmet Bayrak seine Ablehnung der Ansichten Kemal Tahirs. Der Schriftsteller hätte die Grundlage des

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<sup>9</sup> Das Gespräch mit Kemal Tahir und Yaşar Kemal führte Ferit Güner, Student der Literarischen Fakultät der Universität Istanbul für seine Doktorarbeit über das Thema Räubertum und es wurde in der Zeitschrift *Türkiye Desteri*, 1974, Nr. 4 veröffentlicht.

<sup>10</sup> Näheres darüber Alangu. T.: *Cumhuriyetten Sonra Hikâye ve Roman. 1940—1950. Antoloji*. Cilt 3 (Die Erzählung und der Roman nach dem Entstehen der Republik. Anthologie. Teil 3). Istanbul, Istanbul Mathaasi 1965, S. 455—458.

Räubertums nicht erfassen können, indem er dessen materielle und kulturelle Gegebenheiten außer Acht gelassen habe. Aus denselben Gründen unterschätzt er dann auch das Auftreten von Volksmassen. In den Volksdichtern habe er lediglich Landstreicher gesehen, die an den feudalen Herrenhöfen schmarotzten. Der überzeugendste Beweis der Unrichtigkeit einer solchen Ansicht über die Schöpfer der einzigartigen Werte der türkischen Volkskultur sei die Tatsache, daß die Lebensgeschichten der Volksdichter, sowie die Lieder, die sich daran knüpfen, stets lebendig sind. Dies gilt vor allem von der Gestalt des Volksdichters und edelmütigen Räubers in eine Person, des legendären Körögü, um dessen Gestalt ein umfangreicher epischer Zyklus entstand. Verschiedenen Versionen dieses Zyklus begegnen wir nicht nur bei den Türken, sondern auch bei den Aserbaidschanern, Turkmenen, Usbeken, Kasachen, Georgiern, Armeniern, Tadshiken, Kurden, Arabern. Das vergleichende Studium der verschiedenen Versionen dieses Epos von Körögü zeigt, daß vor dem Hintergrund der allgemeinen Tradition des Sujets eine jede Fassung ihren nationalen Charakter hat und die historisch herausgebildete soziale Lebensweise, Psychologie und gesellschaftlichen Ideale jenes Volkes widerspiegelt, das sie hervorgebracht hat.<sup>11</sup>

Körögüs epische Biographie weist viele gemeinsame Zeichen mit den Gestalten der Räuber in der volkstümlichen epischen Tradition der Völker Europas auf. Darauf macht İlhan Başgöz in seiner Abhandlung über Körögü<sup>12</sup> aufmerksam, die in Bayraks Publikation zitiert wird. Diese Tatsache geht auch aus meiner typologischen Auswertung der Räubergeschichten hervor,<sup>13</sup> dessen abschließenden Teil die Publikation ebenfalls zitiert. In meiner Arbeit habe ich auf ein spezifisches Zeichen aufmerksam gemacht, das in der Epik der Turkvölker nicht nur den Räuber, sondern den Helden überhaupt kennzeichnet, und zwar „...das Pferd ist der untrennbare Gefährte des Helden, die Tugenden dieses Pferdes werden glorifiziert, der Held ist mit seinem Pferd in einer Beziehung, er handelt mit ihm wie mit einem Menschen, er berät sich mit ihm...“.<sup>14</sup> Diese Verbundenheit des Räubers mit seinem Pferd, deren Ursprung im Heldenepos gesucht werden muß,<sup>15</sup> dauert auch in der jüngsten türkischen Räuberepik an,

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<sup>11</sup> Shirmunskij, W. M.: *Nekotoryje itogi isutschenija geroitschesskogo eposa narodow Srednej Azii* (Einige Ergebnisse des Studiums des Heldenepos der Völker Mittelasiens). In: *Woprossy isutschenija eposa narodow SSSR*. Moskau 1958, S. 46.

<sup>12</sup> Başgöz, İ.: *Körögü Düzeni*. Özgür İnsan, Oktober 1975, S. 78–82.

<sup>13</sup> Celnarová, X.: *Typologische Auswertung einiger europäischer und westasiatischer Rebellen gestalten auf Grund der Volksdichtung und deren Bearbeitung in der Kunsliteratur*. Asian and African Studies, XVIII, 1972, S. 95–162. M. Bayrak zitiert Teil I, Einleitung und Teil III, Zur Typologie der Rebellen gestalten.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., S. 153.

<sup>15</sup> Näheres darüber Bowra, C. M.: *Heldendichtung. Eine vergleichende Phänomenologie der heroischen Poesie alter Völker und Zeiten*. Stuttgart 1964, S. 171–173.

wie dies die einzelnen Lieder im zweiten Teil von Bayraks Buch Das Räubertum und die Räuberlieder beweisen.

Mehmet Bayrak schließt diese seine, man könnte sagen ungebunden konzipierte und daher recht unübersichtliche Publikation (dies gilt so über den theoretischen Teil als auch für die Anthologie) mit einer Polemik ab, die er mit dem Schriftsteller Demirtaş Ceyhun über das Thema „Folklore und Kunst“ geführt hat.<sup>16</sup>

Eine einheitlichere Konzeption hat die zweite, den Volksbewegungen des Widerstands in der Türkei gewidmete Arbeit Bayraks. Wie es schon ihr Titel Volksbewegungen und die zeitgenössischen Epen<sup>17</sup> andeutet, bemühte sich der Autor darin um eine Konfrontierung der Protestkundgebungen der Massen in der Interpretation der Historiker mit ihrer Widerspiegelung in der zeitgenössischen türkischen Poesie.

Von den zeitgenössischen türkischen Dichtern war es Nazım Hikmet, der Bahnbrecher der modernen Poesie in der Türkei, der als erster ein poetisches Bild der Volksbewegung des Widerstands geschaffen hat, emotional und dynamisch, voll innerer Spannung. Sein Epos von Scheich Bedreddin, Sohn des Kadis von Simavne (*Simavne Kadisi Oğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Destani*, 1936), wurde zu einem Impuls für weitere Dichter Inspiration in den revolutionären Traditionen ihres Volkes zu suchen. Das war im Prinzip auch eine der Absichten, die Nazım Hikmet mit seinem Werk verfolgt hat. Im Abschluß seines Epos fordert er die Künstler dazu auf, in ihren Werken Begebenheiten, die Jahrhunderte lang zurückliegen, sowie die Gestalten der heldenhaften Akteure in ihrer ganzen Größe neu aufleben zu lassen. „Das Gestern knüpft ans Heute an / das Heute ans Morgen! (*Dünü bugüne / bugünü yarına bağlayım!*)“<sup>18</sup> fordert der Dichter von jenen, die seinem Beispiel folgen werden. Also eine bewegte, aber ruhmreiche Vergangenheit müsse man nicht nur neu aufleben lassen, sondern auch die Ideen, die ihre aufrührerische Kraft und ihren humanen Inhalt nicht eingebüßt hatten, aktualisieren, damit diese zu einer schöneren Zukunft ihren Beitrag leisten können.

Nazım Hikmets Aufruf stieß auf Widerhall nicht nur bei den Schriftstellern.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Die Polemik verlief auf den Seiten der Zeitschrift Yazko Edebiyat im September bis November 1983.

<sup>17</sup> Bayrak, M.: *Halk Hareketleri ve Çağdaş Destanları* (Volksbewegungen und die zeitgenössischen Epen). Yorum Yayinevi 1984, 214 S.

<sup>18</sup> Nazım, Hikmet: *Simavne Kadisi Oğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Destani*. In: Nazım, Hikmet: *Tüm Eserleri 3. Şiirler*. (Gesammelte Werke, 3. Gedichte). Istanbul, Cem Yayinevi 1980, S. 208.

<sup>19</sup> Der Dramatiker Orhan Asena ist der Verfasser des Theaterstückes *Şeyh Bedreddin* (1969), der Prosaist Erol Toy widmete diesem Thema einen zweiteiligen Roman Teilhaber der Qual (*Azap Ortakları*, 1973), der Dichter Hikmet Yavuz die Sammlung Gedichte über Bedreddin (*Bedrettin Üzerine Şiirler*, 1975).

Der Maler İsmail Çoban ist der Autor des Zyklus großformatiger Zeichnungen in Mischtechnik mit dem Gesamtthema „Fegefeuer“. Die einzelnen Bilder des Zyklus werden von Zitaten aus Nazım Hikmets Epos von Scheich Bedreddin eingeleitet. „İsmail Çoban hat mit diesen Bildern zum Phänomen Bedreddin und zum Thema ‚Fegefeuer‘ ein großartiges Werk geschaffen, eine zupackende und zugleich ergreifende Synthese des revolutionär-philosophischen Geistes Bedreddins mit dem poetisch-kämpferischen Sozialismus Nazım Hikmets, eine Synthese, die zurückgreift auf die Vergangenheit und doch zugleich hinweist auf die Zukunft,“ sagte der Schriftsteller Yüksel Pazarkaya in seiner Ansprache anlässlich der Vernissage der Bilderausstellung von Ismail Çoban in Wuppertal (am 8. Oktober 1980).<sup>20</sup>

Das Epos von Scheich Bedreddin ist gleichzeitig das erste türkische literarische Werk, in dem die Geschichte vom Klassenstandpunkt her aufgefaßt wird. Nazım Hikmet ließ hier den Gedanken, daß das Volk der Schöpfer der Geschichte sei, zum ersten Mal voll ertönen. Weiter entwickelte er diese Idee im Epos des Freiheitskampfes (*Kuvâyi Millîye Destanı*, 1946) und schließlich im fünfbandigen Hauptwerk Menschenlandschaften (*Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları*), das während seines längsten Gefängnisaufenthaltes 1938—1951 entstand. In diesen Werken ist das Volk kein abstraktes Bild einer homogenen Masse, es sind vielmehr Einzelwesen mit individuellen Zügen, die durch analoge Geschicke und Interessen verknüpft sind.<sup>21</sup>

Mehmet Bayrak vertritt die Ansicht, daß das literarische Werk, das Nazım Hikmets Forderungen am meisten entspricht, das Poem *İshakça* von Ozan Telli (1983) ist. Mit diesem Poem huldigte der Dichter Baba İshak sowie tausende namenlose Helden, die sich unter dessen Führung im Jahre 1239 gegen die Herrschaft des seldschukischen Sultans Keyhusrev II. und gegen die Eigenwilligkeit der mächtigen Feudalherren auflehnten. Bayrak charakterisiert dieses Auftreten als „die erste organisierte, geplante und bewußte Volksbewegung“ (S. 9) in Anatolien. Obwohl sie nicht von langer Dauer gewesen und grausam unterdrückt worden war, bedeutete sie eine Störung der inneren Ausgewogenheit des Seldschukischen Sultanats und trug so zu dessen Niederlage im Kampf gegen die Mongolen bei.

In Ozan Tellis Poem bleibt die Gestalt des zweiten Führers des Aufstandes Baba İlyas im Schatten von Baba İshak, was auch der Ansicht einiger Historiker entspricht. Mehmet Bayrak hingegen teilt die Ansicht jener Historiker (Franz Babinger, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak), die Baba İlyas für den geistigen Führer des

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<sup>20</sup> Pazarkaya, Y.: „Fegefeuer“ von Scheich Bedreddin bis Ismail Çoban. Anadil, 1981, Nr. 2, S. 32.

<sup>21</sup> Näheres darüber Gürsel, N.: *Seyh Bedreddin Destanı Üzerine* (Vom Epos über Scheich Bedreddin). Revue de philologie orientale, 30, 1980, S. 168—170.

Aufstands und Baba İshak für den Verwirklicher dieser Gedanken halten, und er ist von derer ebenwertigen Stellung und Bedeutung überzeugt.

Bayrak vergleicht diese Massenbewegung des Widerstands aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts mit den Unruhen, die nach dem Einfall von Timur in den westlichen Gebieten des Osmanischen Reiches ausgebrochen waren und die mit der Gestalt des bedeutenden Denkers Scheich Bedreddin (1357—1420) verbunden sind. In beiden Fällen lagen die Beweggründe für den Ausbruch des Aufstands, obwohl dieser unter religiösen Lösungen verlief, in der sozialen Sphäre. Es ist noch hinzuzufügen, daß die Einfälle der mongolischen Eroberer und der damit verbundene Zufluß von Flüchtlingen, vor allem von nomadisierenden Turkmenen, die sich aus dem feudalen Gesellschaftssystem ohnedies ergebende Verarmung der Volksmassen noch vertieften. Die Teilnahme von Zugehörigen verschiedener Nationalitäten und Glaubensbekenntnisse in beiden Bewegungen stellt eine weitere Analogie dar. Es gab auch analoge Ziele, und zwar eine gerechtere Gesellschaftsordnung.

Zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts erhob sich in Kleinasien eine neue Welle von Unruhen. Bayrak konzentrierte seine Aufmerksamkeit auf den von Şah Kulu geleiteten Aufstand, der im Jahre 1511 im südwestlichen Anatolien ausgebrochen war, da dieser ebenfalls im Schaffen von Ozan Telli seine Widerspiegelung fand. Dessen Poem *Şah Kulu Destanı* wurde im Oktoberheft der Zeitschrift Gösteri veröffentlicht.

Bayraks Behauptung, bei der er sich auf Engels beruft, daß es im Grunde keinen Unterschied gibt zwischen den Baueraufständen des 16. Jahrhunderts in europäischen Ländern und denen im Osmanischen Reich, ist nicht unbegründet.<sup>22</sup> So wie sich in Europa unter dem Deckmantel der Zwistigkeiten zwischen den Protestanten und den Katholiken tiefe soziale Widersprüche verbargen, hatte die mächtige Welle von schiitischen Unruhen in Anatolien ebenfalls eine soziale Grundlage und wurde von den sunnitischen herrschenden Kreisen erbarmungslos unterdrückt.

Den Schiiten Kleinasiens wurde eine Unterstützung aus dem Iran zuteil, und das namentlich vom Begründer der Dynastie Safī, dem Schah Ismāīl I. (1487—1524). Im Jahre 1577 brach im Südwesten Anatoliens der Aufstand der Turkmenen aus, an dessen Spitze Ismāīl der Falsche stand. Der Aufstand wurde unterdrückt noch bevor er voll aufflammen konnte. Im Jahre 1590 erschien ein neuer falscher Schach Ismāīl.

Auf Grund historischer Quellen kam Mehmet Bayrak zum Schluß, daß der bedeutende mystische Dichter des 16. Jahrhunderts, Pir Sultan Abdal, mit dem ersten Lügen-Schah in Verbindung gestanden sei, nach der Unterdrückung des Aufstands gelang es ihm jedoch der Strafe zu entkommen, und er wurde wahr-

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<sup>22</sup> Bayrak, M.: *Halk Hareketleri ve Çağdaş Destanlar*, S. 82—83.

scheinlich erst wegen seiner Sympathien für den zweiten Lügen-Schah hingerichtet.

Als erster wies auf den Zusammenhang zwischen den Aufständen der Lügenschahs und der Poesie Pir Sultan Abdals İlhan Başgöz hin, der die Persönlichkeit dieses bemerkenswerten revoltierenden Dichters so bewertet: „Die Suche nach einer neuen gesellschaftlichen Ordnung bildet die Grundlage von Pir Sultans Kampf.“<sup>23</sup>

In Pir Sultan Abdals Poesie dominiert das Symbol des Retters, des Befreiers der Welt von der Unterdrückung und Ungerechtigkeit. Er sieht im osmanischen Sultan den Unterdrücker, seine Urteile über die osmanische Herrschaft sind offen und mutig. Nicht einmal unter der Drohung der herannahenden Gefahr gibt er seine Überzeugung auf. In seiner Poesie drückt er die Sehnsüchte des Volkes aus, und deshalb wurde er vom Volk über Jahrhunderte hinaus in Erinnerung erhalten. An vielen Beispielen dokumentiert Bayrak das Echo, das die Persönlichkeit und die Poesie Pir Sultan Abdals bei den Dichtern der Gegenwart auslöst.

Das letzte Kapitel der Publikation Volksbewegungen und die zietgenössischen Epen widmete der Autor dem Auftreten von Atçalı Kel Mehmet, das in den Jahren 1829—1830 stattgefunden hat. Die osmanischen Geschichtsschreiber liefern darüber nur kurze Berichte, mehr Aufmerksamkeit widmeten ihm europäische Reisende, vor allem Engländer und Franzosen. Um eine Synthese dieser Informationen bemühte sich als erster der Historiker Çagatay Uluçay in seiner Monographie *Atçalı Kel Mehmet* (1968),<sup>24</sup> aus der Bayrak bei der Bestimmung der Ausdehnung und der Bedeutung der Protestbewegung hervorgeht, der sich einige tausend Menschen angeschlossen haben.

Auch in offizielle Quellen drangen Elemente der mündlichen Überlieferung ein, in der Atçalis Auftreten zu einer Legende vom edlen Räuber transformiert wurde mit einer epischen Biographie, so kennzeichnend für diesen Heldenotyp. Aus der mündlichen Überlieferung geht auch der Roman von Murat Sertoğlu *Atçalı Kel Mehmet Efe* (1969), sowie der Epos von Özkan Mert Atçalı Kel Memet, der Sohn des Tagelöhners (*Irgatoğlu Atçalı Kel Memet*, 1980) hervor.

Massenaufstände sowie individuelle Rebellionen als Ausdruck der Unzufriedenheit mit den herrschenden Verhältnissen stellen ein bedeutendes und nicht wegdenkbares Kapitel der türkischen Geschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart dar. Es ist eine Problematik, die eine entschieden größere Aufmerksamkeit verdient, als ihr bislang von den Historikern gewidmet wurde. Von ihrer Aktua-

<sup>23</sup> Eyubolu, S.—Başgöz, İ.—Erhat, A.—Bezirci, A.: *Pir Sultan Abdal* 1977, S. 39. Zitiert nach Bayrak, M.: *Halk Hareketleri ve Çağdaş Destanlar*, S. 141.

<sup>24</sup> Uluçays Arbeit wurde zur Grundlage des Theaterstückes *Atçalı Kel Mehmet* von Orhan Asena (1970).

lität zeugt die Tatsache, daß sie immer häufiger von Künstlern aufgegriffen wird, die in ihren Werken die revolutionäre Vergangenheit neu aufleben lassen und ihr einen neuen, aktuellen Inhalt verleihen. Trotz einiger Mängel (Unklarheit der Methode, unzureichende Analyse der betrachteten Literaturwerke, unvollständige bibliographische Angaben, Fehlen von Indizes) können beide Arbeiten von Mehmet Bayrak für einen bedeutenden Beitrag zu dieser Problematik gehalten werden.

## THE ATATÜRK CENTENNIAL

NAĎA ZIMOVÁ, Prague

In 1981, we commemorated the 100th anniversary of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's birth. This founder of the Turkish Republic and its first President belonged to a particular generation of Asian and African leaders. Though the life and activities of this generation were rooted in the pre-war period, its progressive heritage has served as a basis and a source of inspiration to national liberation movements in the crucial period after World War II. Moreover, the role of this heritage in the ideological background of the final decomposition of the classical colonial system was also important.

Atatürk's revolutionary activities have left their imprint on the overall picture of Turkey's struggle for political and economic independence. His name is linked not only with the rise and foundation of the Turkish republican state and its character, but also with the process of major sociopolitical changes. The beginning of this process dates back to the period of the Turkish national liberation movement after World War I and after the Great October Socialist Revolution. The objective goal of this movement was obviously to fight for the survival of the Turkish nation. Moreover, it intended to abolish the obsolete vestiges of the old Ottoman Empire deeply rooted in Turkish society.

Hence, the Ataturk Centennial was not only a year of world-wide celebrations but also an impetus for major scholarly activities. On May 12, 1981, a scientific conference organized by the Historical Section of the GDR Academy of Sciences took place in Berlin. The two lectures in the publication entitled *Mustafa Kemal Ataturk*<sup>1</sup> which had its origin in this conference touch on several aspects of Ataturk's share in his country's revolutionary transformation. The Turkish national liberation struggle in an interaction with a variety of sociopolitical and economic conditions dominates the contents of the first paper by Prof. Dr.sc. Johannes Glasneck. The author evaluates the personality of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as a leader and organizer of this struggle. Simultaneously, he

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<sup>1</sup> *Mustafa Kemal Ataturk*. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Gesellschaftswissenschaften. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1983, 48 pp.

gives Atatürk his proper dimension. Prof. Glasneck shows that Atatürk's achievements have been limited by the class nature of the Turkish national liberation movement the leading core of which was the Turkish national bourgeoisie. It manifested itself not only in the organization of the armed forces during the national liberation struggle, but also in the subsequent period of the consolidation and institutionalization of bourgeois nationalism. It was this very nationalism which opened the way for a capitalist development.

A particular attention is paid by this same author even to the Atatürk's religious policy. In theory, the Turkish Republic opted for an unyielding secularism, in practice, however, the separation of religious affairs from politics was seriously compromised. The elimination of the clergy from political activity did not eliminate their role as a factor of Turkish social life. In the countryside, the intimate religious practices continued and the religious brotherhoods prospered. Though in terms of the ideology of the newly established Turkish bourgeoisie secularism played a predominant role at that time, it did not succeed in eliminating the Islamic roots of the Turkish social life and culture; the ordinary Turk, whether the small town craftsman or the peasant of some far-away Anatolian village, continued to pray to Allah. Altogether, Prof. Glasneck's lecture is ably argued and, it is sound in detail and sound in its more general judgements.

The second paper by Ernst Werner gives the historical background of the Turkish-Russian relations during the national liberation struggle. The author analyses the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution and, especially that of V. I. Lenin, on the formation of the Kemalist doctrine.

Another volume of studies on the Atatürk's period resulted from the International Colloquium organized by the Humboldt University in Berlin.<sup>2</sup> Its aim was to set out the most recent scholarly research in this field, and assess the work on the revolutionary process in Turkey in Atatürk's time. The inaugural lecture read by Prof. Dr. G. Hazai, Budapest, gives a comprehensive summary and analysis of the Kemalist movement. It goes step by step through the historical development of the Turkish national liberation revolution paying due attention to the Kemalist reforms that touched on almost all spheres. The impact of the Kemalist movement on the foreign policy thinking of the newly reborn Turkish state is briefly discussed there as well.

A wealth of assorted facts on the agrarian problem in the Kemalist Turkey can be found in the paper by H. Grienig. The author shows that the Kemalist

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<sup>2</sup> Berichte. Zum 100. Geburtstag von Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Materialien der Festveranstaltung und des Internationalen Kolloquiums anlässlich des 100. Geburtstages von Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, des Begründers der Republik Türkei. Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Sektion Asienwissenschaften, Bereich Westasien, 97 pp.

economic policy did not substantially alter the structure of the rural economy or accelerate rapidly the modernization process there. The next contribution by J. Glasneck on the attitude of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk toward the Young Turk movement presents a profound examination of the formative period of Atatürk's personality in the Young Turk era. M. Einhorn's paper dealing with the Kemalist economic programme and the socio-economic development of Turkey after Atatürk is followed by the two contributions prepared by S. Slapke and H.-U. Ihm. Both authors turn their attention to the period of the close friendship and effective cooperation between Turkey and Soviet Russia at the beginning of the twenties. Another group of papers concerns the process of secularization (G. Noack) and the impact of the Kemalist Turkey on the anti-imperialist struggle of the developing countries (A. Unterberg). The remaining three papers are devoted to the development of the Turkish fiction and historiography after the Kemalist revolution (T. Möckel and A. Brustinow) and to the language reform in Turkey (H. Nowka).

All in all, the two publications under review make edifying reading. There is not a single contribution which could be lightly dismissed as irrelevant; every paper furnishes some new insights into the Atatürk's activity which is of permanent value and still topical for contemporary Turkey.

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

*Metaphor. A Bibliography of Post-1970 Publications.* Compiled by J. Van Noppen, S. De Knop, R. Jongen, with the Assistance of B. Nitelet, A. Nysenholc and W. Shibles. Amsterdam—Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company 1985. X + 482 pp.

Few subjects can compete with metaphor as far as its scholarly attraction is concerned, at least in the few post-war decades. Truly enough, the beginnings of "metaphorology" date back to Aristotle but especially the seventies and the eighties of the 20th century witness a real boom in the investigation of this most important trope.

In 1971 Warren Shibles published his bibliography of research in metaphor prior to 1970. However, in the subsequent fifteen years that have elapsed since 1970, such an impressive amount of papers and books have been produced that a new extensive bibliographical survey has become a necessity.

This task has been undertaken by the Belgian scholar J. P. van Noppen who issued a Preliminary Bibliography as No. 7 of Brussels Pre-Prints in Linguistics in November 1981.

Van Noppen and his collaborators have defined their goal filling the post-1970 gap and provide all students of metaphor with an up-to-date and comprehensive overview. The scope of the publication is really comprehensive in the sense that it covers linguistics, psychology, philosophy and literary science. The readers will appreciate this interdisciplinary approach as well as the fact that the compilers have also included books not explicitly dealing with metaphor but containing passages relevant to it, which was no easy task.

The present bibliography is a continuation of the previous work by Shibles. The compilers have included in it those pre-1970 papers and books that have been omitted by Shibles, provided they are of interest to students of metaphor.

Van Noppen's bibliography includes altogether 4317 entries, i. e. more than

Shibles' volume published in 1971. Many of the bibliographical items are supplied with brief characteristics that had to be as concise as possible because of the tremendous amount of basic data.

The entries are arranged alphabetically, under the first author's name. Within the entries, bibliographical items are ordered according to the year of publication.

Another valuable feature of the publication is its index or rather a set of indices. The General Alphabetical Index (pp. 417—463) lists the disciplines, subdisciplines and domains, focusing on smaller classes of items as well as authors and scholars criticized or otherwise dealt with.

The second index (pp. 465—470) provides cross-references relevant for the theory of metaphor and comprises specific components of this theory.

The third index (pp. 471—482) consists of a list of the tenors, vehicles, and their semantic fields.

The fourth index (pp. 483—484) is more or less didactic and gives advice to the beginners in the study of metaphor, pointing out to works discussing e.g. metaphor in general, semiotics, translation, rhetoric, artificial intelligence, etc.

On pp. 486—497 there is a list of modifications and additions dated Summer 1985 (some 120 items).

In the introduction the compilers thought it necessary to stress that their bibliography is not exhaustive. This may be true — which bibliography or dictionary is exhaustive — but they have done their best to include as many papers and books as possible, even those published in less accessible areas. There can be no doubt that the future research in metaphor will profit from their remarkable work for a long time to come.

*Viktor Krupa*

Dev Sen, Nabaneeta: *Counterpoints. Essays in Comparative Literature*. Calcutta, Prajna 1985. 160 pp.

Mrs Nabaneeta Dev Sen needs no special introduction to students of comparative literature. Many know her as a former member of the Executive Committee of the International Comparative Literature Association (1973—1979) and as participant at congresses of this Association. Two of the papers in the present publication were read at congresses in Montreal—Ottawa (1973) and in Budapest (1976) and by their scientific standard, the young comparatist scholar from Jadavpur University, Calcutta, attracted attention.

And it was a well-deserved attention, too. Professor Dev Sen possesses the skill to write in an interesting, even absorbing way about weighty matters. This may be because she herself is a writer and has both eloquence and style. The first

paper *The Concept of Indian Literature Today: Another Name for Comparative Literature* presents the dilemma facing students of literature (and not only of comparative literature alone) when they have to investigate in the field of Indian literatures. Although it presents rather question marks linked by relations among Indian literatures and with the outside world than a solution, it nevertheless has its justification and value, for it poses a pressing problem. Today, more than ten years since it was read in Budapest, a solution might be found in the conception of the so-called interliterary (or intraliterary) communities. It is fairly obvious that the traditional Mahā-Bhārata (i. e. Great India) and the contemporary India with its literatures will represent a specific literary community and in all probability, it will not be difficult to define its peculiar features with an attentive study. Another paper *Thematic Structure of Epic Poems in the East and West* makes a comparison of 13 such epics from the Western and Eastern literatures beginning with Indian *Rāmāyaṇa* and ending with Russian *Bylina*.

To the present reviewer the most interesting are two studies devoted to the greatest among Indian writers: *The "Foreign Incarnation" of Rabindranath Tagore*, and *An Aspect of Tagore-Criticism in the West: The Cloud of Mysticism*. The two principal concepts in the two papers "foreign incarnation" and "cloud of mysticism" are mutually interchangeable. Mrs Dev Sen very rightly reproaches Tagore with having allowed himself to be lured by mystically minded people in Europe and readily made himself into a "carrier of the Eastern light". At the time of World War I and after, Tagore believed in his "mission" or "vocation" in relation to the extra-Indian world and this was to the detriment of reception of his works in the Western (but also the Eastern) foreign world. Bad translation into English, too, did their work. If Tagore is "largely forgotten" (p. 14) in the contemporary Western World — and it seems that also in India itself excepting Bengal — this has its reasons. However, it should be observed that Tagore is not forgotten everywhere. In Slovakia, Tagore is the most translated oriental author since the year 1945. The same may also be said of Czech translation literature, at least till the early 1960s. This was due to the high standard of Czech Bengali scholarship (works by V. Lesný and D. Zbavitel) which succeeded in adequately presenting Tagore's life and work to Czechoslovak readers. Tagore has shown us life and the world as we had not known them. A great impression was made by his short stories which, together with some of his lyrical poems, Professor Lesný considered to be Tagore's best works. In these, Tagore processes with unusual artistry those themes which effectively bring out the contrasts of the caste system in its social and family consequences, and in the life of individuals. His dramatically-pointed episodes, often with a tragic end, are neither portrayal, nor an outcome of powerful passions, but of ordinary human feelings, presented rather lyrically which the caste-minded society denies or at least ignores. Life (to live or not to live), love (between man and woman) and death (often as suicide),

are set side by side, and against one another, on a very small space. In the story *Mahāmāya*, a young girl of the same name, does not protest when her relations marry her to a dying old man, nor when, according to the example of Sātī, wife of the god Shiva, she allows herself, with hands and feet bound, to be placed on the funeral pyre; but in the end, when this is set ablaze, she chooses to run away in order to meet the boy who had just once declared his love for her. A piece of cloth on her face disfigured by the flames is meant to conceal the fateful alterations. *Mahāmāya* (i. e. The Great Veil) is a symbol of living death. Love, life and death, all are one. Life and love prevail until the boy sees her face. One single glance is enough for the bearer of the "great veil" to decide for Yama's kingdom. In Czechoslovakia, Tagore did not become a comet, but a fixed star on the literary firmament.

In the study *Two Cases of Conscience and Alienation*, Mrs Dev Sen makes a typological comparison of the personage Dr. Sashi from the novel *The Puppet's Tale* by Manik Bandyopadhyay, and Dr. Rieux from *The Plague* by A. Camus. The present reviewer is of the view that this was not the happiest choice, for there is a considerable difference in the world outlook or *Weltanschauung* between M. Bandyopadhyay and A. Camus. The chasm between modern European (French?) and Indian reality is so enormous that it just cannot be spanned by anything common, such as an existentialist philosophy, or Camus' explication of the Sisyphus myth and his concept of "absurd hero". If Bandyopadhyay came typologically close to any literature, then it may have been Russian literature of the *fin de siècle*, particularly the works of V. Garshin and L. Andreev. A deeper study of genetic-contact relations in connection with Bandyopadhyay's work might perhaps better help to resolve this question.

The book reviewed here deserves the attention of comparative scholars in the field of the interplay of Western and Oriental literatures.

*Marián Gálik*

Doi, Toshio: *The Study of Language in Japan. A Historical Survey* (4th Edition). Tokyo, Shinozaki Shorin 1983. 336 pp.

This volume is an informative and succinct survey of linguistic studies in Japan since its beginnings well into the 20th century. One of its remarkable features is the fusion of domestic tradition with the linguistic teachings of Europe that started to penetrate into Japan at the dawn of the new era. However, foreign influence dates back into more distant past because the domestic linguistic tradition is to a considerable degree dependent upon Chinese and — via China — upon Indian study of language.

The author discusses both research carried out by Europeans in Japan as well as that done by Japanese abroad. However, the bulk of research work covered by Doi in his book has been carried out by local scholars in Japan.

In his attempt to elucidate the specificity of the development of linguistics in Japan, Doi points out to the fact that, unlike Europe, Sanskrit studies played no crucial role in the Japanese linguistic studies, which may be due to a considerable genetic isolation of Japanese in its linguistic environment. History of Japanese linguistics is characterized by the author as an incessant series of adaptations and responses to the Western linguistics (p. II).

In the introductory chapter (pp. 1—8) Doi describes Sanskrit scholarship in Ancient Japan in which the study of the siddham writing took up such a prominent position. This traditional involvement came to an end in 1853.

The author briefly discusses the problem of genetic links of the Japanese language using terminology typical of the emotional attitude of some Japanese to their language.

The essayistic style of some Japanese linguistic works betrays that the philological preoccupation with language prevailed in the Japanese linguistic studies of the past.

The beginnings of European influence in Japan is connected with the Portuguese missionaries who were interested chiefly in practical grammars of Japanese. First book publications appeared toward the end of the 16th century — grammars and dictionaries that are of a considerable importance for the diachronical study of Japanese.

In Chapter Two (pp. 9—59), the author describes Japanese linguistics before 1868, concentrating upon the study of European languages, namely Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Russian and German.

The next period (Chapter Three, pp. 60—112) led to an explosive growth of linguistic research and institutions in Japan. Especially in the thirties the scope of Japanese linguistics has been extended to include classical languages as well.

Doi has made a serious effort to shed light upon Japanese-Russian relations. He explicitly attributes to the Dutch mediation the rise of anti-Russian prejudice in Japan. Thus the Dutch seem to have enacted the same role twice — for the first time at the outset of the 17th century in the case of Portuguese and Spaniards and for the second time during the greater part of the 19th century in the case of Russians.

In Chapters Four (pp. 113—127) and Five (pp. 128—153) the author follows up advances in the study of Sanskrit and related Indo-European languages. The next chapter (pp. 154—201) concentrates upon the rise and development of linguistic theory in Japan.

The historical picture is completed with a brief survey of Asiatic studies (pp. 202—244). Doi also characterizes the Japanese attitudes to a variety of

Western (i.e. European and American) linguistic schools and explains his opinion concerning the role of the language barrier in the Japanese linguistic milieu (pp. 245—276), which is perhaps the main reason why Japanese linguistic studies are still insufficiently known outside Japan. Doi's book may be qualified as one of the first serious attempts to overcome this barrier and make Japanese linguistics accessible also to those scholars who are unable to read Japanese.

Viktor Krupa

Novotný, Bohuslav et al.: *Encyklopédia archeológie* (An Encyclopaedia of Archaeology). Bratislava, Obzor 1986. 1028 pp.

This bulky handbook of archaeology has been compiled by B. Novotný, Professor of archaeology of the Comenius University at Bratislava, head of a numerous team of specialists not only from Czechoslovakia but also abroad.

The goal of this remarkable volume is to summarize the most important achievements of archaeological research covering both fieldwork in Czechoslovakia and in other countries, and theory of the discipline including its methods. It focuses, naturally enough, on Central Europe and, due to the prehistory of this area, special attention is paid to the Southeast Europe that in its turn was subject to influences from the Middle East.

The present encyclopaedia covers all periods of human prehistory and early history. On the other hand, historical archaeology is represented to a lesser extent, mainly because of the immense amount of available data which has made a careful selection necessary.

The authors have deemed it useful and desirable to include information on material and spiritual culture of the Ancient world as well as of the peoples of the Orient — Middle East, Central Asia, China, Japan, India, Southeast Asia, Subsaharan Africa — but also of pre-Columbian America and the Pacific area. However, information on these more distant cultures tends to be sparse.

Compiling a reference book of this type is to a considerable extent a question of selection and condensation of data. As far as interdisciplinary research is concerned, only those data have been considered for inclusion where archaeology is clearly prevalent.

In addition to entries on material and spiritual culture, theory and fieldwork, this encyclopaedia comprises entries on the pioneers of archaeology and other prominent foreign as well as domestic archaeologists.

The total number of entries in this handbook may be estimated at about more than 8,000. They are arranged alphabetically and written in clear and concise manner. Another remarkable feature of the encyclopaedia are hundreds of

illustrations — photographs, drawings, diagrams, plans and maps in the text. The proportion of colour photos is very high.

There is a Preface by B. Novotný (pp. 7—8) and an Introduction (pp. 9—15). While Preface defines the main objectives of the book, Introduction concentrates upon brief characteristics of the discipline, its subdivision, methodology and aims. Besides, information on the organization of archaeological research in Czechoslovakia and abroad has been included.

Introduction is followed by a list of abbreviations used in the entries (p. 16).

The encyclopaedia is complemented with a chronological survey of Roman emperors and important events that have taken place during their reign (pp. 1017—1024) as well as with a survey of archaeological research from the 8th century B. C. to 1970 (pp. 1025—1028). The set of independent maps includes Ancient Greece, Athens, Roman Empire, Rome, and archaeological sites in Slovakia as well as in Bohemia and Moravia.

The encyclopaedia is intended for a fairly wide range of users that may be defined as having completed their high school education. Although it will be appreciated first of all by students of archaeology and history throughout Czechoslovakia, there can be no doubt that it will be perused by scholars engaged in historical and archaeological research and by all persons interested in archaeology nonprofessionally.

*Viktor Krupa*

*Natsionalno-kulturnaya spetsifika rechevogo obshcheniya narodov SSSR* (National and Cultural Peculiarities of the Linguistic Interaction of Nations of the USSR), E. F. Tarasov et al. (Eds.). Moscow, Nauka 1984. 152 pp.

This monograph, by a team of authors, is devoted to problems of ethno-psycholinguistics based this time on cultural and national specificities of the linguistic behaviour of inhabitants of the USSR. By its premises this book takes contact with a collection published in Moscow in 1977 under the title *Natsionalno-kulturnaya spetsifika rechevogo povedeniya* (National and Cultural Peculiarities of Linguistic Behaviour) comprising the results of a survey of this topic among nations living outside the territory of the Soviet Union.

Both these books react to modern trends noticeable in ethno-psycholinguistics. As is generally admitted, survey in this domain that took support in the concept of the so-called ideal speaker (hence, particularly in results obtained under simulated laboratory conditions) has been overworked to exhaustion and more recently, appreciation is rightly being given to data and explications based on direct observations of the social characteristics of language users in real

conditions of communication and interaction. The authors of the collection under review also follow this trend in the development of ethno-psycholinguistics, drawing support principally in their own field survey.

Observation and description of the behaviour of bearers of various languages certainly may not leave aside reliable theoretical premises and well thought-out modes of interpretation of the notions obtained. This explains why in the first part of the book (pp. 5—46), the authors get even with the methodological positions and explanations especially of American ethno-psycholinguistics, where such a research has evolved in the broadest range. In the second part, (46—144), they present concrete results of research of verbal and nonverbal behaviour of members of some nations of the Soviet Union, gathered in their field surveys. However, the authors themselves do not consider their descriptions as closed, for a complex research in this domain is hardly conceivable without the participation of further experts, particularly of social psychologists, ethnographers and authorities in culture.

In the authors' view, interesting possibilities how to advance the solution of issues relating to the hypothesis propounded by Sapir and Whorf are ushered in by the theory of L. S. Vygotsky's school, especially the conception of personality formation in the process of culture acquisition enunciated by A. N. Leontiev and that of postulating forms of mental activity in ontogenesis by P. Y. Galperin. The problem of nonidentity of verbal categorization of reality in various languages is here interpreted as a problem of nonidentity of schemes of socially significant activities in the given associations.

The authors further deal with fundamental questions of episemiotics and epipsychology, particularly with gaps in the language, labelling them either as confrontational or as contrasting according to whether they are identified within the frame of reference of one language-cultural association, or of several associations. A chapter presenting special interest is the one in which the authors are concerned with an anthropophonic (physiological) conditionedness seen in the phonological systems of languages in the world. In reality, it is rather difficult to subscribe to J. Vendryès's views, according to which the "number of possible phonemes is practically unlimited". Even though it is not so very evident in the case of vocals, which constitute oppositions of a gradual type, the unequivocal limitations, as the authors rightly point out, show consonants which usually get into privative or equipotent oppositions. While articulation of vocals is related to a smooth alteration of resonators achieved through the medium of motile articulators (particularly of the tongue, lips and soft palate), in the case of consonants the shape of resonant hollows is of no consequence and hence, no such possibilities of variation exist. An informative chapter is also that on proxemics which presents in an ordered form the results of American scholars, in particular, in their research from the domain of communication.

The second part brings several remarkable material studies: on the psychology and technique of communicative behaviour of the Adyges (Kabardians, Circassians and Adygeans) whom the English traveller of the past century J. Bell designated as the most polite nation in the world, the authors present an analysis of their ethnical ethics, rituals in greetings, congratulations and felicitations, parting, their fatic communication, taboos, etc. Then there is a study on the hunting language of the Abkhasians, on the peculiarities of the communicative behaviour of the Azerbaijanis, on the use of nonverbal means of communication in the Armenian milieu, on linguistic behaviour of the Tatars, the Bashkirs, the Mongols, the Tadzhiks, the Kirghiz and the Eskimos.

The authors observe that the processes of deformationalization of the communication behaviour (simplification of ethics, disappearance of certain social norms of behaviour) have been going on for quite a time now in the USSR. Hence, all the greater value is attached to every such field survey of language behaviour. And simultaneously, every such survey is a test for the suitability of the methodological and theoretical base in the procedure employed.

*Slavo Ondrejovič*

Butinov, N. A.: *Sotsialnaya organizatsiya polineziitsev* (Social Organization of the Polynesians). Moscow, Nauka 1985. 224 pp.

This volume by the renowned ethnographer and Polynesian scholar N. A. Butinov discusses the social organization of several Eastern Polynesian peoples: Marquesans, Mangaiians, Rapanuians and Tahitians. Other Polynesian peoples have not been included because they have been dealt with elsewhere.

As far as chronology is concerned, the author has concentrated upon the period since the peopling of Central and Eastern Polynesia around the beginning of our era till the first contacts of Polynesians with Europeans.

Chapter One (pp. 4—32) explains basic features of the Polynesian society in general between the 17th and 19th centuries. Kinship is regarded as the basis of social organization in Polynesia and some attention has been paid to the Polynesian interpretation of kinship. In addition to such important categories as e. g. tribe, land possession, social inequality, religion, dualism, the author describes social institutions, role of migrations, and briefly mentions the seeming discrepancy between the considerable advances of Polynesians in the domain of social organization on the one hand and their fairly primitive technology on the other hand.

Butinov has made use of oral traditions to shed light upon the pre-European history of the particular Polynesian islands and their inhabitants.

The remaining chapters discuss social organization and historical background of Marquesans (pp. 33—68), Mangaiians (pp. 69—119), Easter Islanders (pp. 120—165), and Tahitians (pp. 166—202).

Butinov critically evaluates conclusions arrived at by other scholars and tries to suggest more plausible interpretations where possible. In accordance with other scholars abroad he stresses the importance of multiple migrations for the history of Polynesia. He also mentions some linguistic data that are relevant from the point of view of history. Here it will be noted that down, bottom does not equal west (p. 34) in all Polynesian languages (in Maori *raro* down, bottom means also north). Besides, referring to Polynesian languages as dialects amounts to playing down the degree of linguistic diversity in Polynesia.

A good deal of attention has been paid by Butinov to the Easter Island. He has concentrated upon the search for links connecting Easter Island with the Cook Islands, especially with Mangaia (as far as *Hanau momoko* are concerned). On the other hand, *Hanau eepe* are derived by him from the Marquesas. The rongorongo script is characterized by him as a mixture of mnemonic signs with hieroglyphs. Butinov's interpretation differs considerably from Barthel's interpretation. However, it will take some more time until a really plausible decipherment is arrived at.

In Conclusions (pp. 203—210), Butinov characterizes tribe as the basic structural element consisting of heterogeneous communities that in their turn include several hanau. The tribal territory is characterized as extending usually from the shore into the interior. The social inequality is described as manifesting itself in economical inequality and existence of privileged strata. The division into two social groupings is carried out by Butinov also in the sphere of culture, both material and spiritual.

The book is complemented with a bibliography of quoted books and papers (pp. 211—220) as well as with an English summary (pp. 221—223).

Butinov's book deserves reading for its original ideas and suggestions that will obviously stimulate further research in Polynesian history and ethnography.

*Viktor Krupa*

Stingl, Miloslav: *Kunst der Südsee*. Leipzig, VEB E. A. Seemann Verlag 1985. 378 pp.

Stingl, known for his studies in American ethnology and culture, is also author of several successful books on Oceania. His publication on the art of Oceania is aimed for a wide public.

In the introduction (pp. 5—38) Stingl gives a brief survey of the history of Oceania. Besides, he pays attention to the functions of art and the position of

the creative artist in the society. Another issue of importance is the relation of art to religion and mythology.

Chapter 1 (pp. 39–70) deals with Australia. He subdivides the continent into several regions of which the most interesting one is the Arnhem Land in the north. He also describes the present-day artistic activities of the Aborigines.

The next chapter (pp. 71–130) is concerned with New Guinea. Stingl subdivides its inhabitants into Papuans and Melanesians; the validity of this subdivision is often discussed and sometimes questioned in literature.

The problem of relation between Melanesian and Papuan culture is discussed in the chapter devoted to Melanesia as well (pp. 131–172). Fiji is regarded by him as a link connecting Melanesia with Polynesia. To be precise, Polynesia is merely one of the provinces of Melanesia, alongside with Fiji, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, etc.

One should appreciate that Micronesian art is discussed in more detail here than in other publications of this type (pp. 173–206).

Polynesian art is described in three subsequent chapters; one of them is restricted to Polynesia proper, the next ones to New Zealand, Easter Island and Hawaii. The discussion of Polynesia takes up some forty per cent of the book (pp. 207–350).

In a useful appendix (pp. 351–358) Stingl gives a brief but informative survey of the collections of Oceanic art in various countries of the world.

Stingl's publication certainly deserves attention of a wide public and the publishing house our gratitude for a finely produced book.

*Jozef Genzor*

Simmons, D. R.: *Iconography of New Zealand Maori Religion*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1986. 33 pp., 21 photographs.

This publication appeared as Section II, Fascicle One of the series Iconography of Religions prepared for E. J. Brill by the Institute of Religious Iconography of the State University of Groningen.

D R. Simmons is well-known for his work in early history of the New Zealand Maoris, in their religion, mythology, traditional literature and culture. In his description of Maori iconography Simmons proceeds on E. Best's characteristics of Maori religion as a multilevel phenomenon, denying, however, the existence of the concept of monotheism in the pre-European era. The Maori religious conceptions were hierarchically organized. Common people had access to "fireside" tales concerned with cultural heroes such as Maui and Tawhaki while at the formal level there were several grades of whare wananga, colleges

of traditional learning. Whare wananga were convened at three different levels correlating with the lineage levels of the tribal and super-tribal leaders. A pronounced religious character is notable especially for the highest degree of whare wananga while the lowest degree is concentrated on practical knowledge, especially agriculture, house building and everyday arts.

The author agrees with J. Prytz Johansen who maintains that the idea of a monotheistic religion (the deity called Io) is a fairly late construction resulting from European influence (p. 3). In his opinion, Io was an early attempt to foil the missionaries preaching about Ihowa (Jehovah) and to direct attention away from the truly tapu aspect of Maori religion (pp. 3–4). As far collectors are concerned, Simmons is highly appreciative of Thomas Kendall who was highly tolerant and in this respect quite exceptional among the missionaries (p. 4). Material collected by Kendall was only taught at the highest level of whare wananga (p. 8). His interpretation of the Maori religious ideas is essentially correct.

The Maori traditional literature is grouped by Simmons into several basic cycles, i. e. (1) the tapu creation cycle, (2) the Rangi and Papa cycle, (3) the separation of Rangi and Papa, (4) the Hine titama cycle, (5) the Tawhaki cycle, (6) the Maui cycle, (7) the Tinirau cycle, (8) the Kupe — Ngahue cycle, (9) Nga Waka, Nga Iwi, (10) Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna (p. 16).

Simmons does not confine his attention to Polynesian religion only but mentions the arrival of Christianity as well and the subsequent rise of syncretic religions. The latter represent an attempt to accommodate the new ideas into an existing Maori form.

An important part of the publication are illustrations. There are altogether more than twenty black and white photos, especially of wood-carvings. Examples of stone-carving are also included. In conclusion the author gives examples of Christian Maori iconography (e. g. a Maori Madonna). Each illustration is accompanied by a more or less detailed explanation where each sacral object is characterized in terms of its idea, producer, place of origin and owner.

Simmons' book, despite its modest size, will be appreciated especially by scholars engaged in the study of Polynesian history and culture as well as in the comparison of religions.

*Jozef Genzor*

Savage, Victor R.: *Western Impressions of Nature and Landscape in Southeast Asia*. Singapore, Singapore University Press, National University of Singapore 1984. 456 pp.

This book is based upon V. R. Savage's doctoral dissertation titled The Western Cognition of Nature and Landscape in Southeast Asia, submitted to the Geography Department of the University of California in 1982.

The corpus of Savage's data consists of a great variety of books and periodicals none of which has paid special attention to the environment. The author had to extract facts from a considerable number of sources dealing with various subjects; he has defined the goal of his study as an attempt to faithfully portray the "subjective reality" of the past, the way people viewed this region and its environment. He is not concerned with the historical facts, events or personalities, aiming at nature and landscape as it was subjectively defined and perceived by Western travellers.

The area of Southeast Asia has been defined by Savage as covering the islands of Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia and the continental countries of Burma, Kampuchea, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, i.e. the area between India and China.

The scope of literature data utilized by Savage extends from classical antiquity to the World War Two, focusing upon the period from 1511 (the Portuguese conquest of Malacca) to the 19th century.

Savage's approach is thematic, not chronological. The author has made no attempt to analyse either fiction or confidential reports by colonial officials. Since Southeast Asia had been colonized by several European countries, there are published sources in a variety of languages, namely in Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English. Unfortunately, the numerous Dutch writings on Indonesian islands have not been used by the author although they certainly deserve thorough research.

Savage follows the European perception of Southeast Asia and pays attention to its growth and development from the exotic excitement through well-known stereotypes to a more realistic recent attitude.

The content of the book is organized thematically. In the six chapters following the Introduction (pp. 1—26), Savage discusses Western myths of Southeast Asia such as that of Golden Khersonese and Solomon's Ophir, in a word, the mysterious and exotic strain in the European perception of this region (pp. 27—66).

Another chapter elaborates on Southeast Asia as the landscape of opulence and fertility that attracted not only romantics but also practical individuals (pp. 67—140). A separate chapter deals with the tropical climate of the area and its influence upon white men (pp. 141—187). The next chapter is concerned with

the aesthetic appreciation of flora, fauna, and scenery, which culminated during the romantic literary movement in the 19th century (pp. 188—249). Subsequently, the author concentrates upon what may be characterized as the personal response of the Western traveller to his strange new surroundings (pp. 250—289). Finally, Chapter 7 (pp. 290—319) touches upon European reaction to the discovery of ancient historical monuments, whether in Indonesia (Borobudur) or in Kampuchea (Angkor) and Burma (Pagan). Their discovery has reminded Europeans of the glorious past of this area of “savages”. In Chapter 8 (pp. 320—336) Savage summarizes the results of his study. Appendix includes a list of Western travellers (pp. 337—384); there are also Notes to the text (pp. 385—406), a selective Bibliography (pp. 407—438), and an index (pp. 439—456).

An important feature of the book is the inclusion of some 60 black-and-white illustrations (however, not of any high technical quality) as well as 11 maps. A list of old and new geographical names has been included in the book in order to avoid confusion (pp. XI—XIII).

The publication will no doubt help to extend our knowledge of the whole area and enrich it with new facts on so far neglected aspects of its history.

*Viktor Krupa*

*Ngu phap tieng Viet* (Grammaire de la langue vietnamienne). Nha xuat ban Khoa hoc Xa hoi (Maison d'éditions des sciences sociales). Ha Noi 1983. 281 p.

Cette grammaire de la langue vietnamienne a été rédigée par un conseil sous la direction du ministre Tran Quang Huy. Ont collaboré avec ce conseil à cet ouvrage: des experts-linguistes aussi éminents que Pham Huy Thong, Nguyen Tai Can, Le Xuan Thai, Nguyen Kim Than, Hoang Tue, Luu Van Lang et autres. La grammaire est destinée en premier lieu aux Vietnamiens et en quelque sorte, constitue un supplément ou annexe au Dictionnaire de la langue vietnamienne. Au point de vue méthodique, elle contribue à une extension de l'usage du vietnamien dans sa forme parlée et écrite et à une compréhension approfondie de l'essence des règles de cette langue polysynthétique. Méthodologiquement, elle est au niveau de la recherche linguistique actuelle de la langue vietnamienne.

L'approche systémique est employée dans la grammaire pour expliquer les faits de base et les règles du vietnamien. Leur exemplarité et abondance d'illustrations à partir de cas pris de la littérature vietnamienne ancienne et moderne rehaussent la valeur pratique de l'ouvrage et son attraction esthétique. Comme toute langue parlée, le vietnamien a aussi passé par de nombreux changements au cours de son développement historique. Dans la grammaire, les

auteurs ont réussi à relever ces changements d'une manière relativement précise et adéquate, respectivement à les commenter (tout spécialement ceux des dernières décades, quand la langue vietnamienne a enrégistré et accepté de nombreux phénomènes nouveaux survenus sous l'influence d'un essor socio-culturel intense). En même temps, on fait cas dans la Grammaire des fils constants et ininterrompus dans la création folklorique traditionnelle, dans la littérature artistique classique et dans la langue vietnamienne moderne.

Comme on lit dans l'avant-propos, «les compilateurs n'avaient pas l'intention d'écrire un manuel, cependant, les écoles aussi peuvent s'y appuyer» (p. 6). L'ouvrage consiste de quatre parties indépendantes et d'un supplément. La première partie intitulée *La Langue vietnamienne* présente en bref un aperçu général du développement historique du vietnamien, ses traits spécifiques, sa phonétique et son écriture. Cependant, le passage sur l'origine du vietnamien laisse quelque peu à désirer: une expansion et approfondissement de ce sujet serait fort utile. De même, dans le traitement de l'écriture, de nombreuses questions ne sont qu'ébauchées, alors qu'une esquisse directe de l'évolution de l'écriture vietnamienne fait défaut. La seconde partie, *Le Mot dans le vietnamien*, s'occupe de la structure du mot, des parties du discours, des réduuplications et de leur signification, et de différents genres de liaisons verbales et transformations diverses. Ici il y a lieu de souligner l'érudition linguistique des auteurs de cette partie; en effet, en vertu de leurs connaissances solides de la linguistique générale, ils ont réussi à les appliquer correctement et précisément dans l'analyse du mot (ou syllabe, ou rapport) vietnamien. La troisième partie intitulée *La Phrase vietnamienne* discute sur la structure et le corps de la phrase simple, sur diverses espèces de phrases, sur la structure de la phrase composée, sur ses propositions, sur la classification des phrases selon le mode, ponctuation, etc. Les auteurs ont réussi de présenter une analyse relativement détaillée et d'expliquer de nombreux phénomènes de la syntaxe du vietnamien. Ils soulignent la possibilité du vietnamien d'exprimer des catégories grammaticales et sémantiques diverses, précisément à l'aide de moyens syntactiques. Dans la quatrième partie *L'usage des règles grammaticales*, on est mis à envisager l'application théorique et pratique des règles grammaticales et des principes de grammaire à partir du mot, de liaisons verbales et de la phrase. La présentation de grand nombre d'exemples à partir des belles-lettres, être appréciée. Le supplément enfin, nous informe sur les particules de la langue vietnamiennes et leurs fonctions, et sur les principes d'analyse grammaticale de la structure d'une phrase.

L'ouvrage dont on a fait un relevé ici fournira un appui aussi aux vietnamologues étrangers. Un point plutôt détrimental à la valeur de ce livre est qu'il ne contient aucune bibliographie des travaux linguistiques vietnamiens, ni un index des noms d'auteurs.

*Ján Múčka*

Phan Cu De — Ha Minh Duc: *Nha van Viet Nam (1945—1975)* (Écrivains Vietnamiens). Tap II (II<sup>e</sup> partie). Nha xuat ban Dai hoc va Trung hoc chuyen nghiep (Maison d'éditions des hautes écoles et des écoles secondaires professionnelles). Ha Noi 1983. 514 p.

Le couple d'historiens littéraires vietnamiens bien connus ont publié le deuxième tome de travaux sur les écrivains de leur pays de la période de 1945—1975, qui est une continuation de leur œuvre de 1979. A présent, ces auteurs préparent l'édition du troisième volume.

L'ouvrage examiné ici présentent aux lectures seize écrivains, poètes, théoriciens et critiques littéraires qui sont entrés dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne encore avant la révolution d'Août (1945), ou au cours de la résistance contre les français (1946—1954). Les auteurs se sont partagé le travail d'une manière tout à fait juste — chacun a présenté un portrait littéraire de huit écrivains: Nguyen Cong Hoan, Nguyen Hong, Xuan Thuy, Nguyen Tuan, Hong Chuong, Xuan Truong, Nguyen Van Bong, Nguyen Khai — décrits par Phan Cu De; les huit autres — Le Duc Tho, Nam Cao, Luu Trong Lu, Te Hanh, Bui Hien, Ahn Tho, Hoang Trung Thong, Nong Quoc Chan sont présentés par Ha Minh Duc. Etant donné qu'il s'agit de deux auteurs qui collaborent depuis longtemps — et avec succès — l'ouvrage est uniforme tant par rapport à la méthode qu'à l'idéation. Les écrivains et leurs écrits sont présentés vraiment comme des portraits, d'un style attrayant au point de vue professionnel-artistique, et intéressant pour le lecteur. L'ouvrage entier satisfait les demandes exigeantes d'une publication populaire-scientifique. Le noyau du «portrait» de chaque écrivain est «chargé» d'informations sur sa production, sa manière de créer et de données parfaite de nature biographique. Le livre Ecrivains vietnamiens est en fait une anthologie; dans sa préparation les auteurs se sont efforcés d'appliquer dans leur choix un point de vue à la fois qualitatif et quantitatif. L'évaluation et le commentaire analytique des travaux littéraires sont étroitement joints à la réalité de la vie personnelle des écrivains et ont rapport aux événements socio-politiques principaux. Ils portent preuve aux connaissances étendues et aux expériences des deux auteurs relevant de la vie littéraire vietnamienne comme aussi du processus littéraire mondial. Peut-être, les auteurs devraient être quelque peu plus conséquents (aussi au point de vue terminologique) en tant qu'ils touchent aux rapports et connections typologiques et autres, des écrivains vietnamiens ici portraités avec les représentants de la littérature européenne (surtout française, russe et soviétique) , mais aussi mondiale.

Le livre Ecrivains vietnamiens est écrit d'une manière fraîche, et agréable à lire et en même temps est d'un haut niveau professionnel, contient une abondance de matériaux littéraires et périodiques. Chaque portrait est précédé d'une biographie concise de l'auteur et d'une liste de ses œuvres littéraires publiées

jusqu'ici. Chaque étude est toujours accompagnée d'une liste de littérature professionnelle sur l'écrivain en question.

Ján Müčka

Itoh, Teiji: *Die Gärten Japans*. Köln, DuMont Verlag 1985. 229 pp.

Japanese culture has fascinated Europe since the discovery of this East Asiatic country and increasingly so since the 19th century. Japanese garden is one of those aspects of the culture of Japan that have reached even wide public in Europe. Truly enough, most Europeans appreciate it simply as gardens, for its aesthetic qualities but, gradually, they become aware of at least some of the philosophical ideas behind the arrangement of natural objects.

The number of books dealing with the Japanese garden in European languages is considerable and quite a few of them have been written either exclusively or partly by Japanese authors. The present publication has also been prepared by a Japanese. Teiji Itoh has divided the text and illustrations into several chapters so that explanatory texts alternate with beautiful colour illustrations.

The first chapter is introductory and discusses the origins of Japanese garden architecture (pp. 25—38) that owes so much to its Chinese model. The next chapter titled Stones, Water and Plants (pp. 39—68) serves as an overture to a brief history of Japanese gardens described on pp. 69—90. All readers will appreciate the refined beauty of the so-called moss gardens in the region of Kyoto; the author gives a survey of them on pp. 91—100. The most remarkable example and representative of this type of gardens is Saiho-ji, described and characterized by Itoh on pp. 101—110.

The chapter titled Gardens and Their Destination (pp. 111—132) gives the interested readers an insight into the various functions of gardens in Japan both today and in the past (text on pp. 133—150).

Despite its strong linkage with tradition the Japanese garden is not merely a matter of history. Its roots are vigorously alive even if the modern Japanese garden cannot be labelled as an automatic continuation of its predecessors. This is confirmed by text and illustrations in the next chapter (pp. 151—168).

The marvellous publication by Teiji Itoh is completed with a chapter on principles regulating the garden arrangement and architecture (pp. 169—190) and with a representative selection of fifty gardens (pp. 191—224).

A bibliography and an index will be appreciated especially by those readers who are seriously interested in this attractive subject.

The book contains a wealth of excellent colour photographs, in addition to

many black and white photographs. The publisher may be congratulated on the publication of this attractive and informative book.

*Viktor Krupa*

*Modern Chinese. A Basic Course.* By the Faculty of Peking University. New York, Dover Publications, Inc. 1971. 249 pp.

This introductory manual of Modern Standard Chinese has been compiled by the instructors of the Chinese Language Special Course for Foreign Students of the Peking University. The original version of the text, however, has been subsequently modified and extended.

The transcription used in this textbook is the official Latin pinyin zimu but information on the English transcription of Chinese is also given. The handbook is accompanied with a set of records.

A considerable portion of the volume deals with phonetics of Chinese. Lessons 1—8 (pp. 1—51) discuss the pronunciation of vowels, consonants and articulation of tones. Starting from Lesson 3, Chinese characters are being introduced to the students.

Lessons 9—12 (pp. 52—72) consist of exercises. They contain lists of new lexical items, simple Chinese sentences written both in Latin script and in characters and supplied with their English equivalents.

The remaining lessons (13—30, pp. 73—240) are subtitled Basic Grammar. They deal gradually with nominal sentences, interrogative sentences, numeratives, adjective modifiers, verbal sentences, negation and also with such grammatical features as repetition, various particles, aspect and tense as well with questions of word order.

Most of the lessons within this section consist of lists of new words, explanatory remarks on grammar and illustrative sentences supplied with their English translations. Some of the lessons have been reserved for review.

The textbook includes also a short vocabulary listing lexical items occurring in the particular lessons. It is based upon experience accumulated during teaching Chinese and has proved useful to the beginners in the field of Chinese studies. It can be recommended to everybody interested in mastering this important Asian language.

*Viktor Krupa*

Gernet, Jacques: *A History of Chinese Civilization*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1985. 772 pp.

The work under review, the most important of Jacques Gernet's studies thus far, originally appeared in 1972 under the title *Le Monde Chinois*. Its high scholarly values elicited interest also in the Anglo-Saxon-speaking world and its translation in 1982 was followed by two fairly closely spaced reprints in that same and the subsequent year. The book reviewed here represents its paperback form and is the fourth English reprint within the course of three years — a feat rather exceptional in sinological literature.

The author follows up the fate of Chinese civilization from its very beginnings practically right up to our days. He stops short of the most recent events ushered in early following Mao Zedong's death in 1976. Right at the start he sets himself as his goal: "The object of this book — or rather its ambition — is to serve as an introduction to the history of the Chinese world, to depict the various stages in the development of that world, its successive experiences, the contributions — from every part of the world — which have enriched it down the centuries, the influence which it has exerted, and its contributions to world history" (p. 1). Here, we may place the mark of equality between "civilization" and the "Chinese world". Gernet, or his translator into English J. R. Forster, understands the one and the other as a compendium of material and spiritual gains made by China during its historical existence from the Neolithic down to the present times. Difficulties reside in the range and the depth of the delimited topic, in an inadequate degree of survey of the various issues, in the existence of diverse prejudices regarding the Chinese world in the European milieu, as well as in the general definition of the problem which the author intends to study in a comparative way — making this comparison to comprise not only the whole Chinese, but also the worldwide civilization over a period of some 35 centuries. In this attempt, Gernet is led by the notion, not always self-evident, that evolution in the world, despite its disparateness, is homogeneous, uniform, coherent, that the civilizing process proceeds in a dialectical give-and-take. Another such notion is: the unjustified "Eurocentrism", and the conviction that the Western civilization is the progress-bearing, decisive, superior to others, have to be overcome.

Gernet is one of the historians adhering less, in his expounding of Chinese history, to a dynastic periodization, enframing his study in rather broader historical periods that differed qualitatively one from the next and thus created conditions for changes and thereby also for development. Against their background he then depicts the general traits of Chinese civilization. One of the most important among them is its spread into fertile plains and valleys. Mountain massifs or steppes were the home of different ethnic groupings, or clans. In

contrast to other great civilizations in India, the Near East, the Mediterranean and in Europe, where cattle grazers and soil tillers were all the time closely joined together, in China they always were (and still are) separated among themselves and dwelt (and still dwell) to the north or the north-west of the great Chinese plain. Another trait is that marking the importance and complexity (and in several respects) also the perfection of Chinese political institutions from the 3rd cent. B.C. until the 18th cent. A.D. If we consider the immense extent of its territory attaining the size of present-day Europe, we are staggered by the administrative, organizational, economic and military abilities which often — though by no means always — became evident during the course of its history. With minor exceptions, civil political power played first fiddle in the economic, social, military and religious life. The third characteristic trait is that China succeeded in achieving a considerable technological advance over the rest of the world at a certain period of its history, reaching up to the beginnings of modern times. This involved a knowledge of silk weaving already back towards the end of the second millennium B.C., artistic processing of bronze at the same period (and the artistry of these works has never been surpassed). The 4th century B.C. saw the beginnings of production of iron in China, the 2nd century B.C. that of steel. The Roman historian Pliny the Elder (23—79) bestowed praise on the quality of Chinese iron. Until the 19th century, China was an important exporter of luxury goods, such as silk, porcelain, cotton fabrics, tea, lacquer, etc. Export of silk was initiated in the 3rd century B.C. The fourth characteristic (relating to the second one) is that no part of the social existence or consciousness gained such an upperhand in China as to jeopardize civilian political power which changed, but never went so far as unambiguously to unite with the aristocratic strata, the clergy, military or other circles.

China emerged at the dawn of history when great cultures had long been formed in the Mediterranean, in its eastern environs and in South Asia: on the territory of Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in India, at Mohenjo-Daro and at Harappa. All these cultures and the ethnic groups related to them, had in various ways disappeared from the historical stage already in far-off antiquity. Only the Chinese — and partly also the Greeks — succeeded in enforcing their vitality in the long historical contests from the 2nd millennium B.C. until modern times.

Leaving aside the Neolithic and the Early Bronze periods which can be determined solely on the strength of archaeological views, we see that about the years 1600—900 B.C., a kingdom was set up near the lower course of the Huangho (similar to those that existed at that time on the territory of Greece, Palestine, or Phoenicia), administered by the aristocracy, with an advanced technology of bronze processing. The king, who was simultaneously the chief priest, had the supreme say in the administration of the state. The first written

monuments found are soothsayings inscribed on bones, while the first literary works are brief historical recordings.

In the subsequent period, monarchy came to be linked to this archaic form of rule. In the years 900—500 B.C., a number of major or minor urban realms (*guo*) came to be set up, including one which became the heir to the first historically documented monarchy on Chinese territory. A new trait is the much ramified aristocratic stratum which made its appearance at the time the urban kingdoms came into being. The constant threat from the northern tribes, an internal differentiation, political intrigues and tactics were the reasons, why during the following period, which chronologically belongs to the so-called Warring States, the number of larger State units went on steadily diminishing, the pedigreed aristocracy became politically, economically and militarily broken in the war and in 221 B.C., Qin Shihoangdi (the First Emperor of the Qin dynasty) united the then known China into one State formation. The class of working peasants became the base of political, economic and military power of the State.

During the last centuries prior to the unification, China had experienced an unsurpassed philosophical fermentation, comparable uniquely to classical Greece of the 6th—4th centuries B.C. However, in contrast to Greek philosophy, Chinese philosophy was oriented to ethics and politics. The political principle ruling in the sphere of social consciousness became reflected also in literature where pride of place went to historical topics — where even mythology was historicized. Lyrical poetry, too, was expounded in the same historicizing manner.

Two imperial dynasties ruled in a centralized State from about 220 B.C. until about 190 A.D. The splendour and fall of both were related to the unusually strong concentration of power in the hands of the emperor or the court, at the expense of a rationally operating civil administration. In the case of the Qin dynasty, the decisive factor was the lack of experience in managing a mammoth State formation, then excessively costly financial projects, a despotic régime, dissatisfaction among the exploited farming masses and scholars. Among active agents in the downfall of the Han dynasty (220 A.D.) were the destructive influence of powerful families of empresses and of eunuchs, then estate-owners taking over farmers' lands, peasant uprisings and also shrewd army commanders.

The transition from antiquity into the Middle Ages had, up to a degree, a similar pattern in China as in Europe. A differentiating factor was the strength of the influence exercised by the nomadic tribe groupings in the north. This strength in China did not equal the onslaught of Germanic tribes, and even if northern China succumbed to the hegemony of non-Chinese ethnics, the latter

failed to penetrate into southern China. However, similarly as in Europe of that time, the ideological base — represented in China by the classical philosophy of Confucianism, came to be rejected; a nonorthodox literature began to be cultivated and a great world religion — that of Buddhism — ruled Chinese life, alongside that of traditional Taoism. Contrary to Europe, China experienced its greatest artistic and literary upsurge during the Middle Ages. The historical conditions were again ripe for the return, or rather renewal of aristocracy, particularly in the rich south, but during the course of the so-called Northern and Southern Dynasties (317—589), a very strong stratum of merchants came into being which rendered the aristocracy economically powerless. In the north, economically more backward, aristocratic circles persisted and with the aid of the northern nomad, or settled tribes, succeeded in unifying China under the Sui and Tang dynasties (589—906). The renewal of Taoism and the introduction of Buddhism enriched the Chinese world with new dimensions in the philosophical, literary and also artistic domain. Taoism in its new interpretation and explication exerted an influence on the development of alchemy, medicine, pharmaceutics, and astronomy. Buddhism meant an enrichment of Chinese art with Iranian and Hellenic elements, brought in stimuli for a revival of literary genres, especially in the domain of prose and philosophical thought.

Rules of the Tang dynasty followed fairly consistently their predecessors from the Han dynasty. They entrusted the administration of public affairs into the hands of a competently organized network of civil officials. Even despite certain drawbacks of this institution, evident especially during the last centuries of the existence of the Chinese empire, it must be impartially admitted that this constituted a certain counterweight against the arbitrary and politically destructive strength of imperial autocracy, the power of the eunuchs, families of the empresses and provincial generals. In the 7th and the first half of the early 8th century, Tang China was the greatest Asian power. It reached from Korea up to present-day Iran, from the Ili river down to Vietnam. Nevertheless, size proved to be weakness; the enormous expenditures connected with the upkeep of immense territories, the reduction to beggary of the peasant masses, the growing independence of warlords combined to bring down the Tang dynasty and subsequently, after a certain time lapse, led to the victory of the Song. The loss of northern and western Non-Chinese and also Chinese territories led to a reorienting of foreign trade: instead of passing over the traditional inland routes of Central Asia, commerce began to flourish over the sea. Of enormous significance proved to have been the so-called “renaissance” of classical Chinese culture of a Confucian orientation which led to the invention of printing (868), to a philosophical and scientific advance, to the beginnings of archaeology, to sensible progress in the domain of literature and art (perfection in painting and in ceramic works), to changes in social consciousness and being on the basis of

rationalism manifest in the development of natural sciences, mathematics, technology and economics.

However, it would be hardly possible to agree with Gernet when he uses the expression "new world" to characterize the period 960—1280, thereby intending to suggest that China then reached the modern period. True, certain typical traits became formed during those three centuries and partly also before, which, mutatis mutandis, were at least remotely similar to changes that took place in Europe at the time of the Reformation, humanism and the Renaissance; but it has to be admitted that they never had such weighty consequences as the changes seen in Europe before and after the discovery of America in 1492. In addition, during the period 1280 to 1368, following the renewed loss of all the Northern Territories, the whole of China became the booty of the Mongols. The latter imposed an autocratic rule, ensured for themselves extensive military, social and economic privileges and administered China through non-Chinese officials who exploited the occupied territories as exorbitantly as they could. Similarly as in other countries within the giant Mongolian empire, Mongolian domination exerted for the most part a negative influence on all further development, particularly along the economic aspect. Events deserving a positive appraisal were the first direct contacts between China and Western Europe, an intensive development of Chinese folk drama, and an Arab-Chinese symbiosis which promoted the development of mathematics, astronomy, geography and new fire-arms following the invention of gun powder in China in the 11th century.

After the accession of the new Chinese dynasty Ming in 1368, which came into power by making use of the force of popular uprisings, another autocratic State came into being, although one differing from the Mongolian State. The emperor and his immediate entourage had the principal say in all matters and this to a greater extent than in the preceding periods. In contrast to the enterprising Songs and the greedy Mongols, who strove to promote commerce, the traditionally-oriented Ming rulers reverted to a physiocratic policy and a strong social control as a system of State administration dominated by the eunuchs and a State police. Some 75 years before the Portuguese and Spanish navigators had set out on their great sea voyages, Chinese sailors under the leadership of the eunuch Zheng He undertook in 1405 to 1433 several sailing expeditions as far as the Red Sea and the African shores. While these expeditions — numbering seven — were more or less of a symbolic nature, meant rather to foster Chinese pride, the sea voyages of European countries not only marked the advent of modern times, but were also a presage of future capitalist development. At a time when international commerce of European maritime countries meant the first successes that went on increasing in the subsequent centuries and provided sources of accumulation for capitalist industrialization, the inefficient represen-

tatives of the Chinese State controlled trade contacts in all manner of ways and hindered their natural expansion. Thus, for instance, the widespread Japanese piracy was for the most part an outcome of similar ill-judged and inconsiderate interventions.

China entered modern times together with the then Europe sometime in the 16th century. The difference between the Middle Age and the modern age was less salient in China than in Europe. China became partly enriched with Japanese and South American silver, enjoyed some profit from trade with new partners in Europe and began to cultivate agricultural products from the New World. The beginning of Modern Times had a beneficial course only during one century. The Japanese invasion of Korea in 1595—1598 ended in a fiasco also because of Chinese intervention, but combined with other expenditures and the political incapacity of the eunuchs, it helped to ruin the population and bring down the dynasty.

The Ming dynasty fell under the blows of home rebels and the northern Jürchen who took the name of Manchu. Just as the Mongols before them, the Manchus dominated the whole of China. They introduced a ruthless military feudalism in the country, but in the course of time they managed to blunt its sharp edge and even win over to their side the intelligentsia and partly also the people. In the 18th century, economic and political conditions had developed so far that China, with its expanse of almost 12,000,000 sq. km, came to be the greatest and economically the most progressive country in the then world. Its manufactures made use of the most up-to-date technology of the pre-industrialized period, there was an unprecedented advance in sciences, particularly social ones, an enormous quantity of historical, literary, philosophical works was published, extensive projects of this type were carried out with the aid of financial circles, which had no match in the then world. The cause of the decline that set early in the 19th century was a divergence between the unsatisfied interests of despotic emperors and the feudally organized society with certain germs of capitalism that never had an opportunity of any free development. This was contributed to in the second half of the 19th century by the greatest and the bloodiest peasant uprisings in Chinese history, particularly the Taiping Uprising (1850—1865), from which neither the dynasty, nor old China recovered again. In the last quarter of the century, Japan joined in the ruthless economic exploitation and oppression, especially through trade with opium. All this led to a disruption of the country's economy, of the State and the society and, at certain moments, to a practical loss of political autonomy.

Although China did not become a colony, it sank into the status of a semi-colonial country and remained so not only after the downfall of its emperors and at the beginning of the republican era (1911—1912), but also during World Wars I and II, and even till 1949. At that time new, although not always

adequately utilized possibilities were created for a further advance of the civilizing complex of new China.

The book constitutes an outstanding contribution to the history of the Chinese world, even though it is apparent that the author is a better expert in the history of old China than of the 20th century.

Marián Gálik

Yue Daiyun—Wakeman, Carolyn: *To the Storm. The Odyssey of a Revolutionary Chinese Woman*. Berkeley—Los Angeles—London. University of California Press 1985. 405 pp.

When in 1982 I wrote about the so-called "Literature of the scars" in the People's Republic of China from the years 1977—1979 and compared the fates of the characters in this literature to a "circular journey" of the mythic Ulysses, I could have no idea that one of the witnesses of the harsh years of "Cultural Revolution" and of those that had preceded it, was preparing to make a statement concerning this period and to "dictate" the book under review. Professor Yue Daiyun is well-known expert in modern Chinese literature and comparative literature, Chairman of the Institute of Comparative Literature at Peking University and a Vice-President of the Chinese Comparative Literature Association. The motto taken over from one of the short stories of a modern Chinese writer Wang Meng, Minister of Culture of the PRC since 1986, gives an indication of the overall tone of the book and its aim: "I have walked through these twenty-one years one step at a time, and I am convinced that not a single step was taken in vain. My only wish is that we firmly remember this lesson paid for in blood, tears, hardship, and unimaginable suffering so that the actual situation can recover its true features and can be recorded in the annals of history."

The witness of Yue Daiyun is described in the form of a biography. As a book on contemporary China, on the sufferings of those who had been the victims of the terror during 1957—1979, it stands out as an exception surpassing all that has been written so far on this topic, e. g. Yang Jiang's minor reminiscence work entitled *Ganxiao liu ji* (*Six Chapters from My Life "Down under"*) translated into English by Howard Goldblatt, and a few reminiscences by Ba Jin, Wang Xian, Chen Baichen and others. The prevailing situation is such that hardly anyone of the witnesses of those, occasionally even apocalyptic years, of over two decades of sufferings, pain, distress, senseless loss of time so necessary for the economic and politico-cultural construction, solving of the most various problems in all the spheres of life, is ready to delve into his memory and bring out unpleasant reminiscences, distressful moments, to record, write and literally

arrange such aspects of experiences that he would like best to completely forget or never raise up from the realm of the unconscious. It is a situation similar to that in which the great Chinese poet Li Yu (937—978) found himself more than a thousand years ago when, a prisoner at the court of two Emperors of the Song dynasty, he wrote that “he could not bear to look back” with the difference, of course, that he dared not recall times when he himself had been king, while the victims of the Anti-Rightist Campaign and of the “Cultural Revolution” were dregs, the outcasts, the pariahs of the contemporary Chinese society.

In the book *To the Storm*, Yue Daiyun presents the major part of her life which had originally been meant to create the greatest contribution to herself, her closest relations, the society, new Chinese literature in which she figures as one of the most talented scholars. In 1957, at the time of the Hundred Flowers Movement and Mao Zedong’s speech entitled “*Problems of Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People*”, Yue Daiyun in her poem “To the Storm”, which has not been preserved, welcomed the approaching tempest because “it would rouse people from their routines and raise them to a new level of awareness; it would cleanse and renew everything” (p. 30). The storm burst in shortly after in the form of the Anti-Rightist Campaign and she failed to realize that she would be one of its victims for many years. Early in 1958 she was branded with the cap of the “Rightists” and in September of that same year sent to be “re-educated” through manual work in the countryside — to the commune at Zhaitang not far from Peking where “cast out from the people”, she was obliged to carry heavy flat rocks on her back for the construction of a small dam, or raise the pigs starving in the collective piggery in the bad times of the “Great Leap Forward”. The rightist “cap” was definitively taken from her head in the autumn of 1979.

Yue Daiyun lost not twenty-one years of her life like the character from Wang Meng’s story, but one year more. Before her readers she unrolls a film that reveals not only her own episodes, but also that of many others who were involved in some way in this convulsion. The actors in it are not only close members of her family, but also colleagues from Peking University, high political and cultural personalities, common people from the countryside whom she met, her students and acquaintances, members of the Red Guards and others. The book shows how deeply the socio-political events in the PRC affected every being. Groups or masses taking part in numerous campaigns that took place between 1955 till 1975 pass before the readers’ eyes. Her narrative makes it clear that to have been a “Rightist” meant to go through two decades of suffering, fear, uncertainty, contempt on the part of the surrounding world, occasionally even on the part of members of close families, often also physical torture that may have left permanent scars. At times a certain lull would come in, a relaxation which, however, was not meant to be an aid or some relief, but rather the

utilization of hundreds of thousands people for some definite kind of work always lasting some time and following by chicanery in accordance with change in cultural or other policy.

Somewhat earlier than the book under review, another “confession” had taken place and gradually appeared — that written by the writer Mao Dun (1896—1981) under the heading *Wo zouguode daolu* (The Roads I Have Travelled). The story of Yue Daiyun, otherwise an admirer of Mao Dun’s work, is certainly more “intimate” than Mao Dun’s; on the other hand, both endeavoured to present their own “roads” in a truthful light with regard to the overall atmosphere of the times and the society. Mao Dun had it easier as he had enough written material practically to everything and eschewed the problematic aspects of the present times. He completed his biography with the year 1948, prior to the foundation of the PRC, he did not elucidate, nor explain events that would require a considerable dose of personal courage. Yue Daiyun had to rely chiefly on her own memory, recall events and episodes in the lives of others insofar as they had any relation to her and thus shared her fate. For over twenty years which is more than half the time left to the scholars or teachers for their fertile activities, she could not publish a single line, and what she did write at times of a relaxation, she had to destroy in moments of new threats, deterioration of the situation so that it might not be used against her.

The “odyssey” of a modern Chinese revolutionary woman is that of suffering. And suffering in the form in which it occurred in the case of Yue Daiyun and of hundreds of thousands of others, could not have been possible in the old society, for there were no such preconditions as regards the socio-political organization, control, mass communication, ideology and changes in the hierarchy of ethical, political and other values. On her own admission, she bore the responsibility, true not for her own suffering, but for her acts and the attitudes she manifested. She did not always think and act rightly and did not judge the situation with adequate objectiveness. She certainly failed to take up the correct stand to what philosophers or psychologists call “authority figures” and she did not realize (but this she could not have done, at least not in the early years of her politico-educational career in the mid 1950s) that ideologies, even the most correct ones, in dependence on certain political situations, need not at all express historical truths, reflect adequately reality, but present empty illusions, serve like opium, occasionally even explicitly mislead and deceive masses as was at the time of the “Cultural Revolution” with its cultural and social vandalism, tyranny, murders, suicides and moral decay. The “odyssey” which in the case of Yue Daiyun, full of energy, zest for work and will to live (and this she never lost even in the worst of times) did not end tragically, proved to have been absolutely useless, pointless space of time in her life and in the lives of those who had to go through something similar. This applies with all the more truth

to those whose persecution, physical and mental tortures ended in physical destruction.

I do not subscribe to the opinion of Wang Meng's character (that one, of course, need not conform to the author's own conviction) that "not a single step was taken in vain" in those years full of troubles which Wang Meng had experienced on his own person, just as had Yue Daiyun. It is right, however, to "remember this lesson" and to record it "in the annals of history".

This latter, Yue Daiyun has achieved in a far greater measure than any of her compatriots thus far. The contribution of this book will be judged by historians, sociologists and psychologists, of course, each from the angle of his own vision. But already at this time it may be said that as an attempt at a personal, sincere view of life in the PRC between 1955 and 1979, as an effort at presenting and portraying of what went on during this period of which we still know so very little, this, book deserves our attention, acknowledgement and appreciation.

Marián Gálik

Chiu, Hungdah—Leng, Shao-chuan (Eds.): *China. Seventy Years after the 1911 Hsin-hai Revolution*. Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia 1984. 601 pp.

As a rule, when writing books about contemporary China, the authors present an analysis either of the People's Republic of China only, or of Taiwan. Of late, however, due in particular to the efforts on the part of the PRC for reunification, studies have appeared devoting attention to the overall movement, historical or other, affecting the entire Chinese territory. The editors of the book under review could therefore quite justifiably state in the *Preface* that this volume of studies "is the first major scholarly attempt to examine and systematically compare, in a single volume, the developments throughout both parts of China, separated by the Taiwan Strait since 1949". The book is the outcome of two American conferences which put the question of the Hsin-hai revolution and the subsequent development of China on their programme in the jubilee year 1981: The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Regional Conference of the Association for Asian Studies held at the University of Maryland in October 1981 and the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the American Association for Chinese Studies held at Ohio State University in November 1981. It is divided into eight parts, the first of which deals with the historical background of the Republic of China up to 1949 and of the PRC and Taiwan after this date, the second one is concerned with the political development of both the State formations, the third one with their economic development, the fourth with their legal development, the fifth with cultural and educational development, the

sixth with social development, the seventh with China and the World (i.e. foreign policy) and the closing eighth part brings an overall evaluation which stands in lieu of an epilogue. The various parts always comprise two studies, with the exception of part five where the cultural and educational development of the PRC is discussed in two papers.

The idea to present the development of two political formations of one nation in its most diverse aspects has its advantages. In the first place, it enables the percipient reader, or one with serious interest in the issue, to form an adequate judgment of the over thirty-year old, very differentiated road followed by these two State formations after 1949, and to see its several positive and negative aspects.

Marián Gálik

Chan Sin-wai: *Buddhism in Late Ch'ing Political Thought*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1985. 192 pp.

This is one of few works to be devoted to an analysis of the Buddhist impact on the intellectual and political physiognomy of China in the last decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th century. Yet the content of the book falls rather short of meeting the claim implied in the title; for although it is stated in the *Preface* that this work "is an attempt to study the religious, cultural and political significance of Buddhism in late Ch'ing intellectual thought through an examination of the writings of a few influential figures like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, K'ang Yu-wei, Chang Ping-lin, and particularly T'an Ssu-t'ung", in reality it says very little of individual, otherwise only very 'short-term' enthusiasts for things Buddhist, with the exception of Tan Sitong. Leaving out the *Bibliography*, we find that about two thirds of the book are devoted to Tan Sitong.

An irrefutable merit of this book undoubtedly is that it insistently brings up the share of Buddhism in transforming the intellectual and ideological world of modern China. The majority of studies devoted to the topic of metamorphoses in modern Chinese consciousness go to show that two major factors were involved, which met on the "battlefield": a confrontation between the traditional Chinese Confucianism and the European or American (Western) forms of new thought or ideologies: evolutionism, liberalism, utilitarianism, pragmatism, various forms of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Buddhism, as the "third force", was known about right from the very beginnings — as amply proved by the classical book *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period* (*Qingdai xueshu gailun*) by Liang Qichao (1873—1929) — but nobody paid any serious attention to this problem, for it was not deemed to be of primary significance; moreover,

to cope with it would have required a thorough knowledge of the fairly complex Buddhist side of the story.

The various bibliographic entries make it clear that Mr. Chan is primarily an expert on Tan Sitong (1865—1898) and thus ranks with Zhang Dejun, Oka Takashi, Sun Chang-jing, Yang Yifeng, Yang Rongguo and others. He starts by following up the observations by Liang Qichao and through him gets to the first important students of Buddhism in the first half of the 19th century, such as Gong Zizhen (1792—1842) and Wei Yuan (1794—1857). A study of this question implies that Chinese literati had recourse to Buddhism when they felt a need of spiritual comfort. Gong sought refuge in Buddhism after the death of his mother, and Wei after being disappointed in his ambitions and disillusioned by the Taiping Uprising. Kang Youwei (1858—1927) showed interest in Buddhism about the year 1877 when his grandfather died. It seems that only Liang Qichao began to study this set of teachings without any particular subjective incentive as one of the possible ideological tools of the “new culture”. He both succumbed to the pressure exerted on him by the intellectual milieu of the times, and also it seemed to him that “Buddhism in China was a purely indigenous product” (p. 41). Until now, insofar as I know, nobody has pointed to the mutual relationship between two of Liang Qichao’s essays *Lun fojiao yu qunzhi zhi guanxi* (The Relation of Buddhism to Politics) and *Lun xiao-shuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi* (The Relation of Fiction to Politics). Both derive from experiences of Buddhism and take contact with certain premises in Buddhist teaching, for instance from *Ru Lengjiajing* (*Lankāvatāra sūtra*) and *Huayanjing* (*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*). Both belong to Mahāyāna Buddhism and constitute one of the two principal pillars of the Yogācāra school (Weishi, Consciousness-Only) or Garland (Huayan). They were to have been theoretical stimuli for a wide-ranging discussion in the socio-political and the literary-artistic domain. History disappointed Liang’s hopes that Buddhism would be the foundation of China’s “new belief”, or that it could “serve as a unifying ideology and as a philosophy which could be paralleled with Western philosophy” (p. 42). His trust in demiurgic powers of the fiction supported by arguments from the above Buddhist teachings likewise proved to have been hyperbolic, nevertheless, it helped in restructuring the hierarchy of Chinese genre system and was one of the first swallows harbingering the advent of the new Chinese literature.

Zhang Binglin (1868—1936) turned to Buddhism while in prison as a result of the so-called Su-pao case. We observe in him interest in the same schools, i. e. Consciousness-Only and Garland, a feature that is repeated in all those seriously interested in Buddhism from the ranks of members of Chinese intelligentsia. Occasionally, Chan (Zen) Buddhism is mentioned, but it may safely be left out of our considerations, or it remained at the periphery of interest.

Orientation towards Buddhism was patriotically motivated or it may be

explained by the youthful fervour and lack of perspicacity of those who propagated it, eventually by the conservative attitudes of elderly adherents, such as Zhang Binglin. This direction was not scientifically founded, nor justified. Buddhism, regardless of the school from which it stemmed, could not satisfy the requirements of modern socio-political State doctrine or ideology as a system of political, legal or judiciary, moral, aesthetic and philosophical views or ideas which subsequently set up institutions and organizations to ensure the normal functioning. It will certainly prove useful to peruse the book *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, by Kenneth K. S. Ch'en and follow his explanation of Buddhist reflection in the ethical, political, economic, literary, educational and social life in mediaeval China. This analysis, however, is mainly concerned with the Buddhist *sanghas* (monastic communities). Buddhism certainly exercised an influence also in the broader social sphere, but here it proved a helper of Confucianism rather than its opponent and played the role of the second voice in a duet.

It is quite understandable within the socio-political context of the end of the 19th century that Tan Sitong should have placed the sign of equality between certain parts of Confucian and Buddhist teachings, e. g. between Confucian *Daxue* (*Great Learning*) and Weishi and Huayan schools. However, as pointed out by Chan Sin-wai, Tan Sitong here makes a comparison of two items that are not related at all — in this case the process of the acquisition of knowledge in the *Great Learning* and the “Five Teachings” of the Buddhist schools. Feng Youlan, in his book *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. 2, wrote that Tan Sitong “drew upon many disparate elements” (p. 692). Tan attempted to compare the incomparables (eventually that where comparison has no sense) and to unite what cannot be united when he tried to work out a synthesis of certain concepts from Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity and European science.

It is certainly understandable why Tan Sitong, and others after him, has selected the Consciousness-Only and the Garland schools as the basis of the future “neo-Buddhism”. These were the best processed and the most speculative Buddhist teachings in China and by their intellectual value could compete with the most developed Indian or European idealistic philosophical systems. But none of them succeeded in setting up an effective neo-Buddhism. Even the best attempt, i. e. Tan Sitong’s work *Renxue* (An Exposition of Benevolence) resulted in setting up a mere syncretic, nonliving, socio-politically ineffective and scientifically untenable ideology. The idea of benevolence of human-heartedness (*ren*) taken over from Confucian philosophy, or compassion (*ci*) borrowed from the Buddhist repertoire of moral principles, could represent at most ethical categories, but were incapable of playing such a role as the concept of “utility” or “instrument” (in pragmatism), or “surplus value” and “class struggle” (in Marxism-Leninism).

The Buddhist theme in the late Qing political thought became not a “romantic interlude” (p. 161), but a mere by-product in the intercultural meeting or confrontation of East and West, i.e. Confucianism and its Euro-American ideological counterparts.

Yet, despite the above remarks, the author did well to devote himself to this topic and it would be beneficial if non-Confucian Chinese traditions were investigated from this point of view more deeply and in a wider range, so that a knowledge of Tan Sitong’s work be put into relation with the study of many others who, too, had attempted something similar.

An abundant bibliography is appended to the work.

Marián Gálik

*Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen. Relations Habsbourg-ottomanes.* Wien 26.—30. September 1983. Hrsg. von A. Tietze. Wien, Verlag des Verbandes der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs 1985. 343 S., 3 Abb.

Das rezensierte Buch bringt einen Teil der Referate, die bei der in Wien im Jahre 1983 abgehaltenen Tagung des Comité international des études pré-ottomanes et ottomanes vorgetragen wurden. Im Unterschied zu anderen, im Jubiläumsjahr 1983 in Wien abgehaltenen Konferenzen beschränkte sich diese Tagung des CIÉPO nicht auf die Belagerung und Befreiung Wiens im Jahre 1683, sondern auf die habsburgisch-osmanischen Beziehungen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert im Bereich der Diplomatie, der Politik, des Militärwesens, aber auch der Wirtschaft und Kultur. Der Herausgeber des Sammelwerks A. Tietze veröffentlichte von dieser Tagung einundzwanzig teilweise ausgearbeitete Referate, die man mit einer gewissen Einschränkung als thematisches Ganzes betrachten kann. Die Referate sind chronologisch gereiht, auch wenn man diese Chronologie nicht immer und konsequent einhalten konnte.

O. Zirojević richtete ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf die osmanisch-ungarischen Kriege, Zusammenstoße und Streifzüge seit dem Fall von Smederevo (1459) bis zur Schlacht bei Mohács. Von den bedeutenderen Kämpfen entfiel der Autorin die Niederlage des kroatischen Bans Emmerich Derecsényi durch den Sandschakbeg Yakub Pascha im Krbava-Tal bei Udbina am 19. September 1493. P. Balcáreks Beitrag konzentrierte sich auf drei Themen: die finanzielle und materielle Beteiligung der böhmischen Länder an der antitürkischen Abwehr, die Überfälle der Kuruzen in Mähren im Jahre 1683 und auf bedeutende Dokumente zu den Begebenheiten des Jahres 1683 aus dem Staatsarchiv in Brno.

Von den ungarischen Teilnehmern der Tagung analysierte G. Fehér drei osmanische Miniaturen, die die Burg Wien während der Belagerung im Jahre 1529, Stuhlweissenburg im Jahre 1543 und die Budaer Burg im Jahre 1541

wiedergeben. F. Szakály (Der Wandel Ungarns in der Türkenzeit) kritisierte mit Recht die Theorie des Militärhistorikers G. Perjés, derzufolge Sultan Süleyman Ungarn nicht besetzen, sondern es lediglich zu einem Pufferstaat umwandeln wollte. Anhand der Entwicklung der Ereignisse in den Jahren 1526—1541 zeigte der Autor, daß die Ziele der Osmanen bis über die Grenzen Ungarns hinweg reichten. Abschließend erneuert er jedoch eine von Gy. Szekfű vor mehr als einem halben Jahrhundert ausgesprochene These. Seine Behauptung „von den Völkern des mittelalterlichen Ungarns hat das Ungarntum die größten Verluste erlitten“ ist ziemlich relativ, da wir aus dem mittelalterlichen Ungarn keinerlei genaue Angaben demographischen Charakters zur Verfügung haben.

C. Max Kortepeter versuchte das habsburgische und das osmanische System im Bezug zur Eroberung und zur Kontrolle Ungarns im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert zu vergleichen. Außer anregender und origineller Gedanken bringt seine Studie jedoch auch viele Ungenauigkeiten: man kann die Bezeichnung Austrian Hungary nicht anwenden, sondern Royal Hungary; Dózsa war kein peasant, sondern ein Landsherr; der Palatin verwaltete Ungarn nicht für den Kaiser, sondern er repräsentierte das Land und außerdem war dieses Amt in den Jahren 1562—1608 und dann wieder zwischen 1667—1681 unbesetzt.

Ein übersichtlicher Beitrag aus der Feder M. Grothaus Zum Türkensbild in der Kultur der Habsburgermonarchie zwischen dem 16. und 18. Jahrhundert zeigt, wie sich im Laufe dreier Jahrhunderte die Ansichten über die Türken bildeten und änderten.

M. Maxim beweist, daß der Kampf des Osmanischen Reichs mit den Habsburgern um Ungarn und Siebenbürgen auch in den osmanisch-rumänischen Beziehungen seinen starken Niederschlag fand.

Von neuen Zugängen zu den traditionellen Themen werden auch die Beiträge von C. Finkel (The Provisioning of the Ottoman Army During the Campaign of 1593—1606) und J. Schmidt (The Egri Campaign of 1596; Military History and the Problem of Sources) gekennzeichnet. C. Finkel bemühte sich um eine „more complex explanation“ der Frage der Versorgung der osmanischen Armeen während ihrer Feldzüge nach Ungarn zur Zeit des sog. fünfzehnjährigen Krieges. J. Schmidt wieder zeigte, wie sich die Zugehörigkeit der osmanischen Autoren, die die Schlacht bei Mezőkeresztes im Jahre 1596 schilderten, zu den einzelnen Fraktionen in der osmanischen Staatsführung auf die Beschreibung der Begebenheit auswirkte. Hier möchten wir auf das im Jahre 1602 von Bartolomej Paprocký aus Hlohov veröfentlichte Werk *Diadochos*, als auf eine Quelle zu den militärischen Begebenheiten im Jahre 1596 hinweisen.

C. Feneşan untersuchte die Rolle von Siebenbürgen bei der Vermittlung des Friedens zwischen den Habsburgern und der Porta in den Jahren 1605—1627. Kann man von Bocskay behaupten, er hätte zum Friedensabschluß in der Mündung des Flusses Žitava im Jahre 1606 beigetragen, ist es schwer über die

Vermittlerrollen G. Bethlens und seiner Diplomatie zu reden. Père Josephs Pläne zu einem Kreuzzug gegen das Osmanische Reich am Vorabend und in den ersten Jahren des Dreißigjährigen Krieges untersuchte W. Leitsch.

Anregende theoretische Überlegungen bringt R. A. Abou-El-Haj in seinem Beitrag *The Nature of the Ottoman State in the Latter Part of the XVIIth Century*. Er unterstreicht, daß es für die osmanische Geschichte wichtig sei sich auf den Klassencharakter des osmanischen Staats zu konzentrieren und plädiert für die Anwendung der Theorie der asiatischen Produktionsweise.

Z. Abrahamowicz fährt in seiner Analyse der osmanischen Macht in Podoliens fort. Aufgrund des *defter-i icmal* aus dem Jahre 1682 befaßt er sich mit der administrativen Unterteilung des *vilayet-i Kamenice*. Mit dem diplomatischen Vorspiel des osmanischen Feldzugs im Jahre 1683 befaßt sich M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru. Er schöpft dabei ausgiebig aus den diplomatischen Materialien des Wiener Staatsarchivs.

Angaben zu den habsburgisch-osmanischen Beziehungen in den Jahren 1703—1708 aus dem ältesten Wiener Periodikum *Wienerisches Diarium* veröffentlicht S. Panova. Die Entwicklung der Handelsbeziehungen zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und dem Königreich Neapel in den Jahren 1701—1734 wird aufgrund der Archivmaterialien von A. di Vittorio untersucht.

Der osmanischen Diplomatie in Wien widmen zwei amerikanische Forscher eine große Aufmerksamkeit. J. M. Stein zeigt anhand des Werks des osmanischen Gesandten in Wien in den Jahren 1791—1792 Abu Bekir Ratib Efendi was für die osmanische Diplomatie in Österreich von Interesse gewesen ist. Es war dies vor allem die Armee und die Finanzinstitutionen, sowie Methoden, mit denen der Staat neben der Steuer Geld von seiner Bevölkerung gewann. R. H. Davidson wies auf die Bedeutung Wiens für die osmanische Diplomatie als einer Quelle von Informationen über europäische Angelegenheiten hin. Wertvoll ist auch seine Liste osmanischer Botschafter und deren Sitze in Wien seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis 1919.

D. Quataert befaßt sich mit den wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und dem Reich der Habsburger in den Jahren 1880—1914. Er behauptet das Modell des Zentrums und der Peripherie sei für die Untersuchung der wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Staaten nicht sehr gut brauchbar. Trotz seiner wirtschaftlichen Überlegenheit war Österreich-Ungarn auch seitens des Osmanischen Reichs ökonomisch verwundbar, während dieses, obwohl weniger entwickelt, gegen wirtschaftliche Erschütterungen widerstandsfähiger gewesen sei.

R. Murphey benützte das Werk Raṣids, des osmanischen Chronisten der Stadt Belgrad in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, zur Verfolgung des Verlaufs der Reformen der Zentralverwaltung in den Provinzen und zur Frage der Übernahme des Bodens durch die Christen aus den Händen der Moslems.

Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte des Libanon in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts aus der Feder von Abou Nohra und C. A. Farah weisen darauf hin, wie man während der ägyptischen Okkupation (1832—1840) die Religion als ein Mittel zur Teilung der Libanesen auszunützen begann, sowie auf die Rolle der österreichischen Diplomatie in der Libanon-Krise.

Trotz seiner Vielfalt trägt der Sammelband der Referate von der Tagung des CIÉPO in Wien im Jahre 1983 zur Vertiefung der Erkenntnis der osmanisch-habsburgischen Beziehungen gleichermaßen auf dem Gebiet der Konfrontation als auch der Zusammenarbeit bei.

Vojtech Kopčan

*Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit I, II.* Recklinghausen, Verlag Aurel Bongers 1985. 254 + 399 S. xxxii farb. Tafeln.

Die rezensierte Arbeit ist ein Katalog zur Ausstellung Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit, die im neuen Gebäude des Museums für Kunsthandwerk in Frankfurt a. M. und in der Villa Hügel in Essen im Jahre 1985 eröffnet wurde. Den Veranstaltern ist es gelungen für diese Ausstellung über 500 Objekte von mehr als hundert privaten und öffentlichen Leihgebern aus Europa, der Türkei und den USA zu versammeln.

Den Anlaß zur Veranstaltung dieser großartigen Ausstellung gab die Beratung des 6. Internationalen Kongresses für türkische Kunst in München im Jahre 1979. Hier entstand der Gedanke eine repräsentative Ausstellung der osmanischen Kunst zu veranstalten, die dann von Dr. A. Ohm, der Direktorin des Museums für Kunsthandwerk in Frankfurt a. M. und von Dr. W. Vollrath, dem geschäftsführenden Vorstandsmitglied der Villa Hügel in Essen unter fachlicher Mitarbeit mehrerer deutscher Turkologen, Kunsthistoriker als auch ausländischer Fachleute realisiert wurde. Eine so breit konzipierte Ausstellung war ohne ausgiebige Unterstützung mehrerer Institutionen undenkbar.

So wie bei der Auswahl der Exponate sind Fachleute aus mehreren Ländern — der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Großbritanien, den Niederlanden, Österreich, der Türkei und den USA — auch bei der Zusammenstellung des Katalogs behilflich gewesen. Von der Bedeutung der Ausstellung zeugen auch Grußadressen der Außenminister der Türkei und der BRD, als auch des Generaldirektors für Museen und Antike Kunstwerke des Ministeriums für Kultur und Fremdenverkehr der Republik Türkei, sowie ein Geleitwort des Repräsentanten des Kulturdezernats der Stadt Frankfurt a. M.

Nach dem Vorwort, in dem die Veranstalter der Ausstellung Dr. A. Ohm und Dr. W. Vollrath Grundinformationen über die Ausstellung gaben und ihre Dankbarkeit jenen Mitarbeitern und Institutionen, die sich um die Veranstal-

tung der Ausstellung am meisten verdient machten, zum Ausdruck brachten, folgen kurze Angaben über die Leihgeber und die Autoren, ein Vorwort der Redaktion und Informationen über die Transkription des Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen, als auch über die Aussprache des letzteren.

Der erste Teil des Katalogs bringt kürzere oder längere Artikel enzyklopädischen Charakters über die osmanische politische, wirtschaftliche, militärische und kulturelle Geschichte, als auch über Institutionen und das Kulturmilieu des Osmanischen Reichs. Den Informationen gehen einleitende Überlegungen von Michael Rogers Osmanische Kunst (S. 19—38) und Hanna Erdmann Vorstufe: Seldschuken, Emirate (S. 39—44) voran. M. Rogers richtete in den Überlegungen sein Augenmerk auf die Quellen der osmanischen Kunst, die hinsichtlich der Machthaberischen Stellung des Reiches außer islamischer und byzantinischer Traditionen Anregungen auch aus Europa, ja über Persien sogar aus China und Indien erhielt. Nicht jedoch nur Anregungen, der osmanische Hof war bemüht auch Meister und Künstler aus den verschiedenlichsten Ländern der Welt in seine Dienste aufzunehmen. Der Autor betonte, daß mehreren Artefakten der osmanischen Kunst die Bemühung um einen äußeren Glanz anzusehen sei und es komme in ihr auch der modische Diktat und nicht zuletzt auch ein Eklektizismus zum Vorschein.

Einen guten und sachlichen Überblick der Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches seit seiner Gründung bis zum Untergang gibt K. Schwarz, der auch als Autor eines weiteren Artikels Staatsverwaltung und Repräsentation auftritt, in dem er Angaben über die osmanische Verwaltung und deren Institutionen zusammenfaßt. Der Feder W. Riesterers entstammen Beiträge über das osmanische Militärwesen und die Seestreitkräfte. Auf einem so kleinen Raum konnte der Autor lediglich grundlegende Angaben über einzelne Arten der Heere, deren Rekrutierung und materieller Versorgung, weniger schon über deren Ausrüstung und Taktik bieten.

Die Überlegungen über die Kunstgeschichte beginnen mit dem Beitrag von W. Müller-Wiener Der Hof des Großherrn, in dem er sich mit der Frage befaßt, welche Aufgabe das Topkapı-Sarayı, die Palast-Stadt, in der osmanischen Geschichte spielte und welche Funktionen es hatte.

K. Kreiser, der in letzter Zeit eine große Aufmerksamkeit dem Studium des Derwischwesens widmete, verfaßte für den Katalog zwei Beiträge Zur Kulturgeschichte der osmanischen Moschee und Die Tekke und das Derwischwesen. Im ersten Beitrag befaßt er sich mit den Gründen der Kultbauten im Islam, der Ausbreitung und dem Verfall osmanischer Moscheen am Balkan und in Mitteleuropa (seiner Ansicht nach gehört das Vorkommen der osmanischen Architektur zu einem der Hauptkennzeichen der Zugehörigkeit zum Kernraum des Osmanischen Reichs, siehe seine Studie Über den Kernraum des Osmanischen Reichs. In: *Die Türkei in Europa*. Göttingen 1979, S. 53—63), mit den Bauten

osmanischer Sultans und Würdenträger, deren Namengebung, Erhaltung usw. Seine Aufmerksamkeit widmete er auch den Architekten, Handwerkern, den Baustoffen und dem Verlauf des Aufbaus von Moscheen. In seinem zweiten Artikel analysiert K. Kreiser das Derwischtum als soziales und wirtschaftliches Phänomen.

Literatur und Gesellschaft im Osmanischen Reich aus der Feder von B. Flemming ist kein üblicher Abriß der osmanischen Literaturgeschichte, sondern ein gesellschaftlich-kultureller Hintergrund dieser Literatur mit einer Fülle an interessanten Angaben, z. B. über die Praxis des Dichters, über Übersetzungen usw. Die Autorin widmet sich vor allem jenen Werken der osmanischen Literatur, die mit Miniaturen illustriert wurden.

Mit der Aufnahme der europäischen Kultur im Osmanischen Reich befaßt sich der Beitrag von M. Köhbach.

Den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Osmanischen Reichs ist der Artikel M. Strohmeiers gewidmet: Wirtschaft, Landwirtschaft, Handel, Handwerk. Dem Verfasser ist es gelungen auf einem verhältnismäßig kleinen Raum ein lebhaftes Bild des osmanischen Wirtschaftslebens und dessen Veränderungen seit dem Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts zu zeichnen.

Münzen sind ein fester Bestandteil fast aller Ausstellungen, die der Geschichte und Kultur des Osmanischen Reichs gewidmet sind. Die Beiträge von H. Piegeler Zur Geschichte des osmanischen Münzwesens und noch mehr in jenem von H. Wilski Die Münzen des Osmanischen Reiches bringen viele wertvolle Angaben, die von der in den Katalogenteil eingereichten Liste der osmanischen Münzen ergänzt werden.

Drei Beiträge aus der Feder von W. Müller-Wiener Staatbild und städtisches Leben, Haus — Garten — Bad und Architektur liefern tiefgehende Sonden in die Organisation städtischer Siedlungen, in das Lebensmilieu, die Wohnkultur und die osmanische Architektur.

Kurze Skizzen über osmanische Blumen und deren Reise nach Mitteleuropa von G. Schoser und S. Renz-Rathfelder, über die Ess- und Trinkgewohnheiten der Osmanen von M. Ursinus, das Musikleben von U. Reinhard, über das türkische Schattentheater (Karagöz) von A. Tietze und I. Baldauf vervollständigen das Bild der osmanischen Kultur.

Zu den Texten im ersten Teil bringt der Katalog 66 überwiegend zweidimensionale Objekte (Malereien, Miniaturen, Gravierungen, Photographien), aber auch dreidimensionale (Münzen und Medaillen, Musikinstrumente und Derwisch-Gegenstände). Um dem Benutzer des Katalogs die Orientierung zu erleichtern, wurden alle im ersten Band enthaltenen Katalognummern mit „I“ gekennzeichnet und fortlaufend numeriert. Die Objekte im zweiten Band sind nach Sachgebieten geordnet und haben arabische Gruppennummern mit eigener Zählung „1/1, 2/1“ usw.

Während der erste Band des Katalogs allgemeinen Überlegungen über die osmanische Kunst, der geschichtlichen Entwicklung und den kulturellen Verhältnissen gewidmet war, befaßt sich der zweite mit den einzelnen Gattungen der osmanischen Kunst. Nach den einleitenden Beiträgen von J. Zick-Nissen Osmanisches Kunsthandwerk und fernöstliche und abendländische Einflüsse folgen Artikel mit Katalogen über die einzelnen Arten der künstlerischen Tätigkeit. H.-C. Graf von Bothmer befaßt sich mit der Buchkunst, Buchmalerei, Illumination, Kalligraphie, Papieren und Tuğra. Diese Teile gehören so vom kunsthistorischen als auch vom allgemeinen Gesichtspunkt zu den besten. Die Keramik wird von J. Zick-Nissen analysiert. Dieser Beitrag wird von einem überaus reichhaltigen Katalogteil begleitet. Einer der bekanntesten osmanischen Artefakten, die türkischen Teppiche, sind Gegenstand der Untersuchung von H. Erdmann. Mit der osmanischen Kleidung und den Stoffen befassen sich J. Scarce und I. Biniok. Wir möchten darauf hinweisen, daß der Autor des Albums türkischer Trachten, das K. Tuchelt (Kat. 4/15) herausgegeben hat, der Dolmetscher der polnischen Gesandtschaft zur Porta P. Crutta gewesen ist.

Metallerzeugnisse, vor allem jene aus Kupfer, gehören bis an den heutigen Tag zu den bewunderten Gegenständen auf türkischen und balkanischen *çarşı*. Der Verarbeitung von Gold, Silber, Kupfer, als auch anderen Metallen, derer Technik miteingeschlossen, ist die Arbeit von N. T. Ölcer gewidmet. An das vorangehende Thema knüpft eng S. Türkoğlu mit dem Artikel Höfische Goldschmiedekunst an. Mit obigen Themen hängt auch der Beitrag über das Juwel von D. Rothwedder zusammen.

M. Rogers bearbeitete für den Katalog auch osmanische Holzarbeiten, osmanisches Glas und osmanische Elfenbeinkunst.

Der umfangreichste Beitrag dieses Teils stammt aus der Feder P. Jaeckels und ist der Wehr und Waffen der Türken gewidmet. Der Autor geht aus den erhaltenen Waffen, wie auch aus dem Bedarf des Katalogs hervor und daher ist auch sein Bild des Kriegswesens diesem Zweck angepaßt. Abgeschlossen wird der Katalog durch Beiträge von D. A. King Osmanische astronomische Handschriften und Instrumente und Kompass zur Bestimmung der Kibla.

Die Bibliographie, nach einzelnen Beiträgen gereiht, bringt die Grundliteratur, sowie auch die in den Artikeln zitierte Studien. Am Ende des Katalogs finden wir einen Glossar islamischer und Fachtermini.

Der Katalog Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit gehört zweifelsohne zu den bemerkenswerten Werken seiner Art und es ist zu hoffen, daß er eine ähnliche Rolle haben wird, wie der Katalog Sarre-Martin: Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken mohammedanischer Kunst in München, der vor einem dreiviertel Jahrhundert herausgegeben wurde. Leider gibt es in beiden Teilen reichlich Druckfehler, fehlerhafte Hinweise aus den Katalog, eine uneinheitliche Transkription von Namen und Termini sowie ähnliche Schönheitsfehler.

Vojtech Kopčan

Faroqhi, Suraiya: *Town and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520—1650*. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge—London—New York—New Rochelle—Melbourne—Sydney, Cambridge University Press 1984. xiv + 425 pp.

The upsurge of research in the domain of the economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, witnessed over the past decades, could not bypass an investigation of towns. As might be expected, the greatest attention has been devoted to Istanbul which occupied a special place in the empire, but soon interest came to be centred also on Balkan towns. The Proceedings from the Moscow conference held in 1969 (*La ville balkanique XV<sup>e</sup>—XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Sofia 1970), were followed by a monograph by N. Todorov (*Balkanskijat grad XV—XIX vek*. Sofia 1972 — appeared also in Russian, French and English). The demographic development of towns in Macedonia has been processed by A. Stojanovski (*Gradovite na Makedonija od krajot 14 do 17 vek*. Skopje 1981).

Research of Anatolian towns is substantially more modest. Quite a number of studies on these towns have appeared (see pp. 4—9), but there is a lack of a modern monograph processing of the topic and relevant syntheses. S. Faroqhi's book is the first such synthetic work on Anatolian towns in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Faroqhi deals with the development of Anatolian towns at a period when they experienced a population growth generally demonstrable also in other regions of the Mediterranean and which, along with further factors, contributed to the setting up of a dense network of towns. In the wake of this phenomenon came a great crisis which manifested itself in Anatolia in both the political area — uprisings of the so-called *Celâlis* — and the economic sphere — depopulation of the countryside, difficulties in artisan and manufacture production, etc.

The author investigates these processes in three economic spheres: (1) in home and foreign trade, (2) in manufacture — artisan production, (3) in the agricultural hinterland of towns.

It should be noted that the author does not study all the towns in Anatolia, but focuses solely on the central and western part. She has excluded the east-Anatolian provinces of Trebizond and Erzurum because of the minor economic significance of their towns. In view of the economic bond between southeastern Anatolia and Aleppo, her investigation does not cover the provinces Diyarbakir and Haleb, although the latter would deserve a special processing. And finally, for various reasons, also Bursa has remained outside the scope of the author's attention.

The archival material researched for this study is impressive. Besides tax registers and inventories of pious foundations, she has made use in a large measure of records of the kadi's courts, *mühimme defterleri* (registers of outgo-

ing correspondence), and further archival documents. She presents data from them in 50 tables in order not to unnecessarily encumber the text. To a lesser extent she has exploited also narrative sources, particularly geographical works by Katip Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi. Her further source of information were reports by European travellers and authors. The extensive list of references the author has used goes to show that she has not omitted anything of importance from either Turkish, or Western production, including theoretical works. As to method and models, S. Faroqhi allowed herself to be influenced by the ‘Annales’ school and French regional monographs.

When characterizing Anatolian towns in the introduction, S. Faroqhi starts exclusively from quantitative criteria — the number of tax-paying inhabitants. She has set up three categories of towns according to their size, of which she is interested only in the first two (over 1500 tax-paying inhabitants) and in case of special interest (e.g. ports), also in smaller towns. Here, as well as in other places, the author could have at least made an attempt at a concise typology of Anatolian towns.

Her first circuit of investigations are towns, markets and communications. Starting from the theory of Ayverdi, Barkan and İnalcık on the role of *vakf* in the economic activity of a town, the author brings numerous valuable data and conclusions in the first chapter, as for instance that “pious foundations were part of the tax-gathering mechanisms, which resulted in a constant transfer of surplus from the village to the city” (p. 45).

Travel, transportation, migration, long-distance, interregional and local trade and its safeguarding, form the subject-matter of the second chapter. She notes that, besides other factors, the increased trade and migration from the country to towns and among towns, made possible an impressive population growth in Anatolian towns in the 16th century. This is directly related also to an analysis of maritime trade, which in the case of Anatolian ports, served, in the 16th and 17th century, primarily to supply Istanbul. The individual port towns and volume of sea-borne commerce are dealt with in the last chapter of this section. Economic and political changes brought about an essential turn in maritime commerce in the Black Sea and the Aegean region, where the most remarkable growth is that of Izmir through which the Ottoman Empire joined the world trade as a supplier of raw materials for European manufactures.

The second circuit of investigation of Activities in the Urban *çarşı* is concerned with the most important artisan products of Anatolian towns and with mining. The fifth chapter (they are numbered in a running order) Textile Manufacture: Geographical Distribution and Historical Development notes that there is a close relation between the manufacture and distribution of textiles, and characterizes the principal centres of textile manufacturing in Anatolia.

Similarly, the production of hides and skins and their artisan processing were specialized according to individual regions. Trade with hides, skins and leather goods, however, was less affected by the economic development in Europe, than textile manufacture. Leather manufacture, excepting some short-term difficulties with raw materials, did not hurt against foreign competition and therefore prospered until the mid-19th century. The last chapter of this section is devoted to mining, but uniquely in its relation to the development of towns, metal processing in towns and to commerce. Mining and metal processing were ensured by the State which appropriated or pre-empted the entire production. Hence, the author assumes that the prosperity or decline of mining towns in the Ottoman Empire was affected more by political power, than by economic factors.

The third research circuit: The Town and Its Agricultural Hinterland, is the subject of the eighth chapter — The Agricultural Bases of Urbanization: Growth and Crisis. On the example of two urban *kazas*, associated with the towns of Konya and Akşehir in central Anatolia, S. Faraqhi has outlined a vivid picture of the bond between town and countryside. She has calculated that 3 to 5 male peasants had to produce an adequate quantity of cereals for one tax-paying inhabitant of towns in these urban *kazas*. However, she adds that these data may be taken as realistic only if a considerable section of the population of towns were engaged in agriculture. The changes brought about by the monetary crisis and growing prices of cereals affected both the countryside and the town whose development became stunted or even stopped altogether in consequence of the rising prices and trade difficulties.

The ninth chapter: The Urban Consumer and His Meat Supply goes beyond the framework of Anatolian towns; it is concerned with provisioning Istanbul and thereby also of the entire core of the Ottoman Empire. As regards supply of meat to Anatolian towns, also part of the sheep destined for Istanbul were consumed here — this, in addition to their own supplies. Butchers' trade entailed certain risks here, unless the butchers came from the same milieu as the *kadis*.

Chapter ten is concerned with agricultural pursuits of urban inhabitants, members of the Ottoman administration, and army in the countryside. In contrast to the Balkan, the setting up of large semi-private landholdings (*çiftlik*s) was not a characteristic feature of Anatolia in the 16th—17th century; consequently, the author focused her attention on questions of land possession and its changes — heritage, sale and donation.

Migration and Urban Development is the title of the last — the eleventh chapter. The author has endeavoured to outline a complex picture of the causes and consequences of the great population movement in Anatolia towards the end of the 16th century. She brings in an abundance of data obtained from

sources that related to the general conditions of migration in the Ottoman Empire, as also to its causes and its realization. While the migration at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century impresses as having been spontaneous, this could hardly be said of the settlements organized by the State, which, for the most part, ended in failure. These facts go to show that the Ottoman Empire, despite all its efforts, was incapable of controlling, or even of directing according to its own needs, the strong current of migration.

The conclusion does not merely summarize the results attained in the different chapters of the book, but S. Faroqhi reflects in it over the broader connections in the economic life and urbanization in the Ottoman Empire.

S. Faroqhi's book is a valuable contribution not merely to the history of Anatolian towns in the 16th and 17th century, but also to an economic history of the Ottoman Empire during this period.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

Bomhard, A. R.: *Toward Proto-Nostratic. A New Approach to the Comparison of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Afroasiatic*. Foreword by Paul J. Hopper. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Series IV. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory. Vol. 27. Amsterdam—Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company 1984. XII + 358 pp.

In the present monograph, the author attempts to demonstrate that Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Afroasiatic are genetically related. Despite the fact that Bomhard's study is not the first attempt to examine the possibility of a PIE and PAA genetic relationship, it is certainly the first to use the most recent revisions of the PIE consonantal system (Gamkrelidze, Hopper and Ivanov) as well as data from non-Semitic subfamilies of Afroasiatic. Earlier efforts to prove the existence of a common macrofamily, including Indo-European, Afroasiatic and possibly still other families, failed to convincing results since they were based upon typologically isolated reconstructions of Indo-European. After its revision from the point of view of a substantially larger genetic relationship, the existence of a common macrofamily appears to be provable.

A book of similar scope of interest, having to rely on hypothetical data as the main source of its evidence, cannot fail to be controversial, too. Owing to its sound methodological principles, reliability of information and its systematic resort to non-Semitic branches of Afroasiatic, Bomhard's monograph should be looked on *as* a successful pioneer work that has gathered a convincing phonological and lexical evidence to the genetic relationship of PIE and PAA.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Versteegh, Kees: *Pidginization and Creolization: The Case of Arabic*. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Series IV. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory. Vol. 33. Amsterdam – Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company 1984. XIV + 196 pp.

The author of the present monograph approaches the evolutional dynamism of Arabic from a quite new angle. The transition from Old Arabic to New Arabic, which presents the proper subjects of the book, is described in terms that have been never before systematically applied to Arabic.

By Old Arabic the author understands the Arabic used in the Arabian peninsula before Islam. Contrarily to the more or less generally accepted opinion, no distinction is made between the colloquial and the poetic language. In this interpretation, the poetic koine (Blachère's *koinè coranico-poétique*) as well as the dialects are the offsprings of the same language. The poetic koine represents the elevated style of the pre-Islamic peninsular Arabic while the dialects are its regional varieties.

New Arabic, in the book under review, is understood as the total of characteristics in which the modern dialects differ from Classical Arabic.

While, then, before the rise of Islam there was a single Arabic language, after the Islamic conquest this linguistic unity was discontinued. Old Arabic (in this new historical context usually referred to as Classical Arabic or al-<sup>c</sup>Arabiyya) continued to be used as the prestige language of literature and scholarship and as the language of high society. Besides this prestige language appeared, in urban centres, a number of urban colloquials (summarily referred to, in what follows, as Arabic dialects) while the Bedouin, at least during the first period of Islam, retained Old Arabic as their colloquial.

The author starts from the assumption (1) that the substratal influences in the conquered territories have systematically been underestimated by most theories attempting to explain the origin of the Arabic dialects, and (2) that the differences between Old and New-Arabic affect the entire linguistic structure of the Arabic language.

An explanation of these radical changes is seen in the results of recent studies in the origin of pidgin languages. Before attempting this methodology to the history of Arabic, relevant data from pidgin linguistics are briefly summarized.

When this theory is applied to Arabic, it is possible to agree with the author that all Arabic dialects, except the Bedouin dialects, originated as the result of pidginization. In the subsequently acquired status of mother tongues they were creolized and, as such, they underwent the changes that accompany such development. Since most of them remained within the sphere of influence of Classical Arabic, they bear traces of decreolization, as well.

At the end of the monograph the reader will find a survey of modern Arabic trade-languages, pidgins and creoles.

Versteegh's monograph will, no doubt, provoke discussion in a number of important issues. It is the first systematic attempt to apply the theory of pidginization/creolization to the linguistic history of Arabic.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Kästner, H.—Waldmann, A.: *Aussprache und Schrift des Arabischen* (Pronunciation and Script of Arabic). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1985. 131 pp.

The attention paid to Arabic at the European universities and other centres of language instruction does not keep up with the rapidly increasing importance of this language. The same holds true of effectiveness of teaching programmes designed for the instruction of Arabic.

The problem of writing, for all its relative simplicity, is felt by the student as an utmost disturbing phenomenon, considerably retarding the progress of the language instruction. It is not so much the immediate graphical and generally technical aspect of the problem that really matters, as rather its cultural impact subsequently discovered by the student: mastering the technique of the Arabic writing does not enable the student to read what is written (without a previously acquired knowledge of what has to be read or, with a slight exaggeration, without a previous knowledge of Arabic). The prevailingly consonantal script leaves much to the knowledge and/or the phantasy of the reader.

The problem of deciphering the consonantal skeleton of the Arabic script does not seem to be an exclusive problem of a foreign or even native student. It may set unexpected traps even to the Arab intellectuals. When going over the Introduction to *A Selection of Egyptian Short Stories* (Cairo, Ministry of Culture 1982; p. 7), written by Yūsuf aš Šārūnī (Yousuf El Sharouny), a leading Egyptian literary critic, publicist and existentialist writer, we read:

— On the other hand our Arabic tradition has known the collection of stories which is distinguished from many contemporary collections by the fact that all its stories dealt with one specific subject, such as "The Book of Misers" by Al Gahez (160 H.—225), "Recompense and the Good Ending" by Ahmed Ibn Youssef who died in 339 H., "Ease After Difficulty" by Al Tunkhi (327—348 H.) and "The Wrestler of Lovers" by Ibn Serag (417—500 H.).

When disregarding the deficient reading of some proper names, as Al Tunkhi (instead of Al Tanukhi /at-Tanūxī/), one may be somewhat astonished at aš-Šārūnī's reading *muṣāri<sup>r</sup>* *al-<sup>c</sup>uṣṣāq* instead of the correct *maṣāri<sup>r</sup>* *al-<sup>c</sup>uṣṣāq*, title

of the book written by *aš-šayx 'Abī Muḥammad Ja'far ibn 'Aḥmad ibn al-Husayn as-Sarrāj al-Qāri'*.

In the Arabic skeletal script, neglecting short vowels, we read: *mṣār<sup>c</sup> 'l-ṣṣāq*.

Since, in this case, only the first element admits an ambiguous reading, the second element will be disregarded:

- mṣār<sup>c</sup>*: (1) muCāCiC: *muṣārī<sup>c</sup>* “wrestler, fighter” (a Form III active participle), as against  
(2) maCāCiC: *maṣārī<sup>c</sup>* “fatal accidents, tragical ends” plural form of *maṣra<sup>c</sup>*.

Despite the fact that the difference between *aš-Šārūnī*'s reading “The Wrestler of Lovers” and the correct “Tragical Ends of Lovers” is, of course, inadmissibly great, one cannot accuse *aš-Šārūnī* of ignorance or unacquaintance with the Arab cultural heritage. To avoid similar misinterpretations, one would have to know, item after item, thousands of mediaeval titles. Our criticism is, of course, supported by no such erudition as rather by a chance of being attracted by *as-Sarrāj*'s book and getting in possession of it.

The authors' assumption that a previous phonic mastering of what has to be written is a prerequisite of the successful training of the student, is one of the principal pillars of their methodology and has an almost axiomatic value. And indeed it is, as also its creative application to the subsequently discussed techniques of writing and practical drills, one of the greatest discoveries of this highly useful manual. The training proceeds in two parallel lines: the hand-written *ruq'a* and the typographically exploited *nasx*.

The book will be a valuable companion of both the student and the teacher at the initial stages of the instruction of Arabic.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Schregle, Götz: *Arabisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. Unter Mitwirkung von Kamal Radwan und Sayed Mohammad Rizk (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Orient-Institut, Beirut). Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH 1983 (fasc. 5—6). 369—560 pp.; Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH 1984 (fasc. 7—8). 561—752 pp.; Unter Mitwirkung von Sayed Mohammad Rizk. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH 1985 (fasc. 9—10). 753—944 pp.

When returning once again to the general characteristics of this excellent Arabic-German lexicon that have already been discussed in the first part of our review (fasc. 1—4; In.: *Asian and African Studies* 21, pp. 290—296, 1985), we can say that all subsequently published fascicles fully confirm high qualities of this huge lexicographical work. Schregle's lexicon gives a truly panoramic

picture of the lexical stock of Modern Written Arabic from the point of view of what actually is rather than from that of what might or should be. As a certain amount of normativeness is quite necessarily involved in every act of lexicographical selection and recording, the latter aspect of lexicographer's work, irrespective of whether intentional or not, is of particular importance when applied to the lexical material of the size presented in Schregle's lexicon. The lexicon, based on a collection of some 200,000 units, is expected to run to approximately 2,200 pages. This size, truly unprecedented in the 20th century bilingual lexicons of Modern Written Arabic, makes it possible to include a correspondingly higher number of classicisms and archaisms for the convenience of the user. Despite the fact that, theoretically, there is nothing too obsolete in Arabic as to be safely excluded from a lexicon of Modern Written Arabic, the almost unbelievably rich lexical stock of classical Arabic has to be somehow reduced and compressed. The predominant application of Modern Written Arabic to written records, as well as its persisting exclusion from most types of nonformal oral communication, prevented the formation of self-regulating mechanisms in the language itself that would help to eliminate undue classicisms and to reduce the exorbitant synonymy. The lack of a workable dividing line between what one might classify as 'old', as against 'modern', is one of the most serious problems of the Arabic lexicography and each author has to cope with it in his own way. Most classicisms, included in the lexicon, are culturally important items whose knowledge is absolutely indispensable for the understanding of the crucial concepts of Arabo-Muslim civilization and the most currently used words and expressions of modern fiction and poetry. When completed, Schregle's lexicon will evidently be the best equipped tool for reading modern fiction and poetry, with only a very small number of *nawādir* omitted that will have to be supplemented from large classical lexicons. For a not too specialized technical usage, the lexicon will markedly surpass all recent general lexicons of Modern Written Arabic. In everyday situations, the lexicon will be as good as Modern Written Arabic can ever be.

Schregle's selection of the lexical material reflects an intimate knowledge of the recent MWA lexicon with all its niceties and intricacies and it betrays a deep insight into its evolution through the last two centuries. The material included is, in general, up-to-date and perspective in use and general acceptance. What is included is, in the vast majority of cases, more frequent and more important than what is omitted. The opposite occurs only rarely, as in the case of the actually quoted *hufūl*: *dūna-l-hufūl bi* "unbekümmert um" ("unmindful of") in contrast to the omitted noun *muhtafal* in its local application "gathering place; party", etc. We are, of course, aware of the highly subjective character of the statements like the present one.

A number of terms included seem to go beyond the limit of what we consider

to be an optimal degree of generality as a result of a too restrictive specialization. From this point of view, we would certainly prefer the inclusion of *taxdīr mawdī̄t* (“Lokalanästhesie” / ‘local anaesthesia’) to the actually quoted *at-taxdīr al-mawdī̄t bi-t-tabrīd* “Vereisung (med.)” (‘local anaesthesia by refrigeration’), all the more so that by far not all cases of local anaesthesia are performed by refrigeration.

The new and newest fields of knowledge as well as problems of global importance, typical of the late 20th century, are very adequately represented in the lexicon, either directly, by the corresponding lexical units and more unambiguous definitions, or at the level of the newly introduced thematic classifiers. The field of data processing, for instance, is very consistently represented, in the 10 fascicles so far published, at the level of thematic classifiers, such as: *hafīza* “... etw. verwahren, aufbewahren, aufheben; Waren, Vorräte lagern; Lebensmittel konservieren; Computer Daten speichern”; etc. Similarly: *ḥifż* “...Verwahrung, Aufbewahrung; Lagerung, Speicherung; — *al-maclūmāt* Computertechnik, Datenspeicherung”; etc.

Terms that have acquired a truly global importance in the last decades are unprecedentedly well represented in the lexicon. From a large number of convincing examples, the Arabic equivalents to the randomly selected adjective “demographic”, as reflected in bilingual lexicons from the second half of the 20th century, will be presented as an illustrative example:

Wehr (1952): unrepresented; the most closely related units: *as-sukkān* “Die Bevölkerung” (‘population’); *katīr as-sukkān* “volkreich” (‘populous’); *maskūn* “bevölkert” (‘populated, inhabited’); *al-maskūna* “die bewohnte Erde, die Welt” (‘the inhabited world, the world’);

Wehr/Cowan (1961—1971): as above;

Wehr/Cowan (1979—): *sukkānī* “affecting or concerning the residents”; related units: *ziyāda sukkāniyya* “population increase”; *kaṭāfa sukkāniyya* “population density”; the remaining units as well as their second-language equivalents are identical with those quoted above; the semantic range of *maskūn* involves also a regional (Tunisian) application of the term in the sense of “manned (spacecraft)”;

Krahl (German-Arabic, 1964): unrepresented; related units: Bevölkerung (population): *as-sukkān*;

Krahl (Arabic-German, 1984): *sukkānī* “Bevölkerungs-” (‘concerning population; demographic’; in the latter case only when interpreting the ‘adjective’ Bevölkerungs- as inclusive of ‘bevölkerungskundlich’; related units: *sukkān* “Einwohner (plur.), Bevölkerung” (“inhabitants, population’); *qalil as-sukkān* “dünnbesiedelt” (“thinly populated’); *ma’hūl as-sukkān* “dichtbesiedelt” (“thickly settled’);

Schregle (German-Arabic, 1974): at the adjectival level (viz., Bevölkerungs-,

demographisch) unrepresented; the number of related units is nevertheless very high: Demographie: *dīmūjrāfiyā* (in Egyptian way of writing, to be pronounced *demogrāfiyā*), ‘ilm as-sukkān; bevölkert: *ma’hūl*, ‘āhil, *mu’ammar*, ‘āmir; Bevölkerung (verbal abstract: ‘/the process of/ populating, peopling’): *ta’mir*; Bevölkerung (‘inhabitants, population’): *as-sukkān*; Bevölkerungsdichte (‘density of population’): *katāfat as-sukkān*; Bevölkerungsschwund (‘population decrease’): *naqṣ (nuqṣān)* ‘*adad as-sukkān*; Bevölkerungszahl (‘number of inhabitants’): ‘*adad as-sukkān*; Bevölkerungszunahme, -zuwachs (‘population increase’): *ziyādat (tazāyud) as-sukkān*; *ziyādat ‘adad as-sukkān, an-numuww as-sukkānī, numuww as-sukkān*;

Schregle (Arabic-German, 1981— : the lexicon under review): *sukkānī* “bevölkerungsmäßig, Bevölkerungs-; demographisch” (‘concerning population, population-; demographic’); some of the related terms: *as-sukkān*; *sukkān al-‘ālam* “die Erdbevölkerung” (‘world’s population’); *katīf as-sukkān* “dichtbesiedelt, dichtbevölkert, volkreich” (‘thickly settled, thickly populated, populous’); etc.

As evident from this short chronological and contrastive comparison, Schregle’s lexicon is extraordinarily responsive to the evolutionary dynamism of crucial concepts of our era, as perceived through the linguistic medium of Arabic.

An ambitious lexicon of the size of Schregle’s has to include great numbers of multiword units. In general, Schregle’s material may be characterized as masterly selected from disturbing sets of competitive alternants. Multiword units with prepositional elements, although correctly marked, fail to draw attention of the student, in Schregle’s presentation, to an almost always admissible synthetic-analytic alternation, as in:

*al-ḥukm bi-l-barā'a* “Freispruch” (‘acquittal’), or

*al-ḥukm bi-l-’iḍām* “Todesurteil” (‘death sentence’), etc.

Construction with prepositions, obligatory at the verbal level (with verbs calling for prepositions) are no longer obligatory in annexion-featured head-modifier multiword units, i. e.:

*ḥukm al-barā'a*;

*ḥukm al-’iḍām*, etc.

This state of affairs is marked differently with various authors.

In the lexicon under review three ways of presenting these constructions are alternatively used: (1) only analytic variants are indicated, as in: *al-’idmān ‘alā al-musakkirāt* “Trunksucht, Alkoholismus” (‘alcoholism’); see also the examples quoted above; (2) only synthetic variants are stated, e. g.: *’idmān al-muxaddirāt* “Rauschgiftsucht; Drogenabhängigkeit” (‘drug addiction’); (3) both possibilities are explicitly indicated with the same units, as in: *mudmin (‘alā) al-muxaddirāt* “rauschgiftsüchtig; Drogenabhängiger” (‘addicted to narcotics;

a drug addict'). A uniform way of quotation would have been perhaps more advantageous although the user will easily understand the real nature of these constructions even in Schregle's tripartite presentation. The most realistic of all is obviously the way of quotation indicated under (3). It is the one frequently used by Krahl (1984), as in: *ḥukm* (*bi-*) *al-barā'a*; *ḥukm* (*bi-*) *al-īdām*, etc., even if not always consistently, either.

Of course in a lexicon of the size of Schregle's a number of omissions, smaller shortcomings and not quite unambiguous equivalences cannot safely be avoided.

The former class of what we consider to be unduly omitted (by a comparison with what is actually quoted) may be illustrated on cases like:

*tahakkum*: — *'ālī* "automatic control"; — *min ba'īd*, — *'an bu'ūd* "remote control"; — *bi-'azrār iñdiqātiyya (dāgiṭa)* "pushbutton control";

*ḥukūma*: *i'tilāfiyya* "coalition government"; — *'amīla* "puppet government";

*ḥayawānī*: *al-mamlaka al-ḥayawāniyya* "the animal kingdom";

*murāqaba*: *burj al-murāqaba* "control tower (airport)"; in this connection it should be noted that under *burj* the following conceptually close expressions are quoted: *burj al-qiyāda*, *kubrī al-milāḥa* "(Naut.) Steuerhaus" ('bridge, pilot-house, wheelhouse (navig.)');

*ixtiṭāf*: — *aṭ-tā'ira* "hijacking of an airplane", besides *al-ixtiṭāf min al-jaww* (lit. 'abduction from the air'), because of its regrettably high frequency in the late 20th century newspaper and radio Arabic;

*markaz*: — *hātifī* "central, telephone exchange"; etc.

Some lexically important negative terms are missing, too:

*lā-markazī* "decentralized"; *lā-markaziyya* "decentralization", etc., besides *markazī* "centralized"; *markaziyya* "centralization", etc. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the user will find these expressions under the negative particle *lā*.

In quoting terms, circulating in several variants, the lexicon selects, as a rule, the most representative and hopeful items. In a limited number of cases, however, the variants selected do not strictly coincide with those proposed by specialized dictionaries, as in: *muḥarrik rubā'i ad-dawra*, *muḥarrik dū 'arba'a mašāwīr* "Viertaktmotor, Viertakter", as against Khatib's *muḥarrik rubā'i (tunā'i) al-'aśwāt* "four- (two-) stroke engine". It should be noted, however, that in Schregle's *German-Arabic dictionary* (1974) *muḥarrik rubā'i al-'aśwāt (ad-dawrāt)* "Viertaktmotor" is used instead. Furthermore, it must be recognized that in view of the recent state of terminological codification it is hardly possible to propose a more satisfactory selection of terms than that observable in the present lexicon.

The impossibility to distinguish between the actor and the undergoer relationship in two-word attributive sequences, consisting of a verbal noun in the

head position and nonagreeing modifier in genitive, is a well-known problem. Hence, in the phrase *qatl al-malik* (or, contextually, *qathlu-l-maliki*) “king’s murder”, *al-malik* (‘king’) may operate both as an actor (*agens*) and as an undergoer (*patiens*). When no clue may be obtained from the semantic value of the verbal abstract, the only possible way to clear away this ambiguity is the resort to a larger context. A minimum distinctive context is, in this case, a three-element construction that differs from the preceding one by the inclusion of another modifier in accusative. Since the latter invariably operates as an undergoer, the modifier in genitive may unambiguously be interpreted in terms of an actor, as in:

*qatl al-malik wazīran* (*qathlu-l-maliki wazīran*) “king’s killing of the minister, minister’s being killed by the king”.

The impact of this problem upon the lexical interpretation of a number of head-modifier constructions is disturbingly felt in the present lexicon, as well. The problem will be illustrated on at least one example:

*ḥukm aš-ṣāb* (contextually: *ḥukmu-š-ṣābi*) “die Herrschaft über das Volk” (453). Despite the fact that, theoretically, the phrase *ḥukm aš-ṣāb* can really be interpreted as *al-ḥukm ‘alā aš-ṣāb* or as *at-taḥakkum fī aš-ṣāb*, i. e. “die Herrschaft über das Volk” (“domination of the people, exercising power over the people”, etc.), actually, however, it is not. The attributive genitive *aš-ṣāb* is, in the present case, almost invariably interpreted in terms of an actor, i. e. “Volkherrschaft, Demokratie” (i. e. ‘exercising power by the people’). In the latter application the term is used since several decades in the newspaper Arabic and in the latter sense it tends to be lexicographically recorded, as e. g., in Doniach (1972): *ḥukm aš-ṣāb* “people’s government; democracy”. Terms like *al-ḥukm aš-ṣābī* (*al-qawmī*) “die Herrschaft des Volkes; Volksherrschaft” (“people’s government, people’s supremacy”) are, accordingly, merely synonyms of *ḥukm aš-ṣāb*, as quoted above, and not its opposites at the actor-undergoer axis.

Although, in general, the lexical material included is representative of the late 20th century Arabic, some terms quoted do not seem to reflect the prevailing usage, e. g.:

*mudādd al-hayawiyya* “Antibiotikum” (521) (‘antibiotic (subst.)’) is an incorrect or, at the very least, an utterly atypical singular form of *mudāddāt al-hayawiyyāt* “antibiotics”. The singular form, as far as used in lexicons and pharmaceutical pamphlets, takes the form modelled on a singular-plural correlation pattern, as against that of plural-plural, in the case of plural:

*mudādd al-hayawiyyāt* “antibiotic” (noun; adj.), in contrast to:

(sing.) (plur.)

*mudāddāt al-hayawiyyāt* “antibiotics”.

(plur.) (plur.)

The typical concord pattern in annexion-type constructions, viz. singular-

singular (e. g. *rabbat al-bayt* “landlady”), for singular, as against plural-plural (e. g.: *rabbāt al-buyūt* “landladies”), for plural, cannot be applied here for obvious extralinguistic reasons.

For the singular form *mudādd al-ḥayawiyyāt* see e. g. *Majmū‘at al muṣṭalaḥāt*, vol. 2, p. 9; Cairo Academy of Arabic Language 1960: *mudādd al-ḥayawiyyāt: māddā mudāddā li-ḥayāt al-maykrūbāt* “antibiotic”.

Nowadays, it seems anyway that the preferred term is *mudādd hayawī* (plur.) *mudāddāt hayawiyya*, cf., e. g., Doniach 49: (subst., adj.); *Muṣṭalaḥāt ‘ilm as-ṣihha wa jism al-‘insān fī at-ta‘līm al-‘āmm* (*Terminology of Health and the Human Body in Public Education*), vol. 5, p. 9. Casablanca 1977. See also numerous pharmaceutical pamphlets.

The interpretation of *rūbābikiyā* (Wehr: *rōbabēkiyā*) in terms of “alte Kleider” (‘old, second-hand clothes’) merely reflects the etymological background of the term (It. *roba vecchia*). Since the assortment of goods dealt in by the peddlers by far exceeds the articles of apparel, it would have been more suitable to use a less restrictive term ‘second-hand goods’ as in *tājir rūbābikiyā* “Altenwarenhändler”.

Additional comments on earlier fascicles (already reviewed in *Asian and African Studies* 21, pp. 290—296, 1985):

The term *majarra* “Milchstraße (astr.)” (‘the Galaxy, the Milky Way’) is too restrictively presented. In the 20th century astronomy, apart from our Galaxy (i. e., Milchstraße), any other galaxy may be referred to in this term. Since, in German, there is no possibility to make a typographical distinction between ‘the Galaxy’ (capital letter) and ‘galaxy’ (small letter), we propose the following way of marking this distinction:

*majarra* “Milchstraße, die Galaxis” or, still better:

*majarra: al-majarra* “Milchstraße, die Galaxis”; *majarra* “Galaxis”.

As evident, even a less distinctive (but nevertheless correct) equivalence would do the job:

*majarra* “Galaxis”.

The popular denotation of the Galaxy in terms of the Milky Way exclusively refers to our Galaxy (the first extra-Galactic large-scale star system has been definitely identified in 1924—1926; most of these objects previously observed has been mistakenly identified with (‘spiral’) nebulae). Despite a more than half-century long history of the discovery of extra-Galactic galaxies, their existence is very inadequately marked in most Arabic lexicons:

Wehr (1952): *majarra* “Milchstraße” (the same restrictive one-galaxy presentation as in the Schregle’s lexicon);

Wehr-Cowan (1961—1979): *majarra* “galaxy” (implicitly inclusive of the Galaxy; correct);

Krah (German-Arabic; 1964): Milchstraße: *al-majarra, darb at-tabbāna* (in

a German-Arabic orientation correct and even exhaustive; the Galaxy interpretation of *al-majarra* is furthermore made explicit by the addition of the definite article; no mention of the ‘galaxy’);

Krahl (Arabic-German; 1984): *majarra* “Milchstraße, Galaxis” (in principle, correct; nevertheless, it would be still better to mark the essential difference between the two by a semicolon: “Milchstraße; Galaxis”;

The most refined distinction may be found in Khatib’s lexicon:

Galaxy: *al-majarra, darb at-tabbāna*;

galaxy: *majarra*, etc.

Finally, we cannot but repeat words of appreciation that have already been uttered in connection with the first four fascicles (ASS 21, 1985). When completed, Modern Written Arabic will have in Schregle’s lexicon the most complete record of its lexical stock, presented in an up-to-date and reliable lexicographical arrangement. A parallel English version would be a valuable addition to the English Wehr. The acceleration of the editorial and publishing process would certainly be of great value from the point of view of the lexicon itself (higher degree of what could be called ‘chronological compatibility’) as well as from the point of view of the present and future users since there is a real and very urgent need of this pioneer work.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Pabst, Klaus-Eberhard: *Kleines Wörterbuch marxistisch-leninistischer Termini. Deutsch-Arabisch-Englisch-Französisch*. Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1986. 162 pp.

The lexicon contains some 2,200 entries from all domains of Marxism-Leninism. The bulk of terms is, with some exceptions, drawn from classical works of Marxism-Leninism. The basic arrangement is that indicated by the title of the book, with German at the first place. Items in the remaining three languages are alphabetically rearranged and related to the German entries by means of numeric indexes.

For a number of obvious reasons, the Arabic part is the most problematic of all. In view of the recent stage of terminological codification in the Arab world in general and quite particularly in the domain under question, the selection of Arabic equivalents to a number of German entries is, to some extent, impressionistic. Thus, for instance, under *Arbeitslosigkeit* (A/152) we find *baṭāla/biṭāla, ta'atṭul*, although one might equally well expect *'aṭāla, ta'aṭṭul 'an al-'amal*, etc. A certain degree of subjectivity, in dealing with the lexicon of Modern Written Arabic, is quite normal and even unavoidable for the time being and it is the only possible way to cope with the present-day linguistic reality of Arabic.

Despite this, one might have expected to find *silm* instead of/besides *salām* “Frieden” (“peace”), since the latter, as well as its derivatives, occur in a number of important expressions, such as *taāyuš silmī* “friedliche Koexistenz” (“peaceful coexistence”), *siyāasa silmiyya* (rather than *siyāsat as-salām*) “Friedenspolitik” (“peace policy”), etc.

The Arabic *jadaliyya* would perhaps be more closely related to “Dialektik” (“dialectics”) than the actually quoted *jadal* that too straightforwardly implies the idea of a not necessarily philosophic quarrel or dispute. It should be recognized, however, that it can be used in the sense of *jadaliyya*, as well. It should be regretted that the adjective *jadali*, in the sense of ‘dialectical’, is altogether missing (being quoted under “polemisch” only).

The most serious misunderstanding seems to be associated with the entry “Agitation”. The Arabic equivalent proposed, viz. *tahrīd*, does not cover the concept in its entirety since it is used, in Arabic, in the negative sense only: “inciting, provoking against” (Baranov: “podstrekatelstvo, podbivanie”). The only Arabic term to convey the positive aspects of the process is *tawīya*, properly “enlightenment; consciousness raising” (Baranov: “... prosvetitel'naya propaganda, agitatsiya; ideologicheskoe vospitanie”).

The omission of *tawīya* altogether is one of the most serious shortcomings of the lexicon since the latter term is the only one to present the key concept *wa'y* “Bewußtsein” (“consciousness”) in a dynamic projection, viz. “consciousness raising” (Baranov: “probuzhdenie soznaniya, podnyatiye soznatel'nosti”; etc.).

Of course, these remarks, concerning a very limited number of individual items only, are not intended to lower the value of this pioneer work and its general usefulness. The English and French equivalents of the German terms leave nothing to be desired. The adequateness of the Arabic equivalents is, in general, in full harmony with what can be obtained from the present-day lexicon of Modern Written Arabic.

The book will be of use to the students of Arabic, translators and others.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Sublet, Jacqueline (Responsable): *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe* (1982—1984). Paris, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1985. 170 pp.

*Les Cahiers d'onomastique arabe* sont publiés par l'entreprise internationale «Onomasticon Arabicum» dont le but est de constituer un répertoire des personnages identifiés dans les sources arabes.

*Les Cahiers* (1982—1984) apportent cinq études sur des aspects divers d'onomastique arabe et musulmane:

M. Gaborieau: *L'onomastique moderne chez les musulmans du sous-continent indien* (pp. 9—50).

L'étude présente un corpus onomastique de la population musulmane de l'Inde, du Pakistan, du Bangladesh et du Népal qui utilise des langues indo-aryennes ou iranaises. Le corpus exclut la population s'exprimant en langues dravidiennes de l'Inde du Sud et de Sri-Lanka. L'auteur analyse la nature, l'origine et l'ordre d'apparition des divers éléments qui entrent dans la composition du nom qui reflète le statut social de la personne.

M. Marin: *Le nom Ḥanaš dans l'onomastique arabe* (pp. 51—56).

L'auteur démontre que parmi les noms préislamiques qui sont à l'origine des noms d'animaux, Ḥanaš est demeuré en usage jusqu'au 2ème/7ème siècle. L'étude apporte les biographies de 16 Ḥanaš et de 3 Abū al-Ḥanaš, 3 Ḥanašī et plusieurs personnages qui ont un Ḥanaš dans leur *nasab*.

M. Salati: *Le nisbe geografiche del Kitāb amal al-Āmil fī dikr ‘ulamā’ Ğabal Āmil* (pp. 57—64).

L'étude contient les *nisba* d'origine géographique de deux cents šayx imamites ayant vécu aux 9ème—10ème—11ème/15ème—16ème—17ème siècles dans le territoire de ce qui est aujourd'hui le Liban. L'étude s'appuie sur l'ouvrage, écrit en 1685, de Muḥammad al-Hurr al-Āmilī.

B. Scarcia Amoretti: *Informazioni di tipo onomastico nel Kitāb al-naqd (XIIe sec.)* (pp. 65—72).

L'auteur se pose la question si la qualité de chīfite et de rāfidite se fait voir à travers les éléments du nom des personnages. Une analyse de l'ouvrage de Ḩabd al-Ğalīl al-Qazwīnī qui concerne l'époque seljoukide.

G. Humbert: *Remarques sur le nom propre dans le Kitāb de Sībawayhi* (pp. 73—84).

Pour Sībawayhi (mort vers 180/796), le nom propre est un nom déterminé par nature. Il est plus limité que le nom «commun», non seulement du point de vue de la détermination, mais aussi par la capacité d'expression sémantique et syntaxique. Dans sa grammaire, il n'y a pas de terme technique pour le nom «commun».

G. Vajda: *Les attestations de transmission dans le manuscrit Yahuda Arabe 409 de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Jérusalem* (pp. 85—162).

Dans le cadre des recherches entreprises par l'auteur sur la transmission orale et écrite du savoir, présentation et identification des transmetteurs de 77 textes recueillis par Muḥammad al-Ḏakwānī al-İsbahānī (mort en 419/1028), ce recueil faisait partie de la collection du damascain Yūsuf Ibn Ḩabd al-Hādī.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Brugman, J.: *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1984. XVI + 439 pp.

Brugman's monograph is one of those badly needed and long overdue works that are prerequisite to any attempt at embracing the literary history of the Arab world. With respect to Egypt, however, it is a highly informative and well documented self-contained unit.

Although the author modestly refers to his work as an introduction to the history of modern Arabic literature in Egypt (and this is, after all, the title of the book), there is no comprehensive work in this domain that would surpass Brugman's monograph in its highly set standards, depth of analytical vision, reliability of information and an overall neatness of presentation. The uncommonly great number of fresh ideas, always backed up with well classified data, is truly inspiring.

As the author himself recognizes, a separate treatment of Egyptian literary history would hardly be justified for the most recent period since Egypt, from the thirties onwards, became increasingly aware of the rest of the Arab world, in a literary respect as well (p. X).

Brugman's reasons to stop the fascinating story of modern Egyptian literature around 1950 are understandable and acceptable. And yet, from the reader's point of view, it's a pity that at least another fifteen years had not been included therein. The generation of the today's sexagenarians (Yūsuf Idrīs, 'Abdarrahmān aš-Šarqāwī, Yāsuf aš-Šarūnī and others).

Brugman's presentation of the *madrasa ḥadītā* with which the present reviewer is more intimately acquainted, is the best ever written. Chapters concerning 'further developments of the novel' as well as those devoted to literary criticism, are characterized by freshness of vision and the author's readiness to abandon traditional clichés.

The book consists of a Preface (IX—XIV) and twelve chapters as follows: I. The beginnings of the Renaissance; II. Neoclassicists; III. The rise of modern prose; IV. The *Dīwān* School; V. Apollo; VI. The early development of the novel and the short story; VII. The modern novel; VIII. al-Madrasah al-ḥadītah; IX. Further developments of the novel; X. Early literary criticism; XI. Literary criticism in the twentieth century; XII. Further developments.

The book, based on first-hand source material, has an extraordinarily high documentary value. It is not only an innovative and well documented literary history of modern Egyptian literature as it constitutes one of the very important steps towards building a panoramic picture of the modern history of the Arabic literature as a whole. The acquaintance with Brugman's monograph is quite indispensable for all students of Arabic literature. The book will be of value to the research workers in this domain as well.

Ladislav Drozdík

Hamilton, A.; *William Bedwell The Arabist*. 1563—1632. Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden, New Series 5. Leiden, E. J. Brill—Leiden University Press 1985. IX + 163 pp.

Hamilton's monograph is the first existing study on William Bedwell who is generally regarded as 'the father of Arabic Studies in England' despite a rather small number of his publications in this domain.

Bedwell was not exclusively an Arabist. He was theologian and educator as well. As an educator, he contributed to the spread of new teaching methods, especially in the field of mathematics. Bedwell was quite particularly enthusiastic about the innovative methods derived from the theory of the French rationalistic philosopher, adversary of Aristotelianism, Pierre de la Ramée, known as Ramus (1515—1572). Bedwell devised several practical aids, diagrams and rules. The best known of them is "Wilhelmi Bedwelli Trigonum Architectonicum: The Carpenters Rule". Bedwell's rule was intended for a public like carpenters, surveyors, shipbuilders and merchants. It was one of many similar calculating instruments designed in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

In Bedwell's days, Arabic was a neglected subject in Europe. Arabic was abhorred as the language of the Qur'an and of a religion feared by the Christendom threatened by the growing power of Turkey. The students of Arabic of that period had to overcome major practical problems. Until 1538, the only printed Arabic grammar was Pedro de Alcalá's *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga* (Granada 1505) and, when disregarding Pedro de Alcalá's Spanish-Arabic glossary (*Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana*. Granada 1505), there was no printed Arabic dictionary until 1613.

In 1615, Bedwell published *Mohammedis Imposturae*, an English translation of an Arabic dialogue, *Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya bayna-l-ālimayn* "A Spiritual Conference between two Doctors". It is a dialogue between two pilgrims returning from Mecca about the Qur'an. The aim of the book is to expose Islam to the ridicule.

*The Arabian Trudgman*, another work by W. Bedwell, is intended to be of use to historians reading 'all histories of the Saracens, Persians, Indians, Turks and Africans'. Its aim was to facilitate the study of Arabic texts and the understanding of concepts derived from the Arabic culture.

The most important of Bedwell's work was his *Arabic-Latin Lexicon*. He left nine volumes and numerous supplements when he died in 1632. It must be said, however, that the assortment of texts to which the author had had access was very inadequate to a lexicographical project of this size. The lexicon became antiquated before a publishing project could be put into effect.

Despite the fact that there are no imposing publications resulting from Bedwell's scholarly activities in the field of Arabic studies, his work stands at the

very beginning of this scholarly discipline as a way-marking and stimulative factor.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Collins, Jeffrey G.: *The Egyptian Elite under Cromer, 1882—1907*. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1984. 389 pp.

In this book Mr. Collins examines the course of development of Egyptian society during the first twenty-five years of British occupation, with special attention focused on the Egyptian elite.

The short introduction offers an excellent overview of a period when Egypt formed an extremely complex and rapidly growing national organism and of the most important primary sources, concentrating on those utilized in this work.

The study is divided into seven chapters, each dealing with different aspects of evolution and modernization in Egypt during the period of rule by lord Cromer. Chapter one “The Demographic Background” shows the considerable growth of the Egyptian population and points to several significant changes in the composition and balance of power within Egyptian society. In chapter two “Foreign Trade and Commerce in Egypt, 1882—1907” Collins persuasively argues that large scale commerce and the lucrative export sector were dominated by foreigners, proteges, minority sects Egyptians and clients of the khedivial family and only small scale commerce remained in the hands of Muslim Egyptians. Chapter three “Manufacturing in Egypt” describes the colonial nature of manufacturing, with an archaic structure in the hand of many small proprietors and correctly observes that “the impediments of the guild system were replaced by fluid wage labor in the towns, but though traditional manufacturing declined the emergence of fully developed modern industry was blocked by Britain”.

Chapter four “The Distribution of Property and the Social Structure of Cairo” demonstrates that non-Muslims and foreigners were penetrating all levels of the urban elite in Cairo at the start of the British occupation and that they were increasing their share of property at upper levels of society. Chapter five “Agriculture and Rural Society” shows that a massive shift took place in the balance of power among social groups in the Egyptian countryside and that the predominance established by non-Muslims in large scale commerce was transferred into the rural sector. Noteworthy in this respect is the author’s analysis of sales records that shows wealth and power flowing out of the hands of the khedivial family and the old rural elite families and into the hands of a new spectrum of elite groups dominated by urban dwellers, Muslim government employees, non-Muslims and non-Egyptians. Chapter six “The Khedivate and

Representative Institutions” demonstrates that after the British occupation the Khedives lost effective control over the Egyptian government and that the occupying power emasculated local parliamentary institutions and made them into a legitimizing screen for foreign rule. In his account of Egypt’s pseudo-parliamentary institutions and in a way possible only for someone with broad but intimate familiarity with the facts, Collins explains that at the end of Cromer’s period of rule the growing criticism of the occupation resulted in the re-emergence of indigenous political parties whose major goal was greater power for local elites. Chapter seven “The Egyptian Bureaucracy” summarizes the changes in political structures and access to state power from 1882 to 1907.

There can be no doubt that the economic changes were behind the shifts in political institutions (p. 280) and not vice versa.

Overall, this book can be a useful reference work. Although it fails to answer some crucial questions, e. g. the influence of Cromer’s policy upon the national movement, it is a skilful accomplishment of a very difficult task and an important contribution to the modern history of Egypt.

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