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ARTICLES

IMAGE OF INTELLECTUALS IN CHINESE STORIES OF THE 1980s

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A survey of novelettes, stories and oral literature tends to show that present-day Chinese literature is getting rid of the deformed and simplifying image of the intelligentsia. Literary personages from the ranks of intellectuals are processed in a more realistic, more complex manner in their reactions to the harsh experience of the recent past and to the intricate social conditions of the present; psychologically, they are individualized and differentiated not only from the aspect of the generation gap; but also as regards their response to similar life and social situations. The present article focuses precisely on this aspect of the works dealt with here, without any attempt at their analysis from the point of view of their literary technique or intrinsic artistic value.

The new qualities in the development of Chinese literature of the recent period – such as the process of style differentiation, creative approaches to and viewing angles of portrayed reality, deepening of the psychological insight, a broader and deeper apprehension of realism – have been fully reflected in works depicting the fate and the inner world of contemporary Chinese intellectuals.

As a matter of fact, in a considerable measure, precisely works about intellectuals had proved instrumental during the initial stage of the recent period of Chinese literature, dating from the end of 1977, in promoting a new upswing in this domain. The literary critic Lei Da [1] states, not without justification, that literature of the recent period “has smashed its earliest breach by restoring the image of the intelligentsia”¹ which had been mostly deformed and caricatured in the literature since the second half of the 1950s. The restoration of the image of intellectuals, rehabilitation of their standing and their tasks in society did not derive solely from subjective ambitions of Chinese intelligentsia, but from the objective needs of society.²

This recent period of contemporary Chinese literature is also marked by the appearance of a creative subject, i.e. the writer's personality. Chinese writers, along with the entire Chinese intelligentsia, had passed through a period without precedent when they had been, not only as individuals, but as a whole, as a social stratum, a target of concentrated suspicion, persecution and public humiliation. They had

¹ Wenxue pinglun [2], No. 1, 1987, p. 19.

² The intelligentsia in contemporary China is taken to be not only a significant part of the working class, but also “the most creative part of the working class”. See Wenhui bao [3], 23 August 1986.

been forced by the “cultural revolution” – many already earlier by the fight against “bourgeois rightists” – to fall down to the lowest rung of the social ladder and to live over a long period working physically in remote, backward regions of the country. This traumatic experience, however, led them to a new self-analysis, a novel confrontation with their own people, to a knowledge and revaluation of its traditional specificities and values. These deeper insights and deeper self-knowledge became positively reflected and exploited in the literary works of many authors. When compared to the image of an intellectual in literary works of previous periods of contemporary Chinese literature, these stories portray him in a deeper and more authentic contact with the life of his country. They indicate the new type of personality, marked with appalling experiences, but also mature and enriched, that today forms an important part of the ranks of Chinese intelligentsia.

Perhaps the best known from among authors portraying the changing personality of the persecuted intellectual is Zhang Xianliang [4].

Zhang Yonglin, a persecuted “rightist” intellectual from Zhang Xianliang’s novelette *Lühuashu* [5] *Greening by Trees*, reflects, during the years he spent in wretchedness among misery-trodden country folks, that “neither Chinese nor European literature on which I had been brought up, contains such characters of physically working people: vulgar, rough, adhering to specific moral norms, in reality, however, bright, wise, concealing within them the finest feelings. Since fate has given me such an opportunity to uncover them, I shall remember every one of these diamonds.”³ The writer does in no way justify the injustice and cruelty that turned innocent persons into victims without any rights. However, in contrast to many figures of persecuted intellectuals in the works of other writers, his Zhang Yonglin, far from considering this harsh period in his life as a loss, comes out of it hardened and enriched with new self-confidence. This young intellectual from a “bourgeois” family, during his banishment to the countryside, has just one book at his disposal of which he says that it was “his only link with the rational world, it alone enabled me to enter that spiritual life so familiar to me, to raise myself above buns, red beets, vegetable soup, watery porridge, to differentiate myself from famished wild beasts...”⁴ That book was Marx’s *Das Kapital*. In the conclusion of his life in banishment he says: “Although I had lived here such a miserable life, it was precisely here that I began to know the beauty of life.”⁵

A remarkable figure is also that of this namesake – Zhang Yonglin, a protagonist of another of Zhang Xianliang’s novelettes *Nanrende yiban shi nüren* [7] *Half of Man Is Woman*, driven into a similar situation. In his banishment, in an environment full of suspicion, he can live intellectually, and openly converse uniquely with

³ Zhongbian xiaoshuo xuankan [6], No. 4, 1984, p. 66.

⁴ Ibid., p. 19.

⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

dead personalities and with a castrated horse. Yet, after years of deprivation, he finds in himself enough strength humanly to rouse himself and internally to become free. From the period of persecution he takes with him a new self-assurance and a lasting, life-long recollection of a primitive, but natural woman who made of him, temporarily impotent, "a virile man". In one of the key passages of the novelette, the gelding explains to the impotent Zhang Yonglin that true, Yonglin had been castrated mentally only, but their situation is just the same: they cannot express themselves freely, they live under the whip and the dictate of others. "I even have the suspicion that you intellectuals have all been castrated, or at least have degenerated through excessive rhetoric. If there were among you ten per cent of real he-men, your country could not have reached such a state."⁶

Writers revert to the tragic period of Chinese history also in works situated into China after the year 1976. Fateful traces of the oppressive past remain present in the image of intellectuals of the middle and earlier generation of the 1980s.

Some figures of intellectuals are not prevented by what they had gone through from living a full and harmonic life in the new situation after rehabilitation. Thus, Ling'er from Zhang Jie's [8] novelette *Zumülü* [9] Emerald achieves complete human catharsis, is capable of suppressing in herself personal love and hatred in order to do something meaningful for this society.⁷ Two decades of persecution form an irreversibly closed chapter in the life of the undefeatably vital, versatilely successful Meng Deyi from the story by Lu Wenfu [10] *Men ling* [11] Door Bell who actively profits by the opportunity offered by the economic reform, and plunges with zest into the whirlpool of enterprise.

However, in literature we encounter more frequently figures of intellectuals marked indelibly and for life by the traumas which they had experienced. In the novelette by Lu Yanzhou [12] *Tianyunshan chuanqi* [13] Strange Tales of Cloudy Mountains the wound in the fate of the narrator Song Wen never heals, although ultimately she stands up against her mean husband, leaves him and finds a certain life equilibrium. That wound had been caused by her political naivety and credulity which induced her in her youth to abandon her sweetheart unjustly condemned, believing that he was an enemy of the party. And although the historian Wu Zhunyi in Feng Jicai's [14] novelette *A!* [15] *A Cry* returns to his working post after his rehabilitation and to his flat, he remains marked for life by the horrible feeling that during the "cultural revolution" he did not resist pressure and through his cowardice he was responsible for his brother's death – even though his human failure may be ascribed in a great measure not to him, but rather to the inhuman atmosphere of the times.

⁶ Zhang Xianliang: *Nanrende yiban shi nüren*. Peking 1985, p. 123.

⁷ *Zhongbian xiaoshuo xuankan*, No. 5, 1984, p. 75.

Those times have also left an ineffaceable mark on literary characters of present-day young intellectuals who, as “educated youth”, had been dealt many a fatal wound. An entire galaxy of such characters have been described in works of the “literature of scars” – Unforgettable traumas appear also in personages of a younger generation, as e.g. in the female photographer in the novelette by Zhang Chengzhi [16] *Beifangde he* [17] Rivers of the North who recalls with horror how, when twelve years of age, she washed alone with her own hands the corpse of her father beaten to death during the “cultural revolution”.

One to have fully focused on the problem of the unhealing wounds was Shen Rong [18] in her novelette *Meiguisede wancan* [19] Rose Supper. She gives a family supper in honour of her rehabilitated father, an old painter, formerly a social and cultured aesthete and a boon companion and a gourmet whom twenty years of persecution and humiliation had reduced to a broken introvert. In the middle of the meal he leaves the room with a scowl on his face and a bent back, like “the snail withdrawing into his shell, like the old wounded stag retiring into the forest thicket”.⁸ The story is written from the viewpoint of his elder son Su Hong, a graduate of the Qinhua University of Technology. Right from the first moment of the supper, he is a prey to a feeling that all the members of his family hate and dispise him, for when the father had been branded a “rightist”, he had disowned him and condemned his “blameworthy family of bourgeois rightists” in order to be able to finish his studies, work in his profession and be accepted into the party. Every trifle that happens during the meal evokes in him memories of his happy childhood spent with his parents, and of his own treachery, and although all, especially his mother, try to convince him that they had forgiven him and bear him no ill will, Su Hong, a prey to persecution mania and his bad conscience, sees in every expression a proof that they hate him. Su Hong in fact came to hate himself for good and remains condemned to his inner loneliness, to a life with a wife whom he despises, to a longing after a beloved girl whom he had irretrievably lost during the harsh times.

In the novelette, Shen Rong depicts Su Hong’s moral tragedy and shows up his father, completely altered by his experiences from persecution, who is indifferent to everything, even to a new edition of an album of his pictures. He was fully reinstated or rehabilitated, could return to Peking where he was allotted a modern flat, he and his children are assured of an existence. None the less, prematurely aged, he passively remains withdrawn in his shell, avoiding every new problem in life, nor making reference to any.

However many a story situated in the same period as the Rose Supper betrays that the problems facing persecuted intellectuals were not all resolved by rehabilitation, that they frequently continued to affect the atmosphere and the conditions in which former victims work and live.

⁸ Shen Rong xiashuo xuan [20], Peking 1981, p. 414.

Gao Xiaosheng [21] in his novelette *Hutu* [22] Foolishness whose plot is set in the early 1980s, describes the difficulties encountered by a rehabilitated “rightist”, the writer Huyan Bing.⁹ For over twenty years he “re-educated himself through physical work” at a village where he also married a local girl. But despite his rehabilitation, his former employer in the provincial capital refused to take him back to work. He found another job, but could not get a flat, and his family of eight were forced to rough it in an office-room measuring 14 sq m. Hints were given him that he should vacate the room till at last he obeyed and moved to a little town close to his village of “re-education”. Soon, however, news filtered in about his “suspicious” past and he had to swallow many a bitter pill induced by his environment. When his wife tried to defend him – and herself – they took it as proof that “a rightist’s wife is not good”, calumny spread, and gossip that “an honest village girl would never marry a rightist” and that “after all, she is egged on by a rightist”.¹⁰ However, Huyan Bing’s vexations came principally from the fact that he had published a novelette in which functionaries from his former village recognized themselves. He learns that some of the “cadres” threaten him that “he would suffer twofold” in future unless he ceased writing such works, spread criticisms about him that “he is not yet satisfied with reality, with the communist party, with socialism”, and some of them go so far as to proclaim that had they known “in those years” that he would start “biting into people”, he would not have come out alive.¹¹ It was only when some one of importance praised the novelette that the “cadres” immediately come round and alter their behaviour towards him. They induce him to sit at one table during a banquet with his former enemy, secretary to the work-group organization supervising his “re-education”. The secretary is now the chief local assistant to the film staff preparing to turn a film according to Huyan Bing’s novelette. By taking part at the banquet Huyan Bing in fact publicly acknowledges that only the “gang of four” is responsible for everything that had happened, makes it plain that he takes all blame off the secretary, that he considers him “a companion at arms”,¹² although it all runs counter to his feelings and “he distrusts the secretary, just as the secretary had distrusted him formerly, which is evidently an effect created by history”.¹³

Huyan Bing by his writings provoked ill-will solely among the cadres, while among the simple folks he enjoyed a high moral credit. But the cadres threw doubt on that credit precisely by the banquet which went to show that they had taken him in their favour: seemingly, they acceded to Huyan Bing’s condition that the banquet must be a modest one, but after his departure they caroused at the expense of

⁹ This novelette is dealt with by P. N. Kuiper in: Cologne-Workshop on Contemporary Chinese Literature, Köln 1986, pp. 375–390.

¹⁰ Gao Xiaosheng 1983 nian xiaoshuo ji [23], Peking 1984, p. 38.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 53.

¹² Ibid., p. 53.

¹³ Ibid., p. 55.

the poor village. The inhabitants did not know that the writer had no part in this extravagance and were convinced that he too had become demoralized. Huyang Bing is worried by this, but he is especially buoyed up: the villagers' sense of honesty reaffirms in him his confidence in the people and their future, but also his determination never to come to terms with such ugliness either within, or about himself.

That difficult stage in Huyang Bing's life thus came to a positive close, although its tenor did not exclude new difficulties and tense situations that might crop up in the future. Gao Xiaosheng's novelette is one of numerous literary works pointing to problems encountered by rehabilitated intellectuals who actively intervene in the healing process of social life. A persistence of tension between former persecutors and the persecuted their victims, forced to go on living and working together, has been the topic of several stories. The frequency of such issues in Chinese literature is gradually declining, the very lapse of time reduces their relevance and they are being overlapped with a new stage in Chinese society, providing literature with new topics, stimuli, but also question marks.

One of them, viz. the problem of the oppressive life conditions of the intelligentsia in its most productive age has been dealt with in the by now quasi classical work about contemporary Chinese intellectuals, in the novelette by Shen Rong *Ren dao zhongnian* [24] *At Middle Age*. On the example of an optic lady surgeon the author points out the terrible wage and dwelling situation of the intellectuals and the stress from their attempts at coping with their arduous professional work and their household chores, which undermine the heroine's health. This novelette had such a resounding response, drew attention in such an insistent manner to this acute social problem that it was used many a time as an argument for the need to deal with it.

The material conditions of life of a considerable section of Chinese intellectuals are far from being ideal even today, e.g. many feel to be inadequately remunerated, but their situation has improved in many respects. In a sociological poll carried out seven years after the appearance of the novelette *At Middle Age* among intellectuals of the Anhui Province, the majority of the respondents put in the first place among their requests, social recognition of the role and the usefulness of intelligentsia. The results of this questioning revealed that the request for life conditions precedes that for improved work conditions.¹⁴ True, Chinese literature of recent years has not ceased to remind also of the intellectuals' material difficulties, principally of the straitened housing conditions, yet it focuses much more on the restraining moments in the sphere of social superstructure that prevent intellectuals from living a harmonious life, from fully asserting themselves professionally, or even from satisfactorily carrying out their work.

Further weighty problems deriving from remnants of the unhealthy socio-political

¹⁴ Anhui ribao [25], 25 May 1987.

atmosphere have been very concretely brought to light in another of Shen Rong's novelettes, *Zhenzhen jiajia* [26] Truth and Falsehood.¹⁵ The novelette brings up a serious political and moral issue. The characters are scientific workers and members of the administrative staff of the Institute of Foreign Literatures of the Academy of Social Sciences in the capital of one of the provinces, and their immediate superiors. The most productive and successful scientific worker at the Institute is a man in his fifties – Xu Minghui. And it was precisely he who published an article on Western literature which provoked the provincial minister's displeasure. The Institute is ordered to convoke a three-days' meeting at which the staff and the author are to express their attitude to the critique reproaching the article with kowtowing to the west. All those present know that the critique is unqualified, incompetent, vulgarizing, but at the meeting they say something else, speak falsely. From a sense of inured caginess, they all side in their comments, which the writer quotes exactly, with the criticism. The author of the article also succumbs to the prevailing atmosphere and declares that he has realized that his article, although he had written in good faith, is wrong. He explains it in the sense that when, after an interval of twenty years, he had been allowed to pursue his work, he became fully engrossed in it and "paid very little attention to his world outlook". "Those of us who investigate foreign literature," he says, "constantly come into contact with foreign things and 'red will stain man red, and ink black'; if a man neglects to reform his world outlook, he will easily get under the foreign influence."¹⁶ But in the conclusion of his address he asks: "I do not know how I am to write articles about foreign literature in future. It certainly won't do as in the past to bespatter everything and abuse everybody with disgusting insults. Nor can it be done the way I've done it now – with relative objectiveness. So, how am I further to investigate and to write?"¹⁷ Alone the old communist Wu Tianxiang dares to speak the full truth publicly: he declares the article to be correct, sets himself up against the simplifying, rough criticism without an analysis based on facts, and brands the majority of the discussions and comments, including the author's self-criticism, as false. At the same time he stresses that the present times do not demand any more such falsehood and that the tense atmosphere of that meeting is not conducive to any progress in research.¹⁸ Later on, however Xu Minghui privately approves Wu Tianxiang's view that truth must out regardless of any eventual consequences. "Telling the truth is also a matter of time, place and circumstances. Whether to tell it at a meeting in the presence of many, or personally

¹⁵ This novelette is dealt with by Tienchi Martin-Liao in: *Cologne-Workshop on Contemporary Chinese Literature*, Köln 1986, pp. 203–212.

¹⁶ Shen Rong *zhongbian xiaoshuo ji* [27], Changsha 1983, p. 165.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 198–201.

after a meeting, whether to tell it at once or later, all that has to be considered from the aspect of its effect,”¹⁹ Xu goes on to explain and Wu remains speechless!

Shen Rong shows the traces of the disastrous experience from the recent past persisting in the thinking and acting of Chinese intellectuals. It sufficed to put a little pressure from “up” and all the characters in the novelette, with the exception of a single one, became submissive and had recourse to the “time-honoured” well-tried, consciously falsified statements. Their behaviour does not provoke aversion or repugnance towards these people affected by the past, but rather sympathy, compassion. After all, who can condemn fifty-odd year-old Xu Minghui for his evasive stratagems with the sole aim, not to jeopardize for himself, after a break of many years, the possibility of working again in his discipline? By this novelette, published in 1983, the authoress readily reacted also to certain attempts at overreaching that occurred here and there during the struggle against “spiritual pollution”.

Attention to the baneful consequences when a writer gives way under pressure and subordinates his work to simplifying ideational prescriptions, is drawn by Lu Wenfu with his own proper irony in the novelette *Linjiede chuan* [28] Window Overlooking the Street, set in the year 1982. He shows an old good-natured playwright who has written for his theatre ensemble the libretto for an opera on the fate of a contemporary young beauty, as a purely human, non-heroizing story. The cultural cadres express quite a number of objections against the topic – the play is rather tributary to models of old Chinese theatre, is influenced by the “literature of scars”, its tragicality does not correspond to the spirit of the times, the heroine sets love above everything else, and so on. They are cautious, culture is to them just “a struggle of two lines” in the ideological sphere, a question of who will win. After all, from the campaign against counter-revolutionaries, against rightists, up to the cultural revolution, everything had its start in culture. Of late, the situation is becoming more acute – just as the undoing of the beauty in there, in some such manner man might destroy himself! “To act a piece is not like building a house, if the latter is badly built, none need learn about it, but when a play is badly acted, that comes in for public criticism.”²⁰ A contest among local theatres is in the offing, and in order that their group would stand its ground, they badly need a new play. They suggest a number of topics of present-day interest which, in their view, correspond to the needs of the times. The playwright acquiesces to their wishes and writes a banal episode with a happy end, which comprises both enrichment of farmers and also struggle against economic criminality. The performance fails to interest the audience, but as the only drama with a contemporary topic, it is awarded a prize at the contest. In parallel with the protagonist’s episode, there also enfolds that of his neighbour, a young singer who lets herself be persuaded to take up the direction of

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 204.

²⁰ Lu Wen-fu: Xiaoxiang renwu zhi [29], Vol. 2, Peking 1986, p. 79.

the theatre group. As both became “successful intellectuals”, they are provided with better flats. However – while singing and laughter used to well out from the singer’s earlier window, nothing is heard any more from her new one, and all that can be seen behind the playwright’s window is the way he walks with bent back from one corner of his room to another “like a big kangaroo locked up in a cage”.²¹ The novelette reflects the intellectuals’ new position, “spoken of everyday over the radio”,²² which “is now very popular”²³ – nevertheless, they occasionally pay dearly for it and uselessly through a whittling of their talent and a loss of a feeling of satisfaction from their work.

The process of an all-round modernization of China has ushered in with a new urgency an onerous problem which absorbs more and more the interest of contemporary writers: viz. the negative impact of remnants of feudal morality which exert in today’s social life not simply a retarding, but occasionally a downright killing effect.

In 1985 when Lu Wenfu had written his novelette *Jing* [30] The Well, the term “middle age intellectual” was currently used as a positive designation of a stratum deserving special attention and support. However, while the physician from the novelette by Shen Rong At Middle Age ultimately succeeded in surviving, physically, the adverse objective conditions of her life, the social atmosphere and prejudices finished by killing the heroine from the novelette The Well.

Xu Lisha, a pretty, talented, honest and hard-working but unpractical pharmacologist lives with an unattractive, calculating, rough husband and a domineering mother-in-law, in a little street where the principal arbiters of morals are conservative crones who poke their noses into everything and judge everything according to outdated moral notions. She married this man when as a political outcast she searched, in her loneliness, for a human hinterland in a world that did not intend to coddle her. Xu Lisha bore the brand of a capitalist’s niece and an emigré’s daughter – although she had never known her grandfather and father at all. This made her a powerless victim not only of humiliation in the family, but also in her employment where she could not utilize her qualifications and where she felt harshly the consequences of every political campaign. In her position, although childless, she could not hope that her eventual application for divorce would be acceded to, especially as her husband was not interested in it at all. When the political conditions had become normalized, she was given due recognition at her workplace for the discovery of a new drug, but her unendurable family situation remained unaltered. Nor did her neighbours forgive her for being more successful than most men, something unbecoming of a decent woman.

²¹ Ibid., p. 81.

²² Ibid., pp. 72–73.

²³ Ibid., p. 80.

And precisely when she felt socially equal and acknowledged, a blow struck from an unexpected side. She got on well with her assistant Tong Shaoshan, likewise living in an unsuccessful marriage. He paid his attentions to her and suggested that they should both divorce and then get married. She refused, and although there never was any intimate relation between them, their colleagues and neighbours gossiped about them. That was enough for Tong's wife to come and make a scene at the laboratory, although she herself wanted to divorce her husband. The successful pharmacologist immediately became an outcast, a pariah, shunned by everyone without caring for the truth. Again, just as during the politically adverse years, she has come to be a victim of something for which she was not to blame. But now, in this new situation she decided to put up an active resistance. She invites Tong to a meeting, explains to him that she cannot go on living like this any longer and proposes that they would get divorced and leave for some other town together to start a new life. Tong shocks her by his answer: "No, no, Comrade Xu Lisha, you just can't think of such a thing, it's not realistic, we would thereby give credence to the gossip that we had intimate relations together and that would spoil our reputation. I, I want to be an honest man, I want to achieve membership in the party, I haven't as yet attained such a position as you have. Please, please, I beg your pardon, I have come now to excuse myself by you. At one time I was taken up with an evil idea, I stirred up trouble and caused you harm. I assure you that in future I shall not commit such a fault. Excuse me, we can't stay here any longer, somebody might easily find us here, g. . good-bye?"²⁴ Exhausted by the old and the new wrongs, she could not bear this deception, the feeling of shame, the idea that Tong will certainly not keep this conversation to himself in order to boast of his masculine success and to vindicate himself – she put an end to her life by jumping into a well in front of her house. The last words she heard before her death were those of her gossipy neighbour: "I've been telling you a long time now, a woman shouldn't think too much, shouldn't let all sorts of things run through her mind, she only should take care not get people to talk about her."²⁵ The novelette ends on a note of warning with the author's question: "Who is to be the next unfortunate?"²⁶

The dictate of traditional social morale, codified by centuries and being overcome only gradually and with difficulty, with which contemporary Chinese propaganda and education wages a systematic struggle, is evidently more deep-rooted in the countryside than in towns, and more widespread among uneducated strata than among the intellectuals. But literature also shows that this deformation of social consciousness weighs more heavily precisely on the intellectuals whose life had been complicated by the preceding period, which often prevents them even today normal-

²⁴ *Zhongbian xiaoshuo xuankan*, No. 5, 1985, p. 25.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

ly to live and even to work. They are fully aware of this barrier, but are often powerless against it.

In contrast to the majority of writers showing the consequences of such outdated residues of social morale, Chen Jiangong [31] chose an original angle of vision directed to their concrete roots in his novelette *Zhao le* [32] Looking for Fun, written with a certain dose of black humour.

Only a single intellectual, He Xin, a graduate of a university of technology, a computer expert commanding three foreign languages, appears among the characters in the novelette and this in its last third only. But precisely his case constitutes the novelette's point and shatters the confidence of the principal characters in the story – pensioners, life-long devotees of old Peking operas – in the “traditional” truths on which they had hitherto never doubted. He Xin as a “rightist”, socially degraded, transferred from the university to a factory as a technician, married a primitive woman living in an old Peking lane inhabited by proletarians. The old men, formerly down-and-out wretches, today can pursue their hobby in their evening leisure – to sing for joy to themselves and to neighbours, arias from Peking operas. Among their favourites belong those condemning intellectuals who, having attained wealth and fame, abandoned their wives, faithful companions of their former difficult times. One evening He Xin comes to the club and they, full of indignation, sing to him precisely this aria. For no one in the neighbourhood has the least doubt that he is the embodiment of the ungrateful Chen Shimei [33], who abandons the virtuous Qin Xianglian [34]. Although they have no liking for He Xin's wife, they condemn him as a man violating the ancient commandment of a moral man, which says that “it is not allowed to forget a friend from times of want and to repudiate a wife who had shared your misery”.²⁷ Two of these opera fans learn from He Xin to their great surprise that the truth is quite different. His silly, quarrelsome wife had found a letter from his educated long-ago sweetheart, to which he did not reply at all, and is spreading gossip about him that now that he has returned to the university, has published a book and earns well, he wishes to leave her and their daughter for another woman. Through her incessant noisy, hysterical accusations she prevents him from working at home and out of jealousy does not permit him to leave the house in the evening – she has let him go to the club where he is under the control of neighbours singing operas. With the unerring instinct of folk wisdom these uneducated old men immediately realize that He Xin must in no way squander his education and craftily design a stratagem against his wife: every evening he will leave his house and will return with them, but instead of the club, he will visit the library. Later, one of the old men finds him in the street at a time when he should have been at the library. To his question why He Xin is not working at the library, the latter replies: “At the beginning I used to go there, but then I lost interest. You must under-

²⁷ Chen Jiangong xiaoshuo xuan [35], Peking 1985, p. 130.

stand – I was relieved of my post as head of the research group. They told me that my moral qualities are rather doubtful. So what's the use of striving..." And why hadn't he defended himself, why hadn't he told them that is but his wife's fabrication? "I've told them. But... I'll tell you something, as things go... people will not believe what you tell them, or they will not fully understand what you tell them. But they easily understand that I am Chen Shimei and she is Qin Xianglian. After all, that opera is being sung for over a hundred years now!"²⁸

Chen Jiangong is a writer of the generation of "educated youth" which had created the literary movement of the "searching of roots". As a matter of fact, his work is not assigned to this rather interesting literary movement, although it does have points of contact with it, especially in that it also reflects on home traditions. However, it essentially differs from it in focusing not on their positive, but on their negative parts and being situated not in the country, but in the town. In contrast to many others, mainly earlier authors moulding the phenomenal aspect of similar problems probed into also by contemporary intellectuals, Cheng Jiangong unearths the roots of one of the moral norms, deeply anchored in social consciousness, and throws doubt on one of the "truths" handed down to this and still active in the subconsciousness of at least a part of the Chinese society. A Western reader of this, as also of Lu Wenfu's *The Well*, may be surprised that mere rumours, even though unfounded, concerning a disorderly private life may become a real obstacle in professional work, and a barrier to promotion of qualified intellectuals – at the same time, even the worst husband-wife relation will pass muster, unless there is danger of a disruption of marriage, or of extra-marital relations. Chinese literature gives no deeper insight into these moral norms and does not explain this close linkage between the private and professional life – for the home reader this is an evident fact regardless of whether he agrees with it or not. And thus the historical and the contemporary motivation of the obstacle against which Chen Jiangong's scholar He Xin feels powerless and which discouraged him, at least for a time, from utilizing fully his knowledge and ability in favour of the society, may at first sight appear absurd, but is in fact real.

Naturally, as regards the topic concerning intellectuals, contemporary Chinese literature is not confined solely to explicitly critical works in which the unfavourable circumstances in the protagonists' fate always win. It also reaches out to psychological problems and feelings of outwardly successful intellectuals, deriving from the complexity in the development of Chinese society and human weaknesses and vacillations.

One of the most significant works of recent years on Chinese intellectuals is undoubtedly the novelette *Mingyi Liang Youzhi chuanqi* [36] Strange Tale about the Famous Physician Liang Youzhi by Wang Meng [37]. This novelette records the life

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 146–147.

peripeteia, typical in many respects for a Chinese intellectual of his generation. It shows sectors from Liang Youzhi's life (his name means Liang Having Aspirations) over a period of forty years, beginning in 1946 when he was a 19-year old student, but focuses mainly on the period of the 1980s.

An active revolutionary already as a student, and since 1948 a member of the party, Liang Youzhi worked eagerly in political organizations. Full of zeal, the young man had many ideals and interests: "He wanted to be a real bolshevik communist, a party activist of the Dimitrov type, a syndical activist of the Liu Shaoqi type, he wanted to be a Marxist theorist, a writer, a poet, a painter, a linguist, a violinist... but he did not become anything of that."²⁹ He was dissuaded gradually from everything: "What's the use of your studying foreign languages? The centre of world revolution is now China. People all over the world dreaming of revolution are now learning Chinese, so why you begin now to learn foreign languages?"³⁰ they asked him. In 1955 he was criticized for reading too much, and even works by Hu Feng's adherents. He began to be interested in Chinese medicine and even the fame spread that he could heal. When in 1965 he was sent to a village to carry out "four clean-ups", he distinguished himself there by his healing abilities. He stayed there for twenty years. In 1979 he became deputy chairman of the district syndicate which had a redundancy of professional functionaries, for "there are too many old cadres for whom a position has to be arranged".³¹ When in 1981 they were looking for a suitable candidate for the post of director of a small but renowned institute of Chinese medicine, their choice fell on Liang Youzhi who in this function had soon become famous. He made speeches, received foreign delegations, travelled abroad, people kowtowed to him till he finally came to believe that he was truly an eminent physician. Yet, occasionally he somehow had to convince himself that he had really deserved this position and these honours. He lived a luxurious, hectic life without leisure, fully taken up with management and with representative duties. When reproaching his subordinates with some irregularity, or speaking to cadres of the province, he speaks "of bad working discipline, of neglect of political education, of judging everything solely in terms of money, of immorality, of succumbing to western capitalist influences, of absence of ideals, lack of discipline",³² and his superiors' view of him begins to diverge. According to some he is an outstanding cadre, in the opinion of others "he is a philistine, keeping on good terms with everyone, is passive, backward, debases the authority of the leadership".³³ That is when he first feels reservations forming in him against the new times. He sends in his demission in writ-

²⁹ Xiashuo xuankan [37], No. 4, 1986, p. 12.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

³¹ Ibid., p. 11.

³² Ibid., p. 19.

³³ Ibid.

ing explaining that the function of director rightly belongs to a younger man and that he intends to see to his professional education. When praise is lavished on him from higher up, he withdraws his resignation and becomes, in addition, the deputy chairman of the province CPPCC.

Liang Youzhi is thus a successful intellectual of the earlier generation and although it is not easy for him to adapt himself to the new, modern times with all their positive and negative features, to recognize that the young will not be ready to obey in everything their seniors, yet he agrees with his twin brother that “this is the best period of development since the foundation of the PRC”.³⁴

Liang Youzhi is essentially a positive type of a Chinese intellectual of the older generation. He has his human weaknesses, nevertheless, although it is not always simple and easy, he strives to steer an honest course at a period whose complexities and contradictions are dealt with openly by the author. The latter endeavours to unravel truth among the diverse attitudes of people in the differentiated society of the 1980s. On the one hand, his twin brother’s aged neighbour has sharp reservations against the cadre policy: “Now they talk in words of four transformations, but in reality they take into account three only – rejuvenation, education and specialization, while one of them is greatly underestimated, viz. revolutionization – now many good revolutionary and national traditions are being cast away.”³⁵ On the other hand, Liang Youzhi hears how his son with some friends is making a joke of “words that used to be sacred in the fifties, such as activity, progress, confidence, revolution, and even love”.³⁶ When he reproaches this to his son, the latter starts talking about a generation gap, how the old are limited by the circumstances in which they lived, how the young have “new conditions and a new revolution and if we make an even greater step forward, the generation gap between us and you will grow even deeper”.³⁷ And while his young daughter, a secondary school student reproaches him of “being too philistine and snobbish”,³⁸ a young, pushing, self-assertive careerist blurts out to his face: “Modesty and submissiveness might have been virtues in the fifties, but are a shame in the eighties! Modesty is always linked with hopelessness. Kindness and magnanimity are but covering terms for incompetence.”³⁹

True, Liang Youzhi critically judges the young generation that “they think they must live happily, but do not know whence happiness comes, they are simply con-

³⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

vinced that they must excel and overestimate their abilities" and "if China perishes, then it will perish at the hands of the golden youth, torn off reality, who had never suffered"⁴⁰ – but ultimately he finds his way to the young generation and "encourages the young not to rest on what has been attained, but to strive further and to achieve new successes".⁴¹

Wang Meng has created the portrait of a successful intellectual, the fifty-odd year old Song Chaoyi, likewise making references to difficulties in inter-generation understanding, also in his novelette *Gaoyuande feng* [38] *The Wind on the Plateau* whose plot takes place in 1984.

After long years of hardships and privations, Song Chaoyi, headmaster of a secondary school and an outstanding teacher, finds the fulfilment of all that a modern Chinese intellectual could wish for: he is famous, successful, praised and respected, he publishes papers, and although as headmaster of a school he earns less than a workman, thanks to financial aid from his sister, married to an American, he manages to come by goods in short supply and luxuries. He even gets what, in the author's words makes an urban Chinese of the 1980s "especially happy"⁴² – a new flat. And although he lives solely with his wife and his unmarried son, he gets at once two modern fully-equipped flats next to each other, a three- and a one-roomed flat. Yet now, when he has nothing to complain of, when everything goes well, he is not able sincerely to rejoice and with his wife recalls with nostalgia the poor little room in which they had lived after his rehabilitation, full of a joyful excitement from the new times. From his wife's words he realizes how much he has lost from the values he had had in his time of penury and want: youth, hope for the future, friends' looks full of sympathy. Joyful radiance has gone out from his eyes, leisure for his family from his life.

Song Chaoyi endeavours to put in words why he is unable to enjoy his present life, and comes to the conclusion that "once our life ceases to be suffering, we suffer for our own sake".⁴³ His feelings imply that a sensitive intellectual of this generation that had been so severely tried, finds in a materially assured and socially stabilized situation a certain void, an emptiness such as may be felt by an older man who has attained all that he could and all that he strove for. In addition, he is oppressed by a feeling that the attitudes and moral ideals with which he had lived all his life are somehow disappearing from social life and are foreign to the young of the eighties.

In Song Chaoyi, luxury did not blunt his social feeling. He is aware that not all the Chinese intellectuals live as comfortably as he does. When he finds out in what dire circumstances lives an outstanding teacher from his school – Li, single, thirty years of age, staying with her parents and a brother and with no hope of getting

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴² Xiaoshuo xuankan, No. 5, 1985, p. 20.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 27.

a dwelling, he offers her to move into his one-room flat. However, his son, an adherent of the young generation of intellectuals, is of a different mind. He does not agree with that gesture of good will and reproaches his parents that evidently they need trouble and worry to live with and declares that the government preaching such respect for teachers, should take care of Li.

Song Chaoyi entertains serious reservations towards his 26-year old only son. He finds it rather disturbing that his son considers the family's high standard of life to be a matter-of-course, that he cynically comments his director and also novels highly praised by the critique, does not share many of his views and his behaviour. "He has great aspirations but little ability, knows nothing about hardships of human life and if he does not belong to the lost generation, then at least to the group of the confused. They have nothing from our sincere devotedness of those times, Song Chaoyi muses with apprehension for the future of his country."⁴⁴ His son demands costly items, such as a videorecorder, a motorcycle, air-conditioning installation, and when his father mentions their price, he just laughs at him, telling him he has the mentality of a small-scale producer sitting on his money and loath to put it into circulation. Song Chaoyi feels like giving him a slap, but "he knows that the power of a slap will not overcome 'new ideological trends'."⁴⁵

The Songs invite the teacher Li to dinner during the course of which the differentiated attitudes of young intellectuals become manifest. Song tells Li: "A search for ideals and spiritual values is of great importance to our generation; revolutionary slogans fill us with fiery enthusiasm. It can't be helped, that's the way our generation has grown up", which provokes this sarcastic remark in his son: "My father is greatly concerned with reforming his world outlook, I hate all slogans, I don't believe in any one of them. What I want is a motorcycle, air-conditioning, video... and when I get the motorcycle, I will want to have a car." However, Li replied readily to this: "But after all, those are your slogans! Motorcycle, car, air-conditioning, video... You don't have all that as yet, hence, they are slogans and not reality. And you say you hate all slogans."⁴⁶

In the end the son parts with his steady girl friend, quite a good match, falls in love with Li and wishes to marry her, because he feels that "she can change his life". But old, subconscious prejudices awaken in Song Chaoyi: it's not proper to part with a girl, and for the sake of an older one at that, and goes so far even as to suspect his favourite teacher Li of 'cupboard love' – for the sake of the flat. His son informs him that he and Li have applied to go and teach in a far-off, backward village in Qinghai, although he had earlier dreamt of a trip to America, not a hopeless venture, seeing that his aunt lived there. Now, full of zest, he says that he'd like to go to

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 29.

America, but some time later. Song Chaoyi has the feeling as if an earthquake had shaken his hardly-won flat. But then he realizes that the young are in fact just as he had been in his youth and is happy that "he is still capable of feeling in his heart the violent gust of wind on the plateau which is calling his son and his future daughter-in-law".⁴⁷ Consequently, Song Chaoyi achieves reconciliation with himself and the young intellectuals.

It thus appears that works by authors "of the generation of the fifties", in contrast to those by writers "of the generation of educated youth" do not dissimulate complex issues, but ultimately lead to happy conclusions and to an inter-generation reconciliation. This is occasionally due to the mature views and tolerance on the part of the "generation of fathers", at other times we find a positive core concealed beneath a cynical and consume-oriented surface in the young. It is in this light that also the forty-year old woman producer viewed the generation gap among Chinese intellectuals in 1981 in the novelette *Fangzhou* [39] *The Ark* by Zhang Yie, when she says: "Their (i.e. her own) generation maturing in the 50s and 60s, is not optimistically blinded as some people from the preceding generation, nor so pessimistically blinded as some from the younger generation. It has the most confidence, moderation, can face reality, has an objective relation to work."⁴⁸

A little younger man, a writer of the "educated youth" generation Zhang Chengzhi formulates the attitude of her generation in the motto of the novelette *Rivers of the North*, referred to above: "I feel confident that everything will once be summed up for us by a just and deep knowledge: only then shall we see the meaning of struggles, ponderings, brands and choices, proper solely to our generation. But then we shall also feel regret at our past immaturity, faults and limitations, and we shall feel even more bitterly that we cannot start all over again. Therein resides the essence of the deep pessimism. Nevertheless, in view of the extent of our territory and the long history of our country, the future will ultimately be bright. For this mother's body will contain a certain blood line, a certain climate, a certain creative force which will ensure that lively, healthy babies will come into the world and the sobs of the sick and the weak will die down in their joyous cries. From this point of view, on the other hand, everything is optimistic."⁴⁹

The protagonists of this novelette are members of the generation of a thirty year old graduate just out of university, who is going back during the vacation towards the rivers of the north where he, as one of the "educated youth" had spent six years. He desperately longs to get to a postgraduate study of geography for which he has, also in the view of his professors, all the required prerequisites. They help him to overcome the bureaucratic obstacles and to attain his goal. But he also aids himself

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

⁴⁸ *Shouhuo* [39], No. 2, p. 43.

⁴⁹ *Zhongbian xiaoshuo xuankan*, No. 6, 1984, p. 3.

with impudence and an immense vitality which he occasionally fails to tame. He is incapable of pleading or of winning sympathy. He admits to himself: "You have not the manners of a great river, you are but a spoiled boy, spoiled by those rivers. In your youth you were spoiled by the northern river."⁵⁰ When finally he succeeds in being admitted to the examination for postgradual study, he is full of self-assurance – he knows his goal and is convinced he will attain it. We see a different type of reaction to success in the case of his girl friend, a young photographer, who finally has a photograph published, but thanks solely to connections; she feels a surge of exhaustion and emptiness at not having been able to achieve her purpose through her own efforts and the quality of her work, but through connections. A further friend of theirs understands the world of the elders and the influential-as unfriendly. "Everywhere they oppress us, the young. But we won't give up so easily. We, too, have teeth capable of biting."⁵¹ The values which these young intellectuals admit, are symbolized by a poplar grove planted by a sage before his death, and by a ceramic pot four thousand years old, whose shards they find in the north and stick them in place, although one part is irrevocably lost. One of the friends remarks that thereby the jug recalls the life of their generation which is so broken up as that of no other generation. In the end he accepts the photographer's view that the jug symbolizes not solely their life, but life in general, for "this ancient jug is the symbol of ancient life. Perhaps there is nothing strange about our generation".⁵²

The young intellectuals in this novelette certainly have certain external traits that are not sympathetic to the "generation of their fathers", but in reality they long to live a full life, not to squander it, and to work strenuously. They are modern intellectuals, deep-thinking, not superficial, searching their roots and fighting for their place in life and in the society. By their destiny and the obstacles they have to overcome, they are the product of their country and their times, but simultaneously they also exceed all that and personify the problems and the searchings of intellectuals of their generation in our present-day world.

A different type of a young Chinese female intellectual was created by a further woman writer of the generation of "educated youth", Liu Suola [40] in her novelette *Lan tian lü hai* [41] Blue Sky, Green Sea. This is a thrilling narration by a singer of modern music, a girl from an urban family of intellectuals. Her narration in which an important role is played by memories of her dead girl friend, deals with her life emotions and attitudes. She does not have to cope with material or existential worries, nor fate-induced traumas from the past. Her problems are purely psychological in nature and, even more than the characters in the novelette by Zhang Chengzhi, they exceed the framework of Chinese reality.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 35.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 26.

⁵² Ibid.

The singer is overpowered by a feeling of disharmony and impossibility of communicating with the world that surrounds her. She suffers from loneliness, from a lack of mutual inter-generation understanding and among people generally. She cannot harmonize with the society in which she sees conformity, hypocrisy and prejudices intolerantly driving people into uniformity. She revolts against the world which does not in any way disturb outwardly respectable citizens in their ruthlessness and immorality, but in which she and her friend were at once suspected of being loafers, spongers or thieves when they happened to sing in the street at night. After that experience she says to herself: "I should go up to the policeman's stand with a guitar in my hand. I should like to compose a song about a man of ice who destroys himself with the abundance of his tears. I should stand there and control the traffic by singing, determine which cars must go east and which west, which must circulate in town, which must go away and never return, and all should obey my orders."⁵³ The singer's life impression is reflected in the conclusion of the novelette, her recollection of a visit to her acquaintance: "Once I went to see him, his face was pale and his lips trembled. I asked him whether he was ill, and he pointed to a manuscript and said: 'Over a dozen characters have already perished in it, but as yet neither a villain, nor a policeman has made his appearance in it. I don't know where to go to find a crossroad, there are no policemen in this street'."⁵⁴

Her solitary, subjective revolt ends in powerlessness, her feeling of alienation remains equally deep, her search for life harmony and her place in society remains a problem which her society is able only partially to help her to resolve. Liu Suola, together with further writers in their thirties, such e.g. Han Shaogong [43] – whose young intellectual in the novelette *Guiqulai* [44] Return seeks his authentic "ego" in a practically schizophrenic personality – create psychologically complex images of the young intelligentsia, seen from angles of vision which are new in contemporary Chinese literature.

Very different types of intellectuals are also shown by contemporary non-fiction literature. An entire scale of life peripeteia and life attitudes of intellectuals may be found in the collection of oral literature *Beijingren* [45] Descendants of Peking Man by Zhang Xinxin [46] and Sang Ye [47]. Among the most positive characters of the elderly intellectuals there is here, for instance that of a retired lady teacher in *Fengxian* [48] Contribution, who donates all her savings for the reconstruction of the Great Wall. A remarkable representative of the younger intellectuals in this collection is e.g. Yang Shanshu in *Zhangman conglinde shangang* [49] Hillock Overgrown with Scrub, who is the embodiment of a social ideal of the contemporary young intellectual.

He was educated by his grandfather, a doctor of traditional Chinese medicine in

⁵³ Liu Suola: *Ni biewu xuanze* [42], Peking 1986, p. 128.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 129.

the backward countryside of the Hunan province. He successfully completed his studies of Chinese pharmacology at Changsha and had before him a future of which most graduates of Chinese universities fondly dream: postgraduate studies at the faculty and marriage with his professor's daughter. Shortly before completing his studies, his grandfather died and his native place remained without any health worker. He therefore decided he would go to his village even though he thereby loses his fiancée whom he would vainly ask to follow him to the countryside. This decision on his part is so extraordinary that it attracts the attention of newsmen. His fellow students, however, consider him a crank, and even his village receives him without enthusiasm. While he was studying they were proud of him, but now they suspect he had done something and is returning home as in punishment. "After all, why should he otherwise return to the village? Which successful scholar goes back to his native place? In the eyes of villagers everyone going to high school is a successful scholar."⁵⁵ He works for two years with success and devotion at the village, joins the communist party, and then when further health personnel are posted there, in 1984 he sends his application for postgraduate study in Peking. Yang Shanshu is realist and direct, he hates when his decision to return to his native village is heroized, and he does not pull any ropes to get to the postgraduate study (and it is not sure that he gets there). He judges very realistically both the world and himself. He would hardly come to an understanding with heroes in Liu Suola's novelettes, although they are contemporaries, living in the same general atmosphere. A childhood spent in poverty under the harsh conditions of the countryside and strenuous work have made him into a straightforward, constructive man, standing firmly on the ground, knowing his place in life and the society, capable of coping with problems. He is exactly the type of a young intellectual whom the reality of present-day China needs.

Chinese stories of the eighties realistically show up the differentiated image of contemporary intellectuals. This differentiatedness within a single generation and within similar personal, professional and social situations, also shows in what measure stories of recent years are getting rid of stereotypes. The fact that characters appear in them that are processed in a more full-blooded and more versatile manner, they penetrate into several topics and parts of human life and the society held taboo until then. Today's literary figure of a Chinese intellectual is no longer either an object or a subject of simplified didacticism and moralizing. He is becoming an individuality, a personality seen in its uniqueness and psychological complexity, set in the intricate relationships of the changing reality in the Chinese society.

⁵⁵ Zhang Xinxin and Sang Ye: *Beijingren*, Peking 1986, p. 385.

1. 雷达 2. 文学评论 3. 文汇报 4. 张贤亮 5. 绿化树
6. 中篇小说选刊 7. 男人的一半是女人 8. 张洁 9. 祖母绿
10. 陆大夫 11. 白铃 12. 曹彦因 13. 天云山传奇 14. 驯马才
15. 啊! 16. 张承志 17. 北方的河 18. 湛容 19. 玫瑰色的晚餐
20. 湛容小说选 21. 高晓声 22. 胡涂 23. 高晓声1983年小说集
24. 人到中年 25. 字谜日报 26. 真真假假 27. 湛容中篇小说集
28. 临街的窗 29. 小巷人物志 30. 井 31. 陈建功 32. 找乐
33. 陈世美 34. 秦香莲 35. 陈建功小说选 36. 名医梁有志
- 传奇 37. 小说选刊 38. 高原的风 39. 收获 40. 刘索拉
41. 蓝天绿痕 42. 你别无选择 43. 韩少功 44. 归去来
45. 北京人 46. 张辛欣 47. 桑晔 48. 奉献 49. 长满
- 丛林的山岗

PATRIOTIC AND SOCIO-POLITICAL STIMULI IN THE FIRST CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF LORD BYRON'S CANTO *THE ISLES OF GREECE*

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The aim of this study is to point out the typical features of the first three Chinese translations of Byron's *The Isles of Greece*, and the measure of its adaptation or distortion in the new literary and social context of the contemporary China.

If in China one mentions Lord Byron, very probably it evokes in the majority of Chinese readers the third canto of his *Don Juan*, a work written between 1818 and 1824, known in that country as *The Isles of Greece*. The Chinese translators gave it different names.

Liang Qichao [1] (1873–1929), father of modern Chinese intellectual history, the most prominent representative of the Enlightenment Movement at the turn of the last and our century, was the first who translated the first and the third stanza, followed by Ma Junwu [2] (1880–1940), a scientist, scholar and man of letters of a very wide range, who made the whole translation. Su Manshu [3] (1884–1918) was the third Chinese translator to have attempted an impressive and more or less exact version of the poem. Later on it has been translated into Chinese by other translators, all of them became later famous men of letters, but we shall not devote our attention to them.¹

Just to remind our reader of this poem, we are quoting its original version before coming to the proper analysis of the first Chinese translations:

1

The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece!
Where burning Sappho lowed and sung,
Where grew the arts of war and peace, —
Where Delos rose, and Phoebus sprung!
Eternal summer gilds them yet,
But all, except their sun, is set.

2

The Scian and the Teian muse,
The hero's harp, the lover's lute,
Have found the fame your shores refuse;
Their place of birth alone is mute
To sounds which echo further west
Than your sires' "Islands of the Blest".

The mountains look on Marathon –
 And Marathon looks on the sea;
 And musing there an hour alone,
 I dreamed that Greece might still be free;
 For standing on the Persians' grave,
 I could not deem myself a slave.

4

A king sate on the rocky brow
 Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
 And ships, by thousands, lay below,
 And men in nations; – all were his.
 He counted them at break of day –
 And when the sun set where were they?

5

And where are they? and where art thou,
 My country? On thy voiceless shore
 The heroic lay is tuneless now –
 The heroic bosom beats no more!
 And must thy lyre, so long divine,
 Degenerate into hands like mine?

6

'Tis something in the dearth of fame,
 Though linked among a fettered race,
 To feel at least a patriot's shame,
 Even as I sing, suffuse my face;
 For what is left the poet here?
 For Greeks a blush – for Greece a tear.

7

Must we but weep o'er days more blest?
 Must we but blush? – Our fathers bled.
 Earth! render back from out thy breast
 A remnant of our Spartan dead!
 Of the three hundred grant but three,
 To make a new Thermopylae!

What, silent still? and silent all?
 Ah! no; – the voices of the dead
 Sound like a distant torrent's fall,
 And answer, "Let one living head,
 But one arise, – we come, we come!"
 'Tis but the living who are dumb.

9

In vain – in vain: strike other chords;
 Fill high the cup with Samian wine!
 Leave battles to the Turkish hordes,
 And shed the blood of Scio's vine!
 Hark! rising to the ignoble call –
 How answers each bold Bacchanal!

10

You have the Pyrrhic dance as yet,
 Where is the Pyrrhic phalanx gone?
 Of two such lessons, why forget
 The nobler and the manlier one?
 You have the letters Cadmus gave –
 Think ye he meant them for a slave?

11

Fill high the bowl with Samian wine!
 We will not think of themes like these!
 It made Anacreon's song divine:
 He served – but served Polycrates –
 A tyrant; but our masters then
 Were still, at least, our countrymen.

12

The tyrant of the Chersonese
 Was freedom's best and bravest friend;
 That tyrant was Miltiades!
 Oh! that the present hour would lend
 Another despot of the kind!
 Such chains as his were sure to bind.

Fill high the bowl with Samian wine!
 on Suli's rock, and Parga's shore,
 Exists the remnant of a line
 Such as the Doric mothers bore;
 And there, perhaps, some seed is sown,
 The Heracleidan blood might own.

Trust not for freedom to the Franks –
 They have a king who buys and sells:
 In native swords, and native ranks,
 The only hope of courage dwells;
 But Turkish force, and Latin fraud,
 Would break your shield, however broad.

Fill high the bowl with Samian wine!
 Our virgins dance beneath the shade –
 I see their glorious black eyes shine;
 But gazing on each glowing maid,
 My own the burning tear-drop laves,
 To think such breasts must suckle slaves.

Place me on Sunium's marbled steep,
 Where nothing, save the waves and I,
 May hear our mutual murmurs sweep;
 There, swan-like, let me sing and die:
 A land of slaves shall ne'er be mine –
 Dash down yon cup of Samian wine!²

*

However, strange it may appear, yet Liang Qichao who in 1902, when still vacillating between “revolution” and “reform”, translating a few lines from Byron's poem extolling the great past and the pitiful present in the 1820s of the Greek people under the Turkish domination, clearly took sides with the English bard of freedom and national liberation. His grasp of the poem and its explanation were taken over by Ma Junwu, Su Manshu, and later in the 1920s also by young Liu Wu-chi whose translation remained unpublished.³

A correct understanding of Byron's poem presumed command of English and a knowledge of Greek history from mythological times, or at least from Homer down to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Probably not all the translators of this poem into Chinese were sufficiently familiar with Greek history and certainly did not grasp adequately the meaning of the poem.

We find the key to Liang Qichao's understanding and interpretation of Byron's poem in his unfinished novel *Xin Zhongguo weilai ji* [6] *The Future of New China*

¹ Wu-chi Liu: *Su Manshu yu Bailun "Ai Xila" shi* [4] Su Manshu and Byron's "The Isles of Greece". In: Wu-chi Liu: *Cong Mojianshi dao Yanzigang. Jinian Nanshe da shiren Su Manshu yu Liu Yazhi* [5] From Sharpened Sword Studio to Swallow's Mausoleum. On Su Manshu and Liu Yazhi, Two Great Poets of the Southern Society. Taipei 1986, pp. 196–264. All the three translations are fully reprinted in this study.

² *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*. Edited by W. M. Rossetti. London, Ward, Lock and Co. Ltd, n. d., pp. 415–416.

³ Wu-chi Liu's translation met his readers only recently, see Wu-chi Liu: op. cit., pp. 245–251.

where, in a partial translation, he states that the individual lines, like: "And must thy lyre, so long divine, / degenerate into hands like mine," or "For what is left the poet here? / For Greeks a blush – for Greece a tear," or even those about Polycrates, a tyrant on Samos (flourished about 540 B. C.), who was but one of the Greek countrymen, and now the tyrants are the Turks and the Greeks are the slaves of barbarians (*manzude nuli*) [7], are such "that they could be said of contemporary China".⁴ Liang Qichao was conscious of the decline of Chinese literature and art of his time. The contemporary Chinese writers and poets could not stand comparison with the giants of various periods of bloom in Chinese literary history. I also suppose that Liang Qichao did not use the term *manzu* [8] barbarian race, as partly homophonous with Manchu, by pure chance. In his view, Byron's *The Isles of Greece* had to be characterized as *wangguo zhi yin* [9] sounds of a vanquished country, as similar poetry is characterized in *Yueji* [10] *Records of Music* in *Liji* [11] *Book of Rites*. But with the difference that in contrast to the ancient Chinese poetry which in such a case is *ai yi si* [12] sad and nostalgic and *qi min kun* [13] its people is distressed,⁵ Byron's poetry becomes *xiongzhuang fengji* [14] heroic and angry.⁶ Liang Qichao expresses his conviction that if people read it through, the strength of their spirit would be increased a hundredfold. Liang Qichao, as we know from this assertion, apprehended poetry, both foreign and indigenous, as a powerful and effective means to influence life if it was socially or politically concerned. The same applied also to the novel and short story.⁷

An attempt at improving Liang Qichao's imprecise, though effective translation, was made by Ma Junwu who, three years later in 1905, put a complete Chinese version before his readers. His translation may be characterized as being *kangkai ji'ang* [15] lofty and stimulating,⁸ similarly as Byron's original, but occasionally Ma Junwu failed to understand both the literary text and social context and also, just as Su Manshu and Chen Duxiu [16] (1879–1942) had done in the case of *Les Misérables* by Victor Hugo, he had adapted it to Chinese conditions to be able to wield it as an effective political weapon against despotism and Manchu dominance.⁹

The most lofty and stimulating in Byron's poem are probably stanzas three to five describing the battle near Marathon where the Greeks under the command of

⁴ Wu-chi Liu: op. cit., p. 228.

⁵ Liu, James J. Y.: *Chinese Theories of Literature*. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press 1975, p. 63.

⁶ Wu-chi Liu: op. cit., p. 228.

⁷ Gálík, M.: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation, 1898–1979*. Bratislava, Veda – Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1986, pp. 7–12.

⁸ Wu-chi Liu: op. cit., p. 216.

⁹ Cf. my paper *Between Translation and Creation: Victor Hugo's Entry into Chinese Literature (1903–1904)*. In: Claudon, F. (Ed.): *Le rayonnement international de Victor Hugo*. New York – Bern, Peter Lang 1989, pp. 245–251.

Miltiades defeated in the year 490 B. C. the Persians under Darius I, and the battle near Salamis ten years later (480 B. C.) at which the Persians suffered a decisive naval defeat at the hands of united Greek armies led by Themistocles. Ma Junwu made a good translation of the third stanza devoted to the battle near Marathon and the "reflection" relating to it. This stanza has been translated also by Liang Qichao. The translation of the next two stanzas dealing with Salamis, proved quite a different matter. Neither Ma Junwu, nor Su Manshu after him, knew that the king who "sate on the rocky brow", was the proud, haughty and tactically weak Xerxes. The descriptions in the fourth stanza do not relate to the Greeks as may be inferred from Ma Junwu's and Su Manshu's translations, but to the thousands of Persian boats and a far larger number of Persian soldiers many of whom found their death in the sea-waters or were slain by Greek swords or lances.

Ma Junwu actualizes his translation at the place where the original, in the eleventh and twelfth stanzas, speaks of the tyrants Polycrates and Miltiades. Lord Byron was of the view that it was admissible to serve despots in so far as they ruled over their own people. He chose just these outstanding men of Greek socio-political life while the first of them, Samian ruler, was an outstanding organizer of his age, patron of art and scholarship (at his court lived Pythagoras and Anacreon) and the second, Athenian general, was the great victor of one of the most decisive battles in world history. The only form of government satisfactory to Ma Junwu as an adherent to Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), was that of a republic. He certainly knew of the existence of Greek democracy, but that form of government did not prevail at all times and in all places in Greece. He does not even mention the name of Polycrates who played, as a tyrant, a positive role in the early Greek history. Where the original reads: "A tyrant; but our masters then / Were still at least, our countrymen," Ma Junwu translates as follows: "The people is the master of the country, / what are the tyrants of diverse varieties!" Ma Junwu's prodemocratic and anti-despotic orientation must have been very strong indeed, when instead of the lines: "Oh! that the present hour would lend / Another despot of the kind! / Such chains as his were sure to bind", he translated into Chinese something quite different: "All the tyrants of this land ought to be put to death for their crimes / And what should be done with the tyrants of the barbarian race now ruling?" Under the binom *yizu* [17] barbarian race he similarly as Liang Qichao before, certainly had in mind the Manchus reigning in China.¹⁰ In the years preceding 1905 revolutionary and patriotic organizations appeared in China and abroad, and in that year the activists in Tokyo joined Sun Yat-sen to establish the United League (Tongmeng hui) [18] which later helped indirectly to trigger the Xinhai Revolution of 1911 and the fall of the Manchu dynasty. The despots were not killed, but died or had to abdicate.

¹⁰ Wu-chi Liu: op. cit., p. 231.

Su Manshu's version of *The Isles of Greece* from the year 1909, together with four other of Byron's poems, i.e. *Qu guo xing* [19] *My Native Land, Good Night, Liubie Yadian nulang* [20] *The Maid of Athens, Zan dahai* [21] *The Ocean and Da meiren zeng su famendai shi* [22] *For a Lady Who Presented the Author with Velvet Band Which Bound Her Tresses*, as a slender collection entitled *Bailun shi xuan* [23] *Selected Poems of Byron* came to be the most important translation of Byron's work into Chinese up to the first centenary of Byron's death in 1924.¹¹ These few poems created an image of Byron as a poet of resistance, freedom and love. Towards the end of 1923, Deng Zhongxia [28] (1897–1933), member of the Chinese Communist Party, had written in an article entitled *Gongxian yu xin shiren zhi qian* [29] *A Suggestion to the New Chinese Poets*: "New poets must take part in the revolutionary movement, similarly as Byron had done, who sacrificed his life in order to help the Greek revolution. His poem '*The Isles of Greece*' has shaken the whole world and astounded it by its artistic taste. In those who have read it, it has roused an immense enthusiasm and courage."¹²

In translating *The Isles of Greece*, Su Manshu used the traditional five-syllable lines and translated Byron's six-lines stanza with eight five-syllable lines. As has already been observed earlier, he made an error in translating the fourth stanza when he misunderstood the identity of Xerxes with the unnamed victor near Salamis. In addition he still translated this stanza with six lines, two remaining in reserve. He utilized them in a manner which certainly produced an effect on readers who, like himself, were not acquainted with the context of the Salamis battle, and instead of the joy and the exultation of the Greeks over an incomparably stronger foe and preservation of their liberty, he sighed deeply: "How tears flow / In the sad, subjugated land!" These words, expressed in fine classical Chinese, certainly did not miss their effect in China at the end of the Qing period and at the beginning of the Republic of China. Chinese patriots succeeded in entering into the spirit of a political context which, although the very opposite of reality in its translation, yet suited the mood of revolutionary-minded Chinese readers.

At yet another place Su Manshu added two lines into the stanza which are not in Byron's original. It is in the last but one stanza, the fifteenth one, where Byron introduces the beautiful Greek girls as they dance, their dark eyes shining, but simultaneously recalls that it is a pity because "such breasts must suckle slaves". Between their "dance" and their "glorious black eyes", Su Manshu inserts his tax of

¹¹ In 1924 April issue of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* [24] *The Short Story Magazine* was dedicated to Lord Byron's life and work, as well as the articles in *Chenbao* [25] *Morning News*, *Juewu* [26] *Consciousness*, and in *Chuangzao yuekan* [27] *Creation Monthly*, April issue, 1926, two studies appeared on him, too.

¹² *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue shi cankao ziliao* [30] *Material for the Study of Modern Chinese Literature*. Vol. 1. Peking 1959, p. 181.

“national shame”, but also of female beauty when he writes: “National humiliation they put aside and take no notice of it, / Their embellished faces are beautiful”.¹³ Su Manshu incorporated a piece of his own criticism into these two lines, a criticism directed to the apparently undignified relation on the part of the young Greek generation towards issues relating to their subjugated nation and its oppressors. This relation was identical with that observed in the application to *The Book of Poetry*, mentioned earlier.

In all the three translations analysed here, one issue, that of an amorous communication or information, was suppressed. *The Isles of Greece* is a poem created against a background of Don Juan’s love for his girl friend Haidee.

*

Su Manshu’s translation of *The Isles of Greece* was an exception among the first specimens of the European translated poetry in China. It exerted a strikingly “intra-literary effect” and social impact, hence, it acted on the literary structure on Chinese soil, found favour with Chinese readers, acted on people’s way of thought of those times and educated them to patriotic emotions. Liang Qichao’s and Ma Junwu’s translation prepared a way to this unusual success.

¹³ Wu-chi Liu: op. cit., pp. 233-235.

1. 梁启超 2. 马君武 3. 苏曼殊 4. 苏曼殊与拜伦^{哀希腊}诗 5. 从磨剑室到燕子龕。纪念南社二大诗人苏曼殊与柳亚子 6. 新中国未来记 7. 蛮族的奴隶 8. 蛮族 9. 亡国之音 10. 乐记 11. 礼记 12. 哀以思 13. 其民困 14. 雄壮愤激 15. 慷慨激昂 16. 陈独秀 17. 异族 18. 同盟会 19. 去国行 20. 留别雅典女郎 21. 赞大海 22. 答美人赠束发^璠带诗 23. 拜伦诗选 24. 小说月报 25. 晨报 26. 觉悟 27. 创造月刊 28. 邓中夏 29. 贡献于新诗人之前 30. 中国现代文学史参考资料

AT THE BEGINNING WAS *SHIJING*: ON THE RECEPTION OF CHINESE LITERATURE IN BOHEMIA AND SLOVAKIA (1897–1988)*

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This is a short outline of the literary translations from Chinese into Czech and Slovak languages beginning with *Shijing* (*Book of Poetry*) in 1897 and ending with Shen Congwen and Zhang Xinxin in the first months of 1988.

1

When I first held in my hands the first Czech translation of a Chinese literary original made by Professor Rudolf Dvořák (1860–1920) and his co-worker, prominent Czech poet and translator Jaroslav Vrchlický (1853–1912), I had the impression that the old Latin idea *ad fontes* was the leitmotif of these two pioneers in the fields of acquainting the Czech readers with the literatures of both East and West. Professor Dvořák was a polyhistor in Oriental studies and was equally efficient in Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish and Chinese studies. Jaroslav Vrchlický, an Antiquity and Renaissance scholar, great supporter of the Czech national liberation struggle, made the translations of the “great” of West and East, including Dante, Calderón, Cervantes, Goethe, Petőfi, Baudelaire and Hāfiz.

The unnamed introduction to the translation of *Shijing* [1] *Book of Poetry* written by Dvořák in 1897 begins as follows: “When, several years ago, it was a fashion to select one hundred books of the world literature which would sufficiently illustrate the development and the cultural standard of mankind throughout its entire history, these lists repeatedly included the title of a poetry collection of old Chinese *Shijing*. This is unquestionably an interesting fact. It demonstrates the significance ascribed in Europe to this classic Chinese book which, although being much closer in character to the European thought than any other product of Chinese literature, remains essentially a purely Chinese work.”¹

Although he presents no evidence to support his statement, there is no reason to distrust his judgment and one must recognize that *Shijing*, the source for all the re-

*This is a slightly modified paper read at the IInd Congress of Chinese Comparative Literature Association, Xi'an, 25–29 August, 1987.

¹ *Škingu. Dílu prvního kniha I.–VI.* Prague, J. Otto 1897, p. 7.

maining and later Chinese poetry, was known in the nineteenth-century Europe as a great *œuvre* of literature, a remarkable collection of poems, enjoying esteem and reputation among the European reading public and sinologists-literary scholars. The Czech literature was the fourth in the European cultural context to have a *Shijing* translation. It was preceded by the Latin translation by P. Lacharme from 1733, designed for educated French readers, on the basis of which Théophile Gautier made more popular version. James Legge presented the work to British readers in his monumental work *The Chinese Classics*, published first in Hong Kong in the years 1861–1871. Victor von Strauss made the same for the Germans in his *Shiking. Das kanonische Liederbuch der Chinesen* in Heidelberg, 1880. Dvořák relied in his translation on that of Legge's "containing the text and its prosaic translation with an extensive note apparatus derived from the study of practically all the Chinese literature dealing with the *Book of Poetry*".² He also used the Manchu translation according to the publication of the German linguist Georg von der Gabelentz and he oriented the translator Vrchlický to grasp "exactly the content and the form (of course, with a double number of syllables in a line) and thus to approximate the original the most closely". Dvořák wrote about the *Shijing* poems that they "excel with the tenderness of feeling, soaring ideas and rich imagery", "ranking thus among the best achievements of the world lyric art."³ This translation, containing a little over one half of the poems in this collection (160 out of the total number 305) and the subsequent characterization affected the development of the Czech translation literature in the area of Chinese poetry. *Shijing* is considered to be the root of the tree of Chinese poetry which "sprang up and grew from it during the subsequent dynasties, developed foliage during the Han (206 B. C. – A. D. 220) and Wei (A. D. 220–264) dynasties and during the Tang dynasty (A. D. 618–906) reached gigantic dimensions with poets like Li Bai [2], Du Fu [3] and Bo Juyi [4]".⁴

The success of this poetry and the efforts at bringing the Czech reader the works of the later period apparently motivated the Czech translator Jaroslav Pšenička to presenting his fellow countrymen as early as 1902 a thin volume entitled *Ze staré čínské poesie* (From the Old Chinese Poetry), 7th – 9th cent. A. D. which contained the works of the "golden age of the Chinese poetry". He writes in the introduction: "The time of flourishing coincides with the rule of the Tang dynasty which, during its era, gave China twenty emperors and twenty patrons of art at the same time; the rulers who excelled both in the virtues and in the abilities, who found a way to the hearts of their people not only through expanding the Middle Kingdom in the manner unheard of before and after, and pushing its boundaries up to the Caspian

² Ibid., p. 29.

³ Ibid., p. 31.

⁴ Loc. cit.

Sea but also through raising the spiritual standard of the nation to an unprecedented level."

He immediately goes on saying:

"And, especially the sixth of the line of these victorious and yet gentle and art-loving emperors, succeeded in surrounding himself with the cream of the poets of his time and not only the emperor's court, but the whole country resounded with songs. His name was Ming huangdi [5], and his greatest three poets-courtiers were Li Bai, Du Fu and Wang Wei [6]; all three of them enjoy greater reputation in the Far East up to the present than the prince-poets Vergil and Horace in the West for, after more than one thousand years, they still continue to enjoy popular liking even in the most remote communities of their old homeland and their poetic language is considered even today as an incomparable model."⁵

Jaroslav Pšenička was not a sinologist and his introduction suggests that he presents the Tang dynasty period and its poetry in the form of the "mirage"; as this phenomenon is referred to in the theory and practice of the literary comparatistics. His unrhymed and freely rhythmicized translations are based on the French book entitled *Poésie de l'époque des Thang* by d'Hervey-Saint-Denys from 1862.

This selection of poetry from the Tang period is followed by a twenty-year break in the reception of Chinese literature in Bohemia, with the exception of the translation of Laozi's [7] *Daode jing* [8] by Professor Dvořák in 1920.⁶ In 1922, Bohumil Mathesius, a specialist in Czech and Russian literature, the most successful translator of Chinese poetry into Czech, started to take interest in Chinese poetry. This may seem paradoxical, but it is a fact. The interliterary process has certain regularities, the knowledge of which is not evident in the superficial acquaintance with the facts and it seems to contradict logical judgments. In 1925, three years after the beginning of his broad and long-lasting studies, he issued a thin anthology of Chinese poetry *Červená věž a zelený džbán* (The Red Tower and the Green Jug).⁷ In the same year, his translations of Blok's *The Twelve* and Mayakovsky's *150,000,000* appeared. It was a noteworthy "trinity", but Mathesius had an acute feeling for literary and aesthetic values. For him reaching *ad fontes* of the Chinese poetry meant to reach not only for *Shijing* but other poets as well, especially Li Bai and Du Fu, up to the tenth century of our era. His paraphrases, for his are not pure translations, gushed forth from his inner need, from his "interest in the Chinese philosophy and his effort at viewing the war (World War I, M. G.) with the non-European eyes".⁸

⁵ *Ze staré čínské poesie (VII.–IX. stol. po Kr.)*. Prague, J. Otto 1902, p. 4.

⁶ *Lao-Tsiova kanonická kniha o Tau a ctivosti (Tao-te king)*. Kladno, Jar. Šnajdl 1920.

⁷ Prague, O. Štorch-Marien 1925, 56 pp.

⁸ *Z doslovu k Černé věži a zelenému džbánu* (From the Preface to The Red Tower and the Green Jug). In: Mathesius, B.: *Bísníci a buřiči* (Poets and Rebels). Prague, Lidové nakladatelství 1975, p. 200.

It is difficult to tell whether Mathesius knew Hermann Hesse, a non-sinologist as well, who wrote shortly before that time, in 1919: "Die Weissheit, die uns nottut, steht by Lao Tse, und sie ins Europäische zu übersetzen, ist die einzige geistige Aufgabe, die wir zur Zeit haben."⁹ Mathesius counterposed the wisdom and poetry of the old China to the defeatist moods of Spengler's *The Decline of the West* and of the Messianic orthodoxy professed in Czechoslovakia by the White Guardists as ideology which was to unite the Eurasian world. He chose for the motto of his first booklet of paraphrases of the Chinese poetry Laozi's statement from chapter 71 of the *Daode jing* which says: "To know that you do not know is the best. To pretend to know when you do not know is a disease."¹⁰ He was deriving the sources for his paraphrases from translations or paraphrases of Otto Hauser, Klabund, V. M. Alexejev, Y. K. Shchutsky, W. Grube, and others. He later collaborated with Jaroslav Průšek. The books he published besides the above mentioned one, *Zpěvy staré Číny* (The Songs of the Old China) (1930), *Nové zpěvy staré Číny* (The New Songs of the Old China) (1940) and *Li Po* (1942) belonged to the most widely read books during the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia during the World War II.¹¹ After the war he published some more of them. Up to the mid-1960s they attained the total impression of some 200,000 copies.¹² I remember that they were among the most favourite books of translation literature in the first half of the 1950s.

2

The next chapter of the history of the reception of Chinese literature in the Czech lands started to be written by Jaroslav Průšek (1906–1980). At the beginning, he was a lone fighter in this field. After he had finished his studies of old European history, he decided to devote himself especially to the medieval Chinese history, especially to its economic aspects since he was enthralled by the works of Werner Sombart and Max Weber. The opportunity offered to him in 1932–1937 by post-graduate studies in China and Japan, enabled him to make a deep acquaintance with

⁹ Quoted according to Hsia, A.: *Hermann Hesse und China. Darstellung, Materialien und Interpretation*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1981, p. 94.

¹⁰ Quoted according to the translation by Wing-tsit Chan in *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1963, p. 172.

¹¹ Mathesius, B.: Poets and Rebels, p. 310. Besides the above mentioned Mathesius published at least these following volumes of translations of Chinese poetry: *Písň moudrosti a dáleka. Básně čínských autorů* (The Songs of Wisdom and Distance). Prague, F. S. Müller 1940, *Krásná slova o víně. Výbor z čínské poesie* (Beautiful Words about Wine. A Selection from Chinese Poetry). Prague, J. Goldhammer 1945, *Zpěvy staré a nové Číny* (The Songs of Old and New China). Prague, Mladá fronta 1953 (with the illustrations by Qi Baishi), annotated edition of the same title, Prague, Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění 1957 (illustrated by Ota Janeček), and *Zpěvy Dálného východu* (The Songs of the Far East). Brno 1958. In the last one only a small part is devoted to the Chinese poetry.

¹² Průšek, J.: *Preface*. In: *Asian and African Studies in Czechoslovakia*. Moscow, Nauka 1967, p. 4.

the medieval *huaben* and other literary works, written for the most part in the vernacular (*baihua*) [9], discovered at that time for the Chinese and foreign world by Hu Shi [10], Lu Xun [11], Zheng Zhenduo [12], Ma Lian [13], Sun Kaidi [14] and Japanese scholars. The passages devoted to the descriptions of these explorations or his meetings with Xie Bingxin [15], Guo Moruo [16], Shen Congwen [17] and others, at that time young Chinese men of letters or poets in his book of reports and memoirs *Sestra moje Čína* (My Sister China)¹³ read like a novel. After he had returned from Japan, and partly even before that time, he launched his extensive scholarly and translating activities which made him famous at home and abroad. Unlike Dvořák, who began with the classical book of the ancient China, *Shijing*, Professor Průšek began with the most noteworthy book of modern Chinese literature, Lu Xun's *Call to Arms* (*Nahan*) [18]. He partly translated it into Czech.¹⁴ Upon his request, Lu Xun wrote the preface to the translation shortly before his death in 1936. The latter noted in the preface that he never "knew a Czech man or saw a Czech book" and that he therefore considered Průšek's endeavour a great honour (*guangrong*) [19]. The translation appeared in December 1937, 14 months following Lu Xun's death. Lu Xun's words from this preface are seldom quoted and remembered: "Naturally, the best thing would be if mankind showed interest in other people and if there were no barriers between people. The most peaceful and the most correct such mutual contacts are through literature and arts. It is a pity very few people have taken this road so far."¹⁵ These few people included both Lu Xun and Průšek.

Průšek after translating Lu Xun reached immediately after Confucius' *The Analects* (*Lunyu*) [20] (1940),¹⁶ the work professing *ren* [21] benevolence, human-heartedness, himself using the term "goodness" so as to condemn indirectly the atrocities and the cruelty of German Nazism which threatened Europe and mankind at that time. This shift in emphasis meant a slight distortion of the original meaning but it was the demand of the time. At the same time, he was translating Mao Dun's [22] *Midnight* (*Ziye*) [23], the best Chinese novel of the literature of that period, to show Czech readers the "twilight" of the gods of the feudal and capitalist China and the first sings of hope for the national liberation and social progress. The translation of the *Midnight* could not appear until 10 years later – in 1950. The fascist censorship forbade its publication.¹⁷ Between Confucius and Mao Dun, Průšek introduced the numerous Czech readers to Shen Fu's [24] *Six Chapters of A Floating Life* (*Fusheng*

¹³ Prague, Družstevní práce 1940. It appeared in 6,600 copies.

¹⁴ Prague, Lidová kultura 1937. It appeared in the series People's Library, No. 24.

¹⁵ *Lu Xun quanji* [137] (The Complete Works of Lu Xun). Vol. 6. Peking 1973, p. 527.

¹⁶ *Hovory Konfuciovy*. Prague, Jan Laichter 1940.

¹⁷ *Šerosvit*. Prague, Svoboda 1950 with the Preface by Průšek, and with the Preface for the Czech Readers by Mao Dun. The translation was reprinted in 1958.

liu ji) [25] (1944),¹⁸ Liu E's [26] *The Travels of Lao Can* (*Lao Can you ji*) [27] (1947).¹⁹ *Extraordinary Stories from the Chinese Markets and Bazaars* (i.e. *huaben*) [28] got into the hands of Czech readers in 1954²⁰ and the selection from Pu Songling's [29] *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* (*Liaozhai zhiyi*) [30] in 1955.²¹ Afterwards he devoted himself more fully to scholarly and organizational work in the various fields of Chinese and Oriental Studies.

Průšek's close co-worker was Berta Krebsová (1909–1973), a specialist on the work of Lu Xun. Partly with Průšek, as one of his first disciples, but mostly by herself, she translated the entire short story or, better to say, belletristic production of Lu Xun, i.e. *Call to Arms*,²² *Wandering* (*Panghuang*) [31],²³ *Wild Grass* (*Yecao*) [32], *Dawn Blossoms Plucked at Dusk* (*Chao hua xi shi*) [33] and *Old Tales Retold* (*Gu shi xin bian*) [34]²⁴ and the selection of his literary and critical essays from the years 1918–1932.²⁵ Only her death prevented the publication of the continuation of this selection. She recorded great success with her translations of Guo Moruo's short stories with historical themes, published on the basis of her translation also in Slovak,²⁶ and especially the fourth translation of *Daode jing* into Czech with numerous notes attesting to her philosophical erudition and assiduity.²⁷ She was very quick to translate the first volume of Zhou Libo's [35] novel *The Hurricane* (*Baofeng zouyu*) [36] (1951).²⁸

A number of translators from Chinese originals, among whom a special mention should be made of Oldřich Král, clustered around these two scholars. As for Král's translation work, it presently exceeds with its volume even the numerous and extensive translations of Průšek. Král's university student interests gave rise to the translation of volume two of Zhou Libo's novel mentioned above and of Ba Jin's [37]

¹⁸ *Šest historii prchavého života*. Prague, 1944. Reprinted in 1956.

¹⁹ *Putování starého chromce*. Prague 1947. Reprinted in 1960 with a long preface by the translator (pp. 9–158).

²⁰ *Podivuhodné příběhy z čínských tržišť a bazarů*. Prague 1954. Reprinted in 1964.

²¹ *Zkazky o šestero cest osudu*. Prague 1955. Reprinted in 1963. This reprint appeared in more than 57,000 copies with the illustrations by the famous Slovak painter Vincent Hložník.

²² *Vřava, Polní tráva*. Prague, Svoboda 1951.

²³ *Tápání*. Prague, Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění 1954.

²⁴ *Ranní květy sebrané v podvečer, Staré příběhy v novém rouše*. Ibid. 1956.

²⁵ *Eseje I*. Ibid. 1964.

²⁶ *Návrat starého mistra a jiné povídky*. Prague 1961.

²⁷ *Tao-te-ting. Kniha o tao a ctnosti*. Prague, Odeon 1971. Two translators except of Dvořák and Krebsová were: Jiří Navrátil (1969) and Oldřich Král (1971). Worthy of mention is also very rare *Tao-tek-king. Kanonická kniha o Tao a ctnosti*. Prague, F. Kadeřávek 1931, 10 pp. and another full translation published under the title *Moudrost a tajemství. Setkání s Lao-Tzem* (Wisdom and Secret. A Meeting with Laozi). Prague 1945.

²⁸ *Bouře*. Prague, Československý spisovatel 1951.

Family (Jia) [38]²⁹ (both together with Marta Ryšavá), his later scholarly work to the translation of Wu Jingzi's [39] *The Scholars* (*Rulin waishi*) [40].³⁰ The most favourite of his translations is undoubtedly the selection from the works of philosophical and aesthetic Taoism, issued under the title *Dao – Texts from Old China*.³¹ It is one of the most beautifully illustrated and printed translations of Chinese literature in Czech. The Czech readers waited for more than 15 years for his complete translation of the *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Hong lou meng*) [41]. It was translated on the basis of several Chinese editions and this most famous Chinese novel of all times had began to appear in 1987 gradually in three volumes. The first volume vanished from the bookshop counters the very first day of its distribution.³²

Speaking about the year 1987, we may recall that the second selection of *Shijing* together with some specimens of *yuefu* [42] poetry from the Han dynasty appeared in Czech. It has been translated by Jaroslav Vochala, one of the best Czech specialists on the Chinese language.³³ It was preceded by his translation of Mao Dun's novel *Corruption* (*Fushi*) [43].³⁴

Typical of the majority of Czech translators was the transition from the translation of new literary works to that of old, classic works recognized in the world. This was connected with the gradual mastering of the language and with the general trend of the study of Chinese literature in Czechoslovakia. Dana Kalvodová devoted herself first to the study and translations of short stories of Ding Ling [44] but, after the publication of the collection *The Diary of Miss Sophia and Other Stories*,³⁵ she passed to the study of the traditional Chinese theatre (*xiqu*) [45] and published the collection of Guan Hanqing's [46] dramas³⁶ and Kong Shangren's [47] *Peach Blossom Fan* (*Taohua shan*) [48].³⁷ Marta Ryšavá began, as we have seen above, by translating the work of Zhou Lipo and Ba Jin but, gradually, she passed over to the poems by Tao Yuanming [49]³⁸ and Pu Songling's *liqu* [50].³⁹ Zdenka Novotná-Heřmanová started with the short stories on the Chinese youth,⁴⁰ on the Chinese volun-

²⁹ *Rodina*. Prague 1959.

³⁰ *Literáti a mandaríni*. Prague, Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění 1962.

³¹ *Tao. Texty staré Číny*. Prague, Československý spisovatel 1971. It appeared in 21,000 copies for the members of Poetry's Friends Club.

³² *Sen v červeném domě, I*. Prague, Odeon 1987.

³³ *Zpěvy od Žluté řeky* (The Songs from the Region of Yellow River). Prague, Práce 1987. In this booklet there are also a few specimens of the *yuefu* poetry.

³⁴ Mao Dun's *Corruption* was published in Czech under two different titles: *V tygří tlamě* (In Tiger's Jaw), Prague 1959 and *Hniloba* (Putredness), Prague 1967.

³⁵ *Deník slečny Suo-fej a jiné prózy*. Prague 1955.

³⁶ *Letní sněh a jiné hry* (Injustice to Tou O and Other Plays). Prague 1960.

³⁷ *Vějíř s broskvovými květy*. Prague 1968.

³⁸ *Návraty* (Returns). Prague 1966.

³⁹ *Vyznání* (Confessions). Prague 1974.

⁴⁰ *Povídky o čínské mládeži* (Stories about the Chinese Youth). Prague 1950.

teers in Korea,⁴¹ and continued with the medieval stories of love under the title *The Jewel Box*, including the famous story *Du Shiniang Indignantly Throws the Jewel Box* (*Du Shiniang nu chen baibao xiang*) [51]⁴² and with a part of the *Journey to the West* (*Xi you ji*) [52] by Wu Chengen [53] entitled *The Monkey King*.⁴³ Augustín Palát, Průšek's associate of many years, published in the early 1950s three works of the contemporary Chinese literature: Ho Jingzhi's [54] and Ding Yi's [55] *White Hair Girl* (*Baimao nu*) [56],⁴⁴ Wang Xijian's [57] *The Upheaval* (*Difu tianfan ji*) [58],⁴⁵ and Ding Lin's *Sun Shines over the Sanggan River* (*Taiyang zhao zai Sanggan ho shang*) [59].⁴⁶ His later translation of Shi Naian's [60] *Water Margin* (*Shui hu zhuan*) [61] was published in the Czech and the Slovak versions.

Several Czech translators remained "faithful" to the new Chinese literature, and to folklore written in the vernacular. In the first place we should mention Dana Štovíčková (1929–1976), with very good linguistic erudition and extraordinary stylistic talents for the translation of poetry. Her major work is *Silver Horse. An Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry of the 1920s up to 1940s*,⁴⁷ in which she focused primarily on her most favourite poet Ai Qing [62] and translated more than one poem from Zhu Ziqing [63], Guo Moruo, Wen Yiduo [64], Dai Wangshu [65], Mu Mutian [66], Du Gu [67] and Tian Jian [68]. The translation appeared in 1964. Jarmila Häringová translated the selection from the collections of poems *Stars* (*Fanxing*) [69] and *Spring Waters* (*Chun shui*) [70] by Xie Bingxin.⁴⁸ It appeared in 1967. Several years later, her translation of the well-known book by Xie Bingying [71] entitled *Girl Rebel. The Autobiography of Xie Bingying* (*Yige nubingde zizhuan*) [72] (1971),⁴⁹ followed. Věna Hrdličková translated several books in the 1950s, most of them together with her husband, such as Cao Ming's [73] *Moving Force* (*Yuandong li*) [74],⁵⁰ Chen Dengke's [75] *Living Hell* (*Huoren tang*) [76],⁵¹ and even before, a selection entitled after Sun Li's [77] short story *Lotus Creek* (*Hehua dian*) [78],⁵² containing also the works by Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Liu Baiyu [79], Gu Yu [80], Zhou

⁴¹ *Čínští dobrovolníci, povídky a reportáže* (Chinese Volunteers, Short Stories and Reports). Prague 1961.

⁴² *Skříňka s poklady*. Prague 1961.

⁴³ *Opičí král*. Prague 1961.

⁴⁴ *Dívka s bílými vlasy*. Prague 1951.

⁴⁵ *Převrat*. Prague 1953.

⁴⁶ *Na řece Sang-kang*. Prague 1951.

⁴⁷ *Sříbrný kůň. Výbor moderní čínské poezie dvacátých až čtyřicátých let*. Prague 1964.

⁴⁸ *Hvězdy a jarní vody*. Prague 1967.

⁴⁹ *Nepoddajná* (An Uncompromising Woman). Prague 1971.

⁵⁰ *Pramen síly*. Prague 1952.

⁵¹ *Živoucí peklo*. Prague 1955.

⁵² *Lotosová zátoka. Výber z čínských povídek* (Lotus Creek. A Selection of Chinese Stories). Prague 1951.

Lipo and Zhao Shuli [81]. Zhao Shuli's *Rhymes of Li Yuci (Li Yuci banhua)* [82]⁵³ was translated by the students of the sinological seminary in Prague and the book *Changes in Li Village (Lijiazhuangde bianqian)* [83]⁵⁴ got into the Czech language through the Russian translation. It seems that Zhao Shuli best represented Chinese literature in the Liberated Areas and of the first years of People's Republic of China for the Czech readers.

Folklore tales were especially the domain of D. Štovićková: *Brocade Picture*⁵⁵ and V. Hrdličková: *Magic Gourd*.⁵⁶

In this enumeration of translations from the Chinese originals we must mention those which were the outcome of the co-operation between sinologists and well-known Czech poets. At least two of them must be mentioned: *Springs and Autumns of Old China*, acquainting Czech readers with the poems of *ci* [84] form from the Song dynasty⁵⁷ which is the joint work of Zlata Černá and Jan Vladislav and the translations from Bo Juyi called *Black Pool Dragon (Hei tan long)* [85],⁵⁸ the joint work of Josef Kolmaš and Jana Štroblová.

3

The arrival of Jaroslav Průšek and his colleagues and pupils in the Czech translation arena did not mean that the "second-hand" translations stopped. Among more important translations of this kind, we must mention *Rickshaw-Boy (Luotuo Xiangzi)* [86] by Lao She [87], made on the basis of the well-known (and considerably adapted) version of Evan King. It was published in 1947 in an unusually high impression of 50,000 copies. Just for comparison I mention that the later translation of Z. Stupski, made on the basis of the Chinese original, containing 12 Lao She's short stories entitled after one of them *The Death-Bearing Lance (Duan hunqiang)* [88], appeared in 5,500 copies.⁵⁹ When we add the later editions in Slovakia we find out that Lao She's works reached the highest impressions in Czechoslovakia, where they are probably the most widely read modern Chinese works of literature. Non-sinologists translated into Czech the above mentioned Shi Naian's novel on the basis of *All Men Are Brothers* adapted by Pearl S. Buck (1937)⁶⁰ and *Jin Ping Mei* [89], probably on the basis of the German version by Franz Kuhn.⁶¹ Other similar translations

⁵³ *Na horských pláních* (On the Mountain Plains). Prague 1951.

⁵⁴ *Vesnice Li mění tvář*. Prague 1950.

⁵⁵ *Brokátový obraz*. Prague 1978.

⁵⁶ *Kouzelná tykev*. Prague 1981.

⁵⁷ *Jara a podzimy staré Číny*. Prague 1961.

⁵⁸ *Drak z černé tůně*. Prague 1961.

⁵⁹ *Konec slavného kopinika*. Prague 1962.

⁶⁰ This famous Chinese mediaeval novel was translated into Czech by Z. Vančura, M. Nováková and M. Matoušková.

⁶¹ *Čin Ping Mei čili půvabné ženy* (Jin Ping Mei or Charming Women). Prague 1948.

– selection from the philosophical work *Zhuangzi* [90] (1930)⁶² and Li Xingdao's [91] *The Chalk Circle* (*Hui lan ji*) [92], probably following the German translation by Wollheim de Fonseca from the year 1876 also deserve to be mentioned.⁶³

A special place among these translations is occupied by a relatively extensive selection from the poetry of the Song dynasty period, called *Melancholies*, the work by a prominent Czech poet Vladimír Holán (1905–), who set to verses the French translations from the book *Florilège des poèmes Song* by George Soulié de Morant from 1923.⁶⁴ The Czech poet gave attention especially to the poet Su Shi [93] alias Dongpo [94] and poetess Zhu Shuzhen [95]. The collection entitled *Tea Flowers. Poems of Old China*, translated by F. Ch. and published in 350 copies, remained practically unknown.⁶⁵

4

As these words were at first addressed to the participants of the IIInd Congress of the Chinese Comparative Literature Association at Xi'an (formerly Changan, the capital of Tang China), I would like to draw attention to the Czech and Slovak translations of poetry related to the "golden age" in China. In the first part of my contribution I have mentioned Pšenička's translation from the beginning of our century. The most popular translator of Chinese poetry into Czech, Bohumil Mathesius, gave in individual previously mentioned collections most attention and space to Li Bai, Du Fu, and also Wang Wei and Bo Juyi. He was translating Li Bai's poetry in the booklet *Li Po* at the time marked by the expansionists policy of German Nazism when its armies were victorious and seemed to conquer the great part of our world. The translation of Du Fu's poems *Ballad of the Army Carts* (*Bing che xing*) [96] or *The Runners of Shihao* (*Shihao li*) [97] taught the Czech readers to despise the horrors of the war and sufferings imposed on the helpless people.

While Mathesius translated Chinese poetry from *Shijing* to Tian Jian's *Song of the Cart* (*Gan che zhuan*) [98],⁶⁶ František Hrubín (1910–1971), another superb lyric poet, did not go beyond the boundaries of the Tang period poetry. I should mention that his preferred poet was Li Bai. His motives for translating 53 poems by Li Bai and 42 poems by other major poets of this period, are described by Zlata Černá, specialist in old Chinese poetry and its admirer, as follows: "The fragile charm of the fleeting moment, just as the depth of reflection and a chilling feeling over the hopelessness of the oppressive fate, as they are found in countless variations and

⁶² *Myšlenky čínského filosofa Chuang-tze* (Ideas of the Chinese Philosopher Zhuangzi). Prague 1930.

⁶³ *Křídový kruh*. Prague 1947.

⁶⁴ *Melancholie. Básně dynastie Sungské 960–1277*. Prague 1948.

⁶⁵ *Čajové květy. Verše ze staré Číny*. Brno 1934. F. Ch. were the initials of the poet František Chudoba (1878–1941).

⁶⁶ *Píseň o káře*. Translated by J. Průšek and B. Mathesius. Prague 1952.

literally microscopic treatment in the lines written for centuries in the ancient China and introduced, especially during the last fifty years, also to the European reader in translations and paraphrases, were bound to raise also the attention of František Hrubín, a poet of great sensibility and fascination by the beauties of everyday life. It is his inner feeling of belonging to his country, his dedication to everything its people had done since the oldest time to improve, toiling laboriously, this charming piece of land and their own fate, that made him a truly national poet who sensitively responded to the similar desires and efforts in the most remote regions and in periods long buried in time. All true poets have at least one thing in common – a boundless desire to discover and grasp the beauty and grandeur all around them, in the simple life of themselves and people close to them and only in this way the most fortunate among them may get to expressing something which is intelligible everywhere and to everybody.”⁶⁷

The poetry of Tang period of *jīn tīshī* [99] modern style, usually *jueju* [100] quatrains, but also *lǔshī* [101] octaves or regulated poems and *pàilǔ* [102] long poems was translated by Hrubín in the years 1945 to 1954 on the basis of Czech or other European translations, or in co-operation with Augustín Palát. At the beginning, he published them as bibliophilia. The thin volume *The Star of Wine* with the subtitle *Echos from Li Bai's Poetry*⁶⁸ was thus published in 1946 in 30 copies. Concerning the next bibliophilia, *Pavilion at Green Waters*, with the subtitle *Translation of Li Bai's Verses*,⁶⁹ the data are unclear as to date of its publication and the number of copies which got into the hands of the Czech lovers of Chinese poetry. The third Hrubín's collection, *A Flute of Jade*, with the subtitle *Quatrains from the Tang Dynasty Period*⁷⁰ was published in 550 numbered copies as the fifth volume of the series of the Small Oriental Library, published by the Czech journal *Nový orient* (The New Orient) in 1954. Hrubín did not live to see the publication of his complete translations from the Tang poetry. It was published, together with the different versions coming from his pen, in 1978, in a collection with the same title, but different subtitle: *Translations of Old Chinese Poets*, with an impression of 12,000 copies in the series *Flowers of Poetry*, the most significant series publishing poem translations in the Czech language and trying to bring those foreign works which made a contribution to the development of world poetry. The collections *Springs and Autumns of Old China* and Xie Bingxin's poetry mentioned above, were also published in this series. According to Jan Zábřana who edited Hrubín's collection: “Hrubín makes no extension of the number of lines, no additions, combinations, elaboration or

⁶⁷ Černá, Z.: *Hrubín a poezie staré Číny* (František Hrubín and Poetry of Old China). In: *Nefritová flétna*. Prague, 1978, p. 113.

⁶⁸ *Hvězda vína. Ozvěny z Li Povy poesie*. Prague, Jaroslav Picka 1946.

⁶⁹ *Pavilon u zelených vod. Překlad Li Pových veršů*. Prague, Jaroslav Picka, n. d.

⁷⁰ *Nefritová flétna. Čtyřverší z doby dynastie Tchangů*. Prague 1954.

elimination of individual motives, no changes in their sequence; wherever possible, he even avoids the shift of the idea from one line to another. His translation method is thus in complete opposition to that of Bohumil Mathesius, whose *'The Songs of the Old China'* represent paraphrases par excellence."⁷¹ This is probably the most Czech version of Chinese poetry, although its appeal for the readers lags behind that of paraphrases by Mathesius.

The paraphrases by the German translator Klabund entitled *Li-tai-pe*, Leipzig 1915, served probably as the source for paraphrases of another Czech enthusiast – Otokar Žižka (1907–1963). In 1942, i.e. at the same time as Mathesius, this Czech teacher and poet, published Li Bai's poems for a small circle of admirers under the title *Lotus Flowers*.⁷² The book was published in 120 copies and each of them bore the name of the first owner. I was fortunate enough to have in my hands (while writing this contribution) and to use the copy No. 1, original property of the translator Žižka. The distance between the paraphrase and the original is sometimes so big that one must look for names as reference points. The well-known Li Bai's poem about beautiful Xishi [103] who made the king of the Wu state neglect his political and administrative duties, had been turned into a harem description, quite unlike Li Bai's deeply philosophical work.

Li Bai's genius attracted also two other translators: the sinologist Marta Ryšavá and the Slovak poet Ivan Kupec. The translations of Marta Ryšavá, based on scholarly research and having adequate poetic sensibility, is balanced and valuable and is still the most extensive collection in the Czech language, devoted to a single Chinese poet. Marta Ryšavá studied the works of Li Bai for several years and her knowledge of this lyrical genius is sufficiently profound. Rather than conceiving his poems as a "congenial expression of the sudden inspiration", as is frequently the case in the European translations affected by the legends accompanying the work of this great poet, she considers them as featuring a "detailed elaboration of the internal structure of the theme, numerous semantic and formal bounds". Li Bai diligently drew lessons from his predecessors, "mastered and used all the poetic forms common at his time".⁷³ She enjoys especially his ability of hyperbolization, imagination, personal and intimate relationship with the Nature, in which dominates Man with his individual, subjective experience.

Ivan Kupec, apparently under the impact of the success of Mathesius' paraphrases, gave his preference to this form of adapted translation in his collection *Li Bai*.

⁷¹ Z á b r a n a, J.: *Ediční poznámka* (Editorial Remark). In: *Nefritová flétna*, p. 130.

⁷² *Lotosové květy*. Pardubice 1942. Beside this slender volume of five translations of Li Bai, O. Žižka prepared for the readers of Chinese poetry another selection: fifteen poems of different epochs beginning with the 5th cent. A.D. and ending with the 19th cent. entitled *Hrst rýže* (Handful of Rice), Třebíč 1946, with pen-and-ink drawings by well-known Czech painter Karel Švolinský.

⁷³ R y š a v á, M.: *Básník mezi lidmi* (Poet among the People). In: *Li Po. Měsíc nad průsmykem* (Li Bai. The Moon over the Pass). Prague, Odeon 1976, p. 450.

Eternal Letters. In the epilogue to this book *Li Bai. Poetic Wizard of Old China*, he wrote the words conveying the feelings of by now several generations of Li Bai's readers in the European cultural context: "Speaking of the old Chinese lyric poetry among scholars or among lovers of poetry, you can never omit one name: Li Bai. He was that what later, after one thousand years, Baudelaire became to be for modern Western poetry due to his explosive language of the symbols and bold sincerity of confession. The tragic life of Li Bai might be called the concise encyclopaedia of old China, for his many works are the source for practically everything that was tracing after him the curves of the Chinese verses with such a gentle and excited hand."⁷⁴ The confession of Kupec suggests that Klabund's work affected his own interpretation of Li Bai, and of two more collections of Oriental poetry he transposed into Slovak: *The Pearls and the Roses*⁷⁵ and *Songs of Lotus Petals*.⁷⁶

We cannot speak about translations from the Tang period without mentioning an extensive collection of 31 *chuanqi* [104] prose romances mediated to Czech readers through Josef Fass under the title *Ancient Mirror. Stories from Tang China*.⁷⁷ Some of them, such as Jiang Fang's [105] *Huo Xiaoyu zhuan* [106] *The Story of Huo Xiaoyu* or Bai Xingjian's [107] *Li wa zhuan* [108] *The Story of Beautiful Maiden Li* gave an extremely captivating description of the life in old Changan, probably the largest city in the world of its times and one of the most important international centres of policy, economy, culture, the place of literary and artistic symbiosis between China and other nations.

5

Translations of Chinese literature in Slovakia followed the Czech ones after more than fifty years. The non-sinologists and non-orientalists, working in Matica slovenská as the institution which was intended, among other things, to publish classical works of world literature, thus addressed in their *ad fontes* the writer who began to raise attention in much of the literary world – Lu Xun. On the basis of the Russian and Esperanto translations they presented the Slovak readership in 1952 a selection entitled *White Light*, after Lu Xun's short story *Bai guang* [109].⁷⁸

The first translation into Slovak from the Chinese originals was the collection *An Intoxicating Evening of Spring Breeze*, published in 1960, and also named after a short story *Chunfeng chenzuide wanshang* [110] by Yu Dafu [111].⁷⁹ One year later followed the selection from Mao Dun's short stories, also named after one of them

⁷⁴ *Li Po. Večné písmená*. Bratislava, Tatran 1978, p. 163.

⁷⁵ *Perly a ruže*. Bratislava 1962.

⁷⁶ *Spevy lotosových listov*. Bratislava 1974.

⁷⁷ *Starožitné zrcadlo. Příběhy z doby Tchangů*. Prague, Odeon 1977.

⁷⁸ *Biele svetlo*. Martin, Matica slovenská 1952.

⁷⁹ *Večer opitý jarným vetrom*. Bratislava, Tatran 1960.

The Shop of the Lin Family (Linjia puzi) [112].⁸⁰ These were the translating debuts of the then young graduates of sinology: Anna Doležalová and myself. In 1962, the world-famous Lao She's novel *Rickshaw-Boy* appeared in my translation (unlike the second-hand Czech translation, this one was made on the basis of the Chinese original) and with a record impression of 53,000 copies.⁸¹ It was followed by two novels for children: *The Magic Gourd (Bao hulude mimi)* [113]⁸² by Zhang Tianyi [114] and *Next-Time Port (Tang Xiaoxi zai "Xiayici kaichuang gang")* [115]⁸³ by Yan Wenjing [116], again in my translation. The translation of Chinese literature in Slovakia then recorded a relatively long break.

These activities were resumed in 1977 by Marína Čarnogurská with her selection *The Master Said*⁸⁴ where she included fragments of works by Confucius, Mencius and Xunzi [117]. In 1971 there was the translation of the long poem *Ashma*,⁸⁵ made by Doležalová and the outstanding Slovak poet Lubomír Feldek, but since it belongs to the literature of Sani ethnic minority I do not include it into the Chinese national literature. At the end of the 1970s Mrs. Čarnogurská translated several of Lao She's short stories included later into a comprehensive volume together with my earlier translation. This joint work appeared under the title *Rickshaw-Boy – Crescent Moon* in 1983.⁸⁶ In 1985 I have translated – together with a young sinologist Eva Salajková – Ba Jin's novel *Cold Night (Han ye)* [118].⁸⁷ 33,000 copies of the translation appeared.

Besides the sinologists, Chinese literature was also translated into Slovak by non-sinologists who were reaching for accessible second-hand translations. On the basis of a Czech translation *The White Hair Girl* appeared in 1952,⁸⁸ Zhao Shuli's *Short Stories* translated from the English edition of *Rhymes of Li Yu-tsai and Other Stories*⁸⁹ in the following year. Zhang Tianyi's *Big Lin and Little Lin (Da Lin he xiao Lin)* [119]⁹⁰ made on the basis the Russian translation appeared in 1960 and Lu Xun's stories entitled *The Fire and Flowers*⁹¹ based on the Czech translation and referring to the Chinese original were published in the same year. In the first half of the 1960s, also Cao Yu's [120] *The Thunderstorm (Leiyu)* [121],⁹² Guo Moruo's

⁸⁰ *Odhod rodiny Linovej a iné poviedky*. Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1961.

⁸¹ *Rikšiar*. Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1962.

⁸² *Čarovný balónik*. Bratislava, Mladé letá 1964.

⁸³ *Prthody malého Siao-si*. Bratislava, Mladé letá 1964.

⁸⁴ *A riekol majster*. Bratislava, Tatran 1977.

⁸⁵ *Poveť o krásnej Ašme*. Bratislava, Mladé letá 1971.

⁸⁶ *Rikšiar*. *Kosák mesiaca*. Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1983.

⁸⁷ *Chladná noc*. Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1985.

⁸⁸ *Dievča s bielymi vlasmi*. Martin 1952.

⁸⁹ *Poviedky*. Bratislava 1953.

⁹⁰ *Veľký Lin a malý Lin*. Bratislava, Mladé letá 1960.

⁹¹ *Oheň a kvety*. Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1960.

historical short stories⁹³ and Shi Naian's *Water Margin* were also mediated to Slovak from Czech.⁹⁴ In the second half of the 1970s and in the first half of the 1980s, three separate volumes of Oriental short stories appeared (*On the Sun's Road*, 1976, *The Sun's Fan*, 1979, *The Sun Dial*, 1984) with the works by Ye Shengtao [122], Xu Dishan [123], Ai Wu [124], Ma Feng [125], Lu Wenfu [126], Li Tuo [127], Wang Meng [128] and Wang Anyi [129].⁹⁵

Although we did not include in this contribution the translations of Chinese literature in the journals or newspapers, we shall make one exception at the end. Before Christmas in 1987 a special issue of the bimonthly *Revue svetovej literatúry* (World Literature) was published with works from Asian and African literatures. Chinese literature was represented with two chapters from the *Dream of the Red Chamber* (the complete translation will appear later on) and one short story: Shen Rong's [130] *Pink Dinner* (Meiguisede wancan) [131]. The same journal in No. 1, 1988 published a few pieces from Zhang Xinxin's [132] and Sang Ye's [133] Pekinese (*Beijingren*) [134], and No. 2 Shen Congwen's *Xiaoxiao* [135].

The outcome of the over 90-year reception of Chinese literature first in Bohemia and later in Slovakia are several dozens of book translations and several hundreds of those which appeared in journals and newspapers. The interest in this literature is confirmed by bibliophile editions and large impressions of certain book publications. These may be found in the libraries of simple people in the most rural areas, like for example translations of Pu Songling's stories, Lao She's *Rickshaw-Boy*, Mao Dun's *Midnight* and Ba Jin's *Cold Night*. Many Czech lovers of Chinese poetry can recite by heart poems of Li Bai or other old masters of poetic art in Mathesius' interpretation. Some of the translations are accompanied with works by famous illustrators and rank thus among the most beautiful books of translation literature.

Translations of folklore literature or literature for children received in this paper only marginal attention. The reception of dramatic literature remained virtually outside my angle of viewing. This topic was dealt with by our prominent specialist on *xiqu* questions, Dana Kalvodová, in her paper presented at *Zhongguo xiqu yishu xueshu taolunhui* [136] International Scholarly Conference: Chinese (Classical) Dramatic Art, Peking, 15–21 April 1987.⁹⁶

And, lastly, the important area of scholarly and popular treatment of Chinese

⁹² *Búrka*. Bratislava 1961.

⁹³ *Návrat starého majstra*. Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1962.

⁹⁴ *Príbeh jazerného brehu*. Bratislava, Tatran 1964.

⁹⁵ Short stories by Xu Dishan and Lu Wenfu were translated by me, all other stories by A. Doležalová.

⁹⁶ Cf. her excellent paper written in Czech with a short English and Russian abstract: *Poznávání divadelních kultur Východu v českých zemích a na Slovensku* (An Introduction of Theatre Culture of Oriental Countries into Bohemia and Slovakia). *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et Historica*, 5, Theatralia V, 1978, pp. 93–111.

literature in Czechoslovakia having a tradition already of 50 years with certain weighty achievements has also remained outside of the scope of this contribution.

My very special thanks go to Mr. Alfred Hasa, Olomouc, who helped me much in supplying me with some rare materials.

1. 诗经 2. 李白 3. 杜甫 4. 白居易 5. 明皇帝 6. 王维
7. 老子 8. 道德经 9. 白话 10. 胡适 11. 鲁迅
12. 郑振铎 13. 马廉 14. 孙楷第 15. 谢冰心 16. 郭沫若
17. 沈从文 18. 呐喊 19. 光荣 20. 论语 21. 仁
22. 茅盾 23. 子夜 24. 沈复 25. 浮生六记 26. 刘鹗
27. 老残游记 28. 话本 29. 蒲松龄 30. 聊斋志异
31. 徬徨 32. 野草 33. 朝花夕拾 34. 故事新编
35. 周立波 36. 暴风骤雨 37. 巴金 38. 家 39. 吴敬梓
40. 儒林外史 41. 红楼梦 42. 乐府 43. 腐蚀 44. 丁玲
45. 戏曲 46. 关汉卿 47. 孔尚任 48. 桃花扇 49. 陶渊明
50. 俚曲 51. 杜十娘怒沉百宝箱 52. 西游记 53. 吴承恩
54. 贺敬之 55. 丁毅 56. 白毛女 57. 王希坚
58. 地覆天翻记 59. 太阳照在桑干河上 60. 施耐庵
61. 水浒传 62. 艾青 63. 朱自清 64. 闻一多 65. 戴望舒
66. 穆木天 67. 杜谷 68. 田间 69. 繁星 70. 春水
71. 谢冰莹 72. 一个女兵的自传 73. 草明 74. 原动力
75. 陈登科 76. 活人塘 77. 孙犁 78. 荷花淀 79. 刘白羽
80. 谷峪 81. 赵树理 82. 李有才板话 83. 李家庄的变迁
84. 词 85. 黑潭龙 86. 骆驼祥子 87. 老舍

88.断魂枪 89.金瓶梅 90.庄子 91.李行道 92.
灰栏记 93.苏轼 94.东坡 95.朱淑真 96.兵车
行 97.石壕吏 98.赶车传 99.今体诗 100.绝句
101.律诗 102.排律 103.西施 104.传奇 105.蒋
防 106.霍小玉传 107.白行简 108.李娃传 109.
白光 110.春风沉醉的晚上 111.郁达夫 112.林家
铺子 113.宝葫芦的秘密 114.张天翼 115.唐小西
在"下一次开船港" 116.严文井 117.荀子 118.寒夜
119.大林和小林 120.曹禺 121.雷雨 122.叶圣陶
123.许地山 124.艾芜 125.马烽 126.陆文夫 127.
李陀 128.王蒙 129.王安忆 130.谌容 131.玫
瑰色的晚餐 132.张辛欣 133.桑晔 134.北京
人 135.萧萧 136.中国戏曲艺术学术讨论会 137.
鲁迅全集

LA FORCE CRÉATRICE DE NGUYEN HONG (1918–1982)

JÁN MÚČKA, Bratislava

L'étude présente un aperçu complexe de l'œuvre littéraire de Nguyen Hong, un des auteurs les plus signalés de la prose vietnamienne moderne. Mais elle relève tout particulièrement ses deux ouvrages les plus importants, à savoir *La voleuse* et *l'épopée La porte de la mer*. En outre, elle entend être aussi un hommage posthume en mémoire de l'anniversaire septuagénaire de l'écrivain.

Nguyen Hong est un des écrivains qui (pareillement à Gorky) sont parvenus à leur activité créatrice artistique grâce surtout à «l'école de la vie». Il est venu au monde et grandit dans une famille qui alors vivait dans une assez grande misère de sorte qu'il n'avait aucune possibilité d'acquérir une éducation supérieure. Il se dédommagea de ce défaut en pénétrant bientôt dans la vie des couches les plus pauvres de la société vietnamienne de ces temps et en prenant pour siens les problèmes de gens se trouvant souvent aux confins de la loi. C'est un trait caractéristique de Nguyen Hong qui a laissé des traces saillantes dans tout le processus de son ouvrage littéraire.¹

Les années d'une enfance misérable (pour plus de misère, il avait un beau-père dur, impitoyable) lui ont appris à compatir aux malheurs des autres se trouvant dans une situation pareille, et cette commisération était pour lui une impulsion fort pressante pour dépeindre fidèlement leur côté humain. Il se peut qu'ils ont été le mobile qui l'a poussé à écrire de si bonne heure, et il est également admissible que c'était grâce à eux qu'il jouissait d'un succès précoce. Par contraste à beaucoup de ses contemporains, Nguyen Hong a fait son entrée dans la littérature vietnamienne d'une manière agitée et brusquement, comme à l'improviste, s'adonnant à son activité créatrice de toute son âme et tout son cœur. Son ami, l'écrivain Nguyen Tuan (1910–1987) lui a rendu un témoignage semblable; «En outre de son amour pour la littérature, une qualité propre à Nguyen Hong est une certaine bonté extraordinaire et une pureté d'âme.»² Nguyen Hong entra dans la littérature en tant que jeune hom-

¹ Voir Múčka, J.: *Quelques remarques sur la prose réaliste vietnamienne*. In: *Asian and African Studies IX*, Bratislava, Veda 1974, pp. 70–73.

² Nguyen Tuan: *Moi drug Nguyen Khong* (Mon ami Nguyen Hong). In: Nguyen Khong, Vorovka (*La voleuse*), Moscou, Izdatelstvo «Khudojestvennaya literatura» (Editions «Belles-lettres») 1966, p. 8.

me, mais ses travaux d'entrée étaient mûrs au sens artistique du mot. C'étaient d'abord quelques contes, immédiatement suivie par le fameux roman *Bi vo* (La voleuse) dont un extrait avait paru en forme de journal déjà en 1937, et le tout comme livre, en 1938. Le roman *Bi vo* fut suivi par les contes *Nhung ngay tho au* (Jours d'enfance – parut en journal en 1938, en livre en 1941), et *Bay Huu* (1941). Il est à remarquer que ces premiers contes parurent dans les journaux orientés vers la gauche. L'âme jeune et pure de l'écrivain était alors remplie d'un amour sans bornes, son regard sur l'homme et la vie se cristallisait dans les transformations incessantes. Il parvenait à découvrir et dévoiler dans les caractères et personnages des vagabonds, prostituées et voleurs, les côtés cachés de sincérité, d'amour et d'humanité. Nguyen Hong appartenait dès le commencement de son travail littéraire parmi ceux qui écrivaient une littérature sur la vérité de la vie. À partir de 1937, alors âgé de dix-neuf ans, il commença à prendre part de son propre gré au mouvement révolutionnaire. Il propagait le journal communiste *Le travail*, travaillait dans la Ligue de la jeunesse démocratique. Il va sans dire qu'il idéalisait beaucoup de choses et événements. Il ne réussit pas toujours à différencier clairement les bonnes et honnêtes gens poussées par la vie vers une solution extrême de la situation, mais qui souffraient dans leur intérieur et espéraient retourner vers une vie honnête, et ceux qui avaient choisi de leur libre arbitre une manière de vie asociale. Cependant, il était souvent impossible même de faire une telle distinction dans les conditions si complexes de la société et l'état psychique de l'individu. Nguyen Hong voyait tout d'abord leur misère commune et leur compréhension mutuelle, de sorte qu'il leur attribuait (parfois quelque peu schématiquement) des qualités nobles – telle la générosité, rectitude, cordialité, entraide dans le malheur et les difficultés, volonté de se sacrifier pour un ami.

Beaucoup de choses dans cette étude sont implicites, sous-entendues, dans le sous-texte et le contexte, car l'œuvre de Nguyen Hong est tellement articulée intérieurement qu'un rendement complet de son image nécessiterait beaucoup plus de place. Cependant, on doit relever généralement l'importance de la fonction des détails dans l'œuvre de cet auteur, qui se rapportent souvent au passé, ou bien – au point de vue de la fabulation – au futur. Il faut spécifiquement prendre acte de divers événements imaginaires, même à base réaliste, mais que l'auteur transforme dans sa fantaisie, hypertrophie et souvent hyperbolise. Ces segments thématiques dans l'œuvre de Nguyen Hong (parfois simplement esquissés, autrefois développés en ampleur) servent pour la plupart à colorer les recollections du passé, à caractériser de plus près les personnages, ou à accentuer la ligne idéologique de l'œuvre.

Le roman *Bi vo* (La voleuse) prit naissance et fut terminé à une époque où ce style romancier contenait maints succès (Ho Bieu Chanh, Hoang Ngoc Phach, Khai Hung, Nhat Linh et autres). Cependant, Nguyen Hong réussit à se faire prévaloir, à s'imposer par son art et son talent. «Et ainsi, en 1937 le prix (du groupe – J. M.) Tu luc van doan (Par ses propres forces) est attribué au roman de Nguyen Hong,

un livre sur des gents vivants et les chagrins humains non inventés. Ce roman est devenu un des ouvrages les plus importants d'une orientation réaliste dans la littérature vietnamienne d'avant la révolution.»³ Le roman traite d'une trame dynamique dans laquelle les descriptions lyriques de la nature, de coins et recoins alternent avec le langage économique et tranchant de dialogues, rempli d'expressions argotiques provenant des bas-fonds de la société. Le langage du roman a un rôle de nature qualifiante-caractérisante: il différencie les membres des couches sociales différentes et crée une image bariolée de la vie du village, de la pauvreté et des bas-fonds de la ville, mais aussi des riches représentants de l'administration féodo-coloniale. Le roman possède aussi un tranchant social très marqué dépeignant avec une grande verve artistique les contrastes d'un pays colonial.

Le village vietnamien de ce temps était pauvre, affligé par la faim. La plupart des paysans sont sans terres, dont la main-d'œuvre est exploitée sans pitié. Seul le maire du village et ses aides qui opprimaient les autres par des impôts usuraires, vivaient dans une affluence relative. Les gens vivent dans une captivité oppressive de coutumes inhumaines qui ne connaissent aucune pitié, pas même quand il s'agit du bonheur d'une toute jeune mère. Tel est aussi le petit village Soi – lieu de naissance de l'héroïne du roman Binh. Cependant, l'action principale du roman prend place à Nam Dinh (pays natal de Nguyen Hong) et à Haiphong où il a déménagé après qu'il fut relâché de prison. Cette ville-port coloniale, avec ses ruelles étroites autour du marché Con, les taudis misérables aux toits effondrés, la saleté, la peur nauséabonde des égouts, les gens mourant de maladie ou de faim.

L'héroïne principale du roman Binh espère naïvement obtenir du travail dans la fabrique de la ville. Mais il y en a des milliers de pareils dans la ville qui se battent pour le travail, pour un plat de riz, rôdant les rues tirant le diable par la queue. Peu à peu, beaucoup d'entre eux se trouvent sur la mauvaise pente d'où il n'y a qu'un pas vers les bas-fonds du crime. Et Binh est une d'eux. Trompée et déshonorée, abusée, elle néanmoins croit toujours qu'elle va retourner vers une vie honnête, alors qu'elle ne fait que s'enfoncer de plus en plus dans la fange du demimonde pour devenir finalement une voleuse professionnelle. C'est ainsi qu'une simple fillette de village devient la prostituée Binh Huitième, plus tard l'épouse de Nam de Saïgon, chef d'une bande de malfaiteurs. Celui-ci non plus, n'est pas «un voleur par naissance». Il passa son enfance comme orphelin sans avoir un toit propre qui l'abriterait. Il faisait le saute-ruisseau, il se loua pour des gains occasionnels, et poussé au désespoir par la misère, il s'engage dans la voie du vol et du crime. Au dedans, dans les entrailles de la ville, une nouvelle génération de voleurs futurs se forme – pour le moment des petits voleurs à la tire, des esbroufeurs (Minh, Seo, Hieu). L'auteur

³ Tkatchev, M.: *Predisloviye* (Préface). In: Nguyen Khong, *Vorovka* (La voleuse) Moscou, Gosudarstvennoye izdatelstvo khudozhestvennoy literatury (Editions de l'Etat des belles-lettres) 1961, p. 7.

réussit aussi à dépeindre d'une manière convaincante les représentants du pouvoir colonial: le préfet de police qui se laisse graisser la patte par le voleur, les fonctionnaires qui jouent une comédie dégoûtante de perquisitions dans le seul but de pouvoir empocher une partie de l'amende pour possession illégale d'opium, les juges-concussionnaires, et autres.

En même temps, Nguyen Hong s'efforce de trouver chez les gens au ban de la société des sentiments humains de valeur. Par exemple, Lien, une fille de maison publique, est susceptible d'un amour sincère et prête à venir à l'aide à son amie en malheur, lors même qu'elle fût fameuse par son cynisme et son indifférence. Le voleur Tu Lap Lo possède un certain sens pour une conduite correcte et les convenances, et même le criminel et assassin Nam de Saïgon est capable d'un noble sentiment. Cependant, Nam ne peut plus retourner à une vie honnête. Il force aussi Binh de voler, lors même qu'il l'aime. L'écrivain montre qu'il n'y a pas de retour dans cette société de la trappe du crime. C'est pourquoi dans la conclusion du roman, l'auteur laisse Nam de Saïgon tuer le fils de Binh, le dernier et unique espoir de sa vie. Ce meurtre et le désespoir sans bornes de Binh sont symboliques.

En 1941, la censure coloniale a mis le roman *Bi vo* au ban. L'écrivain l'apprit en prison où il était consigné pour avoir pris part en un mouvement démocratique. La même année il retourna à Haïphong où il était sous la surveillance de police.

Le fait que Nguyen Hong avait vécu dès son plus bas âge au milieu de gens pauvres et laborieux, exerça une influence sur sa conscience sociale et de classe. Cela fut reflété pour la première fois dans sa nouvelle *Nguoi dan ba Tau* (La Chinoise, 1939),⁴ dans laquelle il décrit une grève de travailleurs à Haïphong tenue dans le cadre d'événements sociaux de grande envergure, en juin 1939. Sur le portrait d'une mère chinoise qui a fui son pays pour révolte et gagna Vietnam, et là aussi prend une active part à la grève, l'auteur démontre la solidarité de classe des ouvriers, et montre la possibilité de leur lutte organisée. A l'avis de certains, c'est peut-être le sommet de son œuvre d'avant-guerre du point de vue idéologique,⁵ cependant elle est inférieure au point de vue artistique à ses travaux précédents. Il a repris un sujet pareil dans son roman *Ba cu Viet* (La vieille Viet, 1945). Il y existe certaines parallèles avec le roman de Gorky, *Mère* – l'héroïne principale continue dans l'activité révolutionnaire de ses deux fils en prison. « Dans l'image de l'héroïne du conte se dévoilent certains traits de l'homme nouveau, un leader des masses qui s'est levé contre un monde d'opresseurs. »⁶

⁴ Plus tard l'écrivain a changé le titre de cette nouvelle contre *Mot nguoi me Trung Quoc* (La mère chinoise); en 1946 la nouvelle a été publiée de nouveau dans les recueils *Dia nguc* (L'enfer) et *Lo lua* (La fournaise).

⁵ Voir Chu Nga : *Nguyen Hong va qua trinh sang tac cua anh* (Nguyen Hong et son processus créateur). In: *Tac gia van xui Viet-nam hien dai* (Les prosateurs vietnamiens modernes), Hanoï, Nha xuat ban khoa hoc xa hoi (Maison d'édition des sciences humaines) 1977, p. 39.

Au commencement de l'année quarante, quand la France capitulait et les Japonais occupaient l'Indochine, Nguyen Hong joignit le mouvement clandestin de la libération nationale. En 1943, il joignit l'Association Culturelle pour le Salut National (du Viet Minh) qui venait d'être fondée clandestinement. Pendant le mouvement de la résistance contre la France (1946–1954), il travailla au journal *Van nghe* (Lettres et Arts) et écrivit des nouvelles et des contes. Il en a écrit toute une série: *Cuoc song* (La vie, 1942), *Mieng banh* (Galette, écrite environ 1943, publiée 1945), *Hoi tho tan* (A bout d'haleine, 1943), *Ngon lua* (La flamme, 1944).⁷ En général, les personnages principaux y sont des jeunes gens cultivés, pleins d'idéals et de contradictions, mais étant forcés à vivre dans des conditions extrêmement misérables, ils finissent tragiquement. En dépit de cela, on doit apprécier chez eux leur optimisme – ils croient en un avenir meilleur. Cet optimisme les aide, du moins temporairement, à survivre, et même à penser à une résistance organisée (comme par exemple Giang dans la nouvelle *La flamme*). Pendant cette période Nguyen Hong a écrit aussi un conte moins connu – *Luoi sat* (Filet de fer, 1942), où il décrit l'état d'âme complexe d'un homme qui retourna, psychiquement brisé, d'emprisonnement sur l'île Con Dao (Poulo Condor).

Dans les collections de contes *Dia nguc* (L'enfer, 1946) et *Lo lua* (La fournaise, 1946), l'écrivain s'est concentré sur deux grands problèmes de cette période historique, à savoir, la famine terrible qui sévissait comme une peste dans tout le pays, et le mouvement révolutionnaire qui s'étendait en relation avec elle. On en voit la preuve dans les contes, p. ex. *Vung mau* (Mare de sang), *Di* (Aller), *Tieng roi* (Quelques mots), *Tau dem* (Paquebot de nuit) etc. L'auteur y présente les attitudes souverainement humaines de l'homme dans les situations critiques. Dans la portraiture de cet «enfer» terrestre, l'auteur fait preuve d'un esprit pénétrant, avec une grande intuition, dépeignant quelques unes des scènes jusqu'à des détails peu communs et d'une manière naturaliste. D'autre part, il montre que l'homme est capable de maintenir son humanité et sa dignité même dans les conditions les plus pénibles. Ainsi, par exemple, dans le conte *Quelques mots*, l'homme meurt de faim, cependant il est résolu de ne pas mendier, ni vivre de la charité d'autrui. Il n'a qu'un seul désir: vivre de son propre travail. Cependant, dans les conditions de vie extrêmement difficiles, ce désir est irréel. Dans *Paquebot de nuit*, il raconte l'histoire d'une mère avec son enfant, qui se voit obligée de choisir la mort et avec une extrême abnégation de soi, triompher de son sentiment maternel: elle jette son enfant dans la rivière et puis y saute après lui. Le conte présente une image drastique de l'impasse dans laquelle se trouvait la société féodo-coloniale.

⁶ Nikulin, N. I.: *Vyietnamskaya literatura* (La littérature vietnamienne). Moscou, Nauka 1971, p. 214.

⁷ A été publiée en 1958 sous le titre *Giot mau* (La goutte de sang).

Les écrits de Nguyen Hong sur des thèmes révolutionnaires sont marqués d'un certain schématisme; ils abondent en monologues prolixes des personnages, au dépens d'activité créatrice et de la gradation de l'intrigue. Leurs héros ne sont pour la plupart que des symboles des idées de l'auteur.

Dans le conte *Buoi chieu xam* (Une après-midi sombre) de la collection L'enfer, l'écrivain toucha au sujet de la guerre, et y réussit véridiquement d'en condamner le caractère impérialiste, l'inutilité des souffrances humaines, le manque de logique des massacres.

Pendant la lutte de résistance contre les Français (1946–1954) Nguyen Hong écrit plusieurs mémoires, comme par exemple *Dat nuoc yeu dau* (Patrie aimée, 1949), *Dem giai phong* (La nuit de la libération, 1951) et des contes – *Duoi chan cau May* (Sous le pont May, 1951), *Giu thoc* (Sauvetage du riz, 1955), mais au point de vue artistique, ceux-ci n'atteignirent pas le niveau de ses écrits d'avant-guerre.

Après la victoire du peuple vietnamien dans la lutte de libération (1954), Nguyen Hong s'engagea avec un enthousiasme qui lui était propre, dans la vie pacifique. Il travaillait d'abord à Hanoï comme rédacteur, et en 1957 est devenu membre de la direction de l'Union des écrivains vietnamiens. Plus tard, il retourna à Haïphong où il avait vécu auparavant pendant plusieurs années et devint immédiatement une partie de la vie vibrante de cette grande ville. Peu de temps après est paru sa collection de poèmes lyriques *Troi xanh* (Ciel bleu, 1961) dans lesquels il chantait les beautés de son pays natal. Evidement, il sentait alors un besoin de s'exprimer en poésie, comme l'a constaté auparavant l'écrivain slovaque A. Bednár,⁸ remarquant qu'un prosateur a besoin du vers comme antipôle lyrique, car c'est un miroir dans lequel il se voit mieux lui-même.

Entretiens, Nguyen Hong était occupé à compléter une grande trilogie romancée *Cua bien* (La porte de la mer), qui est depuis devenue une tétralogie: *Song gam* (Les vagues mugissent, 1961), *Con bao da den* (L'orage est venu, 1968), *Thoi ky den toi* (La période des ténèbres, 1973), *Khi dua con ra doi* (Quand l'enfant est né, 1976). En même temps que cette tétralogie, il a encore écrit les mémoires *Buoc duong viet van* (Par le chemin de la création littéraire, 1970). Ce sont des réminiscences de sa propre vie d'écrivain et de l'atmosphère littéraire et artistique de la société vietnamienne de ces jours. En outre, il a publié plusieurs contes dans le journal *Van nghe* (Lettres et arts), dont un au moins mérite d'être signalé – *Chau gai nguoi mai vo ho Hoa* (Petite-fille de la famille Hoa, 1967).⁹ Il y parle des changements dans une famille d'émigrants chinois qui y sont survenus avant et après la Révolution d'Août (1945). Dans certaines œuvres il se laisse emporter par un certain «humanisme abstrait et naïf», par exemple dans le conte *Chuyen cai xom tha*

⁸ *Na slovo s Alfonzom Bednárom* (Pour deux mots avec Alfonz Bednár), *Slovenské pohľady* (Les vues slovaques), 1968, No. 2.

⁹ *Van nghe* (Lettres et arts), No. 241 /1967, Hanoï.

huong o cua rung suoi Cat va con hum bo coi (L'épisode d'un village isolé dans les montagnes près de la rivière Cat et du tigre-orphelin, 1963). Dans la discussion sur l'art et la littérature qui prit place au temps de Nhan van – Giai pham (1957–1959), il exprima son attitude dans l'article *Bai Tuan bao Van va mot so bai cua bao can duoc nhan dinh nhu the nao* (L'hebdomadaire Littérature et comment il faut qualifier certains de ses articles).¹⁰

Dans l'épopée romancière *Cua bien* (La porte de la mer), Nguyen Hong présente une image étendue de la société vietnamienne dans les années avant la Révolution d'Août et immédiatement après. Il dépeint d'une manière convaincante la vie des couches pauvres d'un village vietnamien typique. Le portrait des personnages est véridique et très vivide. Au centre du sujet est la famille misérable et malheureuse de la mère La. Celle-ci est obligée de travailler elle-même pour nourrir ses trois petits enfants et doit supporter les rudesses et souffrances que lui cause incessamment son mari alcoolique. C'est un écornifleur qui ne revint à la maison que pour mettre quelque chose sous la dent, soutirer de l'argent de sa femme et lui faire un autre enfant – puis s'en va de nouveau. Un beau jour qu'il revient ainsi, une tragédie frappe la famille, amenant sa désagrégation totale. Le père, obsédé par le désir d'alcool, fait du vacarme et emporte un pot de cuivre que la femme avait emprunté des voisins pour bouillir quelques patates. La mère La en fut amenée au désespoir. Elle s'assit auprès de la porte et attend son mari. Dès que celui-ci rentre d'un pas chancelant, elle le frappe d'un coup de massue au pied, l'estropiant pour de bon. Dans la nuit, il se traîne vers un étang tout proche et s'y noie par chagrin. La mère La est détenue et écrouée pour crime de « meurtre de son mari ». Trois petits enfants restent tout à fait abandonnés.

Un tel dénouement n'est pas uniquement le sort de la famille La. Il en est de même de la famille de Dang. Le malheur la frappa soudainement comme un coup de foudre: la police détient Dang parce qu'il était en possession de quelques rouleaux de toile que Gai avait achetés pour lui – évidemment venant des voleurs. Dang est cruellement rossé. Incapable de supporter une telle injustice, il se donne la mort en sa cellule de prison en mordant sa langue. Sa femme est obligée de prendre service chez la famille Thy Sen et les autres ne savent point comment gagner les moyens de vivre. La famille du vieux Cam ne subit pas un sort aussi cruel, néanmoins, elle aussi éprouva un drama lamentable. Gai était une bonne et respectueuse fillette, mais plus tard, peu à peu elle se mit à la débauche – et le dénouement final est de nouveau la mort. Celle-ci est un châtiment pour Gai pour sa trahison, mais en même temps une délivrance de ses tourments et ses souffrances à cause de sa rupture avec ceux qu'elle aimait (d'un côté son grand-père Cam, de l'autre, Kieu avec qui elle avait entretenu pendant long des relations intimes). Son père meurt sur l'île Con

¹⁰ Van (Lettres), No. 15/1957, Hanoi.

Dao (Poulo Condor) où il était emprisonné pour ses idées révolutionnaires. La fin tragique du père et de la fille est présentée comme un memento. Ces tragédies sont immédiatement suivies par une épisode de regret et d'amour. Cependant ce n'est pas un cas d'amour retardé; non, seule l'expression en est retardée. Parfois l'auteur semble n'être pas à la hauteur de la situation présentée par une prise épique de grande envergure de la vie, de sorte que le lecteur est témoin de transformations inattendues et d'un certain manque de logique dans l'intrigue. Cela porte surtout sur la rénovation de certains personnage (La mère La, Dang, Ngot et autres). La personnalité de Gai est aussi complexe que la vie même: elle a sa chance, mais elle la gaspille; elle devient trafiqueuse au marché noir et, en fin de compte, meurt en couches laissant au monde un bébé.

Les personnages des révolutionnaires (Xim, Luong, Chan, Sam et autres) ne font pas une impression d'authenticité, il leur manque clarté de contours (l'unique exception en est peut-être To Gay). Nguyen Hong a plus de succès avec ses portraits des représentants de la petite bourgeoisie. Il a dépeint assez véridiquement le sort d'un d'entre eux, Thanh. Il a compris cette figure, semble-t-il, mieux et plus profondément qu'aucune autre. Elle porte beaucoup des signes de la manière de penser et d'agir de l'auteur. Il a peint un portrait objectif, sans préjugé, des personnages appartenant à la classe des riches (Giang Huong, Hue Chi, Thy San et autres). Giang Huong, par exemple, est une femme droite, intelligente, d'une beauté extraordinaire, quoique modeste, discrète, peu en vue dans la vie quotidienne. De même, Hue Chi est un type de fille au cœur pur, s'exprimant pour la plupart en symboles, souvent au moyen de roses qu'elle adore. Thy San est un jeune homme de grande expérience, de bonne mine, qui est même prêt à protester (par exemple contre les causes de la famine), mais ses actes ne sont en maints cas que des gestes sans aucune motivation quelque peu profonde d'idées.

Nguyen Hong évoque beaucoup de problèmes d'intérêt aussi en décrivant les coutumes des divers groupes et couches de la société (souvent asociaux), où il atteint une haute mesure d'authenticité. Ce sont des descriptions comme venant de l'intérieur au moyen du monde de sentiments et d'émotions des caractères. En même temps, tout cela constitue une partie inhérente de l'événement, les problèmes d'idées se trouvent au dedans de l'intrigue épique. Nguyen Hong entretient une relation ardente vers ses personnages, qui, surtout dans les situations tendues, sont engagés tant émotionnellement que rationnellement, de sorte que l'épopée porte des passages entiers remplis de profondes réflexions humaines. Les caractères sont pour la plupart organiquement incorporés dans l'événement et en ressortent, ce qui les rend attractifs. Il y a lieu de parler ici d'un mouvement dit ondulant du sujet, sur lequel sont alors fondés les grandes œuvres épiques. Nguyen Hong est un écrivain créativement prompt et adaptable, comme s'il était désireux de s'imposer à sa manière dans la polémique orageuse avec les conventions. Ses moyens artistiques se caractérisent par leur versatilité, leur vive émotion et leur profondeur sémiotique.

Par sa profilation artistique de la réalité, il exhorte les hommes de ne pas être indifférents à leur milieu, que leur engagement ne soit pas superficiel, mais humainement profond et d'une grande sensibilité.

On peut dire que Nguyen Hong était un écrivain de réalisme critique qui se tenait sur des positions proches de la révolution sociale et cela tant du point de vue émotif que rationnel. Une de ses opinions fondamentales sur l'art était que celui-ci doit être uni de près avec la vie et lui servir d'une manière effective. Et l'art de Nguyen Hong, lors même que naturellement original, individuel, est néanmoins humain dans son essence, efficace, émouvant, plein d'optimisme et de confiance dans la vie.

Son activité de plus de quarante ans dans la littérature a apporté à la prose vietnamienne des valeurs permanentes et très marquées. Il était le type d'écrivain qui n'acceptait pas les schémas tout trouvés, mais il suivait son propre chemin. Jamais il ne se cachait dans l'anonymité; il avait une relation intransigeante envers la vie et luttait avec son art pour de nouvelles valeurs esthétiques et sociales. Il avait une bonne maîtrise du style et de la composition et il subordonnait ces deux éléments à l'identification artistique des problèmes sérieux de son époque dans ses conditions spécifiques.

Nguyen Hong a fait preuve de hauts sentiments artistiques, de penseur, émotifs et sociaux par l'ensemble de son œuvre et s'est rangé parmi les écrivains les plus éminents de la prose vietnamienne moderne. Il passa les dernières années de sa vie avec sa famille à la campagne dans la province de Bac Giang. Il s'occupa uniquement de la littérature et dirigeait une section de l'Association littéraire-artistique à Haiphong. Il mourut le 2 mai 1982 dans la province nouvellement formée de Ha Bac.

ZWEI BEDEUTENDE WERKE DER TANZIMAT-LITERATUR

XÉNIA CELNAROVÁ, Bratislava

Die Grundlagen für die Romangattung in der türkischen Literatur wurden in der *Tanzimat*-Epoche geschaffen, benannt nach den Reformen, welche sich im Osmanischen Reich Ende der dreißiger Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts zu verwirklichen begannen. Die Romane Namık Kemals (1840–1888) *İntibah* (Das Erwachen, 1876) und Sami Paşazade Sezais (1860–1936) *Sergüzeşt* (Das Erlebnis, 1889) sind ein repräsentatives Musterbeispiel der Entwicklungstendenzen des türkischen Romans.

Als spezifische epische Gattung hat sich der Roman zu einer Zeit herauskristallisiert, als sich die Literatur ihre erzieherischen Ziele setzte, die nicht mehr mit der religiösen, sondern weltlichen, humanistischen Problematik verknüpft waren. Dem ging eine jahrhundertelange Entwicklung von epischen gereimten und ungereimten Formen voran, bis zum Ritter- und Schäferroman hin, die der Entstehung des neuzeitigen Romans unmittelbar vorangingen und ihn mit den dominanten Motiven der Suche nach Glück, Liebe und der Harmonie von persönlichen Forderungen mit den gegebenen Verhältnissen begleiteten.

Die Romangattung entstand in der Türkei zu einer Zeit, als der europäische Roman bereits auf einige Entwicklungsetappen zurückblicken durfte und er betrat soeben den Gipfel des kritischen Realismus, während für das Antreten der neuen Richtung in der europäischen Literatur die strikte Abweisung der künstlerischen und ideologischen Postulate der vorgehenden Richtung kennzeichnend war, war in der Türkei für das Entstehen als auch für die anfängliche Entwicklung prosaischer Gattungen eine Symbiose von charakteristischen Äußerungen zweier bis dreier Richtungen in einem Werk kennzeichnend. Dies schadete dem Werk jedoch keineswegs, im Gegenteil, es beschleunigte die Entwicklung. Und so kam es, daß obwohl es vom Erscheinen des Romans *İntibah* von Namık Kemal bis zum Roman *Sergüzeşt* von Sami Paşazade Sezai lediglich eine dreizehnjährige Zeitspanne gab, bedeutende qualitative Veränderungen in der thematischen als auch formalen Sphäre des zweiten der erwähnten Romane im Vergleich mit dem ersten auf einem klaren Fortschritt hinweisen, den die türkische Literatur und namentlich die Romangattung in einer so kurzen Zeit erreicht hat.

Während sich der Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit in der europäischen Literatur auf einem evolutionären Weg verwirklichte, mußte die klassisch-osmanische Dichtung ihre seit Jahrhunderten usurpierte Positionen unter dem mächtigen revo-

lutionären Druck aufgeben, dessen Vorhut die Schriftsteller der *Tanzimat*-Epoche bildeten.

Die Anregung zum Verfassen der ersten türkischen Romane in den siebziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts gab zweifelsohne die übersetzte Literatur, in der der Roman, vor allem der französische, bedeutend vertreten war. Es war jedoch vornehmlich das dringende Anliegen hervorragender Persönlichkeiten des *Tanzimat* auf dem Gebiet der Kultur als auch der Politik, unter denen Namık Kemal eine Spitzenposition einnahm, ihre neue, von religiösen und mystischen Belagen befreite realistische und rationalistische Weltanschauung zu äußern,¹ d. h. eine Forderung, der die herkömmlichen Gattungsnormen nicht mehr in vollem Maße entsprechen konnten. Das Drama, die Erzählung, der Roman boten bei weitem mehr Möglichkeiten den Menschen als ein konkretes Einzelwesen mit ausgeprägten individuellen Zügen in zwischenmenschliche und soziale Bindungen einzusetzen, als es die klassische Poesie bei der Verbreitung aufklärerischer Ideen vermochte.

Unter dem Einfluß der französischen Aufklärung dominierte im dramatischen als auch prosaischen Schaffen des *Tanzimat* das Ziel den Leser zu erziehen und zu bilden. Die Romane von Ahmet Mithat (1844–1912) enden notgedrungen mit der Bestrafung der negativen Helden, das Gute wird belohnt, worin die Abhängigkeit des Autors an folkloristischen Mustern zum Ausdruck kam. Den didaktischen Charakter von Namık Kemals Roman *İntibah* beweist bereits dessen ursprüngliche Betitelung *Son Pişmanlık* (Späte Reue). Im Unterschied zu Ahmet Mithat schloß jedoch Namık Kemal sein Werk nicht mit einem *Happyend* ab, und obwohl das Böse bestraft wurde, kommen auch dessen Opfer um.

Auf offensichtliche Analogien in der Fabel des Romans *İntibah* mit jener in der Erzählung *Hançerli Hanım*, die mit dem Namen des bedeutenden *Meddah* des 17. Jahrhunderts Tiflî verknüpft ist, wies in ihrer Arbeit auf die Entstehung des türkischen Romans Güzin Dino hin.² Das Thema des leichtlebigen Sohnes aus gutem Haus als des Opfers einer eigensüchtigen und verkommenen Frau erscheint in den Erzählungen der *Meddahs* sehr oft.³ Vor allem die Erzählungen aus dem 18. Jahrhundert widerspiegeln in vollem Umfang den damaligen gesellschaftlichen Verfall und Zersetzung moralischer Normen.⁴

Die Gestalt eines Jünglings, der kurz nach dem Tode seines Vaters einer Frau von zweifelhaften Ruf völlig verfällt und das Eigentum der Familie verschwendet,

¹ K a v c a r, C.: *Batılşma Açısından Servet-i Fünun Romanı* (Der Roman der Servet-i Fünun-Literatur aus dem Gesichtspunkt der Europäisierung). Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1985, S. 11.

² D i n o, G.: *Türk Romanının Doğuşu* (Das Entstehen des türkischen Romans). Istanbul, Cem Yayınevi 1978, S. 35–37.

³ Ibid., S. 35.

⁴ N u t k u, Ö.: *Meddahlık ve Meddah Hikâyeleri* (Die Kunst der Meddahs und deren Erzählungen). Ankara, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları 1977, S. 136–137.

übernahmen aus den Geschichten der *Meddahs*, aber bestimmt auch aus dem zeitgenössischen Leben der Istanbuler Gesellschaft auch Ahmet Mithat (Felâun Bey) und Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem (Bihruz Bey aus dem Roman *Araba Sevdası*). Indem sie diese Gestalten um ausgeprägte zeitgebundene Züge bereicherten, prangerten sie dadurch die blinde und oberflächliche Bewunderung junger Leute aus gehobenen gesellschaftlichen Kreisen für die westliche Zivilisation, deren Unfähigkeit und Unwillen sich im praktischen Leben zu bewähren. Weder im Falle Felâun Beys, noch im Falle Bihruz Beys stellt das Liebesabenteuer die Ursache des Verfalls des Helden, sondern lediglich dessen Gipfelung dar. Ihr Verfall wurde durch die verfehlte Erziehung, sowie durch die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Gesellschaft bestimmt, die schleunigst auf ihr Ende dahinsteuert.

Die Konzeption der Gestalt Ali Beys aus dem Roman *İntibah* ist unterschiedlich. Aber ist dem wirklich so? Ist es nicht nur das Vorhaben des Autors die Verantwortung für das tragische Ende des Protagonisten des Romans auf eine Kurtisane, auf ihre Intrigen zu wälzen, obwohl Ali Beys äußeren als auch inneren Attribute ihn auch ohne Mehpeykers Zutun zum Fall prädestinieren?

Namık Kemal schildert Ali Bey in der Exposition des Romans als einen in jeder Hinsicht mustergültigen Sohn einer sogenannten guten Familie. Unmittelbar darauf erfahren wir jedoch, daß: „Auch wegen einer kleinen unerfüllten Forderung konnte er ganze Nächte durchweinen.“⁵ Infolge der übertriebenen Sorgfältigkeit und der ängstlichen Liebe seiner Eltern wächst deren einziger Sohn zum Egoisten und Schwächling, mit einer eigentümerischen Beziehung zu jenen, die ihn lieben, heran. Der scheinbaren Untreue Mehpeykers und Dilaşubs folgt seinerseits ein stürmischer Ausbruch verletzter Eitelkeit – und unmittelbar danach eine vollkommene Gleichgültigkeit zu deren weiteren Schicksal. Gleichgültig, rücksichtslos ist er aber auch seiner Mutter gegenüber, die ihrerseits auch nicht vorbehaltlos als eine eindeutig positive Gestalt aufzufassen ist.

Sämtliche Hauptgestalten des Romans *İntibah* entziehen sich einigermaßen dem Vorhaben des Autors, sind sie doch weder eindeutig gut noch eindeutig schlecht.⁶ Für Fatma Hanımefendi, die Mutter Ali Beys ist ihr einziger Sohn der Mittelpunkt der Welt, handelt es sich um ihn, vergißt sie alle ethische und moralische Normen. Der scheinbaren Rettung ihres Sohnes zuliebe weigert sie sich nicht auch die Rolle einer Kupplerin auf sich zu nehmen. „Meine Tochter, daran ist nichts beschämen-

⁵ N a m ı k K e m a l: *İntibah* (Ali Bey'in Sergüzeşti – Das Erlebnis des Ali Bey). Ankara, Başbakanlık Basımevi 1984, S. 16.

⁶ „Die Helden sind einseitig, d. h. die Guten sind allzu gut, die Bösen allzu böse,“ behauptet Cevdet Kudret in *Türk Edebiyatında Hikâye ve Roman 1859–1959: I. Tanzimat'tan Meşrutiyet'e Kadar 1859–1910* (Die Erzählung und der Roman in der türkischen Literatur. I. Vom Tanzimat bis zur Konstitution). Ankara, Bilgi Yayinevi 1971, S. 85. Dieselbe Ansicht vertritt auch K j a m i l e v, Ch.: *U istokow sowremennoj turetskoj literatury* (Bei den Quellen der türkischen Gegenwartsliteratur). Moskau, Nauka 1967, S. 85.

des. Der Herr gehört dir aus Gottes Willen,“⁷ sagt Fatma Hanımefendi heuchlerisch zur Sklavin Dilaşub, als sie diese ihrem Sohn aufzwingt. Nachdem Ali Bey Dilaşub zu hassen beginnt, verschont sie seine Mutter nicht und – der Laune ihres Sohnes nachgebend – verkauft das Opfer ihrer Machenschaften, ohne sich um ihr weiteres Schicksal zu kümmern, obwohl sie von ihrer Unschuld überzeugt war.

Die Begegnung Ali Beys mit Mehpeyker bildet die Kollision des Romans *İntibah*. Nichteinmal die Kurtisane erscheint als eine eindeutig negative Gestalt. Obwohl sie im Abschluß des Romans Dilaşub tyrannisiert und Ali Beys Tod herbeiführen will, klingt dieses Vorgehen nicht so überzeugend aus wie jene Szenen, in denen es zwischen ihr und dem Protagonisten zu einer Annäherung kommt.

Es wird oft auf die Beziehung des Romans *İntibah* zu Alexandre Dumas Werk *La Dame aux Camélias* hingewiesen. Es stimmt zwar, daß beide Romane die Beziehung eines jungen Mannes aus sog. gutem Haus zu einer Kurtisane als Grundkonflikt haben, Dumas' Vorhaben ist es jedoch gewesen das romantische Thema der Umgestaltung eines gefallenen Menschen durch Liebe zu gestalten. Ein solches Vorhaben verfolgte Namık Kemal nicht, Ali Beys Geschichte sollte als abschreckendes Beispiel dafür dienen, welche Tragödien die Liebesleidenschaft verursachen kann. Durch dieses Vorhaben kommt *İntibah* eher dem Roman *Manon Lescaut* näher, den dessen Verfasser als eine „Abhandlung über Sittlichkeit“ konzipiert hat.

Am Schicksal des Ritters des Griex zeigt Abbé Prévost die vernichtende Kraft der Leidenschaft. Ähnlich wie bei Ali Bey geht es auch bei des Griex um eine leidenschaftliche Liebe auf den ersten Blick. Beide Helden erliegen dem Liebestaumel, sind gegen den Verstand und sittliche Prinzipien machtlos, beide geraten auf eine schiefe Ebene, sinken immer tiefer, entfremden sich ihrer eigenen Familie, führen ein wüstes Leben und werden schließlich zu Mördern. Im Unterschied zu Namık Kemals Helden ist jedoch des Griex in seiner Liebe lauterer, seine Arglosigkeit ist von einem eigenartigen Zauber. Nichteinmal die drei Fälle der Untreue vermögen es seine Vertrauensseligkeit zu erschüttern. Er weist das Mädchen, das ihm Manon als Trost und Ersatz für sich selbst schickt, zurück. Ali Bey hingegen wird nach der mutmaßlichen Untreue von Mehpeyker noch am selben Tag zum Liebhaber Dilaşubs.

Nach Manons Tod erlebt des Griex einen inneren Wandel und findet nach fürchterlichen Leiden seine Seelenruhe. Ali Bey erfährt nach dem tragischen Ableben Dilaşubs, die ihr Leben für seine Rettung opfert, aus dem Munde Mehpeykers die bittere und schmerzhaft Wahrheit. Von Gewissensbissen verfolgt stirbt er einige Monate später selbst. Der Roman endet mit den Worten: „Späte Reue bringt keinerlei Nutzen.“⁸

Anhand des tragischen Endes Ali Beys zeigt Namık Kemal ähnlich wie Prévost

⁷ Namık Kemal: *İntibah*, S. 95.

⁸ Ibid., S. 146.

am furchtbaren Leiden seiner Helden, daß der Mensch für alle seine Sittenverfälle büßen muß. Darin liegt die erzieherische Absicht des Werkes. Der Mensch, der lediglich die Befriedigung seiner eigenen Beweggründe verfolgt, ist zum Fall verurteilt und reißt auch seine Nächsten mit sich in die Tiefe.⁹

Das didaktische Endziel des Romans *İntibah* entspricht den Anforderungen, die die Aufklärung an das literarische Schaffen stellte. Gleichzeitig setzen sich jedoch in diesem Werk auch romantische Elemente durch und weisen erste Anzeichen des Realismus auf. Das ist kennzeichnend für die *Tanzimat*-Literatur, namentlich für deren zweite Etappe. Die Schriftsteller Nabizade Nâzım (1862–1893), Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem (1847–1914) und Sami Paşazade Sezai bemühten sich in erhöhtem Maße um die Orientierung auf die zeitgenössische Realität.¹⁰

Sami Paşazade Sezai verleiht in seinem einzigen Roman *Sergüzeşt* dem Liebesthema eine unterschiedliche, aktuellere Interpretation als Namık Kemal im Roman *İntibah*. Er gestaltete hier weder die vernichtende Leidenschaft (Ali Bey – Mehpeyker), noch die Liebe aus Pflicht (Ali Bey – Dilaşub), sondern ein reines, zartes, edles Gefühl, das der gegenseitigen Erkenntnis entspringt. Die bestehenden Verhältnisse ermöglichen es jedoch Dilber und Celal nicht ihre Sehnsucht zu erfüllen. Die verknöcherte osmanische Gesellschaft des ausklingenden 19. Jahrhunderts kann dem Menschen kein Glück sichern, die humanistischen Ideale und Errungenschaften der westlichen Zivilisation stoßen an diese Starrheit, und in einer Gesellschaft, die sie nur oberflächlich akzeptiert, haben sie keine Chance sich durchzusetzen.¹¹

In dieser Gesellschaft kann Celal Bey mit seiner Verteidigung der freien Wahl eines Partners auf keinen Erfolg hoffen. Dieses Thema gestaltete schon Namık Kemal im Drama *Zavallı Çocuk* (Armes Kind, 1873). Während jedoch die Heldin des Dramas Şefika auf die Liebe verzichtet und sich für die Rettung der Familie aufopfert, will sich Dilber, die Protagonistin des Romans *Sergüzeşt*, mit ihrem Schicksal nicht untätig abfinden. Ihre erste Flucht in der Kindheit endet mit der unfreiwilligen Rückkehr zur gefühllosen Herrschaft, die zweite Flucht wird mit ihrem freiwilligen Scheiden aus dem Leben abgeschlossen. Dilber wählt lieber den Tod, als sich einem Mann ohne Liebe hinzugeben. Für eine Sklavin gibt es keine andere Möglichkeit ihren freien Willen zu äußern.

Das Thema der Sklaverei, in der *Tanzimat*-Literatur eines der frequentiertesten, erklingt im Roman *Sergüzeşt* als Verurteilung dieser antihumanen Erscheinung. Während es im Roman *İntibah* lediglich ein Randthema ist, erhob es Sami Paşazade Sezai zum zentralen Thema seines Romans dadurch, daß er eine Sklavin zu dessen Protagonistin machte. Er gestaltete das Schicksal der Tscherkessin Dilber von dem

⁹ Dînescu-Székely, V.: *Romanul turc* (Perioada modernă). Bucureşti 1978, S. 24.

¹⁰ Ajzenschtejn, N. A.: *Iz istorii turetskogo realizma* (Aus der Geschichte des türkischen Realismus). Moskau, Nauka 1968, S. 18.

¹¹ Dînescu-Székely, V.: *Romanul turc*, S. 34.

Moment an, als diese vom Sklavenhändler, der das neunjährige Mädchen ihrer Mutter entrissen hat, an ihre ersten Besitzer verkauft wurde, bis zur Zeit, als sie in ihrer unerfüllten Sehnsucht nach Freiheit in den trüben Gewässern des Nils endet: „Wohin trägt diese fürchterliche, mörderische Tiefe und ihre Ströme die arme Dilber, diese unglückliche Sklavin? ... Zur Freiheit hin!“¹²

Es gibt einen markanten Unterschied zwischen dem Herangehen, das Namık Kemal und Sami Paşazade Sezai bei der Gestaltung der Sklavin und ihrer Stellung wählten. Bei Namık Kemal äußerte sich gerade im Bild der Sklavin Dilaşub sehr deutlich seine Verbundenheit mit den Erzählungen der *Meddahs*, wo die Sklavinnen als stark idealisierte Typen auftreten. Es sind meist engelgleiche Geschöpfe von ungewöhnlicher Schönheit, fähig jene, von denen sie verletzt wurden aufopfernd zu lieben und ihnen uneigennützig zu verzeihen. Gerade eine solche engelschöne Gestalt (in der Beschreibung des Äußeren von Dilaşub kam Namık Kemals Verbundenheit mit der Diwan-Poesie am meisten zum Vorschein), demütig und ihrer Herrschaft bis zur Selbstaufopferung ergeben ist auch die Sklavin Dilaşub. Namık Kemal versuchte auch das Herangehen von Fatma Hanımefendi zu jener Sklavin zu idealisieren, die sie als Konkubine für ihren Sohn ausgewählt hat, aber die antihumane Grundlage der Institution des Sklaventums selbst macht dieses Vorhaben zunichte.

Die Sklavin Dilber aus dem Roman *Sergüzeşt* hingegen ist ein realer Mensch aus Fleisch und Blut, der vor dem Blick des Lesers vom unansehnlichen Mädchen zu einer reizvollen Frau heranreift, die von entgegengesetzten Gefühlen hinundhergerissen wird. Obwohl sie nach den überstandenen Quälereien im Hause ihrer dritten Herrschaft, bei Asaf Paşa Ruhe, gute Behandlung und Wohlstand findet, wird sie, nachdem die Liebesbeziehung zwischen ihr und Celal entdeckt wird, plötzlich für ihre zivilisierte, der westlichen Kunst nacheifernde Herrschaft nur zu einer unbequemen, im Wege stehenden Sache, der man sich sobald als möglich entledigen muß. Sami Paşazade Sezai schuf so mittels der Gestalt der Dilber und der Beziehungen zwischen ihr und ihren Besitzern indirekt ein soziales und sittliches Bild seiner Zeit. Das Benehmen der Heldin des Romans *Sergüzeşt* weist bereits eine deutliche soziale Motivation auf.

Weder Namık Kemal noch Sami Paşazade Sezai gelangten zur Gestaltung der Evolution ihrer Helden unter dem Einfluß äußerer Faktoren, ihrer sittlichen, geistlichen und weltanschaulichen Reife. Jedoch schon dadurch, daß sie in ihren Romanen den realen Menschen gestalteten, oder mit den Worten Mehmet Kaplans ge-

¹² Sami Paşazade Sezai: *Sergüzeşt* (Bir Esir Kızın Romanı – Der Roman einer Sklavin). Ankara, Başbakanlık Basımevi 1984, S. 100.

sagt, daß „die Gestalten sind keine Helden der Märchen oder Legenden, sondern jemand, dem man im alltäglichen Leben begegnen kann,“¹³ schon dadurch leisteten sie einen bedeutenden Beitrag für die türkische Literatur, sie taten den ersten Schritt auf dem Weg zum Realismus.¹⁴

¹³ Kaplan, M.: *İntibah Romanı Hakkında Birkaç Söz* (Einige Worte über den Roman *İntibah*). In: Namık Kemal: *İntibah*, S. 5.

¹⁴ Dino, G.: *Tanzimat'tan Sonra Edebiyatta Gerçekçiliğe Doğru. Birinci Kısım* (Die Richtung zum Realismus in der Nach-Tanzimat-Literatur). Ankara, TTK Basımevi 1954, S. 15.

DIE HISTORISCHE THEMATIK IN NÂZIM HIKMETS GEDICHTEN

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Der bedeutende Darsteller der neuen türkischen Literatur Nâzim Hikmet (1902–1963) schrieb im Laufe der dreißiger und vierziger Jahre einige umfangreiche Dichtungen epischen Charakters. Der Dichter bereicherte dadurch die türkische Poesie um die Gattung des Poems und bewies gleichzeitig, daß auch die Poesie fähig ist ein aus dem geschichtlichen Gesichtspunkt höchst aktuelles und ringliches Thema zu erfassen und sich des Laufes der Geschichte in ihrer Kompliziertheit zu bemächtigen.

Nâzim Hikmet, dem Ursprung nach ein Aristokrat, seinem Leben und Schaffen nach ein Revolutionär, eignete sich bereits in der frühesten Jugend die marxistische Weltanschauung an. Im Jahre 1921 wurde er in Anatolien, wohin er vom besetzten Istanbul kam, Zeuge der furchterlichen Verarmung des türkischen Volkes, aber auch Zeuge dessen entschiedenen Kampfes um die nationale Unabhängigkeit.¹ Während seiner Studien an der Kommunistischen Universität der Arbeitenden des Ostens in Moskau in den Jahren 1922–1924 und 1926–1928 sah er, wie die russischen Werktätigen nach der siegreichen Revolution die Macht im Staat in ihre Hände übernahmen. Dies alles veranlaßte ihn zur Schaffung eines künstlerischen Bildes der geschichtlichen Ereignisse von einem klassenmäßigen Gesichtspunkt her, zum Bestreben diese als ein Ganzes zu erfassen, welches jedoch aus den ökonomischen, gesellschaftlichen und zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen besteht.

Simavne Kadısı Oğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Destanı (Das Epos von Scheich Bedreddin, Sohn des Kadis von Simavne, 1936) wurde zum ersten türkischen literarischen Werk mit dem Thema der volkstümlichen Widerstandsbewegung. Hikmet schuf darin ein emotionales und dynamisches Bild der letzten Phase des Aufstands, der in den westlichen Gebieten des, durch Timurs Einfall dezimierten jungen Osmanischen Staates ausbrach. Der Aufstand verlief zwar unter religiösen Losungen, seine Ursachen und Ziele waren jedoch in der sozialen Sphäre verankert. Das Trugbild einer

¹ Die Bedeutung seiner ersten Begegnung mit Anatolien als eines bedeutenden Impulses, der über sein ganzes weiteres Leben und den Charakter seines Schaffens entschieden hat, hob Hikmet im autobiographischen Roman *Yaşamak Güzel Şey Be Kardeşim* (Das Leben ist ein hübsches Ding, Bruder, 1967) hervor. Die russische Übersetzung des Romans erschien in Moskau bereits im Jahre 1962 unter dem Titel *Romantika*.

gerechten Gesellschaftsordnung, die allen Bewohnern des Reiches ohne Unterschied der sozialen Stellung und des Glaubensbekenntnisses gleiche Rechte einräumen würde, führte in die Reihen der Aufrührer nicht nur Moslems, sondern auch Christen und Juden. Der gebildete Jurist und Pantheist Scheich Bedreddin wurde zum geistigen Führer des Aufstands.

Trotz des in den letzten Jahrzehnten erhöhten Interesses der türkischen Historiker um die Persönlichkeit Scheich Bedreddins und um die mit dessen Namen verbundene Bewegung,² ist es bislang nicht gelungen zu einer einheitlichen Anschauung über das Problem zu gelangen, ob sich dieser höfische Würdenträger und gebildeter Mensch an der Vorbereitung des Aufstands beteiligte, und in welchem Ausmaß er sich darin engagierte.

Unvollständige Angaben in den historischen Quellen aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert³ können diesbezüglich nicht als maßgebend betrachtet werden, schon hinsichtlich ihres eindeutig negativen Standpunktes. Ungelöst bleibt auch die Frage, ob die Forderung der Vergesellschaftlichung von Privateigentum Bedreddins Idee gewesen ist, oder ob diese erst aus den Reihen seiner Anhänger aufkam. Keine einzige der vier heute bekannten Abhandlungen Scheich Bedreddins weist darauf hin, daß er den Privatbesitz abgelehnt und eine klassenlose Gesellschaft erwogen hätte.⁴

Darauf, daß Scheich Bedreddin auf keinen Fall ein radikaler Reformator sein konnte, der die Veränderung der auf Privateigentum, sowie auf den abgrundtiefen sozialen Unterschieden beruhenden Gesellschaftsordnung anstrebte, weist auch die Tatsache hin, daß er am Hofe eines der vier Prätendenten auf den Sultanthron nach dem Tode Bayezid I., Prinz Musa Çelebi in Edirne das Amt des Heeresrichters (*kazasker*) bekleidete. Auch Mehmet Çelebi, nachdem er seinen Bruder töten ließ und als Sultan Mehmet I. (1413–1421) den Thron betrat, verhielt sich anfangs zum Verbündeten seines Bruders verhältnismäßig großzügig. Er verbannte ihn zwar nach Iznik, bestimmte für ihn jedoch eine Rente in der Höhe von 1000 *Akçe*.⁵

² Bedreddin behandeln auch folgende Publikationen: Akdağ, M.: *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İhtimai Tarihi*. Cilt I (Die ökonomische und soziale Geschichte der Türkei. Teil I). Istanbul 1959; Cerrahoğlu, A.: *Şeyh Bedreddin ve Türkiye'de Sosyalizm Hareketleri* (Scheich Bedreddin und die sozialistischen Bewegungen in der Türkei). Istanbul 1966; Gölpınarlı, A. – Sungurbey, İ.: *Simavna Kadısı Oğlu Şeyh Bedreddin*. Istanbul 1966; Yener, C.: *Şeyh Bedreddin – Vâridât*. Istanbul 1970; Yeşkin, Ç.: *Emik ve Toplumsal Yönleriyle Türk Halk Hareketleri ve Devrimleri*, Cilt I (Türkische Volksbewegungen und Revolutionen aus der ethnischen und sozialen Sicht. Teil I). Istanbul 1974; Kurdakul, N.: *Bütün Yönleriyle Bedreddin* (Bedreddin von allen Aspekten). Istanbul 1977; Gürsel, N.: *Şeyh Bedrettin Destanı Üzerine* (Zum Epos von Scheich Bedrettin). Istanbul 1978; Timuroğlu, V.: *Simavne Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedrettin ve Vâridât*. Istanbul 1982; Bayrak, M.: *Halk Hareketleri ve Çağdaş Destanlar* (Volksbewegungen und zeitgenössische Epen). Yorum Yayınları 1984 und andere.

³ Es sind diese Quellen: İbn Arabşah Ahmad bin Huhammad (1389–1450): *Ukudun Nasıha*; Taşköprülüzade Ahmed Efendi (1495–1561): *Şakayik-i Nûmaniye*; Âşıkpaşazade (1400–1484): *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*; İdris-i Bitlisi (+1520): *Heşt Behişt*; Neşrî (+1520): *Cihannüma*.

⁴ Timuroğlu, V.: *Simavne Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedrettin ve Vâridât*, S. 28.

Als Schüler der Medresse und mehrerer Kenner des islamischen Rechts war Bedreddin vor allem ein hervorragender Jurist, den das dogmatische Herangehen an das Scheriamsrecht nicht befriedigte. Seine Auffassung von Recht, wie er sie in seinem letzten Werk *Teshil* (Die Erleichterung) formulierte, ist auf dem Rechtsbewußtsein der Unabhängigkeit und Gerechtigkeit der Richter gegründet.⁶ Die Gesetze mußten im Einklang mit den Bedürfnissen der Gesellschaft bestimmt werden und im Falle der Notwendigkeit hätten sie sich den veränderten Bedingungen anpassen. Selbst der Herrscher sei verpflichtet die Gesetze zu respektieren und sich nach ihnen zu richten, durch eigenwilliges Handeln geräte er in Widerspruch mit den Interessen des Staats. Es waren für diese Zeit umwälzende Ansichten, sie selbst konnten jedoch nicht der Grund der physischen Liquidation ihres Trägers gewesen sein. Dem lieferte Mehmet I. anscheinend Bedreddins religiöse Gesinnung.

Bedreddin, wie dies auch die Bezeichnung Scheich (Oberhaupt eines geistlichen Ordens oder Tiefeingeweihter) beweist, war ein Mystiker, ein Anhänger der Konzeption *Wahdat al-Wudjūd* (die Einheit des Daseins), die vom hispano-arabischen Mystiker Ibnu'l-Arabi (1165–1240) formuliert wurde.

Der Hang zum Mystizismus verstärkte sich unter den Einwohnermassen Anatoliens jeweils im Zusammenhang mit den Katastrophen, die hierzulande in Form von Eroberungskriegen eine häufige Erscheinung waren. Eine solche Situation ergab sich nach Timurs Einfall und spitzte sich während des 10 Jahre andauernden brudermörderischen Kriegs um den Sultanthron zu. Von Anfang an waren die osmanischen Sultane den mystischen Bruderschaften abgeneigt, der Gründer der Dynastie Osman verjagte die wandernden Derwische aus dem Lande,⁷ Bayezid I. wollte angeblich alle jene Richter, die zur Mystik inklinierten, zum Scheiterhaufen verurteilen.⁸

Als in den Jahren 1414–1417 in Westanatolien und in Thrazien Unruhen ausbrachen, an die Spitze derer sich in der Umgebung von Aydın Börklüce Mustafa und auf dem Gebiet von Manisa Torlak Kemal stellten,⁹ bildeten den Kern der Aufrührer Angehörige mystischer Bruderschaften. Der neue Herrscher hatte also einen guten Grund in jedem, der die mystische Lehre weiterentfaltete und verbreitete, einen gefährlichen Gegner zu sehen. Anscheinend war dies der Grund dafür, daß

⁵ Ibid., S. 21; Bezirci, A.: *Notlar* (Anmerkungen). In: Nâzım Hikmet: *Tüm Eserleri 3. Şiirler 3. Benerci Kendini Niçin Öldürdü – Taranta Babu'ya Mektuplar – Simavne Kadısı Oğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Destanı* (Gesammelte Werke 3. Gedichte 3. Warum Benerci Selbstmord verübte – Briefe an Taranta Babu). Istanbul 1980, S. 295.

⁶ Timuroğlu, V.: *Simavne Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedrettin ve Vâridât*, S. 26, 62.

⁷ Uzunçarşılı, İ. H.: *Osmanlı Tarihi*. Cilt I (Osmanische Geschichte. Teil I). TTK Yayınları 1982, S. 531.

⁸ Darüber schreibt in seiner Geschichte Aşıkpaşazade und zitiert Timuroğlu, V.: *Simavne Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedrettin ve Vâridât*, S. 30.

⁹ Bezirci, A.: *Notlar*, S. 295.

Scheich Bedreddin gezwungen war Iznik heimlich zu verlassen und Zuflucht bei den Aufständischen zu suchen. Im Jahre 1417 wurde er in Deliorman festgenommen und in Serez (heute Serrä in Griechenland) hingerichtet.

Sein Märtyrertod, als auch der Umstand, daß sein Werk *Vâridât* (Eingebungen), in dem er die pantheistische Konzeption der Einheit des Daseins weiterentwickelte, und das durch die Erlasse des Sultans bis ins 17. Jahrhundert hinein verboten war, waren anscheinend der Grund dafür, daß Bedreddin im Bewußtsein der Volksschichten zum Symbol des Kämpfers für eine gerechte Gesellschaftsordnung wurde. Jahrhundertlang bekannten sich zu seinem Vermächtnis Aufständische in den häufig ausbrechenden sozialen Unruhen, sein Name erklang in Gedichten revoltierender Dichter.¹⁰ Die Gemeinschaft der Anhänger Bedreddins (*Bedreddinciler*) überreichten sich von Generation zu Generation die ihm zugeschriebene Idee der gerechten Weltordnung und erwarteten sein Erscheinen als das des Mahdi.¹¹

Gerade aus einem so überlieferten Vermächtnis ging Nâzım Hikmet hervor, als er unter dem Druck der gesellschaftlichen Lage in der Türkei zu Beginn der dreißiger Jahre über sein Werk nachzudenken begann, in dem er aus der Position eines marxistischen Künstlers heraus ein Bild des konkreten historischen Ereignisses, namentlich des massenhaften Auftretens der verarmten Volksschichten, schaffte und in dieses einen Aufruf zur Vereinigung der türkischen Werktätigen im gemeinsamen Kampf für ihre Rechte legte.

Die ersten Skizzen des geplanten Werkes entstanden bereits in der ersten Hälfte des Jahres 1933, als Nâzım Hikmet im Gefängnis von Bursa seine Strafe für angebliche kommunistische Propaganda und ein regierungsfeindliches Komplott abbüßte.¹² Auch unter diesen schweren Umständen hörte der Dichter nicht auf intensiv zu arbeiten. Er schuf und studierte, unter anderen auch Werke osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber. Das Bild, welches ihm diese Werke über Scheich Bedreddin und den Aufstand zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts lieferten, konnte ihn nicht befriedigen. Er spürte, daß es wichtig sei dieses Bild von Deformationen zu befreien, von Halbwahrheiten und Verunglimpfungen zu reinigen, und all das, was an aufrütteln der Kraft auch für die Gegenwart nichts verloren hat, hervorzuheben.

Nâzım Hikmet betrachtete als eine der erstrangigsten Aufgaben der realistischen Kunst, die Kontinuität der geschichtlichen Entwicklung zu erfassen und deren positive und progressive Züge ins Bewußtsein seiner Zeitgenossen einzupflanzen.¹³ Im

¹⁰ Bayrak, M.: *Halk Hareketleri ve Çağdaş Destanlar*, S. 71–74.

¹¹ Timuroğlu, V.: *Simavne Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedrettin ve Vâridât*, S. 26–27.

¹² Babayev, E.: *Yaşamı ve Yapıtlarıyla Nâzım Hikmet* (Nâzım Hikmet's Werk und Leben). Istanbul 1976, S. 172–173.

¹³ In einem Interview für die Monatsschrift *Ay* sagte Hikmet im Jahre 1937: „In der Poesie gehe ich den Weg zum Realismus, der die Wirklichkeit mit allen ihren Einzelheiten, in ihrer Bewegung von der Vergangenheit zur Gegenwart, von der Gegenwart zur Zukunft widerspiegeln würde.“

Einklang mit dieser Forderung schuf er auch sein Epos von Scheich Bedreddin. Es ging ihm vor allem darum, auf die unabänderliche Tatsache hinzuweisen, daß der gegenwärtige Kampf des türkischen Volks, dessen in die bourgeoise Nationalrevolution gelegten Erwartungen enttäuscht wurden, ein Jahrhunderte dauernder Kampf sei.

Die dichterische Invention ermöglichte es dem Autor zur Formulierung der gedanklichen Ladung solche formalen Vorgänge zu finden, dank welchen das *Epos von Scheich Bedreddin* zu einem Werk hoher künstlerischer Qualitäten wurde, und dies auch trotz der Tatsache, daß es ihm gelang sein ursprüngliches Vorhaben nur teilweise in die Tat umzusetzen. Mit den Worten des führenden Kritikers Asım Bezirci gesagt: „Das Werk ist eine meisterhafte Symbiose von Ideologie und Kunst, Gedanke und Gefühl, Symbol und Realität.“¹⁴

An einer Stelle spricht Hikmet über dieses Werk als über *Risale* (Abhandlung).¹⁵ Mit diesem Terminus bezeichnen die osmanischen Geschichtsschreiber ihre Werke. Die Analogie mit dem Stil der Abhandlungen osmanischer Autoren beschränkt sich jedoch nur auf das Abwechseln prosaischer und lyrischer Passagen im Text des Poems. Hikmets Werk ist polyphon, die prosaischen als auch lyrischen Teile zeichnen sich durch eine Vielfalt der Mittel und Vorgänge aus.

Das Sujet des Poems entwickelt sich auf drei zeitlichen Ebenen: in der historischen Zeit, in der der Titelheld lebte, in der nahen Vergangenheit, in der die Idee des Werks entstand, und in der aktuellen Zeit, in der der schöpferische Prozeß verläuft. Außerdem tritt im abschließenden Teil des Poems, betitelt *Ahmed'in Hikâyesi* (Ahmeds Geschichte), noch eine zeitliche Ebene ins Sujet: Ahmeds Erzählung von seinem Treffen mit den Anhängern Bedreddins bezieht sich auf den Beginn unseres Jahrhunderts.

Der lyrische Held des dichterischen Bestandteils des Poems, der mit dem Erzähler – dem Autor aus den prosaischen Passagen identisch ist, wandelt mit Hilfe seines imaginären Begleiters – einem der Teilnehmer des Aufstandes – durch Raum und Zeit und wird zum Zeugen jener Begebenheiten, die sich vor fünf Jahrhunderten ereigneten.

Der Ort, wo der lyrische Held und sein Begleiter bei ihrer Wanderung zum ersten Mal anhalten, ist der Palast des Sultans. Das suggestiv gezeichnete Bild eines vor Prunk und Überfluß strotzenden Speisesaals bildet einen scharfen Kontrast zum Bild des verarmten Landes, durch welches das Wehklagen des Menschen ohne Bo-

¹⁴ Bezirci, A.: *Notlar*, S. 285.

¹⁵ Die Bezeichnung *Risale* benützte Hikmet im Essay *Simavne Kadısı Oğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Destanı'na Zeyl. Milli Gurur* (Nachtrag zum Epos von Scheich Bedreddin. Der nationale Stolz), den der Verlag Kader im Jahre 1936 veröffentlichte. Mit diesem Essay reagierte er auf die Kritik einiger Repräsentanten der Linken, die ihm eine chauvinistische Einstellung zum Thema von Bedreddins Aufstand vorwarfen. Darüber Babayev, E.: *Yaşam ve Yapılarıyla Nâzım Hikmet*, S. 185–186.

den und des Bodens ohne Mensch ertönt. So ist schon in der Exposition der grundlegende Widerspruch bildlich ausgedrückt, aus dem sich dann alle weiteren Konflikte ergeben. Einerseits der auf dem universalen Bodenbesitz beruhende Reichtum und die Macht des Herrschers, andererseits das Elend und die Machtlosigkeit jener, denen es abgelehnt ist den Boden nicht nur zu besitzen, sondern diesen auch zu bestellen.

Der Boden, das Land (*toprak*) wird im Poem zum Helden, der seiner Titelgestalt gleichgestellt wird. Die stärkste emotionale und ästhetische Wirkung erreichte der Dichter gerade in jenen Versen, mit denen er dieser ewigen Lebenserhalterin huldigte. Er vergleicht die Erde mit der schönsten Frau – der Gebälerin, er sieht sie auch als grenzenlose, mit eigenen Früchten beladene Tafel, welche von Bedreddins Aufständischen gedeckt wurde. Die Zeit der entscheidenden Schlacht naht jedoch und der Vogel des Todes gleitet über der Erde, der er Vernichtung bringt. Dem bis an die Zähne bewaffneten Heer des Sultans stehen barfüßige, weder durch Rüstung noch durch ein Schild geschützte Aufständische mit fast leeren Händen gegenüber. Der Vogel des Todes symbolisiert das tragische Geschick, das dieses Land nach der Niederlage der Aufständischen erwartet.

Die abschließenden Verse des neunten, des wirkungsvollsten Kapitels dieses Werkes stellen einen Monolog des lyrischen Helden dar, in dem er seine Entrüstung und seinen Schmerz über die unerfüllte Sehnsucht der Aufständischen nach Brüderlichkeit und Gleichheit aller Menschen, über ihre verlorene Leben zum Ausdruck bringt. Er ist sich bewußt, daß ein solcher Ausgang des Aufstands den historischen Gesetzmäßigkeiten entsprach, sein Herz ist jedoch nicht gewillt diese verstandsmäßige Erklärung zu akzeptieren.

Das *Epos von Scheich Bedreddin* stellt eine erfolgreiche Synthese von Hikmets bisherigen schöpferischen Erfahrungen und einen Start zu neuen, vom Umfang als auch Inhalt her großen Werken mit historischer Thematik dar. So wie viele bedeutende Dichter des 20. Jahrhunderts schlägt Hikmet den Weg von der Lyrik zum Epischen ein. Ähnlich wie der chilenische Dichter Pablo Neruda wurde er sich bewußt der „Unumgänglichkeit einer neuen epischen Poesie, die sich mit den herkömmlichen Vorstellungen nicht vereinbaren läßt.“¹⁶ Der dialektischen Einheit des Helden und der Zeit entstammt die neue Qualität von Nâzım Hikmets Poesie.

Am Ende der dreißiger Jahre und zu Beginn der vierziger Jahre erlebte Hikmet eine tiefe schöpferische Krise, seine Briefe aus jener Zeit verraten den inneren Kampf, die Unzufriedenheit mit den erreichten Ergebnissen, sein Suchen.¹⁷ Es ging ihm um den gängigsten Weg, auf dem die Poesie und die in ihr enthaltene Botschaft

¹⁶ O s p o w a t, L.: *Putj k eposu. „Wscheobschtschaja pesnj“ Pablo Nerudy* (Der Weg zum Epos. Canto general von Pablo Neruda). Inostrannaja literatura, 1952, Nr. 9, S. 192.

¹⁷ F i s c h, R.: *Nazym Chikmet. Etjudi shisni i twortschesstwa* (Nâzım Hikmet, Skizzen zum Leben und Schaffen). Moskau 1984, S. 191.

des Dichters ins Bewußtsein der breitesten Massen gelange, und nicht nur für den Gebildeten, sondern auch für den einfachen Bauer verständlich werden könnte. Er findet ihn in der Geschichte (*hikâye*), die in einer neuen, untraditionellen Form, mit neuen Ausdrucksmitteln bearbeitet ist.

Ein Meisterwerk eines solchen, auf der Grundlage dieser Kriterien komponierten Geschichte ist das längere epische Gedicht *Ceviz Ağacı ile Topal Yunus Hikâyesi* (Die Geschichte des Nußbaumes und des lahmen Yunus, 1940).¹⁸ Zum Prototyp der Titelgestalt wurde Hikmets Zellengenosse. Parallel zu dessen Geschichte verwickelt sich im Gedicht auch die Geschichte des Baumes, den der Dichter personifiziert.

Die Geschichte tritt auch als ein wichtiger Bestandteil des Sujets im Poem *Kuvâyi Milliye* (Das nationale Heer) auf, das im Jahre 1946 ohne Angabe des Namens des Autors in der Izmirer Zeitung Havadis in Fortsetzungen veröffentlicht wurde. Der Dichter verfaßte dieses Werk in den Jahren 1939–1941 in den Gefängnissen von Istanbul, Çankırı und Bursa.¹⁹

Auf Grund einer auskonstruierten Anklage wurde Nâzım Hikmet im September 1938 von einem Militärtribunal zu achtundzwanzig Jahren Freiheitsentzug verurteilt. Seine Werke wurden aufs Index gesetzt, und obwohl der Dichter unter dem Druck von Protesten der Weltöffentlichkeit bereits 1950 auf freien Fuß gesetzt wurde, konnten seine Gedichte und Bücher in der Türkei erst nach 1965 wiedererscheinen. In diesem Jahr wurde auch das Poem *Das nationale Heer* als Buch veröffentlicht.²⁰

Unpathetisch, ohne große Worte und bombastische Phrasen zu gebrauchen ehrte Nazım Hikmet in *Das nationale Heer* den heldenhaften Kampf des türkischen Volkes gegen fremde Eroberer. Die Erlebnisse fiktiver, einfacher Teilnehmer des nationalen Befreiungskrieges sind mit wirklichen Begebenheiten und realistisch dargestellten Szenen von den Kampfplätzen umrahmt. In acht Kapiteln des Poems sind chronologisch alle bedeutsamen Momente des Kampfes für die nationale Unabhängigkeit erfaßt, mit den ersten Anzeichen des unorganisierten Widerstands in den Jahren 1918–1919 beginnend und der großen Offensive endend, die am 26. August

¹⁸ Dieses, als auch andere Gedichte, die Hikmet in den Jahren 1938–1946 in den Gefängnissen von Istanbul, Ankara, Çankırı und Bursa geschrieben hat, erschienen erst im Jahre 1966 in der Sammlung *Dört Hapishaneden* (Aus vier Gefängnissen), die vom Stiefsohn des Dichters Memet Fuat zusammengestellt wurde.

¹⁹ Kudret, C.: „*Kuvâyi Milliye*“ üzerine (Über „Das nationale Heer“). In: N a z ı m H i k m e t : *Kuvâyi Milliye*. Ankara 1968, S. 129.

²⁰ Das Poem erschien in der ursprünglichen Form 1965 unter dem Titel *Kurtuluş Savaşı Destanı* (Epos des Freiheitskampfes). Die Überarbeitung des Poems enthält auch zwei Episoden aus dem Poem *Menschenlandschaften* und erschien in Buchform im Jahre 1968 mit dem Titel *Kuvâyi Milliye* und dem Untertitel *Destan*.

begonnen hat und mit der Befreiung Izmirs am 9. September 1922 abgeschlossen wurde.

Außer den konkreten geschichtlichen Daten, zeitlichen und örtlichen Angaben, gliederte Hikmet in die Struktur des Gedichts auch die Angaben über den Stand der Männer, der Ausrüstung und Munition bei den einzelnen kämpferischen Handlungen, sowie Zitate aus Mustafa Kemals Reden ein. Dieser faktographische Bestandteil stört keineswegs die Gesamtkonzeption des Poems, die Schroffheit der sachlichen Angaben wird durch das Pathos des Leidens und des Heldentums des Volkes gelindert, das von der gefühlsbetonten Beziehung des Dichters zum dargestellten Thema zeugt.

Nâzım Hikmet hat ins Poem *Das nationale Heer* seine intensiv miterlebte Erfahrung aus dem Jahr 1921 miteinbezogen. Es dauerte zwanzig Jahre, bis die Bilder, Porträts, Stimmen aus dem verarmten, aber trotzedenden Anatolien, das der junge Dichter von Bolu bis Ankara und zurück auf eigenen Füßen durchquerte, zu einem monolithischen Werk hoher künstlerischer Qualität heranreiften.

Im Prolog *Onlar* (Sie) tritt das Volk noch als homogene Menschenmasse auf, das sind die anonymen „sie“, die „außer ihren Fesseln nichts zu verlieren haben“. Im Laufe der Kampfhandlungen des nationalen Befreiungskrieges treten jedoch aus dieser Masse Einzelwesen hervor, die durch ihre Opferbereitschaft und tapfere Taten die übrigen mitreißen. Hikmet gestaltete keine idealisierte Kämpfertypen, im Gegenteil, er verbirgt nicht die Tatsache, daß Mut und Heldentum aus der gegebenen Situation erwachsen, daß diese manchmal durch völlig banale Beweggründe motiviert werden können. Karayilan, der Held aus dem ersten Kapitel *Das Nationale Heer*, „lebte wie eine Feldmaus / und wie eine Feldmaus war er verängstigt“. Und gerade die unüberwindliche Angst zwang ihn die Schützengräben zu verlassen und kopfüber vorzustürmen, den feindlichen Kanonen entgegen. So rüttelte er die Verteidiger von Antep zum Angriff auf, der mit einem Sieg gekrönt wurde.

Aus der Summe der in *Das nationale Heer* beinhalteten Begebenheiten geht der zentrale Gedanke des Werkes hervor, welches der Autor ein Epos genannt hat: der sozial motivierte Kampf der Massen ersetzte in diesem neuzeitlichen Epos die übernatürlichen Heldentaten eines außerordentlichen Einzelwesens, in den zeitgenössischen Schlachten fällt der größte Teil des Heldentums den einfachen Menschen zu.

Der Schriftsteller Nedim Gürsel bezeichnete *Das nationale Heer* als eine Brücke, die das Epos von *Scheich Bedreddin* mit dem umfangreichsten Werk Hikmets, mit dem Poem *Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları* (Menschenlandschaften, 1966–1967) verbindet.²¹

Menschenlandschaften, dieser Gipfel im Schaffen von Nâzım Hikmet, stellt ein Ergebnis einer fast zehnjährigen anstrengenden schöpferischen Bemühung dar.²²

²¹ Gürsel, N.: *Şeyh Bedreddin Destanı Üzerine*. Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju, 1980, Nr. 30, S. 169.

Das poetisch-schöpferische Potential des Dichters ermöglichte ihm durch die Gestaltung einer Anzahl von Ereignissen und der Menschenmasse, die er in Einzelwesen zerlegte, die widersprüchlichen und sich verändernden Beziehungen zwischen dem Individuum und der Gesellschaft, zwischen Natur und der technischen Zivilisation in ihrer ganzen Kompliziertheit darzustellen.²³ Auch bei diesem weiten Umfang ist die aktuelle Handlung aller fünf Bücher des Poems in einen verhältnismäßig engen zeitlichen und räumlichen Rahmen eingezwängt, diesen hat jedoch der Autor mit einer Vielzahl von Typen bevölkert, deren Gedankengänge die bewegende Kraft des Werkes sind. Die Anwendung der Gesetze der Bewegung der menschlichen Psychik, vor allem des Prinzips der Assoziation, ermöglichte es dem Sujet in die Breite und Tiefe zu wachsen, den grundlegenden zeitlichen und räumlichen Rahmen ständig zu überschreiten.

Von den ersten Strophen des Poems an beginnt Hikmet aus den verschiedenen Menschentypen ein buntes Mosaik zusammenzustellen, das ein lebhaftes Muster der zeitgenössischen türkischen Gesellschaft darstellt. Gleichzeitig stellt jedoch ein jeder einzelner Typ ein bemerkenswertes menschliches Schicksal dar. Die Charakterisierungsweise ist bei einem jeden unterschiedlich. Einmal ist in einigen Versen ein ganzes bewegtes menschliches Leben zusammengefaßt, ein anderes Mal ist eine kurze Lebensepisode in mehreren Versen ausführlich widergegeben. Manche Gestalten stellt der Autor lediglich mittels Dialoge vor, bei anderen dringt er bis in die geheimsten Winkel der Seele durch, bei einigen konzentriert er sich auf die Gegenwart, häufiger jedoch interessiert er sich auch für die Vergangenheit des Menschen. Manchmal skizziert er die Geschehnisse auch ganzer Generationen von Vorfahren. Alle sind jedoch glaubenswürdige, lebendige, realistisch gestaltete Typen.

Die fünf Bücher des Poems *Menschenlandschaften* verbindet die Gestalt des politischen Häftlings Halil, durch ihn vermittelt der Autor die wichtigsten Gedanken des Werkes.²⁴ Eine Schlüsselstellung kommt ihm im Dritten und Fünften Buch zu, im Vierten Buch ist er lediglich der Kommentator der Geschehnisse. Auch im Er-

²² Dieses Poem verfaßte Hikmet ebenfalls im Gefängnis. Aus etwa 60 000 Versen blieben nur 23 000 erhalten, die in der bislang letzten türkischen Redaktion des Poems aus den Jahren 1966–1967 beinhaltet sind. Die russische Übersetzung des Poems erschien mit einem Umfang von 15 000 Versen unter dem Titel *Tschelowetschesskije panoramy* (Menschenlandschaften) im Jahre 1963 in Moskau.

²³ Dieses Moment betonen unabhängig voneinander Radij Fisch und Yüksel Pazarkaya. Fisch, R.: *Nazım Hikmet*, S. 229; Pazarkaya, Y.: *Rosen im Frost. Einblicke in die türkische Kultur*. Zürich 1982, S. 91.

²⁴ Mit seinen äußeren Attributen, aber auch mit seinem Humanismus und fortschrittlicher Gesinnung weist Halil auf den Schriftsteller Sabahattin Ali (1907–1948) hin, mit dem Hikmet eine seit 1928 bestehende Freundschaft verband, als beide mit der Redaktion der Monatsschrift *Resimli Ay* zusammenarbeiteten.

sten und Zweiten Buch steht Halil im Hintergrund, das entscheidende Wort haben hier die Darsteller der verschiedenen sozialen Schichten der Türkei.

Die Komposition der ersten zwei Bücher des Poems beruht auf dem Parallelprinzip: von West nach Ost bewegen sich auf derselben Strecke zwei Züge, die die türkische Gesellschaft der vierziger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts symbolisieren. Die Reisenden des Personenzugs sind Bauern, Handwerker, Kleinunternehmer, Studenten und andere Angehörige der niedrigeren sozialen Schichten. In den Liegewaggons und den luxuriös tapezierten Wagen des Eilzugs fahren Regierungsbeamte, Darsteller der Groß- und Mittelbourgeoisie, ausländische Unternehmer, Intellektuelle.

Die Züge stellen gleichzeitig auch ein Symbol der mit schwindelerregender Hast eilender Zeit dar, in der die Türkei umwälzende Veränderungen erlebt, indem sie sich im Laufe einiger Jahrzehnte aus dem Mittelalter in die Neuzeit versetzt sieht. Sie sind aber zur selben Zeit auch ein Modell, das die Dynamik der Entwicklung gesellschaftlicher Beziehungen in der Türkei nach der siegreich abgeschlossenen national-bourgeoisien Revolution widerspiegelt. Diese schuf theoretisch Voraussetzungen für eine gleichmäßige Entwicklung für alle Schichten, aber gerade um die Wende der dreißiger und vierziger Jahre drängt sich die Großbourgeoisie immer rasanter in den Vordergrund. Zur Akkumulation des heimischen Großkapitals trugen in bedeutendem Maße ausländische Investitionen bei, die nach Atatürks Tod im Jahre 1938 in die Türkei einzudringen begannen.²⁵

Die Zeit in ihrem ständigen Dahinfließen stellt eine Bildung zwischen den Reisenden beider Züge dar, es verbinden sie die Ereignisse der Zeit, an der sie in dieser oder jener Weise teilgenommen haben. In ihren Erinnerungen werden die Jahre des nationalen Befreiungskrieges wach, durch das Prisma ihrer Betrachtung nimmt der Leser die aktuelle Gegenwart auf, d. h. die Geschehnisse in der Türkei und in der Welt im Frühjahr des Jahres 1941.

Am intensivsten dringt die Welt im Vierten Buch in das Sujet der *Menschenlandschaften* ein. Darin ertönt das Pathos der tragischen Ereignisse und der erbitterten Schlachten des Zweiten Weltkrieges. Dessen drückende Last beschwert den Dichter mit vollem Gewicht. Obwohl er in den Mauern des Gefängnisses eingeeengt, von der Welt isoliert lebt, erlag er nicht diesem Druck, er verknüpfte sein Schicksal mit den Geschicken der Millionen, vom Faschismus bedrohten Menschen, schmerzlich erlebte er die Nachrichten von den Schlachtfeldern, er litt gemeinsam mit der verarmten Zivilbevölkerung im feindlichen Hinterland. Über all dem stand jedoch sein unerschütterlicher Glaube an den Sieg der humanen Prinzipien.

²⁵ Diese Entwicklungsbeziehungen analysiert eingehend die Arbeit Balázs, J.: *Die Türkei. Das Phänomen des abhängigen Kapitalismus*. Budapest 1984, S. 106–163.

Die Idee der Unbesiegbareit der Sowjetunion windet sich als Leitmotiv durch das ganze Vierte Buch des Poems, der Dichter legt sie in den Mund von Halil, seines Mithäftlings, der realen als auch fiktiven Gestalten. Er läßt Halil die Frontbewegung in die Landkarte eintragen, so wie er dies auch selbst in seiner Zelle im Gefängnis von Bursa getan hat. Mit Spannung verfolgt Halil die Zeitungs- und Rundfunkberichte und reagiert auf diese mit Erregung.

Zutiefst wurde Nâzım Hikmet vom übermenschlichen Mut der Division Panfilovs bewegt, von der Entschlossenheit der Befehlshaber, als auch der einfachen Soldaten, die Hauptstadt bis zum letzten Blutstropfen zu verteidigen. Die heldenhaften Verteidiger von Moskau wollte er in Versen huldigen, lange konnte er jedoch keine geeignete Form finden. Erst die Siebente Symphonie von Dimitri Schostakowitsch, die der Moskauer Rundfunk ausstrahlte, inspirierte ihn zu Versen, die er *Moskova Semfonisi* (Die Moskauer Symphonie) betitelte.²⁶ Ins Vierte Buch von *Menschenlandschaften* eingereiht stellen sie dessen wirkungsvollsten Abschnitt dar. Hier stellte der Dichter sein musikalisches Gefühl wieder voll unter Beweis.

So, wie bereits im *Epos von Scheich Bedreddin* und in *Das nationale Heer*, zeichnet sich auch in *Menschenlandschaften* Hikmets Vers durch ausgeprägte Melodik und einen hinreißenden Rhythmus aus. Die Verse sind dermaßen plastisch und dynamisch, daß sie die Vorstellung eines von Musik untermalten Films hervorrufen. Vor allem die erwähnte Moskauer Symphonie und die Gedichte über Tanja – Soja Kosmodemjanskaja – und den französischen Antifaschisten Gabriel Péry, die auch als Bestandteil in das Vierte Buch eingingen, stellen eine meisterhafte Symbiose der künstlerischen Vorgänge der Poesie, Musik und des Films dar.

Das abschließende Buch des Poems ist in einem ruhigeren Tempo komponiert, hier fehlt die Steigerung und die Spannung der vorangehenden Teile. Hier ertönt wieder der Gedanke des Lebens, der den Tod besiegt, und der Gedanke der unbesiegbaren Hoffnung. Diese Gedanken legt der Dichter in die Briefe von Halils Frau Ayşe, die sie ihrem Mann ins Gefängnis schickt.

Das Fünfte Buch wurde nur in Fragmenten erhalten, auch aus diesen ist jedoch herauszuspüren, daß sich Nâzım Hikmet im abschließenden Teil von *Menschenlandschaften* um eine Zusammenfassung der geschichtlichen Entwicklung im Stadium des Übergangs von der höchsten Etappe des Kapitalismus zum Sozialismus aus marxistischen Positionen heraus bemühte.

Das Poem *Menschenlandschaften* wurde zu einem hervorragenden Beweis der Größe des Geistes des Autors, seines nüchternen und objektiven Zugangs zu den Erscheinungen der gegenwärtigen Welt, zu einem Beweis seiner nicht alltäglichen Begabung.

Sein großangelegtes Vorhaben hätte Hikmet nicht ohne tiefgründige Kenntnis der Vorgänge in der menschlichen Seele einerseits und des Mechanismus der Welt-

²⁶ Fisch, R.: *Nazım Hikmet*, S. 241.

geschichte andererseits verwirklichen können. Seine umfangreichen Kenntnisse, die er teils durch ständiges Studium, teils dadurch erwarb, daß er das Tun um sich herum mit offenen Augen, mit Interesse und persönlicher Anteilnahme betrachtete, ermöglichten es ihm mit seinem Werk den Gedanken der Identität des Menschen und der Welt zu verfechten.

Die Verfechtung einer solchen schwerwiegenden Idee forderte natürlich Raum und Zeit, der Dichter mußte vom Thema des menschlichen Einzelwesens zum allgemeingesellschaftlichen, vom persönlichen zum gesamt menschlichen Thema schreiten, von den konkreten Details bis zu einer verallgemeinernden Synthese gelangen. Dieses anspruchsvolle Ziel konnte keineswegs eine plötzliche Eingebung sein. „Es war,“ wie dies in der Beziehung zu Pablo Nerudas Poem *Canto general* (1950) im Vorwort zu dessen tschechischer Herausgabe die Autorin kennzeichnend ausdrückte, „ein Ergebnis, ein Treffen des gedanklichen Vorhabens und konkreter Umstände, eines alten Vorsatzes und der augenblicklichen Situation.“²⁷

Die grandiose dichterische Komposition des chilenischen Dichters, die man als „amerikanische Odyssee“, als eine „moderne Epopöe“, als „das Epos des 20. Jahrhunderts“ zu bezeichnen pflegt,²⁸ wird hier als eine seltene Übereinstimmung von großen Inspirationen und großen Taten in derselben Zeit, in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt erwähnt. Ähnlich, wie Nâzım Hikmet in seinen *Menschenlandschaften* beschreitet Pablo Neruda in seinem Werk den Weg zur Erkenntnis des Wesens des Menschen und dessen Stelle in der Welt.

Beide Dichter arbeiteten an ihren Poemen fast zur gleichen Zeit, die ersten Konzepte entstanden zu der Zeit, als das Feuer des Zweiten Weltkrieges voll aufflammte. Hikmet verewigte im Vierten Buch von *Menschenlandschaften* das unsterbliche Heldentum von Panfilovs Division bei der Verteidigung Moskaus, Neruda widmete den heroischen Verteidigern von Stalingrad sein Gedicht *Canto a Stalingrado* (1942). Noch vorher jedoch erhoben diese, die steigernde Spannung in der Welt sensitiv registrierenden und prompt reagierenden Dichter ihre Stimmen zum Protest gegen die Greueltaten der faschistischen Horden in Spanien, Neruda in seiner Sammlung *España en el corazón* (1937) und Hikmet in seinem Gedicht *Karanlıkta Kar Yağıyor* (Im Dunkeln fällt der Schnee, 1937).

Für das Ziel, das sich Hikmet als auch Neruda steckten, war die Gattung des Poems ideal, sie ermöglichte ihnen das Problem in seiner Breite und Tiefe zu erfassen. Der türkische Dichter begann mit dieser Gattung schon im ersten Stadium seines Schaffens zu experimentieren. Unmittelbar nach seiner zweiten Rückkehr aus der Sowjetunion verfaßte er das Poem *Jakond ile SI-YA-U* (Gioconda und Si Ja-u, 1929). Zweifelsohne trug dazu Hikmets intime Beziehung zur russischen und so-

²⁷ Vy d r o v á, H.: *Zpěv o zemi a člověku* (Der Gesang von der Erde und dem Menschen). In: Neruda, P.: *Veliký zpěv* (Der große Gesang). Praha 1987, S. 9.

²⁸ Ibid., S. 13.

wjetischen Poesie bei, in der das Poem einen festen Platz einnahm. Vor allem das Poem des 20. Jahrhunderts, vertreten mit Werken von Majakowski, Blok, Belyj, Jesenin, als eine synthetische, lyrisch-epische Gattung, stand Hikmets Auffassung der Poesie als eines der revolutionärsten Prinzipien der neuzeitigen Gesellschaft besonders nahe. In dieser modernen Abwechslung des Epos befinden sich die intimsten Gefühle des menschlichen Einzelwesens in einer Wechselbeziehung mit dem geschichtlichen Geschehen, sie durchdringen einander wechselseitig,²⁹ was dem Dichter besonders entsprach.

Auf Nâzım Hikmets Weg zu umfangreicheren Kompositionen, wo die harmonische Gruppierung des lyrischen und des epischen Elements ihre funktionelle Begründung haben, spielte natürlich auch die heimische literarische und folkloristische Tradition ihre Rolle, die Tradition, in der die Gattung des Epos – *destan* – jahrhundertlang zu den Grundbegriffen zählte.

Den Synkretismus der verschiedentlichen Kulturen, die Aufnahme kultureller Impulse von West und Ost, betrachtete Nâzım Hikmet als eine erstrangige Voraussetzung für das Entstehen einer, dem Leben verbundenen Kunst, die das Leben in dessen ganzer Widersprüchlichkeit, in dessen mannigfachen Gestalten und Veränderungen widerspiegelt.³⁰ Nâzım Hikmets dichterisches Lebenswerk ist ein überzeugender Beweis dafür, daß er eine solche Kunst nicht nur proklamierte, sondern sie auch schuf.

²⁹ *Literaturnyj enziklopedičeskij slowar* (Das literarische Enzyklopädiawörterbuch). Moskau 1987, S. 294.

³⁰ N a z y m C h i k m e t: O sotsialističeskij realizme i turetskoj literature (Vom sozialistischen Realismus und der türkischen Literatur). In: *Problemy stanovlenija realizma v literaturach Wostoka* (Die Probleme der Gestaltung des Realismus in den Literaturen des Ostens). Moskau 1964, S. 253.

CONCEPTUAL DISTANCE WITHIN METAPHOR*

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In this paper an attempt has been made at measuring the conceptual distance between the two terms of metaphor. The measurement is effected along the anthropocentric conceptual scale. The conceptual distance is, however, not relevant for the aesthetic value of a particular metaphor.

The notion of the anthropocentric essence of language has been repeatedly stressed by both European and American linguists. The importance of this principle may be derived from its presence in various domains of the language structure. It has been advocated by the adherents of the theory of linguistic relativity as well as by its opponents in their efforts to shed light upon the common denominator in the field of lexical and grammatical semantics, and lately the anthropocentric nature of syntax was explicitly mentioned by P. J. Hopper and S. A. Thompson who have made a new attempt to explain some transitivity phenomena by establishing a scale of activity with man at its top and followed by animals, plants, natural phenomena, and, finally, by inert objects (Hopper and Thompson 1980). According to these authors the above-mentioned scale is relevant for the capability of nouns to occupy the position of the agent of transitive sentences.

This paper, however, concentrates upon the part played by anthropocentrism in vocabulary. It focuses especially upon lexical metaphor as one of the main means of structuration and extension of lexicon in general. Returning briefly to the level of syntax, the basic model of sentence or the prototypical basic sentence seems to be that in which the human actor through his behaviour or activity affects some object or produces it (at least in some languages).

This inherently anthropocentric model has been, in the spirit of psychological artificialism, metaphorically extended to other situations – to those sentences where the subject function is carried by nouns referring to animals, plants, natural phenomena (esp. natural elements), and even inert objects. This is in agreement with the prevailing idea that language structure is inevitably rather simple than complex, which is a valuable property in view of the limited capacity of human memory.

Thus, metaphor introduces order into grammar and lexicon, building upon the

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universalist foundation of anthropocentrism (cf. works by Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Givón 1984, Krupa 1985).

In vocabulary, metaphor is part of the motivational mechanism that can be regarded as the most important factor of language dynamism which through the so-called internal form of the lexeme removes the arbitrariness of the relation between language form and content.

Metaphor involves a transfer but the metaphorical transfer prototypically requires a certain notional distance between the two domains of its tenor and vehicle. Once the existence of such a distance is admitted, we also have to admit that various metaphors may differ as to it and that, in principle, we are able to measure the observed distance.

One such attempt has been undertaken or rather suggested by E. J. Weiner in her recent paper (Weiner 1984).

In the present study a measurement is proposed within the framework of a conceptual classification of lexemes. No exhaustive classification of the lexicon is intended here but the attention will be confined to a partial classification for the purposes of evaluating the structure of metaphor as consisting of tenor and vehicle.

Within the framework of anthropocentrism the conceptual universe may be viewed as hierarchically organized upon the scale of increasing distance from the topmost domain of man. Such a tentative scale could be divided into the following domains:

(1) the domain of man, (2) the domain of animals, (3) the domain of plants, (4) the domain of elements and natural phenomena, (5) the domain of inert objects, (6) the domain of abstracts.

These various conceptual domains may be characterized according to the following three aspects:

(1) internal organization of the entities referred to, e.g. their anatomy and part-whole relations, (2) behaviour and properties of these entities, (3) internal organization, i.e. arrangement within greater wholes such as e.g. family, social body, spatial and temporal configurations, etc.

The three abovementioned parameters are variously distributed with the six conceptual parameters are variously distributed with the six conceptual domains. On the whole it holds that their richness decreases when moving away from the domain of man down the anthropocentric scale.

The scale as described above, however, has to be adjusted and modified before it can be employed to measure conceptual distance between various domains.

The first step is the verification of the correctness of the articulation of the conceptual universe into six discrete categories. Classificatory problems arise between any of the neighbouring domains. For instance, should corals be classified as animals or as plants? Are volcanoes natural phenomena or inert objects? The same question could be asked about, e.g., waterfalls. These and analogous questions ob-

viously do not arise for competent scientists but may pose problems for average, "standardized" language speakers and the reply to any of these questions is often culturally conditioned – and valid just for a particular language community.

Another serious problem is that of hierarchization of the conceptual universe. Many binary classifications suffer from excessive arbitrariness as well as from pseudo-binarity with which the negative values amount merely to more or less convenient labels of little cognitive plausibility and explanatory force.

The binary classification suggested here is based upon a restricted set of diagnostic classificatory criteria that would be plausible from the point of view of folk taxonomy (as a principle present in the organization of vocabulary) and at the same time acceptable from the cognitive point of view.

The diagnostic criteria suggested here include the following features:

(1) Whether the noun in question refers to an object that can be perceived with senses, (2) Whether the object is capable of independent locomotion, (3) Whether it is living, and, finally, (4) Whether it is capable of thinking as a self-aware being.

The sequence in which these features are ordered correlates with their hierarchical arrangement. The most inclusive feature is that of perceivability, extending to all the domains, with the exception of the last one (abstracts). The next most inclusive feature is the capability of independent locomotion. In addition to human beings, it is only animals and natural elements that can freely move about. This feature seems to be hierarchically superordinate even to the opposition of living versus non-living. The latter subdivides the conceptual universe into human beings, animals and plants on the one hand and natural elements and phenomena with inert objects and abstracts on the other hand. It is questionable, however, to what extent the plants are treated as living in folk taxonomy. The whole sequence is concluded with the feature of the highest mental abilities that are restricted to man, a creature representing the climax of existential complexity.

Table 1 is a schematic representation of the classification of the conceptual universe.

Table 1. Classification of conceptual domains

	MAN	ANIM	PLANT	NAT	OBJ	ABS
Perceivable	+	+	+	+	+	-
Self-mobile	+	+	-	+	-	-
Living	+	+	+	-	-	-
Thinking	+	-	-	-	-	-

MAN – the domain of man, ANIM – the domain of animals, PLANT – the domain of plants, NAT – the domain of natural phenomena and elements, OBJ – the domain of inert objects, ABS – the domain of abstracts.

Before proceeding further, some remarks have to be said about the position of the abstracts within the suggested classification. Here they occupy the very bottom of the anthropocentric scale. It could be objected, however, and with some justification, that the abstracts as creations of human beings should be included in the human domain. And analogous objections might be raised to the classification of human artefacts as inert objects. All these objections are rejected on the grounds that – in the consciousness of the so-called standardized language users at least – these entities, both abstract and concrete ones are treated as if they were leading an independent existence and interacting with the human beings in the same way as, say, natural phenomena and elements or inert objects not produced by the hand of man. This interpretation of human produces, both abstract and concrete ones agrees with what psychological artificialism has to say about the matter.

The classification as indicated in Table 1 is still not suitable for the measurement of the conceptual distance in terms of the individual domains. The nominal scale has first to be converted into at least the ordinal scale. Therefore the individual criteria have to be assigned some conventional weight that would adequately reflect the degree of their existential complexity. The latter reaches its maximum with the feature inherent to a single domain (that of *mán*), being at its minimum with the feature present in as many domains as possible. In this way a plausible foundation for the measurement upon the ordinal scale is obtained. The weighted classification of conceptual domains is given in Table 2.

The weighted values may be employed for estimating the conceptual distance between any two lexemes. Here it will be applied to measuring the distance between the conceptual domains of the two constituents of metaphor, i.e. tenor and vehicle.

The procedure will be illustrated here with several examples from Malay and Maori. For instance, the Malay lexical metaphor *mata air* “spring of water” comprises the expression *mata* “eye” (10) representing the vehicle and *air* “water” (3) representing the tenor and the conceptual distance dc of the two terms is equal to $10 - 3 = 7$. Another Malay lexical metaphor, *gigi hutan* “forest margin”, will be assigned the value $dc = 6$ because its tenor *hutan* “forest” displays the value of 4 and its vehicle *gigi* “teeth” that of 10. A greater conceptual distance is characteristic of the Malay lexical metaphor *anak panah* “arrow” where the tenor is represented by *panah* “bow” and the vehicle by *anak* “child”. Since *panah* is assigned the value of 1 while *anak* that of 10, $dc = 9$. Another metaphor, *ibu sungai* “main riverbed”, consists of the tenor *sungai* “river” (3) and of the vehicle *ibu* “mother” (10) and thus its $dc = 10 - 3 = 7$. The metaphor *buah pikiran* “though”, comprising the vehicle *buah* “fruit” (3) and *pikiran* “thinking” (0), is characterized by the conceptual distance $dc = 3 - 0 = 3$. The Maori figurative expression *kare a roto* “object of passionate affection” consists of the tenor *roto* “inside” and of the vehicle *kare* “ripple”, which gives the value of $dc = 3 - 0 = 3$. Another Maori lexical metaphor *Ika o te*

Rangi "The Milky Way" is analysed as consisting of the tenor *rangi* "sky" (3) and of the vehicle *ika* "fish" (6), which leaves as with $dc = 6 - 3 = 3$.

All the metaphors quoted so far are binary – because both tenor and vehicle are explicitly present in their surface structure. However, the vocabulary of any language contains many unary metaphors, i.e. such metaphors that are represented only by the vehicle upon the surface level while their tenor has to be guessed. Thus, e.g. the Maori lexical metaphor *rangi* "chief" involves the vehicle *rangi* "heaven" while its tenor may be verbalized as "head of a tribe". Since the tenor is characterized by the numerical value of 10 and the vehicle by the value of 3, the resulting conceptual distance $dc = 10 - 3 = 7$. Another Maori metaphor, *ika* "victim", comprises, in addition to its vehicle *ika* "fish" the tenor "human being killed in war or at a ceremony" and its conceptual distance dc may be calculated as $10 - 6 = 4$.

These are, so to say, absolute values of the conceptual distance. However, a particular metaphor may be viewed as oriented upon the anthropocentric scale indicated in Table 2. The metaphorical vehicle may be taken either from the top of the anthropocentric scale (i.e. from the conceptual domain of man) or from its bottom; in practice vehicles from the domain of abstracts are rarely if ever used.

Table 2. Weighted classification of conceptual domains

	MAN	ANIM	PLANT	NAT	OBJ	ABS
Perceivable	1	1	1	1	1	0
Self-mobile	2	2	0	2	0	0
Living	3	3	3	0	0	0
Thinking	4	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	6	4	3	1	0

When one metaphorizes from the top of the anthropocentric scale, i.e., when the vehicle from the domain of man is applied to any lower domain (and similarly, when the vehicle from the domain of animals is applied to the remaining lower domains, etc.), we could speak of anthropofugal metaphors. But if one metaphorizes from the opposite end of the scale, i.e. from its bottom, applying the vehicle to any of the higher domains, it would be convenient to speak of anthropopetal metaphors.

Having taken the orientation upon the scale into account, the anthropofugal metaphors are assigned the + values and the anthropopetal metaphors the – values. For example, the metaphor *mata air* "spring of water" is assigned the value $dc = + 3$, *gigi hutan* "forest margin" $dc = + 4$, *anak panah* "arrow" $dc = + 9$, *rangi* "chief" $dc = - 7$, *ika* "victim" $dc = - 4$.

One of the open problems of scaling and measuring the conceptual distance between two metaphorical terms is the psychological relevance of this value for the efficiency of the metaphor, for its quality. Let us compare two related Malay lexical metaphors – *gigi rambut* “fringe of hair” (lit. teeth of hair) with *gigi hutan* “forest margin” (lit. teeth of forest). In accordance with the procedure suggested before *gigi rambut* would be assigned $dc = 0$ and *gigi hutan* $dc = +7$. Now, could one maintain that the metaphor *gigi hutan* is more impressive than the other one because its dc is greater? In other words, is it more unusual, more surprising to combine *gigi* “teeth” with *hutan* “forest” than with *rambut* “hair”? From the standpoint of psychological efficiency the reply can hardly be positive. The recipient’s reaction cannot be regarded as a function of the conceptual distance between tenor and vehicle. After all, the psychological efficiency is relevant more for poetic than for cognitive or lexical metaphors. The most important part is played by the novelty or originality of metaphor, in connection with the range of possible interpretations and with the adequacy of the vehicle in a particular communicative situation. An efficient metaphor inevitably results from a compromise between two extremes, i.e., between an absolute originality (which would result in unintelligibility) and utter conventionality (which would be worthless from the point of view of aesthetics and information). In addition to this, one should also take into account the orientation of a particular metaphor upon the anthropocentric scale because the poetic metaphors tend to be anthropopetal while both the cognitive and lexical metaphors tend to be anthropofugal. And last but not least, the efficiency of a metaphor – and of any utterance, for that matter – is conditioned by subjective factors as well.

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METAPHOR IN MAORI TRADITIONAL POETRY*

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Poetic metaphor is described here as the manifestation of supreme linguistic creativity. Various types of metaphors are established upon the basis of a collection of Maori traditional poetry *Nga Moteatea* and the role of anthropofugal versus anthropopetal metaphors in poetry is considered.

Metaphor is one of the most remarkable instances of linguistic creativity. Its appearance in speech is stimulated by factors present in the so-called problem situations that have either a cognitive or an emotional basis, or both. A predominantly cognitive basis gives birth to metaphor in the children's speech, in terminology and in rising pidgins: lexical metaphor on the whole serves practical purposes of communication and its basis is likewise chiefly cognitive.

On the other hand, linguistic creativity in poetry, and more particularly, poetic metaphor, is no doubt dominated by emotional factors. Poetic metaphor may be characterized as a manifestation of additional creativity, i.e. of creativity that exceeds the standard level of creativity hidden behind each utterance. Poetry is the ideal ambient for this extra creativity. The reason is obvious; poetic work is a microcosm created by the poet and the latter's creative imagination often tends to obey only the limits that have been set by himself. Creatively valuable conceptual associations expressed in metaphors correlate with hidden, profound and at the same time surprising links. The functions of science and of poetry diverge, and the aim of metaphorical speech in poetry is to achieve adequate self-expression, to arrest the attention of the recipient and to produce a desirable reaction to the poetic creation. Thus the psychologists H. R. Pollio and M. K. Smith only confirm a familiar truth when maintaining that the ability to see similarity between dissimilar things is especially characteristic of poetically gifted individuals (Pollio – Smith 1980: 365). The same idea but in different words is stated by K. Connor and N. Kogan (Connor and Kogan 1980: 284–285) who accentuate the ability to find conceptual links between objects and events from disparate domains, across the conventional categories and who consider the metaphorical sensitivity to be inseparably linked to creativity.

At first glance it might seem that the greater the number of metaphors in a poem the more complicated their interpretation. But, in fact, poetic metaphor, if it is to

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be effective, ought to link disparate conceptual domains. And a disparate, surprising link, especially if it remains solitary, is no ideal basis for a correct interpretation. The best guarantee of the interpretability of a poem is the capability of poetic images to accumulate, to produce variations and improvisations on the subject. That is why a more satisfactory basis for a plausible interpretation is prepared by the accumulation of a variety of metaphors. If we accept Embler's view that poetry is an expression of the internal world of the poet through the external world (Embler 1966), then we could maintain that the poet achieves this goal in two contradictory and at the same time complementary manners. All metaphors could be divided into two classes in terms of the direction of metaphorization: in the so-called *anthropofugal metaphors* the vehicle (i.e. the image itself) is taken from the human conceptual domain and applied to non-human reality (cf. the metaphorical expression *laughing breeze*) while the *anthropopetal metaphors* take their image from non-human domains and apply it to the human realm (human feelings and moods are frequently characterized via images borrowed from nature, cf. the expression *storm of excitement*). Both anthropopetal and anthropofugal metaphors occur in poetry but the ratio of the anthropopetal metaphors seems to be significantly higher in poetry than in lexicon. The latter gives preference to basic, elementary metaphors (often based upon human anatomy, social organization, etc.). In poetry, namely in non-anonymous poetry, the ambition of the poet is to be original and that is why unusual metaphors are appreciated, metaphors that stimulate thinking on the part of the recipient and provoke creativity in the process of interpretation.

However, traditional poetry ought to be carefully distinguished from non-anonymous, individual verse. The former tends to be rather stereotypical. A fairly restricted inventory of basic metaphors displays a high frequency of occurrence in folk poetry. One could easily compile an exhaustive list of canonical metaphors not only in Maori but also in Malay, Slovak, Russian or German traditional poetry. There is also a further difference between traditional and non-anonymous poetry. The author of a traditional piece of poetry usually takes his metaphorical images from the immediate environment with which all recipients are familiar so that there are no serious problems involved in the process of interpretation. Since traditional poetry is passed to the next generation orally, some variation may occur with some metaphors but the degree of variation tends to be low. Another typical feature of traditional poetic metaphor is its heavy reliance on nature as the main source of poetic images. This also seems to be its universal feature throughout the world. It is not clear, however, to what extent could this be interpreted as an expression of the non-alienation of the traditional human being from nature in which he lives.

Maori examples seem to confirm that the cultural biases of a society find their reflection in its canonical metaphors. A careful investigation of the representative selection of Maori traditional poetry *Nga Moteatea* betrays the importance of sea and everything linked to it. The most frequent metaphorical image is represented

by the key word *ika* fish. It occurs, e.g., in the following metaphorical expressions: "*he ika ano au ka haehae*" A fish I am ripped in pieces (*Nga Moteatea* 9), "*Kai parahua ai te ika ki te mounu*" A fish nibbles at the bait. While the former is readily accessible (through the lexical meaning of *ika* fish as victim), the latter expression refers to a lover who does not take his mistress seriously. A slightly different prototypical meaning of *ika* is contained in the following metaphor: "*He mea i motu mai i te waha o te ika*", i.e. Barely escaped from the death. Here death is metaphorized as "*te waha o te ika*", the mouth of the fish (*Nga Moteatea* 7). The metaphorical expression "*Ko he ika whakawera no roto i te kupenga*" You, the most combative fish in the net (*Nga Moteatea* 21) fuses the unfavourable shade of meaning (*ika*, victim in general) with the image of a wriggling fish helpless in the fisherman's net. Fish may be specified, e.g. as *kaharoa*, in the metaphor "*tautenga o te kaharoa*" the *kaharoa* harvest (*Nga Moteatea* 33). Here *tautenga* ought to be understood as hauling ashore the nets, followed by scaling, gutting, drying and roasting the victim killed in the battle, which is a treatment similar to that of fish. Dead Te Heuheu is described as "*Koe ika pawhara na te atua*", as a disembowelled fish offered to the gods (*Nga Moteatea* 61). In another verse the image of a disembowelled fish, "*ika tuaki*", is complemented with that of a stray fish, "*he ika pakewha*" (*Nga Moteatea* 82).

Other sea creatures are sometimes metaphorized, e.g. "*kekeno*" seal symbolizes, in a derogative way, a woman who seduces men (*Nga Moteatea* 36); "*pakake*" whale is a metaphor for chiefs (*Nga Moteatea* 41); "*kakahi*" is another term for a whale used metaphorically for a beloved one, cf. the verse "*Tena te kakahi ka tere ki te tonga*" Verily the whale has drifted to the south (*Nga Moteatea* 54). Sea-gulls (*karo-ro*), shags (*kawau*) and albatrosses (*toroa*) are likewise part of the marine world, cf. the expressions "*karoro tipi one*" startled beach sea-gulls (*Nga Moteatea* 33), "*Kawau aroarotea, ka tu tenei kei te paenga i o riri*" The white-breasted shag has come and gazes on your many fields of battle where the white-breasted shag is an omen of death (*Nga Moteatea* 61), "*paenga toroa*" a stranded albatross (*Nga Moteatea* 82).

One of the most frequent images referring metaphorically to someone left alone and suffering is that of a canoe, "*waka*", that may be shattered or overturned, etc. Cf. the following examples: "*He mea nei hoki au ka pakaru rikiriki te waka ki te akau*" I am a canoe shattered to fragments on the breakers (*Nga Moteatea* 4), "*He waka tenei au ka huripoki*" I am now a canoe overturned (*Nga Moteatea* 57), "*Tia te tinana, he waka pakaru kino*" Age will come upon me, a derelict canoe (*Nga Moteatea* 86). Driftwood, *tawhaowhao* or "*maero*" may hint at a situation of helplessness, e.g. "*Ka whanatu, ka haere, Hei karoro tipi one, Hei tawhaowhao paenga tai*" Arise, go forth and be As startled beach sea-gulls, Or as driftwood from the sea (*Nga Moteatea* 33), or "*He maero au nei*" Like flotsam am I (*Nga Moteatea* 82).

Sea as such may undergo metaphorization which is reminiscent of mythology as

in the expression "*Kei te whaonga o te maara na Tangaroa*" Submerged in the field of Tangaroa, which amounts to being drowned in the ocean (*Nga Moteatea* 29).

A canoe sometimes metaphorizes the lover who obeys the whims of his or her partner, cf. "*Nau te waka nei he whakahau ki te awa*" I heeded your every wish like your canoe by the river (*Nga Moteatea* 35), or an unreliable partner, e.g. "*E mahara iho ana, he waka ka urutomo, He waka he ika rere ki Hikurangi ra ia*" Me thought the canoe was securely moored, The canoe, alas, became a flying fish to Hikurangi yonder (*Nga Moteatea* 36).

Sea may be personified as crying, e.g. "*E tangi haere ana nga tai o te uru*" The waves of the western sea are moaning (*Nga Moteatea* 3) or, in the same spirit, "*Whakarongo ki te tai E tangi haere ana*" Listen to the tides Lamenting as they flow (*Nga Moteatea* 79).

Wind is another element that undergoes metaphorization in Maori traditional poetry; the associations may be negative, e.g. "*Haere ra nga rata whakaruru hau ki te muri*" Farevell, O thou sheltering rata from the north wind (*Nga Moteatea* 60). Tears are often represented as rain or deluge, e.g. "*Ko au ki raro nei riringi ai te ua i aku kamo*" Whilst I here below pour forth A deluge from mine eyes (*Nga Moteatea* 71). Sometimes, however, tears are described simply as water, cf. "*E rumaki tonu ana he wai kei aku kamo*" (Like) water were welling in my eyes (*Nga Moteatea* 80).

Love or love suffering is sometimes metaphorized as "*kai*" food, eating, e.g. "*Kai kinikini ai te mamae i ahau e*" The pain is bitterly eating me (*Nga Moteatea* 12); likewise "*Kei te kai kino atu te aroha*" Love consumes me ruthlessly (*Nga Moteatea* 55) or "*He kai au ka whiu*" For I am food cast away (*Nga Moteatea* 55). The verb "*wero*" to pierce is employed in an almost synonymical way: "*te wero ki te kupu*" piercing with words (*Nga Moteatea* 55), "*E te hau tonga e pupuhi nei, E wero ra koe i taku tinana*" O thou south wind, blowing hither, Thou dost penetrate into my body (*Nga Moteatea* 85).

One of the most favourite and elaborate metaphorical subjects is cosmic imagery. Maori traditional poetry and rhetorics abounds with it. Cosmic metaphors tend to be applied to chiefs, especially to their death. Thus the verse "*Nana i horo te whetu te marama*" it is him who swallowed the stars and the moon (*Nga Moteatea* 6) refers to fights in which the warriors are identified with stars (*whetu*) and the chiefs with the moon (*marama*) when they were killed by the Tuhourangi. When a warrior or a chief dies, the poet says "*I whati ai te marama*" The moon was broken (*Nga Moteatea* 8). The same meaning is represented by the metaphor "*I makere iho ai te tara o te marama*" The point of the riven moon has fallen (*Nga Moteatea* 41) as a well as by an analogous expression "*Ka whati ra, e, te tara o te marama*" Alas, severed now is the point of the crescent moon (*Nga Moteatea* 54).

Cosmic metaphor may be used to describe the brilliancy of one's eyes, e.g. "*Ko aku mata i rehu, E whakawhetu mai ana roto*" My misty eyes are quite bedimmed and shine forth from within like stars (*Nga Moteatea* 59).

The philosophical basis of cosmic metaphor may be derived from mythology. This is the case of the following verse: "*He marama kia mate, Ka ea mai ki runga i é*" Thou art the waning moon which dies, Later is again seen on high (*Nga Moteatea* 24).

These types of metaphor do not exhaust the imaginative variety occurring in Maori traditional poetry. Other metaphors may occur, e.g. "*moenga roa*" long sleep (death), "*takohutia taku rangi*" my head was wreathed in mist (sorrow), "*Waiho au kia poaha ana, He rima puka kei te akau*" So let me remain empty. (Like) the porous seaweed on the shore (*Nga Moteatea* 29), "*te tira o riri po*" the company of the battle of night (*Nga Moteatea* 48), i.e. the dead ones, "*huka moana*" sea foam (*Nga Moteatea* 82), referring to something valueless; an English loanword as a metaphorical vehicle is exceptional but it does occur in the verse "*Hei moni koura koe ki te whare*" A golden coin art thou within the house (*Nga Moteatea* 60).

Maori poetry abounds in sequences of metaphors that characterize their tenor from several points of view. This perseverance of emotional affect makes the semantic interpretation easier. The dead chief is wept over in the following way: "*Ka whati ra, e, te tara o te marama* (1), *Taku ate* (2) *hoki ra, taku piki kotuku* (3), *Tena te kakahi* (4) *ka tere ki te tonga*" Alas, severed now is the point of the crescent moon (1), You were my heart (2), my kotuku plume (3), Verily the whale (4) has drifted to the south (*Nga Moteatea* 54). It is usually deep sorrow that provokes such an outburst of emotions as the next poetic sequence: "*Tirohia mai au he ika tuaki, Paenga toroa he koroirangi, He ika pakewha 'hau na Rehua, e tama ma e! He huka moana, paringa-a-tai akahu ki te whanga*" Look and see me here a disembowelled fish, A stranded albatross, tossed by the whirlwind; A stray fish of Rehua am I, O youthful ones! Like the sea foam, faintly seen at the inlet (*Nga Moteatea* 82). A mournful seaside scenery is metaphorically applied to describe the mood of loneliness and old age as follows: "*Tia te tinana, he waka pakaru kino, Karuha noa au ki te akau, e*" Age will come upon me, like a derelict canoe, Discarded I shall be cast upon the strand, ah me (*Nga Moteatea* 86).

Metaphorical mechanisms are present not only in Maori poetry but also in mythological texts. However, while both poet and recipient are well aware of the existence of two levels of interpretation, mythology, while it is still alive, seems to equate the two semantic levels. Thus Polynesian cosmogony represents a creative act brought about by father Rangi nui e tu nei (Great Sky Standing Here) and mother Papa tua nuku (Earth Lying Prostrate upon Her Back). The two periphrastic names are eloquent enough, confirming that the sexual interpretation of Maori cosmogony is essentially correct. The metaphorical model of creation goes on. Since Sky and Earth lay embracing one another and their progeny was longing for daylight, the only way to achieve this goal was to push their father upward. According to the idea of the sex metaphor, Sky sometimes cries and his tears fall upon Earth. Hawaiians were even more explicit and consequent when saying "*Uwe ka lani, ola ka ho-*

nua", i.e. When Sky cries, Earth lives. In other words, Sky fertilizes Earth which gives birth to her harvest.

However, despite the fact that the foundations of myths ought to be looked for in metaphorical mechanisms, myths cannot be regarded as fully developed metaphors. Even if it is true that myths try to express unknown by means of what is known, their metaphorical character rises to the surface only when myths cease to be regarded as myths and pass to the category of fiction.

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EXTRA-SYNTACTIC OPERATORS IN WORD-ORDER REGULATION

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Word-order in reality is no order of words but the order of parts of the sentence. As parts of the sentence are divided into principal and secondary, so positions they occupy within the sentence may be divided into strong and weak. The violation of correspondence between the rank of positions and that of parts of the sentence is felt as inversion. The rank of positions is largely determined by phonetic and morphological properties of the language.

It is generally accepted that the order of words can be either free or rigid. It is also believed that the rigid order presupposes some restrictions on the place of a word in the sentence structure, whereas the free order is expected to remain unacquainted with any of such restrictions. In reality, however, the absolute freedom of word-order, with no distinction between order and disorder, cannot be found: however free the word-order in any real language may be, it always conforms to certain rules.

Then what is the reason for the establishment of one or another word-order in concrete languages? Why is it so that the object, for example, follows the predicate in one language but precedes it in another? Why does the attribute commonly precede the word it qualifies in Russian or English, while it is postpositive in Polish or French? Why is the predicate prepositive of its subject in one case and postpositive in another? Many partial meanings of word-order have been noticed in individual languages, of course, but the problem of language internal laws which regulate the order of words remains unclear.

As far as the Tamil language is concerned, its word-order has never been thoroughly investigated as an object of a special study. In grammars and textbooks of this language only brief general remarks, quite superficial, can be found on this matter. Commonly it is stressed that the Tamil sentence in many respects resembles an ordinary Sanskrit sentence: as a rule, the subject and its attributes come first, the object with its dependants comes second, words related to the predicate occupy the third position, and the verb is final.¹ It is evident that only positions occupied by

¹ Compare, for example, Wikremasinghe, M.: *Tamil Grammar*. London 1906, p. 74.

the subject, the object and the predicate are more or less clearly defined in such statements, whereas positions of words which depend on them are left out.

Meanwhile, very popular is the view that it is just the position of determinants which is a regulating factor of the word-order in a language. Thus, for instance, A. N. Kononov in his description of the Turkic languages, which are often regarded as syntactically close to Dravidian, points to the invariably prepositive use of the Turkic attribute and underlines that "the distribution of the secondary parts of the sentence is primarily determined by such location of the attribute: all determinants of the subject precede it and all determinants of the predicate precede the latter. Thus the distribution of the principal and the secondary parts of the sentence schematically may be represented in the following way: determinants of the subject – the subject – determinants of the predicate (i.e. objects, adverbial modifiers) – the predicate."²

Until recently this principle was usually extended to the Dravidian syntax, as it was generally believed that the arrangement of the sentence was the same in all languages of the suffixal-agglutinative typology. Most of all this was advocated by K. Zvelebil who insisted that "the principle which ruled the whole sphere of Tamil (and, as a matter of fact, Dravidian in general) sentential structure was the principle *d D*, i.e. determinatum preceded by determinans".³

In reality, however, only attributes which do not agree in gender or number with words they qualify are used prepositively, i.e. attributes expressed by adjectives (e.g. *periya kuṭikāraṇ* 'confirmed drunkard', *periya kaṇkaḷ* 'big eyes'), nouns in the genitive or the nominative case (e.g. *cūriyaṇiṇ kiraṇaṇkaḷ* 'rays of the sun', *peṇkaḷ kallūri* 'women's college') and some other words and phrases.

At the same time Tamil possesses a class of attributes which are regularly in concord with words they qualify and are notable for their obligatory postpositive use. Such attributes can be expressed by gender-number forms of declinable numerals and pronouns. Postpositive attributes always agree with words they qualify in gender and (except neuter numerals) in number and take case suffixes instead of them; e.g. *eṇ naṇpaṇ oruvaṇ* 'a friend of mine', *eṇ ciṇēkitai oruvaḷ* 'a girl-friend of mine', *neeraṇkaḷ cilavarriḷ* 'in some moments', etc.

Moreover, the history of Tamil makes it possible to trace the gradual development of adjectives and other invariable prepositive determinants from declinable postpositive words which originally had gender-number forms⁴ and could perform various syntactic functions apart from that of an attribute (e.g. *māṇavar palar* 'many students', 'students are many', *nāṭkaḷ pala* 'many days', 'days are many', etc.). It

² Kononov, A. N.: *A Grammar of Modern Literary Uzbek*. Leningrad 1960, p. 394. [In Russian.]

³ Zvelebil, K.: *A Note on Tamil Verbal Morphology*. *Archiv orientální*, 23, 1955, p. 479.

⁴ Andronov, M. S.: *Notes on the Nature and Origin of the Adjective in Tamil*. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, 1, No. 2, 1972, pp. 1–9.

may be added that in the early classical language a nominal prepositive determinant of any other type commonly merged in one composite word with its determinatum (either karmadhāraya, or bahuvrīhi, or tatpuruṣa, or dvigu) and could not be regarded as an independent word or a part of the sentence. This means that the use of nominal prepositive attributes is a relatively late innovation, in Tamil, which originally knew only prepositive attributes expressed by relative participles and some other verbal forms.

Several conclusions of no small importance for language typology can be drawn from the above statements. Firstly, the position of the attribute is no stable feature of language structure and can vary to a considerable degree in the course of its historical evolution. Secondly, the data supplied by the history of Tamil give no reason to regard the position of the attribute as a factor which governs the whole structure of the sentence. Thirdly, the position of the attribute cannot be directly and unconditionally connected with the morphological type of a language, i.e. with the suffixal-agglutinative type of Tamil and many other similar languages of the world.

The problem of the positions which are occupied by the Tamil subject and predicate is even more complicated. If the position of the attribute is determined by purely grammatical factors (the postpositive use of the attribute being mostly called forth by its grammatical form or by the presence of prepositive attributes before the word it qualifies), the positions of the subject and the predicate are frequently determined by various semantic aspects which hardly succumb to formal analysis.

The prevalent tendency in Modern Tamil is the rule which prescribes that the predicate should occupy the final position in an emotionally neutral and semantically isolated sentence, the subject being pushed off to the beginning by secondary parts of the sentence. But it is enough to compare such two common sentences as *itu eṇṇa?* 'What is it?' and *yār atu?* 'Who is that?' in order to find out that the living language knows numerous deviations from the above rule which at the present state of knowledge cannot be explained other than by tradition, usage or idiom.

In addition, it may be doubted that such emotionally neutral and semantically isolated sentences are natural: the social function of language as a principal means of people's communication just presupposes both the emotive colouring of the sentence and its semantic connection with the broader context.

If the problem of positions occupied by the subject and the predicate is also viewed historically, it comes to light that in the earliest Tamil texts their numerically predominant order was opposite to that which is regarded direct in the modern language: according to P. Arunachalam's counts, in Tamil texts of II–III centuries the subject is found in post-predicate position two times oftener than in pre-predicate position.⁵ According to P. Arunachalam, "poetic inversion alone cannot explain the

⁵ Arunachalam, P.: *History of Tamil Syntax: the Period of Tolkāppiyam and Sangam*. Ph. D. Thesis. Annamalai University, 1967, p. 475.

frequency of the occurrence of the subject after the predicate”:⁶ apparently this phenomenon testifies to a relatively free order of the principal parts of the sentence in the ancient language.

The existence of a ramified system of finite forms in Early Tamil may be regarded as a subsidiary argument in favour of a relatively free order of the subject and the predicate. As L. Hakulinen rightly says, “we know from the history of many languages that the weaker the system of inflections is, the more constant the word-order grows. Thus, the word-order was relatively free in Classical Latin, but as the number of inflections was decreasing, this freedom became more and more restricted, and finally (as in related French) the sentence with an absolutely fixed word-order was formed”.⁷

The Tamil language provides a rare opportunity to observe this dependence of word-order rigidity on the variability of words. The matter is that in Tamil the nominative case is polysemantic and can express practically all the meanings of oblique cases, i.e. those of the object (e.g. *paṣikaḷ kūtu kaṭṭiṇa* ‘the birds built a nest’), the adverbial modifier of purpose (e.g. *kāriyālayam pōvataṛkāka* ‘in order to go to the office’), the adverbial modifier of place (e.g. *avaṇ mikavum maṇam montāṇ* ‘he suffered greatly in his mind’), the adverbial modifier of time (e.g. *aintām nāl iravu-ellām muṭintatu* ‘on the fifth night everything was finished’) or the adverbial modifier of manner (e.g. *viṣā iṇitu muṭintatu* ‘the festival ended smoothly’). In this case secondary parts of the sentence, as a rule, take place before the words they complement, whereas when objects and adverbials with overt case suffixes are used, their free disposition is quite common.

Thus, contrary to widespread opinion, the position of formally expressed secondary parts of the sentence, including adverbials and even the direct object, is not firmly fixed; compare, for example, *nān nāḷekki avane matureyile pāppēṇ* ‘Tomorrow I shall see him in Madurai’, *matureyile nān avane nāḷekki pāppēṇ* ‘I shall see him in Madurai tomorrow’, *nān avane matureyile pāppēṇ nāḷekki* ‘In Madurai I shall see him tomorrow’.

R. E. Asher, from whose book the above three examples are borrowed, contends that the first example is unemphatic, whereas in the following two either one or another adverbial bears emphatic stress and hence is moved either to the left or to the right.⁸

One cannot but argue, however, that Tamil textbooks commonly prescribe placing the direct object immediately before the predicate and moving the adverbial modifiers to the beginning of the sentence. In this case a model sentence should

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Hakulinen, L.: *The Development and the Structure of Finnish*. Vol. 2. Moscow 1955, pp. 169–170. [In Russian.]

⁸ Asher, R. E.: *Tamil*. Amsterdam 1982, pp. 95–96.

look like *nāṇ nālekki matureyile avane pāppēṇ* or *nālekki matureyile nāṇ avane pāppēṇ* 'I shall see him tomorrow in Madurai'. This is the word-order, which is generally believed to be typical of the emotionally neutral and semantically isolated sentence. But if this is true, the first of the above examples proves to be inverted and emphatic as distinct from what Asher writes.

All this cannot but raise doubts that sentences absolutely void of any emphasis exist in reality. It is more probable that some degree of emphasis is present in every sentence (as every sentence has some intonation). In other words, one sentence is more emphatic, while the other is less emphatic, the problem coming to the means of expressing various degrees of emphasis. It is evident that word-order (apart from intonation and emphatic particles) is one of such principal means in Tamil.

When the sentence is analysed as a chain of positions occupied by its constituent parts, emphatically strong and emphatically weak positions have to be distinguished in its structure. Any part of the sentence is emphasized when it occupies a strong position and, on the contrary, it weakens as if it falls into the background when it occurs in a weak position. The strongest position in the Tamil sentence is its end, and the initial position comes second to it in strength. The sentence is evaluated as normal from the viewpoint of its emotive structure when the predicate and the subject occupy these positions respectively, because it is the principal parts of the sentence which get emphasized in this case. When secondary parts of the sentence occur in strong positions, whereas principal ones shift into weak positions, the correspondence between the rank of positions and that of parts of the sentence is violated and the effect of inversion or emphasis arises.

Such treatment of the law which underlies the Tamil word-order helps understand its other important feature, i.e. why the SOV order is normal and predominant in Tamil: it is obvious that, as far as the emotive strength of positions is concerned, the pre-predicate position is the third, and hence it appertains to the direct object, which is the third important part of the sentence.

It is natural to inquire now why these very positions are strong in the Tamil sentence, why they are distributed in this and no other way. In this connection it is necessary to take notice of the obvious isomorphism between the distribution of strong and weak positions within the Tamil sentence and that of similar positions within the Tamil word. It is the end and the beginning of the word which are phonetically strong, whereas its medial portion is relatively weak. This becomes evident when classical forms are compared with their respective colloquialisms in which the medial portion of the word is frequently eroded, while its end (with inflectional suffixes) is well preserved, as well as, in most cases, the initial root syllable; compare, for example,

Classical Tamil
eppaṭi

Colloquial Tamil
eṭṭi

'how'

vīṭṭilē
ceykirēṇ
varukiratu

vīṭṭē
ceyrēṇ
varutu

'in the house'
 'I do'
 'it comes'

etc.

This phonetic peculiarity, which results from the intensive way of pronouncing word-final and word-initial syllables and the reduction of word-medial syllables, is extended to the phrase within which the liaison and the sandhi wipe off the phonetic boundaries of words, so that phonetically the phrase behaves as one word. Commonly only the end and the beginning of the phrase are phonetically stable; compare, for example,

Classical Tamil

koṇṭu-vā
enna-v-enrāl
eḻunt-iru
pēci-k-koṇṭ-irukkīrēṇ
vantu-vitukīrāṇ

Colloquial Tamil

koṇā
ennā
ēntiru
pēciṇṭirukkēṇ
vantuṭrāṇ

'bring!'
 'namely'
 'get up!'
 'I am speaking'
 'he comes'

etc.

It is clear that this peculiarity is caused by the fact that the end and the beginning of the word or phrase are most important for the conveyance of the sense: inflectional suffixes are placed in the end, whereas the root syllable, which is the carrier of the lexical meaning, comes first. It is also clear that this peculiarity is directly connected with the agglutinative structure of Tamil morphology: it ensures the clear pronunciation of the whole chain of inflectional suffixes (which otherwise could be eroded easier) at the level sufficient for sense distinction.

Phonetically the Tamil sentence is organized in a similar way: its end and beginning sound with particular intensity and for this reason they are assigned to its principal parts.

It may be inferred in conclusion that the suffixal-agglutinative type of the Tamil morphology requires particularly intensive pronunciation of word-final and word-initial syllables for the normal realization of the communicative function of the language. This feature results in the establishment of phonetically strong and phonetically weak positions within the word, which finds an analogy in the sentence structure, the word-order in particular.

The relation between the morphological type of a language, on the one hand, and the phonetic structure of the word and the order of words in the sentence, on the other, makes it clear why the same word-order prevails in other Dravidian languages which have similar morphological features.

As for broader typological parallels, the Indo-Aryan languages of India, which

together with Dravidian form the South Asian language union or Sprachbund, may be remembered first of all. As is well known, it was S. K. Chatterji who pointed out the similarity of their word-orders. "It is in syntax, he writes, that Indian Dravidian and Aryandom are one. A sentence in a Dravidian language like Tamil or Kannada becomes ordinary good Bengali or Hindi by substituting Bengali or Hindi equivalents for the Dravidian words and forms, but the same thing is not possible in rendering a Persian or English sentence in a NIA language."⁹ This similarity may have resulted (as S. K. Chatterji himself believed) from the direct influence of the Dravidian word-order on the Indo-Aryan one. At the same time it has to be noticed, however, that the New Indo-Aryan languages have developed such Dravidian-like features as agglutination in morphology and particularly intensive pronunciation of word-final and word-initial syllables in phonetics. In all probability, these coincidences are not accidental.

Finally, it is necessary to warn against hasty generalizations and mechanical transference of the above to other languages with a similar word-order: as it has been demonstrated on the instance of the position occupied by the attribute, this is fraught with the danger of error. It is quite probable that some of the SOV languages will show the same causality, whereas in other cases different factors may be found operative.

⁹ Chatterji, S. K.: *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. Calcutta 1926, p. 178.

ADVERBS AS A SPECIFIC PART OF SPEECH IN BENGALI

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The aim of this paper is to show how semantic, morphological and syntactic criteria as well as the characteristic way of formation help to single out Bengali adverbs as a specific part of speech.

Adverbs are auto-semantic and auto-syntagmatic inflexionless words expressing the circumstances of an action and qualities of verbs, adjectives and adverbs and exercising the function of an adverbial phrase in a sentence.

By circumstances of action are meant the external connections, "the concomitant feature of the action, the sphere in which, or on whose behalf the action takes place",¹ e.g. he sang yesterday, he sang at home, suddenly began singing.

Quality is an inherent feature of the action (he sings well), of the circumstance (very well) or of the attribute expressed by an adjective (very nice).

Adverbs refer more frequently to verbs than to adjectives, because their fundamental property is the ability to characterize action, i.e. to express those features that are indicated by the predicate, but remain without any specific expression on the verb itself.

When designating adverbs as a specific part of speech, alongside the above semantic criteria, also the complex of morphological and syntactic criteria, i.e. their inflexionlessness, the characteristic mode of their formation and their function in the sentence have to be taken into account.

Adverbs, by their fundamental grammatical feature, i.e. their inflexionlessness, and by the fact that they express quality, resemble adjectives with which they are often formally identical in Bengali (e.g. *bhāla* may mean both good and well, *bhāla lok* a good man, *bhāla calā* to run well). To differentiate adverbs from adjectives in such cases, we must take into consideration syntactic feature of adverbs, that is, their ability to be a subordinate member of an adverbial construction.

However, in some cases the syntactic feature alone would not suffice to distinguish adverbs from substantives which may likewise occur in adverbial constructions

¹ Ružička, J. (Ed.): *Morfológia slovenského jazyka* (Morphology of Slovak Language). Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo SAV 1966, p. 567.

and express various circumstances of action (e.g. *bārite thākā* to be in the house, *rabibāre āsā* to come on Sunday, *hāte dharā* to hold in the hand, etc.). Decisive in distinguishing adverbs from substantives will rather be the absence of morphological categories in adverbs.

The frequent adverbial suffix *-e*, originally the suffix of the morphological locative case, has come to be rigid nowadays and is not felt as a case suffix any more. It is in fact a word-forming suffix, not characteristic solely of adverbs formed from substantives, but helping to form also adverbs from inflexionless adjectives.

Similarly, neither may we consider as inflexion the rare incidence of the suffix *-ke* (*ājke* today occurring alongside the variant *āj*) for adverbs with this suffix take no other case suffix any more.

The suffix *-ke* is occasionally considered as an originally objective suffix of a noun,² or as the old locative suffix *k-e* < *kr̥ta* or *kakṣa*.³

Besides the two aspects spoken of above, i.e. absence of morphological categories and of a characteristic syntactic feature, an important role in singling out adverbs as a specific part of speech is also played by a consideration of their mode of formation.

Bengali, similarly as further new Indian languages, possesses but few primary adverbs, primary in the sense that they had become adverbs prior to the new-Indian period of word formation. Such are, for instance *āj*, *kāl*, *khub*. In these adverbs the adverbial function is fundamental, and as a rule the only possible one.

The remaining Bengali adverbs are secondary. They are often formed by conversion of adjectives (*bhāla* good and also well), and by adverbialization of substantives (*madhye* in the middle and also amid, amidst, *śeṣe* at the end and also ultimately, finally), of verbs (*phire* – perfect participle of the verb *phirā* to return and also again, *mīle* perfect participle of the verb *mīlā* to meet and also together), of numerals (*pratham* first and also firstly) and of pronouns (*teman* such like and also thus, so).

In addition, adverbs are also formed by derivation from adjectives, substantives and interjections, and this by suffixation (with suffixes and semi-suffixes), by reduplication and by compounding.

Suffixation is a commonest way of forming adverbs from adjectives. Adverbs are formed by adding the suffix *-e* to the adjective (*akāraṇ-e* without reason, *dūr-e* far). Thereby, deadjective adverbs agree by their ending with desubstantive adverbs formed by adverbialization of the locative case, and thus the suffix *-e* represents one of the most common formal features of adverbs.

Suffixes also help to form adverbs from pronouns or pronominal bases, viz. the suffixes *-thā*, *-thāy*, *-khāne* form adverbs of place (*ko-thā*, *ko-thāy* where, whither,

² Zograf, G. A.: *Morphologicheskii stroi novykh indoariiskikh yazykov*. Moscow, Nauka 1976.

³ Chatterji, S. K.: *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1970, p. 761.

se-khāne there), and suffixes *-khan*, *-be* adverbs of time (*ka-khan*, *ka-be* when, *e-khan* now).

Bengali also uses adverbs taken over from Sanskrit, having the suffixes *-āt* (*haṭhāt* suddenly from *haṭh* rashness), *-śa* (*kramaśa* gradually from *krama* one of a series), *-ta* (*sādhāraṇata* ordinarily from *sādhāraṇ* ordinary), *-dā* (*kadā* when), *-tra*, *-ttra* (*sarbattra* always from *sarba* all, whole), *-dhā* (*tridhā* thrice from *tri* three) and the particle *cit* (*kadācit* whenever from *kadā* when).⁴

A relatively large number of adverbs are formed with the aid of semi-suffixes, i.e. such word-forming suffixes which have preserved in a large measure the lexical meaning of the original word (the etymology of the semi-suffix is evident even today), e.g. *bismitabhābe* surprisingly from *bismita* surprised + *-bhābe* – locative from *bhāb* manner, *smaraṇārtha* in memory from *smaraṇ* memory + *artha* purpose, etc.

A typical feature is that the majority of these semi-suffixes end in *-e*, which also signalizes that an expression of circumstances is involved (similarly as in the case of adverbs formed through adverbialization of substantives, and by the suffix *-e* in derivation from adjectives).

Adverbs may be formed with the semi-suffixes *-krame*, *-bhābe*, *-bhare*, *-baśe*, *-baśata*, *-anusāre*, *-mata*, *-artha*, *-yoge*, *-bhede*, *-sahakāre*, *-citte*, *-kṛta*, *-pūrbak*, *-rūpe*, *-pakṣe*, and further.

From this relatively broad scale of semi-suffixes, *-bhābe* alone is used to form adverbs both from adjectives and from substantives, the former predominating.

Adverbs are derived from adjectives also with the aid of the semi-suffixes *-rūpe* (*prakṛtārūpe* really, rightly, *konrūpe* how, *niyamitārūpe* regularly), *-pakṣe* (*prakṛta-pakṣe* in fact, really, *sādhypakṣe* “to the best of one’s abilities”) and *-citte* (*abahitacitte* attentively, *abacalitacitte* calmly).

Most of the semi-suffixes are used to form adverbs from substantives: *-krame* (*parāyākrame* successively, by turns, *bhāgyakrame* fortunately, luckily, *adrṣṭakrame* by chance), *-pūrbak* (*binaypūrbak* humbly, *bhaktipūrbak* respectfully, *santoṣpūrbak* satisfactorily), *-bhare* (*sāhasbhare* boldly, *abahlābhare* neglectfully, *abalilābhare* playfully), *-baśe* (*bhrāntibaśe* mistakenly, *ākrośbaśe* maliciously), *-baśata* (*adrṣṭabaśata* by chance), *-anusāre* (*rītyanusāre* customarily, formally, *samayānusāre* “according to a particular or fixed time”), *-mata* (*subudhamata* conveniently), *-yoge* (*bimānyoge* by plane), *-bhede* (*abasthābhede* otherwise, in a “different or altered condition”), *-kṛta* (*apekṣākṛta* comparatively), *-sahakāre* (*utsāhasahakāre* zealously, *abhinibeśsahakāre* intently).

Forming of adverbs with semi-suffixes, with the exception of the most current ones, e.g. *-bhābe*, *-krame*, is a typical feature of literary language (*sādhu-bhāṣā*), rather than spoken language (*calit-bhāṣā*).

⁴ Bykova, E. M.: *The Bengali Language*. Moscow, Nauka 1981, p. 94.

Closely related to semi-suffixes are also the adverbializers *kare* and *hayē*, originally perfect participles, which are abundantly employed in *calit-bhāṣā* to form adverbs.

Kare is used to form adverbs of manner from substantives (*rāḡ kare* angrily, *dayā kare* kindly, *ḡor kare* forcibly, *ṭrāme kare* by tram), from adjectives (*bhālo kare* well, *sampūrṇa kare* completely, *cup kare* quietly), from interjections (*ṭup kare* quickly, *phas kare* swiftly).

The adverbializer *hayē* helps to form adverbs from adjectives only (*āṣcarya hayē* surprisingly).

As may be seen, adverbs with the same meaning may be formed in several ways. Besides an adverb formally identical with an adjective, there also exists one formed with the aid of the suffix *-e* (*akāraṇ – akāraṇe*) or with the adverbializer *kare* (*bhālo – bhālo kare*). Both these cases involve synonyms. The existence of the second members in the pairs of adverbs seems to demonstrate the effort of Bengali to differentiate adverbs from adjectives not only functionally, but also formally. This fact, too, (alongside others, e.g. the existence of primary adverbs) runs counter to the view of those who consider adverbs not as a specific part of speech, but solely as one of the functions of adjectives or substantives.

Somewhat different is the situation with adverbs derived with the aid of semi-suffixes. As semi-suffixes retain to a considerable degree their original lexical meaning, adverbs derived from the same substantive with the aid of various semisuffixes often have different shades of meaning (according to the dictionary): e.g. *samayānusāre* “according to age or time”, as against *samaykrame* in the course of time, *icchāpūrbak* wilfully, willingly, voluntarily, as against *icchānusāre* “according to one’s will or pleasure”, as against *icchāmata* “as one likes”, *prakṛtapakṣe* in fact, actually, really, truly, as against semantically narrower *prakṛtarūpe* really, rightly.

On the other hand, certain adverbs are entered as synonyms: *abalilābhare* = *abalilākrame* = *abalilāy* playfully, *adrṣṭabaṣata* = *adrṣṭakrame* by chance, *icchāmata* = *icchānurūp* “as one likes”, etc.

Rather frequent are adverbs formed by reduplication, the basis being as a rule a substantive (as will be seen presently), more rarely an adjective (*cupicupī*, *cupicāpī*, *cupecupe* quietly, stealthily from adj. *cup* quiet, *dhīre dhīre* slowly from *dhīr* slow, etc.).⁵

Reduplicated adverbs are formed in such a way that the repeated word, identical with the basic one, is added to the latter with the aid of the infix *-ā-* and ends with the emphasizing particle *-i*: *pāṣāpāṣī* alongside from *pāṣ* side, *tāṛātāṛī* quickly from *tāṛā* haste, *piṭhāpiṭhī* back-to-back from *piṭh* back, *mājhāmājhī* almost in the centre from *mājh* centre, *mukhāmukhī* face-to-face from *mukh* face, *rātārāti* overnight, in a very short time from *rāt* night, *śeṣāśeṣī* in the end from *śeṣ* end, etc.

⁵ Reduplication is not characteristic only for forming of adverbs in Bengali. It may be used also in forming of other parts of speech (e.g. substantives) and also as one of the means of expressing plural.

Occasionally there ensues vocal harmony (*moṭāmuṭi* approximately from *moṭ* a whole), or adverbs are formed analogically by reduplication for which no independent substantive exists (*sarāsari* directly from ⁺*sar*).

Another current mode of reduplication is that in which both the elements having the suffix *-e*, stand independently: *hāte hāte* straight away, promptly (this differs from the non-reduplicated *hāte* by hand), *mukhe mukhe* orally; immediately, *pāye pāye* at every step; at slow but firm pace (as against *pā pā kare* step by step).

Occasionally substantives are reduplicated in their basic form: *satyi-satyi(i)* really, indeed, *pāti pāti* in detail, etc.

In a few isolated cases adverbs may also be formed by reduplication of other parts of speech besides substantives and adjectives, e.g. *śudhuśudhu* in vain where the particle *śudhu* only is reduplicated; a common adverb is *saṅge saṅge* simultaneously, formed by reduplication of the postposition *saṅge* with, etc.

Most of reduplicated adverbs express manner, and only a few express time (*saṅge saṅge*, *rātārāti*, *śeṣāśeṣi*), and very rarely also place (*pāsāpāsi*).

As has already been stated, the fundamental property of adverbs is to serve as a subordinate member in an adverbial construction, meant to express circumstances and qualities relating to the head member, that is the verb, adjective or adverb. Most often they refer to the verb.

Every action expressed by a verb takes place at a certain time, at a certain place and in a certain manner and these three universally valid semantic fields which may be expressed by an adverb, constitute the basis for classifying adverbs into adverbs of place, time and manner.

Adverbs expressing place and time refer uniquely to verbs, those modifying the manner in a more particular way determine not only verbs, but also adjectives and adverbs.

Adverbs of place point out the site where an action is taking place. All of them end with the suffix *-e*. They are for the most part desubstantive adverbs, formed by adverbialization of the original locative case of the substantive, e.g. *bāire* outside, *kāche* near, *sāmne* in front, *bhītare* inside, *bārite* at home, etc.

A further group of adverbs of place is formed by those derived from demonstrative or interrogative pronouns, e.g. *sekhāne* there, *ekhāne* here, *kothāy* somewhere, etc.

Occasionally also deadjective adverbs of place occur, e.g. *dūre* far.

As circumstance of place is currently expressed also in other ways, namely by the morphological case locative of the substantive, and also with the aid of locative postpositions in combination with a certain case of the substantive, Bengali has relatively few adverbs of place.

The set of adverbs of time which determine the temporal circumstances of an action expressed by the verb is more abundant and more diversified than that of adverbs of place and this particularly as to their origin.

Alongside original adverbs *āj*, *ājke*, *kāl*, *ābār*, *khānik*, etc., there exists a series of adverbs of time formed through adverbialization of substantives (*śeṣe* finally, *de-rite* late, *bhōre* at dawn, *pare* later), by reduplication of substantives (*rātārāti* in a very short time, *śeṣāśeṣi* at last), of postposition (*saṅge saṅge* simultaneously), by derivation from adjectives (*abilambe* at once), by conversion of numerals (*pratham* firstly). Numerous adverbs of time exist that are formed from pronouns, and this either by derivation with the suffix *-khan*, *-be* (*ekhan* now, *ekhaṇo* still, *takhan* then, *tabe* after), or by compounding (*etakṣane* long, *anekkṣan* very long time, *beṣikṣan* longer from *kṣan* moment which is preceded by *eta* so much, *anek* much, *beṣi* more; *tārpar* afterwards from *tār* of him + *par* after, *sedin* that day from *se* that + *din* day, etc.).

The temporal circumstance expressed by an adverb derives from its lexical meaning: *tārpar(e)* means that the action takes, has taken, is taking place after another action, *madhye madhye* – the action has taken, takes or will take place from time to time, *saṅge saṅge* – the action has taken, takes, will take place simultaneously with another action, *ābār* – the action has taken, takes, will take place again, etc.

An exception is that of the adverb *kāl*, where only the tense indicates whether the adverb is used to express future (tomorrow) or a past action (yesterday).

Adverbs of manner point to the circumstance of mode and quality relating not only to a verb, but also to an adjective and adverb.

Adverbs of manner represent a considerably diversified group. Besides the original adverbs *khub*, *ekṭu* etc., they comprise a large number of various secondary adverbs. Most frequently these are adverbs formed from adjectives, and this either by conversion (*bhālo* well, *sojā* directly, *ṭhik* exactly, *saṭān* straight), or with the suffix *-e* (*sahaje* easily, *ni:śabde* quietly, *akāraṇe* without reason), or with semi-suffixes (*durbalbhābe* weakly, *abahaticitte* attentively, *prakṛtapakṣe* really, *niyamitārūpe* regularly), or by means of adverbializers (*bhālo kare* well, *āścarya haye* surprisingly), and by reduplication (*cupicupi* silently, *dhīre dhīre* slowly).

The semi-suffix *-bhābe* helps to form adverbs of manner also from pronouns (*em-nibhābe* like this).

Adverbs of manner are often formed from substantives, and this by conversion (*śeṣe* finally), with the aid of the adverbializer *kare* (*dayā kare* kindly) and with numerous semi-suffixes (see p. 5), by reduplication (*jore jore* strongly).

Adverbs of manner may also be formed from interjections with the aid of the adverbializer *kare* (*ṭap kare* quickly).

Adverbs of manner can be classified in more detail according to their partial meaning into adverbs expressing manner as such (this class includes most of the adverbs given above), further into adverbs expressing measure (*khub*, *bara*, *anek* much, *ata*, *eta*, *ati* so much, *sampūrṇa* entirely, *ekṭu* a little, *alpa* too little, few, *bīṣeṣ* more, *yatheṣṭa* enough, etc.), cause (*akāraṇe* without reason), and effect (*mīṭhye* vainly).

Similarly as in numerous other languages, adverbs in Bengali are divided into adverbs of place, time and manner. A typical feature of Bengali adverbs, however, are certain modes of their formation, viz. by conversion, suffixation, reduplication and by means of special aid – adverbializers.

DIE INNERE KLASSIFIZIERUNG DER ARABISCHEN ADJEKTIVE

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In dem vorliegenden Beitrag wird das Modell ‚Feldstruktur‘ auf die innere Klassifizierung der arabischen Adjektive angewandt. Das arabische Adjektiv wird als eine eigene Wortart betrachtet, wobei der attributive und prädikative Gebrauch, die Gradationsfähigkeit und die Möglichkeit der Bildung von Antonymen als relevante Merkmale berücksichtigt werden.

Mit den in der Linguistik gebräuchlichen Termini ‚qualitatives Adjektiv‘ und ‚relatives Adjektiv‘ wird eine sehr allgemeine Unterteilung der Adjektive vorgenommen. Bei einer solchen Grobklassifizierung sind zahlreiche Grenzfälle und mancherlei Überschneidungen möglich.¹ Aber auch bei einer weitergehenden semantischen Auffächerung ohne Berücksichtigung der grammatischen Relevanz semantischer Merkmale können unterschiedliche Zuordnungen nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Wenn also Brinkmann² folgende Gliederung vorschlägt:

- ‚Artwörter‘ (wie etwas beschaffen ist): stark, groß, bunt...
- ‚Lagewörter‘ (wie etwas situiert ist): hoch, tief, fern...
- ‚Orientierungswörter‘ (wie etwas hinsichtlich Raum, Zeit, Herkunft... eingeordnet wird): hiesig, heutig, südlich...
- ‚Eignungswörter‘ (wie/wozu etwas geeignet ist): eßbar, käuflich, biegsam...
- ‚Verhaltenswörter‘ (wie sich Wesen/Gegenstände verhalten): friedlich, ordentlich, saugfähig...
- ‚Wertwörter‘ (wie Wesen/Gegenstände bewertet werden): weibisch, tierisch, nützlich...

¹ Die Bedeutung mancher an sich als ‚qualitativ‘ zu bewertender Adjektive läßt eine graduelle Abstufung nicht zu (*mayyit* „tot“, *abkam* „stumm“, *dā'iri*, *mudawwar*, *mustadīr* „rund“ u. v. a.). Diese Aussage gilt aber nicht uneingeschränkt; vgl. die Beispiele bei Admoni (S. 146): „Ich bin toter als alle ihre Toten“ (Seghers), „du bist mir der toteste Gesell“ (Schiller). Nicht anders ist es im Bereich der an sich als ‚relativ‘ zu charakterisierenden Adjektive: Weihnachten, das ‚deutsche‘ aller Feste; sie spielten ‚englischer‘ als die Engländer selbst. Auch ‚kaiserlich‘, sicher ein relatives Adjektiv, läßt in der folgenden Textstelle (Feuchtwanger, *Der Tag wird kommen*, Berlin 1955, S. 66) eine Graduierung zu: „Selbst die oppositionellen Senatoren mußten zugeben, daß der Nachfolger des kleinen Bürokraten mit Würde sprach und ‚sehr kaiserlich‘.“

² Ordnung und die meisten Beispiele nach *Grundzüge*, S. 604.

- ‚Zahlwörter‘ (Anzahl der Elemente einer Menge; Stelle, die ein Element in einer geordneten Menge einnimmt): der eine Besuch, der fünfte Tag, ein zweimaliger Versuch...

kann er nicht übersehen haben, wie fließend hier manche Grenzen sind. Dies zeigen vor allem Beispiele aus den Bereichen ‚Eignung‘ und ‚Verhalten‘ (wohin gehören kompositaähnliche Adjektive mit der Konstituente -fähig?). Die ganze Problematik des Modells wird auch daran deutlich, daß es augenscheinlich keinen Platz für die wesentlichen Kategorien ‚Quantität‘ und ‚Material, Substanz‘ bietet.

Um der inneren Klassifizierung der Adjektive besser gerecht zu werden, ist deshalb versucht worden, andere Wege zu gehen.³ Vielversprechend erscheint uns dabei ein Gliederungsprinzip, das von Stepanova und Helbig in Anlehnung an Admoni und Moskalskaja entwickelt und das ‚Feldgliederung‘ genannt worden ist. Dieses Prinzip berücksichtigt neben den semantischen auch morphologische und syntaktisch-distributionelle Merkmale.⁴

Graphisch wird die Feldstruktur von Stepanova und Helbig (S. 101) in mehreren konzentrisch angeordneten Kreisen sichtbar gemacht. In ihrem Kern befindet sich dasjenige Adjektiv, das *alle* typischen Eigenschaften des Adjektivs aufweist, d. h., das nicht abgeleitet ist, alle morphologischen Merkmale der grammatischen Kategorien und Paradigmen aufweist, komparationsfähig ist und alle syntaktischen Positionen dieser Wortart (attributiv/prädikativ/adverbial) einnehmen kann. Die entfernteren Kreise zeigen die Adjektive, denen eine oder mehrere seiner typischen Eigenschaften fehlen.

Wir versuchen im folgenden, das Modell ‚Feldstruktur‘ auf das Arabische anzuwenden, wobei wir, ohne dies hier näher zu erläutern, davon ausgehen, daß das arabische Adjektiv eine eigene Wortart ist, eine Auffassung, die nicht unumstritten ist.⁵ Dabei wollen wir den attributiven und prädikativen Gebrauch, die Gradationsfähigkeit und die Möglichkeit der Bildung von Antonymen berücksichtigen, nicht aber das für die Klassifizierung des arabischen Adjektivs nicht relevante Merkmal ‚Flexion‘ – alle arabischen Adjektive sind flexierbar – noch das Merkmal ‚adverbieller Gebrauch‘.⁶ In der tabellarischen Darstellung (Tab. 1) unterscheiden wir also

³ Vgl. dazu im einzelnen *Grundzüge*, S. 604 f. Dort nicht erwähnt und auch von uns im folgenden außer Betracht gelassen ist eine Gliederung nach ‚onomasiologischen Strukturen‘, wie sie von Dokulil (vgl. Krkowska, S. 29) vorgenommen wird. Er bestimmt das Adjektiv näher hinsichtlich seines kategorialen Grundcharakters und stellt dabei fest, daß die eigentliche Kategorie, ‚Eigenschaft‘ durch die Beziehung zu anderen Kategorien festgelegt wird, nämlich den Kategorien Substanz, Umstand, Aktion/Prozessualität, Eigenschaft und Zustand.

⁴ Stepanova und Helbig beziehen in ihre Gliederung auch Wortbildungsspezifika ein; für das Arabische müssen sie wohl, ebenso wie die morphologischen Spezifika, außer Betracht bleiben.

⁵ Vgl. dazu im einzelnen Diem, Krahel (1985, 1988) und Langer.

⁶ Hier stehen eingehende Untersuchungen noch aus, angefangen von solchen morphologisch als Adverbien markierten Adjektiven wie *katir^{an}*, *qalil^{an}* oder *gayyja^{an}*, zahlreichen adverbiellen Nisbe-

Tabelle 1. Tabellarische Darstellung der Feldstruktur

	Attributiver Gebrauch	Prädikativer Gebrauch	Gradations- fähigkeit	Bildung von Antonymen	Wortstrukturen
Klasse 1	+	+	+	+	Partizipien, Verbaladjektiv, (Nisbe), (Intensitätsadjektiv)
Klasse 2	+	+	-	+	Partizipien, Verbaladjektiv, Elativ, Intensitätsadjektiv, (Nisbe)
Klasse 3	+	+	-	-	Nisbe, Partizipien, Verbalad- jektiv, Intensitätsadjektiv, (Nisbe), (Elativ)

--	+	-	-	+	Nisbe, Partizipien, (Intensi- tätsadjektiv)
Klasse 4	+	-	-	-	Nisbe, (Partizipien)

vier Klassen von Adjektiven. Die Wortstrukturen, in denen sie vorkommen, werden genannt, aber nicht zur Klassifizierung herangezogen.⁷

Die Klasse 1 umfaßt diejenigen Adjektive, die über alle genannten Merkmale verfügen. Es sind Verbaladjektive unterschiedlicher Struktur oder Partizipien: *sarī* „schnell“, *baī* „langsam“, *ḡauʿān* „hungrig“, *mufīd* „nützlich“.⁸ Nisbe-Bildungen sind seltener, kommen aber vor: *aryaḥī* „großzügig, nobel“, *barbarī* „barbarisch“, *ibāḥī* „unsittlich, unmoralisch, zuchtlos“, *insānī* „human“, *waḥṣī* „wild“, *taqaddumī* „fortschrittlich“, *raḡʿī* „rückschrittlich, reaktionär“.⁹ Intensitätsadjektive gehören zum überwiegenden Teil nicht in diese Gruppe, da sie die Eigenschaft einer Person oder Nichtperson bereits in verstärkter Form zum Ausdruck bringen (Sem, Intensität!) und so nicht gradationsfähig sind. Es gibt aber eine Reihe so strukturierter Adjektive ohne Intensitätsbedeutung, die hier einzuordnen sind: *lammāʿ* „glänzend“, *miskīn* „elend, arm“, *miqdām* „verwegen“ u. a.

Bildungen wie *ʿamalīlyan* oder *tadriḡīyan* bis hin zu (obligatorischen oder fakultativen) Proformen mit Präposition (*bi-surʿa*, *bi-surūr*) oder proadverbiellen Streckformen mit *bi-ṣakl*, *bi-ṣūra*, *mina ʾnnāḥiya* ... u. a. Mutlak ist ein erster Versuch.

⁷ In der jeweiligen Klasse seltener vorkommende Wortstrukturen stehen in Rundklammern ().

⁸ Der Elativ dieses Aktivpartizips des IV. Stammes lautet *afyad*. In den meisten Fällen erfolgt die Steigerung der als Partizipien strukturierten Adjektive durch Gradationswort (*akṭar*, *aṣadd* u. a.) und Infinitiv, bei den in dieser Klasse selteneren Nisbe-Adjektiven durch Gradationswort und Nisbe-Abstraktum (*maṣḍar ṣiāʿī*).

⁹ Einige dieser Nisbe-Adjektive sind insofern nur eingeschränkt steigerungsfähig, als von ihnen zwar ein absoluter Superlativ belegt ist, nicht aber ein Komparativ.

Den in der Klasse 2 zusammengefaßten Adjektiven fehlt das Merkmal ‚Gradationsfähigkeit‘. Es sind dies Zeit- und Verlaufsbezeichnungen wie *dā'im* „ständig“, *muwaqqat* „zeitweilig, provisorisch“, *‘ābir* „vorübergehend“, *mustamirr* „kontinuierlich“, *mutaqāṭṭi‘* „unterbrochen, diskontinuierlich“, *sābiq* „früher, vergangen“, *lāhiq* „folgend“, ferner einige Adjektive, bei denen sichtlich eine weitere Steigerung der durch sie ausgedrückten Bedeutung nicht möglich ist: *ḥāḍir* „anwesend“, *ḡā'ib* „abwesend“, *mustahlak* „verbraucht“, *kāmil* „vollständig“, *abkam* „stumm“, *a'mā* „blind“, *mawayit* „tot“.¹⁰ Gleiches trifft zu auf die Intensitätsadjektive und den Elativ, von den Nisbe-Adjektiven eine Gruppe, ‚Orts- und Bereichsangaben‘ wie *maḥallī* „inländisch“, *aḡnabī* „ausländisch“, *qaumī* und *waṭanī* „national“, *daulī* bzw. *duwalī* „international“, *rīfī* „ländlich“ und *ḥaḍarī* „städtisch“ sowie manche keiner bestimmten lexikalisch-semantischen Gruppe zuzuordnenden Adjektive wie *aḥlāqī* „moralisch“, *lā'aḥlāqī* „amoralisch“, *dustūrī* „verfassungsmäßig“ u. a.

Adjektive, die in einer anderen Distribution über alle der in der Feldstruktur herangezogenen Merkmale – außer dem der Gradationsfähigkeit – verfügen sind nicht bekannt. Anders verhält es sich in der Klasse 3. Sie unterteilt sich in zwei Gruppen. In der ersten sind diejenigen Adjektive vertreten, die nur attributiv und prädikativ gebraucht werden – es fehlt sowohl die Gradationsfähigkeit als auch die Fähigkeit, Antonyme zu bilden. Hierher gehören die Farbbezeichnungen,¹¹ teils in der Struktur *aʿal*, teils Nisbe-Bildungen, Formbezeichnungen wie *dā'irī* „kreisförmig“, *ṣarīṭī* „bandförmig“, *murabba‘* „viereckig, quadratisch“ u. a., die Nisbe-Ableitungen von Länder- und Völkernamen wie *tūnisī*, *ḡazā'irī*, *sūdānī* u. v. a.,¹² ferner Bezeichnungen für Krankheiten und körperliche Gebrechen, die augenscheinlich die Bildung spezifischer Antonyme nicht zulassen¹³ wie *maslūl* „schwindsüchtig, tuberkulös“, *aḡrab* „räudig“, *ḡāḥiḡ al-‘ainain* „glotzügig“ u. v. a., sowie einige Einzeladjektive wie *mutallat* „geeist, eisgekühlt“, *quddūs* „hochheilig“, *iqtiṣādawī* „ökonomistisch“ u. a.

Die zweite Gruppe in dieser Klasse 3 vereint Adjektive mit dem syntaktischen Merkmal der Attributfähigkeit und dem semantischen Merkmal der Bildung von Antonymen, bei denen aber prädikativer Gebrauch unüblich ist. Die Adjektive auch dieser Gruppe sind unterschiedlich strukturiert. Z. T. haben sie Orts-, Richtungs- oder Zeitbezug, z. T. lassen sie sich keinen bestimmten lexikalisch-semantischen Gruppen zuordnen: *dāḥilī* „inner“, *ḥāriḡī* „äußer“, *amānī* „vorder; vorgelagert“, *ḥalfī* „hinter; nachgelagert“, *māḍin* „vergangen“, *muqbil* „(zu)künftig“, *‘āmm* „allgemein“, *ḥāṣṣ* „besonder“, *amṭal* „optimal“ u. a.

¹⁰ Vgl. aber Anm. 1.

¹¹ Wir lassen das Antonymenpaar *abyad/aswad* „weiß/schwarz“ außer Betracht.

¹² Eine Ausnahme ist in dieser Gruppe *a‘gamī* „nichtarabisch“ als Antonym zu *‘arabī* „arabisch“.

¹³ Man kann bei ihnen allenfalls ein generelles Antonym *salīm* „gesund, unversehrt“ ansetzen.

Die Adjektive der Klasse 4 verfügen nur über das Merkmal des attributiven Gebrauchs (freilich berücksichtigen wir dabei nicht Konstruktionsbesonderheiten des Adjektivs als erster Konstituente des Syntagmas Adjektiv – Artikel – Substantiv [= uneigentliche Genitivverbindung, *idāfa ġair haqīqiya*]; hier ist prädikativer Gebrauch in vielen Fällen möglich).¹⁴ Ganz vereinzelt sind hier Partizipien vertreten, wie *rāhin* „gegenwärtig, aktuell“, *mauqūt* „Zeit-“, *munazzim* „Organisations-“, aber die Masse der Bildungen machen Adjektive mit dem Nisbe-Morphem aus. Historisch schon früh belegt sind in dieser Form die Stoffbezeichnungen wie *dahabī* „golden“, *fiddī* „silbern“, *ḥaġarī* „steinern“, *marmarī* „marmorn“ u. v. a. Im modernen Arabisch wird diese Klasse zunehmend durch Nisbe-Bildungen bereichert, die zusammen mit einem übergeordneten Substantiv Verbindungen mit festem lexikalischen Wert schaffen: *ḍarrī* „atomar, Atom-“, *nawawī* „nuklear, Kern-“, *murūrī* „Verkehrs-“, *amnī* „Sicherheits-“, *samʿībaṣarī* „audiovisuell“ u. v. a. In diese Klasse gehören auch die Zeitadjektive *yaumī* „täglich“, *usbūʿī* „wöchentlich“, *šahrī* „monatlich“, *mustaqbalī* „perspektivisch“¹⁵ u. a.

Adjektive dieser Klasse treten also ausschließlich als Bestandteil einer attributiven Fügung (Substantiv + (Nisbe-) Adjektiv) auf. Bei einer näheren semantischen Untersuchung der Konstituente ‚Adjektiv‘ ist das Augenmerk aber nicht nur auf die Feststellung der spezifischen Wortbildungsbedeutung bzw. der sie konstituierenden Merkmale zu richten; zu berücksichtigen ist ebenfalls, daß etwa das Wortbildungsmorphem *-iyy* (die Nisbe) in den meisten Bildungen, vor allem den Neologismen, keine eigene Wortbildungsbedeutung, sondern nur eine Kopplungsfunktion hat. Die Bedeutung des mehrgliedrigen Lexems, dessen zweite Konstituente ein Adjektiv ist, ergibt sich aus der semantischen Relation zwischen beiden Konstituenten. Sie kann durch Transformation in Sätze oder Teilsätze bzw. durch Paraphrasierung sichtbar gemacht werden.

Von Interesse ist diese Adjektivklasse 4 aus mehreren Gründen:

1. Aus ihr rekrutiert sich der größte Teil der mehrgliedrigen Neologismen.
2. Bildungen dieser Art sind das natürlichste Äquivalent sowohl französischer, russischer, englischer oder deutscher attributiver Fügungen (Substantiv + Adjektiv) mit festem terminologischen Wert als auch englischer oder deutscher Nominalkomposita.¹⁶ Lehneinflüsse sind bei fast allen Neubildungen wahrscheinlich, aber nicht sicher nachweisbar.

¹⁴ Vgl. die Beispiele: *ar-rātib šahrī ad-dafʿ* „das Gehalt wird monatlich gezahlt (wörtlich: ... ist monatlicher Zahlung)“, augenscheinlich unmöglich **ar-rātib šahrī*; ferner: *as-safīna buhārīyat alidāra* „das Schiff ist dampfgetrieben“ gegenüber **as-safīna buhārīya*.

¹⁵ Sie würden eine eigene Klasse dann bilden, würde in die Feldgliederung das Merkmal ‚advieller Gebrauch‘ einbezogen.

¹⁶ Im französischen und russischen Wortbildungssystem spielt die Nominalkomposition keine so große Rolle.

3. Mehrgliedrige Lexeme, deren eine Konstituente ein Adjektiv ist, sind formal leicht handhabbar und stellen eine außerordentlich ökonomische Form der Verknüpfung zweier Nomina dar, bei der in gedrängter Form die unterschiedlichsten semantischen Beziehungen zweier Konstituenten erfaßt werden.

Die Einteilung der arabischen Adjektive nach ihrer Feldstruktur läßt erkennen, daß die Nisbe-Bildungen und die Partizipien – letztere allerdings in Klasse 4 zahlenmäßig schwach – in allen Klassen vertreten sind. Die übrigen adjektivischen Wortstrukturen finden sich in unterschiedlicher Menge nur in einigen Klassen. Neubildungen treffen wir überwiegend in Klasse 4 an.

Mit einer solchen Einteilung der arabischen Adjektive können auch Aussagen über die Polysemie mancher Adjektive getroffen werden.¹⁷

Grenzfälle können allerdings auch mit diesem Modell nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Es erscheint uns aber besser als andere für die Subklassifizierung des Adjektivs geeignet. In Verbindung mit dem Helbig'schen Valenzmodell wäre eine Anwendung auch auf das Substantiv denkbar.

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¹⁷ So gehört *dustūrī*, Nisbe-Ableitung von *dustūr* „Verfassung“, in der Bedeutung „verfassungsmäßig, verfassungskonform“ in die Klasse 2 (attributiv und prädikat gebräuchlich, Antonym „verfassungswidrig“), in der Bedeutung „konstitutionell, Verfassungs-“ in die Klasse 4. Auch für *ṣiḥḥi* „gesund“ und „Gesundheits-, sanitär“, *muʿākis* „aufsässig“ und „Gegen-“, *ḥādīr* „anwesend“ und „gegenwärtig“ und einige andere Adjektive lassen sich so zwei verschiedene lexikalisch-semantische Varianten nachweisen.

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EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT ELEMENTS IN ARABIC LINGUISTIC TERMINOLOGY

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More than a millenary tradition of the native Arabic grammar is mirrored in a fairly tight conceptual and terminological system. Whenever this system is applied to the description of linguistic phenomena which are not directly related to the traditional subjects of Arab grammarians, it tends to deviate from the canonized model. Some of these deviations, characterized by the introduction of implicit elements to the traditional terminology of the early grammarians, will shortly be presented in what follows.

1. In spite of a marked conservatism of the native Arabic grammar (the first integral texts go back to the 8th century A.D.), certain deviations from the traditional conceptual and terminological system do occur. From the set of possible deviations only one single type will be examined. It will coincide with terms displaying a terminologically relevant co-occurrence of explicit and implicit elements. The terminological units analysed, an exception made for a limited number of examples serving special illustrative purposes, have been recorded in an early nineteenth century grammar of colloquial Arabic.

1.1. For metalinguistic considerations of the present study the grammatical part of Šabbāğ's *Risāla*¹ has been evaluated. Dealing with an analytic variety of Arabic; the *Risāla* strongly contrasts with the traditional approach of Arab grammarians, centred on Classical Arabic. Since the latter is of a predominantly synthetic linguistic type, the typological contrast between the two seems to be particularly well suited for purposes of the present study.

Šabbāğ's *Risāla* is actually the first comprehensive description of modern Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian colloquial usage. Written by a native of Akka (Palestine), intimately acquainted with the Egyptian colloquial Arabic owing to his prolonged stay in Egypt, the work is an important account of the linguistic development of Arabic at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

¹ Although the *Risāla* had been written as early as 1812, the first printed edition appeared more than seven decades thereafter. Thorbecke's edition of this pioneer work is still the unique one. A slightly over-classicized presentation of colloquial data as well as a number of minor inconsistencies and errors that necessarily accompany every first edition of a manuscript like the present one, speak in favour of a re-edition of the manuscript (Cod. Arab. No. 889; deposited at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, formerly Münchener Hof- und Staatsbibliothek).

Although dependent on traditional premises of the mediaeval Arab science (most of Ṣabbāḡ's methods and attitudes are in full harmony with those of the early grammarians of *ʿArabiyya*), Ṣabbāḡ is to a considerable extent unorthodox, especially in rejecting the canonized statism of Arab grammarians. Instead of merely recording and classifying linguistic facts, Ṣabbāḡ describes linguistic events.

Nevertheless, despite this feature of modernity, the linguistic evolution of Arabic towards modern colloquials continues to be perceived as a process of corruption² which is, terminologically, in full harmony with the wording of the early grammarians. The documentary value of the *Risāla* is somewhat limited by the author's belief that it is possible to give a joint account of both Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian vernaculars by providing only a very insignificant number of differentiating hints both in Grammar (*Abwāb* 1–9) and in Glossary (*Bāb* 10).

1.2. As already suggested out of the set of deviations from the traditional wording of Arab grammarians only the purposeful, terminologically relevant exploitation of implicit elements will be taken into account. The co-occurrence of explicit and implicit elements in technical usage may appear paradoxical and incongruous with the very basic characteristics of the latter and yet it can be attested in a relatively large number of cases.

The relation between explicit and implicit, in the domain examined, shows an irreversible asymmetry that will be quite inevitably reflected in the final classification, as well. While the explicit elements may operate independently of the implicit ones, and they are even expected to do so as a prerequisite of technical language, the opposite cannot take place. Implicit elements, irrespective of the fact that they are largely unwanted in technical usage, may, as in fact they do occur exclusively with the explicitly stated units, as additional, though terminologically relevant elements. The contrast between the two will be illustrated on the following examples:

Explicit:

al-fāʿil, with reference to Arabic, "the subject of a verbal sentence"³ or, with reference to foreign languages the case system of which differs from that of Classical Arabic, it may denote "nominative".⁴

Explicit/Implicit:

² Viz., *fasād al-luḡa al-ʿarabiyya*. For this traditional attitude of Arab grammarians towards the linguistic evolution of Arabic see, e.g., C. H. M. Versteegh, pp. 139–160. Cf. also J. Fück, pp. 2, 66, 90 and elsewhere.

³ Cf., e.g. *Mafātīḥ*, p. 31; *al-ʿAjurrūmiyya*, p. 175: *al-fāʿilu huwa l-ʿismu l-marfūʿu l-madkūru qablahu fīʾlūhu* "al-fāʿil is a noun in nominative preceded by his predicate (lit. verb)"; etc.

⁴ Cf., R. Jirjis, p. 56: *fa-qālū (ar-rūmāniyyūna) solem lucere video 'ay ra'aytu š-šamsa tuḡīʿu fa-š-šamsu fī ḥālātī l-fāʿilī sol 'ammā fī ḥālātī l-mafʿulī bihi fa-solem 'ay bi-ʾidāfatī -em* "and they (the Romans) said: *solem lucere video*, i.e. 'I see that the sun is shining', and the sun is in the nominative case: *sol*, while, in the accusative case, it is *solem*, i.e. by the addition of *-em*." In some other cases, with reference to the languages other than Arabic, *al-fāʿil* frequently denotes the subject of any type of sentence.

al-fā'il "nominative, masculine, singular",⁵ viz., *al-fā'il* "nominative"; the zero-ending "masculine-singular", in contrast to:

al-fā'ilūn "nominative, masculine, plural", viz., *al-fā'il*, as above; the gender-number portmanteau suffix *-ūn*: "masculine-plural".

It is worthwhile noting, however, that the terms referring to several grammatical categories are much more frequently of a multiword structure. They consist, as a rule, of the traditional *'irāb*-related terms of Arab grammarians and are free from any aspect of implicitness of the type indicated above, e. g.:

al-jam' al-marfū' "nominative plural", lit. 'plural (in the form of) nominative', as in: *aṣ-ṣifatu fī l-jam'i l-marfū'i* "adjective in nominative plural" (Jirjis, 57; with reference to Amharic); similarly: *aṣ-ṣifatu l-marfū'atu l-mufradatu l-mudakkarratu* "adjective in nominative singular masculine" (ibid.; with reference to Amharic), etc.

2. The synthetic category of case,⁶ no longer represented in modern colloquial varieties of Arabic, lies beyond the scope of Ṣabbāḡ's interest. Nevertheless, the asymmetry that governs the relationship between explicit and implicit elements may freely be attested in the *Risāla*, as well. The latter relationship will be illustrated on the verbal and pronominal category of person. Since the latter category cannot be morphemically represented in the nominal domain, it will invariably be signalled by an explicitly stated unit. Its relation to the implicitly conveyed categories, however, will display various significant differences.

The terms analysed will subsequently be classified along the basic dividing line between units that are free from terminologically relevant implicit elements and those that do involve such elements. In the latter case, various manifestations of this relationship will be examined. Unless otherwise indicated, the terminological material examined in what follows is drawn on Ṣabbāḡ's *Risāla*.

2.1. Terms explicitly stated with no terminologically relevant implicit elements associated with them (E) may occur as either one-word or multiword units in accordance with the number of grammatical items to be denoted.

(1) Terms referring to one grammatical category (E₁), e.g.:

al-mu'annaṭ "the feminine gender", as in: *wa tāratan yatakallamūna* (= *al-ʿamma-tu*) *ma'a l-muxāṭabi bi-ṣiḡati l-mu'annaṭi* (25) "and sometimes they (= the common

⁵ The definite article *al-*, as a category marker, might likewise be interpreted as a terminologically relevant implicit element. In the present context, however, the category of definiteness is of no relevance.

⁶ The inclusion of the case terminology, in these introductory examples, has been motivated by the fact that the case and verbal mood paradigms, no longer preserved in modern dialects, are generally identified with the most outstanding manifestations of the linguistic synthetism of Classical Arabic. The case and verbal mood system (*'irāb*) represents the first concern of the native grammar and, at the same time, the core of its conceptual and terminological hierarchy.

For the relative chronology of disappearance of the *'irāb* inflections, see J. Blau, p. 4 and elsewhere.

people) address the second person masculine in the form of the feminine gender”; or:

al-jam^c “the plural number”, as in: *wa ’ammā l-jam^cu l-maksūru fa-l^callāmatu l-ḥarīrī jama’a fī mulḥatihi ’aḳṭara min xamsatin wa ’arba’īna jam’an* (24) “as for the broken plural, the highly erudite al-Ḥarīrī has collected in his *Mulḥa*⁷ more than forty-five plural forms”; etc.

(2) Terms referring to two grammatical categories (E_{1,2}), e.g.:

jam^c al-mudakkār “the masculine plural”, lit. ‘the plural of the masculine’, as in: *yatakallamūna bi-ṣiḡati l-mu’annaṭi li-jam^ci l-mudakkari ’in kāna sāliman ’aw mak-sūran* (25) “they use the feminine form for the masculine plural, irrespective of whether it is a sound or a broken plural”; etc.

(3) Terms referring to three categories (E_{1,2,3}), e.g.:

jam^c al-mu’annaṭ al-gā’ib (al-muxāṭab) (21) “the third (second) person of the feminine plural”; etc.

2.2. Terms explicitly stated that involve terminologically relevant implicit elements (E/I) show a high degree of ambiguity. These terms, as well as those presented in § 2.3 in what follows, are to a considerable extent responsible for the terminological ambiguity of the native grammar. The present class of E/I-terms may mostly be distinguished from the E-terms, examined in the preceding paragraph, only by means of the explicative power of the context or by their occurrence in contrastive pairs, as in:

al-gā’ib wal⁸-gā’ibūn, co-occurring in a close contextual frame with:

al-gā’iba wal-gā’ibāt “the third person masculine of the singular and plural” and “the third person feminine of the singular and plural” respectively; i.e.:

E₁ = the third person, in all four cases; *al-gā’ib*: I₁ = the masculine, signalled by the zero-suffix in contrast to the feminine *al-gā’iba*; I₂ = the singular, signalled by the zero-suffix in contrast to the plural *al-gā’ibūn*; *al-gā’ibūn*: I₁ = the masculine, conveyed by the gender-number portmanteau suffix *-ūn*; I₂ = the plural (see I₁); *al-gā’iba*: I₁ = the feminine, marked by the feminine suffix *-a* that simultaneously signals the singular; I₂ = the singular (see I₁); *al-gā’ibāt*: I₁ = the plural, marked by the gender-number portmanteau *-āt*; I₂ = the feminine (see I₁); as in:

wa minhu ’asmā’u l-mawṣūlāti wa huwa lil-gā’ibi wal-gā’ibīna wa lā muṭannā minhu ’inda l^cāmmati wa kaḏālika l-gā’ibaṭu wal-gā’ibātu wa lā muṭannā lahum ’inda l^cāmmati (21) “the relative pronouns also belong here and they occur in the form of the third person masculine of the singular and plural and the common people do not use their dual forms. And the same applies to the third person feminine of

⁷ *Mulḥat al-’irāb* “Grammatical Refreshment” is a didactic poem by al-Ḥarīrī (died 1122).

⁸ The co-ordinataor *wa* “and” in the contracted form *wal*, i.e. *wa al* “and the”, will not be represented in the examples analysed in what follows. The same applies to the particle, *li-*, viz. *lil-*, occurring in the text quoted.

the singular and plural that does not inflect for the dual in the speech of the common people.”⁹

Similarly:

al-muxāṭabūn “the second person of the masculine plural”; i.e. E_1 = the second person; I_1 = the masculine, marked by the gender-number portmanteau morpheme *-ūn*; I_2 = the plural, see I_1 above; as in:

wa baʿḍun ʿidā kāna l-xiṭābu li-jamʿin yulḥiqūnahā ḍamīra l-muxāṭabīna (43)
“and, some speakers, while referring to a plural, append to them (i.e.: to the prohibitive particles, *ḥurūf an-nahy*) the pronominal suffix of the second person of the masculine plural”; or:

al-muxāṭab “the second person of the masculine singular” (cf. § 2. 1(1); here, in contrast to *al-muʿannaṭ* i.e. “the feminine”); etc.

2.2.1. It should be noted, however, that a correct identification of the categories implicitly indicated depends, to a considerable extent, upon the reader’s acquaintance with the respective subject, as in:

al-mutakallimūn “the first person of the masculine plural”, i.e. E_1 = the first person; I_1 = the masculine, and I_2 = the plural, are marked by the gender-number suffix *-ūn*.

Actually, however, only the I_2 value is relevant with reference to the verbal form to which the term is related, viz., *nahna niḍrabš* “do we beat (someone)?”, since the verb in the first person of the plural does not inflect for gender (for this term see also § 2.3).

2.3. Terms explicitly stated with terminologically relevant implicit constituents that further display a partial interference between the explicit and implicit elements ($E/I + E = I$) are another variety of the E/I -terms.

So far, the basic asymmetry of the relation between the explicit and implicit elements has been presented as E and E/I where / signals the relation of co-occurrence. Unfortunately, however, the E/I -terms display, as a rule, much more complicated and diversified patterns of the latter relationship than those examined hitherto. The E/I relation, as presented so far, should be interpreted as a relation of co-occurrence of both elements with the exclusion, however, of any aspect of interference between them. In other words, an explicitly stated category cannot simultaneously be signalled implicitly with the same terminological unit, and vice versa.

Nevertheless, this presentation of facts does not hold true of a relatively large number of native terms (especially those coined in the post-classical period). In order to cope with this problem, another relation has been introduced, that of $E = I$,

⁹ Since the relative pronouns mostly refer to nouns, i.e. items for which the personal pronouns of the third person may most frequently be substituted, the author of the *Risāla* improperly introduces this category into his treatment of relative pronouns.

that has to signal a partial interference between the explicit and implicit within the general relation of co-occurrence (E/I).

Some examples:

jam^c al-mutakallimīn “the first person of the masculine¹⁰ plural”; i.e.: E_1 = the plural; E_2 = the first person; I_1 = the masculine and I_2 = the plural are marked by the gender-number portmanteau suffix *-ūn*; $E_1 = I_2$; as in:

tumma 'innahu lammā lam takun fī l-ʿarabiyyati ʿalāmatun lil-fiʿli l-hādiri mina l-muḍārīʿi fa-sīʿmalū ḥarfa l-bāʿi wa ʿadḫalūhā ʿalayhi qabla ḥarfi l-muḍāraʿati fī jamīʿi d-ḍamāʾiri ʾillā fī jamīʿi l-mutakallimīna fa-ʾinnahum jaʿalū ʿiwaḍan ʿani l-bāʿi mīman (29) “and since there is, in Arabic, no marker to signal the present tense of an imperfect verb, they (the common people, *al-ʿāmmatu*) use the particle *b-* and they place it before the preformative of the imperfect in order to specify its present tense¹¹ value, with all verbal forms (lit. ‘suffixes’) except that of the first person of the (masculine) plural where they use ‘*m-*’ instead of ‘*b-*’.”

As already stated (see the note 10, as well as § 2.2.1), an implicit signalling of gender (viz. masculine) is here superfluous and even misleading since, in colloquial varieties of Arabic, no plural form of the verb can inflect for gender. As evident, an exclusive E-term indication of the plural would have been sufficient.

In a number of similar terms, Šabbāḡ somewhat corrects, in another way, this too restrictive presentation of gender. In the example that follows both genders are explicitly stated, though the gender-number *-ūn* did not cease to imply the masculine gender membership only, as in:

al-muxāṭabūn mina l-muʾannaṭ wal-muḍakkār “the second person of the feminine and masculine plural”, i.e.:

E_1 = the second person / I_1 = masculine; I_2 = plural; E_2 = the feminine gender; E_3 = the masculine gender; where $E_3 = I_1$; as in:

(ʿintu tiḍrabūš) lil-muxāṭabīna mina l-muʾannaṭi wal-muḍakkari (28) (“*ʿintu tiḍrabūš* = do you beat?) in the second person of the feminine and masculine plural”, lit. ‘in the second person of the plural of both the feminine and masculine genders’.

Were it not for an occasional E/I-distinction between a masculine and a feminine

¹⁰ For the irrelevance of the gender distinction, in this particular context, see also § 2.2.1. Accordingly, the gender will be disregarded in the subsequent translation of the text. Alternatively, in similar contexts, the gender value will be enclosed in brackets.

¹¹ Here, it would perhaps be possible to speak about an ‘indicative’ application of the imperfect as against its use in an imperative sense. T. F. Mitchell speaks about a continuative or habitual action conveyed by the Egyptian Arabic *bi*-imperfect (Mitchell, p. 35 ff.). Cf. also Šabbāḡ, p. 14: *wa zādū (= al-ʿāmmatu) al-bāʿa fī jamīʿi l-ʾaḫḫālī l-muḍārīʿati ʿalā-xtilāfi l-ʾaḫḫālī ʿalāmatan liz-zamāni l-hādiri* “and they (= the common people) added *b-* to all imperfect verbs in all their forms without exception, to signal the present tense.”

plural, as shown in § 2.2 (viz., *al-ġā'ibūn* in contrast to *al-ġā'ibāt*), it would be possible to interpret Šabbāġ's gender-number *-ūn* as referring exclusively to the plural.

Similarly:

jam^c al-muxātabīn "the second person of the (masculine) plural", as in:
wa sādīsu d-ḡamā'iri -tu li-jam^ci l-muxātabīna (20) "and the sixth suffix is *-tu*, for the second person of the (masculine) plural"; or:

jam^c al-ġā'ibīn "the third person of the (masculine) plural", as in:
wa 'ammā ḡamīru jam^ci l-ġā'ibīna fa-huwa fī l-'af'ālī l-wāwu wal-'alifu (20–21)
 "as for the third person of the (masculine) plural, it is marked, with the verbs, by the suffix *-u*",¹² etc.

3. Apart from a constant alternation of the E- and E/I-terms of very various structures, the reader of a native grammar has to face another problem of identification that stems from a rather elusive oscillation of the range of the implicitly conveyed values, as in:

al-mu'annaṭ al-muxātab "the second person of the feminine singular", i.e.:

al-mu'annaṭ

E: feminine

I: singular

al-muxātab

second person

singular (an implicit gender value, viz., masculine, is prevented by the explicitly signalled feminine)

in contrast to:

al-muxātab "the second person of the masculine singular", i.e.:

al-muxātab

E: ———

second person

I: ———

singular, masculine (both signalled by the *zero*-marker and both terminologically relevant);

as co-occurring in:

wa 'idā laḡiqahu (= ḡamīra l-mutakallimi) kāfu l-mu'annaṭi l-muxātabi 'ayḡan yuksaru fa-yaḡlūna ma-¹³ ḡarabtikš wa bil faṡḡi lil -muxātabi ka-qawlika ma-ḡarab-tak wa ma-ḡarabtakš (19) "and when it (= the suffix *-t* of the first person singular, viz. of the perfect verb) is followed by the pronominal suffix *-k* of the second person of the feminine singular, an "i" is added to it, as well, and they will say *ma-ḡarabtikš* "I did not hit you (fem.)" And an "a" will be added to it in the second person of

¹² I.e., when transliterating its representation in the Arabic script, viz. *al-wāwu wal-'alifu* (*al-wāwu* signalling the vowel quantity: *-ū*, while *al-'alifu* being a merely orthographical element); actually, however, the vowel quantity is but etymological and the suffix should be read as *-u*.

¹³ The traditional orthography represents, once again, the classical form of the particle (viz. *mā*). The particle is here rephonemized in accordance with the actual phonological picture of the Egyptian Arabic.

the masculine singular, as in: *ma-darabtak* or *ma-darabtakš* "I did not hit you (masc.);" etc.

4. Summary

- (1) E: Explicit units with no terminologically relevant implicit elements associated with them, e.g.:

al-ġā'ib "the third person (of verbs and pronouns)";

al-jam' "the plural", etc.;

- (2) E/I: Explicit units with terminologically relevant implicit elements associated with them, e.g.:

al-ġā'ib in e.g.: *al-ġā'ib wal-ġā'ibūn* (cf. § 2.2) "the third person of the masculine singular", i.e.:

E = the third person;

I_{1,2} = masculine, singular (both signalled by the zero-suffix); or:

al-ġā'ibūn (cf. § 2.2) "the third person of the masculine plural", i.e.:

E = the third person;

I_{1,2} = masculine, plural (both signalled by the gender-number portmanteau morpheme *-ūn*); etc.;

- (3) E/I + E = I: Explicit units with terminologically relevant implicit elements associated with them that display a partial interference between the E and I elements, as in:

jam' al-ġā'ibīn "the third person of the masculine plural", i.e.:

E₁ = the plural;

E₂ = the third person;

I_{1,2} = masculine, plural, respectively; both signalled by the gender-number suffix *-ūn*;

E₁ = I₂ (the plural).

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CONCERNING THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ESSENCE OF PRESENT-DAY MOSLEM MOVEMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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The extreme strengthening of the Islam influence in ideological and political life of Moslem countries is an important phenomenon of the eighties in the twentieth century. In social sphere the Islamic trends reflect the political aims and interests of very different, sometimes mutually conflicting strata and groups of people and their organizations. Social contents and political orientation of the numerous present-day Islamic movements produce a highly interesting problem for scientific investigation, which is the goal of the present article.

The current decade witnessed an unprecedented growth of Islamic ideological and political trends in the Moslem countries, particularly in the Middle East.

To define the historical place and character as well as prospects of the further evolution of the neo-Islamic movements requires an analysis of their social essence.

Such an analysis must be started from the characterization of the principal features of the historical stage wherein the countries of the Middle East entered in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. All the Moslem countries, where the process of politization of Islam has been under way, experience, more or less, the breaking up of old socio-economic formations. And the faster the process of disintegration of old formations accompanied by acceleration of bourgeois transformation, the more profound and acute are social collisions.

The growing petroleum and gas industry and its rising profits have turned out to be an essential, for many Moslem countries even the principal contributing factor in acceleration of economic development, though the latter is often of extremely uneven and unbalanced nature.

In the international field, the struggle between the world of socialism and the leading centres of capitalism, as well as contradictions between the Western industrially developed imperialist countries and the developing nations influence greatly the balance of political and class forces in the region. Employing their economic and technological power, the transnational companies expand their hold on the economically less developed countries. In this situation, the political groups ruling in some developing countries of the Moslem world adopt a line which, if persistently pursued, help to accelerate their social and cultural progress, to strengthen their national sovereignty and to get rid of the dominance of foreign monopolies. But in some of the developing Moslem countries the ruling strata (they are the big bour-

geoisie and landlords, in one case, or the upper strata of the armed forces, in the other, or semifeudal – semi-bourgeois bureaucracy, in the third, etc.) seek to set up a social model which would require close linkage with the principal industrial and financial centres of the West. The political leaders of these countries try to resolve economic and other contradictions with the West by means of compromises.

At the same time, in the last decade we witnessed yet another, the third socio-political direction, pursued by some developing Moslem countries. Ideologists of this trend advocate the conception of a special, so-called Islamic way of economic and social development. It is important to stress that sometimes this Islamic way of development becomes the governmental policy just in those states where the ruling regime adhere to the pro-capitalist, pro-Western orientation. But on the whole, this trend in politics is growing in connection with the new prevalent role in politics of the most numerous class in the majority of developing Moslem societies, i.e. the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie. It should be pointed out that quantitatively the petty bourgeoisie, particularly its so-called traditional strata, continues to grow in the main countries of the region. Though the share of modern big industry in the GNP is quite big, in such countries as Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt and Iran a great part of economically active population is connected with the small commodity trade, first and foremost with the traditional (handicraft etc.) branches.

In their social psychology and political behaviour, the pauperized strata are closed to the petty bourgeois urban and rural strata. During the last two decades, the share of pauperized population in the social structure of Moslem countries has grown considerably.

Petty bourgeoisie, especially connected with traditional trade, act as the most faithful custodians of the national and religious identity and isolation, which feature was brilliantly revealed in the works by the late Soviet orientalist Alexey Levkovsky, that is why the strengthening of their social positions inevitably causes the enhancement of the prestige of the traditional ideology and traditional values in general. This is exactly what happened in Iran and some other countries.

The intermediate socio-economic position of petty bourgeoisie determines the dual and contradictory nature of their political behaviour. On the one hand, they strongly resent the growth of big capital, including foreign and state enterprises. While opposing the pro-Western ruling upper stratum, they often seek political co-operation with the forces representing the interests of the working classes. On the other hand, they continue to adhere to private ownership of the means of production “on a limited scale” and properly cannot see any way out of the crisis situation. In order to oppose the masses against the pro-Western ruling circles, the petty bourgeois ideologists often make use of traditional values, religion in the first place. As a result, there emerge concepts of social development, which are of a petty bourgeois character and are larded with Islamic principles.

It is noteworthy that the present stage of the development of capitalist production

relations is marked by an ideological and political confrontation between capitalism and socialism. This confrontation has in many cases shaped such behaviour peculiarities of the ruling bourgeois groups of many Moslem countries, that essentially differ from these political lines of similar social forces in Western Europe which were characteristic of them in the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism. The bourgeoisie in many Moslem countries of the Middle East has waged nearly no struggle for the secularization of social life. The only exception, in a sense, was the Turkish bourgeoisie: during the 1918–1922 national liberation movement and later, at the time of establishing the republican system, they pursued the course of weakening the influence of Islamic ideology and particularly of the Moslem clergy. But, usually, the bourgeoisie, to say nothing of the semi-feudal elements, have been and are trying to retain the influence of the religious ideology upon the peoples in order to use it as a shield against the spread of democratic and progressive ideas. In most Moslem countries left-wing parties have been outlawed. The popularization of Marxist and atheist ideas in any form are prohibited.

As a result, during the period of the aggravation of the crisis in social, economical and political life which was outlined above, a sort of a political vacuum has emerged among democratic forces of these countries. This facilitates and sometimes strengthens the positions of those who propagate the petty bourgeois egalitarianism in the form of ideological and political teachings of Islam.

In many countries within the Islamic domain the bulk of the middle class strata, to say nothing of paupers, are not ready to grasp the secularism, the materialistic and progressive ideological concepts contained within it. That is why the simple ideas of social justice advanced by the petty bourgeois Islamic nationalists win a tremendous popularity within the masses.

And yet nowadays the advocates of the petty bourgeois theories including Islamic nationalism have to take into consideration the popularity and attractiveness of the ideas of scientific socialism for the poor. This, to a great extent, accounts for the emergence of the concepts of "Islamic socialism" and for the attempts to deduce the principles of socialism directly from the Koran.

Of no small importance are also the weakening and the discredit of the positions of those ruling groups of the local dominant bourgeoisie and semi-feudal stratum who were recently adherents of the pro-Western, pro-American ideological and political orientation for their countries. In the late and throughout the 1950s such an orientation was clearly seen in the attitude of the ruling circles of the Middle East countries. The American model of development was propagated by influential circles as an ideal for the developing countries, Moslem among them, as a goal to be achieved by every effort. But in the 1970s, as many Western political students have admitted, such illusions about the American way of development and about ideals of "Westernism" were swept away.

The economic and financial crisis that emerged in the 1970s in the developed ca-

pitalist countries greatly strengthened the positions of the petty bourgeois ideological leaders as well as the general growth of anti-Western sentiments among the peoples of the Middle East countries. Even the Shah of Iran and those close to him while promoting rapid growth of state capitalism and extensive private capital, asserted, in order to manipulate the public opinion, that Iran's development had its own unique nature and was neither bourgeois nor socialist.

The strengthening of the religious factor in ideology and politics has been, doubtless, connected with the activities of the mullahs. "Westernization", the mass-scale propaganda of the American way of life in particular, has everywhere caused great discontent among the Moslem clergymen who saw in such changes a threat to their influence and prestige in society. At the same time, under the conditions of the absence of democracy and freedom, as well as continuing repressions against the opposing secular organizations, the Moslem clergy retain certain political independence and have their legal institutions (mosques, madrasahs etc). In other words, as compared with the left-wing democratic forces, the position of the mullahs is more advantageous. Profiting by the crisis situation, the clergy exploit, in every possible way, the discontent of the masses and try to take hold of people's minds, in order to strengthen their own political position. These tactics were very vividly manifested during the Iranian revolution of 1978-1979 and the preceding period, when the mullahs, in order to attract the sympathies of the working masses, at times came forward with progressive and democratic slogans. But certainly one must not fail to take into consideration that there are many among the Moslem clergy and petty-bourgeois leaders, the advocates of Islamic ideological and political doctrines, who regard Islam not only as a means of mobilization of masses in the struggle for power. Some of them believe sincerely that Islam as a doctrine has a revolutionary potential and that it is possible to build an Islamic society of justice.

At present, the social base of Islam is expanding in the traditionally Islamic countries as well as in some parts of Central and South Africa, where the number of Islamic adherents increases. The process of involvement of the broad masses in the political struggle under Islamic slogans continues. However, the Islamic doctrine often acts not only as a principal basis of religion in its medieval meaning, but of political activity as well.

It would be, however, wrong to focus solely on expansion of the social base of the Islamic theological and political doctrines and to emphasize the growth of the number of the followers of Islam. Some students would perhaps regard that phenomenon simply as a religious revival. That is why they have given the Islamic movements the name of "fundamentalism". Such an approach to some extent prevents the understanding of a very essential aspect of neo-Islamic phenomenon, without which it is impossible to explain the causes of the growing popularity of the Islamic movements.

A detailed analysis reveals some inherent dialectic contradictions of the process; the neo-Islamic movements strengthen Islam as a religion to the same extent to which they draw the attention of the believers, mostly poor working people and paupers, to social problems. In other words, the Islamic movements are connected with the political activities of petty bourgeoisie and this fact facilitates in the final account the secularization of the social consciousness of the masses, notwithstanding the wishes of the Moslem clergy whose concepts often taste of sheer fanaticism and obscurantism.

It is not very difficult to explain this seemingly paradoxal phenomenon – the secularization of social consciousness alongside with the expansion of the social base of the Moslem religion and religious-political doctrines among the people. It proceeds from the fact that the advocates and leaders of neo-Islamic movements put forward as the crucial issues of their programme the issues of a secular character, first of all – the socio-political problems, the necessity of transforming the political system and eliminating the Western-like elements in it. They made these problems worthy of the attention of believers. Thus, in defiance to the subjective wishes of the Islamic leaders, an erosion of the idealistic, esoteric and mystical foundations of Islamism is going on. It goes without saying that the ideologists of Islamic movements, especially the clergy, never fail to place in the forefront the problems of “pure faith”, particularly when they come to power. But even the religious leaders of the extreme right wing, fearing to lose the support of the masses, are frequently forced to turn to urgent social problems, to speak about the necessity to fight against social oppression and foreign dominance. It is noticeable, for example, that in some monarchic countries the ruling circles have recently “voluntarily” rejected medieval titles, though the democratism of this kind was accompanied by an attempt to strengthen outdated social principles.

It is this element of the neo-Islamic political concepts that, naturally, causes a negative attitude of the pro-Western bourgeois politicians. It would be wrong though to suppose their hostility towards Islam in general, for in this connection we will mention, for example, the first prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mehdi Bazargan, a bourgeois leader known as a theoretician of contemporary Islamism. His book published in 1983 in Teheran reads that the notions “the deprived”, “the prosperous”, “social oppression” etc. are not of Islamic origin, but borrowed by the followers of Khomeini from the Marxist theories. He explains that such notions and the political slogans based on them are non-religious and anti-Islamic because they encourage the poor and the have-nots to wage a social struggle and give a strong impetus to class antagonism. In the final account, Bazargan stresses, the aggravation of political contradictions leads to destabilization of society and hinders the development of Moslem countries by way of evolution, in accordance with Moslem doctrines. Bazargan does not agree to call the United States “great satan”, as

the followers of Khomeini do. Thus becomes clear the negative attitude of the part of the bourgeoisie who favour the expansion of politico-economic co-operation with the West to the social concept of the neo-Islamic leaders.

Secularization of the social consciousness which goes together with the social base expansion of neo-Islamic movements testifies to the fall and failure of the doctrines of medieval Islam with its mysticism and esoterism, with its escape from the world's cares.

From the historical point of view it would be wrong to date the activation of the social role of the leading groups, expressing the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, only from the end of the 1970s. For the first time these leaders became actively involved in political struggle during the period immediately following the World War II, when an intensive process of establishing new Moslem states on the ruins of the colonial system was under way. Their ideological and political concepts in those times were formulated mainly on the basis of the "national socialism" theory. The elements of essentially petty bourgeois socialism co-existed in them with common modern nationalism and, to a certain extent, with Islamic nationalism. The late Gamal Abdel Nasser was, certainly, the most outstanding person of that type.

The new wave of the Islamic political movement resulting from the triumph of the Iranian anti-monarchial and anti-imperialist revolution of 1978-1979, has, from the social point of view, petty bourgeois essence, while ideologically it is based mostly on Islamic values. The advocates of this movement connect their doctrines with the religion of Islam, Islamic civilization and traditions, and the teachings of the Shia in particular. The neo-Islamic movement nowadays is of much more popular character than all the previous movements in Islam area. Even in Turkey, where the level of the development of capitalist production relations in economy is rather high, the political position of working class is relatively strong and the religion long has been separated by law from the state, the political activities of pro-Islamic parties and groups are growing. The growth of the opposition Moslem organizations in Egypt may also be explained by political activation of the lower petty bourgeois strata and the paupers.

On the whole, it may be said with confidence that the expansion of Islamic movements has been the result of the growing politization of the most numerous class – the petty bourgeoisie and its allies, the pauperized urban and rural strata. This has brought about a new combination of political and social forces in the main countries of the Moslem East. On one side, the pressure on political circles of capitalist orientation is intensified, yet on the other, the neo-Islamic movements create grave difficulties for the activities of the left-wing Islamists.

As the analysis of the class forces arrangement shows, the process of breaking the old society system and of the erosion of the outdated traditional institutions is of a long-term, protracted nature. The struggle between the pro-Western bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois politicians advocating independence in world affairs for their

countries seems to be destined for further intensification in the future. The probability of these movements becoming weaker is not significant, inasmuch the multiple petty bourgeois strata and masses of paupers remain the principal social base of Islamic movements.

But it would be wrong to presume that in the coming decades the social life of the Moslem countries would inevitably witness a steadfast growth of neo-Islamic movements. It is quite probable that certain obstacles and factors hindering their growth will emerge. Some of them are the following. The ultimate aims of the neo-Islamic groups, especially when they come to power, clearly differ from the vital interests of the working classes and the democratic public, therefore the popularity of the movement will diminish. The pro-imperialist regimes and counter-revolutionary groups exploiting Islamic phraseology help to discredit the Islamic movement in the eyes of the religiously minded masses. On the contrary, the Islamization accompanied by intensification of religious fanaticism and intolerance, by the coarse oppression towards the common democratic and women's activities, weakens the appeal of social development concepts arrayed in Islamic notions. The social base of neo-Islamists narrows, in proportion as the Islamic leaders (in the countries where they have supreme ideology and their power) acquire bourgeois nature. At the same time, the failure of efforts of those Islamic leaders who projected the building of Islamic economy as the foundation of a special state formation grows more and more evident to the public opinion of the Moslem world. And eventually it is important to point out that the eighties of our century are the time of substantial widening of the influence of the Marxist ideology in the Moslem countries. This is the trend which is sure to increase in future.

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TÜRKISCHE BRIEFE UND URKUNDEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES EYÄLET NOVÉ ZÁMKY. IV

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Die Autoren befassen sich in der Einleitung mit Fragen, die in publizierten Briefen am häufigsten vorkommen: 1. mit der Frage von Gefangenen, vor allem der osmanischen, mit ihrer Freilassung oder ihrem Austausch und der Lage türkischer Gefangener in ungarischer Gefangenschaft; 2. mit dem Handel im Grenzgebiet; 3. mit der Doppelbesteuerung. Neben dem Brief des Statthalters Hasan Pascha veröffentlichen sie weitere drei Briefe niedrigerer Würdenträger in Nové Zámky an den Hauptkapitän der diesseits der Donau liegenden Hauptmannschaft und Palatin Paul Eszterházy aus den Jahren 1670–1682.

Die kurze Geschichte der tief in Mitteleuropa liegenden osmanischen Provinz Nové Zámky (*Eyâlet-i Uyvâr*) ist auf Grund der erhaltenen Quellen recht stereotyp. Wie wir bereits in der Einleitung zum ersten Teil unserer Edition¹ erwähnt hatten war die mehr als zwanzigjährige Existenz dieser Grenzprovinz durch ständige Plänkeleien aber auch größere Konflikte osmanischer Abteile mit den kaiserlichen Garnisonen, oder mit Soldaten des ungarischen Adels gekennzeichnet. Die Gründe dieser militärischen Konfrontationen waren unterschiedlich. Ein ernstes Problem für die osmanische Verwaltung in Nové Zámky war die Steuereinnahme, die die meisten bewaffneten Auseinandersetzungen nach sich zog. Das ganze Gebiet der Provinz wurde nicht nur von osmanischer Seite, sondern auch vom ungarischen Adel besteuert. Nach der Schwächung der osmanischen Macht zur Zeit des Kriegs um Kreta (1666–1669) mußten die osmanischen Abteile die Steuern immer häufiger durch Gewalt eintreiben.² Zahlten einige Teile der Provinz, meist jene, die in größerer Entfernung vom Zentrum lagen, für längere Zeit keine Steuern, unternahmen Abteile aus Nové Zámky Strafzüge und glichen so durch Plünderung von Dörfern, Vertreibung von Vieh und Verschleppung der Menschen in Gefangenschaft die unbezahlte Steuer aus. Gelang es den königlichen Garnisonen rechtzeitig ihre Einheiten mobilzumachen und dann das beutebeladene Abteil unerwartet zu überfallen, konnten sie ihm nicht nur die Beute und die Gefangenen wegnehmen, sondern sich auch türkischer Gefangener bemächtigen. Eine ähnliche Begebenheit konnte sich auch während der Einfälle königlicher Garnisonen tief ins türkische Hinterland

¹ *Asian and African Studies*, 22, 1986, S. 142–143. (Weiter AAS).

² Kopčan, V.: *Die osmanische Provinz Nové Zámky (Eyâlet-i Uyvâr)*. AAS, 21, 1985, S. 154–158.

abspielen. Und so wurde die Festnahme von Gefangenen, so türkischer als auch heimischer, zur bedeutendsten Einnahmequelle grenznaher Garnisonen und zur brennendsten Frage an den ungarischen Grenzen des Osmanischen Reichs in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts.

Wir möchten hier die Frage der verschleppten Untertanen oder anderer Bürger in die Gefangenschaft, meist als Pfand für unbezahlte Steuern, nicht eingehend behandeln.³ Es geht uns vor allem um die türkischen Kriegsgefangenen, die auf verschiedene Weise in die Hände ungarischer Garnisonen kamen. Die von uns veröffentlichten Briefe liefern uns darüber einige Hinweise.

Der in den Kriegen europäischer Staaten übliche Brauch, nach Kriegsende die Gefangenen untereinander auszutauschen, begann in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts grundsätzlich auch im osmanisch-ungarischen Grenzgebiet praktiziert zu werden. Ein solches Vorgehen war vor allem dann geläufig, wenn es sich um einfache Soldaten ohne Besitz handelte, freilich nur dann, wenn diese nicht zu den regelmäßigen Einheiten gehörten, die den Frieden beiderseits am häufigsten störten. Den Gefangenenaustausch organisierten ungarischerseits die Kapitäne der Grenzfestungen oder deren Vertreter.⁴ Es ist interessant, daß fast sämtliche, die türkischen Gefangenen aus Nové Zámky betreffenden Briefe an den „Hauptgeneral von Ungarn“, Paul Eszterházy gerichtet waren.⁵ Ihre Verfasser waren jedoch mit Ausnahme von Hasan Pascha (1682) nicht die Statthalter von Nové Zámky, sondern die Befehlshaber einzelner Abteile – der Janitscharen, der Gönüllü und anderer. Anscheinend ging es um Angehörige derer Einheiten.

Die Verhandlungen über den Gefangenenaustausch verliefen nicht immer leicht, wovon auch unsere Briefe ein Zeugnis ablegen. Wir kennen auch einen Fall aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, wo sich bei einer solchen Verhandlung die Vertreter zerstritten und gegenseitig beleidigt hatten, was zu einem Duell führte, das schwere Folgen nach sich zog und die Spannung an der Grenze noch erhöhte.⁶ Waren die Gefange-

³ Müttevellî Mustafa Aga und Çerebeli Zaim Aga (?) z. B. teilten in einem Brief vom 13. Mai 1679 aus Nové Zámky den Einwohnern Kamenec (Kreis Prievidza) mit, sie hätten Georg Pelsöczy aus Komjatice samt Wagen festgenommen und ihn so lange festgehalten, bis er ihnen für die Kamenecer Bewohner die Gebühren für Butter und andere Sachen bezahlte, die sie schuldig gewesen sind. Sie rufen die Bewohner der Gemeinde auf ihm alles zu bezahlen, was er für sie zahlen und erleiden mußte. Siehe Slovenský letopis, 6, 1882, S. 263 und R y p k a, J.: *Čtyři turecké listiny z Dolného Kamence na Slovensku* (Vier türkische Urkunden aus Dolný Kamenec in der Slowakei). Průdy, II, 1927, S. 23 des Separats.

⁴ K o p ě a n, V.: *Osmanische Kriegsgefangene auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei im 16.–18. Jahrhundert*. AAS, 19, 1983, S. 208.

⁵ B l a š k o v i ě, J. – K o p ě a n, V.: *Türkische Briefe und Urkunden II*. AAS, 23, 1987, S. 157–170: IV, AAS, 25, 1989, S. 143–157.

⁶ M a t u n á k, M.: *Z dejín slobodného a hlavného banského mesta Kremnice* (Aus der Geschichte der freien und Hauptbergstadt Kremnica). Kremnica 1928, S. 392. Es ging um das Duell von Ibrahim Aga aus der Palanke Drégely mit Michal Bory, einem Leutnant aus Pukanec im Jahre 1590, bei dem eine große Schlägerei entstand, in der viele Türken getötet und gefangengenommen wurden.

nen für die eine oder die andere Seite zum Austausch nicht geeignet, mußten geeignete Partner anderswo gesucht werden, was das Leben der Gefangenen noch mehr verbitterte und die Zeit ihrer keineswegs angenehmen Gefangenschaft nur noch verlängerte. Der Austausch hing oft auch von privaten Interessen einer- oder andererseits ab.

Wir wissen nicht, warum sich P. Eszterházy dem Austausch zweier besitzloser türkischer Gefangener Ali und Hasan widersetzte, wenn im türkischen Gefängnis ungarische Gefangene waren und ausgetauscht werden wollten. Ebenso unbegreiflich ist es, warum der ungarische General mit der Tötung türkischer Gefangener drohte. Anscheinend erfahren wir die näheren Umstände dieses Austausches nie. Genauso unklar ist der Austausch oder die Rückgabe von Gefangenen, von denen Hasan Pascha (Nr. 3) schreibt. Dort werden auch Bürgen erwähnt. Dies wären meist Mithäftlinge, die so lange im Gefängnis blieben, bis es den freigelassenen Gefangenen nicht gelungen war das festgesetzte Lösegeld zu beschaffen.⁷ Die Lage solcher Bürgen war riskant. Wie wir aus dem Brief des Ofener Statthalters Sinan Pascha an den Großfürsten Matthias aus dem Jahre 1592 erfahren, schlugen manche ungarische Befehlshaber die türkischen Gefangenen zu Krüppeln dafür, daß der zeitweilig freigelassene Gefangene, für den sie bürgten, nicht zurückgekommen war.⁸ Es besteht kein Zweifel, daß sich die türkischen Befehlshaber in solchen Fällen genauso verhielten.

Die Briefe erwähnen auch das Prügeln von Gefangenen. Ein solches Umgehen mit den Gefangenen war leider an beiden Seiten üblich. Die Festsetzung des Lösegeldes war türkischerseits mit schmerzhaften Schlägen auf die Fersen verbunden, damit der Gefangene für seine Freilassung eine je höhere Summe versprechen sollte. Solche Praktiken benutzten beide Seiten. Erfinderisch in dieser Hinsicht waren auch unsere Vorfahren.⁹ Üblich war das Peinigen türkischer Gefangener auch während ihrer Haftzeit, über das sich der Ofener Statthalter Ferhad Pascha im Jahre 1590 beim Großfürsten Ernst beschwerte.¹⁰

Auf ein solch unmenschliches Vorgehen wies auch Mustafa Aga aus Nové Zámky hin, weil er erfahren hat, daß Nikólaus Bercsényi, der Besitzer der Burg Temátin,

⁷ *Der Ungarische Simplizissimus* (slowakische Übersetzung Uhorský Simplicissimus). Bratislava, Tatran 1975, S. 145 f. beschreibt auf Grund von zeitgenössischen Erfahrungen „seine“ Gefangennahme und Freilassung aus der türkischen Gefangenschaft.

⁸ Bayerle, G.: *Ottoman Diplomacy in Hungary. Letters from the Pashas of Buda 1590–1593*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1972, S. 81–82.

⁹ Durch Peinigungen eines türkischen Gefangenen erhöhte im Jahre 1593 J. Ďurčanský, ein Beamter der Herrschaft Lietava das Lösegeld von 500 Gulden auf 1000 Gulden. *Rabovali Turci...* Hrsg. von P. Horváth. Bratislava, Tatran 1972, S. 173–174.

¹⁰ Bayerle, G.: *Ottoman Diplomacy*, S. 23–24.

die türkischen Gefangenen prügelt.¹¹ Aus dem Brief ist nicht klar zu entnehmen aus welcher Ursache er die Gefangenen geprügelt hat. Mustafa Aga droht, daß auch sie mit ihren Gefangenen auf ähnliche Weise umgehen können.

Über den Handel in der Provinz Nové Zámky haben wir nicht viele Kenntnisse. Die Gesetzesammlung (*kânünnâme*) des *Eyâlet Nové Zámky*, die sich in der Einleitung der Genauen Bestandsaufnahme der Provinz (*Defter-i mufasssal-i eyâlet-i Uy-vâr*)¹² befindet, erwähnt den Handel mit dem Ausland in nur vier Absätzen.¹³ Die Gesetzesammlung erwähnt drei Arten von Ware: 1. Waren bestimmt zum Verkauf auf den lokalen Märkten; 2. Waren, die ins Ausland exportiert werden (*dar ül-harb*), worunter zweifelsohne das Gebiet des königlichen Ungarns (die von den Türken nicht eroberten Teile im Westen und Norden) zu verstehen ist, und 3. aus dem Ausland eingeführte Materialien. Der Gesetzesammlung zufolge wurden aus dem Ausland Tuch und Stoffe (Artikel 35), Bauholz, das auf Flößen auf dem Waag-Fluß befördert wurde (Artikel 34) und verschiedene handwerkliche Erzeugnisse, wie Töpfe, Becher, Holzfässer, Eisen- und Stahlerzeugnisse und Mützen für „Ungläubige“ (Artikel 28) importiert.

Wie der veröffentlichte Brief (Nr. 1) zeigt, bestand türkischerseits großes Interesse für Tuch und Samt. Alaybeg Hacı Ahmed wollte sogar eine bestimmte Tuchart über General P. Eszterházy für sich sichern. Es ist nicht bekannt für welche Tucharten die türkischen Kunden das größte Interesse hatten, höchstwahrscheinlich ging es jedoch um feinere Tucharten höherer Qualität. Die Gesetzesammlung bezeichnet diese Tucharten als „londurina“ (Londoner Tuch also), was eine Art von englischem Tuch, das ins Osmanische Reich exportiert wurde, gewesen ist.¹⁴ Etwa zur gleichen Zeit forderten die osmanischen Beamten in Eger (Erlau) vom unterworfenen Städtchen Rimavská Sobota als Geschenk feinere Tucharten, genannt „fajlondis“. ¹⁵ Andererseits wurden jedoch zeitweise gröbere Tucharten für die Armee auf dem von Türken besetzten Gebieten eingekauft oder auf eine andere Weise gewonnen.¹⁶

¹¹ N. Bercsényi diente wahrscheinlich in irgendeiner Grenzgarison, vielleicht in Šafa, wo später, seit 1685 dann sein Sohn Nikolaus diente. *Magyar életrajzi lexikon I.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1981, S. 185.

¹² Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu-Tahrir Defterleri, No. 698.

¹³ Kabrda, J.: *Kânünnâme novozámeckého ejâletu* (Kânünnâme des Eyâlet Nové Zámky). Historický časopis, 12, 1964, S. 198, Kommentar S. 212; Eine exaktere Übersetzung veröffentlichte Blaškovič, J.: *The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky*. Archiv orientální (weiter A), 54, 1986, S. 129–130.

¹⁴ Kabrda, J.: *Les sources turques relatives à l'histoire de la domination ottomane en Slovaquie*. A, 24, 1956, S. 580.

¹⁵ Blaškovič, J.: *Rimavská Sobota pod osmansko-tureckým panstvom* (Rimavská Sobota unter der osmanisch-türkischen Herrschaft). Bratislava, Obzor 1974, S. 202, 212. Die Bezeichnung des Tuches stammt aus dem Süddeutschen „fein lundisch“, von wo es ins Ungarische, Polnische und in weitere slawische Sprachen übernommen wurde.

Die Lebensmittelausfuhr, vor allem die von Getreide, auf das Gebiet des königlichen Ungarns, war seit dem Beginn der osmanischen Macht verboten. Auf einer, aus dem Jahre 1570 stammenden türkischen Brotkarte eines Bewohners von Nová Vieska (Kreis Nové Zámky) steht geschrieben: „Sollte der Bezeichnete es jedoch als Vorwand benutzen, um das Brot in Feindesland abzuführen, so sollen seine Naturalien konfisziert und er selbst bestraft werden.“¹⁷ Die türkischen Behörden setzten also schon damals einen solchen Handel voraus. Das Ausfuhrverbot für Lebensmittel wurde auch im 17. Jahrhundert nicht abgeschafft und galt anscheinend bis zum Ende der türkischen Macht in Ungarn. Es ist daher interessant, daß Alaybeg Hacı Ahmed P. Eszterházy Getreide angeboten hat, ja er war sogar bereit, dieses auf einen bestimmten Ort zu befördern. Auch wenn es sich um keine große Menge handelte (etwa 15 q), war dies doch ein gesetzwidriger Handel. Das bezeugt eindeutig die volle Desintegration der zentralen Regierung des Osmanischen Reiches und die Durchsetzung der Interessen der Darsteller der Provinzverwaltung.¹⁸ Anscheinend war dies nicht der erste und auch nicht der einzige Fall. Der Handel mit verbotenen Waren erreichte im 17. Jahrhundert landesweit einen großen Aufschwung.

Ein interessanter Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der Doppelbesteuerung ist Ahmed Zaims Brief (Nr. 4) an den Palatin P. Eszterházy. Die Doppelbesteuerung entstand aus folgenden Gründen. Dem Osmanischen Reich ist es auch zur Zeit seiner größten Blüte nicht gelungen das ganze Gebiet des mittelalterlichen Ungarischen Königreichs zu besetzen oder zu erobern, und so war die Macht der ungarischen herrschenden Klasse nicht gebrochen. Sobald diese nach den schwersten Erschütterungen zu sich gekommen war, knüpfte sie, trotz Verlust der Besitztümer und der Flucht auf das Gebiet des königlichen Ungarns, Verbindungen mit ihren ehemaligen Untertanen an, und zwar über die militärischen Garnisonen der grenznahen Burgen. Die Schaffung eines grenznahen Verteidigungssystems, so ungarischer- als auch osmanischerseits, brachte einen ständigen Kleinkrieg, was den ungarischen Garnisonen die Möglichkeit gab ins Leben der Untertanen auch unter osmanischer Herrschaft wirkungsvoll einzugreifen. Eine nicht geringe Rolle spielte hierbei die Tatsache, daß der Charakter des ungarischen Feudalismus die Beziehung zwischen Herr und Untertan viel tiefer und anhaltender festigte, als das osmanische Timarsys-

¹⁶ *Dejiny Slovenska II (1526–1848)* (Die Geschichte der Slowakei II (1526–1848)). Bratislava, Veda 1987, S. 221, Anm. 37.

¹⁷ Jacob, G.: *Aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*. Frankfurt a. M., H. Keller 1917, S. 36–37. K o p ě a n, V.: *XVI–XVII. asırlarda kuzey Macaristan hudut boylarında Osmanlı hâkimiyetinin karakteri*. VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler II. Ankara, TTK Basınevi 1973, S. 622.

¹⁸ Hegyi, K.: *A török birodalom magyarországi jövedelemforrasai*. Századok, 117, 1983, S. 346. Allgemein befaßten sich mit diesem Prozeß Y ü c e l, Y.: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda desantralizasyona dair genel gözlemler*. Belleten, 38, 1974, S. 657–708 und K u n t, I.: *The Sultan's Servants. The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550–1650*. New York, Columbia University Press 1983.

tem, und das im negativen als auch positiven Sinne. Besonders wenn wir uns vor die Augen führen, daß eigentlich ganz Ungarn Grenzgebiet war und aus Sicherheitsgründen lebten die Sipahis in grenznahen Festungen oder befestigten Städten, so daß nur ein minimaler oder gar kein Kontakt mit den Untertanen bestand. Auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei kann keinerlei direkter Kontakt osmanischer Sipahis mit den Dörfern vorausgesetzt werden. Die notwendigste Verbindung in diversen Angelegenheiten sicherten durch Botschaften Leute, die das unter osmanischer Herrschaft liegende Gebiet besuchten (Kaufleute, Dorfrichter aus den Gemeinden in unmittelbarer Nähe osmanischer Garnisonen) oder aber wurde sie schriftlich aufrechterhalten. Außerdem hatte der ungarische Adel auf den Gebieten des königlichen Ungarns die osmanischen Eroberungen niemals de jure anerkannt und betrachtete den gegebenen Zustand als zeitweilig und nur am Rande stehend.

Ungarische Quellen, vor allem die Urbarien und später, seit den zwanziger Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts die Verhöre der Untertanen durch Komitatsorgane, halten nicht nur die Höhe der Besteuerung und die Formen der Renten, sondern auch deren Namen fest.¹⁹ Die ungarischen Landsherren wußten also mit wem sie die feudale Rente teilen, und es besteht kein Zweifel, daß auch die osmanischen Sipahis oder zumindest jene Leute, die in den Grenzfestungen für sie die zeitgerechte Steuereinnahme sicherten, die Namen auf ungarischer Seite kannten.

Interessant an Ahmed Zaims Brief ist, daß dieser Würdenträger sich schriftlich an P. Eszterházy wendet und diesem mitteilt, er hätte einen Teil der Einnahmen aus einem nicht genannten Dorf als Lehen erhalten. Er bittet den Palatin die Untertanen zu beschützen, damit diese beiden Herrschaften dienen könnten. Als einen Beweis des guten Willens schickt er dem ungarischen Magnaten ein Paar Karmesinstiefel. Im Jahre, als die Garnison von Nové Zámky im Juni 1682 wegen der Nichtbezahlung von Steuern aus den dortigen Dörfern einen großen Einfall ins Nitra-Tal bis zur Stadt Topoľčany unternahm und als etwas später, am 3. Oktober desselben Jahres ein etwas kleineres Abteil die Umgebung von Levice plünderte,²⁰ ist der konziliante Ton im Schreiben eines türkischen Würdenträgers zumindest interessant. Die langjährige Erfahrung aus dem Grenzgebiet (vorher diente er in Ofen) lehrte ihn anscheinend, daß mit einem mäßigen Vorgang mehr zu erreichen ist als mit Gewalt. Und darüber hinaus, wie hätte er anders vorgehen können diesem mächtigsten Mann Ungarns gegenüber?

¹⁹ *Urbáre feudálnych panstiev na Slovensku I–II* (Urbarien der feudalen Besitztümer in der Slowakei I–II). Hrsg. von R. Marsina und M. Kušík. Bratislava, VSAV 1959 und *Urbariumok XVI–XVII század*. Hrsg. von F. Maksay. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1959. Verhöre der Untertanen des Komitats Tekov veröffentlichte Szeregi, A.: *Emlékek Barsvármegye hajdanából*. Budapest o. J.

²⁰ Matunák, M.: *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí* (Leben und Kämpfe im slowakisch-türkischen Grenzgebiet). Bratislava, Tatran 1983, S. 259.

Der Alaybeg von Nové Zámky Hacı Ahmet teilt dem General der Hauptmannschaft der diesseits der Donau gelegenen Gebiete P. Eszterházy mit, daß ein bedeutender Kaufmann mit beliebiger Ware (Tuch, Samt) nach Nové Zámky kommen und alles, was ihm beliebt, fortführen könne. Dieses Schreiben gelte als Geleitbrief (salvus conductus), solle es aber Eszterházy wünschen, könne er ihm einen Geleitbrief vom Statthalter selbst zuschicken. Weiter verspricht er jemandem aus Eszterházys Garnison ein Pferd zurückzugeben und bietet mehr als hundert Kile Getreide an. Er fordert, dieser möge einen Mann mit Tuch nach Muster schicken und dieser solle dann das Pferd aus Nové Zámky wegbringen.

Nové Zámky, den 26. Juli 1671

Orig.: MOL Budapest, P 125, Fasc. 44, No. 4163

Mi Ersek uy Varanak egyik Fő Gongya Viselőye Tanacza uy vari fő olai Bek Hacı Ahmet olai Bek.

Minden hoszank illendő tisztességös dolgokban ayanlasinknak utana Istentül kívánunk Kldnek minden iokat mint szomszed vitez ur baratunknak.

Ngos vitez ur a Basa ü Naga szava az hofi valamiczoda Fő Kalamar akar iönni iüyon poztot minden felet barsont Czomokat valamit hoszhat hozzon ne felyön fogadom az mi uri török hitünkre, ne felyök senki tül iüyon bibast es csak iüiön az mi haszunkhoszt ezt tarcza Nagod Levelenek Hit level gyanant es ha Nagod kivan az Hatalmas Pasatulis Hit Levelet szöröszünk az Kalamarnak, hoszon valamit hoszhat, es inneis vigiön az mit akar, az Nagod emböre iü(iön) ahol hadta a lova it vagyon uy Varban haszomnal, Szasz husz küla Esztergomban megy vagyon, mérték szasz meg többis azt is föl hoszatom ha Nagodnak köllenek, ezön kívül valami köllenek Na(gisagod)nak vagi labas marha vagi valami poszto valamit kívanna Nagod Czak oli bizosnios embert külgyön Nagod a ki a dologban el tud Jarni, most is saiat Nagod külgyön posztot az embörnek magmutadtam a formayat minömü legiön a pozto Ngod a ki tudgia a donak az arat és az pozto nakis az arat, hozon poztot a lot vegie el. Isten tarcza es eltesse Kdet nagi sok es eltesse Kdet nagi sok es hoszu esztendeig.

Datum uy var 26 die Juni 1671

Tergum: Az Tekintetes es Nagos Urnak Eszterhaszi Pal,

Magiar orszagi Fő Generalisanak, nekünk szomszed vitez

urnak adasek ez Level.

ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir einer der Berater des Hauptbeschützers der Festung Nové Zámky, der oberste Alaybeg von Nové Zámky Hacı Ahmet Alaybeg.¹

Nach unseren Empfehlungen in allen ehrhaften Angelegenheiten wie es sich unsererseits dem heldenhaften Nachbarn gegenüber geziemt, unserem Freund, wünschen wir Euer Gnaden von Gott das Allerbeste.

Gnädiger, heldenhafter Herr! Den Worten des gnädigen Pascha² zufolge kommt zu uns irgendein hervorragender Kaufmann. Er möge kommen! Er möge bringen, was er bringen kann: Tuch, Ballen verschiedenen Samtes. Er solle sich nicht fürchten! Ich verspreche auf unseren herrschaftlichen türkischen Glauben, er solle keinen fürchten. Er soll unbesorgt kommen und er möge nur unser Haus (d. h. die Festung) besuchen. Auf Ihren Brief (sende ich diesen) als Geleitbrief.³ Wenn sich aber Euer Gnaden wünscht, beschaffen wir einen Geleitbrief für jenen Kaufmann auch vom mächtigen Pascha. Er soll bringen was er kann und von hier kann er nehmen, was er will.

Euer Mann soll kommen, sein Pferd ist da, wo er es hinterlassen hat. Hier in Nové Zámky, in meinem Haus.

Hundertzwanzig Kile⁴ Getreide befinden sich hier in Esztergom. Wir haben es gewogen und es ist mehr als hundert Kile. Sollte Euer Gnaden dies brauchen, laß ich auch das herbringen.

Sollte Euer Gnaden außerdem noch etwas brauchen, wie Vieh oder irgendwelche Tuchwaren oder sollten sie etwas anderes fordern, schicken Sie nur einen solchen Mann, Euer Gnaden, der sich in diesen Dingen auskennt. Euer Gnaden, senden Sie auch jetzt Tuch. Diesem Menschen habe ich ein Muster gezeigt, wie das Tuch sein soll. Nach diesem Muster geben Sie, Euer Gnaden, das Tuch. Schicken Sie einen solchen Menschen, Euer Gnaden, der den Preis des Pferdes und auch den Preis des Tuchs kennt. Er soll das Tuch bringen und sich das Pferd wegführen.

Gott möge Euer Gnaden für viele und lange Jahre erhalten und verherrlichen!
Datum Nové Zámky, den 26. Juni 1671

Adresse: Dem wohlgeborenen und gnädigen Herrn Paul Eszterházy, dem obersten General Ungarns, unserem heldenhaften Herrn Nachbarn soll dieser Brief gegeben werden.

¹ Alaybeg – Offizier des Lehens (Sipahi)heeres, Inhaber eines größeren Lehens (*zeamet*).

² Statthalter von Nové Zámky war Seydi Mehmed Pascha, der am 19. Juni 1671, also eine Woche vor der Herausgabe des publizierten Briefes an P. Eszterházy geschrieben hat in der Angelegenheit des Friedensbruchs im Grenzgebiet. MOL Budapest, P 125, No. 4165. Siehe Blaškovič, J. – Kopčan, V.: *Türkische Briefe und Urkunden III*, No. 3.

³ Der Geleitbrief, lat. *salvus conductus*, tür. *vere kağıdı* gewährte die Sicherheit, den freien Zu- und Abgang auf dem Gebiet unter der Kontrolle der osmanischen Armeen.

⁴ Kile; „Scheffel“, türkisches Gewicht zum Messen von Getreide und ähnlichen Materialien, das auf dem osmanischen Gebiet in Ungarn 12,82 kg darstellte, was ein Viertel des Preßburger Maßes war. Siehe Blaškovič, J.: *Rimavská Sobota v čase osmansko-tureckého panstva* (Rimavská Sobota zur Zeit der osmanisch-türkischen Herrschaft). Bratislava, Obzor 1974, S. 315–316.

Mustafa, Aga der Gönüllüs in Nové Zámky schreibt an P. Eszterházy in der Angelegenheit des Gefangenen austausches. Da einige Gefangene mittellos sind, können sie sich nicht loskaufen, nur ausgetauscht werden. Er ersucht Eszterházy, der mit der Tötung der Gefangenen droht, eine solche Tat zu unterlassen, da dies niemandem nützen würde. Er schlägt einen gleichwertigen Austausch vor. Er führt Beschwerde gegen N. Bercsényi, der die Gefangenen prügeln läßt.

Nové Zámky, am 20. Oktober 1680.

Orig.: MOL Budapest, O 125, Fasc. 44, No. 4161.

Minden Szomszédságbeli ioakarattal valo Szolgalatommal aianlom Ngdnak.

Isten minden iokkal algya meg Ngadt Szivből kivanom.

Raboknak Ngnak kivansagit Ertyük, az mellinek elegetis tennenk hogyaha ezen Ali és Hazán Raboknak szegen voltok tul meg lehetne, az kik mivel szegenyek és A mint nimeneknel nyilván vagyonuk Semmiekie Sinczen mas képpen Szabadulasokat lehetetlennek lattjuk, hogyha Fejen feiet nem Szabadittanak, sött az Szobi es Bötös is ennihaniszor magokra vallották és bizonyossan fogatták hogy feien feiet Szabadittanak, eökis hasonlo Szegenséggel lévén. Ertyük iömeg hogy ezen ki iövelekreis ezen valaszával is eöllessel Fenyegeti Ngd, az melly Nagd méltosaganakis és régi Szelid Nemzetsegenekis föm álló nevének uy czelekdet volna, hollot ezen Szegén Alinak az Attjais az Ngd méltóságos Attjának az Rabja leven mostanis Ir(galm)as czelekedetirül fölöttéb emlékezik, most sem gondolljuk hogy Ngd külömbet követne el. Mert ugyan az meg Lévéni ezen négy embernek halála az két rendbeli Vég-haznak sem kárára sem hasznára nem lenne. Ngdat, mint Kglmes Urat, és Méltóságos Szomszed barátomat kérem Bizodalmassan, hogy mind az két részrül Szabadulljanak egyenlő állapottal lévén, ezen Ngod kglmességét énis hasollo állapottal és massalis megszolgálni el nem múlok. Mgdtul Kglmes váslaszt várván Istentül kívánok Szerenczés io egészéget.

Berczeni Urnak igen nagy híre vagyon, hogy az Rabokat fölöttéb vereti, melly véget is Ngd bölcz ítületi szerént méltan disponálhat, mivel ha ott egy Berczeni vagyon ittenis találkozna töb Berczenyek azurán mind ezekben is Ngd bölcz rendeletére hagyjuk, Ngdnak lévén ebben hatalma.

Datum Uyvar die 20 Octobris Anno 1680

Ngodnak mint Méltóságos Ur barát(unk)nak

illendő dolgokban Eörömet Szolgál

Gyömlieknek Agaja Musztafa

Ich empfehle meine Dienste Euer Gnaden mit all dem nachbarlichen guten Willen!

Ich wünsche mir vom Herzen, Gott möge Euch mit allem Guten segnen!

Auf beiden Seiten wurden schon Gefangene freigelassen (Kopf) „für Kopf“. ¹ Wir haben den Wunsch von Euer Gnaden hinsichtlich der Gefangenen auf beiden Seiten begriffen. Würde es die Armut von Ali und Hassan ermöglichen, würden wir Ihnen entgegenkommen. Da sie so arm sind wie andere und anscheinend keinerlei Besitz haben, finden wir keine andere Art sie freizubekommen, wenn sie schon nicht „Kopf für Kopf“ befreit werden können. Sogar Szobi und Böjtös ² haben sich einige Male angeboten und fest versprochen, daß sie (bereit) sind freizukommen (auf die Art) Kopf für Kopf, (weil) auch diese sind in so einer Armut. Verstehen wir das richtig? Für eine solche Freilassung droht ihnen Euer Gnaden in der jetzigen Antwort sogar mit ihrer Tötung. Das wäre ein neues Verhalten, das der Ehrwürdigkeit von Euer Gnaden, Eurer Herkunft und Eurem Namen widerspricht. Da auch der Vater dieses armen Ali ein Gefangener des ehrwürdigen Vaters ³ von Euer Gnaden war und auch heute noch dessen Barmherzigkeit dankbar erwähnt.

Wir glauben nicht, daß Euer Gnaden so etwas machen würde. Würde dies geschehen, wäre der Tod dieser vier Menschen weder von Nutzen, noch von Schaden für die Grenzfestungen beider Seiten. ⁴

Mit Vertrauen bitte ich Eure Exzellenz, als den gnädigen Herrn und meinen erhabenen Freund Nachbarn, damit jene von beiden Seiten befreit würden, weil sie sich in derselben Lage befinden. Ich werde nicht säumen diese Barmherzigkeit von Euer Gnaden zu verdienen mit einer ähnlichen und auch anderen Tat. Ich erwarte von Euer Exzellenz eine gnädige Antwort. Von Gott erbitte ich für Sie Glück und Gesundheit.

Herr Berczeni ⁵ ist sehr berühmt geworden dadurch, daß er die Gefangenen grausam prügeln läßt. Dagegen können Euer Gnaden nach Eurem klugen Gutdenken mit Recht eingreifen. Denn wenn dort ein Berczeni ist, dann finden sich auch hier mehrere Berczenis. In allen diesen Angelegenheiten verlassen wir uns auf die weise Entscheidung von Euer Gnaden, (weil) Euer Gnaden in diesen Angelegenheiten die Macht zusteht.

¹ Der Gefangenenaustausch „Kopf für Kopf“ war verhältnismäßig geläufig, auch wenn beide Seiten vom Gefangenen irgendeinen finanziellen oder materiellen Profit zu erlangen versuchten.

² Die Namen einfacher Soldaten aus irgendeiner, P. Eszterházy unterliegender Garnison, wahrscheinlich aus Levice, die in Gefangenschaft in Nové Zámky geraten waren.

³ Der Schreiber denkt an Nikolaus Eszterházy (1582–1645), einen ungarischen Magnaten und Palatin.

⁴ Der Schreiber weist auf die Sinnlosigkeit der Tötung zweier türkischer Gefangener und deutet an, daß auch die türkische Seite die erwähnten Szobi und Böjtös hinrichten würde.

⁵ Nikolaus Bercsenyi (1633–1689), Besitzer der Burg Tematin.

Datum Nové Zámky, am 20. Oktober 1680

An Euer Gnaden als dem erhabenen Herrn Freund in zugehörigen Angelegenheiten vom Herzen dienende Mustafa, Aga der Gönüllüs.⁶

III

Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Hassan Pascha an den Palatin Paul Eszterházy in Fragen der Gefangenen, derer Freilassung, Austausch und anderer damit zusammenhängender Probleme.

Nové Zámky, 10. Oktober 1682

Orig.: MOL Budapest, P 125, Fasc. 44, No. 4158

Mi az Tekintetes És Nagiczagos Hassan Passa Az Hatalmas Giözhetetlen Uralkodo Török czaszarnak Egik Titkos Hadi Tanacza Ersek Uivari Vegh Hazanak Hatalmas Paranczoloia Es Gondviselő Ura Isten Engedelmibül! Ajanlom szomszedtsaghbeli Szolgálatomat az Meltosagos Palatinus Urnak Isten algia Nagiczagodat kivanom!

Vettem Nagi böczülettel az Meltosagos Palatinus Levelit, Malliben mit irion legien Nagiczagos által Ertem hogi Nagiczagod Törveniessen megh lattatta azon Hamis hiti hagiót Disnosi Ferencz Rab s(?) Es Mas vele levő Rabok allapottiat, És hogi Megis Paranczolta legien Nagiczagod Ezen Kezes Póstaknak Kezekben adadni Eöközt Nagiczagod böczületes Feiedelmi Irasanak helet attunk És Elis hissük hogi ollian hamis hitihagiottak Miatta Nem Engedi kerestieni felit az szomorusaghban az Estergomban Megh tatoztatot Rabok dolghat az Mi illeti, Köniü dologh. az uttiaban Eltaglot Rab(ok) dolgat az Budai czonka toroniban Megh lattattak Megh szabadult Raboknak talalta az Törveni. Azonkivü az kiket Megh tartoztattak Nagiczagod Palatinus Ur kezes Rab Tarsai Mindenikinek vannak Kezessek. Miis Megh Paranczolluk kezhez adadni. Mivel hallatlan dologh az bünösert az büntetlen szevegien. Kerem Ez irant az Meltosagos Palatinus Urat, azon ot Kinlevő Söbi(?) Póstanakat külgie be. És ha Valami jo alkalmatosságol Jar Nagyczagottul Valami oli bizonios Levelles Kezeben Könniü vagi három Napot adni, ki boczaithattiuk de igi semmi allapottiat Nem lattiuk, csak hijaban az Napot szamlalliak Nagiczagod Neke-mis Paranczolvan Tistesseges dologhban szolgálnia El Nem Mulatom. Ezekutan Isten algia Nagiczagodat. Költ Ui Varban. Die 10 8bris.

Anno 1682.

Idem qui Supra m. p.

⁶ Gönüllü (in ungarischen Texten *gyömlü*, *gyönlü*) „Freiwillige“ oder „die Begeisterten“ waren eine Art leichter Kavallerie, die sich aus balkanischen Moslems oder aus in Ungarn sesshaften Moslems gruppierte. In der Festung Nové Zámky befanden sich zwei Abteile dieser Heeresart. Siehe B l a s k o v i c s. J.: *The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663–1685)*. Archív orientální, 54, 1986, S. 110.

Nagiczagodnak Tistesseges dologhban

szolgalo szomszed Vitez Ur Barattia szolgai Az Nagiczagos

Adresse: Tekintetes És Nagiczagos Groff Eszterhazi Pal Urnak, Frakno, Leka, és Csobancz Varainak Eörökös Uranak, Magyar orszagh Palatinussanak, Kunsagh Fő Biraianak, Rommai Birodalom Szentelt Vitezinek, Magyar orszagh Koronas Kirali Szentelt Vitezenek, Nekem Szomszed Vitez Ur Baratomnak Eő Nagiczaganak adassek Illendő Tiztsessegek

Szempti Varaban m. p.

ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir, der wohlgeborene und mächtige Hasan Pascha,¹ der Kriegsgeheimrat des mächtigen, unbesiegbaren, regierenden türkischen Sultans, von Gottes Willen der mächtige Herr, Befehlshaber und Betreuer der Grenzfestung Nové Zámky.

Ich empfehle meine nachbarlichen Dienste dem erhabenen Herrn Palatinus! Ich wünsche, Gott möge Euer Gnaden segnen!

Mit großer Achtung empfang ich den Brief des ehrwürdigen Palatins und ich habe begriffen das, was Euer Gnaden darin schreibt, daß Euer Gnaden laut Gesetzen hat untersuchen lassen den Zustand des falschen Abtrünnigen,² des Gefangenen Ferenc Disznósi und weiterer Gefangenen, die mit ihm sind und daß Euer Gnaden auch befohlen hat, sie in die Hände dieser Geiseln zu übergeben. Wir glaubten dem aufrichtigen fürstlichen Brief von Euer Gnaden und wir glauben Ihnen, daß sie wegen solcher falschen Abtrünnigen Ihre christlichen Nächsten nicht in diesem traurigen Zustand lassen werdet. Was die Angelegenheiten der in Gran festgehaltenen Gefangenen betrifft, ist dies eine leichte Sache. Den Fall jener Gefangenen, die auf (eurem) Weg davongelaufen sind, hat man im Ofener kegelförmigen Turm untersucht. Das Gesetz (Gericht) betrachtet sie als befreite Gefangene, außer jener, die von den Gefangenen-Geiseln des ehrwürdigen Palatins festgenommen wurden. Jeder hat Geiseln. Auch wir werden einen Befehl erlassen, diese (an die Euri-gen) auszuliefern, weil es unerhört ist, damit ein Unschuldiger für den Schuldigen leiden sollte. Daher bitte ich den gnädigen Herrn Palatin, er möge unseren Boten aus Szob (?),³ der dort draußen ist, hereinschicken. Und findet sich eine gute Lö-

¹ Hoczade Hasan Pascha, Statthalter von Nové Zámky vom 10. Oktober 1682 bis 27. August 1683, später wurde er Wesir und nahm teil an der Verteidigung von Ofen 1682, im Februar 1684 abermals zum Statthalter von Nové Zámky ernannt, wo er am 19. August 1685 nach der Eroberung der Festung gefallen ist (*Zübde-i vekiyat II*, S. 25).

² Der erwähnte Disznósi konvertierte anscheinend zum Islam und nach seiner Freilassung wieder zum Christentum zurück.

³ Szob – Lesung ungewiß.

sung und unser Bote wird in seinen Händen einen Brief von Euer Gnaden haben, wird es leicht sein ihnen (eine Frist von) etwa drei Tage zu geben und wir liefern sie (die Gefangenen) aus. Aber so sehen wir keine Möglichkeit, nur daß sie unnütz die Tage zählen. Euer Gnaden, man hat mir befohlen (Euch) in ehrenhafter Angelegenheit zu dienen und ich solle dies nicht versäumen. Gott segne Euer Gnaden nach dieser Mitteilung.

Gegeben in Nové Zámky, am 18. Oktober 1682.

Idem qui supra.

m.p.

Ihr, Euer Gnaden in ehrenvollen Sachen dienender nachbarlicher heldenhafter Herr, Euer gnädiger Freund. Auf der Burg Šintava.⁴

Dem wohlgeborenen und erlauchten Grafen, Herrn Paul Eszterházy, dem erblichen Herrn der Burgen Frakno, Leka und Csobancz, dem ungarischen Palatin, dem obersten Richter von Kumanien, dem geweihten Helden des Römischen Reiches, dem geweihten Helden des ungarischen gekrönten Königs (?), meinem Nachbarn, dem heldenhaften Herrn Freund, seiner Durchlaucht mögen die ihm gebührenden Ehren erwiesen werden.

IV

Ahmet Zaim, ein Beamter in Nové Zámky, schreibt an den Palatin Paul Eszterházy, daß er zum Mitbesitzer seines Dorfes geworden ist und daß er Zusammenarbeit erwarte. Als Ausdruck des guten Willens schickt er ihm ein Paar Karmesinstiefel.

Nové Zámky, im Jahre 1682.

Orig.: MOL Budapest, P.125, Fasc. 44, No. 4159

Én Ahmet Zahim

Szolgalatomat ayanlom Nagysagodnak Isten sok szerencse iokkal algya megh Nadat. Nem akarvan elmulatni hogy ez kis irassomal Nagysagodat megh nem talalnam es nem tudositanam, mivel hogy eddig Nagysagodnak nem igen szolgalthattam söt innen felöl nem tudositotam Czak erröl az dologhrol Nagysagodat külyön tudositanom hogy en taval Pesten voltam Bas Aga mostan mar az I(st)en ugy atta hogy Ujvarban vagyon lakasom es amint Isten atta es I(st)en engedelmeböl nekem adatot és Reszesek lettem az Nagysagod falujaban, ugy mint kätäbä Mar egy részént ezen ezen kezembe vadnak mas Reszent Nagysagod kezeben, azert kerem Nagysagodat tova valo Szolgalat mert hogy legyen Nagod io Part fogoioik hogy Szolgalyanak

⁴ Es geht um eine Wasserburg, an der Stelle des heutigen Schlosses von Sered.

Nagysagodnak Nekemis Mégest meg igye kezem Nagysagodnak szolgálni de mivel hogy ez illetlen irasom mal még eddigh nem igen tudositottani Nagysagodot Nagysagodnak mostan mar tudok mivel kedveskedni hanem im most küldöttem egy par karmasin Czismat kerem Nagodot vegye Nagod én tölem io akariatul kedvessen, és Maradok Nagydnak mindenkor io akarioia tartczon Nagod io akarioianak is kivakok ezek utan io egesseget Nagysagodnak.

Datum Uyvar Anno 1682

Nagysagodnak io akarioa Idem qui supra

Tergum: Meltosagos es Nagysagos Groff Eszterhazi Pal Magyar orszagi Palatinusának es koronas Csaszarnak komornykianak adasak ez Levelet Nagy harsagal kezehez

ÜBERSETZUNG

Ich, Ahmet Zaim.¹

Ich empfehle meine Dienste Euer Gnaden! Gott möge Euer Gnaden mit vielem glücklichem Guten segnen! Ich möchte (die Gelegenheit) nicht versäumen, Euer Gnaden mit diesem kleinen Brief zu finden und zu benachrichtigen. Da ich Euer Gnaden bislang nicht mehr dienen konnte, ja über diese Angelegenheit von hier nicht einmal eine Nachricht habe geben können. Es wäre notwendig Euer Gnaden davon in Kenntnis zu setzen, daß ich im vorigen Jahr der oberste Aga in Pest gewesen bin.² Jetzt hat es aber Gott so eingerichtet, daß ich in Nové Zámky siedle. Wie es Gott gab und mit Gottes Zutun wurde mir, als kätäbä³ der Mitbesitz eines Dorfes⁴ von Euer Gnaden geschenkt. Einen Teil habe ich schon in meinen Händen und der zweite Teil gehört in Euer Gnaden Hände. Daher bitte ich Euer Gnaden um einen weiteren Dienst, damit Euer Gnaden ihnen ein guter Beschützer sein möge und sie so Euer Gnaden als auch mir dienen sollten. Ich werdē mich Euer Gnaden dafür erkenntlich zeigen. Da ich aber Euer Gnaden mit meiner ungewandter Schrift bislang noch nicht benachrichtigt hatte, kann ich mich schon jetzt als dankbar erweisen. Sehet, gerade jetzt habe ich ein Paar Karmesinstiefel geschickt. Ich bitte Euer

¹ Zaim – Halter eines feudalen Lehens mit einem Jahresgewinn von 20 000 bis 100 000 *akçe*. Dies wurde den Würdenträgern des Lehnsheeres (*alaybeg*, *çeribaşı*) oder höhergestellten Beamten der Provinzadministration erteilt.

² Aga – Titel der Befehlshaber kleinerer militärischer Einheiten der osmanischen Armee.

³ *Ketebe* arab. Plural von *katib* „Schreiber, Beamter“. Aus dieser Angabe ist jedoch nicht genau festzustellen welchen Posten Ahmed Zaim in der Provinzverwaltung des Eyālet-i Uyvār eingenommen hat.

⁴ Es geht wahrscheinlich um das Dorf Új Leva, heute ein Teil der Stadt Levice, aus dem nach den *Defter-i icmal* (Dresden, Landesbibliothek, Eb. 356) Einkünfte (*hasulat*) von 1000 *akçe* an Ahmed Zaim flossen.

Gnaden, empfangen Sie sie gefälligst von mir als ein Zeichen guten Willens und ich verbleibe ewig der Gönner von Euer Gnaden. Betrachten Sie mich als (Ihren) Gönner. Und schließlich wünsche ich Euer Gnaden gute Gesundheit.

Datum, Nové Zámky im Jahre 1682.

Adresse: Überreichen sie schleunigst diesen meinen Brief zu Händen des erhabenen Grafen Paul Eszterházy, des ungarischen Palatins und Kämmerer des gekrönten Kaisers.

THE MINORITY QUESTION AND THE LAUSANNE CONVENTION OF 1923 (HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND RELIGIOUS-ETHNIC ASPECTS OF THE EXCHANGE OF GREEK AND TURKISH POPULATIONS)

NAĎA ZIMOVÁ, Prague

The "Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations" was signed at Lausanne on 30 January 1923. According to this Convention, the Greeks (Orthodox Christians) in Turkey were transferred to Greece, and the Turks (Muslims) in Greece were removed to Turkey. The only exceptions were the Greeks resident in Istanbul before 30 October 1918, and the Muslims of Western Thrace. This exchange of populations represents the historical precedent of such a gigantic transfer of minorities, and consequently, it has always drawn a great deal of attention. The study concentrates on the origins and historical background of this transfer of populations. Simultaneously, attention is devoted to its religious-ethnic character limiting the value of such a settlement of minority problems.

One of the major provisions of the Peace Treaty of Lausanne signed on 24 July 1923, and its accompanying acts was the Convention concerning the exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations of Turkey and Greece respectively. Two points regarding this Convention should be emphasized today: first, the historical context in which it was formulated, and second, the nature and religious-ethnic character of this exchange.

Though "the accord with regard to the conditions for an exchange of the Greek-speaking populations of Thrace and of the Smyrna Vilayet on the one hand, and of the Moslem populations of Greek Macedonia and Epirus on the other . . ."¹ had been planned already in 1914,² it was after World War I that the compulsory transfer of populations between Greece and Turkey was carried out. It must be emphasized that it was that war and its aftermath that provided the historical background of this transfer.

World War I opened prospects for the realization of the far-reaching expansionist

¹ Cf. Seferiades, Stelio: «*L'Échange des populations*, » in Académie de Droit International, Recueil des Cours, 1928. Paris 1929, Tome 24, pp. 358–359, quoted by Pentzopoulos, Dimitri: *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact Upon Greece*. Paris 1962, p. 56.

² Ibid. pp. 55–56. Rossi, Ettore: *Lo scambio obbligatorio delle popolazioni tra la Grecia e la Turchia*. Oriente Moderno, X, 1930, p. 399. Musil, Alois: *Most do Asie. Nové Turecko* (Bridge to Asia. The New Turkey). Praha 1941, p. 57.

aims of the European Powers in the Middle East. These aims had been sealed in the secret agreements concerning the partition of the Ottoman Empire, which had been concluded among the Allied Powers already during the war.³ After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in that war, the problem of how to divide up the territories which until then had belonged to this state, seemed to have been solved to the satisfaction of the Allies. Hence, according to the agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne (21 April 1917), Italy was to be given Izmir, a promise dependent upon the approval of the Russian government. However, the revolutionary situation in the latter country prevented the ratification of this agreement which never became binding. Nevertheless Italy, in pursuit of her own territorial claims, placed "her Allies before a fait accompli, Italian troops landed at Adalia on 5 March 1919. Detachments penetrated into the interior as far as Konia. Early in May, the occupied Makri and Marmaris, opposite to Rhodes."⁴

Simultaneously, at the Peace Conference assembling in Paris in January 1919, Greece presented her own claims to possession of the coastal regions of Western Asia Minor as a promised compensation in return for her participation in the war on the side of the Allied Powers. Thus the Greeks were readily carrying out the Allies' decision to forestall Italy's ambitions and prevent her advance into that part of Turkey:⁵ on 15 May 1919, the Greeks landed at Izmir and, as soon as they had established themselves in that town, they began a drive into the interior of Anatolia. Harry Luke characterized that event as "an act of almost incredible folly", as it imbued the Turks with a patriotism "probably more real than any which the War had been able to evoke".⁶

It was the Turkish homeland that was threatened by the invasion. Moreover, the Greeks showed that they intended to establish themselves on the Asiatic shore of the Aegean and mainly to incorporate the territories they had occupied into the Greek state. The Turkish reaction to this danger was vigorous and immediate. It was at that time that a Turkish brigadier, Mustafa Kemal, began to organize the resistance movements' groups which had already been formed in various parts of Anatolia. He set about the task of preparing the armed defence against the Allies'

³ Jäschke, Gotthard: *Der Freiheitskampf des türkischen Volkes. Ein Beitrag zur politischen Geschichte der Nachkriegszeit*. Die Welt des Islams, 14, 1932, pp. 6–21.

⁴ Pallis, A. A.: *Greece's Anatolian Venture – and After. A Survey of the Diplomatic and Political Aspects of the Greek Expedition to Asia Minor (1915–1922)*. London 1937, pp. 129–130.

⁵ Jäschke, Gotthard: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kampfes der Türkei um ihre Unabhängigkeit*. Die Welt des Islams, N.S., V, 1958, pp. 4–5.

⁶ Luke, Sir Harry: *Cities and Men. An Autobiography. II. Aegean, Cyprus, Turkey, Transcaucasia and Palestine (1914–1924)*. London 1953, p. 53, quoted in the review written by Gotthard Jäschke. Die Welt des Islams, N.S., V, 1958, p. 142.

attempts to dismember Turkey, and of expelling the invaders from that country.

Owing to the considerable – though transient – Greek military victories of 1919 and 1920, the Allies failed to realize what was actually happening in central Anatolia. They disregarded the new national liberation force which had developed in that region. The Allied statesmen even misjudged the changed situation resulting from Soviet Russia's renunciation of all the Tzar's interests in the Ottoman Empire's legacy. On the contrary, the new Soviet state helped Turkey in her struggle for independence; both countries were brought even closer together by the Treaty of Moscow signed on 16 March 1921. Taking advantage of the elimination of one possible competitor for the Turkish territories, the Allied Powers decided to sign a peace treaty with the Sultan's government. Hence, on 10 August 1920, the Treaty of Sèvres was signed. According to this abortive peace settlement, Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece were given extensive domination over the Middle East, and especially over large parts of Anatolia itself.

Meanwhile, the Greeks had advanced far into Anatolia but were stopped by Ismet Paşa at the battle of İnönü on 10 January 1921. In July 1921, the Greeks again attacked and advanced as far as Eskişehir; they succeeded in throwing the Turkish forces back beyond the Sakarya River and pinned them down there until August 1922, when, in a great counter-offensive, the Turks broke through the Greek army, which fled to the coast in confusion. The failure of the Greek military campaign in Anatolia was followed by an enormous wave of refugees from among the local Greek and Armenian populations. A message received by the Near East Relief Committee describes the disastrous fate of this refugee population as follows: "Thousands of exhausted refugees, the majority of which are women and children, are blocking all the roads leading into Smyrna. The city is terribly crowded and the refugees who fled with only what they could carry on their backs are exposed to famine. Many deaths have been caused by starvation..."⁷ The final collapse of the Greek Asia Minor campaign occurred at the end of August 1922, and in September the Kemalists entered Izmir. After the signature of the armistice of Mudanya on 11 October 1922, a similar departure of the Greek populations of Eastern Thrace and the city of Istanbul took place.

The refugee issue and the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey was discussed in Lausanne where the Peace Conference had begun in November 1922. As far as the question of the refugees' return to their homes was concerned, the Turks made it clear that they were not prepared to accept the repatriation of those Greeks who had departed from Turkey. Although the nature of the exchange was not yet determined at the beginning of the diplomatic negotiations in Lausan-

⁷ The Times, 11 September 1922, quoted by Pentzopoulos, Dimitri: op. cit., p. 46, note 85.

ne,⁸ the principle of the obligatory transfer of Greek and Turkish populations of Turkey and Greece respectively was finally affirmed. The terms of this exchange of populations between the two countries concerned were sealed in the Convention signed by Eleutherios Venizelos and Ismet Paşa on 30 January 1923. According to the provisions of this Convention, all the Turkish nationals espousing the Greek Orthodox religion who were established on Turkish territory, and all the Greek nationals professing the Muslim religion who were established on Greek territory were to be exchanged. It was also agreed that those Greeks who had settled in Istanbul before 30 October 1918, and those Muslim inhabitants who were living in Western Thrace were to be exempted from this compulsory exchange of populations.⁹

Although this Convention was to be applied purportedly for the realization of an exchange of populations, in effect it confirmed a *fait accompli* as far as the majority of the Greek population was concerned. Before World War I, in the Ottoman Empire, as Kemal H. Karpat calculates, "the Greeks still numbered 1,729,657 (unadjusted figures), or roughly about 9 per cent of the total population of the Ottoman state. At that time most of the Greek population (that is over 50 per cent) was concentrated in the vilayets of Edirne, Aydin (Izmir), Trabzon, Çanik (Samsun), Karesi, and Istanbul, which were the most prosperous and commercially active provinces."¹⁰ The Greek involvement in the Turkish national liberation struggle in 1919–1922 and the massive departure of the Greek population which followed the defeat of the Greek army in Anatolia brought about a complete transformation of the population in that area. The exact number of Greek refugees is not known. However, according to the 1928 census, from the sum total of 1,221,849 newcomers settled in Greece, 151,892 came between the years 1913–1922, and the remaining 1,069,995 arrived in Greece only after the failure of the Greek military campaign in Anatolia.¹¹ According to the same census, Greece's Greek population increased in number, reaching the figure of 5,822,000, i.e. 93.83 per cent of her total population.¹²

On the other hand, there was the Muslim population of Greece which had not been involved in the Anatolian war. As the principle of an obligatory transfer of

⁸ Petropoulos, John A.: *The Compulsory Exchange of Populations: Greek-Turkish Peacemaking, 1922–1930*. In: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 2, 1976, pp. 141–144.

⁹ For the full text of this Convention, see *Oriente Moderno*, 3, 1923, pp. 514–517.

¹⁰ Karpat, Kemal H.: *Ottoman Population 1830–1914. Demographic and Social Characteristics*. Madison, Wisconsin 1985, p. 48.

¹¹ Pentzopoulos, Dimitri: op.cit., p. 99. Ettore Rossi estimates the number of the refugees arriving in Greece between the years 1922 and 1929, including those from Bulgaria (70,000) and these from Russia (50,000), to have been as high as 1,500,000. Cf. Rossi, Ettore: op.cit., p. 401.

¹² Pentzopoulos, Dimitri: op.cit., p. 128. At that time, the non-Greek elements in Greece represented about 6. Cf. Rossi, Ettore: op.cit., p. 402.

Greek and Turkish populations had been accepted by the Lausanne Conference, these Muslims had to be exchanged as well. Moreover, many of these Muslims, mainly those from Crete and Epirus, spoke only Greek and did not know any Turkish. The majority of these Greek Muslims the number of whom the Refugee Settlement Commission estimated to have been as high as 463,534 persons (234,546 men and 228,988 women) arrived in Turkey between the years 1921–1928.¹³ A great number of these Muslims came to Turkey from the various parts of Macedonia that had been annexed by Greece in 1913. According to their ethnic origin, these Muslims included Turks, Circassians, Albanians, Muslim Gypsies, Pomaks, Vlachs, etc. The remaining Greek Muslims came from Epirus, Thessaly (several families), Crete (27,852) and from the other Aegean islands, especially from Lemnos and Mytilene (Lesbos).¹⁴

With the departure of a sizable Greek community from Turkey and with the arrival of a large group of Greek Muslims, the picture of the population of Turkey had completely changed. The statistical data based on the census of 1927¹⁵ gives the following division of the Turkish population according to religion:

Muslims	13,269,606
Orthodox Christians	109,905
Jews	81,872
Armenians	77,433
Roman Catholics	39,511
Protestants	6,658
Christians of other denominations	24,307
Other religions	20,196

According to the same census, the language statistics reflected quite closely the size of the minority groups in Turkey:¹⁶

Turkish	11,777,810
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¹³ Oriente Moderno, X, 1930, p. 58. According to Alexandre Popovic, about 360,000 Greek Muslims arrived to Turkey. Cf. Popovic, Alexandre: *L'Islam balkanique. Les musulmans du sud-est européen dans la période post-ottomane*. Berlin 1986, p. 149.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 137–149. Charles Fraser Beckingham notes that: "Having been governed by the British since 1878, the Turks of Cyprus, like those of Rhodes and Cos, who had been under Italian rule since 1912, were not affected by the transfer of populations which followed the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923..." Cf. Beckingham, Charles Fraser: *Islam and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus*. Die Welt des Islams, N.S., V, 1958, p. 65.

¹⁵ *İstatistik Yılığ*, Angora 1929, quoted by Rossi, Ettore: op.cit., p. 405.

¹⁶ Loc.cit.

Kurdish	1,184,446
Arabic	134,273
Greek	119,822
Circassian	95,905
Spanish-speaking Hebrew	68,900
Armenian	64,745
Albanian	21,774
Bulgarian	20,554

This exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece deserves our attention not only because of the extent of the transfer, but also owing to its nature and character. This was not the first time that the idea of an exchange of populations had been considered and even formulated.¹⁷ However, it was the first time in history that such a gigantic transfer of populations, based on the principle of an obligatory exchange of large population groups, had actually been tried out as a means of separating peoples who had previously intermingled both in national and religious terms. As Bernard Lewis states: "At first sight this exchange seems a clear indication of the prevalence on both sides of nationalistic and patriotic ideas, and of the desire to give greater unity and cohesion to the nation and the fatherland..." but, he continues, "What took place was not an exchange of Greeks and Turks, but rather an exchange of Greek Orthodox Christians and Ottoman Muslims."¹⁸

To understand this exchange of populations, one must always bear in mind that in the Ottoman Empire, the term *millet* which is now used for 'nation, people, nationality', was applied to the organized institution of "religious communities, such as the Greek Christians, the Armenian Christians and the Jews, and by extension also to the different 'nations' of the Franks".¹⁹ In fact, as Richard Clogg points out, "the term millet-i Rum... embracing as it did all the Orthodox Christian subjects of the sultan, reflected in microcosm the ethnic heterogeneity of the empire itself. In contained Serbs, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Vlachs, Orthodox Albanians and Arabs, while the strictly 'Greek' element itself, although firmly in control of the millet through its stranglehold over the Ecumenical Patriarchate... was by no means homogenous."²⁰ Similarly, there was a Muslim millet, but no Turkish or Arab millets. According to such a theocratic concept of nationality, as Niyazi Berkes says

¹⁷ See supra, p. 1.

¹⁸ Lewis, Bernard: *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. London 1961, pp. 348-349.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 329.

²⁰ Richard Clogg's study of the Greek millet in Br a u d e, Benjamin and L e w i s, Bernard: *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*. New York 1982, p. 185, quoted by M a n g o, Andrew: *Remembering the Minorities*. Middle Eastern Studies, 21, 1985, No. 4, p. 122, note 21.

in his comprehensive study of Ziya Gökalp and Turkish nationalism, "the average Turk, who at that time used to identify himself as a Muslim member of the Ottoman 'nation' was confusing nation with two other sociological entities. One was *ümme*t, an international religious community, and the other was a political organization comprising in itself several nationalities as well as religious communities."²¹

Although the idea of national entities transcending religious distinctions had already appeared in Ottoman Turkey, the determination of the persons to be exchanged according to the provisions of the Convention of 1923 was based on religion. In 1928, the question arose of whether even the Greek Orthodox Arabs who had been settled in Mersin and the surrounding country should also be exchanged. However, the Mixed Commission which had been set up to facilitate and supervise the exchange of populations suggested that this problem should be settled along common-sense lines: these persons should have been exempted from the exchange.²² In Anatolia, there were many Greek Orthodox Christians who had no desire to leave Turkey. Consequently, they preferred to become Muslims in order to escape the compulsory exchange of populations.²³ Many persons who were transferred from the inner parts of Anatolia did not know any Greek. Thus Geoffrey Lewis writes that "This exchange of populations..., though well-meant, was responsible for a great deal of unhappiness, because the criterion of 'Greek' and 'Turkish' was religion: as a result of it, many Greek-speaking Muslims and Turkish-speaking Christians found themselves living in virtual exile among their co-religionists of alien speech."²⁴

On the basis of these few remarks on the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations arranged through the Lausanne Convention of 1923, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions, or even to make judgements concerning to what extent this settlement of the minority problems was permanent and enduring. Nevertheless it can be said that it had been a period of war and of a major international upheaval that had provoked such a gigantic transfer of populations. "It is not coincidental that the application of this method has been most strongly advocated during periods of wars, when the general unsettled conditions are deemed favourable for undertaking this "surgical operation",²⁵ notes Dimitri Pentzopoulos. According to A. F. Miller, suffering and hardship in connection with this transfer affected both the Greek and Turkish populations involved.²⁶

²¹ Berkes, Niyazi: *Ziya Gökalp: His Contribution to Turkish Nationalism*. The Middle East Journal, 8, 1954, No. 4, p. 385.

²² Oriente Moderno, VIII, 1928, pp. 6-7.

²³ Kitsikis, Dimitri: *Les réfugiés grecs d'Anatolie et le "Centre d'études micrasiatiques" d'Athènes*. Turcica, XVII, 1985, pp. 231-232.

²⁴ Lewis, Geoffrey: *Turkey*. London 1965, pp. 75-76, note 1.

²⁵ Pentzopoulos, Dimitri: op.cit., p. 249.

²⁶ Miller, A. F.: *Ocherki noveishei istorii Turtsii*. Moskva 1948, p. 145.

When examining the character and the extent of this exchange of populations one can observe mainly the changes in the number and composition of Greece's and Turkey's populations. In a way, this exchange of populations contributed to a more homogeneous character of both countries. However, its value was severely limited by its own nature and character. While the procedure of such a large transfer of populations was new, the character of this exchange of populations was still determined by the Ottoman Empire's old concept of identity. This concept of identity had been based mainly on religious affiliation – not to speak of dynastic allegiance. Although the latter had already faded away at that time, it was the surviving concept of identity based on religion that was adopted as a determining characteristic of the persons to be exchanged, and consequently, it weakened the effects of this transfer of populations.

MUHAMMAD °ALĪ'S ASCENDANCY TO THE EGYPTIAN THRONE

KAROL SORBY, BRATISLAVA

The study gives a thorough analysis of the political and social development in Egypt in the period from April to August 1805. It was a period of an open struggle for the viceroyalty between Khūrshīd Pasha the Viceroy and Muḥammad °Alī. The uprising of the Cairenes against Khūrshīd resulted in his deposition and the rise of Muḥammad °Alī to the viceregal throne.

During the prolonged absence of Muḥammad °Alī and the Albanians from Cairo, Khūrshīd did everything possible to achieve power preponderance over his rival. When he failed to obtain the farmān from the Sublime Porte, by which Muḥammad °Alī would be recalled from Egypt, he began to exert pressure on the Porte to send him reinforcements, justifying his request that, as a lawful representative of the Sul-tan in Egypt, he was endeavouring to reinforce and extend the Porte's power over the entire Egypt. The Sublime Porte had already been dissatisfied for quite a time with the growing influence and manifestations of wilfulness on the part of the Albanians who refused to leave Egypt and return to their homeland, and doubted their loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, so it decided to accede to Khūrshīd's request. The Porte intended to build up a force in Egypt that would be capable of eliminating the Albanians and ultimately drive them out of the country.¹ Consequently, it issued an order for detachments of the Dalāt² from the entire western Syria to be concentrated and transferred to Egypt.

Detachments of the Dalāt that arrived in March 1805 pitched camp in the Old Cairo and the surrounding villages.³ Their arrival raised Muḥammad °Alī's apprehensions; he forthwith ceased all military operations in Upper Egypt and set out for Cairo in order to cross Khūrshīd's plans, and this either through defeat of his enemies, or by winning them over to his side.⁴

¹ Missett to Camden, 28 April 1805. D o u i n, Georges: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte. Vol. II. La politique mameluke (1803-1807)*. Cairo, Société royale de géographie d'Égypte 1930. Document 157, p. 221.

² Dalī (plural Dalāt) – irregular Ottoman cavalrymen mostly of Kurdish origin.

³ A l - J a b a r t i, °Abdurrahman: *°Ajā'ib al-āthār fī at-tarājīm wa al-akhbār* (Peculiarities in Biographies and Reports). Part III 1216-1220 H (1801-1806). Cairo 1905, p. 319.

⁴ A r - R ā f i ° i, °Abdurrahman: *Tārīkh al-ḥaraka al-qawmiya wa taṭawwur nizam al-ḥukm fī Miṣr* (History of Popular Movement and Development of the System of Government in Egypt). Part II. Cairo 1958 (3rd ed.), p. 328.

Khūrshīd was greatly alarmed on learning that Muḥammad °Alī and Ḥasan Pasha were on their way to Cairo with all their Albanian units,⁵ for he had as yet no time to organize the Dalāt and convince himself of their loyalty. He was aware that final victory would be with that one, who would get the control over Cairo; he therefore intended to ensure for himself the favour of the Cairenes. The shaykhs and notables of Cairo were to become the arbiters in the struggle between himself and Muḥammad °Alī, for Khūrshīd was under the impression that they would support the lawful representative of the Sultan. On 11 April, Khūrshīd convened the shaykhs, representatives of the ūjāqs⁶ and °Umar Makram into the citadel and informed them that the Albanians had suddenly begun to retreat without his orders, which might result in the country's becoming an object of struggle between the Mamlūks and the Bedouins.⁷ He argued that the Albanians had no reason for such a step and he characterized their action as rebellion. He asked those present to back him with counsel and deed. Those assembled agreed to the setting up of a committee made up of two shaykhs and two representatives of the ūjāqs who would co-operate with the Viceroy in dealing with the newly-created situation. The agreement, however, was not realized as arranged, for Khūrshīd did not trust the shaykhs, and retained two of them as hostages.⁸ In preparation for the encounter with Muḥammad °Alī and Ḥasan Pasha, Khūrshīd sent the Dalāt with artillery to al-Gīzah and Ṭurah,⁹ and entrusted the defence of the citadel to Šālīḥ Aghā Quwash.

However, Khūrshīd's precautions proved ineffective: on arriving at Ṭurah Muḥammad °Alī won over the commanders of the Dalāt with valuable presents, assured them that neither he nor Ḥasan Pasha had rebelled against Khūrshīd, but had come to ask for their pay to which they had a right and which had not been forthcoming despite numerous requests. Thanks to this "logic" which elicited fears in the Dalāt that Khūrshīd might in future deal with them the way he was now doing with the Albanians, Muḥammad °Alī succeeded in entering Ṭurah and then, accompanied by the Dalāt, continued on his way to Cairo which he reached safely on 19 April 1805.¹⁰

Muḥammad °Alī's entry into Cairo marked the beginning of the last stage of his struggle with Khūrshīd, influenced as it was by many realities. The Dalāt whom

⁵ A l - J a b a r t ī: op. cit., p. 327 (8 April 1805).

⁶ From the time of Sultan Sulaymān's reign the Governor of the Egyptian province who was appointed annually by the Sultan ruled in conjunction with a Great Diwān, which dealt with the general business of government and was made up of various administrative officers, representatives of the seven Ottoman army corps (*ūjāqs*) stationed in Egypt for purposes of defence, internal security, and enforcement of tax collection, and finally, the principal religious leaders.

⁷ A l - J a b a r t ī: op. cit., p. 327.

⁸ Ibid., p. 327.

⁹ Ibid., p. 327.

¹⁰ Missett to Camden, 28 April 1805. D o u i n: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte. Vol. II*, doc. 157, p. 221.

Khūrshīd had invited into Egypt, let loose in Cairo an unprecedented reign of terror: they stole, looted, forcibly entered houses, kidnapped women and children, often killing the women after having violated them. The Cairenes were enraged, submitted accusations to the shaykhs and put the blame for everything on Khūrshīd.¹¹ Muḥammad ʿAlī showed a striking piece of skill and foresight in extending and reinforcing friendly bonds with the shaykhs, the notables of the city and ʿUmar Makram. In Muḥammad ʿAlī the people saw the man who already during the preceding hard trials under the rule of the Mamlūks had endeavoured to mitigate their cruel fate. The shaykhs and the representatives of the people came to him also now to seek advice on how to put an end to this catastrophe that lay so heavily on Cairo. The Dalāt, through whom Khūrshīd had intended to reinforce his power position, were becoming his grave-diggers, and the people of Cairo on whom he had intended to rely in liquidating the Albanians, had become Muḥammad ʿAlī's allies.¹²

In the existing social and political order, the shaykhs, the ulemas and the notables were the natural leaders of the people. The ruling class in Egypt was the Turkish aristocracy with the Viceroy at its head which represented the lawful power. This power was guarded by the Janissaries, the Albanians and the Dalāt – all foreigners who committed cruelties against the native population. And naturally, the Mamlūks were also part of the traditional medieval military feudal aristocracy and who, to maintain their position, had created an impenetrable racist barrier against the native population. The class of the oppressed included not solely the simple Egyptians, the fallāḥīn and the poor townsmen, but also the nascent bourgeois class, represented by rich merchants, tradesmen, artisans and shopkeepers. To this class also belonged the Muslim clergy – the native intelligentsia – recruited for the most part from the poorer strata of the population. Under the existing conditions both the poor and the nascent native bourgeoisie could best express their dissatisfaction within the religious framework. Complaints submitted to religious leaders were presented as complaints against gross infringements of Islām's sacred principles. The simple people looked to the clergy for solace, counsel and moral support. Religious leaders – the shaykhs and ulemas – demanded from the representatives of power in the name of the people to put an end to the wrongdoings and to abide by the commandments of Islām. The shaykhs and ulemas enjoyed general respect and authority and had great influence over the people, so that they were able not only to calm down the masses, but also to stir them up.

It is beyond all doubt that the decisive role in the political development at that time was played by the fact that Muḥammad ʿAlī was able to draw support from the popular masses through the shaykhs, ulemas and ʿUmar Makram. The Cairenes

¹¹ Al-Jabārī: op. cit., p. 328.

¹² Yaḥyā, Jalāl: *Miṣr al-hadītha, 1517–1805* (Modern Egypt). Alexandria 1969, p. 612.

represented a tremendous force that supported him and which, in case of need, could be armed. Muḥammad °Alī was in dire need of such an armed force at the time when some of the Albanian commanders went over to Khūrshīd's side, e.g. °Umar Bey, Ṭāhir Bey and Ṣāliḥ Aghā Quwash who had become the commander of the Albanian garrison at the citadel. It should be kept in mind that also Ḥasan Pasha, one of his colleagues, who had returned with him from al-Minyā, and supported him in all his previous operations, could turn into a dangerous rival. For that reason Muḥammad °Alī, in his struggle with Khūrshīd, intended to make use of the force that had aided him in crushing the power of the Beys and to drive the Mamlūks out of Cairo. At that time it was no longer any secret that Muḥammad °Alī wished, with the help of the people, to get for himself the viceregal throne and deprive the British and French agents in Cairo and the Ambassadors of these countries in Istanbul, of the opportunity to support Mamlūk groupings still devoted to them. In case of victory gained by the support of the people, Muḥammad °Alī could present the Sublime Porte with a *fait accompli* without having to fear for his future. After Muḥammad °Alī's entry into Cairo, events followed in rapid succession and ultimately carried him to the viceregal throne. A close examination of the events conspicuously reveals how masterly he directed them.

Muḥammad °Alī started his fight by requesting Khūrshīd to pay the accrued wages to his soldiers to the total amount of 2,000 purses¹³ within a very short period.¹⁴ Paying of mercenaries' wages was a source of trouble which every viceroy had to struggle with, and particularly Khūrshīd. He had no choice but to accept the request, but he lacked the means to accede to it factually, for the Dalāt – and those were his own soldiers on whose support he was depending – also asked their pay. So he used the arrival of six ships loaded with coffee from Jiddah to Suez to exact very high taxes from each merchant, yet the sum he thus came by was insufficient.¹⁵ The Albanians were dissatisfied and asked that the daftardār would submit an exact account as to how the means obtained from land taxes (*al-mīrī*), and of which it had been declared to have been utilized for the soldiers' pay,¹⁶ had truly been disposed of. The Dalāt took no part in this conflict which Muḥammad °Alī had provoked, although it was steadily passing into a sharper form: it involved requests which they, too, considered to be natural.

Muḥammad °Alī who for fear of treason had not called on Khūrshīd since his entry into Cairo, sent to him one of his officers with the request for a sum of 4 million Ottoman piastres as pay to his soldiers for the past six months.¹⁷ At the same time

¹³ Purse (*kīs*) was equal to 500 Ottoman piastres.

¹⁴ Shukrī, Muḥammad Fu'ād: *Miṣr fī maṭla' al-qarn at-tas' °ashar, 1801–1811* (Egypt at the Beginning of the 19th Century). Vol. I, Cairo 1958, p. 302.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

¹⁶ Drovetti to Talleyrand, 28 April 1805. Taken over from: Shukrī, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

¹⁷ Missett to Camden, 2 May 1805. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*. Vol. II, doc. 160, p. 225.

he let it be known that he did not want any new taxes to be imposed on the inhabitants in connection with the fulfilment of his request, for Egypt's incomes, if correctly managed, must suffice to cover all lawful requirements.

Khūrshīd replied with a counter attack: he declared that he had a farmān from the Sublime Porte in virtue of which he was authorized to ask Muḥammad ʿAlī to submit to him an account of all the sums he had collected from the inhabitants and spent as wages for himself and his soldiers. If the money Muḥammad ʿAlī was now asking was deducted from the amount he had by now collected, it would be evident that instead of claims, he had a high debt which he must decidedly repay to the Porte. When Khūrshīd had made such an attack on Muḥammad ʿAlī, he did not know as yet that the latter had already won over the commanders of the Dalāt who had to curb the Albanians. There then remained nothing left to him but to try through the intermediary of the shaykhs to achieve a reconciliation with Muḥammad ʿAlī. This did not, nor could it come about, because of the manifestly opposite interests of both rivals, and in this struggle the weaker could only fall.¹⁸

Towards the end of April 1805, there were almost ten thousand soldiers in Cairo demanding their pay, and only a minor part of them were partly appeased. When regular pay was not forthcoming, the Dalāt had recourse to looting and violence, and this especially in Old Cairo and environs where they were encamped.¹⁹ At the same time, Muḥammad ʿAlī issued strict orders to his Albanian soldiers not to indulge in similar crimes in order not to provoke the inhabitants. In relation to the clergy and the other leaders of the people, he took up the position of a man ready to calm the stormy sea of passions, to change the existing conditions and ease the people's sufferings – that is, the position of a man pursuing the interests of the community before his own. The shaykhs, representatives of the ūjāqs and the notables of Cairo called more and more frequently at Muḥammad ʿAlī's house, who at that time enjoyed a great authority not only with soldiers, but also with the population who saw in him the only possible protector. Khūrshīd's efforts to sway public opinion in his favour were in vain; he could no longer stop the course of events.

In the struggle with Khūrshīd, Muḥammad ʿAlī did not forget that the Dalāt did not fall in with his conception and hence, he had to get rid of them. His position here was facilitated by the fact that Khūrshīd's policy of destituting the population and the bestialities of the Dalāt were enough to provoke the anger and exasperation of the people.²⁰ The shaykhs, the ulemas and the notables decided to lead the masses into an open fight against Khūrshīd, the originator of all the hardships. According to contemporaries' view, Khūrshīd who authorized the Dalāt to collect taxes in

¹⁸ Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 613.

¹⁹ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 328.

²⁰ Missett to Camden, 28 May 1805. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte. Vol. II*, doc. 162, p. 228.

some villages of al-Qalyūbiyah district for unpaid wages, officially sanctioned acts of injustice and crimes committed against the population and thus contributed to the decline that was spreading throughout the country.²¹

The atrocities of the Dalāt in Old Cairo reached a peak towards the end of April and early May: they forcibly entered houses, looted, violated and killed. There was no protection against them and gradually they came to endanger the whole of Cairo. On the order of the shaykhs, mosques and markets were closed, merchants and tradesmen shut their shops and workshops.²² The streets filled with angry crowds who asked the shaykhs for permission to go into Old Cairo and drive out the Dalāt. Soon the inhabitants of Old Cairo, both men and women, came to the al-Azhar mosque and submitted their grievances to the shaykhs, asking for protection.²³ The shaykhs called on Khūrshīd to put an end to the misdeeds of the Dalāt, but he was powerless. May Day passed in unrest, with demonstrations of the people against Khūrshīd.

The next day the shaykhs gathered at the al-Azhar mosque in order to discuss the situation. Popular masses continued in their stormy demonstrations whose dimensions finally drove fear into Khūrshīd. He authorized his aide-de-camp to negotiate in his name with the shaykhs in the mosque and to try to calm them down, but by the time he reached the mosque, the shaykhs had already gone away. He therefore went to the house of shaykh ash-Sharqāwī, where he met also ʿUmar Makram and other personalities and discussed with them the actual situation.²⁴ They agreed on an eight-day truce to be preserved (until 10 May), during which the popular disturbances would cease so that Khūrshīd would have time to take effective measures to preserve peace and order. But there was one condition that within three days Khūrshīd would move the Dalāt out of Cairo and its environs.²⁵

Seeing that the Dalāt were asking for three months' arrears on their pay and Khūrshīd had no means to pay them (that was a public secret), it was not expected that he would be able to meet the agreement. True, after immense efforts Khūrshīd succeeded in getting most of the Dalāt out of Cairo, but those who remained continued in their wrongdoing, so that the cause of the disturbances was not removed and the inhabitants were obliged to stay in their houses.²⁶

During the first decade of May, Muḥammad ʿAlī tirelessly pursued the task he had taken on himself at the outset of the crisis: he assiduously visited the shaykhs, the notables and ʿUmar Makram and together with them sought a way out of the difficult situation and offered them his services and mediation. In addition, he was

²¹ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 329.

²² Ibid., p. 328.

²³ Ibid., p. 329.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 328.

²⁵ Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 614.

²⁶ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 307.

successful in preventing his Albanian soldiers to indulge in any unfriendly acts against the inhabitants, and thus the Cairences were convinced that the conflict involved solely them and Khūrshīd and that the Albanians had nothing to do with it.²⁷

Khūrshīd was aware of the danger threatening him from Muḥammad °Alī's side, whom he considered responsible for all the difficulties in which he found himself. He wanted to reach a settlement with Muḥammad °Alī in the matter of soldiers' pay. On 5 May 1805, both met at the house of Jānim Effendi the daftardār and agreed that: 1) Khūrshīd would pay half the sum required by the Albanians for the past seven months; 2) Muḥammad °Alī would send his soldiers to Upper Egypt to fight against the Mamlūks, while he personally would stay in Cairo with part of his soldiers, until an occasion would present itself for him to move against the Bedouin who were devastating Lower Egypt.²⁸

It was clear that the "truce" between Khūrshīd and Muḥammad °Alī could not be a lasting one. The very next day Drovetti, the French Consul, asked for instructions from his government and from the chargé d'affaires at the French Embassy in Istanbul in case Muḥammad °Alī should seize power,²⁹ and subsequent events bore out his presupposition.

Khūrshīd Pasha undertook several attempts to get rid of Muḥammad °Alī, but in vain. He saw his last opportunity in that the Sublime Porte would nominate Muḥammad °Alī Governor of some other province of the Ottoman Empire and exerted great activity along this line. His efforts were crowned with success and the Porte issued a farmān nominating Muḥammad °Alī Governor of al-Hijāz, with his seat at Jiddah. Khūrshīd kept this farmañ a secret for two months and decided to make it public only after concluding the "truce" with Muḥammad °Alī who, fearing treason on Khūrshīd's part, refused to enter the citadel, but expressed his willingness to meet him at some other place, which Khūrshīd in turn refused.³⁰ The shaykhs saw in Muḥammad °Alī's nomination an enhancement of his authority and a reinforcement of his influence, and consequently mediated a meeting at the house of Sa°id Aghā, a representative of Istanbul and a peace-loving man who enjoyed great respect. On 10 May, Khūrshīd arrived at Sa°id's house where the shaykhs, ulemas and notables of Cairo and high officers were already assembled. The farmān was read, Muḥammad °Alī was dressed in the fur mantle as a sign of his investiture, and the ceremony was concluded.³¹

Meanwhile, Albanian soldiers had gathered outside Sa°id's house and as Muḥammad °Alī came out, they asked him to pay their accrued wages, for it was expected

²⁷ Y a ḥ y ā: op. cit., p. 614.

²⁸ Drovetti to Talleyrand, 5 May 1805. Taken over from: S h u k r ī, op. cit., p. 307.

²⁹ Drovetti to Talleyrand, 6 May 1805. Taken over from: S h u k r ī, op. cit., p. 308.

³⁰ A l - J a b a r t ī: op. cit., p. 328.

³¹ Ibid., p. 328.

that he would leave the country. He, however, referred them to Khūrshīd and the soldiers rushed into the house and demanded their pay from him. They accused him of having appropriated public money, prevented him from leaving the place, and some even asked for his head. Ḥaṣan Pasha succeeded in defending him and in taking him to his house, but the rumour spread across Cairo that he had been arrested.³² It is probably that this rebellion had been staged by Muḥammad °Alī with some high Albanian officers.³³

The entire incident took place in a relatively peaceful atmosphere. However, the Beys °Umar and Ṭāhir and Ṣāliḥ Aghā Quwash – Albanians who had joined Khūrshīd, expressed disapproval with Ḥaṣan Pasha's way of acting. In order to avoid bloodshed, Khūrshīd was transferred the next day to the citadel after he had bound himself to pay the soldiers within a few days. However, the news of Khūrshīd's release provoked unrest among the people.³⁴

That same day Khūrshīd called on the wealthy merchants of Cairo, Muḥammad al-Maḥrūqī and Gīrgis al-Ḡawharī, to pay the sum of 2,000 purses. Likewise the rumour spread that Khūrshīd Pasha intended to impose a new poll tax and a tax on property according to the French system, for he was unable to obtain any more money by traditional means.³⁵ This provoked further uneasiness: the people became agitated and declared that they would not pay. In addition they reproached Khūrshīd not to have kept his word to rid Cairo of the Dalāt.

But that was not all: 1,500 Dalāt headed by Kuwar Oghlī rebelled against Khūrshīd because he had not made good his obligations towards them. They decided to leave Egypt – they marched towards Qalyūb, occupied the town, drove people out of their houses and forcibly exacted money from them. They kidnapped women, girls and boys, and then sold them among themselves. News of these abominations shocked Cairo: the markets remained closed and merchants refused to open their shops.³⁶ The people did not respond to Khūrshīd's appeals that normal life be restored, that he ensured safety to everyone. The inhabitants became convinced that Khūrshīd intended to impoverish them even more with new taxes and tributes and consequently united even more closely around their leaders with °Umar Makram at their head. The entire day and night passed with constant unrests and demonstrations. On Sunday 12 May, events then took place that carried Muḥammad °Alī to the viceregal throne.

The prevalent opinion among the shaykhs, ulemas and notables of Cairo was that long-awaited moment had come to settle accounts with Khūrshīd for his tyranny.

³² Y a ḥ y ā: op. cit., pp. 615–616.

³³ Sh u k r ī: op. cit., p. 309.

³⁴ A l - J a b a r t ī: op. cit., p. 329.

³⁵ Sh u k r ī: op. cit., p. 310.

³⁶ A l - J a b a r t ī: op. cit., p. 329.

From this it ensues that the coup staged by Muḥammad ʿAlī took place with the assent and support of the shaykhs, ulemas and notables who assembled in the qāḍī's house in the morning of 12 May. The courtyard was filled with people. A stormy demonstration took place and slogans were called against Khūrshīd.³⁷

On the request of the shaykhs and notables, the qāḍī summoned members of Khūrshīd's government to the meeting so that they would hear the complaints and demands of the people and would cooperate in rendering justice. When Saʿīd Aghā, Jānim Effendi and other representatives had arrived, the shaykhs declared that nobody would pay the tax prescribed by Khūrshīd on 11 May.³⁸ They would recognize his rule solely on condition that he would submit to measures which they might deem urgent for putting an end to the soldiery's misdeeds, to Khūrshīd's wilfulness and for restoring peace and safety in Cairo. These urgent measures were written down in the form of demands as follows:

- 1) not to keep in future any military units in Cairo, regardless whether they be Albanian or others, and to transfer the present garrison to al-Gīzah;
- 2) not to allow soldiers (neither Albanian nor others), excepting guards and the police, to enter Cairo with weapons;
- 3) for soldiers encamped at al-Gīzah, to set apart places of catering and entertainment on Roḍah island;
- 4) to prevent imposition of taxes and illegal charges on the population;
- 5) to renew transport and communication with Upper Egypt;
- 6) to safeguard pilgrim caravans to Mecca with the necessary armed escort.³⁹

When Muḥammad ʿAlī had won over the shaykhs, notables and ʿUmar Makram, and incited the Cairenes to take up arms, he induced them also to ask such measures from Khūrshīd which he could not possibly meet. It was by then clear to representatives of foreign powers in Egypt that Khūrshīd could not maintain himself in power much longer: but while the British still counted on the Mamlūks, the French began to search for ways of approach to Muḥammad ʿAlī. Drovetti from Alexandria asked Mengin⁴⁰ to advise Muḥammad ʿAlī to refrain from any deed or measure that might provoke indignation on the part of the Sublime Porte in Egypt.⁴¹ This was designed to achieve harmony between French interests and those of the Porte, viz. prevent the British from obtaining influence over the government of Egypt.

During the May crisis al-Alfī Bey also drew close to Cairo with his Mamlūks. Dro-

³⁷ Ibid., p. 329.

³⁸ Y a ḥ y ā: op. cit., p. 617.

³⁹ Vincenzo Taberna to Sir John Stuart, 19 July 1805. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte, Vol. II*, doc. 165, p. 231.

⁴⁰ Mengin, Felix – French agent in Cairo.

⁴¹ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 312.

vetti felt concern lest he might come to terms with Muḥammad °Alī, although he refused to believe that the latter would wish to share power with al-ʿAlfī. Drovetti advised Mengin to strive to win Muḥammad °Alī's friendship, for an opportunity loomed here for France – following changes in the Ottoman dīwān – to restore friendly relations with the Porte.⁴²

The demands of the Cairenes were delivered to Khūrshīd that same day (12 May). Khūrshīd was aware that he could not accede to them, nevertheless he thought he would succeed in inciting the public against the initiator of these demands, °Umar Makram, by refusing them. He decided to do away with °Umar Makram and the other leaders of the people. On 13 May, he convoked a consultation in the citadel to which he invited °Umar Makram, the qādī and the shaykhs. However, none of those invited accepted the invitation for fear of treason; and in fact it soon transpired that Khūrshīd had hired assassins who were to have murdered those invited on the way and the crime would have been imputed to the rebellious soldiery.⁴³ However, the signatories of the demands had no interest in coming to terms with Khūrshīd. The majority of them were for removing Khūrshīd immediately and for putting Muḥammad °Alī in his place; and this was also discussed among the people gathered outside.

As those invited had failed to come, the next morning (13 May) Khūrshīd announced that he refused to accept the demands. Soon after this announcement, the leaders of the people assembled at the qādī's house and Sa'īd Aghā with his group came too. In the name of the Cairenes, °Umar Makram demanded that Khūrshīd, who was the cause of the people's suffering and was responsible for injustices and unbearable tax burdens, be deposed. He proposed Muḥammad °Alī to take his place, which met with universal assent, and the gathering set out towards his residence.

The leaders of the people informed Muḥammad °Alī that they no longer recognized Khūrshīd as their ruler and that they had decided to depose him. When Muḥammad °Alī had asked them whom they wished to set up in his place, they answered: "We want nobody except you. You will rule over us and will respect our demands, from you we expect our right and justice."⁴⁴ After a moment of hesitation, Muḥammad °Alī agreed and immediately °Umar Makram and shaykh ash-Sharqāwī clothed him in a fur mantle as an official act of investiture. This took place in the afternoon of 13 May, and by the evening the news spread throughout the city.⁴⁵ Missett recalls that the leaders of the people asked Muḥammad °Alī to countersign the declaration

⁴² Ibid., pp. 312–313.

⁴³ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 329.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 329. See also – Marsot, Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid: *Egypt in the reign of Muhammad Ali*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 47.

⁴⁵ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 329.

about maintaining the conditions agreed upon prior to his being installed in the office of viceroy.⁴⁶

The shaykhs informed Khūrshīd of his deposition, but he refused to give up his office saying that he had been invested by the Sultan and therefore could not be deposed by fallāḥīn.⁴⁷ Khūrshīd was firmly determined to resist, relying on units that he had in the citadel. Furthermore, he counted on a split in the ranks of the Albanians. He felt convinced that he would succeed in winning over to his side the Mamlūk Beys and that the Sublime Porte would keep on supporting him.⁴⁸

However, Khūrshīd's calculations went awry and he found himself surrounded in the citadel where he had 1,500 soldiers under the command of the Albanian officers Šālīḥ Aghā Quwash and °Umar Bey al-Arna'ūdī. A further high Albanian officer Ḥasan Pasha adhered to a neutral stand in the ongoing conflict, although the rumour was spreading that he had joined Khūrshīd. The latter called up °Alī Pasha Silāḥdār from al-Minyā with his troops and opened negotiations also with Muḥammad Bey al-Alfī who stayed with his Mamlūks at al-Gīzah.⁴⁹ He further relied on the assurances of the Mamlūk leaders al-Bardīsī, Ibrāhīm and °Uthmān Ḥasan to come to his aid and reports went to confirm that they had really left their camps in Upper Egypt and were marching upon Cairo. He also called the Dalāt from al-Qalyūbiyah to his aid against insurgent Cairo, but they forwarded his letter to Muḥammad °Alī. Khūrshīd's efforts to hold his ground had no great prospects of success.

When assessing the course of events with reference to the popular movement, we may arrive at the following conclusions:

- (1) It was °Umar Makram who organized the coup and proposed to the shaykhs and notables to depose Khūrshīd and install Muḥammad °Alī in his place. He submitted his proposal in such convincing terms, that those present accepted it without a single objection;
- (2) The leaders of the people, themselves led by °Umar Makram, enforced the people's right to choose and nominate their ruler, which is a significant constitutional principle. An application of this principle was – even with the concurrence of circumstances – a significant gain by the people;
- (3) °Umar Makram was fully aware that under the existing conditions no one except a Turk could be a viceroy; no Egyptian could come into consideration for this office, for the Sublime Porte would never approve of such an election or be reconciled to it;

⁴⁶ Missett to the Right Honourable Earl Camden, 18 June 1805. D o u i n: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*. Vol. II, doc. 163, p. 229.

⁴⁷ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 330.

⁴⁸ Yaḥyā: op. cit., p. 618.

⁴⁹ Shukrī: op. cit., pp. 315–316.

- (4) Muḥammad °Alī was nominated a qā'immaqām or deputy viceroy pending his, or another Turkish Pasha's definitive nomination to the post of Egyptian viceroy;
- (5) Muḥammad °Alī accepted the conditions submitted to him by °Umar Makram on behalf of the people – the very same conditions that Khūrshīd had refused.

During the first days following the coup Muḥammad °Alī felt that while Khūrshīd, the lawful representative of the Sultan in the country, maintained his office, his own position was as yet weak. In addition, he was worried about the movements of the Mamlūks in both Lower and Upper Egypt.⁵⁰ Those from Upper Egypt had already reached Manfalūt and it was expected they would advance on Cairo. Soldiers' voices were again heard asking for their pay. It was necessary to arm the population in order to be able to protect themselves against the misdeeds of the Albanians who were on Khūrshīd's side. Muḥammad °Alī was aware that such a state of things could not last long, for the spreading anarchy and decline weakened his position,⁵¹ he had to remove the complications provoked by Khūrshīd's obstinate resistance.

The most negotiable way to attain his goal was through the shaykhs who would have to convince Khūrshīd of his senseless resistance, of the urgency to recognize the new reality, or at least to induce him to refrain from any actions pending a decision by the Sublime Porte. The first step in this direction was a letter written by the shaykhs and Muḥammad °Alī to Albanian officers supporting Khūrshīd, to °Umar Bey al-Arna'ūdī and Šāliḥ Aghā Quwash, to the effect that Khūrshīd had been deposed in a lawful way and therefore it was their duty to submit, or resistance would result in a disruption of the existing conditions and an all-round decline of the country.⁵² The above officers wished to see the lawful basis for Khūrshīd's deposition and thus the shaykhs and notables met on 16 May, at the qādī's house and elaborated a written document in which they elucidated the causes that had prompted them to proclaim an uprising against Khūrshīd. All those present signed the document and the qādī confirmed it, but still the officers refused to acknowledge its legality.

Khūrshīd proclaimed that he would not leave the citadel until the Sultan recalled him from his office and ordered the shaykhs to gather finances for paying wages to soldiers who had remained faithful to him, until a reply would come from Istanbul, deciding on the conflict.⁵³ The shaykhs informed Khūrshīd that some 40,000 people had gathered in the city asking for his deposition and that if he did not step down, they could not prevent an armed popular uprising.⁵⁴ Simultaneously, the shaykhs prepared and despatched to Istanbul a report in which they explained the reasons

⁵⁰ Ar-Rāfi'ī: op.⁵⁰ Ar-Rāfi'ī: op. cit., p. 339.

⁵¹ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 316.

⁵² Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 330.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 330.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 330.

why they had decided to depose Khūrshīd and to chose Muḥammad °Alī to take his place.⁵⁵

Muḥammad °Alī started to set siege to the citadel on 19 May 1805, yet he still endeavoured to settle the conflict in a peaceful way.⁵⁶ Khūrshīd, however, declared that he would leave the citadel solely if: a) he should not be required to give any accounts; b) on leaving the citadel he would have a safe conduct to and unmolested stay at Ḥasan Pasha's house; c) he would have at his disposal a sufficient number of boats to take him to Alexandria.⁵⁷

The shaykhs and leaders of the people strictly refused the first condition, for they intended to know how the money levied in taxes from the people had been used – although Muḥammad °Alī would have accepted it. Both sides were preparing for an armed clash, those outside waiting for the signal to attack the citadel whose gates were closed.

°Umar Makram and the shaykhs called upon the Cairenes to arm themselves, and a large number of people surrounded the citadel. Barricades and fortifications were put up and shots were fired from rooftops and minarets. A wave of revolutionary enthusiasm stole over the crowds, not excluding old men and children: armed Cairenes (many with only bare sticks) watched throughout the night at definite posts. The shaykhs came out into the streets to quieten the excited crowds and prevent possible clashes between them and the Albanian soldiers.⁵⁸ Muḥammad °Alī did not give up hope of settling the conflict without bloodshed: on 22 May, such a possibility did appear for a moment when Khūrshīd promised to hand over the citadel without fighting. An exchange of hostages took place between the two parties, who were to be a guarantee of fulfilment of the agreement, but Khūrshīd suddenly changed his view and declared that he would remain in the citadel until the return of the messengers from Istanbul with the decision of the Sublime Porte.⁵⁹

Muḥammad °Alī was extremely dissatisfied with such a turn of the situation; he was anxious for a rapid pace of events in order to be able to present the Porte with an accomplished fact. Consequently, he stepped up the siege of the citadel and began to bombard it from the al-Muqaṭṭam Hills. Muḥammad °Alī relied particularly on the support of °Umar Makram who led and directed the popular movement. According to the reports of French agents, the situation in Cairo resembled that prevailing in Paris during the revolution,⁶⁰ people provided themselves with arms, kept nightly watches and put up barricades in the streets. The number of armed

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 331.

⁵⁶ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 317.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 318.

⁵⁸ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 331.

⁵⁹ Ar-Rāfi'ī: op. cit., p. 339.

⁶⁰ Ghorbal, Shafik: *The Beginnings of the Egyptian Question and the Rise of Mehemet Ali*. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1928, p. 227.

inhabitants taking part in these events was estimated at 40,000 and all blindly obeyed ʿUmar Makram who was at that time the incontestable leader of Cairo, even the shaykhs recognized his authority.

In the night of 24 May, Khūrshīd's soldiers unexpectedly made an attack on the barricades and a bloody battle ensued. The besiegers succeeded in repelling the attackers and driving them back into the citadel.⁶¹ Then Khūrshīd tried to beguile the besiegers by a ruse: the morning following the unsuccessful attack, ʿUmar Bey came out of the citadel with the news that the Pasha wanted to surrender and leave the citadel. This report was meant to delude them, relax their vigilance, and permit the defenders inside the citadel to replenish their supplies of provisions and munition. In addition, ʿUmar Bey was authorised to negotiate with leaders of the people.⁶²

On 25 May, a significant meeting took place between ʿUmar Makram and ʿUmar Bey al-Arnaʿūdī, with a remarkable exchange of views.⁶³ ʿUmar Bey tried to convince ʿUmar Makram that deposition of a viceroy, or a dignitary nominated by the Sultan was not an issue to be decided upon by the people. Such a procedure would undermine the very foundations of the existing political system, in which Egypt was also included. For it is written in the Koran: "Obey Allah, obey the Prophet and your rulers." ʿUmar Makram objected that this verse refers to ulemas and just rulers who, by applying just laws, watch over the observation of the Sharīʿa. According to ancient traditions, rulers from the lowest up to the highest, up to caliphs and sultans, could be deposed by the will of the people and replaced if it was shown that they were not worthy of the honour to rule over their subjects. The people had a right to depose Khūrshīd, for he ruled unjustly and despotically.

ʿUmar Bey stated that the siege of the citadel and its Moslem garrison was in contravention to Sharīʿa, but ʿUmar Makram assured him that as they had been declared rebels, a fact confirmed by the ulemas and the qāḍī in a fatwā, the Sharīʿa should admit it. The meeting ended without any result being achieved and ʿUmar Bey returned to the citadel on 28 May. Armed clashes were resumed and the siege of the citadel was continued.⁶⁴

In the fight against Khūrshīd the people gave evidence of a far higher morale than the Albanian soldiers. The besiegers guarded their posts day and night in order to be able to repel every attack on the part of Khūrshīd's soldiers. It was difficult to co-ordinate the actions of the military and the civilians, but ʿUmar Makram by his personal example, courage and heroism overcame every obstacle. He made daily

⁶¹ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 331.

⁶² Ash-Shinnāwī, ʿAbdulʿazīz Muḥammad: *ʿUmar Makram baṭal al-muqāwama ash-shaʿbiya* (ʿUmar Makram Hero of the Popular Resistance). Cairo 1967, p. 116.

⁶³ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 331.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 332.

visits to all the posts, spoke with the people, convinced and encouraged them.⁶⁵ The main burden of the siege lay with the inhabitants, for the Albanians who were faced in the citadel with their countrymen, fought as if it was a question of manoeuvres. They even began to ask for pay from Muḥammad °Alī, but he told them they would have it only after Khūrshīd had left the citadel. As a result, the soldiers left their posts (on 4 June) and refused to carry on the fight.⁶⁶ The situation was saved by the Cairenes who took up and defended the vacant places at the barricades. And thus, the entire load of besieging the citadel fell on the Cairenes: they took their orders from °Umar Makram, who was not only the commander-in-chief, but also took care of supplies to the inhabitants, and saw to the material needs of their families.⁶⁷

Muḥammad °Alī's Albanian soldiers were not content with having refused to fight, but swooped on the inhabitants in order to compensate themselves by looting for what Muḥammad °Alī failed to pay them. They profited by the fact that most of the inhabitants were at the barricades around the citadel, so as to enter houses where they looted and murdered. Clashes occurred between the Cairenes and the Albanians with considerable losses of life on either side.

Khūrshīd was happy when he saw how his enemies mutually decimated each other. True, the encirclement was not disrupted, but the clashes of the Cairenes with the Albanian soldiers weakened it and permitted to provide the citadel with water, foodstuffs and munition. Muḥammad °Alī called on °Umar Makram and begged him to put an end to the people's attacks on soldiers and assured him that every soldier caught in an attacks on the inhabitants would be instantly beheaded.⁶⁸

Khūrshīd's hopes that the Dalāt would come to his aid vanished: their commanders came to Cairo and paid their respects to Muḥammad °Alī who welcomed them and dressed them in solemn garments. Then they returned to Qalyūb (on 9 June) and advanced against al-Alfī Bey and his units. However, they did not go to fight, but instead attacked villages, looted and massacred the inhabitants.⁶⁹

A last spark of hope gleamed to Khūrshīd with the arrival of °Alī Pasha Silāḥdār with his troops from al-Minyā, who pitched his camp in Old Cairo. In order to weaken Muḥammad °Alī, he promised his soldiers to pay their wages if they would join Khūrshīd, and many indeed followed this appeal. Silāḥdār succeeded in establishing contact with the besieged garrison and sent provisions and munition into the citadel. He agreed with Khūrshīd that they would simultaneously make an at-

⁶⁵ V a u l a b e l l e, Achile de: *Histoire moderne de l'Égypte*. Paris 1936, p. 220.

⁶⁶ A l - J a b a r t i: op. cit., p. 332.

⁶⁷ A s h - S h i n n ā w i: op. cit., p. 122.

⁶⁸ S h u k r i: op. cit., p. 322.

⁶⁹ A l - J a b a r t i: op. cit., p. 333.

tack on the besieger's positions around the citadel and rapidly crush all the nests of resistance.⁷⁰

The people's uprising was the greatest danger to Khūrshīd, hence, Silāhdār contrived a military ruse to do away with it. Two of his high-ranking officers wrote a letter to °Umar Makram that they would like to go into the citadel to convince Khūrshīd of the futility of further resistance. They asked the besiegers at the barricades to clear the way for their escort. However, °Umar Makram got timely notice that this was a masking stratagem and therefore called on the inhabitants to exercise the utmost watchfulness and circumspection. In the night, a caravan of 60 camels fully laden with provisions and ammunition was making its way towards the citadel. The besiegers from the quarter ar-Rumaylah, commanded by Ḥajjāj al-Khudārī, put the accompanying soldiers to flight after a bitter skirmish and took hold of the entire consignment.⁷¹

Following this unsuccessful attempt, the citadel garrison started an artillery bombardment of the city, using also incendiary charges. The besiegers returned the fire and this cannonade went on for a whole week. The citadel garrison concentrated its fire principally on al-Azbakiyah quarter and the environs of al-Azhar, where it caused great damage, but this had no effect on the people's morale and fighting power. The besiegers closed even more tightly the ring round the citadel, prevented Khūrshīd's soldiers from getting to town and thereby stopped the supply of provisions to the citadel.

On approaching Cairo, al-Alfī pitched his camp at al-Manṣūriyah not far from the pyramids. He sent letters to °Umar Makram, shaykh ash-Sharqāwī and Muḥammad °Alī with a request that a place be reserved for him and his units inside the city.⁷² After consultation, all three recommended him to select a place where he could rest until conditions became quiet again. As a result he moved to aṭ-Ṭarrānah, whence he followed events at close range, prepared to intervene at any time.

At that time al-Alfī was strong enough to occupy the entire Cairo. In the light of bitter experience, °Umar Makram became conscious that a return of the Mamlūks to power would mean for the country a return to anarchy and further hardship for the working people. He relied on the promises made to him by Muḥammad °Alī that he would uphold justice and right, ensure safety to the people and, in dealing with weighty problems, would turn to the shaykhs and to leaders of the people. He therefore dissuaded al-Alfī from undertaking any military operation so that the situation would not become even more confounded. He wrote repeatedly to him that the uprising of the people of Cairo is advantageous for him as it aimed to drive out Khūrshīd's soldiers; once they were out, the road would be free for him to enter

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 333.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 334.

⁷² Ibid., p. 330.

Cairo and take over power.⁷³ Al-Alfi believed in these reports and kept on sending money to 'Umar Makram for distribution to the insurgent inhabitants. Thus, through political sagacity, 'Umar Makram succeeded in keeping al-Alfi from undertaking military operations against Cairo.

During the course of the events above described, a boat arrived in Alexandria (on 24 June) with Ṣālīḥ Aghā⁷⁴ an extraordinary messenger from Sultan Salīm III. The news of his arrival reached Cairo on 29 June, with the additional detail that he was bringing letters and instructions for resolving the crisis. 'Umar Makram and other leaders of the people interpreted it in the sense that the letters contained the Sultan's orders about the deposition of Khūrshīd and nomination of Muḥammad 'Alī for the viceregal throne. The news soon spread throughout the city and the people were seized with a wave of joyful expectation, for they considered the arrival of the Sultan's messenger as a victory of the people's will and an end to the protracted fighting. Expressions of joy lasted the whole day and celebrations with fireworks went on in the night.⁷⁵

Khūrshīd and his soldiers in the citadel, as also 'Alī Pasha Silāḥdār and his troops in Old Cairo, erroneously took the hubbub and the firing in town for a renewal of armed clashes between the Cairenes and Muḥammad 'Alī's units. Guns from the citadel opened fire on the town and 'Alī Pasha's units came out to attack Cairo. The inhabitants of ar-Rumaylah under the command of Ḥajjāj al-Khuḍarī put up resistance to 'Alī Pasha's units and after a bitter fight forced them to retreat. Muḥammad 'Alī's artillery riposted to that from the citadel.⁷⁶ Khūrshīd's desperate attempt at breaking through the siege ended in complete failure.

The Sultan's messenger left Alexandria for Rosetta, and thence by boat along the Nile reached Cairo. He was accompanied from Istanbul by an adjutant of the Grand Vizier. Both were forced to spend some time at Rosetta for fear that they might fall on the way into the hands of Mamlūks, Bedouins or Dalāt scattered throughout the whole of Lower Egypt. 'Umar Makram was making great preparations for a solemn welcome, so that the guests from Istanbul might see the dimension of the uprising of the people and their determination to oust Khūrshīd and place Muḥammad 'Alī in his stead.⁷⁷ The following precautions were taken: 1) All the Cairenes, men, women and children would go to welcome the Sultan's messenger

⁷³ Ash-Shinnāwī: op. cit., pp. 127-128.

⁷⁴ Ṣālīḥ Aghā was member of a special unit (al-qābijī) of the Porte's couriers by sea; his rank was "qābijī bāshī". Missett writes that "One of the principal officers of the household of Sultan Selim arrived here on the 24th ultimo." E. Missett to the Right Honourable Earl Camden, Alexandria, 23 July 1805. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte. Vol. II*, doc. 166, p. 233.

⁷⁵ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 335.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 335.

⁷⁷ Ash-Shinnāwī: op. cit., p. 129.

and his escort; 2) The shaykhs and notables would assemble at Muḥammad °Alī's house where the Sultan's messenger was to come at the head of a solemn procession; 3) Aḥmad Pasha Khūrshīd would remain enclosed in the citadel.

Muḥammad °Alī despatched to Rosetta a military unit that was to accompany and safeguard the Sultan's messenger and his escort on his way to Cairo. In addition, a delegation of Cairo notables set out to meet and welcome the guests from Istanbul a long way before Cairo and accompany them to the capital.⁷⁸

From early morning of 9 July, Cairo was agog: crowds filled the streets and lustily cheered Ṣāliḥ Aghā and his escort from his entering the city, all the way through Cairo, so that the procession to Muḥammad °Alī's house at al-Azbakīyah lasted three hours. The shaykhs, ulemas and notables were assembled in the reception hall to welcome the distinguished guests.⁷⁹ After the welcoming ceremony, the farmān brought by Ṣāliḥ Aghā was read, to the effect that, as from 18 May 1805, Muḥammad °Alī, the former Governor of al-Hijāz, was nominated Viceroy of Egypt. By the second farmān Aḥmad Pasha Khūrshīd was recalled from Egypt, with the injunction that he would leave for Alexandria with all due honours being paid to him, and there would await further orders of the Sublime Porte.⁸⁰ These farmāns were received with extreme satisfaction not only by those present in the hall, but the absolute majority of the inhabitants of Cairo.

The grandiose reception of the messengers from Istanbul caused the balance to tip in favour of Muḥammad °Alī. In fact Ṣāliḥ Aghā carried two contradictory farmāns: the first confirmed Khūrshīd in his office and ordered Muḥammad °Alī to leave Egypt, the second one comprised nomination of Muḥammad °Alī as Viceroy and transfer of Khūrshīd to another function, which would be decided upon later. The Sublime Porte left it to Ṣāliḥ Aghā's discretion to make use of the one that would in his view suit the existing circumstances, i.e. he should choose the man who had real power and decisive influence in the country.⁸¹ As Ṣāliḥ Aghā hastened to Cairo, he came under the influence of Muḥammad °Alī and the insurgent Cairenes some 15,000 of whom were armed with rifles, and twice that number with sticks. Under the circumstances, Ṣāliḥ Aghā could not – even if he had wanted to – preserve neutrality and thus submitted to the dīwān of Cairo the farmān appointing Muḥammad °Alī.⁸²

On 11 July, a copy of the farmān was sent to Khūrshīd, but he refused to leave the citadel. He declared that he had been nominated by a Sultan's farmān, and therefore could not be recalled by a scrap of paper like the one he had received.⁸³ He

⁷⁸ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 335.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 336.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 336.

⁸¹ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 324.

⁸² Missett to Camden, 23 July 1805. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte. Vol. II*, doc. 166, pp. 233–234.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 234.

demanding a meeting with Ṣāliḥ Aghā and the Grand Vizier's adjutant to discuss the matter, but the shaykhs and Muḥammad °Alī refused his demand.⁸⁴ Khūrshīd was aware that he would receive no further reply to his letters on the inner situation in Egypt that he had sent to the Sublime Porte: by his refusal to submit he just played for time in order to be able to agree with the Mamlūks on a common attack on Cairo from all sides with the goal to suppress the popular movement and then to drive Muḥammad °Alī not only out of Cairo, but out of Egypt. Being encircled, he could not contact the Mamlūk leaders, so he entrusted the task to °Alī Pasha Silāḥdār who was encamped with his troops in Old Cairo and at al-Gīzah.⁸⁵

During this decisive stage of the uprising, a serious split occurred between °Umar Makram and the majority of the shaykhs. This rift could have been avoided had not the shaykhs acted precipitately. They assumed the Porte's farmāns meant a solution of the situation and consequently the people should lay down their arms and go back to their everyday duties. They were of the opinion that driving Khūrshīd out of the citadel was the new Viceroy's business: let him settle the point the way he thinks fit, but without the people's further participation. The shaykhs asked Muḥammad °Alī to see to it that calm be restored in the city. He immediately agreed and had an announcement made publicly that peace and order had returned and therefore arms should not be carried during the day. If soldiers should perpetrate acts of violence against the inhabitants, let the victims bring their complaints to him; if civilians, let them go to °Umar Makram. The inhabitants received this proclamation with discontent and accused the shaykhs of cowardice. In the evening and at night, armed citizens watched and guarded their posts.⁸⁶ The next morning representatives of the people called on °Umar Makram to negotiate the question of handing over their arms. °Umar Makram openly explained to them the entire situation and told them that it was contrary to his point of view, laying the blame and responsibility chiefly on the shaykhs ash-Sharqāwī and al-Amīr. Thus, it is evident that in time of crisis, the people of Egypt gave proof of a great moral strength and confidence in their own power.

°Umar Makram held a view contrary to that of the shaykhs: he asserted that until conditions settled down and as long as Khūrshīd did not give up his office, the torch of revolution should not be put out.⁸⁷ Khūrshīd was out to win time in an effort to strengthen his position, placing his hope in the Mamlūks who, on his appeal, were approaching on Cairo. Near al-Gīzah, their units crossed the Nile to the east bank, and the Beys al-Bardīsī, Ibrāhīm and °Uthmān Ḥasan took Ṭurah and levelled its fortifications to the ground.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 337.

⁸⁵ Ash-Shinnāwī: op. cit., p. 132.

⁸⁶ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 337.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 338.

⁸⁸ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 325.

The arrival of the Mamlūks meant a change in the balance of power in favour of Khūrshīd who now disposed of the garrison in the citadel, the soldiers of ʿAlī Pasha Silāhdār and those of the Mamlūks. In a coordinated attack of these three military units, Khūrshīd might succeed in suppressing the popular uprising, retain his post and force the Sultan to revoke his decision and reinstate him in his office.⁸⁹ The units of ʿAlī Pasha and the Mamlūks encircled Cairo, now threatened with starvation. The Albanians and the Dalāt again went on a rampage of looting and violence. Therefore, ʿUmar Makram insisted that the people further carried arms and kept up the siege of the citadel in order to achieve an early final solution, so that the people would not be exposed to further tribulations on the part of Khūrshīd, or the Mamlūks.

A moment worthy of notice was Muḥammad ʿAlī's prompt reaction to the shaykhs' demand to disarm the inhabitants. His attitude is understandable: although his own personal interest required a speedy end to the crisis and Khūrshīd's definitive departure from Egypt, he realized that the people must be disarmed lest the revolutionary, fighting spirit took root in them, for under conditions of an armed uprising by the people, a patriotic feeling became reinforced and a firm foundation for national life might be laid in Egypt. And Muḥammad ʿAlī had no interest at all in such a development, for he looked at the problems farsightedly, and a growth of any national consciousness and revolutionary moods could not be conform to the taste of an absolutist ruler.

A great gathering of leaders of the people and Albanian commanders was held at ʿUmar Makram's house, at which the new situation, provoked by Khūrshīd's alliance with the Mamlūks, was discussed. Those present decided to wind up this issue promptly and definitively; but before that, they wished to give Khūrshīd one last opportunity to step down and leave Cairo peacefully. Khūrshīd refused and thus fighting was resumed.

Very few people listened to the shaykhs' appeal to return to their normal work. The majority condemned their spirit of capitulation. The events that followed rapidly one upon another proved the correctness of ʿUmar Makram's standpoint. In fact, the soldiers misused the disarming of the people to indulge in new acts of violence. The Cairenes grumbled and complained to ʿUmar Makram, but he referred them to the shaykhs ash-Sharqāwī and al-Amīr who had requested that people be disarmed.⁹⁰ When the complaints multiplied, the shaykhs again authorized the carrying of arms so that the inhabitants could defend themselves.

Muḥammad ʿAlī feared that the Beys who were already at Ṭurah and al-Maʿādī might attack Cairo. He resolved to take the initiative and on 16 July, set out at the

⁸⁹ Ash-Shinnāwī: op. cit., p. 133.

⁹⁰ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 338.

head of a large army against the Mamlūks at Old Cairo. He was accompanied by Ḥasan Pasha and ʿĀbidī Bey, brothers of the murdered Ṭāhir Pasha. After a violent encounter, the Mamlūks retreated to the western bank of the Nile, joined ʿAlī Pasha's army and the fight was carried on by artillery over the Nile.⁹¹

The Dalāt, encamped on the western bank of the Nile and on Badrān Island, profited by the departure of the Albanian units from Cairo, crossed the Nile and attacked Būlāq where they committed innumerable atrocities. The inhabitants of Būlāq complained to ʿUmar Makram and he requested Muḥammad ʿAlī's deputy to put a stop to the Dalāt's crimes.⁹² The Dalāt, however, paid no heed to his injunctions and went on rampaging.

In the midst of this atmosphere of uncertainty, when the inhabitants had renewed their siege of the citadel and had taken up their posts at the barricades, the news reached Cairo on 19 July, that the Ottoman fleet, commanded by Qapūdān Pasha ʿAbdallāh Rāmiz, with 2,500 soldiers on board, had dropped anchor at Alexandria. On receiving this news, the shaykhs held a meeting and decided to send a petition in which they would justify the reasons that led to the recall of Khūrshīd and the nomination of Muḥammad ʿAlī in his place. However, they differed in their views and in the end failed to agree.⁹³ In the meantime, on 24 July, Qapūdān Pasha's adjutant arrived at Būlāq, carrying two letters: one contained an order to Khūrshīd without delay to leave the citadel and go to Alexandria, the second referred to Muḥammad ʿAlī to remain qā'immaqām in compliance with the wishes of both the shaykhs and the subjects, and to send an expedition to al-Ḥijāz, equipped with everything necessary to fight against the Wahhābīs.⁹⁴

The Sublime Porte resolved to put an end to the anarchy that had been spreading more and more in Egypt. It was afraid that the Mamlūks might make use of this opportunity, unite their ranks and wrench the whole of Egypt from the Ottoman Empire. It was at a time when the Wahhābīs in Arabia were winning one victory after another, held in their hands almost the entire al-Ḥijāz, and because of anarchy, the government in Egypt was incapable of satisfying its repeated requests for dispatching reinforcements.⁹⁵ Consequently, one month after having sent Ṣāliḥ Aghā, the Sublime Porte decided to dispatch new decrees confirming its previous rulings, to send the fleet under the command of Qapūdān Pasha that would force all the interested parties to respect its will.

When Qapūdān Pasha's adjutant arrived in Cairo and made public the contents of the decrees, Khūrshīd expressed his readiness to obey the Sultan's orders, but

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 338.

⁹² Ibid., p. 338.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 338.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 339. Also Shukrī: op. cit., p. 328.

⁹⁵ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 327.

requested a meeting. The adjutant, together with Ṣāliḥ Aghā went into the citadel where Khūrshīd refuted all accusations from rebellion. He said he had a debt of 500 purses which he had borrowed to pay his soldiers from the citadel garrison, so that he had nothing but "what he was wearing,"⁹⁶ and somebody would have to pay for that. The adjutant and Ṣāliḥ Aghā promised him to discuss the matter with Muḥammad °Alī, and went back to the city.

The following day Muḥammad °Alī came by a letter⁹⁷ containing details of an unexpected attack on Cairo, set for 27 July. The signal for the general attack was to have been the firing of 7 flares from al-Gīzah. After that, guns from the citadel were to have fired on Muḥammad °Alī's house and in the general turmoil °Alī Pa-sha's troops were to have crossed the Nile near Old Cairo, al-Bardīsī was to strike from al-Muqaṭṭam hills and the remaining Beys had to attack from Ṭurāh. The victory was to have been crowned by an uprising of the Cairenes against the Albanians.

The Beys from Upper Egypt reached Ḥulwān on 26 July, and their vanguard as far as al-Gīzah. Al-Alfī Bey arrived on 27 July, to aṭ-Ṭarrānah. Qapūdān Pasha's adjutant and Ṣāliḥ Aghā continued in their negotiations with Khūrshīd and on 27 July, informed °Umar Makram that if Khūrshīd failed to leave the citadel next day, he would be treated as a rebel.⁹⁸ Khūrshīd once again changed his resolve and the next day declared he would not step down. Women and children were sent to safety out of the citadel. In an effort to thwart the planned attack on Cairo, Muḥammad °Alī occupied Imbābah on the western bank of the Nile on 30 July.

All the time the protracted and onerous negotiations went on between Khūrshīd, Muḥammad °Alī and the representatives from Istanbul. Finally, Khūrshīd promised he would leave the citadel on 5 August, and Muḥammad °Alī prepared the 500 purses which he claimed. °Umar Makram ensured 200 camels to carry all the luggage from the citadel to Būlāq. On 6 August, Khūrshīd left the citadel in the company of °Umar Bey and Ṣāliḥ Aghā Quwash with the entire garrison in their train. The citadel was taken over on behalf of Muḥammad °Alī by Ḥasan Aghā. °Umar Makram was a honourable antagonist: he gave shelter to Khūrshīd in his house until all the luggage was loaded on the camels.⁹⁹ Finally, he exhorted the people to be on the alert lest they be taken unawares by any possible rioting of Khūrshīd's soldiery who had been scattered in the town.

Khūrshīd set sail from Būlāq with his harem, his servants and luggage on 11 August 1805. He was then followed by his adherents, °Umar Bey, Ṣāliḥ Quwash and others: they were loath to part from Egypt although they had done everything to ruin it.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 339.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 339.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 340. Also Shukrī: op. cit., p. 328.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 340.

By deposing Khūrshīd, the Egyptian people brought the struggle to a successful end and imposed their will on the Ottoman Empire. The principal reasons that forced Khūrshīd to submit, were: 1) the popular movement of resistance and the resolve of ʿUmar Makram, the leader of the uprising, to depose an unjust ruler; 2) the orders of the Sublime Porté which, according to custom, had recognized the reality and recalled Khūrshīd from Egypt (naming him simultaneously Governor in Thessalonica) and confirmed Muḥammad ʿAlī in office.

Yet another factor that played a weighty role in the development of events, was the rivalry among the Mamlūk Beys whose aid Khūrshīd was expecting. Al-Alfī hesitated up to the last moment, believing that he might play on several sides – as he was used to – with Khūrshīd, with Muḥammad ʿAlī, with British agents, with the insurgent Cairenes, and ultimately even with Qapūdān Pasha. He knew that the other Beys were marching upon Cairo from as far as Upper Egypt, yet he remained “neutral” and his soldiers looted villages in Lower Egypt. Only when he saw that a common attack was being prepared on Cairo he got frightened that he might fall out of the play and on 7 August, set out from at-Ṭarrānah to join the other Beys at al-Gīzah.¹⁰¹ He procrastinated until it was too late: Khūrshīd had left the citadel and, moreover, Muḥammad ʿAlī prepared an unpleasant ambush for the Beys.

The Beys in general were under the impression that the Cairenes were secretly on their side. As the Beys were eager to occupy Cairo before the maximum flood of the Nile, they decided to bribe most of the Albanian commanders. They distributed large sums of money among them and the latter in their turn promised to drive Muḥammad ʿAlī and those faithful to him out of Cairo. Several letters were exchanged between the Beys and the Albanian commanders, but the letters that these Albanians wrote in their own name and in the name of the shaykhs and the population, were “fabricated” at Muḥammad ʿAlī’s palace and under his supervision. The writers persuaded the Beys that the Cairenes wished to rise against Muḥammad ʿAlī, a stranger, whose unbearable tyranny brought them to long for the Beys’ rule and impatiently waited for the moment when they would be able to drive him out and invite in the Beys.¹⁰² They agreed that the Mamlūks would enter Cairo on the traditional feast of completion or abundance of the Nile (it fell on 16 August) which was celebrated outside the city walls in the presence of the highest dignitaries. Muḥammad ʿAlī had given orders to cut the dam of the canal in the night and nobody went to celebrate on the day agreed upon, a fact that the Beys did not realize.

The Beys ʿUthmān Ḥasan, ʿAbbās, Salīm and Shāhīn, further Kāshifs, Mamlūks, soldiers and slaves – altogether some one thousand strong – entered the city through

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 341.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 341. (Al-Alfī reached al-Gīzah on 11 August.)

¹⁰² Missett to Camden, 29 August 1805. D o u i n : *L’Angleterre et l’Égypte. Vol. II*, doc. 171, p. 238.

Bāb al-Futūḥ. The guards at the gate left them pass and they, to the sound of drums and pipes, proceeded to Al-Azhar mosque. The Beys called at ʿUmar Makram's house, but he refused to receive them. They went on further to shaykh ash-Sharqāwī, where also ʿUmar Makram arrived, and asked them to organize a popular uprising against the Albanians, but without result. They went away and left Cairo through Bāb al-Barqīyah.¹⁰³ There was no clash because the Albanians were too late. The second group of Mamlūks had less luck: they were met by a rain of bullets and not even Barqūq's mosque, where they sought refuge, was of any avail to them. From the ensuing massacre nobody but Ḥasan Bey Shabaka and two Kāshifs who redeemed themselves with money, escaped alive. This spelt the definitive end of the Mamlūks' hope to oust Muḥammad ʿAlī from power.¹⁰⁴

A note should also be made of the considerable activity carried out by various parties in Alexandria to influence Qapūdān Pasha: Khūrshīd sent ʿAlī Pasha and al-Alfī his aide-de-camp to him. Both arrived in Alexandria on 3 August, and were to have persuaded Qapūdān Pasha to leave Khūrshīd in his function, a move which they would have interpreted as an unofficial assent for the prospective general attack against Muḥammad ʿAlī. They even asked him to join in with all his soldiers in driving out Muḥammad ʿAlī and the Albanians and to take part in all the measures necessary for a stabilization of the régime and restoration of peace.¹⁰⁵ During the course of the meeting, which was attended also by Missett, they tried to convince Qapūdān Pasha that the expulsion of Muḥammad ʿAlī was the only way for peace to return to the country. They also pointed out that there was a constant danger for the Sublime Porte of a French incursion into Egypt, for it had no adequate armed forces to repulse such an attack. It appeared probable that Britain would take the necessary measures to prevent that the country, whose affairs were of interest to her, from falling into her enemy's hands.¹⁰⁶

However, all the attempts to influence Qapūdān Pasha came to nought, for he had strict instructions to put Muḥammad ʿAlī at the head of the Egyptian government.¹⁰⁷ Qapūdān Pasha declared that the Sublime Porte had already nominated Muḥammad ʿAlī Viceroy of Egypt and that Khūrshīd must leave this country for a destination that would be determined by the Porte.¹⁰⁸

ʿAlī Pasha and al-Alfī's aide-de-camp left Alexandria on 5 August, with the decision that as soon as they reached their camps, a general attack would start on Cairo. The following day, however, Khūrshīd handed over the citadel and the proposed general attack petered out in that futile attempt on the part of the Beys from

¹⁰³ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., pp. 341–342.

¹⁰⁴ Missett to Camden, 29 August 1805. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte. Vol. II*, doc. 171, p. 239.

¹⁰⁵ Missett to Straton, 6 August 1805. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte. Vol. II*, doc. 169, p. 237.

¹⁰⁶ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 333.

¹⁰⁷ Missett to Straton, 6 August 1805. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte. Vol. II*, doc. 169, p. 237.

¹⁰⁸ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 333.

Upper Egypt (on 16 August) in which al-Alfī took no part. After this event, °Alī Pasha Silāḥdār handed over al-Gīzah to Muḥammad °Alī against a promise of general amnesty to his soldiers, then left for Alexandria to rejoin Khūrshīd Pasha.

The subsequent course of events convinced Qapūdān Pasha of the correctness of his choice and therefore, in a letter to the Sublime Porte, asked that Muḥammad °Alī be formally approved in the office of Viceroy. Also Muḥammad °Alī's agents exerted their influence in Istanbul, persuading members of the dīwān that this Albanian, enjoying the full confidence of the shaykhs, ulemas and the population at large, would form a government that would be capable of liberating the holy shrines of Islam from the hands of the Wāḥḥābis. The Ottoman dīwān ultimately became reconciled with the reality and issued the farmān on Khūrshīd's nomination as Governor in Thessalonica. Qapūdān Pasha left Alexandria for Abū Qīr where he set sail for Istanbul, together with Khūrshīd Pasha and °Alī Pasha, and thereby the power in Egypt passed finally into the hands of Muḥammad °Alī.

Such was the end of Khūrshīd's rule in Egypt. His nomination, as also his removal, was the work of Muḥammad °Alī who – after his driving the Beys out of Cairo and thus opening for Khūrshīd the road to power – contrived to prepare the way to his own goal. Khūrshīd was the last Viceroy in Egypt to accept orders directly from Istanbul and by removing him, the Sublime Porte acknowledged its own weakness. On his return to Istanbul Qapūdān Pasha correctly remarked that he had left in Egypt a man (Muḥammad °Alī) who would one day become one of the most dangerous rebels against the Sultan. "Our Sultans never had a more active, a more capable Viceroy, with greater political experience, than is this Pasha."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 335.

THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION OF 1952 AND THE ARMY (SOME QUESTIONS OF THE UNIVERSAL AND THE PARTICULAR IN THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION)

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The scholars trying to characterize the national liberation revolutions after World War II are naturally facing the questions of specificity of these revolutions; however, on the other hand it is necessary to understand these social developments in the context of the world revolutionary process. The study gives a thorough analysis of the political and social development in Egypt of the crucial year of 1952 and dealing with the main reasons that led to the success of the Free Officers' movement, it tries to answer some questions of the Universal and the Particular in the Egyptian revolution.

National liberation revolutions are the first stage of national liberation movements and they are aimed at liquidation of foreign political, economic and also ideological domination and oppression of colonialism as well as at creating of an independent state.

Socio-economic tasks and the class contents of national liberation revolutions are determined both by the internal conditions of a given country and by the character of the epoch during which they are taking place. There exists a certain regularity here, namely that the social aspect of national liberation revolutions is tending to increase from epoch to epoch. Simultaneously, the national liberation aspect of many social revolutions has been increasing too.¹

Already in 1858 K. Marx refusing Eurocentric conceptions, dominating in bourgeois social sciences, raised the question of the possibility of the influence of processes which took place in the periphery of world capitalism upon the class struggle and the fate of revolutionary movement in Europe, the question of reflection of different types and directions of social processes in different parts of the world, upon the global struggle between socialism and capitalism.² The answer to this complex theoretical problem was given sixty years later by V. I. Lenin.

Lenin pointed out the enormous historical importance of awakening of the East entering the epoch of bourgeois revolutions and the initial change of oppressed nations to the subject of world progress. He analysed imperialism as the world system

¹ Brutenec, K. N.: Contemporary National Liberation Revolutions. Prague 1977, p. 22. (In Czech.)

² Marx to Engels, 8. 10. 1858. Select Letters. Bratislava 1959, pp. 107–108. (In Slovak.)

of oppression and its periphery as the object of exploitation. He came to the conclusion that the international proletariat as well as the oppressed nations of the East would attack imperialism. The natural consequence was that colonial and dependent countries could pass to socialism without passing through the capitalist period of development.³

However, it would be wrong and against the spirit of Leninism to claim that present-day concepts of the national liberation movement do not need any further working out. Lenin emphatically remarked that the expected development in the East would be very specific; he also pointed to limitation of a simple extrapolating of European experience in those countries, to a number of specificities.⁴

Some previous ideas on regularities, stages and forms of national liberation movement have been studied, precised, developed and re-evaluated particularly in the past twenty years at the Congresses of CPSU, at international and regional gatherings of communist and workers' parties etc. The intense and contradictory courses of events in developing countries, new moments arising uninterruptedly as mutual causes of this development and the basic processes of the epoch, face the theory with new problems. The pressure of facts, processes and needs of real life on theoretical concepts, explaining them, has not been decreasing. A number of important questions are still discussed, other questions are beginning to be worked out after their raising by real life.⁵

National liberation revolutions are part of the social life of our epoch and – although in various degrees – a link of social changes for the transition from one socio-economic formation to another, for the removal of relations, which have become historically outdated or are being outdated and they possess social contents corresponding to these processes.⁶

The revolution of 1952 in Egypt meant the first serious breakthrough into hitherto unthreatened imperialist supremacy in the Arab world and it appeared to have a significant share on gradual change of the political climate in the region. The Egyptian revolution – by its character bourgeois democratic, antifeudal and anticolonial – fitted within the framework of national liberation revolutions of the second stage of the universal crisis of capitalism, the favourable conditions of which have been created by the historic victory of the U.S.S.R. in World War II and by the rise of the world socialist system. The revolution passed several stages which differed ac-

³ L e n i n, V. I.: Report of the Committee for National and Colonial Question at the Second Congress of the Comintern, 26. 7. 1920. Complete Works, Vol. 31, p. 240. (In Slovak.)

⁴ It must be said here, that in terms of Marxist-Leninist philosophy (in comparison e.g. with positivism) by the "universal" we do not mean the simple repetition (universal = repeated), but at the same time the *essential*.

⁵ *Razvivayushchiesya strany v sovremennom mire* (Developing Countries in the Contemporary World). Moscow 1985, p. 6.

⁶ B r u t e n c: op. cit., p. 22.

according to the character of the tasks solved. In this study we shall try to analyse the initial stage of the revolution and point out the universal and the particular in compliance with the methodology of Marxist historiography.

The political crisis in Egypt constantly deepened since autumn 1951.⁷ The ruling strata i.e. the dominant Egyptian bourgeoisie and other discredited elements, which were already unable to rule by means of traditional methods, became deadlocked. A revolutionary situation emerged and the reaction tried to suppress it by anti-constitutional methods: by staging the burning of Cairo on 26 January 1952 with successive proclamations of martial law they created the necessary conditions for brutal reckoning with their political opponents. The caretaker governments⁸ managed to break all progressive organizations and jail their leaders during February and March 1952. By these blows the driving forces of the potential national democratic (bourgeois democratic) revolution were deprived of their natural leader. Reactionary forces were able to break the workers' and students' movement as well as other leftist organizations particularly due to the fact that they did not create a united political platform, a firm organizational structure, nor a revolutionary party and moreover they became embroiled in useless factional disputes.⁹ The situation in Egypt could be therefore characterized as the revolutionary one, but the driving forces of the expected revolution (workers, students, semiproletariat and petty bourgeois strata as well as middle-class bourgeoisie) were unable to fight since they were without a leader. The reaction could rightly think that the danger was averted for a sufficiently long time, since the necessary low ebb of the revolutionary wave would soon be over together with the revolutionary situation. However, the calculations of the reaction did not come true.

On Wednesday 23 July in the morning the surprised population of Egypt learned that the army had taken power in the country. In the communiqué broadcast at 7.30 am by Cairo Radio read by Lt. Col. Anwar as-Sādāt on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, the uprising of the Egyptian Army against despotism and a general decline in the country was announced.¹⁰ The communiqué stated:

⁷ On 8 October 1951 the Wafdist Government unilaterally abrogated the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty and the 1899 Sudan Condominium Agreement whereby the presence of British troops in Egypt lost its legal basis and immediately guerrilla warfare flared up against the British in the Suez Canal zone (October 1951 – January 1952).

⁸ On 27 January 1952 (the day following the burning of Cairo) the King dismissed the Wafdist government and then four governments succeeded one another during the period up to 23 July, namely of 'Alī Māhīr (27 January – 1 March), Nagīb al-Hilālī (1 March – 2 July), Ḥusayn Sirrī (2–22 July) and again that of Nagīb al-Hilālī (22–23 July). Cf. M u r s ī, Kāmil: *Asrār majlis al-wuzarā'* (The Secrets of the Council of Ministers). Cairo 1985, pp. 357–369.

⁹ Ḥ ā m ī d, Ra'ūf 'Abbās: *Al-Ḥaraka al-ʿummālīya fī Miṣr, 1899–1952* (Working Class Movement in Egypt). Cairo 1967, p. 289.

¹⁰ According to the plan, the first communiqué of the revolution was to have been broadcast at 7 a.m.

"Egypt passed – in its latest history – through the critical period of corruption, decline and instability of power. All these factors had a great influence on the army since corrupted and exploiting elements caused our defeat in the Palestine War. In the period after this war the factors of decline further spread, traitors plotted against the army, so that either fools or rascals decided in it and in the end Egypt remained without an army which would protect the country. Therefore we began to purge our own ranks and the affairs in the army were taken over by men whose abilities, character and patriotism we believe in and all Egypt would certainly receive the news with enthusiasm and consent.

The former exponents of the army whom we arrested will not be hurt and they will be soon released. I can ensure the Egyptian people that the whole army has begun to work today in the interest of the fatherland in compliance with the Constitution and it has not had other aims. I am using this opportunity and I appeal to the people not to allow any traitor to undertake any sabotage or violent actions since it is not in the interest of Egypt. Each such deed will be repelled in an extremely harsh way and its initiators will be immediately retaliated upon as traitors. The army will fulfil its duties in co-operation with the police, our brother foreigners need not be afraid of their interests, lives and properties, the army itself is taking over responsibility for them. Allah is the donor of success."¹¹

This first communiqué of the revolution was quite brief and it neither explained the main reasons of the revolution nor its real aims. On the contrary, it underlined the effort of army representatives to avoid the mistakes, made by their predecessors in 1882, i.e. not to give any reason for an armed attack of the British forces concentrated in the Suez Canal zone. That was also one of the main reasons why foreigners were ensured in the communiqué about the inviolability of their lives and properties and why the army decided to reckon harshly with everybody who would have in mind further deployment of the revolution.

On the following day (24 July) a second communiqué was broadcast, that already pointed more apparently to the reasons of the revolution and its aims; it was not only the wish to purge the army and remove the factors, which lead to its defeat in Palestine. In the second communiqué the movement's organizers announced that "we are trying for a reform and a purge in the army and in all the country's institutions and to raise the flag of the Constitution".¹² The communiqué was directed

The delay was caused by deliberations over the telephone with al-Hilālī who had been authorized by the King to negotiate with the insurgents and accede to their demands. The RCC decided on a change of government and therefore the communiqué was finally read. Cf.: M a r ū ṣ h, Sayyid: *Awraq siyāsīya* (Political Papers). Vol. I. 2nd ed. Cairo 1978, p. 195.

¹¹ The text of the communiqué is taken over from: H a m r ū ṣ h, Ahmad: *Qiṣṣat tawra 23 yūliyū* (The Story of the Revolution of 23 July). Vol. I. 2nd ed. Beirut 1977, p. 207.

mainly to the popular masses, stating that: "Our movement was victorious since we won the victory in your name, for you, and the faith that fulfilled our hearts, we took from your hearts. All is going on well, trust in the success of our blessed movement, turn your hearts to Almighty Allah and go ahead with us."¹³

It is necessary to emphasize that the Egyptian people in all parts of the country, both in towns and in the countryside welcomed this "blessed movement" – as the revolution was called at the time – namely since its first moments. The assurance that the aim of the movement was to observe the Constitution was the precondition that the movement did not express the interests of the army only, but also the interests of the popular masses and therefore the people unambiguously would stand for it and a wave of popular support for the revolution swept through all Egypt.¹⁴ In the course of the first two days the revolution managed to fulfil its second great aim – after taking over power – to gain an all-round support of the popular masses. It can be said that the leader with whom nobody counted, had gained an all-out support of the natural driving forces of the revolution, without which the movement would remain a still born.

We are now approaching the question of the leader of the Egyptian revolution. The take-over on 23 July was organized and lead by a group of officers of the Egyptian army known as the Free Officers (aḍ-ḍubbāt al-aḥrār). The core of the group was founded secretly at the beginning of the 1940s and it was reorganized towards the end of 1949 after the Egyptian army's return from the Palestine War. However, the idea to establish such a secret organization had appeared already in 1938 when a group of young officers¹⁵ among them Lieutenant Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir¹⁶ graduated at the Military Academy. This group of young officers was the first generation of the sons recruiting from middle and lower strata of Egyptian society, who entered the army under the Wafdist government in 1936.¹⁷ After concluding the Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain it was necessary to increase the establishment of the Egyptian Army and begin its reorganization in order that it could fulfil the obliga-

¹² A r - R ā f i ' i, Abdurrahmān: *Tawra 23 yūliyū 1952* (Revolution of 23 July 1952). Cairo 1959, p. 26.

¹³ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁴ A n i s, Muḥammad – Ḥ a r r a ḏ, as-Sayyid Ragab: *Tawra 23 yūliyū 1952 wa uṣūluḥā at-tārīkhīya* (Revolution of 23 July and its Historical Roots). Cairo 1965, p. 199.

¹⁵ They were: 'Abdulḥakīm 'Āmir, 'Abdullaṭīf al-Baghdādī, Anwar as-Sādāt, Zakariyā Muḥiuddīn, Ḥusayn ash-Shāfi'i, Gamāl Sālim, Ṣalāḥ Sālim. Cf.: V a t i k i o t i s, P. J.: *The Egyptian Army in Politics*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1961, p. 48.

¹⁶ The Arab consonant *j* is in Egypt pronounced as *g*. In the present study priority was given to the Egyptian form. As for the name of the late Egyptian president, commonly written "Nasser", here the scientific transliteration is used.

¹⁷ It was in office from 9 May 1936 until 31 July 1937. Cf.: M u r s i, op. cit., p. 267.

tions of the oncoming period since the threat of a new world-wide armed conflict began to appear.¹⁸ It was the generation of patriotic youth (born in the years 1917–1922) which was annoyed about Wafd's reconciliation with Great Britain in 1936, about the penetration of semi-feudal elements into Wafd's leadership as well as about the co-operation between Egyptian Army Command and the foreign Power. The circumstances caused that some of the young officers were after graduation posted in the military camp at Manqabād (near the town of Asyūt) in Upper Egypt.¹⁹ There, after duty, heated discussions took place on the gloomy situation in Egypt, on worsening of the political climate and the failure of political parties and organizations to lead the struggle for national liberation against British imperialism, which they considered to be the main source of all evil in the country. According to Egyptian historiography there was the birthplace of the July revolution and there was laid the foundation stone of the Free Officers organization.²⁰

Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir's stay in Manqabād did not last long. Already in 1939 he was transferred with his 3rd infantry battalion to the Sudan. Thus he could follow the conditions in the brotherly country ruled by the British Governor-General as the representative of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. He spent three years there and after his return to Egypt he continued actively in forming a secret officers' organization. The movement gradually spread the sphere of its activities inside the army and its ranks were joined by devoted patriots angered by the flourishing of political corruption in Egypt and by the close cooperation of the Army Command with the British. First lieutenant Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir cleverly directed the movement's activities so that it increased its influence among army officers with strict observation of the principles of conspiracy. That happened in front of the eyes of the political police, the task of which was to reveal the activities of Egyptian patriots and look after their exemplary punishment.²¹

In the meantime the well-known 4 February Incident took place, which severely shattered the conscience of the army for national humiliation and trampling down the national pride.²² It was such an open attack on the country's independence that

¹⁸ Treaty of Preferential Alliance: Britain and Egypt, 26 August 1936 (especially the Articles 7, 8 and 11). In: Hurewitz, J. C.: *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. A Documentary Record: 1914–1956*. Princeton, New Jersey 1956, pp. 203–211.

¹⁹ There met Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir, Anwar as-Sādāt and Zakariyā Muḥiuddīn. Vatikiotis: op. cit., p. 57.

²⁰ Anīs – Harrāz: op. cit., p. 189.

²¹ Ibid., p. 190.

²² The British Ambassador Miles Lampson, after British tanks, other armour, and troops surrounded the Palace, broke in accompanied by General Stone, GOC British Troops, and a detail of armed officers and men. Faced with abdication, the King had no choice but immediately to invite an-Nahḥās to form a Wafdist government. Cf. Al-Baḡdādī, ʿAbdullaṭīf: *Mudakkirāt ʿAbdullaṭīf al-Baḡhdādī* (Me-

an officers' delegation went to 'Ābidīn Palace. There it was received by the Chief of the Royal Cabinet (ad-dīwān al-malakī) Aḥmad Pasha Ḥasanayn. The officers wanted to start a series of anti-British actions but he recommended them to preserve calm. On the same evening several officers in protest asked to be relieved of their duties.²³

We have learnt about the reaction to this incident in the army from a letter sent by Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir to a friend from Alamein where units of the Egyptian Army were located. He wrote: "As far as the Army is concerned, the incident has had a new influence on the combat spirit and the morale in it. While earlier you could see officers talking about immoralities and amusements only, they have begun talking about self-sacrifice and readiness to die for honour. You can see how they are sorry not to intervene – despite their obvious weakness – to restore the fatherland's honour and wash it off by blood. Some tried to do something after the incident in strive for revenge but it was already late. Hearts are full of fire and sadness. It is clear that this move . . . this thrust has revived some bodies and reminded them that there exists honour, which was necessary to defend. It was a hard lesson."²⁴

In September 1943 Captain Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir received an appointment as instructor in the Military Academy. Here he had the possibility to screen his students and patiently build up the network of the Free Officers organization. Except him and 'Abdulḥakīm 'Āmir even those who belonged to the inner circle of the movement did not know the composition of all the cells or the details of the organization.²⁵ In 1946 members of the organization received new instructions. The most important principles were: creating public opinion among army officers; letting the officers know that they were not less responsible than other citizens; spreading political consciousness among army officers in order to persuade them that the army should rescue the country or at least remain neutral and not to stand against the people, if somebody else would take the responsibility for rescuing the fatherland; trying to keep the officers out of participation in any undertaking unless it was precisely worked out beforehand; making every effort in order to persuade the officers that they should preserve their independent views and should not join any party or organization beyond the framework of the army, because the army must not become a tool in the hands of an individual or a group.²⁶

In May 1948 Captain Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir had successfully passed his staff college

moirs of A. B.). Vol. I. Cairo 1977, p. 19. Cf. also Anīs, Muḥammad: *4 fabrāyir fī tārikh Miṣr as-siyāsī* (The 4th February in the Political History of Egypt). Cairo 1982.

²³ In their number was also Muḥammad Nagīb. Cf. Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 229–230.

²⁴ 'Abdunnāṣir, Gamāl: *Falsafat at-tawra* (The Philosophy of the Revolution). Cairo, without date, p. 15.

²⁵ Mansfield, Peter: *Nasser's Egypt*. Penguin Books 1965, p. 38.

²⁶ Anīs – Ḥarrāz: op. cit., p. 191.

examination and was promoted to the rank of Major. Some days later, on 16 May he left for Palestine together with Zakariyā Muḥiuddīn and ʿAbduḥakīm ʿĀmir.²⁷ The Palestine War was a bitter but valuable and maturing experience for the Free Officers. There, in the course of bloody battles, some were killed and many wounded, including Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir himself, several of them gave outstanding proof of personal courage. In Palestine both Egyptian soldiers and officers extraordinarily felt the negligence and irresponsibility of the Government officials. Food and medical supplies were inadequate and irregular, while the arms were obsolete and the ammunition faulty.²⁸ Senior officers gave contradictory and meaningless orders while some showed downright cowardice.²⁹ Many Egyptian officers and soldiers could only agree with Colonel Aḥmad ʿAbduʿazīz who shortly before his death in August 1948 said to Kamāluddīn Ḥusayn: "The battlefield of the biggest battle is in Egypt."³⁰

The Palestine War as a whole had been an unexpected and humiliating defeat for the Arabs. In Egypt the troubled atmosphere was darkened further by a series of political assassinations – which were mostly the work of the Muslim Brotherhood – and reprisals by the King's secret police.³¹ Upon returning from the Palestine campaign in March 1949, some of the Free Officers received assignments as instructors in both the Military Academy and the Staff College.³² Favoured by the prestige attached to heroism in the siege at al-Fālūja, they were in a position to infiltrate a large section of the student body in both institutions. However, the Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. ʿUṭmān Maḥdī, suspected their political activities since many of them were known by their affection for the Muslim Brotherhood,³³ but he missed the evidence. The Prime Minister, Ibrāhīm ʿAbduḥādī, also suspected a relationship between the Brotherhood and the clandestine movement in the army. In May 1949 he summoned Major Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir to question him about it, but without success. He knew of the existence of the Free Officers, but he could not find out anything either.³⁴

Undoubtedly officers who showed the slightest signs of discontent with the status quo after the Palestine War were suspect. So the Free Officers realized the necessity

²⁷ Mansfield: op. cit., p. 38.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

²⁹ Anīs – Harrāz: op. cit., p. 192.

³⁰ ʿAbdunnāṣir: op. cit., p. 13.

³¹ Ar-Rāfiʿī, ʿAbdurrahmān: *Muqaddimāt tawra 23 yūliyū 1952* (Prologue of the Revolution of 23 July). Cairo 1964, p. 158.

³² E.g. Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir, Kamāluddīn Ḥusayn, ʿAbduḥakīm ʿĀmir, Ṣalāḥ Ṣālim and others. Cf. Vatikiotis: op. cit., p. 60.

³³ This organization was outlawed in December 1948 because of terrorist acts perpetrated by its members.

³⁴ Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir admitted this fact at a public address on the occasion of the first anniversary of the revolution, on 22 July 1953. Cf. *Khuṭab ar-raʿīs* (President's Speeches). Vol. I. Cairo, n.d., p. 54.

of reorganizing the movement for some of them were killed, and then as a safety measure as well as a device for expanded operations. They accepted the proposition that so long as the King and the usual type of civilian government continued to exercise political control the country was doomed to national frustration and foreign domination. Thus they were equating national liberation with destruction of the regime.³⁵

Towards the end of 1949 the Free Officers held several secret meetings to discuss plans for their activities in the forthcoming period with the aim "to liberate Egypt from colonialism and its allies feudalism and capitalism enslaving the overwhelming majority of the people, to build up a strong army and to introduce social justice and real democracy".³⁶ In these meetings consisting of Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir, ʿAbdulḥakīm ʿĀmir, Anwar as-Sādāt, Kamāluddīn Ḥusayn, ʿAbdullaṭīf al-Baghdādī, Khālīd Muḥīuddīn, Ṣalāḥ Ṣālim, Gamāl Ṣālim, Ḥasan Ibrāhīm, they constituted a founding committee (al-hayʾa at-taʾsīsīya li-ḍ-ḍubbāt al-aḥrār), which was to become the Council of the Revolution after victory.³⁷ Soon thereafter, in January 1950, the Free Officers met again to elect an Executive Committee. Gamāl Abdunnāṣir was elected the first Chairman of the Executive, and elections for the Committee were to be held in January of every year.³⁸

The activities of the Executive Committee in 1950 and during most of 1951 were confined to: 1) publication and circulation among members of the armed forces as well as student and other civilian groups of pamphlets attacking government policies and the King, and 2) efforts to infiltrate army commands for the recruitment of members.³⁹ Leaflets signed "The Voice of Free Officers" printed and distributed in complete secrecy called for the liquidation of foreign colonialism and its lackeys among Egyptian traitors, for the liquidation of feudalism and the hegemony of the capital, for creating of a strong army the task of which would be to fight for the country's independence and which would not be used for suppressing the discontent of the masses "since the army is a part of the people and its hopes and demands are hopes and demands of the people".⁴⁰ There was also a call for modern weapons and for purchasing them from any western or eastern country prepared to sell them and a call for a salutary parliamentary government which granted citizens' liberties to everybody "since the people cannot fight against colonialism when they are bound by laws restricting their liberties".⁴¹ The Executive Committee sought for sympath-

³⁵ Vatikiotis: op. cit., p. 60.

³⁶ Anīs - Ḥarrāz: op. cit., p. 193.

³⁷ Several designations for this organ are to be found in Arab materials, e.g.: qiyādat at-tawra (Command of the Revolution), majlis al-qiyāda (Command Council), or majlis qiyādat at-tawra (Revolutionary Command Council).

³⁸ Al-Baghdādī: op. cit., p. 36.

³⁹ Vatikiotis: op. cit., p. 61.

⁴⁰ Anīs - Ḥarrāz: op. cit., p. 194.

izers or allies also among civilian groups, regardless their ideological platform, discontented with the political situation in Egypt.⁴² The Committee also enlisted the co-operation of outstanding opposition journalists⁴³ who, in 1950 and 1951, were conducting a vigorous press campaign against the King and the reactionaries. Through these journalists the Free Officers could air some of their opinions and discontent more effectively and more safely than by means of leaflets.

It should be mentioned that after the Palestine War in 1949 some members of the Free Officers came under surveillance of the political police. Therefore it was necessary for the Free Officers to anticipate eventualities by imposing tight security measures within the group and maintaining at all costs its access to information from the Palace, the government and Army Headquarters.⁴⁴ Although the governments in the years 1949–1951⁴⁵ assumed the existence of a clandestine officers' organization, they probably did not realize the real danger, because they did not take any effective action against it. The King, too, was obviously convinced that his control of the Army Command was in itself a guarantee against any radical political movement by younger army officers.

General elections for the Army Officers Club on 6 January 1952 became a trial of strength between the King and the Free Officers. The King always succeeded in getting his chosen candidates elected to the club's governing board. This time by sweeping majority the candidates of the Free Officers headed by Major General Muḥammad Nagīb⁴⁶ were elected, while the candidates of the Palace failed.⁴⁷ The election campaign was prepared and organized by Lt. Col. G. ʿAbdunnāṣir, who remained in seclusion and the majority of Free Officers did not even suspect that he was the leader and organizer of the movement.

This event could not remain without revenge for the King considered it as a direct attack against his person and therefore he ordered the Officers Club governing board to disband and to transfer to distant posts officers who were suspected of un-

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 194.

⁴² E.g. the Moslem Brotherhood and the leftist organization HADITU (The Democratic Movement for National Liberation).

⁴³ They were Aḥmad Abū-l-Faṭḥ from the daily "al-Miṣri" and Iḥsān ʿAbdulquddūs from the weekly "Rūz al-Yūsuf".

⁴⁴ Vatikiotis: op. cit., p. 62.

⁴⁵ They were the governments under the premiers: Ibrāhīm ʿAḥḍulḥādī (28 Dec. 1948–25 July 1949), Ḥusayn Sirrī (25 July 1949–12 Jan. 1950), Muṣṭafā an-Naḥḥās (12 Jan. 1950–27 Jan. 1952). Cf. M u r s i: op. cit., pp. 342–356.

⁴⁶ Further members of the committee were: Zakariyā Muḥiuddīn, Rashshād Mahannā, Anwar ʿAbdullaṭīf, Ḥasan Ibrāhīm, Gamāl Ḥamād. Cf. Vatikiotis: op. cit., p. 64.

⁴⁷ The King's candidate to the presidency of the Club was Major General Ḥusayn Sirrī ʿĀmir, and Fārūq considered this failure as a personal attack and therefore he promised that he "would crush under-foot" these officers. Cf. M a r ʿ i: op. cit., p. 189.

lawful political activities. That was one of the reasons that forced the Free Officers to speed up the preparations for the coup, which was originally planned for the year 1955.⁴⁸

After the burning of Cairo (on 26 January 1952), when the Army on the King's order quelled the mass demonstrations calling for the overthrow of the monarchy, the Free Officers released a circular appealing to soldiers and officers not to be a tool in the hands of a tyrant, stating: "The Egyptian traitors misuse you, your army in order to realize their aims. They consider you as the tool in their hands for oppression of the people and for forcing the people to bear what they hate. Let these traitors understand that the task of the army is to work for the country's independence and its defence and that the army went into the streets to thwart their plot aimed at destruction and wrecking. We will not accept striking the people, we will not fire a single shot into a people's demonstration and we will not arrest devoted patriots. All must understand that we are now with the people and always with the people and we will obey only the appeal of fatherland."⁴⁹ Owing to the tense situation the Executive Committee decided to carry out the takeover in March,⁵⁰ but it had to be postponed since Colonel Rashshād Mahannā, on whose troops the plan partly depended, deliberately arranged his own transfer to al-^ʿArīsh to avoid participation.⁵¹ The Free Officers had to wait for a new suitable moment to start the undertaking. The summer months, when both the court and the government left Cairo for Alexandria due to the heat period, seemed to be the most suitable period. The date was fixed for 5 August,⁵² and it was chosen owing to two reasons: 1) the remaining part of 1st motorized battalion should be in Cairo until then, and it should be the main striking force of the coup; 2) the officers should have been paid their salaries for August.⁵³

The governments of ^ʿAlī Māhir and Nagīb al-Hilālī despite their great effort were unable to calm down the general discontent. The King, who was fully under the influence of the Palace clique, acted with more and more provocative high-handedness, and was not accessible to reasonable counsel. When Ḥusayn Sirrī was appointed to the premiership on 2 July, he proposed Major General Muḥammad Nagīb as War Minister to bring about a reconciliation in the Army, but the King resolutely refused his suggestion.⁵⁴ The King still sought revenge for the "unsuccessful" elec-

⁴⁸ In an interview with the British journalist David Morgan (published in the Sunday Times in June 1962) Gamāl ^ʿAbdunnāsir stated that they counted with the revolutionary outbreak in 1955. Taken over from Ḥ a m r ū s h: op. cit., pp. 180 and 190.

⁴⁹ Ḥ a m r ū s h: op. cit., p. 178.

⁵⁰ Anīs – Ḥarrāz: op. cit., p. 195.

⁵¹ Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 181.

⁵² Ibid., p. 193.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 194.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 190.

tions to the Officers Club and wanted to get rid of Nagīb by appointing him commander of the southern region with the headquarters in Maṇqabād.⁵⁵ The Commander-in-Chief of the Army Lt. General Muḥammad Ḥaydar fell also into King's disfavour, since he had not yet settled the Officers Club affair in compliance with royal orders.⁵⁶

The development of the situation headed for confrontation. The Army High Command issued an order to close the Officers Club and disband its governing board when it was unable to make its members resign. Prime minister Ḥusayn Sirri made another attempt to calm down the situation in the army repeating his proposal to appoint General Nagīb as War Minister, but he quickly came into conflict with the King and resigned after only eighteen days in office on 20 July.⁵⁷ In accordance with the above-mentioned government plan the Minister of Interior Muḥammad Ḥāshim invited General Nagīb to his house in the evening on 18 July to find out his standpoint to the possible appointment as War Minister. Nagīb refused the offer since he was afraid it was only a manoeuvre to remove him from the army. However, he learnt from the talk that the Palace had obtained a list of officers suspected of conspiracy.⁵⁸

Immediately on the following morning General Nagīb informed Lt. Colonel °Abdunnāṣir and Major °Āmir about his talk and on also the same day the decision was adopted about beginning of the undertaking. The plan of the military takeover got its definitive shape in the course of discussion at the session of the Executive Committee on 19 July and the coup was fixed for midnight 21 July. During the discussion the presence of 80 thousand British troops in the Canal zone could not be overlooked, but there was no other possibility except to count with that dangerous factor in the plan.⁵⁹

The detailed schedule⁶⁰ submitted the following day counted also with the defence of roads of approach to Cairo from the east and with a possible use of some of the civilian organizations⁶¹ for mobilizing the population. However, the reconsideration of all the details in the plan showed that the zero hour had to be postponed by 24 hours in order to ensure a thorough preparation of the operation.⁶² The plan elabo-

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 190.

⁵⁶ Ḥāfiẓ °Afīfī, a court favourite, called on the premier Ḥusayn Sirri and showed him the King's brief note with this content: "Consider Ḥaydar dismissed unless he dissolves the Presidency of the Officers' Club and transfers 12 of its members within five days." Cf. Ma r °ī: op. cit., p. 189.

⁵⁷ A r - R ā f i °ī: *Muqaddimāt*, pp. 146-147.

⁵⁸ A l - B a g h d ā d ī: op. cit., pp. 46-47.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 49.

⁶⁰ It was elaborated by Lt.Col. Gamāl °Abdunnāṣir in collaboration with Lt.Col. Kamāluddīn Ḥusayn, Lt.Col. Zakariyā Muḥiuddīn and Major °Abdulḥakīm °Āmir. Cf. Ma n s f i e l d: op. cit., p. 42.

⁶¹ They counted especially with the organization of the Moslem Brotherhood. Cf. A l - B a g h d ā d ī: op. cit., p. 49.

⁶² Ḥ a m r ū s h: op. cit., p. 144.

rated for the first stage of the operation resided in three principles: 1) to take hold of the decisive centres in the army and get them fully under control; 2) to ensure the people's support for the movement; 3) to depose Fārūq without bloodshed.⁶³ On the afternoon of Tuesday 22 July, the last consultation was held at which definitive organizational measures were decided and orders issued. Hastiness in the preparation of the operation and its postponement by 24 hours were the cause of some misunderstandings, one of which, however, was of decisive significance for the success of the uprising.

Despite maximum secrecy, the Army Command received information at the last moment of the impending coup. The Army Chief of Staff Major General Ḥusayn Farīd convoked all Commanders and senior officers to a council of war for 10 p.m., to decide on counter-measures. However, Major General Naḡīb, who as a suspect was not invited, came to know of the meeting and he personally warned Major ʿĀmir and advised him to arrest all the assembled officers in order to avoid bloodshed.⁶⁴ Major ʿĀmir immediately contacted Lt. Colonel ʿAbdunnāṣir and both drove into night Cairo in order to follow movements of military units. Nothing could be altered any more and the most critical moment of the entire undertaking had come: the commanders were deliberating at Headquarters and the Free Officers were rejoining their units, preparing to go into action. It was paradoxical that the senior officers gathered were unaware of what was going on in their units, and the majority of Free Officers did not know anything about the meeting at Headquarters.

Lt. Colonel Yūsuf Ṣadīq,⁶⁵ erroneously thinking the zero hour was 11 p.m., set out from Huckstep Camp lying beyond the Cairo international airport one hour earlier. His 1st motorized battalion consisted of but two companies and he had no idea of what was going on at Headquarters. On his way to the city, he arrested in cold blood the divisional commander and his deputy who were hastening to take over the command of their troops, and placed the car with the two at the head of his column.⁶⁶ Shortly afterwards the car with ʿAbdunnāṣir and ʿĀmir ran into the convoy and they found themselves surrounded by five young officers with tommy guns who ordered them to put their hands up. It was an anxious moment; but it was fleeting. A few seconds later Lt. Colonel Yūsuf Ṣadīq jumped out of his car and hailed the two with delight.⁶⁷ After a short consultation they decided to attack the headquarters building in the quarter Kūbrī al-Qubba. Lt. Colonel Ṣadīq, by his cou-

⁶³ Anīs - Ḥarrāz: op. cit., p. 196.

⁶⁴ Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 197.

⁶⁵ He was a left-oriented officer (born 1910) member of HADITU, his function: deputy commander of the 1st motorized battalion garrisoned in al-ʿArīsh.

⁶⁶ They were Major General ʿAbdurrahmān Makki and Brigadier ʿAbdurraʿūf ʿĀbidīn. Cf. Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., pp. 198-199.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 199.

rage and determination, captured the building with the loss of only two soldiers, whereby he eliminated the only place in Cairo from where it was possible to issue orders to military units.⁶⁸ From midnight, when further units got into motion, the whole operation proceeded smoothly according to the plan and the number of senior officers arrested steadily increased. All the arrested officers were transferred into the building of the Military Academy. The operation was completed by 2 a.m., whereby the first principle of the plan was met, i.e. the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) (qiyādatu-t-tawra) had taken over the command of the army.⁶⁹

The RCC immediately despatched several battalions to occupy important buildings and centres – they encircled airports, occupied bridges and roads of approach to Cairo, the railway station, the central telephone and telegraph office, the broadcasting station headquarters in Cairo and its relaying facilities at Abū Z^cbal. Other units occupied the strategically important squares of the capital and there took up firing positions, whereby the RCC gained control of the capital, as well as of the army, before sunrise of 23 July 1952.⁷⁰

The second government of al-Hilālī, which was appointed less than twenty-four hours earlier, had been in permanent session. It strove to reach an agreement with the army and was prepared to accede to its demands.⁷¹ Al-Hilālī had even been empowered by the King to negotiate with representatives of the insurgent army, being under the impression that by meeting some of their demands, he would succeed in overcoming the crisis.⁷² Following the broadcast of the first communiqué, al-Hilālī informed Cairo of the government's and King's assent to Muḥammad Nagīb's appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the army.⁷³ The next demand of the RCC was the formation of a new cabinet, consequently, on 23 July, al-Hilālī handed in his government's resignation, which King Fārūq accepted.

In the morning of 23 July, Muḥammad Nagīb and Anwar as-Sādāt called on ʿAlī Māhir at his house and informed him that he was the candidate of the RCC for the premiership.⁷⁴ ʿAlī Māhir had no objections but asked that the legal procedure customary at that time be adhered to, i.e. that the King would invite him to form a new government. On 23 July, Fārūq invited also the United States Ambassador Jefferson Caffery to his residence in Alexandria, seeking the intervention of the US government and the British government in order to save the situation, but in vain. The

⁶⁸ Anīs – Harrāz: op. cit., p. 197.

⁶⁹ Hopkins, Harry: *Egypt, the Crucible*. London, Secker and Warburg 1969, pp. 63–64.

⁷⁰ Anīs – Harrāz: op. cit., p. 197.

⁷¹ Marʿī: op. cit., p. 195.

⁷² Ibid., p. 194.

⁷³ Al-Bagh dādī: op. cit., p. 57.

⁷⁴ Marʿī: op. cit., p. 196.

British were not willing to engage their troops in order to maintain Fārūq on the throne.⁷⁵

During an audience with the King on 24 July, °Alī Māhir submitted another demand on the part of the army, namely the dismissal of all his court favourites.⁷⁶ After a brief hesitation, Fārūq acquiesced in the hope that through a change of government and a purge of his entourage, the problems would be resolved. The RCC succeeded in a remarkable manner to disguise the true goals of the uprising despite enormous efforts of political adversaries to uncover them. Nor was the choice of °Alī Māhir to the post of prime minister accidental: he was an independent politician and thus the movement could not be linked with any political party. In addition, as a former Chief of the Royal Cabinet, he was acceptable also to the King, and thus no complications were to be expected with his nomination. The decision to depose the King was taken at the session of the RCC in the night of 23–24 July,⁷⁷ but remained a secret even to °Alī Māhir. The Egyptian historiography judges that if the Free Officers had announced right at the beginning their resolve to do away with the régime and remove the King, the situation would have become complicated, with bloodshed and anarchy – and that was not in the plan.⁷⁸

In the morning of 25 July, military units reached Alexandria, which the RCC considered urgent to concentrate there in order to make it clear to the British that it would stand no intervention of any kind. The British Embassy was earlier officially informed that the revolt was an internal matter which did not justify intervention. The Egyptian troops took up positions at strategically important spots in Alexandria, and the inhabitants cheered the revolution and its leaders.⁷⁹ King Fārūq was naturally uneasy about the arrival of these troops and therefore sent °Alī Māhir to ascertain the reason for such steps. The Prime Minister was assured that there was nothing to be worried about and the reason was to ensure security and to cope with any possible extraordinary situation.⁸⁰

Early on the morning of 26 July tanks surrounded Ra'su-t-tīn palace, the King's residence.⁸¹ At the same time, the other royal palaces in Cairo and Alexandria were also being encircled, while representatives of the RCC were preparing to call on the Prime Minister and hand him an ultimatum demanding the King's abdication. The representatives arrived at the seat of the government in Alexandria at 9 a.m. and handed over the ultimatum⁸² to °Alī Māhir, as elaborated by the RCC in the

⁷⁵ Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 223.

⁷⁶ Al-Baḡhdādī: op. cit., p. 58.

⁷⁷ Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 222.

⁷⁸ Ar-Rāfi'ī: *Tawra 23 yūliyū* 1952, p. 30.

⁷⁹ Anīs – Ḥarrāz: op. cit., p. 200.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 200.

⁸¹ The King had moved here from his palace al-Muntazah on the evening of 25 July 1952.

⁸² As Stanislav Kučera points out in his unpublished work *Egypt in Revolution*, p. 17 – the ultimatum

name of the Commander-in-Chief, with request to submit it to Fārūq. It was stated in the ultimatum: "Whereas the total anarchy in which the country has of recent months been thrown, and which has spread to all domains, as a result of your bad administration, your violations of the Constitution, and your disregard of the will of the people, no citizen could feel secure in his life, dignity and property. Whereas your persistence in this course has compromised the name of Egypt among the nations, and treacherous and corrupt persons have, under your protection, continued to amass shameful fortunes and to squander public funds while the people remained a prey to hunger and poverty. Whereas these facts have been brought to light by the war in Palestine, the traffic in defective arms and ammunition to which it gave rise, and the judgements pronounced by the Courts on those responsible revealed your intervention – intervention which distorted truth, shook confidence in Justice, encouraged traitors in their crimes, enriched some and corrupted others.

Therefore the Army, representing the power of the People, has authorized me to demand that your Majesty abdicate the Throne in favour of His Highness the Crown Prince Aḥmad Fu'ād, and this today, the 26 July 1952 by 12 a.m. at the latest and to leave the country by 6 p.m. of the same day. The Army makes Your Majesty responsible for all consequences that might ensue from your disregard of the will of the people."⁸³

Signed, Lieutenant General of the General Staff Muḥammad Nagīb.⁸⁴

At 10 a.m. 'Alī Māhīr called on the royal residence, handed over the ultimatum to Fārūq and advised him to accept it. Shortly before midday, the representative of the State Council, Sulaymān Ḥāfiẓ came to the palace bringing the instrument of abdication for signature.⁸⁵ Having read the document, Fārūq signed it with a trembling hand.⁸⁶ It read as follows:

"Royal Decree No. 25/1952

We, Fārūq I, King of Egypt and the Sudan

Whereas we have always desired the welfare of our nation and have striven for

is an interesting document of "hard politeness", i.e. a mixture of protocolar respect to the Head of State with an uncompromising attitude towards a politically defeated adversary.

⁸³ Shukrī, Muḥammad – Anīs, Muḥammad – Ḥarrāz, as-Sayyid Ragab: *Nuṣūṣ wa watā'iq fi at-tārikh al-hadīth wa-l-mu'āṣir* (Selected Documents of Modern and Contemporary History). Cairo 1960, p. 344.

⁸⁴ Muḥammad Nagīb, when appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army, was simultaneously promoted by the King to the rank of Lieutenant General, but in his address in the evening of 26 July (following the King's departure) he refused this promotion and remained in his previous rank. Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 231.

⁸⁵ On this occasion Fārūq proposed the members of the Regency Council. Cf. Mar'ī: op. cit., p. 202.

⁸⁶ Several Egyptian authors state that Fārūq was so excited that his first signature was practically illegible and therefore he signed the document a second time. E.g. Ar-Rāfi'i: *Tawra*, p. 32.

its happiness and progress, and whereas we sincerely desire that our country avoid difficulties facing it in this critical situation, and submitting to the will of the people, we have decided to abdicate in favour of our heir the Crown Prince Aḥmad Fu'ād. In this sense we have issued orders to His Excellency 'Alī Māhir Pasha, the Prime Minister, to act accordingly."⁸⁷

The royal yacht "al-Maḥrūsa" with the deposed King aboard, set sail out of Alexandria's harbour within the stipulated delay: It should be observed that Fārūq was not the first ruler of his dynasty to have been deposed from the throne, but he was the first one to have been deposed by the will of the people.

The international and home reactionary forces expected the British to intervene to save the monarchy. However, it was clear to the British government that the international development, and all the more the internal political situation in Egypt, was not favourable to armed intervention. In addition, the brilliant organization of the uprising and the speedy victory left no time for a retaliatory stroke, but placed Great Britain face to face with objective reality, hence, she decided to have recourse to a wait-and-see policy.

After the victory of the revolution, its command contacted the embassies of the USA and Great Britain and informed them that the movement of the army was an internal one, with reform goals and had no links abroad.⁸⁸ Then it contacted the other embassies to assure them that no danger threatened either the lives of their citizens or their property. It stressed that the army looked after safety and order, and thus the embassies preserved neutrality and silence.

The British government under Sir Winston Churchill considered it reasonable not to intervene in "the crisis in Egypt" as long as peace and order were preserved, British citizens were not molested and no communist tendencies appeared.⁸⁹ During the uprising the British Ambassador in Egypt, Ralph Stevenson, was on leave in Britain: he discussed the new situation with the ministers Selwyn Lloyd and Anthony Eden, but they took no decision on any action. The USA and Great Britain also passed in silence and waiting over the deposition of Fārūq – they did not intervene, considering the coup to be Egypt's internal affair. On 26 July, the Foreign Office issued an official communiqué stating: "Great Britain follows up closely the present situation in Egypt, but does not intend to intervene in this movement, considering it to be a purely internal affair of Egypt. However, she will not hesitate to take the necessary measures in case British lives and interests would be jeopardized."⁹⁰ The State Department issued a statement according to which the Ambassador in Egypt Jefferson Caffery informed the Egyptian government that the USA looked upon

⁸⁷ Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 228.

⁸⁸ Ar-Rāfi'i: *Tawra*, p. 37.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

the events that had taken place in Egypt to be that country's internal affairs. On 31 July, the official speaker of the Foreign Office declared that Great Britain would further preserve a neutral attitude and would not interfere in Egypt's internal affairs; however, it reserved the right to meet its obligations relating to the protection of the lives and interests of its subjects living in Egypt.⁹¹

The day following Fārūq's departure (27 July) the Executive Committee of the Free Officers held a meeting in Cairo under the chairmanship of Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir, who had previously been twice unanimously elected its chairman. At this first session after the victory of the revolution, Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir resigned from his function, but his resignation was refused. But as he insisted on his resignation, a new vote was taken in which he was again unanimously elected chairman.⁹²

Even before the King had left the country – in the afternoon of Saturday 26 July – leaders of political parties came into the temporary seat of the RCC in Alexandria, to pay their respect to the movement, about whose aims they had but very vague ideas. They were received by the Commander-in-Chief Muḥammad Nagīb. Aḥmad Luṭfi as-Sayyid⁹³ spoke in the name of the leaders and said that all the parties welcomed this blessed movement and expressed their gratitude to the officers and soldiers who had honourably fulfilled their patriotic role.⁹⁴

The chairman of the Wafd party Muṣṭafā an-Naḥḥās and the secretary general Fu'ād Sirāguddīn were on their summer vacation on the French Riviera. On hearing of the events in Egypt, they hurried home and already in the afternoon of 27 July paid a visit to Muḥammad Nagīb. Muṣṭafā an-Naḥḥās who already saw himself again in the function of prime minister, proclaimed that he considered it his primary duty to pay a visit to the liberator of the country and to meet the man who had saved the honour of the nation.⁹⁵

'Alī Māhīr's government, at its very first session on 24 July, revoked the decree concerning the government's summer residence in Alexandria. At its session in Cairo on 2 August it abrogated outright the traditional civil titles of "pasha" and "bey", reminiscent of feudalism and the times of Ottoman domination. It likewise issued a decree on setting up an interim Regency Council.⁹⁶ At the sessions of 6 and 12 August, the Government passed several economic measures which, however, were not of an essential significance. 'Alī Māhīr considered himself to be a key figure of the new epoch and strove with might and main to preserve the given situation in order to remain at the centre of power; however, conflicts arose between him and

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 38.

⁹² Ibid., p. 35.

⁹³ Aḥmad Luṭfi as-Sayyid was a representative of the Liberal Constitutionalist Party.

⁹⁴ A r - R ā f i ' : op. cit., p. 38.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 39.

⁹⁶ Its members were: Prince Muḥammad 'Abdulmun'im, Bahiuddīn Barakāt and Colonel Rashshād Mahannā. Cf. Ḥ a m r ū s h : op. cit., p. 235.

the RCC which bore the real responsibility for the situation in Egypt following the King's deposition. The RCC was made up of nine members,⁹⁷ and a decision was taken on 15 August to co-opt five further members who had significantly contributed to the success of the uprising.⁹⁸

The military coup and the deposition of the King had been successfully completed. It is of interest to follow the way the RCC proceeded in the face of the danger – the possibility of a British armed intervention – to the subsequent revolutionary process. After having taken over all power positions in the army, it had its representative Major General Nagīb nominated Commander-in-Chief of the army. The next “legal” step was the “recommendation” to the King to nominate ʿAlī Māhīr prime minister and to dismiss his court favourites. Then, when it was clear that neither the USA nor Great Britain would intervene in favour of the King, on the fourth day it undertook to depose him and send him into exile.

As the Executive Committee had planned the revolutionary uprising for 1955 and the coup of 23 July was in fact an act of self-preservation, it was not prepared for the great tasks relating to the administration of a country. The ideological platform of the Free Officers was extremely varied, ranging from the rightist Islamic fundamentalist views of the Muslim Brotherhood, up to the leftist and Marxist views of the HADITU organization,⁹⁹ but the majority, including G. ʿAbdunnāṣir himself, were adherents of the petty bourgeois Egyptian nationalism. In other words, unity reigned as regards views on the negative phenomena in Egyptian society which had urgently to be done away with, but in the question of further progress of the revolution, views differed according to the ideological premises of individuals. Subsequently, Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir summarized the fundamental goals of the revolution in these points: 1) liquidation of colonialism, 2) liquidation of feudalism, 3) liquidation of monopolies and capitalist control of government, 4) establishment of social justice, 5) establishment of a strong national army, 6) establishment of a sound democratic life.¹⁰⁰

When the Free Officers had successfully completed the coup, they could choose one out of two alternatives: to return to the barracks in the hope that once the King was deposed, the Egyptian political system would automatically become sound. The other one was to stay on and seize the opportunity and rule. It became soon evident

⁹⁷ They were the original members of the Founding Committee of 1949: Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir, ʿAbdulḥakīm ʿĀmir, Anwar as-Sādāt, Kamāluddīn Ḥusayn, Khālīd Muḥiuddīn, Gamāl Sālīm, Ṣalāḥ Sālīm, Ḥasan Ibrāhīm. Cf. Ḥ a m r ū s h: op. cit., p. 235.

⁹⁸ These were: Muḥammad Nagīb, Yūsuf Ṣadiq, Zakariyā Muḥiuddīn, Ḥusayn ash-Shāfiʿī, ʿAbdunmunʿim Amīn. Ibid., p. 235.

⁹⁹ HADITU – abbreviation for the Arabic “al-ḥaraka ad-dīmuqrāṭīya li-t-taḥarrur al-waṭanī” (The Democratic Movement for National Liberation). The organization was founded in 1947.

¹⁰⁰ Anīs – Ḥ a r r ā z: op. cit., p. 211.

that while the Egyptian political system would remain unchanged, the former alternative would lead to chaos. True, the Wafd party was still capable of winning parliamentary elections in accordance with the 1923 Constitution, none the less, it was by then a discredited party, without prospects, so that the Muṣlim Brotherhood and the Egyptian left were displaying power ambitions at its expense.¹⁰¹ It was principally the fear of a "communist danger" that forced the Free Officers to choose the second alternative, but the problem in their choice resided in that they had neither political experience, nor an ideology.

Consequently, the policy carried out by the RCC was marked by an anxious effort not to give any pretext to an armed intervention by the British occupation army. That was one of the principal reasons – besides petty bourgeois class positions – why its line of action against the left and the working class was harsher and more radical than that against the right. Herein resides the explanation regarding the armed intervention of the army against striking workers at the textile factory at Kafr ad-Dawwār and the subsequent ruthless settling of accounts with the leaders of that strike.¹⁰² As recalled by Yūsuf Ṣadiq, only two members of the RCC besides himself voted against the execution of two workers' leaders – Khālīd Muḥīuddīn and Gamāl °Abdunnāṣir.¹⁰³ General Nagīb was convinced that this was a communist-incited act of workers with the aim to harm the revolution, while workers were under the impression that the revolution that had deposed the King would support their just claims against the monopolies. This event turned the Egyptian left into a bitter enemy of the RCC.

The gradual attack upon the right began on 1 August. A communiqué of the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces called on all political parties and organizations to purge their ranks of all discredited elements, the way the army had done.¹⁰⁴ In addition, the parties had to submit their brief and clear programmes in order that the people might become acquainted with them. This demand, however, did not meet with a positive response, for the representatives of all the traditional parties felt convinced that the revolution of 23 July was but a military coup, of limited range and of short duration; after that, matters would again return back to the beaten tracks of professional policy making and struggle for seat in parliament. °Alī Māhir (as an independent politician) urged the political parties to carry out the purge trying

¹⁰¹ Mansfield: op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁰² On 12 and 13 August 1952 some ten thousand workers went on strike and occupied the factory. The army units sent in intervened unusually harshly, there were some dead and many wounded on both sides. Some 200 workers were arrested and brought before a court-martial. Two of them, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Khamīs and Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Bakrī were condemned to death and executed, the others were sentenced to prison terms and fines. Cf. A r - R ā f i ° i: *Tawra*, pp. 43–44.

¹⁰³ Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 480.

¹⁰⁴ A r - R ā f i ° i: op. cit., p. 40.

to persuade them of its necessity. He declared that the parliamentary system ruled over by hidden manoeuvres of the parties following their own goals, could not be of service to the country. The parties should be a force representing national unity, not as the existing parties which permitted foreign interference. He cautioned that if the political parties refused the new rules, these would be enforced on them, for the people had enough of the old political practices that have reached criminal dimensions.¹⁰⁵

In the first half of August, the RCC issued a proclamation that parliamentary elections would take place in February 1953 in order that the political parties would have time enough to purge their ranks. Leading functionaries of the parties were confused, uncertain as to the mode of carrying out the purge in their own ranks, however, it is now evident that neither the RCC had any clear notion about it.¹⁰⁶ However, the campaign pitilessly revealed all the weak spots in the traditional parties, the rivalry and struggles for power among individual members and groups for leadership, for individual advantages, and an incapacity to submit a passable political programme.¹⁰⁷ General Nagib proclaimed that unless the parties carried out this purge in their own ranks, the army would see itself forced to intervene, for removal of disruptive elements was an indispensable condition for a return to a parliamentary system. He underlined that the army would overlook no measure relating to the purge: the army first gives recommendation, then advice, and finally warning. Afterwards it would deal with the parties in a different tone, for Egyptian parties had their programmes based on personalities and not on principles.¹⁰⁸

From mid-August, the RCC tightened its supervision over civil authorities. Many officers passed over to the civilian sphere: they were employed in central offices and institutions as representatives of the RCC (mandūb al-qiyaḍa), which inevitably led to double tracks and to friction between the government and the RCC.¹⁰⁹ The latter was preparing within its programme the most important measure of the initial period – limitation of landownership. The draft of this bill on land reform foresaw landownership to be limited to 200 faddāns;¹¹⁰ if the owner had two or more children, he could retain another 100 faddāns. Confiscated land was to be divided among fallāḥīn so that each one would have a lot of 2 to 5 faddāns.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁰⁶ Sayyid Mar'ī describes the reception of the Sa'adist party delegation by the Commander-in-Chief, asking him to concretize his request or designate who was to be removed. G. 'Abdūnnāṣir who was present, replied that the parties must make the first step, and then they would discuss matters further. Cf. Mar'ī: op. cit., p. 215.

¹⁰⁷ On 9 September a law for the reorganization of political parties was decreed, and then on 17 January 1953 the Government dissolved the political parties, confiscating all their funds.

¹⁰⁸ Ar-Rāfi'ī: op. cit., p. 42.

¹⁰⁹ Hamrūsh: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 236.

¹¹⁰ 1 faddān = 0.42 ha.

¹¹¹ Anīs – Harrāz: op. cit., pp. 212–214.

°Alī Māhir, a representative of the haute bourgeoisie, designedly procrastinated with the preparation of this bill, and even went so far as to consult repeatedly with representatives of big landowners. The oppositional stand of the latter group found support also in leading functionaries of traditional political parties, interested in that the revolution would flounder in difficulties. When the Prime Minister began to push through a proposal for raising the limit of land holding to 500 faddāns, the RCC decided to prevent him from carrying through its policy.¹¹² And thus, on 7 September °Alī Māhir was forced to resign. The Regency Council immediately accepted his resignation and entrusted General Nagīb with the formation of a new civilian government. The first weighty act of the new government was the passing of the bill on land reform.¹¹³ Despite numerous shortcomings and deficiencies, this land reform shook the economic and political positions of the semi-feudal landowners and proved a significant step towards liquidation of feudalism and the development of Egyptian economy.¹¹⁴

The initial problems of the RCC were precisely characterized by Gamāl °Abdun-nāṣir in his speech at Shubrā al-Khayma on 20 December 1952 when he said: "We have not carried out this revolution in order that we might rule and lead, but one of our first goals was to re-establish a sane parliamentary life. The revolution was successful, the King has gone, and we have begun to realize the first step, the establishment of the parliament which has been dissolved. We have contacted the relevant people, but we have been double-crossed by their trafficking, demands, manoeuvring and insincerity. One of them, for instance, came over, sat with us for a while, then left and said: I've got them all in my pocket, they are still boys. We then decided to purge the country and set up a government that would represent national feeling. We made °Alī Māhir Prime Minister and found that the Association of landowners boldly and openly demanded the withdrawal of the bill limiting landownership. We saw that the government of this country could not remain in the hands of professional politicians."¹¹⁵

Reverting to the fundamental goals of the Egyptian revolution, comprised in the six major objectives, we can see that they were understood pragmatically and fairly broadly. That, however, was not a drawback at the time the various goals were set up; on the contrary, they proved to have been an advantage which, of course, became evident only in the light of their implementation. As a matter of fact, these goals were a true expression of the pressing needs of Egyptian society, reflected in its real and matured contradictions and simultaneously served as a platform for

¹¹² Hām r ū š h: op. cit., p. 238.

¹¹³ It was the so-called First Decree on Land Reform No. 178 of 9 September 1952.

¹¹⁴ V y c h o d i l, František: *Blízký a Střední východ po druhé světové válce* (The Near and Middle East after World War II). Prague 1960, p. 45.

¹¹⁵ A r - R ā f i °: op. cit., pp. 42-43.

some sort of a minimal programme for the union of a very wide front made up of workers, farmers, soldiers, intelligentsia, petty bourgeoisie and a considerable part of middle bourgeoisie, primarily that which was not economically bound to colonialism, but rather to the development of the national economy.¹¹⁶

However, the width of this "minimal programme" and the bond formed in its support necessarily raised the question as to how to implement this programme and how to proceed once it was achieved. An indispensable phenomenon accompanying every broad social front is its diversity and inner contradictoriness, which come to the forefront and this all the more insistently, the greater part of the common initial programme had been realized. K. Marx had already revealed the second aspect of this process which is of a nature of a universal law: "The revolution proceeded and made its way not by its own direct tragicomical achievements, but on the contrary, by the fact that it created a closed, powerful counter-revolution, that it created an antagonist, in the struggle with whom the party leading the coup only matured to a genuine revolutionary party."¹¹⁷ This universal law is valid also for the Egyptian revolution.

The dialectical unity of the universal and the particular can clearly be followed not only in the preparation of the revolution, but also in its realization and the first period after its victory. The further procedure of the RCC in carrying out its programmed goals led to a radical restructuring of Egyptian society. It showed the 23 July to have been the start of a revolution that positively marked the national liberation movement in the whole Arab world.

¹¹⁶ Kučera, Stanislav: op. cit., p. 29.

¹¹⁷ Marx, Karel: *Třídní boje ve Francii 1848–1850, Osmnáctý brumaire Ludvíka Bonaparta* (Class Struggles in France 1848–1850, 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte). Prague, Svoboda 1978, p. 37.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF AFRICAN SOCIETY ON THE EVE OF EUROPEAN CONQUEST

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The present study seeks to examine the social stratification of pre-colonial African societies in the light of the long-standing debate about their nature and with special regard to the supposed classlessness of traditional African societies. Attempts are made to touch upon some theoretical approaches to the problem of social stratification and summarize the main points of the Marxist argument on the study and interpretation of the idea of social classes and the class composition of society in African conditions.

Social stratification as a phenomenon of this or that social system and an important aspect of the whole social reality of the society has been in the centre of interest of all theories on society and has been of decisive importance to any historian. The idea of social inequality and an awareness of the presence in society of certain social ranks and gradations have existed ever since ancient times. The very fact that people are not mutually equal has been observed and commented on by various authors. Social stratification was not, however, regarded then as a process which had started somehow and had led to contemporary stratification, but as a permanent state of affairs that had always existed and would continue to exist. Only evolutionism of the last century brought up to the fore the question of the origin of a stratified society and of the principles and causes of the differences in people's status.¹

In using the concept social stratification and social class, we should take into account the multiplicity of meaning and the terminological looseness with which these terms have been applied. A short survey of some of the numerous theories on social strata and of the different definitions and qualifications concerned with the problem of social stratification will show how rich in meaning and vague in connotations can these terms be.

Different theories and definitions on social groupings, strata or classes can roughly be divided into two rather broad categories of approach based on subjective and objective criteria. Theories based on subjective criteria governing the definition of social classes, which are particularly widespread in American sociology, maintain

¹ For a general outline of the problem and a discussion of various theories see Holý, L. – Stuchlík, M.: *Analysis of Social Stratification*. In: *Social Stratification in Tribal Africa*. Prague, Academia 1968, pp. 7–65, esp. pp. 7–11.

that the differences between social classes are created mainly by people's notions.² In a representative collective work on leadership and status in Buganda edited by himself,³ L. A. Fallers centred his attention upon prestige-ranking in traditional Buganda and attempted to examine both the pattern of social differentiation (the degree and kind of social differentiation) and the way in which social roles are thought about and evaluated, i.e. the value system in terms of which persons evaluate one another, and he also attempted to ascertain how far the members of status groups share distinctive subcultures, i.e. how far they are aware of distinct ways of life and feelings of common destiny, how far they are 'class conscious'. According to him, social stratification is a complex phenomenon involving a number of aspects which has two main bases in the very nature of social life. "First of all," he claims, "social inequality is a moral phenomenon. All human communities have values and consequently their members evaluate one another differentially in terms of these... However, and this we take to be the second fundamental basis for stratificatory phenomena, human communities are never simply homogeneous collections of like beings; even the simplest of them have 'structure' in the sense of a division of labour by sex, age, generation and kinship, and in most communities other distinctions are recognized as well. The degree of such division of labour or 'social differentiation' is closely, though of course not exclusively, related to the degree of technological complexity... Now the existence of social differentiation means that the value system, in terms of which persons evaluate one another, must also make distinctions."⁴ Thus, in this conception, the value system through which social roles are thought about and evaluated, functions as a determinant of social rank. "To understand the 'dynamics' of stratification" it is necessary, in Fallers' own words, "to examine the interplay among ideology, social differentiation and the process of allocation of persons to roles".⁵

Subjective criteria or aspects have been also emphasized by McIver. "We shall mean by a social class any portion of community which is marked off from the rest... primarily by a sense of social distance... It is the sense of status, sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by distinctive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them, which draws class apart from class, gives cohesion to each and stratifies a whole society."⁶

² Ibid., p. 8.

³ Fallers, L. A. assisted by Kamoga, F. K. and Musoke, S. B. K.: *Social Stratification in Traditional Buganda*. In: Fallers, L. A. (Ed.): *The King's Men. Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*. London, Oxford University Press on behalf of the East African Institute of Social Research 1964, pp. 64-116, esp. pp. 64-66.

⁴ Ibid., p. 65.

⁵ Ibid., p. 66.

⁶ McIver, R. M.: *Society. Its Structures and Changes*. New York 1931, pp. 78-79, quoted in Hóly, L. - Stuchlík, M.: *Analysis of Social Stratification*, op. cit., p. 8.

Theories based on objective criteria seek determining factors mainly in two spheres, the political or the economic sphere. Among the most interesting theories employing political determinants is, considering the subject of our study, the so-called conquest theory or the theory of ethnical stratification, originally introduced into sociology by L. Gumplowitz,⁷ and further elaborated by some other scholars, with regard to Rwanda e.g. by J. J. Maquet.⁸

A basic determining factor in all theories employing the economic criteria of stratification is to a larger or smaller degree economic differentiation. The authors looking for the factors determining the differences between various social strata in the economic field usually consider the possibility of the accumulation of personal property, which is a condition that can be met only on a certain level of division of labour, or the possibility of the redistribution of the surplus by members of the privileged stratum, a necessary prerequisite for the origin of classes in the so-called pre-literate societies.⁹ A greater variety of approaches to the study of social stratification may of course be sampled. The main question "what was the social stratification of pre-colonial African societies" has, however, not been as yet tackled here.

First it is therefore necessary to lay down the theoretical and methodological basis for the study of social stratification and social classes in Africa and to formulate or clarify a number of basic theoretical concepts. Even though the basic fundamentals of the theory of the social classes and their significance for the development of society were worked out by Karl Marx and F. Engels, the well-known Marxist definition of the concept of class and class structure was formulated by V. I. Lenin.¹⁰ In this definition, social classes are "large groups of people differing from each other according to the place they occupy in a historically determined system of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour and consequently by the mode and dimensions of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they dispose".¹¹ A class is then a group of people with the same relations to the means of production and the same rights and duties resulting from them. The Marxist definition of the concept of class and class structure, which became the basis of the Marxist theory of society, underlines the idea that classes and the division of society into classes emerge only under a historically determined system of production. People partici-

⁷ Ibid., p. 9. Quoting from Gumplowitz, L.: *Outlines of Sociology*. Philadelphia 1898, pp. 68 and 146-149.

⁸ Maquet, J. J.: *Le système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*. Tervuren 1954, and also *The Premise of Inequality in Ruanda*. London 1961.

⁹ These theories are discussed at greater length by Holý, L. - Stuchlík, M.: *Analysis of Social Stratification*, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁰ Lenin, V. I.: *Selected Works*. Vol. 6, p. 115, also Vol. 39, p. 15, and Vol. 3, p. 248. Cf. with Marx, K. - Engels, F.: *The Origin of the Family*. New York 1942, pp. 107-110 and *The Peasant War in Germany*. New York 1942, pp. 107-110 and *The Peasant War in Germany*. New York 1939.

¹¹ Lenin, V. I.: *Velká iniciativa*. Prague 1955.

pating in a production process are involved in certain production relations and these determine the character of every society. Thus, one of the basic determining factors of this conception of classes is the social division of labour. Of fundamental importance is, with regard to our subject, the conception of a class society as historically limited and qualitatively different from a classless society. The Marxist definition emphasizes the fact that classes and the division of a society into classes emerge only under a historically determined system of production. An indispensable condition for the origin of social classes is the production in some form or another of surplus which can be appropriated by members of a privileged social stratum. When society's productive forces reach a certain level of development there emerge property relations and growing property differentiation. This presupposes a sufficiently highly organized society and an effective production system guaranteeing the production and redistribution of surplus. The growing property differentiation eventually gives rise to class distinctions and the class division of society even though class distinctions and relations are at first hidden beneath the established social relations, and obscured by traditional and legal institutions.¹²

In this connection, Marx writing about the early stages of social evolution – and this is of basic importance for our problem – warned that the concepts class and class structure can be applied only to a sufficiently organized society. “The portion of society that lives on the labour of others is infinitely small compared with the mass of direct producers. Along with the progress in the productiveness of labour, that small portion of society increases both absolutely and relatively.”¹³ In the words of two prominent Soviet historians of ancient society, “these premises make quite intelligible the existence of a society with a definite hierarchy of legal (and social) statuses, with definite social ranks and gradations, in other words, a society with *elements of social inequality but without sharply defined classes*”.¹⁴ (Italics are mine.)

The prerequisites for social differentiation are thought to be varied, including such factors leading to the formation of social ranks and the emergence of privileged groups as the inheritance of certain privileges, especially of the status of chief or of a paramount ruler, and the caste tendencies in social relations, i.e. the emergence of caste distinctions based on ethnic distinctions, which were introduced into some societies, e.g. Rwanda or Burundi, as the result of conquest.

Such is the basic general Marxist understanding of the processes which eventually led to the formation of classes. What do these processes, which have been considered so far in abstracto, look like in the actual context of African history?

¹² All this discussion is heavily dependent on a paper by U t c h e n k o, S. L. – D i a k o n o f f, I. M.: *Social Stratification of Ancient Society*, presented to 13th International Congress of Historians, 16–23 August 1970. Moscow, Nauka 1970, see especially pp. 3–10.

¹³ M a r x, K.: *Capital*. Vol. 1. New York 1939, p. 521, quoted from U t c h e n k o, S. L. – D i a k o n o f f, I. M., op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

The existence of social classes (in the Marxist definition of this concept) in pre-colonial Africa has not been universally acknowledged. There are several historical schools of thought in sub-Saharan Africa that differ in their theories about the socio-economic structure of pre-colonial African societies and the applicability of terms feudal and feudalism to Africa. The very problem of social classes has been usually studied in connection with the ongoing debate on African feudalism or feudalism in Africa and with perhaps one of the most vexing questions of all that have pre-occupied historians of Africa, that of the origins of the states.¹⁵ Characteristic for many African historians, especially those of the older generation, engaged in research into the socio-economic structures of pre-colonial African societies; was a categorical denial of the existence of antagonistic classes and of exploitation in the social relations of traditional African societies. Many African scholars have been of the opinion that the socio-economic development of African societies differed in one way or another from the rest of the world. The conceptions stressing the specificities of the African historical development and refuting the existence of social classes, class relations and exploitation in pre-colonial African societies have simultaneously denied the possibility of applying the Marxist theory of social development to Africa. According to the prominent African historian Joseph Ki-Zerbo, results of research carried out have shown that the development of certain non-European societies does not correspond to either of the five stages defined by Karl Marx in his monumental work *Das Kapital* and laid down as unalterable doctrine by Stalin, or to the pre-capitalist variety of the Asiatic mode of production, taken by Marx in 1859 in Formen to be a variant of the transition to the state in the case of non-European societies. Closely following the opinion of French Marxist scholars Jean Chesnaux and Jean Suret-Canale, Ki-Zerbo maintains that an analysis of African social structures fails to reveal the characteristics formulated by Marx for describing the succession of various modes of production, and African societies did not go through either a slave-holding or a feudal mode of production. Denying as well the applicability of the term Asiatic mode of production to African conditions, together with some other scholars he calls for the elaboration of the concept of "an African mode of production".¹⁶ The notion of the exceptionality of the historical development of the African continent, of a specific African way of development is present

¹⁵ For a special study devoted to the problem of social classes in both pre-colonial and post-colonial Africa see Chodak, S.: *Obshchestvennye klassy v Afrike izuzhnee Sakhary* (Social Classes in Africa South of the Sahara). In: *Nekotorye voprosy istorii stran Afriki*. Moskva, Nauka 1968, pp. 14-53.

¹⁶ See Ki-Zerbo, J.: *General introduction and conclusion: from nature in the raw to liberated humanity*. In: Ki-Zerbo, J. (Ed.): *General History of Africa. I. Methodology and African Prehistory*. Paris and London, Unesco and Heinemann 1981, pp. 1-25 and 730-747. Cf. with Hrbek, I.: *African History as a Field of Ideological Struggle*. In: *Theories of Non-Marxist Socialism in African and Arab Countries*. Prague, Academia, Dissertationes Orientales, 38, 1978, pp. 160-176, esp. pp. 173-174.

in some other conceptions and is also underlined by prominent African politicians and ideologists of diverse variants of African socialism, namely Léopold Sédar Senghor or Julius Nyerere.

The image of the classless and timeless African has greatly influenced Senghor's ideas. It also forms the core of Senghor's historical concept.¹⁷ "West African reality, this is underdeveloped countries – countries of peasants living here and shepherds living there, countries which were, of course, formerly feudal but traditionally without classes and without wage system... mainly religious..."¹⁸ "In our Negro-Berber society," Senghor claims, "there is no class warfare, but social groups striving for influence".¹⁹ The conceptual roots of Senghor's concept can be traced back to *négritude*. His definition of African socialism is a political and economic expression of *négritude*.

Sékou Touré also thinks that the Marxist analysis of classes and class warfare is difficult to apply to Africa. He is not unaware of the embryo class structure incipient in African society, still he argues that the African population is not divided in its interest by the existence of a clearly differential class system and, "as there is no real class system in African society, the class struggle is not appropriate".²⁰

Even though the dominant role or the very existence of social classes and of the class composition of traditional African society has not been universally acknowledged, historians of Africa usually do not deny the presence in African society – naturally at a certain stage of its development – of hierarchically gradated groups, social ranks, sections or strata. On the eve of European conquest, sub-Saharan Africa supported a great variety of political institutions and socio-economic systems that were not static. Traditional African societies were characterized by communal ownership of land. The low level of productive techniques and forces – which in a kind of vicious circle has been both the reason for the consequence of the dispersal of a numerically limited population over very large areas –, the non-existence in most of Africa of privately owned and transferable landed property and the absence of class conflicts are universally thought to be major proofs of the non-existence in pre-colonial Africa of social classes in the Marxist definition of this concept.

It is true that many African societies were characterized by the communal mode of production, but the process of its destruction, transformation and of gradual social differentiation within African societies, concentrating wealth and capital at one end of the scale and poverty at the other, and the crystallization of social strata and groups into antagonistic classes did not wait for the external impact of colonialism.

¹⁷ See Hrbek, op. cit.

¹⁸ Senghor, L. S.: *Nation et voie africaine du socialisme*. Paris, Présence africaine, p. 78.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 116.

²⁰ Wauthier, Claude: *The Literature and Thought of Modern Africa*. London, Heinemann 1978, pp. 238–239.

True as it is that many African societies did not evolve modes of production known from European antiquity and the Middle Ages and comparable to feudal or the slave-holding systems, still there emerged in many parts of Africa states with a developed social stratification and highly developed complex socio-economic structures, which were formations in transition to class societies and societies in relation to which we are quite justified in speaking of class divisions. These class divisions, as has been suggested earlier, did not often stand out with sufficient clarity to be obvious, but were obscured and hidden beneath the social relations which appeared on the surface.

Such is this author's basic understanding of the approach to the problem of social stratification and class differentiation in Africa and the basic rules to be observed when filling the abstract definitions presented earlier with historical content.

BOOK REVIEWS

Maslov, Yu. S.: *Vvedenie v yazykoznanie* (Introduction to Linguistics). Moscow, Vysshaya shkola 1987. 272 pp.

The book under review is the second, revised edition of the text-book originally published in 1975. It was written for university students, philologists, and its aim is "to acquaint students of the first course with the most important disciplines and problems of linguistics, with basic concepts and terms used at its present stage of development, the knowledge of which is indispensable for a serious study of any language" (Prologue).

The present edition carries two additional chapters – on the origin of language, and on the genealogical classification of languages. Some of the chapters have been amplified and many have been revised in order to include new notions attained in this scientific discipline and to adapt them to abilities of students – beginners.

Besides the prologue, the introduction and the epilogue, the book consists of seven chapters. In the first chapter, named *The Substance of Language: Its Social Functions and Inner Structure*, the author describes language as the most important means of human communication, as the means of forming and expressing thoughts and as a specific sign system.

The second chapter, *Phonetics and Phonology*, is devoted to the elucidation of acoustic, biological, and proper linguistic (i.e. functional or phonological) aspects of language sounds.

The chapter called *Lexicology* discusses words as language units. The author studies the lexical meaning of words, the problem of polysemy and homonymy, motivation of a word, word-combination and phraseologisms. The chapter is concluded with a useful and rather practically oriented account of lexicography.

In the next chapter, *Grammar*, attention is paid to various aspects of morpheme – an elementary bilateral language unit, to grammatical structure of words, to word-formation, to parts of speech, and to syntax.

The fifth chapter, named *Historical Development of Languages*, is devoted to problems of the origin of human language, to development of languages and dialects in different historical epochs, to historical changes in the vocabulary, grammar, phonetics and phonology.

The chapter *Comparative-Historical and Typological Linguistics* comprises a discussion on relations involved in a systematic material correspondence among languages. This also includes a genealogical classification of languages, as well as a study of the correspondence principles underlying the organizations of language material, represented by language typology.

The aim of the last chapter is to describe the origin and development of writing.

A list of recommended literature and a *Subject Index* by S. A. Krylov are appended. The epilogue brings an outline of specific features of contemporary Soviet linguistics which differentiate it from "methodologically unsatisfactory, eclectic, idealistic and sometimes openly reactionary tendencies in contemporary linguistics abroad" (p. 263).

On the whole, this is a very good text-book. It is written in a simple, lucid and intelligible way, so as fully to satisfy the needs of students and of those interested in this topic.

Anna Rácová

Etiemble: *Ouverture(s) sur un comparatisme planétaire*. Paris, Christian Bourgois Editeur 1988. 283 pp.

Un trait constant et sympathique marquant toutes les œuvres d'Etiemble, d'ailleurs toutes d'une haute portée, est son effort soutenu d'élaborer un coup d'œil clair au point de vue scientifique, appuyé par des expériences abondantes, admirables mêmes, sur le problème – en ce cas-ci sur la littérature comparée au sens le plus étroit du mot. Etiemble réussit à saisir la question esthétique et littéraire de base de telle manière qu'elle lui sert alors comme point de départ pour une analyse approfondie et une perception des fines nuances.

Une preuve en est aussi son nouveau livre qui, l'on peut dire, dans cinq chapitres présente en un style tout à fait caractéristique d'Etiemble, son explication propre du développement historique et contemporain de l'état de la littérature comparée, polémique avec les prémisses idéologiques et philosophiques diverses de la science littéraire, avec les interprétations et désinterprétations variées du message historique de la science littéraire comparée. Il explique le rôle du facteur social et humain dans la compréhension du monde et de l'art par rapport à la recherche de la vérité artistique et scientifique. L'auteur groupe d'une manière intéressante et attractive les réflexions développementales et perspectives touchant à l'établissement de la littérature comparée en tant qu'une discipline scientifique relativement indépendante.

Dans la première partie *Le tour du monde dans un grenier*, l'auteur décrit d'une manière vivante comment il est devenu comparatiste, ce qui l'y a mené, où partout (à l'étranger) il a glané les expériences, ce qu'il a lu, ce qui l'intéressait, ce qui l'a amené à l'étude de langues étrangères, sur quoi il réfléchissait. La seconde partie *Ce que je dois à Marcel Granet* est dédiée à la relation profonde que l'auteur ressentait envers ce lettré (dévoilant cette relation et l'éclaircissant de divers aspects). Il

traite plutôt en détail de son œuvre *La pensée chinoise* qui lui aida à comprendre plus clairement la philosophie et la manière de penser des chinois (surtout le chapitre Jou hing de Li Ki, et le Tcheng ming de Maître K'ong).

Dans la troisième partie Comparaison n'est pas raison, l'auteur s'occupe de «la crise» de la littérature comparée des dernières décennies, de l'opposition de «l'école américaine» et de «l'école française» (provoquée souvent artificiellement en vertu d'attitudes politiques), s'efforce d'établir le diagnostic de la littérature comparée et propose quelques remèdes. Dans la polémique, n'évitant pas des expressions de chauvinisme et provincialisme, il s'appuie sur l'œuvre de M. Guyard *La littérature comparée* (1951) et sur son étude *Littérature comparée ou comparaison n'est pas raison* (1958). Montrant un sens très fin pour le progrès et la régression, la polarité et l'antagonisme de divers mouvements dans l'évolution d'après-guerre de la littérature comparée, il défend sa validité internationale et sa justification universelle. Il décrit en connaissance de cause la situation aux Etats Unis, en Italie, fait des remarques critiques au sujet de certains phénomènes contemporains dans l'Union soviétique, en Pologne, en Hongrie. Il fait cas de certains problèmes de la recherche comparée, représentant des efforts de la littérature comparée pour approfondir les relations bilatérales au sens de synthèses interlittéraire de plus grande envergure. A partir d'environ les années soixante, on parle pour raisons géographiques, historiques et politiques d'une synthèse littéraire européenne de l'est (une autre fois d'un groupement littéraire de l'Europe centrale, ou de relations culturelles et littéraires entre les pays de l'Europe de l'est et du sud-est), et de relations culturelles-littéraires entre les pays que Rome avait civilisés. Cependant, ces associations sont plutôt contestables. Avec un optimisme (d'ailleurs justifiable) Etiemble ajoute que tous les comparatistes se sont concentrés sur l'essentiel: l'objet et les méthodes de leur commune discipline. Il insiste que la littérature comparée est de nature humaniste, car elle approfondit la recherche littéraire scientifique dans des formes de complexes plus larges. En outre, il analyse le besoin d'une décentralisation d'enseignement de la littérature comparée et de la question des langues de travail. A ce sujet-ci il remarque «qu'au XX^e siècle, le comparatiste ne peut plus ignorer ni le russe, ni le japonais. Qu'advient-il demain si la Chine, se ravisant, illustre notre discipline?» (p. 87). L'auteur y dévoue une attention adéquate aux questions de la traduction, du sujet, des méthodes et programmes de la recherche comparée.

Dans la quatrième partie La littérature comparée vingt ans après, il évalue le développement de cette recherche, citant bon nombre d'exemples, de relations et d'affinités (cependant en ce qui concerne les pays européens socialistes, il ne touche pour la plupart qu'à la situation dans l'Union soviétique, en Pologne et en Hongrie).

Dans la cinquième partie intitulée Sur le renouveau du comparatisme en Chine populaire, l'auteur fait preuve de ses connaissances sur cette région, sur beaucoup de nuances des degrés développementaux, des traits spécifiques et de discrétion dans le choix de l'essentiel à partir d'une grande quantité de matériaux de telle ou

telle période. Il conclue la publication de manière non-conventionnelle – par une Orientation bibliographique et un Addendum.

Cette publication par Etiemble mérite l'attention de chacun qui s'intéresse aux problèmes de la littérature comparée. L'auteur y reste quelque peu redevable aux problèmes discutés à d'autres congrès AILC/ICLA et à la recherche comparée qui se poursuit dans les pays géographiquement moins en vue. Cependant, son livre représente sans aucun doute une importante valeur scientifique et culturelle dans le cadre du monde de penser international.

Ján Múčka

Riesz, János, Börner, Peter, and Scholz, Bernhard (Eds.): *Sensus communis. Contemporary Trends in Comparative Literature. Festschrift für Henry Remak*. Tübingen, Gunter Narr Verlag 1986. 463 pp.

Not everyone among outstanding scholars is honoured with such a grandiose *Festschrift* as Henry H. H. Remak, Professor Emeritus of Indiana University, Bloomington, one of the most well-known comparatists of German origin, but American citizen, who by his erudition and humanistic spirit has done much for comparative literature. His wide-embracing definition of comparative literature often provokes dissatisfaction among experts yet is simultaneously attractive by its provocative challenge.

The editors of the *Festschrift* could have hardly chosen a more adequate title for the volume under review. *Sensus communis* in this case stands for a certain "Golden Mean" of contradictory views and opinions which are quite self-evident at the present time. Comparative literature is no exception, for it brings together adherents to the most diverse critical creeds of many countries of the world and hundreds of national or ethnic literatures. Every scholarly activity especially if pursued by teams must dispose of at least a "minimum of agreement" (D. Fokkema) within the methodico-methodological realm. Under such circumstances, the role of people like Remak becomes irreplaceable. They alone succeed in convincing the disunited representatives of the East and West, the North and South, waging among themselves an undeclared war, quarelling over trifles, to bury the tomahawks and take the path of international cooperation.

Every reviewer who would try to make an adequate evaluation of the individual papers (they number 43 in this volume) would of necessity make pretence of knowledge in some cases, or mislead the readers. The entire *Festschrift* is organized as a polyphonous agreement with the methodico-methodological procedures of literary comparatistics, as a positive answer to the existence of the interliterary process in its complex variations, and demonstrates readiness on the part of the participants

towards multilateral discussions. In the spirit of such a "consensus," I, too, intend to express my views on some of the papers, those that come close to my field of study and whose subject is familiar to me.

The whole volume is made up of live relatively balanced parts: I. Contemporary Paradigms in Comparative Literature, II. Topical Problems and Literary Historiography in Comparative Literature, III. Key Concepts of Comparative Literature, IV. Exemplary Case Studies, and V. Of Localities and of Historical Moments.

Weisstein's study from the first section *Assessing the Assessors – An Anatomy of Comparative Literature Handbooks* will probably be of interest to many readers. Every comparatist probably knows familiarly more than one book of this kind and it is quite certain that Weisstein has most of them in his library and many went through his hands. His study is an outcome of curiosity and skepsis, a stock-taking with his own theoretical past and with the experience of others, and perhaps is a memento for the future. The author of the study knows what does it mean to be one of the pioneers and he is drawing in it the consequences for himself and for others. Against a background of scores of handbooks he follows up the theoretical development of the discipline from Paul Van Tieghem's *La Littérature Comparée*, Paris 1931, up to Sachithanandan's *Oppilakkiam*, Madras 1985, and Claudio Guillén's *Entre lo uno y lo diverso: Introducción a la literatura comparada* which appeared in Barcelona that same year. He sees three "milestones" in this development to reside, firstly, in the work by Van Tieghem, secondly, in Ďurišin's *Problémy literárnej komparatistiky*, Bratislava 1967, and thirdly, in his own meritorious *Einführung in die Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1967. These three books have created two stages in the theoretical development of comparative literature the first of which went from the year 1931 to 1966, the second one from 1967 up to the present times. Nobody can as yet say when will readers meet with a fourth "milestone" which might usher in a further stage in the development of comparative literature.

It is possible that something of the kind might be brought in again by Ďurišin, the most outstanding Czechoslovak theoretician of literary comparatistics of the past two decades. I recall clearly a conversation between Remak and Ďurišin on the occasion of the IXth AILC/ICLA Congress in Innsbruck in 1979. Both invited me to take part in the talk which took place on Remak's initiative where quite evidently the question was raised about Ďurišin's further plans. At the time I was quite surprised by the vehement criticism to which Ďurišin subjected the entire systematics of his own theory of comparative literature. Remak was smiling and probably could hardly believe his own ears. But in time it became clear that Ďurišin was quite serious about it, and in the *Introduction* to his book *Teória medziliterárneho procesu* (Theory of the Interliterary Process), Bratislava 1985, he remarked that at the certain situation might find "himself in a certain tension with former formulations and strivings... Ultimately, negation is a guarantee of progress in man's thinking. On

the epistemological plane this does not involve destruction, but on the contrary, the setting up of a new system arriving, through a full-value integration of earlier views, to their new, nontraditional evaluation" (op. cit., p. 5). Just mentioned book was the product of his new approach to comparative literature.

In all probability, Ďurišin has not forgotten his conversation with Remak and in this *Festschrift* devoted to him the study entitled *The Limits and Possibilities of the Term "Literary Comparatistics"*, which resembles, up to a certain degree, his study *Comparison as a Methodological Instruction?* from the Theory of the Interliterary Process. On the whole, Ďurišin's new theory comprises much that negates earlier theories, his own and those of others, but also new aspects, as for example, a treatment of the specific interliterary communities, and an attempt at a new systematics of the interliterary process. For the time being, however, his theory on the interliterary process is in the state of rise and development which will probably take some time yet to become more or less stabilized.

As a sinologist, I could not help noticing three further contributions to the *Festschrift* relating either directly or indirectly to issues of Chinese literature. The first one, Fokkema's study *The Canon as an Instrument for Problem Solving* takes note, after the example of Dutch and American colleagues, of the literary "canon", its origin, development and function within the frame of reference of various national literatures. This study would probably have benefited had Professor Fokkema devoted attention to the work of a scholar read and often quoted by him, Jan Mukařovský, *Aesthetic Function, Norm and Value as Social Facts*. It would have helped to understand "canon" as a variable entity particularly at the present, fast-changing time.

The second one, Sun Jingyao's *The "T" Approach in Chinese-Western Literary Relations*, is concerned with the question of the so-called influences and parallel studies and presents a "tentative formula for the combined usage of both methods" (p. 281). According to this idea, "the horizontal bar of the T represents parallel, cross-cultural and interdisciplinary study approaches, while the vertical stem represents traditional influence studies within a single cultural system" (p. 282). In reality, this is a considerable oversimplification of the issue and may serve as a mnemonic aid rather than a methodico-methodological instruction. Sun Jingyao, together with Lu Kanghua, is the author of the first handbook of literary comparatistics in the People's Republic of China entitled *Bijiao wenxue daolun* (A Guide to Comparative Literature), Harbin 1984, and the editor of *Cowrie*, a journal of comparative literature, the first yearbook published in English on the territory of the PRC.

The third study, A. Gérard's *Of Shame and Guilt in Drama* is concerned with Phaedra syndrome in the tragedies (or dramas) by Euripides, Seneca, Bandello, Lope de Vega, Racine, and in the novel *La Curée* by E. Zola. It points to changes in Phaedra-*Stoff* and its elaboration in the "shame and guilt societies". The first significant drama of the new Chinese literature (which Professor Gérard, under-

standably enough, does not mention) is Cao Yu's (1910–) *Leiyu (Thunderstorm)* from the year 1934, with a modern Chinese Phaedra. In China this was a product of a polygamous society and she does not commit suicide but ends in a mental asylum.

It is a general custom to append a list of the *Jubilar*'s own scholarly or other publications. This is unfortunately missing from the present otherwise very valuable publication.

Marián Gálik

Bateman New Zealand Encyclopedia. 2nd Edition. Editor-in-Chief Gordon McLauchlan. Auckland, David Bateman Ltd 1987. 640 pp.

The present encyclopedia published in the second edition (first edition 1983) is aimed for readers of various age groups and educational history. Wide public of such a kind no doubt prefers knowledge coded in a clear-cut, brief and accessible style. And since this is an encyclopedia of a rather small size, the editor-in-chief and his staff were confronted with a difficult task. They had to be highly selective in deciding what sort of information to include in the volume and in what amount.

The criteria for inclusion in the encyclopedia are stated in the Introduction (p. IX) and explained by McLauchlan who could rely on his assistant editor Brigid Pike, his sub-editor Janet Bateman as well as on his editorial board the members of which have checked the text of the encyclopedia and contributed with their comments.

The introductory part of the volume includes, in addition to the Introduction itself (p. IX), advise of the editor how to use the encyclopedia (pp. X–XI), a list of colour illustrations and maps (p. XII), as well as acknowledgments (p. XV).

The entries, arranged alphabetically from A to Z take up the bulk of the publication (pp. 1–610). They are printed in two columns, in very clear and readable types. Subjects covered in the encyclopedia range from natural sciences through commerce, industry, economics, agriculture, geography, sociology, anthropology, culture and arts including literature, history, music and painting, law, state affairs, armed forces, education, religion, politics, fauna, flora, geology, history of exploration, international relations, Maori subjects, mass communication media to sports.

The total number of entries may be estimated at some 2,500. Their size varies considerably from just a few lines (e.g. PUTARURU has been assigned seven lines) to some two pages (e.g. COOK, James), the average being some ten to twenty lines.

The text itself is complemented with more than 500 black and white illustrations accompanying the respective entries as well as with 48 pages of colour illustrations of good quality. In addition to this, there is a large fold-out map at the back of the volume and several smaller maps.

Overseas readers will no doubt appreciate extensive coverage of Maori subjects in the encyclopedia as well as information on New Zealand culture (including writing, galleries, museums, and prominent figures of New Zealand arts, research and sports). Those readers overseas who have had experience with the coverage of personalities will especially appreciate the sober attitude of the editor-in-chief who decided to grant more space to persons who have created the continuing influence of a permanent record such as books or art works, whereas some politicians who have been far better known figures in their own times have been left out to continue their quiet slide into oblivion (p. IX). On the whole, the proportion of personal entries is fairly high and many prominent Maoris have been included. The next, modified, edition ought to include such names as e.g. Keri Hulme but also world-wide known scholars as Ralph Piddington, Bruce Biggs or Andrew Pawley. Historical entries inevitably include a good deal of information on prominent Maoris and a lot of attention has been paid to the explanation of frequently occurring Maori ideas and features such as *hui*, *mana*, *karakia*, etc. Main subjects are cross-referenced in the text of the encyclopedia so that they are easy to look for.

The encyclopedia contains two highly useful appendices, a Selective Chronology of New Zealand History (pp. 611–628) and a Subject Index (pp. 629–640).

The Selective Chronology of New Zealand History (pp. 611–628) contains a wealth of dated historical events, from the Legendary voyage of Kupe in 925 A.D. on to the year 1987 in which the Labour Party led by David Lange returned to the parliament and the New Zealand Netball team won the World Championship at Glasgow. The first events listed in the Chronology have, however, a semihistorical value which, however, is hinted at in the entry.

An extremely useful addition to the encyclopedia is the Subject index (pp. 629–640) which helps the readers find required information in case of doubt. It is a systematic classification in which the general subjects such as e.g. agriculture, arts, natural history, education, Maori culture and history, religion, etc. are listed alphabetically, further subclassified and supplied with cross references if necessary.

The encyclopedia is a useful and valuable source of information not only for New Zealanders but also for scholars interested in all aspects of New Zealand life, history and culture.

Viktor Krupa

Simmons, David: *Whakairo. Maori Tribal Art*. Auckland, Oxford University Press 1987. 188 pp.

David Simmons, author of many interesting books and papers on Polynesian traditional culture is also an experienced writer. The composition of his *Whakairo*.

Maori Tribal Art is ingenious and coherent. The preliminary part of this book consists of a triad of studies titled *Nga Tangata* ("The People", pp. 9–16), *Te Mana* ("The Spirit", pp. 17–51), and *Nga Ahua* ("The Shapes", pp. 52–62).

Section One *Nga Tangata* has as English subtitle *The Heritage of the Maori in New Zealand*. Here Simmons displays his ability to link – and in a meaningful and relevant way – Maori mythology and *Weltanschauung* with traditional carving. The author observes the rules of Maori protocol and opens his book or rather removes *tapu* with a Maori prayer called *taumaha*. The prayer is followed by extensive quotations from Maori cosmogony. All Maori texts are paralleled by English translations. Integral parts of the text are numerous colour as well as black-and-white illustrations furnished throughout the book with extensive footnotes that are both informative and compiled in an accessible way.

In *Te Mana* (subtitled *The Interpretation of Maori Carving*) David Simmons explains the semiotics of Maori art and thus helps his readers to interpret Maori carving, or rather some of its salient features. Again, Simmons' explanation is based upon a correlation between the particular features of carving and various mythological motives. Little has been published on these links so far and yet the links between these two domains were known by the few to whom the knowledge was passed down (p. 18).

Many lay readers will profit from the author's discussion of the hierarchical organization of Maori traditional lore and from his comparison of its various sources and of their reliability.

The symbolic language of carving is described on pp. 24 ff. Three major tribal status symbols are dealt with by Simmons', i.e. the war canoe (*waka*), the store house (*pataka*) and the meeting house (*whare whakairo*).

The war canoe or rather some of its parts, may be characterized as a symbolic representation of mythological motifs. The author concentrates upon *tauihu* and *taurapa*, the most richly decorated elements of the Maori canoe.

The store house is discussed under several headings, i.e. *Bay of Plenty Pataka* (pp. 28–33), *Taranaki Pataka* (pp. 34–36), and *Northland Pataka* (pp. 36–38).

The meeting house is discussed at some detail on pp. 39–47. Its symbolism is extremely interesting and based fully upon mythological thought.

Section Three *Nga Ahua* (pp. 52–62) Simmons characterizes various tribal styles of carving. The overall picture is complicated by the fact that individual artists could work not only for their own tribe. However, in such a case the artist would keep to the style of the host tribe. Simmons has established twelve criteria to identify the various tribal styles. Two major styles are distinguished by Simmons, the so-called serpentine body style and the square style (p. 55).

The bulk of the publication deals with the art of carving in various parts of New Zealand. This section of the book is titled *Nga Iwi* (*The Tribes*, pp. 63–172). Simmons starts with the serpentine styles of the northern tribes, then proceeds to the

serpentine style of Taranaki and to the square styles of Wanganui, Waikato and the Bay of Islands. A special attention has been paid to the tribes of Rotorua, which is easy to understand because the Arawa tribes are famous for their carving throughout New Zealand. After all, the first school of traditional Maori arts was established at Rotorua. The particular tribal areas are as a rule given brief characteristics covering customs and rites; this characteristics is followed by the description of a variety of carving specimens.

The publication is usefully complemented with a brief glossary of Maori expressions (pp. 173–175), quite a few of which are technical terms. Besides, sources of drawings are listed (pp. 175–181) as well as a list of books (pp. 182–184) and the book is concluded by a general index (pp. 185–188).

Simmons' book may no doubt be regarded as a remarkable contribution to Maori cultural studies.

Viktor Krupa

Morris, Roger: *Pacific Sail. Four Centuries of Western Ships in the Pacific*. Southampton, Ashford Press Publishing 1987. 192 pp.

This attractive publication was published by Ashford Press Publishing in Southampton in association with David Bateman Ltd in Auckland. As if in parallel to this, the author was born in England and since 1960 has been living in New Zealand.

The exploration of the Pacific is a favourite subject both of historians and of writers of books for general readers. The vast expanse of the largest ocean posed a serious challenge to Western discoverers, and the insular world, especially that of Polynesia, continues to attract attention and imagination of perhaps more people than any other part of the world.

Roger Morris decided to approach his subject matter from a different point of view. As a marine artist with a lifetime interest in navigation he intended to focus on various types of sailing ships used throughout the Pacific. However, he found out that no characteristic of a ship would be complete and satisfactory without any reference to the voyage she was used for.

Illustrations are a vital point in a book on ships and the author as a painter has run into a lot of difficulties because of this. Paintings and drawings of the early ships are unreliable, sometimes stylized or drawn by persons without any required experience. The author had to rely in many instances upon written accounts and that is why his paintings are not devoid of some creativity either.

The book, according to Roger Morris, may be said to consist of three sections. The first section concentrates upon the era of early explorations in the Pacific. It is

followed by the second section dealing chiefly with James Cook and with Bligh, captain of the *Bounty*. Finally, the third section comprises a highly selective description of ships that criss-crossed the ocean in the 19th–20th centuries.

Morris included some information on the most important instruments of navigation (pp. 7–12), obviously for the benefit of his lay readers. These introductory remarks are followed by chronologically arranged short chapters of a couple of pages (27 chapters in all). The first act of the drama of Pacific belongs to Spain; there is a chapter on Magellan's voyage and ships (pp. 13–15), and chapters on the Spanish ships and expeditions (pp. 16–47). The latter cover various types of Spanish vessels such as caravel, carrack, galleon, brigantine and describes the voyages of Loaysa, Legaspi, Arellano and Urdanetta, Mendaña, Quiros and Torres. More space is devoted to the so-called Manila galleons (pp. 37–47) and to a few maritime riddles for which Spanish shipwrecks in Australia and also in New Zealand are responsible (pp. 34–36).

The era of Spanish voyages was interrupted by a British *ouverture* of the Elizabethan period (pp. 48–56) featuring such well-known personalities as Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish used to be in their time.

The rise of the Dutch to a world naval power is briefly described in a separate chapter (pp. 57–63). The author explains the motives of the Dutch as well as their success and focuses chiefly upon the expeditions of le Maire and Schouten and of Abel Tasman.

Voyages of William Dampier, Woodes Rogers, Clipperton and Shelvocke in the 17th–18th centuries are the subject of a chapter in which Morris, in addition to them, describes Spanish navigation along the west coast of America and the search for the so-called Davis Land that has never been found (pp. 64–76).

Sometimes the fate of unsuccessful expeditions is more interesting and informative than many a successful voyage. This is true of George Anson's travels in the Pacific and of his adventures even if the most thrilling part of it, the story of Wager is not included here (pp. 77–85).

A remarkable phase in the history of the Pacific voyages of discovery is that of the Russian expeditions (pp. 86–96) that concentrated predominantly upon the northern parts of the ocean (Bering and fur traders towards the end of the 18th century) but penetrated also into Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia (Krzenshtern, Lisianski, Kotzebue and others; not all of them are discussed by the author).

The achievements of the French are linked to such names as Bougainville, admiral of Tahiti, unhappy Lapérouse, d'Entrecasteaux (in the 18th century), de Freycinet, Duperrey and above all Dumont d'Urville in the 19th century (pp. 97–103).

The investigation of the Pacific culminated in the three voyages of James Cook in the seventies of the 18th century (pp. 104–109). Morris' interest in Bligh is justified not only by the lasting consequences of the mutiny, i.e. the foundation of

a colony in Pitcairn (pp. 110–113) but also by the author's link to the replica of the Bounty built in 1978 in Whangarei. The author included a section on it (pp. 113–116).

The history of Pacific sailing is rich and picturesque indeed. While in the early decades of the 19th century the spirit of discovery prevailed, later it gave way to commerce, whaling, transportation of immigrants to various parts of Oceania. Ships built for these purposes were diverse and Morris describes them in the second half of his book. Pure research was rather rare and Darwin's visit to the Pacific on board of the Beagle (p. 141) is almost an exception.

Morris has managed to master this wealth of heterogeneous topics in a very interesting manner, which is no doubt due also to his first-hand experience with the Pacific navigation and to his artistic talent.

Most of the chapters include authentic quotations from the ships' journals, technical data on the individual ships and occasional schemes, sketches and plans, in addition to many charming colour illustrations painted by Morris himself.

Viktor Krupa

Tuyen tap Te Hanh (Les œuvres choisies de Te Hanh). Editions des Lettres Hanoi, Nha xuất bản Văn học 1987. 407 pp.

Dans les années 1932–1933, le mouvement Nouvelle poésie s'est formé dans la littérature vietnamienne sous l'influence très sensible des œuvres du romantisme français. Ses représentants et adhérents se déclarèrent radicalement contre les canons de la poésie classique. Cependant, ils ne se bornèrent pas aux changements formels (vers libre, symbolisme, procédés métaphoriques), mais visaient aussi l'envie de l'expression des sentiments humains, la compétence, l'habileté de mettre à nu l'individualité du poète. Ils apprenaient chez les poètes français – Baudelaire, Verlaine, puis Lamartine, Vigny, Mallarmé, Rimbaud, Valéry.

Un des derniers représentants du mouvement Nouvelle poésie est Te Hanh (né en 1921) dont les œuvres choisies forment la publication présente. Il s'agit d'une sélection de quatorze collections publiées par l'auteur, et quelques uns de ses poèmes, non publiés jusqu'ici, recueillis par Nguyen Bao.

Le livre est introduit par une biographie concise du poète et une liste de ses œuvres, le tout suivi par une étude d'introduction par Ma Giang Lan (pp. 13–54), qui commente, analyse et évalue le chemin créatif de Te Hanh (par endroits d'une manière schématique et formelle). Cependant, elle fait ressortir les procédés spécifiques et les images de son œuvre poétique, ce qui le met souvent à part de ses prédécesseurs romantiques (The Luu, Huy Can, Xuan Dieu et autres). Il n'avait que dix-huit ans (en 1939) quand il reçut (avec la poétesse Anh Tho), le prix pour la

poésie, décerné par le groupe littéraire des romantistes vietnamiens Tu Luc van doan (Par ses propres forces). Sa toute première collection *Hoa nien* (L'âge en fleur, 1944) contient ses poèmes lyriques sur l'amour, la femme, la patrie, des flambées d'émotions, et le chagrin. Cependant, c'est une sorte de «chagrin brillant d'une âme noble» qui n'est pas à même de voiler l'essence de son âme – l'optimisme de la vie. Il écrit les poèmes dans les années 1938–1941. De ses œuvres d'après la Révolution d'Août (1945) on connaît surtout les collections *Long mien Nam* (Cœur du Sud, 1956), *Gui mien Bac* (Au Vietnam du Nord, 1958), *Tieng song* (Le bruit des vagues, 1960), *Di suot bai ca* (Jusqu'au bout du chant, 1970), et *Theo nhip thang ngay* (Au rythme des jours et des mois, 1974). C'est une lyrique civile chantant la patrie et la lutte pour l'unification du pays. Une collection à noter est *Hau nua yeu thuong* (Deux moitiés d'amour, 1963), où le poète rappelle Goethe, Brecht, Antokolsky; mais aussi la mère, la femme, l'ami... Une lyrique réflexive l'emporte aussi dans les collections *Con duong va dong song* (Le chemin et le courant du fleuve, 1980), et *Bai ca su song* (Le chant de la vie, 1985).

Au lieu d'un épilogue, c'est une courte réflexion du poète Che Lan Vien (un des premiers représentants du mouvement Nouvelle poésie) qui conclue ce choix des œuvres de Te Hanh. Elle porte sur son œuvre et est intitulée *Te Hanh hay tho va cach mang* – Te Hanh ou bien la poésie et la révolution.

Ce choix des œuvres du poète est bien avisé, réfléchi et balancé, attrayant pour le lecteur. Grâce à lui, nous parvenons à connaître mieux et plus intimement un poète qui occupe un place irremplaçable parmi les représentants de la poésie moderne au Vietnam.

Ján Múčka

Love day, Leo: *Explorations in Japanese Sociolinguistics*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company 1986. 153 pp.

While in Japan books on the state of Japanese language and linguistic literature in general continues to flood the market, relatively little attention has been paid to non-descriptive study of Japanese either in Europe or in America, which is a pity because Japanese is one of those languages that ought to be taken into account for the purposes of the theory of linguistics. As far as exceptions are concerned, at least R. A. Miller's *The Japanese Language in Contemporary Japan* (Washington, D. C., American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research 1977) as well as his *Japan's Modern Myth: The Language and Beyond* (New York, Weatherhill 1982) ought to be mentioned here. In the Soviet Union, it is S. V. Neverov who has published on the subject (cf. his monograph *Obshchestvenno-yazykovaya praktika sovremennoi Yaponii*, Moscow, Nauka 1982).

Leo Loveday's volume has been published in the series *Pragmatics and Beyond* devoted to interdisciplinary study of language.

In the Foreword the author states that information about Japanese language and society has been both insufficient and inaccurate. In an effort to make the text accessible to as many readers as possible, technical terminology has been restricted to a minimum and the discussion of the subject is biased towards pragmatics and anthropology, which is not undesirable.

Loveday's book contains some information on sociolinguistic research in Japan but more attention is being paid to some interesting sociolinguistic aspects of the Japanese language.

Basic information on Japanese (pp. 1-3) is followed by an interesting discussion of the reflection of social structure and behaviour in Japanese, e.g., honorifics (pp. 4-8). Information on social and regional variation (pp. 8-11) is complemented with data on sex differentiation, age and group identity that are relevant for the use of language. Attempts at a language reform are also mentioned, even if briefly (pp. 21-24). External influence on Japanese is dealt with in a chronological sequence, beginning from Korean, Chinese, through Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch to German and above all English (cf. pp. 26-28). While the influence of Korean, Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch (as well as that of German) is relatively modest, that of English is rapidly growing.

The author is right when maintaining that in Japanese sociolinguistics there has been an overheavy emphasis on mere data collection while theoretical elaboration are largely missing.

Chapter Two (pp. 33-55) includes characteristics of a Japanese wedding scenario. This illustration of language as an integral element of human behaviour is followed by an analysis of Japanese verbs of giving (pp. 57-78). This analysis of a relatively closed system of lexical units furnishes a convincing example of the inevitability of a wider definition of what is meaning, amounting to a rejection of the purely structuralist approach to language. This reveals one of those points in which Japanese and European languages differ considerably, i.e. the identification of the speech act participants. While in European languages this usually takes place via the system of deictic elements pointing out directly to the participants of the discourse, in Japanese the primary mechanism is the social status of the persons concerned including the factors of sex, age, social position, in-group, out-group, etc. this mechanism suffers from some shortcomings and does not exclude ambiguity.

Chapter Four (pp. 79-117) may be characterized as a confrontational grammar of semiotics of behaviour. Here the author concentrates upon those units of behaviour that produce undesirable effects when occurring in a cross-cultural situation. So far little attention has been paid to similar instances of behavioural interference and clash between various cultures.

One of the aspects in which the speech of Japanese men differs from that of Ja-

panese women is pitch. Loveday has generalized what has been written on the subject and maintains that there is much less sex-based pitch differentiation in English than in Japanese. These differences may cause some sociocultural disturbance in communication between Japanese and non-Japanese speech act participants.

However, the most interesting instances of a semiotic conflict are quoted on pp. 96–117. This is supported by an analysis of a variety of verbal, vocal and kinesic signs as well as rhetoric patterns. The term semiotic schism is used to describe the ensuing disturbances for which, according to the author, both Japanese and Europeans alike are responsible. The facts described in this chapter have implications for non-linguistic sphere and deserve further study for practical purposes.

The publication is complemented with extensive footnotes (pp. 121–134) and references (pp. 135–153). It may well be recommended to everybody interested in Japanese linguistic behaviour.

Viktor Krupa

Japanese Business Language. An Essential Dictionary Compiled by the Mitsubishi Corporation. Tokyo, KPI Ltd 1987. 221 pp.

Japanese Business Language is a unique work of its kind among studies of Japanese language. Its content and designation are those of a practical publication. The book is a contribution to the studies dealing with communication between the Japanese and other languages speakers. In this sense the reviewed book has contributed to the research of the linguistic (but not only that) background of the business communication between Japanese and foreign executives. In this very important sphere of contacts between Japan and the rest of the world notorious problems and difficulties have persisted. Foreign executives in Japan encounter these problems when trying to understand Japanese business practices and thus to understand the background of the Japanese business world; Japanese executives abroad face the same problems in their effort to explain their business techniques there.

The Mitsubishi Corporation have compiled *Japanese Business Language* having carefully chosen about 500 basic words and phrases for which, although they are a part of everyday Japanese businessmen conversation, it is impossible to give a simple translation and moreover their meaning and usage in business language and conversation are not given either in common linguistic, or specialized books. It is precisely these words and phrases that represent purely Japanese specific traits of both Japanese reality and how the Japanese see, think and feel about the business world.

The dictionary helps the reader to understand the psychology and ethics of Japanese business practice, makes it possible for him to understand the personal and work relations and the ways and channels of communication within the management of Japanese business world. It also provides information on Japanese business prac-

tices which cannot be found in any other business study. In this way the book serves the purpose of both learning about the typical Japanese ways of understanding the business and comparing the practices of the western and Japanese business, and at the same time it provides western businessmen with the key to the correct communication with their Japanese partners.

In this way it helps to improve business communication standards in the sphere of contacts between Japan and the non-Japanese world. The dictionary extends beyond the limits of basic dual-languages and explanatory dictionaries. It goes deep to provide us with the etymology of words, it also gives exhaustive information on the usage of words and phrases and the nuances of their meanings and shows the meanings of words and phrases change depending on their usage. Although the choice of entries is oriented at business language, many of them can find their use in everyday conversation as well. Thus, the dictionary also serves a wider cultural purpose and can both enrich the vocabulary of foreigners and help them to understand typical Japanese linguistic and cultural characteristics. Explanatory notes offer the reader a varied picture of historic, cultural, social, linguistic, and factual information on Japan. It will help to complete a mosaic of knowledge of the sociology of Japanese society.

Japanese Business language can be studied and used not only as a dictionary but can be read as an interesting book being both informative and entertaining. In both cases the book maintains its primary purpose, i.e. to be a practical guide how to make use of all knowledge in communication and speaking practice.

We can but agree with the statement that "*Japanese Business Language* is a unique work, a landmark study that will remain a classic in the years to come" (p. XII of Introduction).

Štefan Pecho

Mazur, Yu. N., Mozdykov, V. M., Ko Hyŏn, Kim Ŭngmo, Ryu Yŏnggŏl: *Rusko-koreiskii i koreisko-russkii slovar* (Russian-Korean and Korean-Russian Dictionary). Moscow, Russkii yazyk – Pyŏngyang, Kwahak, Paekkwa sajŏn ch'ulp'ansa 1988. 902 pp.

The latest Russian-Korean and Korean-Russian Dictionary was published as a joint work of Soviet and Korean linguists. The Dictionary consists of two parts, both containing some 50,000 entries from the modern Russian and Korean literary languages.

The dictionary is destined for Soviet and Korean specialists, translators, scholars and practical users, teachers and students.

The proper Russian-Korean part (pp. 15–440) is arranged as follows: homonyms are listed separately and are marked by Roman figures; verbs of both perfective

and imperfective aspects are given but, as a rule, Russian equivalents are given with the imperfective verbs. Verbs are equipped with four indices specifying types of conjugation. Other verbs are specially marked. All types of verbs are to be found in grammatical tables of Russian (pp. 441–452) where also declinational samples are given. Every verb is specified whether of perfect or imperfect aspects; every substantive is marked for its gender (masculine, feminine or neuter) and so are pluralia tantum. When necessary, lexemes are classified according to their conceptual domain (e.g. “from physical sphere”) or are stylistically marked (e.g. “obsolete term”). Accent is marked with all Russian words, except for the italicized ones. Selected geographical names are also given.

The proper Korean-Russian part (pp. 459–898) is arranged according to the Korean alphabet adopted in the D.P.R.K. Homonyms are marked with Roman figures. Korean nouns, as a rule, are translated by Russian nouns in singular. If there is no adequate Russian noun, then it is translated by an adjective or a word from another part of speech, and there is an abbreviation marking a noun. Korean adjectives are translated, as a rule, by Russian adjectives (in masculine and singular). In the case that Korean adjective is not translated by a Russian adjective, but by a verb or another part of speech, then it is similarly marked by an abbreviation specifying an adjective. Korean verbs are translated by Russian verbs of imperfective aspect. Korean adverbs are translated by corresponding Russian adverbs but, if there is no adequate Russian adverb, it can be translated by a Russian participle and there is an abbreviation specifying an adverb. The syllable or syllables which differ in pronunciation from the script are given in square brackets. In this part, too, accent is marked with all Russian words, except for the italicized ones. Similarly, selected geographical names are included, as is the case in the Russian-Korean part.

There are phraseological expressions, proverbs and exemplifications in both parts marked by a rhomb.

There are no characters in both parts which is understandable in a dictionary of medium size.

This useful and handy one-volume dictionary compiled and edited by Soviet and Korean scholars deserves gratitude from all prospective users and will also prove of great help to them.

Jozef Genzor

Debon, Günther and Hsia, Adrian (Eds.): *Goethe und China – China und Goethe*. Bern–Frankfurt am Main–New York, Peter Lang 1985. 215 pp.

The blurb of the book under review carries these two sentences: “When in 1899 the third volume of *Goetheforschungen* had appeared, it seemed that the topic Goethe in China was exhausted. The present book goes back to it.”

In July 1982, a few months following the 150th anniversary of Goethe's death, sinologists and experts on Goethe's work from three continents (Europe, America and Asia) met in Heidelberg in order collectively to discuss, after a pause of over 80 year, Goethe's relations to China and the other way round. True, much work has been done in this field after 1899, although this was due to the individuals, as is attested to by the studies and books by R. Wilhelm, W. Bauer, Ch. Wagner-Dittmar, E. Trunz, U. Aurich, E. Selden, Hideo Fukuda and others. The book under review makes no mention of, nor any reference to the Chinese work by a team of authors entitled *Gede zhi renshi* (The Knowledge about Goethe) which appeared in Nanking in 1933 and contains articles, translations, newspaper reports, eventually other materials by numerous eminent men of letters and philosophers of that time, such as Zong Baihua, Zhou Fucheng, He Lin, Tian Han, Chen Quan, Tang Junyi, Jiang Bingzhen and a few others.

The meeting in Heidelberg was the beginning of activity by the international research team organized later as Euro-Sinica which intends to study a far wider field in Sino-European literary relationships than is presented by the work of Johann Wolfgang Goethe as such, or by German literature. The first meeting had reckoned with a more comprehensive programme of study, but it was not possible to find promoters for all the themes. Thus, for example, there was no one among those present who would have pointed to the reception and impact of Goethe's *Faust* in China, nobody made any attempt at analysing the important question of translations of Goethe into Chinese, or of the overall image of Goethe in Chinese literature before 1949, the image of China in Germany during the times of Goethe, etc. On the other hand, some of the papers proved a pleasant surprise by their breadth of view, mode of processing of material and new insights.

Katharine Mommsen's paper is an excellent introduction into the symposium. She makes a successful review of European studies of Goethe concerning China and vice versa, and likewise of Chinese works insofar as they appeared in Western languages. A point of interest is that none of those present noted during her lecture that Richard Wilhelm and Wei Lixian refer to one and the same person; as a matter of fact, the latter is the Chinese form for the name of this outstanding German Sinologist who has done so much for Sino-German interliterary and interphilosophical relations. Meredith Lee had no easy work presenting *Chinesisch-Deutsche Jahres- und Tageszeiten* (Sino-German Annual and Daily Periods), nevertheless she had something new to say about this complex work. Günther Debon's has a more agreeable task. His paper about Goethe's lecture in Heidelberg at the end of September or early October 1815 on a Chinese novel gave him as a sinologist to point out several less known facts, and a relatively widespread error. The latter refers to the fairly general view that Goethe in his conversation with Eckermann on 31 January 1927, when defining his apprehension of "world literature", had in mind the Chinese novel which he had read and explained also at Heidelberg, hence *Hao qiu zhuan* (*The*

Story of an Ideal Marriage). This is not true. Evidence is available that at the time he had in hand the novel *Huajian ji* (Chinese Courtship), although much from *The Story of an Ideal Marriage* was included in his characteristic of the *Chinese Courtship*, as I know from Eckermann. *The Story of an Ideal Marriage* made quite a strong impression on Goethe.

Professor Feng Zhi, doyen of Chinese germanists and an eminent Chinese poet, is exceptionally represented in the book under review by two contributions: one deals with his impressions from reading Goethe's poetry and views on poetry, the other with typological affinities between Goethe and the great Chinese medieval poet Du Fu (712-770). Feng Zhi had read and studied Goethe for whole decades, although he did not specialize in him; at one time he would part with him, then again come close to him. He belonged among numerous Chinese men of letters who admired Goethe, but in contrast to most of them or rather their writings, something at least, even though not much from Goethe, entered into his works. At the time when Feng Zhi was most receptive to the impact of German literature, some German romanticists, folk ballads, and especially R. M. Rilke were far closer to him than Goethe. I find it hard to subscribe to Yang Wuneng's opinion when he writes in his paper on Goethe and modern Chinese literature that Feng Zhi had begun to study Goethe's work and introduced it to the Chinese audience already in the 1930s. The fact is that his first article about Goethe entitled *Gedede wannian* (The Last Years of Goethe) was written in 1941. Feng Zhi made an analysis in it of Goethe's work *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* (Trilogy of Passion) from the years 1823-1824.

Fan Dacan's paper dealing with Chinese attitudes to Goethe's aesthetic views derives from premises and materials similar to Feng Zhi's first paper and arrives at similar results. Yang Wuneng's contribution played its role in China (it appeared there in an altered form in the magazine *Zhongguo jianshe*, March 1982), but also in the present collection, although it appears rather difficult to claim that Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* had influenced the works by Jiang Guangci, Bing Xin and others; as these were written in the form of letters. That begs to be proved.

A far more circumspect line as regards similar statements has been adopted by Barbara Ascher whose first work devoted to a study of the aspects of reception of Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* in China in the first decades of our century should be considered as one of the most important contributions in this volume, particularly as far as new information is concerned which the authoress had been collecting for years and under onerous conditions. It is to be hoped that she will continue her research, bring it to a close and inform readers with the results regarding either *Werther's* reception or Storm's *Immensee's* translations in the new Chinese literature. A novelty in sinology is brought in also by papers referring to a Chinese dramatization of *Werther* by Adrian Hsia, and of *Mignon* in Chinese veil by Barbara Kaulbach.

The paper dealing with Goethe's reception in China after 1976 by Gao Zhongfu

should be seen in the light of the ongoing efforts to make Goethe or writings about him accessible to as many readers in the PRC as possible following the wasted years of "Cultural Revolution". It is rather a pity that no work has appeared either at this meeting or anywhere else, that would show Goethe's reception in China from the beginning of this century down to our days.

Finally a few words about two papers that differ slightly by their character from the others. It is the philosophically remarkable comparative study by Antony Tatlow on Goethe and Brecht in connection with Chinese universalism apprehended according to J. Needham, and the analytically precisely processed comparative study by Wolfgang Kubin in which, using the typological method, he points to the affinities between the main characters in Yu Dafu's short story *Chenlun* (*The Sinking*) and *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. Their genetic-contact relationship may be seriously questioned, or rather it is practically unprovable.

Goethe und China – China und Goethe as the first volume of the series Euro-Sinica (its Editor-in-Chief being Professor Adrian Hsia) holds great promise for the future. All those seriously interested in the knowledge of interliterary and intercultural relations between China and the European cultural area will have to reach out for the works which appear or will later appear in it.

Marián Gálik

Eide, Elisabeth: *China's Ibsen. From Ibsen to Ibsenism*. London, Curzon Press 1987. 201 pp.

Dr. Elisabeth Eide chose as maxim for her book a motto from the Latin grammarian Terentius Maurus: *Pro capto lectoris habent sua fata libelli*. I found this a down-right challenge. I had been also a bit provoked by the heading of the book, i.e. a play on the words Ibsen and Ibsenism. Now I have before my eyes a young graduate in sinology of Oslo University, when on the occasion of the Congress of Chinese Studies of Oxford in 1971, she addressed me for the first time in the bus taking to Shakespeare's birthplace Stratford upon Avon to be present at the performance of *Merchant of Venice*. She told me what she was interested in, confided to me her plan to write about Ibsen for her M.A. thesis. Two years later she successfully defended it under the title: *Hu Shi and Ibsen: Ibsen's Influence in China 1917–1921 as Seen through the Eyes of a Prominent Chinese Intellectual*.

It was already clear at that time that the quantity of literary material she had on hand (she visited me also in Bratislava and had taken some with her) would far exceed the requirements of an M.A. thesis and it proved advantageous that for over ten years, besides her work at the Royal Library, Oslo, and her organizing activity

in the European Association of Chinese Studies, she pursued in depth the study of Ibsen and his impact in China. The result is the present book.

Its first part entitled Individualism and Literature draws mostly on the above mentioned M.A. thesis. In this way, unpublished results of some years of study become available to interested readers. It is concerned almost exclusively with Professor Hu Shi (1891–1962) and through his intermediary with the traditional concept of “individualism” in China and in Europe of the 19th century or of a little later period, particularly with Shaw’s apprehension of Ibsenism which did not fail to find a response in Hu Shi. Hu Shi was one of the most consequent advocates of individualism and liberal pragmatism in China.

Also in the second section called Feminism following in Mrs. Eide’s scholarly development her “individualistic” stage just referred to, Hu Shi remains one of the most important subjects of research. As regards a comprehensive apprehension of the world, Professor Hu Shi came closest to Eide’s own *Weltanschauung*. Next come, but somewhat in the background, Lu Xun and a few others, particularly Yuan Zhenying, Yuan Bing, or Wang Ping. As there is a question here of works that are little known or not studied as yet, her analysis is refreshing. It goes to show that Chinese critics focus their attention preponderantly on Ibsen’s Nora which is fairly natural owing to the fact that *A Doll’s House* was “the most often translated and performed of Ibsen’s plays in China” (p. 98).

In the third section headed Literature and Critics, Mrs. Eide follows the problem of Ibsenism manifested as “Noraism” in modern Chinese literature, and in Western and Chinese approaches to Ibsen and his works. Although a second part of this section is undeniably interesting, I dare say that the first half, focused on Ibsenism as “Noraism”, is the most valuable – at least to a literary scholar.

Though loath, yet I have to observe that the authoress devoted precisely to this part less diligence, less thoroughness than she ought to have, or could have. When examining in more detail Ibsen’s deeper impact on new Chinese literature one may hardly subscribe to one of the fundamental theses of the book, namely: “The Chinese never read Ibsen to find aesthetic solutions to literary problems. They encountered Ibsen through Ibsenism, and Ibsenism determined what they would see in Ibsen” (p. 150). Much of the material found in critical essays may be taken as justifying Elisabeth Eide’s statement, but that is a form of an external influence which may find its vindication, e.g. in intellectual history but never in literary creation as such, and this is a decisive factor. A deep inner influence must become reflected in literary structure of the receiving literature, primarily in the literary works themselves, and these may not be bypassed if a scholarly study is objectively to evaluate “China’s Ibsen”. In my view, but also in that of others, these include, for instance, Tian Han’s (1898–1968) *Nan gui* (Return to the South), Cao Yu’s (1910–) *Leiyu* (*The Thunderstorm*) or Yang Jiang’s (1911–) *Feng Xu* (*Windswept Blossoms*).

The book under review is supplemented with the translation of Hu Shi's article Ibsenism, then an Abstract Bibliography of Chinese Articles 1917-1947, Works Cited, and an Index. It "traces the reception of Ibsen's works in China in the period 1917 to 1935" (p. 11) and takes no note at all of the development after 1949.

The book would have been even more useful for a study of the new Chinese literature if, when it would write not only about "China's Ibsen" but also "Ibsen in China". The assertion that "in China Ibsen became nothing but Ibsenism" (p. 151) loses in plausibility when literary works positively influenced by Ibsen, come into the focus of attention. If more had been written in the book about Ibsen in Chinese literature in the light of the existing knowledge about the genetic-contact relations within the theoretical and practical framework, it would have been far more justified that "pro captu lectoris" in the introductory motto.

Marián Gálik

Kinkley, Jeffrey C.: *The Odyssey of Shen Congwen*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1987. 464 pp.

The book under review is the most comprehensive attempt at presenting a perspective of the life and partly also the work of one of modern Chinese writers in the whole scholarly production.

The reader will perceive right from the start that Professor Kinkley rates Shen Congwen very highly and admires him. In the Introduction he asserts that some experts in the new Chinese literature "have gone to acclaim Lu Xun as 'No.1' and Shen Congwen as 'No.2'" (p. 1) in this domain. He mentions no names, but only observes that these words, written in his Ph.D. thesis entitled *Shen Ts'ung-wen's Vision of Republican China*, Harvard University 1977, "have to be deleted or altered before the book could be considered publishable in China" (p. 285). What the Chinese editors will do about these words is anybody's guess, but this rating in relation to Shen Congwen is, to my view, somewhat too high, although I admit that Shen undoubtedly belongs among the best Chinese writers of the 1920s till 1940s. The unfair and negative attitude towards him in the PRC and in Taiwan up to the recent time, and even a suppression of his very existence in Chinese literary historiography after the year 1949, resulted if not in a complete unconcern for his work, then at least in a questionable and inadmissible attitude towards certain aspects of his work and his personality, but in recent years in an exaggerated admiration for his merits. This divergent attitude may have been brought about by the unjustified negation of Shen Congwen's literary merits in the past and an undue prominence being given to certain aspects of his work in the USA and in Western Europe.

Kinkley failed to mention, but probably he could hardly have known, that Shen Congwen was a favourite author of Jaroslav Průšek who in talks with his pupils re-

peatedly mentioned that he would like to devote himself more deeply to his study. Although he wrote less about him and translated nothing from him, yet we may infer from his article written in German and entitled *Ch'uan-ch'i Tradition* in the book by Wolfgang Franke and Brunhild Staiger (Eds.): *China Handbuch*, Düsseldorf, Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag 1974, that he considered Shen to be a "great writer of modern China" and expressed regret that "his creative activity had been forcibly interrupted" (p. 244). Young Průšek had met Shen Congwen in Peking together with Ma Lian and Zheng Zhendo at the house of Dr. Yamei Kin, the first Chinese lady physician, where he had his board. On that occasion Shen Congwen gave him his book about Ding Ling, although from the record of this event in Průšek's *Sestra moje Čína* (China, My Sister), Prague 1940, p. 284, it is not at all clear whether this took place in 1933 or 1934. At the meeting Průšek was evidently more interested in Ding Ling than in Shen Congwen, for the question of her life or rather death at the hand of her political enemies kept the Chinese and partly also foreign cultural community busy for a long time. In an extensive article on the new Chinese literature, published in *Das neue China*, 6, 1940, Nos. 39–41, pp. 456–465, 523–536 and 588–600, a longer paragraph is devoted to Shen Congwen, but it does not suggest that Průšek at that time had made any special study of Shen's works. The article in the *China Handbuch* is quite a different matter. The student of Chinese literature becomes aware at first glance that before writing it Průšek had read Shen Congwen's works and succeeded in correctly characterizing them. It can only be regretted that he found no time for a more thorough study of this writer.

Professor Kinkley, on the other hand, in working on this book, found more time than probably any other scholar for a study of the life of one single Chinese modern author, perhaps with the exception of Olga Lang's *Pa Chin and His Writings*, Harvard University Press 1967. In addition, he also proved a "fervid" interviewer, who "interrogated" and "cross-examined" Shen Congwen, his close relatives, friends and colleagues in a score of meetings. Through a reading of his works, critical writings about him and the judgments of historians, he endeavoured to come to know him and his works, the entire environment in which he moved from his birth on 28 December 1902, until the year 1985 when he was completing his notes for his extensive monograph. The reader is just staggered not only by the quantity of material of the most diverse kind, but also by the notes which, together with the section Reference Matter, constitute over one-third of the book. Future scholars will certainly be grateful to the author, for it is very probable that the aged writer would never confide some of the facts and views to anyone and these would be forever lost to further study.

To put all the facts with the most diverse documentation into a single book, however, need not always be the happiest idea, and I fear that this book is one of those which few will read from cover to cover, although in all probability many will read from it – and not solely those interested in the new Chinese literature.

This book shows Shen Congwen as man and as writer from every possible aspect, and it seems, better so as man than as writer. Within this frame of reference, only Lu Xun is better known to us; but then scores and scores of scholars took part in researching Lu Xun's life and work. "This is a book more of history, than of criticism" wrote Kinkley in the *Introduction*. "It is a story of Shen Congwen's life, his times, his thought, and his art – considered whole, the more so since this is a pioneer biography and all-but-authorized one to boot" (p. 2). This is truly a justifiable feather in Mr. Kinkley's cap, on the other hand, however, more literary evaluation would have proved a great boon to the book. Evaluation forms an important part of literary analysis constituting a responsible deed on the part of a literary critic and historian. A literary work is a work of art principally because it is a carrier of value in its various forms; we shall never be able to appreciate, and within the framework of the possible, to prove Shen Congwen's literary importance unless we show his relative greatness on the axiologic plane. This certainly requires some courage and a "critical distance", but this is the only way how to fulfil the mission of the literary scholar. Kinkley was aware that a "bigger difficulty for Shen's reputation than the fact that he wrote many flawed works is his chronic (though luckily not invariable) inattention to larger literary structures" (p. 3). Lu Xun never wrote a novel and nobody has ever reproached him the omission, if it ever is one, Shen Congwen wrote "many flawed works" in small forms, and it is right to admit it. It is possible to agree with Průšek who besides his positive appreciation of the "wealth and diversity" of Shen Congwen's work, pointed out his "lack of balance and anarchy" (op. cit. p. 244), whereby he probably had in mind the formal and compositional aspect of Shen's works. Kinkley's predecessor in the study of Shen's work Nieh Hua-ling in her book *Shen Ts'ung-wen*, Boston, Twayne Publishers, Inc. 1972, wrote about the novelettes of this writer: "Shen Ts'ung-wen is not as flawless as one might wish. His preference for the 'plain narrative' exposes him to criticism – sometimes deservedly – as a loose writer, and a writer with 'structural deficiencies'" (p. 123).

Precisely because the book under review is an odyssey of Shen Congwen's life, it conveys far less insight into his work than might perhaps be necessary. Kinkley makes relatively little use of the possibilities of an intrinsic analysis (Wellek and Warren) of Shen's *oeuvre*, and when he does, then they serve him for a sociologic, folkloristic, ethnographic, or some other such research.

If we take up one of the best known and the most translated of Shen Congwen's stories *Xiaoxiao* from the year 1929, we find that Professor Kinkley devotes it just four sentences dispersed throughout the book. In the first of them he states that Shen's sister-in-law was an illiterate child bride "who aspired to become a liberated woman, like Shen's character Xiaoxiao" (p. 23). In the second one he writes that Xiaoxiao begins to entertain visions of becoming a young student to escape her sorry predicament of becoming pregnant by another man than her child-husband (p. 173). On p. 179 he likewise follows up a sociologic aim when he states that *Xiaoxiao* is

“one of the few stories featuring a patriarchal control”, and finally the same may be said of the last sentence in which Kinkley affirms that *Xiaoxiao* is showing up the “unnaturalness of the custom of child brides” (pp. 181–182). This, of course, does not apply to all the analysed works. For instance, the author devotes far more attention to another outstanding short story by Shen Congwen, *Yuexia xiaojing* (*Under Moonlight*), but the reason is that it interested him as an example of folklore from Shen Congwen’s native West Hunan.

With the exception of the rather exaggerated praise showered on Shen Congwen’s merits, these words are not meant as criticism. The choice of the methods, object and aim of research is the author’s inalienable right. To my mind, however, with more attention devoted to the literary aspect of Shen Congwen’s work (not excluding the evaluative aspect), the author would have served better the cause of knowledge of the new Chinese literature, and of one of its most outstanding representatives.

Kinkley’s is also the first book to deal in detail with the question of the so-called ‘regional literature’ in China and from this point of view it is truly of a pioneering character.

Marián Gálik

Monschein, Ylva: *Der Zauber der Fuchsfée. Entstehung und Wandel eines “Femme-fatale”-Motivs in der chinesischen Literatur* (The Magic Power of a Fox Fairy. The Rise and Changes of a “Femme-fatale” Motif in Chinese Literature). Frankfurt/Main, Haag + Herchen Verlag 1988. 417 pp.

This book is the 10th volume of the Heidelberger Schriften zur Ostasienkunde, a promising series initiated in 1980 and edited by Günther Debon and Lothar Ledderose.

Every reader of old Chinese literature come across the various images of foxes, for the most part *feminini generis*, in numerous works and some genres. The young German sinologist Ylva Monschein undertook the uneasy task to study as thoroughly as possible this motif and to make it accessible to the scholars and the general reading public.

She took over the title of her Ph.D. thesis from the Russian translation of Pu Songling’s (1640–1715) stories *Liaozhai zhiyi* (*Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*) which in Russian reads as *Lisi chary* (The Magic Power of Fox Fairy). This has to be characterized as a tribute to the work of the great Russian and Soviet sinologist V.M. Alekseev (1881–1951). In his prologue to translation Alekseev dealt with a characteristic of these stories and tried to delineate the atmosphere of the times

of their origin and reception in the new European environment. Although many years have elapsed since he completed the translation in 1922, and the methods of interliterary studies have been refined, his prologue still has its place in the history of Sino-foreign literary relationships. In it he points out, among other things, the unusual nature of this topic to the European reader, but likewise its indigenous justification. I recall that when as a student in Prague under Jaroslav Průšek, who at that time just published a selection from Pu Songling, while reading these translations, I was struck by the peculiarity and strangeness of these stories. That is probably why also Alekseev rightly warned Russian readers that this was no lecturing like that from European literatures. The same dilemma would be experienced, Alekseev continued, by a Chinese reader of, say Zhukovsky's poems, Tatiana's dream from *Eugene Onegin*, etc. That may have held more or less at that time but not today when the treasures of world literature are coming to be a universal ownership, and exceed more and more the frontiers of their national or ethnic literatures.

The work under review exceeds the motif of "Femme-fatale" in Chinese literature. Not all that had anything to do with a fox there was of the female sex, nor was it concerned with the same or similar characteristics which this topic carries in European literatures. Ylva Monschein endeavours to find material for it throughout the entire course of Chinese literary history, from *Shijing* (*Book of Poetry*) down to contemporary *xunken wenxue* (literature of searching for roots) in the PRC of the first half of the 1980s. In European literature, the "Femme-fatale" motif tends towards the devilish, the mythic and the vampiric: such is not quite the case in China. That is, of course, due to the different literary, ideological and social traditions. Foxes in China were regarded upon as something intermediate between human beings and spirits. This was perhaps best expressed by Ji Yün (1723–1805) when he wrote: "People and animals are different beings, but foxes are between them." And further on: "Gods and spirits walk along different roads and foxes wander between them." V.M. Alekseev in his prologue to the translation observes that towards the end of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), altars could be seen in fields with ancient vessels, little flags, inscriptions with entreaties, etc., implying that the fox was honoured there as an "anonymous deity" which, by its ability to metamorphose, could wreak havoc on, but also help man. As regards Pu Songling's own work in relation to fox fairies, Průšek wrote that "imagination alone brought a bit colourfulness and beauty into the sad, grey life on the Chinese people and we have some such impression that it was not by chance that the richest phantasy in Chinese literature gushed out from the soul of a man whose life was unusually-miserable and humdrum, and who lived in a milieu equally grey and monotonous. And thus, another significant function of fictitiousness in Pu Songling's work was to add to life that which reality failed to provide, to enlarge and enrich the sphere of human experience and feelings. Where reality knew but forced marriage for the purpose of begetting offsprings, or made a low slavish commerce of sexual relations, there Pu Songling

conjures up beautiful images of pure love. But, of course, instead of real women fettered with 'five relations and obedience', he brings on the stage fairies, foxes, spirits, etc., which are not bound by conventions." (See Průšek's translation *Zkazky o šesteru cest osudu*, Prague 1955, p. 306.)

A considerable influence had been exercised on the development of the fox-motif in Chinese literature by the Buddhist teaching of *karma*, metempsychosis, and the process of demonization or mythicization of historical personalities. The inclusion of Buddhist or Taoist notions had its justification and was easily realized, for there was enough adequately prepared soil in China for such an undertaking. Demonization and mythicization represent a process opposite to the one carried out with mythical personages subject to essential metamorphoses during the history. The objects of such a processing had been the consorts of the last, and without exception, bad rulers of the various dynasties, such as Daji and Baosi, further the Empress Wu Cetian and Yang Guifei, the favourite concubine of the Emperor Minghuang from the Tang dynasty.

The most interesting from the literary point of view and the most valuable are the outstanding stories from the Tang period, especially *Ren shi zhuan* (*The Story of Miss Ren*) whom Monschein characterizes as a "whore with golden heart", and then particularly a few stories from Pu Songling which, though having happy ends, belong among the best in the Chinese literature.

In this work Dr. Monschein has given proof of her outstanding linguistic abilities. An extensive bibliography added to it will help those intending to pursue further the fox-fairy motif and enrich the Chinese *Motivgeschichte* in this field.

Marián Gálik

Shimada, Kenji: *Die neo-konfuzianische Philosophie. Die Schulrichtungen Chu Hsi und Wang Yang-mings* (The Neo-Confucian Philosophy. The Schools of Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming). Berlin, Verlag von Dietrich Reimer 1987. 252 pp.

Thanks to Dr. Monika Übelhör's translation this work lasting over 20 years, is available a second time to German readers.

Neo-Confucian philosophy is a common heritage of China and Japan, and not only theirs: it equally exerted its influence in Korea and Vietnam. In the book under review Professor Shimada, one of several outstanding connoisseurs of Chinese Neo-Confucianism, has attempted to present a sufficiently concise, but truthful picture of Neo-Confucianist development from the times of Zhang Zai (1010–1077) and Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), the founders of Neo-Confucianism, up to Li Zhi (1527–1602), the greatest rebel in Chinese philosophical calendar, who took his life, albeit unwillingly, for his conviction.

Neo-Confucianism was not a product of the period of the Song dynasty (960–1297). Precondition for its origin had been created already in the second half of the rule of the Tang dynasty (618–906) in the work of the Confucian philosopher, scholar and *littérateur* Han Yu (768–824). Han Yu was an eminent personality in the history of Chinese culture. He excelled as an essayist and poet, a theoretician urging a return to the fountainheads of Chinese literary legacy, advocating a renewal of the prestige – hence of ideological orthodoxy. As the latter was at stake, he just could not avoid getting into conflict with Taoist and Buddhist doctrines. These two ideological systems, though mutually close, yet essentially disparate in their various concepts which had before Han Yu and the Tang period developed side by side on Chinese territory for whole centuries, ranked even higher on the hierarchical scale than the teaching of the old sage Confucius (551–479 B.C.). Shortly before Han Yu's birth, China had experienced an era of the liveliest intercultural and interliterary exchange – from this point of view the most stimulating one in its history with the exception of the present century. According to Klaus Tietze, the German sinologist, the most typical trait of the first half of the Tang dynasty is that “Chinese civilization then extended the sphere of its influence into Northern and Western Asia, on the other hand, however, we may note the mighty stream of cultural elements simultaneously reaching China and the enthusiastic reception they were given on the part of Chinese society.” (In: Bauer, W. (Ed.): *China und die Fremden*. München, C.H. Beck 1980, p. 114). Buddhism was one of the systemo-structural entities of a foreign, non-Chinese origin, which for entire centuries had been acting on the Chinese society and not merely on its upper strata. An extraordinary impact in China of that period was exercised by the advanced culture of the eastern part of Central Asia. China was then far less influenced by the surrounding countries – Persia, Japan, Korea or Southeast Asia, although a certain intercultural exchange took place here also. Among the stimuli provided to China by the so-called Western countries (i.e. Central Asia and India), mention should be made of music. Songs (hits of those times) helped in the development of *ci* form of poetry in the Song period. Various Buddhist teachings were promoted in that time. Of these, two forms in particular, the *Chan* (*Zen*), a strongly meditative and subjective form, and the Pure Land (*Qingtu* or *Jōdo*), a less meditative and pietist form trusting in the invocation of the name Amitabha, Buddha of Infinite Light, presiding Lord of the Western Paradise, proved especially dominant and effective.

It is certainly not without reason that Professor Shimada begins his book with an attempt to resolve the question of the relationship between Buddhist and Taoist teachings, and the Neo-Confucian versions of Chinese philosophy. Here he takes as his most important methodical instruction an idea from the commentary to the work *Da xue* (*The Great Learning*) from the period of the Qin and Han dynasties (221 B.C.–220 A.D.) where we find: “If we see something without turning our mind (*xin*) to it, we do not take it seriously.” From this maxim Shimada rightly infers:

"The responsible agent for influencing should be sought on the sight of the receiving rather than the giving."

It is to be regretted that too little room has been reserved in the book to various Buddhist and Taoist loans in Chinese Neo-Confucianism. That is a drawback (but also an advantage) of Japanese research. Since the times of Ogyu Sorai (1666–1754) the Japanese have accumulated so many proofs on this interphilosophical impact that they refrain from paying attention to it for fear of repeating themselves. And thus we come across proofs for less significant concepts, but as regards the essential in Neo-Confucianism in general, i.e. about *li* (the principle of cosmic order), we have to be satisfied with the information that in this form it had been unknown to original Confucianism and that the Neo-Confucianists had simply "stolen" it from Buddhism.

If any major entity in intercultural, interphilosophical or interliterary process receives foreign impulses and thereby becomes somewhat altered, it is quite self-evident that after a time, in an effort to preserve its own identity, it reaches for a "return", to an emphasis on autochthonous and often peculiar values in its own heritage. Confucians imagined a renewal of the so-called true teaching (*zheng tong*) to take place by allowing further intersystemic action of Buddhism and Taoism impossible. They became alarmed at the fact that during Six dynasties (420–589) the monolith of Confucianist ideology had become split under the impact of Buddhism and Taoism and they profited by the historical chance in the second half of the Tang dynasty to try, not without success, to restore it.

It is not difficult to recognize that Confucianism of the previous epochs and that of the period beginning with the Song dynasty and persisting until the end of the last century, differed to a considerable degree. While the early Confucian teaching and its concrete activity were marked by the predominance of a creative element manifested in cultural and political institutions, later, undue emphasis began to be laid on the ethical aspect of the individual as a glowing example for the society. An end was put to improvement of political and other institutions and accent was put on self-perfection (*xiu shen*) of the individual as a glowing example for social activity, for creating harmonious relations in the family (*qi jia*) as a precondition of social order and peace in the country.

The entire Neo-Confucian teaching rests on two principles: the principle of cosmic order, referred to earlier, and that of human desire (*ren yu*). Man, as a pendant to Heaven and Earth, is their incorporation in the measure in which they dwell in him. This relation or measure mutually differ in the various philosophers. Every one may become a sage (*shengren*), hence, an ideal man on condition that in some measure, sometimes even absolutely, he excludes from his mind the activity of human desires. Their absolute exclusion was demanded; for instance by the philosopher Zhou Dunyi, in the case of Zhu Xi (1130–1200) and his adherents this applied to a great extent; beginning with Lu Xiangshan (1139–1192) and his subjective-

idealistic branch of Neo-Confucianism, this interpretation was accepted only to a greater or lesser extent, and contact was taken with Mencius' (ca. 372-ca. 289 B.C.) moderate assertion about the human desires.

There is, however, another principle of great importance to Neo-Confucian teaching, i.e. *qi*, the material substance of all things. According to the philosopher Zhang Zai, *qi* is a certain form of the void (*xu*) which is nondifferentiated, but under certain circumstances it becomes "condensed" and creates all things, while under others it "dissolves" and reverts to void. Void (Sanskrit *sūnyatā*) is a Buddhist concept meaning also vacant, unreal, immaterial and the like.

During the present millennium Confucian philosophy has acquired at least a partially speculative character which it never had before. Then it was purely pragmatic, satisfied with an apprehension of being as a more or less ethical and social matter and was not concerned at all with metaphysical issues. Man was always studied in his social milieu, and epistemological aspects never attracted much attention there with the exception of the question of the ever-recurring (although in an altered form) explications of philosophy of the antiquity. Ancient philosophical schools, with the exception of Taoism, which carried germs of speculative thinking, e.g. Mohists or Logicians, failed to survive the year of China's unification (221 B.C.). The School of Naturalists (*Yinyang jia*) and its advocated theory of five elements, similar to that taught by Empedocles (ca. 495–435 B.C.) explaining the philosophy of four elements, could not become a springhead for the promotion of science in the domain of chemistry, mechanics and the theory of evolution, for it was almost totally applied to explain certain social and historical phenomena in China. The development in Europe was different.

The experience which the Chinese had with certain schools of Buddhist philosophy, settling with Taoism, could not avoid leading to confrontations. Zhu Xi as the most important representative of Neo-Confucian philosophy systematized ontology (relations of *li* and *qi*), ethics, as a science of human conduct and interhuman relations, and finally also methodology as a guide in the research accessible and permitted to adherents of Neo-Confucianism. He could not have accomplished all this if he had not devoted himself to commenting old books of Confucian origin and if he had not presented the experience from the long course of Chinese history from his own point of view and probably also from one acceptable to the majority of the then Chinese literati. As a practising Confucian he took the liberty of presenting his own understanding of political events, public administration, support for agriculture, and so on.

But the mainstay of Zhu Xi's philosophy is his ethics. Ontology creates for it the necessary basis. *Qi* is the material essence of being, and *li* is the form, or the possibility for a thing, animal, man, to become what they are. The principle of cosmic order (*li*) is the basis for the existence of all things in the universe. This principle of cosmic order being applied to man, was identical with his "specific nature" (*xing*)

and the latter becomes manifest in man with the aid of five virtues: Human-heartedness (*ren*), righteousness (*yi*), propriety or decorum (*li*), wisdom (*zhi*) and good faith (*xin*). It is realized through mind (*xin*) and in this process feelings (*qing*) always become involved. As a rule, in China one speaks of seven feelings: joy (*xi*), anger (*nu*), grief (*ai*), fear (*ju*), love (*ai*), hatred (*wu*) and desires (*yu*). Of these the most problematic have always been desires, and this for the reason that they could be personally motivated and could serve profit (*li*), debauchery (*yin*), etc. Possible implication along this line led to moral rigorism, political thick-headedness and absolute irresponsibility. For example at the time when the seven-year old emperor of the Song dynasty was on the run before the conquering Mongols, his Prime Minister Liu Xiufu (1236–1279) was explaining to him the passages from the *Great Learning* pointing out that moral self-cultivation is the best method how to rule a country. Interest to us is to note the premise “to improve knowledge with the aid of a study of the things” (*ge wu zhi zhi*) which, however, strictly related to Confucian texts themselves, and all the remaining knowledge concerning with man and nature were considered harmful or a loss of time. This view was in vogue during the times of Roger Bacon (1214–1292) who identified philosophy with science, expressed the demand of using experimental method and considered mathematics as the base of sciences.

An essentially divergent explication of practically the same texts was brought in by Confucian scholars grouped around Lu Xiangshan, and later especially Wang Yangming (1472–1529), and his pupils or followers. They to not link the principle of cosmic order with specific human nature, but with human mind (*xin*), they identify the two and deduce that desires are not in an antagonism with the principle of cosmic order. Thus, human mind reached the highest philosophical principle of being, became identified with the content of canonical books, and vice versa. Nevertheless, this new explication did not mean any major deviation from the ossified dogmatism; at least, not until Wang Yangming's followers from the Taizhou School had began to apprehend human mind as an individual's “outfit” in his social context.

A typical feature of adherents of this school, the Mind School (*xin xue*), as opposed to those of the Zhu Xi's adherents, i.e. Study of Principle School (*li xue*), is that they put less emphasis on men being well-read in classical Confucian books, as rather on human mind itself which is their realization. This was due to the overall political situation. Zhu Xi's teaching became distasteful especially to those who were unable to pick out anything from the classics for their practical life. Consequently they had recourse to reflexion and meditation according to the Chan School, and to practical activity. At the same time, activity to them was equivalent to the “good knowledge” (*liang zhi*), i.e. inborn knowledge which one becomes at the birth. They, too, understood activity in purely ethic terms.

During Wang Yangming's time, Europe takes leave of Middle Ages, its economic life grows stronger, this is the epoch of great sea voyages and discoveries, the epoch

of the Renaissance. Wang Yangming was a contemporary of Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519).

The monolith of Confucian ideology in China was successfully split only about 1919. Zhu Xi held a firm grip on the guardians of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy and scared them from attempting any deviation. Wang Yangming found no explicit antagonists, only critics, but this could not be said of part of his disciples, adherents of the Taizhou School. These believed that man could become a sage without striving for false self-cultivation or self-perfection. An outstanding figure in this school was Wang Gen (1483–1541) who uplifted the significance of man as an individual. Man should strive for self-realization in such a way as to be useful to society. Human desires should become a guarantee that men of unusual abilities would ensure social progress. Wang Gen felt no need of any knowledge outside classical Confucian books, and even those he did not consider as absolutely indispensable.

Li Zhi was a contemporary of Giordano Bruno (1548–1600). And he also resembled him most of all the contemporary philosophers. They had one experience in common, i.e. both lived in a monastery, one at the start, the other at the end of their philosophical career. After being accused of heresy, Bruno devoted himself entirely to philosophical writings, Li Zhi must have been accused of it much later, otherwise he would not have been able to write at all. Both professed the heroic ethics and both died for their conviction. But their philosophical views were totally different. Bruno pursued the philosophy of nature taking contact with the then European philosophical and scientific movements, particularly with Copernicus, Li Zhi devoted himself to the criticism of Confucian scholarship, falsehood, spiritual dwarfness and kowtowing to authorities. It is understandable then that in the China of those times beside Confucian scholarship no other existed, or was not recognized, he should have harped on the necessity of an uninstructed, literally “child-like mind” (*tong xin*). In reality this did not imply a demand not to read books, as rather not to allow oneself to become spoiled by writings and works full of falsehood, lie and imitativeness. Li Zhi lived at a time when not only philosophy and history, but also high literature survived on commenting and imitating old writings.

At a later period, during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), Neo-Confucian philosophy developed along a different line.

Marián Gálik

Huang Tsung-hsi: *The Records of Ming Scholars*. Edited by Julia Ching with the Collaboration of Chaoying Fang. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1987. 336 pp.

Over the past fifteen to twenty years, an unusual interest may have been observed among sinologists in Neo-Confucian philosophy of the period of the Ming dynasty

(1368–1644). Very active in this field, besides Professor William Theodore de Bary from Columbia University, is also Professor Julia Ching, at present Co-President of Victoria College, University of Toronto, interested principally in the main trend of Neo-Confucian philosophy of the Ming era: *xin xue* (Learning of the Mind). Her work, particularly her book *To Acquire Wisdom: The Way of Wang Yang-ming*, New York, Columbia University Press 1976, has meant a considerable enrichment of our knowledge in this domain.

The book under review represents a critical and annotated translation of a selection from the extensive work of the philosopher and a historian of philosophy Huang Zongxi (1610–1695), called *Mingru xuean* in the original, and introduces “portraits” of eminent philosophers of the preceding decades and centuries. They are philosophico-historical pictures of various representatives of the “Learning of the Mind”, hence of a subjective-idealist form of Neo-Confucianism. The latter is excellently characterized by Huang Zongxi in the opening sentences of his Preface written in 1693: “That which fills Heaven and Earth is Mind. Its transformations are unfathomable and cannot but assume myriad forms. The Mind has an original substance (*pen-t’i*) except what is achieved by its activity (*kung-fu*). To exhaust and comprehend principles (*li*) is to exhaust and comprehend Mind’s myriad manifestations rather than the myriad manifestations of things.” And a little further, he writes: “Only after cultivating virtue could learning be discussed. Today, learning is being discussed (*chiang-hsüeh*) without virtue being cultivated” (p. 41). Here Huang Zongxi underlines both the epistemological and the ontological basis of this philosophy, the former pointing to the principal philosophical category of the period, propagated by the adherents of the “Learning of the Mind”, and the latter to its fundamental requirement, i.e. ethics has priority over knowledge, this knowledge not exceeding our innate moral wisdom.

The central personality in the book is Wang Yangming (1472–1529), for he was the greatest philosopher of his time. All the important ideas run towards him, and also from him. Some of the philosophers appear as if confiding themselves to the reader. Huang Zongxi left no portraits of some even eminent philosophers, e.g. He Xinyin (1517–1579) and Li Zhi (1527–1602) because he did not agree with them, or was afraid to include them in the book.

The various portraits in the book speak more of philosophers than of their teaching. Huang Zongxi is a good stylist and learned much from Chinese historians how to write biographies that read well, although they are often stereotyped, but such probably were educated people of that time. Surprising is the great number of dreams unusual signs or omens which the different participants of the intellectual history experienced or witnessed. And the great amount of leisure, of time often spent in prisons; and even in physical work which some of them performed, although as a rule, it was not the ideal of Confucian intellectuals. The ideas as such as Huang Zongxi presents to the readers do not seem to me sufficiently differentiated, and

I suspect that they were an object of his intellectual curiosity rather than an effort at providing adequately diversified image of that era. In compiling the portraits and the book, he had mostly followed the problem of the Mind and of *liang zhi* (good or innate knowledge).

The scope of the book, the large number of philosophers and problems dealing with in it, the method of its processing, etc., were the cause of numerous errors in the book. It is to the credit of the team of translators and editors that they drew attention to them in their notes. Besides Julia Ching and now late Chaoying Fang, the following scholars took part in the work: Irene Bloom, Anne Ch'ien, Edward Ch'ien, Mark Cummings, Ronald Dimberg, Joanna Handlin, John Langlois and Rodney Taylor.

A concise but well documented Glossary of Technical Terms is appended to the book. It has been selected from single words and termini that frequently occur in Huang Zongxi's work and are of essential signification. Another of their advantage is also that they are put in relation with Buddhist teachings, which as we know, exercised a considerable impact on Neo-Confucianism. Although this is not explicitly stated in the book, this glossary, as also the majority of the translations, the Introduction to the book, its presentation, are all the work of Julia Ching.

The book is concluded with Selected Bibliographies, a Glossary of Transliterations without which its serious utilization would hardly be possible, and a reliable Index. It should be added that this is a very meritorious work standing at the beginning of any broader interest in Huang Zongxi's life and work in the PRC and in Japan, whereby it meets its pioneering task.

Marián Gálik

Šíma, Jiří and Choidjavyn Luvsandjav: *Mongolsko-český a česko-mongolský kapesní slovník* (A Mongolian-Czech and Czech-Mongolian Pocket Dictionary). Prague, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství 1987. 850 pp.

In 1987 the State Pedagogical Publishing House in Prague published 5,000 copies of the first Mongolian-Czech and Czech-Mongolian dictionary, the result of long-term efforts on the part of the foremost Czech orientalist scholar Dr. J. Šíma, a member of the Oriental Institute in Prague. In the last stages of the work also Prof. Choidjavyn Luvsandjav – reader of Mongolian at Charles University in Prague – joined in and made a revision of the entire Mongolian-Czech section and took part in authorially preparing the Czech-Mongolian version. Thus the Czechoslovak and Mongolian public has available the very first complete corresponding dictionary of their languages.

The need for such a dictionary was prompted primarily by the steadily expanding cultural, scientific and economic contacts between the People's Republic of Mongolia (PRM) and Czechoslovakia which have achieved an intensive, all-round development. The dictionary under review not only represents an enrichment of Czech two-language lexicography, but simultaneously is a significant landmark in the history of Czechoslovak-Mongolian cultural contacts.

One of the fundamental questions of a lexicographic work is the choice of words, and the author's approach to this point seems to have been well considered. Although J. Šíma addresses the dictionary "primarily to the Czech user" (p. 5), to our view he has succeeded to satisfy also the needs of his Mongolian counterpart. Seeing that no such a dictionary had as yet been published in the PRM, the present pocket dictionary acquires the character of a basic manual not only for the Czech, but also for the Mongolian user. The Mongolian-Czech part comprises 9,949, and the Czech-Mongolian one 14,419 entries, and both these parts differ as to word selection and mode of entry processing. A commendable feature is that the Mongolian-Czech section includes also in a large measure technical terms, especially from disciplines in which considerable cooperation exists between the two countries. Attention is here also devoted to lexical material designating Mongolian life and institutions, and historicisms. It should be specially appreciated that the dictionary has been compiled with a deep knowledge of Mongolian reality. In the choice of the lexical material, great care was devoted to exemplifying connections, while phraseologisms, proverbs, sayings and adages are limited. The processing of the Czech list derives from the standard list of entries commonly used for pocket dictionaries. Both the sections have entries for the most important abbreviations and geographical terms. The lexical material is confined to Mongolian and Czech literary languages.

The extent of an entry is either minimal, if the corresponding equivalent is comprehensible without the need of an example, or is characterized in more detail with data on doublets and variants, with lexicographic apparatus relating to grammatical, style and meaningful features, and with examples. The items are entered in an alphabetical order – according to the relevant alphabet of each language.

In transposing the lexical system from one language into the other, the author has accomplished a basic, pioneering work. Given the diversity of extra-linguistic conditions and linguistic systems in Mongolian and Czech (and the limited range of the dictionary), it was difficult to find adequate equivalents and therefore, as the author remarks in his instruction to users, "certain simplifications were unavoidable" (p. 16). Experience with the use of the dictionary has shown that the vocabulary of both languages is sufficiently flexible to designate reality and that in most cases the equivalents are appropriate and adequate. A more detailed description of the equivalents will be the task of future confrontation of the two languages for which this dictionary has laid down the basis – as regards vocabulary.

A part of the dictionary are also Directions for Users (pp. 10–18), a List of Abbreviations and Signs (pp. 28–33) and the Mongolian and Czech alphabet (p. 34), and three Supplements:

I. Information on Mongolian (pp. 745–824) presenting a concise outline of grammar in an accessible form, making use for that purpose of synoptical tables.

II. Mongolian Chronology (pp. 825–832), giving information on the traditional and the Mongolian-Tibetan calendar, on Manchu-Chinese chronology and on Mongolian chronology after 1911.

III. Mongolian Geography (pp. 833–848), presenting important geographical facts and administrative division of the PRM. A map of the PRM is appended.

The Czech-Mongolian and Mongolian-Czech pocket dictionary is certainly a valuable contribution for experts translating from one language into the other, as well as for the Czech and Mongolian public at large.

Eva Juríková

Lipero vskii, V. P.: *Sintaksis sovremennogo khindi* (Syntax of Contemporary Hindi). Moscow, Nauka 1987. 165 pp.

This is a work by a well-known Soviet Indologist, the author of many papers and also of several books on Hindi grammar, devoted mainly to the question of the basic rules of forming verbal sentences. The author studies the sentence as a unit of communication. He starts from the known theory that the predicative centre of a sentence is usually presented by the verb. This predicative centre of a sentence is simultaneously its constructive centre because it determines the specific features of its construction. In Hindi, the predicative centre is presented either by the finite verb alone, or in combination with a word/words pointing to some unprocessual feature of an object.

In connection with the two types of predicative centres referred to above, sentences with a finite verb are divided into two classes, viz. proper verbal sentences, and sentences with a copula; by proper verb is understood an auto-semantic verb, i.e. a verb usually called in linguistic literature finite (as against infinite) verb.

After this introduction to the subject-matter, the author proceeds to study in great detail the structural organization of verbal sentences of the first type. He examines the units forming the structural-grammatical framework of sentences, together with the relations between the units, and introduces (according to his own words, essentially in accordance with Indian grammarians), five basic syntactic constructions of Hindi sentence with finite verb, viz. active-subjectival, active-objectival, active-neutral, inactive-objectival, and inactive-neutral. Then he focuses attention on the choice of the form of a substantive that may function as a direct

object, on active constructions without a subject of action, and on reduced variants of active-subjectival and active-objectival constructions. Of great interest is his analysis of various aspects of constructions containing the finite verb in inactive voice which is very frequently used in contemporary Hindi.

Liperovskii devotes considerable attention also to the structural-semantic framework of the sentence being formed on the basis of its structural-grammatical framework. His semantic analysis of various types of sentences containing various determinants (*N-se, N-ko, N-ke, N-ke pās*) leads him into making several generalizations.

The second part of the chapter introduces the characteristic of verbal-copula sentences. Here the author examines sentences containing the copula *honā* "to be", and words occurring in the function of a copula. In concluding the chapter he makes a thorough analysis of sentences with the compound predicative centre represented by a qualificative-predicative member which either expresses a feature of the subject of action (*mē bhūkhā mar rahā hū*. I am dying of hunger.), or occurs as the secondary determination of a subject-determinant that completes the information on a subject involved in the predicative (*yuvak caukī par ghutne samete hue baiṭhā thū*. The boy sat with his knees drawn in close together). Both the types of sentences mentioned above are called sentences of subjectival qualification and are set in opposition to those containing an objectival-qualifying complement, called sentences of objectival qualification.

In the second chapter, the author introduces a detailed analysis and classification of sentences with aspectually and modally determined predicative centres formed by the combination of an infinite verb form (i.e. infinitive, or adverbial participle), or verbal base with a finite verb form where the first component carries a basic semantic load, while the second component serves as a marker of an aspectual or modal characteristic of an action. Here, the author takes support in the analysis of an abundant language material.

The following chapter, entitled *Syntactic Bond and Elementary Structures of Its Realization*, presents a study of two basic syntactic relations, i.e. those of coordination and subordination. Analysing these relations, the author shows which part of speech may function as the head component of a subordinate syntagm and how nineteen different syntagms expressing fourteen different semantic relations (e.g. objectival, subjectival, attributive, quantitative, comparative, etc.) can be formed by combining the head member with different subordinate members of a syntagm. He pays special attention to syntagms in which the subordinated member is presented by a infinite verb form, i.e. infinitive, participles, verbal adjective, adverbial participle and gerund. However, he does not forget that an infinite verb form may occur also as the head component of a syntagm. He shows that a relation of subordination may be either successive (here the same component is the head component in relation to one word, and simultaneously a subordinated component in relation to another one: *koī javāb denā – koī javāb, javāb denā*), or radial (the same component

occurs as the head component in relation to several words: *tamāśāiyō ko ṭikaṭ bāṭnā* – *tamāśāiyō ko bāṭnā*, *ṭikaṭ bāṭnā*). However, the syntagm is not always binary, but it can be presented also by more auto-semantic words. The author considers the factors that lead to the formation of such syntagms in Hindi, and concludes the chapter by discussing the predicative syntagm that helps to form elementary sentences.

The closing chapter of the book is devoted to the means used to express syntactic bonds and the ways of syntactic organization of words.

The book under review is an interesting and profound study which sums up and systematizes many known facts regarding Hindi syntax, some of them trying to see in a new light and in new connections. The author makes use of a rich language material. It is a pity that the book lacks an English summary.

The book can be recommended not only to specialists in the Hindi language and in other Indo-aryan languages, but it will be welcome also by those interested in problems of syntax in general.

Anna Rácová

Turcologica 1986. *K vosmidesyatiletiju akademika A. N. Kononova* (To the Eightieth Birthday of Academician A. N. Kononov). Leningrad, Nauka 1986. 300 pp.

Through a harsh concurrence of circumstances, the collection *Turcologica* 1986, published on the occasion of Academician Andrei Nikolaevich Kononov's significant life jubilee (27 October 1906 – 30 October 1986), simultaneously turned out to be the last homage to this foremost Soviet scholar, who performed a tremendous amount of work in the field of turcology during the fifty-five years of his scientific and educational activity. As author of numerous studies from the domain of grammar, lexicology, etymology, historical grammar of Turkic languages, Turkic textology, Academician Kononov has contributed in a significant measure to the successes achieved by orientalist studies in the Soviet Union.

The first three papers are dedicated to Academician Kononov's personality and work. In the opening study, S. N. Ivanov, one of Kononov's pupils, underlines the versatile nature of his teacher's scientific interests. He lays emphasis on the scholar's primary field of interest – his extensive research into the historical development of Turkic languages, arriving at a generalization in one of his last studies *Grammatika yazyka tyurkskikh runicheskikh pamyatnikov VII–IX vv.* (Grammar of the Language of Turkic Runic Monuments) Leningrad 1980.

The introductory study is followed by a bibliography of Academician Kononov's works published between 1980–1985, compiled by A. P. Vekilov.

The paper by A. D. Zheltyakov assesses Academician Kononov as a historian of Russian and Soviet orientalist studies. A. N. Kononov processed the history of

scientific Asian studies in Russia and evaluated its complex character and progressive orientation. A deeper insight into numerous problems in the historical and cultural development of Turkey is provided by Kononov's book *Outline of the History of a Study of the Turkish Language (Ocherk istorii izucheniya turetskogo yazyka*. Leningrad 1976), in which the author presented an overview of the development and the actual state of turkology not only in the Soviet Union, but also in Turkey, the European countries, the USA and Japan. A. D. Zheltyakov mentions also preparations of a second, substantially enlarged edition of this manual, immensely valuable to turkologists. It is to be hoped that following Academician Kononov's death, his disciples will bring this design to an end.

A supplement to A. N. Kononov's research into the history of turkology at Petersburg and Leningrad universities is represented by S. N. Ivanov's paper (pp. 141–152).

Besides the above studies, *Turkologica 1986* comprises thirty-two papers by foremost Soviet turkologists, which speak for a high standard of turkologic research in the principal scientific centres of the Soviet Union. They come from the linguistic, textologic, source-expertise, historic and literary domains. The limited space of this review precludes even a brief remark on each of them. Attention is here drawn at least to those concerned with the literary problem.

G. F. Blagova in her study (pp. 42–52) analyses the linguistic situation in Māvarā an-nahr at the turn of the 15th–16th century. On the territory ruled by the Timurids' dynasty, alongside the Turkic dialects, also those of the original Iranian population were preserved. The symbiosis of the Turkic and the Persian element became reflected also in the literary language, whether there be question of language used in belles-lettres, or in official documents. Bilingualism proper to the inhabitants of Māvarā an-nahr, of both Turkic and Iranian origin, had already been written about by Mīr °Alīshīr Navoi in his treatise *Muhakamat ul-lughatajn* (1499, Conflict of Two Languages). Regardless of the measure in which the priority action of the one or the other dialect in the spoken language was manifest in the spoken language, the dominant position of Persian in literary works is incontestable. This is clearly evident also from the texts in Navoi's works.

One of Navoi's remarkable works forms the subject matter of a study by G. A. Davydova (pp. 102–114), viz. a collection of *Munsha'āt's* letters, representing a perfect specimen of the Mediaeval epistolar genre. As Davydova notes, inadequate attention has thus far been devoted to this work on the part of investigators, although it is highly interesting as regards elucidation of various facts of the biography manner of writing and world outlook of this great Uzbek poet and scholar. *Munsha'āt* comprises 87 letters. A model of Mediaeval artistic prose and oriental rhetoric is represented by the first nine letters which have no addressee.

When V. S. Garbuzova had written in her book *Poets of Mediaeval Turkey (Poety srednevekovoi Turtsii*. Leningrad 1963, p. 7) that "Turkish Mediaeval literature did

not know artistic prose in our apprehension of that term", she did not thereby unequivocally refute the existence of prosaic genres in the literary works of the Turks during the past centuries. Consequently, the polemical tone of the authoress of the next paper (pp. 57–65), O. V. Vasilyeva is hardly justified, especially as she proves the existence of Turkish artistic solely on the basis of a few manuscripts (involving for the most part, translations of Arab and Persian prose works). An argumentation of such a weighty nature must needs derive from broader context, the way, e.g. Y. I. Mashtakova attempted in her book *Turetskaya literatura kontsa XVII – nachala XIX v.* Moscow 1984, pp. 21–35) and in her study Na'ima's "History". At the Sources of the New Turkish Prose ("Istoriya" Na'imy. *U istokov novoi turetskoi prozy*. In: *Teoriya zhanrov literatur Vostoka – Theory of Genres of Far Easter Literatures*. Moscow 1985, pp. 200–222).

Y. I. Mashtakova systematically pursues the so-called transitory period in the history of Turkish literature. She took as her goal to show, on the basis of an analysis of literary production from that period, the fallacy of the widely accepted view that the genesis of the new Turkish literature had been preceded by a total decadence. In the collection under review Yelena Mashtakova deals with the work of Bayburtlu Zihni (real name Mehmet Emin, born 18th cent. – 1859) which is characteristic of the first half of the 19th century when elements of a new literary system penetrated into Turkish Mediaeval literature, and when the mutual action of written and oral literature is clearly manifest. She analyses the as yet unpublished autobiographic work of *Sergüzeştname-i Zihni* (Zihni's Biography) written in the *masnavî* form. It is a work that immediately preceded writings by founders of the new Turkish literature and which, in a certain sense, formed a connecting link between these writings and the traditional Mediaeval literature.

M. S. Fomkin (pp. 290–296) sets himself the aim to determine the system of traditional images in Turkish Mediaeval mystical poetry and their potential philosophical signification. He makes an analysis of Sultan Bahauddin Veled's Turkish verses (1226–1312) which represent one of the first attempts to explain Sufic teaching in Turkish language and with a view to Turkish poetic traditions. Fomkin arrives at the conclusion that alongside the traditional images of the sun and light (*güneş, nur*), figuring with the Sufis in the function of the symbol of god, Veled treats also the moon (*ay*) as an equivalent absolute symbol. He presumes the influence of Turkic poetic tradition, that is to say, folkloric tradition. Polysemy, or multiplicity of meanings permitting to interpret the verses in four different ways, corresponds to the creative principles of the eminent Persian mystic Jelaluddin-i Rumi who was Sultan Veled's father and simultaneously also teacher.

The manner in which gains of Islamic culture overlap with original traditions, concretely the function of metric and rhythm in Turkic classical prosody, is followed up by A. Y. Martyntsev (pp. 172–179). A product of syncretism of cultural traditions

of nations from various, mutually remote regions and epochs, may also be a fairy tale, as is documented by I. V. Stebleva (pp. 244–252) in her study.

Likewise, papers authored by foremost Soviet turkologists, such as N. Z. Gadjieva, I. G. Dobrodomov, N. A. Dulina, Y. A. Petrosyan, B. A. Serebrennikov, etc., bring along numerous remarkable insights and again push turkologic research, its various branches, a step forward.

Xénia Celnarová

Melikov, T. D.: *Nazym Khikmet i novaya poeziya Turtsii* (Nâzım Hikmet and Turkish New Poetry). Moscow, Nauka 1987. 199 pp.

The book under review by the Soviet Turkologist T. D. Melikov takes contact with his earlier monograph *Turkish Poetry of the 60s – Early 70s. Basic Trends and Movements* (*Turetskaya poeziya 60-kh – nachala 80-kh godov. Osnovnye tendentsii i napravleniya*. Moscow, Nauka 1980 – see our review in *Asian and African Studies* 18, 1982). While in his earlier study the author took a detailed view of a relatively short, though revolutionary development in the new Turkish poetry, now he reverts to the twenties, i.e. to the times when a socially and socio-critically oriented poetic production, based on new poetic principles was being formed in Turkey and which, barring brief transitional periods, has retained its leading position. An irreplaceable role in this process has been played by the personality and work of Nâzım Hikmet (1902–1963).

Melikov has devoted the first and the most comprehensive of the three chapters in his publication to this eminent representative of Turkish literature: Nâzım Hikmet – Founder of the New Realistic Poetry (*Nazym Khikmet – osnovopolozhnik novoi realisticheskoi poezii*, pp. 18–118). He focuses attention primarily on Hikmet's production of the 20s for two main reasons: first, because inadequate attention has been devoted in works of literary historians to this period, and second, because during those years the beginning poet was encompassed by a historico-cultural climate exerting an unusually favourable action on his search for a new, non-traditional road of development for Turkish poetry.

The author sets off three factors that played a decisive role in the orientation of Nâzım Hikmet's work in the 20s. They were his meetings with poverty-stricken but defiant Anatolia, with the revolutionary reality of young Soviet Russia, and with the avant-garde poetry of Russian Soviet poets. Melikov points out the typological concordance of Nâzım Hikmet's poetry of the 20s with Vladimir Mayakovsky's works, the role of Eduard Bagritsky's revolutionary romanticism, as also young Hikmet's formalistic experiments made under the influence of the poetry of constructivists.

He devotes special attention to Nâzım Hikmet's pioneering role in introducing free verse into Turkish poetry. Hikmet has created a Turkish variant of free verse whose specific feature resides in an individual rhythmic organization of the verse. This Turkish poet did not abandon either rhyme or alliteration, two significant poetic components in the folk poetry of Turkic nations, assigning to them a semantizing function.

Melikov follows up the development of Nâzım Hikmet's poetry from his refusal of the intimate, personal in the 20s, up to his lyric of a new type in which the poet achieved a harmonic synthesis of the social and the personal principle. Melikov further shows how under the pressure of historical events, Hikmet proceeds towards more extensive compositions of an epic character, towards a modern variation of the epopee – the poem, in which the most intimate human feelings are put into relation with historical events. These works and primarily the most extensive of them, Hikmet's masterpiece *Panoramas of Peoples of my Homeland* (*Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları*, 1966–1967; Melikov gives its incomplete name '*İnsan Manzaraları*') clearly show analogies with the works of the great Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, to which Melikov refers repeatedly. He underlines the originality of the compositional structure in *Panoramas of Peoples of My Homeland* in which, analogside the creative principles proper to epos, lyric, drama, an important role is also played by cinematographic procedures.

The personage of the political prisoner Halil figures in all the five books of the poem *Panoramas of Peoples of My Homeland* and serves to convey the author's views. T. D. Melikov's claim that Nâzım Hikmet imparted autobiographical traits to Halil is contradicted clearly by the fact that the poet himself figures in the poem under the name Celal. Halil, by his external attributes as well as his humanistic and progressive way of thinking, is reminiscent of the writer and publicist Sabahattin Ali (1907–1948) with whom Hikmet was on very friendly terms. The poet Celal is not directly involved in the plot, his former fellow-prisoners recall him and the waiter Mustapha speaks of him as the author of an epos written in prison, and which he reads to the head cook of the restaurant-car. Hikmet's Epos of the Liberation War (*Kurtuluş Savaşı Destanı*), a substantial part of which entered his Second Book of Poems, was written in 1939–1941 in prisons in Istanbul, Çankırı and Bursa, and appeared in book form in 1965. It is to be regretted that Melikov has left this work practically unnoticed, although it deserves an important place in the poet's works.

In the second chapter of his book T. D. Melikov investigates tendencies in the new Turkish poetry from the end of the 30s and during the course of the 40s. The first part of this chapter is of a general character – it points to ideological aesthetic struggle of Turkish poetry of the relevant period – while in the second part the author presents a detailed analysis of Orhan Veli's (1914–1950) work.

Melikov divides Orhan Veli's creative development into two diametrically different periods. During the years 1935–1937 Orhan Veli carried on in the spirit of the poetry

of his predecessors; of importance, from this period, however, were his translations of works of French poets which opened the way for him to new creative procedures. Beginning with the year 1937 the character of Orhan Veli's writing came to be radically altered both as to content and form.

Melikov points to inconsistencies manifest especially at the initial stage of the second period when the concept of Orhan Veli's poetry was not oriented to social and political problems of the lower classes of the society, but solely to their taste. Perception of the lyrical hero in Orhan Veli differs from that of Nâzım Hikmet's. A typical hero in Orhan Veli's poetry is the "little man" and this brings him closer to Turkish prosaists of the 30s, but particularly to the short stories of Sait Faik Abasıyanık (1906–1954).

However, in Orhan Veli's collections from the late 40s a new lyrical hero makes his appearance, protesting against a debased, humiliating existence. In the domain of form, too, Orhan Veli abandons his radical refusal of traditional poetic procedures, rediscovers rhyme as a rhythmic factor, returns to tropes. The poet's ability critically to reevaluate his creative searchings, and his experiments enabled him to raise up his own work to a new, higher level, one which became a solid basis for reinforcing the position of free verse in Turkish poetry and for its further development.

In the concluding chapter entitled Poetic Traditions Founded by Nâzım Hikmet and Turkish Poetry of the 60s–80s (*Poeticheskie traditsii zalozhennye Nazymom Khikmetom i turetskaya poeziya 60–80-kh godov*, pp. 169–186), Melikov outlines the development of Turkish committed poetry over the past quarter century.

Democratization of life in the country in the 60s brought with it also a democratic wave in the work of Turkish poets, principally those of the young generation. In opposition to subjectivism, to the introvertly oriented movement of the Second New (*İkinci Yeni*) which had come to be formed in the mid-fifties, poets of Revolutionary Poetry (*Devrimci Şiir*) wrote poems with a sharp social and political edge, demanding a radical change of the society. A significant role in this process was played by Nâzım Hikmet's poetry which began legally to be published in Turkey in 1965 after practically three decades of a strict ban on it.

At the turn of the 70s and 80s, alongside socially and politically oriented poetic works, also intimate lyric came more and more to the foreground. And it is precisely here that the lasting values of folk poetry find their application. During the past few years a new movement of great promise has been developing in Turkish poetry, which under the name New Song (*Yeni Türkü*) takes a creative approach to folk traditions.

T. D. Melikov's latest work means a contribution to our knowledge of Turkish poetry and indicates prospects of its further advancement. It also betrays the author's expert approach to the problem conditioned by his familiarity with the works of Turkish poets, but also the ongoing social and political events in Turkey.

And just one more marginal remark which does not refer solely to the publication under review: it is inappropriate to transcribe the titles of the original works in the Cyrillic. This produces a rather paradoxical impression, especially as the quotations from the Turkish poems are followed in the Roman letters.

Xénia Celnarová

Schaendlinger, Anton C. (unter Mitarbeit von Claudia Römer): *Osmanisch-türkische Dokumente aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*. Teil 1: *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II.* Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen. Faksimile. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1983. XXXII+118 S. Faksimile. Teil 2: *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Vāsallen, Militärbeamte, Beamte und Richter.* Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen. Faksimile. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1986. XXVIII+84 S. Faksimile.

Seit Hammers Bestandsaufnahme osmanischer Dokumente im neunten Band seiner monumentalen Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches wußte die fachlich interessierte Öffentlichkeit Bescheid über den Reichtum osmanischer Dokumente in den Wiener Archiven. Der Inhalt vieler war aus den zeitgenössischen Übersetzungen bekannt, die der Wiener Archivar und Bibliothekar A. Gévay noch in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts herausgegeben hat. Zu einer systematisierteren Bearbeitung und Veröffentlichung der Dokumente aus der Zeit der Regierung Sultan Süleymāns (1520–1566) kam es leider erst in den letzten Jahren in der großzügigen Edition von Anton C. Schaendlinger, dem Ordinarius für Turkologie an der Wiener Universität, in Zusammenarbeit mit Dr. C. Römer.

Der erste Band brachte 36 Schreiben, die von Sultan Süleymān I. an die Habsburger Herrscher Karl V., Ferdinand I. und seinem Sohn Maximilian II. abgesandt wurden. In der Einleitung, die u.a. auch Angaben über die Erhaltung der Urkunden enthält, setzt Schaendlinger auf Grund von Gévays Angaben richtig 12 Deperdita aus den Jahren 1527–1541 voraus. Nicht erhalten blieb z.B. der Briefwechsel zwischen dem Sultan und Ferdinand I. vor dem osmanischen Feldzug im Jahre 1529. Die Autorin der letzten Monographie über Ferdinand I. P. Sutter-Fischner (*Ferdinand I. Wider Türkennot und Glaubensspaltung*. Graz–Wien–Köln, Verlag Styria 1986, S. 91) beschreibt, wie der Wiener Hof einen Dolmetscher oder Übersetzer aufzutreiben versuchte, der imstande gewesen wäre Süleymāns Briefe zu übersetzen.

Einen wesentlichen Teil der Einleitung stellt die diplomatische Analyse der osmanisch-türkischen Urkunden dar. Dank der Arbeiten von J. Matuz (*Das Kanzleiwesen Süleymāns des Prächtigen*. Wiesbaden 1974 und *Herrscherurkunden des Osma-*

nensultans Süleymân des Prächtigen. Freiburg i.B. 1971) kennen wir das Kanzleiwesen dieses Sultans und haben sämtliche in dessen Namen herausgegebene Urkunden evidiert. Trotz dieser Tatsache hielt es der Editor der osmanisch-türkischen Urkunden aus dem HHStA für notwendig zu Matuzs Verzeichnis noch einige wertvolle Anmerkungen hinzuzufügen, ob schon um dieses zu berichtigen oder wegen der Konkordanz zwischen dem Verzeichnis und der Edition.

Die diplomatische Analyse (Urkundentypen, sprachlich-diplomatisches Formular) geht vor allem aus den publizierten Urkunden hervor und bereichert durch konkrete Angaben bedeutenderweise unsere Kenntnisse über die inneren Zeichen der einzelnen Typen osmanischer Urkunden. In den Abschluß dieses Teils sind kurze Urkundenregesten eingereiht. In den medievistischen Editionen ist es üblich die Regesten in die Einleitung einzureihen, obwohl jene, von Schaendlinger benutzte Weise für den Benutzer übersichtlicher ist, vor allem, wenn er sich über den Inhalt der Dokumente schnell zu informieren braucht.

Die Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen geben in ihrer Einleitung das Datum und den Ort der Herausgabe, den Urkundentypus, die Maße der Urkunde, die Schrift, sowie die Übersetzung und den Literaturhinweis an.

Der osmanisch-türkische Text ist in der wissenschaftlichen Transkription in die lateinische Schrift umgeschrieben. Die Übersetzung ist sehr exakt und fließend, anscheinend auch dank der syntaktischen Möglichkeiten des Deutschen.

Was den Inhalt der 36 Urkunden (davon sind drei Abschriften) betrifft, ist dieser nicht sehr vielfältig. Es überwiegen Fragen des Waffenstillstandes oder der Friedensverträge, sowie die damit verbundenen Reisen kaiserlicher Boten und die Fragen der Erteilung des freien Geleits für jene. Damit hängt eng auch die Zahlung des jährlichen Tributs in der Höhe von 30 000 Dukaten zusammen. Die Frage des Friedensbruchs war seit dem Beginn der osmanischen Okkupation von Ungarn ein ernstes Problem. Aus den publizierten Urkunden erfahren wir jedoch nur über die Vergehen kaiserlicher- bzw. ungarischerseits. Aus dieser Sicht ist das Dokument No. 14 interessant, in dem der Sultan betont, daß „Eurer Glaubensgenossen gegen Muslime darf nicht gehört werden“. Dies erklärt die Tatsache, daß viele Beschwerden über die Friedensbrüche osmanischerseits, die vom Hofkriegsrat den Ofener Statthaltern oder von den kaiserlichen Residenten der Porta vorgelegt wurden, auf Grund von Aussagen der türkischen Garnisonen von osmanischer Seite meist zurückgewiesen wurden.

Der zweite Band bringt die Schreiben Süleymâns des Prächtigen an Vasallen, Militärbeamte, Beamte und Richter. Es geht um 46 Befehlsschreiben bzw. Abschriften (etwa ein Drittel) aus der Zeit zwischen 1540–1566, d.h. aus der zweiten Hälfte der Regierungszeit des Sultans. Der erste Teil der Dokumente betrifft die Jahre 1552 und 1553, als es zu einer kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem Wiener Hof und dem Osmanischen Reich in Siebenbürgen kam. Über die Probleme, die das Osmanische Reich mit dem vasallischen Siebenbürgen hatte, bieten Angaben

auch die Schreiben an Stephan Majláth (der von J. von Zapolya zum Siebenbürger Herzogen ernannt wurde und der schließlich als türkischer Gefangene im Gefängnis Yedikule in Istanbul gestorben ist, siehe die jüngste Arbeit von J. Bessenyei: *A Hét-torony foglya*. Budapest 1986) sowie an dessen Feind, Frater Georg Martinuzzi-Utišenić um zehn Jahre später (1550).

Weiter sind hier einige *beräte* für die Befehlshaber der Martalosen und *Ulüfeği* in der Festung Fünfkirchen. Die Sicherheitsmaßnahmen für die Boten des Kaisers nach Istanbul um einen Waffenstillstand mit der Porta auszuhandeln (die Urkunde 37 betrifft anscheinend Albert de Wijs, den langjährigen Gesandten zur Porta), die Urkunden 38 und 39 betreffen die Botschaft von Michael Černović – (siehe J. von Bezek: *Gesandtschaftsreise nach Ungarn und die Türkei im Jahre 1564/65*. Hrsg. von K. Nehring. München 1979). Weitere Schriften sind an die Beglerbegs von Ofen, Temesvár und von Rumeli in verschiedenen Angelegenheiten gerichtet, meist wegen Erteilung von Lehen.

Ähnlich wie im ersten Band bringt auch der zweite diplomatische Analysen. Zuerst vergleicht er die von Hammer registrierten Urkunden in GOR IX und stellt fest, daß lediglich fünfzehn Urkunden, die in diesem Band publiziert werden, in seiner Bestandaufnahme festgehalten sind. Was die Urkundentypen betrifft, stellt der Herausgeber fest, daß die im zweiten Teil publizierten Dokumente vom „sprachlich-formalen Gesichtspunkt und dem des diplomatischen Formulars leichter zu bestimmen“ sind. Es handelt sich meist um Befehlsschreiben unterschiedlicher Typen, weiter *beräte* (Ernennungsdekrete), *nišan* und *tevğih fermāni*. Die Analyse des Formulars ist ein sehr wertvoller Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatik, z.B. bei der Titulatur christlicher Würdenträger. Urkundenregesten schließen den einleitenden Teil ab.

Was die Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen betrifft, kann abermals ein hohes Niveau der Qualität der Übersetzungen festgestellt werden.

Beide Bände sind mit einer Bibliographie versehen, der wir ein interessantes Buch des slowenischen Historikers J. Žontar: *Obveščevalna služba in diplomacija avstrijskih Habsburžanov v boju proti Turkom v 16. stoljetju*. Ljubljana 1973, vor allem über M. Černović, beifügen möchten.

Das (unter Mithilfe von M. Ress-Ivanics) bearbeitete Register führt Personennamen, Ortsnamen und geographische Namen an, das Sach- und Titelregister ist gründlich bearbeitet, auch wenn es sich noch in vielem ergänzen oder korrigieren ließe.

Wenigstens kurz müssen auch die Faksimile erwähnt werden. Diese sind qualitativ auf sehr hohem Niveau bearbeitet und können nicht nur der Kontrolle, sondern auch für pädagogische Zwecke dienen.

Die Edition Osmanisch-türkische Dokumente aus dem HHStA zu Wien ist ein modernes Werk, das der fachlich orientierten Öffentlichkeit einen der reichhaltigsten europäischen Fonds auf hohem Niveau vermittelt. Wir hoffen, daß in de Her-

ausgabe von Urkunden weiterer Sultane, zumindest bis zum Frieden zu Karlowitz, fortgeführt wird.

Vojtech Kopčan

Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library I-III. Prepared by R. Şeşen, C. İzgi and C. Akpınar. Presented by E. İhsanoğlu. Istanbul, Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture 1406–1986 IV+34 pp. Introduction in English and Turkish XII+609 pp., 9 photocopies; Preface, 647 pp., 9 photocopies; Preface, 22 pp. Index of Turkish Manuscripts, II+639 pp., 6 photocopies, IV colour plates.

The recently founded The Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) has within a short time processed several projects for an improved and deeper knowledge of Islamic civilization. One of these projects involved a processing of catalogues and inventories, manuscripts, and making them available to the world of learning. To this end, IRCICA established a Unit of Manuscripts, whose first work was a Catalogue of Islamic Medical Manuscripts Found in the Libraries of Turkey (1984) and the second one is the present Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library. Others are to follow.

Processing of the catalogue at the Köprülü Library runs in parallel with another important project pursued in Turkey. It is The Union Catalogue of Manuscripts in Turkey (TUYATOK – Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu), organized by the General Directorate of Libraries and Publications of the Ministry of Tourism and Culture of Turkey, of which over ten volumes have already been published. The principles of processing manuscripts which had been approved in the TUYATOK Project, have also been applied in processing manuscripts of the Köprülü Library.

The latter belongs by its collections among the most significant libraries in the Islamic world – not so much by its range, as rather by its content. As a matter of fact, this library has in its deposits several rarities and ancient manuscripts, primarily Arabic. The library was founded through collection activity by outstanding representatives of the Köprülü family, many of whom held high offices in the Ottoman empire in the second half of the 17th and during the 18th century. Let us mention at least Mehmed Köprülü, grand vizier during 1656–1661, the founder of this family, and his sons Fazıl Ahmed pasha (grand vizier 1661–1676) and Fazıl Mustapha pasha (1689–1691), and his nephew Amucazade Hüseyin pasha (1697–1702).

The real founder of the library was Fazıl Ahmed pasha who gathered rare Arabic manuscripts and other works. He set up an endowment (vakf) which was to materially ensure this library including the personnel. This collection became the basis of the library which was subsequently enlarged through endowments by Köprülü-zade Hafız Ahmed pasha (+1769) and Köprülü-zade Mehmed Asim Bey. On the

basis of the pious foundations (vakfiye) the compilers of the Catalogue succeeded in reconstructing the original funds and the changes that took place during the subsequent existence of the library.

The first general catalogue of all the three sections of the Library was compiled shortly following Mehmed Asım Bey's death in 1231 H./1816. According to this catalogue, Section I (vakf Fazıl Ahmed pasha) counted 1627 volumes, Section II (vakf Hafız Ahmed pasha) 402 volumes and Section III, 430 volumes. Altogether the library possessed 2459 volumes of manuscripts and early prints.

In the 19th century the library was confided to Evkaf Vekaleti (Ministry of Pious Foundation) and all the books were assigned a serial number according to the different sections. Under sultan Abdülhamid II, a catalogue, or rather an inventory of the Library was compiled under the name *Köprülüzade Mehmed (sic!) Paşa kütüphanesinde mahfuz-i kütüb mevcudının defteridir*. Istanbul (without year of publication). In this catalogue, set up according to the serial numbers, the earlier classification is maintained. Against the stock-taking of the end of the previous centuries, five volumes recorded in the printed catalogue, were lost – a rather paltry number. And thus the present-day state of the library is as follows: Section I – 1647 volumes, i.e. 1623 manuscripts and 24 prints; Section II – 380 volumes, i.e. 363 ms and 17 prints (7 in European languages); Section III – 746 volumes, i.e. 614 ms and 132 prints. The entire collection represents 2773 volumes of which 2593 are ms and 180 prints.

The compilers of the catalogue – Ramazan Şeşen and his team, Cevat İzgi and Cemil Akpınar – proceeded according to a method similar to the one adopted by the project TUYATOK for processing manuscripts. Although earlier inventories and a printed catalogue were available, the cataloguing required practically two years of diligent work. The compilers rightly decided to maintain the genetically independent three sections of which manuscript and the book fund is made up. On the other hand, this necessitates to scan each section separately to retrieve various topics, e.g. history and travelogues in Sect. I – volumes Nos 998–1196, in Sect. II – Nos 202–255, and Sect. III – Nos 356–395.

The thematic assignment of manuscripts and prints derives from the traditional Islamic classification of sciences. Religion: The Koran and sciences about it, traditions, Fiqh, mysticism, dogmatism; Philosophy and sciences: logics, astronomy, geography, medicine, history, literature, interpretation of dreams, grammar, lexicography, etc. Mecmua – or collections are given at the end of each section.

Within the various sections, the catalogue is divided into manuscripts and prints. In addition, also materials belonging rather to archives, are described in the catalogue: 18 vakfiye, old catalogues, fermans, maps and other documents, and several types of registers.

For the manuscripts the catalogue states these entries: 1. library number, 2. name of work (if lacking, it is given by description), 3. author's name (with data about

him and his life), 4. beginning of the work, 5. end of the work, 6. details on the specimen – kind of writing, number of folios, binding, number of lines, ornamentation, damage to ms, 7. colophon, 8. various notes important as regards content, dating and ownership of the ms, 9. literature – here, besides classical bio- and bibliographic works in Arabic, Turkish, or European languages, also encyclopaediae and catalogues of ms are cited. It is to be regretted that preserved ms, not given in basic works, are not cited here in greater numbers.

In the case of collections, the various works are given a serial number and are dealt with similarly as independent ms.

As to prints, they are given their serial number in the library, name of work, author's name, place of publication, year of publication, number of pages, dimension of book and references.

As regards the language aspect, Arabic manuscripts predominate in Köprülü Kütüphanesi as in the majority of Islamic collections, while the Turkish ms number hardly 400, and Persian ones even less. This explains, in part at least, why the catalogue of the Köprülü Library is published in Arabic. As to prints, those in Turkish, which include Ibrahim Müteferrika's first prints, outnumber Arabic ones.

It might be worth to stop a little by the ms *Cevahir üt-tevarih II*, No. 231/I. According to the catalogue, the author of this work is unequivocally Osman Dede b. Ali Erzerumi. However, the authorship in this case is rather more complicated. J. von Hammer (GOR VI, pp. V–VI) unambiguously ascribed it to Hasan Aga the keeper of the seal of grand vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed pasha. This authorship was also recognized by G. Flügel, the compiler of the catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts at the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. Brusali Mehmed Tahir (OM III, p. 30) stated that this work usually called *Tarih-i mühürdar* comes from the pen of Erzerumi Osman Dede, who made use of the groundwork prepared by Hasan Aga. But doubts on this statement had already been expressed by F. Babinger (GOW, pp. 216–217) who stated that an elucidation can be provided solely by further research. A.S. Levend who had studied the work *Cevahir üt-tevarih* earlier, ascribes its authorship to Erzerumi Osman Dede. Levend (*Gazavat-nameler*, pp. 120–122) had examined the Istanbul manuscripts of this work and came to the conclusion that the specimen in Süleymaniye (Esad Ef., No. 2242) does not mention the author, but the manuscript in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Revan No. 1307 states Hasan Aga as the author, although it carries the name of *Tarih-i Feth-i Kandiye*. Its content, however is concordant with works carrying the name *Cevahir üt-tevarih*. In conclusion A.S. Levend states that the work about Ahmed pasha had been written by Hasan Aga, but it had been transcribed in a nobler style “münşiyane” by Osman Dede. The translator of the first two parts of *Cevahir üt-tevarih* into German, Erich Prokosch (*Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn*. Granz–Wien–Köln 1976, p. 12), has this to say about the compiler of the notes Hasan Aga: “Der Bearbeiter war alles andere als ein Meister der Feder: Die Sprache strotzt von Anakoluthen, und so manches Wort

muß der Leser selber ergänzen, will er einen Sinn herausbringen – vor der Orthographie ganz zu schweigen. Die geographischen Namen, die dem Teilnehmer am Feldzug geläufig sein mußten – schreibt er doch, daß er persönlich Schutzbriefe an viele Ortschaften ausgestellt hat – wurden zum Teil stark verballhornt. Zweifelsohne fühlte sich der Bearbeiter durch den Auftrag, den Bericht des Siegelbewahrers in literarische Form zu bringen, verpflichtet einen Stil zu schreiben der weit über seinen Können lag. Der Siegelbewahrer, der in der Einleitung als großer Mann gefeiert wird, spricht später von sich wieder mit der Bescheidenheitsformel der ersten Person!”

However, A.S. Levend had not researched the ancient manuscripts of *Cevahir üt-tevarih* in European libraries (Paris, Vienna) and did not find out which one from the Istanbul manuscript could have been the autograph.

A work supporting Hasan Aga's authorship is the period translation of the first third (the first two chapters) into Latin, made by J. Podestà in 1680 and dedicated to the emperor. Podestà came into possession of a specimen of this work during his stay in Istanbul in 1678–79 from some Imam for money from the archive of the grand vizier Kara Mustapha pasha. The translation has the title “Annalium Gemma auctore Hasan Aga Sigilli Custode Kupurli seu Cypry Ahmed Bassae ... 1680”.

As regards Erzerumlu Osman Dede, he is mentioned as being the author of a work called *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa* (Süleymaniye, Hamidiye No. 909) which differs from *Cevahir üt-tevarih*, although precisely the latter had served as the basis. This magnificent manuscript truly corresponds to a reprocessing in the “münşiyané” style and is written in calligraphic talik, as stated by Levend.

In view of the wealth of data which this work carries, it would deserve a critical edition as a significant source of Ottoman history in the sixties of the 17th century, particularly so as it served as a basis to Silahdar Mehmed Aga for his history.

The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library is undoubtedly a valuable and much needed work and may be evaluated as the best processed catalogue published in recent years in Turkey.

Vojtech Kopčan

Murphey, R.: *Regional Structure in the Ottoman Economy. A Sultanlic Memorandum of 1636 A.D. Concerning the Sources and Uses of the Tax-Farm Revenues of Anatolia and the Coastal and Northern Portions of Syria*. Near and Middle East Monographs, New Series, Vol. 1. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1987. xxxvi+256 pp.

The steady growth of publications of diverse Ottoman sources, primarily of an economic nature, helps to extend our knowledge and as a consequence, elicit novel

evaluations. In the case of the book under review, the interesting feature is that it brings data on the tax base of eight large provinces in Anatolia and northern Syria, regions about which we know less than about Rumelia and other European provinces.

There is question of a Register deposited with the Başbakanlık Archives of Istanbul, MM 7075, called "Auctioning Registry and Inventory of Tax-Farms, Poll Tax (Assessments) on the Non-Muslims, and Other Miscellaneous Collections in the Eyalets of Aleppo, Diyarbakır, Syrian Tripoli, and Rum, Together with the Provincial Treasury Accounts for the Provinces of Karaman and Others, as well as the Revenues Collected from the Eyalet-i Anadolu; (An Account of Projected Revenues) Actually Collected in the Hicri year 1046 (1636/37)".

The book is made up of three parts: I. Introduction to the Text (pp. xiii–xxxvi), II. Facsimile of the Text with Transcription, Notes, and Explanations (pp. 1–211), III. Statistical Analysis of the Text (pp. 213–256). Even these simple headings go to show that R. Murphey has not only made the entire Register accessible in facsimile and in Latin transcription, but also skilfully introduces the reader into the details of Ottoman censuses pointing out their significance for the economic history, and in the concluding part presents a statistical processing of the data recorded in the Registers.

The register which is the object of R. Murphey's investigation does not belong among standard types of Ottoman records. It combines in summary reports, fashion information on both treasury intake or projected revenues from specific tax-farm units, together with their collective use or assignation for state-sponsored activities. It originated at a time of an extreme tension in the empire's finances when following unsuccessful expeditions against Baghdad and enormous expenditures in conquering Revan in 1634, the state treasury was threatened by a crisis. Murad IV after his real ascension to power (1632) was determined to introduce reforms in order to renew order in state finances. To begin with, he made an inspection of the Timariote army in Rumelia and Anatolia in 1042/1632 and this inspection was carried on in Anatolia and the Arab provinces in the following years. I had the opportunity of studying one such register from the northern Hungarian borderland (Defter-i derdesti eyalet-i Egri) from the year 1043/1633–34 and it may be said to be more detailed than the yoklama defteri from the years 1014 and 1016 (Mutafchieva, V.P.: *Sur l'état du système des timars au cours de la première décade du XVII^e s., d'après les yoklamas datant de 1014 et 1016 de l'hégire (1605–6 et 1607–8 a.D.)*. In: *Sur l'état du système des timars des XVII^e–XVIII^e ss.* Sofia 1968, pp. 7–31).

Also the relevant register containing 41 folios falls into the framework of this reforming and inspecting activity on the part of sultan Murad IV. Besides a complete and comprehensive version, there also exists a rough draft (müşvedde) version in the same classification, Register MM 3305, which was prepared about the time of the first siege against Baghdad in 1035/1626. Of course, the latter Register does not

refer to such an extended territory as the first one, but is confined to western Anatolia. What were the aims of this Register? Special attention had to be devoted to the region of central and eastern Anatolia, for a major section of the population had run away to towns and particularly to Istanbul at the time of the Celalis rebellions at the turn of the 16th–17th century. Consequently the grand vizier Bayram Pasha had to carry out the inspection in Istanbul and force the refugees to return home. And the decree on the preparation of a detailed Register of incomes from entire provinces had been issued – as R. Murphey assumes – precisely in connection with the relocation of these persons. In connection with the Registers, we wish to draw attention to the author's following statement: "Since the purpose and circumstances of each Register's preparation was fundamentally different, every Ottoman survey may be thought of as in a sense unique." (p. xxi). He substantiates his assertion by comparing the State Treasury budget for 933/1527/28 and our tax-farm survey register for 1046/1636/37 where "some fundamental differences in both form and content must be kept firmly in mind". Despite the author's objectivization meant to ensure a solid comparative base for an analysis of changes in the sources of State incomes between the 16th and 17th centuries, only general trends could be found.

The author sees the value "of a document such a Register MM 7075 in the fact that it presents regionally-specific data which can be directly linked either to a distinct provincial treasury, or to a discrete fiscal district attached to one of the bureaus of the central treasury itself" (p. xxiv). This permits one to follow incomes from the various provinces, but also contributions by specific groups of the populations, as for instance tribal contingents, those of non-Muslims, but also their economic contribution and even their distribution and density. In a like manner one may follow also the cultivation of special plants, extraction of minerals, etc.

The Register is divided into XI sections (regional treasuries), which had altogether 309 tax-farm contracts (*aklam*), each under the management of either a tax-farmer (*amil*), or a State commissioner (*emin*).

The Editor had to arrange the confused order of the various records of the register into a logical sequence, for pages got mixed up during binding. This is clearly evident in Chart 3 (Concordance of page numbers).

In the concluding section of the Introduction, the Editor muses over questions of interpretation of the numerical data in the register. One of the problems arises from lack of standardization and instability in values and rates of exchange of coinage in use at the time of the register's compilation. In 1636–37 the value of gold *ducat* (*hasene*) rose from 220 to 240 *akçe* and this became reflected also in the course of *guruş* – *guruş-i esedi* had a value of 80 (in Section I only), or of 90 *akçe* and the *guruş-i tam* 100 *akçe*. An interesting feature is that the notation "*gayr ez tafavüt*", which we encounter at several places in the register, meaning revenues "excluding treasury credits arising from discrepancies in currency rates", indicates that treasury

profit realized through manipulation of the exchange rates was significant enough to merit mention as an independent revenue source. A similar mode was also followed by regional treasuries in Hungary where taxes were paid in different coins (Hungarian, imperial, Polish and Dutch Thalers) having different values, which permitted taxes to be indirectly raised, since tax obligations were calculated in akçe.

An essential part of the book is made up of facsimiles of the register with transcription, notes and explanations. Although this mode of publishing the text is not the most economical, yet it provides a very clear overview of the data which are supplemented with notes, facilitating reading. The "Final Summations" (summaries of incomes and outlays), according to the various sections, are translated into English. The total sum of incomes amounted to 190,200,000 akçe, 87,300,000 a. of which were earmarked for miscellaneous expenses including the payment of the salaries of garrison troops, and the sum of 102,900,000 a. was designated as income for the (central) treasury.

The statistical analysis of the text in the various tables, diagrams and maps presents some interesting results. Of the realized incomes, up to 40 per cent were treasury deposits, 40 per cent were for defence, 9 per cent for administration needs, but the balance remained unaccounted for. Diagram on p. 224 shows the proportional contribution of various sources to Anatolian tax-farm revenues, with avariz representing 45.8%, cizye 17.8%, textiles 25% and customs 10.8%, – just to mention only some of the more significant items.

The book is provided with Appendices, Indices and a Glossary of technical terms.

R. Murphey's book constitutes an interesting and valuable contribution to the economic history of Anatolia and further regions during the first half of the 17th century.

Vojtech Kopčan

The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy. Ed. by Huri İslamoğlu-İnan. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press – Paris, Édition de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme 1987. xi + 481 pp.

The concept of World-Economy or World-System perspective, elaborated and justified by I. Wallerstein in his book *The Modern World-System* and in numerous studies published in the seventies, stemmed from the then social situation prevailing in the world. He turned to good account the stimuli of social sciences and political economy ranging from A. Smith through K. Marx, up to K. Polányi and the French School Annales, and even the theories of dependence enunciated by S. Amin, A.G. Frank, and others. According to Wallerstein, World-Economy is a characteristic organism, made up of advanced Western countries as the "core" of the system, and of

developing countries standing at the periphery. The incorporation of the latter into World-Economy meant that their further development was brought to a standstill by the advanced Western countries and under their influence they are now developing within "dependent", or "peripheral" capitalism.

This theory elicited a considerable response among turkologists, particularly among graduates of American universities who quickly became advocates of this new political-economic analysis of Ottoman history, especially as they had considered all preceding approaches to this subject as ahistorical. The very first volume of the magazine *Review*, published by an institution headed by I. Wallerstein – The Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economics, Historical Systems and Civilizations – at the State University of New York at Binghamton, carried a paper by H. İslamoğlu – Ç. Keyder *Agenda for Ottoman History* (reprinted also in the book under review, pp. 42–62). In the following volume, Wallerstein himself drew attention to the history of the Ottoman Empire in his stimulative study *The Ottoman Empire and the Capitalist World Economy: Some Questions for Research* (Review, II, 3, 1977, pp. 389–398) and he pursues his interest in Ottoman history further (*The Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the World-Economy*, included in the present volume, pp. 88–97, with H. Decdeli and R. Kasaba as co-authors).

The book under review comprises seventeen contributions on the above topic, divided into four parts: Theoretical Approaches, where besides the two studies referred to above, we also find an essay by P. Gran (*Late 18th-Early-19th-century Egypt: Merchant Capitalism or Modern Capitalism?*, pp. 27–41) and one by İ. Sunar (*State and Economy in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 63–87). The remaining three sections are devoted to problems of State and Agriculture, Industry and Labor and Trade and Markets, respectively. Over one-third of the papers had already been published earlier in various journals and collections, but their inclusion in the book has been well advised for the reader has thus a complex view of past research on the Ottoman Empire from the aspect of World-Economy.

In an extensive Introduction entitled "*Oriental Despotism*" in *World-System Perspective* (pp. 1–24), H. İslamoğlu-İnan presents a critical analysis of past approaches to the Ottoman history. And she adduces numerous plausible reasons for her criticism of European oriental studies of the 19th century and their views on Islamic and Ottoman society, the conception of Asiatic Mode of Production as also the developmentalist literature in social sciences of post-World War period. She rates them as ahistorical conceptions of Ottoman history, although there is question rather of an evolution in a scientific study of the past. She probably devotes special attention to the Asian Mode of Production also because in discussions on the use of this model with Ottoman history in the sixties and seventies, she found adherents not only in Turkey, but also among foreign Ottomanists. In our view, the revival of this theory (Wittfogel's) after a very long interval (Soviet discussions on the Asian mode of production were administratively discontinued in the first half of the thirties

and practically the same fate was encountered also by the second wave of discussions in the sixties, repressed by neo-Stalinists) had an ideological and political background rather than an economical one. The second conception – “Oriental Despotism” undoubtedly resides in culturological notions entertained by adherents of the Enlightenment up to Toynbee. However, as justly observed by the editress, “Asian Mode of Production embodies the central assumption of ‘Oriental despotism’”.

H. İslamoğlu-İnan sees a way out of the ahistorical conceptions in a World-System perspective. “The World-System perspective seeks to move away from the essentially ahistorical and ideological conceptions of Ottoman history (and from the approach of the latter’s critique) towards new categories of analysis” (p. 7).

She summarizes the benefit of the various contributions to a knowledge of the penetration of European world economy into the Ottoman Empire and also the consequences of the incorporation of various parts of the Empire into the world-system perspective. Evidently, theoretical hypotheses do not always correspond to results of a concrete historical research, or the other way round. Differences exist also in the methods or approaches used by various researchers to the historical reality, so that we also meet with different evaluations of the same historical processes and phenomena.

The world-system perspective requires also that a new periodization of Ottoman history be introduced. The history of the Ottoman Empire from the 16th century onwards is no longer a gradual decline, but an incorporation into the world-system perspective, or a peripherization.

H. İslamoğlu-İnan is aware of weakness of this conception. Several authors have criticized her for a one-sided and an ‘economist’ approach to peripheral transformation, that is, for assigning potency and causality to change in European trade structure in bringing about social-economic, as well as political changes in the periphery. This is undoubtedly a serious objection, particularly if no account is made of such institutions as the State and the entire superstructure – religious, legal and cultural institutions. In addition, the available and processed material at the disposal of Ottoman studies falls very far short of the standard that would permit such far-reaching generalizations to be made. This is also supported by some of the studies included in this book, based on concrete material and differing from the general paradigm of the world-system perspective.

It is therefore not surprising that the editress herself poses the question as to the way further research into Ottoman history ought to follow. This is a question of dynamism of the Ottoman State which, according to the paradigm, ought to have grown weaker during the course of its being incorporated into the world-economy, which, however, was not the case. Nevertheless, H. İslamoğlu-İnan cautions against the use of the concept of “Ottoman despotism”, taking support in her own experience. The proposed conception of “a hegemonistic class” which was able to reconcile the interests of different groups within the society – merchants, artisans,

peasants, tribal groupings, pre-Ottoman ruling groups – is equally illusory as had been many earlier constructions.

The circuit of studies devoted to the State and agriculture comprises several noteworthy ideas. In contrast to the conception of World-Economy, even following incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world market, the position of the State was not shaken and a major role continued to be played by non-economic structures (H. İslamoğlu-Inan). And even later, as is here shown by O. Kurmuş, at the time of growing demands for raw cotton from Great Britain (during the civil war in the USA), the State refused to introduce monoculture of this plant. On materials from Srem, Slavonia and Croatia, B. McGowan shows that the enfranchisement of peasantry following the expulsion of the Turks had been due to changes in power politics and not to requirements of cereals export.

In the section dealing with Industry and Labour, but also in that concerned with Commerce, we find valuable studies on the production and processing of silk and cotton over several centuries. Silk had for ages been a luxury article, and cotton, or fabrics made of it were always much in demand in Europe. It might perhaps be fitting to devote attention also to cloth, for – at least in the 16th and 17th century in Ottoman Hungary – it was by volume the greatest textile product, both imported and exported. Mention is also made of Ottoman cotton products for export, though silk was rather rare.

As shown by the researches made by M. Genç and H. İnalçık, European export of textiles to the Ottoman Empire came to be realized relatively late, only following the industrial revolution in Europe.

Interesting insights into Ottoman-Venetian political and trade relations in the first third of the 17th century are given by S. Faroqi. Her view comes from the Ottoman side and consequently truthfully characterizes the role of the “ümera”, i.e. provincial administrators, in the sensitive issues of foreign relations – whether political or commercial. The authoress, perhaps the only one (together with H.R. Richardson) mentions “avanas” (various forms of chicanery of Christian merchants), which also belonged to the framework of commerce of European countries with Islamic regions.

The volume *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy* represents a significant contribution to the economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire and it is to be hoped that it is not the last one.

Vojtech Kopčan

Hetzer, Armin: *Daçkerēn-Texte. Eine Chrestomathie aus Armenierdrucken des 19. Jahrhunderts in türkischer Sprache*. Turcologica, Band 2: Hrsg. von L. Johanson. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1987. 624 S.

Unumstritten ist die Bedeutung der armenischen Bevölkerung auf manchen Gebieten des wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Lebens des Osmanischen Reiches, vor allem im 19. Jahrhundert. Diese, zahlenmäßig geringe, aber einflußreiche Minderheit benutzte neben ihrer eigenen (vor allem zu liturgischen Zwecken) auch die Osmanisch-Türkische Sprache, so im heimischen Verkehr als auch im öffentlichen Leben. Druckereien in Europa (Wien, Venedig) und auch in Istanbul und Izmir gaben zahlreiche Drucke in dieser Sprache in armenischer Schrift heraus. Heutzutage, hinsichtlich der Tragödie der armenischen Bevölkerung zur Zeit der Herrschaft der Jungtürken, ist das Armenier Türkische nur noch ein historisches Phänomen.

Der Kern von A. Hetzers Arbeit ist die Transkription von osmanisch-türkischen Texten aus dem 19. Jahrhundert in die lateinische Schrift, sowie deren Analyse, wie dies schon der Titel des Buches „Daķerēn (Türkische)–Texte“ andeutet.

In der Einleitung faßt der Autor die Ergebnisse der Erforschung des Armenier Türkischen, wo vor allem österreichische Turkologen dominierten (Kraelitz-Greifendorst und Tietze) zusammen und stellt eine unzureichende Aufarbeitung dieser Problematik fest. Auf Grund der Analyse der herausgegebenen Texte stellt Hetzer, im Unterschied zu Kraelitz, richtig fest, daß diese „nicht auf dem Hintergrund der osmanischen Schriftsprache des 19. Jahrhunderts, sondern des Modernen Standard-Türkischen“ (S. 10) entstanden sind. Der Autor bemüht sich auch zu beweisen, daß es „ein Armenier-Türkisch als distinkte, auf eine soziale oder landsmannschaftliche Gruppe bezogene Varietät des Osmanischen nicht gab“, obwohl es einen eigenartigen Charakter aufweist. Man muß dabei daraus hervorgehen, „daß das Türkisch damals als Verkehr- zum Teil auch als Hauptsprache bei vielen ‚Fremdvölkern‘ des Osmanischen Reiches fungierte“.

Die Analyse der Armenierdrucke ist wichtig auch für die Geschichte der türkischen Sprache, ähnlich wie die türkischen, in lateinischer, kyrillischer, griechischer oder anderer Schrift geschriebenen Texte, wobei die armenische Schrift eine exakte Verschriftung der türkischen Umgangssprache ermöglichte.

A. Hetzer faßt die Grundsätze der Auswahl des verhältnismäßig umfangreichen Korpus der Armenierdrucke, dessen Bearbeitung und Forschungsergebnisse in dem umfangreichen einleitenden Teil „Auswahl, Bearbeitung und erste philologische Ergebnisse“ (S. 15–127) zusammen. Der Editor bemühte sich eine breite Dokumentation der sprachlichen Variationen, der funktionalen Stile und der Schriftgattungen von Armenierdrucken zu versammeln. Ebenso bemühte er sich auch um eine Bewertung der Armenierdrucke vom Gesichtspunkt des funktionalen Stils des Osmanisch-Türkischen im Rahmen der gesamtsprachlichen Situation im Osmanischen Reich und in der Türkischen Republik. In diesem Teil bringt der Autor die detaillierteste linguistische Übersicht über das sog. Armeno-Türkische anhand der herausgegebenen Texte und setzt sich mit den bisherigen Arbeiten über diese Frage eingehend und kritisch auseinander.

Der erste Teil der Chrestomathie (S. 143–414) bringt Texte in der Transkription

in lateinischer Schrift. Hier befinden sich Proben unterschiedlichster Gattungen von geistlicher Lyrik über religiöse Literatur, Lehrbücher, Romane, Meditationen bis zu Übersetzungen von religiöser oder historischer Literatur hin. Der zweite Teil (S. 416–541) enthält Reproduktionen einiger oben erwähnter Texte. Der dritte Teil schließlich (S. 543–624) sind Glossare (armenisch-deutsch, lexikalische Dubletten) sowie ein Register (türkisches Formenregister).

Hetzers Buch ist nicht nur ein bedeutender Beitrag zur Linguistik, sondern auch zur Kulturgeschichte des Osmanischen Reiches.

Vojtech Kopčan

Fähnrich, H.: *Kurze Grammatik der georgischen Sprache* (Concise Grammar of the Georgian Language). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1986. 191 pp.

The aim of H. Fähnrich's book under review is to present a methodical outline of the system of Georgian – a language belonging to the Kartvelian group of languages. The author divided his book into four chapters. In the introduction he gives a geographical, demographic and cultural-historical characteristic of Georgia and of the Georgians, with a brief review of the principal developmental periods of the Georgian language and of the more significant linguistic works in the domain of Kartvelian studies from the 17th century down to the present times (pp. 11–14).

The first brief chapter (pp. 15–17) is in reality a concentrated form of the basic characteristic of the Georgian language. In it the author states the principal signs of the agglutinative type of language and specifies the affixal mode of forming words and phrases in Georgian. He also notes the reduplicating way of word formation and the phonological structure, with its specific features applied especially in word formation (make-up of the root – CVC, prefixes – CV –, suffixes – VC). A major part of the chapter is made up of a description of the declension system and ergative construction, of numerals and of basic syntactic structures.

The second chapter comprises a description of the phonological structure of the language (pp. 17–28), in which H. Fähnrich focused especially on Georgian consonantism, the position of abruptive and aspirate phonemes and their distinctive traits. The chapter also comprises a description of phonetic combinations, vocalic syncope, metatheses, assimilations, dissimilations and accent.

The extensive chapter on morphology (pp. 29–146) is concerned with declension of the various parts of speech and the system of inflexible parts of speech. In the introductory part of the chapter, the author describes the word-forming system (word formation, affixation), with an exhaustive treatment of the declension systems of nouns, adjectives, numerals pronouns and participles. He processes this sub-

ject in a lucid, systematic manner. The conciseness of such an interpretation derives from the very nature of the language (Georgian has 6 cases and the category of nominal gender is not differentiated). The nature of the language also conditions the extent of that section of the chapter which describes conjugation of verbs. Besides the basic categorial meanings of the three persons in the singular and plural, a Kartvelian verb simultaneously expresses also the subject of the action, its object (in transitive verbs), its direction, its utility (on whose behalf it takes place), further, circumstance (orientation, direction), the voice (active, passive, medium). The author deals with conjugation of verbs also in relation to the time (the present, the aorist and the perfect time) and sets out also the characteristic signs of transitive and intransitive verbs in relation to the affixal structure of the forms. He devotes special attention to the conjunctive and the causative modes. In the concluding part (pp. 142–145), H. Fähnrich deals with suffixes expressing adverbial meanings of the verb of action. This section also comprises the basic notions regarding interjections and particles in Georgian.

The closing chapter is concerned with syntax (pp. 148–191), presenting a clear description of the syntactic functions of cases, ways of expressing basic clauses, lucidly characterizing especially the syntactic function of the object which, in this group of languages, is on the same syntactic level in transitive constructions as the subject and the predicate. A considerable part of the chapter deals with word order, the effect of its change on the mode of presentation of nominal parts of speech in the function of members of clauses. An inseparable part of these issues is also the question of valence. The author describes this in relation to the basic syntactic structures, and also against the background of verbal forms in the various types of conjugation (the present, the aorist and the perfect type). An organic part of this chapter is also a description of the modality of Georgian sentence and an analysis of the complex and compound sentence system. The chapter is concluded with a characteristic of the negative, and ways of expressing it.

Heinz Fähnrich's *Kurze Grammatik der georgischen Sprache* is in reality a short encyclopaedic work on the system and structure of the Georgian language. The author's conception and his manner of explication reside in conciseness and lucidity. The topic of the Georgian language, particularly the structure of Georgian verbs, is processed systematically. The author's design is not to teach the reader to speak Georgian, but to provide him with exhaustive information on its linguistic system. In explaining the various phenomena, this grammar of Georgian takes support in transliterated forms of its phonological structures, grammatical shapes and sentences. With the exception of the introductory systematic table, we find in it no forms written in Georgian writing, nor exercises for improving our knowledge of the language. This speaks for the author's own design to create a short work of a succinct, pithy nature, encyclopaedic in character. H. Fähnrich has succeeded in

implementing this design and has thus contributed to a deeper knowledge of the linguistic system of Georgian and to its propagation abroad.

Pavol Žigo

Tsotskhadze, L. V.: *Affixalnaya derivatsiya imen v sovremennykh semitskikh yazykakh* (Affixal Derivation of Nouns in the Contemporary Semitic Languages). Akademiya nauk Gruzinskoi SSR (Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR). Tbilisi, Metsniereba 1987. 112 pp.

The monograph consists of an introduction and two chapters. In the introduction the methodology followed is explained and a synchronic system of derivation, as conceived in the book, is presented: Implicit (pattern-marked) derivation, and Explicit (affixal) derivation, the latter referring to all affixal types irrespective of whether they involve pattern variation or not. From these two basic types only the last one is examined in the monograph.

Chapter I: The Structure of word-formational types of the affix-marked nouns in Classical Arabic and Hebrew (pp. 15–47), and Chapter II: Basic word-formational fields of affix-marked nouns (pp. 48–97). At the end of the book a good bibliographical survey is given.

Word-formational types, as presented in Chapter I, are defined in terms of derivational procedures used as follows:

1. prefix- and pattern-marked derivation;
2. suffix- and pattern-marked derivation;
3. infix- and pattern-marked derivation;
4. suffixal derivation.

The Russian terms adopted in this context, viz. 1. *prefiksalno-flektivnyi*; 2. *suffiksalno-flektivnyi*; and 3. *infiksalno-flektivnyi sposob*, with reference to derivational procedures seem to be somewhat out of place because of their second component (*flektivnyi* = inflectional). It should be admitted, however, that the domain of pattern-marked derivation, simultaneously with that of inflection, is sometimes covered by similar terms (cf. Petráček's 'innere Flexion' in *ArOr*, 28, pp. 547–606, 1960). For a derivationally exploited pattern variation a less contradictory term would have been perhaps more convenient.

While the prefixal and suffixal derivation, with a collateral pattern-variation, is kept in traditional lines, the infixal derivation includes somewhat unusual relationships between e.g. *film* "film" and *fulaym* "microfilm", or *bayda* "egg" and *buwayda* "ovum" (p. 36). Intra-root vocalic variation (inclusively of diphthongs), as occurring here to mark diminutives, is traditionally associated with the pattern morpheme and

not with affixes. When accepting the interpretation proposed, it would be necessary to redefine the very concept of 'affix' in a much wider sense that used hitherto.

The collective noun (CN) – unit noun (UN) relationship (p. 37), inclusively of verbal (VN) and instance nouns (IN) is somewhat restrictively treated as a case of an exclusively suffixal derivation. Although the typical case is really of a suffixal nature, as in (CN) *ba'ūd* "mosquitoes" – *ba'ūda* "a mosquito" or (VN) *'iqtibās* "quotation" (as a general procedure) – (IN) *'iqtibāsa* "quotation" (as a unique act or its result); inclusively of the mass noun (MN) – partitive noun (PN) relationship, as in (MN) *zujāj* "glass" – (PN) *zujāja* "a piece of glass; bottle", etc., a number of other derivatives, pertaining to the latter derivational classes, may exhibit collateral pattern variations, as in (demonstrated on a VN–IN relationship):

šurb – *šarba*; *šarīx*, *šurāx* – *šarxa*; *šayh*, *šiyāh* – *šayha*; *sujūd* – *sajda*, cf. *fa'idā rafa'a ra'sahu 'ani s-sajdati t-tāniyati jalasa* "when he had raised his head after the second prostration, he sat down" (Wensinck, 1, 387: al-Buxārī); *qudūm*, *qidmān*, *maqdam* – *qadma*, cf. *qadima mu'āwiyatu... al-madīnata 'āxira qadmatin qadimahā* "Mu'āwiya... entered Medina for the last time (lit. the last entering he entered it)" (ibid.: al-Buxārī) or: *layta 'annī qad ra'aytuka bi-marw ḥattā 'ukāfi'aka li-qadīm 'ihsānika wa mā tujaddidu lī mina l-birri fī kulli qadmatin* (Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥājirī, 22) "Je serais heureux de te voir à Merw pour te rendre les gentilleses que tu me prodigues depuis longtemps et te remercier de toute l'amitié que tu me témoignes à chacune de mes visites" (Pellat, 32); etc.

The relation between the relative adjectives in *-iyy* and the corresponding *nisba*-abstracts in *-iyya* is presented by the author as an invariably progressive procedure, e.g.:

'insān "man, human being" > *'insāniyy* "human; humane" > *'insāniyya* "humanity, humaneness; mankind"; etc.

Cases of back-formation are nevertheless very frequent and they usually parallel derivatives obtained by a progressive procedure, as in:

progressive procedure:

'umm "mother" > *'ummiyy* "maternal, motherly";

regressive procedure:

'ummiyya "illiteracy" > *'ummiyy* "illiterate, uneducated"; or, in a more complete derivational representation:

progressive procedure:

ʿaskar "army, troops" > *ʿaskariyy* "military, army-" > *ʿaskariyya* "military service; militarism";

regressive procedure:

ʿaskariyya "militarism" > *ʿaskariyy* "militaristic".

Similarly:

mādda "stuff, matter" > *māddiyy* "material; corporeal, physical" > *māddiyya*

“materialism”; in contrast to:

māddiyya “materialism” > *māddiyy* “materialistic”; etc.

The extent of polysemy at the *nisba*-adjective level is sometimes lowered by a formal distinction due to different derivational bases, e.g.:

jumhūr “multitude; crowd; public” – no derivative obtained by a progressive way, for the missing *nisba* is substituted a plural-related adjective *jamāhīrī* “mass”:

By way of back-formation, however, we obtain:

jumhūriyya “republic” > *jumhūriyy* “republican”; etc.

Tsotskhadze’s monograph is a highly informative comparative treatment of affixal derivation of nouns in Arabic and Hebrew (this comparative dimension, however, is not reflected in the present review). In view of its carefully organized presentation and a number of fresh innovative features, it will be read with profit by professional Semitologists as well as by advanced students of Arabic and Hebrew.

Ladislav Drozdík

Elsäßer, H.-H. und Mutlak, I.: *Wortschatz der Politik: Deutsch-Arabisch, Arabisch-Deutsch* (Modernes Arabisch. Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Reuschel und Dr. Günther Krah). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1988. 388 pp.

The present thematically oriented lexicon is the first serious attempt to record political terminology in German and Arabic. The lexical material is drawn from the daily press, magazines and political documents stemming from various Arab countries. Chronologically, the whole textual corpus evaluated falls into a period between 1971 and 1984. Apart from some 5,000 entries, especially from the domain of politics and its extensions to economy, warfare, culture and education, the lexicon contains a number of special nomenclatures: countries of the world; members of the Arab League; international organizations; special organizations of the UNO; The Arab League and its special organizations; all-Arab organizations; international news agencies; news agencies of the Arab countries; geographic names in North Africa and Near East; currencies of the Arab states; Arabic abbreviations; and a German-Arabic word-list.

The lexical material recorded makes up an impressive thematically organized body of terms of varying degree of specificity but, in most cases, with truly optimal German-Arabic and Arabic-German correspondences. Although the bulk of the units quoted may quite unambiguously be related to their respective contexts by means of what it would be possible to call ‘thematic classifiers’, as in: “Stellung” 1. Lage *wadʿ*, *wadʿiyya*; 2. Mil. *mawqīʿ* pl. *mawāqīʿ*, in a limited number of units no such clues are available, e.g. “Operation” *ʿamaliyya*. The latter may be inter-

preted in a military or a surgical sense, or be conceived as a mathematical procedure or, in general, as a course of action.

The same applies to such a difficult entry as e.g. the German adjective "operativ". The Arabic equivalent proposed, viz. *maydānī*, points to a military domain of application (cf. Schregle's *'istrātījī*, of course, in a German-Arabic arrangement only (Schregle 1974); in an Arabic-German presentation (Schregle, 1. Lief. 1981) under *'istrātījī*, as could have been expected, no mention of "operativ" is made). The correspondence between the German "operativ" and the Arabic *maydānī* (or even Schregle's *'istrātījī*) is to such a degree nonspecific that a bilingual lexicon with Arabic in the source language position will hardly ever quote "operativ" (or what corresponds to it in other languages) under the Arabic *maydānī* or *'istrātījī*. Since something has, at any rate, to be presented as an equivalent to the German "operativ", the Wortschatz-proposed *maydānī* may be accepted as a tentative item. Actually, however, in a number of contexts the best rendering of "operativ" is its zero-representation in the Arabic text. In some other cases even the polysemous *ʿamalī* can be used as a rough approximation.

The opposition between "Theorie und Praxis" has found an excellent rendering in *an-naẓariyya wat-taṭbīq* (*al-ʿamalī*). The co-occurrence of *ʿamalī* (adjective) and *taṭbīq* (substantive) is recorded in authoritative native sources, as well (cf. "pratique (adj.)" *al-ʿamalī* as against "la pratique" *taṭbīq*, in *al-Muʿjam al-falsafī*, Majmaʿ al-luġa al-ʿarabiyya, Cairo 1983).

The Arabic equivalents to German entries are, in general, very precise and maximally adequate and, in most cases, better than those provided by other word-lists of similar thematic orientation, cf. "Agitation" *diʿāya* as compared with Pabst's (1986) *tahrīd*, the latter being more adequately interpreted, by the authors of *Wortschatz*, as "Aufhetzung, Anstiftung" ('incitement, instigation'). It must be recognized, however, that not even *diʿāya* can be taken for more than an approximation since it specifically refers to 'propaganda'. But, at the same time, it must be admitted that neither the Pabst-proposed *tahrīd* can safely be excluded from what is, in the linguistic domain of Arabic, understood by the German "Agitation". The latter concept seems, then, to include the Arabic *diʿāya*, *tawʿiya* and *tahrīd*. In a one-to-one German-Arabic correspondence, however, the Wortschatz-quoted *diʿāya* is probably the best solution.

The lexicon contains a relatively large number of ethnic terms and names of very various political organizations. In this connection we were somewhat surprised at the omission of "Russe; russisch" when "Franzose; französisch"; "Türke; türkisch"; "Rumäne; rumänisch", etc. have been included. As obvious, the adjective "sowjetisch" *sūfyātī*, *sūfyītī*, *sūfyītī*, quoted in the lexicon, cannot fill the gap.

Despite the fact that the state identity of political organizations quoted is always indicated, as in "Organisation der Arabischen Sozialistischen Baathpartei (Lib)" *ḥizb al-baʿṭ al-ʿarabī al-ʾiṣtirākī*, or in "Organisation der Demokratischen Journalis-

ten (VDRJ)" *munazzamat aš-ṣuḥufiyyīn al-yamaniyyīn ad-dīmuqrāṭiyyīn*, in the last case the Arabic term should have better be translated as "Organisation der Jemenischen Demokratischen Journalisten" because the state identity indicator constitutes the part of the name.

The bulk of entries include also lexicographically relevant derivatives. Some of them, however, seem to be somewhat lacunary in this respect. Thus, apart from "verbannen" 'ab^cada -hū, nafā -hū; "Verbannung" 'ib^cād, nafa; "Verbannungsort" *manfan*, also "Verbannter" *mub^cad, manfi* should have been quoted.

In some entries, like "Abschreckung" *rad^c*, it would have been perhaps worthwhile quoting such frequently repeated expressions like "Abschreckungsmittel" *rādī^c* and "atomare Abschreckungsmittel" *ar-rādī^c an-nawawī*.

Furthermore, the informative value of this excellent lexicon is somewhat lowered by the omission of a number of historical terms such as "Nationalsozialismus" (quoted under "Nazismus" only); "Gestapo" (which could possibly be rendered as *al-būlis as-sirri fī 'almāniyā an-nāziyya*), as well as some other terms referring to the Nazi era. This gap will, no doubt, be perceived as a disturbing factor, especially from the point of view of an Arab reader of the mid-twentieth century German sources.

The *Wortschatz*, as the first serious and the first successful attempt at recording political terms in a German-Arabic and Arabic-German arrangement, is a valuable contribution to the lexicography of Modern Written Arabic. It will be highly appreciated by students of Arabic, translators, interpreters and all those who have something to do with politics through the linguistic medium of Modern Written Arabic. It will equally be helpful to the Arab users of a similar orientation.

Ladislav Drozdík

Belkin, V. M.: *Karmannyi arabsko-russkii slovar* (Pocket Dictionary Arabic-Russian). 2nd enlarged edition. Moscow, Izdatelstvo Russkii yazyk 1986. 528 pp.

The present Arabic-Russian dictionary is one of the series of bilingual pocket dictionaries designed for Soviet users learning foreign languages as well as for foreigners that learn the Russian language.

The second edition, enlarged and amended by the author, contains some 9,400 words. The selection of the lexical units included is carefully premeditated and a clear priority is given to high-frequency items. Some omissions may appear somewhat disturbing, at the first glance, as in *dawlī, duwalī* "mezhdunarodnyi" ('international') with no mention of "gosudarstvennyi" ('state-' adj.), simultaneously associated with *dawlī*. Nevertheless, when consulting frequency dictionaries available (e.g. Fromm, W.-D.: *Häufigkeitswörterbuch der modernen arabischen Zeitungssprache. Arabisch-Deutsch-English*. Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie

1982), we must approve the author's presentation of facts since *dawli* "state-" does not occur in Fromm's corpus at all, i.e. it does not occur up to the rang 2619.

In view of its size and circle of its future users, the lexicon has an alphabetic arrangement referring to words and not to the abstracted roots. The uninitiated user of the lexicon is assisted in still another way. Broken plurals of unpredictable (or not always predictable) patterns are included in the basic lexical stock of entries with a reference to the respective singular: *šakāwā*, *šakāwin* plur. of *šakwā*, etc.

The adjective *māddī* "materialnyi" ('material' adj.) should have been related to "materialistischesii" ('materialistic') as well. The inclusion of the latter meaning would better connect *māddī* with the abstract noun *māddiyya* "materializm" ('materialism') quoted immediately thereafter.

In the tabular survey of singular-plural correspondences in the structural domain of broken plurals (p. 13) the plural pattern *fu'alā'* should have perhaps better been related to both *fa'il* (*šahīd* – *šuhadā'*) and *fā'il* (*'ālim* – *'ulamā'*; *šā'ir* – *šu'arā'*) patterns.

Owing to its size, reliability and neatness of presentation, the dictionary will find, no doubt, a wide circle of users. A new edition of a Russian-Arabic lexicon of a similar size and design would certainly be very welcome.

Ladislav Drozdík

Jumali, M.: *Gesprächsbuch Deutsch-Arabisch* (Dalīl al-muḥāḍaṭa 'almānī – 'arabī). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1987. 320 pp.

The present manual is a highly interesting attempt at lowering the utmost negative impact of Arabic diglossia on students of Modern Written Arabic. In order to avoid misunderstanding, Modern Written Arabic is a not quite suitable term in the present case since the author intends to present a variety of cultivated Arabic in its oral, nevertheless, nondialectal and not quite standard form. This realistic Arabic is used by the Arab *mutaqqafūn* throughout the Arab World at formal occasions that are incompatible with the linguistic medium of local colloquial varieties. Furthermore, it is often used by the educated speakers, coming from different dialectal areas, as a lingua franca serving the practical goal of mutual understanding.

The presentation of the present variety of cultivated Arabic is truly realistic: no duals with the verbs and adjectives, no gender distinctions in the plural forms of the verbs, no declension in the singular and broken plural.

For those German speakers who are not interested in gaining access to the Arab cultural heritage but who are nevertheless desirous to learn a cultivated pan-Arab medium of oral communication the present manual is an ideal tool.

Ladislav Drozdík

Badawi's monograph consists of eleven autonomous studies written between 1964 and 1981. Some of them have already been published in periodicals. Dealing with the same subject, various aspects of Modern Arabic literature, all these studies are closely interconnected. It should be said, however, that most of them deal with modern Egyptian literature only. The general title of the monograph is somewhat misleading from another point of view, too. Although the main concern of the author lies in examining the Western impact on modern Arabic literature, a good number of issues point to the influences coming from the East, especially when we have in mind personalities like the Egyptian poet Kamāl 'Abdalḥalīm, the Iraqi poet al-Jawāhirī and some others (p. 120 and elsewhere).

The book, introduced by a short Foreword, consists of the following chapters: 1. Commitment in Contemporary Arabic Literature (pp. 1–25); 2. The City in Modern Egyptian Literature (pp. 26–43); 3. Islam in Modern Egyptian Literature (pp. 44–65); 4. The Concept of Fate in Modern Egyptian Literature (pp. 66–82); 5. Qindīl Umm Hāshim: the Egyptian Intellectual between East and West (pp. 83–97); 6. Convention and Revolt in Modern Arabic Poetry (pp. 98–127); 7. The Origins of the Arabic Novel (pp. 128–135); 8. Al-Māzinī the Novelist (pp. 136–166); 9. Maḥfūz's Story of Creation and Prophecy (pp. 167–171); 10. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn the Critic: a Reappraisal (pp. 172–190); and 11. The Arabs and Shakespeare (pp. 191–204). The studies are followed by Notes; Appendix: Synopsis of Bidāya wa Nihāya; and Index.

The Chapter I analyses the vital problem of modern Arabic literature: the role of commitment in the search for its identity. Jean-Paul Sartre's *engagement* (*Qu'est-ce que la littérature*, 1948) soon found its Arabic equivalent in *'iltizām* which became one of the most frequently recurring term in the contemporary criticism throughout the Arab world. Unfortunately, however, the meaning of the term is one of the most diffuse, freely oscillating, in its Arabic application, between Marxism, nationalism and existentialism.

The concept of *'iltizām*, irrespective of the wide range of its possible interpretation, has, in general, its antagonists and protagonists. In order to visualize the extremely involved blend of very various opinions and to compare them with the attitude of one of the most competent personalities in this respect, Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā, some representative statements will shortly be presented.

The prominent Tunisian scholar, man of letters and politically highly active personality Maḥmūd Maṣ'ādī, member of the Neo-Dustūr party, secretary general of the Tunisian trade unions (1938–1953), minister of education (1958–1968), since 1964 deputy of the National Assembly, wrote in his paper on the subject of 'Arab Nationalism and the Need to Protect the Writer' (*al-'Ādāb* vi, 1958) that "it was

absolutely essential to protect the freedom of the writer without which he would not be able to 'create' and therefore contribute to the cultural element in Arab nationalism, the only element which, as a writer, he is qualified to serve. A writer, he argued, may naturally or spontaneously produce a nationalist poem, a play, or a story. But he may by temperament be disinclined to deal in the political or apologetic aspect of Arab nationalism without, however, being a traitor to it or rejecting its values. He would be rendering a sufficient and honourable service if, in turning completely away from all problems related to Arab nationalism, he was still capable of enriching the minds of his readers, enlarging their vision of the world, sharpening their awareness of life and of their essential humanity" (Badawi 1).

The plea for an absolute freedom, though shared, at least theoretically, by such distinguished personalities as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889–1973), for instance, has been, in general, vehemently rejected. Although Ṭāhā Ḥusayn had himself published in 1949 a collection of short stories with a sharp social undertone, *al-Muʿaḍḍabūn fil-ʿard*. "The Sufferers on the Land", he was and remained all his long and active life one of the most passionate defenders of the view that literature is an end in itself:

"Literature is not and should not be a means to an end. The writer does not create his work to promote a cause or serve an end. Literature is an end in itself and a writer writes because he cannot do otherwise. We must not allow ourselves to be misled or driven to the position where we exploit literature as a means to reform or bring about change in the lives of people. This does not mean that literature is by nature fruitless or that the writer is by nature selfish. Rather it means that reform, change, the improvement of the lot of people and human betterment are things that issue naturally from literature in the way light emanates from the sun and perfume from a flower" (from a polemic article in *al-ʿĀdāb* ii, 1954).

These extreme views sharply contrast both with literary programmes and with the actual creative methods of numerous authors, poets, novelists and playwrights. The editorial note to the first volume of the Lebanese monthly *al-ʿĀdāb*, written by its founder and editor Suhayl Idrīs in January 1953, may be a good example of an opposite attitude:

"It is the conviction of this Review that literature is an intellectual activity directed to a great and noble end which is that of effective literature that interacts with society: it influences society just as much as it is influenced by it. The present situation of Arab countries makes it imperative for every citizen, each in his own field, to mobilize all his efforts for the express object of liberating the homeland, raising its political, social and intellectual level. In order that literature may be truthful it is essential that it should not be isolated from the society in which it exists" (p. 12).

The social and political commitment in broad lines of socialist realism (or what is qualified as such by certain Arab literary critics) may be observed in the poetry of the Iraqi ʿAbdalwahhāb al-Bayātī, in some novels of the Egyptian ʿAbdarrahmān aš-Šarqāwī (*al-ʿArḍ*, *Qulūb xāliya*) and elsewhere.

Badawi rightly presents the phenomenon of commitment in its dynamic dimension and variability: from a declared Marxism to an introvert lyricism (Badr Šākir as-Sayyāb) or even an overtly mystical and spiritual poetry (Šalāh ‘Abdaṣṣabūr); from a romantic love poetry to a politically and patriotically highly relevant attitude (Nizār Qabbānī), etc.

In this connection, it might have been worthwhile emphasizing that commitment (in whatever sense) in Arabic literature is almost never confined to a unique creative method specifically related to it. Politically and patriotically highly ‘committed’ author, a Marxist by his ideological orientation and his political praxis, the late Ġas-sān Kanafānī (1936–1972), is in most of his short stories and novels quite evidently influenced by the existentialists.

This situation, as paradoxical as it might appear at the first glance, is best expressed by the Iraqi scholar, writer and artist of Palestinian origin Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā:

“Until World War II, almost all great Arab poets were noted for their patriotism: patriotic poetry, al-Shi’r al-watany, was an added function to the classical aghrad (purposes) of poetry. Poets might write love poetry, often sad and despairing, but their fiery nationalist poetry, directed against the British and the French who succeeded the Ottomans in dominating the Arabs and gradually created a Zionist state out of an Arab Palestine, was what became truly noteworthy: from Egypt’s Baroudy, Showqi and Mutran, to Palestine’s Ibrahim Touqan and Abdul Rahim Mahmud, to Iraq’s Rassafi and Jawahiri. Thus, long before “commitment” was launched in 1953 by Al-Adab magazine of Beirut, under Sartre’s inspiration, as a pre-requisite of literature, Arab poets had become, essentially, committed writers... It was no accident, therefore, that the great change in Arabic poetry started more or less with the Palestine disaster. In the decade that followed, from 1948 to 1958, what happened to Arabic writing was cataclysmic... A dam had burst, and the unpredictable in thought and vision flooded forth. Influences from East and West, from Mayakovsky to Eliot, ravished the minds of the young who abandoned themselves to contemporary fads and fashions without shame, in an attempt to cope with their experience. They were fascinated by the art movements of the last fifty years, especially surrealism and expressionism. Mythology was discovered and exploited: Greek, Arab, Babylonian; Christian and Moslem alike... And in less than two decades Arabic poetry acquired a stance that had been forgotten since the great mystics of the past: the private, individual stance. It was no longer sufficient for the poet to be merely a public symbol, a voice of the tribe. Now that the nation had embarked upon a new phase of search for its identity and sources of strength, the poet’s stance was one of intense consciousness of self. It was history-conscious, humanity-conscious and, above all, freedom-conscious” (“The Rebels, the Committed and the Others—Transitions in Arabic Poetry Today”. In: *Middle East Forum*, 43, pp. 19–32, 1967).

In Chapter II the author examines the role of the modern city (identified, in Badawi's essay, with Cairo in particular) in determining the shape of modern Egyptian literature and attempts, at the same time, to show how the city is reflected in literature.

In the essay on Islam Badawi restricted himself, once again, to Egypt because Egypt, as he put it, is probably the most secular of all Muslim Arab states (p. 44). The literary relevance of Islam is demonstrated on a number of literary works of distinguished Egyptian authors like 'Aqqād, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, Haykal and others.

In the chapter, dealing with convention and revolt in Arabic poetry, the role of Western 'fashions and styles' (p. 124) in inspiring the revolt against convention seems to be patently overstated and presented as a unique determining force in this respect.

The impact of the intercultural clash between the East and West on the shaping of modern Arabic literature is illustrated on a well-known story *Qindil 'Umm Hāsim* by Yaḥyā Ḥaqqī (1944).

In 'The Arabs and Shakespeare' the inspiring work of Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā, the highly qualified translator of a long series of Shakespeare's plays, would have deserved more attention. Apart from *Hamlet* (*Ma'sāt Hamlet 'amīr ad-Danmārk*, 1960), the Arab readers owe to him *King Lear*, *Coriolanus*, *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *The Tempest*, not to mention translations of such Shakespearean monographs as J. Kott's "Shakespeare Our Contemporary" and W. Dovers "What Happens in Hamlet" (*Mā-llaḍī yaḥḍut fī Hamlet*, Baghdad 1981).

Written by a renowned scholar, the present monograph is a highly informative reading on the literary development in the Arab world in process of modernization and maturation. It is a valuable contribution to the scholarly knowledge of these processes.

Ladislav Drozdík

Al-Azmeh, Aziz: *Arabic Thought and Islamic Societies* (Exeter Arabic and Islamic Series). London-Sydney, Croom Helm 1986. ix + 295 pp.

The present monograph is a rather untraditional attempt to describe a number of manifestations of mediaeval Arabic culture or, more in tune with a somewhat esoteric wording of the author, an attempt 'to identify and describe a number of distinctive features which compose the elementary principles of Arabic thought in the Middle Ages' (p. i). The concept of composition, in its philosophical and dogmatic theological conceptions, has a fundamental value in the present exposition.

It is not only the clue to the understanding of the nature of composite beings at the level of simple corporeal entities and their immediate intellectual attributes but, moreover, it operates as a determining agent in such extremely complex phenomena as justice and social order (p. 31).

The methodology adopted is overtly ahistorical. The lack of a discernible historical stratification is accounted for by a trans-epochal common run of ideas: 'An historical period does not manifest what it takes for normalcy, and therefore for regularity and 'authenticity', in its outstanding examples. Genius is therefore not the true expression of the historical unity of an epochal phenomenon, but is rather the tolerably anomalous elaboration of its motifs and categories. Epochal tendencies are rather manifested in the common run of ideas, the primary grey matter which carries it, just as oriental philology is manifested less by its outstanding examples and advances than by the oral instruction which carries over its normalcy from generation to generation in university faculties' (p. vii).

The author starts here from the assumption of historical closure and internal integration. The historical epoch, regarded by the author as closed and self-impelling for purposes of the present monograph, begins in the tenth century and ends with the work of as-Suyūṭī (died in 1505).

Another methodological feature of the monograph is the author's rejection of the orientalist tradition and its conceptual inventory: 'Studies of Arabic thought in the Middle Ages have generally borne the full burden of the orientalist tradition. Two primary elements constituted this tradition in its original form and ethos, both of which have shown a strange resistance to advances in the human sciences and to changing circumstances in the past one and a half centuries. The orientalist tradition was fashioned from the confluence of a positivist philology on the one hand, and a field to which this philology was applied, a field to which the oriental philologist was related by various cadences, grades and forms of antipathy, ultimately reducible to political and cultural antagonism shared by the oriental philologist and his wider milieu. Implicit or (less so nowadays) explicit antagonism was articulated in terms of tropes and topoi in terms of which oriental societies, histories and matters generally were expressed, analysed, typified, thought and identified, and which infirmed matters oriental within the bounds of a fantastic specificity and otherness. It is perhaps this very conception of impermeable otherness which prevented oriental philology from deriving benefit or advancement from refinements and conceptual developments achieved in the philological study of rather more normal languages and histories, as in the context of classical and romance studies, not to speak of historical, sociological and linguistic sciences in general. The present work intends to revise the present state of scholarship on medieval Arabic thought by tackling both components: it proposes to incorporate what has become the common stock of historical and other social and human sciences into the field, and to shed the topical repertoire of orientalism' (p. v).

The rejection of the orientalist tradition, however, generates some difficulties. First of all, it is the necessity to create an entirely new conceptual system and to apply it adequately to the finely structured world of mediaeval Arabic culture and its institutional supports – on the part of the author – as well as to identify these concepts and properly interpret them – on the part of the reader. It must be said that this is not quite an easy task when we have in mind that the universe of Arabic thought is furthermore regarded as a chronologically unstratified phenomenon in its finished form (p. iii).

As any other digression from traditional patterns of thought, the present one has also an important stimulative power: the possibility to adopt a ‘man-from-Mars’ attitude, the nearly absolute freedom of identifying, describing and evaluating those highly complex phenomena that display a burdensome heritage of previous academic approaches. Professor Al-Azmeh greatly benefited from this advantage.

The book consists of a Preface and six chapters as follows:

Chapter One: “Metaphysical Foundations of Arabic Thought, 1: Hierarchy, Substance and Combination” (pp. 1–54), examines an ancient metaphysical repertoire of both terrestrial and extraterrestrial beings as related to the mediaeval Arabic thought. A hierarchy of these entities (God – not-God) is established in accordance with the prominent representatives of the Islamic sciences.

Chapter Two: “Metaphysical Foundations, 2: Relations of Creation, Sympathy and Analogy” (pp. 55–105), is an extension of the previous chapter where the connection between spiritual and terrestrial beings is examined. The present chapter seeks answer to the question why these entities are constituted in the manner investigated in the previous chapter and not otherwise.

Chapter Three: “A Special Relation: Signification” (pp. 106–145), is dealing with the theory of knowledge as reflected in mediaeval Arabic thought, as a part of psychology and grammar. Knowledge is conceived as an act of signification, and falsehood as a dislocation of the correspondence between the sign in its psychic and locutionary forms, and the signified (pp. 109–110).

Since knowledge is never separated from the language as a medium of signification, some attention has been paid to the epistemological relevance of language with, furthermore, a direct and quite specific extension to the Arabic language.

The remaining three chapters deal with various aspects of sciences and scientific knowledge in mediaeval Arabic culture.

Chapter Four: “The Constitution of Islamic and Foreign Sciences” (pp. 146–197).

Chapter Five: “The Institution and Continuity of Scientific Formations” (pp. 198–249).

Chapter Six: “Concluding Notes: Scientific Knowledge and the Social Order” (pp. 250–278).

Each chapter is carefully annotated. The book is closed by a list of Arabic sources (pp. 279–286) and an Index (pp. 287–295).

The book is not easy to read but whoever reads it thoroughly will amply be rewarded by fresh stimulative ideas, new methodological approaches and revealing formulations.

Ladislav Drozdík

Dunn, E. Ross: *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century*. London–Sydney, Croom Helm 1986. 357 pp., 12 maps.

Abū ʿAbdallāh ibn Baṭṭūṭa is undoubtedly one of those Muslim travellers who are, rightly or not, the most frequently compared to the great Venetian Marco Polo. He was born in Tangier, Morocco, in 1304, studied law and in 1325 left Tangier to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. During 29 years, passed on the road, he visited not only the Arab homeland of Islam but also its far frontiers in India, Indonesia, Central Asia, East Asia and the West African Sudan.

In 1356 the Marinid Sultan Abū ʿInān commissioned Ibn Juzayy to record Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's observations and experiences in the canonized literary form of *riḥla* (travel book). The resulting work, *Tuḥfāt an-nuẓẓār fī ǧarāʾib al-ʾamṣār wa ʿajāʾib al-ʾasfār* (A Gift to the Observers Concerning the Curiosities of Cities and the Marvels of Travels), is generally known as *ar-Riḥla* or Book of Travels. It is the most elegant and ambitious travel book ever written in the Arab Middle Ages.

Ar-Riḥla was unknown in Europe until the early 19th century. The French edition by C. Défrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (1853–1858) has become the most powerful impetus to the spread of this travel book throughout the world.

Professor Dunn produced an entirely new type of book in the field of the Arabic *riḥla*-literature. It is Dunn's interpretation of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's life, times and his fascinating journeys through the Eastern Hemisphere.

Whenever an attempt is made to weigh the merits of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the problem of authenticity and veracity necessarily emerges. The historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), a contemporary of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1377), presents in his famous *al-Muqaddima* an authentic account of the reception of the Moroccan traveller by the Marinid ruler Abū ʿInān and of his skeptical attitude towards the amazing stories of the latter.

The problem of authenticity of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's famous narrative did not cease to be relevant up to now. The authenticity of the *Riḥla* has, in general, supported well modern scrutiny. In a number of single points, however, evident errors and doubtful statements cannot safely be excluded.

Despite the fact that Professor Dunn's study displays a high degree of scholarly criticism, some of the dubious parts of the narrative seem to be too optimistically reinterpreted (especially the visit to Constantinople, the description of China as well as the description of this itinerary).

The present monograph, based on Professor Dunn's extensive research on the fourteenth-century Eurasia and Africa, is a valuable contribution to the study of the mediaeval *rihla*-literature and, at the same time, to that of human interchange in mediaeval times.

Ladislav Drozdík

Herms, Irmtraud: *Wörterbuch Hausa-Deutsch*. Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1987. 186 pp.

The frequency of the publication of dictionaries always reflects the rising or decreasing sociolinguistic importance of a language. The publishing of a third dictionary of Hausa within the period of the last twenty-five years corresponds to the increasing role played by this language in Africa's social communication. Although giving equivalents in different languages and originating from different schools, D.A. Olderogge's and his pupils' *Hausa-Russian Dictionary* (Published in Moscow in 1963) and Paul and Roxana Ma Newmans' and their Hausa co-editors' *Modern Hausa-English Dictionary* (published by the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University College in 1977) must be considered within the same context as the recent lexicon prepared by a distinguished member of the Karl-Marx-University in Leipzig, GDR. After all, contemporary dictionaries of African languages – unlike those of the pioneer generation (to which undoubtedly Adam Mischlich's first *Wörterbuch der Hausasprache*, published in 1906 also belongs) – must comply with the three main prerogatives of lexicography as an integral part of the linguistic science: they must be based on a tedious and patient phase of collecting lexical data, and they must present these data in such a way as to reflect the rapidly changing realities of African social communication, but also in such a way as to respect the internal correlations of the lexemes as members of the lexical system of the language in question. Such a situation makes the work of contemporary lexicographers more difficult than ever before. In this context one may recall the famous Latin verses formulated in the 16th century by J. J. Scaliger: he says that the worst criminals should be neither executed nor sentenced to forced labour, but condemned to compile dictionaries, because of all the tortures included in this type of work. Dr. Irmtraud Herms is certainly to be praised for having based her work on an exhausting, patient but effective and diligent collecting of lexical data. She carried it out over a period of several years. Apart from certain traditional sources, she has apparently excerpted mainly from Nigeria-based Gaskiya texts, both books and journals alike. In this respect, she follows the lexicographic path initiated by the Hausa-Russian dictionary of 1963, but her excerpting naturally goes even further, as she covers much more recent periods of publication. As a consequence,

her dictionary covers the most contemporary trends in Hausa journalistic lexicon and phraseology. Thus e.g. her entry for *wāyō*, m. gives the following German equivalents: *Klugheit*, f., *Verständigung*, f., *Rafinesse*, f., *List*, f.; *yi* ~ *klug sein*, *heranwachsen*, *Reife erreichen*; *mai* ~ *Weise*, m.; ~ *zaman duniya Kultur*, f. (p. 171). Olderogge's dictionary gives for this same entry the Russian equivalents *сообразительность*, *хитрость* (p. 377). Newman's dictionary gives the following English equivalents: *cleverness*, *cunning*; *yi* ~ *grow up*, *reach maturity* (p. 133).

In some cases, the dynamic tendencies of contemporary Hausa phraseology can be followed over a relatively longer period. Thus e.g. the verb *sabunta* is given (by A. Mischlich) the German equivalents *erneuern*, *wieder herstellen*, corresponding thus *grosso modo* to G.P. Bargery's and R.C. Abraham's English equivalents of this same entry *renew*, *freshen*, etc. Olderogge's dictionary offers the Russian equivalents *восстанавливать*, *возобновлять* (p. 305). Herms, for her part, gives not only the traditional German equivalents, but also the modern *reformieren* (p. 136). In this way she draws, in fact, the only possible logical consequence of such traditional contexts as *Musa ya sabunta addini* previously indicated by Mischlich (p. 419). It is interesting to compare the semantic development of the above-mentioned items with that of the word *saui*, m. Traditional Hausa dictionaries give such English equivalents for it as *change*, *exchange*, with certain figurative meanings as well + the specialized linguistic sense: *homonym*. Olderogge gives the Russian equivalents *изменение*, *замен*, *обмен* (p. 317), while Herms follows the most recent phraseology and modifies the entry, as follows: 1. *Änderung*, f., *Austausch*, m.; 2. *Revolution*, f. ... *yan majlalisar* ~ *Mitglieder des Revolutionsrats* (p. 143).

Clearly the excerpting of Gaskiya-based newspapers offered the opportunity to go deeply into the more recent semantic trends. On the other hand, the lexicographer must bear in mind that journalistic texts make rather frequent use of many occasional expressions and ephemeral neologisms. It is up to the lexicographer to determine the correct position of these neologisms within the context of the lexical system. In other words, such phrases must be placed within the system of all the correlations created by polysemy, synonymy, antonymy and even homonymy. A language always tends to differentiate between words and their usage in terms of dialects, styles, registers, and even in chronological terms. A language which reacts, as Hausa does, to such immense modifications of its sociolinguistic functions, must necessarily increase such processes. When reading such entries as e.g. *ba'askarē*, m. (ar.) and *sōja*, m. (engl.), both of which are given the identical German equivalent *Soldat* (pp. 22 and 148), one realizes that Herms' work – while providing important assistance to anyone translating contemporary Gaskiya texts – is still not yet a perfect modern Hausa dictionary in the lexicographic sense.

Another shortcoming of this dictionary is its almost exclusive orientation on the lexicon of Hausa, as spoken in Nigeria. However, as correctly stated on its own cover, Hausa is used in vast areas of West Africa outside Nigeria: in the Republic of

Niger, in the People's Republic of Benin, Togo, Ghana, etc. The lexical particularities of these Hausa-speaking (and to some extent even -writing) regions whether embedded in the traditional dialectal stratification of Hausa or related to modern sociolinguistic and cultural factors, are to a large extent ignored. Let us analyse one more entry from this point of view: *dala* (engl.), f. ... 1. hist. *Maria-Theresien Thaler*, m.; 2. *zwei-Schilling Stück in alter nigerianischer Währung*; 3. *5-Franc Stück in alter franz. Währung*; 4. *Dollar* (p. 44). Obviously, one could make certain historical and etymological comments in this connection, such as: is the Hausa word really borrowed *only* via English or was there some more direct link to the German "*Thaler*" (which itself is derived from the German name of the locality in Northwestern Bohemia where such coins were made first)? And as for the "old Nigerian currency", that was a currency common to the former British West African colonies, including the former Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia, i.e. countries with considerable Hausa-speaking population. But these comments are more or less theoretical today. It is the equivalent of the Hausa word *dala* in contemporary West African states using the CFA francs that has the most serious consequences of a practical nature. Its most frequent meaning is no longer the value of 5 old French francs, but the contemporary 5 CFA Francs. It is necessary to learn that most Hausa-speakers in these areas do not count money in francs, but in 5 CFA franc – *dala* units. Thus 100 CFA francs = *dala* 'ashirin in Hausa, i.e. literally 20 *dalas*.

Before concluding, a few words may be said about the form and the presentation of the Hausa entries in this dictionary, and generally.

Although basing her collection of data mainly on written (printed) texts, Dr. Herms – unlike D.A. Olderogge – has had correct intent of presenting Hausa also as a spoken language, and hence such suprasegmentals as tone and length are marked in her main entries. Probably for technical reasons she indicates (as R.C. Abraham's dictionary did) a long vowel by a horizontal symbol above the vowel letter (*ā*), while using the same type of diacritic below the given vowel for marking its low tone (*a*). Thus the attentive reader must confront the three or four ways of marking suprasegmentals in the Hausa dictionaries of the last three decades. Olderogge's dictionary disregards them altogether. The Niger-based *Lexique Hawsa* from 1968 is the only to respect the UNESCO recommendation for the orthography of Hausa: it uses vowel digraphs for length and the "accent grave" for low tones. Newman's Nigeria-based *Modern Hausa Dictionary* follows the UNESCO tone-marking system. It uses, however, a cedilla mark (*ḡ*) for the short vowels, while leaving the long vowels unmarked.

Despite all these complex problems, the book under review constitutes an important step forward in Hausa lexicography. It will undoubtedly assist German-speaking students in working with Gaskiya texts and will guide their first steps in learning to speak and understand Hausa, especially its variety used in Nigeria. In this sense it goes much further than Olderogge's dictionary published twenty-five years ago.

The shortcomings of Herms' work underline once again the necessity of preparing an international project of a long-standing character: namely, the compilation of a truly modern dictionary of this language covering Hausa usage in all parts of West Africa and in all its varieties and forms. Obviously, such a preparation of a more extended dictionary of Hausa should be embarked upon from the starting point of the achievements of the contemporary lexicographic theory and practice. Moreover, it should combine a long-term excerption of both oral and printed Hausa texts with a deep evaluation of its entries with language informants in the field, i.e. in all Hausa-speaking countries of West and Central Africa.

Petr Zima

Kastenholz, Raimund: *Das Koranko. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Nord-Mande-Sprachen*. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Köln. Köln 1987. 344 pp.

This is a phonological and morphosyntactic analysis and description of Koranko, a Mande language belonging to the Northern Branch and its North-western group respectively. According to the latest classification of S. Platiel and G. Galtier, it belongs – together with Manding and Vai-Kono – to the Central branch of the Western group of Mande. It is spoken in Sierra Leone and in the Republic of Guinea, with some 73,000 speakers in Sierra Leone and some 36,000 in Guinea, according to the estimates of Westermann-Bryan in 1952. More recent estimates put the total number of Koranko speakers being as high as 180,000.

The book under review is one of the products of the six-months field research undertaken by its author in Koinadugu, the district headquarters in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone, in 1982. Using one main language informant from the Eastern (Mongo) dialectal area and several other language informants from other areas, the author combined his work with these informants with text-analyses. A rich collection of spontaneous narratives (mostly fairy-tales) served as the second source of data. As for the methods, the author proceeded along the broad lines of the linguistic techniques as outlined for the Mande field by Maurice Houis in 1977, Houis himself having been influenced – generally speaking – by André Martinet, as have been most contemporary French africanists.

On the whole, very interesting data are thus offered from the field of a hitherto little-described language system.

As for the phonological system, there is a voiced labiovelar *gb* in the initial syllables only, and a voiceless *k*, but neither a voiceless labiovelar *kp*, nor a voiced *g* exist. There are several prenasalized clusters, all of them appearing only as initial consonants of the second syllable of the lexeme. The vocalic system appears to be remarkably symmetrical: it is triadic in its base, with two types of *e* (*e* and *ɛ*) and

o (o and ɔ). Its members may be either short or long, either nasalized or not. Two distinctive tones exist effecting only the first syllable; the second syllable appears to some extent redundant for dynamic stress, too.

The morpho-syntactic analysis begins with general overview of the various types of clauses and sentences. This is followed by a chapter dealing with word-class analysis. The nominal and the verbal phrases are dealt with in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively, while a section on clause structure and another on complex sentences conclude this part of the book. It is obviously impossible to give a detailed survey of the rich data and analytical observations in this highly stimulating book within the limited space of such a short review. Readers interested in Mande linguistics will undoubtedly find many opportunities for comparing them with the recent ideas formulated by other authors in this fascinating field. This concerns e.g. the concept of a possible relationship between the possessive morpheme *lá* and the locative (see paras 4.3.6 and 6.1.1). Such ideas were expressed – within the Mande field in general – also by Claude Grégoire, and even Dennis Creissels (see my own review of Creissels' book *Elements de Grammaire de la langue Mandinka* in *Archív orientální* 55, 1987, pp. 208–209). The idea of a possible relationship between the locative-possessive-existential constructions may have – typologically speaking – broader contexts.

It can be said without hesitation that the book under review has filled in an important gap in Mande studies.

Petr Zima

Vydrin, V. F.: *Yazyk looma* (The Looma Language). Moscow, Nauka 1987: 120 pp.

This is a descriptive outline of Looma (Logoma), a Mande language of West Africa. It was classified by Galtier as belonging to the South-Western branch of Mande and its Mende-Loma-Loko subgroup respectively. The number of speakers of this language was estimated at 260,000 persons living in Guinea and Liberia, according to Westermann's-Bryan's *Languages of West Africa* in 1952, but contemporary estimates suggest as many as 300,000 or more. Looma is one of those Mande languages for which a script of its own has been created or adapted. Vydrin gives a short illustrative summary of its main symbols (pp. 12–14), basing it mainly on Dalby's and Joffre's research contributions. Apart from this, he provides a brief report on literacy-teaching attempts based on the Roman script, made by various Liberian missions, as well as on the efforts to raise Looma to the status of a "national language" during Guinea's Sekou Touré period.

The author apparently had the opportunity to work with most of the available descriptive works on Looma, with some notable exceptions since S. Platiel's *Biblio-*

graphie de Linguistique Mandé published in 1985 was probably not yet available at the time he was compiling his book. This is perhaps why such important works as Terplan's elementary course or Rude's essential paper on Active-Stativ Typology (published in SAL 14) could not have been taken into account. It is important to stress, however, that – unlike certain previous volumes of the series *Languages of the World* – Vydrin's work is by no means a mere compilation. On the contrary, its author made good use of the opportunity provided by Looma informants being at his disposal. These language informants – African students and aspirants in the USSR – were from different dialectal areas, both from Liberia and from the Republic of Guinea. Consequently, his work manifests a clearly research-oriented character.

Vydrin starts out by giving an outline of Looma phonetics and phonology. As for the consonants, his remarks about a certain asymmetry of the labiovelars and labialized velars are very interesting, as are his attentive observations on tones. However, information on vowel length and its function is scarce, as is the case in most Russian descriptions of African languages. The next section consists of observations on the lexicon, based on an approximatively 2,000-word Looma-Russian dictionary included at the end of the book. This dictionary combines data taken from previously published works with Vydrin's own data collected directly from his language informants, hence its importance for any further comparative studies of Mandé. Moreover the author rightly devotes attention not only to the traditional dialectal stratification of Looma, but also to the modern divisive barriers: many new facts on the rôle that English-Looma and French-Looma interference plays along the Guinea-Liberia borders are reported.

The work's grammatical analysis essentially follows the methodical lines established by Tomchina (see her *Introduction to the Syntagmatic Morphology of Maninka* – in Russian, Leningrad 1978), but due attention is also devoted to the results of K.I. Pozdnyakov's comparative research on Mandé. The book under review offers a syntactically-based description of word-classes in Looma: nouns, pronouns, numerals, verbs, postpositions and conjunctions.

In general, this work testifies not only to the high quality of current linguistic research in Leningrad, but it also confirms the increasingly valuable character of the contributions published as parts of this well-known series *Yazyki mira* by the Nauka Publishing House under the editorial guidance of V.M. Solntsev, L.B. Nikolskii and other scholars.

Petr Zima

Davis, Lance A. and Huttenback, Robert A.: *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Political Economy of British Imperialism, 1860–1912*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1986. x + 394 pp.

Scholars which set out to study the British Empire have up to present produced a great number of studies which represent a very wide range of approaches and opinion, some of it rather contradictory. In spite (or because) of this the topic keeps attracting historian's mind. The authors of this volume have chosen to concentrate on one specific aspect of the theme, which, however, lies at the basis of the whole problem and which can lead to far-reaching conclusions.

The book is a study of the profitability of the British Empire. It attempts at a kind of cost-benefit analysis of Britain's overseas colonies and dependent territories in the five decades preceding World War I with the aim to determine the role played by the Empire in the development of British capitalism.

The authors begin with the examination of the flows of capital through the London market in an attempt to assess the relative importance of domestic, foreign and Empire finance in the period under study and continue with the analysis of the influence of profits from Empire on British business. Special attention is paid to the patterns of government subsidies and expenditures in support of business and to the deliberations, activities and interaction of the British political and economic institutions such as the Chambers of Commerce, the House of Commons, the Treasury, the Colonial Office or the Crown Agents which shaped the performance of the Empire.

The book is admirable for the amount of data the authors managed to bring together and organize into some one hundred analytical tables which enable the reader to see interesting comparisons concerning both absolute and relative, aggregate and partial capital flows between Britain and different groups of countries. These are divided according to their status of relations with Britain (thus colonies with responsible government, dependent colonies, India, Indian princely states, foreign developed and foreign underdeveloped countries are dealt with separately) while further subdivisions along geographical and industrial lines are occasionally included. Materials from several hundred public, company and private archives are used and an impressive amount of work must have been exerted to make the diverse mass of information speak one language. To make sure, in parts where the authors process the data through statistical formulae and models the book offers no easy reading but on the whole they succeeded in representing their case in an unequivocal manner.

The central argument of Davis' and Huttenback's study, which is bound to provoke controversial reactions, goes as follows: although the Empire could have been important for few individual British investors, for the many and for Britain as a nation it was economically rather burdensome than beneficial. However, if a standpoint like this is not supported by at least an allusion as to what was it that made Britain exercise all the effort necessary for such an exacting task as building and maintaining an empire of world proportions, the cogency of any amount of statistics remains limited. The authors have failed to take into consideration one important

distinction, i.e. that between immediate and long-term or strategic economic interest. It seems that the role played by the latter in shaping British imperial policies has not been duly appreciated in the book. This shortcoming is to a certain degree connected with the chronological focus of the study. It is, for example, hardly possible to evaluate the "profitability" of African colonies correctly in the period up to the year 1912, i.e. at the time when the decades of conquest, pacification and administrative settling down were just supposed to begin to bear fruit.

In spite of the fact that Davis' and Huttenback's central thesis will probably find as many opponents as adherents, their book must be appreciated as a fundamental and well-documented project which none of the future studies on the relations between Britain and its Empire can afford to ignore.

Ján Voderadský

Sender, John and Smith, Sheila: *The Development of Capitalism in Africa*. London-New York, Methuen 1986. xi + 177 pp.

In spite of a certain pretentiousness of the title, it is natural that no comprehensive analysis of the development of capitalism in Africa could have been attempted on some 130 pages of the actual text of the book. The authors had to restrict their grasp both topically and regionally. Thus they aim at exploring, in a historical perspective, some internal dynamic processes connected with and leading to the spread of capitalist relations of production in a sample of eleven sub-Saharan African countries which include Ethiopia, Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The book can be divided into two basic parts, one concerning the trade, production and the emergence of wage labour in pre-colonial and colonial Africa, the other concentrating on trade, industrialization and problems of economic development of sub-Saharan Africa in the period of independence. The first part focuses on some basic topics in the development of a peripheral capitalism, such as the impact of trade with the advanced economies on the growth of domestic market, the transformation of subsistence goods into commodities, the expansion of transport and its cultural and political consequences, the transformation of tenurial forms or the development of industries processing primary commodities. Special attention is devoted by the authors to the process of formation of a class of wage labourers. They point to the principal sources and methods of wage labour supply and analyse the process of transition from coercion to discretion, which went hand in hand with the spread of proletarianization and led to the phenomenal growth of capitalist labour market towards the end of colonial rule.

From the point of view of political economy, the coming of independence meant, in the first place, the unprecedented growth of the potential of the new states to

intervene into the sphere of national economy. In contrast to the nowadays widespread 'omnipotent market thesis', the authors put the problem into the proper historical perspective which shows co-ordinated and large-scale state initiatives as critical in the growth of all late-industrializing economies.

Looking back at the three decades of independence, the authors find it appropriate to accentuate the rapid development of the forces of production in post-colonial Africa. However, against the background of Africa's ongoing serious economic crisis, their arguments sometimes lack persuasion. No matter what amount of statistics is brought forward as evidence, it is nowadays rather difficult to share, for example, the view that the performance of the continent in agricultural output over the period 1960–1982 "compares very favourably with the rates of change observed historically in the now industrialised countries" of Europe (p. 103).

The last chapter of the book considers independent Africa's economic development from an opposite viewpoint, laying stress on the failure to fulfil the potential for development that existed in Africa in the post-colonial period. Quantitative data of economic stagnation or retrogression in some African states are provided and the determinants of poor economic performance are discussed. Here the authors somehow underrate the relevance of the external factor and emphasize the inadequacy of internal policies resulting in and exacerbating an imbalance between foreign-exchange requirements and availability.

A certain heterogeneity of the book is only too well matched by its sort of ideological roguishness. Having declared themselves for the Marxist methodology in the Introduction, in the following chapters the authors on several occasions suggest and explicitly proclaim options and solutions which one could hardly term 'leftist' at all and proceed, surprisingly, to declare in the last paragraph of the book their belief in the historical progressiveness of the working class which, however, cannot be said to eschew "regressive political forces which are sectarian, economistic, sexist and racist" (p. 133).

In spite of the observed inconsistencies, it should be noted that the book contains many original insights which make it a welcome contribution to the debate on the past and the present of capitalism in Africa.

Ján Voderadský

Shenton, R.: *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria*. London. James Currey 1986. xix + 169 pp.

The grave socio-economic crisis, nowadays facing most African countries, has proved a challenge to many historians. Their choice has its logic, in order to properly understand an actual ailment, it is always important to look at its background and

direct one's attention to critical points and moments in its case history. And this is exactly what Robert Shenton does in his genesis of the economic crisis in Nigeria: he concentrates his analysis on the agrarian sector, still the corner stone of Nigeria's developing economy, in spite of the loud oil fuss; his geographical focus is the Nigerian North, the most important centre of the country's agricultural potential and he confines his attention to the first four decades of colonialism which brought crucial transformations to the Nigerian economy and society.

The book is remarkable for its genuinely historical treatment of the matter; save for the second chapter which is too close to a mere summary of the Marxist argument on the genesis of imperialism and colonialism, Shenton's analysis of the development of capitalism in Northern Nigeria is based on an impressive amount of primary sources from both Northern Nigerian and British archives. Some of these appear to be little known up to present, such as F. Lugard's important Political Memoranda from the year 1906 – in the author's words a collection entirely distinct from the similarly titled volume published in 1919, on the basis of which Lugard, as a political theorist of colonialism, has been generally known and assessed.

The book is structured chronologically and at the same time thematically, which means that each successive period has been identified and analysed in terms of its dominant theme. Thus chapters one and two, which are more or less introductory to the principal subject of Shenton's analysis, present an outline of the social formation of the pre-colonial Sokoto Caliphate and the origins of the colonial state in Nigeria. Central to the discussion in the second chapter is the examination of how and why merchant capital came to be dominant form of capital in the creation of the colonial state.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the foundation and origin of colonial capitalism in Northern Nigeria through the attitudes and actions of the colonial policy makers towards their newly acquired territory. The author points to some basic strategic and economic limitations that led to the establishment of the indirect rule, he reveals Lugard's essentially pragmatic approach towards the delicate question of the elimination of slavery and follows the development of the British colonial opinion concerning the ownership of land and the system of taxation – both question of primary importance and enormous consequences for the economic and social future of the Protectorate.

Once the theoretical and legal question of the financial basis of the colonial state has been answered, the problem of the state's insolvency was to be solved in practice. Northern Nigeria had to be made to pay for its colonial government and the goal, as the records of the colonial state clearly show, was to be achieved by the continued increase in the taxation of the rural population. Despite the grave situation and widespread famine, this harsh policy of colonial self-sufficiency, imposed on rural producers, was persistently continued during the first decades of colonial rule.

A most successful piece in this part of the book is what singles itself out as an excellent case-study in the political economy of cotton growing and railway building – the two most important and interconnected investment ventures in pre-World War II history of colonialism in Northern Nigeria. The discussion here is rich and comprehensive because it draws methodologically on and takes into account what might be termed both macro and micro political economy, i.e. its national and international dimensions, as well as parochial and personal interests of individuals and companies, such as Lugard, Elder Dempster or their rivals, the Niger Company. Actually, this is the method where political economy lends itself best to the service of historical analysis.

Chapters 5 and 6 examine two basic features of the development of colonial capitalism in Northern Nigeria in the 1930s and 1940s, i.e. the concentration of capital and the state's entry into marketing and economic development of the colony. Here Shenton's analysis of economic and political processes which had taken place in Northern Nigeria is more distinctly put into context with international developments, such as the great depression of the 1930s, the 1937–1938 Gold Coast cocoa hold-up and the Second World War.

The concluding chapter, titled 'Changelessness' and 'Development' shows how these two notions, "polar elements of the dialectic contained in Lugard's Dual Mandate – the bible of expansion and preservation, modernization and tradition" (p. 121), were contradictory and simultaneously complementary in the ideological framework of colonialism. The image of changelessness under the indirect rule created an impression of political legitimacy of colonialism and was used as an eyewash to cover up dramatic changes, often with serious adverse effects on the local population, which Northern Nigerian society underwent in the sixty odd years of colonial rule.

Robert Shenton's book is an important and well-written case study in the development of capitalism in colonial Africa. It will be appreciated for the amount of primary evidence it brings to support its arguments and enjoyed for its reasonable structure and lucid style.

Ján Voderadský

Barnes, Sandra T.: *Patrons and Power: Creating a Political Community in Metropolitan Lagos*. Manchester, Manchester University Press 1986. x + 261 pp.

The arrival of the former colonies on the world political scene as independent nations has contributed to the complexity of both practical and theoretical politics. The moulding of traditional social and political structures with the new stimuli brought by Europeans in the period of colonialism and its aftermath significantly

enriched the general established principles of the organization of political power. The process of creating new political patterns was most intense in large towns where a variety of interests met in the attractive proximity of national and regional, as well as local power resources. All this makes the theme and the location of the present study – the development of authority in a large West African metropolitan suburb – a reasonable option.

The book is based on a relatively recent field research in Mushin, the largest administrative district of Lagos, with special focus on the development of a network of client-patron relationships, which became the basic vehicle for satisfying the desires and needs of its inhabitants in the scarce metropolitan economic and political means.

Although the patron-client relationship achieved its full significance as the framework of political organization with the arrival of party politics and the opening up of national resources for indigenous contestants in the last years of colonial rule, the author points to the long tradition of clientelism in this region, dating back to pre-colonial times. It is natural that the importance of this form of socio-political relation only increased during the colonial years when the small number of British officers, clustered in the few administrative centres, could not possibly control the vast populations of the relatively unknown hinterland without the use of local middlemen – both traditional and self-made representatives of the people, whose status as patrons had been strengthened by their monopoly of contacts achieved with the alien power.

The author presents a profound analysis of the patron-client relationship which was organized on the basis of personal contacts and reciprocity. As much as the ordinary men needed and made use of the authority, patronage and middlemanship of their neighbourhood leaders, the leaders, in their turn, found it necessary to build a strong sense of indebtedness on the part of clients, which was to be materialized at such times as elections, when a display of substantial following proved necessary of the successful contest for an office. The author shows how the individual client relationship between ordinary residents and their neighbourhood leaders, who in turn were clients to more highly placed district leaders, formed “ascending clusters of patron-client ties” (p. 142), leading to the few top leaders who concentrated great political power in their hands.

The author also pays attention to the attempts of the informal leaders to institutionalize their power via the recognition of their chiefship by the official bureaucracy, points to the factionalism of Mushin leaders polarized by the latent conflict between the Awori Yoruba (original inhabitants) and settler (later migrants) leaders, explains the role of the local government (Mushin District Council) and the dominant political party in the region (Action Group), describes the impact of the major political crises of the first half of the 1960s on political life in Mushin and explains why clientage survived as an “invisible structure... in the day-to-day give-and-take

of urban political life” (pp. 154–155) in spite of the thirteen years’ ban on politics under the military rule.

In conclusion the author presents some theoretical observations on the relationship between power and clientelism and justifiably views the client relationship as “an almost universal aspect of contemporary political life” (p. 205). Her book is written in a lucid, unambiguous style and is very much aided by several case biographies and descriptions of the particular confrontation episodes, which help the reader to get a full-blooded picture of the community politics in an African urban setting.

Ján Voderadský

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